VISUAL ART/PUBLIC ART AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT:

A CASE STUDY OF MONTRÉAL (1967-1992)

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ABSTRACT

In the course of the twentieth century, art became increasingly dominated by market forces. Private corporations and public administrations, including cities, used art as a development tool. In the post-industrial era, art was assimilated to a cultural industry and those whom we label "black collars" succeeded to the blue collar workers of the industrial era and to the white collar workers of the modern city.

In the late 1960s, public sculpture spread in the urban landscape. In the same period, a new generation of artists was trying to create ecological works of art, forms that are associated with post-modernism in art. But there were few works of art that were linked to nature, when compared with the quantity of sculptures exhibited in the plazas of skyscrapers. Why? To answer this question, this research uses the sociology of art as a methodology, particularly the methodology developed by Pierre Bourdieu. The thesis presents the case of Montréal, and compares it to that of New York City. It includes case studies of Viger Square and of the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Garden, two public spaces designed by Montréal artists. We examine the factors that contributed to the predominance of a specific art form, the sculpture in a plaza, and to the rarity of the garden: the characteristics of the genre (garden versus sculpture); the relationships between the main actors; the art market and the manipulation of demand; the various policies associated with art/culture and with urban development; the interests of

patrons (be they public or private). All these factors had an influence on the art forms in the city, often labelled "public art" or "art integrated with architecture." The study reveals that the post-modern economy exhibited works of art that are seldom associated with post-modernism in art. The model of the sculpture in a plaza did not dominate the modernist urban development, but it reflects more a post-modernist morphology.

RÉSUMÉ

Au cours du vingtième siècle, les forces du marché ont dominé de plus en plus le monde de l'art. Les entreprises privées et les administrations publiques, incluant les villes, ont utilisé l'art comme outil de développement économique. En cette ère postmoderne, l'art a été assimilé à une industrie culturelle et ceux que nous qualifions de "cols noirs" ont succédé aux cols bleus de l'ère industrielle et aux cols blancs de la ville moderne.

À compter de la fin des années soixante, les sculptures publiques ont proliféré dans le paysage urbain. La sculpture sur une esplanade devant un gratte-ciel est souvent présentée comme étant paradigmatique du développement urbain moderniste. À la même époque, une nouvelle génération d'artistes tentait de créer des oeuvres d'art écologiques dans la ville, des formes qui sont liées au postmodernisme en art. Or, il y eut peu d'oeuvres associées à la nature, en comparaison de la quantité de sculptures exposées sur les esplanades des gratte-ciel. Pourquoi? Afin de répondre à cette question, cette recherche utilise une approche sociologique de l'art comme méthodologie, en particulier celle développée par Pierre Bourdieu. Cette thèse présente le cas de Montréal et le compare à celui de la ville de New York. Elle inclut les études de cas du square Viger et du jardin du Centre Canadien d'Architecture, deux lieux publics créés par des artistes montréalais. Nous examinons les facteurs qui ont contribué à la prédominance d'une forme spécifique dans la ville,

la sculpture sur l'esplanade, et à la rareté du jardin: les caractéristiques du genre (jardin versus sculpture); les relations entre les principaux acteurs; le marché de l'art et la manipulation de la demande; les diverses politiques associées à la culture et au développement urbain; les intérêts des commanditaires (qu'ils soient publics ou privés). Tous ces facteurs ont eu une influence sur les formes d'art dans la ville, souvent étiqueté "art public" ou "art intégré à l'architecture." L'étude révèle que l'économie postmoderne a exposé des oeuvres qui sont rarement associées à l'avant-garde postmoderne. Le modèle de la sculpture sur esplanade n'a pas dominé au cours du développement urbain moderne, mais il reflète davantage une morphologie postmoderniste.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Research Question and Problem Statement

The construction of the Seagram Building in New York City, completed by the end of the 1950s, was a milestone both for architecture and for urban development. Over the years, Mies van der Rohe's bronze, steel and glass tower and its plaza that set the building back from the street became emblematic of modernist architecture and city development. Another of Mies' construction, the Federal Center in Chicago, dated 1964-65, permanently exhibited a monumental, abstract sculpture, Flamingo (1973) by Alexander Calder. One of the apostles of post-modernism, Charles Jencks, selected this very example in Chicago as paradigmatic of modernist architectural and urban development.[1]

The year 1967, or more generally the late 1960s, marked a watershed in the domains of art, architecture and urban planning altogether. Urban renewal programmes continued to scar North American cities during the 1960s.[2] Such programmes, which aimed to modernize the city, included wholesale demolition of residential neighbourhoods, the construction of highways in city centres, and the erection of high corporate

office towers with a plaza at their base. In fact, the proliferation of skyscrapers adjoined by plazas, either public or private, marked the central areas of North American cities of the time.

The recourse to visual arts in the modern city was initially associated with projects of urban renewal. Certainly, there were precedents to the Federal Center in Chicago. From the late 1950s onward, Gordon Bunshaft, architect at Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM) had commissioned Isamu Noguchi to create modernist sculpture to be set in the plaza of his modernist edifices, not all of them towers. Eventually, the multiplication of high buildings with plazas made room for sculpture, and the paradigmatic trilogy, sculpture in a plaza at the base of a skyscraper, proliferated from then on.[3]

Furthermore, major changes had occurred in the visual arts of the time. Commemorative sculpture, which in the past had been associated with ornamentation of public squares and city beautification, had lost its symbolic value. Modern sculpture, which had become abstract and monumental, sought new exhibition spaces. Lastly, some avant-garde artists left behind the urban centres associated with the art market and deserted art galleries for a while. By doing so, they also intended to subtract their work from the realm of architecture or real-estate development. Those artists expanded the field of sculpture to include, notably, earth works, environmental sculpture, and gardens. In parallel to this first generation of land artists who went to remote places and reasserted the relation of art and landscape, others also promoted an art in the city, outside of art galleries and buildings in general. Those artists proposed works of art, gardens and plantations, that re-established the long-lost connection between art and nature, art and landscape. Yet in 1967 a renewal of public sculpture started to emerge, not only in New York City and Chicago, but globally in North American and European cities.[4]

The display of art in the city, particularly of sculpture, observed in the 1960s, has often been referred to as "public art." In the literature, the definition of what public art is (and should be) varies greatly, and is open to debate. Nonetheless, the broad definition encompasses art in public and corporate locations, often out of doors, and resulting from commissions. In fact, government and foundation patronage of the arts "has grown rapidly since the 1960s."[5] Rainer Rochlitz affirms that artists then developed a new form of dependency towards public institutions, a striking departure from their modern standing with these same institutions (i.e., an opposition to public institutions). The relation between artists and patrons also influenced the art form, as demonstrated by Diana Crane, Rosanne Martorella and Sharon Zukin.[6]

Why was it that, from this time onward, the association of sculpture and plaza (a hard, mineral surface) proliferated to the detriment of gardens and vegetation, as the preferred form of art in outdoor places in cities of the western, industrialized countries? Conversely, what factors contributed to the development (or lack) of gardens and of other forms of art related to nature? These questions were at the core of the research proposal and remained central throughout the research.

The research question addresses the production of works of art located in the city. It is about the paradigm of the sculpture, plaza and skyscraper, and about artists' gardens. The question raises the following sub-questions. Why was the paradigm of the sculpture in a plaza at the base of a skyscraper adopted? Why was the garden rejected as an art form? What factors favoured the eventual emergence of gardens as a form of public art? And what happened to public sculpture after the advent of gardens and vegetal art? Did the paradigm of the sculpture in a plaza decline? Or did it borrow and integrate some components of nature, such as turf and plantings?

We identified five factors that possibly influence the production of public works of art:

1. The characteristics of an artistic genre (garden versus modernist sculpture). For instance, did the characteristics of the modern sculpture (e.g., monumentality) favour its widespread use as a preferred form of art exhibited in the city? On the other hand, were there some characteristics of the garden (e.g., land and maintenance costs) that prevented its widespread use and its acceptance as a genuine work of art?
2. Personal and professional relationships among the key players, in particular artists and patrons.
3. The art market and the manipulation of demand by critics and others.
4. The various public policies pertaining to culture and to urban development.
5. The interests of public and private sponsors or patrons.

More specifically, we wondered if links could be established between the identity of patrons and the resulting work of art. Did private patrons privilege certain art forms and public sponsors, other forms? Were those patrons influential in shaping or promoting municipal by-laws and other public policies about public art and public space? Did the art works mainly result from commissions, or were they initiated by artists? How did the patrons or sponsors behave with regard to public policies then in force?

We contend that certain operators and interests were crucial in creating and promoting a certain type of art in the city. Those interests were linked both to the world of art and to that of urban real-estate development. Some assert that modern artists (painters and sculptors)

were excluded from the urban domain, be it streets, squares or public buildings.[7] Nonetheless, the art world, including some artists, took part or at least manifested a strong interest in being part of the urban environment and of the modernization of the city. The association of the art world with the realm of urban real-estate led to the increase of the number of sculptures exposed in front of a skyscraper, on a mineral plaza. This paradigm was favoured by, and it also favoured, the implementation and development of a modernist vision of art, architecture and the city. This view, however, excluded other forms and ideas about cities, such as nature-related projects with an artistic coefficient. Gardens as works of art were generally omitted, despite their possible positive impact on the quality of urban life.

The passage from the modernist ethos to the post-modernist one reflected an important change in society: the shift from the industrial to the post-industrial, from the socio-economic to the socio-cultural. A new model of the city emerged circa 1970, corresponding to a new economy.[8] Gardens and other artistic manifestations linked to the idea of nature had been repudiated by modernism. They could have been major elements in the laying out of public space and in the advent of the post-modernist/post-industrial city. However, only a few artists created gardens. Moreover, the nature-related projects that were developed (sculpture gardens, garden festivals) often appeared to be used by the proponents of urban economic development. In the end, the modernist model prevailed, although often in a degenerated form. But why?

The research question is hinged on definitions and descriptions of both modernism and post-modernism. In North America, urban renewal, inner-city highway construction, and the combination of office towers, plazas and abstract monumental sculptures often made of new materials and industrial technologies were all elements that belonged to modernism.

How could we explain that a modernist paradigm, made up of three modernist elements (office tower, plaza, modern sculpture) developed itself and expanded in the post-modernist era? And conversely, why were the new post-modernist artistic configurations (such as a gardens) so rare?

Rationale of the Study

Urban planners and other city specialists deem that art is an integral part of the city, and that its impacts are not only cultural, but economic and sociological as well.[9] Conversely, certain economic and social factors also impact on the production of the visual art forms to be found in the city. However, despite the historically close association between art and the city,[10] this influence of external factors (socio-politico-economic) is not fully acknowledged nor understood. In short, a comprehensive contextual reading of works of art in the urban environment has yet to be done: "Avant de prétendre 'aménager la culture dans la ville' . . . il importe de comprendre les relations complexes qui unissent les arts à l'espace urbain. Ici . . . nous n'en sommes qu'aux premières explorations."[11]

Furthermore, studies of styles, genres and innovations are deemed necessary by Howard Becker:

> We need studies which tell us how, in specific art worlds, assessments of styles, genres, innovations, artists, and particular works are circulated. Who tries things first? Who listens to and acts on their opinions? Why are their opinions respected? Concretely, how does the word spread from those who see something new that it is worth noticing? Why does anyone believe them?[12]

The literature confirms that the art forms to be found in the city are, most of the time, sculpture, statue, memorial, or mural. Gardens or vegetal/ecological works of art are more seldom presented.[13] We also find that a certain confusion exists about environmental art. Thus, works of art completely alienated from gardens or from other forms of vegetal art are presented as environmental art.[14] This haziness is perceptible among artists. Some involved in the creation of land art or of gardens affirm that their art has nothing to do with landscape, even if gardens are one of the four criteria proposed by Augustin Berque to distinguish the "civilisations paysagères" (landscape civilizations) from those which are not. Landscape is understood not as nature or environment, but as a perceived space linked to the viewer's experience.[15] Acknowledging the fact that the role of art in the shaping and the evolution of the "sentiment de la nature" is more or less ignored, Alain Roger demonstrates that historically, artists have acted as mediators in the creation of landscape.[16] Some landscape architects, for their part, fear an invasion of their field of practice by artists.

Colette Garraud is categorical about the need to study urban gardens:

> Il faut en effet évoquer les jardins en milieu urbain qui font l'objet . . . d'une commande. Leur étude, pour être conséquente, devrait . . . prendre en compte les rôles respectifs des architectes, des paysagistes et des artistes, le fonctionnement des institutions et de la commande publique.[17]

In other words, the study of urban gardens stemming from a commission ought to take into account the roles of the architects, landscape architects, artists, as well as the way institutions and the public commission the work.

Actually, the origin or initial influence of those vegetal/ecological works in the post-modern city needs to be established. Indeed, even if a certain literature attributes the origins of the contemporary urban gardens created by artists to land art in the desert, our preliminary research

invalidated that fact. Some artists created, or at least tried to create, gardens and other vegetal works of art in urban wastelands prior to the land art works.[18]

A radical thinker such as Rosalyn Deutsche affirms that a mythical view of the city combined with an analysis of art based on parameters belonging solely to the realm of aesthetic discourse have left public art to market forces. Both Deutsche and urban sociologist Daniel Latouche acknowledge the imminent need to study art in the city from the viewpoint of the sociology of art.[19] Vera Zolberg highlights the main differences between the sociological and historical approaches in the study of the arts. Art historians and critics base their research on the hypothesis that the work of art is independent from its production context; the sociology of art addresses precisely this otherwise neglected context. Moreover, art history studies and admits only what is in the realm of the fine arts and high arts, whereas sociology of art includes in its scope a wider or more encompassing definition of the art object. However, as Zolberg clearly demonstrates, sociology of art in general (not specifically of public art) is relatively recent, particularly in North America. She advocates what she labels an "externalist view" in the study of the arts, not only in order "to clarify the social interconnectedness of art and society, but also to highlight aspects of art works neglected by aesthetic specialists."[20] In addition, Zolberg asserts that most scholars accept this view for didactic or commercial art, but tend to reject it when masterpieces are concerned.

Contributions to the sociology of art by people originating from a field other than sociology, even distant, is frequent, almost the norm.[21] This fact results in a field of study

> with a strongly cross-disciplinary character, various methodologies and viewpoints . . . . Involvement with other disciplines is central to what the sociology of the art is about. This is recognized, not only by sociologists, but by humanists and creative artists as they

> become more aware of social constraints under which creation takes place.[22]

Zolberg's statement confirms the legitimacy of the approach for the research subject and of an investigator who is not a sociologist.

Methodology

So far, we have established the rationale for studying the social factors at play in the relation between art and the city. In particular, the general need for examining new art forms and innovations was assessed. We posited that the garden was a form of art breaking away from the more traditional forms of public art, an art form for which research had yet to be done. Lastly, we presented the rationale for adopting a sociological approach to the study of art.

Sociological methodology admits both quantitative and qualitative methods used either exclusively or complementarily. According to Zolberg, quantitative methodology in contemporary sociology of the arts triggered criticism from most scholars as being much too reductionistic, due to its systematic omission of aesthetic judgement and of the work of art itself in the study. Recent sociological study used qualitative methods "focusing on historical phenomena rather than contemporary events."[23]

The literature on the case study approach for research emphasizes its qualitative yet rigorous aspects. Jacques Hamel convincingly demonstrates that

> The case study has proven to be in complete harmony with the three key words that characterize any qualitative method: describing, understanding, and explaining. Such a study is best able to describe and understand the case under investigation. This study is considered to be a superior method of description, and the

> choices and tactics that define it also precisely define the process of transformation from local to global. This ensures the general applicability of the explanation.[24]

However, for Robert Yin, case study should not be confused with qualitative research: any mix of qualitative and quantitative evidence is acceptable in a case study.[25]

Our research meets the three conditions listed by Yin for the determination of the case study as the appropriate research approach. Firstly, ours is a "why" question. Secondly, the investigator (i.e., the author) had little access or control over events or over their reporting. Thirdly, the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon as opposed to a historical one.[26] In short, a case study is appropriate when "a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control."[27] It is arguable whether the historical criterion is met or not: the question addresses events that belong to a recent past, yet, they are not contemporary. However, Yin resolves that

> The case study is preferred in examining contemporary events, but when the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated. The case study relies on many of the same techniques as a history, but it adds two sources of evidence not usually included in the historian's repertoire: direct observation and systematic interviewing. Again, although case studies and histories can overlap, the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence--documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations--beyond what might be available in the conventional historical study.[28]

Furthermore, the use of case study is advisable over the survey when the inclusion of the context is deemed useful and relevant, since surveys have a limited potential for contextual investigation.

Qualitative researchers now accept to anchor their work in a pre-developed theory.[29] Developing a theory prior to undertaking a case study

is essential, according to Yin. Furthermore, Hamel affirms that "the case study does not go against the grain of theoretical sociological models, it permits them to exist under more propitious conditions."[30] The theory developed for the case does not have to be as formal as grand theory in social sciences, but could be "societal theories--for example, theories of urban development, . . . cultural institutions, . . . and marketplace functions."[31] In this research, the theoretical framework positively contributes to guiding the data collection and will be useful for further analysis. Ultimately the explanation of the results is derived from the description embedded in the case study: "The theoretical and methodological foundations of the explanation resulting from the case study may thus be clearly understood through the depth of description of the object of study."[32] The explanation is not a statement of the information presented, though. It must transcend it and appear in an abstract form, to wit in a theoretical language.[33]

Admittedly, the case is not a sampling unit and its study does not lead to statistical generalization. It could be sociologically representative, provided that the researcher addresses a social idea or phenomenon. However, the representativeness or typicality of a case is often questioned.[34] Hamel considers that this should not be a pre-eminent issue. He affirms:

> The methodological qualities of the case thereby determine its representative value, in line with the aim of the study. . . .
> . . . . Representativeness is thereby ensured by the "sociological imagination" displayed in the methodological tactics and selections employed in determining which case should be used, or more accurately, which subject should be investigated. The scope of the case study is based on such choices and tactics, the methodological qualities of which may be understood in action, through the description provided of the object under study.[35]

We established the pertinence of the case study as a research strategy for the question to be addressed, and for the sociology of the arts in general. How about the subject matter to be investigated, and the fact that the study is multi-disciplinary? Should another research approach be considered? For Yin, the case study is a strategy worthy of city and regional planning research, as well as of the "conduct of dissertations and thesis in the social sciences."[36] This is the proper method to "understand complex social phenomena."[37] Several case studies in the fields of urban planning and development as well as urban geography attest to the suitability of the approach. For his part, Peter Collins, historian and professor of architecture, deplores the fact that the "procedural context of architectural judgement seldom receives the attention from architectural critics which it deserves, because the tradition of art-criticism, . . . place[s] all the emphasis on the final product."[38] Collins affirms the relevance of case studies in the study of architecture.[39]

The dissertation includes two complementary sections, a theoretical-conceptual frame of reference elaborated from a literature review and an empirical part in the form of a case study. The research contributes to knowledge by its integration of theory and empiricism and thereby demonstrates the compatibility between the two of them.[40]

Literature Review

A previous research project conducted by the author as a final requirement for obtaining the degree of Master of Urban Planning (McGill University) included a thorough literature review that allowed the identification of forms, functions, places and contexts of production of art in modern and contemporary cities of the western world.[41] The findings of

that earlier study contributed to shaping the research question and problem statement of this work, and additional literature was reviewed to address them specifically. The review included a thorough research of the Comprehensive Dissertation Index.[42] In addition, discipline-related literature was reviewed, to wit in art history and in the sociology of art, in architecture, in urban geography, in urban planning and in landscape architecture. Finally, a comprehensive search with key words was conducted in library databases.

The review of the texts presents a historical and a conceptual frame of reference that encompasses the disciplines dealt with in the research question and problem statement and includes historical data relevant to the study. Modernism and post-modernism are referred to, as they have their own referential scheme that allows a clarification, understanding and analysis of the various events unravelled in the dissertation. Therefore, the literature review presents selected information that allowed us to identify possible factors that influenced the preference of certain art forms over others. It also helps to determine what data to look for and to understand the study findings and analyse them.

Case Study

The design of the case study required that we set geographic and time boundaries. Also, the physical context had to be taken into account, as it had to be appraised through careful observation.[43] For this specific research, the geographic limitation required the choice of one city, according to certain selection criteria. Firstly, it was fundamental that the physical elements addressed by the research question be present in the city. The selected city had to have a sampling of skyscrapers with plazas,

some with a sculpture. It also needed to have a history of "vegetal" works of art, both rejected and accepted. That condition took into account the fact that some work might have been destroyed and be accessible only through documents. In short, the city had to have, for the period under investigation, a corpus of works of sculptures, high-rises, plazas, vegetal works of art, and possibly artists' gardens, that would make a significant description and analysis possible.

Secondly, it was deemed necessary to have a variety of patrons and art collectors who had either commissioned or purchased the works of art. The vagueness in differentiating private and public projects, and the privatization of the public domain are known and documented matters. In order to establish relations between operators from the public and private domains, and also in order to compare the forms of patronage each of them exert, the global case study had to include examples of private/corporate philanthropy as well as illustrations of commissions from the public authorities.

The third criterion pertained to the importance of primary sources of documentation. This did not preclude the use of secondary sources. Nonetheless, we thought that the originality of the research subject and the specificity of the information needed required a significant amount of information stemming from primary sources. Consequently, these sources of information had to be accessible, whether they were artists to be interviewed, other agents (patrons, representatives of public services or private corporations), or archives.

The final criterion related to the feasibility of the research project. The scale of the city had to be such that it comprised enough examples (to meet the first criterion) without being a mega-city. The research should allow the learning inherent in the making of a case study in the context of a doctorate. At the same time, the material resources required for the

realization of this case study had to be compatible with the nature of the project.

Cases pertaining to New York City in various disciplines related to the research question and actually helped to define it. For example, the revision of a New York City zoning by-law in 1961 had a positive impact on the multiplication of plazas and of high-rises.[44] A garden was created by Isamu Noguchi as early as 1961-64, for the Chase Manhattan Bank. It was also in New York City that a few artists (Alan Sonfist, Adam Purple, et cetera) proposed gardens or works of art with vegetation by the end of the 1960s. New York City was often a pioneer, but not always. For instance, New York was not the first North-American city to adopt a public art policy in the 1960s. And, contrary to Philadelphia or Seattle, New York's policy did not gain widespread acceptance. This does not mean, however, that New York City was not a leader; it simply means that forces other than the public and municipal ones, namely the market forces, were at play and influential.

New York City fulfilled the first two criteria enunciated above, but not the last two. The author's limited familiarity with the city involved the possible risk of ignoring important facts or sources of data. Given the history and the size of the city, its choice would certainly have increased the material difficulties without putting forward advantages other than studying works of art or sites about which a lot had already been written. Furthermore, the aim of the research was not to study and investigate the artistic realizations of an avant-garde city. The research question is about battles in the field of artistic production, in a given socio-economic context, to conquer the hegemony within this artistic field. Preliminary research led us to think that the research question and problem statement described a situation that could be found elsewhere.

A consideration of other cities led us to the conclusion that Montréal met all the criteria. Montréal had sculptures in plazas at the base of skyscrapers as well as examples of gardens or works of art with vegetation. Also, a few works of art relating to nature had been either destroyed or modified by eliminating the vegetal component. The Expo 67 sculpture garden had a limited lifetime. Bill Vazan's Stone Maze, created for Corridart in 1976, was destroyed by order of the Mayor. In the early 1990s, Alan Sonfist created Growing Protector, a sculpture within which a tree was supposed to grow. Shortly after its installation, it was removed from its site. The sculpture has been stored in a museum's vault, minus the tree. Lastly, Place Roy by Michel Goulet, who had wanted turf on the ground, was not built entirely according to the artist's desire.

In Montréal, the 1967-92 period coincides with the events referred to in the research question. Also, those years were particularly important in the City's history. Actually, with regards to our research, 1967 was a crucial year for Montréal. Several works of art were commissioned and created either at that time, or a little later. Expo 67 and Canada's Centennial were major contributing events. Moreover, the provincial policy for public art, established in 1961, was starting to bear fruit. Finally, the 350th anniversary of Montréal was celebrated in 1992, giving rise once again to commissions for works of art, memorials, or donations of artworks installed in the city. Hence the twenty-five year span between those two major events defined the temporal frame of reference of our case study. The selection of Montréal also benefitted from a previous research (1994) which surveyed the works of public art in the city centre, and some of the people to be interviewed had assured us of their collaboration, confirming that primary sources would be available.[45]

Admittedly, cities compete among themselves to foster their economic development. Therefore, we followed Lutz and Collins' advice:

"Comparison is vital to the success of any exposition. . . . You can never discover your success or failure without comparison with other nations. . . . Comparison is essential to show the effects on the industries and arts of climate, race, geography."[46] We decided to compare Montréal with another city. However, it would have been unpractical to perform another equally important study of another city. Therefore New York City, to which Montréal has often been compared throughout its history, was selected as a benchmark. The literature review and the study include several references to New York City, as well as references to the relationships between Montréal and New York City as established by some actors (Frederick Law Olmsted, Phyllis Lambert, William Zeckendorf, Alan Sonfist, modernist artists travelling between Montréal and New York City, et cetera).

Our design of the research is akin to what Yin labels an "embedded case study design."[47] The case study of Montréal put forward several units of analysis. Two of those units, Viger Square and the CCA Garden, are the object of case studies by themselves, case studies which address the creation of gardens or public places by artists. Other units of analysis are presented in vignettes which briefly explain cases pertaining to the creation of plazas, skyscrapers, and the display of sculptures in those plazas.[48] The vignettes are inserted in the global context in which those projects took place, in order to allow a chronological understanding of the events. Furthermore, we present important developments in the domains of art, architecture and urban planning that may contribute to an explanation of facts studied in our research.

Viger Square and the CCA Garden were selected, firstly, because no other artist garden of that scope was built in Montréal during the research period. Secondly, each project contains elements of interest regarding the factors of influence in the creation of gardens and of public

art. For instance, personal and professional relationships among artists and patrons, public versus private patronage of the arts, the role of public policies in the selection of an art form are elements present and addressed in each case. Thirdly, none of the two main cases has ever been the object of thorough academic research. Finally, the cases are complementary. They offer a good perspective on the creation by artists of gardens and of public places in the city. One case is generally recognized as a failure, the other as a success. One embodies a modernist approach to art and to urban development, the other offers a reflection on post-modernism.

From the start, the case of the CCA Garden was deemed to be the cornerstone of the entire research. There are several reasons for this, which have to do with the garden itself and with the research question. In fact, the presence of the CCA Garden in Montréal triggered the author's desire to know more about "public art" and gardens as art, and about the conditions of their creation. The immediate, positive impact of the CCA Garden, not only on its immediate neighbourhood but on Montréal as a city, was tremendous. Despite a unanimously favourable reception by the international artistic community, and an almost unanimously enthusiastic one locally, the project triggered some controversy. Far from being as controversial as Richard Serrra's Tilted Arc for New York's Federal Plaza or Daniel Buren's Les deux plateaux for the Cour d'honneur du Palais Royal in Paris, it nonetheless generated discussion and questioning. In fact, its very success and appreciation also raised questions. Could this project really be considered a result of the governmental programme that encouraged public art? Did this context generate or encourage the creation of a garden by an artist? Where did the idea of creating a garden come from? How did the reputation and training of the artist, Melvin Charney, account for the concept? What previous experience did the

artist have in public art? Was his experience in the field important at all? How about the owner of the CCA, Phyllis Lambert? What was her role and how determinant was it in the overall outcome? Did she impose her choice of artist?

The second case, Viger Square, is the counterpart to the CCA Garden. The project was initiated more than a decade prior to the CCA Garden, after the destruction of the square in the wake of the modernization of the city. The need to reconstruct Viger Square originated from the desire to give back a public place to a destroyed neighbourhood. Three artists were commissioned without any competition, and, at the time they were awarded the contract, they were artists with a reputation in Québec. Architects working in the City had already developed concepts of what they wanted. But politics, bureaucracy, and power struggles combined in a particular fashion. The result was, in everyone's opinion, a disaster. This study addresses several questions. Why were those public places designed by artists? Why did the artists accept such a mandate? What was the original intent of the commission? Could the negative experience of Viger Square have resulted in the abandonment of other projects involving the creation of public places, gardens, et cetera, by artists?

Regarding the writing of the case study itself, we took note of Robert Stake's advice: "Ultimately, the final writing . . . is more than aggregation of sections but a shaping of them into a narrative that makes the case comprehensible."[49] Following this suggestion, the chapters were structured following a chronological development, with an emphasis on key issues. The context in which all the various projects occurred is recounted in order to understand the genesis and evolution of art in general and of sculpture in particular in Québec, to highlight the place held by allied arts, to grasp the consequences of the modernization of

Montréal, its effects on both architecture and the visual arts in the city. Therefore, the context is pertinent both for the embedded cases and the vignettes about architectural projects, the creation of plazas, and the use of sculpture.

Sources of Evidence

In this study we used several methods to collect information. The wide variety of sources made feasible the generation of qualitative data and the triangulation of findings. The great diversity of empirical documents holds analytical difficulties. Convergence of the findings stemming from various methods of data collection increases the confidence in the results and strengthens the explanation, while divergent results will generate more complex or weaker explanations.[50]

Data gathering commenced prior to this Ph.D. research, from 1992 onwards, in the course of a Master of Urban Planning programme and, in particular, in a research project on public art in Montréal. In the course of this doctoral research, documents, archival records, unstructured face to face interviews, informal conversations, videotapes, films, photographs, direct observation and physical artefacts were sources of new information which enriched the overall study.[51] Methodological procedures were established prior to searching for data, following the consultation of several texts that addressed methodological questions. The information needed was assessed in relation to the research question, the problem statement and the conceptual framework. Regarding interviews, Lewis Anthony Dexter's Elite and Specialized Interviewing (1970) was particularly helpful and appropriate for this study. Following Dexter's

advice, most of the interviews conducted were recorded and then were transcribed verbatim, either totally or partially.[52]

In the literature, there is a consensus about the fact that written texts and artefacts are an important source of information for qualitative research and case studies. In this study, written texts are a complement to verbal evidence (interviews). Furthermore, written evidence, which Ian Hodder includes as part of material culture, needs to be interpreted. Interpretation of texts has to take into account whether the text "was written as result of firsthand experience or from secondary sources, whether it was solicited or unsolicited, edited or unedited, anonymous or signed, and so on."[53] But all data should be questioned, whether they are from primary or secondary sources, according to Gaye Tuchman. In sum, the researcher should reject the assumption that the truth is inherent to a source.[54]

Diana Crane conducted a study in the sociology of art, The Transformation of the Avant-Garde, in which she proposes "Unobtrusive Methods for Researching an Art Form."[55] Given a lengthy period of investigation, Crane advocates the use of a variety of documentary materials, including interviews, reviews, statements and articles by artists and biographical directories. However, despite the possible availability of recent and abundant documentary material, Crane warns against privileging the use of newer, contemporary interviews and statements, to the detriment of older ones:

> Interviews with or surveys of artists conducted in the 1980s but dealing with events that had taken place years before were likely to be of questionable accuracy. Instead it seemed preferable to use interviews and reviews by art critics that had been published close to the time of the events in which I was interested. The abundance of documentary material about these artists made it possible to find out how they were thinking and reacting decades before. In addition, a number of the artists had written detailed statements

> about their work at the time it was being done. These too had advantages in comparison with a retrospective assessment years later. . . . Information for biographical directories, being compiled for publication, is also likely to be more complete than information recalled during an interview. In other words, since artists are frequently being interviewed and written about, it was possible to reconstruct the development of an art style from its beginnings to its eventual decline, using published materials to a considerable extent.[56]

Obviously, there is a difference between Crane's study and this one. The difference in artists' notoriety could lead to much less documentary material being produced at the time the works of art were created. Nonetheless, we integrated Crane's advice in our research of documents. Earlier documents were consulted prior to conducting interviews which focused on missing or unclear information.

Access to the archives and to some of their boxes and files (Michael R. Hill's "archival sediment") contributes to the originality of the research, particularly when documents have rarely, if at all, been consulted previously. Moreover, the artefacts found in archives determine what can be analysed. From the acknowledgement of the uncertain and non-systematic aspect of sedimentation--the process by which materials repose in archives, are distributed among archives and are classified across different collections in a single archive--follows the recognition of the probable need for other sources of data. As researchers, we have no guarantee that the most significant and important material (for us) has been saved. In addition, researchers have no means to know if they were given access to all the materials in the stacks.[57]

The City of Montréal's archives were consulted for both main case studies (CCA Garden and Viger Square) and for the vignettes. In addition, we had access to the archives of the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), including those parts of Phyllis Lambert's personal archives

relevant to the research, and to the CCA's library and its drawings and photographs departments. Access to the CCA's documents and photographs proved to be invaluable to the success of data gathering pertaining to the CCA case study as such, as well as to the chapters about Phyllis Lambert and Melvin Charney. According to Michèle Picard, then in charge of archival research at the CCA, the documents pertaining to the CCA Garden had not yet been consulted by other scholars. They were found in a jumble in boxes. This state favoured the sense of discovery. However, contrary to the practice of public archives (municipal and provincial), photocopying documents was forbidden.[58] Finally, the file about the competition for the CCA Garden was consulted at the Secrétariat à l'action culturelle et des communications, Intégration des arts à l'architecture, in the Montréal offices of the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications of the Québec Government. The information provided by these documents was completed by thorough interviews with the key actors, namely Melvin Charney, Louise Déry, Michel Goulet, Phyllis Lambert, Jean-Claude Leblond, Ghislain Papillon and William (Bill) Vazan. These interviews allowed additional data gathering. For instance, Phyllis Lambert provided crucial information on the history of the site and the prior ownership of parcels of land. Bill Vazan had kept the original maquette handed out to the artists by the CCA and its architect Peter Rose, which made photographing it possible. Mr. Vazan also made available some of the plans handed out to the artists, as well as his sketches and drawings for his proposal. Melvin Charney also lent a few plans. In addition, his contribution could be qualified as that of an informant, as defined by Stake: "Someone who knows a lot about . . . [the issues] and is willing to chat."[59] The numerous conversations we had about public art, Montréal, the CCA and its Garden, as well as the context of the artist's work in general allow for such a qualification. At the time of the interview, Michel

Goulet still had the maquette representing his proposal for the competition, which he graciously exhibited, while also providing a slide of it. Undoubtedly, the research was enriched by those particular inputs.

The Ministry of Culture reported that the file on Viger Square had been destroyed. Viger Square was not under the responsibility of that Ministry, but instead, under that of the Ministry of Transportation. A verification at the Québec National Archives, in both Montréal and Québec City (Laval University), proved unfruitful. At the City of Montréal, no file was to be found in the filing cabinets of the City Planning Department. In addition, the information in the municipal archives was limited to press reviews and excluded correspondence between the key actors. The files regarding Viger Square (including information on the three artists) at the City of Montréal's Service de la Culture could be consulted thanks to one of its commissioners, Francyne Lord. But this alone did not provide sufficient data to elaborate the case study of Viger Square. Thanks to the Freedom of Information Act (Loi d'accès à l'information), much of the correspondence pertaining to Viger Square could be traced at the City of Montréal's Service des parcs, des jardins et des espaces verts. There, several early plans and drawings by municipal civil servants were found. These documents, pivotal for the case study, were complemented by others, originating from the artists involved. Charles Daudelin graciously lent all of his correspondence pertaining to his project. For his part, Peter Gnass lent his roll of blue-prints of the various stages of the project, which were not available at the City of Montréal. Melvin Charney, who had recently been mandated to lay out the square anew, had maps and documents which he generously disclosed for the benefit of the study. Finally, as for the CCA case study, the three artists who designed separate sections of Viger Square, Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass and Claude Théberge, accepted to do a recorded interview.

The variations in the sources of documents available certainly had an impact on the narration of each of the two case studies. For Viger Square, the correspondence originating from Daudelin, as well as all the decisions, hesitations and discussions about hiring artists were available. Since in this case there was no competition, another aspect of the selection of the artists could be examined. For the CCA Garden, the information anterior to the decisions to create a garden was fairly abundant, and both the CCA and the municipal archives were complementary. There was some correspondence between Phyllis Lambert and the winning artist, Melvin Charney, but not much. However, the competition phase was well documented.

As indicated above, the vignettes draw most of the information from the City of Montréal municipal archives. Some documents also came from the Québec section of DoCoMoMo,[60] based in Montréal, and from the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce's (CIBC) archives (which supplied documents on request without our direct access to the archives).[61] In addition, for the vignette about the Complexe Desjardins, the architect in charge of the project at the time, Jean Ouellet, was interviewed (unrecorded) as were sculptor Yves Trudeau (unrecorded, informal telephone interview) and André Leblanc, vice-president and directeur de l'exploitation of Place Desjardins Inc. (recorded interview). Jean Ouellet lent documents that pertained to the origins of the Complexe Desjardins, including a report about his plan for integrating art to architecture. Real-estate developer and corporate art collector Jonathan Wener also agreed to be interviewed (recorded interview). Finally, Marie Perrault from the Québec Government's Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, in charge of the programme "Intégration des arts à l'architecture" for the region under study, generously made available publications about the

provincial programme, including all the annual reports, which allowed a compilation of artists' participation.

The section pertaining to the artists themselves benefited from the documents collected in the artists' files at the Médiathèque of the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal (Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art). Each artist's file included invitations to exhibitions in art galleries and museums, posters, curriculum vitae (most of them provided and updated by the artists themselves) as well as reviews and interviews published in newspapers and specialized magazines, and artists' own texts. In addition, catalogues of exhibitions (either group or solo), CDs, films and videotapes were available and consulted at the Médiathèque. These sources were completed by the usual reference and research work in libraries (for secondary sources), along with field trips to New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston, which made possible direct observation in the city and allowed a comparison with Montréal.

Contributions to Knowledge

The research allows the identification of certain factors which contributed, in the 1960s, to the promotion of a certain art form in the city, revolving around the paradigm of the sculpture in a plaza. These factors also contributed to the rejection of the garden as an art form. This research also aimed to identify the factors that facilitated the emergence of the garden as a form of urban art, in the 1970s and 1980s, an art form that could be associated with artistic post-modernism. As indicated above, the specificity of this research consists in orienting the discussion about visual arts in the city in a context that extends beyond both art history and the traditional relation of art to architecture. The originality of the study

resides in the examination of artistic creation for the city through the lens of the sociology of art. Furthermore, the contribution of this research to knowledge will reside in the links established between forms of art, architecture, urban planning, even urban geography affiliated with modernism and with post-modernism. Understanding why gardens and more generally, nature (vegetation), are either accepted or rejected (to wit commissioned or not; maintained or destroyed) as contemporary urban forms should enable us to widen the spectrum of the possible manifestations of the visual arts in the city.

This research demonstrates that, contrary to what is held to be true, the sculpture in a plaza at the base of a skyscraper marked, as a paradigm, the early post-modernist development of the city. Sculptures were preferred to gardens, even if the latter were forms associated with post-modernism in art, precisely because sculptures could be treated as objects that are easy to manipulate. This research disproves other generally accepted ideas. First, it refutes usual explanations for the multiplication of plazas in Montréal, which attributes them to "bonus zoning." Thus, it establishes the relative importance and the role of municipal policies pertaining to height, set-backs and density bonuses. We also learn from this thesis the weight of the provincial policy for the integration of art to architecture (1%) in the proliferation of a specific art form, sculpture. The two case studies about public places designed by artists show the influential role played by patrons of the arts in the creation of public art and in the form it took. The cases also highlight the ability of patrons to take full advantage of the provincial programme for the 1%. Furthermore, this thesis shows the usefulness of Pierre Bourdieu's theory when addressing public art: patrons' and artists' habituses, the homology between the various actors in their respective field (artistic, institutional, corporate), the fights to maintain one's position in a given field and also, to

defend the autonomy of that field, all these concepts proved valuable for our research. Moreover, this research shows how public art was associated with urban development. The leaders of the establishment played a decisive role in promoting a specific art form as a commodity (sculpture) and in limiting commissions to artists for the creation of permanent works of ecological/environmental art. Art and architecture served as instruments for promoting urban development. The models of the past, where statues served for city beautification, were recuperated with post-modernism. Lastly, our research disproves two generally accepted ideas. The first one associates commissions with a quasi-absolute loss of autonomy by the artist. The second one advocates the creation of public places by artists (as opposed to architects, landscape architects or urban planners) to offset urban problems. The case studies of Viger Square and of the CCA Garden offer counter-arguments to those propositions. Hence this research shows that our approach to art in the city, or public art, should be reconsidered.

A further contribution of this research is that it addresses more than one discipline (subject). The study proposes a global approach and de facto aims to bring together certain fields of competence (art, architecture, urban planning, geography, landscape), some of which have become autonomous with the advent of modernity. Each discipline should enrich the other ones while also benefiting from them. This study, we hope, will be exemplary of what crossdisciplinary research could be. We found that our global approach is akin to that of Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee. They adopt the post-modern theoretical view that interprets form "as an outcome of historical, cultural, political, and economic processes"[62] using crossdisciplinary knowledge as well. Moreover, in order to find the causes of the new downtown urban design, they deem it necessary to unravel the processes at play by presenting case studies. Even though they address

public sculpture in plazas, their main focus is on the open spaces in the city centre. For his part, Malcolm Miles seeks "to contribute as much to a critique of the construction of cities as to one of public art"[63] in Art Space and the City. He aims to break "the zoning of knowledge in specialist professional and academic disciplines"[64] and looks "at art in public spaces from viewpoints outside art."[65] On the other hand, we adopt a multidisciplinary approach with the perspective of the sociology of art, and particularly, the theory of Pierre Bourdieu about the artistic field.

In her doctoral thesis about public art and the integration of arts to architecture in Québec, Louise Déry proposes an overview of the historical and artistic contexts of the production of allied arts.[66] Déry's thesis is based on her assessment of the situation prevailing at the end of the 1980s. In her presentation of the provincial regulation for allied arts, she discusses a few cases of integrated art that resulted from it, without those being case studies. She presents the CCA Garden by referring mainly to the artist's own explanation of his work. Déry does not establish a relationship between the works of art that she presents briefly, the evolution of the Québec art scene, the artist's career, and the provincial programme. Our investigation has different aims and our methodology and approach are also different. Consequently, there is no overlapping between the two studies, even regarding the CCA Garden.

This study is therefore a genuine contribution to our knowledge of the process involved in the creation of public art and of public space. Particularly insightful is the account of the events and decisions anterior to the involvement of the artists themselves. Only too often is the account of the creation of such venues limited to the artists' contribution, as if no other actors were involved, as if no investments, divestments, negotiations, decisions had been made prior to their commitment. Even well known facts pertaining to the city under investigation, Montréal, gain

relief from this perspective, which allows new elements and insights to be taken into account for a more global analysis.

To conclude, this study is important and original for the following reasons. Firstly, it will be beneficial to the understanding of the topic itself. There is a real and important need, acknowledged as such in the academic world, for research addressing the creation of art in the city. Specifically, the importance of the research resides in its identification of forces at play in the production of visual art forms in the urban environment and in the formation of public places. Secondly, the proposed methodology accommodates several disciplines in a study undertaken by a non-sociologist. Thirdly, the conceptual framework developed and used for the research is groundbreaking. It is believed that eventually it could be used for other studies (in other cities).

Overview of the Thesis

The literature review and theoretical frame of reference will be presented in the next chapter. We pursued two aims with the literature review. The first was to demonstrate our knowledge and appreciation of related works as well as to show the originality of our proposition. The second was to present historical facts regarding public art, art in the city or art integrated with architecture. From the exercise, it will be possible to assert which factors are usually considered as influential on art forms. Patronage of the arts, public policies and the relationship between artist and architect are regularly identified. The first part of chapter two will sketch a theoretical framework that takes into account those factors. The historical part and the theoretical framework presented in that chapter will address the alliance of urban works of art with nature, the possible

influence of land art and of some leading artists, architects, and patrons, along with the fact that these early works of art were either rejected, destroyed, or saw their realization delayed. The position of the visual arts in the city and the role of the arts in urban development will also be addressed.

The conceptual part is followed by the empirical part of the research. Starting from the premiss that our period of investigation, 1967-92, did not provide all the answers, we opted to present an overview of the historical relation of sculpture with the urban public places in Montréal, followed by an account of the context of the emergence of modern sculpture, architecture, and urban development. Eventually, governmental policies regarding the arts were grafted onto an already booming artistic activity. The influence of Expo 67 will also be assessed, since it had a major impact on sculpture, architecture and urban development. Eventually, the modernization of the city gave rise to protests. The development of Montréal that resulted (less demolition and an emphasis on preservation) took into account the new sensibility of the population. Post-modernism, in Montréal, was manifest in construction influenced by the preservationists and also, by new high-rises that displayed attributes of the modern city centre, leading to a somewhat confusing image. However, this part of the thesis demonstrates that Montréal was starting to incorporate elements of the geography of a post-modern city, even when borrowing from modern art and architecture. If the migration of white collar workers in office towers characterized the modern development of North American cities, new installations in the city centre (convention centres, shopping malls, museums, theatres, historic districts and other premises linked to a cultural life) associated Montréal with post-modern urbanism. Like several other North American cities, Montréal evolved from a white-collar city to what we call a black-collar city.[67] Given the

complexity and scope of the information presented, this section is subdivided in chapters in which art, architecture and urban development are intertwined.

The next section presents six artists, those who were involved, at least momentarily, in the creation of the two public works presented in the two main case studies. The section highlights the "habitus" of each artist, and sketches the "champ artistique" (artistic field) and the artist's position in it. This should help to determine the artist's role in the selection of certain art forms. Pierre Bourdieu's theory will be developed in chapter two. For now, let us mention that Bourdieu considers the analysis of the genesis of the artists' habitus as essential in the study of cultural works. He defines the habitus as "un acquis et aussi un avoir qui peut, en certains cas, fonctionner comme un capital."[68] The capital could be economic, cultural, social or symbolic.[69]

Bourdieu establishes the relationship between the work of art and the social conditions of its production. Individuals possess interests and mental habits determined by their habitus. The habitus, and the agent who possesses it, are nonetheless capable of creation and invention. The aptitudes of the habitus are expressed in the social evolution (possibly ascension) of an artist. More specifically, the social condition at birth, a high education level and the acknowledgement of fellow artists contribute in defining the aptitudes of the habitus. Their combination increases one's right to the rarest possibles and the objective capacity to achieve them.[70]

According to Bourdieu, the artists' propensity to place themselves in more risky positions in the artistic field, and to hold to those positions without any immediate economic benefits depends on the artists' possession of an important economic and symbolic capital. More importantly, those who possess, at their birth, a great economic, social and cultural capital are more prone to be audacious and indifferent to

immediate material profits, while also having a greater sense of social orientation ("sens de l'orientation sociale"[71]). Therefore, they also possess the ability to be the first to place themselves in the positions that are at the utmost avant-garde.[72]

Consequently, the study of the artists' habitus and of its genesis should highlight their position and direction in both the social and the artistic fields. The artists' position in the artistic field at one point in time is also linked to the art forms they create or try to promote. Furthermore, as the research developed, it became clear that all six artists, Charles Daudelin, Claude Théberge, Peter Gnass, Bill Vazan, Melvin Charney and Michel Goulet, offered a diachronic view of art, and particularly of sculpture, conceptual art and land art in Québec. The position of each artist in the artistic field of the time emerges clearly. We also understand the role of education and of personal and professional relationships as possible sources of influence or as determinant factors in the selection of art forms. In addition, the presentation of each artist's life and career allows a better understanding of their artistic interests and their status at the time they were commissioned or selected for a competition. It is also possible to perceive the fit or misfit between an artist's interests and a commission for a specific work of art in the city.

Those two major sections on the history of art, architecture and urban development in Montréal and on the careers of six local artists are the prelude to the two main case studies, the first one about Viger Square, and the second one about the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Garden. The case study of Viger Square highlights a change of sensibility that occurred slowly vis-à-vis public squares. This once major public square and its immediate neighbourhood were ransacked to allow the construction of infrastructure (metro, highway) that would modernize the city. When the decision was made to keep the decimated open space and

to re-design it, art was seen as an element of beautification, as a remedy to urban destruction. However, divisions among the bureaucrats (provincial and municipal) and contentious behaviour among representatives of various disciplines (architects, landscape architects, urban planners, environmentalists and artists) contributed to shape the overall result more than any governmental regulation or programme. The case study also raises the issue of the artists' copyright as a possible explanation for the limited number of similar artists' projects in the city.

The case study of the CCA Garden presents the artist's garden as a possible antidote to the modernization of the city. The construction of the CCA Garden occurred in the post-modern era of the city, when museums and other cultural institutions multiplied. Governmental subsidies fostered a proliferation of public art projects, including the CCA Garden. However, despite the government's contribution, this project remained a private one. The case allows us to understand the crucial role of the public authorities in facilitating the acquisition by the CCA of the element that was essential to the pursuit of the project: the expropriated land that belonged to various governments. In this case, the land was more valuable than the generous subsidies that were also granted. This case study documents the emergence of a cultural institution, the relationship between public and private powers, as well as the relationship between artist and architect and between artist and landscape architect. In addition, it provides a good example of the relationship between a patron and an artist.

The analysis and conclusion assess the various views enunciated in the historical/theoretical chapter in regard to the case of Montréal. The relationships of artists to other actors, their habitus, and new public regulations certainly had an impact on the preference of certain art forms. But as it turned out, local history and imported models of art, architecture

and urban development were certainly determining factors as well, factors which are often overlooked and which should be reconsidered.

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[1] Harriet F. Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 14, 104; "Monument in Bronze," Time, 3 March 1958, 52, 55; Charles Jencks, What is Post-Modernism?, rev. ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1996), 22; Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn, Downtown, inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: MIT Press, 1989), 41-42. Harriet Senie, "Urban Sculpture: Cultural Tokens or Ornaments to Life?," ArtNews 78, no. 7 (September 1979): 108, in Louise Déry, "Art public et intégration des arts à l'architecture au Québec: Contextes et créations" (Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, 1991), 28.

[2] Frieden, ibid., 20, 22, 24-25, 27, 29, 35-36, 39-40; Edward W. Soja, Postmodern Geographies (London, England and New York: Verso, 1989), 174, 181; Sharon Zukin, Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change (Baltimore and London, England: John Hopkins University Press, 1982), 176, 203-4, note 1; Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Tridib Banerjee, Urban Design Downtown (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, England: University of California Press, 1998), 21-24.

[3] Margaret Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne: fonctions, formes, lieux et contextes," (Masters of Urban Planning diss., McGill University, 1994), vol. 1, p. 10; Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 72-75.

[4] John Beardsley, Earthworks and Beyond, expanded ed. (New York, London, England, and Paris: Abbeville Press, 1989), 7, 117; Michele H. Bogart, Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City 1890-1930 (Chicago and London, England: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 1, p. 10-12; Margaret Boyce, "Postmodern Landscape: Land Art and Urban Landscape," presented at the Universities Art Association of Canada (UAAC) Conference, held at the University of Guelph, ON, 2-5 November 1995, unpublished (reproduced in appendix A); Colette Garraud, L'idée de nature dans l'art contemporain: La création contemporaine (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 8,

12, 18-19, 34; Rosalind E. Krauss, The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: MIT Press, 1985; First MIT Press paperback edition, 1986), 277-90; Senie, ibid., 18.

[5] Rosanne Martorella, Corporate Art (New Brunswick and London, England: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 13; Zukin, Loft Living, 100-101, 109-10.

[6] Rainer Rochlitz, Subversion et subvention: Art contemporain et argument esthétique (n. p.: Éditions Gallimard, 1994); Diana Crane, The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: The New York Art World, 1940-1985, (Chicago and London, England: University of Chicago Press, 1987; paperback edition, 1989); Martorella, ibid.; Zukin, ibid., 78-81. Michele Bogart made a similar demonstration for nineteenth-century public sculpture in New York City. See Bogart, Public Sculpture, 18.

[7] Déry, "Art public," 62; James Wines, De-Architecture (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1987), 60.

[8] Soja, Postmodern Geographies, 5, 52, 100, 156, 159-60, 174, 184-88.

[9] Arthur B. Gallion and Simon Eisner, The Urban Pattern: City Planning and Design, 5th ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1986), 527-28; Daniel Latouche, Francine Dansereau and Annick Germain, "Formes et lieux de l'expression culturelle: problématique et concepts," study for the City of Montréal by the INRS-Urbanisation, Montréal, 30 October 1988, p. 11, 13; leaflet presenting the symposium of the Canadian Institute of Urban Planners, 1993.

[10] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 1, p. 1-5.

[11] Daniel Latouche, "La ville dans ses rapports à la culture et aux arts," in L' aménagement urbain: Promesses et défis (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1991), 205.

[12] Howard S. Becker, Art Worlds (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, England: University of California Press, 1992), 55.

[13] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne."

[14] Beardsley, Earthworks, chap. 5; Wines, De-Architecture.

[15] Augustin Berque, "Paysage, milieu, histoire," in Cinq propositions pour une théorie du paysage (n. p.: Éditions Champ Vallon, 1994), 16; Michel Collot, "Points de vue sur la perception des paysages," L'Espace géographique, no. 3 (1986): 211-12.

[16] Alain Roger, "Paysage et environnement: pour une théorie de la dissociation," in Autoroute et Paysages (Paris: Les Éditions du Demi-Cercle, 1994), 25; Alain Roger, Nus et Paysages: essai sur la fonction de l'art (Paris: Aubier, 1978), 99-100, 122-24.

[17] Garraud, Nature, 90.

[18] Boyce, "Postmodern Landscape"; Robin Cembalest, "The Ecological Art Explosion," ArtNews 90, no. 6 (Summer 1991): 100. Cembalest notes the simultaneity of works of art by Alan Sonfist in New York City and Michael Heizer in the desert.
[19] Rosalyn Deutsche, "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City," in Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991); Latouche, "La ville dans ses rapports à la culture et aux arts."
[20] Vera Zolberg, Constructing a Sociology of the Arts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 12. See also p. x-xi, 1, 5-6, 9, 12, 59-60, 194-95.
[21] Ibid., 50-51.
[22] Ibid., 51.
[23] Ibid., 211. See also chapter 8, particularly, p. 205-13; Jacques Hamel with Stéphane Dufour and Dominic Fortin, Case Study Methods, trans. Maureen Nicholson (Newbury Park, London, England, and New Delhi: Sage, 1993), 28.
[24] Hamel, ibid., 39.
[25] Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research Design and Methods, Applied Social Research Method Series, 2d ed., vol. 5 (Thousand Oaks, London, England, and New Delhi: Sage, 1994), 1, 13-14. Alan Bryman admits that for some researchers qualitative research and case study are almost synonymous. See Alan Bryman, Quantity and Quality in Social Research (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 87. See also Robert E. Stake, The Art of Case Study Research (Thousand Oaks, London, England, and New Delhi: Sage, 1995), xi, xii.
[26] Yin, ibid., 4-8, 13.
[27] Ibid., 9.
[28] Ibid., 8.
[29] Bryman, Social Research, 91-92; Hamel, Case Study Methods, 29.
[30] Hamel, ibid., 34.
[31] Yin, Case Study, 30. See also p. 13, 28-30, 32.
[32] Hamel, Case Study Methods, 48.
[33] Ibid., 48-49.
[34] Bryman, Social Research, 88; Hamel, ibid., 34-35, 44; Yin, Case Study, 31; Charles C. McClintock, Dianne Brannon and Steven Maynard-Moody, "Applying the Logic of Sample Surveys to Qualitative Case Studies: The Case Cluster Method," in Qualitative Methodology, 2d ed. (Beverly Hills, London, England, and New Delhi: Sage, 1983), 150.
[35] Hamel, ibid., 36.
[36] Yin, Case Study, 1. Hamel defines the case study as an approach that uses various methods, but admits that "the term *case method* suggests that it is indeed a method." Hamel, ibid., 1.

[37] Yin, ibid., 3.
[38] Peter Collins, Architectural Judgement (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971), 77.
[39] Ibid., 100-101.
[40] Michel Beaud and Daniel Latouche, L'art de la thèse (n. p.: Boréal, 1988), 61; Bryman, Social Research; Yin, Case Study, 27. About the use of theory in research, Henry Mintzberg wrote: "There is no one-to-one correspondence between data and theory. The data do not generate the theory--only researchers do that--any more than theory can be *proved* true in terms of the data. . . . Our choice, then, is not between true and false theories so much as between more or less useful theories." Henry Mintzberg, "An Emerging Strategy of 'Direct' Research," in Qualitative Methodology, 2d ed. (Beverly Hills, London, England, and New Delhi: Sage, 1983), 109.
[41] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne."
[42] Comprehensive Dissertation Index, Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1973. Specifics of the search, with key words, and volume numbers may be consulted in the research proposal. Margaret Boyce, McGill University, School of Urban Planning, "Proposition de recherche pour thèse de doctorat," December 1995, revised May 1996, p. 5.
[43] Yin, Case Study, 24, 86-87; Stake, Case Study Research, 63.
[44] Todd W. Bressi ed., Planning and Zoning New York City: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 4-5, 51, 55, 62-64. See also William H. Whyte, City: Rediscovering the Center (New York City: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1988, paperback edition, 1990), 229-55, in particular p. 253.
[45] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne."
[46] Joseph Hawley cited in Rydell 1984, in Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, Reading National Geographic (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 26.
[47] Yin, Case Study, 42.
[48] Stake states that "A vignette often is an extreme representation, quite atypical." Stake, Case Study Research, 128.
[49] Ibid., 124.
[50] Hamel, Case Study Methods, 45, 47; Todd D. Jick, "Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action," in Qualitative Methodology, 144-45.
[51] Hamel, ibid., 45, 60-68, 107-15; Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey, "Interviewing: The Art of Science," in Handbook of Qualitative Research (Thousand Oaks, London, England, and New Delhi: Sage, 1994), 373; Jick, ibid., 138, 142, 144-45; Jennifer Mason, Qualitative Researching

(London, England, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage, 1996), 35; Yin, Case Study, 13, 78-94.

[52] Lewis Anthony Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 59. In addition to Dexter, the following were consulted before proceeding with the interviews: Stanley Payne Le Baron, The Art of Asking Questions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954); Fontana, ibid., 361-76; Stake, Case Study Research; Yin, ibid. About the use of recording, see Stake, p. 66 and Yin, p. 85. Unfortunately, the interview with Bill Vazan was not recorded for technical reasons. A summary of the interview was written immediately afterwards. Even though the technique of participant observation was not used for this study, the following was useful for its discussion on ethics in research: Maurice Punch, The Politics and Ethics of Fieldwork, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1986).

[53] Ian Hodder, "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture," in Handbook of Qualitative Research, 394; see also p. 393. Hodder refers to Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966. See also Stake, ibid., 68; Gaye Tuchman, "Historical Social Science Methodologies, Methods, and Meanings," in Handbook of Qualitative Research, 316; Yin, ibid., 83.

[54] Tuchman, ibid., 321.

[55] Crane, The Transformation of the Avant-Garde, Appendix A, 145-48.

[56] Ibid., 145.

[57] Michael R. Hill, Archival strategies and techniques, Qualitative Research Method Series (Newbury Park: Sage University, 1993), 6-11, 19, 24, 41-43, 46.

[58] Ibid., 25, 54-55.

[59] Stake, Case Study Research, 67.

[60] DoCoMoMo is an international organization that was created in Eindhoven in the Netherlands, circa 1990. The acronym stands for "*Do*cumentation and *co*nservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the *Mo*dern *Mo*vement." Ricardo Castro, "Montreal Modernist master is remembered," Gazette, 9 December 1995, p. H 2; France Vanlaethem, "Le patrimoine de la modernité," Continuité, no. 53 (Spring 1992): 19-22; "Perspective," Canadian Architect 37, no. 11 (November 1992): 4.

[61] Some documents were transmitted by Mrs. May Isaac, CIBC' s archivist based in Toronto, and other by the Bank's employees in Montréal, namely Mrs. Monique Bisson, Mrs. Bordeleau, and Mr. Jean-Pierre Marion.

[62] Loukaitou-Sideris, Urban Design Downtown, xxiv.

[63] Malcolm Miles, Art Space and the City (London, England, and New York: Routledge, 1997), 2.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Déry, "Art public".
[67] A new economy based on the cultural industry developed in the post-modern city. The members of this industry, be they working in theatres, museums, art galleries, et cetera, could be identified by their black attire in a fashion very similar to the blue-collar workers of the industrial era and the white collars of the service economy.
[68] Pierre Bourdieu, Les règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire (n. p.: Éditions du Seuil, coll. "Libre Examen," 1992), 252.
[69] Ibid., 298-99, 364
[70] Ibid., 251-52, 279, 360-64.
[71] Ibid., 363.
[72] Ibid., 363-64. See also p. 450.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Theoretical Frame of Reference

American literature in the sociology of the arts analyses artistic development mostly from the angle of the patron-artist relationship. It emphasizes the evolution of art patronage, and the subsequent changes of art forms. It does not propose a theoretical framework that would serve to analyse the dynamic relations between the various actors. Pierre Bourdieu's sociological approach to art, as outlined in Les règles de l'art,[1] does that and will serve our theoretical framework. Bourdieu uses his framework to explain the rules of artistic production brought forward by modernism. Hence, he refers to the French history of modernism in art and literature. However, as we outline the main elements underlying his scheme, it will become evident that it also applies to North American art. Furthermore, Bourdieu's evaluation of the situation by the early 1990s will allow us to connect artistic production with evolving forms of patronage and even with urban development.

Bourdieu's scheme allows us to examine the conditions of production of the work of art and the influences these conditions exert on the art forms. It involves the construction of the social space and of the

artistic field to which the work of art belongs. The artists within this social space, the agents and institutions that distribute art, the art galleries and critics (the mediators), the public and the art collectors are the main actors who interact and shape the field of artistic production. Bourdieu affirms that there is an homology between the artistic, social and political fields. Therefore, an artistic genre which ranks high in the artistic field is usually appreciated by more fortunate people, well-off and influential. On the other hand, a genre that would be very popular would also be deemed more common, less prestigious. Bourdieu clearly demonstrates the hierarchy of the literary genres within the nineteenth-century artistic field, and the homologies within the various fields (literary, social, economic), insisting on the field of cultural production and the field of power, from which most of the artists' clientele comes. He also holds that there is a structural contact (collaboration) between the artist and the mediators. He uncovers homologies (structural and functional) between the field of artistic production and the field of diffusion, based on the antagonistic positions (commercial/non commercial) of art. Some artists are associated more specifically with certain art galleries, with certain art critics and art magazines. Furthermore, the field is marked by constant battles in order to maintain or to establish an advanced position in the field, which is structured by the various positions of art. The definitions of the actors, their positions, their battles, and their strategies characterize and define the context of artistic production.

The autonomous artistic field built up during the nineteenth century by opposing the bourgeois world and all forms of submission to powers or to the market ("toutes les formes de soumission aux pouvoirs ou au marché"[2]). For the artists within this emerging autonomous field, the break with the rulers was the principle of the very existence of the artist as an artist and thus became a rule of the artistic field. Artists who favoured an

autonomous artistic field advocated *l'art pour l'art* and were firmly opposed to both *l'art social* and *l'art bourgeois*. This included the rejection of the claim that art had to be moral, and of any association between art and morality. Autonomous artists also related with hostility to civil servants in charge of State patronage. In the autonomous field, the definition of the artistic field of production implied the rejection of commissions. Commissions reinforced the consecrated status of the artists and were certainly not offered to avant-garde artists. This is when the clash between official art and avant-garde art appeared. Official art, done by artists who accepted commissions from patrons, was also said to comply with the public taste.

Contrary to the literature which segregates mid-twentieth century public art from high art, our research holds, firstly, that the manifestations of art in the city belong to the realm of high art and, secondly, that artists who created those works of art did not limit their production to public art but also exhibited in art galleries and museums. They held a position within the artistic field (i.e., of high art). We also assume that the homology of positions in the political, artistic, and social fields, as well as the supremacy of one genre over another within one artistic field, at a given time, contributed to the making of a given project. The early sculptures on a plaza at the base of a skyscraper attest to the homology of the positions occupied by certain art forms inside their respective field, and of the artist's, architect's, and patron's position in the fields of art, of power, and in the social field. Some of the selected artists, as well as the architects, represented the avant-garde in their own discipline. The same could be said of developers, associated with high finance, and public leaders, who were high in the social hierarchy. In the late 1960s, the advent of the ecological movement and the awareness of the environment prompted a new generation of artists to revise the idea of nature and their

artistic production that dealt with nature. Artists who proposed gardens and other vegetal art tried to occupy an avant-garde position at the time of the triumph of the modernist sculpture in the plaza. Those land artists, at the time of their first works, were not in the most advanced position in the artistic field (the sculptors were). By homology, their works were little, if at all, valued by those who held the highest social positions. Later on, their position in the artistic field evolved. Eventually, art and nature were at the artistic avant-garde.[3] This consecration may have influenced certain patrons of the arts (private, corporate or public) in their selection of works of art. However, to privilege nature in urban artistic manifestations is problematic: the uniqueness of the work of art, the work made by hands other than the artist's, and the changes in the forms of the work question the very definition of the work of art acknowledged by art historians and art critics. Hence we observe that urban ecological art was often associated with art institutions (museums) that could attest the artistic value of the work, and put it in the highest position in the field.

Bourdieu holds that artists of the avant-garde were opposed to an immediate success as well as to a widespread diffusion of their works. Actually the autonomous artistic field presented a view of the world in which art and money clashed. This symbolic revolution, by which artists freed themselves from the bourgeois demand, led for a while to the dying out of the market. In an autonomous field, there is a coincidental adjustment between supply and demand for art based precisely on the homology between the artistic field and the field of power. Therefore, no attempt should be made to establish a direct relationship between the producers and their economic sponsors (either collectors or patrons): the logic of the field makes it possible for an artist to utilize the resources provided by an institution while being more or less independent vis-à-vis its interests and values. Nothing authorizes us to suppose that the

declared addressee, either sponsor or dedicatee, is the real addressee of the work of art, and that he acts as a final cause in the production of the work. The measure of the degree of autonomy of this cultural production field is given by the importance and favour granted to producers independent from the demand and by the need for profit. Conversely a personal demand by a patron or by a client is a sign of heteronomy. This means that artists who create works for which no demand exists (e.g., abstract art when the accepted art form is figurative), or without having been asked expressly to create that work (e.g., artists who create works of art without knowing if they will have the opportunity to exhibit or sell it) and who are considered important (e.g., their work is exhibited and discussed, artists receive honours and grants, et cetera), operate within an autonomous field. Such an artist would not create for an immediate monetary reward (profit) and would consider himself to be autonomous. Conversely, an artist who would be selected because he is expected to easily sell works of art, or who would create works of art to accommodate such expectations, would not be autonomous.

However, the standpoint of artists evolved over time, and, by mid-twentieth century, the relation artists had with institutions that commissioned or bought works of art had changed radically. The autonomous artistic field evolved progressively into an almost heteronomous one, i.e., one in which artists responded to a commission from a patron or a client, or expected the anonymous sanction (approval) of the market. In the end, Bourdieu states that as of 1992, autonomous cultural production fields in European countries were once more threatened, this time by the growing interpenetration between the world of art and the world of money. Bourdieu is particularly worried by new forms of patronage, and by new alliances occurring between economic enterprises, often the more modern ones, and cultural producers.

Economic hold over artistic research is also exercised within the field, via the control of the means of production and distribution.[4] He advocates the analysis of new forms of seizure and dependency such as those instated by patronage and against which "beneficiaries" (artists) have yet to develop appropriate systems of defence. Specifically, an analysis of State patronage is in order. It may first appear to permit an escape from the direct pressure of the market, but it subtly imposes constraints on the artists via commissions and committees which lead most of the time to the normalization of artistic research. The delimitation between a research work and a commercial one has never been so blurred and constitutes the worst possible menace to the autonomy of cultural production. The logic of commercial production imposes itself more and more over that of the avant-garde. Even today, in Bourdieu's view, the opposition between art and money is the principle on which most judgements are based to differentiate what is art and what is not.

Philosopher Rainer Rochlitz's Subversion et subvention presents such an analysis of State patronage as called for by Bourdieu. Rochlitz resumes Bourdieu's affirmation that the time-lag between supply and demand attests to the rupture with the public's expectations or with the possible requirements of a patron, and hence, to the autonomy of art. The philosopher establishes three periods in the evolution of the relation between art and the public, and between patron and artist. First, autonomous art sought to break with the public, patrons and institutions. Then, a cultivated public accepted the logic of rupture, and even developed a taste for provocation. The new artist-institution relationship brought about during the mid-nineteenth century changed after the Second World War. Since then, the market and symbolic values granted to avant-garde art may well have contributed to the institution of new ruptures, hence to the curtailment of the gap between supply and demand

or of the intervals between avant-garde movements. The art market freed artists from feudal patrons only to grant a possible autonomy and a new dependency, this time towards demand. Cultural policies and the democratization of culture that took place in western societies initiated the change. Therefore, even if twentieth-century art tried to escape from institutions, it failed to do so as the latter have become unavoidable and necessary. The dynamic of rupture is now integrated into the cultural policies of the market as well as of public institutions, at the risk of destroying the aesthetic autonomy of art. Patrons now anticipate and solicit rupture, hence managing it and ultimately getting economic and symbolic benefits from it. This constitutes the third phase, one where artists and patrons, either public or private/corporate, have established a complicity, and where artists create works of art directly for the institutions (museums), overstepping art collectors, and losing the public altogether. This corresponds to Rochlitz's description of the contemporary artistic activity in general, one totally organized and funded by public powers and private interests. This situation differs from that of pre-modern epochs when art was at the service of patrons (Church, Court), and of the modern one when the absence of institutional support was obvious. The contemporary institutional framework of patronage resembles closely the pre-modern one but it has integrated the precepts of modernity regarding the autonomy of art and its critical stance. Therefore, contrary to what occurred previously, the contemporary period tries to institutionalize revolt and have subversion coexist with subsidy.[5] French art critic Catherine Millet attests that art that had been considered rebellious since the beginning of this century reveals itself as being capable of adapting to the constraints of public command.[6]

Public institutions encourage contemporary creation and incorporate it in official art. The State gets the prestige of the patron and,

by its public commands, takes part in artists' consecration (as opposed to the early situation, when it choose artists already consecrated). Not only is the initial conflict between artists and institutions abolished, but the system of subsidies, grants and commands contributes to the creation of subtle yet powerful links between artists and institutions. Artists have become dependent upon institutions and a bilateral collaboration between them has been instated. The collusion between the artist and the institution has reduced the sovereignty of art. Rainer Rochlitz affirms that the context of production of contemporary art is no longer based on autonomy, but rather on hetoronomy.

If, as both Bourdieu and Rochlitz claim, artistic autonomy has all but disappeared and has yielded to a pre-modern dependency towards new patrons of the art, if contemporary artists accept to evolve in this world of commissions, then we should cease presenting that state as being characteristic of public art only. Public art ought to be understood and analysed as art in general, and as belonging to the artistic field. The next question to be addressed is how does this new relation between art, the artists, and the institutions manifest itself in the city and in the process of urban development?

The change in the artist's autonomy occurred coincidentally with the advent of post-modernism in cities, which David Harvey establishes in the early-to-mid 1970s, and Edward Soja dates at the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s.[7] For Harvey, the noted changes pertain to the overall quality of urban life experienced since then. In an attempt to define The Condition of Postmodernity, Harvey asserts the genesis and evolution of the "modern" and modernity. The value of change and the faith in the idea of progress were certainly inherently modern. To be modern involved an experience of growth and transformation of the environment, all the while risking that everything be destroyed. This amounted to 'creative

destruction,' a condition of modernity. In the city, this meant creating the wasteland with the development, what Harvey labels the "Faustian development": "The modernist has to destroy in order to create."[8] In Harvey's view, the figure of the entrepreneur was "the creative destroyer *par excellence* because the entrepreneur was prepared to push the consequences of technical and social innovation to vital extremes."[9] This in turn allegedly assured human progress. Artists and architects had a particularly active role to play to materialize the modernist project. Specifically, "if 'creative destruction' was an essential condition of modernity, then perhaps the artist as individual had a heroic role to play."[10] The artist was targeted as the agent of change.

The manifestations of modernism differed according to their location: "Indeed, certain kinds of modernism achieved a particular trajectory through the capitals of the world, each flourishing as a cultural arena of a particular sort."[11] Modernism was an urban phenomenon, intricately related to urban growth: "Modernism was 'an art of cities' and evidently found its natural habitat in cities."[12] The urban experience made an important contribution in shaping the various modernist movements, including architectural, urban planning and artistic movements. Among the various facets modernism took, one ("aesthetic modernism") coupled social action with an aesthetic vision. Another vision of modernism praised rationality and the power of technology and transposed this ideal into the city. Harvey situates the 1933 Congress of International Modern Architects (CIAM) and the Athens Charter in this realm. They promoted one limited vision of modernism. For almost thirty years, this vision defined the architectural practice of modernism.

Modernism evolved, with the heroic modernism of the inter-war years being succeeded by "universal" or "high" modernism, which

> became hegemonic after 1945 [and] exhibited a much more comfortable relation to the dominant power centres in society. . . . High modernist art, architecture, literature, etc. became establishment arts and practices in a society where a corporate capitalist version of the Enlightenment project of development for progress and human emancipation held sway as a political-economic dominant.[13]

The resulting modernism was "technocentric" and "it was imposed as the work of an elite avant-garde of planners, artists, architects, critics, and other guardians of high taste."[14] Therefore, the ideas of CIAM, Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe governed policies and actions of urban revitalization, leading to urban renewal, the construction of transportation systems and public facilities (schools, hospitals, social housing). Urban development projects based on Le Corbusier's and Mies van der Rohe's ideas were "in many cases engaged upon out of sheer social, economic, and political necessity."[15] In the United States, particularly in New York City, governments invested directly in highway construction, urban renewal and other infrastructure work. Because of the rise of the Nazis in Germany and the advent of the Second World War, modernism and its proponents (artists, architects) emigrated to the United States. A new aestheticism developed to mark a distance, if not yet a rupture, with European modernism. The values put forward by the avant-garde artists were subsequently adopted by politicians. In fact, a facet of the modernist aesthetic was eventually absorbed by the official ideology (establishment ideology) and used by corporate power. This meant that

> modernism lost its appeal as a revolutionary antidote to some reactionary and 'traditionalist' ideology. Establishment art and high culture became such an exclusive preserve of a dominant elite that experimentation within its frame . . . became increasingly difficult . . . . Worse still, it seemed that establishment art and high culture could do nothing more than monumentalize corporate and State power.[16]

This set the stage for the anti-modernist movement of the 1960s and, according to Harvey, the turn to post-modernism.

1972 could be the year when the architectural world swung from modernism to post-modernism. The publication of Learning from Las Vegas, by Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour marked the shift. It insisted that more could be learnt from the study of vernacular architecture and urban landscapes than from theoretical ideals. Also, the Pruitt-Igoe project, a prize-winning modernist social housing development in St. Louis was blasted, as it was deemed unsuitable for human housing. Consequently,

> the glass towers, concrete blocks, and steel slabs that seemed set fair to steamroller over every urban landscape from Paris to Tokyo and from Rio to Montreal, . . . have progressively given way to ornamented tower blocks, . . . renovated factories and warehouses, and rehabilitated landscapes of all kinds, all in the name of procuring some more 'satisfying' urban environment.[17]

Harvey perceives a similar evolution in urban planning. From the early 1970s onward, large-scale, comprehensive and integrated planning schemes were denounced, and their demise anticipated. Modernist planning of cities relied on a rational approach which necessitated comprehensive plans that segregated activities by zones (functional zoning). To this approach, post-modernists opposed a "collage city"[18] "and 'urban revitalization' has replaced the vilified 'urban renewal' as the key buzz-word in the planners' lexicon."[19] In sum, post-modernism in architecture and urban design meant a departure from the view that urban development ought to occur according to large-scale rational planning, and that architecture had to adopt the "international style." Harvey notes that whereas modernists were planning the city (urban plan), post-modernists are designing it (urban design). Furthermore, post-modernists display some sensitivity to the vernacular and to local history. If post-

modernism rehabilitated history, it nonetheless rejected the idea of historical continuity. Post-modern architecture, therefore, borrowed indifferently from various past forms, of different eras and places. Thus it was tagged as being eclectic. Harvey attributes the radical transformation of urban shapes of capitalist cities to the almost omnipotent corporate capital, which could appropriate reputed architects' know-how, to build high, higher, the highest.

If the take-over of the modernist ideals by post-modernism is ascertained, there is not much certainty as to the actual meaning of post-modernism. Is it simply a style, or "should we view it strictly as a periodizing concept . . .? . . . is it simply the commercialization and domestication of modernism . . . ? Does it, therefore, undermine or integrate with neo-conservative politics?"[20] When post-modernism is assimilated with style, its eclecticism, shallowness, and concern with surface and appearance are denounced. In fact, post-modernism lacks "any avant-gardist or revolutionary impulse, leading many to accuse postmodernism of a simple and direct surrender to commodification, commercialization, and the market."[21] In Harvey's view, post-modernist actors have positioned themselves deliberately as anti avant-garde. Their association with mass culture resulted in an unconsidered consumption of culture. Diverse and contradictory art styles emerged at an unprecedented speed (as documented by Diana Crane; see below). High modernism crumbled because of its recurrent association with state and corporate powers, its becoming "the formal aesthetics of corporate capitalism and the bureaucratic state."[22] Rather than opposing this state, post-modernism extended the power of the market over the entire spectrum of cultural production. Specifically, major corporations have come to dominate the art market, as they did for modern art, except to a much larger extent. Harvey agrees with D. Crimp who asserts:

> Corporations have become the major patrons of art in every respect. They form huge collections. . . . [This seizure has affected] art production itself. . . . The return to painting and sculpture of a traditional cast is the return to commodity production, and . . . whereas traditionally art had an ambiguous commodity status, it now has a thoroughly unambiguous one.[23]

Furthermore, post-modernist architecture is anti avant-gardist as well, "unwilling to impose solutions, as the high modernists, the bureaucratic planners, and the authoritarian developers tended--and still tend--to do."[24] The museum and heritage industry that grew in the early 1970s was yet another manifestation of the commercialization of history and culture. The heritage industry is emblematic of post-modernism in the city. Heritage projects could be of various post-modern architectural styles, ranging from the recreation of classical urban values (e.g., Leon Krier) to a "Disneyesque" ornamentation (e.g., Charles Moore).

There is a correlation between Bourdieu's, Rochlitz's and Harvey's findings. The genesis and evolution of the modern artist, of his choice of art forms and his relation to a patron, be it public or private/corporate, all indicate an increasing loss of autonomy for the artist and the growing influence of patronage. Furthermore, Harvey's account also attests to the homology between the various fields under scrutiny.

Literature Review

Admittedly, the art set in cities is usually referred to as public art. According to Malcolm Miles, the practice of public art "has grown in isolation from debates on the future of cities, largely untouched by the theoretical perspectives which enliven other disciplines."[25] In Art, Space and the City Miles argues that "the absence of a critical or ethical

framework for public art leads to its complicity in urban dis-ease."[26] He contends that "city form is not neutral but imbued with ideologies"[27]; this applies to works of art found in the city as well, and to how those works of art relate to a site.[28]

The literature reviewed either only incidentally addresses the factors that shape the art forms in the city, or it does so for past eras. The historical approach normally used to understand the genesis and the evolution of public art essentially relates art to architecture. Thus, public art is deemed to be equivalent to art integrated to architecture or at least, to be historically contingent upon the latter. The relation of art to nature or of sculpture to garden design is barely evoked, if at all, in the context of public sculpture or public art. Given the framework outlined in the first part of this chapter, we structure the literature review in order to highlight the historical, cultural, political and economic factors that contribute to the selection of art forms in the city (with a focus on New York City), from a cross-disciplinary perspective.

In her overview of both the history of art and the history of environment, Dr. Barbara C. Matilsky, curator at the Queens Museum of Art in New York City, observes "a striking correlation between changes in the physical environment and the emergence of new art forms and images."[29] She demonstrates coincidences between periods of environmental stress and artistic evolution. Matilsky contends that the evolution of landscape painting in Europe was linked to the growth of cities and the wealth it engendered. Landscape painting was a means to reconnect the urban dwellers to nature as they were increasingly deprived of it. By the seventeenth century, landscape painting had become a popular genre in Europe.

The industrial revolution caused new forms of abuse of nature, including in the city (water and air pollution) and provoked an even sharper

contrast between the urban and the rural landscapes. During the nineteenth century, landscape painting reached its apex both in Europe and in the United States. It was in the course of that century that, for the first time, a few artists expressed their concern about the exploitation of nature and problems specific to the urban environment. However, it was mainly a landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, who lived in the city and experienced overcrowding, bad hygienic conditions and lack of green open space, who addressed the issue. Therefore, "lobbying for city parks subsequently became part of a growing civic movement and influenced the design of every major city in the United States. New York's Central Park is one of the masterpieces of urban planning."[30] For Olmsted, a sustained experience with nature not only brought physical benefits, but it also favoured a form of spirituality. In addition, Olmsted wanted "to maintain the rural look and feel of the city's topography. This concept contrasted with more conventional gardens, promenades, and public squares, which are designed to assert the urbanity of the city."[31]

This party for city parks happened at a time when American sculptors were lobbying for the use of sculpture in urban public places. In fact, statuary for parks began to be contemplated during the creation of Central Park, by the end of the 1850s. This in itself provoked a debate about the functions of urban public places: "Should public parks be refuges for elites or playgrounds for the masses?"[32] Some twenty years after the creation of Central Park, over twenty sculptures had been donated for the Park. But Olmsted, its designer, strongly objected to the installation of sculptures as it clashed with his idea of the natural landscape. He prevented the construction of four gateways with sculptures for the southern entrances to the park. However, he could not parry the various groups which, after the Civil War, conceived of the park "as a formal garden and memorial ground."[33] Later on, in 1900, other

landscape architects took over in the protest against the intrusion of sculptural and architectural artefacts in Central Park. Olmsted also designed Prospect Park in Brooklyn, and was opposed "to the Parks Department's hiring [architects] McKimm, Mead, and White to bring the artistic appearance of the park and the surrounding area into accord with City Beautiful Standards."[34] These architects embraced the ideal of the

> unity of the arts as a total aesthetic conception through which sculpture, mural painting, landscape gardening, and architecture became means to attain a total urban (and suburban) environment. . . . [They] viewed well-designed architectural sculpture and free-standing monuments as integral components of a beautiful and orderly metropolis.[35]

There were, in sum, diverging conceptions between those beaux-arts trained architects who believed in the collaboration between sculptors and architects and those landscape architects such as Olmsted who rejected sculptures and monuments in their parks.

There was not, then, a prevalent American tradition for public sculpture, contrary to Europe, where sculptors had been commissioned since Antiquity to express societal ideals. In the course of the nineteenth century, American sculptors worked mainly for private patrons and did not have adequate education or training to do public sculptures. Therefore, the few commissions for public sculpture were awarded to European sculptors. By the middle of the nineteenth century, in New York as in the rest of the country, great public sculpture was fairly limited. Consequently, American cities did not have, as did the European ones, a tradition of sculptures as place markers for parks, gardens and squares.

In Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City 1890-1930, Michele H. Bogart studies the conditions that favoured the development of public sculpture and the making of sculptural projects during the golden age (1890-30) of public sculpture in the United States, specifically in New

York City. As the largest city of the country, and its artistic capital, New York was the city where this movement was the most evident.

In 1863, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris made its attendance by foreign students easier. American sculptors started training there and learned "the significance of the harmonious relationship of sculpture to architecture and the value of using statuary to inspire, to edify and to enhance civic beauty."[36] This was pivotal for the development of American sculpture, and to what has been labelled the American Renaissance (1876-1917).[37]

Bogart clearly distinguishes between what she terms "architectural sculpture," which amounts to art integrated to architecture, and the monuments created to structure urban public spaces. The commissions for free-standing monuments and sculptures allowed sculptors a greater artistic control than architectural sculpture. However, in both instances, the sculptor had to work with an architect.[38]

In the late nineteenth century, the ascending class of wealthy people used philanthropy as a means to legitimize their prosperity and to assert their values (order, morals, progress) and maintain their civic leadership. Those patricians saw cultural institutions as an antidote to corruption, industrialization and immigration. They sponsored such semi-private/semi-public institutions, the architecture of which had highly elaborate sculptural programs. The sculptors, through their work, promoted the national, social and urban visions of their patrons (e.g., social unity, patriotism, civilization, good government). Private patrons, not politicians, had a leading role in the promotion of public sculpture. Civic sculpture was a means to improve the urban environment, which would in turn facilitate or contribute to a moral reform.[39] In sum, civic sculpture had a moral calling similar to that of urban parks.

The funding of these sculptures was either public, private, or semiprivate, coming even from public subscription. Governments were the main patrons of architectural sculpture, while the creation of statues and monuments for the city depended upon the patronage of private interest groups. They were all located outdoors on municipal property, and the cooperation of the city was therefore required. In the end, the city had final authority over the location of the work.

Bogart examines projects of architectural sculpture and monuments that were implemented in the context of integrating art into a city plan. Her examination unveils how patronage and art production functioned: political cleverness, and not talent alone, was essential for an artist to win a competition. Bogart identifies the construction process, personalities, artists' reputations, artistic and national politics, as well as aesthetics as factors that contributed to the final result. Also, the form of patronage and possibly of popular support may have played a role, even though sculptors of the time did not seem to give much credit to the last item.

One event, in particular, modified the public perception of the role of public sculpture: the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. Planners of the fair resorted to art to lend dignity to an event that would have been otherwise purely commercial. The inclusion of a programme of decorative sculpture testified to the new prestige associated with architectural sculpture. The art, architecture and landscape design that the Chicago exhibition proposed served as a role model to the upcoming City Beautiful Movement. Proponents of the movement advocated tree-lined boulevards, grand vistas, park systems, and civic centres. Monuments and architectural sculptures were included in their schema. The proponents of the City Beautiful Movement associated aestheticism with morality. Following the World Exhibition, several artistic organizations developed, all dedicated to "urban beautification and

municipal reform."[40] New York City artists, politicians, and members of the economic elite were part of the City Beautiful Movement.[41]

Eventually, artists promoted more than just sculpture. The Fine Arts Federation (FAF), for instance, encouraged the inclusion of artists in developing a city plan. The FAF also wanted to control the set-up in the city of the sculptures that were being donated. The National Sculpture Society worked for more than ten years at a City Beautification plan and at urban reform for New York. It also worked towards establishing aesthetic standards, artists' selection process and a list of sites where works of art would be erected.

In 1904, the New York City Public Improvement Commission was established. The Commission's aim was to position New York in the heart of the City Beautiful Movement, asking therefore for more centrally located monuments. However, no City Beautiful plan was ever adopted for the city. The receptiveness to public sculpture reached a climax around 1910. Artists and civic reformers planned sculptures and monuments in anticipation of the implementation of City Beautiful principles. After the first World War, not only indifference, but distrust prevailed towards public sculpture. Eventually, the sculptors' aesthetic standards clashed with the civic ideals. Contrary to common assumption, the sculptors' depiction of the ideals and myths of modern life (representation of "truth," teaching civic values, et cetera), despite their use of conventional techniques and figurative sculptures, was not necessarily shared by everyone.[42] By the late 1920s, New York City opted out of the creation of public monuments, for lack of financing capacity. By the early 1930s, civic projects were financed by the Federal Government. The budget was mostly allotted to New York City's Park Commissioner, Robert Moses, who commissioned Frederick Roth, sculptor of the Park Department, for the creation of sculpture.

There was dissent not only between sculptors and architects, sculptors and the public, or sculptors and politicians. There was also disagreement among sculptors regarding the meanings and values to be commemorated. Some City Beautiful proponents envisioned having bridges, community centres or playgrounds as memorials. In fact, under the leadership of Moses, by the 1930s monuments were no longer considered beneficial for the population. Moses privileged playgrounds and active recreation as opposed to passive contemplation of sculptures. He understood "war memorial" as being possibly "war memorial playground."[43] He constructed eight playgrounds with the budget intended for the war memorial in Central Park. Moses belonged to a new generation, whose view of city planning was opposed to that of the City Beautiful proponents.

For three decades (1890s-1920s), sculptors could only be part of major projects with the agreement of architects and city planners. By the 1920s, the association of artists with city planners was over, as was the involvement of artists in city planning. The planners worked, instead, with political and corporate groups. Architects did not support the sculptors either and, like the urban planners, tended to dissociate American sculptors from their building projects. The sculptors had always been dependent upon the architects and other patrons. In fact, sculptors had wanted to establish their dominance in the creation of public monuments, but lost to the architects. In the end, their inability to reach autonomy undermined their authority.[44] Also, some sculptors had difficulties expressing modern values through their art.

By the late 1920s, "new groups of art professionals and patrons . . . competed with older organizations."[45] Institutions battled in the art field to affirm their predominance. Modern art was promoted by a new generation of art critics, dealers, gallery owners, curators and other museum

professionals. Modern artists outranked the older artists and their organizations, once associated with the Establishment, that included leading architects and urban planners. At the same time, sculpture was rejected from the public domain and re-entered the private realm, as greater value was put on the privately owned art object. The new sculptors did not only seek the autonomy of their art form, but autonomy in organizing their work as well. A new group of patrons emerged, who dealt with art galleries and collected art. Modern art was avant-garde and progressively gained institutional support.

Furthermore, corporations in the 1920s wanted to dissociate themselves

> from older progressive institutional structures, values, and practices. The corporate image was conceived as autonomous and separate from government, but working with it to advance private enterprise on the national level. The commercial skyscrapers of the 1920s reflected the new corporate values.[46]

Even before that, few reputed sculptors accepted commissions for commercial buildings; conversely, corporate patrons for architectural sculpture were also rare. The latter were the same who promoted other municipal cultural institutions. After the First World War, when the business people became the primary patrons, they resorted to a newer, younger generation of architects who designed highly decorated skyscrapers.

By the late 1920s, commercial skyscrapers (as opposed to institutional edifices) were built in the Art Deco style. Corporations did not have the same priorities regarding architectural, monumental, figurative sculpture. Architects' designs were influenced by the set-back formulas of the zoning by-laws. The 1916 New York City by-law was instigated by architects and reformers and promoted by real estate owners and local merchants. It aimed to protect property values and the urban

environment. It limited the bulk of the edifices and then the height at the street line. However, it allowed them to rise in skyscrapers, provided façades were set back at a certain height. The façades were decorated with colour and geometric patterns. It was easier and less expensive to produce that sort of ornament, which was compatible with a set-back by-law that left little space for major sculptural work, according to Bogart.[47]

By the late 1930s, it appears that conservatism prevailed in the commissions for art in government buildings. Corporate (private) patrons, on the other hand, selected avant-garde artists such as Alexander Calder and Isamu Noguchi. After the Second World War, the proponents of avant-garde art (then modern art) gained control of artistic institutions, and rejected public, civic sculpture altogether. By the fifties, the position of the traditional sculptors had reached the bottom of the artistic field. At that time, "the alliance among pro-avant-garde dealers, wealthy elites and college-trained professional curators and directors attained the cultural dominance once held by the City Beautiful reformers and conservative artists."[48]

We learn from Bogart that not only formal education, but also architects and patrons effectively influenced art forms. With changes in the type of art patronage, changes in architectural styles and zoning, civic sculpture, which had been for some time the dominant form of public art, declined. Civic sculpture was associated with private patronage and expressed the values of wealthy patrons, even though its embodiment was perceptible in public places and cultural institutions. By the 1920s modern art became the avant-garde, and sculpture entered the private realm. At the same time, corporations wanted to dissociate themselves from older institutional structures allied inter alia with city beautification. The results of sculptors' efforts not only to create public sculpture, but to design public places and plan the city, were postponed.

There was a slight temporal lag between the rupture with patronage induced by French modern artists and those of New York's sculptors. Nevertheless, Bourdieu's scheme is pertinent. Bourdieu allows an exploration of the relationship between art (including public art) and patronage. What we now term public art has, until the nineteenth century (early twentieth century in the United States), been an integral part of art. As an art resulting from commissions, public art was rejected by avant-garde artists. Public art, the art traditionally found in cities and public places, could be said to be a derivative of official art. The City Beautiful Movement, which praised the art and culture of the past and promoted their use to save cities re-modelled by the Industrial Revolution, and used art to promote morality, offers one great example of demand for such public and official art. Public art came to be the most visible embodiment of this official art. When associated with official art, not only was public art outside the autonomous artistic field, it was opposing it, clashing with it. The rejection of landscape as an artistic genre and as positioned in the artistic field happened with the advent of modernity, at a time when the artistic avant-garde dissociated itself from the bourgeoisie, according to Bourdieu. We noted the difficult relation between artists (sculptors) and landscape architects, and the unwillingness on the part of landscape architects to "share" their artistic field.

Furthermore, private patrons were followed by corporate patrons, and both architectural and civic sculpture associated with the American Renaissance movement and city beautification declined in importance because they were incompatible with corporations' aims and values. If corporate patrons rejected civic sculpture and modern artists rejected commissions, then why has there been a proliferation of modern sculptures on plazas, from the end of the 1960s onward? In order to answer that question, we have to draw from specialized literature in art,

architecture and urban studies, and weave an explanation from it. At first, a few factors stand out as having had an influence on the predominance of sculpture on plazas at the base of skyscrapers: the historical influence of civic and architectural sculpture which was perpetuated via some architects' influence, the evolution of skyscraper architecture, government programmes for the creation of public art, urban policies on skyscrapers and plazas, the influence of some leading patrons who managed to make a transition from civic sculpture to the contemporary version of public modern sculpture, and the role of artists in the evolution of modern sculpture and post-modern art.

The Architects

Harriet F. Senie's Contemporary Public Sculpture intends to be a conceptual overview of public sculpture in the United States rather than its comprehensive history. She develops a typology with the idea that it could serve for further study. Senie analyses the early stages of public art in that country. Her brief analysis of this period and of its influence joins Bogart's, particularly regarding the architect's influential role and his predominance over the artist.

Senie contends that "the philosophy of modern architecture called for an integration of the arts through collaboration of architect and artist."[49] The implementation of this philosophy in the United States was facilitated by the immigration to the country, in the 1930s, of several pre-eminent Bauhaus members. However, young American architects of the early 1950s were not open to an art integrated to architecture, be it contemporary art (painting or sculpture). There was a debate, both in Europe and in the United States, about the role of art with regard to

architecture and the need or not of their integration. Possibly due to a difference in tradition, Europeans had, contrary to the Americans, a favourable inclination toward the integration of art to architecture. Senie compares two international projects of that era. The first one, built in New York (the United Nations building), rated poorly with regard to art and its integration. The second one was the UNESCO building (1952-58) in Paris.

The team of architects for the UNESCO building comprised Marcel Breuer, Pier Luigi Nervi and Bernard Zehrfus. They established a programme for the integration of contemporary art into their project, in collaboration with an international committee that included Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius. In reality, there was no early collaboration between artists and architects: artists were selected and commissioned afterwards, by the head of the UNESCO. The list of the selected artists included Picasso, Arp, Miro, Calder, Moore and Noguchi, who were all chosen on the merit of their international reputations. According to Senie, this set a precedent for public art in the United States. As we will see, this also had a possible influence on the first modern expression of public art in Montréal.

Isamu Noguchi was the only artist to work with a site to create a landscape environment, a garden. Noguchi's garden was "an early realization of the concept of public sculpture as landscape."[50] The case of Noguchi is interesting as the artist "prefigured almost every development of public sculpture in the decades that followed."[51] Senie's study is pivotal in highlighting the early interests of an artist such as Noguchi in creating gardens, and of the corporate patrons' desire to have sculpture instead. Noguchi worked mainly with architect Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM). SOM typically advocated that their client add art to their edifice. From 1956 onwards, Noguchi regularly created sculptures

for Bunshaft's projects, often on a mineral plaza. A few years later, in the early 1960s, Noguchi created sculpture gardens as opposed to sculptures as independent objects. However, the artist's Japanese heritage made him use marble or other inorganic material as the flooring of his garden, as opposed to grass. Alternately, he used water, as for the Garden for Chase Manhattan Bank Plaza (1961-64). The Garden is in fact a pond with natural rocks in it, sunken from the plaza, and therefore only visually accessible. For the Marine Midland Bank in Manhattan, the addition of a sculpture in the plaza was considered only after the completion of the building. Noguchi first proposed rocks, which were too costly. After having turned down five proposals, the client accepted the Red Cube (1968), a sculpture.

The adoption of a style of building similar to a glass box did not leave room for public sculpture, nor for architectural, beaux-arts sculpture. According to Senie, the rigorous absence of added-on ornament on architects' edifices, the desire to make room for a plaza and to have art integrated to architecture, as advocated by modernist architects, led to the paradigm of the sculpture on the plaza. Despite the early reticence of the 1950s, in the 1960s architects were a driving force behind the inclusion of sculpture in both corporate and government projects. The architects' insistence on promoting the integration of the arts to architecture incited the reintroduction of public sculpture during the late 1960s. What Senie labels "the public sculpture revival of the late 1960s"[52] started with the installation of two monumental sculptures, the Chicago Picasso (Untitled, fifty foot, 162 ton) in 1967, and Alexander Calder's La Grande Vitesse in 1969. Senie observes that the early projects of urban public sculpture in the 1960s had internationally-renowned modern artists (Picasso, Alexander Calder, Henry Moore). It was thought that sculpture could humanize architecture and favour civic identity. Paradoxically, the use of

a signature sculpture did not aim to integrate art to architecture. Instead, it sent a message that art equalled power.[53]

Some leading architects were influential in having the sculpture of a reputed modernist artist placed in a plaza in front of their building. Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) were associate architects for the project of the Chicago Civic Center, designed in the early 1960s. One of SOM's architects, William Hartmann, was behind the commissioning of Picasso for a monumental sculpture. Exceptionally, Picasso accepted the commission, due to Hartmann's relentless efforts, and created a maquette for the sculpture without ever going to Chicago. SOM also designed the Chase Manhattan Bank, which was erected in 1961. Gordon Bunshaft, architect on the project, contacted several prominent sculptors, before setting his choice on Jean Dubuffet, who created in 1969 Group of Four Trees. The sculpture was installed in 1972. Lastly, let us mention again Alexander Calder's Flamingo (1973) installed in the plaza of the Federal Center in Chicago (1964-65) designed by Mies Van der Rohe. One of the architects of the building, Carter Manny, Jr., was responsible for the selection of Calder.[54]

Even though she officially discusses art integrated to architecture in her historical overview, Louise Déry does not draw a clear demarcation between the latter and art otherwise integrated into the city, as does Bogart, for instance.[55] Defining integrated art (or allied arts) as one where the architect's, the artist's, and the craftsman's work form a symbiosis, Déry maintains that until the turn of the twentieth century, the integration of art was linked to the context of production. Hence, the patronage of works of art by religious or political authorities allowed the expression of shared values by a team of artist-architect-craftsman. In addition, the functions (sacred, religious, commemorative, educational, aesthetic) inherent to

those works of art stemmed from the socio-political context of the time and the context in which patronage took place.

With modernism, art ceased to be the vehicle for common values, and therefore, public art since that time had a difficult, if not an impossible relation with the public to whom it was destined. In addition to the divorce of art and society, Déry observes a clear separation of art and architecture, leading to a nomadic life for the works of art. The dominance of the aesthetic function of art in the course of the twentieth century is attributable to the decline of the other functions. The contemporary artist accepts less and less that those other functions define or decree the requirements of the creation. Hence the artist's reluctance to accept public commissions.

Déry nonetheless acknowledges, as does Senie, that important modern figures aimed at reuniting art and architecture. However, the aim of a Walter Gropius or Le Corbusier was to subjugate art to architecture, which would be self-sufficient and autonomous. Le Corbusier was the heir of the tradition and of the theories prevalent at the turn of the century that favoured the integration of the arts. He vested architecture with a preponderant value, therefore subordinating art to it. One of Le Corbusier's contemporaries, Victor Vasarely, was opposed to the former's particular idea of a synthesis of the arts, his own view of integration calling for a synchronization of the various disciplines and for the early integration of the artist in the project team. Thus, he advocated undertaking the various plastic works concomitantly to that of the building. In sum, in the course of the twentieth century, the modern edifice was deemed to be a work of art in itself. In parallel, the artists' creations were also works of art in their own right. Hence the conceptual and physical rupture between art and architecture.

In De-Architecture, James Wines proposes a historical overview of public art, essentially understood as art integrated to architecture. A chapter, "Public art/Private art," addresses the questions of the difficult relation of the artist and the architect. The patron is influential, not only in the forms art could take, but also in his contribution to this relationship. Wines deals more with the tense relationship between artist and architect than between those two and the patron, since it was the former relation, Wines contends, that had such a disastrous impact on the quality of public art. Differences between artists and architects have never been resolved or mitigated and Wines perceives a deep resentment between both, due to a mutual lack of esteem for their professions. Furthermore, as Déry also remarks, contemporary artists and designers object to having to express collective values when creating public art, and defend their artistic autonomy.

James Wines surveys the evolution of sculpture, always with the perspective of its integration to architecture. The sculpture on a plaza at the base of a building is most often referred to. However, this overview overlooks the evolution of public sculpture as found in public places. It is limited to the integration of sculpture to an edifice, often as an instrument used by real-estate operators. Public art is viewed as an investment whose value will increase along with the artist's reputation. Wines insists on the notion of the sculpture as a collectible object, "to be bartered or sold."[56] Furthermore, collecting art separated the sculpture from its context, and de-integrated art from architecture. Therefore, the collection of works of art brought about a dissociation of art from architecture, a celebration of the art object per se, and a suggestion of its mobile character. In addition, there were advantages to buying existing works of art rather than publicly commissioning new pieces in that the quality of the work could be appraised beforehand.

The above highlights a historical and cultural heritage stemming from civic sculpture. Despite the autonomy reached by modern artists, leading modern architects advocated the integration of art to architecture. The sculpture on a plaza could represent the epitome of these antagonistic positions.

Public Policies

'Percent For the Art' Programmes

Senie establishes the affiliation, albeit tenuous, between the Art-in-Architecture programme of the United States General Services Administration (GSA), which commissions works of art for the government buildings (1% of the construction cost), and the earlier programmes which arose from beaux-arts training and the City Beautiful Movement. Furthermore, immediately after the end of the last manifestations of the American Renaissance, the Work Progress Administration (WPA) Federal Art Project was implemented. Its aim was to assist artists financially. It tolerated avant-garde art to a surprising degree. The WPA programme set the precedent for several programmes of the National Endowment for the Arts: "Elements of both the American Renaissance and WPA traditions of public art merged in the public art revival of the late 1960s."[57] The GSA programme was reactivated in 1972, and its first commission was for Alexander Calder's Flamingo in Chicago.

Linking artistic creations with their context of production, Déry works on the hypothesis that contemporary commissions for public art carry with them a backward-looking vision of artistic practice and that, consequently, they do not promote innovation in artistic creation. In Québec, the

provincial programme pursues democratic aims, not only regarding the expression of common values (understood by as many people as possible) but regarding as well the physical accessibility of the work and the attribution of commissions. Therefore, the provincial regulation promotes quantity over quality of both the artists selected and the works of art created. Although this is not specifically spelled out in Déry's thesis, it is certainly not too far fetched to infer that the various means which were supposed to help implement the democratization of the arts have contributed to split the budgets, fragment and disseminate minor or less important works rather than to promote the creation of a few major ones. Less reputed or experienced artists may look forward to those less important contracts, while the best artists, or the avant-garde ones, would overlook them. It is important to differentiate those minor artists as depicted by Déry from those who seek to occupy the avant-garde but are not yet reputed. The latter are not the ones she refers to when pointing to the artist's status and experience as a likely source of the problem (regarding the quality and the value of the work, including its innovative aspect).

Regarding the commission of works of art, Déry contends that the command would limit the audacity and innovation and rather encourage the use of accepted formulas, therefore generating mediocre realizations. In the contemporary world of art, this practice (commission) is contrary to the pluralism that is characteristic of artistic production. Déry's study focuses on the system of public commission used by some governments (United States, France, Sweden, Québec) and highlights some variations in their mode of functioning. When works of art are created as a result of government programmes, a certain care is taken to avoid controversy. Hence, various forms of censorship operate, if not to please the public, at least not to offend it. Regarding public commissions and the urban

environment, Déry questions the merit of commissioning an artist for a specific type of work of art, as it anticipates the creative act. In such a case, the artist is given an answer (not necessarily the best) from the start, with regard to the space where his intervention is sought.

William H. Whyte does not attribute the determinant role in selecting the type and style of works of art only to architects. The art commissions established to implement public art programmes in the United States (such as "percent for the art") also play a decisive role. In most cities they have pushed for art objects (sculptures) in parks and plazas. Whyte mitigates the charges that the public "percent for arts" programmes offer a tribune to elite art at the expanse of the public's taste. In studying plazas in North American cities over a long period of time, Whyte could appreciate the positive effects a work of art could have on them. Even though Whyte consistently refers to works of art, he specifically selects examples of sculptures on plazas. Whether it is Jean Dubuffet's sculpture Four Trees on the Chase Manhattan Plaza in New York City, Alexander Calder's Pink Flamingos on the Federal Plaza in Chicago, or a Henry Moore on the plaza of the Dallas City Hall, the result is positive, according to Whyte.[58]

Whyte offers the example of the Seattle Art Commission, which eventually modified its approach and became city-life oriented, with a programme that put a "strong emphasis on site."[59] In site-determined art, "the artist takes his cues from the site and its surroundings."[60] After contemplating the idea of conceiving downtown Seattle as a sculpture garden or art park, which would have amounted to "a static 'urban art center,'"[61] the Commission opted to adapt its arts plan to "the concept of the city as a network of primary public places in a constant state of flux,"[62] borrowing from Kevin Lynch's work.

For Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Tridib Banerjee, the percent for art programmes have resulted in an overall growth of public art in North

American cities. Moreover, even though there are some examples of public art owned by the public and situated in the public domain, "more commonly, purveyance of public art has become a responsibility of corporate America, especially in the downtown setting."[63] In many North American cities, such art is required by municipal authorities in their standard permit process. For example, San Francisco spells out requirements in its planning code regarding the types of art and their location and visibility.[64]

Today, planners treat public open space and public art as urban amenities to be provided by private developers. Art and space are elements of deal-making provided in exchange of "enhanced development rights, zoning variances, land write-down, financial guarantees, or improvements in order to initiate investment."[65] Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee affirm that "of all the linkage requirements, open space and public art are the least objectionable to the development community."[66] Contrary to other linkage requirements, for public housing for instance, which they consider as a form of exaction, developers perceive public art "as opportunities to showcase their projects and remain competitive."[67] In sum, public art is an investment.

The authors contend that public art has become an "important component of the new downtown urban design . . . . Frequently linked to the requirement for open space, public art has become an important part not only of individual building design but also of overall urban design."[68] They conclude: "In this context the form of the contemporary downtown is a product of negotiation, bargaining, and deal-making between city governments and private developers."[69] This "market-driven urbanism places more emphasis on aesthetic appearance and promotes the idea of space as a set piece designed to complement only the building, but not

necessarily the rest of the city."[70] Hence, this promotes art "integrated" (or rather, associated) to architecture rather than art in or as public place.

Nowadays, art is also used in Europe as a means to promote urban development: "Money for art is increasingly linked to tourism and efforts to arrest urban decline."[71] However, Malcolm Miles questions "the social or economic benefits of public art,"[72] since little research has been done about it that would prove its value. On the one hand, there are possible economic benefits associated with "art in the street."[73] The policy that consists in encouraging public and private sector developers to "set aside 1 per cent of capital costs for the commissioning of art,"[74] the 'Percent for Art' policy, claims that "art assists urban regeneration."[75] While this may prove to be true, the social benefits associated with art in the city are questionable.

Miles compares the sculpture in the plaza to the statue in the square of past eras. Both statue and sculpture promote values associated with the Establishment: "The sculpture in the bank plaza affirms the corporate persona of enlightened patron,"[76] even if the sculpture represents ordinary citizens[77] or artefacts of ordinary life. Sculpture in the plaza is the epitome of the "modernist aesthetic . . . [which] does not criticize its urban context."[78] It grafts "the ideological baggage of contemporary art"[79] to the city.

Since sculpture in the plaza creates public space, it could be socially beneficial provided the plaza becomes "central to the conviviality of a city,"[80] which is not the case. The examples of plazas examined by Miles do not qualify as "good public space."[81] Despite a few notable exceptions, Miles observes "a complicit role for art in development, concealing its social contradictions . . . [even] concealing ecological vandalism."[82] Miles is not against artists designing (or collaborating in designing) public space, and not "against the provision of public spaces in

development."[83] He wants "to problematise the complicity of public art with corporate development and the structures of money and power on which it is founded."[84] Like Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, Miles thinks that art in urban development amounts to letting the capital (market forces) freely shape the urban downtown while preventing "the majority population . . . [from determining] the conceptualisation of the city."[85] He affirms that art and architecture "have coincidental interests which extend from their shared professional ideologies and align them to the needs of developers to create enclaved 'places', but set them against a model of the city in which its dwellers determine or at least influence its values and forms."[86]

Richard Serra's Tilted Arc, a Cor-Ten steel sculpture deposited on the Federal Plaza in front of the Jacob Javits Federal Building in New York City, is widely discussed in the literature (by Senie, Wines, and Whyte, inter alia). Serra was commissioned in 1979 by the General Services Administration, after having been selected by experts informed of Serra's status in the art world elite. However, the public was outraged by the placement of Tilted Arc in the plaza. A major controversy arose, opposing the public and the art experts. After a court battle, the sculpture was finally removed. In our view, Serra's sculpture on a plaza is a clear indication that this form of public art is not exclusive to corporate commissions. Both public and private commissions have yielded similar results.

Zoning By-Laws

For Senie, the two prerequisites for public sculpture are space and patronage, and both became available in the 1960s. In the United States, federal urban renewal programmes made much space available. Local

municipal zoning by-laws, inspired by the European piazza, promoted the creation of private open spaces. This practice was associated with the desire to encourage a revitalization (economic and cultural) of the centre. "Unfortunately these spaces, usually in the form of forecourts (called plazas) in front of high-rise office buildings, were built without basic urban amenities such as plantings and street furniture."[87]

For Whyte, if public policies were responsible for the multiplication of art in the city, and particularly of sculpture in plazas, zoning by-laws were also behind the proliferation of plazas in city centres. In 1961, New York City was the first city to pass a zoning by-law that allowed developers to build higher in the city centre (by increasing the allowed floor area ratio or FAR) if they provided a public plaza. The recently completed elegant Seagram Building and its plaza were deemed to be the example to follow. Eventually, other kinds of spaces were developed that would yield a density bonus: gallerias, atriums, garden courts, et cetera.[88] This as of right incentive zoning "over the next ten years . . . was to prompt the creation of more new open spaces in the center city than was created in all the other cities in the country combined."[89] Eventually, New York City adopted a case by case approach. However, several other North American cities adopted a similar as of right incentive zoning that would encourage the creation of plazas and of higher edifices and, hence, associate plazas with high-rises. Therefore, plazas were not only built at the base of skyscrapers because there was space made available by urban renewal. They were in fact encouraged by municipal regulation. In New York City, plazas in general were better designed after guidelines for their design were set up in 1975 and enforced in a zoning by-law in 1982. Eventually, other cities adopted the same guidelines for designing plazas. This further contributed to the proliferation of plazas. The 1982 statutory text set standards for urban plazas, defined as follows: "A continuous

open area which fronts upon a *street* or sidewalk widening and is accessible to the public at all times for the use and enjoyment of large numbers of people."[90] Area, dimensions, orientation, shape restrictions, accessibility requirements were spelled out in the ordinance. It also identified the permitted obstructions in the plaza, which included "any features, equipment, and appurtenances normally found in public parks and playgrounds, such as fountains and reflecting pools, waterfalls, sculptures and other works of art, arbors, trellises, benches, seats, trees, planting beds, litter receptacles, drinking fountains and bicycle racks; open air cafes; kiosks; outdoor furniture; lights and lighting stanchions; flag poles; public telephones; temporary exhibitions; awnings; canopies; bollards."[91] In fact, not only were trees accepted, they became mandatory in the urban plaza, and had to be four inches in diameter at the time of their planting. Lastly, the paving of the plaza had to be "partly or all of the same or compatible materials and colors as the paving of the *street* sidewalk area adjacent to the *development*."[92] In 1982, the bonuses were dropped for all amenities except plazas and urban parks. Even in that last instance, the incentive was reduced from a FAR bonus of three to one of one. But municipal permissiveness was not all: the plaza bonus proved to be financially extremely profitable to the developers, as evidenced by both Whyte and Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee. In fact, the latter found that given the choice between installing a sculpture in a plaza and contributing to a general fund for art, private developers favoured the first option, even if the sculpture and related works were more costly to them.[93] On the other hand, the evaluation of existing plazas and the design of guidelines indicate that some sites would be better off without plazas: "A smaller space [not related to the building] better located would be much preferable."[94] However, translating this idea into public policy proved to be

difficult. A good example of such a space had first to be created by the International Paper Company.[95]

Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee examine the evolution in the design of American downtowns through the changes brought to the design of the open spaces in North American city centres. It is possible to superpose their scheme describing the evolution of central open spaces in the city to the manifestations of art in the city centre that we have described so far.

To the colonial model, which had a square (public open space) at the core, succeeded the City Beautiful model. However, the "beautification programs enacted all over the country during the first years of the century did not . . . solve the problems that were plaguing CBDs."[96] Therefore, not only did civic sculpture lose its appeal (as evidenced by Bogart) but city beautification was replaced by a rational approach to the planning of the urban form. The City Practical model emerged and zoning by-laws were voted that determined land uses, building height and bulk and set-backs. This was first applied in a comprehensive manner in New York City, where a building ordinance enacted in 1916 influenced the architecture and ultimately the art integrated to architecture (and the flourishing Art Deco style).[97] The 1916 ordinance was effective until 1961, when Design by Public Policy started, and therefore was influential during Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee's third model, the Modernist one, which lasted from the post second World War (1945) until the early 1960s. Several projects (not necessarily realized) were inspired by Le Corbusier's ideal city. The public space took the form of office plazas which served to enhance the buildings rather than to encourage sociability and gatherings.[98] Mies van der Rohe's Seagram Building, which was designed and constructed during that phase, is paradigmatic of the Modernist Model. Lever House, built a few years before the Seagram Building, also belongs to the era of the Modernist Model. Lever House provided a public

arcade and a garden as a part of its open space. Lever House and the Seagram Building included a garden or a plaza, and this was possible according to the 1916 regulation, even if at the time of their construction, they set a precedent. During this third phase, there were not so many modernist skyscrapers and plazas, and therefore, Modern sculpture and art integrated to architecture were still rare, as attested by Senie. Lastly, in reaction to the results of modernist elitist planning, the Design by Public Policy followed, the fourth and last phase of Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee's proposed scheme. Public policies were enacted that promoted innovations such as incentive zoning, special design districts, preservation of landmark buildings and shopping streets. Also, following the 1961 zoning ordinance, the coverage of towers increased to forty percent and even more. The genesis and changes brought to the zoning incentives for public plazas that Whyte describes correspond to Design by Public Policy. We observe the proliferation of public sculpture in plazas during that phase.[99]

As attested by Whyte, municipal regulations regarding the provision of plazas evolved over time. Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee argue that, even if plazas result, as other public open spaces, from public policies that promoted downtown rejuvenation/renovation, they are inherently private space provided by private developers, which amounts to the "privatization of public space."[100] Their argument is consistently similar to the one they offer in their discussion on the use of public art by corporations. In the 1980s, urban policies favoured negotiations with developers. The latter were asked to contribute to amenities through impact fees, exactions and linkage fees. In counterpart, municipal governments let to the corporate clients the right to shape the central city.[101]

Plazas and skyscrapers have become the symbols of the " 'private' downtown of corporate America and its white-collar workers."[102]

Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee argue that "public open spaces have become the leading metaphor for understanding the structure and design of the contemporary North American downtown."[103] For them, "urban plazas built with private money, usually in downtown areas, have become the modern American version of public space."[104] As for public art, developers perceive plazas "as directly beneficial to their building, as enhancing its image and desirability to tenants."[105]

Lastly, Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee differentiate between the modernist and the post-modernist plazas, according to both their design and their function (corporate plazas versus shopping plazas):

> The design of corporate plazas . . . usually borrows heavily from the modernist doctrines – clear-cut layout, hardscapes, fixed benches, colors drawn from a limited palette of grays, browns, and pale greens. Abstract ornamentation, for example, a sculptural or water element, is often a limited attempt to break away from the standardization and universality of the modernist design scheme. Shopping plazas . . . are often dressed in a post-modern costume. . . . Shopping plazas postmodernism uses a pastiche of colors and design elements borrowed from various styles. Design treats space as a commodity to be consumed.[106]

Their description of recent plazas also indicate the inclusion of trees and vegetation of some sort. It is questionable, though, if this "greening" observed for post-modern plazas (from the early 1980s onward) is the result of developers' requirements or if it is, rather, the result (at least partially) of guidelines for plazas and municipal regulation.

Besides Harvey, Rosalyn Deutsche and Sharon Zukin pioneered the study of art in the city and its use for urban development. In Loft Living, Zukin demonstrates that art served not only to shape or remodel the city centre, but to restructure it as well. The support of the arts by the State contributed to re-structure cities. Cities had wanted to dissociate themselves from their industrial past and build up a new identity, that of

white collar capitals, gaining their wealth from the service sector. The traditional, working-class (blue collar) population came to be replaced by an upper middle-class, who could afford to pay higher rents. Zukin demonstrates convincingly that art, culture and historic preservation served to promote and meet these objectives. The transformation of industrial structures into artists' lofts represented and symbolized the shift from an industrial economy to one dominated by the service sector.

Real-estate developers used the arts and the artists "to ride out and control a particular investment climate,"[107] namely a growing opposition to demolition due to urban renewal and a shortage of available sites for development. In this context of real-estate development contributing to urban development, "the valorization of art has a *general* value for accumulation processes. . . . it has been essential to use cultural consumption to put accumulation strategy into place."[108] In other words the "concentration of art and capital"[109] goes hand in hand. Art (the presence of the artists in the city, infrastructures for the arts, and art created and/or exhibited in the city) contributed greatly to capital accumulation. This enriched city centres and increased inequalities between the city centre and its periphery. Concretely, office towers and housing high-rises were built for the middle class, where the industries and their working class used to work and live. With the accumulation of capital being linked with the accumulation of art, art came to be seen not only as valorizing investments, but also as an investment in itself, and artists as "social assets."[110] For Sharon Zukin, real-estate developers built on the popularity of artists and of cultural institutions and "arts infrastructure"[111] when developing their projects. This manifestation was first perceptible in New York City, but developed in several former industrial cities. As we will see, Montréal experienced its own version of deinsustrialization and of loft-living.

In the instances where artists accepted the politics of capital accumulation, they received and agreed upon commissions from real-estate developers, major corporations or even from governments. Some artists accepted to do "collaborative art" and to participate in "solving" urban problems under the control of the development forces. It appears that in a form of collaborative art, artists are subservient to real-estate developers. In "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City," Rosalyn Deutsche contends that "the rise of collaborative public art accompanied the acceleration of urban redevelopment almost from its inception."[112] She further asserts that the real collaboration that took place in such instances was that of artists "with the forces of power."[113] Hence, art is linked to politics: "Official public art creates the redeveloped city."[114]

The merit of the work of Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee and of Miles for this research resides in their identification of the plaza, skyscraper and public sculpture as the unified symbols of corporate urban development favoured by public policies.

The Patrons

So far, the literature review has shown the role of public policies in the hegemony of corporations and of market-driven urban development that privilege art in the city in the form of a sculpture in a plaza. This leads us to address the role played by the State and corporations in art patronage, and their possible influence on the art market and on the art forms.

American studies in the sociology of art address the relation between art, patronage and money, including the role of patronage in the creation of art forms. For Vera L. Zolberg, patronage is a form of support

that is part of the evolving context of art and associated with art form.[115] The interrelationships between art, the form of support structures, and the publics influence artistic changes. Supportive social structures "provide avenues for recognizing talent and innovation and for entry new jobs or commissions . . . it is important to keep *both* sides [artists and structures] in mind, within the sociohistorical context in which they exist."[116] She adds that those support structures

> apply sanctions, positive and negative, ranging in force from severe to mild. These include material and symbolic rewards and deprivations, and may be monopolized by a single structure or distributed by a plurality of sources. . . . Historically, in the West their concrete forms include church, royal, municipal, or private patronage; state bureaucratic administration; and the commercial market. Their analyses suggests that they have different effects on the art styles and forms that artists create or produce and that are disseminated for public consumption.[117]

Zolberg associates high art (fine arts) with the usual forms of art patronage, e.g., governments, private foundations or other institutions. The artist associated with high art has access to patronage (public or private). In return, patronizing organizations benefit from fiscal advantages.

The social structures on which the artists depend exercise a form of control and, hence, influence greatly the stability, or conversely, the change in art forms. Those social structures include market forces and patronage (public, religious, and private). The existence of several sources of support and the access an artist has to them (i.e., his independence vis-à-vis a unique patron) and the nature of the government (i.e., democratic or not) influence the latitude experienced by artists. Patrons as such evolve in parallel to the art market, they do not necessarily shape it. This nuance allows us to understand that while some artists may chose some art forms in order not to be part of the

market, patrons may commission works of art that are not saleable/detachable and cannot be exhibited in various locations. It could be understood, then, that these patrons (or this category of patrons) may have a direct influence on high art forms and innovations in a manner that corporate patrons or other collectors/investors would not have.

Contrary to Zolberg, for whom the patron does not necessarily shape the art market, Sharon Zukin states that the art patron has become part of the art market structure. Patrons influence the development of an art form in that, when they cease to be interested in it, they contribute to its decline. Zukin affirms that during the 1960s, the State's role in society grew tremendously, and that this growth involved "the idea that the state should be a collective patron--indeed, the biggest patron--of the arts."[118] She demonstrates that State support for the arts depended upon the personal involvement of politicians, who also happened to be member of the social (patrician) elite and patrons of modern art.

Zolberg explains the change of status of the landscape as an art form by the role played by such support structures in nineteenth-century France and in the Netherlands. Then, the French Academy institutionalized art by deciding which art forms belonged to culture and which ones did not ("great culture" as opposed to "little culture"[119]). Therefore, the French Academy ranked art forms and hierarchized subject matter as well, which defined official art and non official art: "The hierarchy of subject matter was eventually transformed, as landscapes, previously treated as a minor art form, gained in esteem."[120] In the Netherlands, when visual artists lost the support of the Church, they developed the art of portraits and landscapes as an answer to the market demand. Similarly in the United States, the lack of support structures and of patronage tradition until the twentieth century led artists to make do with whatever other resources came to hand, even if it meant crossing the

boundary between disinterested art and trade. This situation changed after the Second World War when the national government, private foundations and corporations entered into cultural philanthropy.[121]

In The Transformation of the Avant-Garde, Diana Crane argues that, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the upper middle class used culture to promote its status (this is also attested by Bogart). Referring to Vera Zolberg,[122] Crane affirms that the role of patrons had changed by the twentieth century, granting both the artists and their patrons greater independence and freedom. Nonetheless, in the early twentieth century, there was a difference between the American patron and the investor in their relationship with art and the artist. Crane states that the American patron

> bought artworks in order to conserve them and to bequeath them to museums. . . . There remained an element of personal involvement with the artist and a protective attitude toward his work that differentiated the twentieth-century patron from the investor for whom art objects were to be evaluated impersonally, in monetary rather than aesthetic terms.[123]

The early-twentieth-century role of the patrons changed during the 1960s. Even patrons-protectors started to behave like investors, keeping less longer the work of art, selling it when value increased. This fact may have contributed to the commission of sculptures as sellable objects. This change of role coincided with the expansion of the art market that happened during the mid-sixties in the United States. The infusion of governmental funds and the spending of corporate money were key elements to this growth. This concurs with Rosanne Martorella's findings. From the 1960s onwards, corporate patronage, the newest form of patronage, grew steadily along with the government's and foundations' support of the arts. Corporate patrons have become major consumers of art, to the point of becoming part of the art market. Martorella affirms that

"the marketplace, together with the collector, defines levels of taste and connoisseurship; these in turn encourage certain styles to emerge and proliferate. . . . [patrons] influence the development of certain art styles over others."[124] Consequently, they may have facilitated the emergence and dominance of certain artistic styles over others, and influenced the market. Nonetheless, the visual artist still depended more, in financial terms, on the private patron.

According to Crane, because many of the new artistic movements were triggered by state or corporate funding, the artists came to be less and less in opposition with these social and political institutions (as asserted by Bourdieu and Rochlitz). Rather, they were, as before the birth of the avant-garde, members of the same class and shared the same social values. By the late 1980s, government agencies and corporations were identified as the new patrons who had gained control over the art institutions. Among the various reasons offered to explain this patronage of the arts by governments and private corporations was the perception of its social usefulness, particularly to alleviate tensions in city centres. Also at stake were economic and political interests linked to urbanization. According to Zukin,[125] Government support for the arts generated support by the business community, who viewed art as a means to settle or camouflage social problems while in effect contributing to the increase of property value in former derelict areas.

Martorella perceives an evolution of the motives for such an encouragement to the visual arts by corporations. In general, Martorella discounts the importance of the economic benefits related to tax deductions. Rather, it seems that "supporting the arts meant good business."[126] This is not all altruism: corporations collect art for their own interests as did previous patrons who used "art for the symbolic display of their own wealth and power."[127] She nonetheless admits that financial

firms collect as a way "to capitalize on an initial investment becoming an asset with increasing value in a few years."[128] The fact that businesses use art is not new. The novelty resides in the publicity around these activities.

Martorella also links the increase in corporate patronage to an unprecedented economic growth in the country, which is related to the gentrification of central urban areas, the migration of the residential function to suburbs and the development of office spaces in corporate buildings and shopping centres. Art was used inter alia as an instrument of beautification of the corporate milieu. Typically, corporations would promise outdoor sculpture gardens or art centres to municipal administrations who would have been otherwise hostile to the developers' projects. Corporate collections include several types of works of art, and some of these works are considered to be art integrated to architecture and even "public art." Collections include the work of major sculptors of the twentieth century.

Crane asserts that the trend towards increasing the funding for the arts could be observed until the mid-eighties. The increase in funding and the broadening of the art market contributed to augment the number of artists. Resources were insufficient to absorb all the declared artists. Because museums received a large share of patronage funding and also because several private patrons were personally and directly linked to museums, the response of museums to new art styles was critical for the establishment of their value. Furthermore, government financial help suggests that those institutions are more sensitive to the public at large. Hence, as Crane argues, "over a period of four decades, New York museums became gradually less responsive to emerging art styles."[129] Either public or private, patrons were conservative and class conscious. This might have influenced some artistic production since artists are more

likely to be influenced by peers, dealers and collectors than by the general public.

Corporate patronage of the visual arts is not a monolithic activity, though. Martorella differentiates between the connoisseur and the conservative, less informed art collector. First are the "elite" collectors identified as the "corporate Medicis patrons," who select art on its artistic merit. They include Chase, Paine Webber, Pepsico, the First National Bank of Chicago. Highly experienced and reputed curators work with such patrons and have a decisive influence on the art selected. To this elite team, Martorella opposes the conservative corporations who rely on dealers to choose the works of art. However, some dealers may not want to sell them some of their artists' works, whereas they would do so for the elite collector. Some art dealers despise corporate patrons in general, with the exception of the elite patron. They see corporate patrons as conservative and still hooked on the idea that art should be decorative. With this regard, it is not clear whether real estate companies qualify for the first or second category. In fact, we may infer that they could fit in both, depending on the importance of the corporation.[130]

Hence, the relation between the artist and the corporation is mediated by the art curator, art dealer or art consultant. The assumed differences in values and lifestyle between artist and patron no longer lead to conflicts. Yet, artists are in a position of dependence towards corporations. Sharon Zukin, like Martorella, appraises the twentieth-century artist-patron's relationship, as being "less direct," mediated by the art dealer born with the art market.[131]

The leading and influential role of the Rockefellers as corporate patrons is acknowledged in the literature (Bogart, Martorella, Senie). Their leadership started with the Rockefeller Center (1931-40), which provided public art in the centre of Manhattan that was in the spirit of the American

Renaissance, in an artistic style closer to contemporary WPA projects. The Rockefeller Center provides a link between the art created in the context of the City Beautiful movement and the corporate public art created later on in the century. According to Bogart, the Rockefeller Center,

> with its comprehensive art scheme and landscaped gardens, meshed aspects of older City Beautiful ideals with contemporary corporate skyscraper styles, strategies, and practices. The scope of the complex surpassed that of any of the government-sponsored City Beautiful projects in New York City.[132]

Art was no longer associated with governmental or institutional major buildings, but instead with corporate offices, shops and entertainment. Art was deemed to be instrumental in developing the attractiveness of the commercial centre. Rockefeller Center exemplified the idea of using art to promote one's civic image (and social standing) while also being profitable financially. Rockefeller and his architect, John R. Todd, also incorporated an art committee, made up of the most pre-eminent experts in the country, to advise the architects on the Center's art programme. Ultimately, Rockefeller had the authority to decide for the artists' selection. He was also influenced by his wife, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, an art lover and a founder of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York City. The artists were not only selected on their artistic merits, though: they had to be capable to behave "in a business-like manner."[133]

Later on, the sons of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., followed in their father's steps in integrating art to urban corporate projects, with the Lincoln Center and the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York City. They became leaders as corporate patrons of the arts. In the 1960s, most corporations started to review their definition of what art was and of what it could be. David Rockefeller and his architect Gordon Bunshaft were the leaders of this new trend. It all started with the Chase Manhattan Bank in

New York City. The company had set up a prestigious art committee whose members were museum officials and

> supported and insisted on art that was contemporary and American. Chase's avant-garde and grandiose effort established a precedent for aesthetic tastes for the entire corporate community nationwide. Other banks admired and emulated its leadership.[134]

Furthermore, the requirement to have only contemporary and American art "influenced most corporate buying thereafter."[135] Rosanne Martorella affirms:

> The Chase Collection is atypical in both its structure and function as a corporate collection, it serves as a model for all to emulate, and David Rockefeller, an important advocate of patronage, is an important member of a cultural-industrial elite.[136]

For example, the art committee spent some ten years looking for the adequate sculpture to put on the plaza. After the rejection of proposals from Calder, Moore, and Noguchi, Jean Dubuffet was selected. His sculpture, Group of Four Trees was installed in 1972, whereas the building was built in 1961.[137]

The Rockefellers' role model was acknowledged by the Equitable Life Assurance Society when it opened its galleries in midtown Manhattan in 1986.[138] Murals by Roy Lichtenstein, Sol Le Witt, Sandro Chia were displayed as well as sculptures by pre-eminent contemporary artists. They were created in collaboration with the architect Edward Larrabee Barnes as art totally integrated to architecture.

The Artists

The literature presented so far infers that the artists' search for autonomy almost failed, particularly when the work of art was destined for an urban site. Rather, architects, public policies and patrons, be they corporate or public, continued to dictate the acceptable art forms in the city. However, artists were indeed fighting for their autonomy. We will, hereafter, focus on the modern and post-modern artists in order to understand their role in the emergence of public art and, more specifically, in the proliferation of sculpture in the urban realm, rather than gardens or ecological art of some sort.

Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité, edited by Francine Couture, has the great merit of presenting Québec art in its social context.[139] One chapter in particular, "Intégration de l'art à l'architecture," by Rose-Marie Arbour, presents the relation of art and architecture in Québec, and the artists who were interested in the integration of the arts in the 1950s and 1960s. As a whole, the book demonstrates that in Québec, the early secular, apolitical manifestations of the integration of art to architecture were instigated by artists and created in the context of modernism in art and society at large. The first generation of post-Second World War integrated art was intrinsically linked with the avant-garde. From the various texts, a dichotomy emerges between the public art created by women and that created by men. The former practised an art more integrated to the urban spaces while the latter created (at least at first) art more integrated to architecture. Les arts visuels au Québec is also important in that it allows us to establish relations between the artists selected as representatives of the practice of integrated art and the artists who created Viger Square (Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass and Claude Théberge). Because the

research under Couture's leadership does not address public art exclusively, it demonstrates how, for the period under study, art integrated to architecture was created by artists who otherwise exhibited in art galleries and museums. With a few exceptions, artists did not specialize in the integration of arts. Hence, their position in the artistic field was as artists in general, not as specialists of a given art form (e.g., muralists). Several of these artists had first been painters, and for a while at least, mural art was their ideal form of integrated art. Therefore, Les arts visuels au Québec allows a better understanding of the forms accepted or listed in the early provincial regulations, as a result of lobbying by artists. Lastly, the study asserts beyond dispute that those artists promoted modernism and modernity, technology and progress, in their art, in architecture, and in the city.

According to Senie, there were only a few sculptors among modernist artists, and they were not used to working at a larger scale, that is, on an architectural or urban scale. Mies van der Rohe, who admired Henry Moore very much, "had wanted Moore to make two sculptures for the forecourt of the Seagram building in New York, in an area now occupied by two rectangular pools."[140] But reportedly, Moore objected to the idea and declined the offer, mainly because of the adjoining buildings on Park Avenue. The case of the Seagram Building is also cited by Whyte: no Pablo Picasso, Constantin Brancusi or Henry Moore would have fitted properly. For Senie, the proliferation of public sculpture in the 1960s is tributary to the evolution of two existing traditions, besides the architects' influence: the tradition of monuments and memorials and "the changing relationship of sculpture and architecture in the evolution from modern to postmodern styles."[141] The modern sculpture on the plaza at the base of a modern building became paradigmatic of integrated art, which came to be known as public art in the urban milieu. Senie contends

that as "postmodern styles evolved and architecture once again provided its own color and ornament, public sculpture began to take on other forms besides a free standing sculpture in front of a building."[142] This new public sculpture tended to a larger urban landscape than the immediate surroundings of the edifice. Notably, by the end of the 1980s, art with a function was no longer perceived as belonging to the realm of low art (crafts). Public art was also conceived as part of urban design: gates, fences, bridges, bus shelters, et cetera were created as works of public sculpture. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh affirms that in the 1960s, the new generation of sculptors was opposed to the negation of the public dimension inherent in every sculpture, not only the monumental one ("la négation de la dimension publique inhérente à *toute* sculpture, pas seulement monumentale"[143]). Those sculptors included Carl Andre, Dan Flavin, Sol LeWitt, Robert Morris, Claes Oldenburg, Richard Serra.

According to Senie, if early patrons selected highly reputed sculptors to enhance their corporate image, some less well known artists gained experience and eventually proposed works of art more adapted to the public realm. Therefore, ecological art, or nature integrated to sculpture, emerged during the 1970s. Senie applauds the recourse to nature in art to create more hospitable spaces in urban centres. She associates public sculpture in/with nature with post-modernism in art and architecture. However, she fails to explain why so many sculptures continued to be created in this post-modern era and to be associated with high edifices, a modernist legacy.

For Déry, contemporary art, be it public or not, expresses more than ever concerns about tri-dimensional space and about the environment. Therefore, it was only natural to ask artists to make the urban environment more humane and to instil in it dream and poetry. Without really developing this aspect, Déry associates this more humane art to land art

or ecological art. Art in the city is presented as the cure to urban problems and evils, which indeed is reminiscent of the nineteenth century. However, the context of public commissions in Québec has not promoted avant-garde art such as environmental art. Déry contends that artists who are members of lobby groups, like sculptors in Québec, do not seek to promote higher standards but rather a better accessibility, what we might call a greater share of the market. Consequently, even though land art and other forms of organic art could be beneficial to the vast majority of citizens, the provincial programme (1%) may have contributed to precluding gardens or other forms of vegetation as art, because the provincial programme was sensitive to the artists' lobby, which did not promote avant-garde art.

According to Sharon Zukin, during the 1960s, some artists attempted to escape the market-led system of art institutions and private patrons. They developed three strategies in order to escape the market system, one of which was to change the art forms:

> They made art in forms that were so big, so unwieldy, or so 'environmental' that they could not easily be transported to a gallery, let alone displayed there, among other works, or in a private collector's living room. . . . artists began to describe their big or bulky work as resistance to the market . . . . You could buy, but you obviously could not own, [works of land art] . . . .[144]

Hence, the change to environmental art forms is presented as a strategy by the artists to escape the art market and to maintain their autonomy.

Art history professor Colette Garraud explores the idea of nature in contemporary art.[145] She relates the origins of the ecological movement towards the end of the 1960s, when the young artists of the time revolted against artistic institutions. Artists of a new generation (in North America as well as in Europe) walked out of their studio as a protest against the market system and the traditional circuits of studio-art galleries-museums.

This led them to work outside of museums and art galleries and to establish new relationships between art and nature. Also, some artists wanted to subtract their work of art from the building itself, from the realm of architecture. For instance, as early as 1966, Robert Morris asserted that he was looking for a space that would ideally be free from any architecture in the background. This refusal to go in hallowed places led North American artists to protest against the status of the art object linked to the traditional studio production. Some artists selected only remote, virgin territories for their creation, while some others preferred the city. Garraud makes it clear that artists who walked out of the city--the place where capital accumulation happens and is made visible--did not necessarily do so out of attraction to beautiful, virgin landscape, or for environmental reasons.

Garraud's assessment of the artists' motivation is particular of the first generation of the land artists whose works, created in the unspoiled American desert, constitute the most significant examples precisely because of their distance from urban centres where the art market was active. With their creation of works of art in remote and inaccessible places, artists partly succeeded in getting away with the art market, even if the landscapes that they created could not be detached from their surroundings and owned. These works of art necessitated patrons in the traditional sense in order to be done and then, promoted. Therefore, land artists eventually exhibited works of art and photographs of land art works in art galleries. James Wines further contends that besides a few exceptions, the art gallery establishment did not support an art that was not a movable and sellable object. The sale of the graphic documentation of the project did not prove to be sufficient to offset the costs of those large scale and often remote projects. Without consistent opportunities for the realization of land art, the movement abated.

Senie contends that the role and importance of nature in the arts of the late 1960s is tributary to the early works of land art and earthworks: "Their incorporation of site into the work of art as part of its content were concepts easily transferred to the predominantly urban realm of public life."[146] By incorporating nature or the landscape into works of art, artists acknowledged "a specific deficiency in our urban spaces, one that artists could address either symbolically or directly."[147] Natural rocks and water were some of the natural elements used by artists. The evolution of the single sculptural object into an entire site modified the definition of sculpture. The creation of parks or gardens is deemed by Senie to be a highly effective form of public art.

Wines also discusses earth works and the environmental art movement in general.[148] Environmental art influenced both public art and its relation to architecture, and architecture itself. Earth art was important in that it expanded references and addressed exterior environmental concerns in new ways, dealing notably with both land and architecture.

Among the multiplicity of the artistic approaches towards nature (multiplicity deemed by Garraud), Matilsky selects works of art that belong to the quadrant formed by the "ecology" and "urban" axes. Her study focuses on American art, even though she notes certain relationships with other works of art created by those artists, elsewhere in the world.

By the 1960s, artists expressed their environmental awareness through their art. Matilsky affirms that ecological art "attempts to ameliorate one of the critical problems facing the planet: the widening gulf between natural and urban ecosystems."[149] In a historical overview Matilsky establishes parallels between nineteenth-century landscape painting and contemporary environmental art, as well as between the evolution of art forms and upheavals in the environment, including the urban landscape. Environmental art would be in keeping with the tradition

of naturalist artists. Matilsky situates ecological art in the "long tradition of artists responding to the environment."[150] However, the artists who started, from the 1960s onward, to address ecological and environmental concerns appear to be, ideologically, closer to Olmsted (as she herself depicts him) than to the American landscape painters of the nineteenth century.

The art movement that emerged in the 1960s aimed to reconnect with nature and did so by restoring or re-creating natural ecosystems, close to major urban agglomerations. "Landfills, vacant urban lots, rivers, wetlands, the continental shelf--these are all creatively undergoing remediation and reclamation by artists. . . . they are conceived as public spaces where people can develop a closer relationship with nature."[151] In addition, ecological art is sensitive to the cultural history of those public spaces.

Environmental art took many forms, each reflecting a specific approach to nature. In her attempt to offer the genesis of environmental art, Matilsky grafts it to two other artistic movements that were important in the United States and that emerged in the 1960s. Minimal art and process art were both "concerned with extending traditional boundaries of form, space, and materials."[152] Therefore, abstract, monumental sculpture in art galleries expanded to become abstract, monumental earthworks in nature. Also included in this environmental art movement are "works that use elements of nature to interpret specific ecological problems . . . and outdoor ecological artworks that introduce flora and fauna into the city."[153] Among the works she presents are Time Landscapes by Alan Sonfist, and Wheatfield, Battery Park City--A Confrontation (1982) by Agnes Denes, both in New York City. Both were initiated by the artists themselves, rather than being the result of a competition or of a request from a patron. Alan Sonfist developed the concept of Time Landscapes in the mid-1960s

but could achieve it only ten years later, due to funding difficulties. The work of art reclaimed an urban lost space on the site of a previous tenement building, and consists of a plantation. Rock samples are also displayed on the site, which is fenced off and inaccessible to the public. Even if Matilsky calls it an urban park, it is certainly not one in the usual understanding of the term. Also in Manhattan, near the World Trade Centre, Agnes Denes achieved Wheatfield, a plantation in a landfill. Wheatfield was not intended to be permanent and the grain was eventually harvested. Other environmental projects were undertaken in New York City and in other American cities, eventually funded by public agencies. For instance, Patricia Johanson's Fair Park Lagoon (1981-86) in Dallas, Texas, was commissioned by the then Director of the Dallas Museum of Art. Johanson had, before that project, conceived of another environmental art project, a garden in the place of an urban landfill: Garden Cities: Turtle Mound (1969), which never materialized.

Some projects had a greater ecological coefficient than others, but all, in Matilsky's opinion, contributed in supporting a new consciousness vis-à-vis nature. Garraud agrees that some artists worked in nature in a more respectful way. They would draw in nature, or walk either in nature or in the urban landscape. The walk would then become a form of art. The traditional work of art thus was replaced by ephemeral, intangible one. However, Matilsky explains that despite the positive impact of other forms of ecological art within this movement, earthworks such as Robert Smithson's Spiral Jetty (1970) had the most critical acclaim, possibly due to the scale and the conceptual aspect of the works. Paradoxically, those monumental works were in a sense the least environment friendly as they emphasized the taming of nature by technology. Matilsky highlights the difference between Smithson's work and his writing, in which he asserts that art could mediate environmental problems caused by industry.

The work of sculptor Robert Smithson became emblematic of environmental art. Trained in architecture, yet a sculptor, Smithson is considered by some, including by Wines, as "the most important figure in the art of the landscape since Frederick Law Olmsted at the turn of the century."[154] According to Wines, designers (architects and landscape architects) were not receptive to Smithson's message. His influence on them had more to do with the formalism of creations that followed: "It was usually manifested as boulders dropped in a spiral configuration at the center of a civic complex or serpentine gopher mounds punctuating a dreary urban park."[155] Other artists, however, were inspired by Smithson's work, and "art in an expanded field was the prevailing force of the avant-garde in the late 1960s,"[156] according to Wines.

Another noteworthy environmental project was Joseph Beuys' 7,000 Oaks (1982-87) which involved the planting of as many trees in Kassel, Germany, by Beuys and his students. Planting trees "dramatized the need to revitalize the urban ecology."[157] Beuys had intended to have each tree standing for a monument. It is worth noting that the Dia Art Foundation financed the initial project in Kassel. Later on, the Dia Center for the Arts in New York City pursued Beuys' project "with the planting of several different kinds of trees, each aligned with a basalt stone, in front of its exhibition facility."[158] Also in 1982, Agnes Denes proposed Tree Mountain, a project to have ten thousand silver fir trees planted by as many persons.

Matilsky observes that ecological works of art shared the characteristic of being located in or near large urban agglomerations, which was not a coincidence; it attested to the wholesale destruction of nature by urbanization. Intrinsically, ecological artists aimed to confer a new function on art, to wit to restore man's relation to nature. Ecological art forecasted a new role for the artist, that of a social activist. But this

activism could not be pursued in isolation. The ecological artist created his art in collaboration with the public and with specialists of various disciplines, such as scientists, landscape architects and urban planners. The art resulting from this process is often referred to as collaborative art. Matilsky insists that those ecological works of art differ from

> land-remediation projects initiated by planners and landscape architects. The artworks transcend their visual dimension and become . . . "philosophical spaces." Not only intended as models for ecological rehabilitation, they are also places that calalyze an experience intended to stir the mind and spirit.[159]

She contends that only artists are capable of transcending disciplinary limitations. Also, in some instances, ecological art is sponsored by public or private art institutions. Matilsky points out to the new role offered to museums. Some of the urban projects she presents were realized with their intermediary or help. Museums could be activists in the community and take part in the direct redemption of nature. In the end, Matilsky acknowledges the fact that several environmental artists had fled the art market and its circuit of galleries, which led them to work in the public arena, appropriate for ecological art.

Some land artists eventually reclaimed industrial land (e.g., mines), thus giving an environmental flavour to their work. However, once again, there were risks for artists of being used by big capitalist corporations, land reclamation art projects being both less costly than traditional non-artistic solutions, and serving as public relations. A few artists published essays in which they expressed their view about art and more specifically, their art. Robert Irwin, Robert Morris, Alan Sonfist, and Robert Smithson were some of them. Regarding the possibility for land artists to be used, Robert Morris addressed the artist's possible attitudes vis-à-vis the market forces and capitalist accumulation:

> The production of artworks in this late industrial age has for the most part been circumscribed and structured by the commodity market. . . . Strictures for change under different social conditions might emphasize disjunctive change, or not change at all. The modes for all change, or nonchange, in production, including art, may be limited to three: static, incremental, and disjunctive.
>
> Although this [yearly style variations in art, e.g., incremental change] has proven obviously more economically sound for artists than either the static or disjunctive modes, . . . the disjunctive, when effective, . . . has been granted greater cultural value . . . . The disjunctive condition itself often ushers in the mode of commodity production in which incremental variations are practiced by "second-generation" artists.[160]

Therefore, for Morris, "second-generation" artists doing site specific work outside the studio "conform to the 'established style variation' mode characteristic of commodity object production."[161] And artists doing land reclamation may seem "to promote the continuing acceleration of the resource-energy-commodity-consumption cycle."[162] However, Morris does not condemn or look with contempt at those who cannot help but rely on the forces that are behind capital accumulation, arguing that "art has always been dependent upon and served one set of forces or another with little regard to the morality of those forces . . . . It makes little difference what forces make use of art."[163] For his part, artist John Grande "questions the invasion of the creative process by institutional and market forces and marks a return to direct experience with nature as a source of creativity."[164] For Grande, art in and with nature stemmed from environmental preoccupations. He contends that the theme of art in nature expanded to include artistic realizations in the city that dealt with nature.

However, despite artists' embracing ecological art as a protest against market forces and, consequently, against urban disintegration, art with nature was eventually assimilated by those very forces it was

opposing, even in the city. Battery Park City is exemplary of this shift from avant-garde, combat art to established, high-profile art. Senie offers Battery Park City (mid 1980s) as an example of post-modern public sculpture. Battery Park City showcases much publicized public art in an attempt to add value to an upscale residential and commercial project. One percent of the lease agreement revenues contributed to the financing of the art programme by the private developers. Battery Park City Authority had "wanted artists to actually design space and not be assigned spaces in which to do pieces of art."[165] From the start, three of the six public art projects were set up to establish co-operation between the participants of the projects, to wit, the architects, the sculptors and the landscape architects: "The collaborative ventures . . . all aim at creating unique urban spaces rather than more traditional object sculpture. In this context, Battery Park City marks the end of an era that saw public sculpture as adjunct to architecture."[166] This process of collaborative art is tedious and not appreciated by every artist, some still preferring to work by themselves and keep a greater autonomy.

Miles presents Battery Park City as an example of artists (Scott Burton and Siah Armajani, inter alia) collaborating with the architect Cesar Pelli to design open spaces. Art was included "as an added value to this up-market development."[167] Art as usable space rather than a collection of isolated objects displayed in the public place could be socially beneficial, hence more successful.[168] Finally, Garraud discusses the sculpture parks, even if the works that are presented there "ne relèvent pas particulièrement de l'idée de nature."[169] However, she contends that some of those parks tend towards a cohesiveness between art and nature that is increasingly significant.

There is, in the literature reviewed, a consensus regarding the positive impact artists have when designing the city, or parts of it. Only

Rosalyn Deutsche denounces vigorously any form of art created (produced) in the context of urban development, including Battery Park City, or other collaborative art.[170] Her recrimination relies on the belief that such public art contributes to create the illusion that economic growth and urban development are equally beneficial to the entire population. On the contrary, Deutsche argues, public art serves to camouflage uneven urban development. Otherwise, whatever the context, adding urban furniture as art, or gardens or earthworks or other forms of three-dimension works of art is deemed beneficial. However, both Whyte and Miles offer Paley Park and Greenacre Park, both in New York City, where no public art is exhibited, as counterparts to architect-designed-plazas which display prominent artists' sculptures. They question the necessity to use works of art for having a good public place. Not only these parks do not exhibit art, they were not created by artists, but by landscape architects. Both places are fine examples of public places, and the presence of trees, a waterfall, moveable seating and a small café certainly contribute to their overall success.[171] For Miles, this "is a challenge to those who advocate the inclusion of art as part of a prescription for urban improvement."[172] The success of these places could also challenge the assumption that public places designed by artists contribute de facto to a melioration of the urban space.

Conclusion

The research question addresses the factors of production and of exclusion of certain art forms in the city. This study is interested in the process that valued sculpture and not vegetal works of art and gardens, leading to their quasi-exclusion. The literature review helped to diagnose

some of those factors, namely, the relations between artist and architect, artist and landscape architect, artist and city planner, artist and patron. It also helped to appraise the role of architects, of public policies and of patrons of the art, be they private, corporate or public, in the making of public art. Underlying all this, the relationship of artists to money and to the market is stressed. Specifically, the market could be a deterrent to innovation and to the creation of nature-related works of art. The governmental programmes are also identified as influential factors, yet there is no real consensus as to their actual contribution. Is patronage of the arts really at odds with the contemporary society? Does it fully explain the preference for certain art forms over others (preference for tradition)? Does it explain the absence of works that could be beneficial to the urban landscape, to wit the creation of places with a greater "natural" coefficient, as suggested by Déry, Matilsky, Senie and Wines?

Furthermore, Déry's analysis of the contemporary artist's refusal to create functional art is denied by Senie's research. This means that we can rule out the artist's refusal to do functional art and to do so for public commissions as the probable explanation for the rise of public sculpture on plazas, as opposed to gardens.

Wines sees in the artist's will to gain and assert his autonomy the origin of the difficult relation he further developed with the architect. Wines also contends that this animosity would have impacted on the subsequent public art. The independence of artistic practice vis-à-vis architecture led architects to consider art as an "added on" element. Hence, this possibly explains why so many sculptures were set on a parcel as an independent, autonomous gesture.

Senie holds that space and patronage are essential to public art. But what role do they play in the type of art, i.e., in the dominance of sculpture over gardens? A partial explanation for the rise of the

phenomenon which consists of setting a sculpture in a plaza would be the availability of parcels of land after urban renewal. But if there was so much space, why not have created earthworks of some sort? Among other possible factors, Senie offers the theoretical views of the architectural leaders and art critics of the time. Did the prevailing association of public art with architecture lead to overlooking nature and favour sculpture? Was sculpture perceived as more prestigious than nature-related art? If so, why was it this way?

Public funding of city beautification evolved over time and emerged, transfigured, in the 1960s, responsible for the presence of several major public sculptures. On the one hand, Déry asserts that the proliferation of statues in the nineteenth-century urban landscape led to a devaluation of civic art. Modernism, in a spirit of correction, would have brought back art within the edifice, hence promoting art integrated to architecture. However, both Déry and Senie explain that the modernists did not completely reject past experiences with those sculptures located in urban venues, and which were intrinsically linked to city beautification. In fact, these two authors posit an affiliation between nineteenth-century statues and twentieth-century sculptures in a plaza. If the valuation of those civic statues was so depreciated, why did twentieth-century public art end up mainly in the form of a sculpture in a plaza? Precisely because it was a modern sculpture and not a statue? That is possible, even though this can not be the only explanation for the presence of so many major public sculptures. We have to remember that modern art in general, including sculpture, was controversial, and that contemporary patrons of public art aimed to avoid controversy. Moreover, if modernist theories and practices borrowed from nineteenth-century, early twentieth-century city beautification precepts, how can we relate post-modernism to landscape art, as do Matilsky, Senie and Wines? In other words, if nineteenth-

century city beautification included both civic sculpture and nature in the form of parks, why did sculpture end up being prevalent in the modern city, and why did nature-related works of art become emblematic of post-modernism? In particular, how do post-modern works of art that deal with nature relate to the nineteenth-century approach to nature? Was the early conflict between landscape architect and sculptor still present at the epoch of land artists? The difficult relationship between artist and architect is often addressed, but rarely is the relationship between artist and landscape architect. However, from the literature, we see that twentieth-century architects had a major say in the decision to have works of art in their buildings (particularly when they were not forced to do so by public programmes). The literature also highlights difficult relations between artists (sculptors) and landscape architects. Bogart discusses the conflictual relation between Olmsted and the sculptors who intended to add art to his park design. Matilsky confirms Olmsted's view against adding art and sculpture in his park and against urban squares, as well as his influence in shaping a certain vision of the city. Wines contends that Robert Smithson, architect and artist, was the most important figure for landscape after Olmsted. Finally, the prevalent and persistent dichotomy between civic art and art integrated to architecture appears to have left the landscape and the relation to nature aside.

Both artists' and landscape architects' creations appear to involve the exclusion of the other party. In the nineteenth century, Olmsted rejected sculpture. In the twentieth century, land artists repudiated not only architecture, but landscape architecture as well. If Olmsted viewed the landscape as being artistically autonomous, it seems that the twentieth-century artists have taken over the realm of landscape architecture as art (Smithson succeeding to Olmsted).

Despite their rejection of art institutions, land artists/environmental artists had to team with them in order to have major works of art created. Also, post-modern art as place was recuperated by some civic and corporate leaders, as exemplified by Battery Park City. If Battery Park City is praised as a great example of re-introduction of art and landscape in the urban environment (Senie), it is also denounced as being emblematic of post-modernist public art tagged on behind the main force of urban development, namely real-estate development.

Both Crane and Zukin affirm that governments and private corporations, by financing the arts, contributed to their expansion and to the expansion of the art market. The increased number of artists led to a lack of exhibition space in art galleries, and to the artists' take-over of derelict spaces in cities. By increasing in number, patrons would have had an indirect impact on innovative art forms, even though they did not themselves patronize the land artists. Zukin demonstrates that an arts-promotion strategy contributed to the restructuring of cities. This exploitation of art in city centres was meant to alleviate tensions, increase the value of investment and embellish the city. This context could have contributed, if not led, to the adoption in cities of a major innovation in art: land art. However, the restructuring of cities did not involve that much space for independent, unpatronized land artists in the city. Inherently, there is a clash between artists permanently using parcels of land in the central area and the logic of real-estate development. Left over spaces may have been acceptable for ephemeral art (such as Agnes Denes') but not necessarily for permanent gardens. When gardens were built, the artists were associated with art institutions, museums, as were Sonfist in New York City, Johanson in Dallas, and Joseph Beuys also in New York City, or else the gardens were grafted to real-estate development projects as in the case of Battery Park City. Crane excludes earth art in her

appraisal of the avant-garde because she limits her study to styles that used the equipment traditionally associated with the plastic arts. However, several authors associate land art or earth art with the artistic avant-garde of the late 1960s. We agree that earth works (which include gardens, urban land art, ecological art, environmental art) should be considered when assessing the avant-garde, precisely because the land artists were those who first opposed the art institutions, the market and art associated with real estate development. In short, earth works were important in the artistic avant-garde of the time, but not in the urban development process, given the very nature of both the earth works and real-estate development. This may explain statements regarding the lack of avant-garde spirit stemming from post-modern artists. The art forms that were accepted in the city integrated the constraints and "permissions" of various regulations, policies and patrons. There seems to be similarities between the private and public sectors in their financing and their choice of art forms. Sculpture was the ideal object of speculation and a sellable good that was readily available. Moreover, sculptures were expressly identified as permissible obstructions on a plaza.

Zukin states that in their quest for autonomy, artists could rely on the following strategies: to change the product, the location, and the partners, the latter being art galleries. Regarding the last item, we witnessed artists who started to collaborate with people from other disciplines: a lot of artistic work was undertaken with scientists (biologists, botanists, ecologists, et cetera), as attested by Matilsky. Yet, others worked with architects and real-estate developers. Artists started to evolve outside the art community to implement some of their projects. Ironically, neither Crane nor Harvey attest the attempts of the artists who opposed to the accepted art forms. Their role as avant-garde is dismissed.

If Charles Jencks could determine the passage to post-modernism as being the time when a prize-winning modernist housing project was dynamited, in 1972, could the possible symbolic end of modernist public art be marked by the strong protest that followed the installation of Richard Serra's Tilted Arc (1981, removed and destroyed in 1989)?[173] Could the production of this modernist work well into the post-modernist era be seen as the imposition by the Establishment forces of their view regarding art and urban development? Using art as the growth strategy of the corporate city centre positioned art--and the artist--in a commercial realm which is antagonistic to high art and the autonomous artist as depicted by Bourdieu. In itself, this could contribute an explanation for the use of a model at odds with some post-modern sensibilities, and the rejection of a work that did not meet the expectations (such as being non controversial).

In the end, a New York City model emerges from this literature review. We note, among others, the influence of nineteenth-century sculptors through the belief of leading modernist architects. The European influence was also present, from the sculptors and architects who studied in Paris in the nineteenth century to the modernist artists and architects who came to the United States in the course of the twentieth century. Lastly, this historical and theoretical influence was inscribed in public policies. If those policies borrowed from earlier realizations, they nonetheless favoured the proliferation of both skyscrapers, plazas and sculptures. But they were not the only factors: state and corporate patronage were also influential. They favoured art and plazas and high-rises for a combination of symbolic, civic and economic reasons.

New York City's influential role is largely acknowledged in the literature. According to Harvey, the major cities of the world, including Montréal, adopted the modernist credo. How did it manifest itself in the Québec metropolis with regards to the art integrated to architecture to be

found in the urban environment, with regards to public sculpture, plazas and high-rises? Furthermore, how did post-modernism manifest itself in the city regarding those same elements? Did we witness more landscaped plazas, or did we welcome the avant-garde land artists? How important and influential were the factors identified so far in the selection of art forms in Montréal? The next part of this thesis will focus on the advent of artistic modernity in Québec, the role of the State and of municipal government in the modernization of Montréal, and in their use of the arts for urban development, the role of Expo 67 in promoting modernism in art, architecture and urban development, and the leading role of the corporate sector in the advent of skyscrapers, plazas, and sculpture. This part also includes chapters that address the shift from modernism to post-modernism in both artistic, architectural and urban scenes.

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[1] Pierre Bourdieu, Les règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire (n. p.: Éditions du Seuil, coll. "Libre Examen," 1992).
[2] Ibid., 93.
[3] As attested by Rosalind E. Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: MIT Press, 1985; First MIT Press paperback edition, 1986).
[4] "*Les menaces sur l'autonomie* résultent de l'interpénétration de plus en plus grande entre le monde de l'art et le monde de l'argent. Je pense aux nouvelles formes de mécénat, et aux nouvelles alliances qui s'instaurent entre certaines entreprises économiques, souvent les plus modernistes . . . et les producteurs culturels; . . . ." Bourdieu, Les règles de l'art, 468.

[5] Rainer Rochlitz, Subversion et subvention: Art contemporain et argument esthétique (n. p. : Éditions Gallimard, 1994), 19-20. Institutions discussed by Rochlitz are public as well as private. Private foundations in some Western Countries have assumed the same role as some French State institutions (p. 194).
[6] Catherine Millet, L'art contemporain en France, Éditions Flammarion, 1987, 279, in Rochlitz, ibid., 188.
[7] David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity (Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1990), 7, 39; Edward W. Soja, Postmodern Geographies (London, England, and New York: Verso, 1989), 5.
[8] Harvey, ibid., 16.
[9] Ibid., 17.
[10] Ibid., 19.
[11] Ibid., 26.
[12] Ibid., 25.
[13] Ibid., 35.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 68-69.
[16] Ibid., 37-38.
[17] Ibid., 40.
[18] Expression used by Harvey, ibid. After Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, Collage City (Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: MIT Press).
[19] Harvey, ibid., 40, 44.
[20] Ibid., 42.
[21] Ibid., 59.
[22] Ibid., 62.
[23] Crimp quoted in ibid.
[24] Ibid., 76.
[25] Malcolm Miles, Art Space and the City (London, England, and New York: Routledge, 1997), 1, see also 90, and Margaret Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne: fonctions, formes, lieux et contextes," (Masters of Urban Planning diss., McGill University, 1994), vol. 1. The author of this research reached the same conclusion while working on the literature review specifically devoted to public art.
[26] Miles, ibid., 105; see also 106-7.
[27] Ibid., 19.
[28] Ibid., 99.
[29] Barbara C. Matilsky, Fragile Ecologies: Contemporary Artists' Interpretations and Solutions (New York: Rizzoli in association with The Queens Museum of Art, 1992), 6.
[30] Ibid., 24.

[31] Ibid., 26. Matilsky explains in note 28, p. 117 that "these distinctions were made by Olmsted himself in his address 'The Justifying Value of a Public Park' (1870)."
[32] Michele H. Bogart, Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City 1890-1930 (Chicago and London, England: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 18.
[33] Ibid., 19.
[34] Ibid., 185.
[35] Ibid., 29.
[36] Ibid., 22.
[37] See also Harriet F. Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 6.
[38] Bogart, Public Sculpture, 2, 9, 35, 81.
[39] Ibid., 6, 74, 82. This is exemplified by the third case study, about the United States Customs House, p. 6, 111-12, 130-31, 134; see also 221-22, 271.
[40] Ibid., 56; see also p. 59-61, 86-87.
[41] Ibid., 56; see also 82, 240.
[42] Ibid., 75, 86, 242, 269-70.
[43] Ibid., 284, 291.
[44]Ibid., 5-6, 9, 48, 55, 269-70, 291, 293-98. Also, about the artist-architect relation, see the case of the Customs House, p. 111, 117-19, 123.
[45] Ibid., 297.
[46] Ibid., 307.
[47] Ibid., 308. About the by-law, see also Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Tridib Banerjee, Urban Design Downtown (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, England: University of California Press, 1998), 49; Carol Willis, "A 3-D CBD: How the 1916 Zoning Law Shaped Manhattan's Central Business Districts," in Planning and Zoning New York City: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 3-26. Willis notes: "A tower of unlimited height was permitted over one-quarter of the area of the lot." (p. 4)
[48] Bogart, ibid., 297.
[49] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 61.
[50] Ibid., 71; also p. 156-57.
[51] Ibid., 71-72.
[52] Ibid., 14
[53] Ibid., vii, 14, 98, 102-3.
[54] Ibid., 14, 95-98, 104-5, 116-17.
[55] Louise Déry, "Art public et intégration des arts à l'architecture au Québec: Contextes et créations" (Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, 1991).

[56] James Wines, De-Architecture (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1987), 69.
[57] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 14.
[58] William H. Whyte, City: Rediscovering the Center (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1988, paperback edition, 1990), 144-47, 154-55.
[59] Ibid., 150.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Loukaitou-Sideris, Urban Design Downtown, 235-36; see also 250.
[64] Ibid., 236-37.
[65] Ibid., 103.
[66] Ibid., 250.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., 233.
[69] Ibid., 103.
[70] Ibid., 281.
[71] Malcolm Miles, "Art and urban regeneration," Urban History 22, pt. 2 (August 1995): 239.
[72] Ibid., 238.
[73] Ibid., 245.
[74] Ibid., 247, note 32.
[75] Ibid., 247.
[76] Ibid., 243.
[77] Such as Raymond Mason's Forward, "a sculpture of a crowd, or the people of Birmingham--is a democratized version of a conventional monument." Ibid., 248. In Montréal, on McGill College Avenue, there is another of Mason's sculpture, La foule illuminée, also representing a crowd of ordinary people.
[78] Ibid., 243.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid., 245.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Miles, Art Space and the City, 128, 130; see also 111 and notes 13, 14, p. 223.
[83] Ibid., 130.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., 131.
[86] Ibid., 109; see also 90, 106-7.
[87] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 15.
[88] Whyte, City, 230-32. See also Norman Marcus, "Zoning from 1961 to 1991: Turning Back the Clock-- But With an Up-to-the Minute Social

Agenda," in Planning and Zoning New York City: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, 63-64.
[89] Whyte, ibid., 229; see also 230, 232-33.
[90] Edward I. Koch and City of New York City Planning Commission, "Midtown Zoning," New York City: The New York Department of City Planning, March 1982, statutory text, 81.231, p. 63. See also Marcus, "Turning Back the Clock," in Planning and Zoning New York City: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, 86-87.
[91] Koch, ibid., 81.231, (i) 1, p. 69; see also 3 and 4, p. 71.
[92] Ibid., (n), Paving, p. 75; see also (m) Planting and trees, p. 75.
[93] Whyte, City, 233, 244-50; Loukaitou-Sideris, Urban Design Downtown, 84-85, 236.
[94] Whyte, ibid., 248.
[95] Ibid., 248-49.
[96] Loukaitou-Sideris, Urban Design Downtown, 48.
[97] As discussed above, this was contended by Bogart and is acknowledged by Loukaitou-Sideris. See ibid., 47-48, 50.
[98] Loukaitou-Sideris, ibid., 63-64.
[99] Ibid., 67, 69; Marcus, "Turning Back the Clock," 63, 72; Roy Strickland, "The 1961 Zoning Revision and the Template of the Ideal City," in Planning and Zoning New York City: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, 51.
[100] Loukaitou-Sideris, ibid., 86.
[101] Ibid., 73, 85-86.
[102] Iibid., xviii; see also 98.
[103] Ibid., 86; see also 98.
[104] Ibid., 87; see also 98.
[105] Ibid., 99.
[106] Ibid., 97-98.
[107] Sharon Zukin, Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change (Baltimore and London, England: John Hopkins University Press, 1982), 176.
[108] Ibid., 178.
[109] Ibid., 189.
[110] Ibid., 82. See also 176-77.
[111] Ibid., 20. J. Allen Whitt concurs with Zukin. See "The Arts Coalition in Strategies of Urban Development," in The Politics of Urban Development (Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 148.
[112] Rosalyn Deutsche, "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City," in Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), 175.
[113] Ibid., 177-78.

[114] Ibid., 187.
[115] Vera Zolberg, Constructing a Sociology of the Arts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[116] Ibid., 136-41.
[117] Ibid., 138-39.
[118] Zukin, Loft Living, 100.
[119]Zolberg, Constructing a Sociology of the Arts, 177.
[120] Ibid., 179.
[121] "Nearly simultaneous with expanding public subsidies, support from foundations and especially corporations also grew dramatically (Zolberg 1983; Martorella 1986)." Ibid., 206.
[122] Vera Zolberg, "Changing patterns of patronage in the arts," in Jack B. Kamerman and Rosanne Martorella, eds., Performers and Performances: The Social Organization of Artistic Work (New York: Preager, 1983), 251-68.
[123] Diana Crane, The Transformation of the Avant-Garde The New York Art World, 1940-1985 (Chicago and London, England: University of Chicago Press, 1987; paperback edition, 1989), 38.
[124] Rosanne Martorella, Corporate Art (New Brunswick and London, England: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 6.
[125] Zukin, Loft Living.
[126] Martorella, Corporate Art, 24.
[127] Ibid., 20
[128] Ibid., 163
[129] Crane, The Transformation of the Avant-Garde, 126; see also p. 16.
[130] Martorella, Corporate Art, 166.
[131] Zukin, Loft Living, 85-90.
[132] Bogart, Public Sculpture, 309.
[133] Ibid., 311.
[134] Martorella, Corporate Art, 23; see also Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 116.
[135] Martorella, ibid., 24.
[136] Ibid., 110.
[137] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 116-17.
[138] Martorella, Corporate Art, 87. The Equitable referred to the Rockefeller Center, though.
[139] Francine Couture ed., Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993).
[140] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 106; see also Whyte, City, 148.
[141] Senie, ibid., vii; see also Whyte, ibid., 143.
[142] Senie, ibid., 82.

[143] Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Construire (l'histoire de) la sculpture," in Qu'est-ce que la sculpture moderne?, catalogue of the exhibition held at the Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée national d'art moderne (n. p.: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1986), 268.
[144] Zukin, Loft Living, 91; see also 90-92.
[145] Colette Garraud, L'idée de nature dans l'art contemporain: La création contemporaine (Paris: Flammarion, 1994).
[146] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 141.
[147] Ibid., 142.
[148] Wines, De-Architecture, 90.
[149] Matilsky, Fragile Ecologies, 3-4.
[150] Ibid., 4.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., 38.
[153] Ibid., 37.
[154] Wines, De-Architecture, 92.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid., 94.
[157] Matilsky, Fragile Ecologies, 50.
[158] This comes from a leaflet by the Dia Center for the Arts, Joseph Beuys, 7000 Oaks, "long-term installation" on West 22nd Street, New York City.
[159] Matilsky, Fragile Ecologies, 57.
[160] Robert Morris, Continuous Project Altered Daily (Cambridge, Mass., London, England, and New York: MIT Press and Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1993), 223-24.
[161] Ibid., 224.
[162] Ibid., 226.
[163] Ibid., 229-30.
[164] John Grande, Balance: Art and Nature (Montréal, New York, and London, England: Black Rose Books, 1994), cover page.
[165] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 88.
[166] Ibid., 90-91.
[167] Miles, "Art and urban regeneration," 247; see also Miles, Art Space and the City, 119-24.
[168] Miles, "Art and urban regeneration," 247-50.
[169] Garraud, Nature, 84; see also p. 8.
[170] Deutsche, "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City," in Out of Site, 188-202.
[171] Whyte, City, 143, 148; Miles, "Art and urban regeneration," 245-47; Miles, Art Space and the City, 14, 111.
[172] Miles, "Art and urban regeneration," 245-47.

[173] Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 27, 219, 221; Margaret Rose LaWare, "Public space and postmodernism: A rhetorical study of two contemporary works of public art" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1993), 89; Richard Serra, " 'Tilted Arc' Destroyed," Art in America 77, no. 6 (May 1989): 34-47.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 3

THE ADVENT OF ARTISTIC MODERNITY

Introduction

The literature review evidenced links between the creation of public sculpture in the nineteenth century and in the 1960s, leading to the paradigm at the core of our investigation. The role of patrons, public and private, was also identified as being determinant in the popularity of certain art forms. Patrons were found to exert a tremendous influence through the funding of works of art. Public patronage of the arts took place mainly via the various art programmes.

Similarly, there may be links between traditional sculpture and the later developments of public sculpture in Montréal. Modern sculpture became important in Québec in the early sixties, even overshadowing painting for a short while (1965-70). However, a long sculptural tradition had existed in the province.[1] The possible links between the creation of public sculptures as monuments and the later exhibition of sculptures on plazas will be explored. A brief overview of Québec sculpture will first be presented, as a contextual background. This will allow us to understand the role sculpture played in the public realm, as well as the emergence of modern sculpture. We will see how, in a will to break away from the past,

modern artists at first broadly favoured painting over sculpture. However, a string of those modern artists promoted a form of social art, mainly in the form of mural and of sculpture. Eventually, modern sculptors turned to Government for help, and succeeded in getting State support. If obtaining commissions from the State meant having to do "official art" during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was no longer the case by the early 1960s.

The Pre-Modern Era: An Overview

From Religious Statues to Civic Memorials

The history of sculpture in Québec originated towards the end of the seventeenth century. Before that, sculptures were either imported from France (until the seventeenth century) or they were the work of immigrant sculptors and carpenters from France and Belgium. Several of them settled in Montréal. At that time, a single piece of work would bear multiple influences, from France and from England. Sculptures were statues with religious themes as their subject matter and they decorated churches and chapels. They were made of a single piece of wood, and were not signed. Nowadays, this art is not considered as great art (or high art), but deemed comparable to the French provincial production of the time, whereas art taught in Academia, during this period, was an art for the court or for Capitals. It could be appreciated as an art integrated to architecture, exhibited inside and outside religious constructions.[2] In Montréal, such sculpture/statue reached a golden age by the mid-eighteenth century but production ceased towards the end of the nineteenth century. By then, bronze replaced wood, and religious subject

matters yielded to profane ones. Sculpture belonged either to the private domain (busts, allegories), or the public one (public monuments).[3] It is remarkable, however, that during the eighteenth century, not only did Montréal have the characteristics of a medieval city,[4] but so did the art it produced. As in medieval ages, there was a strong link between art and religion, and art served for decoration and education purposes. Furthermore, some of the sculptors were architects.[5]

Until the end of the nineteenth century, not many monuments had been set up in Montréal. They were mostly erected over a forty-year period, spanning from 1895 to 1935.[6] In fact, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the absence of works of art inside and outside of Montréal's public buildings was disparaged: "Il suffit de jeter un coup-d'oeil autour de nous, sur l'intérieur et l'extérieur de nos édifices publics, pour voir notre pauvreté artistique."[7] It seems that the same could be said of public places. The Nelson column, erected in 1809, is the oldest public monument still visible in Montréal today. In 1872, a bronze statue of Queen Victoria by Marshall Wood crowned a granite pedestal in Victoria Square. In the last decade of that century, eight monuments of importance were erected and that rhythm continued into the twentieth century, with over twenty-five monuments established between 1900 and 1935.[8]

This situation was similar to the one prevailing at the time in the United States, particularly in New York City, where sculptures were widely used to structure or decorate public places. In America, the majority of public projects occurred between 1890 and 1920. The World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893, was the first major opportunity for American sculptors to show off their savoir faire.[9]

According to Leclerc and Ekemberg, the scarcity of public monuments until the early twentieth century is attributable to the fact that

the urban population was very small before then.[10] While this may be one possible factor, we believe that another cause should be considered. Some of the squares, parks, buildings that the statues eventually adorned simply did not exist at the time (see table 1). Moreover, when they did, they often had a simpler form or a different function (e.g., Victoria Square and Viger Square were first markets before changing function and appearance). In addition, the important buildings around or nearby the place were not yet completed. In other words, the monuments with statues and reliefs usually came after the public place/park/garden was completed, with the possible exception of fountains (see the Viger Square case study).

Many of these monuments were often paid for by public subscription, and therefore funding difficulties, disagreement among jury members, and public disapproval of the choice of an artist, were all reasons that delayed a command for a monument from a sculptor or a sculptor-architect team. The lack of money certainly slowed the creation of those public monuments with a granite pedestal, and sculptures and reliefs cast in bronze. Those monuments were memorials in that they aimed at illustrating historical events and public figures or heroes. French-Canadian individuals or organizations that commissioned those memorials were driven by a nationalist sentiment (for example the Patriots' monument and Dr. Olivier Chénier's statue).[11]

George W. Hill, Philippe Hébert and Alfred Laliberté were among the artists who created monuments in Montréal's public places. Each of them had studied in Paris and most of the monuments they created reflected the academic style and the classical subject matter of that era. Alfred Laliberté is a sculptor emblematic of the pre-modern period.[12] There had been few academically trained sculptors before him. When he died, art and sculpture in Québec were definitely on the road to modernity.

Table 1.--Dates of public places versus dates of monuments. Montréal.

Place	Year	Sculpture/Monument	Year	Artist
Place Jacques-Cartier	1803/ 1848[13]	Nelson Column	1809	M. Mitchell
Square Victoria[14]	1810- 1841 1860+-	Queen Victoria	1872	Marshall Wood
St. Henry Park		Jacques Cartier	1893	J.-Arthur Vincent
Viger Square		Jean-Olivier Chénier	1895	Peltzer
Canada Place		John A. MacDonald	1895	George Edward Wade
Place d'Armes[15]	1685	Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve[16]	1895	Philippe Hébert
Cathedral Mary Queen of the World	1894[17]	*13 statues in façade *Mgr. Ignace Bourget	1892-1900 1903	*Olindo Gratton *Philippe Hébert
St. Louis Square	1878[18]	Octave Crémazie[19]	1906	Philippe Hébert
Dominion Square[20]	1870- 1872	*Boer War Heroes *Robert Burns *Sir Wilfrid Laurier	1907 1930 1953	*George W. Hill *Anonymous *Émile Brunet
Place Royale	1673- 1892[21]	John Young	1911	Philippe Hébert
Union Nationale Française bldg (on Viger Street)	1908[22]	*Joan of Arc *Marianne	1912 1913	*André Vermare *Paul Chèvre
Philips Square	1842[23]	Edward VII	1914	Philippe Hébert
Maisonneuve Market	1914[24]	La fermière	1915[25]	Alfred Laliberté
Mount-Royal Park	1873- 1881[26]	Sir Georges-Étienne Cartier	1919	George William Hill
La Fontaine Park	1888- 1909[27]	*Dollard des Ormeaux *Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine	1920 1930	*Alfred Laliberté *Henri Hébert
Patriots' Place	1923[28]	Monument to the Patriots	1926	Alfred Laliberté
Place Vauquelin	1930[29]	Vauquelin	1930	Paul-Eugène Beuet
Botanical Garden[30]	1937- 1940	Marie-Victorin	1954	Sylvia Daoust

Sources: Information also comes from Leclerc and Ekemberg, Montreal and monument as art, 28-67 passim.

Hence, a brief account of Laliberté's life and education will help understand the context of the time.

Alfred Laliberté, Sculptor (1877-1953)

Alfred Laliberté was born in rural Québec in 1877 in a recently inhabited area called the Bois-Francs (hard wood).[31] As a child he helped his father either on the farm or at the (wood) mill, experiences that he later expressed in his sculptures. He did not go to school much. The family context was one of struggle for survival. He naturally used wood for his first sculptures. At first, he had no encouragement from his milieu, and he had to negotiate the right to sculpt with his father. Laliberté's father sought to cash in on his son's apparent talent and, in 1898, requested Napoléon-Charles Cormier's advice. Cormier, the politician of the area (conseiller législatif)[32], confirmed Alfred Laliberté's natural talent. He became his first mentor and patron.

Laliberté needed proper training. However, neither Cormier nor his political acquaintances knew of the existence of an art school, either in Québec City or in Montréal. Actually, there had been an art school at the Art Association of Montréal (which became the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts in 1949) since the middle of the nineteenth century. However, Alfred Laliberté was advised to go, and actually went, to the Conseil des arts et manufactures, created in 1857 in Montréal. The Conseil had, towards the end of the century, an "honest" reputation. Sculptors Philippe Hébert and Olindo Gratton (see table 1) had been teaching there.[33]

Laliberté came to Montréal by train, and arrived at the Viger train station. He lived in a family boarding house on St-Elizabeth Street, close to Viger Avenue. There were several such family boarding houses then,

where students from Laval University, École polytechnique and later, the École des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (on Viger Square) lived. Several artists and craftsmen had their studios in the neighbourhood.[34]

Laliberté had to work during the day to afford living in Montréal, and he took night classes at the Conseil. Cormier and another important persona, Wilfrid Laurier, then Prime Minister of Canada, also supported him financially. Laurier came from the same region as Laliberté's family and had previously been Laliberté's grandfather's lawyer. Cormier really acted as a mentor for Laliberté who already started making contacts in the journalistic milieu in order to get support. He was taught then and clearly understood the important links between art, the press, and politics (and politicians). The absolute confidence his patron Cormier had in both Laliberté's talent and in his drive to become successful, was capital to the young artist. Cormier assured Laliberté that hard work would yield success and celebrity. The end of the third year at the Conseil brought him the Medal of Honour as well as a passage to Europe. This trip was offered for the first time to a student (and in all likelihood, put forward by teachers eager to help develop the knowledge of a very capable student).[35]

In Paris, Laliberté also had to have recourse to his political connections to get a place at the highly regarded École des Beaux-Arts. He then lived in extreme poverty despite his patrons' financial help. Besides the work at the School under the guidance of artists, Laliberté benefited from his frequent visits to museums, learning about past and contemporary art. Rodin was then at the height of his fame. Laliberté could also observe sculptures integrated to architecture built for the Paris universal exhibition of 1900. The nineteenth century had been the golden age of sculpture and Laliberté could see for himself statues in public squares, at the jardin du Luxembourg, or along the paths of the Tuileries.

Laliberté stayed in Paris from 1902 to 1907. The city, as it was at the turn of the century, marked his view of sculpture forever. However, he did not perceive, or was not sensitive to the upheavals about to happen in the art world.[36]

Under the guidance of another artist from Québec, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté, Laliberté exhibited in the Parisian Salon. Back in Canada, he took part in similar exhibitions in Montréal and Toronto:[37] "Il ne suffit pas d'être diplômé des Beaux-Arts, il faut exposer ses oeuvres, les soumettre au jury, aux critiques, au public et, bien sûr, aux mécènes."[38] In addition, a sculptor needed commissions from the State to make a living. In Montréal, Laliberté had difficulties getting his first contract for a public monument. Therefore, he had to work in a statue factory, teach at the Conseil, make some busts and a funeral monument.[39]

The sculptor took part in several competitions for public monuments, but was unsuccessful at first. He failed in two competitions held in 1912, the Monument to Edward VII and the Monument to Georges-Etienne Cartier. He won his first competition in 1918, for the Monument to Dollard des Ormeaux, located in Lafontaine Park, in Montréal. Architects Ernest Cormier and Jean-Omer Marchand were among the jury members.[40] However, it also happened that Laliberté received a commission for a work of art without having to go through the tedious process of a competition. Such was the case when the City of Maisonneuve, then a prosperous industrial city, required Laliberté' s savoir faire for the market place (see table 1).[41]

Memorials were an important source of commissions. Laliberté also instigated the creation of a monument to honour the Patriots, to be located in Place des Patriotes (Patriots' Place). The place was created by decision of the City Council in order to welcome a future monument dedicated to the patriots of the 1837-38 Rebellion. The place was in fact a

triangle formed by the junction of three streets: Notre-Dame and Craig (now Saint-Antoine) Streets and de Lorimier Avenue.[42] The inauguration of the monument, on 24 June 1926, was part of the festivities for the Fête nationale and was a major event. It was the last of Laliberté's monuments that gave rise to such important demonstrations. Monuments as memorials would become rarer, as a new generation of artists emerged, looking into the future rather than glorifying the past and preserving religion.[43]

The Second World War was the last major event to be widely commemorated by traditional monuments. Only a few of the sculptors who emerged after 1930 (Émile Brunet, Henri Hébert, Sylvia Daoust, Armand Filion) continued to create traditional monuments and religious statues. Starting in the second half of the twentieth century, other types of memorials were preferred (toponymy, stamps, movies, et cetera), while at the same time, upheavals occurred on the artistic scene. An emerging modernist avant-garde in the Québec art world rejected memorials altogether.[44] Already in 1946, a young Montréal artist, Charles Daudelin, identified Québec sculpture with "monuments aux morts et pierres tombales."[45]

Laliberté had been a creator of official monuments, while also doing smaller scale sculptures. Québec's provincial museum (now Musée du Québec) acquired several of them. Laliberté lived in Montréal amidst a society of artists, having acquired a house on St. Famille Street, which he transformed to accommodate his own artistic needs as well as those of his fellow artists. In 1922, he was also, along with Suzor-Coté and Edmond Dyonnet, at the origin of the creation of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (EBAM). The school opened in 1923 and Laliberté left his teaching position at the Conseil des arts et manufactures to teach at the EBAM. The Conseil closed in 1925. The first mission of the EBAM was to

provide a complete education to artists and architects and make them competent to fulfil commissions originating either from the State or from the Church. As a professor, Laliberté witnessed the confrontation in 1943 between the young painter and new professor Alfred Pellan and the school director Charles Maillard. Finally, it is worth noting that, circa 1949, Laliberté vigorously protested, along with other artists, against a proposition stemming from the Chamber of Commerce to transform Montréal parks into parking lots. As we will see, Viger Square was one of the parks contemplated for that purpose. Montréal's public parks and gardens were not only important for urban life. In the 1950s, they also became important places for the diffusion of sculpture.[46]

1940-66: the Modern Artists

Painters as Sculptors

The possibility to study in an art school continued to evolve after the opening of the EBAM. In 1935, the École du Meuble was set up in Montréal, where artist Paul-Émile Borduas started to teach in 1937. At that time, the École du Meuble offered an alternative to the EBAM. Borduas' teaching particularly influenced several artists of the younger generation.[47]

In Québec, the 1940s marked a period of rupture with the art of the past and the traditional values associated with it. Art entered modernity. Artists from the English-speaking community were the first to promote modern art. French-Canadian artists joined them, and they often exhibited, side by side, as members of an emerging artistic community, seeking to assert itself. The Montréal artistic community also benefited

from the presence of Europeans and the return of Canadian expatriates, who had fled the war in Europe. Among the pre-eminent figures was John Lyman who, in 1939, co-founded the Contemporary Art Society (CAS). There was also Father Marie-Alain Couturier. He had left France because of the war, and in Montréal supported the École du Meuble's innovators, organized exhibitions, and was CAS' moral guarantee.[48] Among the French-Canadian artists, two painters exerted considerable influence: Paul-Émile Borduas and Alfred Pellan. In the 1940s, two opposing trends in Québec modern painting crystallized around those two figures. Alfred Pellan had recourse to figuration integrated to modernity. He had left Paris in 1940 where he already had both success and a reputation.[49] Borduas rejected the representation of the external world and advocated an "automatic" painting, non-figurative, based on gesture and the expression of the unconscious. Each of them was at the centre of avant-garde manifestos published in 1948: Prisme d'Yeux (Pellan), and the Refus global, the latter signed by artists labelled Automatists, gathered around Borduas. However, the Refus global proposed more than a style or a formal innovation: it was a new ethic of life, a new credo.[50] Those quarrels about artistic expression targeted painting, and for several years, painting was hegemonic among all forms of artistic expressions making up the modern, plastic arts. As pointed out by Edward Lucie-Smith, "Modernism in the visual arts was undoubtedly the creation of painters rather than sculptors."[51] The situation prevailing in Québec was similar to the one in the other parts of the western world.

According to Serge Guilbaut, a recent critical revisionism in art history has looked closely at the art produced in the period between 1945-64 in three cities: Paris, Montréal, and New York. The importance and relevance of the Automatists as an avant-garde movement placed Montréal on the international avant-garde art scene during that era.

Cultural relationships existed between those three cities, but have been overlooked thus far for chauvinistic motives.[52]

In Québec, modern sculpture reached its autonomy (mainly vis-à-vis painting) circa 1961. In the 1940s and 1950s, some painters included sculptures in their exhibitions but their sculptural production remained marginal. Some of the signatories of the Refus global expressed themselves through sculpture at one moment or the other in their career (Paul-Émile Borduas, Marcel Barbeau, Marcelle Ferron, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Jean-Paul Riopelle, Françoise Sullivan). By 1948, painters Barbeau and Mousseau had created some small papier mâché works. Pellan exhibited sculptures in 1948, whereas Borduas waited until 1951 to present some small wooden sculptures. In fact Charles Daudelin, one of Borduas' students, and Louis Archambault, who was with Pellan among the co-signatories of Prisme d'Yeux, were the first two artists to include sculpture in their artistic expression. Archambault evolved exclusively as a sculptor.[53]

According to the first director of the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal (Museum of Contemporary Art, hereafter MAC), Guy Robert, Archambault laid down "les pierres angulaires de la nouvelle sculpture au Québec."[54] Graduated in ceramics from the EBAM in 1939, he started to teach in 1945 at McGill University's Macdonald College, where he founded a ceramics studio. In 1947, he had his first exhibition of sculptures at the Dominion Gallery, alongside John Lyman. The next year, he took part in the exhibition Prisme d'Yeux at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. He also won Le Grand Prix Annuel at the concours artistique de la province de Québec (sculpture section). He had his first solo exhibition (ceramics and drawings) in 1949.[55] While Robert completely overlooks and ignores the sculptural work of Charles Daudelin during that period, he also opposes to the views of other museum directors who rehabilitated

Daudelin's role. Archambault and Daudelin were the main instigators of a new formal language in sculpture, according to Gilles Hénault, who took over as the director of the MAC in 1966.[56] The current director of the Musée du Québec, John Porter, affirms that Daudelin has been along with Archambault, one of the fathers of Québec modern sculpture, a precursor for sculptors Armand Vaillancourt and Robert Roussil.[57]

In 1955 another generation of avant-garde artists emerged who, once more, struggled and had diverging views on painting. In that year, painters known as the Plasticiens published their manifesto. The Plasticiens opposed the Post-Automatist (i.e., after 1955) painters. Post-Automatists continued the intense surge of freeing, characteristic of Automatism, whereas the Plasticiens put forward a geometrical abstraction. If the opposition abstraction/figuration was at the core of Borduas' and Pellan's diverging views on painting, the type of abstraction (Hot Abstraction or Abstract Expressionism versus Geometric Abstraction) was central to the new generation's antagonism.[58] The Plasticiens, while mainly painters, also created sculptures, some of them installed or exhibited on the public place. Those places were sometimes gardens, and sometimes they were new plazas. The site chosen did not really matter, as the aim was not to make site specific sculptures. Nonetheless, some of these painters (Denis Juneau, François Soucy, Claude Tousignant, Guido Molinari, Ulysse Comptois) exerted a perceptible influence on sculpture created in the late 1960s, according to Fernande Saint-Martin, another director of the MAC.[59]

Moreover, in 1955, Alfred Pellan received a Parisian first prize for mural art. Contemporary mural art-- either abstract or figurative--was at stake for painters in the 1950s. Pellan made no mystery about the fact that he created paintings in accord with the architecture. In 1957, Mario Merola won the first prize for a mural for the Canadian Pavilion at the Foire

de Bruxelles. In Rose-Marie Arbour's view, Merola embodied a new figure of the artist who showed a marked interest in resolving problems of spatial organization and colour, rather than expressing his subjectivity. Right from the beginning of his career, Merola created works in and for the public space, and for urban buildings. In the late 1950s, Mousseau also created murals made of ceramics for various building types, and he even ventured to experiment with synthetic materials. Having won an open competition, he was commissioned in 1961 to create a mural for the lobby of Hydro-Québec's headquarters, located in Montréal. In 1962, a luminous mural made of fibreglass and coloured resin was installed. For Arbour, Mousseau has been emblematic and pivotal for public art in Québec. He was convinced of the necessity for the artist to create in the public urban space, in order to improve the quality of life. His main interest resided in the environmental space whereas the others focused on the art object.[60]

By the late 1950s, and until 1967 (and beyond in some cases), female artists identified with the Post-Automatist aesthetic (Micheline Beauchemin, Marcelle Ferron, Lise Gervais, Rita Letendre, Laure Major) undertook to create monumental, urban works of art. Some preferred art integrated to architecture (Ferron, Letendre, Major), others sculpture (Gervais). Arbour highlights the fact that these artists were highly interested in new industrial materials and technologies. Moreover, some expanded from the traditional art integrated to architecture to an art integrated to urban spaces though none ventured in the creation of gardens or other similar urban places. This is worth noting since Arbour insists on the close association between their art and nature. For instance, Gervais established a parallel between nature as a process and her own artistic research. There was a strong kinship between her modern sculptures and previous modern paintings. Her background as a

modern painter, however, and her interest in new industrial materials, prevented her from creating works of art with natural elements.[61]

Another pole of art in the public domain, associated more closely with architecture and the interior of premises, and also linked to modernity, had emerged. The movement to promote mural art and public art, begun in the late 1950s, becoming official in 1965. Not long after, art critics started to ask for art more integrated in the environment, suggesting that kinetic sculpture might be a possible answer.[62] For several years, works of art revolving around two poles, mural and sculpture outside in a park or a plaza, were paradigmatic of public art and of art integrated to architecture.

Sculptors

The constitution of an autonomous field of sculpture, autonomous vis-à-vis painting, statuaries and the traditional beautification of public buildings and places, occurred slowly. In the mid-1950s, when some painters started to experiment with new techniques and materials and promoted murals and art integrated to architecture, sculptors multiplied initiatives to exhibit (and create, in Vaillancourt's case) sculptures out in the open. In 1961, some sculptors founded their first professional association: l'Association des Sculpteurs du Québec (Québec Sculptors Association or ASQ). The founding members of the Association were Mario Bartolini, Yvette Bisson, Jean-Pierre Boivin, Jacques Chapdelaine, Roland Dinel, Stanley Lewis, Ethel Rosenfield, Hans Schleeh, Gaétan Therrien and Yves Trudeau. The aim of the association was to promote sculpture and sculptors.[63]

Starting in 1964, the ASQ encouraged public symposia of sculpture, either of regional, provincial or international scope. Austria is credited for having held the first international symposium in 1959, at the initiative of a sculptor who wanted to address concerns such as the large dimensions of the work, the relation to the public, and the placement of sculpture in the open. Only five years after the European initiative, sculptor Robert Roussil initiated the first symposium to be held in North America.[64] This international event was held in 1964 in Montréal on the Mount Royal. Roussil and Vaillancourt created cast-iron sculptures. Most of the work done for that occasion is still visible today (Roussil's was demolished by the City for safety reasons). Several such symposia followed throughout Québec. In almost every case they were held on a natural site, a sort of pastoral refuge, within an urban area. On those occasions, a few artists were invited to create, publicly, a sculpture on the premises. In general, the organizer acquired the works created for the event. The works were permanent, of huge dimensions and made to stay in the open. Via symposia, sculptors had a good opportunity to be visible on the public scene, to meet with fellow sculptors, and to acquire a reputation. Robert Roussil, Armand Vaillancourt, Yvanhoe Fortier, Yves Trudeau, Peter Gnass, Ethel Rosenfield, Antoine Lamarche, Brigitte Radecki, Bill Vazan, Michel Goulet, Francine Larivée, rank among Québec artists who took part in those events over the years.[65]

The ASQ also pursued local out of doors exhibitions: in 1964 the Association held such a show for the first time, at the Botanical Garden in Montréal. For the exhibitions called Confrontation, the association displayed sculptures in premises such as the Botanical Garden in 1965 (the City of Montréal's Parks Service jointly organized the show), and at Place Ville-Marie and Place des Arts in 1966 and 1967, respectively. In 1968, it was also involved in the out of door urban exhibitions held at Man

and His World and Musée d'art contemporain (then located at Cité du Havre). In 1965, the newly created Ministry of Cultural Affairs started to subsidize artists' associations, including the ASQ. The latter organized or was involved in several shows, including Montréal and Québec museums, and also in Canada and abroad, such as the pastoral exhibition of sculpture at the Second Open-Air Sculpture Exhibition Stratford Shakespearean Festival (Ontario) in 1966 and the Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-1970, presented in Montréal at the Musée d'art contemporain in 1970 and at the Rodin Museum in Paris in 1970-71.[66]

The State and the Arts

Context

During the 1960s, the modern artist and the State established a new relation, as a result of a recent connection between culture and the State. This was not exclusive to Québec but was manifested, as a whole, in Western societies. In 1957, the Federal Government had created the Canada Arts Council. In 1961 the Québec Government instated the Ministère des Affaires culturelles (Ministry of Cultural Affairs), ranking culture within the public, political realm. According to Francine Couture, the State (both at the Federal and the Provincial levels) valorized art as a defining element of society. It also recognized its responsibility to increase artists' standing in society. In order to do so, the State put forward programs to aid both creators and distribution organizations. In 1961, the Québec Government established a premise for a programme of art integrated to architecture. Similarly in 1964, the Federal Government adopted this principle, consisting in allotting a percentage of the

construction cost of its public buildings to the creation of works of art. Lastly, the Museum of Contemporary Art, founded in 1964, opened in Montréal in 1965.[67]

The two case studies in the thesis present the creation of works of art in the context of the provincial policy. The latter will therefore be discussed more in detail. The evolution of the various governmental policies for public art will be presented chronologically, following the historical narrative of part two. This will allow the contextualization of the new measures, action plan, policies, with regards to the concomitant developments happening within the city, both at the artistic and at the urban levels.

Povincial Programme of Art Integrated to Architecture

In the early 1960s, artists stopped opposing to the State and sought to negotiate. Among the improvements they had been asking for, was a policy of art integrated to architecture.[68] In May 1961, the provincial Cabinet adopted a first statutory order that made a provision for a percentage (1 1/2 to 2%) of the estimated construction cost (when greater than $250,000) of public buildings to be allocated for the creation of works of art. These works of art were to embellish the buildings, either inside or outside. During the next twenty years, six statutory orders modified the original one (in 1967, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973 and 1979). They culminated, in 1981, in a decree in force since then, although slightly modified in 1983 and 1985.[69]

The statutory orders proceeded from the Cabinet and therefore were not law, as was the decree voted by the National Assembly. The force and impact of each statutory order depended upon the wording of

the document (always very succinct, very brief, varying in length from one paragraph to two pages). For instance, whereas the statutory order in force during the 1961-67 period (no. 1156) required from the Ministry in charge of the execution of the project the allocation of money for the creation of art, the provision was left at its discretion during 1967-73, year when the obligation was re-established.[70] In her doctoral thesis about the Québec programme of art integrated to architecture, Louise Déry observes only a few initiatives taken between 1961 and 1972, a scarcity due to the lack of rigorous incentives. Artists Jordi Bonet, Charles Daudelin, Mario Merola, and Claude Théberge were among the happy few selected in that period to create works of art within this programme.[71]

Those artists were not only selected because they advocated art integrated to architecture, or a form of social art, but also because during the 1961-69 period, the procedure--or lack of it--permitted the architects to select themselves the artists involved in their project. By 1969 however, the Ministry of Public Works, in charge of governmental construction projects, set up a committee responsible for the artists' selection, based on the architect's proposal of three names. In 1972, a revision to the statutory order introduced the creation of a permanent consultative committee, made up of seven members competent in the integration of art or the architectural environment (including a designer of the "architectural environment" designated by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs). The main function of that committee was to look after the enforcement of the statutory order. Artists Charles Daudelin and Claude Théberge experienced the early regime and, with hindsight, preferred this embryonic, pre-committee state as it provided for a greater freedom in the architect-artist relationship.[72] However, a few years later, Daudelin and Théberge were each appointed to create a major work of public art, for the re-designing of Viger Square.

Furthermore the percentage of the estimated construction cost, of one and a half percent with the possibility of a maximum of two percent (a greater amount had to be approved by the Lieutenant Governor) in 1961, was established at one and a half percent in 1967. In addition, the 1967 statutory order set a limit to what it termed the "importance" of the work, i.e., to its maximal monetary value ($50,000). This limit on the possible cost of the work of art, percentage notwithstanding, has been in force ever since, with the exception of the 1973-81 period. Lastly, the $250,000 estimated construction cost introduced in 1961 was lowered to $150,000 only in the 1981 decree. The passage from the statutory order to the decree is considered as a watershed, and therefore, the decree will be examined more in depth in the context of the art of the 1980s.[73]

There was a strong link between modernization, industrialization, and the artist's new social role: "Un projet collectif--celui de la modernisation et de l'ouverture du Québec sur le monde--déterminait un nouveau rôle social pour l'artiste."[74] Both male and female artists sought to establish a new relationship with the public and promoted their role as elements transforming daily and urban life. The creation of a more humane environment was a leitmotif for some artists (Micheline Beauchemin, Marcelle Ferron, Jean Lefébure, Rita Letendre, Laure Major, Yves Trudeau). The artists who precociously ventured into the creation of public art, or of art integrated to architecture, were influenced by great European Modernist Masters (architects such as Le Corbusier, and artists such as Fernand Léger). This social function of art, facilitated by the programme of art integrated to architecture, enticed several Post-Automatist painters and artists to reorient their artistic practice. For some (e.g., Ferron), it was a welcome change as it allowed a separation from the art market and art gallery constraints, with no pre-emption of their artistic freedom.[75] Some of these artists redefined their role vis-à-vis the

public, and consequently, the art object. This led some of them to work exclusively or almost exclusively in the public domain and to neglect or abandon the traditional exhibition of their work in museums or art galleries. Marcelle Ferron, for instance, did not exhibit in galleries when she was intensively involved in creating projects of art integrated to architecture. Mousseau, Merola, Daudelin and Théberge also focused on their creations in the public realm. Others intertwined this new public dimension to their otherwise private practices (Beauchemin, Bonet, Gnass, Major).[76]

Conclusion

The historical overview of public sculpture in Montréal highlighted some meaningful aspects. First, that traditionally, sculpture depended essentially on patronage from the Church and later on, from the State or from private and public funding. It took the form of art integrated to architecture or to the public space. By the end of the nineteenth century, the situation for civic sculptures was similar to the one prevailing in New York City. In Montréal, sculptures complemented public squares that were already built. Sculptures were in fact monuments that commemorated historical events or public heroes.

Sculpture in Montréal was tributary to European know-how first due to the origins of the sculptors and later on, to the need for indigenous sculptors to complete their education in Europe. The situation was very difficult for sculptors, who needed the support of a powerful patron in order to succeed. Getting important commissions was a tedious process as artists had to go through competitions and often, public approval of their work.

The break with the past (even recent) that paved the way to modernism occurred during the 1940s. Artists wanted to dissociate themselves from official art, itself associated with public statues, monuments and competitions. Sculpture was associated with all those, and at first, modern art took mainly the form of modern painting. The Automatists ventured timidly into the sculpture arena, but they were known mainly for their paintings.

The Automatists were not only at the avant-garde of the local artistic scene. They put Montréal at the avant-garde of the international scene, along with Paris and New York City. The new generation of avant-garde that followed in the mid 1950s opposed the Post-Automatists with the Plasticiens. Artists of either movement eventually promoted a form of art integrated to architecture and the urban environment, ancestors of what came to be known later as public art. In this context, from the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s, some of the Post-Automatists (and others as well) developed mainly modern mural art, while in the late 1960s, the Plasticiens expanded their paintings and created sculptures, which they exhibited either in gardens or in urban plazas. Both mural and free-standing sculpture became paradigmatic of public art and of art integrated to architecture. Garden was used as a place where to exhibit sculptures, not as a work of art per se.

Sculpture emerged slowly as an autonomous art form, distinct from painting. By the 1960s, sculptors had formed their first association, which organized and took part in several events in Montréal, including international ones. By the 1960s, at the artists' request, the State implemented institutions that valorized and promoted art and helped artists both for the creation and distribution of their work. The first provincial (Québec) policy of art integrated to architecture was born in this context.

However, few works of art were created during the first decade (1961-72), given the discretionary aspect of the various decrees.

In the early years of the provincial programme, architects had freedom in the selection of artists, and those chosen had a genuine interest in the integration of art to architecture and the urban environment. Artists selected for public projects had themselves advocated the integration of art, and they believed in its social value. Influenced by Modernist artists and architects, Montréal artists of the early avant-garde worked at defining a new social role for the artist, in the more global context of modernization, industrialization and urbanization. They aimed at creating works of art in the public domain, with the help of the government programme, in order to enhance and transform urban life. The artists' will to be socially active involved changes in their practice and in the resulting art forms. They created mural and sculpture for the urban environment in this context. Hence, Modern artists, after having rejected sculpture in the public domain as the ultimate embodiment of traditional values, returned to the public place for social motives. Rather than creating sculptures that would permanently define a public square, modern sculptors exhibited their works of art in gardens, parks and plazas. It seems that setting a sculpture in permanence was still associated with commissioning and the art of the past. Furthermore, permanent exhibition in the open and commissioning of modern sculpture was barely developed, if at all, during the years preceding Expo 67.

[1] Guy Robert, "Artistes de Montréal" (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain, 1965); Guy Robert, L'art au Québec depuis 1940 (Montréal: La Presse, 1973), 221; Francine Couture, "Les années soixante: la reconnaissance publique de la modernité artistique," in Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 18-19; Marie-Sylvie Hébert, "La réception de la peinture formaliste montréalaise (1965-1970): art et identité nationale," in Les arts visuels, 154, 160, 164.

[2] Jean Trudel, Sculpture traditionnelle du Québec, ed. Musée du Québec (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1967), 7-9; Jean Trudel, Profil de la sculpture québécoise XVII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècle, ed. Musée du Québec (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1969), 8, 10, 12.

[3] Robert, L'art au Québec, 221-22; Odette Legendre, Alfred Laliberté sculpteur (n. p. : Boréal, 1989).

[4] Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en évolution (Montréal: Fides, 1974), 108.

[5] Ernst Gombrich, Histoire de l'art, trans. J. Combe and C. Lauriol, rev. ed. (Paris: Flammarion, 1990); Trudel, Sculpture traditionnelle du Québec, 8-9.

[6] Suzanne Leclerc and Christian Ekemberg, Montréal et l'art du monument/Montreal and monument as art, trans. CIDEM Communication (Montréal: Ville de Montréal and Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, 1985), 26.

[7] Article published in La Minerve, Montréal, and re-published on 26 December 1849 in Le Canadien, Québec, 1. Text of the article published in John R. Porter and Jean Belisle, La sculpture ancienne au Québec, (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme, 1986), 474.

[8] Leclerc and Ekemberg, Montreal and monument as art, 21, 28, 30; City of Montréal inventory of public art works, n. p., May 1994. According to Julie Boivin, an architect working at the City of Montréal and in charge of the preservation of monuments, the first civic monument was the bust of King George III, given by an English merchant and erected in Place d'Armes. The controversial bust was the target of vandalism so it was removed into the care of the McCord Museum in Montréal. Also, Boivin dates the Nelson column to 1805. Julie Boivin, "L'art public: les grands monuments," 6 February 1997. Series of conferences sponsored by Heritage Montréal: "Conférences d'hiver: le patrimoine civique de Montréal," presented at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal.

[9] Michele H. Bogart, Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City 1890-1930 (Chicago and London, England: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 2-4.

[10] Leclerc and Ekemberg, Montreal and monument as art, 21.

[11] Ibid., 21, 27; Legendre, Laliberté.
[12] Leclerc and Ekemberg, Montreal and monument as art, 26; Francine Sarrasin, "Book Reviews," Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien/Journal of Canadian Art History 12, no. 7 (1989), 95; John R. Porter, Pour la mémoire du sculpteur Alfred Laliberté (1878-1953): Essai critique en marge d'une exposition (Ste-Foy: Département d'histoire, Université Laval, 1993), 7.
[13] The market was implemented circa 1803. The square replaced the market in 1848. Marsan, Évolution, 158-59; Jean de Laplante, Les parcs de Montréal des origines à nos jours (Montréal: Méridien/Histoire urbaine, 1990), 30.
[14] 1810: hay market; 1841: the City bought parcels of land that allowed the configuration of the Commissioners' Square. Circa 1855-60, there were works to lay out the square. First named Commissioners' Square, the place was re-named after Queen Victoria, following an 1860 decision of the Municipal Council of the City of Montréal. Marc H. Choko, Les grandes places publiques de Montréal (Montréal: Méridien, 1990), 65-66, 71.
[15] The map of "Villemarie dans l'isle de Montréal," dated 1685, shows the location of the "Place de la haute-ville." In 1729, first mention of "Place d'Armes ou Place de la haute-ville." Ibid., 27.
[16] A bust of King George III adorned the place following the British conquest of 1763. The bust was vandalized in 1775. It also mysteriously disappeared . The Municipal Council ordered the demolition of its pedestal later on (1790). Ibid., 29.
[17] The cathedral was blessed in 1894. Its construction dates are: 1870-78 and 1885-94. The sculptures by Olindo Gratton are dated 1892-1900. Ibid., 152; Legendre, Laliberté, 53; Bernard Mulaire, Olindo Gratton 1855-1941 (n. p. : Éditions Fides, 1989), 83-86.
[18] Marsan, Évolution, 294.
[19] In 1973 the statue was relocated to the crossing of Crémazie Boulevard and Saint-Laurent Boulevard.
[20] There were shrubs and grass as early as 1870. Named Dominion Square on the 9 December 1872. Choko, Les grandes places, 153; Marsan, Évolution, 294-95.
[21] At first (1673) named "place d'Armes et du marché," it became "place de la Douane" circa 1817. This was the first public square in Montréal, and it existed even before that date. The plan showing the existing square is dated 1672. Choko and Marsan discuss it in length. Choko, Les grandes places, 18, 27; Marsan, Évolution, 94-98. See also de Laplante, Parcs de Montréal, 16.

[22] The Union Nationale Française moved in 1908 to an existing bourgeois residence. Choko, Les grandes places, 126.
[23] Marsan, Évolution, 294.
[24] The opening of the public market was in September 1914. Paul-André Linteau, Maisonneuve ou comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville: 1883-1918 (n. p.: Les Éditions du Boréal Express, 1981), 204-6.
[25] The work is also dated 1916 in Alfred Laliberté's Public Monuments in Montreal: A City-wide Art Tour (Montréal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1990), 30.
[26] Date of Olmsted's work, before the plan. The expropriation with the view to create a park was started in 1872; the funicular was built in 1884. Marsan, Évolution, 299; Louis Major, "Le Mont-Royal et son parc," in A Topographic Atlas of Montreal/Atlas topographique de Montréal (Montréal: McGill University School of Urban Planning, 1992), 38-41; de Laplante, Parcs de Montréal.
[27] Marsan, Évolution, 301-302; de Laplante, Parcs de Montréal, 73-74.
[28] Yves Lacasse, "Le monument aux patriotes d'Alfred Laliberté," Journal of Canadian Art History 18, no. 1 (1997): 28-30.
[29] The space between the City Hall and the former Court House existed previously but acquired the denomination of "place" for the installation of the statue. The space was laid out anew in 1966. de Laplante, Parcs de Montréal, 103, 173.
[30] Created at the initiative of the government of Maurice Duplessis as a way to give work to jobless citizens. The works were therefore under the control of the Provincial Government. Henry Teuscher, horticulturist, botanist and landscaper took part in the elaboration of the project. It should be noted that St. Helen Island as a recreational area originates from the same era, and therefore, the same context. The plan for the island was prepared by Federick-G. Todd. Ibid., 85, 105, 108-9.
[31] Born in Ste-Élizabeth-de-Warwick on 19 May 1877, even if it has always been reported 1878. Legendre, Laliberté, 20-22.
[32] Napoléon-Charles Cormier was mayor from 1889 to 1891 and then a conseiller législatif from 1894 to 1914. Ibid., 41, 42, 45.
[33]Ibid., 44, 51-53, 59; Robert, L'art au Québec, 18.
[34]Napoléon Bourassa, Olindo Gratton, Philippe Hébert, Arthur Vincent, and the statuary Thomas Carli all lived in the neighbourhood. Legendre, Laliberté, 50-51.
[35] Ibid., 18, 45, 56, 60, 66-67.
[36] Laliberté's patrons included Cormier, Sir Laurier, Justice Choquette, Mrs. J. Dandurand. Cormier even organized a public subscription for Laliberté, via the newspaper La Presse. Ibid., 73-101 passim.

[37] Salon des artistes français was one of the four annual Parisian salons. Laliberté exhibited in 1905, 1906, 1907, and during his second trip to Paris in 1910 and 1911. He received an honorable mention in 1905. In Canada, he exhibited until 1943. Ibid., 93, 101, 128-29, 229.
[38] Ibid., 91.
[39] Ibid., 117, 129, 132-33.
[40] Ibid., 149-50, 174. About the upheavals of the commission for this monument, see 169-74.
[41] Ibid., 154-57.
[42] On a special meeting held on 28 February 1923, the Municipal Council of the City of Montréal created the Place des Patriotes (Patriots' Place). Lacasse, "Monument aux patriotes," 28-30.
[43] Legendre, Laliberté, 166-67, 222, 225.
[44] Leclerc and Ekemberg, Montreal and monument as art, 22; Robert, L'art au Québec, 226-27; Lise Lamarche, "De la statue à la sculpture," in La sculpture au Québec 1946-1961: Naissance et persistance (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1992), 114.
[45] Charles Daudelin quoted in Lamarche, "Statue à la sculpture," 114.
[46] Legendre, Laliberté, 185-86, 300. About the upheavals of the wheeling and dealing of Laliberté with the museum, see 251-64; Suzanne Lemerise, "L'art-l'artiste-l'école," in Les arts visuels, 290; for the episode about Pellan at the EBAM see Gilles Daigneault, ed., L'art au Québec depuis Pellan: Une histoire des prix Borduas (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1988) and Paul-André Linteau et al., Le Québec depuis 1930: Histoire du Québec contemporain, ed. Antoine del Busso, 2d ed. ("nouvelle édition révisée"), vol. 2 (n. p. : Boréal, 1989), 195; Lamarche, "Statue à sculpture," 121.
[47] Towards the end of the 1930s, some colleges offered art classes. In 1942, the École des arts graphiques de Montréal was also created. Robert, L'art au Québec, 18-19; Musée d'art contemporain, Borduas et les Automatistes: Montréal 1942-1955 (n. p. : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1971), 10,19, 21.
[48] For instance, in the spring of 1941, Father Couturier organized the Exposition des Peintres Indépendants at the Palais Montcalm, in Québec City, where Borduas, Lyman, and Pellan were among the exhibiting artists. Musée d'art contemporain, Borduas, 10, 21.
[49] François-Marc Gagnon, "Alfred Pellan, 1984," in L'art au Québec depuis Pellan: Une histoire des prix Borduas, ed. Gilles Daigneault (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1988), 68-71.
[50] Rose-Marie Arbour, "L'apport des femmes peintres au courant post-automatiste: une représentation critique (1955-1965)," in Les arts visuels, 27, 52; Paul-André Linteau, Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération (n. p. : Boréal, 1992), 20, 184, 194-95, 197, 408. There is still a debate

about the magnitude of the influence of Pellan versus Borduas. Philippe Dubé, "Quand le culte occulte," Le Devoir (Montréal), 8 July 1998, p. A 7; Ginette Michaud and Gilles Lapointe, "Refus global: occultation ou révision?," Le Devoir, 18-19 July 1998, p. A 8.

[51] Edward Lucie-Smith, Sculpture since 1945 (London: Phaidon Press, 1987), 9.

[52] Serge Guilbaut, ed., Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris, and Montreal 1945-1964 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: MIT Press, 1990; First MIT Press paperback ed., 1992), ix to xvii.

[53] Michel Martin and Gaston Saint-Pierre, La sculpture au Québec 1946-1961: Naissance et persistance (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1992), 113, 123, 127-28. The papier mâché works were reproduced in the original edition of the manifesto, according to Guy Robert. Robert, L'art au Québec, note 1, p. 222-23; François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (Montréal: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, 1988), 258-67.

[54]Meaning "the cornerstone of the new sculpture in Québec." Robert, L'art au Québec, 222.

[55] Archambault won with two sculptures, L'Appel, and Tête, but he also presented a brass sculpture, L'Adolescent. Martin, Naissance et persistance, 127; Robert, L'art au Québec, 222-23; Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-1970 (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1970).

[56] Gilles Hénault, "Avant-propos" to the catalogue Panorama. Guy Robert was Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art from June 1964 to February 1966, and Gilles Hénault, from March 1966 to March 1971. Andrée Paradis, "Au service de l'art contemporain," Vie des arts 29, no. 117 (December 1984, January-February 1985): 23.

[57] John Porter, "Charles Daudelin ou les lumières de l'art et de la vie," in Paul Bourassa et al., Daudelin (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1997).

[58] Guilbaut, Reconstructing Modernism, xii.

[59] Rose-Marie Arbour, "L'apport," 28, 30, 52; Martin, Naissance et persistance, 129; Fernande Saint-Martin in Musée d'art contemporain, Trois générations d'art québécois: 1940 1950 1960 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1976), 16; Hébert, "Réception," 151-60.

[60] Rose-Marie Arbour, "Intégration de l'art à l'architecture," in Les arts visuels, 237, 240-41, 264; Francine Couture, "Art et technologie: repenser l'art et la culture," in Les arts visuels, 179-81; Francine Couture, "Mousseau et la modernité globale," in Mousseau (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal and Éditions du Méridien, 1996), 41-58; Pierre Landry, Francine Couture, and François-Marc Gagnon, Mousseau, 132.

[61] Arbour, "L'apport," 58-61. About Laure Major, see Arbour, "Intégration," 251-52.

[62] Arbour, "Intégration," 245, 248; Hébert, "Réception," 154-60.

[63]The association was renamed in 1978 Le Conseil de la sculpture du Québec. Lamarche, "Statue à sculpture"; Martin, Naissance et persistance; Guy Sioui Durand, L'art comme alternative (Québec: Éditions Intervention, 1997), 44, 105.

[64] Serge Fisette, Symposiums de sculpture au Québec 1964-1997 (n. p. : Centre de Diffusion 3D, 1997), 12, 15; Stéphane Baillargeon, "Monumental Roussil," Le Devoir, 25 July 1994, p. B 1; Sioui Durand, L'art comme alternative, 105. About the role of symposia of sculpture in the affirmation of alternative art in Québec, consult Sioui Durand p. 53, 119-21, 126-27.

[65] Fisette, Symposiums de sculpture au Québec 1964-1997, 22, 96; Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1977);

[66] Panorama (Paris); Musée d'art contemporain, Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-1970 (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1970); Martin, Naissance et persistance; Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances, 26-29; Alan Jarvis, dir., Second Open-Air Sculpture Exhibition Stratford Shakespearean Festival 1966 (Stratford: Stratford Shakespearean Festival, 1966); Sioui Durand, L'art comme alternative, 45.

[67] Couture, "Les années soixante," 10-12, 15; Louise Déry, "Art public et intégration des arts à l'architecture au Québec: Contextes et créations" (Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, 1991), 89-90; Louis G. Redstone and Ruth R. Redstone, Public Art New Directions (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981), vii; Jean Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent' (Saint-Joseph du Lac, Québec: By the author, 337 rue Brunet, 1993), 5.

[68] According to Couture, artists Louis Belzile, Ulysse Comptois, Lise Gervais, Jean Goguen, Rita Letendre, Jean McEwen, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Claude Vermette, and Fernand Toupin filed a memorandum at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in which they requested, among others, the establishment of a programme of allied arts. The Société des arts plastiques, founded in 1955 by painter Jean-Paul Lemieux, addressed a similar request. Couture, "Les années soixante," 14, 22 note 11; Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', 5-6.

[69]Arrêtés en conseil (Statutory orders) nos. 1156, 2036, 3691, 1042, 1543, 238 and 1099. Décrets (Decrees) nos. 505 (1981), 505, rev. #1 (1983) and 170 (1985). They were consulted in Brien, table 1, and Appendix A and B. Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', 5, 24, 116, 118-160; Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Communications, Direction générale des publications gouvernementales, Les oeuvres d'art du ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement ou la politique du un pour cent (n. p. : Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1981), v; Affaires

culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement," incl. Bilan 1990-1991 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991),10-11; Gilles Toupin, "La nouvelle politique du 1% au Québec: Un boom dans l'intégration des arts à l'architecture," La Presse, 27 February 1982, p. C 20. The decree was also modified in 1996, a date which is outside our period of study. Ghislain Papillon, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 8 November 1996; Gouvernement du Québec, "Politique d'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des bâtiments et des sites gouvernementaux et publics," Décret (decree) no. 955-96 (Québec: Gazette officielle du Québec, 7 August 1996).

[70] Statutory orders nos. 1156, 2036, 3691, 1042, 1543 and 238.

[71] Déry, "Art public," 96.

[72] Statutory order no. 1543, 6 June 1972, in Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', 15-16, 116, 127-28; Charles Daudelin, interview by author, Tape recording, Kirkland (PQ), 27 February 1998; Claude Théberge, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 16 March 1998.

[73] Statutory orders nos. 238 and 1099. Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Décennie; Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', 9, 116, 129-34; Déry, "Art public," 102.

[74] Arbour, "Intégration," 248. Francine Couture sees in Mousseau's mural for Hydro-Québec the epitome of Automatism with technical modernity. She thinks that the political class must have recognized, in Mousseau's proposal, a successful integration of artistic and technical modernity, in harmony with its project to develop an urban and industrialized society. Francine Couture, "Art et technologie: repenser l'art et la culture," 182.

[75] Arbour, "L'apport," 59; Arbour, "Intégration," 234-35, 241, 250, 275 note 50.

[76] Arbour, "Intégration," 230, 235; Couture, "Mousseau," 41-48; Michel Brûlé, L'Esquisse d'une mémoire: Marcelle Ferron (Montréal: Les Éditions des Intouchables, 1996).

CHAPTER 4

MONTRÉAL'S DEVELOPMENT DURING THE PRE-EXPO 67 ERA

Introduction (The Role of the State)

As we saw, modern artists in Québec promoted the integration of the arts in a context of modernization and urbanization. Their request culminated in the provincial programme for the beautification of public buildings. Similarly, the context in which the State initiated public construction was one of modernization and of urbanization: "La question de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture va de pair avec le questionnement de l'architecture moderne dans un contexte urbain industrialisé."[1] Initiated in the 1950s, modernist experiments in architecture expanded in the 1960s and scattered across the Canadian landscape, Québec included. Airports, hospitals, schools, and office buildings mushroomed. In addition, residential development appeared, which was not only bigger in scale but also belonged in some instances to the public domain. On the whole, there was a development of public construction as never before. But buildings were not the only sites in need of beautification. The aesthetics of the city was deemed so problematic that some architects concluded that art had to go into the streets, the highways, the bridges. Expressways in particular required new types of works of art, compatible with the unprecedented speed of vehicles. In 1969, Montréal architect Patrick Blouin perceived a significant, simultaneous movement throughout

Canada, where sculptures exited museums, art galleries, and artists' studios to go into the public place, the urban environment. Whereas architects sought an art more in keeping with the new, modern urban environment, artists thought they could help architects in creating more convivial environments.[2] A quick overview of the urban development experienced by Montréal in those years will help understand why the urban environment was deemed so problematic in the immediate post-Expo 67 era.

In the early 1960s, a wind of modernism was blowing in Montréal. Already in the late 1950s, a large public housing project, Les Habitations Jeanne-Mance, was implemented in the central area, in the context of urban renewal and slum clearance. That urban renewal project encompassed the key elements put forward in Le Corbusier's Charte d'Athènes: air, sunshine and greenery.[3] Artist Charles Daudelin was invited to create a work of art integrated to this project. In the next decade, however, Montréal developed a new city centre, implementing infrastructures that positioned the city at the forefront of urban development.

Not far from the public housing project, another major public building emerged in the late 1950s, early 1960s. The twenty-five-storey, 355-feet-high Hydro-Québec building was erected, a symbol of a new era for the province (see figure 1). With the creation of Hydro-Québec in 1944, the Québec Government had put the production and distribution of electricity for Montréal under the control of the State. The building was the first completed among several others also located on the recently enlarged Dorchester Boulevard, the new address of prestige in Montréal. It was not however a breakthrough in height, if compared to the last high-rise built during the previous generation of skyscrapers: the Sun Life Building (1931) already had twenty-six storeys.[4]

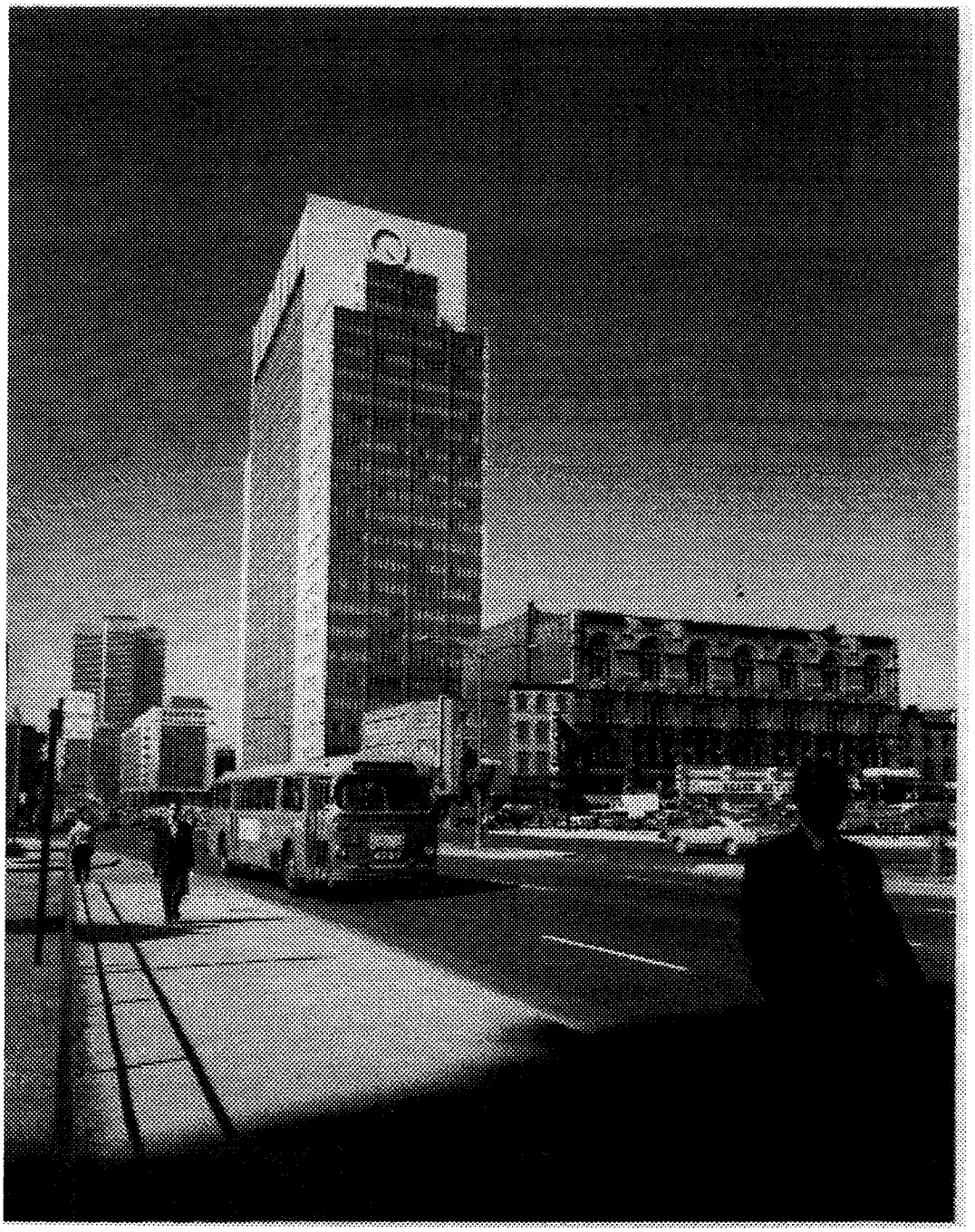


Figure 1. The Hydro-Québec headquarters, inaugurated in June 1962 (photograph by Armour Landry, 21 June 1965. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/45/14332).

Designed by a team of French-Canadian architects (Gaston Gagné), engineers (Brouillette et Carmel as structural engineers, Leblanc et Montpetit as heating engineers and Bédard et Girard as mechanical engineers) and builders (Collet et Frères), the construction of the Hydro-Québec skyscraper required the use of new technologies. The nature of the soil on which it stood could explain the choice not to build higher. The edifice was built very close to the street line, however, given the dimensions of the lot (250 feet x 300 feet or 76 metres x 91 metres) and those of the building (97 feet x 250 feet or 30 metres x 76 metres), it seems likely that there was room for a plaza.[5] In fact, architect Denys Marchand, in an article about Montréal's skyscrapers, refers to a legendary, initial design for Hydro-Québec inspired by both the Lever House and the Seagram Building in New York City. That scheme for the Hydro-Québec building had a glass-cladded skyscraper overlooking a vast plaza at the corner of Saint-Urbain Street and Dorchester Boulevard. According to Marchand, the very conservative Hydro-Québec leaders opted for a more traditional skyscraper insisting on the use of stone for a large part of the façade. However, as we saw, a competition won by avant-garde artist of that time, Jean-Paul Mousseau, was set up to create a work of art that could be integrated to the architecture of the edifice. Consistent with his interests, Mousseau created a luminous mural for the interior of the building. Could the Hydro-Québec leaders have been so conservative as to preclude the construction of a modernist tower, and yet be open enough to accept avant-garde art? Or were they simply not interested in importing a "foreign" architectural model, preferring to build a distinct edifice, adorned with Québec art, albeit avant-garde?[6]

In addition, the public sector was very active in the construction of a transportation infrastructure. The Montréal metro was being designed and built. Main arteries were being enlarged (Berri, Dorchester--now René-

Lévesque--, Craig--now Saint-Antoine--, Viger/de Vitré),[7] and the Trans-Canada Highway was in the planning phase. These projects integrated with the global context of post-second World War demographically and economically sustained development, that lasted in Montréal until 1957, and resumed from 1962 to 1967. Montréal's shift to a tertiary economy brought about a profound reorganization of its central area during this period (1945-67): "Tout en puisant dans la tradition montréalaise, la forme de la ville acquiert un nouveau visage teinté de modernisme."[8] Moreover, Montréal's increase in population, combined with economic prosperity, favoured the expansion of a consumer society and the emergence, after 1960, of the city as both an important cultural francophone metropolis and the main centre of Québec's culture. Therefore, the construction was in the order of things, but a major event forced the timely (and concomitant) realization of these major public projects: the anticipation of the universal and international exhibition of 1967, namely Expo 67. According to historian Paul-André Linteau, Expo 67 was certainly a major event in the city's recent history, but the exhibition also corresponded with the end of a long expansion phase.[9]

From the outset, Expo 67 banked on technological and artistic innovations, as other great exhibitions had done before. The coming of Expo 67 involved new construction that put forward technological novelty. This was true for the building up of the site (islands in a major river) as well as for the city that was to host the event. Montréal introduced several changes to its transportation system as Philadelphia had done in 1876. In fact, the bestowing of Expo 67 in 1962 brought about the review of each and every urban planning project. Some were modified, others were delayed, but most of them were sped up. For instance, the new Montréal metro had to be operating by 1966. The construction of the Décarie expressway, chosen in 1964 as the main route leading to the exhibition,

was pushed forward for the event. As well, Expo gave rise to the early construction of several highways in the Montréal area. Bonaventure expressway was entirely due to Expo. Another major infrastructure included the Louis-Hippolyte-Lafontaine tunnel, which crossed the Saint-Lawrence river in the east end of the island. Furthermore, the Metropolitan expressway was extended to connect with the Lafontaine tunnel. Engineer Bernard Lamarre, who then worked on several projects with Guy Legault from the City Planning Department, shared with him the vision of a magnificent entry into Montréal and Expo 67.[10]

A lot of work and energy were devoted to building the Trans-Canada Highway (Ville-Marie expressway) in time for Expo 67. Its completion was postponed, however, even though demolition in anticipation of its construction had already taken place. The works of demolition and construction of the transportation infrastructure had an impact on the fate of Viger Square, as will be seen in the case study dedicated to it (see figure 2). In July 1967, during the heat and exhilaration of Expo, newspapers reported on the new aspect of the city, which was being refurbished to welcome Expo visitors. However, it was clear from the start that the urban projects undertaken in the city in the context of Expo did not aim to upgrade Montréal's neighbourhoods. The first goal of Expo was to create a first class exhibition, not to reassert the value of the city.[11]

Furthermore, the construction of these infrastructures (metro, expressways, broader arteries) was a clear response to Le Corbusier's call for better roads in a modern city:

> La circulation est devenue aujourd'hui une fonction primordiale de la vie urbaine. Elle demande un programme soigneusement étudié qui sache prévoir tout ce qui est nécessaire pour régulariser les



Figure 2. Area near St. Denis and St. Antoine Streets, circa 1965. Viger Square is visible in the background ("Montreal—Tearing down old houses to make place for highway and metro," photograph by Armour Landry. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/23/7555).

> débits, créer les exutoires indispensables et arriver ainsi à supprimer les embouteillages et le malaise constant dont ils sont la cause.[12]

Nowadays, there is a strong consensus on the link between these policies, the demolition of neighbourhoods and the construction of buildings and infrastructures on the one hand, and a particular vision of the modernization of cities, on the other hand:

> Il y a peu de temps encore, changer les normes de construction, modifier le zonage, retracer des rues et multiplier les démolitions pour permettre l'explosion des énormes ensembles immobiliers aujourd'hui décriés, était vu comme autant de gestes favorables à l'assainissement et à la modernisation de la ville et de la société, bref associé au progrès.[13]

The testimony from those involved in the making of Expo 67 concur with that statement. At first, in the late 1950s, the very idea of holding an international exhibition in Montréal was not favourably perceived by the politicians of the time, including mayor Jean Drapeau. By the early 1960s however, the situation had changed drastically. Drapeau, defeated in the municipal elections of 1957, was re-elected in 1960. He then enthusiastically embarked on the project accepted by his predecessor, Mayor Sarto Fournier. By then, Drapeau realized that Expo and the related projects could give Montréal an international reputation.[14]

The initial efforts to enrol Montréal on the short list of potential cities in which to hold an international and universal exhibition (first category) date back to December 1956. The motive was to commemorate the centennial of Canada's Confederation. In November 1962, the Bureau of International Expositions awarded the 1967 exhibition to Montréal. It was the first time that a first category exhibition (i.e., not specialized) was held in North America. There was frantic activity during the five years that followed to get ready for the event and make it a memorable success.[15]

Private Sector: Office Towers

The New City Centre

Between the mid 1950s and Expo 67, the State was not alone in shaping a modern city, particularly a new downtown. Some major private projects were planned and built during that short period. During this time, the private sector made a breakthrough with regard to business and accommodation facilities, while the public authorities were mostly responsible for the upgrading and construction of a new circulation infrastructure. In Montréal, the industrial (manufacturing) function was weakening, giving way to a tertiary economy.[16]

The manufacturing industry had been strong in Montréal after the postwar years, but declined in the early 1960s. The outdated industrial facilities closed in Montréal, as they also did in other great industrial cities of the North-East: Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston. New plants opened outside of the city, along the new motorways, following the North American trend. Until 1959, the prevailing state of affairs in the city centre much resembled that of the immediate post-war. By 1962, three skyscrapers more than thirty storeys high had been built: Place Ville-Marie, the Canadian Industry Limited (CIL) House and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) Tower, in addition to the lower, public Hydro-Québec Building. Like many other North American cities (Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Boston), Montréal had undertaken the renovation or creation of its centre in those years. This new generation of skyscrapers symbolized a shift in the city's economy. The administrative function became the predominant one. The concentration of so many persons in a small area of the city constituted a real centre, in the geographical sense, according to Pelletier and Beauregard.[17]

The forty-two-storey Place Ville-Marie, the forty-three-storey CIBC Tower, the thirty-four-storey CIL House, Place Victoria's Stock Exchange Tower (forty-seven storeys) were all completed by 1967. In addition, the thirty-two-storey-high Banque Canadienne Nationale Tower was under construction by then. They were office towers with mixed-use space at the bottom, and underground parking. Most of them belonged to the banking-financial sector (Royal Bank at Place Ville-Marie, CIBC, the Banque Canadienne Nationale, and the Stock Exchange Tower at Place Victoria). By 1967, other types of new buildings originating from the private sector had also transformed the urban landscape: twenty-eight-storey Place du Canada and the thirty-eight-storey-high Château Champlain hotel, the Alexis-Nihon plaza, a downtown commercial mall coupled with office space in the higher floors, Place Bonaventure which included commercial spaces and a hotel and, with its exhibition halls, preluded the larger Convention Centre. Therefore, in addition to the de-industrialization of the centre to the advantage of offices for major corporations and businesses, Montréal had strengthened accommodation facilities for tourists and congress-goers with convention halls, exhibition floors and hotels. Also, the low-cost housing available in flats and smaller structures yielded to the new, more expensive apartment towers. New high-rise apartment buildings were introduced along Sherbrooke Street West and in the north-western part of the central area. Finally, even smaller street commerce (including movie theatres and restaurants) had to compete with the newly built commercial spaces, the inside "gallerias," which were part of the new office buildings (Place Ville-Marie, Place Victoria, Place Bonaventure, Place du Canada).[18]

The newer high-rise office towers were most representative of the recent economic and geographic changes. They were also among the most spectacular construction of the time, a breakthrough on technical,

architectural and structural grounds.[19] A new building type was being created that defined the new city centre and epitomized the new urban economy. Actually, these skyscrapers contributed to reshape a new downtown which moved from Old Montréal to Dorchester Boulevard. As highlighted by Linteau, the first new skyscrapers (Hydro-Québec, Place Ville-Marie, CIL, CIBC) were located along that road, which was enlarged in 1954-55. While the new towers on Dorchester Boulevard were being erected, another major skyscraper project was in progress: Place Victoria. Contrary to the Royal Bank and the Canadian Bank of Commerce, which chose to move outside of the old city, the stock exchanges were happy to occupy new premises on St. Jacques Street West. As we will see, both the CIBC Tower and the Stock Exchange Tower are located at the intersection of an important artery and of a major public place. These examples would be followed by the Banque Canadienne Nationale, which in 1967 decided to stay in Old Montréal and managed to erect a high-rise building on a relatively small lot, taking advantage of the adjoining historic open space, Place d'Armes. By 1967, the business function in the city centre was found in two locations: St. Jacques Street and Dorchester Boulevard. If the Hydro-Québec building was a public one, the others were the result of the will of private entrepreneurs.[20] They were the new, modern skyscrapers that were reshaping Montréal's skyline, to that of a truly modern city.

If prestige had to do with the decision to build as high as possible, so did economics, as private developers juggled with profitability. The site dimensions were crucial as they impacted on the overall dimensions of the edifice, including its height. Municipal regulations and structural and architectural considerations played a role in determining the building size. As a consequence, if "a small strip of open space at the ground floor level is a desirable public amenity . . . [,] this amenity is also left over in most

applications of the ideally planned tower to the usual high rise site."[21] In Montréal's centre, most of the new private office towers had, to diverse degrees and for various reasons, plazas, which were what Jean-Claude Marsan terms "mini-plazas" and assimilates more to a parvis than a true plaza.[22] These plazas did not have the majestic dimensions of the one designed by Mies van der Rohe for the Seagram building.

We will examine the emergence of plazas for some of these projects. Each of them carries particularities with regard to the origins of the designers (American versus European), the site characteristics (nature and dimensions) and location. Municipal regulations also played a role, even though all these projects were located in an area where each undertaking was approved on its own merit. Even in the absence of a master plan for the central area,[23] the construction code had provisions that were modified during the period, and which had an impact on some overall project dimensions (building and open space). Finally, we will complete the presentation of the cases by verifying what the place, if any, was occupied by visual arts. These vignettes will constitute examples of the corporate art of the 1960s, prior to Expo 67. Their presentation will contribute toward answering the question pertaining to the eventual presence of a sculpture on a plaza, albeit of restricted dimensions.

Place Ville-Marie

Place Ville-Marie was the first of a series of private, modern skyscrapers built outside of the old centre (Old Montréal), in the new



Figure 3. The CIBC Tower, Place Ville-Marie and the Stock Exchange Tower (photograph by Armour Landry, no date. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/23/7552).

downtown area (figure 3). It actually contributed to define the new core. Arguably, it stimulated nearby construction of similar buildings and complexes, either along Dorchester Boulevard and/or at the periphery of Dominion Square (Dorchester Square since 1987) and Victoria Square.[24]

An American developer from New York City, William Zeckendorf, undertook the project in 1955 and completed it in 1962. He perceived and seized a business opportunity in downtown Montréal, with the presence of three city blocks (of twenty-two acres or nine hectares), belonging to a single owner, the Canadian National Railways (CNR). The site was bordered by Cathcart Street to the north, St. Antoine Street to the south, Mansfield and de l'Inspecteur Streets to the west, and University Street to the east. It is worth noting that in 1929, a new development had been planned for the site, arguably inspired by the Rockefeller Center in New York City.[25] The project was to have had a new train station, several office buildings, and commercial space. However, the economic depression and the war that followed prevented its realization. Other studies and plans followed. French urban planner Jacques Gréber had been consulted after the war regarding the layout of the site. However, the city block at the north end of the site was still, in 1955, almost as it was in 1918: a deep, open trench, a railroad that disappeared to the north, under the Mount-Royal. Zeckendorf thought that Montréal lacked office space. He saw a need and an opportunity. That city block would eventually become the site for Place Ville-Marie.[26]

In 1954, the CNR had hired Zeckendorf, who, in turn, hired architects I. M. Pei and Associates (with Henry N. Cobb as partner-in-charge and Vincent Ponte as city planner) to establish a plan for the whole site. Pei and his associates planned the entire lot and also designed the building on the northern city block in collaboration with Raymond Affleck, a Montréal architect. The planning of the project took three years, and the

construction began in 1958, after the approval of the final designs and the commitment of a major tenant, the Royal Bank of Canada. Set on a seven-acre site, Place Ville-Marie is easily recognized from the outside by its cruciform tower, with an aluminium and glass curtain wall, standing over a podium (see figure 3). Place Ville-Marie reintroduced the construction of skyscrapers in the city, interrupted in the early 1930s. This new generation, exemplified by Place Ville-Marie, forecasted much taller buildings. Moreover, the edifice did not occupy the entire area of the site, leaving a four-acre open space for a plaza. In fact, following Gréber's advice and as a result of negotiations between the City and CNR officials, the City had agreed to widen the bordering streets of the site, while the CNR, in counterpart, accepted to save a space on the northern end of the site, in order to lay out a public place. In Gréber's view, the new plaza should establish a visual link with the Mount Royal and the McGill University campus. Gréber had envisioned having a long vista between those two poles (the campus and Place Ville-Marie), by widening McGill College Avenue. Gréber's concept was pivotal in the master plan as elaborated by Pei's office.[27]

The Place Ville-Marie plaza bore similarities with the Rockefeller Center in New York City.[28] With the exception of a few plants, it was a predominantly mineral plaza (see figure 4). The set-up of the three buildings--the Royal Bank tower, the Esso (Imperial Oil) building on the north side of the block (1962) and the IBM building on the west side (1965), which were also part of the original plan--was such that they occupied 40 percent of the site and the open plaza, 60 percent. This layout was initially praised as the new, modern solution to city development. The connection with Le Corbusier's Radiant City has been established: "Place Ville Marie is the ideal of Radiant City realized in a commercial development, its tower freeing room for the plaza below."[29]

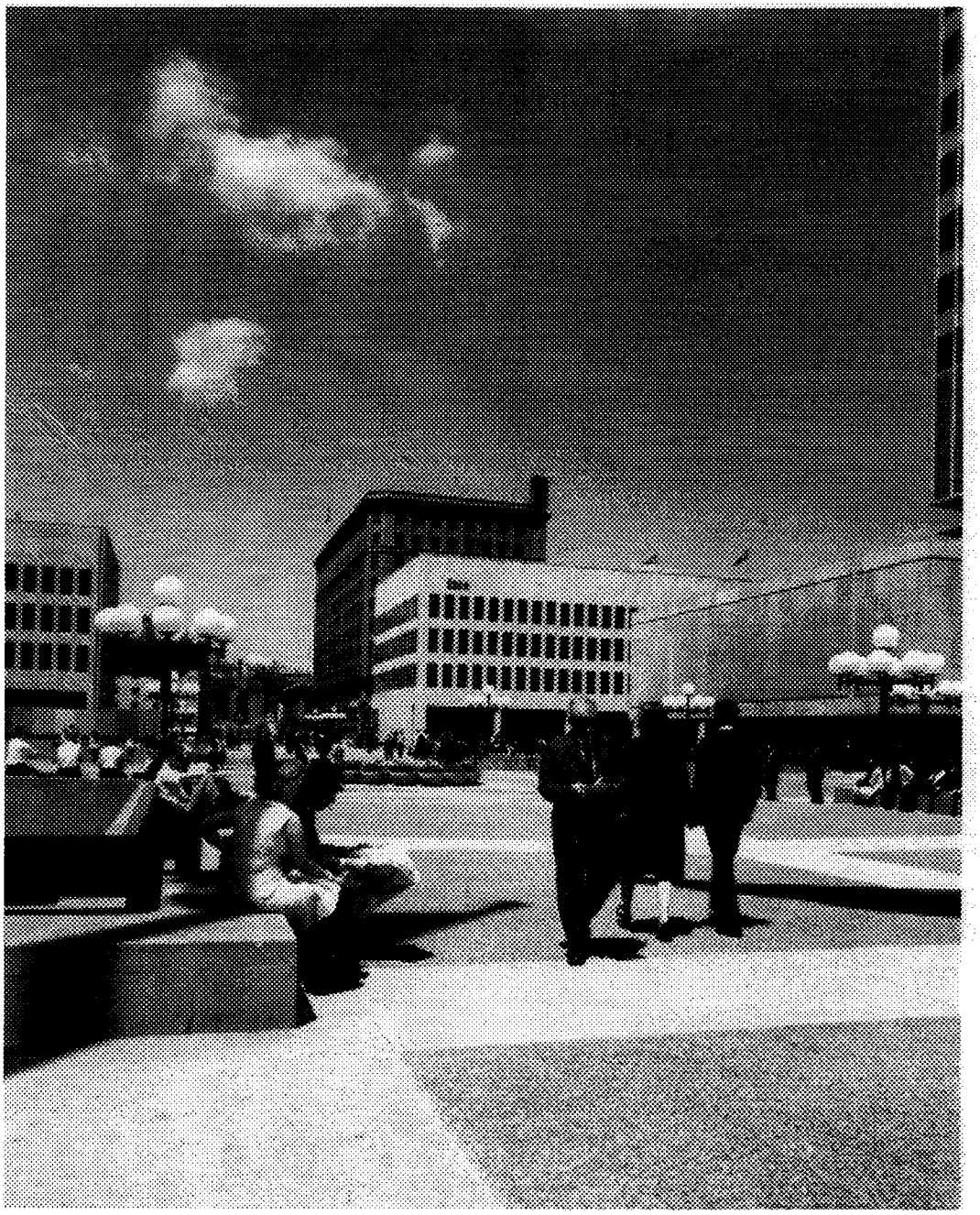


Figure 4. Place Ville-Marie plaza (photograph by Armour Landry, June 1965. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/45/14334).

Using such a prime location for a playground, a park or a square was deemed not "feasible within our economy and system of government."[30] Rather, Place Ville-Marie was described as a project that opened up a new venue: "Urban development conditioned by enlightened capitalism."[31] Actually, there was much more to Place Ville-Marie than the cruciform landmark. Underneath the plaza, retail spaces, circulation, promenades and parking lots formed an intricate network praised as "more significant in terms of urban design"[32] than the modernist skyscraper on a plaza. The construction of Place Ville-Marie propelled Montréal to the avant-garde of urban planning and development in North America. There were two main reasons for this occurrence. Firstly, in addition to the buildings and plaza, there was a complex infrastructure of underground circulation which segregated parking, pedestrian access to the Central Train Station, and a network of subway (the Métro) that was grafted to the Place Ville-Marie complex only a few years after its opening. Secondly, there were other functions besides the mere office space. A commercial galleria extended over four miles (6.44 kilometres) below the offices and included a movie theatre, boutiques, restaurants, drugstores and banks. This was, in fact, the introduction of the suburban shopping mall to a downtown area (with the exception of the grocery store). Place Ville-Marie was a multifunctional complex.[33]

Proposed as the example to follow even before it was completed, Place Ville-Marie has been indeed a trend-setter for Canadian cities. With Place Ville-Marie, Zeckendorf showed "how to produce a profitable downtown development."[34] The concept of office towers with retail and commercial space at the base of the building constituted the main urban form introduced in Canadian cities by private investors after the second World War and contributed heavily in defining what James Lorimer has termed the "new corporate city." The elements that contributed to the

financial profitability of the project prevailed, even when not in the interest of the general public.[35]

In his analysis of the evolution of the Place Ville-Marie project, Marsan observes that some elements did not materialize as planned, to the detriment of the complex. For instance, the architects had envisioned a pedestrian link (a ramp), in fact a "tree-lined mall"[36] between the Place Ville-Marie plaza and St. Catherine Street, passing over Cathcart Street. As of now, McGill College Avenue ends up, to the south, at the parking entrance to Place Ville-Marie. At the north end of the city block, discrete stairs lead to the plaza, which is one storey above Cathcart Street, cutting it off from the city beat, and highlighting its private aspect. After all, the plaza is the roof of a commercial, indoor, galleria.[37] This fact was enhanced by the presence of four stair wells that linked the plaza to the promenade level, where the stores and restaurants are located. To increase this private, inward aspect, the stone-paved plaza is "framed" by the lower edifices, in addition to the cruciform Royal Bank Building. So visually and physically cut out, it was--and still is--a plaza that could only be discovered haphazardly, particularly after the construction of the low, bordering buildings. The plaza appears not to have been conceived first and foremost for passers-by, despite the original plan for the pedestrian link. Rather, the plaza was first thought of as an amenity for the large crowd working or visiting the Place Ville-Marie premises:

> The plaza was conceived not only as a circulation area, but also as a gathering point for large crowds; its function is to be civic as well as commercial. The four wells link the plaza visually with the lower level and thus the promenade can participate in the activities of the plaza.[38]

In fact, it was hoped that the services located at the promenade level would bring life to the plaza, and it appears that this strategy worked.[39] The concept relied on activities and restaurants to animate the plaza,

rather than on works of art. In the original scheme, no work of art or fountain decorated or "enlivened" it, even though it served on rare occasions as exhibition space for sculptures. As such, plazas and outdoor spaces for exhibiting sculptures were still rare in Montréal in the mid-sixties. The Québec Sculptors Association, as we saw, held an annual event in Place Ville-Marie in 1966, but it seems that most of the show took place inside.[40]

The Canadian Industry Limited (CIL) House

While Place Ville-Marie was in progress, two other towers came into being, also located on Dorchester Boulevard: the CIL House and the CIBC Tower. We will present both projects, with a greater emphasis on the latter, as it presents the only example of a sculpture displayed on a plaza at the base of a skyscraper for that era. Furthermore, as both projects were contemporaneous, they had to comply with the same municipal regulations regarding height and set-back.

The CIL House was designed by architects Greenspoon, Freedlander and Dunne, with Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM), an American firm that specialized in modernist skyscrapers, as consulting architects.[41] A rectangular tower, with a welded steel structure and an aluminum and glass curtain wall, the building was set up on a relatively small (175 feet x 243 feet or 53 metres x 74 metres) rectangular plot on the corner of Dorchester and University Streets (see figure 5). It offered a rentable floor area close to the then optimum 20,000 square feet (1,858 square metres).[42] In order to provide such a comfortable floor area yet be quite high, the thirty-four-level, 440-feet (134-metres) above-street-level edifice only had to cover about half the site. The remaining space was

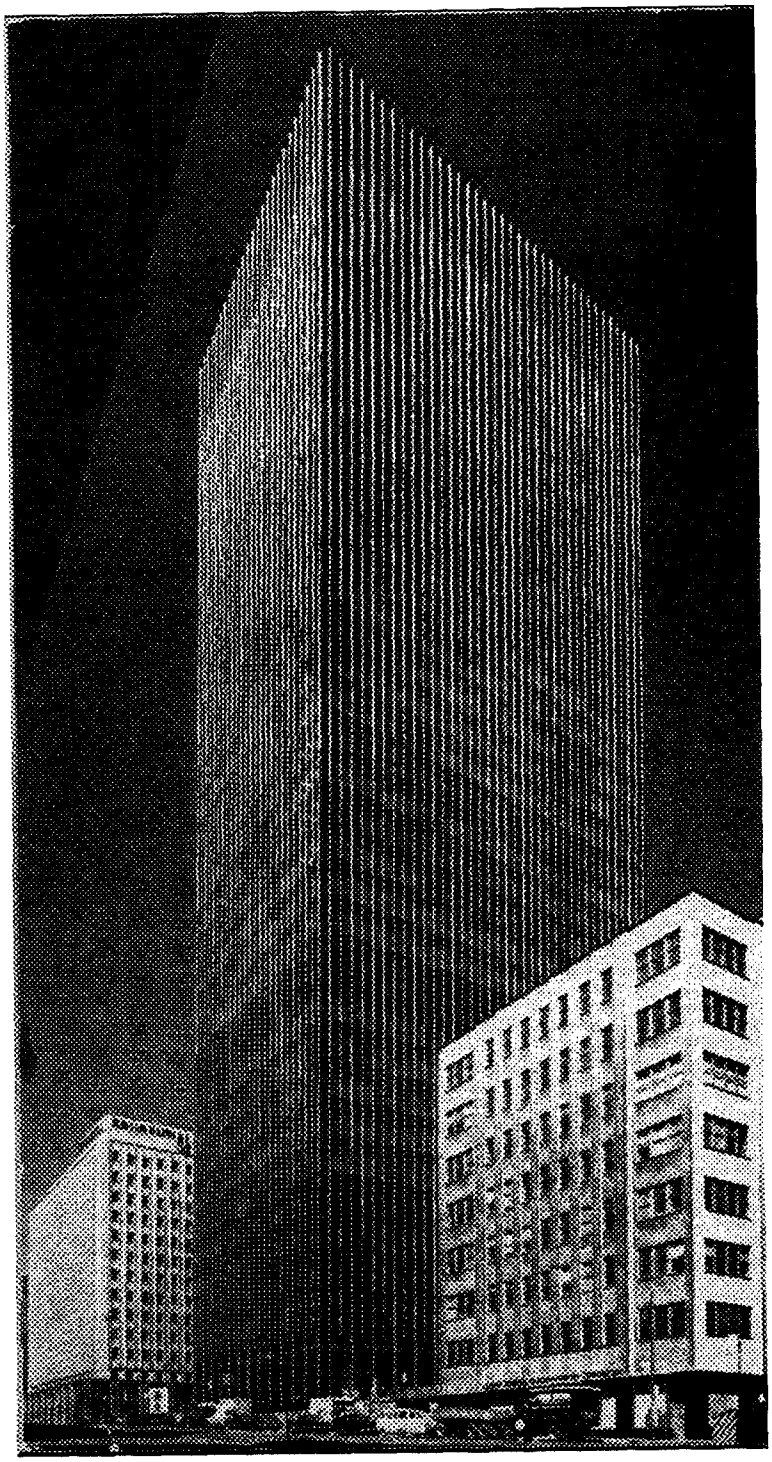


Figure 5. CIL House., From Canadian Architect 7, no. 6 (June 1962): 52. Courtesy of Canadian Architect.

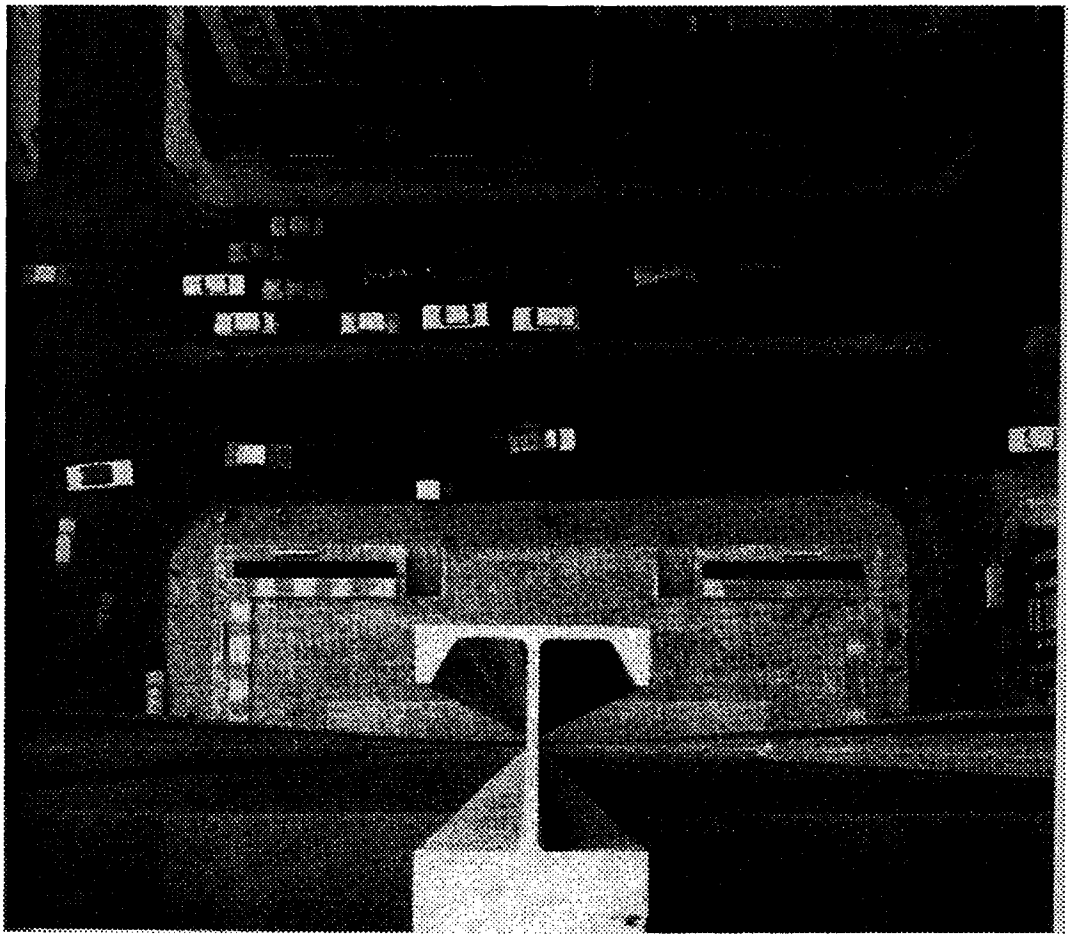


Figure 6. The CIL House plaza. From Canadian Architect 7, no. 6 (June 1962): 53. Courtesy of Canadian Architect.

divided between some open space behind, which allowed the entrance to the underground garage, and a plaza of some three thousand square feet (279 square metres) fronting Dorchester Boulevard but raised from it (see figure 6). The sixty-feet (eighteen-metres) wide mineral (granite) plaza had planters parallel to the sidewalk, abutting on the staircase. Aside from two masts, it was a free, open space, resembling more a cathedral parvis than a plaza where people would actually gather and meet. In addition to the thirty-two floors of offices, the premises included two storeys dedicated to mechanical equipment and a below ground commercial concourse on one level with an additional three levels of underground garage. Banking facilities were located at the ground (lobby) level.[43]

The new building displayed works of art as decorative elements. On the one hand, CIL artists designed large-scale murals, installed in reception areas. Those murals "symbolize or suggest the activities of the department where they appear. They are made up of many colours and materials--where possible relating to the functions of the particular department."[44] On the other hand, works by Canadian artists, essentially paintings and prints, were "used extensively."[45] The building was completed by Fall 1961.[46]

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) Tower

The CIBC Tower was built (1959-62) on the site of the former and older part of the Windsor Hotel, at the intersection of Dorchester Boulevard and Peel-Stanley Streets, a prime location facing Dominion Square (see figures 3 and 7). Originally, local real-estate investors headed by Maxwell Cummings and Sons joined forces in the venture with the Canadian Bank of Commerce, forming Dorchester Commerce Realty



Figure 7. The CIBC Tower facing Dominion (now Dorchester) Square. Henry Moore's sculpture is not discernible (photograph by Armour Landry, circa 1970. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/23/7510).

Limited, which began to develop the project. The old hotel was demolished in November 1958 and the construction followed in October 1959. Concomitant with the construction project, the Imperial Bank of Canada merged in June 1961 with the Canadian Bank of Commerce, forming the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC). The CIBC thus became the second largest bank in Canada, behind the Royal Bank. And similarly to the Royal Bank which was about to move to Place Ville-Marie, the CIBC moved to its new tower in 1962.[47]

Peter Dickinson was the architect for the project chosen by the Bank. Born in England in 1925, where he also received his education as an architect, Dickinson was recruited in 1950 by a Canadian firm from Toronto, Page and Steele Architects. In January 1958 he opened his own firm, Peter Dickinson Associates, in Toronto. According to the Québec chapter of Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement (DOCOMOMO-Québec), Dickinson was in those days, the only "contemporary" architect in Toronto capable of designing steel and glass buildings. He began work on the CIBC Building in 1958 with Montréal architect Max Roth as an associate. Dickinson died prematurely in 1961, before the completion of the project.[48]

Presented in November 1958 as the "Windsor Plaza," the first concept included the construction of two buildings of different height placed side by side and linked by a common base, along with the renovation and upgrading of the newest section of the hotel (see figure 8). According to that scheme, a tower of forty-two storeys and 565 feet high was to be erected first, at the intersection of Peel Street and Dorchester Boulevard. Eventually, at a later, unspecified date, a second office building of twenty-two storeys was to have been standing on the western part of the parcel, at the corner of Stanley Street and Dorchester Boulevard. The Canadian Bank of Commerce was to occupy part of the

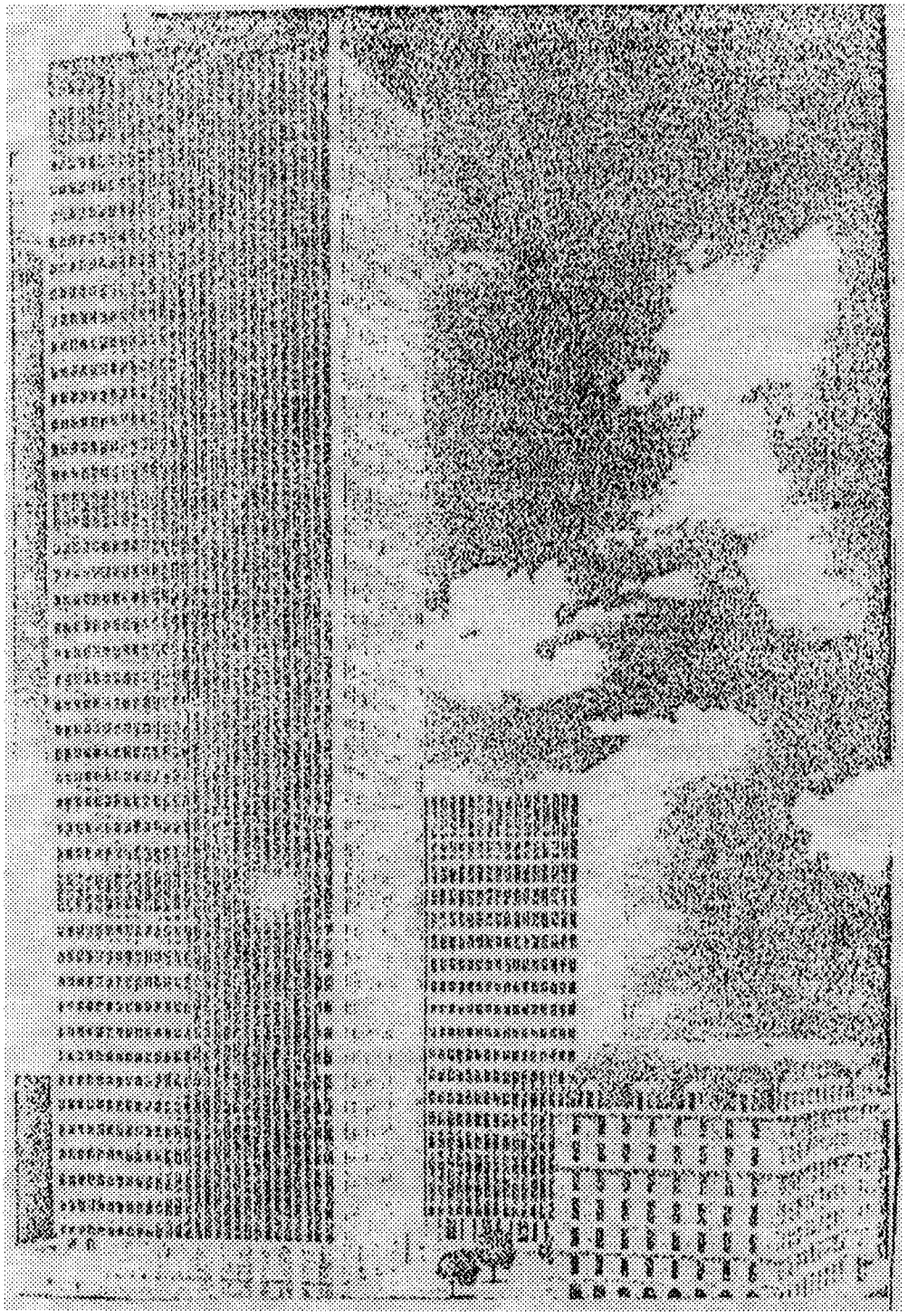


Figure 8. The first public version of the Canadian Bank of Commerce project, the Windsor Plaza. Courtesy of Le Devoir (7 November 1958).

highest of the two buildings and rent the remaining office space, while Cummings' group would manage and own the other edifice. It was also planned that a commercial "plaza" (restaurants and shops) would be contiguous to the highest tower. That tower's main lobby would lead on the outside to a plaza fronting Dominion Square. It was reported that, "in line with the modern pattern of development, open space is provided between all the units of the project."[49] That interstitial space was to be paved in grey-green slate, also used for the exterior walls of the building, and adorned with fountains and a sculpture. Actually, an examination of a picture of the model reveals a hard walking surface with two or three trees planted between the highest tower and the remaining Windsor Hotel. In addition, the bank tower was aligned with the existing hotel, much closer to the street than the actual layout. This building alignment was certainly required in order to make room for the second building on the lot.[50]

However, less than a year later, construction of the forty-three-storey high-rise began on the exact same site, and still stands today on the lot bound by Peel and Stanley Streets and René-Lévesque Boulevard. Since the parcel measured 245 feet by 190 feet (or 75 metres x 60 metres) and the total floor area was limited to twelve times the site area, we can see that the first concept, with its area of 650,000 square feet (60,387 square metres) for the Bank alone, exceeded the permissible floor area ratio.[51] Thus, the revised concept had only one edifice on the site, of forty-three floors instead of forty-two (623 feet or 190 metres high). The tower measured some 140 feet by 100 feet (43 metres x 31 metres). It was set back from Peel Street, leaving some space for a 52.5 feet (15.6 metres) deep plaza. The rear of the building provided access to underground parking, as well as to a drive-by teller (see figures 9 and 10).[52]

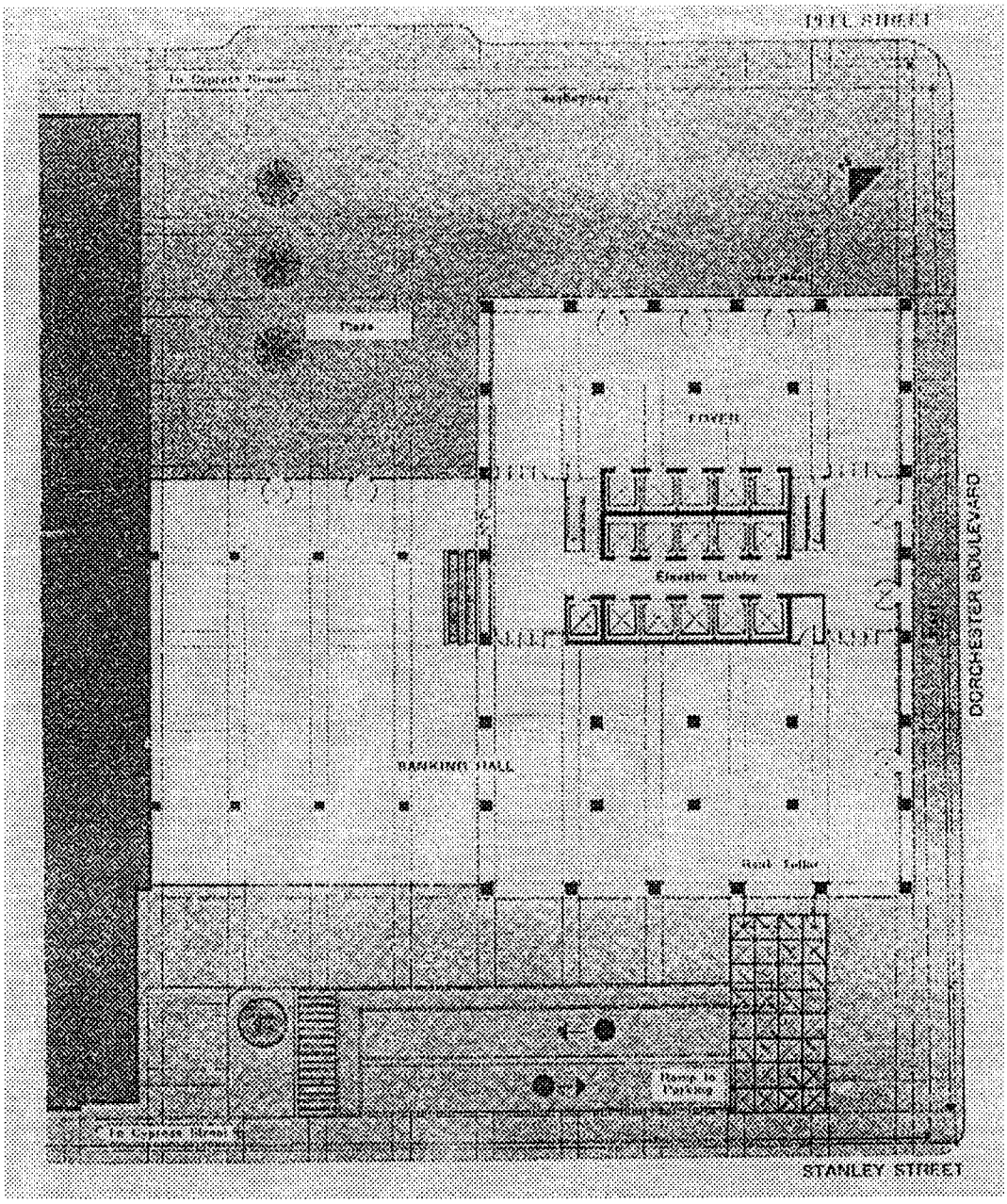


Figure 9. Plan of the ground level, and of the plaza of the CIBC Tower. Peter Dickinson architect. From the "Canadian Bank of Commerce Building," promotion brochure prepared by Dorchester Commerce Realty Limited. Courtesy of the CIBC.

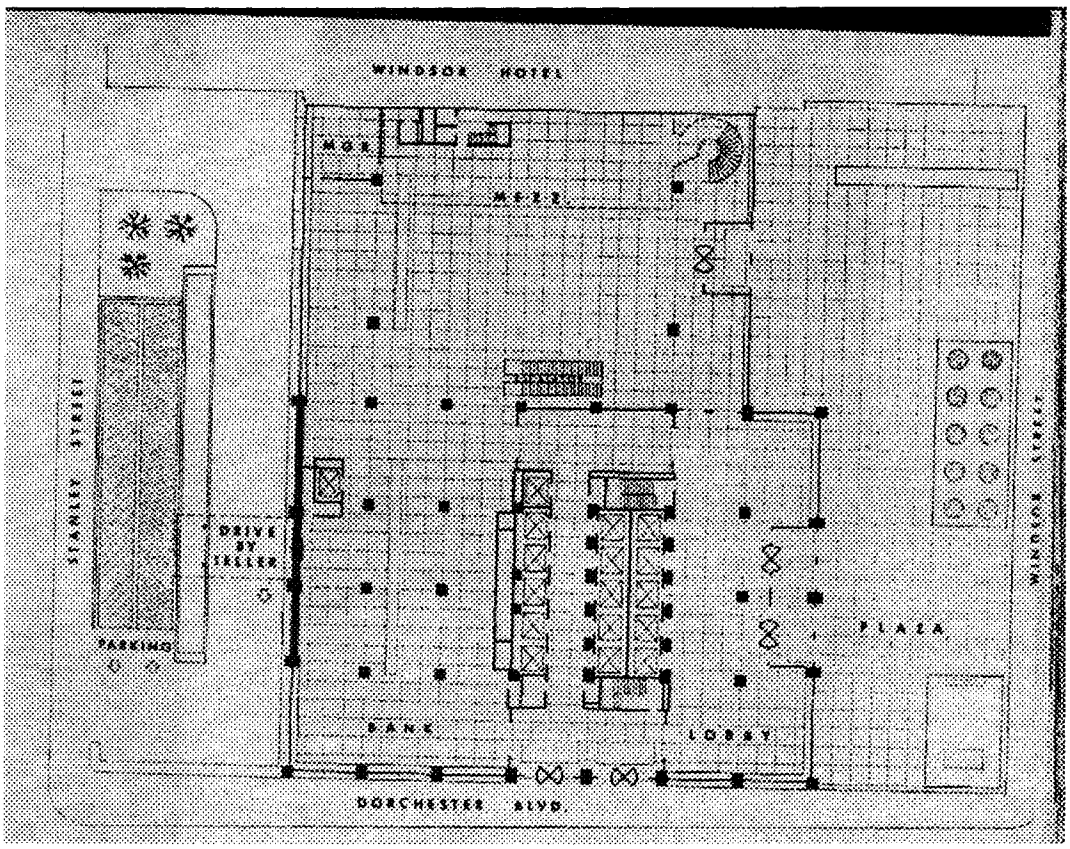


Figure 10. Plan of the plaza of the CIBC Tower attributable to Clifford and Lawrie. From the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal 39, no. 11 (November 1962): 51. Courtesy of the RAIC.

In March 1962, the first tenants moved in and the building was officially inaugurated in June 1962, a few days before the occupation of the banking floors. City of Montréal Mayor Jean Drapeau associated the occasion with progress for the city.[53] At the time it was built, the CIBC claimed its structure was "the tallest business building in the Commonwealth and the world's tallest pre-cast curtain wall building."[54] The total height from grade to roof was 604 feet (184 metres). In the first concept, the Bank Tower had forty-two storeys as did Place Ville-Marie. It added another storey in the final scheme, and the owner took great pride in possessing the higher edifice. As with Place Ville-Marie in Montréal and other skyscrapers in New York City, the CIBC Tower had an observatory on its last level. In the end, the CIBC Building was, contrary to Place Ville-Marie and to its own early plans, exclusively an office tower, with banking services offered at the ground level. The new premises also included an underground parking garage on two-and-one-half levels. Also built underground were the bank's safety deposit boxes. A few services adjoining Windsor Hotel could be accessed directly from the first basement of the new building. The Bank also took pride in having had recourse to the latest technology and modern equipment, such as high speed elevators, electrical and telecommunications equipment, curtain walls made of concrete mullions wrapped with stainless steel, and exterior walls faced with green slate imported from England.[55]

The preceding examination of the evolution of the concept reveals what most critics assumed when analysing the design of these new skyscrapers: that the developers aimed at maximizing the rental floor area. The first concept did not aim to exceed the height of the cruciform tower of Place Ville-Marie but it simply equalled it. The idea of the plaza was then that of leftover ornate space to be used for pedestrian traffic between buildings. Real-estate developers had to scale down their project

in terms of floor area in order to comply with local regulations. Subsequently, they could have decided to erect twin buildings instead of one high-rise, however they chose to keep the high tower and eliminate the second building. This allowed the architect to set the edifice up differently on the parcel, and to lay out a plaza of reasonable dimensions. Therefore, it seems that the high, sleek edifice on the plaza first resulted from the necessity to comply with local regulations then in force. The will to own the tallest building, not only in the city, but in the Commonwealth, came second.[56] These changes occurred while Dickinson was still the project architect (the building was under construction at the time of his death).

At first (i.e., in April 1962), it was reported that the plaza would be decorated with gardens and shrubs. The brochure that described the project to eventual tenants stated: "The Plaza area, comprising 25,000 square feet [2,323 square metres], will be paved in slate and granite. In keeping with the beauty of Dominion Square Park, this area will be attractively landscaped with shrubs, trees, fountains and reflecting pools."[57] The plan of the plaza included in the same document shows a smaller mineral plaza, with three trees (see figure 9). The plaza, the pavement of which consisted of five feet by five feet granite slabs, housed three masts, a water basin with a fountain, and a sculpture. The sculpture was not installed for the opening of the building but was set in place a few months later, in December 1962. When completed, the plaza was described as "suitably landscaped."[58] Photographs taken at that time provide further evidence that this was a mineral plaza, but no fountain is visible. These descriptions appear to be in contradiction unless we acknowledge the possibility that this was to be a "modernist garden" in line with those described by Dorothée Imbert.[59] For a modernist architect it is

probable that a mineral plaza with only a few trees and a sculpture was indeed suitably landscaped![60]

The architects Clifford and Lawrie took over as architects and design consultants to the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, after Dickinson's death. They affirmed that the integration of the plaza area "into Dominion Square's overall composition in such a way as to involve, rather than visually separate, the building with its environment"[61] was a major problem for them. The paving materials and the "organic treatment of the plaza elements" aimed precisely to integrate with the environment. Though the meaning of the "organic treatment" is unclear, it is reasonable to affirm that it pertained to a planting area:

> Simple forms were employed to define the plaza, the base of the flagpoles, the planting area and the raised podium of the flagpoles. No attempt was made to enrich these elements by profiles or changes in materials or finishes. [62]

A floor plan from that time does not show much of a planting area in the ground for the plaza as such (see figure 10). Trees can be seen at the rear of the building, fronting Stanley Street. It is also possible that the rectangular shape filled with ten circles symbolized a planter. The architect did not mention any fountain which is consistent with the photographic evidence of the time. We have to rely on the documents from that time because the plaza was enclosed in the early 1990s.[63] The comparison of the plan of the plaza as designed by Dickinson and the one attributable to Clifford and Lawrie does not show a drastic change with regard to the vegetation. In both cases, plantations are limited and spatially circumscribed. Dickinson appears to have had water elements in his scheme, whereas Clifford and Lawrie did not. All in all, critic and professor Peter Collins considered that the tower integrated perfectly well with the Dominion Square across the street, or rather that the Square set

up perfectly the lean tower whose proportions were almost the same as those of the campanile in Venice. The tower "could make this square one of the most beautiful in the world,"[64] according to Collins.

For its new premises, the Bank had several works of art installed, presented as "decorative features of the building." [65] The art collection included a three-piece terra cotta group, Moon Maids, by Louis Archambault. Archambault had created this sculpture some eight years before, and had presented it at the Venice Biennial in 1956. Moon Maids was placed in the foyer of the executive offices, on the fourth floor. In addition, a colourful mosaic mural by Sidney H. Watson, who was then the Principal of the Ontario College of Art, adorned the wall of the vault. Harold Town selected three of his own recent paintings to hang in the Banking Hall. In the lounge area were two welded-steel sculptures: Solar Device, by Walter Yarwood, and Conference, by Jean Horne. Finally, there were several prints and "sculptures of Eskimo art" along with some thirty works by Canadian artists, either painters or sculptors, owned by two art galleries (Agnes Lefort of Montréal and the Roberts Gallery of Toronto). It is possible that architects Clifford and Lawrie, who were responsible for the design or selection of all furniture or furnishings, were the driving force behind the decision to have works of art in the edifice.[66]

As mentioned previously, the decision to have a sculpture on a mineral open space was already made in Dickinson's concept, and was maintained in Clifford and Lawrie's. It seems however that by the end of November 1961, Clifford and Lawrie re-designed the banking hall and the plaza. The CIBC, having decided that it wanted to buy works of art for its new building, sought Cleeve Horne's advice on that matter. Horne was a Toronto portrait painter with a few years' experience as a part-time professional art adviser with major corporations (Ontario Hydro, Imperial Oil). The CIBC wanted to add an important and significant contemporary

work of art in Dominion Square. In consultation with Horne, Clifford and Lawrie chose the corner of Dorchester Boulevard and Peel Street as the ideal location for a sculpture. Clifford, Lawrie and Horne all felt that the site "would add a contemporary note to Dominion Square and at the same time the work should create a complementary accent to the clean steel and slate tower."[67] Horne selected Henry Moore, given his notoriety as a modern and then contemporary sculptor, to create the work of art. The artist's statute was determined and measured by the important one-man exhibitions he had had in major cities throughout the world, by the publications about his work and about him, by his presence in the important collections of contemporary sculpture, and by the numerous honours he had received worldwide. As examples of the English sculptor's worth, Horne highlighted the fact that Moore was the only sculptor commissioned for the new UNESCO building in Paris, and that he had also been approached by the new Lincoln Center in New York City. Horne met Moore in England in January 1962 while the artist was working on his largest bronze to date, the Three Piece Reclining Figure. Horne stated: "In scale and character, this work was undoubtedly the ideal answer."[68] Therefore, the CIBC acquired the first cast of Moore's most recent bronze sculpture for its new headquarters. Three Piece Reclining Figure measures almost ten feet long by five feet high (see figure 11). Despite that fact, it was small if compared to the overall building dimensions (see figure 7). According to Michael Clifford, the outdoor sculpture was intended to emphasize "the strong vertical and horizontal lines of the composition."[69] For the architect, the "Henry Moore sculpture . . . is well suited to form a foil to the line of the building and a link with the natural setting of Dominion Square."[70]

On 30 October 1962, mayor Drapeau was invited to unveil the massive bronze sculpture set on a huge marble base. In his opening

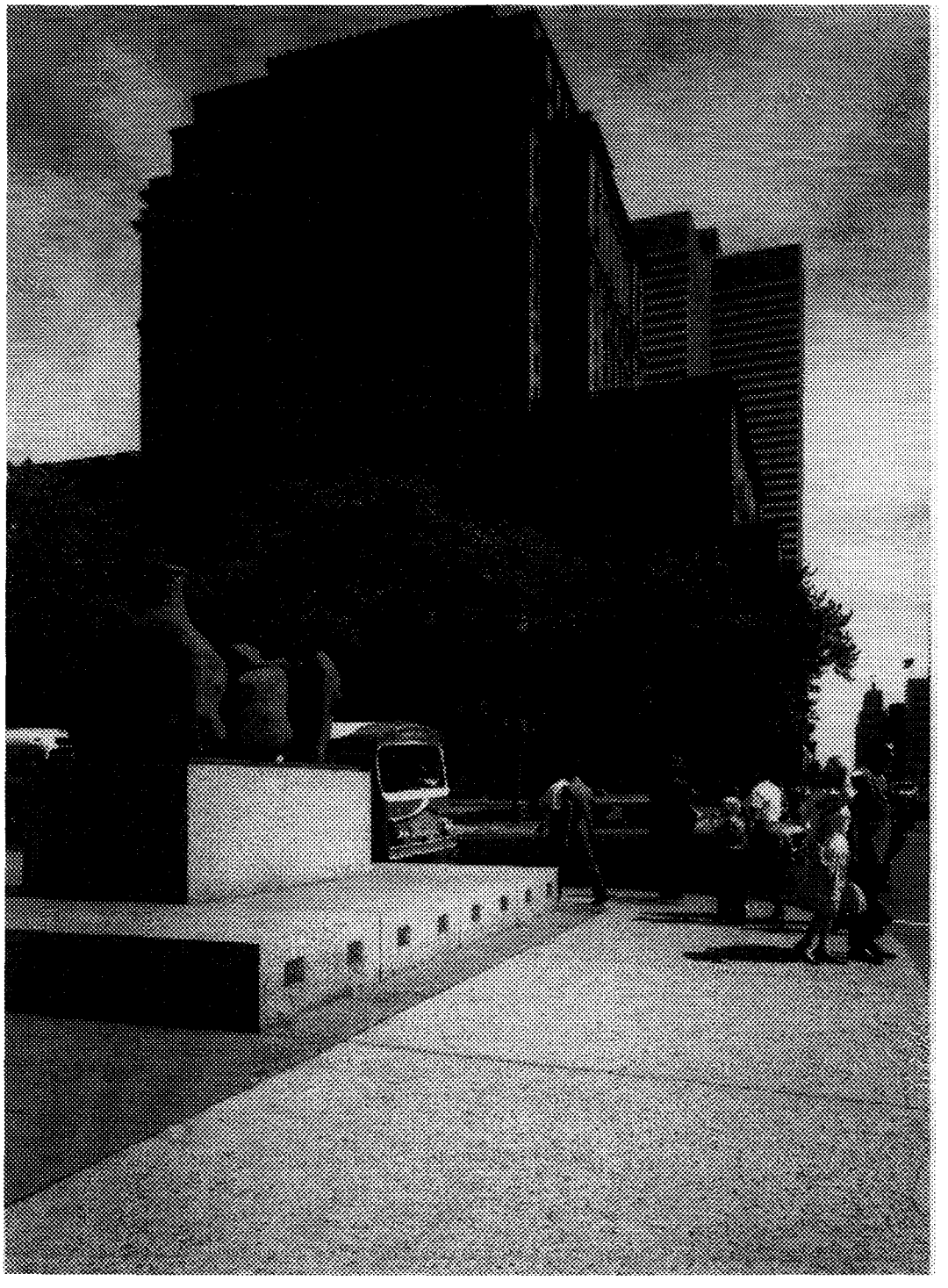


Figure 11. Henry Moore, Three Piece Reclining Figure, 1962 (photograph by Armour Landry, July 1965. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/45/14311).

speech, he reiterated the place held by Montréal among the important cities of the world. He stated that "true progress is cultural as well as material. . . . Our City has a distinguished record in the field of music, of literature and of the arts."[71] He further asserted that

> modern and traditional architecture can stand side-by-side in pleasing harmony. Tonight we are going to introduce a modern work of art to this historic Dominion Square. . . . To me it does not seem in the least incongruous that a modern, contemporary sculpture should take its place in the heart of our City.[72]

For Drapeau, the value of the work resided in the prestige of its creator. In fact, since the sculpture was the work of Henry Moore, one of the most respected names in the world of art and a leader in contemporary sculpture, it was natural that Montréal pursue its tradition as a world leader and give the work of art a prominent place.[73] Clearly, contemporary sculpture was associated with great contemporary architecture. In his speech, the Mayor legitimized the first contemporary sculpture to be installed in the open, neighbouring the several statues and monuments already present in Dominion Square. Having read his address written before he actually saw the work, Jean Drapeau later admitted having found the piece surprising, while acknowledging that it was "definitely. . . modern art. . . . Of course, we have to be very careful before we advance an opinion on modern art pieces but I admit it is a surprising thing."[74]

The work was nonetheless praised for itself by connoisseurs. On opening night, the Three Piece Reclining Figure was introduced by Dr. Evan Turner, then Director at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts as "the city's most important artistic acquisition in the past 100 years."[75] For Dr. Turner, the Moore sculpture challenged the standards of Québec's artists, and also contributed to the enhancement of the province's artistic reputation overseas. The sculpture was deemed to be the most important contemporary public sculpture exhibited anywhere in Canada. In fact, it

was reported that the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and the Seagram Building, both in New York City, had expressed an interest in acquiring Moore's latest work. A year later, Moore was working on a monumental sculpture for the Lincoln Center.[76]

The immediate public reception was uncertain. The audience was assured by Dr. Turner, however, that as it passed the work of art every day, it would begin to appreciate its qualities. It appears that since its unveiling, the sculpture had ignited a passionate debate, being either praised or condemned. In order to educate the public about Moore's sculptures, Max Stern, the owner of the Dominion Gallery, put Woman (1957-58), another of Moore's sculptures in front of the art gallery, on Sherbrooke Street West. Even though the sculpture was for sale, Stern's idea was "to afford Montrealers the opportunity of contrasting it with '[Three Piece] Reclining Figure.'"[77] In fact, it was believed that "the mere presence of two Henry Moores on the streets of the city may have the effect of conditioning the public to accept and understand contemporary or 'modern' sculpture."[78] The lack of appreciation of both sculptures by the city dwellers stemmed from ignorance as most of them had never been exposed to contemporary sculpture.[79]

Place Victoria

The creation of Place Victoria, later known as the (Stock) Exchange Tower, was closely linked to the efforts on the part of municipal authorities to fight vigorously to maintain the city's hegemony as the country's financial centre. In 1958-59, officials of the Montréal and Canadian stock exchanges seriously contemplated the possibility of merging Montréal's Stock Exchange with that of Toronto. There was strong opposition from

the French-Canadian milieu. It was felt that in order for Montréal to keep its status as a metropolis, the city had to have its own stock exchange.[80]

By the end of 1960, and particularly in the Spring of 1961, the story about the construction of the "Stock Exchange Plaza" broke in the press. Though the specifics of the project as reported were modified over time, or were more accurately reported, some important elements were determined from the start.[81] The project was financed by European institutions, mainly Italian, and a subsidiary of a Netherlands bank, the Mercantile Bank of Canada. Decisions regarding the project came from Italy, including the design. It was decided that the structure of the building would be of prestressed concrete. The project involved the construction of three buildings, one of them a skyscraper. The construction of the new plaza required the demolition of some fifteen buildings, many of which were in good condition while others were a hundred years old. The demolition had begun by the Spring of 1961. Supposedly, a member of the consortium had bought properties in the neighbourhood as early as 1953 and, by the time the project was officially presented, owned 90% of the area.[82]

From the start, the idea was to provide office space for traders as well as the trading floor for the Montréal and the Canadian Exchange Markets, previously housed in Old Montréal. Furthermore, the complex was to be multifunctional, providing a shopping area, restaurants, as well as underground parking space in addition to the office and trading space. The tower would rise more than fifty storeys above ground, and have seven underground floors. The construction of this project was expected to rejuvenate the area, as Place Victoria would link the financial district to the emerging commercial district on Dorchester Street.[83]

By August 1961 the local newspaper La Presse presented the future project. With an expected construction cost of $80 million and a

total cost of $100 million, the design of the project was attributed to two internationally reputed Romans. The pillars of the design team were architect Luigi Moretti and engineer Pier Luigi Nervi. Other North American architects, engineers and urban planners assisted the two Italians. From Montréal, Greenspoon, Freedlander and Dunne and Jacques Morin were associate and consulting architects, while J. B. Carswell from Toronto, d'Allemagne and Barbacki Letendre Monti and Associates, Wiggs, Walford, Frost and Lindsay from Montréal plus G. B. Panero, Salvadori Weidlinger from New York City were consulting engineers. McGill University professor Harold Spence-Sales was consultant in civic planning.[84]

The complex, referred to as Place Victoria, included three skyscrapers of fifty-one storeys each, built exclusively of prestressed concrete (see figure 12). The towers were flanked by eight eighteen-foot-high (5.5 metres) "rotundas." The latter were to be divided by pedestrian walkways allowing easy access to each building of the complex. The project, which at first was supposed to occupy a major part of the city block (the west side of Victoria square, Craig Street (now St. Antoine) on the north, St. James on the south, and Little St. Antoine Street on the west), ended up requiring the entire block (see figures 13 and 14). The lot situated between Craig Street, St. James Street, the western side of Victoria Square to the east, and University Street to the west was the site elected for the future construction. Given the high cost of the land, architects had to exploit its use to a maximum. This explained the seven underground levels of the project and the impressive dimensions of the towers.[85]

Having the Montréal Exchanges as tenants set the development of the project in motion, pending final approval by their members (traders). The final negotiations took place in September 1961. Oddly enough, this came to be linked to the construction of Place Ville-Marie, thanks to

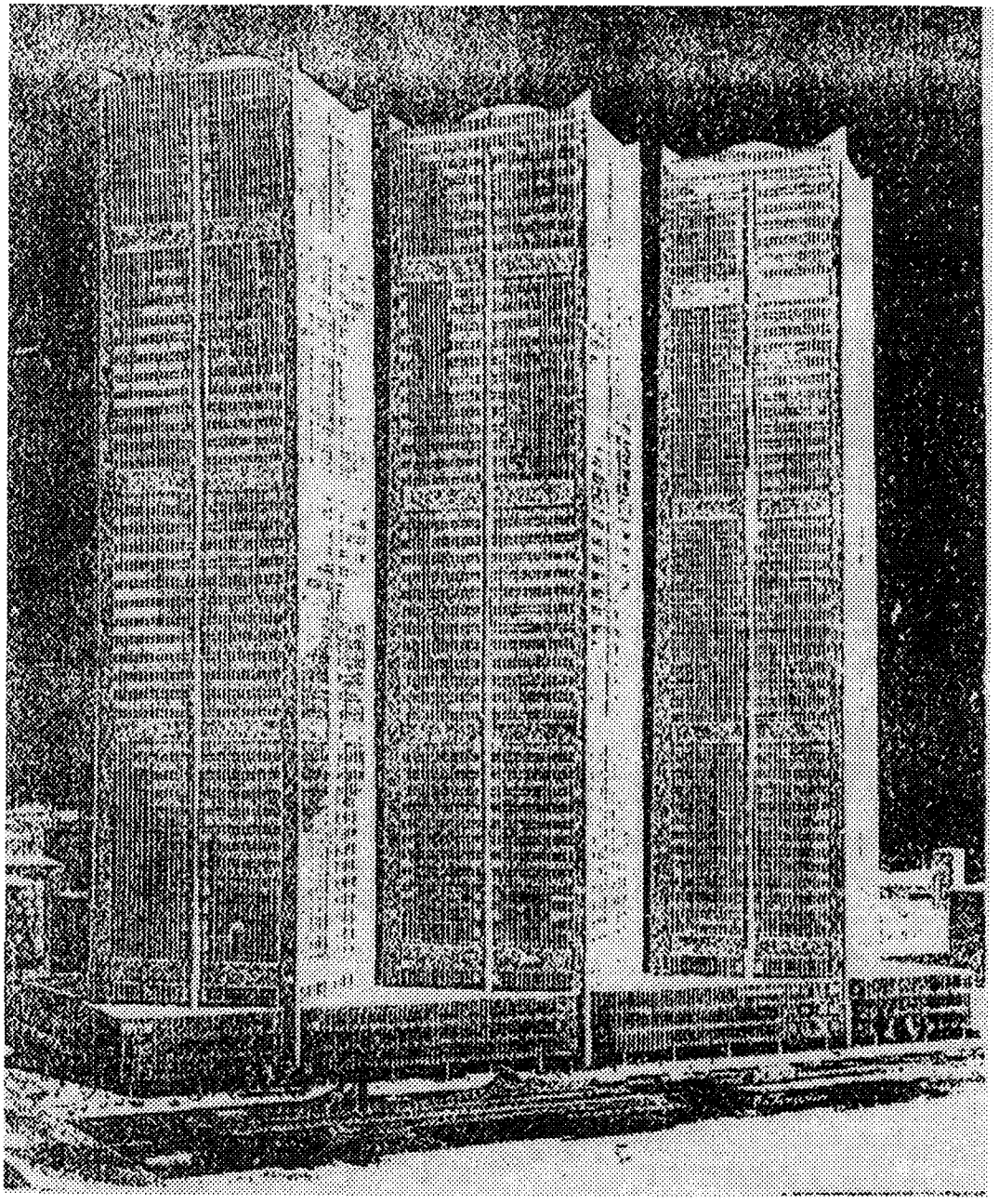


Figure 12. The first concept for Place Victoria: three towers. From the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal 39, no. 1 (January 1962): 31. Courtesy of the RAIC.

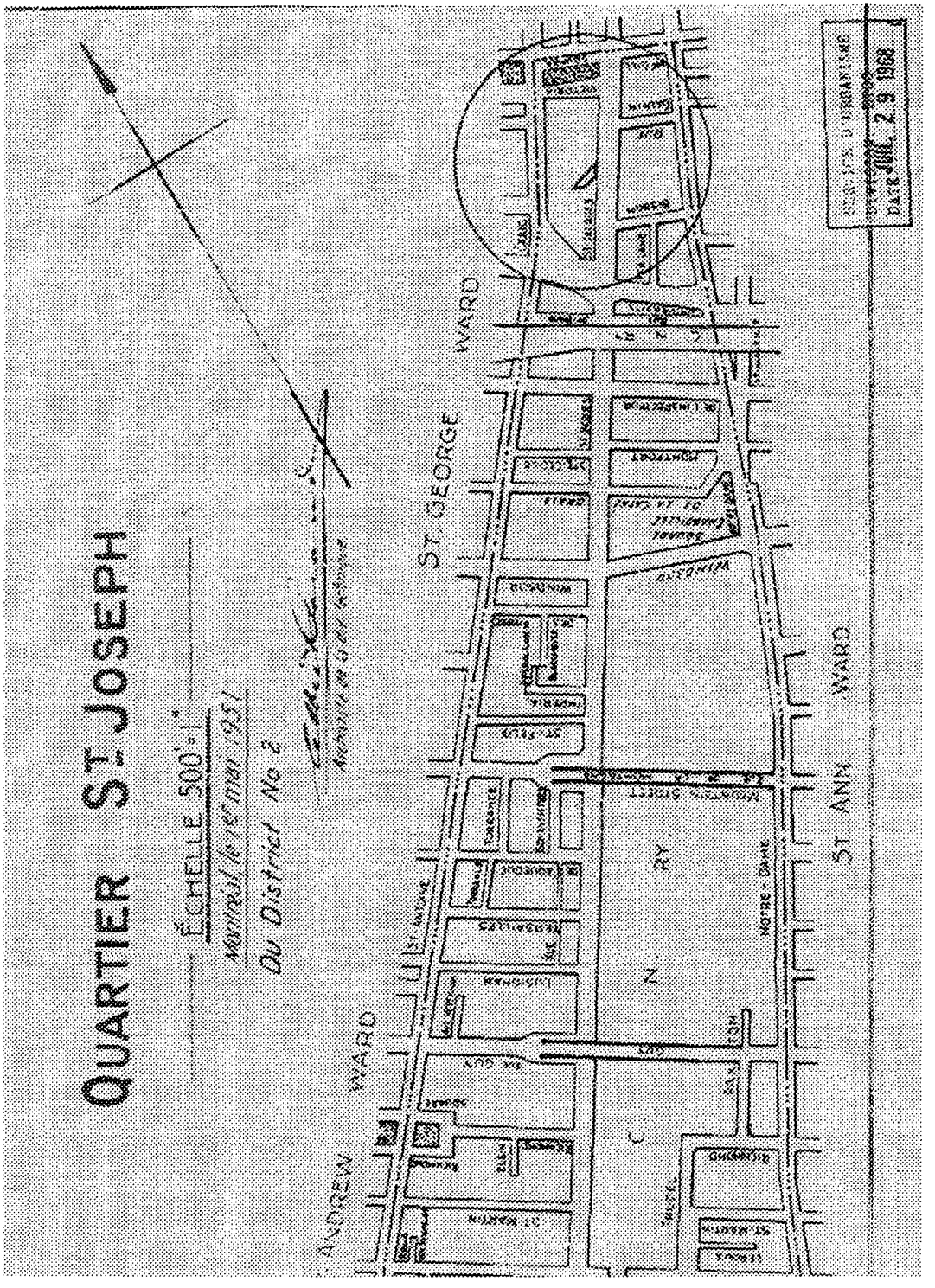


Figure 13. Plan of the area where the project Place Victoria was planned. The circle indicates the immediate area of the project. City of Montréal archives 804.3-1.

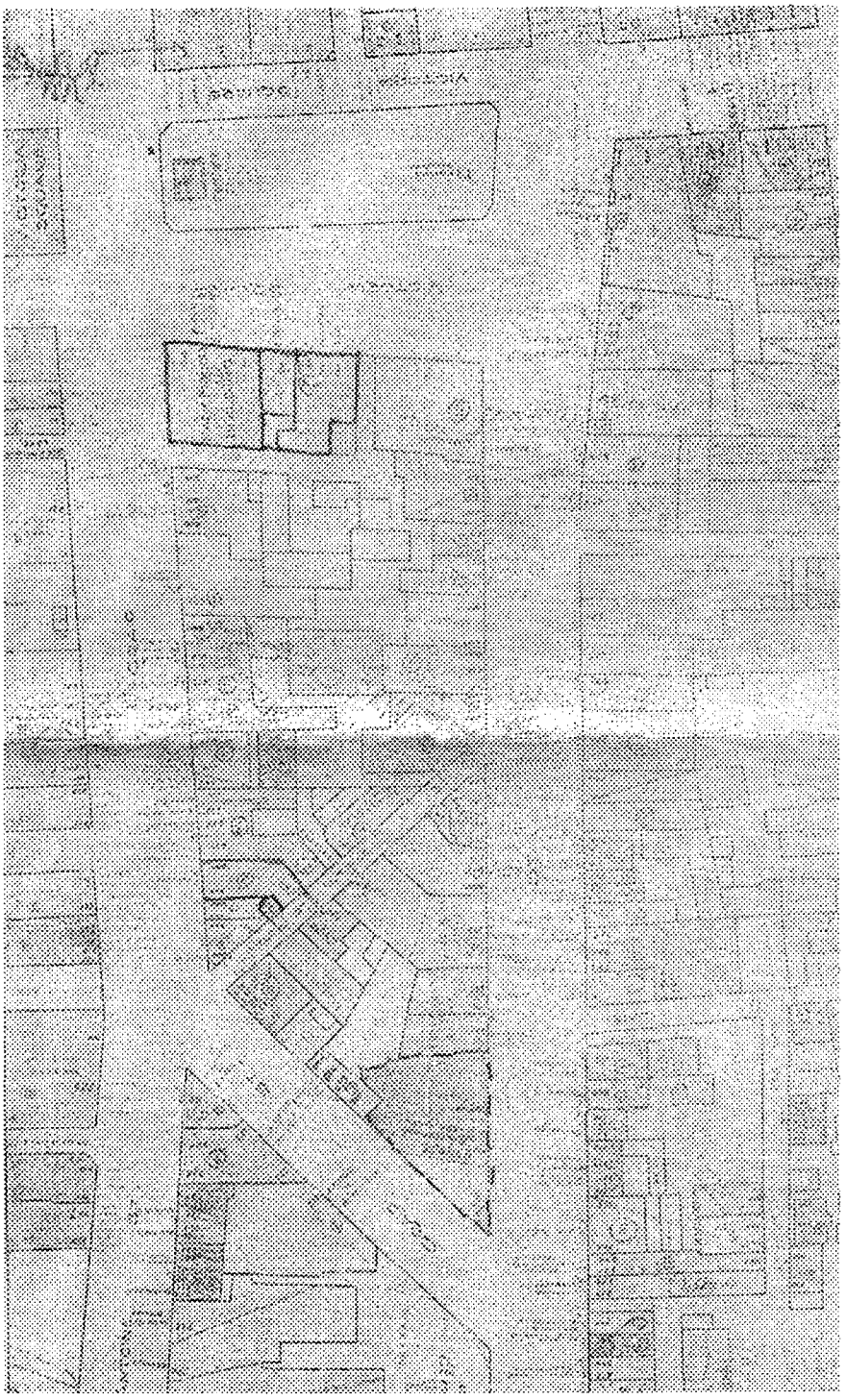


Figure 14. Land use map, dated 1949 of the immediate area of Place Victoria. St. Sophie Lane ran perpendicular to Craig Street, at the back of the Mark Fisher Building. City of Montréal.

William Zeckendorf. In order to convince the Royal Bank of Canada to move its headquarters to Place Ville-Marie, Zeckendorf had bought the former bank building in Old Montréal. On the eve of the traders' vote regarding the possible move to Place Victoria, Zeckendorf offered the Exchanges rental space in the Royal Bank building in Old Montréal. Eager to get the Exchanges as tenants, Zeckendorf offered a fifty-year lease for a nominal annual rent of one dollar. Nonetheless, the traders voted in favour of the move to the new building on Victoria Square, essentially for prestige. The Italian project was well under way and promised the future complex would provide "the most up-to-date stock exchange facilities in the world."[86]

The day following the crucial vote, the developer, Place Victoria-St. Jacques, outlined the schedule for the Place Victoria project. The construction of the first of the three towers was planned to start on the first day of November 1961, the second tower during the Fall of 1963 and finally, construction of the third tower was anticipated two years later, in the Fall of 1965. The Exchanges were planning to move to the new Place Victoria by the end of 1963 or, more likely, by early 1964.[87]

Events did not unfold as expected. Even though "final" plans for the fifty-one-storey tower had been sent to City authorities by the end of November 1961, the start of construction was delayed for over a year, to early December 1962.[88] In December 1961 the municipal services were busy with three activities with regard to the Place Victoria project. First, some of the lots bounded by Victoria Square, Craig, St. James and Little St. Antoine Streets had to be subdivided to allow for more demolition. Second, they had to acquire, close off and expropriate the part of St. Sophie Lane included in this area in order to sell it and allow the fifty-one-storey-high "Place de la Bourse" (see figure 14). That last process took the City a very long time to complete. Given its location, the lane as a

public route prevented the construction of the first tower. In fact, at its December 11, 1961 session, City Council had yet to pass a by-law to close the lane. However, by mid-June 1962, Mercantile Trust Company, the project manager for Place Victoria-St. Jacques, had to plead with the City to sell the lane as the developer was anxious to complete its acquisition before undertaking the construction of the first edifice. The City resolved to sell the lane for the "Place de la Bourse" on 19 October 1962.[89] Third, City Officials had to determine which zoning by-law, if any, was in force and applicable to the project. It was decided that zoning by-law 1397 applied, as the lots were located in the Saint-Joseph industrial neighbourhood. There was thus no limitation with regard to height. Also, construction by-law 1900 restrained the maximum floor area above the mean ground level to twelve times the area of the lot, or the volume could not be greater than 130 times the area of the land.[90]

In mid-February 1962, the City issued the permit to Place Victoria-St. Jacques for the construction of the first of the three towers, the tallest building ever to be constructed in the city, appraised at $21 million. The edifice was to have fifty-one storeys, six of which would be underground, and one a penthouse. The prestressed concrete structure was an unusual solution in North America. The total construction had an anticipated height of 620 feet (189 metres), some 248 feet (76 metres) wide, and 319 feet (97 metres) deep. The first tower to be built would face Victoria Square, and be located between Craig and St. Jacques Streets. Construction of two similar towers would follow, yielding the largest office complex in the world. Work on the foundation and retaining walls was scheduled to start within one month.[91]

However, the permit was not immediately followed by construction. Rather, the project wavered for a period which lasted roughly from Spring to Fall 1962. Several events intertwined that led to a major design

change, which was finally exposed to the public in the Fall of the same year. An American engineer warned his Canadian colleagues that prestressed concrete was not suitable for a high-rise tower located in an area prone to earthquakes, as was Montréal. The city was, in effect, newly classified as a risky area (zone 3). In fact, further tests on the site revealed unexpected soil conditions. In addition, the city planning department appears to have objected to such a high-density construction on the contemplated site. Finally, the economics of the project were not favourable to a three-tower complex. The first modifications merely decreased the number of office floors without decreasing the building height. The project ended up with two identical, larger but lower towers instead of three, with the middle five-storey-high building connecting both skyscrapers. One of the towers would face Victoria Square, while the other would be on University Street (see figure 15). It was reported that the revised layout would allocate more land for circulation, green space and public promenades. The first forty-five-storey tower was then estimated to cost $31 million. The occupancy date was postponed to late 1964, or the Spring of 1965.[92]

Construction started in December 1962, shortly after the revised concept was officially made public, and not long after the sale by the City of St. Sophie Lane to Place Victoria-St. Jacques.[93] Work on the site progressed steadily according to local media. By September 1963, concrete work on the first tower, to become known as the Stock Exchange Tower, had reached street level.[94] Though the first tower was well under way, the developer still had to face contingencies originating from the Municipal Authorities, which ended up having a crucial impact on the development of the project as a whole.

Meanwhile, based on the September 9, 1963 recommendation by the Executive Committee, the City Council voted on 30 October 1963, to

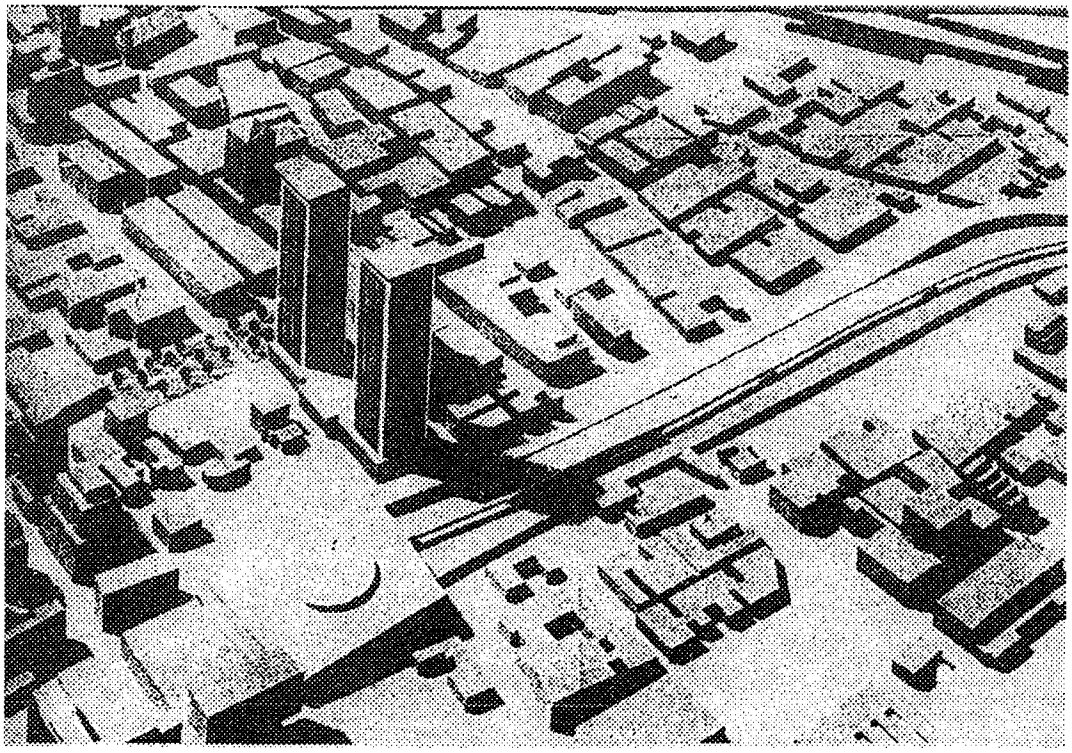


Figure 15. Revised concept for Place Victoria: two towers instead of three. Courtesy of Le Devoir (27 July 1964).

amend construction by-law 1900 with by-law 2887.[95] The latter repealed article 3-2 of by-law 1900, which had a provision allowing buildings "intended entirely for commercial or industrial purposes . . . [to] occupy on all storeys the whole lot area."[96] The new text introduced the calculation of "the maximum *floor area* of the part of *any building* located above the *mean ground level* . . . established at twelve (12) times the area of the *lot*"[97] on which the building was erected. However, in the specific area bound by Stanley, Osborne, Windsor, Saint-Antoine, Saint-David, and Notre-Dame Streets, Saint-Laurent Boulevard, and Craig, de Bleury, and Burnside Streets (figure 16), that maximum floor area could be increased, under certain conditions. Essentially, the floor area could be increased when the layout of a building on a site left room for some open space, "at the rate of six (6) square feet per square foot of open space."[98] The free spaces could be either inside or outside the building, however the by-law required more space if on the inside (a minimum of six thousand square feet or 557 square metres compared to a possible minimum of 500 or 750 square feet--46.5 or 70 square metres--if on the outside). The open spaces had to "be laid out under the form of 'plaza' or terraces and accessible at any time to the public."[99] In addition, when out in the open, the space had to be a free, continuous surface, contiguous to a street line, abutting two street lines, or located at the intersection of two streets. Minimum length, width and area were outlined. Finally, those free areas had to be no more than "four (4) feet above the level of the sidewalk of the contiguous streets."[100] This would prevent having plazas too high above street level, as is that of Place Ville-Marie.

By increasing the permissible floor area of projects that included plazas or terraces, (combined with the repeal of article 3-2 of by-law 1900) the amendment expressly encouraged the construction of a plaza (because it was specifically named, whereas "garden" was not). It also

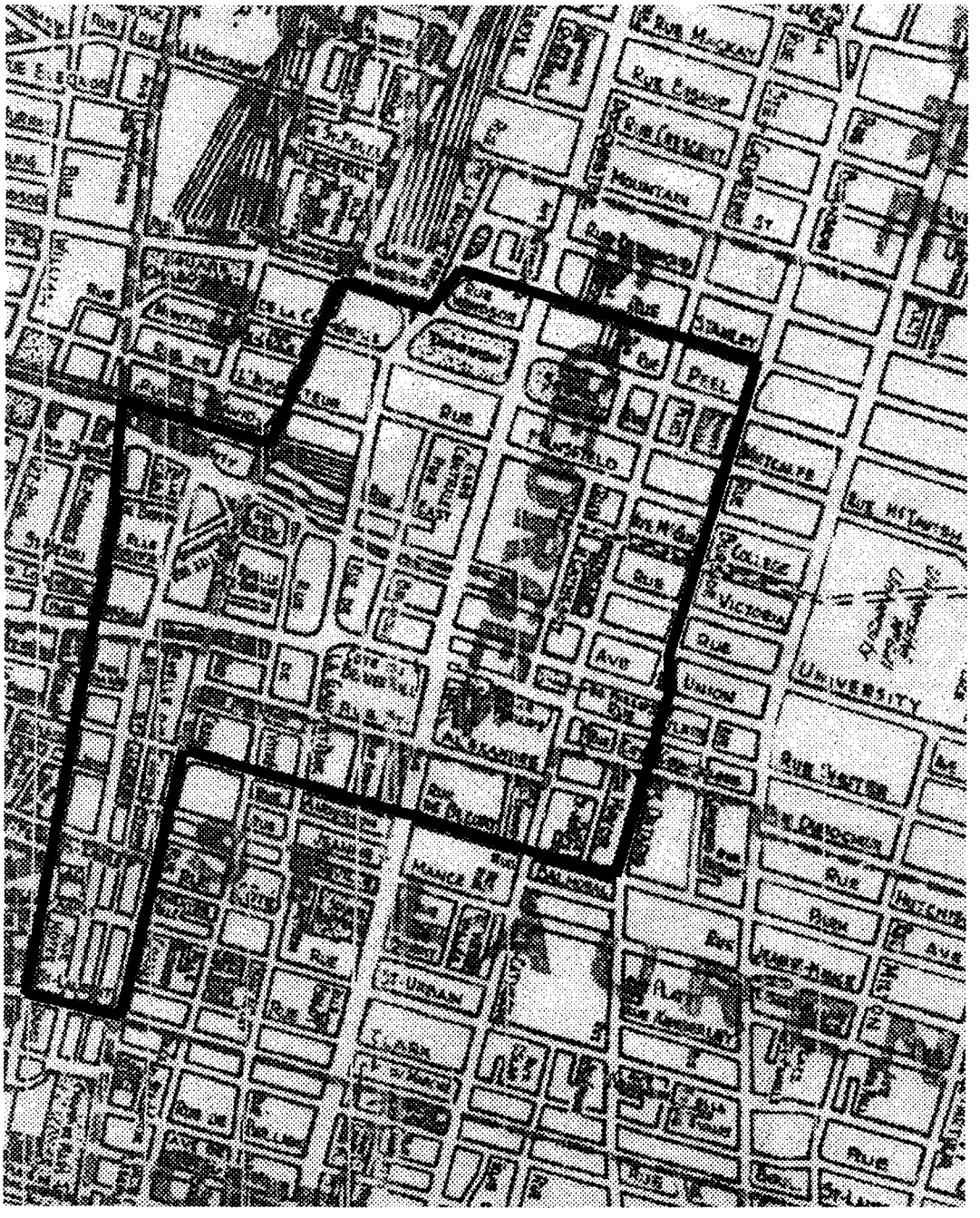


Figure 16. The area where by-law 2887, dated 1963, favoured the construction of plazas, on a map by Cité de Montréal, City Planning Department and Public Works Department, Montréal, 6 March 1962. Signed by Claude Robillard. From City of Montréal, Municipal Archives, coll. 30, series 2, roll 2, code 354. The author circumscribed the area on the map.

favoured the construction of skyscrapers: building more square feet on a smaller surface amounted to building higher. Since part of the new definition of the tall office building was "a structure with a big height to width ratio, always greater than one and usually more than 4 or 5,"[101] erecting higher, leaner buildings appeared to facilitate the construction of these new towers.

However, by-law 2887 introduced an article that limited the height of the building in proportion to the width of the street on which it fronted, until it had to recess (set back). There were two systems of calculation, one that applied to the territory bounded by McGill, Saint-Jacques, Guy and Sherbrooke Streets, de Lorimier Avenue and the property of the National Harbour Board, and another one that applied to every other part of the city. The permissible height in the first area was based on the formula "two times width of street = 1 foot set back: 4 foot rise,"[102] whereas the formula one-and-one-half width of street = 1 foot (0.305 metre) set back: 4 foot (1.22 metre) rise, was in force in the second one. In both instances, though, the maximum height before recessing was set at 130 feet (40 metres).[103] There was, however, an instance when the height could be increased up to a maximum of 160 feet (49 metres):

> When a *building* fronts on a *street* which separates it from a public free space, there may be added, to the width of the street, for the purposes of determining the height of the vertical, one half of the depth of such free space, measured perpendicularly to the *street*. The height of the vertical thus obtained shall not, in any case, exceed one hundred and sixty (160) feet.[104]

This measure, which regulated height and set back, was adopted in 1963. It nonetheless reminds one of New York City's 1916 zoning resolution that led to the "wedding cake" buildings. In fact the sources of influence of by-law 2887 appear to have been two-fold. Besides the control of height and

bulk, it seems that the provision for the plaza was largely inspired by New York City's 1961 revision to its development control plan.[105]

Place Victoria was located within the zone that favoured the construction of plazas and high-rises (figure 16). It was also within the area where the permissible height and set-back were a function of two times the width of the street. Lastly, the Stock Exchange Tower was directly facing a free space, being erected some eighty feet to the west of Victoria Square. However, the second layout of Place Victoria was officially presented in the Fall of 1962, and was therefore anterior to by-law 2887, adopted a year later. Furthermore, the Stock Exchange Tower was being built when by-law 2887 was passed. The question was raised as to whether Victoria Square would be considered as a neighbouring space for the construction of the second tower. As we will see, this could affect the height of the second tower of Place Victoria.[106]

It is remarkable that both the height of the building and the presence of an adjoining plaza were much discussed following the adoption of by-law 2887. This also coincided with the construction progress of the first tower. In November 1963, Nervi stated at a press conference in Montréal that he favoured the plaza principle governing Montréal's zoning laws: "I am all in favor . . . of plenty of plaza space and wide separations of the buildings. . . . I would much rather have one building of 25 storeys on a wide plaza, . . . than five structures of five storeys each placed closely together."[107] From then on, the forty-seven-storey-high building was presented as being the highest one in Montréal, already out-ranking the CIBC Tower. It would also be the tallest structure of prestressed concrete in the world. Details were given regarding the four triangular columns at the corners, visible from the outside, as well as emphasis on the international reputation of Nervi and Moretti. Furthermore, with the second tower completed, Place Victoria would be

the largest office complex of the Commonwealth. Clearly, there was a point to erecting the largest and highest building and in bringing the most innovative technology to the project. With its additional four feet (1.22 metre), the tower out-ranked the Australian Square Building in Sydney and the Peugeot Building in Buenos Aires (both 620 feet or 189 metres, compared to Place Victoria's new height of 624 feet or 190 metres), then under construction.[108]

A few months before the official inauguration of the edifice, the developer publicized the fact that a "magnificent glass sculpture . . . [was] being made in the famed Murano glassworks near Venice, Italy for the lobby of the Stock Exchange Tower."[109] The architect of the building, Luigi Moretti, had outlined the glass sculpture. Another Roman architect, Roberto Morisi, had worked out the detailed design of the work of art. The creation of the sculpture as such was carried out by several artisans. The coloured work consisted of an assemblage of three thousand hand-blown glass elements. Moretti had wanted to "suggest a giant translucent stalactite hanging from the lobby ceiling down through the sweeping elliptical stairway."[110] Once again, emphasis was put on the gigantism of the work (four storeys high, eight feet at its widest), on the fact that it was the largest glass work of art in the world, as well as on the reputation of both the creator and the artisans. Hence, for this hyper-modern building, whose very existence was linked to the invention of new technologies, and which was supposed to have a large plaza in front of its entrance, the Italian architect chose to use art as a means of decoration, of beautification, and he relied on a traditional craft to do so. The design of the work was made to suit the specific building. Given its shape and overall dimensions, the sculpture could not be housed elsewhere.[111] Clearly, that was art integrated to architecture.

The first tenants moved into the new premises on the first day of May 1965. For the occasion, Mayor Drapeau wrote a congratulatory letter in the local press, praising Place Victoria with its forty-seven-storey Stock Exchange Tower as the symbol of Montréal's progress and dynamism. For Drapeau, all the major recent and upcoming construction contributed in defining Montréal as the main centre of major companies and Canadian financial institutions. Acknowledging that Place Victoria had begun the rebirth of financial and commercial neighbourhoods, he pledged that the City would do its share by beautifying and enlarging the historic Victoria Square.[112] We have to remember that in the early 1950s, the City itself had contributed to dismantling the southern part of the square by uprooting all the trees and transforming the area into a vast parking lot.[113] In those years, Viger Square was also contemplated for that purpose. Artist Alfred Laliberté and others vigorously opposed these projects. With Place Victoria providing indoor underground parking, there was no need to use Victoria Square as a parking lot. In addition, the owner most certainly was not interested in having a view on such premises. The new layout of Victoria Square involved moving the statue of Queen Victoria, which was near St. James Street, to the north side of Craig Street.[114] The project was widely promoted in the press at the time of the first occupancy, as well as at the official opening of the new quarters of the Montréal and Canadian stock exchanges, on 21 October 1965 (see figure 17).[115]

The celebration of the construction of the highest concrete structure in the world, a model for new office buildings, and of the liaison role that the project would hold between the old city and the new commercial district developing on Dorchester Street, overshadowed another aspect of the urban development that was happening in order to make possible the construction of the project as a whole.[116]



Figure 17. The Stock Exchange Tower, facing Victoria Square. In the background, the remaining lot where the second tower would have been built (photograph by Armour Landry, 1 October 1968. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/50/15694).

Almost immediately after the construction debut of the first tower in December 1962, the developer worked at consolidating the acquisition of land required not only for the second phase of the project, but for the revised first phase as well. By January 1963, Place Victoria-St. Jacques addressed another request to the City, this time regarding the acquisition of Little St. Antoine Street (see figure 14). Place Victoria-St. Jacques had proceeded exactly as for St. Sophie Lane. It bought all the properties that bordered the public road, and then asked for its closing, its expropriation, and ultimately its sale to the developer, as it had become "useless."[117] Regarding Little St. Antoine Street, the City had already initiated some research in December 1962 (i.e., some ten months after the delivery of the construction permit), in order to determine who was the owner and who might have rights of servitude on this artery. A thorough archival research revealed that the ownership of this land dated back to 1663, at the time of the French Regime, and that its opening up as a street was prior to 1796. By early June 1963, the City's law office concluded that it was more plausible to infer that the owner was unknown. Given the developer's ownership of all the bordering lots, there was no legal objection to the sale of the Little St. Antoine Street by the City. The street was closed on 12 September 1963, and its expropriation completed by fall 1964, but the City did not proceed to sell the land immediately. The developer did not wait to own that parcel before starting the construction of the project. Therefore, the first phase of the project encroached on the part of Little St-Antoine Street owned by the City, and both parties sought to normalize the situation.[118]

However, in order to achieve the second phase of the project as planned, Place Victoria-St. Jacques needed not only to own Little St. Antoine Street, plus all the lots included within the triangle bound by Little St. Antoine, Craig and St. James Streets West, but also the part of Craig

Street West that linked with St. James Street West. Before asking for the land, the developer waited until it was almost certain that it could own all the fronting properties, which took longer than anticipated. By early May 1964, Place Victoria-St. Jacques officially requested the City to buy that part of Craig Street. The City, however, had to wait for the plans of the Trans-Canada Highway, of the Bonaventure Expressway, and of the new sewer storm system which replaced the old one located in the coveted segment of Craig Street West. By February 1966, the City was certain that it could not completely satisfy the developer's original request. It was, however, ready to sell an irregular remnant of Craig Street West, not required for the road construction. That jeopardized the completion of the second phase of Place Victoria.[119]

As a result, in June 1966 Place Victoria-St. Jacques officially addressed a request to Lucien Saulnier, President of the Executive Committee, regarding land exchanges between the City and the developer. It appears that Place Victoria was unsuccessful in its negotiation to acquire two lots that fronted the coveted part of Craig Street West, also referred to as Little Craig Street. In short, it did not have the required land to proceed with the second phase of the project. Since it did not own all the lots fronting Little Craig Street, it could not ask the City to close it. It had however an interesting selvage of land bordering the southern segment of Victoria Square. The City of Montréal was about to undertake the upgrading of the southern part of the square, next to Place Victoria's land. The developer offered the land fronting Victoria Square, where the plaza was supposed to be, in exchange for the expropriation of the two lots for which the negotiations had failed, plus Little St. Antoine Street, plus the remnants of Craig Street West/University Street offered by the City. The rationale given for expropriating and demolishing Victoria garage, owned by Peter Greenberg, was that it would contribute to the

beautification of University Street, the main access to Expo 67. In addition, the sale of the land bordering Victoria Square was conditional to the right of access to the Stock Exchange Tower, without laying out a public street.[120]

At first, the City agreed to exchange the segment of the land that bordered Victoria Square (about 40% of the width of the whole parcel owned by Place Victoria-St. Jacques) for Little St. Antoine Street. The deal would allow the City to enlarge Victoria Square and the developer to normalize the situation regarding the City property on which it had built.[121]

Place Victoria-St. Jacques offered to proceed immediately with the layout of Victoria Square and to use the required parcels it owned.[122] But without the other parcels it had requested, the developer could still not proceed with phase two of the project. Therefore, Place Victoria-St. Jacques reiterated its request for the expropriation by the City of the privately-owned lots, so that it could buy them back from the City, demolish the buildings, and lay out "d'une manière rationelle tout le site pour le plus grand avantage de la Ville de Montréal."[123] Place Victoria-St. Jacques also requested that the exchange of parcels be enlarged to include, on the one hand, the entire area it owned contiguous to the Stock Exchange Tower and Victoria Square, and on the other hand, both Little St. Antoine Street and Little Craig Street. Finally, there was another component to the request. The City was asked to give the right to build a tower of at least the same dimensions as the Stock Exchange Tower, plus another five-storey building similar to the one already in place but ninety feet (27.5 metres) shorter, on the land assembled for the second phase. The developer highlighted the fact that the Stock Exchange Tower was built some seventy feet (21 metres) inside the limits of property and that this empty space was facing Victoria Square. It argued that the empty

land should be granted a premium for the total permissible area to be built.[124]

The City was more generous in the negotiation the second time around. The City Authorities considered that according to the by-law then in force, it was possible to take into account the entire city block bounded by St. Jacques, University, St. Antoine Streets and the planned street to the east of the Exchange Tower, in the calculation of the maximum floor area of the building. Furthermore, the City finally agreed to the exchange of the lots as requested by the developer.[125] The segment of Little Craig Street that was part of the exchange was closed by the City on February 23, 1968.[126] Two weeks after the City's agreement, Place Victoria-St. Jacques officially requested, this time, confirmation from the City that the right to build on the land located to the west of the Stock Exchange Tower would be treated independently from the right to build on the land on which the Exchange Tower was erected. In order to do so, Place Victoria requested that the construction rights of the land contiguous to Victoria Square it was about to exchange with the City, be transported to the land pieces that the City was about to let go. In short, the unused construction rights attached to certain lots were transferred (added) to the sections of Little St. Antoine Street and Little Craig Street. After consultation with the various municipal services (law office, city planning, public works), the City agreed to the request. A small part of the land exchange, however, was weighed down by a servitude "non oedificandi" (above or under ground). In fact, the Provincial Government (Ministry of Roads) had an easement on the land over a part of the tunnel of a segment of the Trans-Canada Highway.[127] The exchange was officially sealed by contract on 11 July 1968. The agreement included specific provisions regarding not only the transfer of construction rights (maximum floor area), but also the erection of an edifice of similar dimensions to those of the Stock Exchange Tower.

On the other hand, the land received by the City was partly destined to be a public road and partly to serve for "municipal purposes." No money was involved in the transaction.[128] The examination of these events makes clear that the postponing of the construction of the second phase was not due solely (if at all) to the economic situation prevailing before Expo 67, as claimed by Place Victoria-St. Jacques. It is also reasonable to assume that given that the Greenberg property was not part of the exchange, Place Victoria-St. Jacques could not proceed to the second phase as it did not own all the required land.[129]

By 1970 the second of the twin towers of Place Victoria had yet to materialize: the developers were waiting for better economic conditions. In 1973, the President of the Executive Committee was ready to expropriate some parcels of land located close to University Street, between Craig (now Saint-Antoine) and St. Jacques Streets. The City anticipated the creation of a public square there, in the context of the long-awaited construction of the forty-seven storeys twin tower which was to house offices and a five-hundred-room hotel. However, these projects did not materialize. Only a hotel was built on the site and was not part of the transactions for Place Victoria.[130]

The concept of the plaza had evolved a great deal. The first scheme, for which a construction permit was issued by the City, had three very high towers placed diagonally in relation to the street, surrounded by three-storey-high rotundas. That concept did not include a plaza as such. With the revised scheme, there was effectively more open space at the ground level, and the towers were laid out differently. A plaza fronting Victoria Square was part of the concept.[131] However, the dealings regarding land exchanges, the permissible floor area ratio and the height of the second tower included the strip of land on which the plaza was

supposed to be built. That parcel was given to the City and consequently, the plaza for the Stock Exchange Tower never materialized.

Banque Canadienne Nationale[132] Tower

At the time of the adoption of by-law 2887, it was reported that the provision for building height adjoining an open space was directed at the Banque Canadienne Nationale's new headquarters. The Bank may actually have initiated the change as it wanted to have its new headquarters occupy the entire lot to the west of Place d'Armes. Under the by-law then in force, this meant a twelve-storey building, whereas the bank wanted a structure of sixteen to eighteen floors. "It was at this point that the Drapeau administration disclosed that certain consideration might be given to projects which would face an open area."[133] By 1965, the Banque Canadienne Nationale had announced the proposed skyscraper project for its headquarters, on its current site. This involved demolishing a building that stood at the intersection of St. James Street West and St. François-Xavier.[134] The thirty-two-storey tower was under construction in 1967 and was expected to be completed by 1968 (figure 18).[135] The Banque Canadienne Nationale building was not high in relation to the new standards established in the city. It was high, however, for standards in effect for Old Montréal. Furthermore, since it took advantage of the adjoining public place to build higher, the example was worth noting, even if briefly.



Figure 18. The edifice of the Banque Canadienne Nationale, facing Place d'Armes in Old Montréal (photograph by Armour Landry, 1 October 1968. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/44/13837).

Conclusion

The emergence in the late 1950s and the early 1960s of the new modernist skyscrapers in Montréal was a watershed on urban, architectural and artistic grounds. In that era, the new generation of skyscrapers represented "a new problem for the Canadian architect."[136] Two of the new towers on Dorchester Street had American architects, while the third had a British-born and educated architect. Finally, the Stock Exchange Tower had a team of Italian architects-engineers. In all cases, they were associated with Canadian, often Montréal, colleagues. As in the past, these Montréal skyscrapers were an import. They were thus seen by indigenous architects "as a laboratory specimen transplanted into our own milieu."[137] In addition, they were paradigmatic of modernity by their recourse to the latest technology, new assemblage of materials, new scale and dimensions, new functions, and by the new city core they fashioned.[138] They also embodied modernity as their very existence demanded the widening of older city streets, if not their complete destruction. Similarly, some of those projects required the demolition of sound buildings. Place Ville-Marie was exemplar in that it embodied a well-planned, comprehensive project that took advantage of important tracts of land already available. However, the construction of the Place Victoria project and, to a much lesser extent, the CIBC Tower, required extensive demolition.[139] The case of Place Victoria is important as it serves as a counter-example for Place Ville-Marie.

These various examples, chosen among the most interesting architectural realizations of the time, show that it was not only the new architecture (the high tower) that was imported: it was a new urban development, a new conception of the city centre, as well as a new corporate economy. Consequently, in order to make possible the

construction of those new giants, municipal regulation was also imported. The noted similarity between Montréal's new height control by-law and New York City's precedents is very telling.

As we saw, by-laws do not tell the complete story. Local construction or zoning by-laws do not suffice to explain the emergence of the plaza. In fact, the plaza laid out at the base of a skyscraper, a component of this new construction, is all but an import concept. The model of the New York City plaza had been adopted before the passing of incentive zoning that allowed higher construction provided that a plaza was laid out at the base of the edifice. For the Place Ville-Marie complex, a New York City developer hired an American architect and his associates. This team created an American project in Montréal, heavily inspired by the Rockefeller Center in New York City.[140] The plaza in front of the CIBC Tower is somewhat different. The open space originally intended around the buildings was fashionable and could also be regarded as an import. The plaza that was ultimately built resulted from the need to comply with the municipal building code and from the desire to have the highest building in town. It is reasonable to assert that the CIL House proceeded from the following: the American architects were familiar with the concept of an open space at the base of a high structure, and the limitation of the floor area ratio must have influenced the rest. It should be emphasized that none of the first three tall buildings of the era benefited from the possibility of building higher if they provided an open space at the base of the building. They were located within the area affected by this provision of by-law 2887, but the latter was passed later, during the construction of the Stock Exchange Tower and before any work was undertaken for the anticipated phase two.

Several factors contributed to our selection of Place Victoria for a more thorough study. When completed, the Stock Exchange Tower was

proposed as a symbol of the new city's dynamism. However, the genesis of the project had never been told, unlike Place Ville-Marie. The Moretti-Nervi tower had received an almost unanimous acclaim. In our view, the making of that "symbol" needed to be understood. We wondered what impact European (Italian) designers and financiers could have had on the quality of the design of the entire project, including the relation of the building to the immediate neighbourhood and the city at large. In particular it was thought that, given their cultural background, the architect and his team could have entertained a special relation with the plaza or with the concept of the public place in general. The case study reveals that the Italian architects working on the Place Victoria project did not hold the public place as a key element of their concept. What was really at stake was the design of the building, the technical achievements, and the breakthrough. Integration to the urban fabric did not appear to be a concern. The Place Victoria plaza was entirely subordinated to the fate of the buildings, as well as to the financial profitability of the project. Consequently, the neighbouring public space was annexed to the modernist project under cover of the enlargement of Victoria Square by the City. It is worth noting that the square was not enlarged, as reported, by eighty feet: the total width of the land exchanged with the City, including the strip for the road, was seventy feet (21 metres). Nonetheless, thanks to the City's commitment, the square was 'rejuvenated.' However, as observed by Melvin Charney, "the old square is now in effect, despite the proposed landscape design, part of the podium and the breathing space of a very large building. It is the building itself, as its name cleverly recognizes, that has become the urban focus."[141] The shopping streets (i.e., the shops and the streets) were overwhelmed by the building and its corridors of commerce.[142]

Place Victoria was not the only project to elect a major public square as a neighbour. The CIBC Tower did just the same. Place du Canada and the new Banque Canadienne Nationale Tower were also each located across from a public square (Dominion Square and Place d'Armes respectively). The new by-law (2887) allowed the Banque Canadienne Nationale to take advantage of the open space, and therefore allowed for a higher building. Why did several such modern skyscrapers eventually locate in the vicinity of public squares? It is only partly due to the adoption of the by-law, which came after the construction of most of the projects we examined. The historical prestige associated with those public squares, as outlined by Marc Choko, may contribute an answer.[143] Even if the new skyscrapers engulfed or annexed those public places, the new relation established between a public square and a gigantic private edifice praised, not criticized. Contrary to Charney, who sensed that the city was being deprived of some of its elements, Collins welcomed the new CIBC Tower as it could improve the public square. Finally the new plaza was said to replace the traditional public square encountered in the city centre.[144]

Lastly, it is worth noting the type of relation established between these new architectural projects and works of art. The spectrum varies from no art at all in Place Ville-Marie, to art integrated to architecture in the Stock Exchange Tower (as it had been in the Hydro-Québec building), to some corporate art for the CIL House and the CIBC Tower. As in most American corporate art collections, there were murals, paintings and prints. Art was used as a means of decoration. The art at CIL came from in-house and Canadian artists, while the CIBC relied on reputed Canadian and a British artist. In the latter case, that was consistent with the British accent that marked the project.[145] A group of sculptures by Louis Archambault, then one of the most (if not the most) prominent Canadian

sculptor, was selected and exhibited inside the new building. However, for the outside, the work of art had to be by the best reputed sculptor in the world, and Henry Moore was selected. To a certain extent, the diverging views between the position of North American and European architects regarding the integration of the arts (as evidenced in chapter two) were expressed in those four cases. Remarkable art was integrated to both the Stock Exchange Tower and the CIBC Tower. With this regard, Mousseau's mural for the Hydro-Québec Building was more European-influenced than American. The CIL House included some art, even though it was designed by Canadian and American architects. In this case however, we may argue that the architects of SOM, who were exceptional in North America for promoting the integration of the arts, were possibly influential.

The CIBC was the only corporation to dare install a contemporary public sculpture out of doors. That was the first example of a sculpture installed on a plaza, which was to be widely copied afterwards. As noted by Charney, the scale of buildings such as Place Victoria and Place Ville Marie was "equivalent to a district of the old town,"[146] and those complexes became the "*foci* of the new center."[147] This suggests that the site of the sculpture was no longer the public square, but the new plaza. Indeed, one of the plazas used elements of the traditional public square.

[1]Francine Couture, "Les années soixante: la reconnaissance publique de la modernité artistique," in Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 19-20; Rose-Marie Arbour, "Intégration de l'art à l'architecture," in Les arts visuels, 229.

[2] Arbour, "Intégration," 229-31, 248-50. Arbour quotes Blouin, p. 231.

[3] Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en évolution, 3rd ed. (Laval, PQ: Éditions du Méridien, 1994), 357; Chantale d'Avignon, "Les habitations Jeanne-Mance," in A Topographic Atlas of Montreal/Atlas topographique de Montréal (Montréal: McGill University School of Urban Planning, 1992), 55.

[4] The nationalisation of electricity was generalized to the entire province in 1963. Paul-André Linteau et al., Le Québec depuis 1930: Histoire du Québec contemporain, 2d ed. ("nouvelle édition révisée"), vol. 2 (n. p.: Boréal, 1989), 53, 154, 464; "Place Ville-Marie," Architectural Forum 118, no. 2 (February 1963): 84; Jean Pelletier and Ludger Beauregard, "Le centre-ville de Montréal," Revue de géographie de Montréal 21, no. 1 (1967): 9; Madeleine Forget, "La contribution américaine dans l'aménagement et l'architecture de Montréal: le gratte-ciel," in Québécois et Américains: La culture québécoise aux XIXe et XXe siècles (Montréal: Fides, 1995), 325-27.

[5] As observed by Pelletier and Beauregard, some skyscrapers benefited from naturally solid grounds (Place Ville-Marie), while the Hydro-Québec building stood on unsteady ground. John Meyer, "The soaring buildings may be the first signs of a spectacular new growth," Gazette Magazine, Advertising Supplement in the Gazette, 26 August 1961, p. 7, 8; Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 8, 10; "La lumière ne s'y éteint jamais. . . l'Hydro-Québec," Bâtiment 37, no. 4 (April 1962): 46-49.

[6] Denys Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," Continuité, no. 53 (Spring 1992): 7-13.

[7]At that time, Viger Avenue ran from St. André to Sanguinet Streets. It was eventually opened from Sanguinet to City Hall where it was linked to de Vitré Street. The name of "Craig" Street changed to that of "Saint-Antoine" on September 1, 1976. City of Montreal By-law 4997.

[8]Paul-André Linteau, Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération (n. p.: Boréal, 1992), 425; see also 427.

[9] Ibid., 427-28.

[10]Yves Jasmin, La petite histoire d'Expo 67 (Montréal: Éditions Québec/Amérique, 1997), 69, 74-76, 178-81, 447 appendix B. Jasmin interviewed Guy Legault. Linteau, Montréal, 438-40, 495.

[11] Jasmin, Expo, 31-33, 55, 75, 150.

[12] Le Corbusier, La Charte d'Athènes (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1957), 80-81. In chapter two, "Etat actuel des villes, critiques et remèdes," Le Corbusier discusses the circulation, criticizing the narrowness of the streets (p. 78). He also advocated the implementation of roads in the city according to a hierarchy of vehicles, users, and routes (p. 82-85).

[13] Marc H. Choko, Les grandes places publiques de Montréal (Montréal: Méridien, 1990), 193.

[14] Jean Drapeau was mayor of Montréal for a first mandate between 1954-57, and was re-elected in 1960. His uninterrupted reign lasted twenty-six years. He was defeated in 1986 by Jean Doré. Linteau, Montréal, 534; Jasmin, Expo, 16-20.

[15] Jasmin, Expo, 9, 19, 22, 449; Dane Lanken, "Drapeau's Montreal: great moments, great monuments," Canadian Geographic 106, no. 4 (August-September 1986): 19.

[16] Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 5, 12; Linteau, Montréal, 443-45.

[17] Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 23, 24, 31; Pierre Lamonde and Mario Polèse, "L'évolution de la structure économique de Montréal 1971-1981: désindustrialisation ou reconversion?", L'actualité économique 60, no. 4 (1984): 471-94. Pelletier and Beauregard determined that the central area was bound by Sherbrooke, Notre-Dame, Saint-Laurent and Guy Streets.

[18] Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 11, 13-14, 19, 21, 30, 31; Peter Blake, "Downtown in 3-D," Architectural Forum 125, no. 2 (September 1966): 34, 43; Norbert Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers: Montreal Urban Issues and Architecture (Montréal: Véhicule Press, 1991), 23.

[19] Arthur Boyd, "The Skyscraper," Canadian Architect 7, no. 6 (June 1962): 44-51. The issue of Bâtiment, vol. 37, no. 4, April 1962, dealt with the sensational progress made by the city in the last ten years, and presented four buildings to make its case: Place Ville-Marie, the CIBC Tower, the CIL House, and Hydro-Québec Building.

[20] Linteau, Montréal, 500-502; Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 21-24; "Downtown Bank Tower," Progressive Architecture 44, no. 9 (September 1963): 141; Meyer, "The soaring buildings may be the first signs of a spectacular new growth," p. 7, 8.

[21] Boyd, "Skyscraper," 45; see also 46.

[22] Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en Évolution (Montréal: Fides, 1974), 349.

[23] Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 27.

[24] Despite the nearly simultaneous construction of CIL, CIBC and Place Ville-Marie, William Zeckendorf's role as a leader was acknowledged. Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 11. The planning of Place Ville-Marie went first,

whereas the architect's work for the CIBC started in 1958 and was completed in 1961. Marsan, Évolution, 1974, 342-48; Jean-Claude Marsan, "Quand l'histoire se répète sans en avoir les moyens," ARQ, no. 102 (April 1998): 17; Linteau, Montréal, 500-502; Melvin Charney, "The City within the City," Domus (Milan), July-August 1981, 5; Ricardo L. Castro, "Montreal Modernist master is remembered," Gazette, 9 December 1995, p. H 2; Jan C. Rowan, "The Story of Place Ville-Marie," Progressive Architecture 41, no. 2 (February 1960): 123-35; "Place Ville-Marie," 74-89.

[25] Marsan affirms that the Rockefeller Center was a source of inspiration for this 1929 scheme. However, by 1928-29, the Rockefeller Center was in its preliminary planning phase. Michele H. Bogart, Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City 1890-1930 (Chicago and London, England: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 310; Marsan, Évolution, 1974, 343.

[26] Marsan, Évolution, 342-48; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 340-41; Marsan, "Moyens," 17; Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 11; Rowan, "Story," 124-25.

[27] Marsan, Évolution, 1974, 342-48; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 340-41; Linteau, Montréal, 501-502; Castro, "Modernist," p. H 2; Blake, "3D," 34, 37, 39; Rowan, "Story," 123, 125, 128, 131; "Place Ville-Marie," 82-83; "Une forme inusitée. . . les 42 étages d'aluminium et de verre de Place Ville-Marie," Bâtiment 37, no. 4 (April 1962): 34-37.

[28] Rowan, "Story," 132.

[29] "Place Ville-Marie," 77.

[30] Rowan, "Story," 135; see also "Place Ville-Marie," 75.

[31] Rowan, "Story," 135.

[32] Blake, "3D," 39.

[33] Ibid.; "Place Ville-Marie," 82-83; Marsan, Évolution, 1974, 342-48.

[34] James Lorimer, The Developers (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1978), 73.

[35] Ibid., 77, 79.

[36] Rowan, "Story," 128.

[37] Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 344-45.

[38] Rowan, "Story," 131; "Place Ville-Marie," 83.

[39] "Place Ville-Marie," 81.

[40] Ibid., 75; Marsan, Évolution, 1974, 342-48; Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1977), 27; Peter Gnass, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 October 1998; Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 11; Rowan, "Story," 128, 131.

[41] Boyd, "Skyscraper," 44-51; Jerry Adler, High Rise (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 71-73.

[42] As opposed, for instance, to the CIBC Tower which offers between 12,500 and 13,500 square feet (or 1,161 and 1,254 square metres), depending on the floor. Boyd, "Skyscraper," 46; "Une tour de verre sur un piédestal de granit. . . l'édifice C-I-L," Bâtiment 37, no. 4 (April 1962): 41-43.

[43]Regarding the ground coverage, Boyd confirms that the building covers only about half of its one acre site. A look at the plan tends to prove him right. It was reported elsewhere that the building occupied 94 % of the plot. Boyd, "Skyscraper," 45; Greenspoon et al., "C-I-L House, Montreal," Canadian Architect 7, no. 6 (June 1962): 53. See p. 56 for a plan of the plaza. "Édifice C-I-L," 41-43.

[44] Greenspoon et al., "C-I-L House, Montreal," 58.

[45] Ibid.

[46] "La Place de la Bourse: Montréal, première ville financière," Le Nouveau Journal, 23 September 1961.

[47] According to Choko, the site was made available after a fire almost completely destroyed the oldest part of Windsor Hotel. The tragedy occurred in December 1957, and the premises were sold to the Imperial Bank of Canada. Marsan, for his part, confirms that the Windsor Hotel was demolished in 1959 following its destruction by several fires. However, the local newspapers reported in early November 1957 that local real-estate investors had bought shares in the hotel. They had decided to renovate the newer part of the hotel and to have two new buildings on the site of the former, older part of the Windsor Hotel. Choko, Les grandes places, 184, 190; Roger Champoux, "Création de la Place Windsor: deux gratte-ciel et un hôtel Le coût s'élèvera à $45,000,000," La Presse, 6 November 1958, "Édition finale," p. 1, 11; "New Old Montreal," Montreal Star, 7 November 1958, p. 12; "Un édifice de $22,000,000, Place Windsor," Le Devoir, 7 November 1958, p. 3; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 410; John Meyer, "$45 Million Windsor Plaza For Montreal," Gazette, 7 November 1958, p. 21; Spitzer, Mills and Bates Limited, "Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce Building," Report to the CIBC, 5 pages; John K. Ross, "Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce," Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 39, no. 11 (1962): 50-57.

[48] DOCOMOMO-Québec, "Banque canadienne impériale de commerce," file no. 401-2, "Biographie de Peter Dickinson"; "Windsor Plaza, Montreal, Quebec," Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 35, no. 11 (1958): 430; Champoux , "Le coût s'élèvera à $45,000,000," p. 1, 11; "Un édifice de $22,000,000, Place Windsor," p. 3.

[49] "New Old Montreal," p. 12.

[50] Ibid.; "Windsor Plaza," 430; Champoux, "Le coût s'élèvera à $45,000,000," p. 1, 11; "Un édifice de $22,000,000, Place Windsor," p. 3; Meyer, "$45 Million Windsor Plaza For Montreal," p. 21.

[51] The figure of 650,000 square feet for the total floor area is preferred to that of the net floor area of 515,000 square feet, as it is closer to the definition of by-law 2887. Even if the latter came afterwards, we assume that the method of calculation/definition remained the same. 650,000 square feet for a 45,325 square feet parcel amounts to a ratio of total floor area of over fourteen times the land area for the Bank Tower alone. Furthermore, it was also reported that the whole of the project Windsor Plaza would produce a total floor area of 1,000,000 square feet, a floor area ratio of 22. For that parcel of land, the permissible total floor area (above average ground floor level) was of: 45, 325 x 12 = 543,900. Note that the figure 45,325 square feet comes from the land dimensions in DOCOMOMO's dossier. It was evaluated to be of 45,000 square feet in Ross, "CIBC". See also "Windsor Plaza," 430; "A peine moins haut que le Mont-Royal . . . l'édifice de la Banque Impériale Canadienne de Commerce," Bâtiment 37, no. 4 (April 1962): 38-40; Champoux, "Le coût s'élèvera à $45,000,000," p. 1, 11; Peter Collins, "The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce . . .An Appraisal," Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 39, no. 11 (1962): 48; Gerard Yur'Echek, "Tallest in Commonwealth Tower of Slate, Steel and Glass," Montreal Star, 26 June 1962, special section, p. 3; DOCOMOMO-Québec file no. 401-2 for the site dimensions.

[52] "Downtown Bank Tower," 141; Ross, "CIBC," 51; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 346.

[53]Clifford and Lawrie worked as Architects and Design Consultants. Ross, Fish, Duschenes and Barrett were supervising architects. "Montreal Building Opened," Current Account, July 1962, 6-12; Spitzer, Mills and Bates Limited, "CIBC Building"; "Downtown Bank Tower," 141; Ross, "CIBC," 50-57.

[54] Spitzer, Mills and Bates Limited, "CIBC Building," 2, 1, 4; "Montreal Building Opened," 6-7; "Un immeuble splendide," Architecture-Bâtiment-Construction, May 1961, 57; Yur'Echek, "Tallest," special section, p. 3.

[55] Boyd, "Skyscraper," 50; Spitzer, Mills and Bates Limited, "CIBC Building," 3-4; "Montreal Building Opened," 6, 12; "Un immeuble splendide," 57; Ross, "CIBC," 50-57; "La tour CIBC," Building description, document provided by the Building Manager Office, CIBC Development Corporation, Montréal, 4 February 1999.

[56]In Peter Collins' view, those were simultaneous decisions. But the analysis of both concepts lead us to think otherwise. Collins, "An Appraisal," 48.

[57] The Canadian Bank of Commerce Building, Dominion Square, Montreal Quebec. Peter Dickinson Architects. Publicity brochure, no date. The naming of the Bank, Canadian Bank of Commerce instead of CIBC, suggests that the text predates the merging of the two banks in June 1961. Dickinson died in October 1961. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the plaza as such was of 25,000 square feet. With one dimension of 15.6 metres (52.5 feet), this would amount to another one of 476 feet, which is larger than any of the site dimensions. City of Montréal archives. Ellen Moorhouse, "Architect's widow launches law suits in fee dispute," Daily Commercial News, 20 May 1977.

[58] Spitzer, Mills and Bates Limited, "CIBC Building," 4; "A peine moins haut," 38; Michael W. Clifford, "Base, Plaza & Banking Halls," Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 39, no. 11 (1962): 58-60; DOCOMOMO's file no. 401-2.

[59] Dorothée Imbert, The Modernist Garden in France (New Haven and London, England: Yale University Press, 1993).

[60] For instance, after the topping-off ceremony a reporter wrote: "Visitors will walk from Peel Street through a landscaped plaza thickly paved with Montebello granite." Betty Lee, "Pioneer Design Created a Tower in the Sky," Gazette Magazine, Advertising Supplement in the Gazette, 26 August 1961, p. 3.

[61] Clifford, "Base," 58.

[62] Ibid.; "Downtown Bank Tower," 141, 145.

[63]Clifford, "Base," 58-60; Ross, "CIBC," 51; Adele Freedman, "Plaza Suite," Globe and Mail, 13 January 1990, p. C-1.

[64] Collins, "An Appraisal," 48.

[65] "Montreal Building Opened," 12; Yur'Echek, "Tallest," special section, p. 3.

[66] "Montreal Building Opened," 8, 11-12; "Downtown Bank Tower," 144; Clifford, "Base," 58.

[67] Cleeve Horne, "The Who What Where and Why of a Work by Henry Moore For the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce Building in Montreal," n. p. report, Montréal, 24 October 1962, pages 2-3 of 3, City of Montréal archives, item 1155 René-Lévesque, roll 54, from R.3165.2-2 to R.3165.2; R. F. (for Robert Fulford), "Chronicle: a gutsy Moore; the Bassett-Young affair; news of a national theatre," Maclean's, 1 December 1962, 73.

[68] Horne, "Moore," 3. Horne's selection of Moore for that prime location was expressed in those terms: "Horne advised the Canadian Imperial [Bank of Commerce] that for this setting--the plaza in front of the new building--the best in the world would be none too good. The best, in his opinion, was Henry Moore." Fulford, "A gutsy Moore," 73.

[69] Clifford, "Base," 58.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Jean Drapeau, Mayor's speech for the unveiling of Henry Moore's sculpture, 30 October 1962, p. 2 of 4. See also Robin Green, "New Moore Sculpture Unveiled by Drapeau," Globe and Mail, 31 October 1962, p. 11.
[72] Mayor Drapeau's speech, 30 October 1962, 2-3.
[73] Ibid., 3.
[74] Quoted in Green, "New Moore Sculpture Unveiled by Drapeau," p. 11.
[75] David Brand, "Sculpture Unveiled Puzzled Comments Greet Work of Art," Montreal Star, 31 October 1962, p. 3. See also Canadian Press, "Statue Just Lovely, But What Is It?" Toronto Daily Star, 31 October 1962; Green, "New Moore Sculpture Unveiled by Drapeau," p. 11; Fulford, "A gutsy Moore," 73.
[76] Green, "New Moore Sculpture Unveiled by Drapeau," p. 11; Fulford, "A gutsy Moore," 73; Dorothy Pfeiffer, "Moore's Figure in Three," Gazette, 19 January 1963, p. 32.
[77] Raymond Heard, "New Moore Sculpture Appears," Montreal Star, 5 December 1962, p. 3; see also Brand, "Puzzled," p. 3; Green, "New Moore Sculpture Unveiled by Drapeau," p. 11; Canadian Press, "Lovely"; Fitz, "On and Off the Record: Irreverent Captions," Gazette, 12 November 1962, p. 4; Pfeiffer, "Moore's Figure in Three," p. 32.
[78] Heard, "New Moore Sculpture Appears," p. 3.
[79] Ibid. It should be noted that several of Henry Moore's sculptures were exhibited at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts in 1955. See Michel Martin and Gaston Saint-Pierre, La sculpture au Québec 1946-1961: Naissance et persistance (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1992), 129.
[80] "La fusion des Bourses: Le Conseil municipal se prononcera," Montréal-Matin, 27 November 1958; M. J. N. Drapeau, "Chronique municipale: La fusion des Bourses Le maire et M. Hayes verront à protéger les intérêts de la Cité," Le Devoir, 28 November 1958, p. 3; "Les S.S.J.B. contre la fusion des Bourses de Montréal et de Toronto," Le Devoir, 11 December 1958, p. 7; Marcel Clément, "Doit-on sonner le glas? Fusion possible des Bourses de Montréal et de Toronto," Commerce, February 1959, 39-41; Laurent Lauzier, "La fusion des bourses: Pourquoi Toronto a devancé Montréal," La Presse, 7 January 1959, p. 17.
[81] Arthur Prévost, "Un projet de $48 millions: Montréal aura une 'Place de la Bourse'!," Le Petit Journal, 18 December 1960; Laurent Lauzier, "Un projet de plus de $50,000,000: Montréal aura sa Place de la Bourse," La Presse, 20 April 1961, "dernière édition," p. 3, 42; "Une place de la Bourse?," Montréal-Matin, 21 April 1961; "Plans Near Completion For $70,000,000 Plaza," Montreal Star, 20 April 1961, Final edition, p. 1, 2.
[82] Lauzier, "Un projet," p. 3, 42.

[83] "Plans Near Completion," p. 1, 2.
[84] "Project Victoria Square Montreal," Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada serial 437, vol. 39, no. 1 (1962): 31.
[85] "Plans Near Completion," p. 1, 2; "Place de la Bourse: Un Gratte-Ciel--Trois tours de 600 pieds chacune: $100 millions," La Presse, 10 August 1961, "dernière édition," p. 19; "Aucune décision n'a été prise au sujet de la Place de la Bourse," Le Devoir, 11 August 1961, p. 3; Prévost, "Un projet de $48 millions"; "Project Victoria Square Montreal," 31.
[86] R. G. Gibbens, "Exchanges Reject Rent-free Site Bid," Montreal Star, 21 September 1961, Final ed., p. 2; see also "La haute finance s'installera-t-elle au Carré Victoria?," Dimanche-Matin, 10 September 1961; Laurent Lauzier, "Montréal, métropole du pays, aura une Place de la Bourse digne de son nom," La Presse, 13 September 1961, "dernière édition," p. 3; Laurent Lauzier, "Le prestige de Montréal est en jeu," La Presse, 15 September 1961, "dernière édition," p. 4; Presse Canadienne, "Capitaux italiens et néerlandais pour Montréal: Un projet de $80,000,000," La Presse, 18 September 1961, "dernière édition," p. 1; "La Place de la Bourse: Des capitaux canadiens et européens la financeront," La Presse, 19 September 1961, "dernière édition," p. 3; R. G. Gibbens, "Crucial Vote Today Major Fight Looms on Exchange Site," Montreal Star, 20 September 1961, p. 1, 2; "Une offre de dernière heure: Les Bourses pourraient aménager dans le vieil immeuble de la BRC. . .," La Presse, 20 September 1961, "dernière édition," p. 3; "Nos courtiers ont voté à 62-6: Place de la Bourse," Le Nouveau Journal, 21 September 1961.
[87] "Nos courtiers"; "C'est décidé Montréal aura sa Place de la Bourse," Nouveau Journal, 21 September 1961; Gibbens, "Exchanges Reject Rent-free Site Bid," p. 1, 2; " 'Technical Problems' Delay Building Project," Montreal Star, 23 November 1961, Final ed., p. 18.
[88] "Victoria Square Plans Sent to City," Gazette, 23 November 1961, Final ed., p. 13; "La Place de la Bourse," Le Petit Journal, 2 December 1962.
[89] E. M. Landway, Project Director, Place Victoria-St. Jacques to Lucien Hétu, Director of Departments, City Hall, 29 December 1961; C. C. Lindsay, land surveyor, "Plan showing Ste.Sophie Lane in St. Antoine Ward City of Montreal," Westmount, Quebec November 7th 1961; City of Montreal, Plan no. S-173 St-Antoine "Plan montrant la partie de la ruelle Sainte-Sophie au sud de la rue Craig et à l'ouest du Square Victoria," 28 November 1961; P. Dessaules, advocate, to Germaine Pépin, Deputy Director of Departments, City Hall, 13 June 1962; Gerry Huet or Huot, superintendent, Department of Finance, Real Estate Division, to Aimé Desautels, Director, City Planning, City of Montréal, 7 April, 1967. City of Montréal archives, Noms et Raisons sociales, 4th series 1961-1973, Place Victoria-St.Jacques Co. Inc., 804.2-1/1 and 804.2-2/1.

[90] By-law no. 1397 (1936) was repealed in 1963 by no. 2875. Even if the internal memorandum that refers to the limit for the maximum floor area is dated December 1961, the first amendment to by-law 1900 that we could trace pertaining to that matter, is dated October 30, 1963 (no. 2887). Unsigned, "Note pour Monsieur le Directeur des Services", 21 December 1961, one page document, dossier 3062; Charles-É. Brunette, City Planning Department, report to Claude Robillard, Director, City Planning Department, City of Montréal, 7 December 1961, 2 pages. City of Montréal archives, Noms et Raisons sociales, 4th series 1961-1973, Place Victoria-St.Jacques Co. Inc., 804.2-1/1 and 804.3-1.

[91] "Permis pour le premier édifice de 51 étages de la Place des Bourses," Le Devoir, 14 February 1962, p. 3; Bill Bantey, "Permit Given for Tallest Building Contract Slated Soon," Gazette, 14 February 1962, Final ed., p. 3; "La Place de la Bourse, une réalité," Montréal-Matin, 14 February, 1962; "Place de la Bourse: La première tour érigée prochainement," Le Nouveau Journal, 14 February 1962; "Permis accordé: Le premier édifice de la Place de la Bourse: 51 étages," La Presse, 14 February 1962, "dernière édition," p. 3.

[92] "Concrete Defence is Made," Gazette, 2 April 1962, Final ed., p. 25; "Victoria Complex Changed," Montreal Star, 24 May 1962, Final ed., p. 70; Hedley Burrell, "Victoria Place Plan Changed," Gazette, 24 May 1962, Final ed., p. 1; "Plans du plus haut gratte-ciel modifiés," Le Nouveau-Journal, 24 May 1962; Charles Lazarus, "One Building, Fewer Storeys Place Victoria Project Starts on Revised Plan," Montreal Star, 19 October 1962, Final ed., p. 25; "2 tours et non 3 Place de la Bourse," La Presse, 9 November 1962, "dernière édition," p. 24; "Deux tours au lieu de trois, Place Victoria," La Presse, 14 September 1963, "dernière édition," p. 3, 6; "Project Concept Altered, Gazette, 8 November 1962, Final ed., p. 17; "Place Victoria. . .The business of housing business," Building Management, May 1965, 22.

[93] "Sale and Conveyance by the City of Montreal to Place Victoria-St. Jacques Co. Inc.," No. 14,238, 9 November 1962, 4th copy. City of Montréal archives, 804.2-1/1.

[94] "New Zoning Revisions Threaten Current Plans," Montreal Star, 12 September 1963, Final ed., p. 8.

[95] City of Montréal, By-law 2887, 30 October, 1963. In those days, a by-law was adopted after two readings, the second held some thirty days after the first one. This explains the long period of time elapsed, and the reference, in a September 12 newspaper, to an amendment to be adopted. In two texts, one by Pelletier and Beauregard, and the other by Marsan, the amendment is dated 9 September, 1963, and is presented as the explanation to the creation of the plazas of Place Ville-Marie, CIL

House and CIBC Tower. As we have demonstrated in this text, the construction of all three plazas was prior to the adoption of the by-law. It is more likely that it was aimed at the Place Victoria Project, and the future Banque Canadienne Nationale Tower, erected across the street from Place d'Armes. Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 26-27; Marsan, Évolution, 1974, 348-49; "Zoning Revisions Threaten," p. 8. Conversation with Denis Allard, clerk, City Hall, City of Montréal, 10 February 1999.

[96] City of Montréal, By-law 1900, chapter 3, "Open spaces around buildings," article 3-2.

[97] City of Montréal, By-law 2887, 30 October 1963, article 3. Note that *lot, mean ground level, floor area* were new definitions introduced in by-law 2887, article 1, p. 1-2.

[98] Ibid., article 3, p. 3.

[99] Ibid., p. 4.

[100] Ibid., p. 5.

[101] Boyd, "Skyscraper," 44.

[102] By-law 2887, article 4, p. 5; "1 foot set back: 4 foot rise" (or 0.305 metre set back: 1.22 metre rise.) in Carol Willis, "A 3-D CBD: How the 1916 Zoning Law Shaped Manhattan's Central Business Districts," in Planning and Zoning New York City: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 25, note 37.

[103] By-law 2887, article 4, p. 5-6.

[104] Ibid., p. 6.

[105] Edward I. Koch and City of New York City Planning Commission, "Midtown Zoning," New York City: The New York Department of City Planning, March 1982, 86-87; Willis, "3-D CBD," 6-10, 13-15.

[106] "Zoning Revisions Threaten," p. 8; Marc-Henri Côté, "La première phase de construction de la Place Victoria sera terminée en 65," Le Devoir, 14 September 1963, p. 18; Al Palmer, "Concrete Work Starting On Place Victoria Site, Gazette, 14 September 1963, Final ed., p. 3.

[107]Nervi quoted by Charles Lazarus, "Place Victoria Designer Nervi Urges Free Rein For Fair's Architects," Montreal Star, 12 November 1963, Final ed., p. 3.

[108] "Nouveaux locataires à la Place Victoria: les 2 bourses locales," La Presse, 19 November 1963, "Édition de Montréal," p. 36; "La Place Victoria sera l'un des plus hauts bâtiments en béton armé du monde entier," Le Devoir, 23 December 1963, p. 2; Roger Cyr, "Un rêve de grandeur: la Tour de la Bourse," La Patrie, Week of the 11-17 June 1964; "La Place Victoria sera le plus haut édifice à charpente de béton armé au monde," Le Devoir, 19 June 1964, p. 18; Marc-Henri Côté, "Place Victoria: le pivot du quartier des affaires," Le Devoir, 27 July 1964, p. 15; "Place Victoria," Gazette Annual Commercial Review and Forecast, 11 January

1964, p. 61; "Unique Framing System Devised by Engineer," Montreal Star, 27 July 1964, Special Section Place Victoria Progress Report, p. 6; "Du haut de ses 47 étages La Tour de la Bourse--624 pieds, sera l'immeuble le plus élevé de Montréal," La Presse, 18 January 1964, p. 10; Donna Logan, "A Visual Expression Of Confidence in Montreal," Montreal Star, 27 July 1964, Special Section Place Victoria Progress Report, p. 3, 5; Robert Wilson, "Exchanges Expected to Grow in New Location," Montreal Star, 27 July 1964, Special Section Place Victoria Progress Report, p. 8; "Place Victoria Aujourd'hui, couronnement de la Tour de la Bourse," Le Journal de Montréal, 27 July 1964; Palmer, "Concrete Work Starting," p. 3; Côté, "Première phase," p. 18; "Contrats de $3,000,000 pour la Place Victoria," Le Devoir, 24 February 1964, p. 9; Pierre-Richard Bisson, Raymonde Gauthier, and Jacques Lachapelle, "24 Édifices--24 Buildings," ARQ, no. 54 (April 1990): 58-62.

[109] Place Victoria-St. Jacques, "News/Nouvelles Place Victoria," progress report, Montréal, March 1965, page 1 of 2. City of Montréal archives, Place Victoria, R.3600.2

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., 1-2; "Sculpture de verre à la Tour de la Bourse," Montréal-Matin, 25 March 1965.

[112] In September 1963, it was reported for the first time that the City Planning Department anticipated the enlargement of the square by eighty feet (24.4 metres) to the west. Palmer, "Concrete Work Starting," p. 3; Côté, "Première phase," p. 18. Among the recent important construction, Mayor Drapeau identified Place Ville-Marie, CIBC Tower, CIL House, Place Victoria, and Hydro-Québec. Among the forthcoming: Place Bonaventure, Le Château Champlain and Port-Royal were under construction. Banque Canadienne Nationale, the new Courthouse, and the Board of Trade Building were in the planning phase. Jean Drapeau, "Place Victoria symbole du progrès de Montréal," La Presse, 26 April 1965, "Édition de Montréal," p. 49.

[113] Choko, Les grandes places, 103.

[114] "Immobiliare's There," Montreal Star, 21 October 1965, Final ed., p. 64.

[115] It is often very difficult to differentiate between publicity and journalism, since in the latter case, the journalists had obviously the exact same source of information, i.e., the developer. "Place Victoria," Daily Commercial News and Building Records, 29 April 1965, 18-48; "Housing business," 22; "Last Ticker Tape Parade?," Gazette, 20 October 1965, Final ed., p. 37; "Immobiliare's There," p. 64.

[116] "L'un des plus hauts bâtiments en béton armé," p. 2.

[117] Alberto Marescotti, Executive Vice-President, Place Victoria-St. Jacques to Lucien Hétu, Director of Departments, City Hall, 13 March 1963. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1

[118] City Chief Lawyer to Hétu, 6 June 1963; Jean Mercier, Assistant to the Chief Lawyer, to Armand Pagé, Chief Lawyer, City of Montréal, 9 February 1968; Jean-Luc Trempe, notary, "Acte d'échange entre la Ville de Montréal et Place Victoria-St-Jacques Co. Inc." no 5863, 11 July 1968. Registered on 15 July 1968, no. 2077346; Marescotti to Lucien Saulnier, President of the Executive Committee, City of Montréal, 20 June 1966; Gerry Huet or Huot, superintendent, Department of Finance, Real Estate Division, to Aimé Desautels, Director, City Planning, 7 April 1967. Desautels to Saulnier, 12 April 1967; C. C. Lindsay, land surveyor, to Leopold Laurin, City of Montréal, 25 October 1967. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[119] Marescotti to Hétu, 4 May 1964; Racicot and Boileau, Public Works, City of Montréal, "Réponse à une demande de renseignement du comité exécutif," (request dated 22 May 1964), Form 2, 11 February 1966; Place Victoria Plot Plan A-011, 14 June 1963, as annotated by the Public Works in their answer. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1

[120] Marescotti to Saulnier, 20 June 1966; Marescotti to Hétu, 4 May 1964. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1

[121] Desautels to Saulnier, 12 April 1967; Saulnier to Marescotti, 8 May 1967. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[122] Marescotti to Saulnier, 10 May 1967. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[123] Marescotti to Saulnier, 2 June 1967. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[124] Marescotti to Saulnier, second and third letters dated 2 June 1967. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[125] Saulnier to Marescotti, 18 July 1967; Hugo Facci for Marescotti to Saulnier, 2 August 1967. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[126] Trempe, "Acte d'échange" no 5863, p. 3.

[127] Facci for Marescotti to Saulnier, 2 August 1967; Marescotti to Saulnier, 6 September 1967; Desautels to Maurice Farley, Administrative Secretary, City of Montréal, 1 February 1968; Trempe to Fernand Lafontaine, Minister of Roads, 6 June 1968; Arrêté en conseil Chambre du Conseil Exécutif, no. 2089, 6 July 1968. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[128] "Le présent échange a été consenti sans soulte de part et d'autre." Trempe, "Acte d'échange," no. 5863, p. 19. The City and Place Victoria-St. Jacques Co. signed the agreement on 10 April 1968. The approval of the Minister of Roads was required, and was posterior to the signing by

the other two parties. The official date of the contract is 11 July 1968. City of Montréal, Plan U-83 St-Antoine, 12 January 1968; City of Montréal, Plan V-59 St-Antoine, 12 January, 1968. City of Montréal archives no. 804.2-2/1.

[129] Nothing could be found regarding this expropriation. However, in the last correspondence it exchanged with City of Montréal, Place Victoria claimed that there were other parcels to be exchanged.

[130] "Place Victoria still plans twin tower," Montreal Star, 19 August 1970, section 5, p. 47; Jean-V.Dufresne, "Place Victoria jumelée d'une tour-hôtel de 47 étages," Le Devoir, 13 December 1973, p. 1,7; "$400,000 pour la place de la Tour de la Bourse," Le Devoir, 20 April 1977, p. 9; "New Partners in Place Victoria," Habitabec, 5 August 1983.

[131] Melvin Charney, "Place Victoria," Canadian Architect 10, no. 7 (July 1965): 37-54; Robert Wilson, " 'New Look' in Offing Place Victoria Will Change Downtown," Montreal Star, 15 March 1965, Final ed., p. 16.

[132] The Banque Canadienne Nationale later became the Banque Nationale.

[133] "New Zoning Revisions," p. 8.

[134] Wilson, "New Look," p. 16.

[135] Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 22-23. Photo of Place d'Armes before the construction of the Banque Canadienne Nationale building, p. 22.

[136] "Montreal Skyline," Canadian Architect 7, no. 6 (June 1962): 40; Boyd, "Skyscraper," 44.

[137] "Montreal Skyline," 40; Madeleine Forget, "La contribution américaine," 319-37.

[138] Forget associates the skyscraper with modernity, not only modernism or what is often referred to in architecture as the "international style." She refers to H. Damish to affirm that the skyscraper allows best to identify and analyze the fascination exerted by the American model. Forget, "La contribution américaine," 319-20.

[139] According to Phyllis Lambert, demolition was also required for the construction of the CIL House, and of Place Bonaventure, in addition to the buildings already mentioned. Phyllis Lambert, "Land Tenure and Concepts of Architecture and the City: Milton-Park in Montreal," in Power and Place Canadian Urban Development in the North American Context (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 133-50.

[140] In 1967, Place Ville-Marie belonged to British and American interests, including the Chase Manhattan Bank. According to Pelletier and Beauregard, the Rockefeller Center was one of the first examples of the plaza "à l'américaine." The open spaces at the base of the Montréal skyscrapers discussed above would be tributary to this influence,

according to them. Their view concur with Rowan's, presented above. Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 26, 30.

[141] Charney, "Place Victoria," 38. The easement that the City of Montréal later conceded to Place Victoria-St. Jacques over that part of Victoria Square for the maintenance of the underground corridor adds a new element to the assertion that the public square was annexed to the building.

[142] Charney, "Place Victoria," 37-54; Melvin Charney, "The Montrealness of Montreal," Architectural Review 167, no. 999 (May 1980): 300-301.

[143] Choko, Les grandes places. See also Pelletier, "Centre-ville," 26. The places identified by those authors differ. Choko includes Viger Square, but not Phillips Square. Pelletier and Beauregard include Phillips Square and not Viger Square.

[144] Charney, "Place Victoria," 37-54; Collins, "An Appraisal," 48.

[145] Rosanne Martorella, Corporate Art (New Brunswick and London, England: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 136. The CIBC Tower had British accents. From the architect, who was trained in England and newly arrived to Canada, to the materials that he chose, which were imported from England and abroad, to the most important work of art by artist Henry Moore. "Builders of New 43-Storey Skyscraper Here Hit For Buying Materials Outside Country," Gazette, 29 June 1962, Final ed., p. 3.

[146] Charney, "Place Victoria, 38.

[147] Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

THE ARTISTIC SCENE 1967-92

Introduction

The research question addresses a phenomenon that is deemed to have happened in the 1967-92 period. The account of events preceding the research period was required firstly because it allows a better understanding of the twenty-five-year era under study. Secondly, what occurred during 1967-92 in the fields of art, architecture and urban development was tributary to those past events. Expo 67 had an enormous impact on the modernization of Montréal. The public and the private sectors joined forces and favoured the construction of highways, the subway, and higher towers, as well as the relocation of the city centre. These major developments happened after the emergence of the early artistic avant-garde in Québec, located mainly in Montréal. Painters were predominant in those various movements and it was not until 1961 that sculpture emerged as an autonomous field. Eventually and for a short while, sculpture became the predominant medium of artistic expression, partly due to the influence of Expo 67. The exhibition as such was a showcase for modern art. It offered an impressive array of works of art, including twentieth-century sculptures. In a short period of time the public went from ignorant and uninformed (as demonstrated by the reaction triggered by Moore's sculpture) to knowledgeable and appreciative, as

demonstrated by the later editions of sculpture exhibition at Man and His World. On all those fronts there was a celebration of modernist vision and virtues, which really culminated in 1967. In the next chapters, we will pursue the presentation of events or policies that marked the artistic, architectural and urban scene, in an attempt to explain the context of the emergence of the new paradigm, the sculpture on a plaza, and the rejection of another possible one, the garden. This chapter will present the artistic scene in Montréal for the 1967-92 period.

Sculpture at EXPO 67

In May 1963, intellectuals, artists and architects met in Montebello (Québec) to establish the theme of the international exhibition Expo 67. Professors from various Canadian universities attended the Montebello conference, as well as did Montréal architects R. T. Affleck, Victor Prus, and Allan Jarvis, then national director of the Conférence canadienne des arts.[1]

Man and His World, the theme for Expo 67, had seven sub-themes, among which were Le Génie créateur de l'homme and L'Homme dans la cité. Le Génie créateur de l'homme dealt with fine arts, contemporary sculpture, industrial aesthetic (industrial design) and photography. L'Homme dans la cité addressed architecture and urbanism. Furthermore, each national pavilion had the possibility to exhibit art on or near its premises. In addition, several private corporations either had pavilions which included art, or patronized works of art in one way or another. The net result was the presence on the exhibition grounds of an unprecedented quantity of high-quality works of art, including modern and contemporary sculptures.[2]

Among the four major exhibits offered in the context of Le Génie créateur de l'homme, two focused on the more traditional forms of the visual arts, e.g., paintings and sculptures. One component was an exhibition of nearly two hundred international chefs-d'oeuvre at the Galerie internationale des beaux-arts. This new art gallery, located in Cité du Havre, had been specifically built for the event. The exhibition grouped together the works of the greatest artists of all times, chosen in relation to various themes that pertained to Man and elements of his life (work, play, love, nature, conflict, city, ideal, infinity, man's vision). Some thirty-eight of these works were contemporary paintings. There were however only a few sculptures, including Rodin's Burghers of Calais.[3]

The other component of the Génie créateur was a major exhibition devoted exclusively to modern or contemporary sculpture. This was an open-air show, located on St. Hélène Island, between the Hélène de Champlain pavilion and that of the United States of America (see figure 19). The site was a seven-acre (2.83 hectares) park in which was a rose garden. Because of its setting, the exhibition has often been referred to as the "sculpture garden," though a temporary one. Fifty-five sculptures, by as many artists, coming from around the world, and borrowed from the world's best collections, were exhibited throughout the duration of Expo 67. Jean (Hans) Arp, Max Bill, Constantin Brancusi, Georges Braque, Alexander Calder, Lynn Chadwick, Jacob Epstein, Max Ernst, Julio Gonzalez, Etienne Hajdu, Barbara Hepworth, Henri Laurens, Jacques Lipchitz, Giacomo Manzù, Marino Marini, Henri Matisse, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Henry Moore, Isamu Noguchi, Pablo Picasso, Auguste Rodin, David Smith, and Ossip Zadkine were among the artists presented. Only one sculptor was selected to represent Canada: Louis Archambault. The

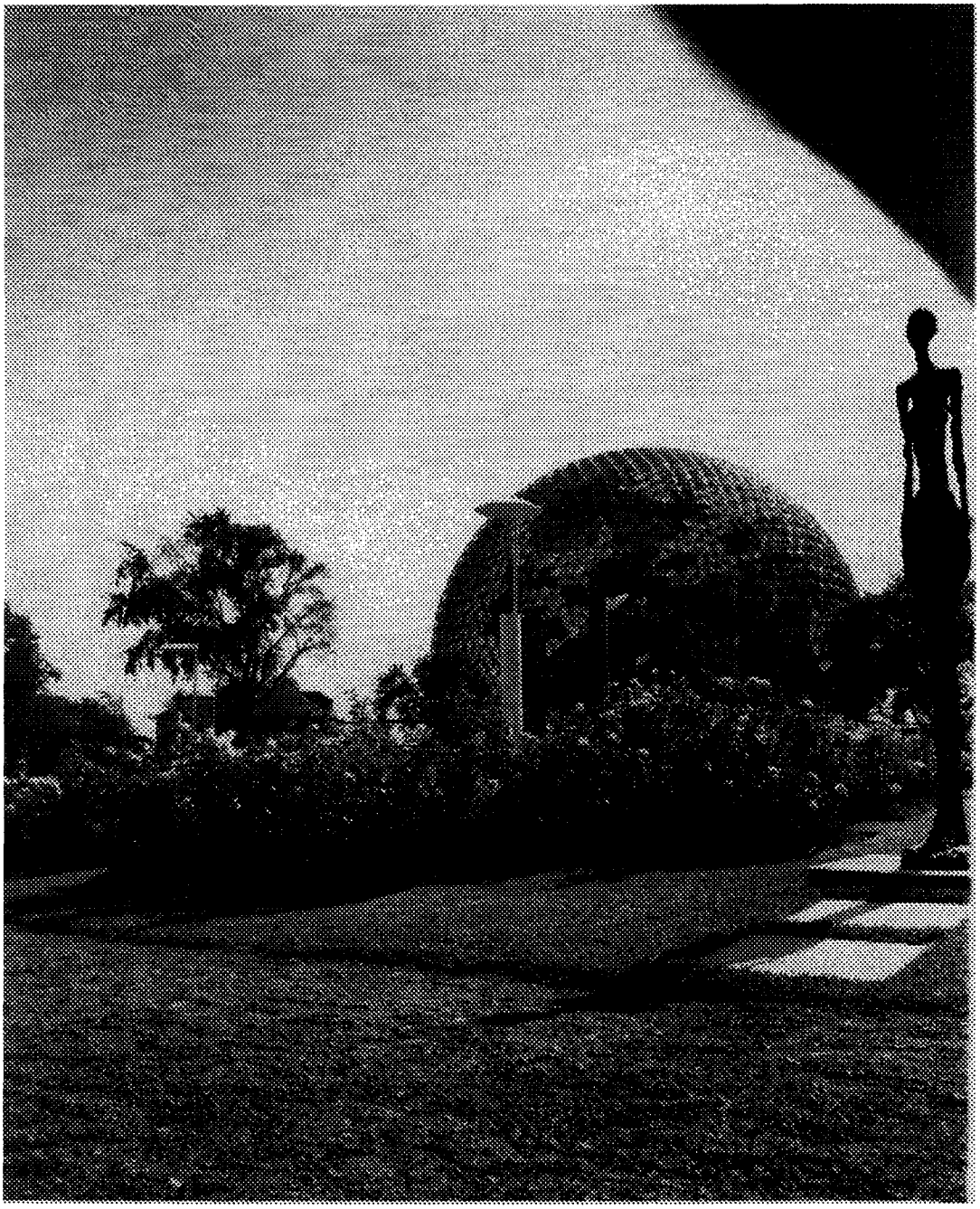


Figure 19. Standing Woman (bronze, 1960) by Alberto Giacometti, was one of the sculptures exhibited at the International Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, part of Expo 67 (photograph by Armour Landry, Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/42/13135). See also the catalogue of the exhibition, International Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, Expo 67, p. 80, 117.

works were not all of monumental dimensions, and some had to be sheltered from the elements. According to the loan agreements, all the sculptures had to be returned to their owners in November and December of 1967. This rendered the idea of a recurrent exposition impossible. As well, the sculpture exhibition could not be made permanent for material and financial reasons. Therefore, the subsequent edition of Man and His World had to make do with locally owned sculptures. Most art critics welcomed the presence of so many high-quality sculptures at Expo 67. They appreciated the fact that the entire twentieth century's best sculptural productions were made available to the public in real form as opposed to replicas. Yves Robillard, then critic at La Presse, was isolated in his complaint about the lack of originality and novelty of the exhibition. In fact, Robillard would have wanted to see a larger place awarded to Québec sculptors such as Roussil and Vaillancourt. Robillard acknowledged the fact that the exhibition provided a fantastic opportunity for Canadians who had not had the possibility to see those works of art, but he nonetheless would have used that tribune to promote local art among foreign visitors.[4]

It is not that Canadian sculptors were not present at Expo. Some corporations which did not want to--or could not--support a pavilion all by themselves nonetheless made a contribution by sponsoring various events, activities, or facilities, including fountains and sculptures. The most famous, and still visible, work of art is most certainly the monumental Man, by Alexander Calder, which was commissioned by the International Nickel Company and given to the City of Montréal during Expo.[5] Several of these corporate commissions were awarded to Canadian sculptors. It has been estimated that some sixty sculptures were commissioned in Canada by corporations, governments, or Expo 67. On the Expo premises, Louis Archambault, Ted Bieler, Drenters, Sorel Etrog, Gerald Gladstone, Michael Snow and Armand Vaillancourt were well represented.

It was also possible to see works by Jordi Bonet, Ulysse Comptois, Charles Daudelin, Suzanne Guité, Anne Kahane, John Nesbitt, Robert Roussil, Françoise Sullivan and Yves Trudeau. Despite the ubiquitous presence of Canadian sculptors, the talented and reputed Hugh LeRoy, Les Levine, Henry Saxe, and François Soucy were totally absent at Expo 67.[6]

Truly, there was an abundance of sculptures. In addition to the international exhibition assembled by Expo 67, contemporary pieces from around the world could be seen everywhere on the site, even including the amusement park La Ronde (see figure 20). Austria, Canada, France, England, Germany, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Venezuela were among the nations whose exhibits included some contemporary sculptures. For instance, Henry Moore's Locking Piece was installed in one of the two water basins surrounding the British pavilion. One of Jean Tinguely's sculptures decorated a wall of the Swiss pavilion. Max Bill's La Colonne de vent was also in the Swiss pavilion. A bronze sculpture, Monsieur Jacques, by Oswald L. Wenckebach (circa 1956), representing a bourgeois from the Netherlands, was installed under the "minirail" close to that pavilion. That sculpture now belongs to the open-air Kröller-Müller museum of sculptures in Otterlo (Netherlands). In the Italian pavilion, conceptual and environmental art were presented by Emilio Vedova and Lucio Fontana. The German pavilion included fifteen or so sculptures, some deemed quite remarkable. Among those were kinetic pieces by Harry Kramer and Gunter as well as luminous works by Heinz Mack, Otto Piene, Goepfert and Dinnebier. The latter had a sculpture installed outside, in the water basin at the rear of the building. It consisted of a luminous column close to sixty feet high, made of steel tubes inlaid with 850 balls of luminous glass out of which water flowed. All those

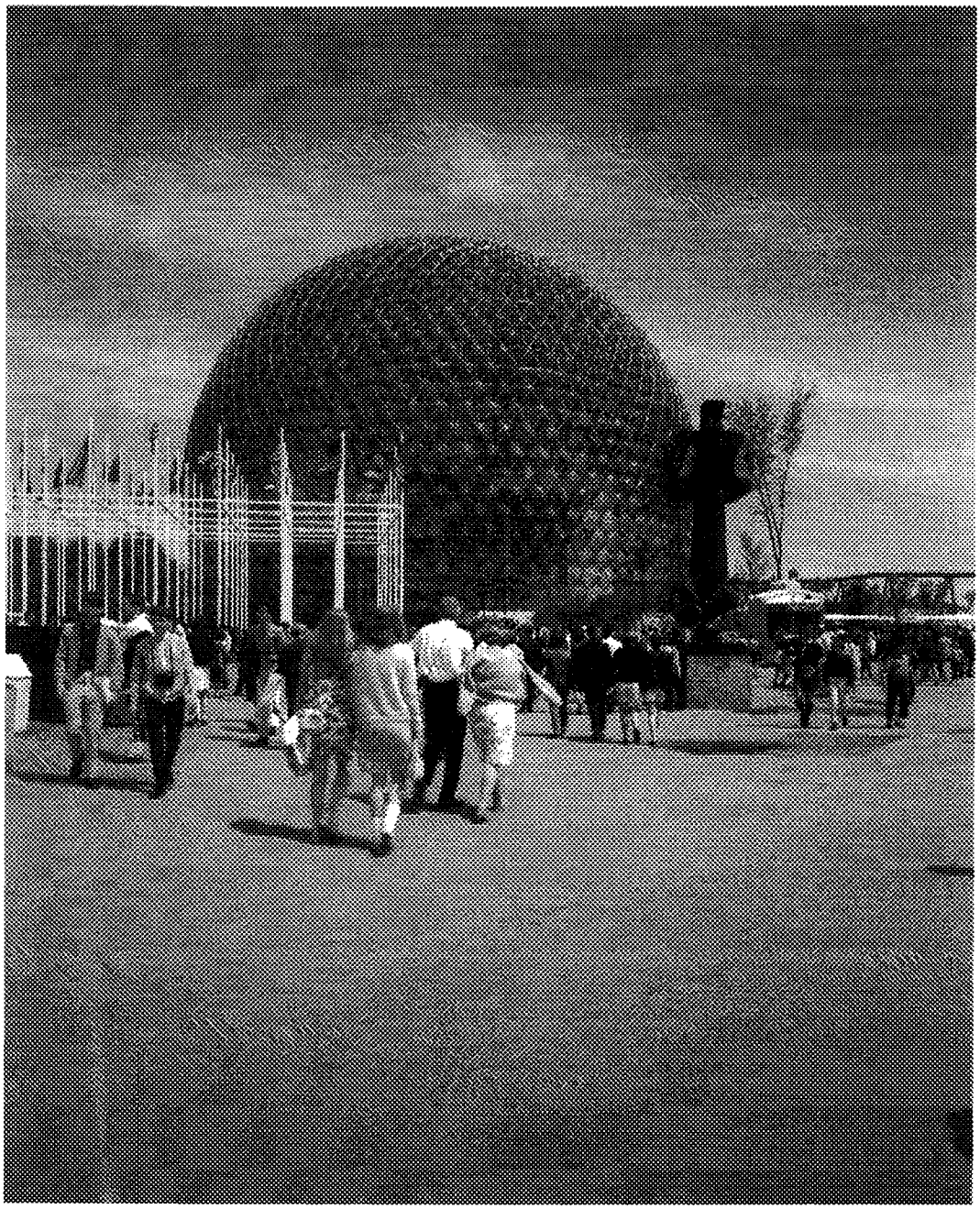


Figure 20. One of the many sculptures exhibited out of doors, on the site of Expo 67, nearby the pavilion of the United States (photograph by Armour Landry, Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/23/7432).

works resulted from the research on the expressive possibilities of artificial light and reflecting surfaces undertaken by a group of artists known as Zero. Some, like Robillard, saw in those researches the germ that would revolutionize artistic media. In addition, the European Community, then a group of six countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) had its own pavilion which also presented sculptures.[7]

The Ontario pavilion presented a great selection of fourteen sculptures lent by art collectors from that province. It included pieces from France's Aristide Maillol, Ossip Zadkine, Auguste Rodin, Edgar Degas and Jacques Lipchitz, Italy's Emilio Greco, César Baldaccini, Giacomo Manzù, Marino Marini, as well as Norbert Kricke from Germany, Henry Moore, Reg Butler, Lynn Chadwick from England, and Étienne Hadju from Romania. Other contemporary pieces were commissioned from Canadian sculptors (Bieler, Drenters, Snow) and exhibited in that pavilion as well. The State of Vermont had a sculptor working on its premises on a statue of Samuel de Champlain, to be later located on the Québec/Vermont border near Champlain Lake.[8]

Though the Canadian pavilion art exhibition looked bland to the critics, every artist with a certain reputation was represented. There was an inspiring work of art placed in the theatre of the Canadian pavilion. The piece, called Synthèse des arts (Synthesis of the arts) was made by a group named Fusion des arts. The group was made up of artists originating from various disciplines: painting, sculpture, architecture, music, etc., who together, had conceived an object that was the synthesis of those various artistic expressions. If the resulting object could hardly be labelled a sculpture in the traditional sense, it was nevertheless a kinetic sculpture of large dimensions. This was the first object-manifesto of the group, commissioned by the Corporation de l'exposition universelle and by the Canadian Government.[9]

The least official sculptural work was certainly the one presented at the Youth Pavilion designed by architect Jean Ouellet. That pavilion was quite dynamic as far as the visual arts are concerned. Thirty-two shows of visual arts were presented there during Expo. Three areas were designated for sculpture activity: a symposium, a free workshop and an exhibition. Richard Lacroix of Fusion des arts also had a piece, Machination, at the Youth Pavilion, though the work was not considered a sculpture by everyone.[10]

Expo 67 not only put forward works by artists who significantly contributed to define modern sculpture, it also exhibited some contemporary works by leading sculptors and others by emerging artists. Francine Couture affirms that 1967 was a crucial year for kinetic art presented in Montréal by both local and international artists.[11] According to Couture, the transformation of the paradigm of actual art in Québec emerged in 1967 in exhibitions held on the premises of Expo 67, in private art galleries as well as at the Museum of Contemporary Art. The Plasticiens (Molinari, Hurtubise, Tousignant) were, in 1967, reputed artists. They were at the zenith of what was considered actual art, on the national as well as on the international art scenes. They took part in the main official exhibitions organized to celebrate Canada's Centennial and in the context of Expo 67. These artists were mainly painters, and some local art critics thought that their formalist sculptures did not mix well with the urban, daily life environment. Their art was also deemed to be elitist and bourgeois. Kinetic sculpture and the creation of environments by European as well as by local artists, represented the most advanced proposals of the sculptural world. In particular, the concept of environmental space, which embraced the viewer within the environment, was full of promise in Robillard's opinion. For art critics of the time (1965-67), these artistic manifestations produced signs of an urbane and

technological culture which resulted in changes imprinted on the urban landscapes. Those works of art required the participation of the public, which was seen as a sign of efficiency from a social point of view. They were, however, apart from formalist projects that dealt with the affirmation/definition of the specificity of one artistic discipline (e.g., sculpture as opposed to painting) as embodied by the works of the Plasticiens. For this reason they have been viewed as standing apart from the modernist credo in a unique and unified artistic discipline, even though these works of art dealt with technology and new materials.[12]

It should be remembered that, as pointed out by Couture, these works of art were produced in the context of Expo 67, an event which promoted the *affirmation* of an urban culture and its realizations. With a few exceptions, leading sculptors of the era and their critics joyfully embarked on the idea that movement, action, participation, as well as the use of new materials and technologies, would express the ideology of progress already present in the city.[13] We can only concur with Arbour who described Expo 67 as an experimental place for architecture, engineering, multidisciplinary art experiments, the use of new media, and integration of arts to architecture. Artists used modern architecture as they initiated projects with regard to new elements of the urban environment.[14] The subway was certainly one of these new elements. Several of the artists who had been involved earlier on in art integrated to architecture and public art, also created murals for the Montréal subway, first in the sixties and then for its extension, planned and built in the 1970s. These included some Post-Automatists (Ferron, Mousseau), Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass, and Claude Théberge (see table 2).[15] It is true that Expo 67 constituted the apex of faith in modernism, and the outcome of a progression that went from a notion of mural art in the 1950s, to one of art integrated to architecture, and to yet another one of "fusion des arts."

Table 2.--Art in Montréal subway (sample)[16]

Artist	Architect	Date [17]	Station	Type of work	Cost ($)
Jean-Paul Mousseau	Papineau-Gérin-Lajoie, Leblanc	1964	Peel	54 coloured circles made of ceramic tiles, on the walls and floor of the entire station	24,000
Charles Daudelin	Victor Prus	1966	Mont-Royal	Vertical stripes of textured aluminium (32 units)	
Maurice Savoie	Crevier, Lemieux, Mercier & Caron (Balton, Ellwood, Eimers)	1966	McGill	mural ceramics (terra cotta)	20,000
Marcelle Ferron	A. Niklewicz (City of Montréal)	1966	Champ-de-Mars	Stained glass (antique glass), red tones	52,000
Mario Merola	J. Dumontier (Metropolitan Transportation Bureau or BTM)	1971 (operate)	Sherbrooke	Circular mural of melted porphyry cement – orange.	2,000
Mario Merola		1973 - 1974	Sherbrooke	Mural made of brown bricks	
Charles Daudelin	Victor Prus André G. Dionne	1973	Langelier	Two sculptures - grates	20,000
Jordi Bonet	Marcel Raby (Montréal Public Works)	1974	Pie IX	Mural made of textured concrete and aluminium	27,000
Jean-Paul Mousseau	Irving Sager (Montréal Public Works)	1975	Viau	Mural made of ceramic tiles	5,000
Peter Gnass	Didier Gillon & Larouche	1975 [18]	Lasalle	Mural with relief made of stainless steel, mirror finish (one wall)	40,867

Table 2.--Continued

Artist	Architect	Date [19]	Station	Type of work	Cost ($)
Antoine D. Lamarche	Jean-Maurice Dubé	1976	Verdun	Mural with relief made of concrete -- grey - red painting and magenta (concrete of entire station)	18,000
Claude Théberge	Lemay Leclerc	1976	de l'Église	Mural with relief made of concrete-grey (two walls)	33,600
Mario Merola with Pierre Osterrah	Ayotte, Bergeron	1976	Charlevoix	Coloured (mainly blue with red and yellow accents) antique glass along escalators	46,885
Jean-Paul Mousseau	Yves Bernard (BTM)	1976	Honoré-Beaugrand	Two murals of ceramic tiles	22,000
Jean-Paul Mousseau	Irving Sager (City of Montréal)	1976 [20]	Square Victoria	Mural made of laminated plastic - eleven yellow and green panels	5,500
Jacques de Tonnancour	Hébert, Lalonde	1976	Place Saint-Henri	Motorized sculpture made of aluminium and stainless steel	35,000
Jean-Paul Mousseau	Yves Bernard	1977	Angrignon Garage (in a park)	Four external walls –galvanized steel-baked painting (yellow, cadmium yellow, orange, red)	12,000
Marcelle Ferron	Desnoyers, Mercure, Leziy, Gagnon, Sheppard & Jean A. Gélinas	1979	Vendôme	Stained glass, yellow and red; tubular sculpture of polished metal	37,500
Yves Trudeau	Jodoin, Lamarre, Pratte	1983	Côte Vertu	Two murals made of stainless steel, mirror finish, with one stripe painted orange	100,000
Pierre Granche	Labelle, Marchand, Geoffroy	1984 (ope-rate)	Namur	Tri-dimension structure of 28 modules, on a ceiling, polished aluminium	86,000

It also materialized the hope of linking art to the environment by awarding commissions to artists, who could use new media and industrial processes to create works of larger scope and dimensions. From then on, an opening of the artistic act "à l'espace architectural, urbain, social et à la participation du public au projet créateur"[21] was visible, according to Arbour. As we will see later, artists did not criticize, through their works of art, the actions that were taken in order to achieve a truly modern city (e.g., inconsiderate demolitions and expropriations). In that respect, they were very modern in their thinking. It is reasonable to assume that the sculptors carried the same faith in modern technology, in modern life, and in the modern city, even though they decried modern architecture. It is important to reiterate the fact that this was not a context of opposition, of revolt, or even of protest against the various civic projects.

A case in point is the involvement of Canadian sculptors, including several Montréal artists, in Sculpture 67, the major event pertaining to sculpture organized in the wake of Canada's Centennial. Held in Toronto in the summer of 1967, it presented the recent work of close to fifty Canadian sculptors. Some of them were also present on the premises of Expo 67. The pieces presented for the event were of impressive dimensions, and for the most part, exploited new materials and technology. As Dorothy Cameron, coordinator of the event put it: "The majority of Canadian sculptors, . . . (like the majority on this planet), were involved, in varying degrees, with the exploration of new forms, new spatial concepts and new materials, with the technological transformations of a world-wide plastic-coated electric revolution."[22] The original intent was to have this exhibition of outdoor sculpture "in perhaps the most spectacular setting available in this country: the plaza, podium and mall of the New City Hall of Toronto, designed by Finland's late Viljo Revell."[23] Montréal sculptors Ulysse Comptois, François Dallegret, Lise Gervais,

Suzanne Guité, Henry Wanton Jones, Anne Kahane, Jean Le Febure, Hugh LeRoy, Gino Lorcini, Guido Molinari, John Ivor Smith, François Soucy and Françoise Sullivan took part in that exhibition.[24]

The overall success of Expo 67 was so great that mayor Jean Drapeau undertook to have a yearly edition by implementing Man and His World. However, it was not possible to have an exhibition of the same scope as the original Expo 67. Several pavilions were donated to the city, but several others, built for a temporary event, had to be demolished. After Expo 67, the newly created Museum of Contemporary Art, located in Montréal's east end until then, moved to the international art gallery. The International Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture was succeeded by an exhibition of local contemporary sculpture, similarly installed, primarily in the gardens at St. Helen Island and also elsewhere on the site.[25]

Yvette Bisson, Marcel Braitstein, Lewis Pagé were among the sculptors represented at the 1968 version of the sculpture garden. Guy Robert, whose contribution was solicited in 1968 for Man and His World, recalled that the very short time period imparted to the organization of the sculpture exhibition lead to the decision of exhibiting sculptures already located in the Montréal area, in order to avoid transportation. The Québec Sculptors' Association contributed in gathering over fifty large-dimension sculptures in fifteen days. Robert remarked: "Il y a quelques années, une telle entreprise n'aurait pas été possible. Les sculpteurs de la région de Montréal n'avaient pas, ou à peu près pas d'oeuvres de grande taille, prêtes à être exposées à l'extérieur."[26] Similarly, an open-air sculpture exhibition took place in 1969 and sculptor Peter Gnass was among the exhibitors.

In addition, sculptures were located in the various plazas on the islands. Armand Vaillancourt had a monumental sculpture that dominated the main stage of Place des Nations. Yves Trudeau's Le phare du

cosmos, created for Expo 67, was an identifying element of the Plaza of the Universe. Kalena, a sculpture-fountain by Mario Merola, defined the Shell Plaza. Gerald Gladstone's sculpture-fountain Space Column marked the Engineers' Plaza, and so did another sculpture-fountain (artist unknown) for the Asbestos Plaza. The statue of Copernicus was erected on a plaza in front of the Man the Explorer pavilion. This statue is now on a plaza in front of the Planetarium, owned by the City of Montréal. Finally, Calder's Man dominated the International Nickel Plaza. If sculpture could be found virtually everywhere on the confines of Expo 67, the 1968 edition of Man and His World made apparent the fact that sculptures were used to mark a plaza. As a whole, sculptures were used to mark either the landscape or the plaza, as is explained in the guide to Man and His World:

> Major works by Canadian sculptors add a special and original note to the parks, green areas and plazas of the *Man and His World* islands. Among others are the fountains of Gladstone at the entrance to *La Ronde* and near the pavilion of France; Sorel Etrog's *Moses*; Anne Kahane's *L'Homme, la tête en bas*, south of the Israel [sic] pavilion; and Jordi Bonet's *Conséquence*, north of Place des Nations. The fountains, too, are worthy of special note.[27]

The overall reception of the art exhibitions for the Man and His World versions was dramatically different from that of Expo 67. The exhibits were not the same, and with time, less care was brought to the organization and maintenance of some of the premises.[28] Nonetheless, Expo 67 marked a decade in the life of the City. The sculptures, that were either commissioned or borrowed for the event, allowed an awareness of what had been, and was, created elsewhere in the world.

Art After Expo 67

The Emergence of A New Avant-Garde

In Québec, the years that followed Expo 67 were marked by a slowing down of the economy, and the 1970s were stigmatized by inflation, a high percentage of unemployment, a holding up of population growth and, in 1970, a major political upheaval, the October crisis. The latter event involved having the Armed Forces in Montréal, as a result of the federal War Measures Act that aimed at curtailing the recent terrorist activities. During that decade a larger part of the province's economic growth depended on investment by the State and its agencies. A number of large projects played an important role to help the economy: the hydroelectric project in James Bay and, in Montréal, the extension of the expressway network and of the subway, along with the construction due to the coming of the Olympic Games in 1976. Finally, those years were also marked by a tense polarization between the two major linguistic entities, the anglophone and the francophone.[29]

On the visual arts scene, the immediate post-Expo years saw the emergence of practices by artists certainly influenced by the sculptural works that were exhibited at Expo 67 (Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass) as well as of a new generation of artists, some of whom were almost the same age as already well-known artists (Melvin Charney, Bill Vazan, versus Guido Molinari). However, the approaching stagnation on Montréal's artistic scene in the mid-sixties did not immediately put an end to the Plasticiens' hegemony. Some art critics called for a renewal, yet several others had problems dealing with the early conceptual art shows presented by Bill Vazan, for instance. Concomitantly, Peter Gnass' 1970

exhibition, which staged colour Plexiglas spheres in motion, was particularly well received by the local art critics.[30]

In fact sculpture, which had been ubiquitous during Expo 67, continued to be forcefully presented in the 1970s, either in museum exhibitions or in the course of symposia. Also, Montréal sculptors took part in international sculpture events. For instance, an important delegation from Montréal was present at the Biennial of Middelheim in 1971. In 1953, the City of Antwerp in Belgium decided to organize biennials dedicated to international contemporary sculpture. Each manifestation presented the works of artists on a geographical basis. The 1971 edition invited the Netherlands and the Americas. Louis Archambault, Pier Bourgault, Charles Daudelin, Robert James Downing, Peter Gnass, Pierre Heyvaert, Hugh LeRoy, Robert Murray, Robert Roussil, Henry Saxe, François Soucy, Françoise Sullivan and Yves Trudeau were the thirteen Canadian artists at the biennial. They came mainly from Montréal as it was the Conseil des Arts de la Région Métropolitaine de Montréal which prepared the work for the Canadian representation. They had the opportunity to have their work presented alongside that of major American sculptors.[31]

Groups of artists have formed in Québec since 1970: production groups, diffusion groups (such as Vehicule), and professional associations. Whereas historically, the coherence and duration of a group of artists resided on a definite conception of artistic production (such as the Automatistes or the Plasticiens), in 1975 the artists regrouped according to the material organization of the artistic production. Most of these groups held a discourse in favour of the democratization of art, yet to materialize.[32] Actually, the creation of parallel art galleries Vehicule and Media was a milestone on the Québec art scene of the early 1970s, as they aimed at giving every artist a chance to present his/her work.[33]

However, according to former art critic Normand Thériault, not only was art still marginal in the 1970s in Québec, visual arts were even regressing. The only works of art that had been really publicly exhibited during the 1970-75 period had been notorious since the 1950s and 1960s. Those created during the 1970s failed to testify to recent (1965-75) transformations in the notion of art, art objects, and their cultural meaning. For Chantal Pontbriand, co-founder in the Fall 1975 of the contemporary art magazine Parachute, the art milieu was then very limited: some art galleries, a small museum, hundreds of interested persons, and no art collectors. The critics were neither informed nor qualified. Artists could not live from any social relation: "Ils exposent en l'espace de cinq ans partout où cela est possible, y compris le Musée d'art contemporain, la Galerie nationale souvent, les galeries subventionnées, les galeries commerciales...et puis rien."[34] The socio-economic condition of the artist was such that he had to teach and receive grants in order to make a living.[35]

Artists and art forms once identified with the Québec avant-garde art were, by the mid-1970s, supported by the Establishment. Artists interested in creating new art forms in the city or in the environment were still, by 1976, marginalized. We will hereafter look into two major artistic events that marked the 1970s: Québec 75/arts, which was followed, a year later, by the epic Corridart. Both events were milestones in the annals of Montréal's art scene, as they took a stance vis-à-vis the artistic and social establishment. They were also most certainly watershed events for two artists who later took part in the competition for the CCA garden: Melvin Charney and Bill Vazan.

Québec 75

Under Thériault's leadership, Québec 75 came into being in reaction to the local artistic situation. Concomitantly with the event, Parachute was published for the first time, in an attempt to address and focus on the issues of contemporary art happening here and abroad. Though independent, both venues aimed at opening up the artistic and cultural practices to other disciplines as well as to the world.[36]

In order to develop Québec 75 as well as other future art events, Thériault set up the Institut d'art contemporain, (Institute of Contemporary Art, hereafter referred to as ICA). The ICA was financed only through projects such as Québec 75, which was generously founded by various public organizations. Québec 75 consisted of three artistic sections: visual arts (Québec 75/arts), cinema and video.[37] Québec 75/arts was presented at the Museum of Contemporary Art from October 16, 1975 to November 23, 1975. From the start, the exhibition was planned to travel to other Canadian cities (Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg, et cetera). The organizers wanted to show the rest of Canada that something was happening on the Québec art scene after Borduas and Molinari. Along with the exhibition came a series of meetings with art specialists and others with the artists.[38]

From its inception, Québec 75 wanted to be a place of collective reflection upon the visual arts in Québec. Thériault set up a consultative committee made up of specialists coming from the art milieu and interested in contemporary art. Most members of the committee belonged to the art establishment. There were representatives from the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, the Université du Québec (UQAM) and some critics. Some artist members within active groups at that time, such as Vehicule, Media, and Graff also punctually

joined in. Thériault aimed to demonstrate the tendencies in Québec art as registered in the 1970-75 period, and that the traditional image of art produced in Québec was no longer relevant. However, it appears that no consensus could be reached on this view, as attested by a series of resignations by various members of the committee, which dissolved early in 1975.[39]

In an attempt to define Québec art, Thériault considered it no longer possible to attach Québec's own art history to itself by defining it in a dialectical way through the Automatistes and the Plasticiens. Those involved with the project Québec 75 rapidly understood that it was impossible to define one overall situation. The exhibition was a mere tentative to define actual Québec art, and to identify potential avenues. Furthermore, the very idea of what was considered an exhibition, and what it was supposed to achieve, was controversial. Ultimately, Québec 75/arts embodied the belief that an exhibition was an intervention in the field of artistic practice and not necessarily an introduction by the viewer to a work of art. The exhibition, which was thought out as an action with the artists' milieu, meant to avoid the trap of the panorama along with the obligation to include the highly reputed artists of the time (Alfred Pellan, Jean-Paul Lemieux, Guido Molinari, Charles Gagnon). Québec 75 was not opposed to their art, but to its perpetual consecration. In Thériault's view, Montréal had to support a cultural pluralism in order to become a contemporary art centre, a converging point. This artistic context with multiple influences was specific to Montréal, while the situation prevailing in Québec City and in the rest of the province was somewhat different. Québec 75 actually highlighted Montréal's status as a distinctive national cultural centre. The art milieu had high expectations for the event even though its controversial dimension was anticipated.[40]

Artists had to be capable of producing a very recent piece in order to qualify.[41] The selection process also included an interview with the artists where their questioning of art and of their own medium was crucial for their selection. In the end, twenty artists were chosen from an original list of eighty and eighteen finally took part in the exhibition. They were: Edmund Alleyn, Pierre Ayot, Jean-Serge Champagne, Yvon Cozic, Melvin Charney, Christian Knudsen, Réal Lauzon, Suzy Lake, Gilles Mihalcean, Claude Mongrain, Gunter Nolte, Leopold Plotek, Roland Poulin, Garfield Smith, Serge Tousignant, William Vazan, Robert Walker, Irene Whittome.[42] The Plasticiens' absence was deplored by some art critics, and by Fernande Saint-Martin, then Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art.

Thériault's view about the current situation of Québec art was in complete opposition with Saint-Martin's. For her, actual art was linked with Pellan, Borduas and the revolutionary Refus Global, as well as with the 1960s quiet revolution. The latter engendered a collective rejection of the elements characteristic of a national identity (religion and language). In their search for a new cultural definition, art critics sought novelty for its own sake, promoting an art unrelated to Québec's art history. Since Québec modern art had either been ahead of or simultaneous to other great international art movements, Saint-Martin argued that it would be a mistake to conceive of it as being only influenced and fed by external sources and in need of catching up.[43]

During 1968, the movement of cultural protest which marked industrialized western society gave rise, outside Québec, to an art questioning the formal dynamics of a work of art and eventually involving the viewer in the making of the work of art. Ultimately, the reaction against the aesthetic object engendered an art with scientific, psychological, or sociological connotations. In the province, a group of young artists based

their values on this foreign art and reacted to the artistic propositions coming from those countries, by submitting simple variations to these works of art. Saint-Martin specifically targeted ecological art and art that dealt with the urban or rural landscape: "La réaction écologique au milieu ou au paysage rural ou urbain, par exemple, sont en réalité un art du "non-lieu", provoqué simultanément dans le monde entier par des média tels Art Forum, Art Press, Data, Flash Art, etc."[44] For Saint-Martin, Québec 75 exemplified her theory: the art lacked specific social roots as it was echoing avant-garde art produced elsewhere in the world.

Saint-Martin supported the contemporary artists who belonged to what she termed the "automatist axis" and who included two generations. The older generation, made up of Ulysse Comptois, Charles Gagnon, Yves Gaucher, Jean McEwen, Guido Molinari, Claude Tousignant, Jacques Hurtubise, had completely renewed their approach over the last five years. Artists of the younger generation, the Henry Saxe, Peter Gnass, Hugh LeRoy, Mark Prent, H. Gagné, Louis Comptois, Guy Montpetit, Saint-Pierre, Lucio de Heusch, Kiopini, tried to transcend the basic orientations of Québec contemporary art with new propositions.[45]

The gap between Thériault and Saint-Martin was, according to art critic Claude Gosselin, that of a generation. Furthermore, artists such as Gilles Mihalcean, Claude Mongrain and Roland Poulin who took part in Québec 75 openly disagreed with Saint-Martin's view.[46]

Though the organizers affirmed not having worked to balance the input of each of the two Québec cultures, half of the artists were non-francophones, and seven of these non-francophones were not born in the province. "Nationalist" or "québécois" works of art were not included, as they would have seemed too anecdotic and regionalist, whereas the works of artists recently established in Québec were selected. While some saw this as a reflection of the new image of the province, others were

scandalized that the works selected presented an international influence, and neglected Québec art's history and roots.[47]

The controversy around the exhibition, which tried to deal with questions such as "what is art?" and "what is Québec art?" challenged the choice of the artists, and the work of art they presented. Ultimately, the comments centred around Québec 75 as an event rather than on the works of art exhibited at the show, much to the disappointment of the artists. Thériault, for his part, believed that Québec 75 provided an opportunity for the artists--most of whom had only a few years of experience--to present and discuss their work.[48] David Burnett's published assessment of the exhibition gives a good idea of works presented by the artists, how these pieces related to an artist's previous work, and to other exhibits of Québec 75, as well as to the global art world.

Burnett found that some of the most interesting pieces had been created by Jean-Serge Champagne, Roland Poulin and Claude Mongrain, the latter making the strongest impact. Champagne presented three pieces making up Perception 1 using wood planks, carpenters' trestles, and "C" clamps for joints. Poulin's work was disadvantageously compared to Carl Andre's slab or tile arrangements. Finally, Mongrain's work reminded him of Mark di Suvero's monumental sculptures and of Richard Serra's aggressiveness.[49]

His review of Irene Whittome's piece White Museum V, which was made of Plexiglas, wood, cotton, canvas and string, in relation to her previous work, led him to conclude that this was a major work. He then moved on to say that Québec 75 did not "bring things together" for Pierre Ayot's Permis de démolir # 1502 which sought to present a metaphor to urban destruction, particularly that of the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, by means of wood planks and polythene sheeting hanging from the ceiling, and other mixed media.[50] Ayot's piece was

compared with Melvin Charney's intervention, which was also deemed to address cultural destruction:

> In his *Une histoire d'architecture: Le trésor de Trois Rivières* Charney documents with old photographs the wood buildings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He shows their formal combinations of European and indigenous elements with the development of standardized industrial techniques. Sketching from these he drew out the essence of their structure and design and built that into a large wooden construction.[51]

Burnett also looked at Serge Tousignant's pieces (Laissez faire les sphères; Mona; and particularly Environment Transformé No. 1, Dotscape) in the context of his earlier works. In the latter piece, the artist transformed the natural environment in an artistic fashion. In fact, Tousignant applied a technique used in his previous work "to wider contexts, to the landscape, to the city."[52] Burnett appreciated the artist's conceptual clarity.

Regarding conceptual art, William "Bill" Vazan's Anniversaire did not go unnoticed. His exhibit consisted of twenty-five rocks forming a circle, on which stones he had put a candle. Inside the circle, sand was laid on the museum floor. Spirals imprinted in the sand divided this internal area in two. Monitors and video equipment marked the centre. In fact, Vazan had prepared an intervention for opening night that used his installation, transformed into a stage and surrounded by spectators. This performance was recorded on video. The inauguration date marked the fifth anniversary of the declaration of the War Measures Act, hence Vazan's title. The show had a man and a woman perform a sort of modern ritual, taking their clothes off, lighting the candles, whispering or shouting out loud words such as man, woman, earth, America, Canada, Québec, nation, October 1970, liberty, police, energy, love, death, et cetera.[53] Burnett estimated that the performance was halfway between

theatre and ritual. Its recording on video, however, jeopardized the circle of rocks as an autonomous piece, and its ability to (re)create a mythic space. Vazan's previous works had been more forceful than what was presented in the show.[54] By its explicit references, the performance was also a memorial.

According to Burnett, on the whole, an influence of internationally reputed artists and their work (American art of the late 1960s and early 1970s, recent Italian and German work) was certainly discernible. In that sense, while much of the work could be considered innovative in the context of Québec and elsewhere in Canada, it was not so on a wider scene. Furthermore, the good-quality work of Champagne, Charney, Lake, Tousignant and Walker would have needed a better setting to be fully appreciated. [55]

During the exhibition, however, the local press did not evaluate the works of art on their own merit, but rather according to the relation of the work to certain criteria. As pointed out by Pontbriand, the main axis of discussion had been nationalism/internationalism, intervention/panorama, historicity/actual production, artist/society. With regard to the latter, Thériault favoured a social art. However, critics found that among the artists chosen for Québec 75/arts, only the English-speaking ones seemed to be conscious of the socio-political aspect of the art. For instance, the October crisis was commemorated by an English-speaking Québec artist who appeared to be the only one to remember the event.[56] Artists Robert Walker, Garfield Smith and Melvin Charney's explanation of their works further validated this view. For instance, Charney aimed at making the general public, rather than his fellow architects, aware of what was going on around them: "Les critères architecturaux sont ceux de l'État et la conscience populaire s'y résigne."[57] Claude Gosselin saw an analogy with the implication of English-speaking québécois in the creation of civic

movements such as "Save Montréal," "Les espaces verts," "S.O.S. pollution" and with the presence of English-speaking artists to sensitize their French-speaking colleagues to the political topicality of the work of art.[58]

A review of the literature about the event reveals another aspect of the debate, which addressed the right to be an artist. If Vazan could affirm "I work in the art milieu so what I produce is art,"[59] Charney's presence as an artist was disputed by some, simply because he was an architect.[60]

Corridart

In 1976 Montréal hosted the XXI Olympiad. The organizing committee of the Olympic Games (COJO) administered a budget of $8 million allocated to the arts ($3 million for the visual arts and $5 million for the performing arts) by the three levels of government.[61] This amount was small when compared to the huge sums of money sunk in the Olympics frenzy. As with other North American cities of the time, Montréal had to have a new stadium, which cost taxpayers a fortune.

There were two official exhibitions, Mosaicart (held in Place Bonaventure) and Artisanage (involving artisans), each having a national character and displaying works from all parts of Canada.[62] In addition, COJO's visual arts section of the Arts and Culture programme contributed generously to the financing of an exhibition entitled Three generations of contemporary Quebec art 1940/1950/1960, held at the Museum of Contemporary Art. For the occasion, Saint-Martin selected works of art that, if they did not constitute a panorama, were nonetheless part of a corpus that made up Québec art history, as understood by her. A year after the heated debate around Québec 75, Saint-Martin maintained her

historical perspective regarding Québec art. Those Québec artists who protested against the art object and the art system were in line with Borduas, and were also tributary to the Plasticiens. In this view, ephemeral art was neo-surrealist. This was not only true of painting, but of sculpture as well. She asserted that Borduas, despite his very limited sculptural production, had anticipated the simplification of the forms as observed later in sculpture. Similarly, the Plasticiens (Ulysse Comptois, Denis Juneau, Guido Molinari, François Soucy, Claude Tousignant) were the ones who influenced the sculpture of the late 1960s. Saint-Martin identified Archambault, Borduas, Daudelin, Pierre-Roland Dinel, Roussil, and Vaillancourt as the leading sculptors of the 1950s through the mid 1960s. Serge Cournoyer, Yvon Cozic, Ulysse Comptois, Jean-Marie Delavalle, Lise Gervais, Peter Gnass, Pierre Heyvaert, Jean-Claude Lajeunie, Hugh LeRoy, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Henry Saxe, Françoise Sullivan, Serge Tousignant and Yves Trudeau, with their luminous, kinetic or colourful sculptures, were identified as the sculptors of the new generation.[63] Finally, another artistic event, Corridart, designed to take place in Montréal, presented what was considered to be "the latest works."[64] The concomitant exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art was presented as the necessary hinge between the art of the past (Mosaicart) and Corridart, which showed "the changes that have occurred in both art and the city over the last twenty years."[65]

Financed by the provincial government and involving artists from the province of Québec, Corridart had a minimal budget ($386,000). In fact, "CORRIDART was a worthy and pitifully under-budgeted project, the tattered but valiant step-sister of the official exhibitions that went on simultaneously with it."[66] Charney organized the art event along Sherbrooke Street and was also one of the artists taking part in the event. Corridart aimed "to dramatize three themes. . . . 1. Nature as a work of

art; 2. Sherbrooke Street as a processional area and as an historical area, . . . ; 3. Sherbrooke Street as an art gallery, with art objects displayed on the street."[67]

Corridart extended over a five-mile (8.0 km) stretch, from Atwater Street to La Fontaine Park, with its entrance just in front of the walls of the Domaine St-Sulpice. Charney himself had carefully selected the sites along Sherbrooke Street, which indicated an intimate knowledge of the city, e.g., its architecture and its history, both English and French. Charney chose Sherbrooke Street as it was "the major artery and processional thoroughfare at the time when Montreal became an important metropolitan center."[68] In an era of demolition sprees in Montréal, several older, sound structures had been razed on Sherbrooke Street, and Corridart pointed to past and present meanings of the street façades. Works were displayed in such a way as to present either a commentary on the street or to be integrated as works of art in the street fabric. It was as if Charney, referring to the historical use of Sherbrooke Street for processions, had envisioned a street that would once more be open for a procession, this time of people taking part in the exhibition. The illustrated commentary, the most didactic part, was realized by one of Melvin Charney's colleagues, Jean-Claude Marsan. Both Charney and Marsan were professors at the School of Architecture of Université de Montréal. The work, Mémoire de la rue, consisted of photo-murals mounted on scaffoldings, accompanied by printed texts, with a hand extending and pointing in a specific direction, related to the text/image configuration. There were presumably three hundred proposals by artists eager to take part in the event, from which sixteen were chosen. Some of the artists exhibiting in one way or another in Corridart or involved in its implementation had been contestants for Québec 75.[69]

Among the works of art that pertained to nature were Yvon Cozic's Cross-Country, a run of existing trees, parted on each side of the street, that he "swathed in sporting colors and marked by athletic numbers;"[70] and Archigrok or Tom Dubicanac's Pine Forest (La Forêt dans la Ville), "a reminder of the primordial past of Sherbrooke before the Indians and before the Europeans. . . . The artists surrounded the forest with barbed wire adding a sign that read: 'Danger. Radiation.'."[71] Also related to nature, if not to the vegetal, was Bill Vazan's Stone Maze, consisting of a small rock garden displayed in a labyrinthine pattern.[72] While Archigrok's work is reminiscent of Alan Sonfist's Time Landscape in New York City, Vazan's echoed Nancy Holt's works, alluding to solar solstices and equinoxes, as did his piece.

Other works of art not related to the theme "nature as a work of art" included Edmund Alleyn's La Réserve, Marc Cramer's Une rue montréalaise, Trevor Goring's Street Spectrum, Kevin McKenna's Rues-miroirs, Kina Reusch's two gate-like structures, Torii, Claude Thibaudeau, Laurent Gascon and Danyelle Morin's Banderoles and Claude Thibaudeau and Jacques Hurtubise's series of kites, Cerfs-volants. Françoise Sullivan, David Moore and Jean-Serge Champagne presented Légende des artistes, also known as Hommage aux maisons où naissent les legendes [sic], a compilation in map format showing where Montréal's prominent cultural figures had lived in the area surrounding Sherbrooke Street. Michael Haslam's Teletron put forward "CORRIDARTISTS," artists talking (on tape) to the public about their work. Andrew Dutkewych placed Suspension Two, a large sculpture made of rocks, in Lafontaine Park, while Guy Montpetit presented six wooden structures, Sculptures en série. Finally, two works replicated Montréal's artefacts. Pierre Ayot and Denis Forcier made a replica of Montréal's cross on the Mount Royal, and laid La croix du Mont Royal sur la rue Sherbrooke on its side. Melvin Charney

presented Les maisons de la rue Sherbrooke, a full-size replica of one façade opposite the street and of another one immediately to the "east" of it, the replica being located on a vacant piece of land on which stood similar houses. By restoring the memory of lost built forms, Charney managed to show that the destruction of these buildings involved more than just the demolition of physical structures. The prehension of the view looking "south" had been completely ruined. Charney demonstrated how the former (built) version presented an analogy with the place created on the street by the Piazza del Popolo in Rome or Place de la Concorde in Paris.[73]

During the night of July 14,1976, one day before the official opening of the Olympic Games, Corridart was dismantled by municipal workers following Mayor Jean Drapeau's order. For Charney, "the destruction transformed Corridart into a work which showed the cultural and political constraints within which architects and artists are forced to work."[74] The artists sued the city, claiming compensation, but to no avail. The Establishment (Mayor Drapeau) labelled it a fraud and a provocative sign of decadence. Justice Deslauriers declared the artists' case nonsuit.[75]

Other Artistic Events in the City

International Biennial of Street Arts

During the Drapeau years, an important event pertaining to the arts in the city was publicized, though it ultimately failed to materialize. It was the fourth edition of the international biennial of Street Arts and was to be held in Montréal in 1985 (June-September), the first time ever outside of France. The French event itself was quite recent, the first one dating back

to 1978. Phyllis Lambert was appointed associate commissioner-general. At the time of the announcement, made jointly by Mayor Drapeau and Minister of Cultural Affairs Clément Richard, few details were available. Organizers expected exhibitions, neighbourhood festivals and cultural events, with both a local and an international dimension, with works of art from foreign cities. The festival had a $5 million budget (of which $1.1 million was awarded by the Québec Government) and was expected to be jointly funded by the private and public sectors. Organizers had to reassure the media (and the public) that it would not be a repetition of the Corridart formula. Phyllis Lambert's presence lent credibility to the Drapeau-sponsored event. The City had given guarantees that it would not interfere in aesthetic matters. From the start, it was clear that the event aimed at attracting visitors, and it was presented as a means to rediscover Montréal. The president of the Academy of Street Arts, André Parinaud, said: "Ce seront les Olympiades de la fête de la ville."[76] Parinaud also expected that the elements created for the Biennial would stay in the city and contribute to the artistic enrichment of its environment. In the end, however, the event was cancelled due to deadline problems as well as inconsistencies regarding its purpose and its organization. Lambert resigned, as she wanted the biennial to allow a "substantive reflection on urban issues,"[77] and to involve not only artists, but also ordinary Montrealers. She objected to the decisions authorities imposed on the event, as she felt that it would resemble a festival. No further texts pertaining to the International Biennial of Street Arts of 1985 have been found and it would appear that Lambert's departure was fatal to its organization.[78]

Aurora Borealis and Les Cent jours d'art contemporain

Ten years after Québec 75, the first edition of a major artistic event took place in Montréal: Les Cent jours d'art contemporain - Montréal and the exhibition Aurora Borealis, organized by The Montréal International Centre of Contemporary Art (CIAC). The exhibition was presented at Place du Parc that first year and for several years to come. The donation of the space by La Société immobilière Place du Parc made possible Aurora Borealis.[79]

For Aurora Borealis, Claude Gosselin, director of the CIAC, along with the two curators René Blouin and Normand Thériault, selected the thirty artists, who in turn decided which work to present, all installations. Among them were Jocelyne Alloucherie, Geneviève Cadieux, Ian Carr-Harris, Melvin Charney, Andrew Dutkewych, Betty Goodwin, Pierre Granche, Vera Frenkel, General Idea, John McEwen, Claude Mongrain, Rober Racine, Henry Saxe, Michael Snow, Jeff Wall, Irene F. Whittome, Krzysztof Wodiczko.[80]

The organizers wanted to make up for the lack of an important art exhibition in the last five years. In addition, the curators wanted to testify of the unprecedented diversity of the artistic tendencies characteristic of the 1980s. During the five past years (1980-85), art had taken a critical stance at the environment. In Aurora Borealis this was particularly evidenced by the works of artists such as Melvin Charney, Pierre Granche and Krzysztof Wodiczko, who worked with architecture to do so (i.e., critique of the environment). For curator René Blouin, Melvin Charney was questioning architecture as a social and cultural praxis, while Krzysztof Wodiczko was treating architecture as a manifestation of power. Wodiczko's installation consisted of images projected on public edifices, as to unravel the mechanisms of power and the ideology hidden behind

the walls. For Aurora Borealis, on 3 August 1985, Wodiczko did a projection on Place Ville-Marie. In the curators' view, Charney, Granche, and Wodiczko had put the formal analysis of the monument at the centre of their work.[81]

Almost yearly editions of Les cent jours d'art contemporain followed until 1996. Several local artists (Geneviève Cadieux, Michel Goulet, Barbara Steinman) stated that the event had largely contributed to giving them an international reputation. For instance, Michel Goulet took part in the 1987 edition of Les cent jours d'art contemporain, entitled Stations. Goulet admitted that his presence at the event launched his international career (see chapter about Goulet). In addition, Les cent jours addressed sensitive artistic issues. In 1990, Savoir-vivre, savoir-faire, savoir-être, had ecology as its theme. The controversy stirred by Michel Goulet's sculpture for Place Roy (see below) led Claude Gosselin to opt for the theme of art and public space for the 1991 edition of Les cent jours d'art contemporain de Montréal.[82] Some fragments of that vintage are still visible in Montréal as of now: JES[83] which was both a sculpture located in the Laval park (see figure 21), and a thematic exhibition that grouped the works of Ludger Gerdes, Dan Graham, and Jeff Wall; Gilbert Boyer's La montagne des jours, created for the occasion (see figure 22). The viewer, flâneur, or treasure hunter, equipped with a map provided by the CIAC, had to find each of the five granite disks scattered on the grounds of Mount Royal in order to appreciate the whole of the work. On each stela are excerpts of conversations overheard from people who had visited those sites, putting private conversations into the public domain. The disks mark the site and some of them point in the direction of a place ("un site") to observe, a landscape to look at. The piece was initially installed on the mountain for two years. Later on, the CIAC concluded an agreement with the City of Montréal's CIDEC in charge of the public art

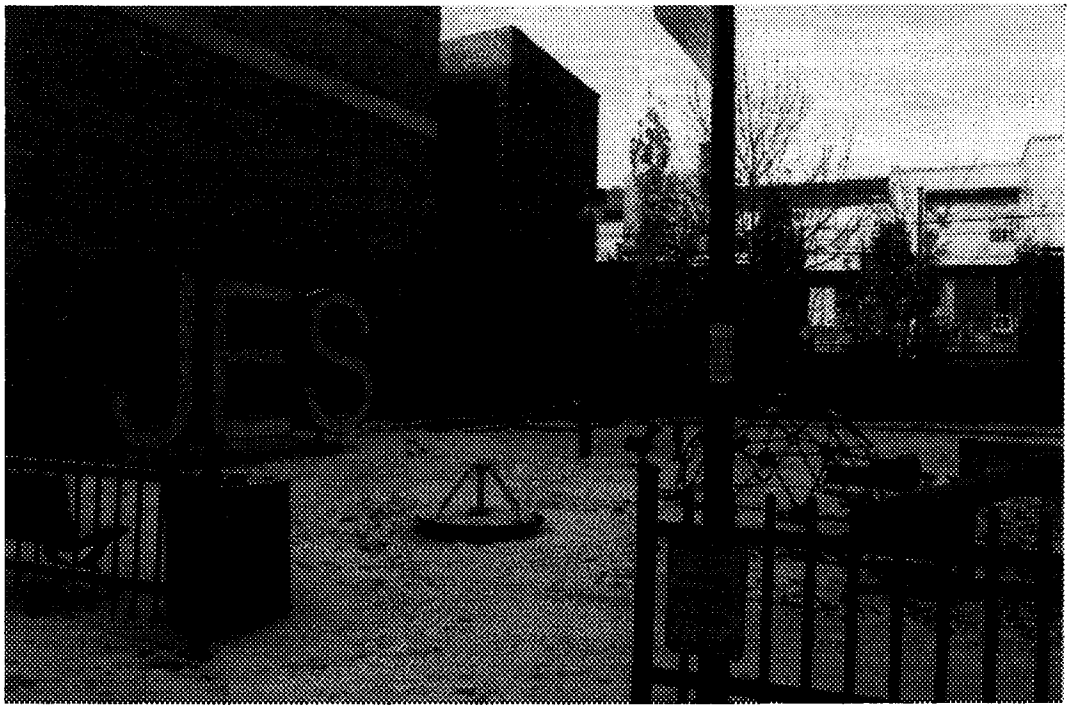


Figure 21. JES by Ludger Gerdes, installed in a playground for Les cent jours d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1991. Photograph by the author.

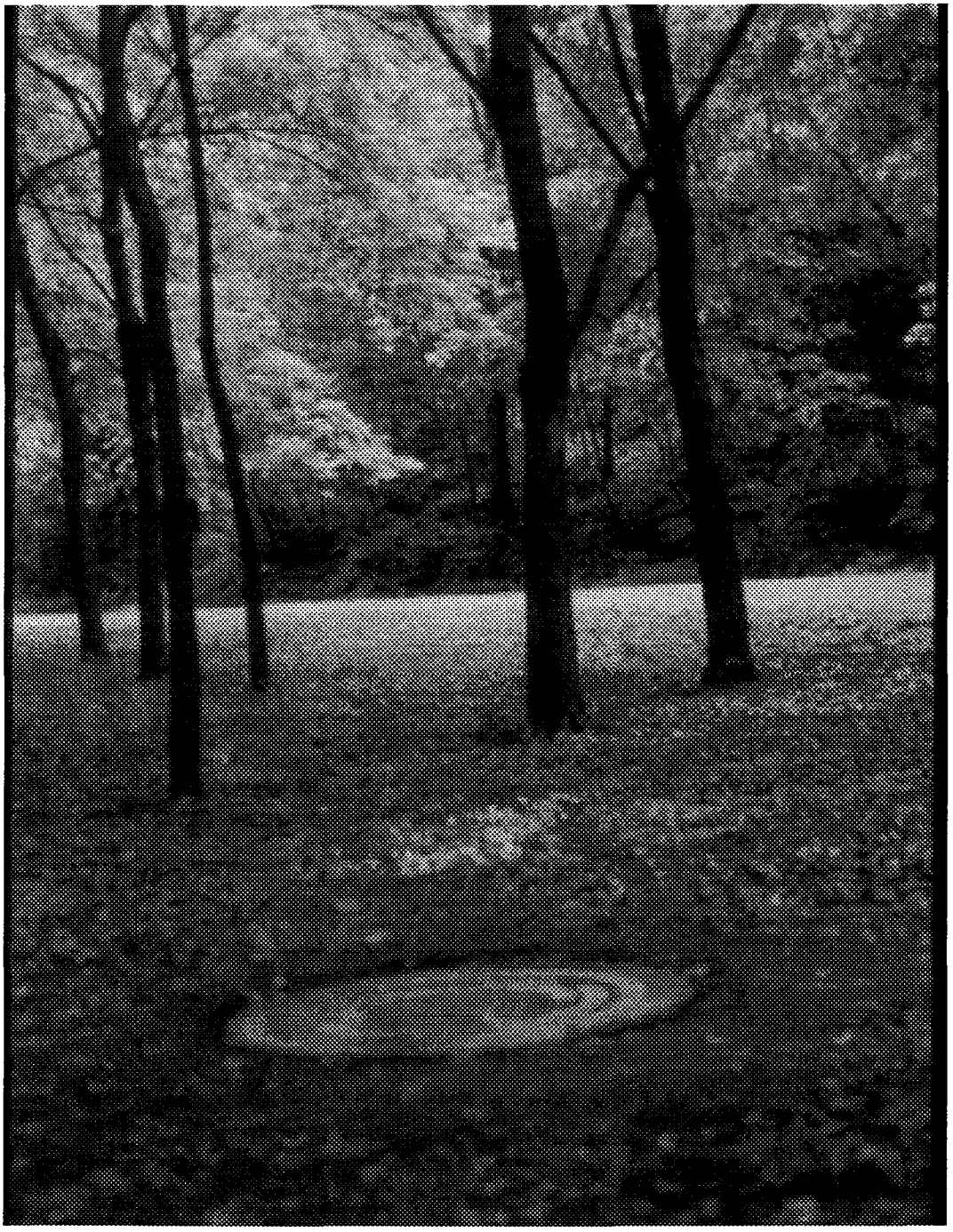


Figure 22. One of the five granite disks scattered on the grounds of Mount Royal, part of La montagne des jours, 1991, by Gilbert Boyer. Photograph by the author, 1991.

programme, and Boyer's La montagne des jours is now included in the City's repertory. Some years earlier, in 1988, Boyer had completed what he terms a commemorative installation, Comme un poisson dans la ville, where memorial is no longer exclusively linked with History. The work consisted of a dozen marble plaques on which he had inscribed messages that express a personal view. The plaques were fixed to the outside wall of several buildings, spread throughout the city, mainly in the neighbourhood of the Plateau Mont-Royal. A leaflet was enclosed in the programme of the 1991 edition of Les cent jours, which explained the origin of the work, and also provided a map to invite the public to go all over the city.[84]

Symposia

The Montréal suburb of Lachine hosted three sculpture symposia in 1985, 1986 and 1988, the first stages of its open air museum, one of the largest sculpture parks in Canada. However, symposia have not always lead to well-organized and well-funded works of art nor to art becoming well integrated into public places. Over the years--and this is not peculiar to Québec--some questioned the resulting repository of independent sculptures not integrated to a site. With the emergence of environmental and ecological concerns, a marginal answer to the problematic situation has been to create works from the ground, i.e., from the earth. Some artists conducted such experiments elsewhere. Francine Larivée followed a similar approach at the 1995 Symposium in Longueuil.[85]

Arts in the City

Arts in the City was first created on September 27-29, 1987, as a permanent inter-municipal network devoted to promote arts and culture. More than twenty Canadian municipalities embarked on this project initiated by Montréal's École des Hautes Études Commerciales (HEC), and jointly presided over by Phyllis Lambert and Joan Chalmers from Toronto. This non-profit corporation aimed to "develop financial support for the arts across Canada."[86] This project also confirmed the strategic importance of the artistic and cultural sectors in the evolution of the country. It could work as a locomotive for the economic, touristic and artistic sectors, which would essentially benefit the cities. One of the objectives of the organization was to build permanent structures allowing a constant information exchange between Canadian cities. For this purpose, a database, dealing with all aspects of artistic activities emanating from the cities/members, was to be implemented. In the province of Québec, seven cities took part, including Montréal. This occurred during the first year of the Doré administration, for which cultural development was important, as artistic and cultural life were a condition sine qua non of the quality of life in the city.[87]

Developments in Public Art (Allied Arts) Programmes

As mentioned previously, there were several amendments to the original provincial statutory order during the 1970s. Some measures introduced in the early 1970s lasted through the decade (in fact up until the passing of the 1981 decree). The mandatory aspect of the percentage programme was re-established in 1973 and has been maintained ever

since. This obligation was stressed by the upholding of the permanent consultative committee, introduced in the 1972 statutory order. Also in 1973, the required percentage dropped from one-and-a-half percent to one percent, while the $50,000 ceiling was removed. In short, from 1973 until the adoption of the 1981 decree, one percent of the estimated construction cost of any new public building was allotted for the creation of works of art by Québec artists. There was no maximum amount for the works of art and a committee looked after the enforcement of the statutory order.[88]

Furthermore, three definitions were introduced for the first time in 1973. "Public buildings" were those belonging to the Government as well as those governmental edifices accessible to the public. The types of works of art clarified the notion of "inside or outside embellishment" that was expected: paintings, drawings, sculptures, low reliefs, murals, ornaments or other works of art incorporated or not to the building, whose aim was to make the premises more pleasant. Lastly, Québec artists had to have their Canadian citizenship and be domiciled in the province. Those same definitions remained unchanged in the 1979 revision.[89] The number of projects increased notably in the remaining decade. In fact, it seems that only fifteen projects were completed in the 1961-76 period, according to the Minister of Public Works, Jocelyne Ouellette. Independent research referred to by Louise Déry affirms that only forty projects were created during the 1961-79 period. If both sources are correct, this would indicate that most of the projects were created after 1976, which is what former Minister Ouellette contended.[90]

In general, the art integrated to architecture created during those years in the context of the provincial programme was in line with what had been done previously. Art created for the extension of the subway still included several murals (table 2), even though sculptural work could also

be seen. Exceptionally, the architects of a 1978 metro station (Angrignon) considered the natural setting of the surrounding park to be the work of art. Therefore they installed large window panes, so that the users could see the park from the mezzanine and even from the platforms.[91] Also, the development of another paradigm occurred: in the city, sculptures were being placed on open spaces leading to buildings. Some of these sculptures had been created for Expo 67 (Daudelin's) but not all of them (Daudelin's Allégrocube, 1973; Trudeau's Hommage à Alphonse Desjardins, 1975). Charles Daudelin is one of the sculptors who received several commissions for sculptural work in those days, though not all in Montréal. Among the art projects initiated after the 1973 revisions were those for the re-design of Viger Square. As the case study will reveal, in the Fall of 1974, Bernard Lamarre widened the definition "construction of public building" to apply it to the Trans-Canada Highway. Furthermore, he estimated the budget available for the works of art at $200,000. Such were the prevailing conditions at the start of the project (i.e., a loose definition of public building and no ceiling for the cost of the work of art).

Meanwhile in 1976, the Federal Government temporarily halted its similar programme, due to controversy. The programme was reinstated for a short while in 1977, and once again "temporarily" halted in the Fall of 1978. In fact, there was no follow-up with the Federal programme after that.[92]

The 1981 Public Art Decree

Twenty years after the first statutory order, the Québec Government adopted a decree (no. 505-81) that re-defined the content and the application framework of the Politique d'intégration des arts à l'architecture

et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec. The new law was rooted in the former statutory orders but was much more refined as the result of reflections by an expert committee, which by 1979 was already working on it. Thereafter, the policy required each ministry or building entity set up a permanent committee responsible for its implementation.[93] Whereas under the former statutory orders, the art projects were managed by the Ministry of Public Works (Ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement), the decree became the responsibility of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs (Ministère des Affaires culturelles).[94]

Furthermore, beginning in 1981, the idea of embellishment, which had a connotation of decoration, disappeared. It was replaced by the notion of integration of a work of art to architecture and the environment. If architecture or environment as such were not defined, "edifice" was. It not only included the building, but the site as well, as long as it belonged to the Government (or was leased by the Government with the option to buy) and was open to the public. The "site" as such was also defined to include a park, nature interpretation centre, rest area in an urban milieu, and any location where exterior works could be laid out or where landscaping the area was possible. This combination of site definition and opening up to the environment leads one to think that this 1981 novelty was taking into account similar developments in the contemporary art world. Or perhaps it was merely a continuation of experiences held on the Québec scene, such as the inclusion of works of art in the construction of expressways. Such was partly the case: the definition of edifice, though including the site, explicitly excluded roads, bridges and viaducts.

The definition of a construction project was more specific and expressly included not only new construction but the upgrading, extension, restoration, or recycling of an existing building. The estimated

construction cost was lowered to $150,000 (from $250,000), but the maximum value of $50,000 for the work of art was re-instated. Finally, the percentage was modified once again and became variable, ranging between 0.5% to 1.5%. Therefore, the new policy was to be applied more widely but yielded projects of a lesser monetary value. These definitions remained unaltered by the 1983 and 1985 revisions to the policy.[95]

In addition, the definition of "work of art" ("oeuvre d'art") was extended to include any artistic production linked to architecture or the landscape

> telle que l'implantation d'une murale ou d'une sculpture au niveau des lieux communs ou de circulation publique d'un édifice, le traitement particulier de revêtements architecturaux intérieurs ou extérieurs soit par la couleur, la lumière ou par effet de texture et l'animation visuelle d'aires extérieures.[96]

The definition is broader as it is not limited to commonly known art forms, as was the case previously. In reality, the application of the policy breaks down the works of art into groups, very similar to previous, well-established ones. These groups of disciplines have been identified or described differently over the years. For instance, from 1982 to 1984, the annual reports classified the works of art into four groups, subdivided according to the material or technique used:

- sculpture: metal; wood; stone, concrete, cement; clay, pottery; environment; fountain, basin; mix media.
- painting and colour: mural, pictorial surface; graphics, ambience colour; glass, stained glass; etching;
- textile art: tapestry; three-dimensional work; batik;
- others: photography.[97]

If in the 1984-85 annual report the same main categories were listed, but without their subdivisions, the reports that followed (1985-86 to 1991-92)

did not give definitions of the types of works of art, even though each project was briefly described in the report.[98] In her thesis (1991), Déry gives a classification of the works as then used by the Ministry, which is very similar to the four categories above (the "others" group is gone, and photography enters the painting-colour group) (see table 3).

Statistics regarding the types of works created were detailed in the annual reports that followed. The works were not categorized according to the three groups but the listing indicates that once more, the same types of works were created. It is obvious that the works are created in response to a building (mural, ceiling, pavement).[99] Finally, even today, the artist is asked to indicate on the registration form under what group(s) he wants to register, those groups being: sculpture (autonomous; installation; mural), painting and engraving (mural; relief), photography and holography, glass and stained glass, and fibre and textile.[100]

Table 3.--Provincial classification of works of art integrated to architecture

sculpture	painting-colour	textile art
autonomous	mural painting	tapestry
suspended	fresco	aluchromy
three-dimension	mosaic	surface
environmental	photograph	treatment
mural	engraving (etching)	
kinetic	stained glass	
land art		
other [101]		

Thereafter, the artists were chosen by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs who delegated the task to a selection jury. The ministry or builder

of the premises was responsible for the selection of the work of art. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs was mandated to design general rules that were to complement the policy. One month after the decree was voted as part of the law on the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the by-law that governed the new policy for the integration of art to architecture and the environment was in force.[102] The case study of the CCA Garden illustrates the rules in force by then, and analyses how closely they were followed. It also demonstrates the constraints imposed on the artist and what was, ultimately, the artist's freedom to create.

According to Déry, who worked for the programme (incidentally, for the CCA Garden) and studied it, it was undoubtedly the Provincial Government which took mostly into consideration the out of doors project, "l'exemple du jardin d'artiste comme option à explorer."[103] Despite truly limited initiatives coming from the artists, she nonetheless observes that "plusieurs artistes ont proposé des dossiers visuels qui montraient des préoccupations pour le paysage et le jardin, au sein de projets et d'installations in situ."[104] Déry identified Rose-Marie Goulet and Melvin Charney as those artists interested in gardens and landscape.

City of Montréal's Plan of Action for Public Art

Montréal had been and continued to be a privileged milieu for the creation of public art, commissioned by various entities, private (including some artists' own initiative) or public. It was not until 1989, however, that the City of Montréal established a plan of action with regard to public art. The plan was created in the context of the celebration, in 1992, of the 350th anniversary of the founding of Montréal. The plan aimed at both preserving and acquiring contemporary works of art as well as promoting

public art found on the City's territory. Public art was defined as the whole of the works of art located in urban spaces, belonging either to private or public entities. They could be located in squares, parks, or on the outskirts of streets, and be either permanent or temporary. They could also be set in commercial and institutional premises, places of transit or of gathering.[105]

The City's effort aimed to affirm an urban culture centred around the quality of life and Montréal's international influence. It coincided with the growing interest in the arts, demonstrated by several agents of economic and touristic development present in the city. Public art was the vehicle that reflected Montréal's cultural dynamism and importance as a major city in North America. Perhaps due to past unfortunate experiences (Roussil in 1949, Gnass at Man and His World, Corridart, and Calder's Man left to rust until 1990, which was, incidentally, part of the first series of restoration stemming from the municipal scheme), the plan expressly stated that it acknowledged the importance of the artist's role in the development of the city. The City also pledged to give the required care to the works of art put under its guard. Its approach was to consider the already-existing works of art as a collection, in need both of proper care and of importance and cohesion. The plan identified some deficiencies in the collection of public art, such as the lack of contemporary works of art or of works created by foreign artists of great repute. In order to be representative of its era, the collection had to have works by major artists acknowledged as such by their peers. This opening up to those artists was seen as a means to help maintain and preserve Montréal's international calling.[106]

In fact, the plan of action did not so much aim at promoting local art or artists' well-being (as did the provincial policy) but rather intended to promote the city via its art, taking advantage of the dynamic presence of

artists within the city's confines and their own willingness to open up to the world. Therefore, the means to achieve these goals were strikingly different from those of the provincial government. They were also adapted to the fact that Montréal did not have as many occasions to build. The City, however, already had several public squares, parks, plazas, road outskirts, et cetera. The anticipated works of art would not integrate to architecture (in the sense of one single building) but to the environment (several buildings, roads, parks, et cetera). They could also contrast with it, rather than integrate. The plan of action was not based on a percentage for the arts programme but rather on public competitions for local and foreign artists. Exceptionally, it could simply invite artists, without competition. Jury members would vary from one competition to another. The City pledged to identify, ahead of time, locations for possible public art projects, either permanent or temporary. The City would assume financing of the related works and of acquiring the art, possibly in partnership with public or private sponsors. Montréal's Commission d'initiative et de développement culturels (CIDEC), created in 1987 to encourage cultural activity in the city, was in charge for the implementation of the plan.[107] The first two artists to be commissioned for public art in the context of the plan of action were local artists Michel Goulet and Melvin Charney. Both had an international reputation, having among others represented Canada at the Venice Biennial. Both had been previously selected to compete for the creation of an environmental sculpture to integrate to the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), an environmental sculpture which ended up being the CCA Garden.

In the Fall of 1989, the City held its first competition for public art in this context. In late November 1989, three artists, Linda Covit, Rose-Marie Goulet and Michel Goulet made the short list and had until March 1990 to work on their proposal. In the end, sculptor Michel Goulet won

over the other two. He was commissioned to create public art in a public place, designed by the municipal services to replace a former parking lot in a residential neighbourhood. Moreover, the City had decided from the start that a "secondary" work, located at the La Fontaine Park entrance facing Roy Street, would echo the main one in Place Roy. It was reported to be the first commission for a work of art since Expo 67. In fact, the City had commissioned at least one other work, inaugurated in 1988, also following a competition, under the Drapeau administration. The previous work, albeit a memorial, had neither the content nor the appearance of a contemporary sculpture. The statue of Marguerite Bourgeois, by sculptor Jules Lasalle, helped to define the Place Marguerite Bourgeois, to the immediate east of the new Court House. As such, it did not meet the City's new criteria as outlined in the plan of action. This could explain why it had been disregarded as a commission from the City.[108]

Michel Goulet's sculpture, Les Leçons Singulières, was displayed in two locations and linked visually: in Place Roy (in Fall 1990), located at the corner of Roy and St. André Streets, and at the Belvédère Léo Ayotte, in La Fontaine Park (completed later, in the Spring of 1991). At Place Roy the sculpture consisted mainly of six full-size chairs. The seats had elements on them alluding to urban life and therefore could not be used. The chairs had various forms, and were placed in no apparent order. The sculptural installation was completed by a low table alluding to a world map and made of massive bronze, with water flowing from its surface. In La Fontaine Park, the ancillary installation to Place Roy also had six chairs on which it was possible to sit, plus a world map. Goulet had a budget of $225,000 for the sculpture made of bronze, brass, and stainless steel, from a total cost of $1.4 million for the entire site. The project stirred incredible controversy (at Place Roy, not at La Fontaine Park), as residents were deprived of much needed parking space in the

neighbourhood, and as the pavement of the square was made from hard material, without a place to sit or relax. That last element, however, resulted from citizens' representatives not wanting to have public benches, in order to discourage gathering. In addition, the sculpture at Place Roy had to be barricaded behind snow fences and concrete blocks during winter. Goulet had to explain himself. On the artist's own admission, the square had to be fine tuned. He made it clear that he did not take part in its design, which, in his view, would have benefited from grass and benches. Eventually, the City had to take action to redesign certain parts of it.[109]

Still in the context of the plan of action for public art, the City held a second public competition for a large-scale public art project not long after the first, i.e., in the Fall 1989. The City overhauled a desolate parking lot (much larger than Place Roy's) in downtown Montréal, based on a design by landscape architects Peter Jacobs and Philippe Poullaouec-Gonidec. It was reported that an early scheme forecasted a skating rink for winter time, where the large granite plaza welcomes the crowd for various shows during the summer. In addition, the construction of a café-terrasse was also contemplated. Those two elements, which were excluded from the final project (most likely for financial reasons) echo elements that were envisioned at one time for Viger Square. The selected artist had to demonstrate a capability to work directly with landscape architects and urban planners. Melvin Charney won the competition over four other finalists (Eva Brandl, Daniel Couvreur, Pierre Granche and Bill Vazan), themselves chosen among close to fifty entries. Charney's design had three tower-like structures that alluded to skyscrapers. Water flowed from the towers down to streams of water, representing city streets and covered by bridges ("ponts-passages"). The project was an expensive one, costing over $4 million for the upgrading of the site and $550,000 for the

environmental sculpture. The square, created in the context of the City's 350th anniversary, was in fact inaugurated in 1992.[110]

The private sponsors of the event wanted to leave a memorial of the festivities and celebrations associated with the 350th anniversary. Under the aegis of the City of Montréal's CIDEC, a restricted competition was held. Four persons, Gilbert Boyer, Louis-Paul Lemieux, Jacques Rousseau and Louise Viger, either artists or architects, were invited not only to create a memorial, but also to renew the genre. Artist Gilbert Boyer won and received the commission. Boyer's Mémoire ardente was created as a site-specific work to integrate to the environment of Place Jacques-Cartier in Old Montréal. The work stirred up a lot of controversy even before its unveiling in 1994, two years after the anniversary date. Basically, the memorial consisted of one pink granite cube of 1.7 m (six feet) to one side, with holes punctured in the lateral faces. The public could peer inside, through these holes and read inscriptions on the internal faces. Messages such as "we have celebrated," "Mile-End," "Champs de Mars," evoke the celebrations in both time and space. Next to the cube was a stainless steel pole on which the name of the private sponsors (Air Canada, IBM, Kraft General Foods and Sun Life) were inscribed. The monument was installed at the southern part of Place Jacques-Cartier, opposite the Nelson Column. Three years later, a new municipal administration decided to move it to a sidewalk on La Commune Street and notified Boyer of the fact. Arguably, the monument did not fit the ongoing plans for the renovation of the public square. Boyer was very unhappy with the move and complained about the fact. It seems however that he had no legal rights to his work, as a clause in the general contract for public art anticipated the possibility of such a relocation.[111]

Conclusion

This chapter presented the evolution of the position of sculpture in the artistic field, as well as the emergence of other artistic manifestations which could have been linked, albeit remotely, to land art and art in/with nature. Furthermore, we presented some of the artists who later played a role in the design of gardens. A survey of artistic manifestations pertaining either to sculpture or other art forms in the city was conducted. It helped us determine if some public policies had favoured the emergence of certain art forms over others.

Expo 67 introduced modern and contemporary art in general, and sculpture in particular, not only to the general public but to Québec artists as well. Sculpture was either presented in a garden-like setting, or was used to mark a public square. Kinetic art and the creation of environments marked the sculptural production of 1967. Local art critics strongly promoted these new art forms which were considered to be more appropriate for an urban and technological culture. Artists promoted an urban culture in the making through their works of art (even non kinetic ones). The integration of art to architecture, even the one created in the context of the provincial programme, promoted these ideas (urban culture, technological progress) as well.

The sculptors who once belonged to the avant-garde were, by 1967, selected by the Establishment for official artistic manifestations. The modernist plaza was seen as particularly well suited for exhibiting contemporary sculpture. There was a major artistic development in the sculptural production for Expo 67, after the modernist skyscrapers were built in Montréal.

After Expo 67, sculptors continued to create and exhibit, taking part in various events out of doors. Major changes occurred in the mid-1970s.

Sculptors and other artists interested in integrating their art to architecture benefited from a legislation that was more structured and more stringent. Almost concomitantly, a new generation of artists emerged. Those new artists proposed new artistic forms and often, the term "sculpture" did not really apply to their creations. Those artists were active in some parallel art galleries and took also part in controversial artistic events. Charles Daudelin and Peter Gnass on the one hand, and Bill Vazan and Melvin Charney on the other, represented two different generations of artists.

If in 1967 artists unanimously favoured a modern artistic creation that would promote new materials and technologies, such was no longer the case by the mid-1970s. Certainly influenced by conceptual artists from the United States and from Europe, some Montréal artists of the new generation were interested in ecological art and with art that dealt with the landscape. That art was specifically targeted as inappropriate for Québec art by Fernande Saint-Martin who deemed it not grounded in Québec's own culture. For his part, mayor Drapeau considered such realizations as non-art.

Québec 75/arts was more than a fad, and Corridart, despite what Mayor Drapeau thought, involved artists truly committed to contemporary art. This art, however, no longer involved exclusively sculptures or paintings as art objects to be collected, as proposed by Fernande Saint-Martin's exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art. With hindsight, we see that the embryo present in Québec 75 and rejected then by Saint-Martin asserted itself forcefully for the Corridart exhibition: the artists' desire to get out of the museum and go into the city, in the urban environment, and also to question the city/nature relationship.[112] Given the obvious bottom position that these artists occupied at the time in the artistic and social fields (Corridart was publicly funded, but was not part of the official programme; it was under funded; the Provincial Government

did not sue the City of Montréal for taking down the exhibition, et cetera), one has to wonder what effect it had on future manifestations of environmental art in the urban landscape, particularly Montréal's.

However, despite a strong rejection of these new artistic manifestations in the city by the Establishment, we observe that increasingly, the authorities sought to use art to attract tourism. Art and culture were considered to be important for the economy of the city. The City of Montréal adopted its action plan for public art in that context, after years of inertia and lack of maintenance of its works of public art. The City favoured the creation of public squares from lost spaces, and used sculpture as a place marker. The provincial programme for the integration of art varied throughout the years. It eventually included the recycling and renovation of buildings and it was more widely applied. The mandatory creation of works of art to integrate to edifices and to the environment coincided with the construction of several projects in Montréal, at least partially financed by the Québec Government. The various categories of works of art and the artistic development on the Montréal scene combined to offer several sculptures out-of-doors, in niches, close to the sidewalk, but rarely on a real plaza.

[1] Yves Jasmin, La petite histoire d'Expo 67 (Montréal: Éditions Québec/Amérique, 1997), 23, 453.
[2] Ibid., 9, 307, 330.
[3] Ibid., 312, 328; Laurent Lamy, "Les expos de l'Expo," Le Devoir, 10 June 1967, p. 13; Guy Robert, "Sculpteurs de Montréal à Terre des Hommes," Le Soleil, 25 May 1968, p. 43; "Art-Exhibitions," Time, 5 May 1967, p. 46.
[4] Anita Aarons, "Sculpture at Expo," artscan, no. 113 (October 1967): 10; Yves Robillard, "Connaissez-vous l'histoire de la sculpture?," La Presse, 20 May 1967, p. 40; "Man and His World A treasure trove of art," Gazette, 26 July 1969, p. 33; Lamy, "Les expos de l'Expo," p. 13; Robert Ayre, "The World's Finest Sculptors At Expo," Montreal Star, 3 June 1967, p. 8 (Entertainments); Jasmin, Expo, 328, 340; Robert, "Sculpteurs de Montréal à Terre des Hommes," p. 43; catalogue International Exhibition of ContemporarySculpture, trans. Charles Pachter (Montréal: Expo 67, 1967); Guy Robert, "Sculpture à gogo," Vie des arts, no. 48 (Fall 1967): 48-51.
[5] Jasmin, Expo, 141, 235. The sculpture was given on 17 May 1967, anniversary date of the City.
[6] Lamy, "Les expos de l'Expo," p. 13; Yves Robillard, "Flâneurs de l'Expo, vous ne verrez pas la sculpture canadienne à son meilleur!," La Presse, 27 May 1967, p. 40; James Johnson Sweeney, "Calder," in Calder the artist, the work (Boston: Maeght Éditeur and Boston Book & Art, 1971), 5.
[7] In 1969, Max Bill's 13.7 metre-high sculpture was given to the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, who, in the meantime, have misplaced it. In Hélène de Billy, "Chefs-d'oeuvre ou fumisterie?," L'Actualité, October 1991, 99; Marianne Brouwer and Rieja Brouns, Sculpture in the rijksmuseum kröller-müller, trans. Ruth Koenig (Amsterdam: Kröller-Müller Stichting, 1992), 262; Jasmin, Expo, 342-43, 365, 372, 376, 387; Lamy, "Les expos de l'Expo," p. 13; Yves Robillard, "L'immensité même des tableaux leur confère un nouveau langage," La Presse, 20 May 1967, p. 26; Ayre, "The World's Finest Sculptors At Expo," p. 8 (Entertainments); Robillard, "Flâneurs," p. 40; Yves Robillard, "Que nous offre l'Europe?," La Presse, 1 July 1967, p. 34. This was a major exhibition though, and as was pointed out later on by Fernande Saint-Martin, many young Québec artists had their only direct contact with the important American paintings (namely, Newman's, Warhol's, Rauschenberg's) during Expo 67, while visiting the United States pavilion. Fernande Saint-Martin, "La situation de l'art et l'identité québécoise," Musée d'art contemporain, 1975, 10 (page number refers to the copy available at the Médiathèque of the MAC); Gérard Durozoi dir., Dictionnaire de l'art moderne et contemporain (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 1992), 233, 347, 386, 498, 639.

[8] "Les sculptures du pavillon de l'Ontario," La Presse, 23 August 1967, p. 66; Robillard, "Flâneurs," p. 40; Jasmin, Expo, 343; Edward Lucie-Smith, Sculpture since 1945 (London: Phaidon Press, 1987).

[9]The piece was described as follows: "L'objet de Fusion est à la fois une sculpture, c'est-à-dire une forme à trois dimensions, et une peinture en mouvement, puisque, faites [sic] de disques en perspex coloré, il est illuminé par différents jeux de lumière, donnant naissance à des reflets lumineux colorés se baladant sur les formes et les murs environnants.

On ne sait plus trop comment appeler cela. On a l'impression de sortes de soucoupes volantes qui vont se heurter, ... On est dans une atmosphère colorée . . . ." Robillard, "Flâneurs," p. 40. Yves Robillard was art critic at La Presse, from 1965 to 1968, and took part in several manifestations with artists. He founded in 1965 the group *Fusion des Arts*, which existed until 1969 as a group of analysis and practical studies. France Morin and Chantal Pontbriand, "Québec 75 une stratégie: une interview de Normand Thériault," Parachute, no. 1 (October-November-December 1975): 7, note 2; Yves Robillard, "La Galerie d'art du pavillon du Canada sert mal les artistes," La Presse, 3 June 1967, p. 39; Lamy, "Les expos de l'Expo," p. 13; Francine Couture, "Art et technologie: repenser l'art et la culture," in Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 191-93. For a photograph of the object see Francine Couture, "Les années soixante: la reconnaissance publique de la modernité artistique," in Les arts visuels, ill. 25.

[10] Philippe Lupien, "Profil Jean Ouellet architecte de l'intérêt public," ARQ, no. 102 (April 1998): 8-11; Robillard, "Flâneurs," p. 40; Jasmin, Expo, 390-91. For a photograph of the work, see Couture, "Les années soixante," ill. 26-28.

[11] Couture, "Art et technologie: repenser l'art et la culture," 191.

[12] Ibid., 191-96; Marie-Sylvie Hébert, "La réception de la peinture formaliste montréalaise (1965-1970): art et identité nationale," in Les arts visuels, 137, 154, 164-66; Couture, "Les années soixante," 18-19; Robillard, "Flâneurs," p. 40; Dorothy Cameron, Sculpture '67 (Toronto: National Gallery of Canada, 1967).

[13] This idea is present in Hébert and Couture. Couture, "Art et technologie: repenser l'art et la culture," 178, 185, 191; Hébert, "Réception," 165-66. Art critic Robillard favoured this new artistic expression, as evoked above. This is discussed in length in Hébert. Canadian sculptors of the time offer a good overview of their thinking in Cameron, Sculpture '67.

[14] Rose-Marie Arbour, "Intégration de l'art à l'architecture," in Les arts visuels, 230.

[15] About art in the subway, see Georges Adamczyk, "La ville et le métro," Vie des arts, no. 68 (Fall 1972): 38-41; Guy Pinard, "Le métro, c'est aussi une immense galerie d'art," La Presse, 8 October 1991, p. A1, A6; Susan Pomerantz, "Sculptures, paintings for Metro 'Commuter art' goes underground," Montreal Star, 22 August 1973, p. D 1; René Viau, "Couleur et lumière: un métro sans graffiti," La Presse, 23 September 1978, p. D 26; René Viau, "Un métro sans graffiti," Vie des arts 23, no. 94 (Spring 1979): 16-21.
[16] Metro de Montréal L'Art dans le métro: Technical data from the Montréal Urban Community Transport Commission (MUCTC).
[17] Date of the concept of the work of art.
[18] 1977-78 in Peter Gnass' résumé.
[19] Date of the concept of the work of art.
[20] Ten years after the initial operation of the station.
[21] Arbour, "Intégration," 230.
[22] Cameron, Preface to Sculpture '67.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid. According to Cameron, Montréal sculptors Ulysse Comptois, François Dallegret and François Soucy could not meet the exhibition deadline, and therefore, their name is omitted from the catalogue. Each of them presented a sculpture, though.
[25] Robert, "Sculpteurs de Montréal à Terre des Hommes," p. 43.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Bill Bantey, Terre des Hommes Man and His World Guide (Montréal: City of Montréal, 1968), 62; Ville de Montréal, "Oeuvres d'art public," May 1994, non published list of public art.
[28] "Man and His World A treasure trove of art," p. 33; Robert Ayre, "Mini-internationals at Man and His World," Montreal Star, 10 August 1968, Final ed., p. 8 (Entertainments); Robert Ayre, "How NOT to treat two art exhibitions," Montreal Star, 26 July 1969, Final ed., p. 9 (Entertainments). Jasmin affirms that Expo 67 continued in the 1968 edition of Man and His World. He does not mention the 1969 edition. Marsan affirms that Man and His World closed definitively in 1981. Jasmin, Expo, 281; Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en évolution, 3rd ed. (Laval, PQ: Éditions du Méridien, 1994), 405.
[29] Dane Lanken, "Drapeau's Montreal: great moments, great monuments," Canadian Geographic 106, no. 4 (August-September 1986): 10-23; Paul-André Linteau et al., Le Québec depuis 1930: Histoire du Québec contemporain, 2d ed. ("nouvelle édition révisée"), vol. 2 (n. p.: Boréal, 1989), 426-29, 712-14; Marsan, Évolution, 364.
[30] Peter Gnass' production of the 1970s, when compared to that of Fusion des arts, leaves no doubt as to the influence the latter had on the former.

[31] American sculptors included Alexander Calder, Mark Di Suvero, Don (Donald) Judd, Robert Morris, Louise Nevelson, Barnett Newman, Isamu Noguchi, Claes Oldenberg, George Rickey, David Smith, George Sugarman. 11e Biënnale Middelheim Antwerpen (Middelheim: 1971). Other catalogues of the Middelheim Biennials were consulted. Refer also to Middelheim Automobiennale 18 Antwerpen 16 juni – 6 oktober '85. Peter Gnass, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 October 1998.

[32] Claude Gosselin, "Québec 75/Arts: les groupes d'artistes," Le Devoir, 21 October 1975, p. 17.

[33] Chantal Pontbriand, "Québec 75 postface de Chantal Pontbriand," Parachute, no. 2 (January-February-March 1976): 32.

[34] Ibid., 32-33.

[35] Ibid.; Normand Thériault, "Québec 75 six mois plus tard," Parachute, no. 3 (April-May-June 1976): 11.

[36] Thériault, "Six mois," 11; Parachute, no. 1 (October-November-December 1975): 3; France Morin, Parachute, no. 2 (January-February-March 1976): 3.

[37] Jean-Claude Leblond, "La contestation est essentielle au pluralisme des formes d'art," Le Jour, 4 October 1975; Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC)'s leaflet for Québec 75/Arts; Morin, "Interview," 4. The funding of the event was widely discussed in the media. For instance, we could read that the National Museums Corporation of Canada financed the major part of the project ($157, 264), "with additional grants coming from the Canada Council, Quebec's Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the City of Montreal and the Quebec Film Board." "Musee [sic] d'art contemporain hosts Quebec 75 exhibition," Montreal Star, 15 October 1975, Final ed., p. F 5. Gilles Toupin wrote that the event was subsidized by a programme of grants from the National Museums of Canada, costing $167, 000. Gilles Toupin, "L'événement de l'année 'Québec 75' est lancée ce soir," La Presse, 16 October 1975, p. B 2. Jean-Claude Leblond questioned the absence of the provincial government in the financing of the event. Jean-Claude Leblond, "'Québec 75': une certaine image," Le Jour, 18 October 1975. David Burnett also addressed the funding (by the National Museums of Canada corporation). David Burnett, "Québec 75/Arts: 1," Artscanada 33, no. 206-207 (July-August 1976): 4.

[38] Melvin Charney's presentation was scheduled on 5 November 1975, 15:00 p. m.; Bill Vazan was one of the two artists who did not present his work. Museum of Contemporary Art's leaflet for Quebec 75/Arts; Burnett, "Québec 75," 4; Morin, "Interview," 6-7.

[39] Art critic Georges Bogardi was on the committee. Morin, "Interview," 4-5; Museum of Contemporary Art's leaflet for Québec 75/Arts; Burnett,

"Québec 75," 4; Jacques Palumbo, "Courrier A propos de Québec 75," La Presse, 25 October 1975, p. D 21.

[40] Jean C. Dumont, "Les beaux arts Québec 75 nous concerne tous puisque les artistes qui sont les témoins de notre époque remettent en question nos valeurs et nos habitudes," Montréal ce mois-ci 13 (October 1975): 22-23; Morin, "Interview," 4-5; Burnett, "Québec 75," 14. Thériault later confirmed that the organizers refused to include those big names, associated with the art establishment, and identified as official art. Thériault, "Six mois," 11; Normand Thériault, France Renaud, and Ronald Richard, "Défense de 'Québec 75'," La Presse, 1 November 1975, p. D 23, D 24. Fernande Saint-Martin reaffirmed in a conference that the intention of the artist should not be questioned, but rather, his works of art. Québec 75 did otherwise. Saint-Martin, "La situation de l'art et l'identité québécoise." See also Leblond, "Contestation"; Leblond, "Image"; Toupin, "L'événement de l'année," p. B 2; "Musee [sic] d'art contemporain Hosts Quebec 75 exhibition," p. F 5; Georges Bogardi, "Quebec 75 A mirror image?," Montreal Star, 25 October 1975, p. D 7; Virginia Nixon, "Quebec '75 Giving spectators a chance to understand," Gazette, 25 October 1975, p. 46.

[41] Nixon, "Giving spectators," p. 46; Bogardi, "Quebec 75 A mirror image?," p. D 7; Claude Gosselin, "Québec 75/Arts fait son entrée au Musée d'art contemporain," Le Devoir, 20 October 1975, p. 11; Angèle Dagenais, "Musée d'art contemporain Pleins feux sur la recherche," Le Devoir, 26 September 1975, p. 19.

[42] Two of the selected artists did not, in the end, take part in the show. Serge Lemoyne's name appeared once in the Montreal Star and he was also named in Parachute. He may have been one of the two artists selected who finally did not make it. Among the eighteen artists, Melvin Charney was the only one with an additional epithet: 'urbanist.' "Musee [sic] d'art contemporain Hosts Quebec 75 exhibition," p. F 5; Morin, "Interview," 5-6; note 4, p. 7; Toupin, "L'événement de l'année," p. B 2; Dagenais, "Pleins feux sur la recherche," p. 19; Burnett, "Québec 75," 4.

[43] Saint-Martin, "La situation de l'art et l'identité québécoise," p. 1-6.

[44] Ibid., 13.

[45] Ibid., 12.

[46] Claude Gossselin, "Québec 75/arts: la politique, connais pas," Le Devoir, 25 October 1975, p. 14; Georges Bogardi, "Three artists on Quebec 75," Montreal Star, 15 November 1975, p. D 4; Claude Mongrain, Roland Poulin, Gilles Mihalcean and Jean-Serge Champagne, signatories of "Mise au point de 4 artistes participants," La Presse, 1 November 1975, p. D 24.

[47] Bogardi, "Quebec 75 A mirror image?," p. D 7; Leblond, "Image"; Morin and Pontbriand, "Interview," 5; Parachute, no. 1, p. 3; Morin, Parachute, no. 2, p. 3; Pontbriand, "Postface," 33; Gosselin, "Québec 75/Arts fait son entrée au Musée d'art contemporain," p. 11; Virginia Nixon, "Quebec 75: The problem was cultural," Gazette, 6 December 1975, p. 48; Gilles Toupin, "Québec 75 reflets et mirages," La Presse, 25 October 1975, p. D 20; Gilles Toupin, "L'art québécois à la croisée des chemins," La Presse, 15 November 1975, p. D 22. Toupin was certainly the most acrimonious of the critics.

[48] Artists who retired were Champagne, Mihalcean, Mongrain, Poulin. Bogardi, "Three artists on Quebec 75," p. D 4; Burnett, "Québec 75," 4-17; Morin, "Interview," p. 6; Morin, Parachute, no. 2, p. 3; Pontbriand, "Postface," p. 32; Bogardi, "Quebec 75 A mirror image?," p. D 7.

[49] Burnett, "Québec 75," 16-17.

[50] Ibid., 8.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., 12-13; Bogardi, "Quebec 75 A mirror image?," p. D 7.

[53] "Musee [sic] d'art contemporain Hosts Quebec 75 exhibition," p. F 5; Gilles Rioux, "Québec 75 . . . malaise salutaire?," Vie des arts 20, no. 81 (Winter 1975-76): 61-63; Gosselin, "La politique," p. 14; Henry Lehmann, "Quebec 75 Echos of the past?," Montreal Star, 25 October 1975, p. D 6.

[54] Burnett, "Québec 75," 14; Gosselin, "La politique," p. 14; Lehmann, "Quebec 75 Echos of the past?," p. D 6; Nixon, "Giving spectators," p. 46; Rioux, "Québec 75 . . . malaise salutaire?," 61-63; "Musee [sic] d'art contemporain Hosts Quebec 75 exhibition," p. F 5.

[55] Burnett, "Québec 75," 17.

[56] Pontbriand, "Postface," 32. In Thériault's analysis, the main opposition came from two conflicting sources, one that claimed the obligation for art to be political; the second, from the debate about historicity/nationalism. Thériault, "Six mois," 12; Claude Gosselin, "Québec 75/arts Qu'est-ce qu'un artiste?," Le Devoir, 22 October 1975, p. 11; Gosselin, "La politique," p. 14. Thériault explained the non-involvement of artists during the 1970 October events by their weak financial situation. Morin, "Interview," 7.

[57] Charney quoted by Jean-Guy Prince, "Québec 75 ou la vaseline d'un art impuissant," Mainmise, no. 53 (December 1975): 40. See also Gosselin, "La politique," p. 14.

[58] Gosselin, "La politique," p. 14.

[59] Vazan quoted in Nixon, "Giving spectators," p. 46.

[60] Mainly by Toupin. Toupin, "Québec 75 reflets et mirages," p. D 20. Nixon, on the other hand, appreciated Charney's presence "as a gesture toward dissolving barriers between the arts." Nixon, "Giving spectators," p. 46. Burnett enthusiastically welcomed the presence of the artist-architect:

"Charney is an artist-architect who, by not differentiating between architectural and art processes, seeks constantly to redefine the traditional categories of both. Above all he is concerned with the human experiences that direct and are directed by changing architectural environments. His intelligence is found in his professional competence, in his historical awareness, in his sensitivity towards the social implications of architectural practice, but particularly in his ability to present these, as an artist, in concepts where his professional expertise allows him to make informed statements on the conditions which determine who builds what and why." Burnett, "Québec 75," 8.

[61] Dale McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," Artscanada 33-2, no. 206-207 (July-August 1976): 36. Different figures in Elizabeth Schmeizer, "Montreal and COJO Art Events," Artmagazine 7, no. 28 (Summer 1976): 30. COJO had a $3 million budget for all forms of art, coming from three levels of government. Of this, $1.5 million was allotted to performing arts, and the same amount to visual arts. COJO stands for Comité Organisateur des Jeux Olympiques.

[62] Schmeizer, "COJO Art," 30.

[63] Fernande Saint-Martin, "Introduction," in Musée d'art contemporain, Trois générations d'art québécois 1940 1950 1960 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1976), 11-22. Among the artists identified by Saint-Martin, Comptois, Cournoyer, Daudelin, Delavalle, Gervais, Heyvaert, Lajeunie, LeRoy, Sullivan, S. Tousignant, Trudeau, Vaillancourt, exhibited either at Expo 67 or at Sculpture '67. Of them, Cozic and S. Tousignant took part in Québec 75. For Saint-Martin's view about the art in Québec then, see Bernard Lévy, "Tendances 76, un débat imaginaire," Vie des arts 21, no. 83 (Summer 1976): 28-30.

[64] Laurent Lamy, Director, visual arts, Arts and Culture programme at COJO, in Trois générations, 7.

[65] Ibid.

[66] McConathy, "Corridart," 36. See also Sarah McFadden, "Art Show Smashed in Montreal," Art in America 64, no. 5 (September-October 1976): 152.

[67] Schmeizer, "COJO Art," 32. McConathy gave a slightly different account: CORRIDART was not intended to be an outdoor museum, nor an art fair. McConathy, "Corridart," 36.

[68] Melvin Charney, Melvin Charney Oeuvres 1970-1979 (Montréal: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Musée d'art contemporain, 1979), 42.

[69] Alleyn, Champagne, Charney, Cozic, Vazan. A group exhibition was held at Vehicule during the summer 1976 with the following artists: Edmund Alleyn, Yvon Cozic, Bill Vazan, Jean-Serge Champagne, Gilles Gheerbrant (curator of art gallery Vehicule's exhibition Directions Montréal

1972-1976), Chris Knudsen, Suzy Lake, Claude Mongrain, Leopold Plotek, Roland Poulin, Irene Whittome. McConathy, "Corridart," Artscanada, 45.

[70] McConathy, "Corridart," 43, 49. The City of Montréal had enlarged a stretch of Sherbrooke Street east, near the new stadium, and for doing so, had cut down mature trees on both sides of the street. The cachet of this stretch of the street was lost forever. Drapeau, it seems, did not only knock down buildings, but trees (and art exhibitions) as well!

[71] McConathy, "Corridart," 43; Tom Dubicanac, "Urban art: The 'Archigrok Environmental Displacement' Series," Leonardo 12, no. 3 (1979): 220-21.

[72] McConathy, "Corridart," 44.

[73]Charney, Oeuvres 1970-1979, 42-44; McConathy, "Corridart," 44-45; Schmeizer, "COJO Art," 30, 32.

[74] Architectural Association School of Architecture, London, 1977. Also in Judi John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments," News Release, Art Gallery of Ontario, 16 February 1978, p. 2 of 2.

[75] McConathy, "Corridart," 36; La Rédaction, "Corridart ou l'atelier dans la rue," Cahiers 10, no. 31 (Fall 1986): 29; Gerry Bergeron, "Paradise Restored," Azure, May 1989, 11; Harvey Shepherd, "Drapeau planning 'street art' for 1985," Gazette, 9 December 1983, Final ed., p. A 3.

[76]Yvon Laprade, "Montréal sera l'hôte de la biennale de la rue en 1985," Le Journal de Montréal, 9 December 1983. See also Angèle Dagenais, "Pas un autre Corridart, mais...Montréal recevra la Biennale des arts de la rue en 1985," Le Devoir, 9 December 1983, p. 3.

[77] Lambert quoted in "Lambert quits city's show of street art," Gazette, 24 May 1984, p. A 3; Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Phyllis Lambert quitte la Biennale internationale des arts de la rue," La Presse, 23 May 1984, p. A 2.

[78] Anne-Marie Alonzo and Françoise Guénette, "La passion selon Phyllis Lambert," La vie en rose, March 1985, 18; Dagenais, "Pas un autre Corridart," p. 3; Shepherd, "Drapeau planning," p. A 3; Laprade, "Montréal sera l'hôte"; E. J. Gordon, "Social Notes" "MSO supporters on tour," Gazette, 29 March 1984, p. E 10. It later appeared that the province would have contributed $1.2 Million and the city $500, 000. See "Lambert quits," p. A 3; Bonhomme, "Lambert quitte," p. A 2; "Editorials," "Clouds on the horizon," Gazette, 28 May 1984, Final ed., p. B 2.

[79]Stéphane Baillargeon, "Des Cent jours à la Biennale de Montréal," Le Devoir, 27 March 1997, p. B 10; Marie-Michèle Cron, "L'art contemporain québécois: Une présence encore timide sur la scène internationale," Le Devoir, 23 May 1992, p. E 1, E 6; Bruno Dostie, "Les 'Cent Jours' retrouvent leurs atouts et Claude Gosselin joue la carte de l'Art dans l'espace public. . .," La Presse, 10 August 1991, p. C 3; Claude Gosselin

et al., Aurora Borealis (Montréal: Centre international d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1985); Jocelyne Lepage, "Fini les Cent Jours, place à une nouvelle biennale!," La Presse, 4 April 1997, p. A 15.
[80] Gosselin et al., Aurora Borealis.
[81] Ibid., 13, 47.
[82] Baillargeon, "Des Cent jours à la Biennale de Montréal," p. B 10; Dostie, "Gosselin joue la carte," p. C 3; Claire Gravel, "1990 ou le défilé des grandes expositions," Le Devoir, 29 December 1990, p. B 10; Jocelyne Lepage, "Les artistes se portent au secours des Cent Jours d'art contemporain," La Presse, 23 March 1990, p. C 7; Lepage, "Fini les Cent Jours," p. A 15.
[83] JES was the adaptation, in French, of the work "ICHS" that Ludger Gerdes created in 1989 at the Haus Esters Museum in Krefeld. "Les cent jours d'art contemporain de Montréal 1991," Centre International d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1991, p. 12
[84]Gilbert Boyer, "La montagne des jours," map, Les cent jours d'art contemporain, Centre international d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1991; "Les cent jours d'art contemporain de Montréal 1991," p. 12; Louis Cummins, Claude Gosselin, and David Hanna, "Gilbert Boyer: La montagne des jours" (Montréal: Centre international d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1992); Dostie, "Gosselin joue la carte," p. C 3; André Ducharme, "Agenda du mois L'art dans la rue," L'Actualité, August 1991, 109; Bruno Dupont, "Trust Gilbert Boyer: An interview with Bruno Dupont," Art & Design Public Art 11, no. 46 (1996): 48-55; Jocelyne Lepage, "Gilbert Boyer L'art du promeneur solitaire, là-haut sur la montagne...," La Presse, 24 August 1991, p. C 11; Francyne Lord, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 March 1994.
[85] Serge Fisette, Symposiums de sculpture au Québec 1964-1997 (n. p.: Centre de Diffusion 3D, 1997), 6, 9-10.
[86] Canadian Museums Association, "Arts in the Cities: a database on municipal policies," Museogramme 3, April 1988.
[87] Marie-Claude Lortie, "Les Arts dans la ville," Le McGill Daily français, 29 September 1987, p. 2; Canadian Museums Association, "Arts in the Cities"; "Projet d'un réseau intermunicipal consacré à la promotion des arts et de la culture," La Tribune (Sherbrooke), 22 September 1987, p. A 10.
[88] Statutory orders nos. 3691 (1970), 1042 (1971), 1543 (1972), 238 (1973), 1099 (1979) and decree 505-81 (1981).
[89] Jean Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent' (Saint-Joseph du Lac, Québec: By the author, 337 rue Brunet, 1993), 115-16; appendix A.2 to A.7, 121-34.

[90]The author had access only to the annual reports from 1979 onwards. Déry refers to France Gascon, "Pratiques de commande publique et développement de l'art public: une évaluation de la politique du 1% et de son application" (Montréal: École des Hautes Études Commerciales, 1986), 16, in Louise Déry, "Art public et intégration des arts à l'architecture au Québec: Contextes et créations" (Ph. D. diss., Université Laval, 1991), 96, 100. Mme Jocelyne Ouellette, then Minister of the Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement, quoted in Gilles Toupin, "Mme Jocelyne Ouellette et le 1%: Pas seulement du ciment et du béton," La Presse, 24 January 1981, p. C 1, referred to by Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', 13, note 14.

[91] Metro de Montréal L'Art dans le métro, fiche technique p. 118, 83/07/22. At the remark item we can read: "La nature du parc vue à travers les baies vitrées au niveau des quais et de la mezzanine constitue l'oeuvre d'art de cette station."

[92] Déry, "Art public," 89-90. Claude Théberge's piece for Revenu Canada Centre in Shawinigan was one of the last works to be commissioned. René Lord, "Trois grandes oeuvres au Centre de données fiscales," Le Nouvelliste (Trois-Rivières), 24 February 1979.

[93] Arrêté en conseil Chambre du conseil exécutif, numéro 1099-79, 25 April 1979. Décret 505-81, Loi sur le ministère des Affaires Culturelles, (L.R.Q., c. M-20) "Politique d'intégration des arts aux édifices gouvernementaux",18 February 1981, Gazette officielle du Québec, p. 1233-34. Décret 955-96, "Politique d'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des bâtiments et des sites gouvernementaux et publics," 7 August 1996, Gazette officielle du Québec, p. 5177. Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', 18, 20, 133-34, 136-37; Déry, "Art public," 101.

[94] Decree 505-81 in Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', appendix B.1, 135-40; 22-23; Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Communications, Direction générale des publications gouvernementales, Les oeuvres d'art du ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement ou la politique du un pour cent (n. p.: Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1981); Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement," incl. Bilan 1990-1991 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991), 10-11.

[95] Decree 505-81, p. 1234; Brien, L'architecte et la loi du 'un pour cent', 116.

[96] Decree 505-81, p.1234.

[97] "Bilan des opérations 1982-1983 du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du

programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, June 1983), 25 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1983-1984 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts et du cadre de vie, May 1984), 32 pages.

[98] "Bilan des opérations 1984-1985 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, September 1985), 11; "Bilan des opérations Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec 1985-1986" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, June 1986), 53 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1986-1987" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes, July 1987), 46 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1987-1988" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes Secrétariat à l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, August 1988), 29 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1988-1989" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1989), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan des opérations 1989-1990" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1990), 41 pages; Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement," incl. Bilan 1990-1991, 83 pages; Affaires culturelles, "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1991-1992" (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1992), 55 pages.

[99] Those works were: painting, drawing, mural etching, mural painting; photographic mural; ceramics mural; sculpture mural, low relief; sculpture; photographic sculpture; suspended sculpture; installation; environmental work; glass, stained glass; paving; ceiling; tapestry; artist's book. The environmental works were listed in 1995-96 and 1996-97 only, which is outside our period of study. "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1992-1993" (n. p: Ministère de la Culture, Direction de l'aide aux artistes, aux arts visuels et aux métiers d'art, 1993), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1993-1994" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1994), 32 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan

1994-1995" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1995), 43 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1995-1996" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1996), 44 pages; "Bilan 1996-1997 L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1998), n. p.

[100] Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, "Le 1%" Formulaire d'inscription Politique d'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement, p. 1 of 3; 1997 form.

[101] Déry, "Art public," 109.

[102] In force on 11 March 1981. "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture. Guide d'application du règlement" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1989), 5; 505-81 art. 6, p. 1234.

[103] Louise Déry, "Jardins d'artistes," Continuité, Hors série no. 1 (Fall 1990): 41.

[104] Ibid.

[105] "L'art public à Montréal: Plan d'action de la ville de Montréal" (Montréal: Ville de Montréal, CIDEC, 1989), 3-4, 9.

[106] Ibid., 5, 7. Michel Martin and Gaston Saint-Pierre, La sculpture au Québec 1946-1961: Naissance et persistance (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1992), 124; Mariane Favreau, "Montréal va restaurer monuments et oeuvres d'art," La Presse, 22 November 1989, p. A 6; Marie Laurier, "Montréal veut faire et refaire sa beauté," Le Devoir, 22 November 1989, p. 9.

[107] "L'art public à Montréal: Plan d'action"; Jean Chartier, "L'art public, au-delà du 1%," Le Devoir, 4 January 1992, p. B 2.

[108] Favreau, "Montréal va restaurer monuments et oeuvres d'art," p. A 6; Mariane Favreau, "Une oeuvre d'art qui fera parler d'elle," La Presse, 13 May 1990, p. B 5; "L'art public à Montréal: Plan d'action"; Laurier, "Montréal veut faire," p. 9; Isabelle Paré, "La place Roy aménagée à l'automne," Le Devoir, 9 May 1990, p. 3.

[109] "Une sculpture en deux parties de Michel Goulet pour la Place Roy et le Parc La Fontaine," La Presse, 10 April 1990, p. E 8; "Les 'leçons particulières' de la place Roy," La Presse, 1 October 1990, p. A 5; Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "La place Roy a été un 'jardin d'hiver' insultant," La Presse, 31 March 1991, p. A 13; Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "La place Roy sera réaménagée mais on ne sait trop encore comment," La Presse, 12 July 1991, p. A 6; Favreau, "Une oeuvre d'art qui fera parler d'elle," p. B 5; Lewis Harris, "City orders $225,000 art work," Gazette, 9 May 1990, p. A 3; Odile Hénault, "L'aménagement urbain et ses confusions," Le Devoir, 21 November 1990, p. B 5; Mike King, "Art doesn't sit well," Gazette, 2 April 1991, p. A 3; Jocelyne Lepage, "Le sculpteur Michel Goulet:

l'homme des chaises," La Presse, 22 December 1990, p. D 10; Jocelyne Lepage, "La Place Roy Une belle leçon de Michel Goulet," La Presse, 6 October 1990, p. D 10-D 11; Jocelyne Lepage, "Les chaises de Michel Goulet mieux accueillies au Parc Lafontaine que Place Roy," La Presse, 30 May 1991, p. E 1; "Cinq finalistes au concours du Square Berri," Le Devoir, 29 March 1990, p. 20; Paré, "La place Roy aménagée à l'automne," p. 3; "Face à face Michel Goulet sur la place publique," L'Actualité, January 1991, 8; Ville de Montréal, "Oeuvres d'art public," May 1994, non published list of public art.

[110]The project was estimated to cost over $4 million. However, once completed, it was reported to have cost $6 million. Derek Drummond, "Anniversary Gift," Landscape Architecture 82, no. 12 (December 1992): 69; "Cinq finalistes," p. 20; Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Les tours brisées de Melvil [sic] Charney: une nouvelle ère des squares?," La Presse, 15 November 1991, p. A 17; Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Le Quartier latin s'enrichit de deux nouvelles places publiques," La Presse, 6 May 1992, p. A 3; Ann Duncan, "Charney will turn parking lot into art," Gazette, 20 October 1990, p. K 4; Ann Duncan, "Art on the square," Gazette, 17 February 1992, p. A 5; Favreau, "Montréal va restaurer monuments et oeuvres d'art," p. A 6; Isabelle Paré, "Cinq artistes sont retenus pour réaliser le monument du square Berri," Le Devoir, 29 March 1990, p. 2; Chartier, "L'art public, au-delà du 1%," p. B 2; Serge Fisette, "Melvin Charney La sculpture et l'écho," Espace 7, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 25-27; Gilles Gauthier, "Square Berri: un million de plus," La Presse, 13 June 1991, p. A 8; Isabelle Paré, "Montréal organise un vaste forum sur l'aménagement du centre-ville," Le Devoir, 29 March 1990, p. 10.

[111] "Mémoire ardente," La Presse, 18 May 1994, p. A 1; "Le cube de Boyer," Le Devoir, 18 May 1994, p. A 1; Ann Duncan, "Usual standards go out window when judging contemporary art," Gazette, 23 April 1994, p. J 5; Ann Duncan, "New cube on the block: Pink granite monument marks 350th anniversary," Gazette, 18 May 1994, p. A 3; Ann Duncan, "Maybe the cube is not so bad after all," Gazette, 21 May 1994, p. I 5; Jonathan Goodman, "Wanted in New York While controversy swirls around Boyer's cube, Americans plan to use his work in a major project," Gazette, 23 April 1994, p. J 5; Dorota Kozinska, "Cube is moving, much to artist's ire," Gazette, 9 August 1997, p. L 2; Lord, interview by author; Paul Waters, "Travellers know that blob art is important," Gazette, 23 April 1994, p. I 1, I 2.

[112] "Le projet regroupait plus d'une vingtaine de projets à caractère environnemental qui, sans prétendre à une qualité ou un intérêt égal, manifestaient néanmoins un point de vue essentiel de l'art actuel en milieu urbain." La Rédaction, "Corridart ou l'atelier dans la rue," 29.

CHAPTER 6

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN SCENES: THE CONVERSION ERA

Introduction

Expo 67 and all the infrastructures built in that context had made Montréal a prestigious city of international stature. Mayor Drapeau was instrumental to those achievements and he forged ahead. Therefore at the end of the 1960s, when major league baseball expanded outside the United States, Montréal was the first city to be selected. However, after Expo 67 and late into the 1980s, Montréal experienced a drastic drop in construction, which has often been attributed to its economic stagnation and political uncertainty.[1] In addition to these factors, a change of attitude from the public forced governments and private developers to modify their modus operandi, and therefore, their conceptual approach to urban development and its architectural expression. As a result, in a period of almost twenty years, no new high towers modified the skyline of Montréal's central area. Eventually, the construction of those giant towers resumed, and with them sculptures were often displayed on a plaza or a parvis. What happened? In order to understand and present a tentative explanation of the phenomenon, a brief presentation of the City's evolution during those days is required. In fact, it appears that elements identified with a post-modern North American city were being put into place. Those

included the ejection of the working-class from their neighbourhoods, the increased influence of preservationist forces, the commercialization of "loft-living" and an increased reliance on the culture industry as Montréal's new centripetal force. This account will also serve as the immediate background to the two case studies presented in the following chapters.

The Eviction of Working-Class People From the Central Area

In the period anterior to Expo 67, several demolitions had taken place either for the construction of office towers, high-rise apartment buildings, public housing or infrastructure such as road enlargement, two-level interchanges, highways or the subway.[2] The new buildings and roads modified the configurations of the streets and public squares, the scale of the buildings, and the hierarchy of functions in the city. In several instances, demolitions were not immediately followed by construction, and empty lots were transformed into parking lots, as was the case in several other North American cities. In their 1967 study of Montréal, Pelletier and Beauregard observe that the most characteristic aspect of the new functions was their incomplete character. Several demolished buildings had been "temporarily" replaced by parking places, particularly on President Kennedy and Vitré Streets, and also in the commercial zone between Craig Street and Dorchester Boulevard (see figures 2 and 23). Many were of the opinion that despite the unaesthetic overall result, slums had to be wiped out, as they were a dishonour to the city centre. In addition, major construction in the central area lead to speculation. Consequently, some neighbourhoods became derelict, waiting simply to be demolished.[3]

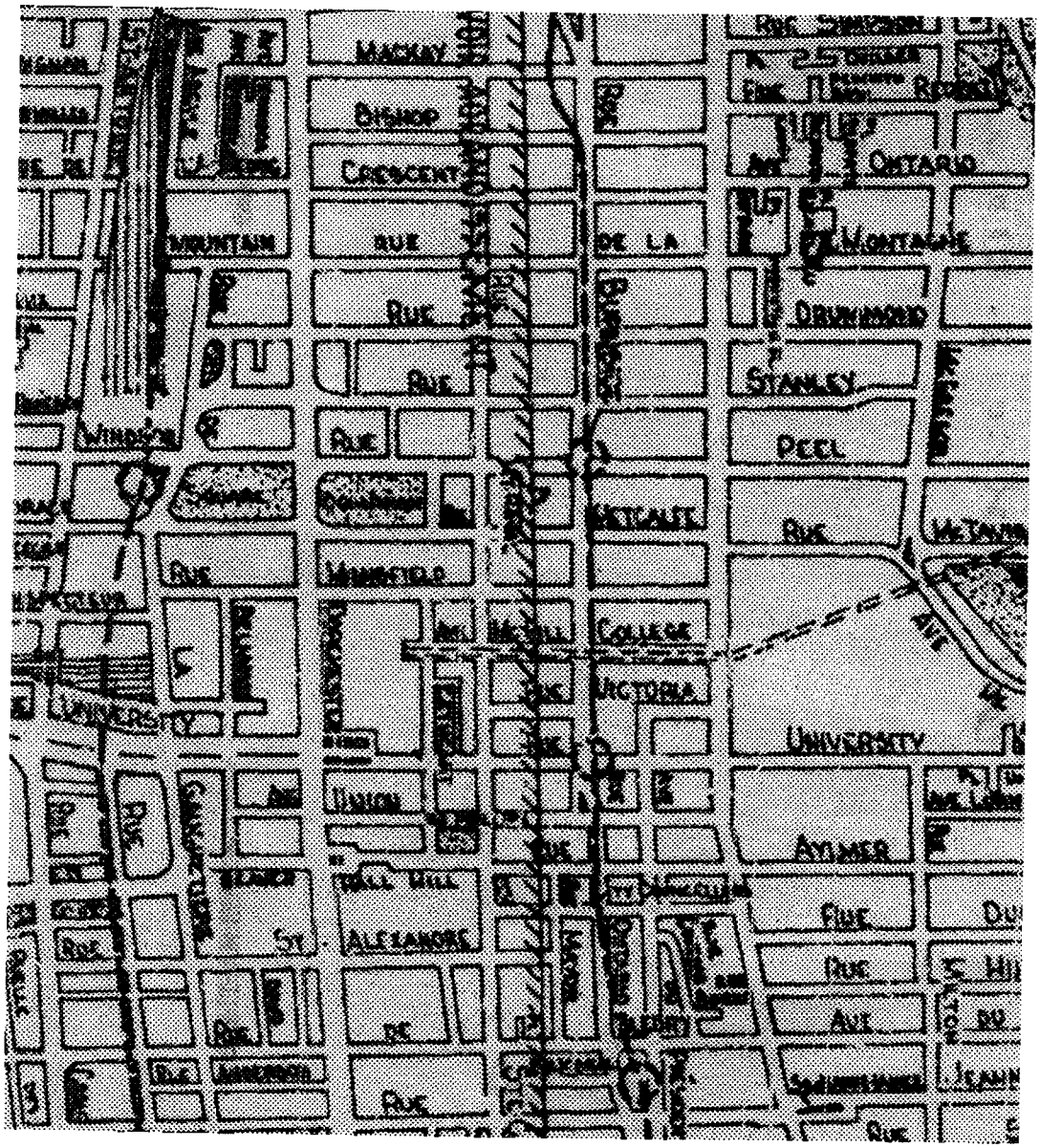


Figure 23. Map of the city centre, 1966. City of Montréal, Public Works Department, 21 June 1966. Collection 30, series 2, roll 2, no. 370, F-1/2.

Projects planned for the central area and its immediate periphery and which aimed either at offering better housing conditions to low income people, or at demolishing single residences or entire sound residential neighbourhoods to accommodate other functions, triggered waves of protest from the population. Favourable reactions to these demonstrations and pressure tactics did not happen overnight. In the end however protests impacted tremendously on the very future of the downtown area.

If the public housing project Habitations Jeanne-Mance stirred controversy at the time (late 1950s) among politicians with regards to the best use to make of the site, the situation had radically changed some ten years later. Another project in the blue-collar area designated Petite Bourgogne (Little Burgundy) (area bound by Atwater Avenue to the west, Trans-Canada Highway to the north, Guy Street to the east and the Lachine Canal to the south) had been slated for urban renewal in 1965. Its demolition lasted from 1967 to 1974, destroying 1264 low-cost tenements. The aim was to improve the citizens' physical, social, and economic conditions. As with other urban renewal projects, this one was counter-productive and defeated its own purposes: the population decreased and only the poorest remained. Other residential neighbourhoods were destroyed, partially or entirely, due to government initiatives. As we will see in a coming chapter, several houses were demolished close to Viger Square, in the area required for the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway. In addition, part of Chinatown was wiped out to make room for the federal office buildings, Complexe Guy-Favreau. Finally, from 1966 to 1972, the construction of the Maison de Radio-Canada, another federal project planned in 1957, massively eradicated houses and tenements in a blue-collar neighbourhood.[4]

All those public projects stirred controversy and stimulated the mobilization of the population to stop them. However, residents'

committees and other pressure groups succeeded best in their opposition to one major private project. In the late 1950s and 1960s, Concordia Estates had assembled (in much the same manner as Place Victoria-St. Jacques had done during that era for the Place Victoria project) several buildings located on six city blocks in the Milton-Park neighbourhood (bound by Hutchison Street to the east, St. Famille Street to the west, Pine Avenue to the north and Milton Street to the south; see figure 24). The developer proposed a first project in 1962 that would have created one superblock and required massive expropriation from the City, under the cover of urban renewal. City officials did not embark on the proposed scheme. By 1968, Concordia Estates owned 85 percent of the land of those six blocks. The Cité Concordia project demolished 255 housing units (mainly made up of low-rise residential buildings) and other amenities (twenty neighbourhood businesses), and erected high-rise (and more expensive) apartments on the site, along with an office building, a hotel and businesses. The first phase of the project was completed around May 1979. The expertise developed through the realization of Place Ville-Marie and Place Bonaventure--and having to do with the concept of avant-garde architecture, urban planning as well as construction techniques, project management, project financing, negotiations, and collaboration between the private and public sectors--were applied to Milton-Park. This could happen as some of the participants in the Place Ville-Marie and Place Bonaventure projects were recruited for Milton-Park via the architect of both projects, Ray Affleck, who was also briefly involved in Milton-Park. Concomitantly to the planning of the new project, protests were organized by a citizens' committee. Despite the developer's resources and know-how, the citizens did not, in the end, lose everything. Actually, Affleck resigned when he realized how strong the opposition was. In addition, several of the houses



Figure 24. Map of the Milton-Park neighbourhood, 1966. City of Montréal, Public Works Department, 21 June 1966. Collection 30, series 2, roll 2, no. 370, F-1/2.

slated for demolition for the second phase of the project were saved and incorporated into the biggest-ever housing cooperative in the country. Success was possible because protest forces were coherently mobilized in recently founded groups such as Save Montreal (1973) and Heritage Montréal (1975). In addition a political party, the Montreal Citizens Movement (MCM), was founded in 1974 as an alternative to Mayor Drapeau's Civic Party, in power since 1960. The MCM was opposed to the inconsiderate urban development that was taking place under the reign of the autocrat. One person, Phyllis Lambert, was pivotal in the re-orientation of the project and in mobilizing efficiently against those development forces. Given her influence in the shaping of the city from those years on, as well as her role in the creation of the CCA and the CCA Garden, we will briefly present this personage.[5]

Phyllis Lambert

Born in Montréal in 1927, Phyllis Bronfman (hereafter referred to as Phyllis Lambert) grew up and received her early education in a private school in Westmount. She studied sculpture in her childhood, even showing some of her works at the Academy of Art Exhibitions at the Université de Montréal, and later in her teens, at the Royal Canadian Academy. After graduating from The Study, she spent a year at Cornell University, studying sculpture and history. Then she attended Vassar College (Poughkeepsie, New York), where in 1948 she graduated with a Bachelor's degree in modern history (BA). At Vassar she showed an early interest in architecture via student activities, and also met friends and teachers who were even more determinant in her first direct hands-on

experience with architecture. In 1949, Phyllis Bronfman became Phyllis Lambert and in the early 1950s, left for Paris to become an artist.[6]

Also in the early 1950s, Lambert's father Samuel Bronfman, president of Joseph E. Seagram and Sons, was planning to build the headquarters of the company on Park Avenue in New York City. Lambert was well aware of the difference the chosen architect could make in the end result, provided he was given freedom to act. She lectured her father about the developer's social responsibility when erecting a building. The young woman returned to North America to become involved in the selection of the architect who would plan and design Seagram's building.[7] Armed with architect Philip Johnson's introductions, she interviewed the most prominent modernist architects of the time, as well as architectural historians and critics. She selected Mies van der Rohe, who was hired by Samuel Bronfman in November 1954. Mies van der Rohe worked with Philip Johnson, and from 1954 to 1958, Lambert continued to be actively involved in the project as the director of planning. She represented her father's interests, and as the client, gave van der Rohe total freedom, even if this meant knocking down a few apartment houses and dealing with the 'problems' associated with evicting the tenants in order to undertake demolition. Recounting her experience, she candidly admitted that in the postwar construction boom, "no thought was given to the meaning of a city nor to the men who lived in it."[8] The Seagram Building actually contributed to changing this segment of Park Avenue, from residential to business. While the Seagram Building was under way, Lambert took graduate courses in architectural history at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University: her experience had triggered the will to learn more about architecture. Her early interest in sculpture had shifted to what she then considered a more public form of art, as in those days, monumental sculpture was no longer an appreciated public art form.[9]

Upon the near completion of the Seagram Building, she decided to study architecture, "to understand how to do it; not necessarily to practice it."[10] She first went to Yale, where she was acquainted with Melvin Charney, who was also studying architecture. However, she was apparently quite dissatisfied with the so-called star-system implemented there at the school of architecture. She opted for the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), in Chicago, where she immersed herself in Mies's theory even though he was no longer the head of the school. There, she completed her master's degree in architecture (1960-63). She returned to IIT in the mid-sixties to complete her education in city and regional planning and urban history, thereby acquiring new ideas about planning and heritage. Although Mies van der Rohe died in 1969, Lambert stayed in Chicago until around 1973, when she decided to return to Montréal.[11]

In 1963, she had come to Montréal to work on a very modernist building, the Saidye Bronfman Centre, "a family birthday present to her mother."[12] Followed other projects which did not materialize in a built form: for the Chicago Mobile Theatre (1967), the Communication Arts Centre of Vassar College (1970) and for the expansion of Harvard University's Fogg Museum (1972).[13] Lambert acknowledges that "until the early 1970s, I was involved in the Modern movement. Only then did I become conscious of the quality of older buildings. Before that I wouldn't even look at Victorian buildings. I thought it was slightly immoral."[14] Her change of heart occurred in Montréal, while visiting and taking pictures of downtown buildings. There was a city that could help her find the answer to her question about what constituted a city. Furthermore, she was in a position to appreciate Montréal's difference from other North American cities that had experienced the urban renewal of the 1960s. In the 1960s and early 1970s, complete neighbourhoods still existed in downtown Montréal, as opposed to other North American cities where some

scattered old buildings stood alone next to modern skyscrapers. Lambert explained her change of allegiance as follows: "In the Fifties, . . . the idea of the skyscraper was exciting. It's not anymore. What's exciting *now* is making cities delightful places to live."[15] She explained this shift as "a natural evolution, and certainly not as a denial."[16] According to Lambert, "Mies . . . belonged to a time that believed that the existing city was obsolete and we must build a new kind of city; . . . But Mies was always respectful about how . . . a building . . . related to the buildings around it."[17] Lambert's view on architecture also evolved: "I used to think you could separate social issues from architectural issues, but I don't think that way now. Cities are not abstractions."[18] Since then, she came to consider that the greatest problem was the "uprooting and demolition of long-standing urban communities by new real estate developments that have been improperly planned."[19] Consequently and logically, her architectural practice followed a new path.

In 1972-73, Lambert also established a partnership, Ridgway, with Gene R. Summers, a former assistant of Mies van der Rohe. Their architectural practice was located in Newport Beach, California, and existed for twelve years. In 1976, Lambert and Summers bought the Biltmore Hotel, a designated cultural landmark located in downtown Los Angeles, and acting as architects-entrepreneurs undertook an extensive renovation programme which saved the edifice. In addition, the venture brought them recognition.[20] According to Summers, Lambert was "one of the very first architects to recognize the importance of preservation, ... The revitalization of the Biltmore . . . points to the very essence of Phyllis Lambert's work in architecture."[21] For Summers, Lambert "was way ahead of everyone else in the U. S. when she started her interest in restoring buildings."[22] Sure enough, she was also ahead of everyone else in Canada, and her leadership has been instrumental both in preventing

widespread demolition and in putting forward a type of preservation which privileged quality over profit, without excluding the latter.

Lambert's recent love for the city and her view of the development forces combined in a particular fashion. She initiated studies about both the history of architecture and city history. She also actively fought demolition. Firstly, when she returned to Montréal after a twenty-five-year absence, she saw that her beloved neighbourhoods and grey-stone mansions were in jeopardy as demolition was being done in the name of progress and development. Though Montréal was a rare example of a North American city whose structure was not irremediably altered by urban development, Lambert found that little or no research on the subject existed in 1970. In 1971, along with photographer Richard Pare, she undertook to photograph and document Montréal's grey-stone buildings. Beginning in 1973, she established and directed the Groupe de recherche sur les bâtiments en pierre grise [sic] de Montréal. Secondly, her love of grey-stone buildings prompted her to react fiercely when developers, sanctioned by municipal authorities, went too far and too fast in the demolition process leading the way to urban development. Saving Montréal's heritage buildings contributed, in Lambert's view, to the improvement of the urban fabric and to the understanding of the architectural landscape. And so, from cause to cause, Lambert became known as an activist, a preservationist, a crusader to save neighbourhoods and Montréal's downtown, and to have heritage buildings designated as biens culturels.[23]

In September 1973, the Van Horne mansion, a grey-stone Victorian house located on Sherbrooke Street West (at the corner of Stanley Street), was demolished overnight to allow a real-estate developer to build higher, and more profitably. The demolition and the context in which it happened triggered protests: the case of the Van Horne mansion

epitomized the dictates of the development forces prompted by the search for monetary benefits to the detriment of an urban quality of life, not to say of democracy. As a result, the following month Sauvons Montréal/Save Montreal was created in order to unite the forces committed to preserving the city's architectural and urban heritage. Phyllis Lambert was one of the founding members, along with Joseph Baker, Michael Fish, Cécile Grenier and Jean-Claude Marsan. Lambert's relentless involvement and sophistication with the organization of Save Montreal made her "the natural leader"[24] and she directed the organization from 1974 until 1977.[25] She later described the situation prevailing in those days as follows:

> Montreal was certainly not unique: all over North America, it was commonly accepted practise to destroy urban centres in order to remodel cities. At the time . . . the City played an active role as a promoter of unbridled development, while shirking its duty as a protector of citizens' rights. Through its decisions and a policy framework, the administration of former mayor Drapeau was "open for business," and was the main instigator of massive demolitions of entire streets, and neighbourhoods.[26]

It turned out that Lambert's education, experience, wealth, and connections were not detrimental nor antithetical to "the cause," but were rather a bonus. For instance, she invited a planner from New York City to Montréal to meet some members of Save Montreal "which allowed us to see ourselves with the perspective and relative experience of other cities."[27] Save Montreal campaigned to save such landmarks as the Windsor Station, St. Cunégonde Church, the Quinlan Apartments, Haddon Hall, the Patriots' Prison, and the Laurentien Hotel. The modus operandi of the movement relied largely on activism, organizing public demonstrations in the street to protest demolition, and informing the public via the media.[28]

Heritage Montréal was founded in 1975, and was presided over by Lambert until 1983, when Jean-Claude Marsan took over. Heritage

Montréal was a fund-raising group that helped to finance Montréal's conservation organizations. It also intervened with developers and administrators. Lambert's relationships with the world of business and finance, including with her own family, were once again put into play. For instance, her mother Saidye Bronfman, as well as her brother Charles Bronfman, then owner of Montréal's Expos baseball team, sat on the administrative board. In 1977, Lambert sat on the board of the newly created (1973) Heritage Canada, after being elected Governor of that organization.[29]

It was through Heritage Montréal that Lambert could take part in the fight to save Milton-Park from demolition, using political ties to stop the project and implement the largest not-for-profit housing co-op in Canada. Lambert advised that demolition be stopped and that more and better renovations of existing buildings be undertaken, as opposed to constructing new, low income-housing. She presided over Milton-Park from 1979 to 1993.[30] Her name has been associated with the project but she certainly was not alone: approximately twenty persons worked on it full time (architects, lawyers, social workers, et cetera). Some tenants were unhappy to be locked up in a co-op system when what they had been fighting for, and arguably promised, was ownership. Lambert, however, thought that the city needed more non-profit cooperatives such as Milton-Park as they maintained mixed neighbourhoods. In this particular case, part of a neighbourhood located in the city centre was saved from demolition. In this battle, Lambert was well aware that she was fighting a modernist conception of urban society, as put forward by Le Corbusier.[31]

The battle for Milton-Park demonstrated that Lambert's notion of heritage was certainly not limited to nineteenth-century grey-stone mansions. It involved protecting the existing urban fabric. Her activism

had many ramifications: she directed Green Spaces (also funded by Heritage Montréal) to fight to save Montréal's parks and green spaces. She supported the Overdale tenants in their fight against Mayor Jean Doré's administration. Also, in 1989, she enlarged the definition of heritage building as she protested against plans to renovate Westmount Square, designed by Mies van der Rohe. However, she did not fight family friend Paul Desmarais (Power Corporation) who razed almost an entire city block for a project that never materialized. The boarding houses on St-Hubert Street were replaced by a parking lot. She was reportedly hurt by the aborted project, stating the need to stay vigilant to avoid similar demolitions in the future.[32]

In addition, Lambert argued in the 1980s against two building types, the skyscraper and the shopping centre, "symbols of mass concentration and mass dispersal, the essence of what disturbs us today."[33] She opposed skyscrapers, shopping malls, demolition, gentrification, and campaigned for recycling, renovation, restoration, the development of the cultural urban life and quality of life in general. Prior to her involvement, opposition to the new modernist urban development was scarce. Lambert acted as a catalyst. She did not only campaign to stop demolition and preserve neighbourhoods or older structures. She lobbied for legislation that would preserve heritage buildings and historic districts. Her message was also one that condemned industrial uses in a central, urban area. Her agenda effectively impacted on the city morphology.

Despite a strong personal commitment to her ideology, Lambert nonetheless financially benefited from such real-estate projects that contributed to urban sprawl, the destruction of the city centre and gentrification. Samuel Bronfman had established a trust for his four children, CEMP Investments. In July 1987, Lambert and her brother Charles transferred their assets from CEMP to Claridge Investment, and

by March 1988, Lambert was supposedly no longer involved in Claridge. Until 1987 though, CEMP controlled the developer Cadillac Fairview Corporation, which means that Lambert had, over a long period, interests in the developer's activities and financially benefited from these. Cadillac Fairview was then, more specifically, involved in the construction of suburban commercial centres ('malls') throughout North America. CEMP also piloted the design and construction of the Toronto-Dominion Centre in Toronto, which required sophisticated land assembly and also tearing up "the House of Seagram building, a Bay Street landmark."[34] By 1978, this huge development was still considered to be "Canada's largest rental unit, with 3.3 million square feet of leasable space."[35] CEMP has also been involved in downtown Toronto's mammoth Eaton Centre. Lambert herself recommended, as consulting architects, Mies van der Rohe for the Toronto-Dominion Centre and Eberhard Zeidler to design the Eaton Centre in Toronto.[36] For several years, Lambert held on to her interests in Cadillac Fairview. She sold her assets despite the obvious financial interests, because of public pressure regarding a development project in Montréal (the McGill College project). Lambert, too, was disappointed by Cadillac Fairview's lack of social concern: "Le seul but de cette compagnie c'est de faire de l'argent, sans promotion sociale."[37] Her later attacks against developers targeted essentially the skyscrapers. Lambert fought to save cities' downtowns and neighbourhoods which effectively contributed to slowing down the pace of demolitions, and at the same time she invested and made money with shopping centres, known for having heavily contributed to the suburbanization and cities' exodus.

Yet Lambert not only fought verbally against demolition, but she also used CEMP as a vehicle to take part in buying older structures and renovating them. The best known example is her involvement in Old Montréal. Using the funding possibilities of CEMP, she was behind the

conversion of nineteenth-century industrial and commercial buildings into condominium apartments and offices in the Old Montréal neighbourhood. Lambert herself bought and restored a house classified as an historical monument, the Jane-Tate house, which had also been used previously as a warehouse and where she now lives.[38]

Using the forum offered by her prestigious position as Governor of Heritage Canada, she set herself up as an example of what could be done by the private sector to renovate old buildings and revitalize old quarters: "The first large scale project [the Cours Le Royer] is now being undertaken by a local architect-developer in Le Royer street. It will bring much needed housing in the area."[39] In her view, the district was not developing well due to a lack of planning and coherent development. She identified three problems, namely, traffic, underuse and conservation. She found that incompatible uses (bars and restaurants) drove away residents in some areas and resulted in the underuse of the area. As for traffic, she blamed the heavy trucking associated with existing warehouses as not being conducive to the establishment of a residential function. Local lending institutions identified the area as "red-lined." In addition, municipal subsidies for housing renovations were not applicable to the buildings in need of being converted. Lambert's view was quite simple: conservation areas were "in the business of urban renewal . . . and as such they need[ed] all the careful planning, the controls, the incentives, which have been built into urban renewal areas of the 50s and 60s."[40] In her view, government actions had been inadequate and public authorities should be following New York City's example. New York City's definition of an historic district was broader and the financial aid and the public consultation process were different (and better). She tried to implement New York City's model in Montréal, being fairly critical of what had been done locally, while being apologetic about New York's scheme. In

addition, architects did not have the ability to preserve the built environment because they could not affect the structure of neighbourhoods and cities. Government and business, particularly developers, held such power since they were the ones investing the money. The architect-developer "like the business-oriented developer, must judge the market--that is, what people want."[41] This explained her decision to become an architect-developer.

As demonstrated by Sharon Zukin, loft living in New York City contributed to the de-industrialization of city centres, forcing out older types of industries along with a population of blue-collar workers.[42] In Montréal, Lambert's advocacy, reinforced by her example to convert industrial structures to residential uses, is likely to have contributed to the de-industrialization of the central area. It has been demonstrated that beginning in the early 1960s, the City of Montréal experienced the phenomenon of de-industrialization, a tendency which grew in the following decade. Furthermore, loft living contributed to the gentrification in Old Montréal.[43]

With regard to Old Montréal, regeneration had already started as early as 1956. Artisans, artists, and architects lived and worked in the area, alongside businessmen and small businesses. The Jacques Viger Commission was created in 1962, to see to the conservation of historic buildings. By early 1972, Jacques Coulon stated in the Canadian Geographical Journal that "one thing stands out clearly: Old Montreal is well on its way to a second, brilliant career."[44] According to Coulon's survey, restaurants, fashion boutiques, antique shops and art galleries had contributed to 'resurrecting' the area. Those initiatives taken by individuals were followed up by major companies (La Sauvegarde Insurance Company, Imperial Tobacco Company, Canadian Industries Limited or C-I-L, and Ogilvy's Jas. A.) which had bought houses and restored them.

Concomitantly, research established the historical interests of these old structures. During the 1962-72 decade, the city also massively invested in the area, upgrading the Bonsecours Market, Place Jacques-Cartier, Place Youville and Place Royale. In addition, several large-scale projects were contemplated, both by the public and private sectors.[45] Therefore, Lambert's leading role in the safeguard of the historic district is all but relative. If in the case of Milton-Park she acted as an activist, in the instance of Old Montréal, she usurped her reputation as a preservationist to act as a developer.

In 1986, Jean Drapeau stepped down as mayor, after ruling over Montréal for almost thirty years. Lambert outwardly supported the MCM and candidate Mayor Jean Doré, who won the November 1986 election.[46] Observers of the local scene believed that Lambert, as well as those who campaigned for the MCM, would hold power. Lambert had high hopes and expectations and had actually set her own agenda. She wished to see implemented, among other things, mechanisms for public consultation, the reverse of the demolition trend, increased budgets for the development of arts and culture, and a radical change of attitude towards culture, by considering it an investment. The latter point was at stake during the electoral campaign, and the stakes were high. They involved two major cultural installations (also dependent on the provincial government): the Montréal Symphony Orchestra's new building and the relocation of the Museum of Contemporary Art, from the Cité du Havre to the downtown area.[47]

Already in 1985, as president of the Québec division of the Canadian Conference of the Arts, Lambert had campaigned to have the City of Montréal remove its veto against an increase in the budget of the regional arts council (CACUM: Conseil des arts de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal), and resorted again to economic arguments

(Montréal would finance itself from the cultural activity rather than financing the cultural activities):

> Nous appelons les élus de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal à donner l'exemple du bon jugement économique et à investir dans cette industrie de croissance soutenue, à rendement excellent et rapide, et à forte intensité de main-d'oeuvre.
>
> . . .
>
> En cette année d'élections municipales à Montréal, nous attendons des partis municipaux qu'ils rendent publique leur politique de soutien à cette industrie qui a bien besoin de sa juste part.[48]

This theme of Montréal's economic prosperity based on the arts and culture would be recurrent in the forthcoming years. For instance, in 1987, Lambert took part in "Défi Montréal," a forum organized by La Chambre de Commerce de Montréal and the magazine L'Actualité, which aimed to identify strategies that could bring prosperity to tomorrow's metropolis.[49] She expressed the opinion that the development had to take advantage of Montréal's history and own character which, she stressed, did not at all go against the growth of business. Projects referred to as positive elements of business while preserving heritage, included Alcan's international headquarters, the recently inaugurated Windsor, the Faubourg Ste-Catherine, the Cours Mont-Royal, Cours Le Royer and the Centre de Commerce Mondial, realized by both the private (Philip O'Brien's Devencore) and the public (City of Montréal, and Caisse de dépôt) sectors. In Lambert's opinion, the business community had demonstrated a recent interest towards heritage. Zoning had to encourage horizontal development in order to favour the safeguard of the historical and cultural heritage.[50] She reiterated her confidence in cultural patrimony as an agent of economic activity: during the 1971-81 period, the growth rate of the cultural industry was greater than the global Canadian rate in generating employment. Lambert had observed a dramatic increase in the number of art museums and centres, and a trend in Canadian cities, including

Montréal, to develop this cultural industry. However, when compared to cities such as Warsaw, Munich or Boston, Montréal and its region were deficient in cultural institutions. Her involvement with the project The Arts and the City (see above) aimed to promote arts and culture.[51]

In 1989, Phyllis Lambert clearly expressed her ambitions for Montréal in front of various audiences. Montréal could become one of the most beautiful and richest cities in North America, but had to be careful not to abandon its city centre to skyscrapers. Montréal could do as New York City or Toronto did and be a city of skyscrapers, or Boston or Pittsburg or Montpellier (France) and be more balanced, creating a new model of urban life. In 1989, as the leader for the Québec section of the Canadian Conference of the Arts, she had wanted to hold a cultural summit in 1992, the year of the 350th anniversary of Montréal, but the Municipal Authorities did not comply with the request. Lambert later lobbied the Commission sur l'avenir politique et constitutionnel du Québec in favour of the arts as a means to foster a strong economy.[52]

Not long after the elections, Montréal's new Executive Committee approved the creation of a Comité consultatif sur l'aménagement et le développement du centre-ville. This committee came under the Urban Planning Department, and not the Municipal Council. Among its members were several people who had worked on public consultations to revise Cadillac-Fairview's project on McGill College, namely: Patrick Kenniff (Conférence des recteurs et principaux des universités), Phyllis Lambert (Canadian Conference of the Arts), Jean-Claude Marsan (Heritage Montréal), developers Phillip O'Brien and Eugene Riesman; the Corporation of Planners (Corporation professionnelle des urbanistes du Québec), the Hotels Association and Loisirs Québec were also represented, as well as the Association des propriétaires et administrateurs d'immeubles (BOMA), the Office des Congrès et du

tourisme and two important unions (CSN and FTQ). Lambert had previously acknowledged the fact that she liked putting pressure on government and that she favoured lobbying, as practised in the United States. In fact, less than a year after the election of the MCM, Lambert denounced Doré's administration's handling of a project (the Galleria Dorchester project, better known as the Overdale project).[53]

When the City of Montréal published documents concerning its master plan for the downtown area, Lambert again talked about the "new economic generators," among which figured the cultural industries, the new industry of renovation, restoration "and the adaptive reuse of buildings,"[54] as well as the tourist industry. "All of these economic sectors are related to a positive attitude toward our urban heritage and to the socio-ecological considerations of planning. . . . A clear idea of the economic strategies of Montreal is needed as the warp and woof of the master plan."[55] She reiterated her belief that culture was an important new sector of the urban economy and regretted the lack of vision of the proposed master plan. For her, there was a direct link between the quality of life in a city, its economic vitality and the intellectual industry linked to heritage. If politicians lacked that vision, Lambert had her own to propose and put forward: the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA).[56]

This presentation of Lambert's career underlined, among other things, her stance vis-à-vis modernism and her evolution towards preservation. She used various vehicles, such as lobby groups and real estate development, to actively promote and demonstrate her strong beliefs. Furthermore, she proposed her vision for Montréal, where artistic and cultural institutions would contribute to the economic development of the city. As the next section will demonstrate, Lambert's influence was tremendous. Items on her personal agenda such as the preservation of heritage buildings and spaces, the promotion of culture and the arts and

the denigration of skyscrapers became public issues. They most certainly had an impact on Montréal's development for several years to come, and on its skyline.

Some Conversion Projects

The Cours Le Royer project, which went on during the second half of the 1970s, still figures as a pioneer because it was at the forefront of a wave of other conversion projects inspired by the preservationist ideology. Two similar projects of cours followed (1980-82) in Old Montréal, Les Cours de Callières and Le Cours Saint-Pierre. Both share similarities with the Cours Le Royer, staging the transformation of stores-warehouses that belonged to religious congregations into residential and office units, lofts. In fact, over the centuries a great number of religious institutions (churches, monasteries, seminaries, convents and their dependencies) were built in Montréal. However, following a major decline in religious fervour, several edifices became obsolete. Several of these structures had to be recycled or converted into other functions in order to avoid total destruction. During the 1970s, St. Jacques church was demolished, with some fragments (the steeple) saved and inserted into new construction: the new downtown campus of the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), which opened in 1979. In addition to the projects discussed above, the Bon-Pasteur convent was converted in the late 1980s into a multifunctional complex. The project, located in the core of the city (on a block bound by Sherbrooke, de Bullion, St. Norbert and St. Dominique Streets), included offices, low-income housing and housing for the elderly. The dependencies were converted into condominium units, and the chapel now serves as a cultural centre, which includes a concert hall. Still in the

late 1980s, a former convent was converted into a college, Dawson College (Sherbrooke Street West and Atwater Street).[57]

Le Cours Saint-Pierre (1980-82) resulted from the recycling of stores-warehouses located on Saint-Pierre Street that belonged to the Grey Nuns. This project was made possible, thanks to a former epic battle held on two fronts. Its object was the reconstitution of the Grey Nuns' former General Hospital in Old Montréal, along with a speculative real-estate development in the city centre. At the heart of the matter was, ultimately, the notion of architectural heritage.

Around 1974-75, the Grey Nuns undertook procedures in order to achieve a long-time cherished project: the reconstruction of the Congregation's former General Hospital located in Old Montréal. The project planned for the rebuilding of the hospital in its complete original state (same style, same materials). This concept required the demolition of warehouses on St. Pierre Street built in 1874 and which constituted an eloquent example of industrial architecture. Since the reconstruction project did not materialize, the warehouses were saved and, a few years later, converted into new uses for the Cours Saint-Pierre project, which was in line with the City Planning Department's recommendation to increase housing in that specific area of the historic district.

It is noteworthy that the reconstruction project described above failed for lack of financing. In fact, the Grey Nuns wanted to sell their mother house which stands on most of the city block bound by René-Lévesque Boulevard, St. Catherine, Guy and St. Mathieu Streets, in order to finance the reconstruction project in Old Montréal. The Grey Nuns negotiated with a European real-estate developer, Valorinvest (la Société Valorinvest, Canada), who had retained the services of the urban planner Vincent Ponte. Valorinvest, while trying to appear sensitive to local historical and cultural values, was secretly planning a high-density

development (Place de la Tour) which called for the demolition of the entire ensemble, except the chapel. The mother house ensemble included a chapel classified as a historic monument. It was not only remarkable for its architectural value, but also for its vast garden, then among the rare green spaces in this part of the city.

According to the Loi sur les Biens culturels, the Minister's agreement was required in order for the owners to sell the chapel. Moreover, the law protected the immediate surroundings of the chapel within a radius of five hundred feet (152.4 metres). The Minister had to agree to the destruction or even modification to everything located within this protected area. Even if the whole ensemble was not classified, the provision for the protected area saved the grey-stone mother house. In addition, the opposition was such (and well reported in the local media) that Valorinvest did not pursue the project.[58]

The religious estates were far from being the only ones recovered. Actually, the setting up of closed down industrial structures as new architectural gems converted to new uses, which started in the late 1970s, really marked the 1980s. For instance, during the 1980s, a former warehouse and garage structure, located in the same city block as the Grey Nuns' mother house and included in the protected area, was converted into a multifunctional complex. Fronting St. Catherine Street, the Faubourg includes open shops and cafés, "a cross between Quincy Market and the Eaton Centre."[59] Movie theatres are located at the lower level while offices are accessible through a distinct entrance. It is true that The Faubourg is similar, in some aspects (the focus on eating and gourmet food) to Quincy Market, in Boston, which became fully operational in the late 1970s. It also bears similarities to the first American project that proposed, in 1964, shopping as entertainment in the heart of the city: Ghirardelli Square and the Cannery, both located in old, industrial

structures in downtown San Francisco. They all constitute examples of a trend that introduced malls in older structures in the central area of a city.[60]

Among the other conversions that took place, the Maison Alcan is unanimously appraised as one of the most, if not the most, significant. The 1982-83 project was designed by the Montréal firm Arcop under the guidance of architect Ray Affleck. Alcan Aluminium acted as a leader in not having for its headquarters a high tower that would have required demolition. Instead, the new premises preserved five and restored four heritage buildings (three grey-stone Victorian mansions and the Berkeley Hotel between them) and inserted the new eight-storey, aluminium-clad Davis building, into this urban fabric. The project is located in the heart of the city, the old buildings standing on Sherbrooke Street West, in the city block also bound by Stanley and Drummond Streets. A glass roof links all the elements, providing a well-lit indoor atrium, first intended as a winter garden. Restaurants, art galleries and boutiques face the open space while offices and other corporate amenities are provided in both the new and old construction. Also, some greenery runs along the pathway between Stanley and Drummond Streets to the south of Sherbrooke Street, as a link rather than an edge between the Alcan complex and its neighbour, the Salvation Army premises. In addition, Alcan, like other major corporations, adorned its new headquarters with several works of art. Those are located inside the complex, including in the atrium, and also in corridors of the new Davis building, some of them used as art showcases. In the main lobby are sculptures, one by Abraham Anghik, and two cedar sculptures by Tony Hunt. Also, there are two pieces by Norman Laliberté, including a large wooden totem. Another work of art is Yves Trudeau's aluminium gate, Vortex, also entitled Rythme séquentiel No. 1 (1983). A spiral is inlaid into the grid, which leads to Alcan's offices.[61]

Other conversions followed after the much-acclaimed Alcan project, offering a variety of functions: the Cours Mont-Royal (1986-88) and the Centre de commerce mondial (World Trade Centre) (1987-91) were two such projects. The former included the conversion, also by Arcop architects, of the Mount Royal Hotel. In the wake of the demolition spree, hotels had also been destroyed, and the Cours Mont-Royal aimed at preserving the structure and envelope of the former hotel, by converting it into a complex that included boutiques, businesses, movie theatres, a fast-food court on the lower floors, and condominiums and offices on the upper floors. Incidentally, the remaining part of the former Windsor Hotel went through a similar change of function.[62]

The World Trade Centre, across the street from Victoria Square (renamed Place du Commerce, meaning the Commerce Square), is actually located in the city block bound by McGill, Saint-Antoine, Saint-Pierre and Saint-Jacques Streets. Designed by Arcop and Provencher Roy architects, this was another project which aimed not only at restoring or recycling one building into new uses, but which required an even more complex and sophisticated assemblage of old buildings than did Maison Alcan. Unlike the Alcan project, though, the World Trade Centre had to resort to the demolition of a few buildings in order to be a functional scheme. In addition, a lane, the ruelle des Fortifications, which used to run parallel to Saint-Antoine and Saint-Jacques Streets, was "integrated" into the project. Covered by a skylight, it actually serves as the main pedestrian artery of the project. Some of the buildings were restored, while only the façades of some others were kept and inserted into the complex. Finally, four buildings were physically integrated into the centre, even though the occupants maintain their own independent activities. The mere conservation of façades has been criticized by some as a banal or mediocre solution to the general problem of architectural preservation.

Nonetheless, on an urban level, the merits are obvious, even though imperfect. The alignment of the façades to the street, the scale of these built elements when compared to the street and nearby construction, and the preservation of some masonry walls, all contribute a great deal to the quality of the neighbourood. When inside, however, it is difficult for a visitor to differentiate between the public and the private, corporate areas. Besides the obvious public amenities (bar, restaurants, fast food counters, plus the usual shops and boutiques), one gets the distinct impression that everything else belongs to the private domain. In addition, the complex houses an hotel, offices, a club, and an underground parking garage.[63]

The alignment of the exterior walls to the street line left little room, if any, for displaying public sculpture. In addition, given the desire to restore those walls, it is conceivable that murals of any sort were out of order. Consequently, public art found on the premises is located inside. In fact, a piece of public art is placed at each end of the des Fortifications lane, contributing to the strong impression of being in the presence of an ersatz of a traditional outdoor, urban place. Close to the Saint-Pierre entrance of the complex stands an urban fragment as a work of public art. A piece of the Berlin Wall (1961-89) was offered by Berlin to Montréal on the occasion of the City's 350th anniversary. Those responsible for public art at the City had to find an appropriate place for the gift, and selected the newly created World Trade Centre. At the other end of the lane, close to the McGill entrance, stands a statue overlooking a rectangular, black water basin, from which water flows on the four external sides. A plaque on a nearby wall explains the origins of the statue: "The statue of this fountain is of Amphitrite, wife of Poseidon, God of the Sea. It once was the centre-piece of a fountain in Saint Mihiel, a town on the Meuse in Northern France. It is the work of the French sculptor and architect Dieudonné-Barthélémy Guibal (1699-1757)."[64] The World Trade Centre

did not only preserve the urban and architectural past. It also promoted, via its public art, its international and cultural statute.

The comparison with Place Victoria is inescapable, as each project typifies the values of the time as embodied by the architecture. Each of those two neighbours, apart from being in the trade business, claimed to be a link between Old Montréal and the new urban core. In addition, each resorted to a mammoth construction as an expression of their financial power. The former used height and technological innovation, while the latter resorted to a lower but still impressive template. While it is true that the World Trade Centre "saved" older buildings from demolition, it nonetheless erased the intricate division of land characteristic of Old Montréal, by integrating a lane into the complex, internalizing the public urban life. In short, if Place Victoria annihilated the very memory of some old street and lane, so did the World Trade Centre, even if to a lesser extent. Both Place Victoria and the World Trade Centre created a superblock in the old city.

It is worth noting the acclaim such projects received from the politicians of the time (under Jean Doré's administration). In the Fall of 1987, counselor John Gardiner, in charge of planning at the City of Montréal, spoke in favour of the heritage component in urban development: "A mon sens, Montréal restera une belle ville tant et aussi longtemps que les promoteurs publics et privés ainsi que l'administration municipale composeront avec la dimension patrimoniale dans le développement urbain."[65] Clearly, some politicians in the Doré administration had integrated Lambert's relentless message.

Another aspect of Lambert's influence can be seen in the one last aspect of the new recycling trend to be addressed. As a matter of fact, the city experienced a cultural boom during the 1980s and 1990s. Particularly, several museums[66] and theatres[67] were either created,

enlarged or simply upgraded by moving in or near the central area. Several older structures, including industrial ones, were put to use for the emergence of this new cultural industry. The idea of saving heritage buildings had reached such a point that the safeguard of those older structures prevailed even if it was detrimental to the new architectural concept (as happened with the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts in the view of some).[68] As for theatres, their location was such that it prevented the creation of a theatre district as in New York City. In fact, even though Municipal Authorities favored the emergence of such a district around Place des Arts, the theatre companies, by selecting alternative spaces, went a little off centre, ultimately establishing a new relation with the city. The theatres (as did the museums for that matter) developed amenities such as bars, restaurants, linking the traditional representation space with the street.[69]

Since most of those new installations benefited from public funding, they had to have art integrated with architecture. Some of those works of art also expressed a new relationship not only with the building, but with the broader urban context. For instance, Michel Goulet created in 1991, in front of the Théâtre d'Aujourd'hui (3900 St. Denis Street), a sculptural complex, Les Enjeux (the Stakes) made up of an alignment of seatless chairs parallel to the theatre wall, under which are placed a small-scale flight of stairs in between two landings. Architects Saucier & Perrotte's theatre was built in a row of grey-stone houses and businesses that already housed a movie theatre. The architects preserved most of the existing façades, and therefore their close alignment to the street. Goulet's chair sculpture is placed in a narrow strip of land between the outside wall of the theatre and the sidewalk.[70] The Usine C is another theatre project, this one housed in a former factory, owned and operated by the theatre company Carbone 14. Richard Purdy was selected for the

creation of integrated art complying with the requirements of the provincial programme. Purdy created (with François Hébert) a sculpture, Deus ex machina (1995), on top of the old chimney of the former factory.

The McCord museum also benefited from provincial subsidies for its enlargement, and therefore was subjected to the provincial programme of allied arts. Despite the fact that there is little room outside the museum, two sculptures were created specifically for the location, one on Sherbrooke Street and the other on the smaller Victoria Street. Both were installed in 1992. Firstly, on Sherbrooke Street, besides the museum, stands an Inuit sculpture, by artist Jessapie Nalukturuk. The Inukshuk "serves as guide post, memorial and spiritual totem."[71] It consists of a pile of irregular, flat grey stones in what reminds us of a monumental human form.[72] After several years and harsh climatic conditions, the dry assemblage of stones still stands, close to the sidewalk. Adorning another façade of the museum, on Victoria Street, a sculpture by Pierre Granche, Totem Urbain/Histoire en Dentelles is nested against the exterior wall, on a base. The sculpture, of a relatively small scale, achieves its three-dimensionality by using metal plates (oxidized brass). Montréal's emblems emerge from the green brass, with a tower rising from the assemblage. The tower is in fact an allusion to a totem displayed inside the museum, and also an allusion to the city evolution as building forms are piled one on top of the other making up the tower.[73]

That same year, the Pointe-à-Callière museum commissioned a few works of allied arts. Inside the new edifice standing on archaeological ruins, the Éperon, is a mural painting on sliding partitions Les voiles du temps by artist Peter Kraus, opening into the theatre. Outside, a sculptural ensemble placed on a triangular parvis leads to the main entrance. The latter, Entre nous (1992), created by Andrew Dutkewych, consists of a memorial to the human beings and their life experience. It is

made up of three elements. A bronze column placed on stone blocks is on the edge of the stairs, where the second element, an urn, also made of bronze is placed as if it had fallen. The third element, a bench made of stone, is placed at some distance from the first two, closer to the entrance. Lastly, there is a work by Pierre Ayot in the former Customs' House that was restored, also part of the Pointe-à-Callière museum. It consists of an obelisk-like structure composed of several elements that made up the history of Montréal, including a few books (Marsan's Montréal en évolution being one of them). The angel atop the structure is reminiscent of the one adorning George William Hill's monument to Sir Georges-Étienne Cartier, located on the eastern edge of the Mount-Royal, on Park Avenue. The construction of two other museums, the Museum of Contemporary Art and the CCA, which had a strong impact on the urban fabric of the central area, also gave rise to the creation of works of public art. The case of the former will be briefly discussed in the next chapter in the context of the implementation of the institutional axis (Convention Centre-Place des Arts/Museum of Contemporary Art) completed in the 1970s and 1980s. The case of the CCA and of the CCA Garden will be presented at length in a further chapter.[74]

Conclusion

As demonstrated above, the conversion-preservation era experienced several upheavals with regard to the usual functions attributed to existing buildings. Residences became offices (Alcan), part of a museum (CCA) or of a theatre (Théâtre d'Aujourd'hui). Hotels and industrial buildings became housing units (condominiums) and offices as well. Churches, convents and monasteries were adapted to the needs of

educational facilities (UQAM, Dawson College) or again, converted into condominiums. In some instances, the buildings were restored, while in others, only the façades, when not mere fragments, were saved. The historical and architectural value of the buildings to be saved, as well as the means to do so, varied. This depended on the client's need, will and financial disposition, the state of the premises, and the architects working on the projects (some firms, Arcop; Desnoyers, Mercure et Associés; Provencher Roy et Associés; Saucier & Perrotte, were more often involved than others).

All those projects, however, are a direct result of the protests against the massive demolition that had taken place in the city, and of the classification of some buildings (even of some parts of the buildings) as biens culturels. The protests did not only target the heritage buildings. They also aimed to protect green spaces (the Grey Nuns' garden, Viau Park, sacrificed for the Olympic Village, and Viger Square which will be presented in a further chapter), as both private developers and public authorities coveted those green and truly patrimonial places for construction purposes. Neither Viger Square nor Viau Park were spared from the government's view. However, the Grey Nuns' garden was saved, thanks to the provincial heritage law.[75]

In short, the notion of heritage building was radically transformed, enlarged, to include not only those safe values from the past, but also nineteenth and early twentieth-century architecture: the Victorian mansion, the vernacular houses as well as industrial structures. In addition, streets, city districts, Mount Royal (designed by Frederick Law Olmsted), some squares as well as some urban perspectives became of patrimonial value. For Marsan, "le patrimoine bâti se confond avec le patrimoine urbain et semble désormais englober tout l'habitat traditionnel."[76] It even seems that in some cases, safeguarding the urban

heritage predominated over a "purist" form of architectural restoration/preservation of heritage buildings. The examples of the Place Victoria project in the 1960s and of the World Trade Centre in the 1980s allows us to understand the total shift in the way the urban landscape came to be appraised.

Following the organized protests, the Loi sur les biens culturels was adopted in 1972. Given the number of edifices, their location and the protected area, the law in effect protected more than some isolated buildings. Marsan affirms that it had a real, concrete impact on the development of the downtown area. In his view, some ten years after the adoption of the law, almost a third of the downtown area was included in those protected areas. Hence, the provincial law on the biens culturels indirectly provided some sort of protection in the absence of a municipal city plan (plan d'urbanisme), which was adopted in 1992.[77]

Phyllis Lambert's influence, with regard to preservation of heritage and vernacular architecture, was tremendous. It did not merely translate into the safeguard of a few architectural gems but it also included neighbourhoods. Her call had an impact on the function or new use of restored buildings and areas such as housing in Old Montréal. She also influenced the development of cultural and artistic institutions, as the explosion of expanded/renovated/relocated museums and theatres in older, remodelled edifices, attests.

Furthermore, those cultural institutions benefited from the provincial government's subsidies. This context favoured the proliferation of works of art integrated to architecture. As we have seen in a previous chapter, the provincial statutory order re-established, in 1973, the mandatory aspect of the percentage for the arts programme. It was therefore in force when those cultural institutions were built, enlarged or modified. Lastly, we have observed that those works of art were either located inside

renovated premises (Maison Alcan, the World Trade Center) or outside, in the urban space, even if it was on a narrow strip of land bordering a sidewalk. Several such works of art were in the form of sculpture adjoining a building, which was not, as such, a response to a requirement from the by-law, even if it may have been influenced by it.

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[1] Benoît Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages de Montréal," L'Actualité, February 1982, 67-72; Joseph Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," Canadian Architect 33, no. 11 (November 1988): 31.

[2] See chapter on Viger Square. See also, Paul-André Linteau, Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération (n. p.: Boréal, 1992), 496, 500. For the Pine-Park Avenue interchange (1959-61), see Phyllis Lambert, "Land Tenure and Concepts of Architecture and the City: Milton-Park in Montreal," in Power and Place Canadian Urban Development in the North American Context (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 140.

[3] Jean Pelletier and Ludger Beauregard, "Le centre-ville de Montréal," Revue de géographie de Montréal 21, no. 1 (1967): 13, 21; Roger Champoux, "Les gens d'argent ont compris," La Presse, 22 September 1961, last ed., p. 6; Hélène Pedneault, "Montréal vue par Phyllis Lambert," Montréal ce mois-ci 11, no. 12 (December 1985): 64-66. The view that slums had to be wiped out still prevailed in the 1970s, when at the eve of the 1976 Olympic Games, the cleaning-up of the city continued. Jules Arbec, "Montréal, Ville laide?," Architecture Concept, January-February 1974, 35-38.

[4] Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en évolution, 3rd ed. (Laval, Québec: Éditions du Méridien, 1994), 356-57, 388-89; Linteau, Montréal, 506-507; Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Vintage Books, 1961).

[5] As evoked by Linteau, citizens groups emerged in the early 1960s, and aimed at improving their living conditions. Those groups were an

important element of the social dynamic until the 1980s-90s. Lambert, "Milton-Park," 133-50; Linteau, Montréal, 487-88, 507, 531, 534; Marsan, Évolution, 358-59, 384-86; Bruno Boutot, "L'architecte le plus in en ville," L'Actualité, October 1985, 62. The project Complexe La Cité by Eva Vecsei in collaboration with Dobush, Stewart, Longpré, Marchand, Goudreau is dated 1974-77 in Pierre Richard Bisson and Raymonde Gauthier, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090 (Montréal: Corporation Architecture 1990 for the Québec Order of Architects, 1990), 86.

[6] The art school was The Study. Art Association of Montreal, Catalogue, 58th Spring Exhibition, 1941. In the catalogue, Phyllis Bronfman's name is listed with the home address and the mention "sculpture". See also Mark Abley, "Bronfman virtues, vices passed on to daughter," Gazette, 7 November 1987, p. B 1; Anne-Marie Alonzo and Françoise Guénette, "La passion selon Phyllis Lambert," La vie en rose, March 1985, 16-18, 59; Scott Disher, "The Queen Bee of Canadian Heritage Conservation," Montreal Calendar Magazine, March 1985, 14-16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 75, 76, 78; Ann Duncan, "Klinkhoff exhibition honors overlooked Montreal artist," Gazette, 23 September 1987, p. H 3; Thomas Weston Fels, "Phyllis Lambert: an Interview," Print Collector's Newsletter 20, no. 5 (November-December 1989): 169; Georges-Hébert Germain, "Notre dame de la restauration," L'Actualité, March 1983, 46, 48, 50, 51; Charlotte Gray, "Magnificent obsession Phyllis Lambert . . .," Chatelaine, May 1989, 103, 105, 235; "Interview with Richard Krautheimer," Getty Art History Information Program, 8 April 1988; Phyllis Lambert, "How a Building Gets Built," Vassar Alumnae Magazine, February 1959, 13-19; Cammie D. McAtee, "The Making of the Architect," ARQ, no. 88 (December 1995): 8-10; Lucie K. Morisset, "Profil Phyllis Lambert et l'architecture," ARQ, no. 88 (December 1995): 6-7; Peter C. Newman, Bronfman Dynasty, (n. p.: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 12, 158-59, 163-65; Heather Payne, "The Journal Interview Phyllis Lambert--blending past and present," Queen's Journal, 12 February 1985, 11; Geoffrey Simmins, "Phyllis Lambert A daughter of wealth and privilege, this professional architect fulfills a philanthropic dream," City and Country Home, March 1986, [154]-164, 166, 168.

[7] Lambert, "Building Gets Built," 13-19; "Monument in Bronze," Time, 3 March 1958, 52, 55; Phyllis Lambert, "A Testimony to the Seagram Building," New York Landmarks Conservancy Newsletter, Fall-Winter 1988, 1-3; Douglas Brenner, "Architecture Hard-Hatted Woman," House and Garden, May 1989, 38, 42; Morisset, "Profil," 6-7.

[8] Lambert, "Building Gets Built," 13. Several other excerpts would be interesting, such as this one which reveals the value system prevailing in those days: "So in a meeting . . . we looked again at . . . the small houses

. . . and we discovered that it was ridiculous to leave them as they do not make financial sense anyway." p. 16. See also Edward Kaufman, "Interview with Phyllis Lambert of the Centre canadien d'architecture," Newsline: Columbia architecture planning preservation, May 1989, 2.

[9] Naomi Barry, "Not Born Yesterday: New York's Legendary Four Seasons Celebrates a Quarter Century," House and Garden, June 1984, 167; Douglas Brenner, "Phyllis Lambert: Peripatetic heroine of architecture," Architectural record 176, no. 12 (October 1988): 73; Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) press release, "Phyllis Lambert, Gene Summers to receive AIA Award for Renovation of Los Angeles' Biltmore Hotel," New York, 28 April 1980, p. 2-3; "Interview with Richard Krautheimer"; Lambert, "Building Gets Built," 13-19; Lambert, "A Testimony to the Seagram Building," 1-3; Disher, "Queen Bee"; McAtee, "Architect," 8-10; Lucie K. Morisset, "Monument d'éternité: le Seagram Building," ARQ, no. 88 (December 1995): 16, 17, 19; Gilles Ragot, "La maison des fonds," Architecture d'aujourd'hui, no. 262 (April 1989): 28; Lou Seligson, "Phyllis Lambert--'elf in constant flight'," Canadian Jewish News, 15 May 1980, 10; "Monument in Bronze," 52; Fels, "Phyllis Lambert: an Interview," 169; Canadian Press, "Phyllis Lambert views her architecture as a public art," Gazette, 12 January 1987, p. C 2; Duncan, "Klinkhoff," p. H 3; Philip Fine and Brendan Weston, "Joan of Architecture," Mirror, April 21-May 4, 1989; Dorothy Long, "Eight Montrealers, eight special places," Via Rail Canada, Fall 1987, 21; Payne, "Interview," 11.

[10] Phyllis Lambert quoted in McAtee, "Architect," 8, 10. See also Alonzo, "Passion," 16-18, 59.

[11] It is often said that Lambert spent one year at Yale, but in fact she spent two. McAtee, "Architect," 8-10; Seligson, "Elf in constant flight," 10; Simmins, "A Philanthropic Dream," [154]-164, 166, 168; Paul Cummings, "Interview: Phyllis Lambert Talks with Paul Cummings," Drawing 11, no. 3 (September-October 1989): 55; "Interview with Richard Krautheimer"; Newman, Bronfman Dynasty, 166; France Vanlaethem, "Le centre Saidye Bronfman, 1963-1969," ARQ, no. 88 (December 1995): 20; Melvin Charney, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 3 November 1996.

[12] Seligson, "Elf in constant flight," 10. See also Phyllis Lambert, "The Saidye Bronfman Cultural Centre," Canadian Institute of Steel Construction: Case Histories, no. 8 (April 1968): 2-3; Pedneault, "Montréal vue par Phyllis Lambert," 64.

[13] Phyllis Lambert, "Rhode Island School of Design Museum Notes," 1996, p. 12; Morisset, "Profil," 6-7.

[14] Simmins, "A Philanthropic Dream," 164.

[15] Fred A. Bernstein, "Joan of Architecture," Metropolitan Home, November 1989, 104. See also Ian Allaby, "Design Force/Hors ligne," En route, May 1989, 90; Nicole Campeau, "Garder la ville en vie," Châtelaine, June 1982, 110, 112; Phyllis Lambert, "Design Imperatives," in Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture Building and Gardens (Montréal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 58; Pedneault, "Montréal vue par Phyllis Lambert," 64; Simmins, "A Philanthropic Dream," 158, 164.
[16] Lambert quoted in Fels, "Phyllis Lambert: an Interview," 169.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Lambert quoted in Abley, "Bronfman virtues," p. B 1. See also Robert Fulford, "Joan of Architecture," Imperial Oil Review, Winter 1989, 12.
[19] Bill Amos, "Out to Save our Heritage," Sunday Express,16 November 1975.
[20] Lucie K. Morisset, who had access to Phyllis Lambert's archives, establishes the involvement of Lambert as president of Ridgway Ltd. Architects Developers in 1972. However, Gene Summers himself identified 1973 as the year when he and Lambert formed Ridgway Ltd. Morisset, "Profil," 6-7; Gene Summers, "The 'RIDGWAY' Biltmore," ARQ 88 (December 1995): 26. See also Grace Glueck, "Philanthropist Backs Archive in Montreal," New York Times, 29 May 1986, p. C-2; Allaby, "Design Force," 90; Newman, Bronfman Dynasty, 168.
[21] Summers, "The 'RIDGWAY' Biltmore," 26.
[22] Gene Summers quoted in Disher, "Queen Bee," 23.
[23] Lambert did not like Montréal as a child. She returned to Montréal after her father's death in 1971. Allaby, "Design Force," 92; Bernstein, "Joan of Architecture," 104; Brenner, "Peripatetic Heroine," 75; Fulford, "Joan of Architecture," 11; d'Arcy Janish, "1989 The Honor Roll: Phyllis Lambert," Maclean's, 25 December 1989, 18; Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 58; Morisset, "Profil," 6-7; Pedneault, "Montréal vue par Phyllis Lambert," 64; Guy Pinard, "Sur la scène de l'actualité," La Presse, 19 May 1985, p. 9; Simmins, "A Philanthropic Dream," 164.
[24] Jean-Claude Marsan quoted in Disher, "Queen Bee," 18.
[25] Bryan Demchinsky ed., Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers: Montreal Urban Issues and Architecture (Montréal: Véhicule Press, 1991): 12, 14, 41, 144; Dane Lanken, "Drapeau's Montreal: great moments, great monuments," Canadian Geographic 106, no. 4 (August-September 1986): 10-23; Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal une esquisse du futur (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1983), 131-35; Marsan, Évolution, 385-86. Disher, "Queen Bee," 18; Disher affirms that Lambert wanted to buy the Van Horne mansion, but that the developer declined the offer. Michael Fish, "Letters," "Phyllis Lambert gives city a

great monument," Gazette, 8 May 1989, p. B 2; Germain, "Notre dame de la restauration," 48; Phyllis Lambert, "Urban Heritage," in Montreal: a citizen's guide to politics (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1990), 5; Richard Martineau, "Phyllis Lambert La reine-maire," Mtl, May 1989, 48; Gérald LeBlanc, "Les attentes de Phyllis Lambert," La Presse, 1 December 1986, p. A 5; Morisset, "Profil," 6-7.

[26] Lambert, "Urban Heritage," 5.

[27] Michael Fish, quoted in Disher, "Queen Bee," 18.

[28] Germain, "Notre dame de la restauration," 48; "Profile Phyllis Lambert: H. C.'s newest Governor," Heritage Conservation, Winter 1977, 4.

[29] Amos, "Save our Heritage"; LeBlanc, "Les attentes de Phyllis Lambert," p. A 5; Disher, "Queen Bee," 19; Alain Duhamel, "Jean-Claude Marsan à la présidence d'Héritage Montréal," Le Devoir, 14 November 1983, p. 6. Duhamel states that Lambert will continue to get involved as founding president. Donna Gabeline, "Phyllis Lambert has a dream. And you're in it," Montreal Business Report Second Quarter, 1980, 74; Germain, "Notre dame de la restauration," 48; "Profile Phyllis Lambert: H. C.'s newest Governor," 4; Morisset, "Profil," 6-7; Seligson, "Elf in constant flight," 10.

[30] Phyllis Lambert formed the Société du Patrimoine Urbain de Montréal, later known as the Société d'amélioration de Milton-Parc, "in order to provide the needed management skills in holding the land, acting as interim landlord, forming cooperatives and bringing together the architectural skills." Lambert, "Milton-Park," note 34, p. 150. See also Seligson, "Elf in constant flight," 10; Germain, "Notre dame de la restauration," 51.

[31]Abley, "Bronfman virtues," p. B 1; Amos, "Save our Heritage"; Celine Chevalot, "Lettres des lecteurs," "Achat et rénovation d'habitations," La Presse, 31 July 1979, p. A 5; Disher, "Queen Bee," 19; Dominique Demers, "Phyllis la Redoutable," Châtelaine, May 1989, 190; Fine, "Joan of Architecture"; Gabeline, "Lambert has a dream," 74; Germain, "Notre dame de la restauration," 51; Lambert, "Milton-Park," 143, 145; Morisset, "Profil," 6-7; Pedneault, "Montréal vue par Phyllis Lambert," 64-66; René Viau, "Phyllis Lambert visualiser l'architecture," Beaux-Arts Magazine, no. 66 (March 1989): 26.

[32] Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "La personnalité de la semaine: Phyllis Lambert," La Presse, 23 October 1988, p. B 3; Campeau, "Garder la ville en vie," 112; Ann Gibbon, "Slow Renovations frustrate shopkeepers Westmount Square work drags on," Gazette, 21 November 1989, p. C 1; "Profile Phyllis Lambert," 4; "Two top architects join Overdale tenants fight," Gazette, 26 March 1988, p. A 7; "Overdale controversy continues," Montreal Downtowner, 30 March 1988, p. 1; Newman, Bronfman Dynasty, 194-95, 213.

[33] Phyllis Lambert, "What is the role of the architect in contemporary society?," Canadian Heritage, August 1980, p. 9. This text gives the essential of a speech given by Lambert when honoured by the American Jewish Congress National Women's Division, on 7 December 1978.
[34]Newman, Bronfman Dynasty, 207.
[35]Ibid., 208.
[36] Abley, "Bronfman virtues," p. B 1; Allaby, "Design Force," 88; Bernstein, "Joan of Architecture," 103; Disher, "Queen Bee," 22-23; Fulford, "Joan of Architecture," 11; Joanne Strong, "The informal Phyllis Lambert," Globe and Mail, Weekend edition, 16 April 1983, Fanfare p. 8; Ysabel Trujillo, "Bronfmans, National Bank confirm joint venture Phyllis Lambert apparently excluded from $100 million merchant bank deal," This week in Business, 19 March 1988, p. 8; Newman, Bronfman Dynasty, 196, 199-200, 203, 207-10. According to Newman, "By 1966, through CEMP, the Bronfmans had become Canada's largest private landowners" (p. 207).
[37] Lambert quoted in Dominique Demers, "Phyllis la Redoutable," 192.
[38]Allaby, "Design Force," 88, 92; Bernstein, "Joan of Architecture," 104; Demers, "Phyllis la Redoutable," 190; Scott Disher, "A passionate proponent of urban conservation," Globe and Mail, 14 May 1985, p. 14; Disher, "Queen Bee," 18; Germain, "Notre dame de la restauration," 46; Strong, "The informal Phyllis Lambert," Fanfare p. 8; Morisset, "Profil," 6-7; Newman, Bronfman Dynasty, 19, 168; Simmins, "A Philanthropic Dream," 164; "Legit theatre for Monkland," Monitor, 22 November 1983. Former Québec premier, René Lévesque, bought one of these condominiums in Cours Le Royer, according to both Newman and Germain.
[39] Phyllis Lambert, "The State of the Historic District of Old Montreal," "prepared for the general session on area conservation 'new life for old buildings,' a British Columbia and Yukon Heritage Conference," p. 5, Vancouver, 10-12 February 1977, unpublished, CCA library, file on Phyllis Lambert.
[40]Ibid., p. 1.
[41] Lambert, "What is the role of the architect in contemporary society?," p. 10. See also Lambert, "The State of the Historic District of Old Montreal."
[42] Sharon Zukin, Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change (Baltimore and London, England: John Hopkins University Press, 1982).
[43]In her fight for neighbourhoods, Lambert relentlessly warned against the danger of gentrification. See Strong, "The informal Phyllis Lambert," Fanfare p. 8; Martineau, "Phyllis Lambert La reine-maire," 50; Claude Turcotte, "Montréal à l'heure des choix quant au développement urbain," Le Devoir, 19 April 1989, p. 13; Pierre Lamonde and Mario Polèse, "L'évolution de la structure économique de Montréal 1971-1981: désindustrialisation ou reconversion?," L"actualité économique 60, no. 4

(1984): 471-94. Lambert later argued against some forms of development that lead to gentrification. For instance, in 1987, in her speech at Défi Montréal, organized by La Chambre de Commerce de Montréal and L'actualité, she denigrated development projects such as those for St. Catherine Street and St. Laurent Boulevard as they lead to gentrification.

[44] Jacques Coulon, "Old Montreal renewal--a love affair," Canadian Geographical Journal 84, no. 1 (1972): 25.

[45]Ibid., 24-31.

[46] Jean Drapeau has been the mayor of Montréal for the 1954-57 and 1960-86 periods. Lambert publicly supported two candidates, Cameron Charlebois and John Gardiner. Linteau, Montréal, 534; Canadian Press, "Phyllis Lambert views her architecture as public art," p. C 2; Lambert, "Urban Heritage," p. 8, 9; LeBlanc, "Les attentes de Phyllis Lambert," p. A 5; Abley, "Bronfman virtues," p. B 1; "Phyllis Lambert: un appui. . . et des sous au RCM," La Presse, 7 November 1986, p. A 6; Gérald LeBlanc, "Phyllis ♥ Montréal," La Presse, 12 May 1989, p. B 3; Gérald LeBlanc, "Une bombe dans la cour de Jean Doré," La Presse, 23 August 1989, p. A 5; Turcotte, "Montréal à l'heure des choix," p. 13.

[47] Angèle Dagenais, "Dossiers culturels: Les engagements de Doré, les cerisiers de Dupras," Le Devoir, 22 October 1986, p. 7; "Doré et Dupras débattent du soutien de Montréal aux arts," Le Devoir, 20 October 1986, p. 12; Phyllis Lambert, Canadian Conference of the Arts. Arts Bulletin 13, no. 3 (June 1989): 7; LeBlanc, "Les attentes de Phyllis Lambert," p. A 5.

[48] Phyllis Lambert, co-signatory, "Appel de la Conférence des arts aux élus de Montréal," La Presse, 17 February 1986, p. B 3. See also Angèle Dagenais, "Le budget bloqué du Conseil des arts de la CUM: Des organismes culturels lancent un appel," Le Devoir, 13 December 1985, p. 7.

[49] Frederic Tomesco, "Le défi Montréal Retour vers le futur," Commerce Montréal, November 1987, 10. Phyllis Lambert's text in "Les actes du colloque: le défi de Montréal," 1988, p. 102-108. Information from the CCA library.

[50] Claude Paquin, "Le développement urbain voué à intégrer la dimension patrimoniale," Les Entreprises, 7 October 1987, 35; Lambert, "Les actes du colloque: le défi de Montréal," 107-108.

[51] Lambert, "Les actes du colloque: le défi de Montréal," 102-104; Lambert, Canadian Conference of the Arts. Arts Bulletin, 8.

[52] Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Mme Phyllis Lambert est choisie personnalité de l'année de *La Presse*," La Presse, 23 October 1989, p. A 1; "Coup d'oeil sur Phyllis Lambert," Commerce Montreal, June 1989, 23; Georges Lamon, "Montréal n'a que faire de nouveaux gratte-ciel, estime Phyllis

Lambert," La Presse, 19 April 1989, p. A 7; Turcotte, "Montréal à l'heure des choix," p. 13; Lambert, Canadian Conference of the Arts. Arts Bulletin, 7; Phyllis Lambert, "La priorité à l'éducation et aux arts," Le Devoir, 29 November 1990, p. B 8.

[53] Alonzo, "Passion," 18; Lambert, "Urban Heritage," 9, 10; Ian Mayer, "City's handling of condo project compared to 'days of Drapeau'," Globe and Mail, 17 August 1987, p. A 3; "Comité consultatif sur le centre-ville," La Presse, 8 March 1987, p. A 7.

[54] Phyllis Lambert, "New Master plan ignores Montreal's history," Gazette, 28 May 1990, p. B 3. The text was also published in French, in Le Devoir. See Phyllis Lambert, "Libre opinion: L'arrondissement Centre de Montréal," Le Devoir, 22 May 1990, p. 7.

[55] Lambert, "New Master plan ignores Montreal's history," p. B 3.

[56] LeBlanc, "Les attentes de Phyllis Lambert," p. A 5; Lambert, "Les actes du colloque: le défi de Montréal," p. 104-105.

[57] Bisson dates the phase 1 of the project Le Cours Le Royer in 1976-77 and the phase 2 in 1977-78. Marsan dates the project in 1979-81. Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 31-39; Bisson, 1890-1990: Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090, 65; Pierre-Richard Bisson, Raymonde Gauthier, and Jacques Lachapelle, "24 Édifices--24 Buildings," ARQ, no. 54 (April 1990): 58-62; Melvin Charney, "The Montrealness of Montreal," Architectural Review 167, no. 999 (May 1980): 299-302; Florence Junca-Adenot, "Le nouveau campus de l'UQAM: processus de prise de décision d'un investissement immobilier public et étude des impacts," Actualité immobilière 9, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 30-32; Marsan, Évolution, 410-11; Joshua Wolfe, "The Façade Fad: Saving Face Isn't Always Enough," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 169, 174.

[58] Margaret Boyce, "Problématique de la restauration: analyse du développement des projets des Soeurs Grises," research paper submitted to Professor André Corboz, School of Architecture, Université de Montréal, 1977, for the class "Restauration, rénovation, insertion"; Marsan, Évolution, 387-88.

[59] Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 32.

[60] Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn, Downtown, inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: MIT Press, 1989), 5, 74-75, 79, 88, 91, 107, 111-13, 199; Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 31-39; Ricardo L. Castro, "Montréal's Architecture in the 1980s Resisting 'Practices' or the Practice of Resistance," ARQ, no. 50 (August 1989): 30-33; Marie Lessard, "Patrimoine industriel et développement culturel: la réutilisation des immeubles industriels désaffectés à des fins culturelles," Trames 2, no. 3 (1990): 56-61.

[61] The Alcan project won the Québec Order of Architects Prix d'excellence 1984. Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages," 67-72; Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 31-39; Bisson, "24 Buildings," 58-62; Boutot, "L'architecte le plus in en ville," 58-65; Pierre Boyer-Mercier, "Le prix d'excellence 1984 Rapport du jury," ARQ, no. 20 (August 1984): 14-15; Castro, "The Practice of Resistance," 30-33; Marsan, Évolution, 420-22; René Rozon, "Yves Trudeau et son emprise spatiale," Vie des arts 30, no. 119 (June-Summer 1985): 56-57; Norbert Schoenauer, "An Avant-Garde Spirit Maison Alcan, Montreal," Canadian Architect 29, no. 4 (April 1984): 24-33; Norbert Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 27; Yves Trudeau, unrecorded telephone interview by author, 28 April 1999; "Maison Alcan," Alcan Aluminium Limitée, Montréal.

[62] Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 31-39; Castro, "The Practice of Resistance," 30-33; Anne Cormier, "Le Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal," ARQ, no. 54 (April 1990): 47; Marsan, Évolution, 410-11.

[63] Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 31-39; Castro, "The Practice of Resistance," 30-33; Marsan, Évolution, 422-23. The project won a mention in the category of commercial buildings, at the architectural competition organized by the Québec Order of Architects in 1992. ARQ, no. 70 (December 1992): 22. Place du Commerce was renamed in memory of the 100th anniversary of Montréal Commerce Chamber.

[64] Author's visits to the site; Francyne Lord, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 March 1994.

[65] Phyllis Lambert quoted in Paquin, "Le développement urbain voué à intégrer la dimension patrimoniale," 35.

[66] Musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal, Pointe-à-Callière (1989-92), the Canadian Centre for Architecture (1981-89), the Museum of Contemporary Art (1992), the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (1987-91), the McCord Museum (1988-92), the Musée international de l'humour also known as the Musée juste pour rire or Just for Laughs Museum (1989-91).

[67] Théâtre Espace Go, Usine C, Théâtre d'aujourd'hui, Théâtre du Rideau Vert, Monument National, théâtre du Nouveau-Monde.

[68] About the Museum of Fine Arts, see ARQ, no. 38 (August 1987).

[69] Evidence regarding the emergence of new premises for theatres could be found in "Théâtre et architecture," ARQ, no. 62 (August 1991). In the editorial of that issue, France Vanlaethem wondered if the 1990s would be the decade of the theatres in the city, as the precedent one had been that of the museums ("Les annnées 1990, une décennie de théâtres?"). The construction of new or renewed places for theatres was later observed at the Colloque sur les nouveaux lieux culturels, held in Montréal at the Usine C theatre, in the context of the ninth edition of the Entretiens du

Centre Jacques-Cartier, 2-4 October 1996. The recent association of cultural premises with older structures was discussed at length. See also Pierre Beaupré, "Aux marches du palais . . .," ARQ, no. 38 (August 1987): 19-21; Jean-François Bédard, "Vous connaissez la dernière? Un nouveau musée . . . pour rire," ARQ, no. 74 (August 1993): 16-17; Ann Duncan, "Gascon appointed curator as McCord Museum grows," Gazette, 17 March 1988, p. D 13; Affaires culturelles, "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1991-1992" (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1992), 24; Éric Gauthier, "Quelques projets en cours de réalisation Rénovation et agrandissement du Musée McCord," ARQ, no. 54 (April 1990): 42; Lessard, "Patrimoine industriel et développement culturel," 56-61; Marsan, Évolution, 423-29; Josette Michaud, "La rue, la ville et le musée," ARQ, no. 38 (August 1987): 16-18; Mark Poddubiuk, "Grave disappointments and unexpected pleasures The new museums," ARQ, no. 68 (August 1992): 4-7; Susan Ross, "Pour une vision urbaine du théâtre: une critique des nouveaux théâtres de Montréal, ARQ, no. 62 (August 1991): 8-9; Jacques Rousseau, "Mémoire présenté au comité consultatif sur le projet d'agrandissement du musée des beaux-arts de Montréal," ARQ, no. 38 (August 1987): 22-24; France Vanlaethem, "Pointe-à-Callière Musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal," ARQ, no. 67 (June 1992): 33-35. In 1993, the museum Pointe-à-Callière received the Prix d'excellence from the Québec Order of Architects, category "institutional architecture" as well as the "Grand Prix d'architecture." It also received the Orange prize from Save Montréal. See Luc Noppen, "Prix d'excellence en architecture 1993," ARQ, no. 76 (December 1993): 8-9; Lucie K. Morisset, "Le grand prix d'architecture et le prix d'excellence 1993, catégorie 'architecture institutionnelle'," ARQ, no. 76 (December 1993): 10-11.

[70] Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement," incl. Bilan 1990-1991 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991), 64; Henry Lehmann, "If public art is the measure of a society's greatness, what does Montreal's new art suggest about our city?," Gazette, 4 July 1992, p. I 2; Susan Ross, "Le théâtre d'aujourd'hui, Montréal," ARQ, no. 62 (August 1991): 12-15; Susan Ross, "A modernist collage," ARQ, no. 74 (August 1993): 10-11; Duncan, "McCord Museum grows," p. D 13.

[71] Henry Lehmann, "Past to present, myth to reality Four public sculptures explore our relationship with history," Gazette, 5 December 1992, p. J 6. See also Ross, "A modernist collage," 10-11.

[72] "Inukshook" is translated by "like a person" in Louis G. Redstone and Ruth R. Redstone, Public Art New Directions (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981), 49.

[73] Affaires culturelles, "Bilan 1991-1992," 24; Lehmann, "Four public sculptures," p. J 6.
[74]Affaires culturelles, "Bilan 1991-1992," 24; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1992-1993" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture, Direction de l'aide aux artistes, aux arts visuels et aux métiers d'art, 1993), 12; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1994-1995" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1995), 2, 36; Jean-François Bédard, "Le musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, Montréal," ARQ, no. 68 (August 1992): 8-10; Marc Boudreau, Pointe-à-Callière, toute une expérience! (Montréal: Pointe-à-Callière, musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal, 1992); Ross, "Pour une vision urbaine du théâtre: une critique des nouveaux théâtres de Montréal," 8-9; Vanlaethem, "Pointe-à-Callière Musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal," 33-35. The 1991-1992 annual report mentions only Peter Krausz' and Andrew Dutkewych's work as having been commissioned for the Pointe-à-Callière museum in the context of the provincial programme.
[75] Marsan, Évolution, 375, 385, 387-88, 391-92.
[76] Ibid., 390.
[77] Ibid., 391.

CHAPTER 7

THE SKYSCRAPERS OF THE 1980s, THE PLAZA, THE SCULPTURE

Introduction

Mark London believes that the climax of Modernism "may well have been right here in Montreal"[1] with Frei Otto's West German Pavilion, Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome (the American pavilion; see figures 19 and 20) and Moshe Safdie's industrial housing project, Habitat 67. In short, major architectural projects erected in Montréal on the site of Expo 67. If, as we demonstrated, modern sculpture exhibited at Expo 67 had a determinant impact on Québec art, the situation was somehow different on the architectural and urban scene. Most of the major modern projects in those fields were built in anticipation of Expo 67, including the skyscrapers. Some high-rises were built in the 1970s, but this wave of construction was interrupted by the recession. However, despite Phyllis Lambert's exhortations against the skyscraper, despite an economic downfall and despite the fact that areas of protection in the centre of Montréal favoured the recycling of existing structures, the construction of skyscrapers resumed in Montréal during the 1980s and early 1990s. In several cases, those edifices were not even as high as the highest construction of the early 1960s. With their twenty-eight, twenty-four, twenty-three, twenty-two, twenty or nineteen storeys, they nonetheless could be considered as high-rises.[2]

Some of the towers built in the early 1970s feature characteristics associated with the construction of modern towers: they were built in concrete, and some had a plaza at their base. Norbert Schoenauer, professor of architecture at McGill University, affirms that modern architecture was built in Montréal in the 1960s and 1970s while modern and post-modern architecture competed during the 1980s.[3]

According to Mark London, post-modernism came late to Montréal and it was manifest in two very different ways. Firstly, there were the numerous preservation projects and secondly, in the mid-1980s, a new type of office tower was erected in the central area. Derek Drummond observes that, during the 1980s, those high-rises had typically two types of cladding: stone and mirror-glassed, the latter as a result of the energy crisis and of the ensuing regulation that limited the area of transparent glass on a building. Drummond contends that, whatever the material, the architecture of those towers amounted much to the same, a total lack of relationship between the interior and the exterior of the building (what could be called "façadism"). Those skyscrapers were the "developer's tower."[4]

According to both Baker and Drummond, this architecture, which exhibited façades alienated from the interior of the building, was the direct consequence of the change in the developer-architect relation. The developers of these buildings were less informed, and sought only profitability. That was the context in which the first post-modernist towers emerged.[5] For London, urbanism and historicism were the two "basic tenets of Postmodernism"[6] and most post-modern high-rises in Montréal proved to be weak on both aspects. Firstly, and contrary to the preservation projects which took into account the existing context, the post-modern towers tended to ignore their surroundings. With this regard, they were not much different than the early modern projects, except that

the post-modern ones mostly benefited from already cleared parcels, ready to welcome new construction. Secondly, often "historicism merely became the superficial appliqué of decorative details from the past, an odd pediment or a stylized, oversized column."[7] More specifically, London identifies five striking characteristics of post-modern buildings in Montréal. Firstly, he notes an emphasis in the design of the bottom of the façade, the part most noticeable by passers-by. The façade also defines the building/street relation: "The prime consideration in determining the position of walls is how best to enclose the street or space outside the building rather than simply housing the interior requirements."[8] Secondly, the top, cap or capital has cornices, false mansards, peaks, and/or pediments, replacing the flat modernist roof top. Thirdly, solid material was used to face or clad the building. In Montréal, the use of local material translated into masonry work, granite in particular for high-rises, but also grey-stone (and we could add, aluminium). Fourthly, London observes a wide variety regarding the location, sizes and shapes of doors and windows. Finally, these buildings offer a "juxtaposition of several styles and forms."[9]

The commerces introduced by the former generation of high-rise office towers remained in most cases, and in some instances, their importance increased. Also, some of the new developments mixed shopping malls (Eaton Centre, Place Montréal Trust, Les Promenades de la Cathédrale) and office towers. Professor Schoenauer acutely observes that, when office towers include shopping malls at their base, the former are higher than in the case of what he terms "pure office towers"[10] of twenty storeys or so. Most of the new towers were located on René-Lévesque and de Maisonneuve Boulevards, Sherbrooke Street, McGill College and Président-Kennedy Avenues. They continued to define and develop the western part of the CBD.

However, as a counterpart to this private development, an institutional axis developed during the period of our study (1967-92). Including Place des Arts/ the Museum of Contemporary Arts to the North, it aligned massive construction southward up to the limits of Old Montréal: the Complexe Desjardins, the Guy-Favreau Complex, the Convention Centre.[11] Those projects share the characteristic of having been, at their origin, publicly or semi-publicly owned, and of introducing functions in the city centre characteristic of the post-modern city (theatres, music halls, a museum, socio-artistic events combined with economic functions, a convention centre, a hotel). However, their formal aspect is mostly that of lower buildings, but with large templates. Post-modern functions characterize this institutional axis, not post-modern towers. Nonetheless, most had at one point or another, one or several sculptures set in front of them or by their side, as a place marker. If they did not all present a plaza, they all had some space allocated to art (garden or public square). That last characteristic is important since none of those projects is located in the area were plazas or the like were encouraged in order to increase the permissible floor area of a given project. In addition, governments (federal and provincial) were not subjected to municipal regulations, even if in practice they tended to respect them. Why then, were there plazas, gardens, and sculptures?

The projects that define this institutional axis will therefore be presented, as they will allow a comparison with private developments, often located in the area governed by that by-law. Before presenting the institutional projects, we will examine the main components making up the apparent paradigm of the sculpture on the plaza in front of a private skyscraper, modern or post-modern. In particular, we will look at the making of the free spaces at the base of the skyscrapers. Are they really plazas? Were those free spaces the result of municipal regulation? The

setting up of identifiable works of art on those pre-eminent places will also be addressed. We will try to understand why the sculpture was adopted in the allotted open space in front of buildings, and how this represents a recent phenomenon. The possible motivations behind those new actions will be examined.

Private Developments

Municipal Regulations Addressing the Plaza

The city of Montréal was endowed with a master plan as late as 1992, which is the last year of our study period. As mentioned before, the construction code 1900 and zoning by-laws regulated uses in a given area, construction types, height limitations, required set-backs, et cetera. Shortly after the Montréal Citizen Movement (MCM) took office in 1986, it voted an interim by-law that placed "a blanket height restriction on all new downtown buildings. Exceptions were granted on a case-by-case basis."[12] In the absence of one cohesive text pertaining to the regulation of plazas in Montréal, the author had to proceed with a comprehensive search at the city's clerk office. Since no systematic index existed, a thorough search was conducted with the help of Mr. Denis Allard, the city clerk responsible for keeping and filing each and every by-law.

By-laws discussed below all modified construction by-law 1900. By-law 2702 introduced the term "tower" in December 1961. Later, in 1963, the term "plaza" was introduced in by-law 2887 (see discussion in the section about Victoria Square). The possibility to build higher (i.e., to have a greater floor area ratio), if plazas or terraces were laid out, was limited to the territory located in the city centre (see figure 16). By-law

3387 (December 1966), which amended the content of by-law 2887, did not modify the principle of a possible larger floor area in that zone. The dimensions for open-air and inside plazas or terraces remained valid with respect to the height it allowed for construction. In addition, the city area to which by-law 2887 applied remained unchanged with by-law 3387. In fact, those very provisions were reaffirmed in by-law 3411, adopted in January 1967 (see figure 25).

By-law 3411 reiterated the definitions of lot, mean ground level, and floor area, previously defined in by-law 2887. It determined the general requirements for the maximum floor area as being "set at twelve (12) times the area of the parcel of land on which it is built."[13] Moreover, it had the exact same exceptions as by-law 2887 did, for the same area in the city centre. If the term "place" had replaced the term "plaza," the fact remained that it was still possible to increase the maximum floor area of six square feet (0.56 square metre) for every square foot (0.09 square metre) "of open space on the parcel of land" provided that the amenity was open to the public at all times. The prescription regarding those (exterior) open areas was left unchanged. In addition, by-law 3411 specified that when prescribed under a by-law, "the space comprised between the building line and the street line shall not be considered as an open space in the open air for purposes of increasing the maximum floor area authorized."[14] Provisions regarding height limits remained the same, including the possibility to take into account the situation when a building fronted on a street across which was an open public space. In this instance, one half of the depth of that open space could be added to the street width.

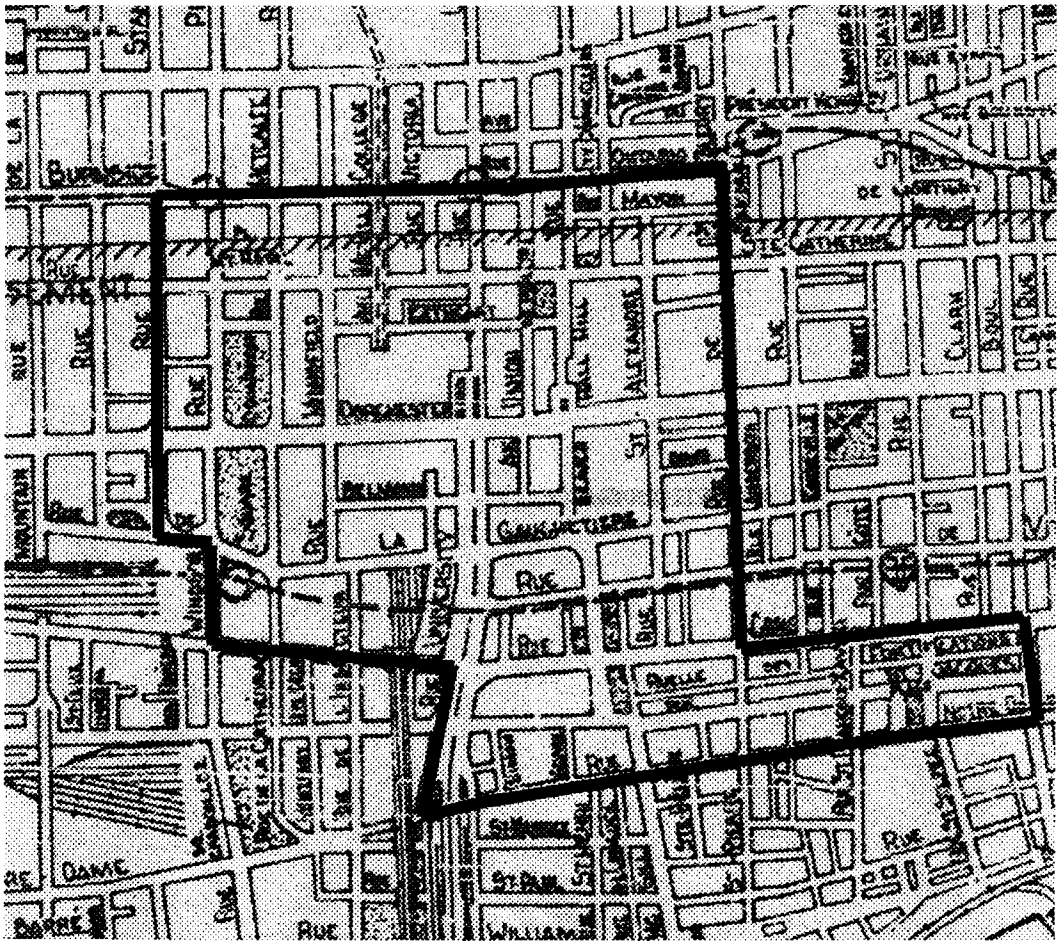


Figure 25. The area where by-laws 3411 (January 1967) and 4748 (February 1974) favoured the construction of plazas, on a map by Cité de Montréal, Public Works Department, Montréal, 21 June 1966. From City of Montréal, Municipal Archives, coll. 30, series 2, roll 2, code 370, F1/2. Author circumscribed the area on the map.

Then, in February 1974, by-law 4748 modified by-law 3411. It introduced the definition of "floor area index," which was maintained at twelve for buildings other than residential ones. It was still possible, for those non-residential buildings, to increase the maximum floor area authorized, given open space was provided.[15] The area targeted by the exception, and the exception itself, remained unchanged. However, the increase in the floor area authorized was thereafter limited to 25% of the floor area index prescribed. This ceiling to additional floor area consequently limited, at least theoretically, the area of the plaza required in counterpart. In addition, the established relation between height of a building and width of a street, and the inclusion of an open space across the street remained unchanged in by-law 4748. In the following decade, five by-laws were passed that essentially modified the requirements pertaining to land coverage of buildings included in by-law 4748. However, the authorized provisions regarding the increase of the maximum floor area, and the area of the city centre where the exception applied, remained unchanged.[16] In addition, our research did not indicate that those provisions were repealed afterwards, during the remainder of our study period (1984-92). Therefore, not only was the encouragement for having plazas almost concomitant to the start of our study period, but also, for the entire period under study (1967-92), the provisions were in force, almost unchanged, and in the exact same sector of the city. A close examination of the location of the plazas (e.g., inside or outside the area of exception) will contribute to determine if the regulatory incentives were effective or not.

Free Space at the Base of High-Rises Resulting From Other Municipal Regulations

Regarding the requirements of the municipal regulations, an important part of Montréal's central area, which covered both the former business district and the newest one, was treated as an area of exception. Consequently, projects located in that area were accepted after negotiations with representatives from the permit department. Several by-laws applied, and the "Permis et Inspections" (Permits and Inspections) Department had the responsibility to determine which of those by-laws were applicable and how. It is therefore a distinct possibility that a building was located in an area subjected to zoning and construction by-laws (1900 and by-laws that modified or repealed them, even if in part), while having benefited from discretionary applications. This situation applied to the early high-rises located on Dorchester Boulevard (Place Ville-Marie, CIBC, CIL), but not to the McGill College Avenue to the north of Place Ville-Marie.

From a methodological standpoint, we first identified the sectors of interest to be looked at, and then searched for the municipal regulation applicable to those sectors. Particularly, where were the new high-rises located? And where were the ones with open air places? A thorough knowledge of the area, gained from previous research and subsequent frequent visits and observations, allows one to affirm that new skyscrapers were mainly located on McGill College Avenue, on René-Lévesque Boulevard, de Maisonneuve Boulevard, and the segment of Sherbrooke Street west comprised between Guy Street and de Bleury Street.[17] In short, the new high-rises are mostly in the St. George ward (see figure 26). Some may be located in St. Andrew ward, but not the most significant ones (i.e., projects reviewed in specialized literature). We

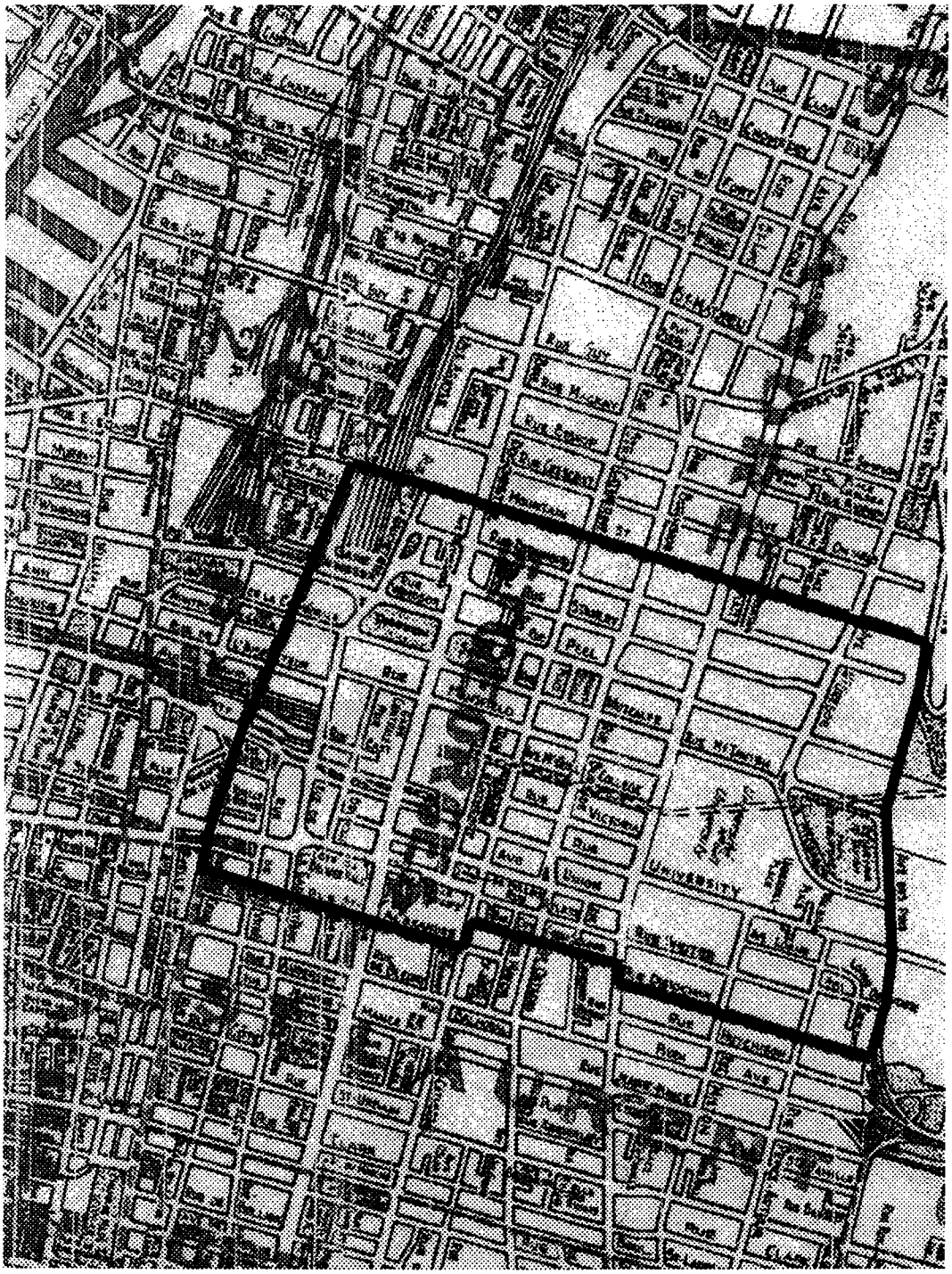


Figure 26. St. Georges Ward. Map by Cité de Montréal, City Planning Department and Public Works Department, Montréal, 6 March 1962. Signed by Claude Robillard. From City of Montréal, Municipal Archives, coll. 30, series 2, code 354. Author circumscribed the area on the map.

examined zoning by-laws pertaining to the specific ward in which a high-rise was located, as well as other by-laws that could affect the area where the project was located, with requirements for the set-back, provisions for plazas or terraces, conditions of occupation of a building on a lot (admissible percentage of occupation), and so on. We found that the municipal by-laws that addressed topics of interest for this research pair St. George and St. Andrew wards. Consequently, we will henceforth focus on the territory of St. George ward.

Actually, some of the post-modern skyscrapers which have plazas or terraces can be found in the St. George ward. Did their location coincide with the area where plazas were encouraged, part of St. George ward? This last question will require that we examine streets where high-rises were built, and see if those buildings included a plaza, or not. We will, hereafter, briefly present some of those streets and projects, and locate them in relation to the area of exception defined in by-law 4748. This will be followed by our findings regarding the municipal by-laws pertaining to this ward, with regards to set-backs, maximum land coverage, et cetera.

The High-Rises On De Maisonneuve Boulevard

Several high-rises recently built on de Maisonneuve Boulevard have their façade rising very close to the street line. A field observation of de Maisonneuve Boulevard indicates that, from Stanley Street towards the west, until Guy Street, there is no new post-modern office skyscraper. On that stretch of the boulevard are the older brick buildings, and the unavoidable parking lots inherited from the demolition years, and, of course, the Concordia University buildings on each side of the street, from

Mackay to Bishop Streets. Still, on the north side of the Boulevard, from Stanley Street to University Street stand erect, side by side, the buildings of the 1980s, including some towers. There was some high-rise construction in the 1970s to the east of McGill College Avenue up to Union Street. Despite the great variety of architectural styles, one fact remains: most edifices were built to the street line.

On the stretch of de Maisonneuve Boulevard extending between Stanley and University Streets, buildings formed a new generation of Wall Street (as a possible symbol of the dominating business centre). This fact is worth noting since the walls of these buildings have been much discussed. Their treatment and the way they enclose and define the space is a sure indication that they are post-modern buildings, according to London. Some are not huge if compared to other post-modern towers. Located at the intersection of two streets, they occupy about one half of each street, hence a quarter of a city block. The Royal and Sun Alliance Building, located on the west side of Metcalfe Street and the north side of de Maisonneuve Boulevard (1001 de Maisonneuve west, 1982), is exemplary. This masonry and glass building offers a plain, rectangular volume, without fancy and unorthodox recesses. The post-modern expression of its walls is limited to the play between "hollows" and "solids". The entrance, at angle from the street corner, is reminiscent of a vernacular architectural Montréal characteristic. Both façades of the building are erected at the street line.[18]

The nineteen-storey-high Place Canada Trust (999 de Maisonneuve Boulevard West, 1989-90) stands on the northeast corner of de Maisonneuve Boulevard and Metcalfe Street, across the street from the Royal and Sun tower (see figure 27). There are two towers on this stretch of de Maisonneuve Boulevard (Metcalfe to Mansfield Streets), and a lane separates Place Canada Trust from its immediate

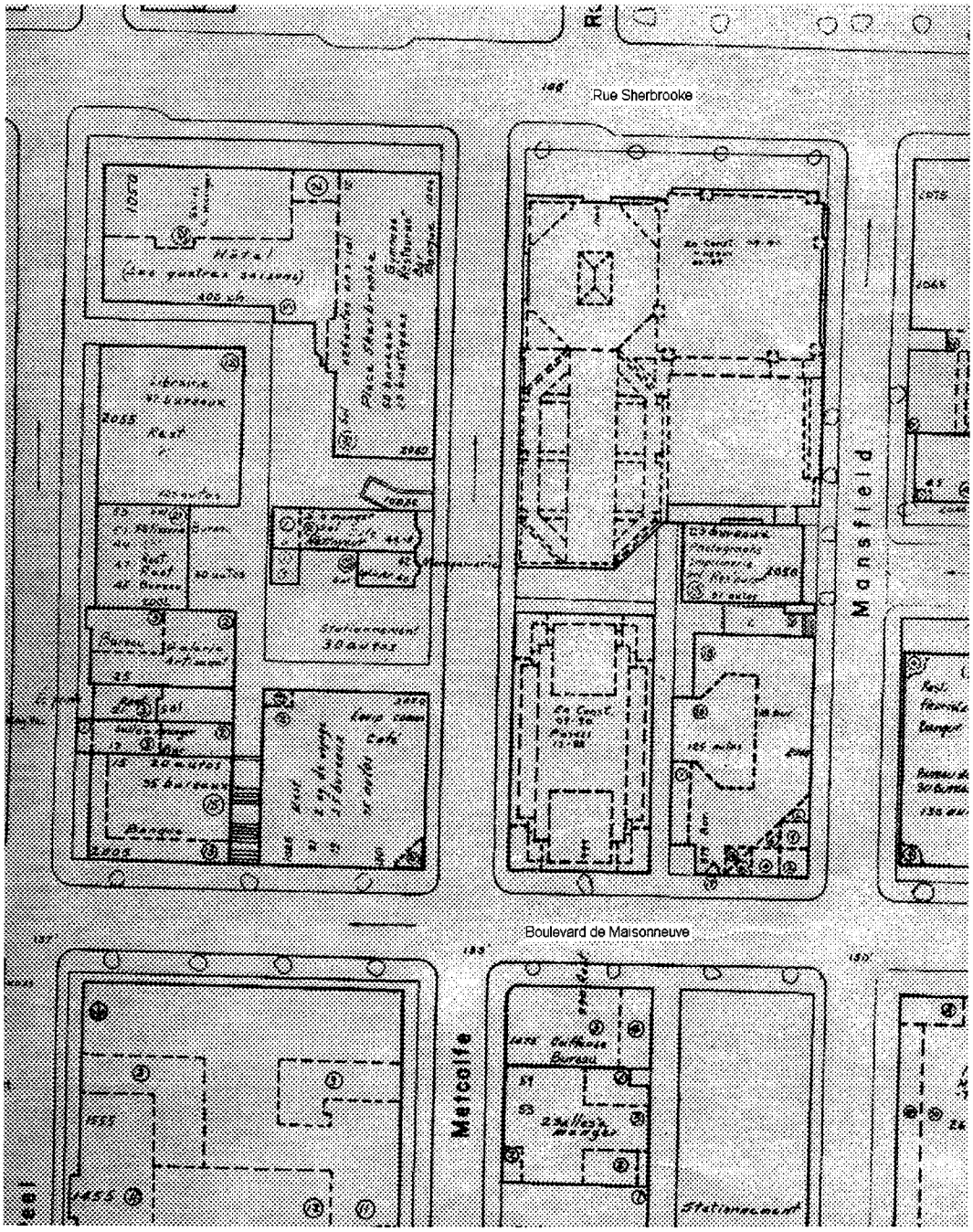


Figure 27. Land use map showing the city blocks between Metcalfe and Mansfield Streets, de Maisonneuve Boulevard and Sherbrooke Street. Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, Ville de Montréal, Guy R. Legault, arch., Directeur. Revised in September 1990. Plan no. 228-26.

neighbour, the Centre Manu-Vie/Crédit Lyonnais (2000 Mansfield Street; 1982). The entrance to Place Canada Trust is slightly set back (approximately 1.2 metre),[19] while the remainder of the façade abuts on the sidewalk. Its Metcalfe façade similarly meets the walkway. As well on that street, a narrow lane separates Place Canada Trust from its neighbour, the Scotia Tower (Monit Centre). Those are the only two buildings on that stretch of Metcalfe Street, e.g., between de Maisonneuve Boulevard and Sherbrooke Street. Place Canada Trust is a tower with a base, shaft, and capital. The base is made more predominantly of stone, with glass used only for the windows, either square, rectangular or circular. The walls of the shaft start as being similar to the base, with stone and glass, but at one point in height (which varies depending if the wall is frontal or lateral), glass walls emerged from this sheath. And the capital exhibits the trestles, as if showing a steel structure (here, a pseudo structure that is supported rather than being supportive).[20] The building was described by Derek Drummond as "a conventional glass-skinned shaft being tantalizingly exposed as an outer layer of granite is peeled away."[21] It was certainly not the only skyscraper to offer such façades, but Drummond thought that in this case, the idea was pushed to the limit.[22]

It is possible to affirm, from this brief description, that Place Canada Trust meets all the characteristics of post-modern buildings, as observed and listed by Mark London. The tower even presents the one particularity London insists more upon, and which may appear to some to be less dramatic than the style of the building envelope: "The Postmodern building is likely to hug the sidewalk instead of being set back on an ill-defined and unused plaza."[23] This absence of plaza holds true whether we look at the Royal and Sun Alliance Building, the Place Canada Trust, the Centre Manu-Vie, or at the Industrial Life Tower entrance on de Maisonneuve Boulevard. In this last instance, hardly a few steps and

stone slabs segregate the façade from the city sidewalk. On that side of the tower are businesses directly accessible from the street: coffee shop, cigar store, a restaurant ("New York Daily Soup"), and a currency exchange. As we will see in the McGill College section, those commerces are neither visible nor identified from the Avenue side of the building.[24]

The south side of de Maisonneuve Boulevard was less dramatically redesigned by the construction of new towers. There are still "lost spaces"[25] turned into parking lots. Furthermore, some older structures remained unaffected, even though a major one, the Mount Royal Hotel, changed function when it was recycled into Les Cours Mont-Royal (1986-88), which amalgamated condominiums, offices and businesses. Two major department stores, Morgan's (now The Bay) and Eaton's occupied a whole city block, extending from St. Catherine Street to de Maisonneuve Boulevard. In fact those two stores acted as anchors for three major projects built in their immediate vicinity, in much the same way they did in suburban shopping malls.[26] These new projects in downtown Montréal, though, included a mixture of office towers and of shopping malls. They were thirty-three-storey-high office tower La Maison des Coopérants combined to the shopping mall Les Promenades de la cathédrale; Eaton Centre, with a thirty-one-storey-high office tower, and Place Montréal Trust, with a thirty-storey-high tower. The construction of these new high buildings was concomitant to that of Les Cours Mont-Royal.[27] Indeed, those three new projects were linked with each other and the department stores by underground walkways. They extended from The Bay, to the east, up to Les Cours Mont-Royal, to the west, establishing a climate-controlled pedestrian artery that ran parallel to St. Catherine Street and de Maisonneuve Boulevard.[28]

In 1987, the Maison des Coopérants was being built: a large office tower erected on the northern parcel of the city block that belonged to

Christ Church Cathedral. The cathedral was uplifted temporarily and preserved, which required great technical prowess. The Coopérants Insurance Company relocated its headquarters which was previously on Viger Square, on de Maisonneuve Boulevard. The Coopérants used the underground of the cathedral to build a multi-level shopping mall, reaching both the Bay and Eaton's. The tower in itself displays the attributes of a post-modern office high-rise. It is a rosy mirror-glass tower, with faint references to gothic architectural detailing in its façades. Furthermore, its roof line is not flat, but is ornamented.[29] The Maison des Coopérants' main façade on de Maisonneuve Boulevard and the two lateral ones, on Union and University Streets, abut on the city sidewalk. Consequently, there is no plaza. Instead, the project includes an enclosed garden to compensate for the former green space lost in the venture. The so-called "Jardins du Cloître" (Cloister's Gardens) are accessible from either University or Union Streets, as well as from the back side of the tower. On Union Street, a colonnade encloses the space and segregates it from the street life. The gardens are in fact a hard surfaced place, equipped with public benches, trash baskets, a fountain, and some landscaping. Its secluded aspect makes it a popular place to relax, almost an oasis. Still, some have criticized the fact that the tower was not set back from the street.[30] Per se, this project embodies the post-modern characteristic of "complexity and contradiction in architecture," to borrow from Robert Venturi.[31]

The Eaton Centre stemmed from the lack of financial profitability of a former commercial concourse (Les Terrasses) adjoining Eaton's. York-Hannover Developments, which owned the commercial part of Les Terrasses, purchased the properties located on the southern residuum of the track of land adjoining Eaton's. The complex land assembly and demolition of some buildings (including the controversial one of the old

Kresge Department store, and the old Bally shoe store) allowed York-Hannover to consider the development of a block bordered by Eaton's, St. Catherine Street, McGill College Avenue and de Maisonneuve Boulevard. Peter Rose, the architect hired for the project, had to ensure that his design complied with the owner's requirements for denser commercial spaces than Les Terrasses, plus a future office tower. For the commercial concourse, Rose decided to rely on the nineteenth-century model of the galleria. His plan included two gallerias (north and south) accessible from Eaton's and the three city streets, the subway, and even from Place Ville-Marie by another underground passage. As a result of Rose's view, some stores are directly accessible from the sidewalk, a positive departure from the boutiques in Place Ville-Marie and even the Complexe Desjardins (in its original form). Also, the galleria can be entered at street level. The office tower part of Eaton Centre reaches thirty-one storeys, and was set back by 27.4 metres from both St. Catherine Street and McGill College Avenue in order to minimize the negative impacts caused by the high tower (shade, wind effects, and so on). Since the project was approved under the Civic Party administration (hence before 1986), it seems that this was the solution the new municipal administration came up with (i.e., to accept height, but set it back from the street). The Eaton Centre fronts de Maisonneuve Boulevard, actually to the street line, even though the office tower is much recessed from the boulevard. The complexity of the project (and of land assembly) contributed in delaying its opening to as late as Fall 1990, even though demolition started as early as Winter 1987.[32]

The third project, Place Montréal Trust, also redeveloped a vast city block, bound by St. Catherine Street, McGill College Avenue, de Maisonneuve Boulevard and Mansfield Street. That parcel had the new Eaton Centre to the east and the defunct Simpson's store (Simons since

the Summer 1999) to the west, and was two blocks away from the Les Cours Mont-Royal project. Place Montréal Trust could either be presented in the context of de Maisonneuve Boulevard, or of Avenue McGill College. However, it is pertinent to note that Place Montréal Trust was another mega-project made up of a commercial concourse and of a high office tower. Cadillac Fairview acted as the developer of the whole project, while also being co-owner of the commercial galleria with the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec. Montréal Trust, which lent the money for the project, was co-owner of the thirty-storey office tower of Place Montréal Trust, while also renting most of it.

Place Montréal Trust also includes underground boutiques and links with department stores (Eaton's and Simson's and the Eaton Centre) and the Montréal subway. It has two underground and three above ground shopping levels, a configuration similar to Eaton Centre, even though the former is associated more with suburban shopping malls, while the latter is endowed with an urban panache. Place Montréal Trust's commercial concourses benefit from daylight on three sides, and have, in addition, a large atrium topped by a glass ceiling. The granite-clad building has a relation to the street similar to the Eaton Centre, with some shops directly accessible from the sidewalk. Lastly, the Place Montréal Trust is also built to the street line, whatever the street, but the office tower, even though accessible from McGill College Avenue (1500 Avenue McGill College), is recessed from it and rises from de Maisonneuve Boulevard, leaving the impression that the structure bordering McGill College Avenue is not that high. Similarities between Place Montréal Trust and Eaton Centre may not be coincidental. Actually, at first, Cadillac Fairview wanted to build another project, that called for a footbridge over McGill College Avenue, blocking the view of the Mount-Royal. After protests, public consultation, and Phyllis Lambert selling of her assets in

Cadillac Fairview, the concept was revised. Marsan considers the architecture of the tower of Place Montréal Trust to be an accumulation of clichés, a testimony to the influence of the "gourous" of post-modernism. All of the above noted elements contribute, in Mark London's opinion, in defining Place Montréal Trust as a post-modern complex.[33]

The 2001 University (Place London Life) twenty-storey tower was built in 1975 and had its de Maisonneuve entrance both below grade and set back from the street (sunken plaza).[34] A ramp for the disabled, stairs and some landscaping in planters are now part of its layout. Central doors access to the various businesses, located inside at that level (actually a few steps below). During summer, the restaurant located inside extends outside on the mineral plaza: tables with umbrellas and chairs create a café-terrasse. According to Derek Drummond, the provision of a zoning by-law that excluded from the permissible buildable area, the area below the mean ground level of the site, made sunken steps and entrances attractive to developers.[35] However, our observations reveal that this provision had little impact on the design of the entrances to towers accessible from de Maisonneuve Boulevard. Except for Place London Life, the other towers or new buildings located on de Maisonneuve Boulevard are accessible at street-level. Another provision of those by-laws, which exchanged additional floor area with public open space, was no more used. With the exception of the sunken plaza of Place London Life, there are no real plazas on that stretch of de Maisonneuve Boulevard, despite the fact that it is included, as the northern limit, in the area where additional floor surface could be gained in exchange of open free space for the public. The actual alignment of edifices indicates that the by-laws 2887 and 3411 as amended, did not have a marked influence on the morphology of this artery.

Other municipal regulations specific to St. George and St. Andrew wards may have been more appealing to developers. For instance, by-law 4816 (September 1974) requested that a front building line of at least 15 feet (4.6 metres) be set along the streets of the territory for which the by-law was introduced (see figure 28), except on St. Catherine, Stanley and Drummond Streets, and de Maisonneuve Boulevard (hence between Guy and Stanley Streets). Furthermore, no lateral building line was required for corner lots. The by-law allowed that, on those arteries, the building line be reduced to 0. Further by-laws (no. 6724 in 1985--see figure 29--and no. 8220 in 1989) maintained the absence of a required set-back for de Maisonneuve Boulevard (between Guy and University Streets).[36] Also, by-law no. 5804 (1981) specified that "over a depth of 30 feet (9.15 metres) along Boulevard de Maisonneuve, the maximum land coverage may reach 80% of the area of the lot."[37] The plaza built in the mid-1970s could result from the requirements for a set back, the height limit "above mean ground level," the permissible land coverage or the permissible floor area ratio. The absence of set-back for Place Canada Trust can be explained by by-law 6724. However, how can we account for the construction to the street line of the Royal and Sun Alliance Building (1982), built at a time when by-law 4816 required a front building line of at least fifteen feet (4.6 metres) on that stretch of de Maisonneuve Boulevard?

Regarding height, by-law 4816 determined zones of permissible height (figure 28) which affected a stretch of de Maisonneuve Boulevard (between Guy and Stanley Streets). Later on, by-law 6217 (September 1983) extended the area covered from Peel Street to Mansfield Street (see figure 30). The parcels on de Maisonneuve Boulevard affected by that change were zoned F, that is, a construction of no more than 160 feet (48.8 metres) in height. In addition, by-law 6217 maintained the upzoning

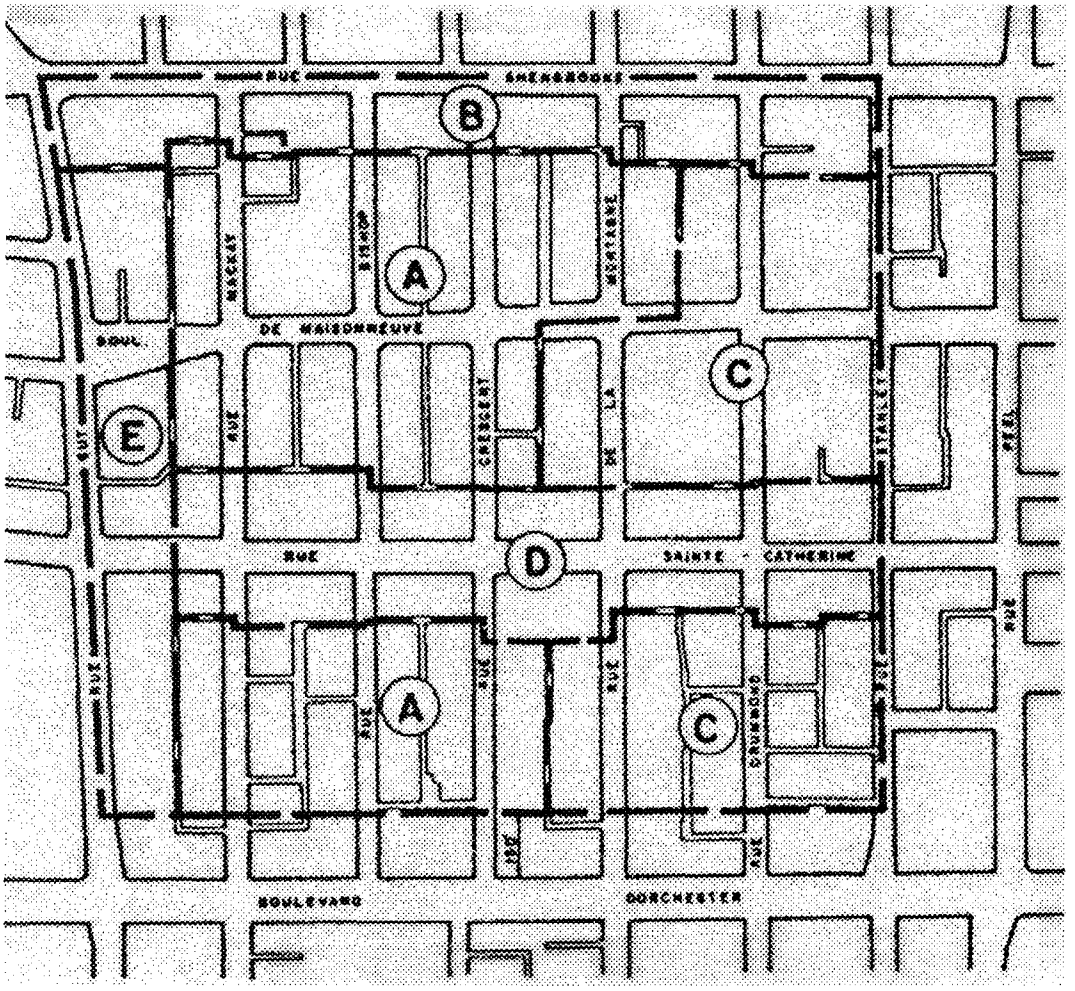


Figure 28. Map from by-law 4816, September 1974.

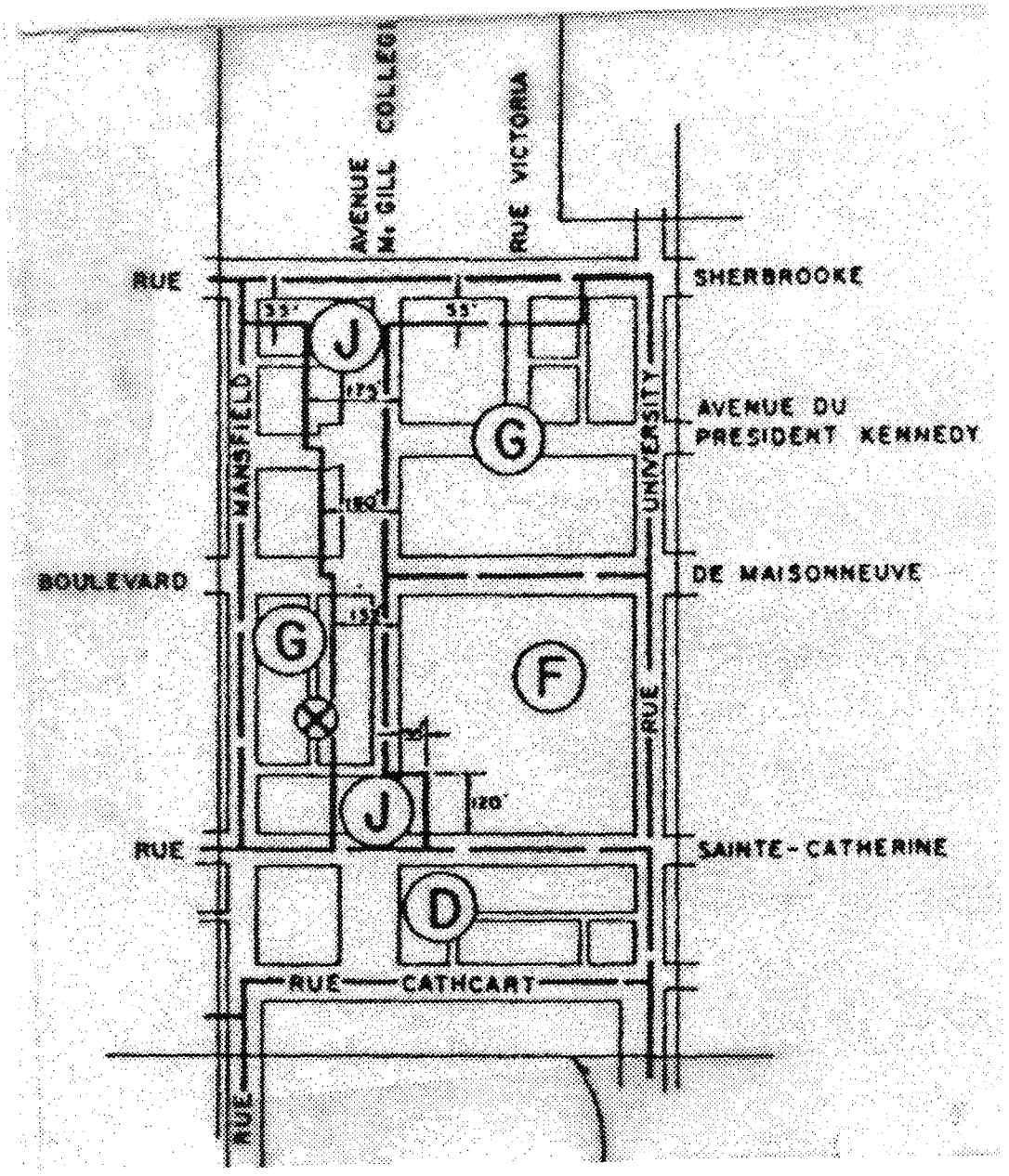


Figure 29. Map from by-law 6724, June 1985.

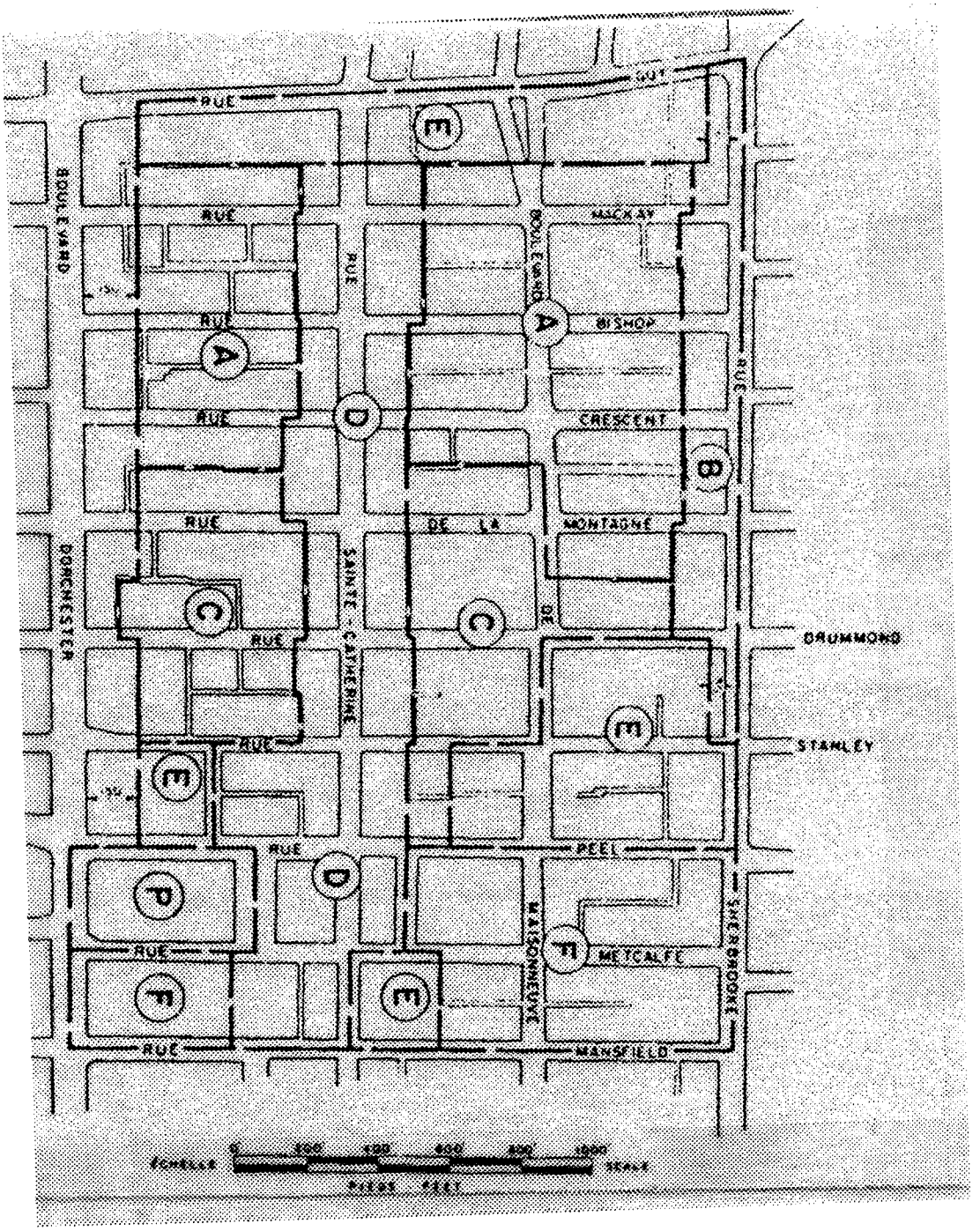


Figure 30. Map from by-law 6217, September 1983.

from C (80 feet or 24.4 metres) to E (120 feet or 36.6 metres) introduced in by-law 5625 (February 1981) between Drummond and Stanley Streets on the north side of de Maisonneuve Boulevard. In short, whereas the 1974 regulation allowed building heights of forty feet (12.2 metres) or eighty feet (24.4 metres) on the stretch of de Maisonneuve Boulevard between Mackay and Stanley Streets, by 1983, it was acceptable to build as high as 120 feet (36.6 metres) from Drummond Street to Peel Street, and 160 feet (48.8 metres) from Peel Street to Mansfield Street (figures 28 and 30). Lastly, by-law 6724 (June 1985) extended the zoned area further east. The north side of de Maisonneuve was zoned G (290 feet or 88.5 metres) from McGill College Avenue to University Street, while the south side of that same stretch was zoned F (160 feet or 48.8 metres). An examination of those city plans (figures 28, 29 and 30) reveals a correspondence between the plans and the reality for the areas of high construction. It is reasonable to affirm that, when the zoning did not fit the purposes of the developers, it was changed to accommodate their needs. By-law 7917 (28 October 1988) increased from F (160 feet or 48.8 metres) to L (250 feet or 76. 2 metres) the height category of the territory bound by Mansfield, Sherbrooke and Metcalfe Streets, and de Maisonneuve Boulevard (see figure 31). It allowed higher construction and affected all of the four new edifices on the block. One of the two constructions on de Maisonneuve, Place Canada Trust, was built after that. In fact, Place Canada Trust had its permit not long after the zoning change. However, Centre Manu Vie was built in 1982.[38]

The absence of plazas certainly did not favour the display of sculptures. A 1994 survey of public art in that area revealed the presence of only one sculpture next to a private office tower (2000 Peel Street/1101 de Maisonneuve Boulevard West), another new edifice built close to the street line. That edifice is only nine storeys high, and slightly recessed

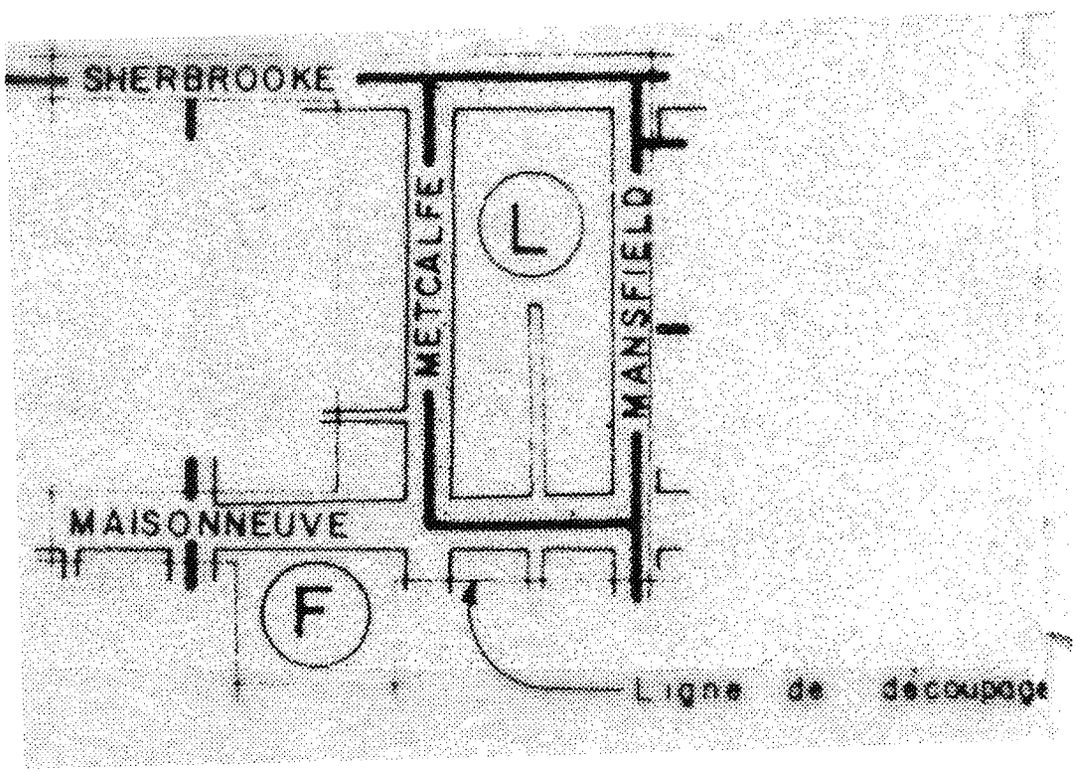


Figure 31. Map from by-law 7917, October 1988.

from the sidewalk at the corner of de Maisonneuve Boulevard and Peel Street. The abstract, metallic work of art, by an unidentified artist, is close to the city sidewalk, at the north-west corner of Peel Street and de Maisonneuve Boulevard. The building belongs to Canderel, a real-estate company which, incidentally, collects art (see below).[39]

Higher Constructions on René-Lévesque Boulevard

If most of Montréal's modernist office skyscrapers of the 1960s were located on Dorchester Boulevard, such was not the case in the following years. There were, on Dorchester Boulevard (now René-Lévesque Boulevard), two real-estate developments part of the institutional axis: the Guy-Favreau Complex and the Complexe Desjardins. With regards to private developments, there have been very few office towers erected on the Boulevard. We will mention only three, with a closer examination of the one of them that really changed the city skyline with its post-modern architecture, while also offering ample open space at its base.

La Maison SNC and the Édifice La Laurentienne/Lavalin

The first two projects to be examined bear the name of two great Montréal engineering firms, at the time, of international reputation: SNC and Lavalin (now merged into SNC Lavalin). In late 1987, Canderel and the SNC Group inaugurated the first tower of Place Félix-Martin, which was mainly leased by SNC. The maison SNC was built on René-Lévesque Boulevard, between Bleury and St. Alexandre Streets. The

work of Montréal architects Tolchinsky and Goodz, the architects of the Industrial Life Tower, on McGill College Avenue (see below), the twenty-two-storey-high Maison SNC was yet another example of post-modern architecture for office towers, clad with granite and mirror-glass. The concept of Place Félix-Martin called for two similar towers of different height (twenty-one and thirty-three storeys), linked by a winter garden enclosed by a glass-roofed galleria. The buildings were planned and laid out so that they would occupy only 50% of the total area of the lot. The remaining of the surface was designed to fence off the complex from its neighbours, with gardens at the back and terraces, and the façades of both buildings standing almost flush with the sidewalks, either on René-Lévesque Boulevard or on the lateral streets. Even as of now (1999), only one tower (the lowest one) has been built.[40]

The Édifice La Laurentienne/Lavalin by architects Dimitri Dimakopoulos with Larose Petrucci, was built more to the west, in 1984.[41] The building does not present the post-modernist characteristic of the Montréal office towers listed by London. Its plain volume, without recesses, its smooth façades devoid of ornament, its copper cladding and its relation to the street distinguished the Édifice La Laurentienne from other office buildings of that era. Across the street from the CIBC Tower, and also from Place du Canada (across Peel Street), the tower shared the city block bound by René-Lévesque Boulevard, Stanley, de la Gauchetière and Peel Streets, with the St. George Anglican Church, which occupies the southern part of the lot. The La Laurentienne/Lavalin tower was laid at an angle with René-Lévesque Boulevard, with its entrance facing the intersection of Peel Street and the Boulevard. The tower was set back from both streets, leaving a triangular free space at its base, mainly used for a pedestrian walkway. The back of the lot, however, had a surprise in store for the flâneur, a plaza-cum-garden, what could have been a

sculpture garden, where two sculptures were displayed.[42] A water fall on a black granite wall contributed to the setting of the place, and offered a transition with the neighbouring church. The edge is landscaped, and the plaza is also accessible from a café located inside, at the ground level. Headed by Bernard Lamarre, Lavalin was one of the rare active corporate art collectors in Québec. When Lavalin declared bankruptcy, the Québec Government saw to it that the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art acquired the collection. Lavalin had an art gallery on its premises with a professional curator, Léo Rosshandler. It was, therefore, only natural that this engineering firm exhibited art outside, for the enjoyment of its employees. In her study of corporate art, Rosanne Martorella observes that corporations which collected art and enjoyed an outdoor public place displayed sculptures on plazas or in gardens adjoining the offices, as part of their collection. After all, there was even a sculpture on the parterre in front of the Résidence Lavalin, on Mountain Street, to the north of Sherbrooke Street.[43]

Regarding the particular layout of the tower, some factors need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the edifice is located in the area of exception of by-law 3411. With Stanley Street as its boundary to the west, it is actually on the edge of the territory. Secondly, it is located across the street from a public square, and as explained before, a tower could be higher in such circumstances. Given those two factors, and notwithstanding its large template, the Édifice La Laurentienne/Lavalin appears to be moderately high, when compared to the neighbouring modernist tower of the early 1960s and to the latest post-modernist skyscraper, built on the block immediately to the west, the Marathon-IBM Building. A detailed study could demonstrate if the tower is in fact lower than what was allowed by law.

Marathon-IBM Building, 1250 René-Lévesque West

The Marathon-IBM project was concomitant to other projects presented earlier, notably the Centre de Commerce Mondial de Montréal and the renovation and enlargement of the McCord Museum. IBM Canada, which teamed with Marathon Realty to develop the project, wanted to continue the corporation tradition of hiring the best architects of the times. The high-rise was designed by the New-York City architectural firm of Kohn, Pederson Fox and Associates, in collaboration with the Montréal architects Larose, Petrucci, Martel, who were in charge of the realization of the project (architects of record). In addition, another architectural firm from Montréal, Cardinal Hardy et Associés, was responsible for the urban design. The skyscraper opened in 1991.[44]

It was the first time in almost thirty years that a skyscraper designed by a firm of international reputation was built in Montréal. This in itself was a watershed, added to the fact that the design of the tower and its layout on the parcel of land marked a new era. The building was made up of several different volumes of varying height, grafted to the main and highest structure, recognizable from afar by its curvilinear east wall. The building stands on a lot bound by Stanley, de la Gauchetière and Drummond Streets, and René-Lévesque Boulevard, which has a depth greater than its width. The smaller side of the parcel fronts René-Lévesque Boulevard. The building occupies the western part of the parcel, extending along the longer axis of the land on which it stands. This layout offers the particularity of presenting the profile of the building to the Boulevard.[45] Furthermore, there is no plaza laid out in front of the building, for the entire width of the lot.

However, parallel to the building, there is a plaza accessible from both Stanley Street and René-Lévesque Boulevard. It is surrounded on its

east side by a corridor, itself framed by a pergola (metal structure) supported by black granite pedestals-as-seats, covered by vines and ivy. The backs of the benches extend to such a height that they isolate the plaza from the street life. On the top, they act as planters. In between the benches are metal hurdles that allow one to observe the street, creating zones of semi-transparency. On the southern part of the plaza, adjoining the Stanley Street stairways, the pergolas resume and are next to gently sloped water falls. When accessed from René-Lévesque, four rows of five trees are placed at the base of the stairway leading to the plaza, and form a buffer zone. There is vegetation, but there is absolutely no artistic intent about it. The plaza is almost remote from the pedestrian view from both the boulevard and the lateral street. Architecture Professor Derek Drummond had anticipated that, given its location on the northeast corner of the site, the plaza would be deprived of sunshine and consequently, "the use of the plaza will be reduced to that of a thoroughfare."[46] The plaza is at the base of the second highest skyscraper in the city (196 metres, forty-seven storeys), but immediately outside the area where the floor area index could be increased by such an amenity. In addition, the blanket height limitation affected the Marathon-IBM building. The developers reportedly had to size down to forty-seven storeys a project they initially intended to be of sixty storeys. Therefore, it is a distinct possibility that the open space at the base of the tower was used to allow, perhaps not the highest construction, but still a very high one in the context of Montréal. Next to the space leading to the plaza is a winter garden in which there are scattered tables and chairs and where eight bamboo trees grow up to the roof, e.g., in a room of six storeys in height, and where the main access to the premises is located. The winter garden is similar to other ones built in New York City, notably, the IBM

headquarters on Madison Avenue, in which modern sculptures are also found.[47]

The construction of the Marathon-IBM skyscraper, however prestigious and well crafted as it was, stirred controversy. On the one hand, the building of such a pre-eminent high-rise was appreciated. The project won the Orange Prize awarded by preservationist group Save Montréal. It also won the "Prix d'excellence 1993" of the Québec Order of Architects, in the category of commercial architecture. On the other hand, the net benefit of such a huge structure for the street and city life was questioned.[48]

The Marathon-IBM building was built towards the end of our study period. Given the sizeable amount of office space that was produced in Montréal in the year 1991-92 (estimated at 2.8 million square feet or 260, 129 square metres), and the resurgence of a recession, no major office high-rise was expected to develop afterwards, except for the other project by Marathon Realty Company, the new Forum and its two towers of forty-five and forty-eight storeys. In the end, the new forum was built, but not the towers.[49]

"Upgrading" the Modernist Skyscrapers

If the first generation of post-war, privately-owned skyscrapers had, or were planned to have, a plaza of some sort, none of these plazas but the CIBC's initially housed a sculpture. However, this situation changed over the years. Each of the privately-owned skyscrapers located on Dorchester Boulevard presented changes that affected either the plaza, or the presence of sculpture, or both.

For the tenth anniversary of Place Ville-Marie in 1972, the Royal Bank which had elected Place Ville-Marie as its headquarters at an early stage of the project, and the owner, Trizec Corporation (TrizecHahn), offered a bronze sculpture to Montréalers. The work of art, Female Landscape/Présence féminine, was by Canadian artist Gerald Gladstone who, as we saw, had created a sculpture-fountain for Expo 67. For Place Ville-Marie, the sculpture was set in the middle of a circular basin in the fountain, at the intersection of the four pedestrian alleyways of the plaza.[50] Subsequently, in the late 1980s (possibly 1987-88), the owners of the premises renovated the shopping concourse, including the central area where corridors meet, and laid out fast food courts. The original four sunken courtyards, accessible from the plaza via stairways, were then covered by skylights. The space thus gained became part of the eating court, and was accessible on a yearly basis, rather than only in summer. The mineral plaza was further reduced, as islands of grass and trees entirely modified the nature of the original, open, mineral plaza.[51]

It was not until the early 1990s that another major change was brought to one of the plazas of modernist skyscrapers on René-Lévesque Boulevard. The CIBC Development Corporation undertook renovations in order to face new competition for tenants due to the construction of the new IBM-Marathon Tower. Architects from Arcop were responsible for this upgrading project. CIBC brought changes to its building entrance, re-orienting, renovating and enlarging it altogether. It enclosed the plaza and modified the interior lobby, which now includes six tropical trees. The Moore sculpture, which was deteriorating outside, was set up in the atrium (see figure 32). Henceforth, no trace remained of the plaza.[52]

In the summer of 1992, the real-estate company Canderel installed a monumental sculpture in front of the Royal Trust House--the former CIL House--to commemorate Montréal's 350th anniversary. The kinetic



Figure 32. Henry Moore's Three Piece Reclining Figure, previously exhibited in the plaza of the CIBC Tower, is now located inside. Photograph by the author.



Figure 33. Urban Language, by Alan Storey, now adorns the newly laid out plaza of the Royal Trust House, the former CIL House. Photograph by the author.

sculpture, Urban Language, by British-Columbia artist Alan Storey, is made of two semi-circular megaphones, which move up and down (see figure 33). The installation of the sculpture required a new layout of the plaza. Despite the limited original dimensions of the plaza, and the imposing size of the sculpture, the work does not appear cramped. On the other hand, this did not create a place to be enjoyed by people. Jonathan Wener, president of Canderel, is reputed for his love of art, and Canderel has an impressive art collection, according to Francyne Lord in charge of the municipal public art programme. Therefore, it appears that, as was the case for Lavalin in Montréal and other private corporations in the United States, Canderel exhibited on a permanent basis, a sculpture from its art collection.[53]

This is not the view of Mr. Wener, who does not consider the sculpture as part of Canderel's art collection. He affirms that he gave Urban Language to the public, that this is public art and that it belongs to the building. He admits, though, that upgrading works had to be done to soften and humanize the plaza. In this context, Canderel had decided to set a sculpture in the plaza. Montréal's anniversary was a great time for the dedication, even though it was not the prime motive. Mr. Wener, who was the driving force behind the project, appreciated the fact that the City did not force entrepreneurs to display public art. However, as a successful citizen, he found it important to give back to the community. He considered that having public art was a proper way to do so, as it improved the environment. Mr. Wener denied that the commissioning of public sculpture aimed to attract or satisfy tenants. Conversely, their opinion regarding art was not a concern to him. Yet, from a business perspective, he sought "neutral" and "apolitical" art in order to avoid controversy. Having Urban Language set at the corner of René-Lévesque Boulevard and University Street gave some cultural importance to the

building and made the site more prestigious. Tourists, for instance, are more likely to identify and remember the edifice. Nonetheless, Jonathan Wener did not think that the sculpture added value (or re-injected value) to the edifice.[54]

This brief account of the evolution of the skyscrapers of the 1960s on René-Lévesque Boulevard reveals that modifications were brought to plazas and public sculpture. Two buildings had a work of art added on their plaza, and their plaza modified. The momentum for the realization of such renovations varied, though. It seems that besides the sculpture on the plaza of Place Ville-Marie, the respective owners of the high-rises did not modify the plazas until the late 1980s, early 1990s. It is doubtful, given the high offer on the market for rental space, that those changes were pure gestures of patronage. Those were the years when newer class A buildings were offered on the market, and those changes to the early modernist skyscrapers were a strategy to compete for tenants. The CIBC modified its plaza to the point of eliminating it, and brought the Moore sculpture inside. However, it undertook those changes for the same reasons. It is worth noting that the outside of the Stock Exchange tower was not modified much, if at all, except that a relatively small scale sculpture was installed for a short time. This change occurred most likely in the mid-1980s, after the Stock Exchange had renewed its lease in Place Victoria, and also, after Place Victoria had changed ownership. The skyscrapers on de Maisonneuve certainly did not have a plaza, and did not exhibit much art, either. As we will see, on McGill College Avenue and even on Sherbrooke Street, some sculptures at the base of buildings had already started to pop up in the urban landscape.

McGill College Avenue

McGill College Avenue runs a short distance, between Place Ville-Marie and the campus of McGill University. As mentioned previously (Place Ville-Marie section), Jacques Gréber envisioned it as a monumental avenue. The presence of what urban planner Vincent Ponte called, in 1966, "large reservoirs of Downtown real estate, held in single ownership"[55] existed between St. Catherine Street and the McGill University campus. Eaton's, through its Mace Development, owned a track of land of eighteen acres, on the east side of McGill College Avenue. It waited for the widening of the avenue. In 1964, Mace Development had commissioned the Place Ville-Marie team of Pei, Cobb and Ponte, to plan the entire eighteen-acre area. The plan (Mace Plan) had a widened McGill College Avenue as its development axis, along which large commercial buildings and shopping promenades were forecasted. The plan needed the City to expropriate the western side of the avenue in order to materialize, which was, by 1966, almost considered a fait accompli by some.[56] However, in 1979, McGill College Avenue was labeled as "the eyesore of downtown"[57] by many real-estate developers. At one point there were plans to make it a "shopping promenade for pedestrians only."[58] After the controversy over the Cadillac Fairview project, the developer set up a consultative committee that recommended to lay out a twenty-five metre wide avenue, with 7.3 metre wide sidewalks. The artery was widened to thirty-five metres in order to instill monumentality and prestige to the resulting development. Over the years, the City had expropriated on the west side of McGill College Avenue all the parcels required for such widening. The committee also made recommendations regarding height and set-backs, which were not always followed. The owners of ten of the office towers that front McGill College

accepted to share the costs of creating and maintaining the avenue, which is planted with trees and flowers. Before a consensus could be made on the layout of McGill College Avenue, several of the high towers of the 1980s were already built, between St. Catherine and Sherbrooke Streets.[59]

By 1992, the construction of McGill College Avenue was over. We can see that, on the segment included between St. Catherine Street and de Maisonneuve Boulevard, there is on each side of the avenue, a commercial centre with an office tower, as presented above (Place Montréal Trust and Eaton Centre). On the segment that extends from de Maisonneuve Boulevard to Sherbrooke Street there are the "pure office towers" evoked by Norbert Schoenauer (see figure 34). Contrary to the construction to the south of the avenue, the towers are somehow set back from the street, some with a plaza, others without. Even in the latter case, the edifices appear as a whole to be much more remote from the street. We contend that this is partly due to the wider sidewalks, added to the given set-backs. In addition, some of the new high-rises display sculptures in front of their mineral parvis, which gives a strong impression of having a sculpture on a plaza. Mark London summarized the overall impression over the aspect of what was aimed to be Montréal's Champs-Élysées: "McGill College Avenue is an idiosyncratic collection of bizarre towers, each with its own useless barren plaza."[60]

The twenty-three-storey Industrial Life Tower (2000 McGill College Avenue, 1986) is one of those pre-eminent office towers, on the short block between de Maisonneuve Boulevard and President Kennedy Avenue, and bound by Mansfield Street to the west. According to the architects Tolchinsky and Goodz, the owners, First Québec Management Corporation, "wanted a purely commercial office building," and therefore, the commerces were restricted to an area accessible from inside and, on

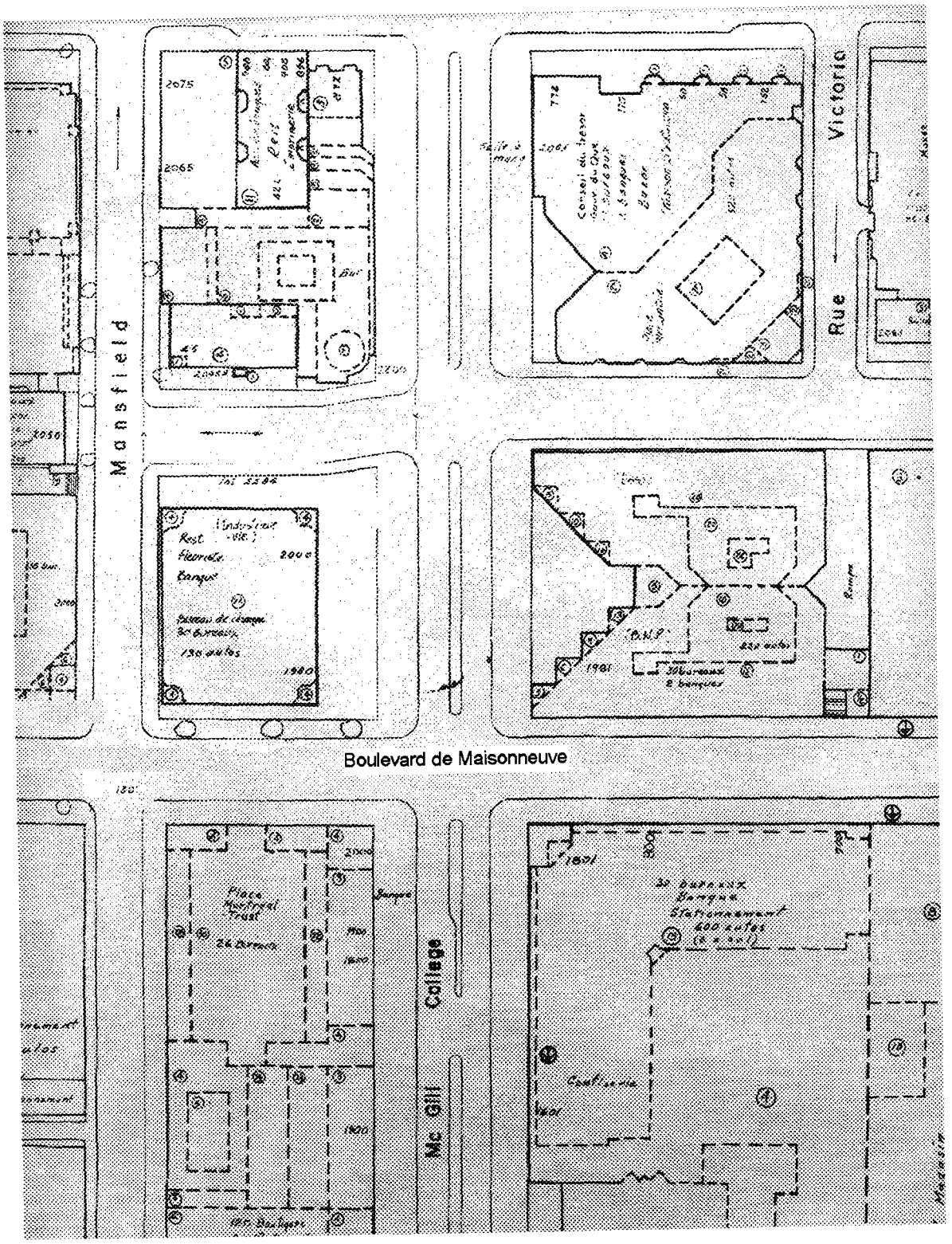


Figure 34. Land use map showing McGill College Avenue. Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, Ville de Montréal, Guy R. Legault, arch., Directeur. Revised in September 1990. Plan no. 228-26.

the outside, from de Maisonneuve Boulevard only. In fact, those few businesses are not discernible from McGill College Avenue. Rather, what is conspicuous from that side of the edifice is its plaza, adorned with sculptures and a fountain which causes the focus to fall on the entrance.[61]

The architects also claim that the tower offers elements of Montréal architecture such as a copper roof, dormer windows and arches. It is also clad in granite, an indigenous building material in Québec. They associated the end result with "what [Charles] Jencks might call 'Free Style', in which the classical elements are explicit, though not perhaps scholarly correct or traditionally proportioned."[62] Derek Drummond and Mark London find the Industrial Life Tower to be superficially post-modern. London wrote: "In its basic conception, this is just another Modern high-rise office tower--a huge shaft set well back from the street behind a concrete plaza."[63]

According to London, the Industrial Life Tower was, along with the Maison Alcan (1982-83) described above, one of the earliest post-modernist buildings in Montréal. Could it be that the plaza, introduced with Mies van der Rohe's Seagram Building and as intrinsically modern as the tower itself, was kept in what would be a hybrid composition? Joseph Baker offers this explanation with regard to the decision to build a plaza:

> The possibility of McGill College Avenue widening and the nature of the Cadillac Fairview development to the south led to the decision to increase setbacks on the east and south of the building. The architects emphasized the formality of the base by creating a raised terrace with fountain. This terrace allows the plaza to function independently, despite a possible street widening.[64]

Whatever the intent might have been, the result is hardly satisfying to most critics, as Baker's appraisal testifies:

> The tower not only respects the 36.5 m McGill College Avenue street lines that protect the downtown view of Mont-Royal, it retreats a further 12 m to create a mini-plaza from which it can rise

> dramatically. Curiously dated, the plaza fetish still finds favour in Montreal, leaving behind a trail of residual strips of territory hardly bigger than a modest backyard plot. Decked out with a fountain and a few Scotch pines, they cannot singly or collectively enhance the stock of urban space.[65]

That segment of McGill College Avenue slopes down moderately steeply and, from the city sidewalk, there are, close to the de Maisonneuve intersection, a few steps that access the plaza, actually more a parvis than a real plaza. Beside the southern stairway are planters. Also, trees and planters border the sidewalk, shielding the plaza from the street life, while framing the entrance to the edifice. Ron Williams, a professional landscape architect and professor at the School of Landscape Architecture at the Université de Montréal, was commissioned to landscape the parvis, in order to create a more humane and inviting environment. Williams' layout included three figurative bronze sculptures. The works of art were selected by Eugene Riesman, head of First Québec Corporation, in collaboration with Williams. First, near de Maisonneuve Boulevard is Shalom Bloom's J'accuse (I accuse) (1990), representing a full-size moose, standing on the remains of a forest after a fire. The title is intended to remind the viewer that animals in particular, and the environment in general, are endangered. The bronze sculpture is framed by two street-lamps installed on the plaza. Therefore, J'accuse is both visually and physically accessible from the street.[66] The second sculpture is Léa Vivot's Secret Bench (1989). It represents two children, a boy and a girl, sitting on a public bench covered with graffiti, sharing an apple and a secret. The "bench" stands against the planters under trees, facing the sidewalk and the pedestrians. First installed there on loan by Vivot, the sculpture was later bought by a consortium of corporations of the area, as it proved popular with the public, if not the art critics.[67] On the President Kennedy side, there is, behind the planters and another set of stairs, a

fountain adorned with another sculpture, Danseuse (1985) by Zoya Niederman. Behind those planters and trees, on the building side, granite benches extending from the planters are grouped and face the tower. In front of those benches are circular flower beds. To complete this area, there are street posts on the plaza.[68]

Across the avenue is another skyscraper recessed from the sidewalk. In plan, it consists in fact in quasi twin towers (similar plans but different volumes), cladded with blue mirror-glass, which reflect one into the other. Completed by 1982, the date and the architecture of the twenty-storey-tower argue against their inclusion as post-modern towers.[69] The Banque Nationale de Paris (BNP) and the former Esso (now Banque Laurentienne) towers (Tour Banque Laurentienne, Tour BNP Paribas) occupy the track bound by McGill College Avenue, President Kennedy Avenue, de Maisonneuve Boulevard, and the 2020 University edifice. The layout of the building on its parcel is such that the façade abuts on the sidewalk on de Maisonneuve, but makes room for a triangular plaza on McGill College Avenue. Accessible from stairways, the plaza is wider near the sidewalk, and narrows down as it approaches the common entrance to both towers. In fact, despite the strong impression that a stroller gets about the profusion of plazas on McGill College Avenue, as attested by London's remark quoted above, their number is fairly limited. Besides the Industrial Life's, there is only another one that may qualify, and it is the BNP/ Banque Laurentienne's.

According to Drummond, the BNP/ Banque Laurentienne plaza is sunken in order to increase the permissible area to be built.[70] Marking, almost barring the access to the plaza is Raymond Mason's monumental sculpture, Illuminated Crowd (1985), which was commissioned by the Dreyfus Group of the Banque Nationale de Paris (see figure 35). The figurative sculpture is made of a polyester resin painted in a creamy-yellow

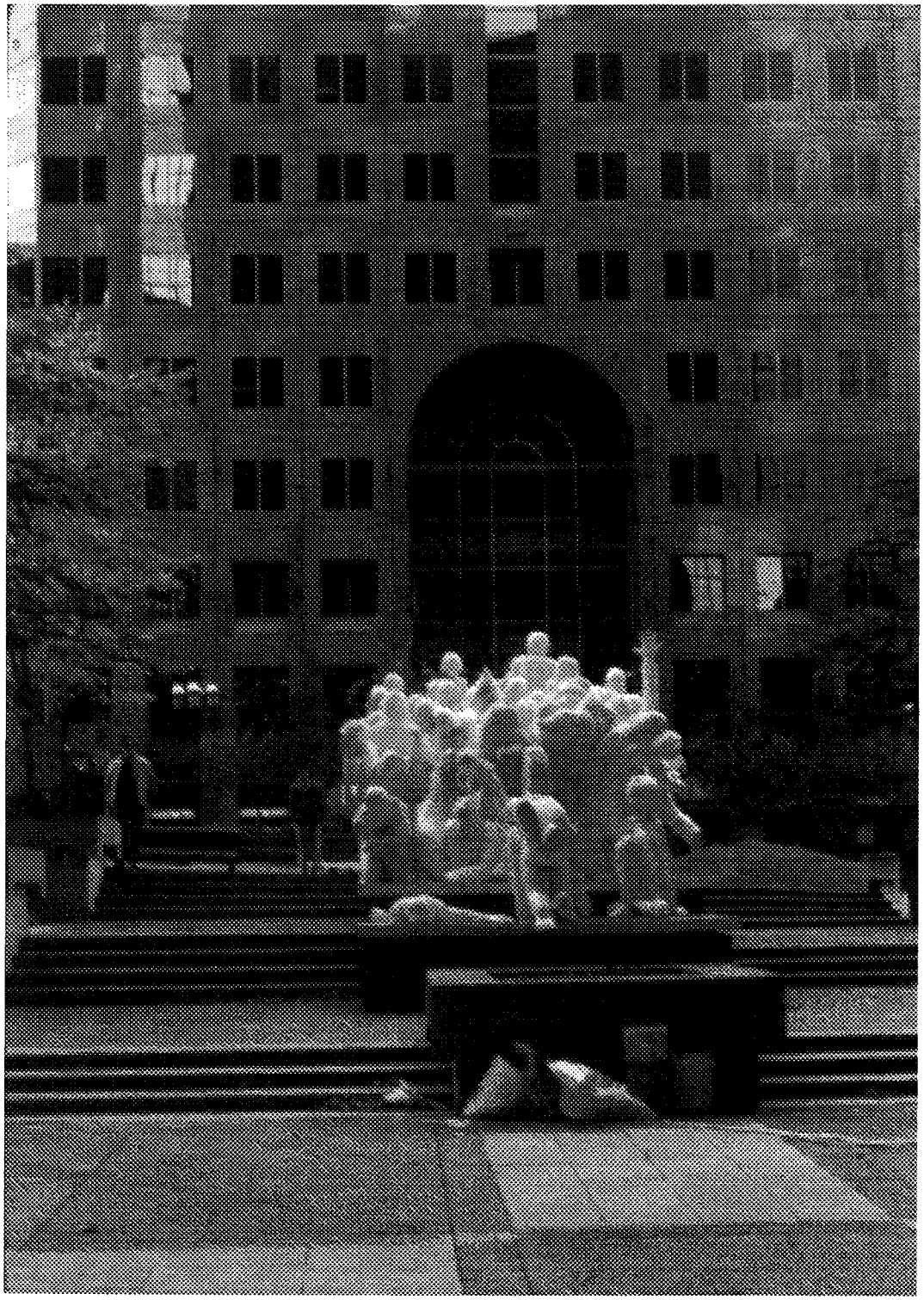


Figure 35. Raymond Mason's Illuminated Crowd (1985) with, in the background, the Industrial Life Tower. Photograph by the author.

colour and portrays human beings in various postures. The artist wanted to translate various human emotions. The sculpture is truly a place marker, as are others of Mason's sculptures displayed in urban centres such as Birmingham, Paris and New York. In Montréal, Illuminated Crowd draws crowds, tourists who like to stand by the figures and be photographed, and yet it is controversial.[71]

There is another high complex that is usually presented in the context of the McGill College Avenue, and will serve as a transition with the last street to be presented, Sherbrooke Street. The twenty-seven-storey Place Mercantile tower "integrates" the façades of Victorian row houses on Sherbrooke Street, and dates back to the early 1980s. Behind the grey-stone façade is an atrium that is itself linked to the office tower, which is clad in aluminium. Place Mercantile occupies the entire city block bound by Victoria Street, President Kennedy and McGill College Avenues, and Sherbrooke Street. The access from McGill College is slightly recessed from the sidewalk, in a street-level triangular configuration similar to that of the BNP/Banque Laurentienne towers, if only smaller. A fountain of modest dimensions was fitted into that left-over space.[72]

In the early 1990s, the Caisse de dépôt du Québec organized a competition for two monumental works of art in order to commemorate its 25th anniversary. One of the two works was destined for the Place Mercantile. Three major artists from Québec, Geneviève Cadieux, Gilles Mihalcean and Irene Whittome were invited to submit maquettes. A decision was expected from the jury by November 1991.[73]

Municipal Regulation Applicable to McGill College Avenue

Surprisingly, the plazas on McGill College Avenue do not coincide with the municipal regulation that encouraged their construction. The part of the avenue that is affected by the by-law (to the south of de Maisonneuve Avenue, see figure 25) is precisely where no plaza was constructed. As we have shown, the two new constructions, on each side of the avenue, between de Maisonneuve Boulevard and St. Catherine Street are built to the street line. By-law 3411 does not apply to the north of de Maisonneuve. However, this is where a few plazas were built. Were there other municipal by-laws applicable to McGill College to which such a situation could be attributed? The construction on McGill College Avenue was subjected to some St. George ward by-laws (that may have affected McGill College and other public arteries), and to regulations specific to the avenue. We will examine both instances, since they may contribute to an explanation.

Regulations Specific to McGill College Avenue

By-laws nos. 2354, 2576, 4524, 4697, 4961 and 5005 governed, from 1956 onward, the erection and occupancy of buildings on McGill College Avenue. By-law 2576, adopted in 1960, specified that "the façade wall facing McGill College Avenue shall be built ten feet (10') back from the street line, for a height of twelve feet (12') . . . and above twelve feet (12') in a vertical plan erected at the street line for a height of eighty-eight feet (88') and, above this total height of one hundred feet (100'), in recess of at least ten feet (10') from the wall erected in the vertical plan of the street line."[74] Other provisions of that by-law were to the effect that

buildings had to occupy the entire width of the lot(s) on which they stood. They had to be of at least one hundred feet high "for the whole area comprised within thirty feet (30') of the street line."[75] Those provisions also applied to the cross-street when a building was erected on a corner lot. By-law 2576 included other provisions that aimed at having uniformity (namely, of materials) and care in the construction of new or enlarged buildings. In addition, it prohibited billboards and advertising of any kind, with a few limited exceptions. Those requirements applied to both sides of McGill College Avenue, on a width of one hundred feet (30.5 metres) on each side of the avenue, between St. Catherine and Sherbrooke Streets.

By-law 4524 (26 October 1976) amended by-law 2576. It required a minimal height of thirty feet (9.1 metres) on McGill College Avenue, between St. Catherine and Sherbrooke Streets. By-law 4961 (8 March 1976) further amended by-law 2576. It limited the scope of the preceding by-laws for McGill College Avenue by decreasing the portion of the Avenue subjected to the regulation. The new area was located 120 feet (11.15 metres) north of St. Catherine Street "up to a line located 150 feet [45.72 metres] south of Sherbrooke Street."[76] The above by-laws affected the configuration on McGill College Avenue and determined the built/unbuilt requirements until 1985, when the municipal council passed a by-law that regulated McGill College Avenue as part of St. George ward.

St. George Ward By-Laws

By-law 1651 and the subsequent by-laws that amended it addressed "the occupancy of land, the construction and occupancy of buildings of Saint-George and St. [sic] Andrew Wards."[77] By-law 6724 (1985) applied to a small area of St. George and St. Andrew wards, in

which McGill College Avenue was included. This particular regulation modified substantially by-law 1651 and its subsequent modifications. By-law 6724 modified article 18 of by-law 1651 (which article 18 was introduced in 1983 in by-law 6217) by repealing two by-laws pertaining to McGill College Avenue discussed above (2354, as amended and 2576 as amended). Firstly, by-law 6724 (article 2) (see figure 29) determined the maximum height above mean ground level. A maximum of 290 feet (88.5 metres) above mean ground level applied to two "G" sections (the letter G was introduced in that by-law). Four projects described above are located in those "G" areas: the Place Montréal Trust (1988), the Industrial Life Tower (1986), the Place Mercantile (1982) and the BNP/Banque Laurentienne towers (1982). In addition, height was limited to fifty feet (15.25 metres) in section J, which also affected the parcel on which stands the Industrial Life Tower and the Place Montréal Trust. Another change pertained to the limitation at ten (instead of twelve) of the floor area index on the quadrilateral bound by McGill College Avenue, St. Catherine and Mansfield Streets, and Boulevard de Maisonneuve, where Place Montréal Trust is. Furthermore, the front building line could be reduced to zero for several streets in the area, including McGill College Avenue which was widened to 120 feet (37 metres). As we saw, that same provision reducing the front building line to zero was reiterated in by-law no. 8220 (1989).[78] In 1986, by-law 7231 modified the designation of parts of sectors G and J (as defined in by-law 6724) to a designation of sector C for the area bound by McGill College Avenue, President Kennedy Avenue, Mansfield and Sherbrooke Streets (see figure 36).

Regarding the height of buildings, the earlier regulation, by requiring a minimum height, aimed at ruling out less prestigious construction. Later on (after 1985), by-laws (notably by-law 6724) limited

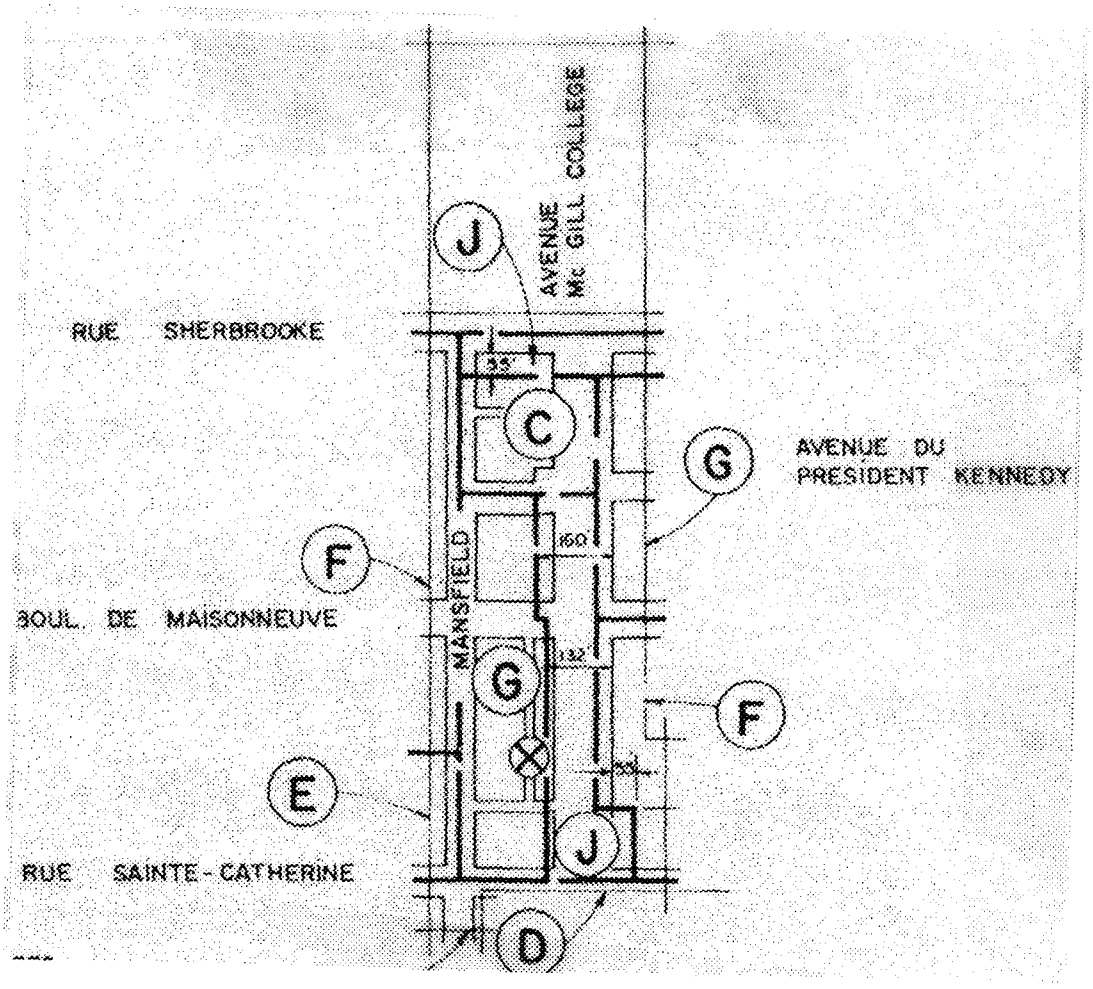


Figure 36. Map from by-law 7231, December 1986.

height. Looking at those constructions on McGill College Avenue after an examination of the prevailing regulation proved invaluable. The northern portion of the avenue on its west side presents lower construction, as per by-law 6724 and 7231 (see figures 29 and 36). To the south of de Maisonneuve Boulevard, both commercial projects took advantage of by-law 6724 and 8220 which permitted a construction without any set-back. Given the allowed floor area ratio, the height limit and the fact that construction below mean ground level did not count (the underground levels of both shopping concourses), it is reasonable to assume that the bonus provided by the construction of a plaza was not enticing. Furthermore, the plaza as an element associated with the pure, modernist office tower, may no longer have been appropriate for these more commercial projects (in both cases, the shops are far more visible than the office towers, which are almost remote from sight).

What were the possible effects of set-back and height regulation to the north of de Maisonneuve Boulevard? The height limitation was enacted after the construction of the BNP/Banque Laurentienne Towers, but before that of the Industrial Life Tower. However, even if the Industrial Life Tower was completed by 1986, its design was undertaken before 1985. That is, before the year when the building line, which had been of ten feet since 1960 for McGill College Avenue, was reduced to 0, as well as for that segment of de Maisonneuve Boulevard (see above). Nonetheless, those two edifices have a plaza, one raised, the other sunken. In the case of the Industrial Life Tower, the plaza is deeper than the ten feet (3.1 metres) set-back that could have been required. Given the proximity of dates between the design and construction of the Industrial Life Tower and the adoption of the by-law, it is highly probable that the layout was taking into account both the future widening of McGill College (hence no set-back) and the elimination of the other set-back on

de Maisonneuve Boulevard. This would give credit to Baker's explanation and demonstrate that considerations other than mere compliance with municipal regulations explain the presence of the plaza. Regarding the BNP/Banque Laurentienne buildings, their shape and layout on the ground exclude the explanation of the plaza as a result of the set-back. Also, the explanation as to why the BNP is not set back on de Maisonneuve is problematic. The BNP/Banque Laurentienne general layout, including their sunken plaza, could be interpreted as a result of compliance to several requirements regarding floor area ratio and set-back. Also, it is possible that the modernist symbol of the plaza prevailed in the design. In-depth case studies of each project would help highlight all the specifics of the evolution of both designs. It is nonetheless possible to affirm that, contrary to New York City for instance, in both cases, there was not a direct cause-effect relationship between the municipal by-laws pertaining to the layout of plazas and their actual construction.[79]

Sherbrooke Street

Some of the high buildings on Sherbrooke Street West were built in the 1970s, while others were built in the 1980s and even early 1990s. High office towers were also built on Sherbrooke Street West, along with high-rise hotels and apartments. Some of these had quasi-plazas adorned with sculptures, even though Sherbrooke Street is outside the zone of exception referred to above (see figure 25). We will hereafter examine some of these high-rises with a plaza and possibly, with work(s) of art.

The Scotia Tower is set at the intersection of Metcalfe and Sherbrooke Streets (1002 Sherbrooke Street West). If the lateral façade

is not set back from the street, the tower is recessed from Sherbrooke Street. At street level, there is a plaza of about twenty-four feet (7.3 metres) deep, easily accessible from either artery. Protruding air vents are hidden by a granite shielding. In summer time, there are a few granite planters with flowers and, here again, granite benches are next to the planters. Finally, four square flower beds frame the entrance to the Scotia Tower, and offer a change to the otherwise mineral pavement.[80] Next to it, on the same city block, another tower built in the early 1990s (prior to 1992) has a plaza raised from street level and accessible from the street by stairways. The edifice was identified as headquarters of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO, 1000 Sherbrooke Street West) and had a modern sculpture by Marcelle Ferron, Le Miroir aux alouettes (1975), almost hidden on its lateral side (on Mansfield) and overshadowed by the tower. The abstract sculpture has a colored glass vertical panel in three parts with grey circles inserted in it. At the back are two mirror panels, placed at an angle, which reflect, among others, the circular metallic anchors of the glass work. Vertical, steel cylindrical posts hold the assemblage and give it the required balance. The sculpture could have been set in a more prominent position, facing Sherbrooke Street, as there was room for it.[81]

Further west, still on the south side of the street, between Peel and Stanley Streets, there is another sculpture that adorns a small, plain mineral plaza. In front of the entrance to the Central Trust Building (1130 Sherbrooke Street West) is "the most elegant sculpture on display in the streets of Montreal, Barry Flanagan's 'Kouros Horse'," [82] a bronze sculpture set on a pink granite plinth. According to Aline Gubbay, the patron of the sculpture on the plaza was J. Kracauer of J. K. Investments, whose son, an architect, "designed" the plaza.[83] Across the street, on the north-east corner of Sherbrooke and Stanley Streets, at 1155 Sherbrooke Street

West, a mirror-clad high-rise replaced, in 1975, the Van House mansion demolished in 1973. At the base of the tower, there is a raised plaza adorned with a figurative sculpture set near the city sidewalk. David Azrieli, Jr., was the developer responsible for the demolition of the Van Horne mansion. As attested by the engraving in front of the edifice, he also sought credit for the concept and realization of the whole project, the Liquid Air Building, with Leon Sohn the architect. The brown bronze sculpture is set on a plinth of pink granite. It represents four animals: two playing together, while a mother breast-feeds the fourth one. Given the context in which the whole project occurred, it is fair to infer that the developer may have been seeking respectability (the good corporate citizen symbol evoked by Martorella), by offering a work of art (unidentified) to his fellow citizens. The probable strategy may have worked: in 1985, Azrieli was awarded the Order of Canada.[84]

Immediately next to the Liquid Air Building is the "Le Cartier" residential tower at 1115 Sherbrooke Street West (close to Peel Street). There is a sunken plaza leading to the edifice, and in 1971, a modern sculpture, Cactus, by Van Fisher, was installed. The metal sculpture has a concrete base, and is visible from the street, despite its lower position. The work of art, which represents a stylized cactus, is not physically accessible, though, as it is isolated by the concrete base.[85]

How did the municipal regulation affect, if at all, the configuration of those high edifices with plazas? Firstly, by-law 4816 (September 1974) required that height on the south side of Sherbrooke Street from Guy to Stanley Streets be zoned B, that is 40 feet (12.2 metres) high (figure 28). Then by-law 6217 (September 1983) limited height on the south side of Sherbrooke Street from Guy to Mansfield Streets (figure 30). A height of 120 feet (36.6 metres) was allowed between Stanley and Peel Streets (where the plaza and Kouros Horse are located), and 160 feet (48.8

metres) between Peel and Mansfield Streets. On 28 October 1988, the City Council adopted a by-law (no. 7917) which, inter alia, modified from F (160 feet or 48.8 metres) to L (250 feet or 76.2 metres) the construction height for the territory bound by Mansfield, Sherbrooke and Metcalfe Streets and de Maisonneuve Boulevard (see figure 31). The Scotia Tower and the ICAO edifice were both located within these boundaries, and they were built after 1987.[86] We observe that, from the early 1980s, successive changes to the zoning by-laws allowed greater height on the southern side of Sherbrooke Street West, in the central area. Secondly, by-law 6217 also established the front or lateral building set-backs required on the southern part of Sherbrooke Street West. Those distances varied from fifteen feet (4.6 metres) between Guy and Stanley Streets, to twenty feet (6.1 metres) between Peel and Mansfield Streets, and twenty-four feet (7.32 metres) between Stanley and Peel Streets. Later on, by-law 6724 (1985), required fifteen feet (4.6 metres) for the front or lateral building line, between Mansfield and University Streets (article 3). This in itself freed the space in front of new edifices. The enforcement of such regulations resulted in plazas likely to be built at the base of high edifices. For instance, the plaza which houses Kouros Horse is precisely located between Peel and Stanley Streets, where a set-back of twenty-four feet (7.3 metres) was required.

The Scotia Tower and 1000 Sherbrooke Street West (then ICAO), both located between Peel and Mansfield Streets, were also built after by-law 6217 was passed and had to have a set-back of twenty feet (6.1 metres). On this particular city block, a combination of by-laws, which on the one hand permitted higher construction and on the other hand required the largest set back of all, appear to be the cause, or the explanation, for the realization of this model (plaza/high-rise). The highest permissible construction may have resulted from developers' requests, but the

requirements for the set-back were in force several years before. Therefore, several open spaces at the base of high-rises located on the south side of Sherbrooke Street West do no result from the by-law that encourage the plazas. The presence of free space would rather be attributable to the requirements of having 4.57 metres, 6.1 metres or 7.32 metres in front of buildings (1983-85). Yet, the plaza for the Liquid Air Building resulted from other forces. It is possible that a combination of requirements pertaining to set-back, land coverage, height and floor area ratio concurred with this solution. It is also possible that the developer simply built an imitation of an imported glorious model.

Private Developments: A Conclusion

The presence of plazas in front of high-rise buildings results from various factors, including municipal regulations. A first observation pertaining to the regulations in force that could have affected the construction of plazas or quasi-plazas is that, if the by-laws addressing plazas specifically were stable throughout the period under study, they combined with other regulations that gave choices regarding the layout of a building on a parcel of land. Those regulations, on the other hand, were not as stable and evolved over time. As such, the by-laws that specifically encouraged the creation of plazas were not responsible for their presence in downtown Montréal. Firstly, as we clearly demonstrated, the first by-law that could have encouraged their formation came after the construction of three important towers (CIBC, CIL and Place Ville-Marie) that did have plazas. The by-law could have been passed to allow denser construction, in the case of Place Victoria, that is, to legitimize a project already designed. In addition, the plaza was not, in that case, conceived from the

start in order to set up the tower as a sculpture. Rather, it resulted from the negotiations that aimed, first and foremost, to have the highest possible structure.

The few open spaces that followed were, for the most part, wrongly termed plazas. They did not have the proper dimensions or configuration. In addition, they were not the direct result of the by-law that allowed greater height in exchange for such open space. In fact, very few locations where such bonus floor area could be obtained in exchange for public space had such plazas. Conversely, plazas were created when and where there were no incentives to do so (McGill College Avenue, IBM-Marathon). The parvis on some segments of the south side of Sherbrooke Street West are the only ones that could be seen as the direct result of municipal regulations. Despite their restricted dimensions, some of these places nonetheless housed a sculpture.

But then, why put sculptures? Why did private, corporate owners, decide to install one or several sculptures at the base of their buildings when they did not have to? We saw that some private corporations collected art and exhibited a sculpture, admittedly or not, as a part of their collection. Also, some commissioned and gave the sculpture in order to commemorate an event. In other cases, as for the pure modernist projects, sculpture was used to create a more inviting place, a space more appealing to the public. Art was also used as a means to compete for tenants, to upgrade the classification of an office high-rise. Our research demonstrates, however, that contrary to the common explanation regarding the use of sculpture (e.g., to soften or adorn modern architecture, to make it more humane), only one of the four modernist towers initially used sculpture for such a purpose (possibly also the Liquid Air Building, which belongs to a later generation). Even then, the CIBC had a corporate art collection and had bought the Moore bronze also for

symbolic value associated with the possession of avant-garde art by the most prestigious sculptor in the world. Canderel bought a sculpture for the former CIL House, some thirty years after its construction. Over the years, members of the private sector realized that the association with art could be positive for them. Some formed the Association de Promotion d'art et d'architecture de Montréal. According to Aline Gubbay, the Association campaigned vigorously to involve leaders of both industry and commerce to support the arts, and it received a positive reaction.[87] Phyllis Lambert campaigned for the promotion of culture and the arts in the City, without defining what forms it should take.

Sculptures were installed at the base of post-modern buildings; if not yet considered post-modern, those high-rises were no longer the pure modernist towers of the 1960s (the BNP/Banque Laurentienne towers). It is now a well known fact that "corporations often treat public art as public relations with support for the arts serving to project a positive corporate image."[88] A Trizec Hahn's representative (Place Ville-Marie) explained that several high profile corporate tenants possess art collections. They display their work within the confines of their own premises, which exclude the outdoor plaza. Therefore, it is mainly owners of the high-rises who tend to exhibit a sculpture conspicuously next to a tower. Even then, the presence of tenants could make the exhibition of works of art problematic. Some tenants may dislike a sculpture or find it offensive. Owners who occupy an important part of a high building would be more likely to exhibit a sculpture. But Canderel did otherwise. It installed a highly visible sculpture at the base of a skyscraper, where there is also a plaza. Considerations for tenants were minimal.[89]

The sculptures bought and displayed by private owners did not result from municipal regulation of any sort. Some North American cities adopted a coercive approach. They ruled that a developer had to engage

a certain percentage of the construction budget for the integration of a work of art, in order to get his construction permit from the city. For instance, in Toronto, a developer must have his art programme approved in order to obtain a permit for a high construction. In Montréal, the Municipal Authorities opted for another approach. It is possible, according to Francyne Lord, who is responsible for the art programme at the City, that Montréal's economic downfall was the determining factor for that decision. An additional mandatory requirement could have discouraged possible investors. Furthermore, real-estate developers already faced the constraints resulting from the protection zones of historical monuments. The general attitude of the politicians, who had the reputation of being far too accommodating to real-estate development, lends credibility to this hypothesis. Therefore, the City's approach was to incite developers, but with no official, published and well identified incentives. According to Lord, this approach works well in a period of economic prosperity, but not when there is little money for investment. This concurs with Martorella's study.[90]

Public and Semi-Public Developments

Complexe Desjardins

The Complexe Desjardins originated in the early 1960s. By then, several major projects had already been built in Montréal, projects which, as we saw, redefined a new city centre. The Complexe Desjardins was completed by 1976, after close to fifteen years of work, divided into two major stages. From 1962 until 1971, urban planners, architects and Desjardins worked in close cooperation with city officials, doing research about Montréal's development, looking for a site and defining a concept.

In addition, Desjardins sought partners in the venture. The final design and the construction of the premises took place during the 1971-76 period.[91]

The construction of the Complexe Desjardins followed the expansion and diversification of the group made up of the Desjardins credit unions, into its new label of Desjardins Movement. The leaders of the new institution decided to associate their need for additional space triggered by this transformation (1945-62) with a promotion of Desjardins' social and economic functions by giving visibility to the institution. This meant regrouping scattered installations into one central space. In addition, Desjardins leaders wanted to take part in urban renewal in Montréal, still considered by the early 1960s as social progress. They intended to develop the city centre eastward, more associated with their francophone clientele. Desjardins had until then more rural roots, and its desire for a marked presence in the metropolis was in itself a milestone. Ultimately, the project was presented as a symbol of both collective and individual achievements.[92]

La Société La Haye et Ouellet, urban planners and architects, was mandated for finding a site, and afterwards, for the overall site planning and development. This professional firm had architects and urban planners as partners, which was a breakthrough in Québec. Jean-Claude La Haye (urban planner) and Jean Ouellet (architect) advocated multi-disciplinal work, and their office included engineers, landscape architects, sociologists, economists and artists. In 1966, La Haye and Ouellet identified a large city block of a little bit more than 3.5 hectares (close to nine acres) bound by Dorchester (now René-Lévesque) Boulevard to the south, St. Urbain Street to the east, Jeanne-Mance Street to the west and St. Catherine Street to the north. At the City, the site was then a targeted priority for urban renewal. It presented the advantage of being located

close to Place Ville-Marie, and across the street from Place des Arts. Desjardins leaders then considered building more space than needed by the Desjardins Movement alone and to take advantage of the entire site. They sought partners for their venture. By 1969, the federal and provincial governments were those ideal partners at the time the project was first made public. However, a year later, the federal government reconsidered and opted out of the venture, having decided to locate across the street, on Dorchester Boulevard. The provincial government and Desjardins went along with the project. The former player legislated and created for the occasion a real-estate development society (Société de développement immobilière du Québec or SODEVIQ) and with the Corporation Immobilière Place Desjardins formed a mixed company, Place Desjardins, in which Desjardins owned 51%. The Complexe Desjardins that was built on the contemplated site was hence a semi-public construction, built on publicly-owned land that belonged to the City of Montréal. Actually, the City acquired the land and contracted an emphyteutic lease of sixty-four years with Place Desjardins[93]

The project aimed to affirm the French-Canadian presence in the centre of the city, another type of presence than the proletarian one already in place. As was the case for the construction of most other superblock projects, building the Complexe Desjardins required the expropriation and the demolition of what was considered slums and blight areas. Desjardins, however, had selected a site that minimized the eviction of people and avoided the destruction of an entire neighbourhood. Some hundred households had to be evicted and relocated for the project. The city of Montréal took charge of that and of the land assembly. Since the aim was the revitalization and rejuvenation of the district, La Haye and Ouellet proposed to include as many diverse urban functions as possible, in order to generate activities all day and all year round. These functions,

however, had to be compatible with the existing or projected activities of the sector (Place des Arts, office buildings such as Hydro-Québec's and Revenue Canada's). Consequently, administrative, commercial, utilitarian (parking and transportation) and socio-cultural functions were considered to be desirable. Furthermore, La Haye and Ouellet's scheme was based on the premiss that the creation of a favourable ambiance was crucial to the success of the project. From the start, they advocated the creation of a place ("créer un lieu") and to this end, proposed to have a public square of a unique character, which would serve as the centre of attraction. It was believed that the allotment of free space (i.e., not directly generating revenues) would nonetheless pay off as it would attract people to the place and contribute to its liveliness, and, in the end, its economic viability.[94]

The complex started to operate in 1975 and was inaugurated in April 1976 (see figure 37). It included three office towers of forty, thirty-four and twenty-seven storeys and a twelve-storey hotel, each located close to a street corner of the city block. There was a underground parking garage and, as for most other major office complexes in Montréal, an underground passageway linked the premises to the subway system, allowing for easy transit of the office workers. A three storeys podium (basilaire) linked the buildings together and offered a more human scale construction at the street level, while also diminishing the wind effects on passers-by. In the middle was an atrium, bordered on two levels by a mall where businesses catered mainly to the office workers and tourist clientele, but attracted other passers-by as well. The obliged access to the towers and businesses was through the atrium and the mall that runs north-south, since no entry was provided from the outside, from the street. The podium had some offices with a view on this internal, covered atrium.



Figure 37. The atrium of the Complexe Desjardins, during the inauguration festivities, in April 1976. Here, exhibition of the Métiers d'art (photograph by Armour Landry, 8 April 1976. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/30/9589).

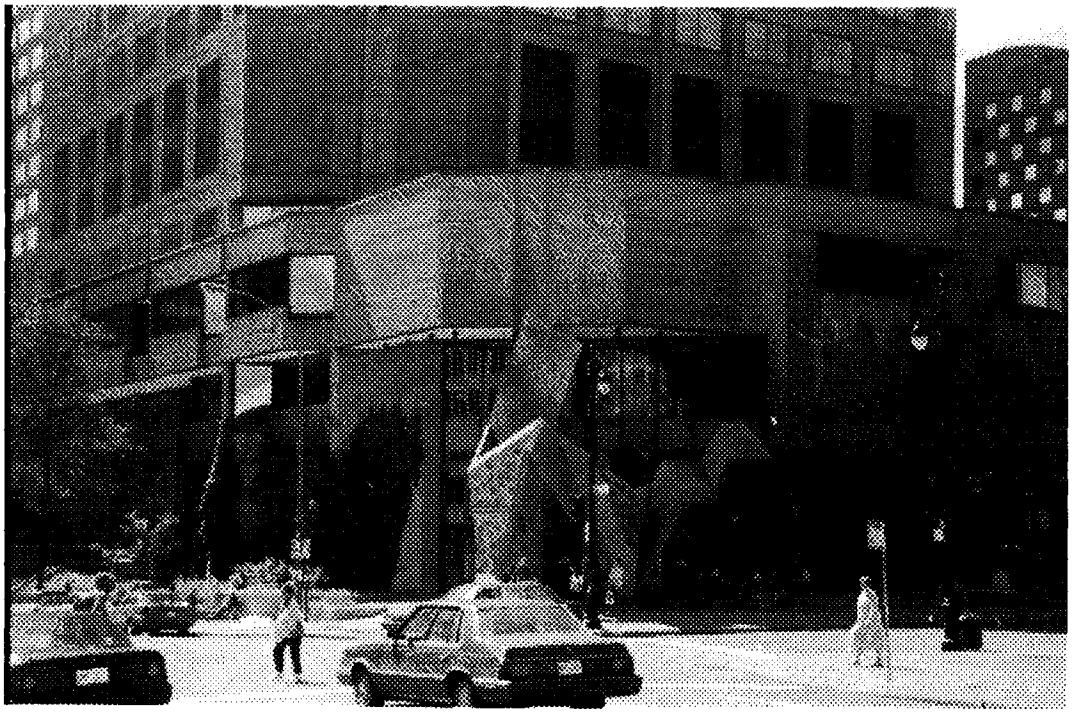


Figure 38. Yves Trudeau's sculpture, Hommage à Alphonse Desjardins (1975), in front of the Complexe Desjardins. Photograph by the author, 1994.

A part of its roof was a skylight, and the upper parts of the podium walls had windows. In addition, large window panes at both St. Catherine Street and René-Lévesque entrances offered a visual link with the street life. The complex offered a striking contrast between the outside, which was massive and grey (prefabricated concrete for the office towers and brick of a similar colour for the hotel and the podium; see figure 38) and the inside, where the natural light, the vast space generated by the generous interior volumes, greenery, water flows and the usual animation of the place contributed in making the concrete less stark. In Montréal this idea of the atrium was borrowed, as evoked above, in several constructions of the 1980s.[95]

Ouellet later acknowledged that the Rockefeller Center in New York City was a source of inspiration for the complex. The philosophies behind both concepts were germane, according to the architect. In both cases, the presence of commerce was ancillary to the social purpose of the public place. On the other hand, Ouellet also learned from Place Ville-Marie's plaza. He observed that the windy conditions at the base of the skyscraper prevented its use by the public, except when particularly good weather conditions prevailed. Therefore, it was decided to enclose the square, which at first was supposed to be out in the open. La Haye and Ouellet had wanted the Desjardins project to become, in Montréal, the equivalent of the agora, of the medieval market square, and of New York City's Times Square. The place they wanted to create had to be animated. They were, of course, aware of the fact that such a public square was usually an uncovered place, surrounded by construction. The will to have a square animated at all times required some sort of protection, of shelter, given Montréal's harsh climatic conditions. The transparent ceiling they envisioned at first had to be modified for economic and technical reasons. Today, the place is covered by a concrete ceiling,

seventy-two feet (twenty-two metres) above the atrium main level (metro level) with skylights and also lit from the sides. The "grande place" of the Complexe Desjardins offered five thousand square metres, almost ten times more than the requirements of by-law 2887 (a minimum of six thousand square feet or 557 square metres). As we saw, this 1963 by-law had a provision for such an inside space that allowed for greater density and higher construction. But the decision to have some open space, be it inside or outside, had nothing to do with that provision, since the project was outside the area identified in the municipal by-law (see figures 16 and 25). However, the skyscraper did not appeal to the designers: the pedestrian did, and consequently, they acknowledged the need for buildings of a more human scale. Therefore in the Complexe Desjardins, only one of the towers is forty storey-high. With 86% of the ground covered, the overall floor area ratio is of 8.6, 9.5 when the area below ground level is included.[96]

For the first time, an indoor atrium provided an alternative to the external plaza. According to Marsan, the atrium of the Complexe Desjardins constituted the first truly modern place of Montréal, of comparable dimensions (5,000 sqare metres or almost one acre) to previous open public places. In addition, Marsan considers the place to be public since the land was then owned by the City, despite the fact that the premises were legally privately owned. For his part, Charney observes a progressive internalization of the traditional public open space, from 1960 onwards. Internal public space started as a commodity in private developments, and was transformed "with a shift from private to public and para-public development,"[97] into a more real urban configuration and context. In addition to its comfortable size, the place offered several sitting places, fountains and greenery. Its civic role has been confirmed in studies.[98]

La Haye and Ouellet's global scheme made room for art as a means to make the place livelier. They relied on art (integrated, exhibited or artistic performances), water, greenery and design to perform that task. In addition, the socio-cultural dimension of the urban place concurred with the philosophy behind the cooperative movement, which was at the base of Desjardins.[99] In a desire to comply with the provincial regulation (mandatory since 1973) for art integrated to new construction owned by the provincial government, Jean Ouellet drafted a document that addressed the question and acknowledged its importance. However, for Ouellet, the owner of the project (the Corporation Immobilière Place Desjardins) was a private organization, and as such did not have to comply with the provincial guidelines. For the architect, the integration of art to architecture involved more than beautification. It meant that the works of arts would give the maximal meaning to the environment. In order to reach this aim, he identified, as early as 1973, the places and the elements of the complex that would benefit from those works. Clearly, Ouellet was open to the new artistic orientations and expressions, which included designers' creations. In addition, he envisioned the possibility of integrating the artist within the team made of the architects, the urban planners, the engineers and the landscape architects, instead of merely integrating works of art to the premises. He did not exclude the latter possibility, though. Finally, he also thought that artists could be continuously solicited when the complex would be in operation, notably by holding exhibitions in the square.[100]

Of course, this diverged from the provincial requirements. In the end, however, a competition may have been held in the context of the provincial regulation, but no evidence could confirm that fact. In any case, Ouellet wanted to mark the square with a sculpture, and even anticipated where the work of art was supposed to be located, by reinforcing the floor

(near the escalators) in order to increase its load bearing capacity. In the end, sculptor Pierre Granche created a sculpture hung from the ceiling. Years later, the owner removed the work of art in consideration of maintenance difficulties and negative comments from users.[101]

In Ouellet's early scheme, several works of art were scattered on the premises as place markers. In the end, there were several works of art even though not necessarily as many as originally thought. Ouellet had envisioned the sculptural elements would mark the approaches and the entrances to the building, as well as for the public square and the mall. In particular, the architect wanted to have what he termed an urban identification of the project, both on Dorchester Boulevard and on St. Catherine Street. In the former instance, the architect foresaw the possibility to have the sculptural elements expand onto a terrace, also integrated with the vegetation. Clearly, for Ouellet, art, water, light effects and vegetation themselves had to be compatible and integrated. In the second instance, Ouellet foresaw that a large scale sculpture be displayed on St. Catherine Street, as part of the Place des Arts setting (hence on St. Catherine Street, half-way between the main entrance and the eastern intersection). However, that last location on St. Catherine Street, in the margin between the edifice and the street line,[102] was selected for another competition for a sculpture, held in a different context than the provincial one. Since it pertains to the only sculpture installed out of doors, it will be briefly reported hereafter.

The Union régionale de Montréal des caisses populaires Desjardins gave that sculpture to Place Desjardins in the context of the commemoration of the Union régionale's 50th anniversary. The work of art was unveiled on 22 November 1975. The architecture department of the new complex was solicited for the selection of the work of art, as it had to integrate harmoniously with the building. A jury made up of five members,

including Jean Ouellet and the president of the Union régionale, invited five artists from Québec (including Charles Daudelin and Jordi Bonet) to submit a model along with an explanatory text describing their project. The jury evaluated the proposals and recommended a work of art to the board members of the Union régionale, who went along with the jury's recommendation. Sculptor Yves Trudeau's project was selected (see figure 38). Hommage à Alphonse Desjardins (1975), was created as a memorial to the founder of the first credit union in North America, which was the aim of the commission. The abstract sculpture was made of welded aluminium, and measured thirty-five feet (9.3 metres) long, thirty feet (nine metres) high and sixteen feet (five metres) wide. It bore the inscription "unirservir" (to unite/to serve) repeated on some of its faces, as a leitmotiv.[103]

Yves Trudeau was a successful sculptor who had, since the late 1950s, taken part in several group and solo exhibitions. In the 1960s and 1970s, he also created religious sculptures and murals, as well as other cult objects. He took part in the first Symposium of sculpture at the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1965. In 1967, he was commissioned to create a sculpture for one of the thematic pavilions at Expo 67. He created for the occasion Phare du Cosmos, a kinetic sculpture with sound effects, still visible nowadays, even though deprived of its movement and sound. At the time that the forthcoming sculpture was announced, along with the name of the artist selected, his local and international reputation was highlighted, as well as his involvement within the artistic community as a founding president of the Québec Sculptors Association.[104]

According to Trudeau, at the time of its creation, the monument to Desjardins was his masterpiece. For him, the work evoked the dynamism, the evolution and the scope of Desjardins' oeuvre. While the inscription "unirservir" and the volume may correspond to Desjardins'

accomplishment, the monument is nonetheless formally identifiable with what Trudeau was creating in those days, only on a larger scale. Already in 1969, the artist thought that his sculptures had an architectural and a monumental meaning. He was actually interested in both modules and with the environment, proposing sculptures and "pliages" (foldings) on which he sometimes inscribed messages (murs fermés et ouverts series, of which les murs crient were part). Trudeau focused on a plastic creation that integrated within the City. In 1976, he was actually presented abroad as an "urban sculptor."[105]

Despite the allotted setting, Trudeau favoured three other locations for his sculpture. The first and much preferred one was precisely in the middle of the public place. He thought that the atrium was large enough to accommodate the impressive dimensions of the sculpture, and that the other ongoing activities would not suffer from its presence. The second and third locations were right in front of the central entrance, respectively on St. Catherine Street (second choice) and Dorchester Boulevard (third choice), which in fact corresponded to locations selected by Ouellet for works of art. For Trudeau, the clearing left between the doors and the sidewalk was, if not great, sufficient to accommodate the sculpture, which would have reflected in the glazed entrance. But Trudeau's sculpture did not correspond to what Ouellet had anticipated for those locations.[106] In the end, the memorial was installed, directly on the slab, on the St. Catherine side of the building, in the area determined by the architect. The sculpture was relocated twice, always on the St. Catherine side of the complex. It remained for almost fifteen years in its last setting, on the north-east corner of the site (St. Catherine and St. Urbain Streets), close to an entrance. At the time of the relocation, this was a secondary access to the complex, and not commercially oriented.[107]

In the mid-1990s, the owner undertook renovations and among the changes, some stores opened directly to the street, eliminating the infamous corridor evoked above. The sculpture was also removed in the wake of the changes, without even the artist being informed of the fact. As of now, Yves Trudeau still does not know where the memorial is stored, nor if it is well kept. But it appears that the work of art will no longer adorn the Complexe Desjardins.[108]

The Palais des Congrès de Montréal (1978-83)

The Complexe Desjardins, built across Place des Arts (1963) gave rise to other major public constructions, which together formed an institutional axis (public and semi-public), parallel to the Place Ville-Marie/McGill College Avenue. This did not happen by chance, but resulted from a global planning for the area, triggered by the planning for the Complexe Desjardins. Actually, the architects and urban planners in charge of developing the site for the Complexe Desjardins outlined a district plan (plan d'ensemble) for the area, given the absence of a municipal plan. According to Marsan, their aim was to give to the Complexe Desjardins a role similar to Place Ville-Marie's, i.e., to be an anchor for the creation of a north-south axis parallel to the Place Ville-Marie/McGill College one.[109]

The next major project to follow the construction of the Complexe Desjardins on this axis was the Palais des Congrès de Montréal (hereafter the Montréal Convention Centre). After studies begun in 1974, the provincial government decided to build a convention centre as a stimulus for Montréal tourism.[110] In a 1977 report for the ministry in charge of tourism, the Corporation Immobilière Place Desjardins promoted the site

bound by St. Antoine, Vitré (now Viger), St. Urbain and de Bleury Streets, then considered as inappropriate for this type of project by the business community. However, the Corporation was not mandated for the global development of the site. The team of architects and engineers in charge of the design was selected following a public competition, orchestrated by the Ministry of Public Works.[111]

Five teams of architects and engineers made the short list, including La Haye and Ouellet. However, the winners were the Lalonde-Prus team. The governmental programme required that the building make use of the aerial rights of the Ville-Marie expressway in the Place des Arts and Place d'Armes axis. The winning scheme met this constraint. It also included some very modernist elements: the building was made of concrete, and laid out above the expressway, on piles, freeing the ground with a five metre (16.4 feet) clearing. It had bridges above Viger, St. François-Xavier/Jeanne-Mance and Cheneville Streets. It also had roof gardens and terraces.[112] Actually the architects had, as one of their stated objectives, the will "*to enhance the meaning and form of existing public domain*. Raising the building above the street level protects and enhances the public domain without affecting the existing traffic pattern."[113] The concept also introduced pedestrian public promenades and places as a way to improve that public domain. On the north side, it included a plaza that eventually linked the Convention Centre to the Complexe Guy-Favreau. But as pointed out by Bruce Anderson, "unfortunately, the convention centre does not provide any retail space, restaurants or cafés which might have alleviated the artificial character of the plaza."[114] In addition, the new building was supposed to establish a link with Old Montréal on the St. Antoine Street side. The truck ramp was presented as a dynamic element that would have a sculptural form (made possible by concrete), in the middle of a public place that would become the rallying

point for the visit of Old Montréal. The design of this public place evolved over the course of the project to the point of being hardly recognizable. This public place, which seemed to hold more promises than the plaza to the north, ended up being a left-over space for the garage ramp. Actually, a simple look at the proposed ground floor plan and at the south elevation confirms the impossibility to lay out a decent public place (identified as a square with fountain on a legend) adjoining to a massive truck ramp (this impossibility is flagrant on the proposal site plan and on the 3D drawing).[115]

The Convention Centre, which could accommodate at the same time ten thousand persons in the exhibition room and six thousand seated persons attending congresses, included amenities for such events (cafeteria, bar-restaurant). The building was huge, if not high, and the bridges over the streets were certainly as unfriendly to pedestrians as the highest of the skyscrapers could be. Except for the north façade where a sloping glazed wall allows the visitors to get a great view of the city, the remainder of the building has blind or almost blind concrete walls (façades over Viger Street being glazed). The result was another massive, grey building which was supposed to blend, according to its architects, with the neighbouring buildings, but in the end lacked in relationships with its surroundings (with the possible exception of the expressway) and in human scale. As expressed by Anderson: "The project lacks . . . contextualism and historicism."[116] The construction of the Convention Centre required the demolition of fine buildings. Nothing in the concept referred either to those demolished buildings or to the remaining ones in the vicinity.[117]

The provincial project had to comply with the requirements of the by-law regarding allied arts. In this particular case, the architects decided to have several works of art scattered throughout the building and the site,

rather than a major one that the budget of the building could have allowed. Sixteen works of art were created for the occasion by as many artists or teams of artists, selected by the architects, without any type of competition. Charles Daudelin was awarded the commission for a sculpture located in the southern public place, evoked above. As will be related in greater depth in the next chapter, Daudelin decided to use a concept proposed and rejected for another of Victor Prus' project, in Québec City this time. The sculpture, Éolienne 5, was made of five painted blue steel tubes that support moving stainless steel sticks. They were placed in a circle in a water basin (see figure 39). The mineral "square" which the sculpture was supposed to adorn has since been everything but a public square, and the art, everything but integrated.

Guy-Favreau Complex

The Complexe Guy-Favreau was inaugurated in 1984, after much controversy due to the demolition of an important part of the Chinatown, and after several years during which the parcel of land laid vacant. The multifunctional compound occupied a large city block bound by Dorchester Boulevard, St. Urbain, de la Gauchetière and Jeanne-Mance Streets. On Dorchester Boulevard, are two low office towers, of ten and twelve storeys, housing the Federal Government services. Within the complex are also over three hundred housing units distributed among buildings of varying height (from four to twelve storeys), that border the three other streets of the city block. These buildings enclose a landscaped courtyard, a garden, accessible to both residents and workers or visitors of the premises. Weather permitting, tables with umbrellas and chairs are added to the courtyard on the side of the office towers. The garden is adorned

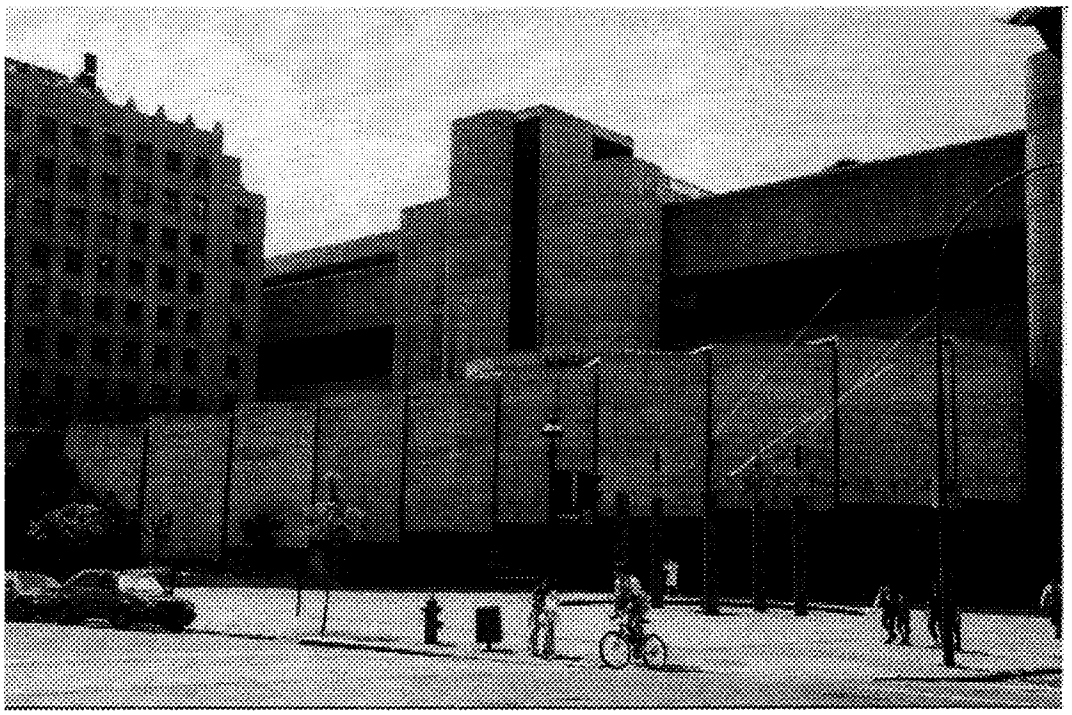


Figure 39. Charles Daudelin's Éolienne 5, located in the southern "public place" of the Convention Centre. Photograph by the author, 1994.

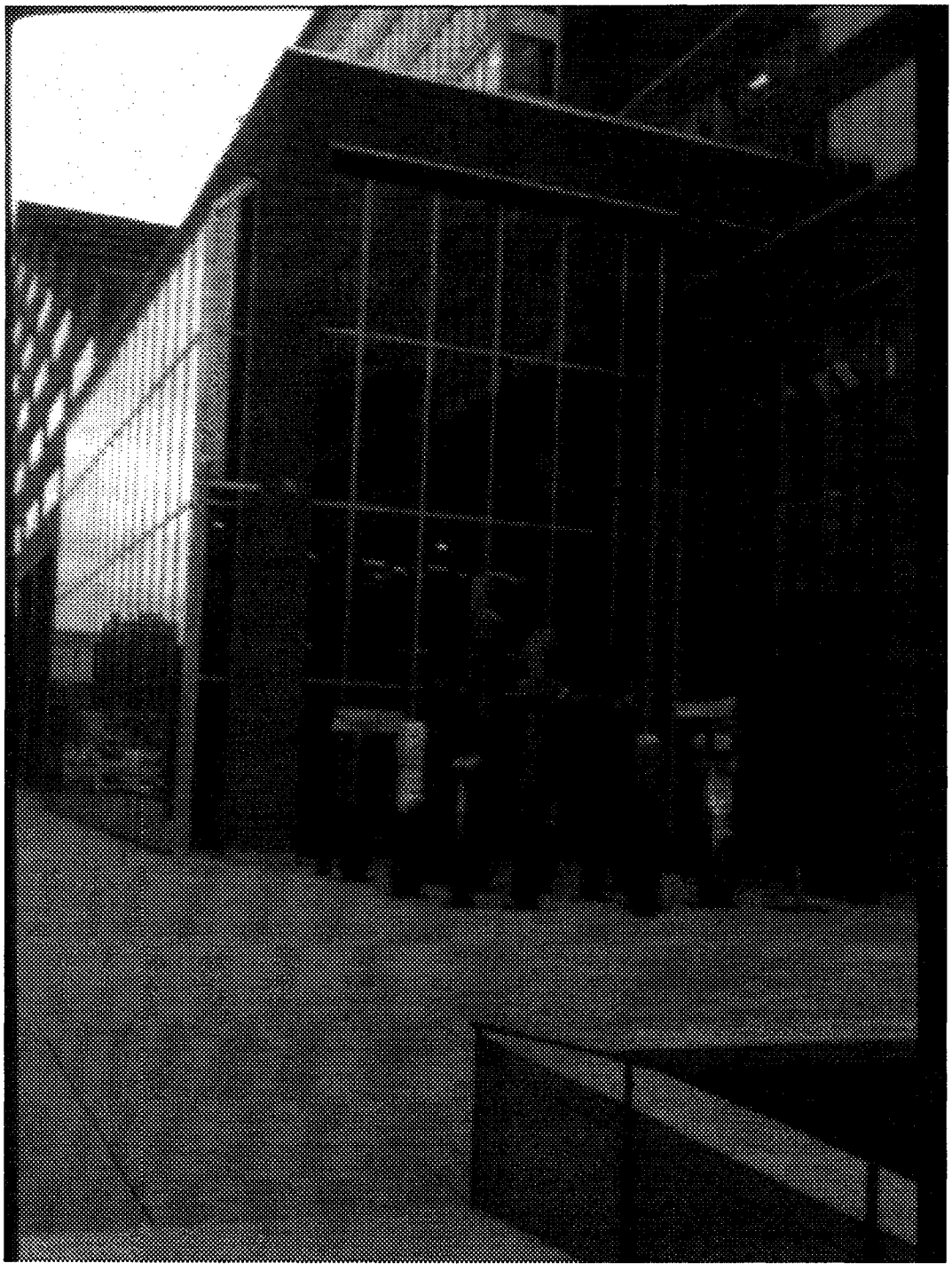


Figure 40. Caucasian Totem III (1972) by Walter Redinger, in the plaza of the Guy-Favreau Complex. Photograph by the author, 1994.

with a sculpture, Samothrace (1966), by Armand Vaillancourt. The work of art belongs to the Canada Council Art Bank, which loaned it to Public Works Canada, involved in both the construction and the maintenance of the project.[118]

The low towers are set back from René-Lévesque Boulevard, and are accessible from a mineral plaza. Nonetheless, there are rows of trees planted on its west side, parallel to the boulevard. Another sculpture on loan from the Federal Art Bank was set up next to the main entrance (west side; see figure 40). The yellow-orange fiberglass sculpture, Caucasian Totem III (1972) by Walter Redinger represents several totems of varying height. Redinger represented Canada at the Venice Biennale in 1972 where a similar sculpture, Caucasian Totems, was displayed in the city. The Caucasian Totems for Venice were made of four elements of varying height (328 centimetres to 453 centimetres).[119] In Montréal, we were in the presence of a sculpture put on a plaza, but not at the base of a skyscraper (the sculpture was removed in the winter of 1999). The actual reasons for having a plaza have not been investigated. It is possible that the plaza was a remnant of a former concept for Complexe Guy-Favreau. As explained by Marsan, the concept for the project evolved over a long period (over ten years) before it came to fruition. In the early 1970s, the concept included a multifunctional tower of some fifty storeys. Eventually, the architectural programme requirements evolved and social and physical integration with the milieu won over purely economic objectives: "Ce complexe apparaît comme le témoin d'un concept architectural qui a perdu sa raison d'être et qui s'est graduellement, laborieusement, transformé en un autre."[120] The plaza at the base of the actual office buildings could well be a remnant of the former concept.

The Museum of Contemporary Art

In 1983, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs decided to relocate in central Montréal the Museum of Contemporary Art, installed in the former Galerie Internationale des Beaux-Arts built for Expo 67, in Cité du Havre. The new museum opened in the Spring of 1992, erected on the parcel next to Place des Arts, also bound by St. Catherine and Jeanne-Mance Streets and de Maisonneuve Boulevard. The construction of the new edifice, which was inaugurated in 1992, completed the institutional axis for the period under investigation.[121] As several other projects, the opening of the Museum of Contemporary Art in downtown Montréal was celebrated in the context of the 350th anniversary of the city.[122] The construction of a new, larger edifice for the Museum of Contemporary Art was in keeping with the emphasis put on culture, which was noticeable in Montréal as in other major cities of the western world.[123] The new museum included a sculpture garden and a landscaped ground with terraces and fountains. The sculpture garden opened in 1993 with an exhibition of sculptures by Charles Daudelin, Andrew Dutkewych, Michel Goulet, Ulrich Rückriem and Armand Vaillancourt. It has an alternating display of sculptures, not a permanent exhibition. The sculpture garden is of small dimensions, which could be understood given the size of the parcel on which the museum was built. However, it is questionable whether it would not have been possible to extend it (or integrate it) with the vast circulation space immediately next to it. But its major deficiency resides in its inaccessibility, and its lack of continuity with the museum. The sculpture garden is theoretically accessible from de Maisonneuve Boulevard. However, its gates have always been padlocked. Therefore, the public is entitled to look at the works of art through the fence, unless it visits the exhibition inside the museum. The sculpture garden is not even accessible from the

restaurant, contrary to other instances (a great example being the garden of sculptures of the Baltimore Museum of Art).[124]

The museum is recessed from St. Catherine Street and accessible via a plaza which links it with Place des Arts. The Museum of Contemporary Art, funded by the provincial Ministry of Cultural Affairs, set up a competition in 1985 to comply with the Ministry's own requirements for art integrated to architecture. Sculptor Pierre Granche won over Michel Goulet, Rose-Marie Goulet, Peter Gnass and Armand Vaillancourt. The sculpture was installed for the inauguration of the museum in 1992. It was nestled in the esplanade of Place des Arts, at the underground level. It is therefore perceptible outside, but from above, and is then completely out of reach. It is best visible from the inside, behind a circular glass wall, a situation that is reminiscent of Isamu Noguchi's rock garden, below the plaza level of the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York. It is actually at the crossroad of the museum and the Place des Arts underground.[125]

Granche had started to use the city as a theme for his artistic research at about the same time he took part in the competition, in the mid-1980s. Granche considered that the artist was as responsible as the architect, the urban planner and the landscape architect, to propose a new reading of the city, to take part in its reconstruction and be part of the decision-making process. The aluminium sculpture installation, Si le temps de la rue...faisait beau, presents elements that allude to city life of various eras. There are numerous references to Montréal's cultural landscape and also references to the larger world. They offer various levels of reading: the railing on top of the walls surrounding the sunken sculpture suggests the belvedere on Mount Royal, whereas the form of the enclosure suggests a Greek theatre. The ground comprises an urban grid that lies between the St. Lawrence river (water fall) and the Mount Royal (flower tray), the two determining poles in Montréal. The grid is divided in

rays in reference to the exterior world (meridians and parallels). Above the ground are the profiles of four characters and a column. The characters resemble Egyptian bodies in reference to both art history and urban planning. Archetypal buildings of Montréal are scattered around. [126]

For the opening of the new building, the Museum organized a major exhibition that presented the work of internationally reputed artists. Dennis Adams, Dominique Blain, Christian Boltanski, Gilbert Boyer, Geneviève Cadieux, Melvin Charney, Gilbert and George, Leon Golub, Gran Fury, Hans Haacke, Mona Hatoum, Alfredo Jaar, Mark Lewis, Giuseppe Penone, Alan Sonfist, Jeff Wall, Irene Whittome and Krzysztof Wodiczko were among the twenty-nine invited artists. They presented work in the new museum, even though some elected to go outside, around the museum, or elsewhere in the city. Through the artists' work, the exhibition questioned society's values and problems. The curators aimed to highlight the artists' role in society and, more precisely, the various aspects of their commitment in the world. The works presented addressed pollution and the environment, the refugees' problems, aids, homelessness, racial inequalities, and ... the museums themselves.[127] The resulting exhibition was appraised by Toronto critic John Bentley Mays as a "predictable array of blue-chip work fabricated, for the most part, by members of the Canadian and international academy of the politically pure in heart, who tend to get into all the shows." Bentley Mays added: "The show is a reminder that ostentatious leftist rectitude is a valuable asset for any artist hankering for quick entry into the art museum and the art market, which can no longer be usefully considered as separate entities."[128] However, Geneviève Cadieux was the exception, in the critic's opinion.

For the occasion, Geneviève Cadieux presented a photograph, La voie lactée, an "image of a wonderful lipsticked [sic] mouth, mounted high

atop the museum--a big, sexy smooch that satirizes. . . the desperation of every new museum for public attention and paying customers" [129] according to Bentley Mays. The photograph was actually mounted on the museum roof, as were publicity panels displaying other parts of the female anatomy throughout the city. La voie lactée has been permanently exhibited since then, except for a short interruption due to maintenance work. On the ground this time, on the museum plaza close to St. Catherine Street, Alan Sonfist proposed for the exhibition another work that was intended to be permanent. Sonfist was famous for his Time Landscape, a plantation of shrubs, grass and trees located in Manhattan (New York). He had developed the concept for Time Landscape in 1968-69 but could achieve it only ten years later. In Montréal, Sonfist proposed Growing Protectors, another ecological work of art (see figure 41). Sonfist's sculpture consisted in the representation of a Hawk missile, which as it burst would make room for a young forest, symbolized by a white spruce. Sonfist anticipated that the forest would outgrow the missile, which would go back to earth as it degraded. With Growing Protectors, Sonfist explained, he wanted to illustrate the irony in the way our civilization treated the natural environment in the course of the twentieth century. He stated that natural phenomena and living creatures on this planet ought to be revered and celebrated. Sonfist's explanation of his work and of his intents, added to his reputation and involvement as an ecological artist, and to the location of the work of art (the museum plaza) led to the belief that Growing Protectors would be as permanent as Cadieux' La Voie Lactée. After all, Sonfist explicitly referred to the growing of the white spruce. However, less than two years later, Growing Protectors was removed from the plaza. The missile parts were stored in

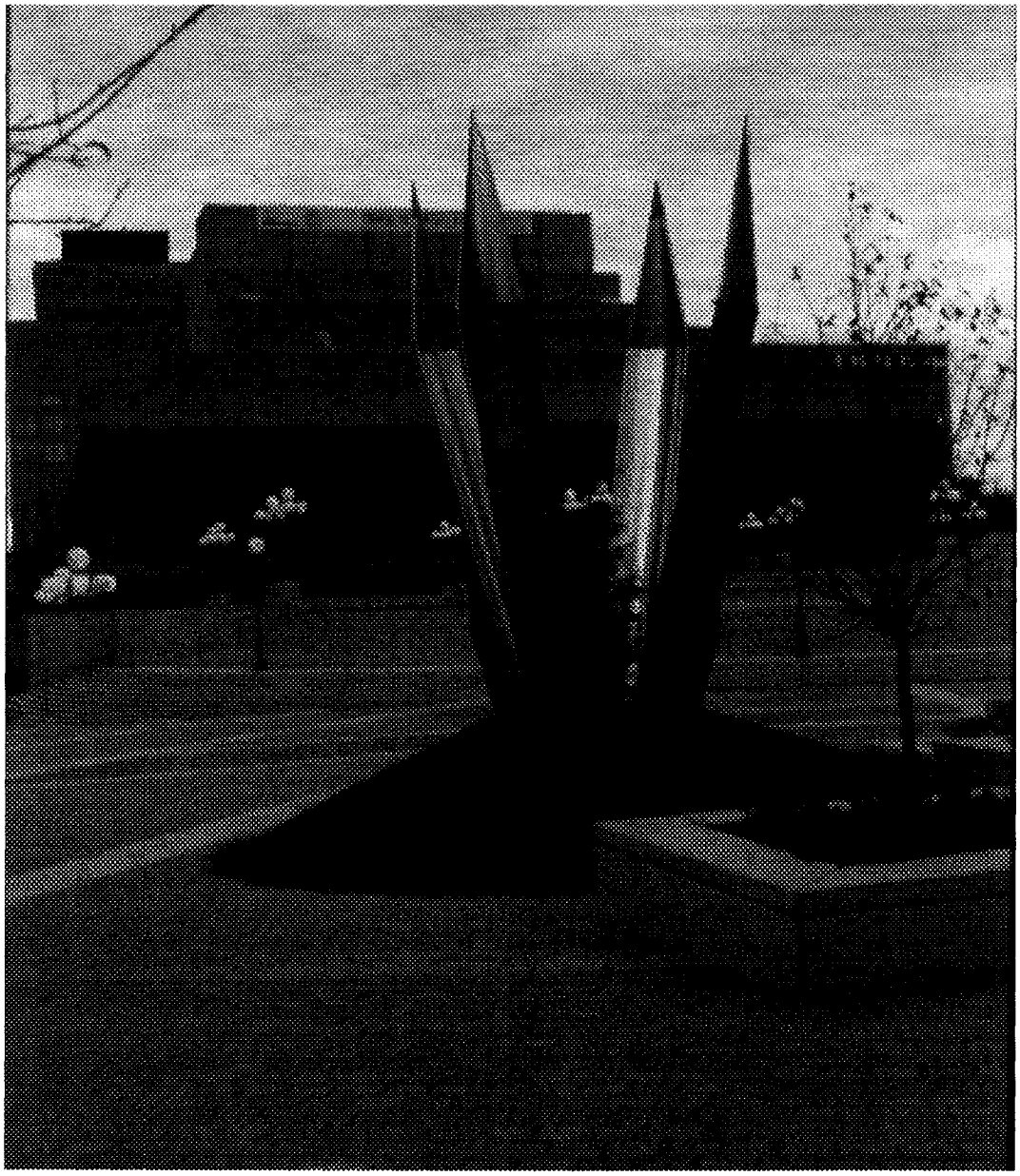


Figure 41. Growing Protectors (1992), by Alan Sonfist, in the plaza leading to the new Museum of Contemporary Art in Montréal. Photograph by the author, 1992.

the museum vault. A new exposition of the sculpture would require a new tree. A museum representative explained that Growing Protectors caused both winter maintenance (removal of the snow) and safety problems. Rather than relocating it elsewhere on the museum ground and,--why not?--in the sculpture garden, the museum had recourse to the most drastic solution of all: it removed the sculpture from its site, which in this case, amounted to its destruction.[130]

Public development: A Conclusion

Initially the public and semi-public projects presented briefly were all supposed to have open or free space: a garden and a plaza at Guy-Favreau, a public square and a terrace at the Convention Centre, terraces, plaza, and sculpture garden at the Museum of Contemporary Art. The Complexe Desjardins, with its "Grande Place" proposed an alternative to the traditional public square and to the corporate open space as well. Of them all, only the Complexe Guy-Favreau, and the museum to a lesser extent, offered a mineral plaza in front of a building. Nonetheless, all of those projects initially had sculpture within their confines.

It is worth noting that, after 1992, several of these works of art were removed: the Walter Redinger at Guy-Favreau Complex, the Yves Trudeau, the Alan Sonfist. Even if this occurred outside of our study period, it indicates a fragile relation between art and the open public place. The Daudelin's Éolienne 5 remained, but has never succeeded in transforming the remnant of land on which it stands into a public square.

While the search for a new configuration of the public square remained problematic, the public projects had recourse to artists who were well established in the artistic field at the time of their selection:

Vaillancourt, Redinger, Granche, Trudeau, Cadieux, Sonfist. Each and every one of these artists had become highly reputed by that time. In addition, with the possible exception of Redinger, all were well known by the Montréal art world. There is a contrast between these artists and the artists selected by the private sector (no artist from Québec, even though Québec had several sculptors who had often represented Canada, and were highly reputed on the international scene).

This completes the section on the artistic, architectural and urban development in Montréal for the period under investigation. The next section will present six artists who were not only interested in the integration of art with architecture, but in creating works of art in the city.

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[1] Mark London, "Postmodernism comes to Montréal," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers: Montreal Urban Issues and Architecture (Montréal: Véhicule Press, 1991), 133.

[2] Ibid., 133; Benoît Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages de Montréal," L'Actualité, February 1982, 67-72; Joseph Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," Canadian Architect 33, no. 11 (November 1988): 31-39; Joseph Baker, "Brontesauraus Rex?," Canadian Architect 38, no. 6 (June 1993): 13-17; Henry Lehmann, "Though big and tall, IBM-Marathon tries hard to fit in," Gazette, 26 September 1992, p. J 6; Denys Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," Continuité, no. 53 (Spring 1992): 7-13; Norbert Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 26.

[3] Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages," 67-72; Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," 20.

[4] Derek Drummond, "The Decade of the Designer Tower," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 123; see also p. 124, 127, and London,

"Postmodernism comes to Montréal," 130; Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages," 67-72.
[5] Drummond, "Designer Tower," 123; Joseph Baker, "No Nonsense Approach," Canadian Architect 31, no. 9 (September 1986): 26.
[6] London, "Postmodernism comes to Montréal," 135.
[7] Ibid., 136; see also p. 135.
[8] Ibid., 139.
[9] Ibid., 141; see also p. 139-40.
[10] Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," 26.
[11] Mark London, "Downtown Montreal," ARQ, no. 30 (April 1986): 12-15; Jean-Claude Marsan, "Quand l'histoire se répète sans en avoir les moyens," ARQ, no. 102 (April 1998): 17; France Vanlaethem, "Montréal en promotion," ARQ, no. 30 (April 1986): 11. According to City of Montréal By-Law no. 6090, St. Antoine Street is the northern limit of Old Montréal.
[12] Lewis Harris, "The MCM at City Hall: Long on Promises, Short on Action," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 32; see also p. 30 and Annick Germain, "Montréal And the Saga of the Downtown Master Plan Goes On . . . ," City Magazine 11, no. 4 (Summer 1990): 7-8; Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en évolution, 3rd ed. (Laval, PQ: Éditions du Méridien, 1994), 391.
[13] City of Montréal, By-law no. 3411, art. 6 A, January 1967.
[14] Ibid., art. 6, last paragraph.
[15] City of Montréal, By-law no. 4748, art. 3, 2e, February 1974.
[16] The five by-laws were no. 4760 (21 March 1974), 5626 (23 February 1981), 5833 (25 January 1982), 6291 (12 December 1983) and 6359 (27 February 1984).
[17] Margaret Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne: fonctions, formes, lieux et contextes" (Masters of Urban Planning diss., McGill University, 1994). The location of the new high-rises is also attributable to the litterature review. See for instance, Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages," 67-72; "La galerie commerciale de la Place Montréal Trust, nouveau point de mire du centre-ville de Montréal," Architecture Concept, April 1988, 6, 8; Baker, "No Nonsense Approach," 24-28; Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 31-39; Baker, "Brontesauraus Rex?," 13-17; Drummond, "Designer Tower," 119-29; London, "Downtown Montreal," 12-15; London, "Postmodernism comes to Montréal," 130-42; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 7-13; Vanlaethem, "Montréal en promotion," 11; Guide Bureaux Montreal Office Guide 3, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 42.
[18] Ville de Montréal, "répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements-Impression d'un compte foncier," for the 1001 de Maisonneuve Boulevard West.

[19] Four and a half tiles of about 305 mm each. For the construction year, refer to City of Montréal, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, land use plan, October 1990, no. 228-26; Ville de Montréal, "répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements-Impression d'un compte foncier," for the 999 de Maisonneuve Boulevard West and for the 2000 Mansfield Street.
[20] Description from the model, in Drummond, "Designer Tower," 125.
[21] Ibid., 119.
[22] Ibid.,120.
[23] London, "Postmodernism comes to Montréal," 139.
[24] Personal observations made in order to assess the impact of by-law 2887 as amended, and of by-law 3411 as amended, on de Maisonneuve Boulevard, between de Bleury and Stanley Streets.
[25] The expression is from Roger Trancik, Finding Lost Space (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1986), 246 p.
[26] Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn, Downtown, inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: MIT Press, 1989). Three major department stores acted as anchors for those new projects but Simpson's did not occupy the whole city block, and consequently, did not reach de Maisonneuve Boulevard.
[27] Pierre Boyer-Mercier, "La Maison des Coopérants," ARQ, no. 30 (April 1986): 23-24; Harris, "MCM at City Hall," 31; London, "Downtown Montreal," 12-15; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 7-13; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 418; Vanlaethem, "Montréal en promotion," 11.
[28] London, "Downtown Montreal," 12-15; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 363; Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," 26.
[29]Architecture Concept, October 1987; Boyer-Mercier, "La Maison des Coopérants," 23-24; Ricardo L. Castro, "Significant Buildings of the 1980s," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 110, 114; Marc H. Choko, Les grandes places publiques de Montréal (Montréal: Méridien, 1990), 137-38; Drummond, "Designer Tower," 123; London, "Postmodernism comes to Montréal," 139; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 12; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 418;
[30] Baker, "Montreal: City in Ferment," 36; Boyer-Mercier, "La Maison des Coopérants," 23-24; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 12; Vanlaethem, "Montréal en promotion," 11. Personal observations.
[31] Extract of "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture," Prospecta 9-10, 1965, p. 17-56, according to Venturi's bibliography, in Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, Learning from Las Vegas, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: MIT Press, 1972; paperback edition, 1977), 184.
[32] Harris, "MCM at City Hall," 31, 33; London, "Downtown Montreal," 15; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 417; Peter Rose, "Le Centre Eaton," ARQ, no.

30 (April 1986): 17-18; France Vanlaethem, "Le Centre Eaton Commentaires," ARQ, no. 30 (April 1986): 18-19.
[33] London, "Downtown Montreal," 15; London, "Postmodernism comes to Montréal," 137, 139; "Galerie commerciale de la Place Montréal Trust," 6, 8; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 13; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 394-95, 417; Vanlaethem, "Le Centre Eaton Commentaires," 18-19; Vanlaethem, "Montréal en promotion," 11. For a photograph of the tower, see Bryan Demchinsky ed., Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 137.
[34] Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages," 67; personnal observations.
[35] That provision was repeated in several by-laws: nos. 2887, 3387, 3411, discussed previously in the context of the plaza. See also Derek Drummond, "Streets Can Be a City's Living Room," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 89.
[36] By-law 6724 extended the area to University Street to the east. By-law 8220 may have modified that. The latter text refers to a "plan attached to this by-law" without naming the arteries. However, contrary to the previous by-laws, no plan was included in by-law 8220. City of Montréal, By-law no. 6724, June 1985; By-law no. 8220, September 1989.
[37] City of Montréal, By-law no. 5804, art. 2, December 1981.
[38] City of Montréal, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, land use plan, October 1990, no. 228-26.
[39] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 43. Description of other works of art on de Maisonneuve Boulevard, at no. 44, a 1% project, in front of the new library of Concordia University); no. 45, a figurative statue by Norman Bethune, dated 1976-77, made by four Chinese artists. The statue marks the public square Place Norman Bethune. There were also two murals and another sculpture-fountain in front of a hotel. See nos. 146 and 181. Jonathan Wener, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 14 September 1999.
[40] "La maison SNC ouvrira bientôt ses portes," Architecture Concept, February 1988, 9-10; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 12; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 415.
[41] Pierre Richard Bisson and Raymonde Gauthier, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090 (Montréal: Corporation Architecture 1990 for the Québec Order of Architects, 1990), 66.
[42] As of 1999, only one sculpture remained, but in 1994, there were two sculptures with the water fall/fountain. Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, nos 60-62; City of Montréal, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, land use plan, October 1990, no. 228-26.
[43] Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, La Collection Lavalin du Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal: Le partage d'une vision (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme and le Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1994);

Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 63; Rosanne Martorella, Corporate Art (New Brunswick and London, England: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 26, 34, 87, 89, 164; Paule des Rivières, "Le Musée d'art contemporain acquiert la Collection Lavalin," Le Devoir, 23 June1992, p. A 1, A 4.

[44] ARQ, no. 54, April 1990, Special issue about Montréal; Baker, "Brontesaurus Rex?," 13-17; Julia Bourke, "Scaling the advantage of height," ARQ, no. 72 (April 1993): 24; Derek Drummond, "IBM is behind skyscraper's 'designer' label," Gazette, 21 January 1989, p. K 14; Harris, "MCM at City Hall," 31; Lucie K. Morisset, "Le prix d'excellence 1993, catégorie 'architecture commerciale' le 1250 Boulevard René-Lévesque Montréal," ARQ, no. 76 (December 1993): 14-15.

[45] Pierre Boyer-Mercier, "Projet Marathon-IBM 1250 Boulevard René-Lévesque Montréal," ARQ, no. 54 (April 1990): 45; Drummond, "IBM is behind skyscraper's 'designer' label," p. K 14; Drummond, "Designer Tower," 127; Joseph Giovanni, "Urban diplomat: Marathon/IBM Building, Montreal, Quebec," Architectural Record 181, no. 5 (May 1993): 74-79; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel, 13.

[46] Drummond, "IBM is behind skyscraper's 'designer' label," p. K 14.

[47] The highest building is the 1000 de la Gauchetière, with the equivalent of fifty-one storeys. Marchand, "La conquête du ciel, 13; Harris, "MCM at City Hall," 32-33; Baker, "Brontesaurus Rex?," 13-17; Drummond, "IBM is behind skyscraper's 'designer' label," p. K 14; Henry Lehmann, "Though big and tall, IBM-Marathon tries hard to fit in," Gazette, 26 September 1992, p. J 6; Morisset, "Le 1250 Boulevard René-Lévesque," 14-15; Guide Bureaux Montreal Office Guide 3, no. 3; Author's personnal observations.

[48] Baker, "Brontesaurus Rex?," 13-17; Bourke, "Scaling the advantage of height," 24; Yves Deschamps, "Le meilleur des pires," ARQ, no. 72 (April 1993): 25; Lehmann, "Though big and tall, IBM-Marathon tries hard to fit in," p. J 6; Morisset, "Le 1250 Boulevard René-Lévesque," 14-15; Guide Bureaux Montreal Office Guide 3, no. 3.

[49] Baker, "Brontesaurus Rex?," 13-17.

[50] Telephone conversation with Ingrid Vanden Hecke, public relations at TrizecHahn, 6 July 1999; site visit (text on a plaque); Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 58.

[51] Susan Bronson, "The Three Rs: Restoration, Renovation and Recycling," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 161; Author's site visits.

[52]Baker, "Brontesaurus Rex?," 13-17; Bisson, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090, 55; Adele Freedman, "Plaza Suite," Globe and Mail (Toronto),

13 January 1990, p. C 1; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 347; Building description, La Tour CIBC, from the City of Montréal archives.
[53] "Langage urbain pour le 350e," La Presse, 19 June 1992, p. C 2; Henry Lehmann, "On view: all the city's an art gallery," Gazette, 25 July 1992, p. J 1, J 2; Francyne Lord, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 March 1994; Guide Bureaux Montreal Office Guide 3, no. 3, 16-17; Charlie Fidelman, "A propos d'un art 'pour tous'," Parcours Arts Visuels, Summer 1994, 75-76; Wener, interview by author.
[54] Wener, interview by author.
[55] Peter Blake, "Downtown in 3-D," Architectural Forum 125, no. 2 (September 1966): 47.
[56] Blake, "3 D," 47; "Des propriétaires partagent les coûts d'embellissement," Architecture Concept, December 1987, 6-7.
[57] "And downtown still grows," Montreal Star, 18 August 1979, p. A 6.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 394-95; "Des propriétaires partagent les coûts d'embellissement," 6-7; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 12-13; Vanlaethem, "Montréal en promotion," 11.
[60] London, "Downtown Montreal," 15.
[61] Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," 26; Ville de Montréal, "répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements-Impression d'un compte foncier," for the 2000 Avenue McGill College.
[62] Quoted in Baker, "No Nonsense Approach," 24.
[63] London, "Postmodernism comes to Montreal," 136; Baker, "No Nonsense Approach," 24; Drummond, "Designer Tower," 124, 127. For a representation of the tower, see Architecture Concept, December 1984, front page (no article).
[64] Baker, "No Nonsense Approach," 24; see also p. 28, and London, "Postmodernism comes to Montreal," 136.
[65] Baker, "No Nonsense Approach," 28.
[66] The trees have grown since the installation of J'accuse, and the work is less visible from the street than originally. Author's observations in 1999, compared with Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 24; Lori D. Allen, Les artistes dans la ville, trans. Hélène Joly, coll. Marcher l'art dans la ville (Montréal: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal,1992), 44, 48-49; Aline Gubbay, "The Fine Art of Enhancing Public Places," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 99-100.
[67]Allen, Les artistes dans la ville, 44-45; Ann Duncan, "Readers rate Montreal's public art and choose the good the bad and the ugly," Gazette, 21 August 1993, p. I 1; Gubbay, "The Fine Art of Enhancing Public Places," 99; Henry Lehmann, "Sculpture's highs and lows City's latest crop holds mixed messages," Gazette, 15 December 1990, p. J 8.

[68] Author's site visits.
[69] Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 411-12; Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," 26; Ville de Montréal, "répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements-Impression d'un compte foncier," for the 1981 Avenue McGill College.
[70] Drummond, "Streets Can Be a City's Living Room," 89.
[71] Allen, Les artistes dans la ville, 42-43; Jeremy Beach and George T. Noszlopy, "Public Art and Planning in Birmingham," Planning History 18, no. 1 (1996): 22-28; Duncan, "Readers rate Montreal's public art" p. I 1; Gubbay, "The Fine Art of Enhancing Public Places," 99; Aleksi K. Lepage, "Autour de l'art public," La Presse, 9 June 1994, p. D 3; Author's observations in Montréal and New York City.
[72] From Aubin, we can infer that the tower was being built (or about to be) in 1982. Norbert Schoenauer refers to a twenty-four-storey tower, while for Joshua Wolfe this is a twenty-seven-storey construction. The access from Sherbrooke Street was reworked into a plaza in 1999, which is outside our study period. Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages," 69; Bisson, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090, 62; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 409; Schoenauer, "A Skyline for All Seasons," 26-27; Joshua Wolfe, "The Façade Fad: Saving Face Isn't Always Enough," in Grassroots Greystones & Glass Towers, 168, 173; Author's site observations.
[73] Hélène de Billy, "Chefs-d'oeuvre ou fumisterie?," L'Actualité, October 1991, 107.
[74] City of Montréal, By-law no. 2576, art. 3, September 1960.
[75] Ibid.
[76] City of Montréal, By-law no. 4961, art. 1, March 1976.
[77] Introduction to all those by-laws: 1651, 1708, 1721, 1738, etc. The entire series of those by-laws was consulted at the municipal by-laws office, at the City of Montréal City Hall (file no. 1651).
[78] City of Montréal, By-law no. 6724, art. 3 and 5, June 1985; By-law no. 8220, art. 3, September 1989.
[79] Carol Willis, "A 3-D CBD: How the 1916 Zoning Law Shaped Manhattan's Central Business Districts," in Planning and Zoning New York City: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 4-5.
[80] There are some six slabs of about four feet by four feet or 1.2 metre by 1.2 metre. Personnal observations, July 1999.
[81] The tower was in construction during the Fall 1990, according to City of Montréal, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, land use plan, October 1990, no. 228-26. After 1994, the ICAO moved in its new building on University Street and Ferron's sculpture is now standing next to the main entrance. Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 28.

Retrospective exhibition of Marcelle Ferron's work, held at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art in the summer of 2000.
[82] Gubbay, "The Fine Art of Enhancing Public Places," 100-101.
[83] Ibid., 100; Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 31.
[84] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 30; Dane Lanken, "Drapeau's Montreal: great moments, great monuments," Canadian Geographic 106, no. 4 (August-September 1986): 20; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 385-86; Martorella, Corporate Art, 26-27, 48.
[85] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 29.
[86] The height for F was defined in by-law 6217, September 1983. It seems that the permit for the ICAO building was delivered shortly afterwards. City of Montréal, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, land use plan, October 1990, no. 228-26. The former ICAO building and the Scotia Tower, respectively located at 1000 and 1002 Sherbrooke Street West, were not built by 1987. These addresses do not appear in the municipal evaluation roll for the year 1987. In 1987 the new land division was not registered yet. City of Montréal municipal archives.
[87]Gubbay, "The Fine Art of Enhancing Public Places," 104.
[88] "In public view," Azure, April 1990; Fidelman, "A propos d'un art 'pour tous'," 75-76.
[89] Meeting with Daniel Genest, TrizecHahn, 29 June 1999, at 4, Place Ville-Marie, Montréal. See also "In public view."
[90] Lord, interview by author; Martorella, Corporate Art, 34, 184, 187-88. San Francisco was one of those cities that required 1% of the construction cost for public art. Douglas Frantz, From the Ground Up (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, England: University of California Press, 1991): 84, 189-96.
[91] Jean Ouellet, "Place Desjardins," 1976, paper presented at the International Council of Shopping Centers, p. 1 of 9; Jean Ouellet architecte et urbaniste, "Le Complexe Desjardins un événement urbain," report, Montréal, 6 June 1977, p. 1 of 7; Jean Ouellet, La Société La Haye et Ouellet, "Complexe Desjardins Sommaire du processus," Montréal, 7 June 1977, p. 2 of 6. Jean Ouellet's personal archives.
[92] Guy Bernier, "Place Desjardins: 10 ans après," Actualité immobilière 9, no. 4 (1986): 26-29; Melvin Charney, "The Montrealness of Montreal," Architectural Review 167, no. 999 (May 1980): 299-302; Yves Deschamps, "Profil Jean Ouellet montréalité," ARQ, no. 102 (April 1998): 12-13; Pierre Lévesque, "Profil Jean Ouellet la place Desjardins et 'l'âme' du complexe..." ARQ, no. 102 (April 1998): 14-15; Philippe Lupien, "Profil Jean Ouellet architecte de l'intérêt public," ARQ, no. 102 (April 1998): 8-11; Ouellet, "Un événement urbain," p. 3; Jean Ouellet, "L'animation des

centre-villes: à Montréal Le Complexe Desjardins," paper presented at a conference in Paris, 1981, p. 2 of 8.

[93] Bernier, "Place Desjardins: 10 ans après," 26-29; Guy Besner, "Réflexions sur la continuité du projet," ARQ, no. 102 (April 1998): 16; Deschamps, "Profil Jean Ouellet," 12-13; Jean-Claude La Haye and Fernand Séguin, La Société La Haye et Ouellet urbanistes et architectes, "Projet Desjardins Vers une thématique de l'impact Version préliminaire," Montréal, 15 September 1971, p. 3 of 17, plus illustrations; Lupien, "Profil Jean Ouellet," 8-11; La Société La Haye et Ouellet urbanistes et architectes, "Place Desjardins, Inc. Présentation audio-visuelle du projet Desjardins au conseil municipal de la ville de Montréal," Montréal, August 1972, p. 3-4; Ouellet, "Place Desjardins," p. 3; Ouellet, "Un événement urbain," p. 7; Ouellet, "Sommaire du processus," p. 6; Ouellet, "L'animation des centre-villes," p. 2-3, 6. According to Deschamps, the Federal Government withdrew from the project in 1969, and only then the Provincial Government was involved. Jean Ouellet's personal archives.

[94] La Haye "Projet Desjardins Vers une thématique de l'impact," p. 1-9, 11-14; La Haye et Ouellet, "Place Desjardins, Inc. Présentation . . . au conseil municipal de la ville de Montréal," p. 8; Marchand, "La conquête du ciel," 11; Ouellet, "Un événement urbain," p. 2; Ouellet, "L'animation des centre-villes," p. 5.

[95]The construction took place between 1971 and 1976. The architects for the three office towers were Blouin and Associates in collaboration with Gauthier, Guité, Roy. The basilaire and the infrastructure were designed by architects Longpré, Marchand, Goudreau. The overall planning, the concept, the architectural programming were done by La Société La Haye & Ouellet, urbanistes et architectes. The architects Ouellet & Reeves took charge of the overall design, as well as of the hotel. Aubin, "Les nouveaux visages," 67-72; Bernier, "Place Desjardins: 10 ans après," 26-29; Besner, "Réflexions," 16; Bisson, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090, 58, 75; Melvin Charney, "The City within the City," Domus (Milan), July-August 1981, 5; Deschamps, "Profil Jean Ouellet," 12-13; Jean-Claude La Haye, "La Place Desjardins sans complexe," Le Devoir, 3 April 1976, p. 24; Lévesque, "Profil Jean Ouellet," 14-15; Lupien, "Profil Jean Ouellet," 8-11; Jean-Claude Marsan, "Le Complexe Desjardins le syndrome de la place ville-marie," Le Devoir, 13 March 1976, p. 15, 28; Jean-Claude Marsan, "Le complexe Desjardins la première véritable place en dépit d'une expression spatiale conservatrice," Le Devoir, 20 March 1976, p. 13; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 352-55; Ouellet, "Place Desjardins," p. 5-7; Jean Ouellet, La Société La Haye & Ouellet, "Le Complexe Desjardins Conception et thématique," Montréal, 23 February 1976, p. 3-4 of 4; Ouellet, "Un événement urbain," p. 2-3; Ouellet, "Sommaire du

processus," p. 2, 7; Ouellet, "L'animation des centre-villes," p. 5-7; La Haye et Ouellet, "Place Desjardins, Inc. Présentation . . . au conseil municipal de la ville de Montréal"; Richard Pomerantz, "PVM is granddad of them all Not all city plazas meet expectations," Montreal Star, 18 August 1979, p. A 6.

[96] La Haye "Projet Desjardins Vers une thématique de l'impact," p. 10-11, 15-16; section no. 15; La Haye et Ouellet, "Place Desjardins, Inc. Présentation . . . au conseil municipal de la ville de Montréal"; p. 8; Lupien, "Profil Jean Ouellet," 8-9; Jean Ouellet, "Aspects thématiques et architecturaux," Montréal, 11 March 1974, p. 2, 8-10 of 11; Ouellet, "Un événement urbain," p. 4, 7; Ouellet, "L'animation des centre-villes," p. 7; Author, conversation with Jean Ouellet, held at the Complexe Desjardins, Montréal, 18 May 1999. In La Haye and Séguin's document, a square ("place") is defined as "un lieu découvert généralement entouré de construction." p. 11. Lupien affirms that Alfred Rouleau, then the leader of the Desjardins movement, had wanted the place to be more like a church parvis than a market square.

[97] Charney, "The Montrealness of Montreal," 302.

[98] David Brown, Pieter Sijpkes, and Michael MacLean, "The Community Role of Public Indoor Space," Journal of Architectural and Planning Research 3, no. 2 (1986): 161-72; Charney, "The Montrealness of Montreal," 302; Charney, "The City within the City," 5; La Haye et Ouellet, "Place Desjardins, Inc. Présentation . . . au conseil municipal de la ville de Montréal"; p. 11; Marsan, "Le complexe Desjardins la première véritable place," p. 13; Ouellet, "L'animation des centre-villes," p. 7; Pieter Sijpkes, David Brown, and Michael MacLean, "The behavior of elderly people in Montreal's 'Indoor City'," Plan Canada 23, no. 1 (1983): 14-22.

[99] Ouellet, "Le Complexe Desjardins Conception et thématique," p. 4; Jean Ouellet, "Espaces publics d'un centre-ville," Montréal, 1979, p. 3; Ouellet, "L'animation des centre-villes," p. 3.

[100] Jean Ouellet architecte et urbaniste, "Complexe Desjardins Esquisse d'une politique d'intégration des oeuvres d'art à l'architecture de l'ensemble," Outremont, September-November 1973.

[101] Identified as M-9 in Ouellet, ibid. It was not possible to ascertain if Granche's sculpture was created in the context of the provincial regulation. The author was told by the person in charge for the provincial programme of art integrated to architecture, in Montréal, that the file pertaining to the Complexe Desjardins could not be found. According to André Leblanc, vice-president and director of exploitation of Place Desjardins Inc., the work was given by the insurance company La Sauvegarde, to Place Desjardins Inc. André Leblanc, interview by author, Tape recording,

Montréal, 30 June 1999. La Sauvegarde was reputated to be a patron of the arts.

[102] Identified as V-5 (86) in Ouellet, "Complexe Desjardins Esquisse d'une politique d'intégration." See also Ouellet, "Espaces publics d'un centre-ville," p. 3; Leblanc, interview by author.

[103] Allen, Les artistes dans la ville, 16-17; Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 17; text of the press conference held on 20 November 1975 at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, at the unveiling of a work of art given by the Union régionale de Montréal des caisses populaires Desjardins to Place Desjardins Inc. to pay a tribute to Alphonse Desjardins; Yves Trudeau, curriculum vitae, 1982; identification of slides by Yves Trudeau. Médiathèque, Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, artist file no. 002681. Yves Trudeau, unrecorded telephone interview by author, 28 April 1999.

[104] Press conference, 20 November 1975; Yves Trudeau's résumé; Trudeau, interview by author.

[105] Yves Trudeau's file, no. 002681, Médiathèque, Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal. See in particular, Yves Trudeau, "murs fermés et ouverts" sculptures et pliages, catalogue of the exhibition held at the Canadian Cultural Centre, Paris, 25 September-16 November 1975 and at the Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Brussel, 10 January-15 February 1976. Also, Trudeau, interview by author.

[106] Identified as V-11 and B-11 (115) in Ouellet, "Complexe Desjardins Esquisse d'une politique d'intégration."

[107] Trudeau, interview by author; Leblanc, interview by author.

[108] Lise Bissonnette, "Le mauvais exemple," Le Devoir, 15 August 1996, p. A 7; Trudeau, interview by author; Leblanc, interview by author.

[109] Bruce Anderson, ". . . And in Montreal, An Air Rights Building," Canadian Architect 29, no. 11 (November 1984): 26-31; Bisson, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090, 79; Marsan, "Le syndrome de la place ville-marie," p. 15, 28; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 359, 361; Marsan, "Moyens," 17.

[110] "Competition: Winning Entry: Competition for Convention Centre, Montreal," Canadian Architect 24, nos. 2-3 (February-March 1979): 26-29.

[111] Anderson, ". . . And in Montreal, An Air Rights Building," 26-31; Alain Duhamel, "Les concepteurs du Palais des congrès choisis par voie d'un concours public," Le Devoir, 7 February 1978, p. 11.

[112] Anderson, ". . . And in Montreal, An Air Rights Building," 26-31; Duhamel, "Les concepteurs du Palais des congrès choisis par voie d'un concours public," p. 11; Michel Nadeau, "Le Complexe Desjardins aura coûté deux fois plus que prévu: $206 millions," Le Devoir, 2 April 1976, p. 13. Victor Prus architect and urban planner, associated with Labelle,

Marchand, Geoffroy, Lemoyne architects and Hébert & Lalonde, architect and designer. Jean-Louis Lalonde signed the design and Victor Prus was identified as the main designer ("concepteur"). "Un Palais des congrès sortant de l'ordinaire conçu par une équipe du Québec," Bâtiment 53, no. 10 (October 1978): 16-19. The architectural team was also identified as being made of Victor and Maria Prus, John Bland, Roy LeMoyne, Henri Labelle, Julien Hébert and Jean-Louis Lalonde. "Winning Entry: Competition for Convention Centre, Montreal," 26-29.

[113] "Winning Entry: Competition for Convention Centre, Montreal," 26.

[114] Anderson, ". . . And in Montreal, An Air Rights Building," 26.

[115] "Winning Entry: Competition for Convention Centre, Montreal," 26-29. See also "Un Palais des congrès sortant de l'ordinaire," 16, for a picture of the model on that side of the building.

[116] Anderson, ". . . And in Montreal, An Air Rights Building," 26. See also "Un Palais des congrès sortant de l'ordinaire," 16-19; "Winning Entry: Competition for Convention Centre, Montreal," 26-29.

[117] Claudine Déom, "L'agrandissement du Palais des congrès et le patrimoine montréalais," Le Devoir, 23-24 January 1999, p. D 8; Anderson, ibid., 26-31.

[118] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 83; Jean-Claude Marsan, "Le complexe Guy-Favreau: une victime de son époque," Le Devoir, 8 September 1984, section 4, p. 29.

[119] Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 42; René de Solier, "La Biennale de Venise," Vie des arts, no. 68 (Fall 1972): 54-55. The author noticed that the sculpture was removed during the winter of 1999.

[120] Marsan, "Complexe Guy-Favreau," p. 29. Telephone conversation with René Fréchet, eng., Summer 1999. René Fréchet had been Director of Design and Construction, Public Works Canada, Québec Region and involved during the design and construction phases of the project.

[121] Later on, a pavilion of the Université du Québec à Montréal, UQAM, was built in the city block across the street from the Museum of Contemporary Arts.

[122] Joseph Baker, "Museums in Montreal," Canadian Architect 37, no. 6 (June 1992): 20; Jean Dion, "Neuf ans plus tard, voici le nouveau Musée d'art contemporain," La Presse, 30 May 1992, p. 16-17; Serge Fisette, "Si le temps de la rue . . . faisait beau Une histoire de ville/ A Story of a City," Espace Sculpture, no. 30 (Summer 1992): 6; Jocelyne Lepage, "Des architectes montréalais gagnent le concours du Musée d'art contemporain," La Presse, 21 April 1984, p. D 16.

[123] Baker, "Museums in Montreal," 20; Joseph Baker, "Building a Place for Art (Museum of Contemporary Art)," Canadian Architect 37, no. 6 (June 1992): 32-34; Marsan, Évolution, 1994, 423-29.

[124] Author's observations; "Les artistes Jardin de sculptures du Musée," Press Release, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal, 27 May 1993.
[125] Baker, "Building a Place for Art," 32-34; for a photo of the model and a view of the esplanade, see p. 33; Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 19; Fisette, "Si le temps de la rue . . . faisait beau," 6-13; Jocelyne Lepage, "Pierre Granche La générosité et la démesure," La Presse, 14 December 1991, p. E 7; Harriet F. Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 116; "Bilan des opérations Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec 1985-1986" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, June 1986), 35; Jean Chartier, "L'art public, au-delà du 1%," Le Devoir, 4 January 1992, p. B 2; Author's visit on both sites.
[126] Fisette, "Si le temps de la rue . . . faisait beau," 6-13.
[127] Eric Amouroux, "Canada Pour la suite du monde Montréal Musée d'art contemporain," Arte Factum, no. 47 (March-April-May 1993): 54-55; Jean Dion, "Neuf ans plus tard, voici le nouveau Musée d'art contemporain," La Presse, 30 May 1992, p. 16-17; John Bentley Mays, "Pushing ideas around on paper," Globe and Mail, 21 March 1992, p. C 4; Gilles Godmer and Réal Lussier, Pour la suite du monde Cahier: propos et projets (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1992); Marie Laurier, "Pour la suite du monde Le MAC s' installe au centre-ville le 28 mai," Le Devoir, 22 January 1992, p. B 3; Jocelyne Lepage, "Grand Fury pour l'ouverture du MAC: l'impudence grossière comme force de frappe," La Presse, 30 May 1992, p. E 3.
[128] John Bentley Mays, "Practicing the art of being seen," Globe and Mail, 30 May 1992, p. C 4.
[129] Ibid.; Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 2, no. 18.
[130] Nancy Foote, "Sightings on Siting," in Urban Encounters Art Architecture Audience (Philadelphia: Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 27-28; Lucy R. Lippard, Overlay Contemporary Art and the Art of Prehistory (New York: The New Press, 1983), 231; Barbara C. Matilsky, Fragile Ecologies: Contemporary Artists' Interpretations and Solutions (New York: Rizzoli in association with The Queens Museum of Art, 1992), 40, 80; Alan Sonfist, "Growing Protectors" in Godmer, Pour la suite du monde, 52-53; Boyce, "Art public dans la ville moderne," vol. 1, p. 158-59.

PART THREE

THE ARTISTS

The position of Daudelin as an artist of the avant-garde, at one point in time, is often overlooked, if not simply denied.[1] Nowadays, his name is closely associated with public sculpture created in the context of governmental commissions. It is therefore difficult for some to see this artist as part of the emerging avant-garde art of the 1940s. But as we saw in part two, other artists of the avant-garde came to see public art (murals, sculptures) as an expression of some aspects of modernity in their art (for instance in the use of materials, in the scale of the work). Some Post-Automatists had created works of art for the public domain well before, and at first outside of, the context of governmental competitions. The work of Charles Daudelin, one of the three artists involved in the re-creation of Viger Square, will be presented in the context of the advent of modernity in Québec art, particularly in sculpture. We will demonstrate that the modernist context of those early days was the one in which Daudelin first realized works of art (murals and sculptures) in the public domain. Later on, Daudelin adapted and competed for several projects of public sculpture.

In 1965, several well known artists (Edmund Alleyn, Jordi Bonet, Marcelle Ferron, Jean Lefébure, Mario Merola, Jean-Paul Mousseau) were part of a show that made mural art and public art official as a movement.[2] Artist Claude Théberge did not take part in the exhibition,

even though he had similar interests in mural art and the integration of art to architecture. Théberge is the second artist who was involved in a project to re-create Viger Square, and his work in its heyday will also be presented.

Until the mid-1960s, Post-Automatist and Plasticien painters dominated the art world. However, by 1965, some Montréal art critics started to be saturated with an art perceived as intellectual and remote from daily life. They thought that sculpture, particularly kinetic one, or the creation of "environment space," one that embraced the spectator within the environment, presented more interest. In addition, sculpture was seen as a possible sheet anchor for the Plasticiens. The oeuvre of Peter Gnass, another artist involved in the re-creation of Viger Square is best understood in this context. A Post-Automatist, according to Rose-Marie Arbour, Gnass soon left painting behind him to embrace sculpture, from more formal to kinetic ones. He eventually worked in the environment, and created installations.[3]

According to Louise Letocha, who succeeded Fernande Saint-Martin at the head of the Museum of Contemporary Art, ambivalence marked the 1970s on the art scene. On the one hand, the aesthetic continuity of certain art forms was acknowledged, yet on the other hand, traditional values burst. If some artists continued to show their attachment to Automatism or Plasticism, others questioned the aesthetic object in the 1970-75 interval. The relationship of sculpture to space was entirely modified, according to Letocha. She observes that most sculptures exhibited at the Tendances actuelles au Québec show organized by the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1978-79 were not conceived as autonomous objects, but rather, in interaction with their environment. Four of the six artists presented in this chapter took part in this exhibition: Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass, Michel Goulet and Bill Vazan.[4]

In 1975, Québec 75 triggered controversy on the artistic scene of Montréal. With hindsight, we see at play new forces willing to enter into the artistic field, and the well established actors who resisted and opposed these newcomers. Two of them, Melvin Charney and Bill Vazan, not only took part in Québec 75, but were also active a year later in the Corridart saga. Twelve years later, they were contestants in the competition for an environmental sculpture to adorn one of the CCA parks. During those years emerged another sculptor, Michel Goulet, who also took part in the CCA competition. Goulet's practice as a sculptor took advantage of the provincial regulation pertaining to the integration of art to architecture, and he created several sculptures in public space.

The life and work of these six artists is presented as it allows a knowledge and an understanding of their work. Each of these six artists was involved in the creation of a public place as a work of art, even if two of them were active at the competition stage only. Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass and Claude Théberge received a commission for the re-creation of a segment of Viger Square, while Melvin Charney, Michel Goulet and Bill Vazan competed for the creation of an environmental sculpture. Melvin Charney won and created the CCA Garden, a garden as a work of art. This chapter can be read as a diachrony of Québec art through the life of these six artists. In addition, it will complement the preceding part that addressed the artistic, architectural and urban contexts of creation prevailing when they were striving to live their artistic life, and link it with the next chapters in which the case studies of Viger Square and of the CCA Garden are presented.

[1] In a chapter on Québec art, Guy Robert omitted his name for that early period. The catalogue Daudelin, 1997, re-established his role. Guy Robert, L'art au Québec depuis 1940 (Montréal: La Presse, 1973); Paul Bourassa et al., Daudelin (n. p.: Musée du Québec, 1997); Lise Lamarche "De la statue à la sculpture," in La sculpture au Québec 1946-1961: Naissance et persistance (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1992), 113-23.
[2] Rose-Marie Arbour, "Intégration de l'art à l'architecture," in Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 245, 248.
[3]Peter Gnass explained that he embraced sculpture because the Plasticiens were so powerful and so conspicuous that artists had no other choice than expressing themselves in sculpture rather than painting. Rose-Marie Arbour, "L'apport des femmes peintres au courant post-automatiste: une représentation critique (1955-1965)," in Les arts visuels, 28, 30; Marie-Sylvie Hébert, "La réception de la peinture formaliste montréalaise (1965-1970): art et identité nationale," in Les arts visuels, 154-60; Peter Gnass, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 October 1998.
[4] Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances actuelles au Québec (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1980); Andrée Paradis, "Au service de l'art contemporain," Vie des arts 29, no. 117 (December 1984, January-February 1985): 23.

CHAPTER 8

CHARLES DAUDELIN

1939-48: Montréal/NYC (1939-46); Paris (1946-48)

Born in Granby (Québec) in 1920, Charles Daudelin came to Montréal in 1939, following the advice of Paul-Émile Borduas, whom he met through a friend. At first (1939-41), Daudelin took night classes with Elzéar Soucy (wood sculpture) and with Borduas (drawing) at the École du Meuble, while working during the daytime at a silversmith's shop (religious silversmith). For the next two and a half years (1941-43), he became a regular student at the school, pursuing his classes with Borduas. He also took art history classes with Maurice Gagnon and followed the sacred art studio given by Father Couturier. Moreover, in 1942-43, he was an apprentice in ceramics and moulding at the training centre Maîtrise d'art. He did not complete his education at the École du Meuble.[1]

During those early years of the 1940s, a new climate prevailed. Alfred Pellan had come back from Paris in 1940, bringing with him avant-garde paintings which he exhibited that same year at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts (Art Association). Rose Millman and Isaac Stern opened the Dominion Gallery to nonconformist painters, including local ones. Moreover, contemporary European art was exhibited in Montréal.[2] Also, during the years 1941-42, Borduas met artists who became

associated with the Automatists movement (Pierre Gauvreau, Fernand Leduc, Françoise Sullivan, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Claude Gauvreau).

Early on, Borduas saw the need to change the way art was taught and to base creation on spontaneous expression.[3] Daudelin was among the early "young disciples"[4] who, in the winter of 1941-42, gathered around Borduas on a certain weeknight. The professor commented on paintings and critiqued their drawings. In the next term, starting in September 1942, Borduas followed closely the work of his students, including Barbeau, Daudelin, Riopelle and Viau. Some of them became members of the Automatists movement. Charles Daudelin did not. At the time of the publication of the Refus Global, he was living in France, having won a grant from the French Government Ministry of Cultural Affairs (October 1946-August 1948). Nonetheless, during the years that immediately followed his passage at the École du Meuble, until he left for Paris, Daudelin was closely linked with the avant-garde art milieu. He was among the twenty-three young artists who presented a group (the Sagittaires –Sagittarius) exhibition in May 1943 at the Dominion Gallery. At that early exhibition, he presented paintings as well as clay sculptures. This exhibition was a manifesto against the academic routine and a demonstration in favour of the young painters' spontaneous expression. In November of the same year, he was elected member of the Contemporary Art Society (CAS), which had just opened a junior section. At that time, he exhibited with his CAS colleagues, again at the Dominion Gallery.[5]

Fernand Léger was one of the European artists who came to the United States because of the war. In New York City he met Father Couturier, who was well informed of the art milieu in Montréal. Through Father Couturier, Léger was invited to exhibit at the Dominion Gallery, which he did from May 29 to June 9, 1943. Charles Daudelin was among

the young avant-garde artists who were enthusiastic about the exhibition. It was a revelation to them. Léger's visit "ouvrait une fenêtre sur la modernité,"[6] nourishing the young artists' fight against the prevailing conservatism.

Daudelin was much impressed by Léger, whom he met not only at the Dominion Gallery, but also at the École du Meuble. From 1943 to 1944, despite the war, Daudelin went twice to New York City, sojourned at Léger's, and studied with him. There, Daudelin met with several other European artists: "Je suis allé à deux reprises, puis j'ai rencontré quasiment tous les . . . Européens qui étaient là".[7] Léger took care of him "comme un bon père."[8] Among the sculptors he met were Zadkine, Ozenfant, Ostrowski, and Jacques Lipchitz whose cubist sculptures had already adorned Le Corbusier's Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau, created for the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes, in Paris. Lipchitz's rotating sculpture, Joy of Life (La joie de vivre) was installed as the focal point of another modernist icon: Gabriel Guevrekian's Noailles garden (circa 1927).[9]

Back in Canada, Daudelin was present in three main events in November 1944. First, Maurice Gagnon chose him, along with seven other painters (Paul-Émile Borduas, John Lyman, Alfred Pellan, Goodridge Roberts, Jacques de Tonnancour, Mary Bouchard, Louise Gadbois), for an exhibition held at Simpson's in Toronto. Second, he took part in the fifth annual exhibition of the CAS at the Dominion Gallery. Finally, as a young painter, he exhibited in the main lobby at Université de Montréal with the other young painters who had been members of the Sagittaires. In 1945, and until his departure for France in October 1946, Daudelin continued to be very active on the art scene. He took part in CAS group exhibitions (Toronto in 1945 and Montréal in 1946), designed posters, costumes, decors, and illustrated programmes for a theatre

company, les Compagnons.[10] He had two solo exhibitions. The first one, in March 1945, was a retrospective of his work and he exhibited drawings, watercolours, gouaches, oils, pastels and lavis. He was then presented by Maurice Gagnon as a very talented young painter. In a brief text written for the occasion, Daudelin wrote: "Nous voudrions que naisse le goût d'une architecture logique et pure, que la peinture et la sculpture soient coordonnées à cette sévérité."[11] The other solo exhibition was held in September-October 1946 at a flower shop, and presented twenty-eight sculptures out of the seventy-five works of art. Actually, during the Summer of 1946, Daudelin had shared the Cormier studio on St. Urbain Street with sculptor Louis Archambault, a pivotal experience for him. In the Spring of 1946, Daudelin won the second prize at the Grand prix de peinture de la province de Québec. At the same time, Borduas was a jury member at the Salon annuel du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (March 28-April 28, 1946), where Mousseau and Riopelle presented works of art.[12] Daudelin was evaluated by an institutionalized competition rather than by his former teacher.

During that 1945-46 period, the battle against academicism developed and became more radical. There was a second wave of young students around Borduas (Jean-Paul Riopelle, Marcel Barbeau, Roger Fauteux), who joined some painters with whom Daudelin had previously exhibited (Leduc, Mousseau). They presented their work together for the first time in April 1946, but Daudelin did not take part in that exhibition. When the group (except Riopelle who was in Paris) exhibited for the second time, in February 1947, they were labelled "Automatistes". Some of them were more radical in advocating a break with the bourgeoisie, religion, and even with surrealism.[13]

In Paris (1946-48), Daudelin did not attend the École des Beaux-Arts, but regularly visited two modernist artists: Fernand Léger, who was

working on theatre sets for Jean-Louis Barrault, and sculptor Henri Laurens. Daudelin had already seen some of Laurens' works in books at the library of the École du Meuble. Daudelin also went once at Juan Gris' and Braque's. On the recommendation of Laurens, Daudelin's scholarship was renewed in October 1947. In 1948, he presented two sculptures at the Salon des moins de trente ans, at the Galerie des Beaux-Arts, patronized by Jacques Villon. In March 1948, while in Paris, Daudelin exhibited some sculptures at the Collège de Saint-Laurent, along with some previous ceramics.[14]

Daudelin's sculptures of the 1940s (his Montréal era) seemingly bore the influence of European sculptors Jacques Lipchitz and Ossip Zadkine, whose studio he had visited during his 1944 sojourn in New York City. Daudelin's ceramic sculptures suggest a mythical universe, merging both dream and reality. On a formal point of view, "elles s'inscrivent dans le mouvement plus large de la sculpture moderne internationale qui, notamment à la suite des travaux de Picasso depuis la fin des années vingt, exploite l'idée de la métamorphose de la figure humaine."[15] Daudelin continued to be influenced by cubist sculptors during his stay in Paris: "L'influence de l'esthétique de Laurens est manifeste dans la production de Charles Daudelin durant cette période."[16] All in all, Charles Daudelin exhibited four times, in 1943, 1946 and 1948, sculptures he had created in Paris and in Montréal (Ville Saint-Laurent). Despite this sculptural production, it was as a painter that Charles Daudelin was highly praised during the 1939-48 period.

1949-60: Charles Daudelin And the Other Sculptors of the Time

Despite the early manifestations in the field of Québec sculpture discussed above, Lise Lamarche suggests that sculpture (as opposed to statuary) was born in Québec in 1949. First, in 1949, another young sculptor, Robert Roussil, after having had his first solo exhibition at Librairie Tranquille, set one of his sculptures, La famille complète (known as La famille) in the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts' precinct. That specific sculpture stirred controversy, as it was considered indecent. This event would mark the coming of sculpture in public space, according to Lamarche. Second, this was the year of the Premier Salon de la Jeune Sculpture at the Rodin Museum in Paris. This exhibition is not only a milestone for the field of sculpture at large, but Lamarche thinks that it also indicates that very early on, young Québec sculptors were informed of what was happening elsewhere in the world. Louis Archambault, for instance, took part in an International exhibition of sculpture held in London Battersea Park in 1951. There, he presented a monumental sculpture, L'Oiseau de fer, among other sculptors' works: Henry Moore, Auguste Rodin, Alberto Giacometti, Jean Arp, Max Bill, Alexander Calder, Jacques Lipchitz, Barbara Hepworth, Marino Marini, Antoine Pevsner.[17]

During that 1949-60 period, other artists besides Archambault and Roussil took, to varying degrees, an interest in sculpture. Among the Automatists, Borduas, Ferron, Mousseau, Riopelle and Sullivan ventured occasionally into the sculptural domain. In 1949, Marcelle Ferron exhibited five sculptures and seventeen paintings at Henri Tranquille. A year later, in 1950, she had a duo exhibition with Mousseau, in which she also presented sculptures made of wire and nylon. However, in the end, sculpture has been marginal in her overall artistic expression. Similarly, in 1951, Borduas created his sole sculptural work, in wood. Sullivan's

interest in sculpture emerged in 1959. Finally, in 1960, Jean-Paul Mousseau exhibited sculpture-lamps with François Soucy, at the Denyse Delrue art gallery, while Riopelle created his first sculptures made of bronze. Today, Mousseau's lamps are not considered real sculptures but rather, preparatory work for the luminous murals that were to come later.[18] During that period, the Automatists' contribution to sculpture was limited to the above. The modernity of the Automatists' sculptures did not stem from the scale or from the choice of materials (industrial) or the mode of fabrication (they were hand-made). The Automatists even presented their sculptures in conventional settings: none of them took part in the events with which modern sculpture came to be identified and promoted, namely, outdoor exhibitions.

According to Professor Lise Lamarche, modernity in Québec sculpture was not, at first, manifest by the dimensions or the use of industrial materials. Rather, it was first characterized by the absence of commission:

> Un des changements importants toutefois dans la pratique de la sculpture des années cinquante consiste justement à faire l'économie de la commande. . . .
> La sculpture moderne (autonome) prend ainsi peu à peu place au Québec, plutôt par voie de non-commande.[19]

Artists had a new freedom vis-à-vis their choice of subjects, including the possibility not to have any, and the spatial treatment of the work. During the 1950s, the local practice of sculpture oscillated between the statuary and the autonomous, modernist sculpture, according to Lamarche: "La pratique de la sculpture dans les années cinquante au Québec peut se comprendre comme une alternance entre l'art du statuaire et celui du sculpteur moderniste pour qui l'oeuvre doit être autonome."[20] Also during that period, sculpture was increasingly present on the artistic scene (if compared to the early 1940s). New sculptors

entered the field, while other artists added this medium to their artistic practice.

The emerging field of sculpture was dynamic. Truly, there were several very active and highly praised modern sculptors, including several women. In addition, artists had more choice as to where to present their sculptures and to see modern European art. The Dominion Gallery, identified with the avant-garde during the 1940s, exhibited modernist European sculptors in the 1950s (e.g., Henry Moore and Jean Arp). The Agnès Lefort and the Denyse Delrue art galleries subsequently opened, in 1953 and 1957 respectively. Several artists also exhibited at Galerie XII of the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, and had repeated occasions to present their work at the Université de Montréal.[21]

Besides the emergence of these new art galleries, and the continuation of the annual Spring Show at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, outside exhibitions emerged and developed as a new way to present sculptures. Was it the influence of the 1951 international exhibition of sculpture at Battersea Park in London, where Archambault had exhibited? In any event, as early as 1955 there was a small outdoor exhibition of sculptures in St. Louis Square, in Montréal. A year later, an art event organized by the Service des Parcs de la Ville de Montréal had a part with sculptures exhibited in the open. That was a major exhibition of sculptures and, at least for the first year, several artists identified with the new sculpture presented a piece. That outdoor exhibition, within the walls of the barracks on St. Helen Island, was to be repeated twice, in 1957 and 1958.[22] Finally, in 1960, three exhibitions of sculpture took place in the open, two of them in Montréal. One was held in Dominion Square, and the other was organized by the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts.[23]

Louis Archambault was the only sculptor in Prisme d'Yeux, the other group of artists identified with the avant-garde. Archambault was

active and maintained a high position in the field of sculpture. He exhibited with Alfred Pellan at the Art Gallery of Toronto (1952), and he then took part in the group exhibition Les arts du Québec at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) (1952). He represented Canada with Daudelin at the Triennial of Milan (Italy) in 1954. Followed a group exhibition at the École des Hautes Études Commerciales of Université de Montréal (1955). He also represented Canada at the 28th Venice Biennial, with Jack Shadbolt and Harold Town (1956). Furthermore, Archambault showed his work at the first exhibition of outdoor sculpture, organized by the City of Montréal's Parks Department, held in 1956. That same year, he also took part in the group show, "Exposition d'art de la Province de Québec," organized by the Société artistique de l'Université de Montréal. In 1958, Archambault created an immense mural, Canada d'un océan à l'autre, for the Canadian Pavilion at the Brussels' Universal exhibition. There he also took part in the Canadian art exhibition. In Montréal, he took part in only one of the six outdoor exhibitions of sculpture. Archambault pursued his creations with the same sculptural language during all those years.[24]

Anne Kahane was another leading figure. She was present on both the international scene for major sculptural events (one of three Canadian finalists for the monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner, among the artists at the Exhibition of Canadian art at Brussels for the International Exhibition, selected for the Venice Biennial). She exhibited at La Place des artistes (1953), an independent salon, and in three of the six outdoor sculpture exhibitions. She also won a joint first prize at the 1956 edition of the Concours artistique de la Province de Québec.[25]

Among the other leading Québec sculptors of the time were Mario Bartolini, Pierre Bourassa, Suzanne Guité, Robert Roussil, François Soucy, Armand Vaillancourt. Two sculptors in particular came to be

identified as the leaders of this era. The first one, Robert Roussil, stirred controversy as we saw, and had been fighting conservatism via his art since his entry in the field of sculpture. Roussil took part in three of the six outdoor exhibitions, while also entering official competitions. The other one, Armand Vaillancourt, marked his entry into the field in 1954, by sculpting a dead tree on Durocher Street (1954-56), in Montréal. While sculpting, Vaillancourt was interacting with the public. In 1955, he exhibited in St. Louis Square with sculptor Pierre Bourassa. After that, he had his first solo exhibition at the École polytechnique, Université de Montréal. Vaillancourt took part in only the last outdoor exhibition of sculptures on St. Helen Island (while most of the then more famous sculptors, including Robert Roussil, took part only in the first one). However, Vaillancourt took part in the three events of outdoor sculptures held in 1960. As well, he exhibited his sculptures in more formal settings. Towards the end of the period (1949-60), some figures emerged who would later have a leading role (Yves Trudeau, Ulysse Comptois).[26]
As a painter who had been evolving in avant-garde circles for a while, Charles Daudelin started to sculpt earlier and created more sculptures than most other Québec avant-garde artists (Archambault being the exception). However, during the 1949-60 period, he did very little, in regard to sculpture. His main activity resided in the creation of puppets and puppet shows, costumes and decors for the theatre and for the emerging television.[27] In those rare occasions when Daudelin was taking part in group exhibitions, Louis Archambault was often on the scene as well. In 1953, Daudelin entered the International competition organized by the Institute of Contemporary Art in London, for the creation of the monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner. Even though Daudelin exhibited sculptures on a few occasion, for almost ten years (1949-58) he did not have a major solo exhibition (see table 4). According to Guy Sioui

Durand, Roussil and Vaillancourt stood in opposition to Daudelin, Borduas and Kahane in that they exemplified the audacity of large scale public art. Nonetheless, Lamarche ranks with Roussil and Vaillancourt, followed closely by Archambault and Daudelin, as the leaders of the era (1946-61) in the field of sculpture.[28]

Table 4.--Charles Daudelin's exhibitions, 1949-60[29]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1949	La Société artistique de l'Université de Montréal, Université de Montréal (paintings)	Solo
1949	Comptoir du livre, Montréal (drawings, watercolors, puppets)	Solo
1953	Atelier Textile, Montréal (jewels, sculptures, watercolors)	Solo
1953	L'Atelier, Québec City	Group
1953	La Boutique, Montréal, with Anne Kahane, Julien Hébert, Gabriel Filion (sculptures)	Group
1953	Collège Saint-Laurent, Saint-Laurent	Group
1954	10th Triennial, Milan (Italy) (ceramics)	Group
1954-55	The National Industrial Design Council, France and Belgium (ceramics)	Group
1956	St. Helen Island, Montréal (sculpture)	Group
1956	Panorama de la peinture et de la sculpture montréalaise, Hélène de Champlain restaurant, St. Helen Island, Montréal	Group
1956	Exposition d'art de la Province de Québec, Université de Montréal	Group
1958	Denyse Delrue art gallery, Montréal (paintings dated 1954-1958)	Solo
1958	Trois-Rivières, Québec (drawings and watercolors)	Solo
1959	Third Biennial of Canadian Art, La Galerie Nationale du Canada, Ottawa (watercolors)	Group
1959	Expo-vente, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts	Group
1960	Here and Now Gallery, Toronto, Ontario	Group
1960	Expo-vente, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts	Group

During that period Daudelin, as many artists of the time, had been working with other media. In addition, as early as 1949, he realized works of art upon architects' request. He was unknowingly experiencing what he would become best known for: art created in the context of work with architects. In 1949, he realized his first murals in Montréal. First, there were two paintings on a wall, created for Peel Pub's interior, upon the request of architects Rother, Bland, Trudeau (RBT). In addition, Daudelin made reliefs on external walls for a project in Côte-St-Luc, also by RBT. Ten years later, in 1959, he created five "sculpture-jeux" for the new modernist, public housing project by RBT, Les habitations Jeanne-Mance. In 1960, he started to work with architect Jean-Louis Lalonde, with whom he would later often collaborate. Both Lalonde and Daudelin admired Le Corbusier. During several years, Lalonde had worked with the latter in Paris. In Canada, the architect wanted to build residences made of concrete.[30]

1961-76: Art Integrated to Architecture

From 1959 on, Daudelin oriented his artistic practice towards either applied arts (murals), religious/sacred art and out of doors sculpture. He did not abandon entirely the world of puppets, ballet decors, book illustration or silversmith. These activities, however, became marginal, when compared to his overall artistic production.[31]

In 1961, Daudelin did several projects with architect Lalonde. In a joint entry for a competition sponsored by the Commission de l'Exposition de Trois-Rivières, their design for a "Canadian house" ("La maison canadienne"), won the first prize and was built in Trois-Rivières, Québec. In 1962-63, Daudelin experimented with concrete for other allied arts

projects. These works were either murals or reliefs, and they were incorporated within various types of buildings, either public or private (filtering plant, private residence, bottling plant, school). In 1964-65, he created yet another mural and a metallic grate for a private residence. The murals for the school were created in the context of the new regulation of 1961.[32]

Daudelin continued to exhibit regularly, mainly in group shows. In 1963, he had to organize himself for his first solo show since 1958, an in-house exhibition at his studio in Kirkland, where he posted his gouaches of the last three years. But in 1963, Daudelin had a grant from the provincial government that allowed him to conduct research and to cast a few wax sculptures, which he exhibited with his gouaches. In 1964, he won the second prize, section sculpture, with the bronze Espace du dedans (1964), at the provincial artistic competition (Concours artistique du Québec). The gouaches Daudelin produced in those days were important as he spontaneously expressed his poetic imaginary. Some of the spaces that he explored back then anticipated his forthcoming accomplishment as a sculptor.[33]

Daudelin received the commission to design the sanctuary of Saint-Jean church (without an architect) as well as all the liturgical objects required for that church, in one of Montréal's working-class neighbourhood, Pointe-Saint-Charles. He completed his project in March 1964. The religious art objects were conceived as bronze sculptures, and were exhibited at the Institut des Arts Appliqués before being installed for good in the church. He received rave reviews for his creations. One called for architects and engineers to take advantage of such a great artist's talent. Daudelin later admitted that he had started to live with this project. As a matter of fact, the creation of these elements was pivotal in the sculptor's career. Firstly, this was his first experiment with bronze.

For the project, true to the modernist ideology of experimenting with materials, Daudelin had developed a technique to cast bronze, sculpting Styrofoam and working it out to produce innovative textures re-produced in casting. According to Paul Bourassa, curator of decorative arts and design at the Musée du Québec, each and every sculpture which originated during the following few years (1965-67) used the same technique and had the same aesthetics. Secondly, Daudelin received two other similar commissions in 1965 and 1967, for the design of liturgical objects, also made of bronze. For these projects, he collaborated with architects (Marcel Junius for the Maurice-Richard arena, and Guy Desbarats for the St. Thomas d'Aquin church in St. Lambert) for the layout of celebration space, more in keeping with the new rites of the catholic Church. Over the years, Daudelin accumulated other commissions for religious applied arts and decoration, which he found very gratifying means of artistic expression. Lastly, the success of the exhibition of the liturgical objects led the École des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (EBAM) to offer him a teaching position.[34]

At the EBAM, in the turmoil of the 1950s, artists rejected the very idea of commissions as well as decorative arts, and advocated the autonomy of art. However, starting in the mid-sixties, the hegemony of abstract art and its autonomy were questioned. Daudelin had been hired in 1964 to put into place a programme of art integrated to architecture. But the artist was alone in this new section, and did not receive, as he had anticipated, the cooperation from other artists (Archambault, Fiori, Jasmin, Merola) teaching at the school. Moreover, lack of funding and of space postponed the actual implementation of the project. These poor material conditions were also at the core of the students' early protests, which lasted from 1965 to 1970. The crisis reached a climax in 1968, with a student strike as an outcome. Students would refer to the Bauhaus as

their model of reference. Daudelin's efforts to implement the new programme suffered from these tensions and from the 1968 strike. The outcome of his venture was not totally negative, as he got acquainted in 1965 with architect Dimitri Dimakopoulos from whom he would receive major commissions.[35]

In 1965, he exhibited twice at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts: at the annual exhibition of the Ladies' Committee, and at Galerie XII, where he presented sculptures and some models. There was, among the latter, the preliminary project of a sculpture-fountain to be installed in front of the governmental building in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. That project resulted from a commission awarded to him by Dimakopoulos, architect for the building. The huge cast-iron sculpture-fountain Poulia (11 feet or 3.35 metres high and with an area of 16 x 16 feet or 4.88 x 4.88 metres) was installed in front of the provincial building in November 1966.

In May 1966, Daudelin won a national competition which granted him a valuable commission. He was selected among twelve sculptors (including Louis Archambault, Ted Bieler, Sorel Etrog, Gord Smith, Yves Trudeau, Armand Vaillancourt) to create a monumental sculpture to be installed on the plaza of the future National Arts Centre in Ottawa. The architects of the project were Affleck-Dimakopoulos-Lebensold. Until then, Daudelin's commissions had been directly awarded to him, without competition.[36]

Daudelin's involvement in the creation of the sculpture lasted until 1969, when it was finally put into place. The abstract, free-standing bronze was monumental: eight feet high and twenty-five feet long (2.44 metres high and 7.62 metres long). The necessity to be seen by drivers from the road imposed the colossal stature, but the comfort of the pedestrians passing by demanded not too a massive sculpture. Pierre Moretti from the National Film Board filmed the sculpture-in-making and a

short movie, Bronze, was released. Moreover, an exhibition, The Birth of a Sculpture, was organized and first presented by the Cultural Centre of the City of Pointe Claire (Stewart Hall), before being exhibited at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art in 1970 and later on, travelling in the province. In 1968-69, Daudelin received a fellowship from the Canada Arts Council.[37]

All these activities, combined with the various interviews given by the sculptor, allow an understanding of Daudelin's view on art, architecture, and the environment in those days. Assimilating the nature of his work to that of an architect, Daudelin explained that he did not believe in the autonomy of the work of art. The artist claimed taking into account the necessary integration of architecture, the environment, and the multiple possibilities for the public to experience his art.[38] Daudelin aimed to achieve the "synthesis of arts" advocated by Le Corbusier. The discourse about sculptors' work in general, and Daudelin's in particular, evoked the emancipation of architecture and of the city – of architects and urban planners – via sculpture, and sculptors:

> Ce leitmotiv de tous les grands architectes et urbanistes depuis plus d'un demi-siècle, c'est aussi le grief formulé par les artistes qui se sentent des étrangers dans la cité. Pourtant, une sculpture qui s'élève dans un lieu public est comme l'affirmation impérieuse, irrécusable qu'il existe d'autres valeurs que la spéculation sur les terrains et le conditionnement fonctionnel des hommes.[39]

As he was working on the Ottawa sculpture, Daudelin continued to accumulate other projects of allied arts. In 1966, on the invitation of architect Victor Prus, he created reliefs for the Mont-Royal station of the Montréal subway. Similarly, in 1973, Daudelin received a commission and created in 1975 two resonant sculpture grates for the Langelier station, for which architect Prus was also involved (see table 2). In 1969 Daudelin repeated his previous experience with Lalonde as he did another project of

art integrated with architecture for a school, in a similar context. For St. Louis school, the artist made eight painted steel sculptural modules, plus a cube made of concrete on which one could read "École Saint-Louis." Furthermore, in 1967, the artist took part in two competitions. Firstly, he submitted a proposal for the sculpture and interior wall of the Vancouver international airport. Secondly, he was invited in a limited competition for the sculpture at Maisonneuve theatre of Place des Arts. For the latter competition, he submitted a bronze sculpture, and actually won. Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold and Sise had been the architects for the Wilfrid-Pelletier theatre (1963-64) of Place des Arts. However, David, Barrot and Boulva were the architects of Maisonneuve theatre (1964-66) for which Daudelin competed. The conception of Place des Arts took place at the same period as the Lincoln Centre in New York City.[40]

Starting in 1967, Daudelin expanded his artistic practice of integrated arts. During the 1967-69 period, he collaborated with architects and urban planners Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Sise for the planning of downtown Calgary. Another firm of architects, Bland, Lemoyne, Shine, consulted the artist for the University of Windsor (Ontario). It is worth noting that Daudelin already had some ten years of experience in that field, when Louis Archambault decided, in 1968, to embark in the adventure of creating sculpture for architecture and for the city. Between 1972 and 1978, Daudelin was also a member of a consultative committee for the beautification of Québec public buildings in the context of the new 1% regulation. Moreover, he taught a class of integrated arts at the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, in 1971-73 and again in 1975. In 1975, Daudelin was invited to the University of New Brunswick in Moncton.[41]

Notwithstanding his discourse and practice pertaining to the synthesis of arts, Daudelin continued to exhibit autonomous sculptures,

either in art galleries, museums or in the open. In 1967, he presented Sans titre (1965) at the exhibition Trois cents ans d'art canadien, at the National Gallery in Ottawa, in the context of the centennial of Canada's Confederation. Furthermore, in 1970, four of his sculptures were part of the Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-1970, an exhibition first presented at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, and later (1970-71), at the Rodin museum in Paris. That same year, his sculpture Duo-O-Bleu, was part of the exhibition of Québec art competitions, presented at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art and later, at the Musée du Québec. In 1976, one of Daudelin's sculptures was part of the exhibition organized by the Museum of Contemporary Art, Trois générations d'art québécois 1940 1950 1960. The show was one of the cultural manifestations organized in the context of the Montréal Olympic Games.[42]

In 1966, he was one of the twenty-four Québec sculptors who presented work at the Second Open-Air Sculpture Exhibition Stratford Shakespearean Festival. There, his four feet (1.2 metre) bronze sculpture and wood support, Espace, Silence et Nuit, was not the tallest nor the most avant-garde in terms of use of materials or aesthetics, but identified "the new era of classic coolness."[43] In 1967, Daudelin created a bronze sculpture for Expo 67, Polypède, which was installed on Notre-Dame island. A year later, the sculpture was given to McGill University by Seagram, and installed in the vicinity of the university Law Faculty. Despite the fact that the sculpture was not created for that specific site, it is considered by some (including the artist) as a successful integration. In 1971, Daudelin was among the Canadian artists present at the 11th biennial of Middelheim in Antwerp, Belgium. For the event, he exhibited a fibreglass sculpture, Cube à espace ambigu (1971).[44]

Actually, circa 1967-68, Daudelin started to be interested in the formal possibilities of the cube. In February 1969, his Cube 2A-B, won the

second prize at the 1968 Québec art competition. He had also used a concrete cube for his project at St. Louis school. Those were also the years when Daudelin wished to make sculptures accessible to the public via multiples. Multiples are to sculpture what engraving is to painting. In parallel to the show The Birth of a Sculpture in 1970, the art gallery Godard-Multiples presented Multiples de Charles Daudelin, his recent multiple sculptures, some in the forms of cubes. From 1971 until 1973 (and possibly later), Daudelin was represented by the Galerie III art gallery. In 1970, labelled as a classical sculptor, proposing classical pieces, Daudelin was certainly not creating new schematic themes of the avant-garde. In those days, some conceptual artists proposed cubes in art galleries (Sol LeWitt, for instance). They had a discourse associated with those creations (see chapter on Bill Vazan). Such was not Daudelin's case. Nonetheless, his talent as a formalist sculptor was respected. Indeed, in his research on the polyhedron, Daudelin demonstrated his interest in working with geometry and with matter. He actually confirmed that technical constraints inherent to a given material inspired him. The multiples were split into two parts, and their internal division was also geometric and sculptural in that it allowed changes of the configurations, and the creation of various volumes from two similar parts.[45]

Daudelin's interest in the cube found its way into the permanent, public space as well. This involved more than a drastic change of dimensions. We will examine two projects by Charles Daudelin which feature cubic sculptures, on a plaza in one instance, and on a podium in the other one. Both art projects aimed to adorn modern governmental buildings.

In 1969 the provincial Ministry of Public Works commissioned Daudelin for the layout of a "garden" of a new governmental complex--"G"--located on parliamentary hill in Québec City. The new "place" designed

by the artist was to include his own sculptures. The architects Gauthier, Guité et Roy asked for the collaboration of an artist to work on their project. Daudelin was, for the first time, responsible for the creation of what he called an environment. Circa 1970, he produced a model of the layout of a plaza. He made several concepts before reaching the final one. Facing budgetary restraints, he had to size down his proposal. He also had technical constraints to take into account (the area was a roof with spaces underneath, and the envelope had to be watertight). The plaza Daudelin had to work on was surrounded by buildings on three sides and raised from the street level. The sides of the enclosed space measured approximately 150-200 feet (45-61 metres). While the term garden has been used to describe the area, it was more, according to Daudelin, a circulation space. For the artist, that commanded a hard, mineral surface (slabs), rather than vegetation (turf). The concept Daudelin finalized, Chaos, had three corten steel, blown-up cubes, each installed in a square water basin. The cubes measured eight, ten and twelve feet (2.44, 3.05, 3.66 metres) per side. They made up Daudelin's first urban scale sculpture created from geometric shapes. Three other cubes of smaller dimensions, made of steel and concrete, housed photoelectric cells responsible for the activation of the water and lighting systems. The caches could also serve as seats. Underneath the slabs ran the water system. Daudelin had wanted water jets to emerge from the water basins and play with the various parts of the cubes. Pedestrians and the sculpture would interact. Photoelectric cells were to detect crowd's movement and animate the steel volumes with coloured light and water of varying intensity. The sculpture was installed in January 1973. Water jets and lighting systems were planned to be in operation in 1974.

The artist admits that the actual environment has never been what he had imagined. Not only did the sophisticated lighting and water

systems not live up to his expectations, but the micro-climate created by the three buildings made the whole plaza very windy and not conducive to strolling. Furthermore, many of the doors facing the plaza were locked for safety reasons. The evocation of an outdoor restaurant on the plaza never materialized. Therefore, either the walk-through or the strolling necessary to animate the plaza and activate the systems was insufficient. In the end, Daudelin alienated his rights on Chaos to the Société Immobilière du Québec (SIQ), which proceeded to its destruction in July 1997. The SIQ had requested to do so for a long time, alleging the high maintenance and repair costs required to keep the sophisticated systems in operation. At first Daudelin resisted, but ultimately he reached a two-part deal with the governmental real-estate society. First, a CD-ROM was produced in which Daudelin's public art works are presented, in particular his interests in the cubic volumes. The CD, entitled Chaos redevenu virtuel, also presents the work Chaos, and animated views allow to see how the work of art was supposed to operate: the water and the lights in motion depending on the pedestrians' traffic flow. As a second element of the agreement reached with the SIQ, Daudelin had another sculpture, 1+1 =1, adorning the governmental complex, but not on the same location. 1+1 = 1 was conceived in 1988-89, and also features two cubes made of corten steel. As it stands now, the sculpture has a greater visibility from the street, to the artist's satisfaction.[46]

In September 1973, another of Daudelin's sculpture, Allégrocube, (also called Cube à espace ambigu or Ambiguous-space cube) was installed in front of the new court house in Montréal, designed in 1966 by the architects David and Boulva, Archibald, Illsley et Templeton. The mineral surface on which the sculpture is posed is more a podium than a plaza. As its name suggests, the cube is also the basic form of the sculpture. Here, Allégrocube reminds us of Daudelin's small multiples (the

first one of the series, incidentally being named ambiguous-space cube), as if only an enlarged copy (eight feet or 2.44 metres edge). As for the ambiguous-space multiple, the metallic cube was split into two volumes and had a skewed contact surface. Daudelin decided to exploit all the formal and volumetric possibilities of the sculpture to their fullest potential by making it a kinetic sculpture: "The sculpture is animated by its degrees of openness and produces varying shapes in the negative space created by the two mobile masses. The lighting, the rain, the snow also vary the effects of the light."[47] Two synchronized motors, controlled electronically, are installed inside the cube and allow a movement of the two parts so slow that it is hardly perceptible. Photo-electric cells were installed afterwards as a safety measure when Daudelin realized that someone could get killed if deciding to go into the sculpture. Unfortunately, the cells need to be cleaned regularly to ensure a proper safeguard and the SIQ opted for leaving the sculpture standing still. Over a long period, at all times of the year, the author had passed by and tried to get a glimpse of the motion sculpture. Only once was the sculpture in a different position.[48]

The same year (1973) his geometric sculptures were installed on the public scene, Daudelin received the medal of related arts awarded by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada.[49] He continued to be present, as he has been in the past, in both the exhibition circuit (galleries and museums) and the public art/art integrated domains, including religious art. In 1974, Daudelin had a solo retrospective exhibition at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, and later at the Musée du Québec, where he presented over a hundred works.[50]

Daudelin had complained in the past that his creative capacities were not used to the full. He had also presented models or sculptures that he wished could be created at a larger scale. Even though these referred to the creation of--or the integration to--an environment, they were in fact

sculptures Daudelin imagined without referring to a specific site or environment. In this way, Daudelin created Couteaux dans le ciel (1965) and Arc de Triomphe (1965). He further confided to reporters as early as 1966, that he believed highways were a prime location for monumental sculptures: "Les sculptures énormes qui enjambent les autoroutes, c'est parfois juste un pont. Ça pourrait être autre chose! . . . J'aimerais être un artisan de la ville. Le sculpteur est déjà sensible à l'espace."[51] In Daudelin's view, those modern monuments would operate as a signal and mark the expressway landscapes. Furthermore, the sculptor wished to be involved in urban projects in order to improve the environment. He knew that this would only be possible via a better integration of the artist and of his works of art in the city and in the society. If only large companies could take advantage of tax reductions when purchasing works of art. If only governments could be more sensitive to the presence of art.[52]

In July 1975, Charles Daudelin was one of the three artists commissioned by the engineering firm Lalonde Valois Lamarre Valois et associés (later known as Lavalin), with the approval of the provincial Ministry of Transportation, for the creation of a public place in lieu of a former section of Viger Square, destroyed by the City in the wake of its urbanization and modernization. Daudelin's dream had come true. He immediately undertook to work on the concept of the project. He devoted his energies on the most important commission he had received so far, until the sudden halt of the project in December 1976. The artist resumed working on the project almost four years after the interruption, and was involved in it until its official hand-over in July 1985.[53]

As we will see in the chapter relating the case study of Viger Square, when Daudelin was awarded the project, an expressway was planned to run underneath the square. In fact, the public place the

sculptor had to design was a bridge over an expressway. Referring to his mandate on Viger Square, Daudelin once said:

> En fait, dans le fond j'ai toujours été conditionné par le projet qu'on me demandait. On m'a demandé de faire tout l'aménagement du parc Viger au coin de Saint-Denis, Berri, Saint-Antoine. Ce que j'ai fait là, c'est un environnement et j'ai essayé de penser que c'est un parc de ville.[54]

Couteaux dans le ciel, a sculpture Daudelin had imagined for a highway similar to the one between Montréal and Québec City, used "la symbolique fonctionnelle du portail qui marque le passage d'un lieu à un autre. . . . une forme utopiste autonome . . . explorant l'idée de la structure inversée."[55] During and after his venture in Viger Square, the artist continued to propose his project for a monumental sculpture dominating the highway. Some thirty years after its creation as a model, Daudelin still dreams that one day, he could see his structure, at full scale.[56] Given the fact that the existing conditions for the Trans-Canada Highway and Viger Square were germane to the projects the artist had called for, it is reasonable to verify if he submitted the idea of having a monumental sculpture, as a signal, along the motorway (as opposed to a sculpture or a garden on top of a highway). In an interview, Daudelin simply answered: "On avait pas cette attitude-là, normalement. Non, il fallait que ça soit là, puis...c'était déjà un parc, puis l'autoroute était tracée..."[57] This statement indicates a willingness, from the artist, to comply with the requirements imposed upon him and inherent to the commission. It does not follow that Daudelin always accepted constraints and complied with any requirement. He was used to be commissioned for a specific work, and to question the constraints associated with the command.[58]

1977-92: The Viger Square Era

Daudelin continued to be active during his decade-long involvement in the project of Viger Square, and until the end of our study period. As in the past, his artistic practice took several faces. Firstly, he received other commissions for provincial projects of integrated art. As demonstrated in part two of this thesis, the regulations had changed over the years. The new procedure required that a selection committee either awarded the commission directly (for art projects involving small amounts of money) or culled one or few artists who had to submit a proposal. The committee would decide on the winning scheme. As table 5 indicates, Charles Daudelin continued to take part in the new version of the provincial programme and cumulated several commissions, for various types of buildings, and in various locations. Notwithstanding his active participation, Daudelin, who had a very good experience of both systems, admits preferring the former one, when a relationship had time to develop with the architects.[59] Secondly, Daudelin received a major commission for a religious project. In 1980, he was selected to replace sculptor Jordi Bonet for the creation of the reredos, a major bronze low relief, for the Sacré-Coeur chapel of Notre-Dame church in Old Montréal, destroyed by a recent fire.[60] He took also part in competitions for art in the city or art integrated to architecture originating from other sources. Lastly, he exhibited in museums and art galleries (see table 6). In 1978, he was one of the artists selected to represent sculpture at the Tendances actuelles au Québec. For the occasion, he exhibited his maquette for Viger Square,

Table 5.--Some of Charles Daudelin's provincial projects of art integrated with architecture (bold indicates the winner).

Date Compete/ create	Location/ Admin. region	Type of work	Type of building	Budget (work of art) ($)	Artist: **Selected** versus competing
1978	Montréal	Out of door sculpture (stainless steel)	School	unknown	competition; other artists unknown; **Charles Daudelin**[61]
1980-83[62]	Montréal (06A)	Sculpture environment (C. Daudelin)	Convention Centre	58, 740 (Daudelin)	No competition; artists selected: M. Beauchemin D. Beaudin F. Dallegret **C. Daudelin** H. Dorais C. Grenon G. Guérin L. Laporte/J. Marcil J-P Legros A. Mongeau L. Panneton D. Philippon Y. Soucy A.Vaillancourt M. Vermette O. Zeldakova/ D. Matte
1984-85 1985-86	Montréal centre (06A)	Sculpture (Envol virtuel)	Centre d'accueil	85, 385	Daniel Couvreur **Charles Daudelin** Armand Vaillancourt
1985-86	Québec (03)	Sculpture	Offices for Ministry of Revenu (former courthouse)	83, 500	Charles Daudelin **André Fournelle** Pierre Granche Mario Merola Lewis Pagé
1985-86	Montréal centre (06A)	Sculpture	Maison des arts de Laval	32, 500	Daniel Couvreur Charles Daudelin **Jacques Huet**
1985-86	Montréal-Rive-sud (6B)	Sculpture environment	Hospital	85, 000	**Louis Archambault** Linda Covit Charles Daudelin

Table 5.--Continued[63]

Date Compete/ create	Location/ Admin. region	Type of work	Type of building	Budget (work of art) ($)	Artist: **Selected** versus competing
1986-87 1987-88	Montréal centre (06A)	Memorial (monument)/ Environment work in the open	Ville de Lasalle, 75th anniversary	67, 500	Charles Daudelin T. Démidoff-Séguin **Georges Dyens** Michel Goulet Armand Vaillancourt
1989-90	Montréal (06)	Sculpture fountain	Hospital (Saint-Vincent-Marie)	53, 900	Charles Daudelin **Claude Mongrain** William Vazan
1989-90 1990-91	Québec (03)	Sculpture in the open	Régie de l'assurance automobile du Québec headquarter	116, 000	Masanobu Atsuchi Charles Daudelin Gilles Mihalcean **Jean-Pierre Morin** Catherine Widgery
1989-90 1990-91	Montréal (06)	Outside sculpture fountain	Hospital (Bayview)	61, 160	**Charles Daudelin** Andrew Dutkewych Michel Goulet
1989	Montéré-gie (16) Châteauguay	Sculpture environment (outside) (Mirador)	Centre d'accueil	56, 100	**Charles Daudelin** Yves Louis-Seize David Moore
1990	Montéré-gie	Place with sculpture (La Place Moléculaire)	High school	52, 000	**Charles Daudelin** Yves Louis-Seize Andrée Pagé
1992-93	Québec (03)	Sculpture (outside)	Research Pavilion, Laval University	unknown	**Jocelyne Alloucherie** Charles Daudelin Marcel Jean Claude Mongrain
1992-93 1993-94	Montréal (06)	Sculpture (outside)	Hospital (Notre-Dame)	unknown	**Jocelyne Alloucherie** Charles Daudelin Claude Mongrain
1995-96	Québec (03)	Sculpture environment (main lobby)	Convention Centre	unknown	Charles Daudelin **Rose-Marie Goulet** Diane Gougeon Jacek Jarnuszkiewicz Francine Larivée

which was deemed remarkable by art critic Gilles Toupin. Another critic, René Viau, found that Daudelin's proposal lacked an understanding of the "espace d'intervention."[64] As we will see, Daudelin earned prizes and honours for these sustained artistic activities.

Table 6.--Charles Daudelin's exhibitions, 1977-92[65]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1977	Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1978-79	Tendances actuelles au Québec (sculpture), Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1983	Charles Daudelin La Genèse d'une oeuvre (re: Sacred Heart Chapel), Musée d'art de Saint-Laurent, Ville Saint-Laurent (Québec)	Solo
1985	Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1987	Charles Daudelin, Galerie Esperanza, Montréal	Solo
1988	Première dix artistes ...la terre, Circa exhibition centre, Montréal (with Marie-France Brière, Blanche Célanuy, Cozic, Pierre Leblanc, Yves Louis-Seize, David Moore, Gilbert Poissant, Bill Vazan, Catherine Widgery)	Group
1989	Avant-garde des années '50 et '60, Galerie Bernard Desroches, Montréal	Group
1989	Charles Daudelin, ("Avez-vous vu?"), Galerie Esperanza, Montréal	Solo
1989	Charles Daudelin, sculpteur, La Galerie Action Inc., Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu (Québec)	Solo
1989	Dieux et diables...les artistes, Galerie Circa, Montréal	Group
1992	La sculpture au Québec: naissance et persistance, Musée du Québec	Group

In discussing the importance of art integrated to architecture, Daudelin always claimed taking the context (whether architectural or urban) fully into account and starting the sculpture anew, even if it meant modifying his style. In fact, most of the important commissions executed by Daudelin bear the sculptor's mark and style of the time. As outlined above, this was true of the artist's bronze sculptures of the 1960s, as it was of his cubic shaped sculptures. Moreover, the several models created by Daudelin and exhibited as possible future projects, indicate clearly that several works had been created first, with the intention of being later enlarged, and displayed on a site, any site. Couteaux dans le ciel (1965), the model for a fountain, Hydrocinétique (1986), Viking (which model is dated 1965, and was cast in bronze for the Laurier Park in Hull, Québec, in 1978), attest to that.[66] Also, the model of Baguettes au vent (1969 or 1972), displayed in 1974 in the retrospective exhibition at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, and later, at the Musée du Québec, was presented in the press as a possible future project. Vague references to nature, the rain, the wind, the sun, even to a field of wheat, were made. Baguettes au vent consisted of "a circle of adjustable, slender shiny aluminum rods which point inwards likes [sic] the ribs of a teepee. These rods . . . [could] be manipulated on their bases."[67] A reporter explained that Daudelin had conceived the project to adorn a new building in Québec City, the Grand Théâtre (1971). The artist had imagined a sculpture of which the sticks would be whipped by the wind.[68] According to Daudelin, the architect Victor Prus had asked him to create a model for the Grand Théâtre. Prus wanted to have, in front of the theatre, something as light as the sails of a boat. The architect's desire had been Daudelin's ignition point for the Baguettes project. In the end, Baguettes au vent did not materialize as a sculpture for that building. Prus, however, was also the architect for the new convention centre in Montréal (1978-

83). Daudelin, who had known the architect for a long time, had been asked to collaborate with the team of architects as early as the preliminary phase. Furthermore, as he had been sitting on the provincial committee of the 1%, he had been asked to inform the architects of the new regulation regarding the integration of works of art to the building. For that major project, the architects intended to have several works from several artists, rather than a unique, major one. In addition, the architects wanted to have an important square near the crossing of Saint-Urbain and Saint-Antoine Streets. The artist recalls that subsequent changes to the design of the building modified the configuration of the square ("place"). In 1980, a committee officially selected the artists, and Daudelin was among them. He had to create a sculpture for the so called square. Artists were awarded various budgets for their works of art, the total of which, $380,000, was supposed to represent 1% of the estimated construction cost of the convention centre. Ex-artist Jacques Cleary acted on the committee as a representative of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Once more, Daudelin had to size down the scope and complexities of his work for budgetary reasons. He resolved the problem by passing his sculpture for the Grand Théâtre, as a work of art integrated to the urban environment of the convention centre. He created Éolienne V, consisting of five painted blue steel tubes that support moving stainless steel sticks (see figure 39). The five elements, placed in a circle, were installed in 1983 on a mineral quasi-plaza, next to the convention centre (as discussed previously). The slightly lower surface on which the sculpture is placed was supposed to be a water basin.[69] As it stands, the sculpture is hardly visible, and the square is everything but a square. The facts pertaining to the hidden side of the creation of Éolienne V allow one to question certain art historians about the validity of the integration of works

of art to architecture. One such comment by Louise Déry about this particular work is objectionable:

> Dans ce secteur marqué par le "brutalisme" de l'architecture, la proximité d'une autoroute et la congestion de l'espace, Daudelin intervient par contraste. Il fait du vent, dont la présence est à peu près constante, l'un des matériaux du site, ce qui l'amène à développer son projet à la verticale. . . . Le bassin d'eau sert non pas de fontaine mais de surface de réflexion et permet aux éléments de l'oeuvre d'avoir un champ délimité par rapport à la place.[70]

Actually, the model served as a basis for more than one sculpture "integrated" to architecture, all very similar on a formal point of view. Daudelin's prototype for the project (i.e., only one element) is now exhibited in front of the main entrance of the Musée du Québec, as an autonomous work of art. Moreover, Daudelin did a previous project with a similar concept. Circa 1975, he won a competition for the creation of a sculpture to be located outside the new building of the CEGEP du Vieux-Montréal. His creation, Éolienne III, consisted of twenty feet (6.1 metres) high stainless steel tubes anchored on three six feet diameter (1.8 metre) concrete bases. The sculpture has been destroyed by vandalism. It is very likely that the prototype referred to above was the one created for the project for the CEGEP du Vieux-Montréal.[71]

In 1981, Daudelin won a major competition for the creation of a sculpture-fountain to adorn Place du Québec in Paris' Saint-Germain-des-prés. Created in December 1980 by the will of two politicians, Québec Prime Minister René Lévesque and Paris' mayor Jacques Chirac, the site was then, in fact, a lost space used as a parking lot. The place was to be laid out with a sculpture-fountain as its focus. The jury was made of three French and four Québec representatives; some politicians, but also specialists in art, architecture, design, and Parisian heritage. For the first round, the jury rejected all the artists' proposals, including Daudelin's, who

admits that they all failed, then. The same selection of artists (Louis Archambault, François Dallegret, Marcelle Ferron, Charles Daudelin, Pierre Granche) was given the opportunity to try again. In the second round, artists had more time, and a little bit more latitude (i.e., less strenuous constraints) regarding the height limitation. In fact, the City of Paris' architect had insisted so much on having a work of art not higher than a car, and not too conspicuous, that at first Daudelin had concluded that he had to create an "invisible" sculpture. Hence his first proposal of a fountain with a sculpture made of glass. For the second and winning scheme, Daudelin had a sculpture made of metal slabs, coming from the four cardinal directions, slowly emerging, as if the slabs of the place were lifted off the ground by the force of water. The work symbolized the "forces vives" characteristic of our continent. Granite slabs were laid on the ground, with a slope gently leading to the sculpture. The realization of the actual work was complicated by the fact that the sculpture was paid for by the Québec government and offered to the city of Paris, whereas the latter was responsible for all the infrastructure works. According to the artist, during a one year period, he negotiated with various representatives of the City of Paris in order to gain some additional ground for his sculpture-fountain. He succeeded in obtaining a few crucial meters and in having the whole place integrated to his work, to his great satisfaction. At first expected for 1982, the sculpture, Embâcle, was finally unveiled on 25 October 1984. That was Daudelin's first work outside of Canada, and he was particularly happy that the site was one reminding him of his Parisian stay as a young artist. Finally, it is worth noting that the fountain was temporarily closed a few years later, as the mechanical systems were replaced and the slabs rid of graffiti. It also appears that often times, the water had not been flowing, and that the water basin accumulated refuse. In 1984, for the inauguration of Embâcle, Daudelin had a retrospective of

his forty-year oeuvre, Paris aller-retour 1946-1984, organized by the Québec government at the Services culturels du Québec in Paris.[72]

In 1977, Daudelin was one of the fifteen sculptors chosen to illustrate the tendencies in Québec sculpture manifest during the 1960s and 1970s presented at the MAC: Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970. In 1992, five of Daudelin's works were selected for the exhibition Naissance et persistance: la sculpture au Québec, 1946-1961, presented at the Musée du Québec. Those last two exhibitions indicate the importance of Daudelin as a sculptor on the Québec scene over a very long period. His merit was rewarded when, in 1981, he received the Philippe-Hébert prize from Montréal's Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (SSJB) for the whole of his oeuvre.[73] In 1985, he received the highest honour for a Québec artist, the Prix Paul-Émile Borduas, for the visual arts. By the time he received the Borduas prize, Daudelin had recently completed both Place du Québec in Paris and his project for Viger Square, "l'espèce de jardin en béton à la Place Viger."[74] Both his early accomplishments as a modern sculptor and the later ones in the field of integrated arts were highlighted. Therefore, he was in the 1988 exhibition, L'art au Québec depuis Pellan: Une histoire des prix Borduas, which presented works by the first eleven recipients of this prestigious honour. In 1992, Daudelin received the Medal from the Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, as an expression of gratitude for his artistic creations, and for his involvement in the development of teaching visual arts, both at UQAM (former EBAM) and at Université du Québec à Chicoutimi. That same year, he was one of the Canadian artists selected to be in the new Dictionnaire de l'art moderne et contemporain.[75] During those years (1978-87), eleven of Charles Daudelin's works of art, most of them dated 1948, entered the Lavalin collection. Finally, there is yet another honour worth noting even though it occurred in 1995, a few years after our period of study. Pierre

Bourque, who was a major actor in the development of the project to re-create Viger Square, eventually became Mayor of Montréal. As the mayor, he appointed Charles Daudelin, who kept complaining about the lack of maintenance of his so-called park, as a member of the Académie des grands Montréalais.[76] Notwithstanding these honours, Daudelin is still very unhappy with the use and maintenance of Viger Square, and still hopes that the project that he envisioned could be implemented. He reportedly was pleased with the concrete forms: "I like its powerful structure and this repetition."[77] For Daudelin, the problem with the square was one of lack of proper care and vegetation.[78]

In the last years of our study period, and after the saga of Viger Square was over, Daudelin was involved in Sculpture: séduction 90. This project, which originated in 1987, aimed at creating a path of sculptures around the Island of Montréal. The enterprise was at first put forward by the Conseil de la sculpture du Québec and eventually entrusted to an independent director, Janou Gagnon. The works of art were to be integrated to the parks and sites of the various municipalities of the Montréal Urban Community. By 1990, sixteen sculptures by as many artists had been selected by the Municipal Authorities of the seven cities who accepted to participate. Charles Daudelin created a bronze sculpture, Cailloudo (often presented as Cailloudou), on which water ran. Cailloudo was intended for the park adjoining the municipal library of Ville Saint-Laurent. The architect Jacques Garant redesigned the park so that both the place and the sculpture could be in symbiosis. The case is interesting since Daudelin admits that he was not, at first, happy with the site allotted to him. He was not pleased with the architecture of the library, and thought that other larger parks might be better to set up one of his sculptures. In the end, however, he was quite happy with both the process of working with the architect, and with the overall result.[79]

Finally, the last two projects evoked for this era also involved, to a certain extent, sculpture integrated to nature, or as part of a sculpture garden. In the first case, Daudelin created Hors du temps (1992), a memorial for the Mount Royal cemetery, in Outremont. In the second instance, two of Daudelin's early bronzes, Espace, silence et nuit (1966) and Composition no 1 (1966) were exhibited for the 1993 opening of the sculpture garden adjoining the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art's new building.[80] Sculpture associated to architecture, to nature, or to the urban environment has certainly been Charles Daudelin's most tangible legacy.

Conclusion

Charles Daudelin started upon his artistic life under the patronage of Paul-Émile Borduas, who is often referred to as the father of modernity in Québec. Therefore, rather than study at the EBAM, where sculptor Alfred Laliberté was still teaching (see chapter 3), Daudelin received his artistic education at the École du Meuble. His training, encounters, readings of the time had repercussions on his practice as an artist for several years.

Charles Daudelin's long and fruitful career allows us to follow not only the evolution of his artistic life, but also of the field of modern art in Québec, along with the emergence of the field of sculpture, to which public sculpture was later grafted.

Thus, Daudelin entered straightaway into the emerging field of modern art in Québec. He mixed with its avant-garde, without for all that exclusively joining forces with one of the two movements then struggling to make their mark. Indeed, if he rubbed shoulders with Borduas and his

disciples, this did not prevent him from being influenced by sculptor Louis Archambault (one of Pellan's disciples). Hence, quite early, Daudelin added sculpture to his activities as a painter.

However, Daudelin did not mix only with the effervescent artistic community in Québec. He met and mixed with major modern European artists, painters, as well as sculptors. He did not graduate from the École du Meuble, but learnt from his trips (New York and Paris) and from leading modernist artists. Furthermore, he adopted Le Corbusier's key idea about art integrated to architecture.

Daudelin's sculptural production during the 1949-60 period seems marginal when compared to that of both the Refus Global's signatories and, more particularly, the artists who defined themselves exclusively as sculptors (not as painters who also sculpt). The latter contributed to the forming of an autonomous field of modern sculpture in Québec. We also observe that, concomitantly, sculpture became larger, yet could still be moved easily (for temporary exhibitions).

Daudelin was not only precocious as a sculptor. His credo in favour of the integration of art to architecture led him to realize murals (whether inside or outside the building) and to collaborate with modernist architects also under Le Corbusier's spell. Daudelin began in the domain of integrated art at the time when the field of sculpture emerged in order to become autonomous. From then on, Daudelin would become increasingly active in the field of integrated art, by creating murals in the first place and later on, monumental sculpture. Nonetheless, Daudelin continued to exhibit in art galleries. His "public" artistic practice was not in rupture with that of the artist who shows his art in galleries and museums. Incidentally, exhibitions of sculpture also took place out in the open. Besides, we observe that if the earlier works were really integrated to the edifice (murals), the sculptures were, with the notable exception of his first two

public sculptures (in Charlottetown and in Ottawa), often conceived freely and were put in place whenever the commission required it (in a fashion that reminds of Nogushi).

Furthermore, Daudelin's early works of integrated art were created following commissions originating from architects themselves. Those works preceded the enactment of provincial regulations. Even after the adoption of the first by-law, during the early years of its implementation (until 1969 more or less, see chapter 3), Daudelin received commissions precisely because he had established good working relationships with architects. In either case, the architects determined the site and type of work.

Even for his early experiences of integrated art, Daudelin showed a vested interest in new technologies and new materials, particularly concrete. However, it was a fellowship from the provincial government that allowed him to do research in sculpture, the results of which he transposed not long after in his first religious works of art in bronze. That project, even though seemingly a traditional one and remote from the artist's early claims, nonetheless led Daudelin to create other public sculptures (religious and non-religious ones) in bronze and of grandiose dimensions.

Thus, Daudelin received his first major commissions for public sculpture because of his personal relations established with leading architects, with whom he shared a vision about modern art, architecture and the city, and also because of his strong personal interest and research in sculpture. Architects asked for a public sculpture to adorn their edifices. We should emphasize again that Daudelin's first two major commissions were not under Québec's jurisdiction for integrated art.

So Daudelin evolved in the Québec artistic field. When he became professor at EBAM, it was his turn to be besieged by protesters (or anti-

establishment students). Due to his experience in the field of integrated art, Daudelin no longer believed in the autonomy of art. He advocated the integration of art not only to architecture, but to the environment and to the city as well. In fact, his works of art adorned projects eminently linked to Montréal's modernization: subway stations, highways, public housing, schools, Place des Arts, and the Court House. We are tempted to assert that he would have liked to replace the architect and the urban planner, as New York City's nineteenth-century sculptors wanted. He nonetheless accepted a relationship with the architect that was based on a dependency on his part, because this was the only one where he could express his modernist ideal. After the indisputable success of his first monumental sculptures associated with modernist buildings, Daudelin was awarded even more important commissions. He hoped that these would allow him to take the plunge from the modernist sculpture adorning an edifice to the creation of what he called an environment. He was very interested in kinetic art but, above all, in the creation of urban spaces. His experience with Chaos for the Complexe G in Québec City speaks for itself. He had the ambition and a vision. However, it seems that the owner was not willing to invest time and money in a work of art that was ill-adapted to its site. What was initially supposed to be a garden ended up being devoid of permanent vegetation. Slabs were required for this garden that was ultimately converted into a traffic island. And yet, the water and lighting systems that were a major part of Chaos failed precisely due to the absence of traffic! We cannot help but think that Daudelin's habitus and his primary interests did not lend themselves to the creation of a garden with vegetation (he was awarded the commission in 1969, precisely at the time of the first American earthworks), but instead, to the design of a mineral plaza with water and lighting plays. This is reminiscent of works of art presented at Expo 67 (chapter 5) and of the French modernist gardens.

Such was the artist who received, in 1975, the commission for Viger Square: someone who was capable of appreciating the urban life (his New York and Parisian stays), but also someone whose dreams were articulated around the modernist project. He was a willing artisan in the modernization of Montréal.

Daudelin was regularly granted commissions stemming from the provincial regulation, for which he mostly created sculptures. From an anti-establishment artist who belonged to the avant-garde, Daudelin evolved slowly in the field of Québec art to occupy, finally, the rank of a consecrated formalist sculptor. This consecration was marked by his taking part in important exhibitions organized by State museums, and by the prestigious prizes and honours he received. It did not come overnight, and if, as asserted by Bourdieu, the time it took him to become successful is a measure of his value as an artist (i.e., not a commercial artist), then Daudelin is indeed a valuable, artistic creator.

A few years after Daudelin received the commission for Viger Square (and while he was still working on the project), the Lavalin Collection acquired several of his early works of art. As the case study of Viger Square will show, Lavalin's Bernard Lamarre was behind Daudelin's choice for the project.

[1] "Charles Daudelin," résumé included in the presentation of his May 1964 exhibition "Gouaches et Bronzes," Galerie Nova et Vetera; Paul Bourassa et al., Daudelin (n. p.: Musée du Québec, 1997), p. 15; Bernard Teyssèdre, "Les Automatistes de Montréal," in Borduas et les Automatistes Montréal 1942-1955, catalogue des musées d'État du Québec (n. p.: Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1971), 10; René Viau, "Il y a 54 ans, Fernand Léger exposait à Montréal," La Presse, 7 June 1997, p. D 12; Gilles Hénault, "Charles Daudelin," L'Atelier, no. 31 (March 1981): 3-4. More information in Charles Daudelin's résumés, consulted in the artist's file no. 698D at the Médiathèque, Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art.

[2] Raymond Bernatchez, "La Galerie Dominion: 50 ans et une histoire bien remplie," La Presse, 26 December 1992, p. E 6.

[3] Fernand Dumont, "En ce temps-là, au Québec," in Borduas et les Automatistes Montréal 1942-1955, 19; Teyssèdre, "Les Automatistes de Montréal," 10.

[4] The others were Guy Viau, Gabriel Filion, Fernand Bonin, Pierre Gauvreau, Fernand Leduc, and Françoise Sullivan.

[5] In 1942-43, Daudelin learnt ceramics and moulding. Bourassa, Daudelin, 15, 18; Borduas et les Automatistes Montréal 1942-1955, 11, 22; Michel Brûlé, L'Esquisse d'une mémoire: Marcelle Ferron (Montréal: Les Éditions des Intouchables, 1996).

[6] Fernand Leduc quoted in Viau, "Il y a 54 ans, Fernand Léger," p. D 12. The time of the exhibition differs from what is reported in the catalogue Daudelin, p. 16.

[7] Charles Daudelin, interview by author, Tape recording, Kirkland (PQ), 27 February 1998. In this interview, Daudelin relates that he was not supposed to leave the country because he was of "military age." So Léger wrote a letter in which he promised to take charge of the young artist. The catalogue Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-1970 (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1970), 28, dates Daudelin's trips to New York City in 1943 and 1944, contrary to what the Daudelin catalogue affirms. Each résumé of the artist consulted at the Médiathèque also provides those two dates 1943 and 1944. According to the chronology in Daudelin, the artist made a sojourn between May-June 1944 (p. 16). Michel Martin in "Daudelin: la forme à l'oeuvre," in Daudelin, refers to both trips as dated 1944 and 1945 (p. 32). Richard Sennett discusses the presence of Le Corbusier and Fernand Léger in New York City in the early 1930s. Sennett examines the differences in appraising the city, time and space, that existed between the modernist artist and the architect. It offers an interesting background to Charles Daudelin's trip. Richard Sennett, The Conscience of the Eye

(New York City and London, England: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990), 169-76.
[8] Daudelin, interview by author.
[9] "Charles Daudelin," résumé for Galerie Nova et Vetera, May 1964; Dorothée Imbert, The Modernist Garden in France (New Haven and London, England: Yale University Press, 1993), 130-35, 147-48.
[10] Other painters selected for the CAS exhibition included Marcel Barbeau, Paul-Émile Borduas, Roger Fauteux, Pierre Gauvreau, Fernand Leduc, Jean-Paul Mousseau, and Jean-Paul Riopelle. In June 1946, Daudelin illustrated a text by Gilles Hénault, who would later become the Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Montréal, and signed articles about Daudelin's art. Borduas et les Automatistes Montréal 1942-1955, 11, 24, 27; Bourassa, Daudelin, 16-17.
[11] Charles Daudelin in Daudelin 1945, text written in the presentation document for the exhibition held at the Collège de Saint-Laurent, March 1945. Artist's file at the Médiathèque; see also Louise Déry, "Daudelin: l'art dans la ville," in Daudelin, 104, note 2.
[12] Borduas et les Automatistes Montréal 1942-1955, 27; Bourassa, Daudelin, 17-18; Hénault, "Charles Daudelin," 5.
[13] Borduas et les Automatistes Montréal 1942-1955, 12, 30.
[14]Daudelin was so impressed by Braque that he did not go back! Daudelin, interview by author; Bourassa, Daudelin, 18; Michel Martin and Gaston Saint-Pierre, La sculpture au Québec 1946-1961: Naissance et persistance (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1992), 127.
[15] Michel Martin, "Daudelin: la forme à l'oeuvre," in Daudelin, 40; also p. 37.
[16] Ibid., 41; also p. 29.
[17] Lise Lamarche "De la statue à la sculpture," in La sculpture au Québec 1946-1961: Naissance et persistance, 113-14; Martin, Naissance et persistance, 127-28.
[18] Borduas et les Automatistes Montréal 1942-1955, 40. In that catalogue, a photo shows (p. 35) a preview of Marcelle Ferron's art show, at the famous library of Henri Tranquille. Two sculptures are visible, among paintings. According to Lamarche, Riopelle also sculpted in the late 1950s, which seems to contradict the Riopelle catalogue. Also worth noting, three Automatists exhibited at the Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-70. They were Riopelle, Mousseau and Sullivan. Lamarche, "Statue à sculpture," 123, 127-28; Musée d'art contemporain, Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-70 (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1970), 70; Jean-Paul Riopelle (Montréal: Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 101; Brûlé, Ferron, 56, 247; François-Marc Gagnon, Paul-Émile Borduas (Montréal:

Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, 1988), 258-67; Guy Robert, L'art au Québec depuis 1940 (Montréal: La Presse, 1973), 222, note 1. For Mousseau's lamps and murals consult Rose-Marie Arbour, "Intégration de l'art à l'architecture," in Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 242-43; Francine Couture, "Mousseau et la modernité globale," in Mousseau (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal and Éditions du Méridien, 1996), 41-58.

[19] Lamarche, "Statue à sculpture," 118.

[20] Ibid., 123.

[21] Lamarche, who did not perform a gender-based analysis, nonetheless observed the phenomena. Ibid., 116, 121; Martin, Naissance et persistance, 127-31.

[22] Lamarche discusses the important role of the city, in "Statue à sculpture," 116, 121. Martin, Naissance et persistance, 129; Daudelin, interview by author.

[23] The third one was "Sculpture 60 à ciel ouvert," organized by the Société des Sculpteurs du Canada and was held in the gardens of the École des beaux-arts de Québec. Martin, Naissance et persistance, 129.

[24] Until 1968, according to Robert, L'art au Québec, 223. See also Martin, Naissance et persistance, 123, 127-31.

[25] Edward Lucie-Smith, Sculpture since 1945 (London: Phaidon Press, 1987), 7, 32; Martin, Naissance et persistance, 128-29.

[26] Lamarche, "Statue à sculpture," 113-123; Martin, Naissance et persistance; MAC, Panorama (Montréal); Musée d'art contemporain, Trois générations d'art québécois 1940 1950 1960 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1976); Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1977); Robert, L'art au Québec, 222-29.

[27] Bourassa, Daudelin, 18-20; Martin, Naissance et persistance, 128; all the résumés in the artist's file at the Médiathèque were consulted.

[28] Lamarche, "Statue à sculpture," 114, 121; Guy Sioui Durand, L'art comme alternative (Québec: Éditions Intervention, 1997), 41; Musée du Québec, "Sur les traces de Charles Daudelin," 24 September 1997, from the City of Montréal CIDEC's file.

[29] Artist's résumés; Musée du Québec, "Sur les traces de Charles Daudelin"; Bourassa, Daudelin, 18-20; Martin, Naissance et persistance, 127-31.

[30]Nothing remains of these works for Les habitations Jeanne-Mance. Daudelin's résumés; Bourassa, Daudelin; Daudelin, interview by author; Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Communications, Direction générale des publications gouvernementales, Les oeuvres d'art du

ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement ou la politique du un pour cent (n. p.: Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1981), 86.

[31] Daudelin's résumés; CIDEC file NAQ 902209.2; Bourassa, Daudelin, 22; Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 86; "Remise mercredi à l'UQAM Créateurs des médailles des Prix du Québec," La Presse, 22 November 1980, p. C 10.

[32] Daudelin's résumés; CIDEC file NAQ 902209.2; Daudelin, interview by author; Bourassa, Daudelin, 20, 86; MAC, Panorama (Montréal), 28-29; Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 86.

[33] Daudelin's résumés; CIDEC file NAQ 902209.2; Bourassa, Daudelin, 20, 23; Martin, "Daudelin: la forme à l'oeuvre," 47.

[34] Claude Jasmin, "Charles Daudelin: une révélation," La Presse, 28 March 1964, p. 22; Gilles Toupin, "Charles Daudelin le mauvais élève et le dernier des vrais," La Presse, 30 March 1974, p. D 16; Daudelin, interview by author; Paul Bourassa, "Daudelin: entre imagination et fonction," in Daudelin, 61-80. For illustrations of the project for St. Jean church, consult Bourassa, p. 71-73.

[35] In one instance, 1971 was referred to as the year of the creation of the section of "arts intégrés." Much of the documentation consulted indicates that Daudelin taught during the 1964-68 period. The artist affirms that he went back after the troubled era. This could be confirmed by a 1969 newspaper article where his academic activities are still referred to. Daudelin's résumés; Bourassa, Daudelin, 20, 87; Daudelin, interview by author; Suzanne Lemerise, "L'art-l'artiste-l'école," in Les arts visuels, 290, 293; Hélène Ouvrard, La sculpture-du multiple à l'environnement Charles Daudelin, series Initiation aux métiers d'art du Québec (n. p.: Éditions Formart, 1972), 25; Rea Montbizon, "Sculpture By Charles Daudelin For National Arts Centre," Gazette, 21 May 1966, p.24; "Birth of a Daudelin sculpture, at Stewart Hall," Gazette, 7 June 1969, p. 49. Dimitri Dimakopoulos became member of the Architects Association in 1957, according to the Québec Order of Architects "Tableau des membres," 1994-95.

[36] Artist's résumés; CIDEC's file NAQ 902209.2; Bourassa, Daudelin, 20-21, 50; Daudelin, interview by author; Montbizon, "Sculpture By Charles Daudelin For National Arts Centre," p. 24; Rea Montbizon, "The Theme," text written for the exhibition "The birth of a sculpture" presented at Stewart Hall, Pointe Claire, 31 May to 27 June 1969.

[37] "Birth of a Daudelin sculpture, at Stewart Hall," p. 49; Michael White, "Daudelin's bronze–two views," Gazette, 31 October 1970, p. 43; Daudelin's résumé.

[38] Bourassa, Daudelin, 20; Montbizon, "Sculpture By Charles Daudelin For National Arts Centre," p. 24; "Birth of a Daudelin sculpture, at Stewart

Hall," p. 49; Christian Allègre, "Daudelin: Deux expositions, un film, un homme," Le Devoir, 31 October 1970, p. 14; Montbizon, "The Theme"; Press release, "Naissance d'une sculpture" exposition documentaire sur Charles Daudelin, Pointe Claire Cultural Centre Stewart Hall, 2 p.; Office national du film du Canada, "Bronze," 1 p.; "Naissance d'une sculpture, une exposition du Musée d'art contemporain, Montréal, en collaboration avec le Centre culturel de Pointe-Claire, Stewart Hall."

[39] Gilles Hénault, "Lettre à Charles Daudelin," in Charles Daudelin (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain, 1974), 9; see also Laurent Lamy, "Daudelin: L'art intégré ou la recherche d'un accord total avec le monde," Forces, no. 18 (1972): 47; Guy Fournier, "Charles Daudelin architecte de demain," Perspectives (La Presse), 15 October 1966, p. 32-33.

[40] Daudelin's résumés; CIDEC file NAQ 902209.2; MAC, Panorama (Montréal), 28-29; Bourassa, Daudelin, 21; Susan Pomerantz, "Sculptures, paintings for Metro 'Commuter art' goes underground," Montreal Star, 22 August 1973, p. D 1; "Naissance d'une sculpture, une exposition du Musée d'art contemporain"; Pierre Richard Bisson and Raymonde Gauthier, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090 (Montréal: Corporation Architecture 1990 for the Québec Order of Architects, 1990), 157.

[41]During 1972-78, Daudelin replaced Pierre Heyvaert from the Sculptors' Association, on the 1% committee. Daudelin's résumés; "Naissance d'une sculpture, une exposition du Musée d'art contemporain"; Ouvrard, La sculpture-du multiple à l'environnement, 3; Gilles Hénault, "Qui est Charles Daudelin?," Culture vivante, no. 18 (August 1970): 42; Daudelin, interview by author; Lyne McMurray, "Maître des arts intégrés Portrait Charles Daudelin," Parcours Arts Visuels, Spring 1993, 16, 48. About Louis Archambault's proposals for sculpture integrated to architecture and for urban sculpture, see Henri Barras, "Louis Archambault parmi nous," Ateliers 1, no. 3 (17 September 1972): 3; Jean-Pierre Boyer, "Sculptures urbaines," Ateliers 1, no. 3 (17 September 1972): 2.

[42] Daudelin's résumés; Bourassa, Daudelin, 21, 56; MAC, Panorama (Montréal), 84,133, 152, 154, 184; MAC, Trois générations.

[43] Anita Aarons, "New Forms-Sculpture and Architecture Totems or Monuments?," Architecture Canada (The Journal of the RAIC) 492, vol. 43, no. 9 (September 1966): 17-18. See also Alan Jarvis dir., Second Open-Air Sculpture Exhibition Stratford Shakespearean Festival 1966 (Stratford: Stratford Shakespearean Festival, 1966).

[44] Architect Gordon Edwards intervened to have the sculpture located there. Daudelin's résumés; Bourassa, Daudelin, 21, 87; 11e Biënnale Middelheim Antwerpen, (Middelheim, 1971), 53-54; Daudelin, interview by author; Ouvrard, La sculpture-du multiple à l'environnement, 22.

[45] Charles Daudelin's résumé; Allègre, "Daudelin: Deux expositions, un film, un homme," p. 14; Janos Baracs, "Charles Daudelin," Structural Topology, no. 22 (1997): 27-44; Bourassa, Daudelin, 21; Sophie Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," Le Devoir, 12 February 1995, p. D 10; Gilles Hénault, "Charles Daudelin profession Sculpteur," Vie des arts, no. 135 (Summer 1989): 45; Hénault, "Charles Daudelin," 12; Ouvrard, La sculpture-du multiple à l'environnement, 5, 17; Jean Royer, "Le sculpteur doit être intégré à l'équipe qui construit la ville," Le Soleil, 11 May 1974, p. 61; Normand Thériault, "Dialogue du dur et du mou," La Presse, 7 November 1970, p. D 16; Toupin, "Daudelin le mauvais élève," p. D 16; Lamy, "Daudelin: L'art intégré," 47; Richard Lavoie, "Charles Daudelin Des mains et des mots," movie by Les Productions Richard Lavoie inc., 1998; Martin, "Daudelin: la forme à l'oeuvre," 53; Daudelin, in "Naissance d'une sculpture."

[46]About Chaos: Allègre, "Daudelin: Deux expositions, un film, un homme," p. 14; Baracs, "Charles Daudelin," 29-30; Bourassa, Daudelin, 21-23, 93, 98, 103,105; Daudelin, interview by author; Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 86, 115-16; Ouvrard, La sculpture-du multiple à l'environnement, 21; "Chaos redevenu virtuel," cd-rom produced by the Atelier de recherche en design interactif de Montréal, circa 1998, consulted at the Médiathèque.

[47] Charles Daudelin quoted in Baracs, "Charles Daudelin," 32.

[48]Allégrocube is made of Muntz metal, according to Louise Déry. Contrary to what is indicated in Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 85-87, it is not cast in bronze. Charles Daudelin actually confirmed in the interview that he had a global price for making both Chaos and Allégrocube, as they were created concomitantly. He contracted with the same firm, Faustin, specialized in ornamental metal. Baracs, "Charles Daudelin," 32-33; Simon Blais, "Charles Daudelin: Brève chronologie," in Charles Daudelin L'Avenir retrouvé ou la résurrection des rêves (Laval, PQ: Les 400 coups, 1998), 108; Bourassa, Daudelin, 22, 93; Daudelin, interview by author; Ouvrard, La sculpture-du multiple à l'environnement, 19; Bisson, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090, 62; Alain Parent, "Au musée d'art contemporain de Montréal Charles Daudelin," Vie des arts 19, no. 75 (Summer 1974): 37.

[49] Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 86.

[50] Hénault, "Lettre à Charles Daudelin," 7, 9; Parent, "Au musée d'art contemporain de Montréal Charles Daudelin," 36-39; "Rétrospective Charles Daudelin," Ateliers 3, no. 2 (28 March–28 April 1974): 1-3; Robert Marteau, "Charles Daudelin conquiert sa liberté," Le Jour, 13 April 1974, p. V 6; Virginia Nixon, "At the galleries: Glass, plastic, bronze and egg tempera," Gazette, 20 April 1974, p. 35; Jacques de Roussan,

"Rétrospective Charles Daudelin de la peinture à la sculpture monumentale," Perspective (La Presse), 30 March 1974, p. 8-11; Pierre Vallières, "Charles Daudelin, sculpteur-témoin," Le Devoir, 13 April 1974, p. 18; Toupin, "Daudelin le mauvais élève," p. D 16; Royer, "Le sculpteur doit être intégré," p. 61; "Rétrospective Daudelin au MAC," Le Devoir, 26 March 1974, p. 12; MAC "Communiqué," "Rétrospective Charles Daudelin," no date.

[51] Royer, "Le sculpteur doit être intégré," p. 61.

[52] Fournier, "Charles Daudelin architecte de demain," p. 32-33; "Rétrospective Charles Daudelin," Ateliers, 1-3; Royer, "Le sculpteur doit être intégré," p. 61; Martin, "Daudelin: la forme à l'oeuvre," 51; Daudelin, interview by author.

[53] The catalogue Daudelin, p. 22, incorrectly dates the beginning of Daudelin's work on the project in 1976. Refer to the case study included in this thesis for the details.

[54]Daudelin in Hénault, "Charles Daudelin," 10.

[55] Martin, "Daudelin: la forme à l'oeuvre," 51.

[56] Hénault, "Charles Daudelin," 12; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10.

[57] Daudelin, interview by author.

[58] Daudelin, interview by author; Jean-Pierre Tadros, "Charles Daudelin, yes sir!," Le Jour, 16-17 August 1975, p. 1, 13.

[59] Daudelin, interview by author; Jocelyne Lepage, "Charles Daudelin, prix Borduas Un sculpteur qui travaille pour la rue," La Presse, 28 September 1985, p. F 1; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10; McMurray, "Maître des arts intégrés," 16, 48;

[60] Daudelin took over after Bonet's death in 1979. The fire in the chapel occurred in December 1978. Bourassa, Daudelin, 22; Hénault, "Charles Daudelin, 11"; Radio CKAC news, 14 July 1980, transcription by Caisse, Chartier and Associates, Québec; "Sensitive Restoration," Canadian Architect 31, no. 3 (March 1986): 18-21.

[61] This project occured before annual reports started compiling the art projects subjected to the regulation of art integrated with architecture. Charles Daudelin's résumé.

[62] The project appears in the first annual report, under the year 1979-80. In a résumé, Daudelin indicated that in 1980 he was working on a concrete sculpture for the convention centre. The project for the convention centre lasted from 1978 until 1983. The installation of Daudelin's sculpture took place in 1983. Daudelin's résumé; Hélène Pagé from the Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, report "Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture Programmation 1979-1982 Liste des projets" (n. p., December 1981), 20;

Bisson, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-2090, 79; Bourassa, Daudelin, 23, 103.

[63] Charles Daudelin's résumé; Pagé, "Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture Programmation 1979-1982 Liste des projets," 44 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1981-1982 du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, April 1982), 24 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1982-1983 du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, June 1983), 25 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1983-1984 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts et du cadre de vie, May 1984), 32 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1984-1985 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, September 1985), 38 pages; "Bilan des opérations Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec 1985-1986" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, June 1986), 53 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1986-1987" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes, July 1987), 46 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1987-1988" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes Secrétariat à l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, August 1988), 29 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1988-1989" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1989), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan des opérations 1989-1990" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1990), 41 pages; Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" incl. Bilan 1990-91 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991), 83 pages; Affaires culturelles, "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1991-1992" (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1992), 55 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à

l'environnement Bilan 1992-1993" (n. p: Ministère de la Culture, Direction de l'aide aux artistes, aux arts visuels et aux métiers d'art, 1993), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1993-1994" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1994), 32 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1994-1995" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1995), 43 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1995-1996" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1996), 44 pages; "Bilan 1996-1997 L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1998), n. p.; Bourassa, Daudelin, 23, 101; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10.

[64] René Viau, "Tendances actuelles: 2ème et dernier volet," Le Devoir, 30 December 1978, p. 16; Gilles Toupin, "Les voies incertaines de notre sculpture," La Presse, 23 December 1978, p. B 20.

[65] Charles Daudelin's file, Médiathèque; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970; Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances actuelles au Québec (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1980); Paulette Gagnon and Pierre Landry, Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1985), 92-93; Lise Lamarche, "Tendances actuelles au Québec: La Sculpture," Ateliers 7, no. 3-4 (April-May 1979): 5-6; Toupin, "Les voies incertaines de notre sculpture," p. B 20; Viau, "Tendances actuelles: 2ème et dernier volet," p. 16.

[66] Baracs, "Charles Daudelin," 28; Daudelin, interview by author; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10; Hénault, "Charles Daudelin profession Sculpteur," 45-47; Nixon, "At the galleries," p. 35; Ouvrard, La sculpture-du multiple à l'environnement, 3, 5, 20; Toupin, "Daudelin le mauvais élève," p. D 16; Royer, "Le sculpteur doit être intégré," p. 61; Henry Simpkins, "Seasons and Silence," Montreal Calendar Magazine, September 1981, 44; Charles Daudelin's résumé.

[67] Nixon, "At the galleries," p. 35. In the catalogue of the 1974 exhibition, the model is dated 1972, whereas it is dated 1969 in Dumas. Royer, "Le sculpteur doit être intégré," p. 61; Simpkins, "Seasons and Silence," 44; Charles Daudelin, Musée d'art contemporain, 1974, 22; Paul Dumas, "Charles Daudelin, peintre et sculpteur, au Musée d'Art Contemporain," L'Information médicale et paramédicale, 7 May 1974, 52-53.

[68] Royer, "Le sculpteur doit être intégré," p. 61.

[69] In one of the artist's résumé, and in "Charles Daudelin voit son oeuvre couronnée," La Presse, 5 December 1981, p. A 2, we can read that Daudelin was working on a concrete sculpture for the convention centre. Charles Daudelin's résumés; Bisson, 1890-1990 Un siècle à bâtir 1990-

2090, 79; Bourassa, Daudelin, 23, 98, 103, 105; Daudelin, interview by author; Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 86, 121; Dumas, "Charles Daudelin, peintre et sculpteur," 52-53; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10; Gouvernement du Québec, Communiqué, EMBARGO, Montréal 24 March 1980, 3 pages.

[70] Déry, "Daudelin: l'art dans la ville," 98.

[71] Charles Daudelin's résumés; Bourassa, Daudelin, 23, 98, 103, 105; Daudelin, interview by author; Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 86, 121; Dumas, "Charles Daudelin, peintre et sculpteur," 52-53; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10; Gouvernement du Québec, EMBARGO, 24 March 1980, 3 pages.

[72] Place du Québec in Paris is located in the "VIe arrondissement." The irregular rectangular shape of the place measures approximately 13 by 18 metres. It is located across from another place, place Saint-Germain-des-Prés, at the confluence of Gozlin, Bonaparte, and de Rennes Streets with Saint-Germain Boulevard. Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Avec une sculpture fontaire [sic] Daudelin exprimera les forces vives du Québec dans Paris," La Presse, 7 November 1981, p. F 3; Bourassa, Daudelin, 23; Déry, "Daudelin: l'art dans la ville," 96, 105; Daudelin, interview by author; Michel Dolbec, "Place du Québec à Paris retrouvera sa fontaine," Le Soleil, 25 May 1991, p. A 6; Jean-Luc Épivent, "Charles Daudelin Un jaillissement issu de la vie," Vie des arts 29, no. 118 (March 1985): 18-21; Louis Falardeau, "Ornée d'une sculpture de Daudelin La Place du Québec à Paris pourrait être inaugurée à l'automne," La Presse, 26 May 1984, p. X1, X10; Marc Morin, "À Paris Sculpture-fontaine de Daudelin à la Place du Québec," Le Droit, 9 November 1981; René Viau, "Une fontaine de Daudelin pour la Place du Québec à Paris," Le Devoir, 9 November 1981, p. 13; Jeanine Warnod, "Saint-Germain-des-Prés à l'heure du Québec," Le Monde, 26 October 1984; "Place du Québec à Paris," Dimanche-Matin, 18 November 1984.

[73] "Charles Daudelin, prix Philippe-Hébert," Le Devoir, 17 December 1981, p. 14; "Charles Daudelin voit son oeuvre couronnée," p. A 2; MAC, Trois générations; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970; MAC, Tendances actuelles au Québec; Martin, Naissance et persistance.

[74] Lepage, "Daudelin, Un sculpteur qui travaille pour la rue," p. F 1; see also Andrée Paradis, "Les prix du Québec," Vie des arts 30, no. 121 (December–Winter 1985): 92.

[75] Gérard Durozoi dir., Dictionnaire de l'art moderne et contemporain (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 1992), 162-63.

[76] Bourassa, Daudelin, 22; MAC, Trois générations, 55; Gilles Daigneault, ed., L'art au Québec depuis Pellan Une histoire des prix Borduas (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1988); MAC, Tendances de la sculpture

québécoise 1960-1970; Martin, Naissance et persistance; Lepage, "Daudelin, Un sculpteur qui travaille pour la rue," p. F 1; Robert Lévesque, "Lévesque remet les prix du Québec Les lauréats: Jean Gascon, Gilles Groulx, André Barbeau, Jacques Godbout, Charles Daudelin, et Albert Faucher," Le Devoir, 25 September 1985, p. 12; John Bentley Mays, "They hammered at tradition," Globe and Mail (Toronto), 11 July 1992, p. C 4; Denis Lavoie, "Têtes d'affiche," La Presse, 30 January 1992, p. A 10; Paul Villeneuve, " 'Dictionnaire de l'art moderne et contemporain' Pour la connaissance et le plaisir," Le Journal de Québec, 29 December 1992, p. 37; "l'Académie des grands Montréalais," Le Devoir, 8 February 1995, p. A 3; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10; Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, La Collection Lavalin du Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal: Le partage d'une vision (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme and le Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1994), 236. Daudelin's work was also collected by the Banque Nationale du Canada. See Raymond Bernatchez, "Moments choisis: la BNC montre une partie de son trésor artistique," La Presse, 23 January 1993, p. E 13.

[77] Charles Daudelin quoted in Peter Kuitenbrouwer, "New Downtown Park A Concrete Jungle," Sunday Express, 29 July 1984.

[78] Nathalie Petrowski, "L'agora," La Presse, 27 November 1994, p. A 5; Adele Weder, "Saving Public Space," Insite, July 1995, 48.

[79] During the interview with the author, Daudelin specified that it was "cailloudo" as in reference to water (eau) and not "cailloudou", as the sculpture is almost always referred to. Daudelin, interview by author; Jean Dumont, "Sculpture: Séduction 90 Les nouveaux jalons d'une mémoire collective," Le Devoir, 25 August 1990, p. C 12; Bourassa, Daudelin, 23; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10.

[80] The garden is included even though it opened in 1993, since it was part of the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art new building, discussed in a previous chapter. Press release, Musée d'art contemporain, "Les artistes Jardin de sculptures du Musée," 1993; Bourassa, Daudelin, 23; Gironnay, "Un artiste dans le bâtiment," p. D 10.

CHAPTER 9

CLAUDE THÉBERGE[1]

1961-76: Art Integrated to Architecture

Born in Edmundston (New Brunswick) in 1934, Claude Théberge attended the École des Beaux-Arts in Québec City (1950-54), where he received a degree in decorative arts. He won a medal, prizes and received a grant from the Québec Government in 1954.[2] He pursued his studies in art in Paris until 1960. He went to the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (painting and portrait), the École Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs (graphic arts and drawing), the École du Louvre (art history), the Academie André Lothe (composition) and the Atelier Roux in Montparnasse (ceramics). He also attended La Grande Chaumière, a free academy (académie libre), as sculptor Alberto Giacometti had done before.[3] His sojourn in Paris also allowed him to work at decors for the Théâtre du Tertre in Montmartre, and to exhibit his work (Exposition inter-universitaire, Berlin, 1955; Maison Internationale de la Cité Universitaire, Paris, 1956). While in Paris, he was 'directeur graphique' for the UNESCO publications. This work led him to Finland where he reportedly became conscious of the social importance of the collaboration between artist and architect.[4] Back in Canada in 1960 or 1961, he pursued his artistic career. In the early sixties, he appears to have produced mostly ceramic murals, located throughout the province, including in Montréal.

They were integrated with buildings as diverse as a cathedral, churches, a convent, several schools, credit union buildings, a sport centre, a courthouse, and hospitals. He also exhibited paintings in 1961, at Galerie Libre and at Canada House in New York City.[5]

In 1963, Théberge founded L'Atelier Claude Théberge in Montréal.[6] This marked a prolific period in the artist's career, that lasted roughly from 1963 to 1971. Montréal was a pilot region for the artist, a place where the integration of art to architecture could be experimented. There was an economic spree and a construction boom in the city, which made room for audacity, according to Théberge. During that time, the artist took the initiative to work in close relationship with architects in order to create integrated art. He visited architects' offices and convinced them of the advantage of working in close co-operation with an artist, from the inception of a project. He was critical of the first experiments of integration of arts to architecture made by others, which were limited to paintings or ceramics applied on a wall. Like Daudelin and other contemporary fellow artists, he believed in a new synthesis of the arts, which required a real collaboration between architects, painters, sculptors and "plasticiens." Influenced by the writings of Le Corbusier and French sculptor André Bloc, Théberge aimed at putting art in contact with the people in the streets and in public places. In a request for a grant addressed to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Canada Council for the Arts, Théberge wrote:

> Le Corbusier a maintes fois répété que l'art doit de nouveau être mis en contact avec le peuple dans les rues et sur les places de nos villes...
>
> Le sculpteur André Bloc . . . écrit: "Pour rendre aux arts plastiques toute leur valeur humaine, il faut rétablir le contact avec le public, avec les foules. Pour que l'artiste puisse avoir une action sociale, il faut que son rôle soit élargi par la présence permanente de ses oeuvres dans toutes les formes d'activités".[7]

Born in 1896, educated in Paris as an engineer, Bloc founded two magazines pertaining to architecture and art (L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui in 1921 and Art d'Aujourd'hui in 1949). Himself a sculptor, he was well informed and aware of the difficult situation for most modern sculptors who, unwilling to create figurative memorials, were reduced to create small-scale sculptures. Bloc promoted the integration of art to architecture in order to both help sculptors and improve modern architecture. Bloc actually found that, besides the renowned architects of the century (Marcel Breuer, Walter Gropius, Saarinen, Villanueva, Mies van der Rohe, Paul Rudolph, Louis Khan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier) most modern architects lacked the culture and the capacity to create interesting architecture and would benefit from working with sculptors. Bloc advocated a greater, more active role for artists in creating the urban environment, and in designing new places and gardens.[8]

Théberge's influence was overtly French, and modernist. However, he did not advocate a practice of l'art pour l'art, nor of art as an object of luxury. He proposed to create works of art that would assume an important functional role: "L'artiste pourra ainsi devenir partenaire de l'architecte au même titre que l'ingénieur ou quelqu'autre spécialiste."[9] Théberge wanted to establish contacts with a European group, the "Groupe de Recherche d'Art Visuel," created in 1960 and present at the Paris Biennial in 1963, and exclusively oriented towards architecture. He was also interested in another group, "Nouvelle Tendance-Recherches Continuelles," which promoted communication between artists of various disciplines and opposed the isolation of individual artist. In addition, Théberge advocated improving the education of both artists and architects in order to reach harmony and understanding:

> Pour que la synthèse des arts devienne une profonde réalité, il est indispensable que les artistes acquièrent une plus grande connaissance de l'architecture comme en avaient les grands peintres muraux de la Renaissance. Il est d'ailleurs aussi indispensable que les architectes reçoivent une éducation artistique.[10]

This statement in itself demonstrates how strongly the writings of André Bloc influenced the young artist.

In 1963, L'Atelier Claude Théberge employed other artists and craftsmen who specialized in various disciplines. Théberge wanted to promote decorative arts by making good use of the industrial materials and by shaping them so that they would integrate with modern architecture. He identified his studio as being on the leading edge of decorative arts. Artists and craftsmen experimented with such materials as ceramics, sandstone, metal, stained-glass window, and even concrete. Not only were new materials used, but unusual alloys were also experimented with (metal and sandstone, coloured antique glass inserted in a polyurethane mural, stained-glass framed by reinforced concrete, coloured glass melted in sandstone blocks, alloys of metals and ceramics, sculpted concrete). The studio also had an oven unique in North America that produced exceptional colours (red and blue) and baked sandstone blocks more rapidly. Upon an architect's request, Théberge was also involved in a project for the façade of a thirty-four-storey-high skyscraper. He was mandated to study industrial architectural modules so as to avoid monotony.

In 1964, he received a substantial grant from both the Federal and the Provincial Governments ($21,000 and $25,000 respectively). In his request, Théberge had presented himself as the pioneer and leader in the field of art integrated with architecture:

> L'architecture lui [l'Atelier Claude Théberge] doit les premières réalisations en béton sculpturé dont d'intéressants exemples ont été réalisés dans la région métropolitaine.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> L'Atelier Claude Théberge demeure incontestablement le seul du genre au Canada. C'est le seul groupement d'artistes organisés professionnellement dont les conceptions et les travaux sont entièrement dirigés vers l'architecture. Les autres artistes travaillent surtout individuellement et leur production, lorsqu'elle s'oriente vers l'architecture, demeure à l'échelle artisanale.[11]

Starting in 1963, the Atelier Claude Théberge ventured in doing concrete sculptures and murals (for the Montréal church of St-Jean-Baptiste-de-la-Salle and for the Cité des Jeunes project in Vaudreuil). From then on, Théberge himself did research on concrete, even going to Chicago (circa 1966), at the Portland Cement Association, to learn more about the possibilities of concrete as a material for sculpture. He was convinced that concrete was the material best suited for integrating art with contemporary architecture in a northern climate such as Montréal's.[12] In addition, he realized several murals/reliefs made of concrete. These included the external mural for the Bank of Montréal building (1966) in Montréal, concrete reliefs for a high school (1968), a mural inside the provincial building "H" on Parliamentary hill in Québec City (1970) and another one for a trade school in Verdun. In collaboration with Antoine Lamarche, he co-authored five murals for CEGEP Maisonneuve (a college) in Montréal (1971). He created a concrete mural for the Montréal subway in 1976 (table 2). During those years, he also created a mural made of synthetic material (polyurethane covered by a plastic-base coating and Styrofoam), installed inside an office building, and which was not particularly well received by art critic Normand Thériault. In 1975, again in collaboration with Antoine Lamarche, he made a mural for the provincial Institut du Tourisme et d'Hôtellerie, this time made of zinc.[13] In

the context of the Federal programme of art integrated with architecture, he created another mural, this time made of aluminium. This was one of the last artistic creations attributable to the programme.[14]

Shortly after the opening of Théberge's studio, the Director of the newly created Museum of Contemporary Art in Montréal praised Théberge's contribution to the arts in Québec. In the text presenting the exhibition Artistes de Montréal, Guy Robert wrote:

> Le problème du peintre et celui du sculpteur trouvent de plus en plus une difficulté monumentale dans le mur: cette difficulté devient souvent invitation et provocation, et quelques-uns de nos artistes montréalais s'y laissent aller d'abondance; en témoignent les somptueuses tapisseries de Micheline Beauchemin et de Mariette Rousseau-Vermette, les grandes céramiques de Jordi Bonet, les recherches de l'atelier Claude Théberge. Cette collaboration avec l'architecture, à condition de ne pas verser dans la décoration, de ne pas tomber dans le piège de l'intégration, peut ajouter à l'architecture ce qui lui manque trop souvent: la présence de l'oeuvre d'art.[15]

However, Théberge's aim was precisely to integrate his art with architecture. At the Artistes de Montréal exhibition, Beauchemin, Bonet, Rousseau-Vermette and Théberge, identified as muralists, each exhibited one piece. If Théberge was part of the 1965 exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art, he did not take part in the exhibition Collaboration Artistes-Architectes that the museum presented that same year. His absence is remarkable since the exhibition presented photographs of André Bloc's architectural and sculptural research. The exhibition, though, displayed photographs of projects by artists Jordi Bonet, Charles Daudelin, Mario Merola, Ulysse Comptois and Maurice Savoie, who had all worked with architects. Théberge was not among the artists who exhibited in 1969 at Denyse Delrue's show entitled Peintures et Murales, which was evoked earlier in this part three. Notwithstanding these

absences, Théberge considered murals--not sculptures--to be the best expression of art integrated with architecture.[16]

Théberge's approach was quite innovative, and he obtained important commissions, awarded to him directly by the architect. His early solicitation has allowed him to become acquainted with several architects, and, as in the case of Charles Daudelin, he did several projects with the same persons. Théberge took part in some competitions, but never won. According to the artist, he ceased to get projects when the provincial government instated the competition process.[17]

In 1970 the artist left his traditional artistic practice and founded and directed an office of multidisciplinary design: Société Environnement 2000. His discourse was then to promote the work of designers. The office has been credited for projects as diverse as the colour scheme for the oil refinery Esso in east end Montréal, coloured metal sculptures for the same client, and the interior design of Canada Post's depots in downtown Montréal and in Ville Saint-Laurent. In the mid-seventies, Théberge was awarded the contract to design a landscape project for Viger Square in downtown Montréal, a venture which will be examined in detail in the next part of the thesis. Finally, eighteen years after he ceased painting in order to devote himself to the integration of art with architecture, Théberge went back to his brushes. That in itself would not be different from other artists who had explored other artistic expressions, including allied arts. Marcelle Ferron, for instance, focused on creating stained glass walls for several years, and later went back to her previous career as a painter. However, Théberge ceased creating abstract paintings and embraced an international career as a commercial artist, proposing easily accessible figurative paintings. Today the name of Claude Théberge is not well remembered and the variety of his subsequent artistic orientations certainly did not help. During the 1960s and 1970s, however, among

Merola and Bonet, he created several works of art integrated with architecture.[18]

Conclusion

Over a decade, Claude Théberge acquired a solid artistic training, first in Québec, then in France. He specialized in decorative arts and it seems that his interest in allied arts did not originate from his education as an artist, but from a sojourn in Finland.

At the time he came back to Québec, other artists of the early avant-garde had positioned themselves in the artistic field, including that of integrated arts. Nonetheless, Théberge succeeded in getting commissions in various regions of Québec as well as in Montréal. Several of these early works decorated edifices linked to religious communities, including hospitals and schools.

Théberge focused on the creation of murals as works of integrated arts during the sixties, at the time of the modernization of Montréal. He got acquainted with architects, in order to receive commissions. He did some research on new technologies and materials, including concrete. He was influenced by Le Corbusier, as was Daudelin. Théberge's early curriculum reminds one a lot of Daudelin's, except that when Théberge was founding his studio and exploring murals (1963), Daudelin was already doing research on bronze sculpture (1963-64). Maybe because of his long sojourn in Europe, Théberge appears to have been ignorant of other Québec artists' realizations in the domain of integrated arts. He entered the field by opposing what was being done by older artists.

Théberge was also influenced by the sculptor André Bloc. However, he did not venture into the domain of public sculpture, with the

notable exception of the one created for Viger Square, as we will see in the case study. In the sole major exhibition Théberge had in a museum, Guy Robert praised him for his will to collaborate with architects, but warned against integrated arts, precisely what Théberge had advocated for some time. Théberge would not take part in further exhibitions either about mural art or art created in the context of collaboration with architects. He did not succeed in staying in the artistic field with a practice of integrated arts, as others did. He did not receive commissions when the provincial system of competitions was implemented.

Hence, he reoriented his practice, from that of a decorative artist to that of a designer. In both cases, he set up an organization (Atelier Claude Théberge, Société Environnement 2000) that allowed him to lobby first for integrated art, then for design. Such was the artist who received a commission to design an urban landscape in Viger Square and who accepted it, being convinced of the crucial role of the artist in designing the city. After that, Théberge oriented his practice towards interior decoration and design. In the end, Théberge exited the field of high art for good when he devoted himself to commercial painting.

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[1] There is little written documentation on Claude Théberge's career (CIDEC'S research reached the same conclusion), and there are several contradictions.

[2] As a student, Claude Théberge won the Lieutenant-Governor's bronze medal. He also won the first award for Canada and an award from the United States Consul at an international competition for a poster for the

Lutham Foundation in San Francisco. Grant-holder from the Québec Government and the Conseils de Compté du Bas-Saint-Laurent et du Madawaska. From the artist's résumé, at the Médiathèque, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal, file no. 2600 and Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Communications, Direction générale des publications gouvernementales, Les oeuvres d'art du ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement ou la politique du un pour cent (n. p.: Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1981), 76.

[3]Exhibition Alberto Giacometti, presented at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, Summer 1998; François-Marc Gagnon, "Alfred Pellan, 1984," in L'art au Québec depuis Pellan: Une histoire des prix Borduas (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1988), 69.

[4] Claude Théberge's résumé indicates that he stayed in Paris from 1954 to 1958. Moreover, while in Paris he went to l'Académie Libre, according to La politique du un pour cent. The only reference to his work for UNESCO appears in Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 76. Finally, Théberge's résumé indicates that the exhibition in Paris occurred in 1955.

[5]The text for the years 1958-63 relies, for the most part, on Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, which differs drastically from the artist's résumé and interviews, which give the following diverging information: back from Paris in 1958; in the years that immediately followed his European stay, he exhibited paintings and possibly started to do some ceramic murals; he was a co-founder along with Marcel Gaudreau (also seen: Marcel Gendreau) of the Escurie d'Art, a short-lived art studio (1958-60); together they created murals to decorate churches in some regions of Québec; Théberge exhibited his work in Montréal at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel (1958), Galerie Hélène de Champlain (1959); during the years 1958-61, Théberge also taught ceramics and paintings in an art centre located outside of Montréal, in St. Adèle; the exhibition at Galerie Libre took place in 1960; Théberge's résumé only indicates one exhibition at that art gallery in 1960. Claude Théberge's résumé; Invitation card to Galerie Libre for an exhibition scheduled for February 14 to 25, 1961; André Comeau, Artistes plasticiens (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1983), 241; Patrick Schupp, "Artistes et architecture Claude Théberge," Architecture-bâtiment-construction, May 1967, 30-32; Claude Théberge, "Mémoire" presented to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Province of Québec, by l'Atelier Claude Théberge de Montréal, 29 October 1964, n. p.; Claude Théberge, "Mémoire" presented to the Canada Council for the Arts by l'Atelier Claude Théberge, 29 October 1964, n. p.; Claude Théberge, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 16 March 1998.

[6] Claude Théberge's résumé and "Mémoire," always give 1962 as the date when the studio was created. However, Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 76, gives the year 1963 as the date of creation of the studio, which is correct. The patent letters of incorporation of l'Atelier Claude Théberge were registered on January 30, 1963, libro 1155, folio 37 by the sub-registrar of the Province of Québec. From CIDEC file about Théberge's sculpture-fountain for Viger Square NAQ900982.0, fiche 38E-VI-0982. Théberge had two lawyers as partners.
[7] Théberge, both "Mémoire."
[8] In 1949, André Bloc was forced to remove his twelve-metre-high concrete sculpture, a modern memorial to commemorate concrete. The sculpture was installed in front of the Department of Public Works building in Paris and removed immediately after the commemoration activities. André Bloc and Roger Bordier, André Bloc: De la sculpture à l'architecture (Boulogne, Seine: Éditions d'aujourd'hui, 1964).
[9] Théberge, both "Mémoire."
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] "Transition Habitat Paysage l'artiste & l'architecte," December 1971, 6; Schupp, "Artistes et architecture Claude Théberge."
[13] Mario Merola was another artist chosen to create a concrete mural, for the building "J" of the same architectural complex. In Montréal, Merola and Théberge created murals for the Institut de Tourisme et d'Hôtellerie. Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du un pour cent, 70-73, 76-79, 117-19,165-71; Guy Robert, L'art au Québec depuis 1940 (Montréal: La Presse, 1973), 294-95; Normand Thériault, "Une murale en mousse de polystyrène," La Presse, 21 June 1969, p. 41.
[14] René Lord, "Trois grandes oeuvres au Centre de données fiscales," Le Nouvelliste, 24 February 1979.
[15] Guy Robert, "Artistes de Montréal" (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain, 1965).
[16] Ibid.; Rose-Marie Arbour, "Intégration de l'art à l'architecture," in Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 235, 265, 273 note 7; Théberge, interview by author.
[17] Théberge, interview by author.
[18]For instance, Arbour omits Théberge's work. Arbour, "Intégration," 227-78. By 1981, Théberge had been vice-president of the professional association "décorateurs–ensembliers du Québec" since 1977, and a member of the Association des Designers d'intérieurs du Canada. According to Tessier and Robert, the date of the creation of the new firm would be 1971. According to Gouvernement du Québec, La politique du

un pour cent, the artist never stopped painting. However, in the few written interviews about him, Théberge reportedly said that he stopped painting for such a long period. He would have stopped painting circa 1962, at a time when he was working mainly on murals and experiencing new materials for the integration of art to architecture. It is difficult to date with great precision the moment when Théberge started to do figurative paintings. It could be circa 1979-80, and that would be when he also had his multidisciplinary firm, Société Environnement 2000. Théberge had solo exhibitions in June 1991, at Galerie Quatre-Saisons, in Québec City, and in June 1992, at the Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal, Ruelle des Fortifications, which was his first solo exhibition in Montréal since 1965. He had paintings at the art gallery L'Imprévu, in Montréal, when a fire broke. In the newspaper that reported the fire, it was specified that Théberge's paintings were worth $500 per square inch. Robert, L'art au Québec; Claude Tessier, "L'industriel québécois ne se préoccupe pas suffisamment du design de ses produits," Le Soleil, 27 November 1972, p. 27; Théberge, interview by author; Michel Brûlé, L'Esquisse d'une mémoire: Marcelle Ferron (Montréal: Les Éditions des Intouchables, 1996); Régis Tremblay, "À la galerie Quatre-Saisons: Claude Théberge, artiste aux pinceaux de vent," Le Soleil, 14 June 1991, p. C2; Yves Chartrand, "Oeuvres d'art endommagées: Incendie sur l'avenue Laurier," Journal de Montréal, 7 August 1991; Raymond Bernatchez, "L'univers bizarre de Claude Théberge," La Presse, 14 June 1992, p. C-6; invitation card to the opening of Théberge 92 at the Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal, June 16 to 19, 1992; Paul Villeneuve, "Babill'art", Journal de Montréal, 26 November 1994. See also the CIDEC file about Théberge's sculpture-fountain for Viger Square, NAQ900982.0, fiche 38E-VI-0982.

CHAPTER 10

PETER GNASS

Contemporary with Claude Théberge is artist Peter Gnass. Gnass also received a traditional artistic education. But contrary to Théberge, who advocated from the beginning an art integrated with architecture, Gnass was focusing on the work of art as such, art for art. He never ceased to present his work in the art circuit, either in solo or group exhibitions, even if he also created several murals. His interest in the possibilities offered by projects of art integrated with architecture came after the fact, i.e., after he had received commissions for such projects. However, as was the case for Théberge, he was, in his early years, particularly interested in researching the artistic possibilities offered by materials and technology.

1961-76: The Birth of a Sculptor

Born in Rostock (Germany) in 1936, Peter Gnass immigrated to Canada in 1957. He had studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Hamburg, and then joined the École des Beaux-Arts in Montréal (EBAM) (1957-62). At the EBAM he learned the basics of engraving, which he subsequently studied more in depth at Hamburg's Academy of Fine Arts, in the course of a study trip to Europe in 1962-63. As a student, he had solo exhibitions:

at the École des Beaux-Arts in Montréal (1960-61), at a City Hall near Montréal, as well as at McGill University. He also took part in group exhibitions.

In 1964, he created a fifteen foot (4.57 metres) high mural made of steel for the Kennedy hotel in the Montréal area (Repentigny). That was his first commission, awarded directly by the owner who wanted to have "something" on the hotel wall. In 1965, Gnass took part in the fountain project for Place Ville-Marie. Gnass recalls that Mayor Drapeau liked fountains, such as those that adorn European cities. For several years, the Mayor organized competitions for fountains, exhibiting the models of the proposed works, but in the end nothing happened, according to the artist. Gnass also participated in artistic competitions (Concours artistiques du Québec, in 1962, 1965 and 1969). In this context, he exhibited in 1965 at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art and at the Musée du Québec. He won third prize (engraving) at the 1965 edition of that competition. In addition, in 1965, he exhibited his work widely in private art galleries, mainly in Montréal, but also in New York City. In Montréal, he showed his work at Place des Arts, Galerie Lobo, and Galerie XII of the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, with a solo exhibition in the last two places.[1] In New York City, he had a solo exhibition at Foussart Gallery. A review of the exhibition at Galerie XII was critical of the works (engravings, oil paintings and some sculptures) as being abstract and monotonous, lacking originality. In short, the work of an epigone. Although the critic preferred the sculptures, the whole of Gnass' exhibition was characterized as facile and complacent. The next year, Gnass exhibited in solo at Gallery Moos (Montréal) and took part in three events in which the Québec Sculptors Association was involved. He was among the twenty-nine sculptors who exhibited their work for the second of three editions of Confrontation, Confrontation 66, both in Montréal

(Place Ville-Marie) and Québec City. Also in 1966, he was among other sculptors (François Dallegret, André Fournelle, Antoine Lamarche), present at the provincial Symposium of sculpture in Alma (Lac St. Jean, Québec) where he created a sculpture of monumental dimensions made of welded steel. The sculptors could have had their sculptures moved to Montréal for Expo 67, but they were opposed to that, and even went on strike during the Symposium to protest against the project. The sculptors also went to court against the City of Alma, claiming that it did not take proper care of some of the works of art. However, Gnass created a mural (copperplate and zinc) for the Canadian Pacific-Cominco pavilion at Expo 67. As well, he took part, with twenty-six other sculptors, in Confrontation '67, held this time at Place des Arts, where he exhibited a sculpture, Enthousiasme, on the Place des Arts plaza. Still in 1967, he received a commission to create a monumental mural for the foyer of Maisonneuve Theatre, at Place des Arts. He created a thirty-three by eight foot (10.06 by 2.44 metres) mural made of three metals: bronze, copper, and steel. Finally, August 67, another 1967 vintage, was exhibited outside for Man and His World, in 1968. That was an abstract sculpture, of welded steel and copper on a concrete base, of impressive dimensions (ten feet high or 3.05 metres--1,500 pounds or 680.4 kilograms). Because of the negligence of the City, the sculpture was irreparably damaged. Once again, Gnass went to court.[2]

Early in his career, Gnass had exhibited mainly engravings and paintings, with a few sculptures. With the feeling of having failed in painting and also, with the idea that the Plasticiens occupied entirely the field of painting, with no possibility of survival for other painters, Gnass sought to express himself through sculptural work, by exploiting form in space and light. His choice of material evolved for his sculptural work as well. While his early creations were made of various metals, Gnass

pursued his creative activities by doing research on plastics (Plexiglas), circa 1967. He experimented by doing assemblages with both metal and plastic. He also created sculptures made of phosphorescent pigments added to the resin, in order to create a luminous effect in the dark. He eventually found out that these were difficult to exhibit, particularly in group exhibitions. Nonetheless, he had found a lead, and he pursued his research on the optical possibilities associated with Plexiglas.[3]

After Expo 67 Gnass worked in what art critic Normand Thériault called "l'après-sculpture" (post-sculpture).[4] In fact, Gnass continued for a while to create sculptures, as could be seen in Lumenstructure no. 8 (1968), an assemblage of geometrical elements made of aluminium and plastic (48 inches x 72 inches, or 122 centimetres x 183 centimetres), in Lumenstructure no. 13 (1969) made of moulded Plexiglas and resin (10.25 inches x 31.75 inches x 13.5 inches, or 260 millimetres by 816 millimetres by 343 millimetres, and in Sans titre (1970), made of Plexiglas and phosphorescent resin (8 inches x 12 inches x 12 inches, or 20 centimetres x 30 centimetres x 30 centimetres). In February 1970, Gnass had a solo exhibition at Galerie Jolliet, where he presented sculptures resulting from his previous research on optics: cubes within which he had put crystals, or prisms with rainbow-like colours. He also included his preliminary work on the optical effects of a sphere, later termed Topolog.[5] Gnass fruitfully pursued his research with the spheres, and presented the reportedly spectacular result later in that year at the Museum of Contemporary Art. Topolog, especially conceived for the exhibition at the museum, was a break-through in Peter Gnass' work. The creation consisted of five series of truncated, empty, spherical forms of varying radiuses, made of clear Plexiglas, some colourless and some phosphorescent green or pink-orange, all hanging from the ceiling on a steel rope. This position gave the spheres some movement: they were rotating in front of a large slightly

concave disc of clear Plexiglas. In addition, a machine along a wall was producing soap bubbles. Contemporary electronic music accompanied the visual creation. It was particularly well received by the art critics. For Normand Thériault, Gnass had moved away from his previous sculptural creations (objects) that explored the visual and tactile possibilities of material. With Topolog, the artist focused on the visual, playful aspect of his creation, exploring the possibility of light, modifying the environment. The result was a spectacle, a theatre void of history. Gnass was creating optical art in a very original way. Nonetheless, it was still sculpture, according to Thériault.[6]

Topolog represented a milestone in Gnass' career. It was so successful that it was presented for several years, in various forms, in Québec and abroad. In 1971, Gnass was one of the thirteen sculptors representing Canada at the 11th Biennial of Middelheim in Antwerp, and he exhibited a Topolog for the occasion. Then, in 1972, he presented another Topolog in a solo exhibition at the Grand Théâtre de Québec. In addition, Topolog was also part of the 1972 exhibition organized by the Québec Sculptors' Association, Aspect de la sculpture québécoise, which travelled throughout Québec. Finally, as we will see below, some pieces entitled Topolog were acquired in a permanent museum collection, and others were displayed as public art. Gnass no longer defined sculpture as an object, but as "something" that outgrew the limits of objects.[7]

In the years that followed Expo 67, Gnass was very successful on the art scene. He continued to exhibit in local art galleries and museums, as well as in the national arena and on the international art scene. For instance, Gnass exhibited a sculpture at the Québec pavilion for the Expo 1970 in Osaka, Japan. His works of art were acquired by museums as well (see table 7). In 1969, both the Museum of Contemporary Art and the Musée du Québec acquired one of his works, respectively Lumenstructure

Table 7.--Peter Gnass' exhibitions, 1968-76.

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1968	Galerie Soixante, Montréal	
1968	Man and His World, Montréal	Group
1968	Galerie Denyse Delrue, Montréal	Solo
1968	Galerie Focus, Westmount	Solo
1968	Sculpteurs du Québec, MAC, Montréal and Musée du Québec, Québec City	Group
1968	Hart House, University of Toronto (Ontario)	Group
1968	Festival des Arts de Sainte-Agathe (Québec)	Group
1968	Camp des Jeunesses Musicales du Canada (JMC), Mont-Orford, Québec	Group
1968	Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, U.S.A.	Group
1968	Confrontation, Place des Arts, Montréal	Group
1969	Whitney Gallery, Montréal	Group
1969	Man and His World, Montréal	Group
1969	Québec Artistic Competition, MAC	Group
1969	Museum of Modern Art (Museo l'Arte Moderna), Milan (Italy) (Pagani Foundation)	Group
1969	Gallery Deson-Zaks, Chicago (Ill.)	Group
1969	JMC Arts Centre, Mont-Orford, Québec	Group
1970	Peter Gnass, Gallery Jolliet, Québec City	Solo
1970	Québec Artistic Competition, MAC; Musée du Québec	Group
1970	Présentation '70, Musée du Québec	Group
1970	Topolog, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Duo
1970	Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-70, MAC, Montréal and Rodin Museum, Paris	Group
1970	Québec Pavilion, Expo 70, Osaka (Japan)	
1971	11th Biennial of Middelheim, Antwerp (Belgium)	Group
1971	Preview of the movie Topolog, Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC)	
1971	Présentation '71, Cultural Centre, Sherbrooke (Qué.)	Group
1971	Galerie Étable, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts	Group

Table 7.--Continued.[8]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1971	JMC Arts Centre, Mont-Orford, Québec	Group
1971	Burlington University, Vermont (USA)	Group
1971	University of Alberta, (Alberta)	Group
1972	Museum of Ixelles, Brussels (Belgium)	Group
1972	Warande Cultural Centre, Turnhout (Belgium)	Group
1972	Art 3/72, Foire de Bâle, Bâle (Switzerland)	Group
1972	Topolog, Grand Théâtre de Québec, Québec City	Solo
1972	Université du Québec, Chicoutimi (Québec)	Solo
1972	Aspect de la sculpture québécoise, Galerie Espace, Montréal (travelling in Québec)	Group
1973	Trajectoire '73, Musée Moderne de Paris, (France)	
1974	Québec Art '74, Milan (Italy)	
1974	Art 5/74, Foire de Bâle, Bâle (Switzerland)	Group
1974	Art Festival, Jefferson, New Hampshire (USA)	Group
1974	Galerie Corbeil, Montréal	
1974	Les Arts du Québec, Man and His World	
1975	150 oeuvres de la collection, MAC, Montréal	Group
1975	Goethe Institute, Montréal	
1975	Permanent collection, UQAM	
1976	Progression sur deux perspectives, Galerie Gilles Corbeil, Montréal and Galerie Jolliet, Québec City	Solo
1976	111 Dessins du Québec, MAC, Montréal	Group
1976	Trois générations d'art québécois, MAC, Montréal	Group
1976	Forum 76, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts	Group
1976	Exhibition at 30, Murray Street, Ottawa	
1976	Goethe Institute, Montréal	
1976	Integration art to architecture, La Sauvegarde, Montréal	Group
1976	Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton (New Brunswick)	Group
1976	Regional Museum of Rimouski, Rimouski (Québec)	Group
1976	Southern Alberta Art Gallery, Lethbridge (Alberta)	

13 and Lumenstructure 14. The next year, the Musée du Québec bought another piece, Réflexion 3. In 1971, Gnass' work Topolog sur Pied was acquired by the Bronfman collection of the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. In 1973 and 1976, the Canada Council Art Bank bought four of his works. Even in private art galleries, he was well represented. For instance, not only did he have a solo exhibition in 1970 at Galerie Jolliet, in Québec City, but he was also attached at the gallery, among artists such as Alleyn, Cozic, Hurtubise, McEwen, Molinari and Tousignant.[9]

Starting in 1967 and until 1973, Gnass got involved in the Association des Sculpteurs du Québec (Québec Sculptors' Association) holding various positions (once secretary and twice each: vice-president, president and counsellor). On top of his creative work, Gnass taught in the Art Department at Ottawa University. In 1969, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs delegated him to go to Elliott Lake (Ontario) in order to study new casting techniques (ceramic shell casting). In 1970, he received a grant from the Québec Government. However, in February 1970, claiming never having received financial support from the Canada Council for the Arts, Gnass created and exhibited a sculpture representing a bomb, dedicated to the federal organization. The message was clear, and it had some positive impact on the finances of the then President of the Québec Sculptors' Association. From then on, he received regularly financial aid from the Canada Council for the Arts. Actually, that same year he received financial aid from the Canada Council for the Arts for the exhibition Topolog. This aid lasted until 1991. Three years after the bomb, Gnass held a solo demonstration against the provincial Minister of Cultural Affairs, whom he accused of incompetence, and of not having a real policy for the visual arts. The artist had several grievances that pertained to his difficulties in making a living as an artist. He also accused the competitions for art integrated with architecture of being manipulated

and unfair. He pledged he would refuse from then on to take part in any such competition under the patronage of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The media reported his protest. Three years later, the artist started to receive financial aid from the provincial ministry on a regular basis.[10] Moreover, either he received commissions or he was invited, and accepted, to compete for projects of art integrated with architecture (see table 8).

Gnass received several commissions from private, semi-public or public organizations. After the commands for the murals mentioned above, he was commissioned, in 1972, for two Topolog, a first one, Element Topolog in Billing's Bridge Plaza (a shopping centre in Ottawa), and another one for La maison de Radio-Canada (Montréal). Actually, the latter acquired several works of art of reputed Canadian artists, including several from Québec, to decorate its new building, located in the eastern part of the city and part of an urban renewal scheme (see previous chapter). Gnass was commissioned in that context, and the Mobile Topolog and Communimorphose that he created have been hanging from the ceiling in the elevator hallway of the new building.[11] In 1974, he created Element Mobil Chrome for a shopping centre (Thetford Mines, Québec). A year later, in 1975, came three commissions, at least two of them quite important. Firstly, he created a sculpture of monumental dimensions (12 by 20 feet or 3.66 by 6.1 metres), made of concrete and stainless steel, located in the Montréal area (Dorval, Québec). Secondly, he was asked to realize another sculpture, this time for the Montréal subway. The result was a stainless steel "mural" with reliefs, executed in 1977 at La Salle station (see table 2). The work was particularly well received. Again, Gnass had played with reflections of light and colours, of passers-by, even of the stars at night, to create a spectacular work of art.[12]

Table 8.--Peter Gnass' competitions versus his selection for provincial 1% projects, 1982-90 (bold indicates the winner) [13]

Date Compete/ create	Location/ Admin. region	Type of work	Type of building	Budget (work of art) ($)	Artist: **Selected** versus competing
1982[14]	Ile Perrot (06-A)	Sculpture environment	Nursing Home	26,114	**Peter Gnass**
1983-	Québec (03)	Sculpture environment	Museum (Musée de la civilisation)	146,000	Micheline Beauchemin Pierre Bourgault-Legros Peter Gnass Michel Goulet Pierre Granche Richard Langevin Lisette Lemieux Jean-Noël Poliquin **Astri Reush** Armand Vaillancourt
1984-1985	Laval (06-A)	Sculpture	Environment Laboratory	32,250	**Peter Gnass** Petr Franta Norman Slater Laurent Bouchard Sylvie Guimont Michèle Tremblay-Gillon
1986	Ile Bizzard (6A)	Sculpture	Elementary School	24,310	**Peter Gnass** Jacques Huet Armand Vaillancourt
1985	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture Fountain	Museum of Contemporary Art	104,000	Michel Goulet Rose-Marie Goulet Peter Gnass **Pierre Granche** Armand Vaillancourt
1987	Le Gardeur (6D)	Mural	High School	19,000	**Tatiana Démidoff-Séguin** Peter Gnass Paul Livernois
1988	Montréal (6A)	Treatment of the corridor space	University (UQAM – Athanase-David pavilion)	90,000	**Pierre Ayot** André Fournelle Peter Gnass Pierre Granche Pierre Pépin
1989-1990	Rivière-des-Prairies (6)	Outside Environment Sculpture	Elementary School	21,500	Peter Gnass Pierre Granche Claude Lamarche (unknown result)

Thirdly, he was commissioned to create sculpture-plays and plans for a playground in Viger Square. Table 7 shows that in 1975, Gnass exhibited less than usual, probably due to the important work load stemming from these commissions for public art.

There was not only an immediate favourable reception of Gnass' early work by the art milieu, but the importance of his oeuvre, particularly the Topolog, was immediately recognized by the institutionalized art milieu, and in later retrospectives. In 1976, Fernande St-Martin, then Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art, determined that Gnass was among the leading sculptors, in discovering plastics and in trying to transcend the static aspect traditionally associated with sculpture.[15] If in 1973 he represented, according to Guy Robert, the "futuribles," i.e., the possible future in art (with François Dallegret, Yvon Cozic, Edmund Alleyn, Jean-Claude Delavalle, William (Bill) Vazan),[16] in 1975 Gnass was already an artist well positioned in the artistic field.

1977-92: The Viger Square Era

From Permanent Sculpture to Ephemeral Installation

Gnass got a lot of mileage from his topologs, the possibilities of which he exploited intensely, and which he presented widely. In fact, Topolog was the work referred to and associated with Gnass' name. After that 1970 breakthrough, Gnass waited until 1976 before presenting new work in a solo exhibition. Almost at the same time, he exhibited in two art galleries a series of drawings, paintings and sculptures, which embodied his new orientation.[17]

While retrospective exhibitions about Québec art and Québec sculpture, held in 1976 and 1978 at the Museum of Contemporary Art, presented his work with plastic, Gnass was taking yet another direction.[18] His new Progression sur deux perspectives (1976) were in continuity with the topologs, as the artist was still interested in optical research. Some saw an increased tendency to cut loose from material objects, in order to focus on optical phenomena. That was about the only aspect that prevented them from seeing a radical break from his previous work. First, there was no movement. Second, whereas he had found Topolog by chance from displays in space, the new sculptures were the materialization of drawings by the artist. Those drawings themselves resulted from a composition system determined by the artist, involving a geometrical abstract play with the intersection of lines emerging from beams of lines, placed on each side of a sheet of paper. Therefore, the tri-dimensional object depended upon the drawing. It translated the passage from line to volume. The material was no longer exclusively plastics. As he had done for earlier creations, Gnass used diverse materials for his sculptures (wood and plastic; stainless steel; steel and acrylic).[19] Gnass revised, once more, his definition of the sculptural object: "Un refus de l'objet sculptural correspondant à l'esthétique émotionelle de l'artiste, un refus de la création de l'objet ornemental développé selon des principes à la base sensuels et perceptifs."[20]

In fact, another source of influence came into play in Gnass' new creations: his public art projects, particularly those for the subway and for Viger Square. The first instance consisted of a project of art integrated with architecture. The second one involved creating a complete environment, a park, rather than simply putting objects into that place, as was usually the case. These projects involved architects' drawings from which the object "emerged," as did Gnass' Progression sur deux

perspectives. More fundamentally, they led Gnass to question sculpture as such. For the playground in Viger Square, the artist had to do several plans, drawings, and a model. Some time after the artist was awarded the commission, his role was described as follows:

> Conscient que sa liberté créatrice s'étendait autant au nivellement du sol qu'aux jeux pour enfants, aux sentiers à tracer, qu'à la mise en place du gazon, des arbres, des bancs publics, etc., au dessin des formes sculpturales, qu'à leur mise en place concrète. . . . L'artiste s'approprie ici le rôle de dessinateur, paysagiste et architecte: il emprunte à diverses disciplines mais il ne les épouse pas; il agrandit tout simplement son champ d'exploration et demeure avant tout sculpteur.[21]

The description was in keeping with Gnass' contractual constraints and freedom (see chapter on Viger Square). Nonetheless, Gnass then no longer defined himself as a sculptor, but rather as an "artiste-concepteur,"[22] the very idiom used in his contract for Viger Square. Circa 1975, Gnass joined painters Claude Goulet, Marcelle Ferron and architect Jean-Pierre Bourque to promote "l'Aménagement Environnemental" (design of the environment) by multi-disciplinary artists. Those artists wanted to work in close collaboration with architects, engineers, builders and investors: "Aujourd'hui, le besoin de se réaliser davantage, les pousse à vouloir travailler sur des projets plus importants, à élaborer ensemble l'aménagement de vaste [sic] espaces dans la ville."[23] This association, not well documented, did not produce milestone projects. Actually, Gnass' detailed résumés do not mention a single project that would have resulted from it.

In 1977, Gnass developed the "Progression" concept into a solo exhibition held at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Une sculpture environnementale de Peter Gnass. He created the masterpiece, an environmental sculpture, especially for the museum. It was presented as an ephemeral object, created for a specific moment and a specific room.

Substituting the museum room for the sheet of paper, Gnass used metal pieces, wires, tubes and luminous neon as perspective lines drawn into the space. The structure in the room was a verification of his drawings, according to Gnass. Drawings and photographs completed the exhibition. The photographs in particular reveal that the artist had gone beyond the theoretical and abstract research done in his studio. He presented photographs of lines visible in the environment: old telephone posts with lines running from one to the other; roadside fences with their cables, white lines painted on the road. With the benefit of hindsight, the strong influence from the land artists is detectable.

This environmental sculpture also marked a milestone in the way the artist approached his work. Until the Topologs, Gnass was plainly experiencing the materials and creating from their possibilities. After that, Gnass started (coincidentally after his work for the playground in Viger Square) to work from a concept, choosing from it the best suitable material to express his idea. Minimalist artists who, for the last ten years, had tried to modify their environment, influenced Gnass' work. The discourse about his work was also adopting the 'environmentalist' language: the beams were creating "lieux-rencontres" (meeting places), the sculpture was now environmental.[24]

In addition, in 1977, Gnass was among the artists who joined in the 03.23.03 Premières Rencontres Internationales d'Art Contemporain organized jointly by the art magazine Parachute and the Institute of Contemporary Art. Moreover, he organized with his associates of "l'Aménagement Environnemental" a short Expo-Rencontre at the Méridien hotel, in downtown Montréal. He was also selected, along with four other Québec artists, to create and show his work for the second edition of the exhibition L'Art dans la rue. The event, organized and sponsored by the tobacco company Benson and Hedges, was initiated in

1976 in the context of the Olympic Games. The artists created works of art that were exhibited on commercial billboards, at three crossroads in downtown Montréal. Artists selected by Benson and Hedges were well known in the art milieu and highly rated.[25]

In 1978, during three weeks, Gnass worked at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art with sculptor Sol LeWitt, the same sculptor Bill Vazan had exhibited with in 1971 (see below). That year, LeWitt had a retrospective exhibition at the museum. LeWitt belonged, with Robert Morris, Donald Judd and Carl Andre, to the core of the first generation of Minimal artists, according to Edward Lucie-Smith. Minimal artists rejected the symbolic function of sculpture, as well as monuments. In Lucie-Smith's words, "Minimalism's business is solely with the aesthetic perceptions of the individual and with the philosophical background to these."[26] LeWitt was "interested in creating sequences of form which can be infinitely extended or expanded."[27] Referring to LeWitt's writings, the museum magazine presented him as a conceptual artist, explaining what conceptual art was about. LeWitt's interest in the cube and in geometric figures was also highlighted. Gnass' working experience with LeWitt, even though not very long, marked this time as an important event in his career, as did his encounter with the ideas at the base of Minimal and Conceptual art.[28]

Towards the end of the 1970s, Gnass also exhibited a sculpture in the precincts of the recently renovated Cours Le Royer condominiums, located in Old Montréal (see chapter six).[29] In addition, Gnass' work was again part of a group exhibition organized by the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970. That itinerant exhibition presented one piece each of fifteen sculptors from Québec. The exhibit aimed to show the creativity of modern Québec sculpture.[30] Gnass was also part of the group exhibition at the Museum of

Contemporary Art, Tendances actuelles au Québec, where he presented Key-West, an installation made of three main components: a wood and plastic structure, completed by five drawings and a photograph of Key-West. The drawings and the construction of the objects in space were made from the photograph. Gnass had continued to explore optical phenomena, and after the perspective, he created anamorphosis. He projected and painted from a privileged viewpoint a coloured--in this case yellow--polygon on a tri-dimensional structure, a re-constituted quay. For Christiane Chassay, Gnass was questioning once more the perception of space and of its structure. He was de-constructing the three dimensions of the structure by superimposing a painted yellow polygon, flat, on the structure. It was possible to discern the polygon only from a particular viewpoint. Chassay referred to Gnass' piece as an illustration of a new tendency in Québec contemporary sculpture. Some sculptors (Gnass, Pierre Granche, Claude Tousignant) were showing an interest in the elaboration and structure of a new space. Chassay identified the origin of the manifestation of such an interest in the structure of space in artists Pierre Granche's and Claude Tousignant's work shown at Forum '76, an exhibition held at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. She overlooked the much earlier work by William Vazan presented there at the Survey 69 exhibition. Similarly, the architectonic aspect of Gnass' work reminded critic René Viau of the absence of Melvin Charney, and of his recent research about radical architecture.[31] Also in 1978, the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art and the Canada Council Art Bank each acquired one of Gnass' pieces, with a photograph and drawings. That same year, the major Québec engineering firm Lavalin, reputed for acquiring contemporary Québec art, also bought three works created in 1975 in the context of the exhibition Progression sur deux perspectives. However in 1978, the artist did not have a single exhibition in an art gallery. The

situation of progressive art galleries in Montréal was then very difficult: four important galleries had to close in 1978, and in the Spring of 1979 others were about to move or substantially reduce their activities. Some artists had resolved to show their work in their studio. Therefore, in 1979, Gnass and his wife Sylvie Guimont, frustrated of waiting for exhibitions to arrive, resolved to exhibit their work, for a week, in their apartment/studio, i.e., in their loft.[32]

In December 1979, the Québec Government attributed to Peter Gnass the Québec studio located in the Cité internationale des arts de Paris. The year 1980, spent in France, was an extremely creative one for Peter Gnass. He had the opportunity to develop and carry through several projects of ephemeral installations. He had a solo exhibition in the autumn of 1980 at the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris. Peter Gnass Installation– chantier interdit au public presented some of these realizations, as well as some elements "found" in Paris, from which the forbidden construction site was elaborated.[33] In continuity with his Key-West installation presented in 1978, Gnass either drew, painted or projected a polygonal surface, with colour, light or neon, from a privileged viewpoint, on a tri-dimensional support. That substratum was either a small hexagon placed in a room, or a lintel, a building, a line of trees in a street, a car. With these projects, Gnass went a step further in working in/with the environment. At the 1977 and 1978 exhibitions in Montréal, he had presented some photographs of elements (lines, posts, fences, a key) to be found in the environment. In his Parisian creations, he projected, drew or painted surfaces directly in the environment or planned to do so (as demonstrated by some of his drawings). According to Pierre Restany, Gnass was using space as a basic material:

> Peter Gnass completely creates the environmental support by partly using pre-existing architectural data, and by setting up a series of objective situations (excavations, embankments, a stack of beams, stones and all sorts of found objects) which are meant to determine the conditions of the projection and of the metamorphosis, the data for an interior and an exterior reading.[34]

While in France, Gnass presented his work in salons, where he received some prizes. He won the DAUM and the Adam prizes for an outdoor installation created for the XXXVII Salon de la Jeune Sculpture held in Paris in 1980, and he received the 1980 sculpture prize for the XXV Salon de Montrouge 1980. He got a positive fallout from his Parisian stay as well. In 1981, he presented two installations in Brussels, took part in the XXVI Salon de Montrouge and presented both an exhibition and an outside installation (worked out in 1980) at the American Center in Paris. Concomitantly, Gnass exhibited in Canada (University of Toronto, Centre culturel de Sherbrooke, Québec, Art Gallery of the University of Moncton).[35]

At the American Center, the three other artists who exhibited with Gnass also presented installations. Those artists' work was described as being influenced by Minimal art. From then on, sculptors were acting directly on the environment, no longer creating objects that would clutter it up. Moreover, their relation to walls, to architecture, had changed:

> Utiliser les murs, pour ces artistes, ce n'est pas revenir aux graffiti, à la fresque, ils ne se mesurent pas au mur en tant que surface mais en tant qu'architecture. S'ils utilisent les murs, c'est pour déconstruire un bâtiment qui a une fonction précise, une façade, une apparence. . . . l'artiste se soucie à nouveau de la structure du lieu, après y avoir longtemps déposé des sculptures qui se suffisaient à elles-mêmes.[36]

Moreover, Gnass himself admitted having revisited the necessity to create a permanent work of art: "Auparavant, j'essayais d'atteindre à la permanence de mon oeuvre. Plus maintenant."[37]

In 1982, Gnass exhibited in Montréal at Michel Tetreault art gallery. He also had exhibitions in museums and art centres throughout Canada, including in Montréal, at the Museum of Contemporary Art. Gnass had often been selected by the Montréal museum to represent tendencies either in sculpture or in art in general (group exhibitions), or to present his recent work in solo or duo. He was chosen again, with nine other artists, for the itinerant exhibition Repères Quebec art now. With Repères..., the Museum aimed at assessing the artistic production that took place in Québec during the 1970s. It selected artists who asserted themselves during that era. The exhibition did not focus on tendencies or disciplines, but rather on artists who had kept an interest in doing quality research, as well as shown a capacity to renew their artistic interest. Therefore, artists chosen had acquired a certain stature and had already been in the field for some years, but not too many.[38] Some of the selected artists had been part of Québec 75. The interest and peculiar aspect of Peter Gnass' work (as of Serge Tousignant's) resided in the fact that he deconstructed the reality of an image. He made visible in this image both his intervention and the product of his intervention. The illusion of the image, as well as its deconstruction, were given as readable in the image. Gnass' work, like that of Tousignant, demonstrated a critical attitude in art.[39] Peter Gnass' contribution to Repères Quebec art now included an original installation, as well as some drawings of proposals to project polygons on buildings in Paris (1980).

In 1983, he had a solo exhibition, Reality-Fiction, at the contemporary art gallery Optica (Montréal), which was well received by the local arts media. Gnass pursued his Parisian visual experiments, but this time with a Montréal neighbourhood, Milton-Park, and its buildings as a substratum. He exhibited photographs of some of these projects, which constituted an anamnesis, "a recall of the recent past."[40] For Louise

Poissant, Reality-Fiction was "an installation in which sculpture, architecture and photography meet in search for a space to share."[41] This time, Gnass did not create art in the city, but introduced into the gallery, as artistic material, the city and its vernacular architecture. The artist's play with perception was "plastic", conceptual, but a-politic and a-historic. Rather than deposit a sculpture on a plaza, in front of buildings, as he had done in his early exhibitions, he deposited elements of architecture into the room of an art gallery. In both cases, the relation to the context was absent. The whole offered, in Poissant's view, "a definition of sculpture as a multi-media art form."[42]

As he had done with his 1970 Topolog, Gnass exploited the idea of anamorphosis in various formats, including public art. In 1982-83, he created a permanent installation on the principle of his anamorphosis projects, this time in the context of the 1% for art provincial programme. In 1983, Gnass presented yet another installation based on the same idea, with references to his earlier Parisian and Montréal works. In addition, he took part in competitions for museums.[43] 1984 was yet another milestone for Gnass. With the presentation of a solo exhibition at the art gallery Michel Tetreault art contemporain, Gnass went beyond the façade of the perception of objects/installation/environment, to address the question of meaning. By using mixed media, he also went over the paradigm of modernist works of art, according to Louise Poissant. Poissant, who again wrote the text to present the exhibition, affirmed that the whole of OBSCUR/SUSPECT went between the "exigence de sens/menace de perte."[44] According to Poissant, Gnass linked each piece with a requirement for meaning. At the same time, the artist risked loosing his own expression via the public's and critics' own understanding of that meaning. Most of the drawings and sculptures exhibited referred to Gnass' childhood in Germany during the Second World War. However,

the artist's past was also linked to his present and his position on nuclear weapons. This made the content of the exhibition socially committed, reflexive, a break-through from his previous interests. Contrary to his former installations, Gnass had put into a room modern artefacts that did not relate to the space of the gallery. He used immediately accessible materials to express remembrances from a far away past.[45]

In 1984, Gnass was also one of the thirteen sculptors--including Michel Goulet--who attended the Rendez-vous International sculpture 84 held in Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, Québec. Following the theme that pertained to architecture and sculpture, Gnass constructed an annex to an existing building, using the same materials, same painted grey concrete blocks. To this anonymous work, the artist superimposed his signature, that is a polygon painted in pink, visible as such from a unique standpoint. As a professor, Gnass attended--along with fellow professors, artists as well as theoreticians--an academic colloquium about research and teaching in art. In this context he exhibited at the UQAM art gallery, with three other professors from three other universities. Once again, Gnass worked with a (pink) neon polygon, laid on a scaffolding, and included a monitor in its installation. The shape of the polygon appeared perfectly on the screen. However, the viewer could not find the viewpoint to reconstitute the anamorphosis. Gnass had chosen a video camera, hung near the ceiling, as his privileged viewpoint. Plans, drawings, and pictures completed the installation.[46] According to Gnass' résumé, he exhibited in 1985 at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art's commemorative exhibition, Les 20 ans du Musée. This is doubtful, since he is not listed in the catalogue, except as an artist whose work had been collected by the Museum. It is, however, on the scene of public art that Gnass left his imprint more permanently that year.

The 1980s marked for Peter Gnass a foray into the provincial programme of art integrated with architecture. Whereas his former works of public art had been commissions awarded directly to the artist, Gnass started--despite his former threat not to do so!--to take part in competitions. As can be seen from table 8, he was selected regularly between 1982 and 1990. He won the competitions with his first proposals, all sculptures, but he did not with the last ones. He was competing with artists such as Armand Vaillancourt, Jacques Huet, Michel Goulet, Rose-Marie Goulet, and Pierre Granche.

Two of Gnass' works created in the context of the provincial programme were inaugurated in 1985. One resulted from the new 1981 programme, whereas the other one did not. In Laval (Québec), Gnass created a sculpture of monumental dimensions in front of a building of the Québec Government, an environment laboratory (Laboratoire de l'environnement). That work of art was the result of a recent commission obtained after a competition in the context of the 1%. The work had in fact two distinct locations. First, at a certain distance from the building façade, the formal element included segments of elevations, stairways and columns, built in various heights and of various materials (brick, concrete). The part of the site in that area of the sculpture is a landscaped one. There, according to Louise Déry, Gnass was reinterpreting the forms of the building. Secondly, in the border and on the floor of the hallway, Gnass drew a set of lines with bricks that were partly a projection, on the ground and on the floor, of the building elevations. For Déry, Gnass was therefore remaking the whole site in that second part.[47]

Most of all, the Summer of 1985 marked the official opening of Viger Square, some ten years after Gnass was awarded his commission. Since then he had referred to the project on several occasions, always boasting to be totally in charge, to be a substitute to the architect and

landscape architect, to be an "artiste-concepteur." His description of his involvement on the project led one to believe that, since he was contractually in charge of the design of the playground, he had conceived and chosen everything, including benches, trees, trash cans.[48] Even before the project was completed, the reaction was totally negative. Few, if any, negative comments came from the art milieu. Art critics, who, on the basis of the maquette, had praised in anticipation both the project and the new role of the artist, simply ignored the work. However, some people from the architecture domain dared to comment negatively. If Gnass' park was not appraised as harshly as Daudelin's was, the re-construction of a children's park, without the mature trees, and in a neighbourhood emptied of its children, remained inexcusable.[49]

Gnass replied that it was not professional to criticize "une oeuvre non terminée et encore en chantier en ce moment."[50] Praise was acceptable before the completion of the work, but not a negative critique. The artist alleged technical constraints, seemingly forgetting that those were the architects' lot. Even now, Gnass is unapologetic about his acceptance of the commission and of his role in the whole venture. As for the lack of children in the neighbourhood, the artist maintains that the park was created "for big kids," e.g., teenagers, rather than small kids. He asserts: "I think it could have served its purpose of inviting youngsters to play in it, not kids, really. There was a sand box too, of course, why not?"[51] Gnass also defends his design forcefully, claiming, first that he was obliged, during the construction, to accept "equivalent" materials that he would not have selected, and second, that it was the City's lack of maintenance that brought the park to its actual state of neglect.[52]

During the post-Viger-Square-years (1986-92), Gnass continued to exhibit in private art galleries[53] and in regional museums in Québec.[54] In 1988 and 1989, he took part in group exhibitions to support art institutions:

the Museum of Contemporary Art and the art magazine Espace (the latter held at Galerie F. Palardy in Montréal and where Bill Vazan was also represented). In 1987, Gnass went to Martinique, where he had one of his sculptures permanently installed in front of a building.[55]

In 1987, his new work, shown at Christiane Chassay gallery, included three mini-installations, Dolio, Hermine L. and Andrea, and addressed the poetic of Ulysse's world, i.e., of travelling. The installations dealt with the sailors' universe: water, trips, ships, lighthouses, violence. Gnass being an old sea dog, the exhibition was in keeping with the precedent one, OBSCUR/SUSPECT (1984), as both were linked to the artist's life. For art critic Gilles Daigneault, that new exhibition could possibly be understood as a self-portrait.[56] In his 1989 exhibition (once more with his wife Sylvie Guimont) at the 4040 Saint-Laurent in Montréal, Gnass again presented installations that included photographs, inspired by the sea and sailing. This time, he extended his interest to nature and the environment.[57] Finally, Gnass' work was presented at the Museum of Contemporary Art, for one of the two opening exhibitions in its new building. Gnass was not, contrary to Melvin Charney, among the few Québec artists of international reputation who exhibited with other well known world-wide (Alfredo Jaar, Giuseppe Penonne, Jeff Wall) in the international exhibition of actual art, entitled Pour la suite du Monde. Gnass' piece was, instead, in the second exhibition, La Collection: tableau inaugural, that presented over three hundreds works of art, or 10% of the actual museum collection. Also in 1992, Gnass was among the twelve artists who presented some work for Violence – The deadly seduction. Organized by the Société d'esthétique du Québec and with Louise Poissant as curator, the exhibition was held at UQAM in the context of the 11th World Congress on violence and human coexistence.[58]

After 1992...

Towards the end of 1992, Peter Gnass and Sylvie Guimont bought a disused tannery/boiler room in southern France. Interested by a former industrial municipality's effort to attract artists as a way to revive its economy via tourism, Gnass and Guimont have been living there three to four months a year, working at setting up lofts and exhibition space in their old industrial structure.[59] Dividing the rest of his time between Montréal and the sea (sailing), Gnass, if inspired by the vagrant and sailor's life, has nonetheless been less active on an artistic level. However, he managed to exhibit some of his work, often past realizations, even accepting a commission for the stage curtain for the theatre of the Montréal Casino. He has also worked at establishing new contacts in Europe, where he now spends most of his time.[60]

Conclusion

Gnass entered the artistic field in Québec at the time Claude Théberge did. Contrary to Daudelin and Théberge, Gnass did not have a theoretical or "idealistic" view regarding art integrated with architecture or art as a means to improve the urban environment. He started as a painter and switched to sculpture because it was the easiest way for evolving in the art field. That newly autonomous field of sculpture was not saturated yet. Gnass' interest in sculpture was concomitant to that of other artists in the western world.

If Gnass' talent as a painter was not acclaimed by the art critics, he was cherished by them for his sculptural work. Not only were his exhibitions or protests covered by the media, his artistic work was critically

acclaimed. But critics were expecting sculpture and welcomed sculptural work positively. During the 1961-76 period, while Théberge continued to create murals (though he eventually ceased to do so for lack of commissions), Gnass created only a few murals but did not do so for ideological reasons. He was capable of switching to sculpture and of creating monumental pieces. Hence, after having exhibited his own sculpture in newly created modern venues (Place Ville-Marie and Place des Arts) he got quite easily other commissions for public sculpture. Furthermore, Gnass' active involvement in Québec Sculptors Association allowed him to take part in several events that promoted sculpture and also to exhibit in State museums.

The Québec Sculptors Association served as a vehicle for Gnass in his journey in the field of sculpture, but it was not the reason for his success. There were several other sculptors in the field, but Gnass succeeded in being chosen for major events (such as the Symposium of sculpture in Alma, Expo 67). The Topologs were created while he was active in the Association, and they accounted for much of Gnass' success.

Gnass' early sculpture was monumental (as opposed to Daudelin's) but later he created smaller works, when he started to experiment with resins and plastics. Like Daudelin and Théberge, Gnass was interested in doing research on materials and technology. As in the case of Daudelin, the result of this research was so well received by the critics that it helped in establishing Gnass' reputation as a young artist. At the same time, he was exploring the world of "after sculpture" or of sculpture as an environment, not necessarily an art object. However, his works of art were still objects in that they could be sold; they were indeed acquired by private and public collections, including museums.

Gnass accepted commissions for public art, mostly sculpture, from private or public organizations. Several of those commissions were for

works of art to adorn modernist projects (Place des Arts, shopping centres, La Maison de Radio-Canada, subway stations, expressways). In 1976, Gnass was acclaimed as a leading sculptor by the institutionalized art milieu and took part in a retrospective exhibition in the context of Montréal's Olympic Games (as did Daudelin). At the same time, he was taking what seems to be a radical break from his previous work by presenting drawings in space as works of art.

But the rupture may not have been that radical: Gnass accepted to create works of art for billboards, he exhibited sculpture for Cours Le Royer, and the commissions he accepted in the context of the provincial programme of integrated art were for murals and sculptures. It seems, however, that Gnass' latest public works of art (subway stations and Viger Square) influenced the art forms he created, to the point of questioning the role of sculpture as such. As Daudelin before him, Gnass wanted to explore the architect's, landscape architect's and urban planner's domains, but the fiasco of Viger Square, and Gnass' uncompromising defence of the project may have cut short this new orientation. It is worth noting that Gnass was not at the avant-garde (as will be evidenced in the next chapter about Bill Vazan), but was rather adapting his practice to the leading art of the time (minimal art, ephemeral art, land art).

It did not take Gnass very long to see his work included in museums and major public collections (as compared to Daudelin, for instance). Gnass entered the artistic field in Québec at the time new art institutions were being created and organized for artists (see chapter 3). His rapid success in museums confirms Rochlitz' claim that the time it takes for artists to be acclaimed by museums has grown shorter in past decades. Also, it illustrates Rochlitz' claim that museums help to shape artists' career and contribute to their consecration. Lavalin acquired

Gnass' works of art at the time he was working on the Viger Square project; by then, Gnass was a consecrated artist.

When, in 1980, Gnass spent a year in Paris working on ephemeral installations, that artistic trend had been going on for some time. Gnass continued to work on "architecture" and in the environment. From creating murals, Gnass went on to propose ephemeral projections on walls. His itinerary within the artistic field was complex. In 1983 he selected Milton-Park to create his works of art, after the most intense period of protest by residents to save that neighbourhood (see chapter 6). However, his creations were a-political: he did not criticize what had happened in Milton-Park or any other urban renewal project. As well, he did not take the urban context into account for the creation of Reality-Fiction (1987). That context had always been absent from Gnass' creations, despite the fact that he was working in the environment. Finally, Gnass' role as an entrepreneur in the French loft business was highlighted, as it is another indication that the artist took advantage of urban development, and never sought to protest against it. His only form of protest was a demand for greater subsidies.

It was not until 1984 (one year before the official opening of Viger Square) that the era of modernist works of art was over for Gnass. Gnass' creativity during the period that followed Viger Square (1986-92) and his modernist creations was less forceful. If, in 1976, Gnass was the cherished sculptor of the Museum of Contemporary Art, by 1992, his importance was all but relative. Melvin Charney, who was decried by the Museum's Authorities in the mid-seventies (see chapter 5), was among the few Canadian artists with an international reputation who were invited for the opening of the new museum (see chapter 7). Gnass was not part of the group.

[1] Gnass exhibited in 1960 at the City Hall in Ste-Dorothée (PQ), and in 1961 at McGill University. Peter Gnass' résumé, artist's file no. 1112D at the Médiathèque of the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art. Musée d'art contemporain, Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-70 (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1970), 37; Musée d'art contemporain, Trois générations d'art québécois 1940 1950 1960 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1976), 93-94; Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970 (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1977), 19-20; Alain Hogue, "Omniprésence de la lumière dans l'oeuvre de Peter Gnass," Le Soleil, 21 February 1970, p. 44; Luc Benoit, "Peter Gnass: construire avec la lumière," Vie des arts, no. 60 (Fall 1970): 48; Musée d'art contemporain, Progressions Peter Gnass (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1977), n. p.; Musée d'art contemporain, Repères art actuel du Québec/Quebec Art Now (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1982), 39; Optica, "communiqué de presse," no date, 1 page (for the exhibition held at Optica 18 January- 5 February 1983); Peter Gnass, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 October 1998.

[2] In Guy Robert, there is a picture of Peter Gnass' sculpture, set in the Place des Arts plaza. Refer to MAC, Progressions Peter Gnass, to see 1- a picture of the sculpture (which no longer exists) presented in Alma; 2- the model of the sculpture August 67; 3- a reproduction of the caricature of the sculpture, that was published in a local newspaper. August 67 was loaned for free to the City of Montréal. After the exhibition, the City stored it in a warehouse, where it was left to rust. Then, without the artist's permission, someone at the City applied a thick coat of black paint. Gnass sued the City for having rendered a sculpture that "spoke and breathed" into a "silent and inert" object. Québec Superior Court awarded him the full value of his work, $8,000.00 plus interests. See "Sculpture's coat to cost city," Montreal Star, 6 June 1974; P. V., "En dommages Montréal paiera $8,000 au sculpteur Peter Gnass," Le Devoir, 13 June 1974, p. 14. See also Peter Gnass' résumé; MAC, Panorama, 37; MAC, Trois générations, 93; Guy Robert, L'art au Québec depuis 1940 (Montréal: La Presse, 1973), 288; Invitation card to "Peter Gnass" a solo exhibition of sculptures held at Galerie Jolliet, 11 Place Royale, Québec City, from 17 February to 7 March 1970; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, 20, 27-28; François Laurin, "Peter Gnass de la ligne à l'environnement," Vie des arts 21, no. 83 (Summer 1976): 44; Serge Fisette, Symposiums de sculpture au Québec 1964-1997 (n. p.: Centre de Diffusion 3D, 1997), 33; "Six sculpteurs attirent l'attention sur un procès qu'ils ont intenté à la ville d'Alma," Le Soleil, 29 November 1972, p. 29; Gnass, interview by author; "Jan Menses (génial), Peter Gnass (facile) et

les 'arts et métiers contemporains du Japon'," La Presse, 17 July 1965, p. 22.

[3] Benoit, "Peter Gnass: construire avec la lumière," 48-49; Gnass, interview by author ; Hogue, "Omniprésence de la lumière," p. 44; "Au Grand Théâtre Exposition d'oeuvres du sculpteur Peter Gnass," Le Soleil, 23 December 1971, p. 14; Terry Kirkman and Judy Heviz, "Three art exhibits staged together under one roof," Montreal Star, 5 November 1970, Final ed., p. 49.

[4] Normand Thériault, "Un spectacle, une sculpture," La Presse, 21 November 1970, p. D 14.

[5] Ibid.; MAC, Trois générations, 65, including a photograph of Lumenstructure no. 8; MAC, Panorama, 179, 184, 192; see p. 179 for a photograph of Lumenstructure no. 13; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, 7, 19; MAC, Progressions Peter Gnass; Peter Gnass Installation-Chantier interdit au public (Paris: Canadian Cultural Centre, 1980), 16 pages; Hogue, "Omniprésence de la lumière," p. 44.

[6] Christian Allègre, "Formes pour partir et autres," Le Devoir, 28 November 1970, p. 13; Kirkman, "Three art exhibits staged together under one roof," p. 49; Irene Heywood, "Double sculpture show breath-taking," Gazette, 14 November 1970, p. 45; Françoise Cournoyer, "Une sculpture 'environnementale' de Peter Gnass," Ateliers 6, no. 2 (15 September-27 November 1977): 3; Catherine Bates, "In the galleries Montreal," Artscanada 28, no. 1/152-53 (February-March 1971): 62; Thériault, "Un spectacle, une sculpture," p. D 14; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, 7; MAC, Quebec Art Now, 39.

[7] 11e Biënnale Middelheim Antwerpen (Middelheim, 1971), 54-55; "Au Grand Théâtre Exposition d'oeuvres du sculpteur Peter Gnass," p. 14; MAC, Quebec Art Now, 39; Robert, L'art au Québec, 416; Louiselle Tremblay, "L'exposition 'Aspects de la sculpture québécoise': Un condensé des tendances manifestées des dernières années dans cet art," Le Progrès-Dimanche (Chicoutimi, PQ), 19 March 1972, p. 46; Le Soleil, 14 January 1972, p. 24.

[8] Peter Gnass' résumés; invitation card to the exhibition "Peter Gnass," at Galerie Jolliet, Place Royale, Québec City; Henri Barras, Sculpteurs du Québec (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, Musée d'art contemporain, 1968); MAC, Panorama, 37; Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-70 (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1970); MAC, Trois générations, 94; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, 27.

[9] The pieces were Topolog in 1973 and in 1976, P2PT4 Tableau, P2PT5 Tableau, and P2P1 Sculpture. Peter Gnass' résumé; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, 19, 27; MAC, Panorama (Montréal),

37; MAC, Trois générations, 93-94; MAC, Progressions Peter Gnass; Invitation card, Galerie Jolliet, 1970.

[10] Gnass was invited in 1971 at UQAM. Otherwise, he taught at University of Ottawa from 1973 to 1984, except in 1980, when he was in sabbatical in Paris. He received various grants from the Canada Council for the Arts, in 1971, 1972, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991. Gnass received grants in 1976, 1977,1979, 1981,1984, 1986, 1988, 1989 from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Peter Gnass, "Manifestation solitaire Québec 15-16-17 mai 1973 Peter Gnass vs ministère des aff. Culturelles." From the artist's file at the Médiathèque. Peter Gnass' résumé (stops in 1991); "Peter Gnass explose," Le Soleil, 17 May 1973, p. 62; "François Cloutier est incapable d'assumer les responsabilités du ministère," L'Action, 19 May 1973, p. 9; Gilles Toupin, "Pour un carnet d'expositions: Marta Pan, Koenig et Le Corbusier," La Presse, 24 May 1973, p. C 2; MAC, Panorama (Montréal), 37; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, 19, 27; MAC, Trois générations, 93-94; Hogue, "Omniprésence de la lumière," p. 44.

[11] Pierre Dupuis, "Les arts à la maison de Radio-Canada," Vie des arts 18, no. 73 (Winter 1973-74): 78-79; MAC, Quebec Art Now, 39.

[12] Peter Gnass' résumé; Métro de Montréal L'Art dans le métro: Technical data from the Montréal Urban Community Transport Commission (MUCTC); "Rue St-Paul Gnass: artiste concepteur," Le Droit (Ottawa), 27 September 1976, p. 15; Laurin, "Peter Gnass de la ligne à l'environnement," 44; René Viau, "Un métro sans graffiti," Vie des arts 23, no. 94 (Spring 1979): 16-21; René Viau, "Couleur et lumière: un métro sans graffiti," La Presse, 23 September 1978, p. D 26. Both Gnass and Théberge were commissioned for works of art in the southwest extension of the subway, which opened in 1978.

[13] Peter Gnass' résumé; Hélène Pagé from the Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, report "Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture Programmation 1979-1982 Liste des projets" (n. p., December 1981), 44 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1981-1982 du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, April 1982), 24 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1982-1983 du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, June 1983), 25 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1983-1984 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts et du cadre de vie, May

1984), 32 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1984-1985 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, September 1985), 38 pages; "Bilan des opérations Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec 1985-1986" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, June 1986), 53 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1986-1987" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes, July 1987), 46 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1987-1988" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes Secrétariat à l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, August 1988), 29 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1988-1989" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1989), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan des opérations 1989-1990" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1990), 41 pages; Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" incl. Bilan 1990-91 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991), 83 pages; Affaires culturelles, "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1991-1992" (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1992), 55 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1992-1993" (n. p: Ministère de la Culture, Direction de l'aide aux artistes, aux arts visuels et aux métiers d'art, 1993), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1993-1994" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1994), 32 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1994-1995" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1995), 43 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1995-1996" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1996), 44 pages; "Bilan 1996-1997 L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1998), n. p.

[14] According to Gnass' résumé, in 1982, the artist created a sculpture for the nursing home Laurent Bergevin, Île Perrot, and in 1983, he was involved in the construction of a park at that same place.

[15] Fernande Saint-Martin, "Introduction" in MAC, Trois générations, 16.

[16] Robert, L'art au Québec, 395-417.
[17] "Progression sur deux perspectives" was presented at the Galerie Gilles Corbeil in Montréal. Gnass also exhibited at Galerie Jolliet in Québec City. Gilles Toupin, "Peter Gnass: un clin d'oeil à l'oeil trompé," La Presse, 24 January 1976, p. D 20; Laurin, "Peter Gnass de la ligne à l'environnement," 44; Robert, L'art au Québec, 416-17; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, 7.
[18] Peter Gnass took part in two exhibitions organized by the MAC: Trois générations d'art québécois 1940 1950 1960 held at the MAC during the 1976 Olympic Games in Montréal, and Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970, a 1978 itinerant exhibition. MAC, Trois générations; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970.
[19]Toupin, "Un clin d'oeil à l'oeil trompé," p. D 20; Laurin, "Peter Gnass de la ligne à l'environnement," 44; David Burnett, "Peter Gnass: Progression sur deux perspectives/Galerie Gilles Corbeil January 15-February 4," Artscanada 33, no. 1/204-205 (April-May 1976): 55; MAC, Progressions Peter Gnass.
[20] Laurin, "Peter Gnass de la ligne à l'environnement," 44.
[21] Ibid.
[22] "Rue St-Paul Gnass: artiste concepteur," p. 15.
[23] "L'Aménagement Environnemental par des artistes multi-disciplinaires," Le Devoir, 6 June 1977, p. 14.
[24] Cournoyer, "Une sculpture 'environnementale' de Peter Gnass," 3; see also Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, "Communiqué," 6 September 1977, 1 p.; René Viau, "Peter Gnass: une structure éphémère à grandeur de la salle," La Presse, 24 September 1977, p. D 20; MAC, Progressions Peter Gnass.
[25] In 1976, Edmond Alleyn, Marcel Bellerive, Claude Girard, Denise Juneau, and Jean-Paul Mousseau were selected. In 1977, Marcelin Cardinal, Peter Gnass, Jacques Hurtubise, Jocelyn Jean, and Robert Savoie were invited to create a piece. The works of art were located in the following areas of Montréal: Crescent and St. Catherine Streets (Gnass' location); Saint-Antoine near Place d'Armes; Sherbrooke and de Bleury Streets. Angèle Dagenais, "L'Art sur panneaux-réclames," Le Devoir, 29 July 1977, p. 8; Monique Mathieu, "L'Art descend dans la rue," Montréal-Matin, 9 August 1977; "L'Aménagement Environnemental par des artistes multi-disciplinaires," p. 14; Peter Gnass' résumé.
[26] Edward Lucie-Smith, Sculpture since 1945 (London: Phaidon Press, 1987), 80.
[27] Ibid., 113.
[28] Peter Gnass' résumé; Gnass, interview by author; Timothy Kilbourn, "Sol Le Witt," Ateliers 6, no. 6 (September-October 1978): 4-5.

[29] That specific event is dated 1978 and 1980 in Gnass' résumé. It is dated 1980 in the catalogue Chantier interdit au public, p. 15; Gnass, interview by author.
[30] The exhibition was in Sept-Iles in 1979, according to Gnass' résumé; MAC, Tendances de la sculpture québécoise 1960-1970.
[31] Among the six artists presented in this part of the thesis, Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass, Michel Goulet and Bill Vazan took part in the exhibition Tendances actuelles au Québec. Viau could not help but mention the absence of Charney at the exhibition. Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances actuelles au Québec (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1980); Lise Lamarche, "Tendances actuelles au Québec: La Sculpture," Ateliers 7, no. 3-4 (April-May 1979): 5-6; Gilles Toupin, "Les voies incertaines de notre sculpture," La Presse, 23 December 1978, p. B 20; René Viau, "Tendances actuelles: 2ème et dernier volet," Le Devoir, 30 December 1978, p. 16; Christiane Chassay, "La Problématique de l'espace chez Peter Gnass," Ateliers 7, no. 6 (September-October 1979): 4-5; MAC, Quebec Art Now, 9, 42.
[32] Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, La Collection Lavalin du Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal: Le partage d'une vision (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme and le Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1994), 10, 242; Peter Gnass' résumé; Viau, "Peter Gnass: une structure éphémère à grandeur de la salle," p. D 20; René Viau, "Peter Gnass et Sylvie Guimont: Quand l'atelier devient galerie," Le Devoir, 10 March 1979, p. 19.
[33] Peter Gnass' résumé; "Peter Gnass obtient le studio," La Presse, 13 December 1979, p. B 12; Chantier interdit au public, 2. The exhibition was also presented at the Canadian Cultural and Information Centre Canadian Embassy in Brussels, in January-February 1981. Agenda 1/81, Cultural and Information Centre Canadian Embassy, Brussel, January-February 1981.
[34] Pierre Restany, "Peter Gnass: From Anamorphosis to Metamorphosis," translated by Ann Crepin, in Chantier interdit au public, 9; see also Peter Gnass, Atelier construction-deconstruction, Paris, 1980, 16 pages. It is remarkable that in the Chantier interdit au public catalogue, Gnass' previous works in public places such as murals, are labelled "installations." Also presented in MAC, Quebec Art Now, 37-38.
[35]Peter Gnass' résumé; Madeleine Deschamps, Murs/tensions/lumière (Paris: American Center, 1981), n. p.; Gnass, Atelier construction-deconstruction; Chantier interdit au public, 7, 12, 14.
[36] Deschamps, Murs/tensions/lumière, n. p.

[37] Jean-Claude Vantroyen, "Chantier interdit au public: une installation de Peter Gnass au Centre culturel canadien," Le Soir, 22 January 1981; also, Gnass, interview by author.
[38] A maximum of ten to fifteen years. Repères was presented at the Museum of Contemporary Art from October 26 to December 5, 1982. The exhibition travelled in 1983 and 1984 in Québec City (PQ), St. John (NB), Lethbridge (AB), Victoria (BC), and Halifax (NS). MAC, Quebec Art Now, 2-3, 5-6, 11.
[39] France Gascon, "L'Actualité: Quelques Voix" in MAC, Quebec Art Now, 15-17.
[40] Louise Poissant, "Réalité et Fiction," trans. Serge Bérard, in Peter Gnass Réalité-Fiction/Reality-Fiction (Montréal: Peter Gnass, 1983), 13.
[41] Ibid., 9.
[42] Ibid., 14; see also Optica, "communiqué de presse," no date, one page; Gilles Daigneault, "Expositions/Fictions et réalités," Le Devoir, 22 January 1983, p. 19; Gilles Toupin, "Peter Gnass à Optica Une question de points de vue," La Presse, 29 January 1983, p. B 20.
[43] Musée de la Civilisation, Québec City, and National Aviation Museum, Ottawa. Aménagement avec sculpture at the nursing home Laurent Bergevin, île Perrot. Graham Cantieni, Peter Gnass: une installation (Sherbrooke, PQ: Centre culturel Université de Sherbrooke, 1983); "Bilan des opérations 1982-1983," 12; Peter Gnass' résumé.
[44] Louise Poissant, "Peter Gnass Obscur/Suspect" (Montréal: Michel Tetreault art contemporain, 1984), 2.
[45] Ibid.; Gilles Daigneault, "Martin et Gnass: les mots dans la peinture," Le Devoir, 17 March 1984, p. 31; Jocelyne Lepage, "Peter Gnass Souvenirs d'Allemagne," La Presse, 10 March 1984, p. C 23.
[46] Guy Sioui Durand names the event "Rendez-vous 84, symposium international de sculpture" (p. 298). Peter Gnass' résumé; Fisette, Symposiums de sculpture au Québec 1964-1997, 54-56; Guy Sioui Durand, L'art comme alternative (Québec: Éditions Intervention, 1997), 302; Daniel Morency Dutil, "A Saint-Jean-Port-Joli un rendez-vous de sculpteurs," Vie des arts 29, no. 117 (December 1984, January-February 1985): 30-33; Jocelyne Lepage, "Ayot, Gnass, Granche, Whittome: Certes, l'art est jeu," La Presse, 24 November 1984, p. F 3.
[47] Gnass' résumés; "Bilan des opérations 1984-1985"; Louise Déry, "Interroger le lieu," Vie des arts 30, no. 122 (March 1986): 26.
[48] Laurin, "Peter Gnass de la ligne à l'environnement," 44-45; "L'Aménagement Environnemental par des artistes multi-disciplinaires," p. 14; "Rue St-Paul Gnass: artiste concepteur," p. 15; Lepage, "Peter Gnass Souvenirs d'Allemagne," p. C 23.

[49] Serge Grenier, "L'empire des sens, Promenade, Le parc suspendu," La Presse, 19 November 1983, Plus, p. 2; Serge Grenier, "L'empire des sens, Promenade, Le parc Viger revisité," La Presse, 21 September 1985, Plus, p. 15; Peter Jacobs, "Montreal then and now Flowers give way to concrete in Place Viger," Gazette, 11 August 1984, p. 18; Denis Masse, "Le Prix Citron va au carré Viger et au Quartier chinois," La Presse, 21 December 1984, p. B 8.
[50] Peter Gnass, "Lettre Parc Viger îlot 'C'," Parachute, no. 37 (December 1984, January-February 1985): 52.
[51] Gnass, interview by author.
[52] Ibid.; Gnass, "Lettre Parc Viger îlot 'C'," 52; Lepage, "Peter Gnass Souvenirs d'Allemagne," p. C 23.
[53] In Montréal, at Christiane Chassay in 1986, 1987 (solo), 1988, 1992; at Galerie 13 in 1987; at Galerie John A. Schweitzer in 1987; at Galerie Clark in 1991. In 1991, he was twice in the Ottawa-Hull region: Gallery 1010 in Ottawa (solo) and Galerie Axe Neo-7 in Hull. Peter Gnass' résumé.
[54] Musée de Matane, 1986; at the Musée de Sherbrooke, group exhibition Escapades: A la conquête de la 3e dimension. That 1990 exhibition included mainly installations lent by the Canada Council Art Bank. Peter Gnass' résumé; Rachel Lussier, "Au Musée des beaux-arts de Sherbrooke: Visite au coeur de la troisième dimension," La Tribune (Sherbrooke, PQ), 5 May 1990.
[55] Peter Gnass' résumé.
[56] Gilles Daigneault, "Heureux qui comme Peter," Mtl, April 1987, 62-63; Angèle Dagenais, "Le guide du week-end Arts plastiques," Le Devoir, 20 March 1987, p. 16; Galerie Christiane Chassay, "Communiqué," no date (stamped at the MAC "Reçu Mars 19 1987"), 1 page.
[57] Claire Gravel, "Gnass, Guimont, Lammerich: poésie et théorie des quanta," Le Devoir, 9 December 1989, p. C 11; Louise Poissant, "Peter Gnass morceaux choisis," Espace, no. 24 (Summer 1993): 44-45; Monique Brunet-Weinmann, "Expositions couplées," Vie des arts 35, no. 140 (September 1990): 28.
[58] Marie Laurier, "Pour la suite du Monde Le MAC s'installe au centre-ville le 28 mai," Le Devoir, 22 January 1992, p. B 3; Gilles Godmer and Réal Lussier, Pour la suite du monde Cahier: propos et projets (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1992); Peter Gnass' résumé; Invitation card "Exposition dans le cadre du 11e Congrès mondial sur la violence et la coexistence humaine."
[59] Louis-Bernard Robitaille, "Barjols, c'est Sarajevo en Provence!," La Presse, 4 May 1997, p. B 6.
[60] Poissant, "Peter Gnass morceaux choisis," 44-45; Louise Duchesne, "La perspective dans l'art contemporain," Journal de Mirabel, 9 May 1995, p.

26; Bernard Paquet, "Ruses d'artistes: anamorphoses, arcimboldesques et images spéculaires," Vie des arts 41, no. 169 (Winter 1997-98): 16-18; invitation card to "Anamorphosis, arcimbaldesques et images spéculaires Pierre Ayot, Thomas Corriveau, Peter Gnass, Georges Rousse, Serge Tousignant" at Galerie de l' UQAM, 17 October–22 November 1997; Robitaille, "Barjols, c'est Sarajevo en Provence!," p. B 6 ; Gnass, interview by author.

CHAPTER 11

WILLIAM (BILL) VAZAN

1962-76: The Emergence of a Land Artist

Born in Toronto (Ontario) in 1933, William (Bill) Vazan studied at the Danforth Technical School (1948-51) and at the Ontario College of Art (1951-52), both located in that city. In 1952, he received from the latter institution the Alumni scholarship and headed for Paris (1954-55), where he studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in 1955.[1] He did not graduate from the art college in Toronto as the course was "too confining" for him. Similarly, he found the Parisian beaux-arts classes (drawing-painting) too conventional, and quitted. Vazan has been living in Montréal since November 1957. He made his debut as an artist on the Montréal scene. For a few years after his return to Canada, Vazan was inactive as an artist, being instead an office worker. He came back to art while convalescing from a serious illness and as part of the therapy. Actually, Vazan commenced painting in 1962, and started his public, artistic career in 1963. However, he kept his clerical work to sustain his family, working in the comptroller's department at the Imperial Oil Company (Esso). He joined the Society of Québec Professional Artists (Association des Artistes Professionnels du Québec) in December 1968. Moreover, Vazan resumed his education in art and earned, in 1970, a Bachelor of Arts Degree from

Sir George Williams University (now Concordia University, Montréal).[2] Vazan also taught sporadically in art schools, namely at Concordia University and Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), where he gave a course about Land Art. Finally, even though Vazan asserted himself as an artist by creating ephemeral art, land art or conceptual art, his work was part of private, corporate (including Lavalin) and public art collections.[3]

It is remarkable that Vazan, despite a formal training in art (at the same time as Théberge, for instance), immediately endorsed artistic practices linked with the avant-garde. Actually, he created concomitantly paintings and conceptual and land art (see tables 9 and 10). His first "land operation," in 1963, was intuitive: he wanted to work with nature, without considering the event as an artistic one, as it was done outside the art milieu. Vazan then drew lines on the rocks and made a series of paintings on this theme. He was part of a few group exhibitions before he had his first solo one, in 1968. However, he came to consider solo exhibitions per se the imprints he created in nature. He took part, in 1969, in a group exhibition of painting for the artistic competition held at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art. That was the last time he exhibited paintings exclusively. From then on, photographs, installations, "events" and land art would become his privileged artistic expressions.[4]

For his first solo exhibition, he presented both paintings and photographs, for which he had positive reviews. The paintings were of the hard-edge type, i.e., with colour planes well defined, having a geometric quality. It was therefore termed "plasticien", as it had plastic and aesthetic preoccupations similar to those of the Plasticiens.[5] Vazan created the illusion of three-dimensions inside the picture plane not primarily with colour, but rather with the geometrical forms made by the various plans.

Table 9.--Some of Bill Vazan's early exhibitions: 1963-76[6]

Year	Event/Location	Type	Group or solo
1963	Galerie Kerouac, ville d'Anjou, Qué.	Painting	Group
1965	Dimensions 2 1/2 Stable Gallery, MMFA	Installation	Group
1967	Dix jeunes peintres Montréalais, Loyola Bonsecours Centre, Montréal	Painting	Group
1967	Loyola Bonsecours Centre, Montréal	Painting	Duo
1967	Sherbrooke University, Sherbrooke, Qué.	Painting	Group
1968	1+2+3. Galerie Libre, Montréal	Paintings & photos	Solo
1968	Kitchener-Waterloo Gallery, Ont.	Painting	Group
1969	Artistic Competition, MAC, Montréal	Painting	Group
1969	Tape show, MMFA art school, Montréal	Line with tape	Solo
1969	Survey 69, MMFA, Montréal	Tape marking	Group
1969 - 1970	Photo Show, Sub Gallery, UBC, Vancouver (1969), and Nova Scotia College of Art, Halifax, NS (1970).	Photograph	Group
1970	Artistic Competition, MAC and Musée du Québec, Montréal and Québec City		Group
1970	Cross-Canada Tape Line	Tape marking	Solo
1970	Survey 70, MMFA and AGO, Montréal,Toronto	Photos & documents	Group
1970	Taped Sculpture Court, AGO, Toronto	Tape marking	Solo
1970	Directional Card, Place Ville-Marie, Montréal	Tape marking	Solo
1972	William Vazan, N. S. College of Art, Halifax		Solo
1973	Gallery B, Montréal		Group
1973	273 years, Vehicule Gallery, Montréal	Installation	Group
1974	Peripheries, Museum of Contemporary Art, Mtl	Installation	Group
1974	Contacts, Museum of Contemporary Art, Mtl.	Photographs/book	Solo
1974	Bill Vazan, Musée du Québec, Québec City	Installation	Solo
1974	Bill Vazan Activities, York University's Art Gallery, Downsview, ON		Solo
1975	Bill Vazan (XXth Century-A Dating), Galerie Gilles Gheerbrant, Mtl.	Painting	Solo
1975	Quebec video, One one one Gallery, Mtl	Video	Group
1975	Les chemins du soleil, (Traces) Art Gallery of Sherbrooke University, Sherbrooke, P Q		Solo
1975	Québec 75, MAC, Montréal	Performance	Group
1975	Buenos Aires,Argentina		
circa 1976	Travaux video récents d'artistes montréalais, Vehicule, Montréal	Video	Group
1976	Bill Vazan, Scannings, International Cultural Centre, Antwerp, Belgium		Solo
1976 - 1977	Canadian Cultural Centre, Paris (France)	Photographs	

Table 10.--Bill Vazan early conceptual/land art, 1963-76[7]

Year	Event/Location	Type	Group/ solo
1963	Rocks conglomerates and displacements,[8] lac Vert near Saint-Jean-de-Matha, Québec.	Event	Solo
1967	Body Imprints, Wells Beach, Maine, U.S.A.	Event	
1968	Low Tide Traces, Victoria and Cavendish Beaches, Prince Edward Island.	Paintings and photos of traces in the sand	Solo
1968-1969	Lines in the snow, Montréal, Toronto and other locations in Québec and Ontario		Solo
1968-1969	Line made of nothing, Montréal		Solo
1968-1972	Rainbow Grounded	"Acrylic on Masonite slats placed on a rock outcropping"[9]	Solo
1968-1972	Bridge	Acrylic on Masonite placed on boulders in a quarry lake	Solo
1969	Sand Form No. 7	prism-shaped mound of sand on a beach, eroded by water at high tide	Solo
1969	Time Lines Readied, 20 x 20 m, Prince Edward Island	Furrowed lines in the sand	Solo
1969	Line made with rope, Provinces of Québec and Ontario		Solo
March 1969	Mud Walk, Mont Sainte-Anne, Québec	Auto tracks	
13 Aug. 1969	Canada in Parentheses, Spanish Banks, Vancouver, BC; Paul's Bluff, PE	Event	Duo
Fall 1969	Square on a beach, Plattsburgh, New York.	Event	Solo
Fall 1970	Summer square in Autumn Leaves.	Event: Helped with a rake, Vazan drew a square on grass, covered it partially by dead leaves	Solo
1971-1973	Spiral Man. Maisonneuve Park, Montréal.	Traces in the snow.	
1973-1974	Snow Maze/Digital Whorl. Maisonneuve Park, Montréal.	Traces in the snow.	Solo
1972-1977	Beach Model. Brigantine Beach, New Jersey.	Sand and stones.	Solo
1976	Stone Maze, Corridart (La Fontaine Park), Montréal	Stones	Group

They could be experienced and perceived differently, depending on the viewer's position. Vazan cut colours and created an imaginary space in the picture plane with masking tape. The photographs were artefacts of his first solo line in nature. During the summer of 1968, while playing on the beach with his daughters, he became aware of the power of nature (the high tide erasing drawings made on the beach while the tide was low) and got interested in ephemeral land art. Vazan conceived art objects whose existence was constantly being negated (either through perception or because of the ephemeralness of the work). Works of art had to be re-lived in order to be. Most critics who reviewed the show focused solely on the paintings, ignoring the photographs. Only later did they realize that this was the beginning of an original artistic practice.[10]

Despite the good reception of his paintings, Vazan pursued and intensified his creation of conceptual art/land art complemented by photographs. Less than a year after his first solo exhibition at Galerie Libre, Vazan exploited this idea further, being sensitive to his own environment. With snow falling in Montréal, the artist used it as material to produce a work of land art. For instance, on 25 January 1969, he marked in the snow an imaginary line between two pre-determined locations in the city, distanced by four and a half miles (7.24 kilometres). The line was imaginary in that it was a broken one, made of nine segments of about seventeen feet (5.18 metres) each, spaced out at every half mile (0.8 kilometre). Vazan was drawing in the snow with his feet, taking pictures of the results and noting the specifics of each location. The Montréal experience was followed by other similar ones, only longer. Contrary to the lines in the sand, which were altogether spontaneous and intuitive, the markings in the snow (at least the first ones) were first determined on a geographic map. In the field, lines were linked via thought. In the summer of 1969, the conceptual artist continued his exploration of the possibilities

offered by the beach. On 13 August 1969, he decided to put Canada in Parenthesis. He tracked a huge bracket in the eastern part of the country (Paul's Bluff, Prince Edward Island) and had artist Ian Wallace (met at Survey 69) do the same on the coast of Vancouver.[11] Vazan and Wallace documented the event with photographs. Vazan later reported that, in addition, "a series of cards was made on which the coarse grey sand from British Columbia and the finer red sand from Prince Edward Island were glued in the form of parentheses. A suggestion of a map of Canada was shown between the parentheses."[12]

Concomitantly with the early snow-marking events, Vazan started marking space with tape. This time, tape was used to segregate an existing space and re-create another one, anew. It could give rise to an event, as it did not long after the January 1969 snow marking, at the School of the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. There, in presence of art journalists and friends, the artist would install a black tape running on the floor unto the walls and the ceiling, take pictures, and remove it all. The characteristic of the work as an art event demanded both that people attended and that pictures be taken. The ephemeralness of the work, added to the fact that the creation was not an object, but the expression of an idea, was quite new in Montréal. According to art critic Normand Thériault, Vazan was the first conceptual artist in the city. Not long before that event, Thériault had written that nobody in Montréal was making conceptual art, contrary to New York City, where for instance, American artist Richard Artscheberger had drawn lines inside the museum at the sculpture biennial of the Whitney Museum.[13] Eventually, Vazan could install the tape on the wall and floor surfaces of an exhibition, Survey 69, presented at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts.

Of all the events in which Vazan had taken part so far, Survey 69 was certainly the one that had the largest echo in the art media. The

sympathetic reaction to the art student Tape show gave rise to controversy when a similar work was one of the very few selected among several hundred entries to the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts' annual exhibition (the newest version of previous Spring shows). The Museum had invited three hundred Canadian artists to submit two works each, as it wanted to "present a comprehensive view of the current Canadian scene . . . [and] emphasize the contemporary idiom in the arts."[14] The controversy raged over several items, and had at its core the definition of art and the role of museums and juries. Particularly, many did not understand why (real) works of art by reputed artists had been refused, whereas pieces of "non-art" were selected. Vazan's creation was the most discussed, either praised or repudiated as "non art". Even in that last instance, his work was deemed to be "by far the most successful of the destructibles."[15] Toronto artist Daniel Solomon presented another piece, a box of grass, that was unanimously either overlooked or negatively criticized. Montréal Star critic Michael White, who had praised the exhibition in general, nonetheless considered the latter work to be an "American work, an example of an interest in sand, grass, earth and stones in New York art."[16]

Contrary to the early modern events where the avant-garde could not exhibit their work, in 1969, the most advanced in the artistic field were the ones who had been accepted! Moreover, the formula with its very limited selection (twelve pieces by twelve artists) upset several people as it defied the well-established tradition of creating panoramas and of awarding prizes. As we have seen, the Museum of Contemporary Art organized such panoramas and "Tendances" exhibitions in the upcoming years. The jury members of Survey 69 were Andrée Paradis, Director of art magazine Vie des arts, Lucy Lippard, New York City art critic and writer, and Ron Bloore, artist and professor.[17]

The next year, Vazan was part of Survey 70 presented at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. In order to replace the jury formula, the Museum asked an art curator from the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), Mario Amaya, to organize the exhibition, which was later presented at the AGO. The theme of the exhibition was Realism(e)s, but Amaya did not specify what he meant, letting artists present their own view of the subject. Photo works were considered to meet the theme. Vazan had used photos to record his ephemeral projects done in the environment. For the exhibition, he created a pair of collages testifying to his explorations of two subway systems: Toronto and Montréal. The collages included maps of the two systems, transfers from every station, and photographs taken at each station, with a time indication for each place. In December 1970, Vazan created a solo event at the AGO. He taped the main hall of the art gallery, this time with larger, yellow tape. The installation had similarities with his creation for Survey 69: a Constructivist approach to art (i.e., the dealing with space in an abstract manner) that used space as raw material. He did not attempt to link communities or work with concepts of global communication as he had done earlier in 1970.[18]

In 1970, he continued to explore the artistic possibilities offered by his plastic coated black tape. In a project, he combined his land art experience in the snow with his tape projects. He initiated the project Cross-Canada Tape Line, which involved "drawing" with a black tape, a broken line across Canada. Eight museums or art galleries were involved in Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, Montréal, Fredericton, Halifax, Charlottetown and St. John's (Newfoundland). For the project, as well as for similar concepts he produced later on, the artist needed the expertise of a civil engineer, and worked with Ahmed Salahuddin, professor at Sir George Williams University in Montréal. On 9 January 1970, Vazan at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Montréal, and art curators in the other

cities, installed the tape on the floor of the museum/art gallery, at an exact pre-determined location. The tape line was at an angle, with each arm pointing towards the next location where the project was taking place, forming an imaginary line. Vazan explained that the idea behind the line was that no one could see it in its entirety from any location. It had to be imagined. The work of art was to be finished by 27 January 1970. Still in 1970, Vazan made another "tape piece," Directional Card. This time, he was commissioned by Air Canada, and he installed his tape project in Place Ville-Marie.[19]

Then in 1971, benefiting from a Canada Council for the Arts grant, Vazan extended the idea to the world, with "an imaginary globe-encircling 'World Line'."[20] In the morning of 5 March 1971, Vazan installed black tape in the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. The same act was performed in twenty-four other art locations around the world, in eighteen countries, early in the morning of the same day (local time). Vazan explained: "Although the line will not be physically and visually complete, its direction and thought are real--they exist quite naturally within the contemporary day to day global communication systems."[21] In February of that year, Vazan had used the concept of imaginary line for a work, 3 Mile Gap, that he presented at the 45° 30'N--73° 36'W exhibition, of which he was also one of the organizers. In fact, two concomitant exhibitions took place, one at Sir George Williams University, and the other at the Saidye Bronfman Centre. The distance between those locations inspired Vazan for his piece of conceptual work. Spatial discontinuity and the extension of perceptual space fascinated him. The pioneers of conceptual art, LeWitt, Dibbets, Haake, and Huebler were invited and presented some work for the exhibition. In 1971, Vazan also took part in the Paris Biennial. During one month, he sent grass glued on a postcard to Paris, every day. The

gesture meant to transfer one landscape to another one and to create a month of grass ("un mois d'herbe").[22]

Vazan's view on art had to be explained for each creation. The idea that art did not need to be an art object was difficult to swallow in the milieu. Vazan explained then that "art exists in the concept of the artist, whether it be in the beauty of the landscapes, the depths of the subconscious, or . . . the aesthetics of lines and planes in space."[23] Some described his art as iconoclastic, because he rejected the importance of the art object and of the art market. His art was also deemed to be difficult, and therefore the artist had problems getting some support, which came mostly from outside Montréal.[24] Moreover, the fact that Vazan was doing conceptual projects in museums/art galleries and creating land art in the open puzzled several art commentators who were trying to define and categorize those emerging practices. It took time, after Vazan had created some of these projects, for his art to be understood in the context of the twentieth-century art. The ideology that rejected "the unique hand-of-the-artist approach to value attempts to negate the consumer dimension in the artist-audience relationship,"[25] the return to some form of representation and references were breakthrough when compared with what was accepted in the art milieu. In fact, conceptual art was not a mere questioning of a past art form, it changed the structure of art:

> The structure of art is changed by the project of the artist, by his point of view, by the process of information and not only the content. Its specific nature no longer allows this art to be confounded with poor art, ecological art, environment and art of the event. Like conceptual art, all these forms of art refuse the traditional routes and the sanctification of the work . . . [which] has given rise to commercialism, has been assimilated by the system which makes authors demi-gods, but gods in terms of dollars.[26]

It was said that each new work by Vazan redefined art. Nonetheless, the local media in Montréal did not review much of the conceptual artistic

manifestations in the city, and the institutions (the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, art galleries) were not "interested in the valuable contribution it can make to our time."[27]

A year after its creation, Vazan published a book that related all the stages of the project World Line and he launched it in the art gallery Media Gravures et Multiples. In fact, the book was part of the project as it documented in detail every aspect of its realization. Finally in May 1972, Vazan exhibited 108 sheets of information pertaining to the World Line project at the Coltejer Biennial in Medellin, Colombia.[28]

In the Fall 1972, Vazan co-founded with some other artists the art gallery Vehicule, of which he was treasurer in 1972-73 and president in 1973-74. The gallery welcomed artists who wanted to question established art, and it offered "itself as a support of this new creativity."[29] This was an alternative, not-for-profit art centre, dedicated to new art forms, and managed by and for artists, yet subsidized by the Canada Council for the Arts. Its creation allowed the presentation of art otherwise rejected by the institutionalized art circuit.[30] In an article about Vehicule, art commentator Gilles Toupin, who had been following Vazan's work closely, presented the artists attached to the gallery as the successors of the Automatistes and the Plasticiens. The Vehicule artists did not promote one single aesthetic ideology, but a more global one, which questioned the artistic practices of the Establishment. Some were doing conceptual art, land art, or process art, but there was a diversity of research that prevented any categorization of their artistic production.[31]

In December 1972, not long after the inauguration of the Vehicule Gallery, Vazan had a solo exhibition, Topographies, at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art. He had then quite a reputation in the art milieu, despite (or maybe even because) of the fact that his art was so groundbreaking. His work made the front page of the museum magazine

Ateliers, and two articles presented his work in a new, interesting light. For the exhibition, Vazan presented slides of various landscapes, videotapes, photographs, geographic maps, and large paintings of northern Canadian landscapes, in short, new views of landscape, another reality, his own. With that new exhibition, Vazan's previous interest in re-structuring and expanding the perception of space had reached another level. Formally, it was no longer an exhibition involving tape exclusively, or linking different places. It brought into the museum images of landscapes, some of which had an artistic coefficient because of the eye and hand of the artist. Despite the association of his name with conceptual art and land art, Vazan expressed his view: "I don't want to fall into one specific thing."[32] His work was then understood as oscillating between nature and culture, and references to Claude Levi-Strauss and structuralism were de rigueur to understand fully the nature and scope of his work. [33] The projects could be seen

> as an attempt to generate a *paradigm* within the field of *conceptual art* --more loosely speaking they are efforts to structure or accent modalities of perception which effect transformations in certain specific directions. . . . Beyond art content and beneath style lies an impulse to take and transform elements from both the natural and cultural environments, rendering them meaningful. This urge may rest at the very root of aesthetic perception. . . . the movement known as conceptual art, manifest here in Bill Vazan's revealing use of natural and cultural transformations, by dealing with basic art ideas instead of marketable objects, reaches into and exposes what might be the universal bedrock of the artistic ritual.[34]

In 1972 Vazan took part in the group exhibition Montréal: Plus or Minus?, presented at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts and organized by Melvin Charney (see next chapter). Vazan was also remarkably present on the international artistic scene with exhibitions in Canada (Vancouver, Toronto, Kingston, Halifax), Australia (Sydney), Columbia (Medellin), Czechoslovakia (Brno), England (Nottingham), Italy (Milan) and Japan

(Tokyo). In 1973-74, Vazan continued to exhibit and be present locally, nationally and internationally. For instance, in 1973 he was part of the group exhibition at Galerie B. in Montréal, which presented almost all the "forces vives" of Montréal artistic scene, along with artists such as Guido Molinari, Betty Goodwin, Gunter Nolte, and Henry Saxe.[35] At about the same time, in early May 1973, he had another exhibition at Vehicule Gallery, with John Eward and Gunter Nolte. His work, titled 273 years, consisted in having a huge X installed in the ceiling, above Nolte's work. Vazan himself did not explain the concept behind it, contrary to what he had done for his previous conceptual pieces. Only Toupin, it seems, ventured in the "explanation of the sign," linking it to Stonehenge and total eclipse. 273 years represented the time elapsed between the two total eclipses in Montréal, when taking 1973 as a bench-mark. The explanation was in line with the phenomenon, quite nebulous indeed. But Toupin could already link the X with another project on which Vazan was working, Contacts, and which involved people from all over the world. Using the postal network on the world scale, Vazan asked people (artists and non-artists) to send him photographs of themselves and their family and friends, of their places, of Xs as naturally found in nature, or as created (culturally) by men. The X was chosen as the symbol of man and nature interchange: "X marks the spot. X the unknown. Here is a primal sign, a configuration indicating core, the heart, the meeting of directions, an identified place, object or event..."[36] This experience lasted two years, and the result was presented in a book, itself exhibited in the basement of the Museum of Contemporary Art, in February-March 1974. Henry Leehman, then an artist at Vehicule, reviewed Vazan's exhibition of Contacts at the Museum of Contemporary Art. He could not help but observe that on the international art scene, artists seeking to free the art object of its traditional aspect and re-posit it in the everyday life, ended up presenting those

parallel experiences in art institutions, such as the Museum of Contemporary Art: "Art pieces like these inevitably end up in the same art context they reject, because of the demands of a given medium. This is Catch 22 of conceptual art."[37] At the same time Vazan had a solo exhibition of Contacts at the museum, artists of Vehicule presented Peripheries, at the same museum. Vazan was also part of the exhibition, and presented Displacement (Déplacement), an installation of rocks and snow fence, in one instance not arranged by the artist, and in another one, randomly placed. Art commentators viewed the use of the rocks as a reference to the natural world, while at the same time asking the question: "At what point in the process of being arranged do the stones become art?"[38] Vazan's art, with conceptual work based on nature, had similarities with other American and West Coast artists.[39] Every local art critic who reviewed the show agreed that a new guard of artists was much needed after the Automatistes and the Plasticiens. Georges Bogardi summarized the art situation: "Whether this show is good or bad, a success full of promise, or a hallow flop, only the passage of time, that most perceptive of critics, will decide. Meanwhile, for the first time since the fading away of the Plasticiens, the Vehicule group has made Montréal art an exciting thing to watch."[40] Activist and nationalist Pierre Vallières denounced both the Vehicule exhibition and Bill Vazan's leadership. In a virulent article published in Le Devoir, Vallières questioned the innovative and freeing aspect of the art proposed by Vehicule artists. He rejected the hypothesis that they could be as important in Québec art as the Automatistes and the Plasticiens had been. They could not define and build a collective identity, which was ultimately what artists were supposed to do: "Quant à l'émulation dans l'absurde ou la plaisanterie, elle recouvre du masque de la dérision l'impuissance à définir et à construire une identité collective, impuissance propre à la communauté anglophone et multi-ethnique de

l'ouest montréalais."[41] Underlying all these critiques was the unacceptable fact for Vallières that these artists belonged to non-francophone communities of the west island (which was not the case for some Vehicule artists). Vallières also ridiculed Vazan's book Contacts as a facile and gratuitous play, of little interest. Vallières not only criticized the artists and the art gallery, but also the institutions that proposed and promoted their art.

Notwithstanding Vallières' negative review, Vazan had a solo exhibition, Traces, in October 1974 at the Musée du Québec, where he presented past work as well as some new pieces. Gilles Toupin, who had constantly been the most enthusiastic commentator of Vazan's production, wrote the text in the catalogue.[42] By then, Vazan was "Montréal's leading conceptual artist."[43] Despite his presentation at the Musée du Québec, Vazan did not think that an artistic work had to be presented in a museum. That was, however, the location most susceptible to reach a maximum of people from the art milieu.[44] In 1973 and 1974, he had been very active on the national and international scene, before his solo exhibition in Québec. He had been to Kassel and had taken part in group exhibitions at the Museums of Cologne and Dusseldorf in Western Germany, had been to Basle in Switzerland for Québec '74, Arts 5, and then to Lausanne; to Milan and Florence in Italy; to Maastricht in The Netherlands; to São Paulo in Brazil; to Paris, France and to Philadelphia, USA. In Canada, he exhibited in Vancouver, Hamilton, Kitchener/Waterloo art galleries, and had a solo show in Toronto. In Montréal, Vazan was also part of a group exhibition for the opening of art gallery Gilles Gheerbrant, which from then on represented him and came to be specialized in showing "the more refined streams of the avant-garde."[45]

In that period, Vazan continued to explain his view of his art and of art in general. Vazan co-wrote an article with anthropologist Paul Heyer,

in which they explained their view on art, conceptual art, and the contribution of structuralists, particularly of Lévi-Strauss. For Lévi-Strauss, a work of art represents, it signifies. Art "lies somewhere between mythical or magical beliefs and scientific knowledge. . . . all art is a reduction that is less than life." [46] For both of them, that was particularly true of conceptual art, not only of Lévi-Strauss' examples of the ready-made. Vazan and Heyer explained their definition of conceptual art as follows:

> Our view is that *any work of visual art is both physical and conceptual, though one aspect might be more important than the other. It is physical in that it is either an object or an artistic event and it is conceptual in that it is the result of an idea emanating from the mind of an artist. An observer discovers this unity upon experiencing the work of art.*. . . .
>
> My (W.V.) projects . . . do not derive from the direct influence of this activity [conceptual art]. They resulted from a continuation of ideas that I first executed with acrylic paint on canvas. . . . In time, my projects or events involved both natural (sand, rock, snow, trees) and/or cultural (humanly altered) environments. . . . Eventually, it became obvious to me . . . that other artists were working along similar lines, though they perhaps arrived by alternative routes, and that this kind of activity is now called conceptual art.[47]

In 1975, land artists Richard Long and Robert Morris were among the artists whom Vazan admired. He was also aware that in 1968, Yubler had created a line across the United States, at about the same period he created his line.[48]

Moreover, Vazan and Heyer found that structuralism was most helpful "to understand the *raison d'être* for certain forms of conceptual art, as well as to understand art as an activity of *signification* (sign making)."[49] Vazan and Heyer agreed with Lévi-Strauss in saying that "a natural environment . . . can be given a special cultural meaning through an artist's intervention . . . Hence, nature, mediated by an artist, can be

transformed into a cultural meaningful situation."[50] The artist, through his mediation, could add something not immediately perceptible in the natural object. This definition is, in fact, that of the landscape currently proposed by a French school (Augustin Berque, Michel Conan, Pierre Donadieu, Bernard Lassus, Alain Roger), as opposed to the definition of the environment.[51] Vazan and Heyer extended Lévi-Strauss' concept of natural transformation "to include the transformation of the cultural environment as well," such as museums.[52] Using rocks as an example, they added: "While this does not make a rock a work of art, it does suggest that aesthetic responses are possible independently of art objects. We feel that this may be part of what conceptual art is all about."[53] Unlike many conceptual artists, Vazan did not think "that all man-made objects or events"[54] could be art. To be artistic, they had to "evoke aesthetic responses in viewers within a given culture. They are intended by me (W.V.) to be mediators between aspects of nature and culture. We see them as a kind of minimal artistic event--. . . . The photographs serve only as documentation to give a viewer an idea of what took place."[55] Paul Heyer later summarized his thought about conceptual art with the following equation: "Conceptual art = art making ritual + documentation."[56]

In the mid-seventies, the dot (point), the line and the surface formed the whole of Vazan's story. He removed anything from his work that could have a symbolic urban connotation. Time and space were also crucial dimensions in his work.[57] In the spring of 1975, Vazan had a solo exhibition, XXth Century--A Dating at Galerie Gilles Gheerbrant. In this project, Vazan had cut the century into ten parts, ten panels, on which he stamped the dates (month, day, year) of the decades in various colours. In doing this, Vazan aimed "to investigate man's perception of time and the temporal content of art."[58] However, some understood Vazan's

attempt as reducing the twentieth century to a calendar, even if he aimed at presenting "another of man's attempts to understand physical reality by a symbolic equivalent."[59] At this later stage in the development of conceptual art, the underlying idea was still in need of some explanations, and Vazan's art was still described as esoteric. For art critic Normand Thériault, however, Vazan's "datures" were a vivid illustration of man's history, where day to day life repeats itself.[60]

As we saw in chapter five, 1975 and 1976 were important years on the artistic scene in Québec. Bill Vazan was selected (as was Melvin Charney) to take part in the two major events that marked each of these years, Québec 75 and Corridart. In 1975, he was among the artists selected to represent the new tendencies in Québec art. For Québec 75, he installed rocks in a circle inside the Museum of Contemporary Art, and put a candle on each of these stones. This installation served as the setting where a performance took place on the opening night. Performances were also quite new in the Québec art world back then.[61] For Corridart, Vazan created Stone Maze in La Fontaine Park, which was positively reviewed: "One of the most remarkable and strongest pieces . . . a labyrinth of 500,000 pounds of stone in a small 'garden,' a traffic island created by the merging of three streets; a labyrinth that recalled the ritual origins of the city in the myth of the eternal return."[62] Another critic wrote "*Stone Maze* is an excellent exemple [of a sacred space for contemplation]. It is a centre for reflection, part of a city park island encircled by auto traffic. The labyrinth pattern suggests a ritual game; the opening represents the vulva of an earth mother."[63] The maze was also a sun calendar, having stones aligned to the solstices sunrises and sunsets. It also intended to have some symbolic reference to the beginnings of the city.[64] John Grande affirms that "historically, mazes as topiary or green living sculpture provided a connection to a more primitive wilderness state

of mind within the confines of the design garden landscape. Mazes rationalized the pre-feudal wilderness experience within the civil confines of the garden . . ."[65] Vazan had used in two different settings (one in an art museum and the other out in the open, in an urban park) circles, labyrinthine forms, and rocks to mark a place and create an environment for a ritual. These would inspire him for several projects to come, after a brief wandering on the road of urban ecology.[66]

1977-92: Land Art, Conceptual Art, Public Art

Vazan had first used the camera to record his ephemeral works in nature, the artist's action on the environment itself. As understood by Paul Heyer, the camera was part of a ritual, serving "only as a means of establishing relationships: it has no value in and of itself."[67] In the mid-seventies, Vazan added another dimension to his photographic work. Photograph reflected "structural and perceptual possibilities for his art."[68] Described by Heyer as a cosmographer, i.e., someone interested in "the whole order of nature,"[69] Vazan was in effect expanding his interests in nature, linking not only different places, but different time periods as well. His 1975 series of photographs indicated a marked interest in planetary phenomena, manifest either in nature (2 horizons) or in the city. The 1975 photographs 4 suns (fall equinox) and 2 solstice arcs (summer and winter at Montréal) were in fact studies of the sun and earth interaction, as possibly experienced by an urban dweller. As Vazan manifested an interest in rotation as a movement, he also explored the circle, or the sphere, as preferred forms. Eventually, he became the axis around which the camera rotated, and his collages were mounted in a labyrinthine or curvilinear fashion. When the collage was straight or cruciform, the artist

drew circular lines and specifically referred to the sphere. Until 1979, he went on doing spherical photographic assemblages that were started as globes and referred to the planet. Pieces like 2 Globes #2 (1976-77, Montréal and Toronto), 5th and 6th Circles, (1977), Deux Niveaux--Tour Eiffel (1977), Deux Niveaux--Québec (1978), Luxor Temple Sky Globe (Thebes, Egypt, 1978), Karnak Temple Sky Globe (1978), 2 Planets (Karnak and Carnac), 2 Niveaux, Mystery Hill (1979, New Hampshire), Sky Globe (1979, Chichen Itza), Acropolis Two Levels (1979) had required a planning and a "prise de vue" particular to obtain the sphere. The early assemblages were from photographs taken not only close to home, but from sites visited in England (Avebury, Stonehenge), Brittany and Egypt, the latter all sites of stones. Eventually, the globe, the planet itself was visited and each place, urban or natural, historic or contemporary, was included within Vazan's globes (Venice, and Milan, the Harlem Bridge, as well as the Yucathan (Chichen Itza and Uxmal) in 1979.[70] Vazan continued to explore this vein until the nineties (Anasazi Globe, 1983, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, U.S.A.; Karnak Quadrant, 1984, Egypt; Visual Sphere Quadrant, 1987, Cordoba, Spain; Two Major 19th Century Culminations, 1991, St-Loup de Varennes, France).[71] For the artist, understanding his work with this cosmographic perspective allows one to see how it counter-acts the fragmentation of contemporary life, by linking the individual, nature and society.[72] Actually, through his work, Vazan had synthesized temporal and spatial dimensions: the past and the present, the familiar and the exotic, the elevated (as several pictures were taken from a high elevation) and the down-to-earth. "Underlying these there is always a fascination with the monumental, as a token of man's attempt to assign meaning to his experiences, to express a connection between human endeavour and natural forces."[73] Vazan's art was also understood by Diana Nemiroff as being very contemporary, in that it exemplified the

shrinking of the planet: "Spatially and temporally, the earth is shrinking into an all-encompassing here and now."[74] The globe projects encircled the planet, as the Worldline or Contacts projects had done previously. Commenting on one of those photographs (Pyramid Fragment, 1979), John Grande explained how Vazan, by de-constructing and re-constructing architectural works, made apparent how human beings perceive, structure, and therefore build the world according to mental constructs: "These play a seminal role in the way we design our architectures and build our environments today, just as in ancient times."[75] Vazan's Horizontal Waves, created in 1977, was still very current in 1985, when he exhibited it in the context of the Un temps, 2 lieux exhibition that presented the works of contemporary artists from France and from Québec, with invited researchers (anthropologists, ethnologists, university professors) who shared with the artists an interest in primitive art, territory, et cetera. The formula of the event required that artists exhibit one of their past works in their country (Rivière-du-Loup, Québec), and a new one, inspired by the event, in the foreign country (La Rochelle, France).[76]

In 1977, Vazan exhibited solo at Optica art gallery. The show was entitled A Wood, and comprised colour photographs and colour Xeroxes. The subject matter was a small urban wooded area that was being cleared for land subdivision and residential construction. The artist was showing either natural or man-made phenomena. Art critics found that he was no longer the conceptual artist that he used to be. The exhibition was judged uneven and got a lukewarm reception.[77] Also in 1977, Vazan had a duo exhibition, Planetary Works: Scott/Vazan, at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Even though much of his recent work had continued to be about landscape, Vazan then exhibited photographs that focused on the planetary aspect of nature (earth, moon, sun).[78] Vazan's previous land markings had consisted in using existing natural elements (sand, snow,

rocks, tree leaves/grass) to mark the environment. In 1976, he created an immense (approximately 135 metres x 135 metres, or 443 feet x 443 feet) drawing on the ground, in the Artpark of Lewinston, New York. The form was made by spraying a mixture of asphalt and "kero" (identified as M.C. 30). He also sprinkled 1,36 ton of white gravel and 240 kilograms of a mixture of seeds for wild birds. The piece, Les indices migratoires, had a circular outline filled with inner circles intersected by some radiuses. Vazan expressed the relation between the migrating birds indices and the rotation of the earth on its axis, along with the influence of its magnetic field.[79] That drawing was the first one of a series of circular and other planet-related drawings, but made in a different, less polluting, medium. In 1977, he began land drawing in a different manner, using white, "chalk-like paint"[80] to draw directly on earth, grass, et cetera. Somehow, Vazan was painting again, only this time on a larger picture plane.[81] The drawings were characterized by their huge dimensions, their ephemeralness (the paint would fade away under the action of natural elements such as rain, sun, and snow), and their collective realization. Vazan was the one imagining the concept and organizing its implementation, but the work in the field had to be created by several persons at once. As for the other land marking projects, photographs and videos were taken. The drawings had to be seen from a bird's-eye view in order to be appreciated in their entirety. These projects were created within the city, some in between or close to roads (Sun Zone, Epicentre with Slip). In Sun Zone, Vazan added within the drawing thirteen granite boulders that marked the solstices and equinoxes of the sun within that "astronomical--ritual calendar device"[82]. Those drawings took into account the site plan (roads, sidewalks, water, parking lots) even if at times they intersected with and ran into those other sites. The drawings did not so much take into account the actual topography as it referred to other remote (in time and space) planetary

elements such as the solar system, geologic life, plans of old housing units, and even of a major contemporary event such as Expo 67.[83] Vazan created several projects in that fashion, as indicated in table 11.

Some of these projects were created close to museums and art galleries. Moreover, they were all located in urban areas, most of them major ones. David Burnett has pointed out about one of these drawings, Ghostings, that "these two layers of markings, natural and cultural, cannot be separated from the fact that they are set into an area that is currently in the process of being transformed from an industrial site to a place of public recreation and amenity."[84] In another instance, Vazan had planned to draw in Central Park, New York City. However, the project did not materialize.[85]

Vazan also "drew" out in the open with rocks. In 1974-75, in the context of the federal percent for art programme, he created for the first time (i.e., recorded) such work with Seasons' Calendar (1.5 metre x 9 metres x 16 metres, or 5 feet x 30 feet x 53 feet), a solar calendar in front of a post office, in Terrebone (Québec). He then aligned stones to create Stone Maze (30.5 metres x 30.5 metres, or 100 feet x 100 feet) for the famous Corridart exhibition. There was a variation in 1978, when, for his Desert Road project , Vazan aligned thirty-six bricks along a wall. Finally, he created his first monumental and permanent project made by the alignment of stones, for the Symposium international de sculpture environnementale de Chicoutimi, held in 1980. That was the most important symposium held in Québec and ten sculptors were selected to take part in the event (including Pierre Bourgault, Michel Goulet, Pierre Granche, Brigitte Radecki, Armand Vaillancourt and Bill Vazan). Vazan's work, Outlickan Meskina ("Les chemins aux omoplates de caribous") was

Table 11.--Bill Vazan's land drawings (paintings).[86]

Title	Location	Date	Details
York Palms	York University, Ontario	Oct. 1977	With art students co-directed by Vazan and Bruce Parsons. Drawings from hands lines.
Sun Zone	York University		Spiral with boulders marking the solstices and equinoxes. 8 m x 139 m x 74 m, or 26 feet x 456 feet x 243 feet
Epicentre With Slip	Harbourfront, Toronto	1977-78	123 m x 100 m, or 404 feet x 328 feet
Hot Spots Shot	Cité du Havre, Montréal	1977-80	"A Model for volcanic plug activity in the Monteregian chain."[87] 110 m x 615 m, or 361 feet x 2018 feet
Cité du Havre Digs	Cité du Havre, Montréal	1978-79	With students. Dealt with three cultural horizons: traces of Early Celtic temple/forts, Amerindian long-houses and Expo 67 remnants. 92 m x 152 m, or 300 feet x 500 feet
Ghostings	Harbourfront, Toronto	1978-79	Geological/archaeological horizons combined with possible Amerindian infrastructures. 122 m x 244 m, or 400 feet x 800 feet
Pressure/ Presence	Plaines of Abraham, Québec	1979	With artists from La Chambre Blanche gallery. Symbolizes the natural/cultural dichotomy: natural forces and man's need to replicate the outside world. 400 m or 1300 feet diameter; 500 feet x 500 feet, or 152.4 m x 152.4 m
Plane Talk	Plaines Le Breton, Ottawa	1979-80	With Le Breton Flats, SAW Gallery, and City of Ottawa. "Early visitors, pre-Viking and Amerindians. Writing and pictographs at the portage place."[88]
Bord Ogam	Musée d'art de Joliette, Québec	1979-80	Ogam writing on a concrete wall outside of the museum, alongside the Assomption river. A reference to early Celtic-Phoenician visitors to North America. 5 m x 30 m x 120 m, or 15 feet x 150 feet x 400 feet
Moraine Beltings	Alberta College of Art	1980-81	
Stele Wash-out	University of Sherbrooke	Oct. 1980	Geological rock fissures and early Phoenician engraving. 250 m x 250 m, or 820 feet x 820 feet
Lancaster Memories	Windsor (Ontario)	1981	Art Gallery of Windsor and City of Windsor
Wavings	Grange Park, Toronto	Nov. 1981	Behind the AGO, in the context of an exhibition there. With AGO, Ontario College of Art, and City of Toronto.

made of three hundred granite rocks of the glacial period, typical of the Saguenay region. Outlickan Meskina was inspired from divinatory drawings used for hunting by some native tribes and departed from Vazan's previous land art by not being geometrical. It was of monumental dimensions and located in what would become an urban park. The City of Chicoutimi insisted on having the work made where the city planned to build the Parc urbain de Chicoutimi.[89] Vazan admitted that having a permanent work was important to him: "Ça devient important pour moi d'avoir des oeuvres durables, pas seulement des photos pour un petit groupe de gens."[90] For Vazan, having a spectator taking part in the work was a fundamental part of land art. Outlickan Meskina was for the land artist a key work precisely because it was not urban (i.e., not in Montréal) and because the work was permanent.[91] From then on, Vazan started to take part in Québec government competitions for public art (see below), even though he did not limit his creations to such monumental and permanent projects.

Vazan appeared to have ceased doing land drawings with chalk circa 1981, the year when he also created a project by doing "land track depressions" (or tractor tire impressions) with Regina Life Lines (approximately 1,3 kilometre x 1 kilometre, or 5000 feet x 3000 feet) for the Norman MacKenzie Art Gallery in Regina.[92] In 1982, he made E/R/ODE (15 centimetres or 6 inches deep x 14 metres or 46 feet diameter), a drawing which was reminiscent, once more, of the labyrinth. Made of turf and marble chips, it was laid out in Scarborough Bluffs, Ontario. In the summer of 1982, Vazan and twelve other artists took part in an art event, not in a museum, but in a shut down mine in Eustis (near Sherbrooke, Québec). The artists did performances and intervened in and with the landscape. The photographs taken during the event were presented at the art gallery Motivation V (Montréal), later on, in September

1982. For the event, Vazan made trenches in a hill of refuse: Eustis Ziggurat (13 metres x 160 metres x 100 metres, or 43 feet x 525 feet x 328 feet).[93]

In fact, Vazan continued to draw on the land, but often used other techniques, such as scraping the surface of the earth, or placing stones. Moreover, it seems that after some experiments closer to home (Regina, Toronto), the artist started doing land drawings and installations around the globe. The technique of land scraping or stone placement may have been more appropriate to the artist as it did not require transporting huge quantities of white paint in remote places.

Vazan drew several projects on paper, some of which came to be realized much later, and some of which never materialized on the land. In December 1984, Vazan achieved such an early drawing (1969) in the Nasca plains, in Peru. Antipoda-Kampuchea (1969-84) was made by scraping the top sand. It alluded to "geographic and political features of country at opposite point of the globe-reversed, as seen directly through the Earth's centre."[94] There, Vazan also created Mummy with umbilical, a hundred-metre (328 feet) diameter drawing (1975-84). In 1985, he created, among others, El Dios de Los Aires (120 metres x 100 metres, or 394 feet x 328 feet), in the Peruvian plains. Actually, over the years Vazan did several drawings in the Nasca plains by using this technique of sand scraping and, sometimes, by adding stones in meaningful locations. In Mummy, he added stones at the edges of the drawings.[95]

In 1984, Vazan made Karst Map Trap with boulders placed in a river (Li), what he imagined being an aerial map of the surrounding mountains. That same year, he made Osiris Re-dis-membered (1978-84), consisting of "earth furrowings and stone placements at 33 sites along the Nile and into Israël,"[96] which is in fact a monumental installation near the Giza pyramids. During that period, Vazan undertook another ephemeral

project involving boulder placements. La Dorsale Atlantique (1973-84), a celebration of a geologic phenomenon, was also spatially divided. One part involved trenching at St-Malo, France, and the other required boulder placements at Lévis, Québec. The work in Québec was made on a parcel of land belonging to the City's art centre. Vazan created this project in the context of the festivities surrounding the anniversary of the coming of Jacques Cartier to America.[97]

During the period of 1985-92, Vazan brought into being other creations in the land, varying the media. He returned to the beach, where he either installed wooden beach debris or beach logs on the sand (Native Village and Pacific Rim, both 1989 in Ucluelet, Vancouver Island), or marked the sand (Indian Town Mounds, 1986 in Key West, Florida; Chinese Landfall, 1985, in Malibu, California; Shipwrecked, 1991, El-Jadida, Morocco), or made rock alignments (Crusty, 1990, Port-Daniel, Gaspé, Québec; Third Finger Point to Holding the Globe, 1992, Haifa, Israel). The artist also performed reliefs in the earth (Micmac Talk, 1985, Matane, Québec; Baleine Mic-Mac/Acadienne, 1988, Brouage, France; Rice Tiger, 1988, Kanghwado Island, Korea; Tire Track, 1987, Parc Jacques-Cartier, Sherbrooke, Québec; Lemberk Walk, 1990, Lemberk, Czech Republic), rock or wood alignments, in the land this time (False Face Taunt, 1985, Ville Lasalle, Québec; Wind Tumble, 1989, Rose Creek, Montana; Tendril, 1990, Strait of Belle Ile, Newfoundland; Threshers, 1991, Aoufous, Morocco). In 1985, Vazan also went to Japan and created Buddha Guardian (20 metres x 20 metres, or 66 feet x 66 feet) on eight sites and made of eight sections, one section in each Zen garden. In all those works, despite the use of various means and media, Vazan pursued his early interests in mythology and ancient rites. The works were also all remote from the urban core. Actually, to our knowledge, Vazan performed only one such work in an urban setting, in

Prague. With Antipodes-South Pacific Cold Current (1991, Vltava River, Prague), Vazan placed cobblestones on the existing pavement of a promenade along the river.[98]

In 1986, Vazan introduced new media, what appears in retrospect to be almost a combination of previous techniques and media he had used. He selected specific stones (mostly granite) and worked on them: "Among countless stones, one stone becomes sacred."[99] In some cases, he painted with a stick on relatively small rocks, creating pictographs. He also started to engrave those rocks by sandblasting. At first, he exhibited a drawing, Sandcut Granite Boulder (City Outcrop) (1985-86) of a project to engrave rock, and some small scale examples. However, he mainly created monumental pieces with that technique, even though he exhibited other smaller petroglyphs in 1992.[100] He worked on one such rock in 1986 for the Second Sculpture Symposium in Lachine. He then created Story Rock, (9 feet x10 feet x 7 feet x 32 tons or 2.7 metres x 3.0 metres x 2.1 metres x 29 metric tons) still in the Lachine sculpture park (Parc René-Lévesque). The monumentality of the boulders did not prevent the artist from combining these works with drawings and to exhibit these as a whole. In one instance, the art gallery was so eager to get such a monument that it extended the gallery floor into the parking lot. The exhibition, Art in the Park-ing Lot Bill Vazan included one engraved stone and some large drawings as well as some photographs of other remote and/or monumental projects. On his works on paper, Vazan explored the same themes as for his sculptures. Stone engraving was a watershed in Vazan's career. The artist continued to create by using his previous modes of expression, simply adding stone carving. But the appropriation of new media did not involve a change in the artist's preoccupations. He was still considered to be a cosmographer, "the most important conceptual and land-oriented artist working in Canada."[101] Others were tempted to

see a shaman in Vazan, especially since the artist had started producing the petroglyphs. The stone had become an archetype in his work.[102]

In 1987, Louise Déry, then the new director of the Musée régional de Rimouski, organized the colloquium L'Esprit des lieux, together with the Université du Québec à Rimouski. The event had the "place" (lieux) as its central theme, because it was found to be a predominant one in the artistic creation and research of the time. The characteristics of place, be they physical, ecological, environmental, or mythological, had triggered research work in various domains. The theme encompassed interest in the landscape (Kevin Lynch), the Genius Locci (Christian Norberg-Schulz), or the poetic of space (Gaston Bachelard). The colloquium aimed to be international, and Daniel Buren, Domingo Cisneros, Helen Escobedo were among the guests. And so was Bill Vazan.[103] Also in 1987, Vazan realized yet another monumental project, a permanent installation, this time in Tel Hai Sculpture Park in Israël. Burning Stone was made of six boulders (86 tons), piled up, pierced, engraved and cut (14 feet x 13 feet x 13 feet or 4.3 metres x 4.0 metres x 4.0 metres).[104] A year later, Vazan was among the hundreds of artists, coming from eighty countries, selected by an international jury of art critics on behalf of the Guggenheim Museum of New York. The artists had to create a sculpture for a major exhibition to be held in August in Seoul (Korea) in the context of the Olympic Games. It was anticipated that the works created for the event would remain in the city and form a permanent sculpture park. Sol LeWitt, Dennis Oppenheim and Charles Simmonds were among the American artists selected for the event. Sorel Etrog, Claude Roussel, Robert Roussil, Philippe Scrive and Bill Vazan represented Canada. For the occasion, Vazan engraved, in Montréal, a monumental boulder (12 feet x 8 feet x 8 feet x 34 tons or 3.7 metres x 2.4 metres x 2.4 metres x 30.8 metric tons), Collision, made of Nordic red granite. Collision was among the very few selected to appear

on posters marking the event.[105] Vazan had come full circle from 1976, when in the context of the Montréal Olympic Games, he was taking part in the parallel event Corridart, dismantled by institutional forces. Vazan's petroglyphs appeared to have been suited for art parks or sculpture parks or simply to ornate some urban settings. One of his boulders was installed in Prague. Closer to home, Vazan did such a piece, Pionnier (1990), for the opening of the Centre de la Nature (Nature Centre) in Laval (Québec) and there is another one, Navigateur, in the Summerlea Park in Lachine. The last one was created for an outdoor exhibition, the first Salon International de la Sculpture Extérieure de Montréal, held in Montréal's Old Port in the summer 1992, as part of Montréal's 350th anniversary celebrations. The City of Montréal was offered the sculpture for a fraction of its market value, but turned down the offer. The City of Lachine acquired the piece for the Lachine sculpture park. That was the second of Vazan's creations bought by City of Lachine and installed in the water-bound park.[106]

Despite his embracing land drawings and stone placement, and his participation in outdoors art event,[107] Vazan continued to exhibit on the international scene[108] as well as on the national,[109] and local one.[110] In 1980, Vazan had a solo exhibition at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, Recent Land and Photo Works that presented photographs of land drawings as well as of the photographic collages of the globe/sphere series. Later, the exhibition travelled to Windsor (Ontario), Regina (Saskatchewan) and Winnipeg (Manitoba). Then, in 1982, Vazan exhibited a collection of photographs of his landscapes and constructions at the Forty-Ninth Parallel Gallery in New York City.[111] Acknowledging the evolution of his photographic work, Vazan could ultimately see the photographs as works of art.[112] In 1985, his work Sphère visuelle du pont Jacques-Cartier (1975), was selected to represent

the twenty-year evolution of the Museum of Contemporary Art, in the exhibition Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection. In 1986, Vazan exhibited his photographs of projects and for the first time, the drawings and models that anticipated them. This time, the documents were for sale, as a way of financing some of the exhibited projects not yet realized. In 1987, Vazan also exhibited drawings, photographs of monumental petroglyphs, as well as smaller sized petroglyphs and pictographs at the Saidye Bronfman Centre in Montréal. Once again, the works of art were for sale.[113] Table 12 lists some of the exhibition of Bill Vazan's work for the 1977-92 period.

There is another aspect of Vazan's work that needs to be presented. We saw that his first outdoor project with stones was created in the context of the federal public art programme. This work was, in fact, the only one he created in that context. Moreover, Vazan was one of the five finalists selected for the municipal competition for a sculpture for Place Berri, in Montréal.[114] Meanwhile, he had taken part in provincial competitions, after 1981, the year they became mandatory in Québec. He won only a few of these competitions, although his name was pre-selected on multiple occasions, as can be seen in table 13. One of the competitions that he lost was for an environmental sculpture for the CCA Garden, which case study will be presented later in the thesis.

More than ten years after his first solo exhibition of photographs of traces in the sand, and despite some early critics' assessments (by Toupin, Lamy) about the status of Vazan as a conceptual artist, not merely a land artist, Vazan remained true to his early desire to work with nature. His early projects in nature were considered by some to be in the spirit of Land Art, even if unorthodox manifestations of it. "Au sens strict, on s'entend pour dire du Land Art qu'il implique une prise en considération directe de l'environnement, qu'il se pratique à une échelle souvent

Table 12.--Some of William (Bill) Vazan's exhibitions, 1977-92

Year	Event/Location	Type	Group or solo
1977	Art Gallery of Ontario		
1977	Gheerbrant <-> Isaacs: Five Montreal Artists: Boogaerts Horvat Palumbo Vazan Vilder, Isaacs Gallery, Toronto and London Art Museum, London (ON)		Group
1977	Galerie Shandar, Paris		Duo
1977	03.23.03 Premières rencontres internationales d'art contemporain, Institute of Contemporary Art, Montréal		Group
1977	Videopoint Aerobatics--Bill Vazan, Vehicule Art Gallery, Montréal		Solo
1977	Bill Vazan Visual spheres: photo scannings, Galerie Gheerbrant, Montréal		Solo
1978	Tendances actuelles au Québec, section sculpture, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Sculpture	Group
1980	Recent Land and Photo Works, Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art; travelled to Windsor (ON); Winnipeg (MB), Regina (SK)	Photo	Solo
1981	Recent Land and Photo Works, Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, University of Regina (SK)	Photo	Solo
1981	Elements Points of View on Nature, The Photo Gallery, National Film Board of Canada, Ottawa	Photo	Group
1981	Montreal, Alberta College of Art, Calgary (AB)		Group
1982	Mind Frames, White Water Gallery, North Bay, (ON)	Incl. a land drawing in Thomson Park	Solo
1982	Bill Vazan Unfolding and Heaping, 49th Parallel Centre for Contemporary Art, New York City	Photo	Solo
1984	Bill Vazan Dessins récents--1982-1983, Galerie du Musée, Musée du Québec	Drawings	Solo
1985	Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection, Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art	Photomosaic	Group
1986	Bill Vazan Projects 1963-1986: Dessins et esquisses, Galerie 13 and Galerie Gilles Gheerbrant, Montréal	Drawings, maquettes	Solo

Table 12.--Continued[115]

Year	Event/Location	Type	Group or solo
1987	Landschemes & Waterscapes, Saidye Bronfman Centre	Drawings, mock-up, petroglyphs, pictograph	Solo
1987	Exhibition and auction, Dazibao art gallery, Montréal	Photograph	Group
1988	Un temps 2 lieux, Musée du Bas St-Laurent (Rivière-du-Loup, PQ); puis à La Rochelle, Brouage et Poitiers, France	Photomosaic	Group
1988	Première Dix artistes...la terre, Circa, Montréal		Group
1989	Espace-Mur, Galerie Fréderic Palardy, Montréal		Group
1989	Works on paper by Galery artists, Galerie Dresdnere, Toronto (ON)		Group
1989	Art in the Park-ing Lot, Galerie Dresdnere, Toronto (ON)	Engraved stone and large scale drawings	Solo
1989	Montréal sur papier, Saidye Bronfman Centre, Montréal		Group
1989	Dieux et diables...les artistes, Circa, Montréal		Group
1989	Silent auction at Optica, Montréal		Group
1990	Propos d'art contemporain Figures d'accumulation, Exposer dans l'Île		Group
1990	Expo-vente for the benefit of the Centre international d'art contemporain (CIAC)		Group
1990	Opening of the Jardin de la sculpture, Centre de la nature, Ville de Laval	Sculpture	Group
1990	"Premiers états de la création", UQAM, Montréal		Group
1991	Lieux, Rimouski	Stones	
1992	Cosmic Dance A survey of Thunderstones, Wererocks and Shamanic Drawings by Bill Vazan 1987-1992, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, Kingston (ON)	Drawings, stones	Solo
1992	Beau, Services culturels de l'ambassade du Canada, Paris		
1992	First Salon International de la Sculpture Extérieure de Montréal	Sculpture	Group

Table 13.--William (Bill) Vazan's competitions for the 1% projects, 1981-92 (bold indicates the winner)[116]

Date Compete - Create	Location/ Admin. region	Type of work	Type of building	Budget (work of art) ($)	Artist: **Selected** versus competing
1981-82	Mtl (06A)		Nursing Home	$28, 820.	**William Vazan**
1987/ 1990	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture environment (garden)	Museum (CCA)	$141,000.	**Melvin Charney** Michel Goulet William Vazan
1987-88	Montréal (6A)	Environment (engraved rock), Sub-Atomic	High School (Rivière-des-Prairies)	$82,000	Daniel Couvreur **William Vazan** Catherine Widgery
1988-89/ 1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture Fountain	Centre d'accueil	$48,000.	Jean-Serge Champagne Michel Goulet **William Vazan**
1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture installation (interior lobby)	Hospital (Montréal Jewish General)	$24,000.	**Pierre Ayot** Michel Goulet Réal Lauzon David Moore William Vazan
1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Environment sculpture (exterior)	Hospital (Mont-Sinai)	$56,852.	**Michel Goulet** Roger Langevin William Vazan
1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture Fountain	Hospital (Saint-Vincent-Marie)	$53,900	Charles Daudelin **Claude Mongrain** William Vazan
1990-91	Laurentides (15)	Environment work (outside)	Hospital (Saint-Eustache)	$67,000	**Pierre Granche** Pierre Leblanc William Vazan
1990-91/ 1991-92	Montérégie (16)	Mural Treatment (exterior)	Court House (Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu)	$72,500.	Cozic **Michel Goulet** William Vazan
1992-93	Montréal (06) (Ville St-Laurent)	Sculpture (exterior)	School	unknown	Linda Covit **J-Pierre Morin** William Vazan
1994-95	Montréal (06) (Dorval)	Sculpture (main entrance)	Municipal Library	unknown	**Danielle Sauvé** Bill Vazan C. Widgery
1994-95	Montréal (06)	Wall Treatment (outside, main entrance)	Business School (HEC)	unknown	Marcel Jean Christian Kiopini Peter Krausz Bill Vazan

considérable (et en des lieux parfois inaccessibles...) et constitue avant tout, sinon essentiellement, une forme d'art éphémère."[117] Vazan's later earth works and other creations in the land were labelled as land art works. His oeuvre in nature was "characteristic of land art--that it physically transforms nature and then itself is eroded and transformed bynature,"[118] according to John Grande, even if for Pierre Landry, Vazan's projects did not follow strictly the rule when the aspects of ephemeralness, accessibility and monumentality were considered. In 1980, land art may no longer have had to justify itself as an artistic manifestation, having relegated in the background interior sculpture. However, Vazan was still alone in practising extensively this form of art: "Bill Vazan's presence on the Québec art scene remains unique. Fighting practically singlehandedly [sic] for the status of Land Art here, he has managed to produce monumental drawings that refer to the presence of past civilizations or to early geological times."[119]

Even after he had started his land drawings and his series of spheres and globes photomontages, Vazan continued to mark the snow, with projects such as Snow Walk--Spoked Wheel and Three Snow Walks (1978-79, Queensway Interchange in Ottawa). The latter was executed with his students from University of Ottawa.[120] "Typically, Vazan's work follows several threads simultaneously,"[121] nonetheless, his creation tended to focus more on direct work in nature, recorded on film, video, photographs. Vazan could not be categorized as a sculptor, photographer, or land artist: he was "each one by turn, as it suits his purpose. At the centre of his art are his personal, multiple interactions with the outside world, and the impulse to order or conceptualize his experience is its underlying logic."[122] Hence the ritualistic aspect of his art, as observed by Paul Heyer and, consequently, the possibility to leave the work behind, to the elements. Lise Lamarche observed that Vazan was

not the only artist of the time who rejected the lasting monumental. The interest in far away past, in archaeology, manifest during the period 1965-70, in the work of artists such as Alice Aycock, Michael Heizer, Robert Morris, Anne and Patrick Poirier, Robert Smithson, Charles Simonds, Bill Vazan would never yield ruins, precisely because of the ephemeral nature of their work.[123] All land artists did not have the same aim: "For some artists this responded to the necessity of dealing with the urban context and its alienating effect, for others it became a matter of re-rooting the work within a historical site, re-engaging the notion of art not as a distinct object, but as the means to mediate between the subjective and the objective."[124] Vazan appears to have belonged to the latter group.

Vazan's oeuvre has dealt with space, time, nature, but he has also requested that the body be engaged in this discovery process. Paul Heyer observes that Vazan's early projects and interest coincided "with the rise of the modern conceptual art movement and antedating many similar works done by international and local artists over the last several years."[125] Vazan's work in the land evolved over time: at first minimal statements, they became, according to Heyer, more intricate as symbols. It seems that it was difficult to cast the artist's work into one category. For James Campbell, by 1993, Vazan was more an imaginal artist than a conceptual one, as his language was mythic-symbolic.[126]

Vazan's work in nature also questioned man's relation to architecture. For Heyer,

> Vazan's work [i.e., the globes and visual spheres projects] can make us aware of common properties that are unsuspected . . . . From the pre-Columbian Americas, to ancient Greece, to the European Renaissance, to the modern industrial world, similar motifs are repeated in the structure of architectural space.[127]

Lamarche found that Vazan's domain was precisely that described by Rosalind Krauss: not architecture and not landscape, as he did not "landscape" the sites he selected.[128]

In 1981, art historian and critic Lucy Lippard praised Vazan's work in those terms:

> Vazan is one of the artists who has most thoroughly pulled together . . . semiotics, the time-and-space or sky-and-earth overlay, the notion of wholeness and rebirth connected to a local and national consciousness. . . . Vazan has become a self-appointed national prehistorian of eastern Canada--a truly public artist who draws local history into the land for all to learn from.[129]

Campbell found that there was an ecological aspect to Vazan's work which referred to the ancient times when man was living in symbiosis with nature, instead of ruining it: "Long before it was fashionable or recognised (at least by some) as being a necessity, he demonstrated a fidelity to, close affiliation with and care for the lived--environment and the ecological integrity of planet Earth"[130] Campbell continued: "His work awakens our ecological conscience. . . . it functions as a meta–commentary on nature and our attitudes towards it in Modernity."[131] Moreover, as John Grande has pointed out, Vazan has helped us, with both his land art projects and his photographs, to question our perception of the landscape and the assumptions we have of its understanding.[132]

The works created over the years by Bill Vazan, with all the various forms it took, has the characteristics of post-modern art as defined by Rosalind Krauss, and presented earlier. The sculptures were not sculptures in the classical understanding, not even in the modern one. The numerous works in the land, be they with paint, rocks or snow, belonged rather to the new zone proposed by Krauss. Vazan's oeuvre, however, was not only post-modern as per Krauss' proposition. His projects embodied in several respects Charles Jencks' definition of Post-

modernism. In particular, their transnational, transcultural, universe-oriented aspects, presented above, rejoins Jenck's definition as "the desire to live across cultural zones and time"[133] and allows us to qualify his body of work of being post-modern.

Conclusion

Bill Vazan received his first artistic training in the 1950s, without graduating. The beaux-arts approach did not suit him and he wandered for a short time before finding his own artistic expression. Despite early positive reviews of his paintings, he expanded his practice as an artist to include photographs, earth works and land art in general. He earned his bachelor degree in art after having discovered by himself a precocious interest in land art. From the early 1960s onward, he constantly explored the multiple facets of his art. He refused to be trapped into a limited category, even though he was mainly identified as a conceptual artist and a land artist.

Vazan started to do land art at the same time other North American and European artists did, and he should be included in the first generation of major land artists. His projects were either in the city or in remote places, landscapes, Antique constructions or contemporary ones. His projects may have been created out in the open, but they were never outside the artistic field (except for his early ones). Vazan always managed to be affiliated with major museums and art galleries. He even co-founded an avant-garde art gallery in Montréal in order to have the needed "vehicle" for his art projects. Vazan's work has been created and exhibited all over the world, yet his adopted home town, Montréal, has almost always been cold to his art. He benefited from the support of some

art critics (Lamy, Thériault, Toupin), but the established public institutions, it seems, only supported him half-heartedly. Vazan's art was more accepted and valued in other parts of Canada than in Québec. However, in the 1980s, he took part in major artistic manifestations in Québec, but outside Montréal. Earlier, in the 1970s, he was part of some art events in Montréal organized by or involving another fellow artist, Melvin Charney: Montreal: Plus or Minus?, Québec 75 and Corridart. It seems that Montréal was not receptive to Vazan's art, even non-controversial public art. The City of Lachine acquired two of Vazan's petroglyphs, and Ville de Laval, one. The City of Montréal refused to acquire one of Vazan's pieces. In fact, Vazan did very few pieces of public art stemming from the provincial competition programme or from the City of Montréal (he competed against Melvin Charney for the CCA Garden and for Place Berri; see chapters five and fifteen).

In sum, Vazan's art offers one facet of post-modernism in art. Even though he sought freedom and independence from the art market, he needed the support of the artistic milieu and institutions. His proposals for permanent urban public art were unwelcome in Montréal. Is it because they were neither sculpture nor landscape (Krauss)? With that respect, the fate of Vazan's land art in Montréal was similar to that of other American artists (see chapter two). His pieces were hardly marketable, still vaguely identified with the avant-garde (i.e., hard to understand, hermetic).

[1] Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, Musée d'art contemporain, Fiche renseignements filled by Bill Vazan, one dated 3 February 1969 and the other, July 1969. William (Bill) Vazan's résumés, dated June 1970 and October 1973; "Dossier de presse de Bill Vazan par le Centre de documentation Musée du Québec," Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Éditeur officiel du Québec, November 1974. All these documents were consulted at the Médiathèque of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Montréal, Bill Vazan' s file no. 2707D. While in Paris, Vazan met artist Claude Théberge, who helped him to get acquainted with the French system. Vazan did not speak French, or very little, back then. Bill Vazan, interview by author, Tape un-recording, Montréal, 30 January 1997. Unrecorded conversation, author with Bill Vazan, at the artist studio, 4060 St. Laurent Boulevard, 27 March 1998.

[2] According to David Burnett, Vazan was drawing projects as early as 1957 (Montréal Raft), and "from 1962 he had been systematically developing projects that were concerned with interventions or impositions in the landscape." David Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," in Bill Vazan Ghostings (Montréal: Artexte Information Centre, 1985), 12. However, Vazan himself considered that he was not, then, expressing himself as an artist. Normand Biron, "Bill Vazan Géographe de l'espace intérieur," Le Devoir, 22 February 1986, p. 44; Bill Vazan's résumés; leaflet, "Bill Vazan," collection "40 artists of the Quebec Professional Artists Society," Les Éditions Yvan Boulerice, no date; "Vazan's 'tape marking'," Esso Reporter, 29 July 1969, 16; Irene Heywood, "Concept is what it's called," Montreal Star, 27 May 1972, Entertainments p. C 8; Bill Vazan, "Interview: Bill Vazan" by France Renaud, Claude de Guise, Ronald Richard, and Normand Thériault, Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA), Tape recording, Montréal, 1975; Michael Mitchell, "Landscape Artist," Gazette, 28 March 1981, p. 5, 16. Vazan's employer appears to have encouraged him in his artistic journey. In 1968, the company gave a press release about its recent buying of one of Vazan's painting. See Le Devoir, 12 October 1968, p. 15; Judith Scolnik, "Foreword," to the catalogue "Art in the Park-ing Lot" Bill Vazan (Toronto: Galerie Dresdnere, 1989), n. p.

[3] Lise Lamarche, "Sans titre," in Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Musée d'art contemporain, 1981), p. 22, note 13; Lawrence Sabbath, "Nothing down-to-earth about Vazan's art," Gazette, 1 March 1986, p. D 7; James D. Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance (Kingston, ON: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1993), 30; Hélène G. Adams, "Montreal Galleries," Montreal Magazine, February 1989, 55; Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, La Collection Lavalin du Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal: Le partage d'une vision

(Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme and le Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1994), 263; Bill Vazan's résumés.
[4] Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 2-3; Michael White, "Vazan's tapes open concepts to all the people," Gazette, 16 January 1971, p. 41.
[5] Michael Ballantyne, "Exhibitions in town," Montreal Star, 12 October 1968, Entertainments, p. 10; Robert Millet, "Parenthèse d'une mare à l'autre," Le Magazine Maclean, April 1969, 89; Normand Thériault, "Une peinture de la contradiction," La Presse, 12 October 1968, p. 46.
[6] Bill Vazan' s file at the Médiathèque, including his résumés; leaflet, "Bill Vazan"; Thériault, "Une peinture de la contradiction," p. 46; Millet, "Parenthèse d'une mare à l'autre," 89; Normand Thériault, " 'Sondage 69': un parti pris antitableau," La Presse, 24 May 1969, p. 44; Kay Kritzwiser, "An imaginary line across the country," Globe and Mail (Toronto), 9 January 1970, p. 11; Irene Heywood, "Is a black line across Canada art?," Gazette, 17 January 1970, p. 18; Virginia Nixon, "Bill Vazan's dates Goodbye to art as an object," Gazette, 31 May 1975, p. 50; Gilles Toupin, "Attention! Attention! les barbares entrent au musée," La Presse, 23 February 1974, p. C 15.
[7] Bill Vazan's résumé; Canada House Gallery publication; Millet, "Parenthèse d'une mare à l'autre," 89; Heywood, "Is a black line across Canada art?," p. 18; Jean-Pierre Boyer, "De l'esthétique de l'objet à l'esthétique de l'idée," Ateliers 1, no. 8 (10 December 1972): 2; Gilles Toupin, "La géographie de Bill Vazan," Vie des arts, no. 69 (Winter 1972-73): 60, 62-63, trans. Mildred Grand, 98-99; Paul Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," in Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Musée d'art contemporain, 1981), 27; Lucy R. Lippard, Overlay: Contemporary Art and the Art of Prehistory (New York: The New Press, 1983), 154-55; Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 25; R. Bella Rabinovitch, "The other body," in Bill Vazan (Montréal: Saidye Bronfman Centre, 1987), 8, 11; William Vazan and Paul Heyer, "Conceptual art: Transformation of natural and of cultural environments," Leonardo 7 (1974): 202, 204; Vazan, "Interview," ICA. Photographs of some of these works were presented at the Musée du Québec, for the retrospective exhibtion Bill Vazan. See Gilles Toupin, untitled text in Bill Vazan (n. p.: Musée du Québec, 1974); Bill Vazan Activities (Downsview, ON: Art Gallery of York University, 1974), n. p.; Pierre Landry, "Commentaire sur quelques dessins," in Bill Vazan Ghostings.
[8] Later called Rock alignments and pilings, in the Canada House Gallery publication, Trafalgar Square, London, September 1978. Text to present Bill Vazan's photoworks and videotapes, 7 September-11 October 1978.
[9] Vazan, "Conceptual art," 201-205.

[10] Thériault, "Une peinture de la contradiction," p. 46; Millet, "Parenthèse d'une mare à l'autre," 89; Ballantyne, "Exhibitions in town," Entertainments, p. 10; Irene Heywood, "Other shows: Interesting work abounds," Gazette, 12 October 1968, p. 47.
[11] Millet, "Parenthèse d'une mare à l'autre," 89; Heywood, "Is a black line across Canada art?," p. 18; Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 3.
[12] Vazan, "Conceptual art," 204-205.
[13] Normand Thériault, "L'idée-objet," La Presse, 8 February 1969, p. 43; Millet, "Parenthèse d'une mare à l'autre," 89.
[14] Museum invitation to artists as quoted in Robert Ayre, "Re Survey 69: one says skip it . . .," Montreal Star, 24 May 1969, Entertainments p. 10.
[15] Irene Heywood, "Survey '69: what's wrong with our visual arts?," Gazette, 24 May 1969, p. 37.
[16] Michael White, ". . . and the other says see it," Montreal Star, 24 May 1969, Entertainments p. 25.
[17] The twelve artists included Charles Gagnon (painting), Guy Montpetit (painting), Henry Saxe (sculpture), Daniel Solomon, who exhibited a box with grass, Karl Beveridge (installation), Peter Kolysnik (plexiglas construction which explored the optical possibilities of the medium), Ian Wallace (installation), N.E. Thing Co. (Ian Baxter), David Gordon (painting/sculpture). For a review of the exhibition, see Ayre, "Skip it," p. 10; Heywood, "Survey '69: what's wrong," p. 37; Thériault, "Sondage 69," p. 44; White, "See it," p. 11, 22, 25; "Vazan's 'tape marking'," 16.
[18] Thériault, "Sondage 69," p. 44; White, "See it," p. 11, 22, 25; White, "Vazan's tapes open concepts to all the people," p. 41; Barry Lord, "The Eleven O'Clock News in Colour," Artscanada, no. 144-45 (June 1970): 14; Irene Heywood, "His angle is art," Montreal Star, 13 March 1971, Entertainments p. 34; Bill Vazan's résumé.
[19] Bill Vazan's résumé; Heywood, "His angle is art," Entertainments p. 34; Heywood, "Is a black line across Canada art?," p. 18; Kay Kritzwiser, "An imaginary line across the country," Globe and Mail, 9 January 1970, p. 11; "News and notes," Studio International 179, no. 920 (March 1970): 90; Vazan, "Conceptual art," 205.
[20] Vazan, "Conceptual art," 205; William Vazan, Worldline 1969-71 (Montréal: William Vazan, 1971).
[21] Vazan, Worldline 1969-71. See also Irwin Gopnik and Myrna Gopnik, "The Semantics of Concept Art," Artscanada, no. 154-55 (April-May 1971): 63; Laurent Lamy, "L'art conceptuel," Vie des arts, no. 64 (Fall 1971): 30-33, trans. Yvonne Kirbyson, 87; France Renaud, "Qu'est-ce qu'une ligne? Une série de points. . . Que fait Vazan? Une série de lignes," Mediart 1, no. 5 (April 1972): G 4; Michael White, "Around the galleries this week," Gazette, 13 March 1971, p. 47.

[22] William Vazan's résumé; Louise Déry, Un archipel de désirs: Les artistes du Québec et la scène internationale (n. p.: Musée du Québec, 1991), 15; Gopnik, "The Semantics of Concept Art," 61-63; Lamy, "L'art conceptuel," 30-33, 87-88; Renaud, "Qu'est-ce qu'une ligne?," G 4.
[23] White, "Vazan's tapes open concepts to all the people," p. 41; see also Heywood, "His angle is art," p. 34.
[24] White, "Vazan's tapes open concepts to all the people," p. 41. In 1975, Vazan affirmed that his art did not yield any income, contrary to painters such as Guido Molinari or C. Tousignant who could live from their art: "ils font un type de marchandise que l'élite aimerait posséder, ils n'ont plus de liberté, ils sont obligés de faire ce produit." Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 8. Later, Vazan exhibited and sold some of the documents pertaining to his land art projects, in order to finance some more projects. Jocelyne Lepage, "Bill Vazan: Des traces partout au monde," La Presse, 1 March 1986, p. F 1.
[25] Gopnik, "The Semantics of Concept Art," 61.
[26] Lamy, "L'art conceptuel," 87.
[27] Ibid., 88. This was particularly true of the French media. In this article, Lamy presents the definition of conceptual art as put forward at the third Salon international des galeries-pilotes. A year later, in April 1972, Gilles Toupin re-affirmed that since 1969, conceptual art was discussed everywhere in the world, except "here", understood as Montréal. Gilles Toupin, "Une oeuvre planétaire," La Presse, 8 April 1972, p. D 14.
[28] Vazan, Worldline 1969-71; Toupin, "Une oeuvre planétaire," p. D 14; Michael White, "Art's radical fringe--from janitors to computer print-outs," Gazette, 15 April 1972, p. 50; Renaud, "Qu'est-ce qu'une ligne?," G 4; Heywood, "Concept is what it's called," p. C 8; "In View," Art and artists, May 1972, 14-15.
[29] Gilles Toupin, "L'Alternative du Groupe Véhicule," Vie des arts 17, no. 70 (Spring 1973): 95, trans. Mildred Grand; leaflet "Bill Vazan." In that leaflet, the date of the foundation of the gallery is 1971. Later, Chantal Pontbriand offered her view regarding the origins and evolution of Vehicule. Chantal Pontbriand, "Québec 75 postface de Chantal Pontbriand," Parachute (January-February-March 1976): 32-33.
[30] Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 6.
[31] The Vehicule artists were Gary Coward, Tom Dean, Jean-Marie Delavalle, François Déry, André Dutkewych, Suzy Lake, Dennis Lukas, Kelly Morgan, Gunter Nolte, Henry Saxe, Serge Tousignant, Bill Vazan. Toupin, "L'Alternative du Groupe Véhicule," 95.
[32] Bill Vazan quoted in Boyer, "De l'esthétique de l'objet à l'esthétique de l'idée," 2. See also Paul Heyer, "La nature et la culture," Ateliers 1, no. 6 (10 December 1972): 3; Gilles Toupin, "Entre la terre et la peinture," La

Presse, 23 December 1972, p. D 15; Michael White, "Two conceptual art shows guaranteed to bore you," Gazette, 16 December 1972, p. 36.
[33] Boyer, "De l'esthétique de l'objet à l'esthétique de l'idée," 2; Heyer, "La nature et la culture," 3.
[34] Heyer, "La nature et la culture," 3.
[35] Gilles Toupin, "Pour un bilan," La Presse, 28 April 1973, p. D 16; Bill Vazan's résumé.
[36] Vazan quoted in Henry Lehmann, "Objects and reflections," Montreal Star, 2 March 1974, Entertainments p. D 4. See also Gilles Toupin, "De l'art en trois temps," La Presse, 5 May 1973, p. D 6; Gilles Toupin, "Bill Vazan ou de l'oeuvre d'art comme une sonde," La Presse, 16 February 1974, p. E 15; Toupin, untitled text in Bill Vazan; Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 4.
[37] Lehmann, "Objects and reflections," Entertainments p. D 4.
[38] Virginia Nixon, "Harold Town and the Vehicule make strange bedfellows," Gazette, 9 March 1974, p. 50. For that exhibition, some artists (Jean-Marie Delavalle, François Déry, Bill Vazan, Kelly Morgan) experimented with nature. Toupin, "Attention! Attention!," p. C 15.
[39] Georges Bogardi, " 'An exciting thing to watch'," Montreal Star, 2 March 1974, Entertainments p. D 4; Nixon, "Harold Town and the Vehicule make strange bedfellows," p. 50; Toupin, "Attention! Attention!," p. C 15; Toupin, untitled text in Bill Vazan.
[40] Bogardi, " 'An exciting thing to watch'," Entertainments p. D 4.
[41] Pierre Vallières, "Les périphéries de l'impuissance," Le Devoir, 23 March 1974, p. 26. Artist Françoise Sullivan, one of the signataries of Refus Global, was among the artists who exhibited. Young artists in the show included Francine Larivée, Suzy Lake, Andrew Dutkewych, who have all later been involved in several projects of the 1% programme.
[42] Toupin, untitled text in Bill Vazan; Jean Royer, "Chercheur artistique: pourquoi pas . . .?," Le Soleil, 27 September 1974, p. 8; Jean Royer, "'L'idée' comme oeuvre d'art," Le Soleil, 4 October 1974, p. A 19; Jean Royer, "Le tour des galeries," Le Soleil, 5 October 1974, p. D 7; Jean Royer, "Bill Vazan au musée: l'art le plus simple," Le Soleil, 19 October 1974, p. D 8; Jean Royer, "Le tour des galeries," Le Soleil, 26 October 1974, p. D 11; "Bill Vazan au Musée du Québec: Nature, société et formes simples," Le Jour, 25 October 1974, p. 13; Gilles Toupin, "D'une exposition à l'autre," La Presse, 26 October 1974, p. E 19; "Communiqué" "Au Musée du Québec Du 3 octobre au 28 octobre 1974 Bill Vazan."
[43] Henry Lehmann and Georges Bogardi, "Papal portrait a coup for Canada," Montreal Star, 9 October 1974, p. C 1. The epithet of being "the most prominent" of conceptual artists was extended to Québec in 1975. In

Georges Bogardi, "Information-art," Montreal Star, 24 May 1975, Entertainments p. D 6.
[44] Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 4-5; Lamarche, "Sans titre," 9, 19; Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 9-33; Landry, "Commentaire sur quelques dessins," 34-48.
[45]Virginia Nixon, "Bill Vazan's dates Goodbye to art as an object," Gazette, 31 May 1975, p. 50; see also Bill Vazan's résumé; Bill Vazan Activities, n. p.; Lamarche, "Sans titre," 9. Vazan was not invited to a Documenta in Kassel, nor a Biennial in São Paulo, according to Déry, Un archipel de désirs, 190, 192.
[46] Vazan, "Conceptual art," 203.
[47] Ibid., 201-202, see also 204. Vazan remained true to his credo. In 1985, Vazan reiterated the idea that "both the ideas and the finished works have equal importance." Bill Vazan, "Introduction," to Bill Vazan Ghostings, 4.
[48] "Il n'y a pas de lien direct entre son travail et le mien qui pourtant, ont été exécutés à la même période." Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 7. In 1971, Richard Long created a stone maze, Connemara Sculpture, as can be seen and contrasted with Vazan's 1975-76 Stone Maze, in Lippard, Overlay, 154-55.
[49] Vazan, "Conceptual art," 202.
[50] Ibid., 203.
[51] Augustin Berque et al., Cinq propositions pour une théorie du paysage (n. p.: Éditions Champ Vallon, 1994).
[52] Vazan, "Conceptual art," 202-203.
[53] Ibid., 204.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 30.
[57] Vazan, "Interview," ICA, p. 6.
[58] Bogardi, "Information-art," p. D 6.
[59] Ibid.; Nixon, "Bill Vazan's dates Goodbye," p. 50.
[60]Normand Thériault in Bill Vazan obras recientes (Buenos Aires: Centro de arte y communicacion, 1975), 3.
[61] Guy Sioui Durand, L'art comme alternative (Québec: Éditions Intervention, 1997), 57, 111-12, 266-68.
[62] Dale McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," Artscanada 33-2, no. 206-207 (July-August 1976): 44.
[63] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 31; see also 51.
[64] Lippard, Overlay, 154; Normand Thériault, "Démarche," in Bill Vazan (Paris: Centre culturel canadien, 1976), 10.

[65] John K. Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates: An overview of photoworks 1981-1995 (n. p.: The Art Gallery of Peterborough, 1996), 16.
[66] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 29, 31, 51.
[67] Paul Heyer "Untitled," in Bill Vazan obras recientes, 4; see also Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 29-30.
[68] Diana Nemiroff, "Axial structures," in Bill Vazan Recent Photoworks and Videotapes (London: Canada House Gallery, 1978), 15 pages. Vazan acknowledged the evolution of his interest in photography in Bill Vazan, "Aménagement conceptuel," Urbanisme, no. 168-69 (1978): 106.
[69] Heyer "Untitled," 4; see also Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context."
[70] Bill Vazan obras recientes; Bill Vazan Recent Photoworks and Videotapes; Diana Nemiroff, "Les Planètes de Vazan," Vie des arts 24, no. 95 (Summer 1979): 22-24, trans. Marie-Sylvie Fortier-Rolland, 86-87; Diana Nemiroff, "Bill Vazan Unfolding and Heaping," New York: 49th Parallel/49e Parallèle Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, 1982, 4 pages, n. p.; Lamarche, "Sans titre"; Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates, 27, 30; Canada House Cultural Affairs Trafalgar Square London, "Canada House Gallery 7 September – 11 October Bill Vazan Photoworks and Videotapes," September 1978. Consult Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks for photographs of those projects. Vazan uses the term "photomosaic" in Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates, 31.
[71]The 1991 photomontage was not a sphere. Rather it reminds of the artist's early photomontage. Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 66-67; Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates, 7-8. Grande's text analyses several of the photoworks created in the 1980s.
[72] Vazan, "Aménagement conceptuel," 106; Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 16-17.
[73] Nemiroff, "Bill Vazan Unfolding and Heaping," n. p. Nemiroff establishes a comparison with land artist Hamish Fulton.
[74] Ibid., n. p.
[75] Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates, 27.
[76] Céline de Guise, "Actualité/Expositions," ETC Montréal, Fall 1985, 70-73.
[77] "Bill Vazan presents..." invitation to the opening held on 30 May 1977; Gilles Toupin, "Bill Vazan: promenons-nous dans les bois...," La Presse, 18 June 1977, p. D 19; Virginia Nixon, "Pretty pastel women gaze over artist's first solo show," Gazette, 2 July 1977, p. 36.
[78] Exhibition from 20 August through 23 October 1977. Art Gallery of Ontario, "Planetary Works Scott/Vazan," News Release, 12 August 1977, 1 page. The exhibition Oeuvres Planétaires, was presented in 1977, at Galerie Shandar, in Paris. Bill Vazan's résumé in "Bill Vazan," 49th Parallel Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, New York City, 1982.

[79] Thériault, "Démarche," 11; Lamarche, "Sans titre," 22, note 17.
[80] Of the sort used to draw lines in football fields. Vicky Sanderson, "Those lines aren't squiggles, they're landscape art," Globe and Mail, 5 November 1981, p. 16. Those works are often described as "chalk on grass" or "chalk on turf."
[81] The study of the evolution of Vazan's work makes this statement possible. During the research, we found out that Paul Heyer, who had been following Vazan's work since 1971, had reached the same conclusion and made the same assertion. See Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 24.
[82] Bill Vazan Recent Photoworks and Videotapes, 10 (caption).
[83] Lamarche, "Sans titre," 10.
[84] Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 17.
[85] Vazan, "Introduction," 108-109.
[86] "Oeuvre impressionnante," Le Soleil, 5 September 1979, p. H 1; Andrea Doucet, "60 students on project: The biggest drawing of all," Excalibur, 27 October 1977, 1, 15; Arlette Blanchet, "Bill Vazan: Suites photographiques récentes et oeuvres sur le terrain," Ateliers 8, no. 4 (September 1980): 1-3; Nemiroff, "Bill Vazan Unfolding and Heaping"; Nemiroff, "Axial structures"; Nemiroff, "Les Planètes de Vazan," 22-24, 86-87; Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks; Mitchell, "Landscape Artist," p. 5, 16; Sanderson, "Those lines aren't squiggles," p. 16; Pierre Restany, "Land-art in Canada," Domus (Milan), Summer 1981, 3; Lippard, Overlay, 61, 87, 154-57; Lamarche, "Sans titre"; Guy Plamondon, "Bill Vazan," 49th Parallel Centre For Contemporary Canadian Art, New York, 1982. Photographs of Ghostings, Sun Zone, Epicentre with Slip, etc., in Bill Vazan Recent Photoworks and Videotapes, 10-11; Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 42-43, 63; La Chambre Blanche, "Communiqué" about the event and the exhibition of Vazan's work, no date.
[87] Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks, 63, photograph, p. 62.
[88] Ibid., 39.
[89] Ibid., 28; Nemiroff, "Les Planètes de Vazan," 23; Gilles Toupin, "À l'heure de la sculpture Chicoutimi "sympose"/Le symposium de Chicoutimi Au-delà de la sculpture," La Presse, 26 July 1980, p. B 1, B 8; Régis Tremblay, "21 finalistes au Symposium de Chicoutimi," Le Soleil, 5 March 1980, p. G 5; "Les projets de sculpture des dix finalistes," Le Sympographe, May-June 1980, p. 4-5. Vazan took also part in the Colloquium, another part of the Symposium. In Richard Martel, "Le colloque: un compte rendu circonstancié," La revue Intervention, no. 9 (Fall 1980): 32-36. According to the report by the Department of Public Works (Canada), "Advisory Committee on Art, Fine Art Reference File," Edition VI, 1974-75, the nature of the work of art for the post office in

Terrebonne was still "under consideration," but the proposed date of installation was February 7, 1974 (p. 27).
[90] "Bill Vazan," La revue Intervention, no. 9 (Fall 1980): 7.
[91] Ibid., 6-7; Bill Vazan obras recientes; Nemiroff, "Axial structures"; Lamarche, "Sans titre"; Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 28-30; Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks, 51; Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 26; Lippard, Overlay, 154-55. About the Symposium, see Serge Fisette, Symposiums de sculpture au Québec 1964-1997 (n. p.: Centre de Diffusion 3D, 1997), 48-51. In an interview published in Inter, Vazan affirms that Outlickan Meskina was his first permanent project.
[92] Plamondon, "Bill Vazan," n.p.; Lippard, Overlay, 139; Bill Vazan Ghostings, 144-45. It has been reported only once, and later, that Vazan did some work in the mud earlier on. See table 10. Rabinovitch also reports about a later project with tire tracks: Tire Tracks (1987). Rabinovitch, "The other body," 11.
[93] Bill Vazan Ghostings, 143; Gilles Toupin, "Manifestations à Eustis: Treize artistes dans le paysage," La Presse, 11 September 1982, p. C 24; Louise Poissant, "Un pied sur le terrain, un pied dans la galerie," in Bill Vazan (Montréal: Saidye Bronfman Centre, 1987), 33.
[94] Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 16; see also p. 17.
[95] During the 1975-86 period, Vazan made four trips to Peru, in order to create earth works. In November 1985, Vazan made there eight drawings inspired by the Nasca Indians' mythology. Vazan went back in 1986 when he created Momia #3, (1 foot x 300 feet x 420 feet or 90 metres x 130 metres) by scraping and placing stones. Also in 1986, he made Windwheel (Remolino #2), sort of relief in the sand. James D. Campbell, "Bill Vazan: Introduction to the Cosmogony," in Vazan (Toronto: Galerie Dresdnere, 1989), n. p.; Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance; Bill Vazan Ghostings, 144; Lepage, "Bill Vazan: Des traces partout au monde," p. F 1; Poissant, "Un pied sur le terrain, un pied dans la galerie," 37, 58; Rabinovitch, "The other body," 11.
[96] Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 33.
[97] Bill Vazan Ghostings; Jocelyne Lepage, "De Saint-Malo à Lévis: Bill Vazan et la dorsale atlantique," La Presse, 11 August 1984, p. B 18.
[98] Poissant, "Un pied sur le terrain, un pied dans la galerie," 33; see also 57; Lepage, "Bill Vazan: Des traces partout au monde," p. F 1; Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 51-67; Rabinovitch, "The other body," 15, 17.
[99] Mircea Eliade in Campbell, "Bill Vazan: Introduction to the Cosmogony," n. p.; see also Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 13.
[100] According to the documents consulted, there were drawings of petroglyphs dated 1983 and 1984. In 1986, Vazan exibited Head Maze and Rock Conversation, in a retrospective exhibition, Bill Vazan Projects

1963-1986: Dessins et esquisses, discussed below. He also exhibited some "small" (25 to 600 pounds per stone or 11.3 to 272.2 kilograms per stone) petroglyphs in 1986 at the Saidye Bronfman Centre. In 1992, he also presented some petroglyphs of smaller dimension (1987-92) at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre. Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance; Sabbath, "Nothing down-to-earth about Vazan's art," p. D 7; Rabinovitch, "The other body," 15, 17, 20, 22; Poissant, "Un pied sur le terrain, un pied dans la galerie," 27.

[101] Campbell, "Bill Vazan: Introduction to the Cosmogony," n. p.; see also Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 9, 23; Leaflet "Visitez une des grandes collections de sculptures en plein air d'Amérique" published by City of Lachine. In the leaflet, the dimension given for Story Rock is 8 feet (2.4 metres) diameter.

[102] Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 16; Adams, "Montreal Galleries," 55; Campbell, "Bill Vazan: Introduction to the Cosmogony," n. p.; Rabinovitch, "The other body," 8, 17, 22.

[103] "L'Esprit des lieux," leaflet for inscription; Louise Déry, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 21 January 1997.

[104] Galerie Gilles Gheerbrant, communiqué "pour diffusion immédiate," 4 May 1988, 1 page; Campbell, "Bill Vazan: Introduction to the Cosmogony," n. p.; Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 35.

[105] In one reference, the weight is said to be 23 tons, and the rock of pink granite. Galerie Gilles Gheerbrant, communiqué, 4 May 1988; Campbell, "Bill Vazan: Introduction to the Cosmogony," n. p., including "Foreword" by Judith Scolnik; Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 36; Claire Gravel, "Irrévérencieux Verhaegen," Le Devoir, 14 May 1988, p. C 10; Adams, "Montreal Galleries," 55.

[106] Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 37, 43, 45; Ann Duncan, "Sculptor organising $400,000 display for Old Port," Gazette, 24 March 1992, p. A 3; invitation to the opening of the exhibition of the models for the monumental sculptures, held on 16-27 March; leaflet published by City of Lachine. Louise Déry was one of the jury members.

[107] Corridart and Artpark in 1976, Le Symposium International de Sculpture Environnementale de Chicoutimi in 1980, L'Esprit des lieux in 1987 and Seoul sculpture park in 1988. Vazan's file at the Médiathèque.

[108] In addition to tables 9 and 12: In 1977, in Sao Paulo, Brazil; in 1978, in Los Angeles, USA and at the Canada House Gallery in London, England; in 1979, in Milan, Italy. Vazan's file at the Médiathèque.

[109] In addition to tables 9 and 12: AGO, Toronto in 1975, in 1978 in Winnipeg and Toronto. Toronto in 1979. Vazan's file at the Médiathèque.

[110] In addition to tables 9 and 12: exhibition outdoors of the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art of the monumental sculpture Calendrier

Solaire, Summer 1975; Forum '76 at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. Vazan's file at the Médiathèque.

[111] Blanchet, "Bill Vazan: Suites photographiques récentes," 1-3; Nemiroff, "Bill Vazan Unfolding and Heaping"; Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks; Karyn Allen, "Bill Vazan: Recent Land and Photoworks," in WAG (The Winnipeg Art Gallery), February 1981, p. 4-5.

[112] Most of the texts referred to allude to this dichotomy and differentiation in the nature of the work of art. See among others, Heyer, Lamarche, Sanderson, and Vazan himself, quoted above. See also Normand Biron, "Bill Vazan Géographe de l'espace intérieur," Le Devoir, 22 February 1986, p. 44. John Grande examines the relationship between the artist's land art and photoworks, including early ones. Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates.

[113] Lepage, "Bill Vazan: Des traces partout au monde," p. F 1; Biron, "Bill Vazan Géographe de l'espace intérieur," p. 44; Sabbath, "Nothing down-to-earth about Vazan's art," p. D 7; Paulette Gagnon and Pierre Landry, Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1985), 302-303; Rabinovitch, "The other body"; Poissant, "Un pied sur le terrain, un pied dans la galerie," 38.

[114] Isabelle Paré, "Cinq artistes sont retenus pour réaliser le monument du square Berri," Le Devoir, 29 March 1990, p. 2.

[115] Bill Vazan's file at the Médiathèque, including: Canada House Cultural Affairs Trafalgar Square London, "Canada House Gallery 7 September – 11 October Bill Vazan Photoworks and Videotapes," September 1978; Bill Vazan Recent Photoworks and Videotapes; Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances actuelles au Québec (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1980); Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks, 80; Lise Lamarche, "Tendances actuelles au Québec: La Sculpture," Ateliers 7, no. 3-4 (April-May 1979): 5-6; Gilles Toupin, "Les voies incertaines de notre sculpture," La Presse, 23 December 1978, p. B 20; René Viau, "Tendances actuelles: 2ème et dernier volet," Le Devoir, 30 December 1978, p. 16.

[116] Hélène Pagé from the Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, report "Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture Programmation 1979-1982 Liste des projets" (n. p., December 1981), 44 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1981-1982 du Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, April 1982), 24 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1982-1983 du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, June 1983), 25 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1983-1984

Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts et du cadre de vie, May 1984), 32 pages; "Bilan des opérations 1984-1985 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, September 1985), 38 pages; "Bilan des opérations Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec 1985-1986" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, June 1986), 53 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1986-1987" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes, July 1987), 46 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1987-1988" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes Secrétariat à l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, August 1988), 29 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1988-1989" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1989), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan des opérations 1989-1990" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1990), 41 pages; Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" incl. Bilan 1990-91 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991), 83 pages; Affaires culturelles, "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1991-1992" (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1992), 55 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1992-1993" (n. p: Ministère de la Culture, Direction de l'aide aux artistes, aux arts visuels et aux métiers d'art, 1993), 40 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1993-1994" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1994), 32 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1994-1995" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1995), 43 pages; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1995-1996" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1996), 44 pages; "Bilan 1996-1997 L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1998), n. p.; Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 18; Galerie Gilles Gheerbrant, communiqué, 4 May 1988.

[117] Landry, "Commentaire sur quelques dessins," 35.
[118] Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates, 14.
[119] Claude Gosselin, "Foreword," in Bill Vazan Recent Land and Photoworks. See also Lamarche, "Sans titre." Lamarche was one of the staunchest proponents for the prominent position of land art over "sculpture d'intérieur."
[120] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 29, 58.
[121] Nemiroff, "Axial structures," 3.
[122] Nemiroff, "Les Planètes de Vazan," 86; see also Landry, "Commentaire sur quelques dessins," 34.
[123] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 30, 32; Lamarche, "Sans titre," 14-15.
[124] Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 27.
[125] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 24. See also Rabinovitch, "The other body," 8-9.
[126] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 30; Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 17, 19; Burnett, "The Irony of the Thinkable," 15.
[127] Heyer, "Cosmography in a new context," 35.
[128] Lamarche, "Sans titre," 21.
[129] Lippard, Overlay, 154.
[130] Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 9; see also p. 11; Campbell, "Bill Vazan: Introduction to the Cosmogony," n. p.
[131] Campbell, Bill Vazan A Cosmic Dance, 19.
[132] Grande, Bill Vazan Jumpgates, 22; Poissant, "Un pied sur le terrain, un pied dans la galerie," 30.
[133] Charles Jencks, What is Post-Modernism?, rev. ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1996), 14.

CHAPTER 12

MELVIN CHARNEY

1964-75: The Architect Reveals an Artist

Born in Montréal in 1935, Melvin Charney attended art classes as a young boy, at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts where he graduated from the School of Art and Design. He also demonstrated an early interest in photography. He attended McGill University School of Architecture, where he graduated in 1958. There, he received the C.P.I. Design Scholarship and the A.F. Dunlop Travelling Scholarship. Having also won the W. S. McCay Fellowship, he completed his education in architecture by attending Yale University School of Architecture (under Louis Kahn), where he received a master of architecture in 1959.[1] He then lived and worked in New York City (NYC) and Paris, which he left in 1964. Heading for Columbia University (NYC) where he was promised a teaching position, he ended up in Montréal by chance. He had first left Canada with no intention of coming back.[2]

He found Montréal bursting with energy, on both the architectural and the artistic levels. In 1964, Charney was hired by Université de Montréal, and was one of the co-founders of the School of Architecture (before, architecture was taught at the École des Beaux-Arts). He started what was to become an academic career, teaching at the School of

Architecture. He retired from his position as a full professor in 1995, becoming an emeritus professor.[3]

In addition to his academic duties, Charney undertook artistic activities. In 1964, he took part in an exhibition, the Salon des jeunes peintres, at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. In 1967, he presented a proposal for the Canadian Pavilion at the Osaka World's Fair, working with the idea of assembling existing, ordinary, industrial architectural elements.[4]

In 1969, Charney seized the opportunity to take part in a competition open to architects throughout Canada. The programme called for a building that would be an Air Force Memorial, plus a museum to air flights and a meeting place for Air Force veterans. Charney was opposed to the idea that the only reflection on architecture had to result in a building. Comforted by his experience for the Osaka Exhibition, where he used off-the-shelf elements, he firmly believed that "the raw material of the architecture of an Air Force Memorial can be found in readily available artifactual bits known to materialize for people the remembrance of air flight and Air Force."[5] Rather than designing a building, Charney created MEMOs that described and catalogued these "artifactual bits" as evidence of their memorial value and content. He addressed specific aspects of a memorial and of one dedicated to the Air Force. Charney's MEMOs were intended to be used as the sources of the design programme. Underlying this approach was the determination to have a memorial meaningful for the community as well as the will to save Canada's scarce resources (he proposed that instead the money be used for housing). In his MEMO 2, Charney referred to Robert Smithson who also had to once deal with the runway of an airport.[6] Charney deconstructed the traditional memorial. His series proposed non-building, high technology equipment, in some cases movable from place to place and useable at various times of the

day. The Air Force had modified the perception of time and space and the memorial had to account for that. Alexander Tzonis saw in Charney's architecture a plea against monumental architecture as an instrument in the hands of technocratic power.[7] Not only did Charney write about his MEMOs series in Artforum, but later on, he also exhibited the MEMOs in art related spaces. He came to explain that the publication of the Memo Series project in an art magazine finalized the rupture, for him, between art and architecture. From then on, he ceased to define himself as an architect, and he dropped the categories between "art" and "architecture."[8]

In doing the Memo Series, Charney had used several images coming from newspapers and had realized that these images had their own logic. This led him to Un Dictionnaire (at first named Dictionnaire d'Architecture) composed of a series of plates made from images distributed by the wire services of the press. A first series (1970-73), dated 1973 was in fact a work in progress. Charney posted these images on a wall, and organized a visual classification that took the form of a dictionary, each image referring or leading to another one for additional explanation, additional knowledge.[9] As for Memo Series, using images for Un Dictionnaire was a way to delve deeper into the idea of the monument:

> J'ai eu l'idée qu'une image dans un journal vue par des milliers de personnes, et davantage, . . . servait à affirmer une reconnaissance collective de l'objet. . . . . Dans l'affichage, j'ai trouvé certaines structures, des lectures extrêmement révélatrices pour ce qui est de la construction d'un monument, et de l'idéologie contemporaine face à l'objet, soit dans l'art, soit dans l'architecture, dans le sens que le monument est bien compris par la population.[10]

In Un Dictionnaire we often see men holding maquettes. Borrowing from Lévi-Strauss, Charney associated the pictures in Dictionnaire with the need for people to master their milieu through a reduction of reality that made things easier to manipulate.[11]

Charney admitted having cut for almost ten years images of events published in the first pages of the newspapers.[12] Concomitantly to his work on Un Dictionnaire, circa 1972, Charney was a member of a federal task force on low-income housing, with two colleagues from Université de Montréal, Serge Carreau and Colin Davidson. Presumably, their report spurred controversy as they "attacked the almost exclusive commitment to new construction."[13] In the summer of 1972, Charney was involved in the conception and design of the exhibition Montréal, plus ou moins?, held at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. The show shattered the traditional view as to what is considered art. With the laying out of the city as its theme, it denounced the old-fashioned conception of urbanism, that is, the recourse to demolish (subtract) in order to build (add). That was a new and ambitious enterprise that required the collaboration of artists (as we saw before, Bill Vazan was among them), architects, urban planners, citizens' action groups, as well as the provincial and municipal governments' help (which was withdrawn at the last minute). There was a record attendance for a single exhibition. The issues raised were linked to city life: the presence of slums, of uniform and inhumane skyscrapers, of pollution, of green spaces, as well as the implementation of a subtractive/additive urbanism (hence the title).[14] While the problems seemed to belong to all large cities, Charney concentrated on Montréal's specificity. The topic was relevant to the City's current state, as evidenced in chapter four of this thesis.

When comparing Montréal to other cities, Charney praised its unique urban character, noticeable by the numerous public squares, the character of the streets, and the places where crowds could gather. However, maintenance of public places left much to be desired, the car was king and pedestrians were entitled to have the street to walk in. Moreover, Charney already foresaw that the nascent underground city

favoured uniquely financial interests, that it belonged to the corporate owners of skyscrapers, not to citizens.[15] Charney sought to find specific solutions for Montréal, despite the universality of the problem:

> Montréal . . . a son propre héritage, sa propre histoire, et il y a une façon de vivre ici qui persiste jusqu'à ce jour et qui donne à la ville son pouls, son rythme unique. C'est ce que l'exposition a essayé de démontrer.[16]

For Charney, revealing Montréal's specificity had nothing to do with restoring old buildings in Old Montréal: "Quant au Vieux Montréal, c'est le Disneyland historique du Québec. . . . le véritable Vieux Montréal se trouve rue Panet où les gens vivent encore dans des conditions *historiques*."[17]

The choice of the institution was questioned by people in the art milieu, but according to Charney, it was the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts that proposed itself to house the exhibition. At first, Charney intended to go outside the museum, to reach out to the public. But, even within the museum's walls, Charney maintained that never before, in the history of Montréal, had an exhibition been so politically engaged, yet so advanced on an artistic level. The exhibition did not present the official view regarding the laying out of the city, but, instead, the citizen's viewpoint. In Charney's view, Montréal's real problem was the lack of mobilization to exert pressures against the authorities, who appeared to lack sensitivity for citizens' needs: "Le mieux qu'on puisse faire dans le contexte d'un musée, . . . [c'est] de politiser le public, de le sensibiliser à la nécessité d'agir."[18] For him, the affirmation of the collective consciousness of Montréal's citizens was at stake in the show. At first the Museum had envisioned to exhibit architects' (hence developers') projects and the power play in Montréal. As Charney took the matter into his own hands,

he managed to present the architectural value of Montréal, and involved several artists.[19]

In 1973, Charney took part in two selected group exhibitions: one at La triennale di Milano Sezione Internazionale, in Milan, and another one in Paris, Canada Trajectoire '73, at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, where he presented Quelques Monuments Nationaux. He wrote a paper about the exhibition held in Paris, explaining his Monument Series, as he termed them. Again, his interest in the occurrence of monumentality was manifest: "Monumentality is the result of a contextual displacement, isolating the iconic presence of built objects."[20] Hence, the idea of this series was "to investigate the content of monuments generated by events, outside the confines of cultural practice."[21] The events were drawn from images transmitted through the wire services between October 1970 and March 1973. Charney found out from his survey that many of these events "unlike the benign optimism that dominates cultural practice . . . objectify the physical evidence of violence."[22] His comments, again, dealt with the "economic power play" of concentrated capital involved in the construction of high rise structures. This echoed Charney's early findings about low-income housing in Canada, evoked above. In fact, he had previously written that the second part of the twentieth century opposed technology to low-income people (or no-income people) trying to house themselves: "In housing, people at the bottom of the social heap are by the very circumstances of their lives out in the frontlines of technology."[23] He had decried American and Canadian housing programmes which benefited the builders and others involved in the construction industry, but certainly not the people they were aimed to.[24]

In 1975, Charney was one of the artists selected for the controversial exhibition Québec 75/art, organized by the Institute of Contemporary Art (Montréal) and held at the Museum of Contemporary

Art.[25] This event was a break-through in Charney's work. His earlier projects (MEMO and Monument series and Montreal plus ou moins?) had been created and displayed in the context of architectural/art projects. In Québec 75, Charney was the only architect among artists. He certainly received bad reviews for what was not considered art. The local media presented him either as an urban planner or as an architect, often implying that he had no reason to be there. The screening interview referred much to his work as an architect. In the catalogue, he was also presented as an architect. The French version of the text even raised the question when does an architect become an artist: "Charney, architecte de formation, devient-il artiste quand il est intéressé par l'utopie de la réalité?"[26]

At the time of the selection for Québec 75, Charney had just completed what was for him an architectural project. The project involved calling people over the phone to survey modifications that had happened in their streets. For him, the street belonged to everybody as it was not a site slated for investment. For Charney the definition of architecture needed to be enlarged, not limited to the State's own traditional definition. He considered his work as art since he operated a transfer of meanings by displacing an object and placing it in another context.[27] He also wanted to address a museum's public because he considered that this public was already more informed, and because he was interested in the art-architecture confrontation in the context of a museum. He later added that "architecture is after all a public art"[28] and made it clear that his project was to be the sole architectonic contribution of the exhibition. He also suggested that it could be "necessary to reconstruct in a museum pieces of our immediate past in order to come to terms with our history,"[29] as it had been for parts of the Parthenon or of gothic cathedrals, found in museums. The text in the catalogue summarized the ideas presented at the interview, with a strong emphasis on architecture as a monumental art,

as an instrument of power (both private and public), which Charney aimed at reversing: monuments becoming a plea for a non-oppressive architecture, in order to renew human relations. One of the essential conditions to create a built environment more humane was for it to present traces of its memory, and get the opportunity of a social renewal through monuments.[30]

At first, Charney had thought to represent the space of a suburban residence, aiming to reconstruct, piece by piece, the typical Québec house, devoid of architecture of any sort. He envisaged a three-dimensional sort of narrative art. The typical house he described was one made of poor material, built in a poor municipality by the owner, who nonetheless had made a small triangle above the door, as the pediment of a temple. He already foresaw the contradiction in the kitsch (his term) because the elements of this little house were very strong and belonged to the monumental.[31]

Later on, Charney wrote: "The objective of this project is to explore forms of collective expression in architecture, drawing on physical evidence found in popular, proto-modern wood buildings, in Quebec, dating from the 1870's to 1920's."[32] His interest was triggered by the fact that in contemporary architecture, he believed, "the dominant forms of expression tend not to be social and collective, but private."[33] At the time, Charney situated the work as follows:

> The common, day-to-day idiom that emerged presents us with evidence of a proto-modern consciousness that prefigures ideas underlying the Modern Movement, particularly the Bauhaus. But unlike the Modern Movement, these buildings grew out of a grass roots adaptation to, and expression of, industrialization by the mass of the people, and grew into an architecture of the people rather than of the elite. . . .
>
> In Quebec, this idiom produced a North American architecture.[34]

Charney also readily understood that the idiom he proposed did not fit the "national myth" of the Québec traditional house ("la maison québécoise"), as developed by Charles Daudelin and Jean-Louis Lalonde in the early 1960s, for instance.[35] For Québec 75, he exhibited Une histoire d'architecture: Le trésor de Trois-Rivières, a wood assemblage and historic photomontage, an "exploration of the vernacular"[36] as architecture. This project was a breakthrough in Charney's work. It was the first time he used a construction made of wood to express his ideas. At first, he had only seen photographs of the house he referred to. In 1975, when visiting to see it for real, he found out the house had been demolished the previous year in the wake of an urban renewal programme. Consequently, "the only way to know the 'thing' itself would involve nothing less than building it."[37] He would recourse to such constructions for several projects to come.

1976-85: The Wood Constructions of an Artist

In 1976, in the context of Corridart, Charney erected Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke, replicating in wood, in a mirror-like image, the façade of the house opposite the street. For the artist, the "intention of this work was to draw on a ruined city site and to focus its urban form: a configuration of houses at the intersection of two main streets."[38] For the artist-architect, the context of the street was more natural for his work than the museum, the context of his previous work/construction. Once the turmoil over the disrupted exhibition was over, Charney's piece, Les maisons de la rue Sherbrooke continued to be exhibited in the form of photographs Charney took before the fatal night. It was much discussed in relation to his oeuvre.[39] As Dale McConathy perceptively wrote,

Corridart "was largely the result of ideas and projects that Charney has been evolving over a decade--concepts that break down the usual separations between the private role of the artist and the public role of the architect."[40] He concluded: "At play in CORRIDART was one of the most provocative and assimilative sensibilities working anywhere in the world. What was significant, finally, about CORRIDART was all it so brilliantly and evocatively pointed to."[41] Notwithstanding these comments, today Charney considers that Québec 75 had been much more important to him.[42]

Charney has lectured extensively about his work, often when it was being exhibited. At first, his presentations were in architecture-related contexts. Thus, in 1977, invited by the Architectural Association School of Architecture, London (England), he talked about his recent works (Memo Series, Dictionnaire d'Architecture, Une histoire d'architecture-Le trésor de Trois-Rivières, Corridart), under the title Other Monuments 1970-76. His works were presented as "essays on the idea of the monument and on architecture as cultural practice."[43] In 1977, Charney also exhibited Other Monuments, 1970-76 at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design (Gund Foundation Exhibition Series), his first solo exhibition, again in an architectural context.[44]

Quickly, those pieces were exhibited in art galleries, where Charney started to have solo exhibitions and lectured about his work. In Montréal, 1977 saw Charney (as Peter Gnass and Bill Vazan) taking part in the 03.23.03 - Premières Rencontres Internationales d'Art Contemporain organized by the Institute of Contemporary Art.[45] In Toronto, Charney had his first solo exhibition in an exclusively art related context in 1978. Other Monuments: Six Works, Melvin Charney was comprised of the four pieces presented at the London's conference, plus his newest work, Streetwork (1977), created specifically for the exhibition and built in the Art Gallery of

Ontario (AGO). Streetwork consisted of a wall inserted in the museum and extending outside of it, into the street, thus intersecting with the exterior wall of the art gallery, picking up "on the intersecting planes of Suprematist painting."[46] Charney intended to create a construction that would interact with the existing building. With hindsight, we appreciate those ideas that would be further developed for the CCA Garden, which interacts with the CCA building. Streetwork was an exercise in the integration of art to architecture:

> The form of the wall changes in reference to its position. It becomes an "arcade" in the street, and a "partition" inside . . . The material assembly of the wall--a wood construction . . . marginalizes the materiality of the existing building. . . .
>
> In other words, the construction opens the envelope of the building and draws the museum into the street: a "Streetwork."[47]

Another piece, Fragments, was also a wood construction. A number of works were grouped under this general title, and were created in 1975 (Construction, Les Maisons de St-Malo), 1976 (Construction), 1977 (Construction, La Maison de Rivière-des-Prairies; Construction, Lennoxville) and 1978 (Wall Façade): all the works included photographs of buildings in a state of disrepair, and the constructions were "drawn from the photographic images,"[48] but did not simply re-construct these. Charney built, and then made drawings of the construction, which were a summary of the built object. This procedure was opposed to the usual way of working of an architectural project (i.e., draw first and then build). While working on this series of Fragments, Charney realized that things absolutely had to be built in order to respect their coherence. His work on Fragments dealt with the heroic dimension of the built object, stemming directly from his work for Dictionnaire. There is an obvious filiation with Le Trésor de Trois-Rivières. Charney later clarified that the series named

Une histoire d'architecture included both constructions of Le Trésor de Trois-Rivières and of Fragments.[49]

In those days, Charney explained his work so far to Parachute's Chantal Pontbriand:

> Dans mes oeuvres, j'ai cherché à regarder l'objet bâti comme événement dans la vie ordinaire des gens. L'idée que j'ai eue, c'était de prendre des choses bien ordinaires, de les décortiquer avec des dessins, avec de la documentation, avec des photos, avec n'importe quel moyen, d'identifier une syntaxe dans l'image même, dans sa figuration et de toucher à un genre de figure archétypale derrière le vocabulaire des choses familières, et d'essayer, en recomposant ces images, de créer des constructions. Cette approche m'a amené à l'encontre de l'idéologie du modernisme qui est véhiculée avec une certaine obstination par l'art et l'architecture contemporaine.[50]

He admitted that it took him five years to be able to find himself amidst this discourse, to learn how to build and how to conceive a figuration, and get himself through the prejudices of Modernism. For him, the public dimension of contemporary art was a monumental one. He further explained that he always created his works in relation to the existing contexts, be it an urban context or a museum. Lastly, Charney posited his work in relation to the contemporary art, both on the local and on the international levels:

> Ce que je fais est tout à fait dans la voie principale de l'art contemporain. . . .
>
> . . . une chose que l'on peut souligner et qui dépasse les métropoles culturelles est l'existence de réseaux internationaux . . . Je m'aperçois que même si je travaille à Montréal, j'appartiens à un réseau très international. . . . La plupart des thèmes de mes projets touchent le coin où je vis, pourtant ils sont compris à Milan, à Paris, ou à New York. Je suis compris pour ce que je suis ici et je crois que cela est une étape nouvelle. . . .
>
> Le rôle du réseau international de l'art mérite une meilleure analyse que ce qui se fait maintenant dans les revues d'art.[51]

As for his analysis of the situation prevailing in Canada and in Québec, he affirmed that artists practised in a colonized country, with regard to culture: "C'est l'économie politique mondiale qui définit ce qu'est notre position et l'art suit!"[52] In Québec, things had not changed much since Borduas and the Refus Global, the same cultural games being played in the 1970s as they were in the 1940s-50s:

> Dans le sens que l'art qui prédomine ici est un art qui véhicule une vieille notion de nationalisme très paternaliste qui veut protéger l'art québécois . . . Mais je crois que cette attitude est dépassée . . .[53]

Therefore, the role of the international network was not yet fully appreciated.

In 1979, Charney was part of three group exhibitions in the United States: one at the John Weber Gallery, another at the Institute for Art and Urban Resources, Project Studios One, both in New York City. The third one, Art and Architecture: Space and Structure, was held at the Protetch-McIntosh Gallery, in Washington, D.C.[54] The exhibition at the renowned John Weber Gallery received a positive review in The New York Times, and Charney's work was praised. In Washington, Charney exhibited with prominent artists and architects. Siah Armajani, Alice Aycock, Peter Eisenman, Jackie Ferrera, Richard Fleishner, Michael Graves, Nancy Holt, Mary Miss, George Trakas and Bernard Tschumi were among the participants.[55]

Also in 1979, Charney had a solo retrospective exhibition (1970-79) at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, where he presented nine pieces: Memo series, Un Dictionnaire Series, Une histoire, Fragments, Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke, Project, Streetwork, Room 202, and Edifice. Several of these had been previously presented in Toronto as discussed above. There were, however, three pieces dated 1979: Édifice, Room 202 and Projet. Édifice was conceived specifically for the

exhibition, and like Streetwork, consisted of a wood construction extending outside of the Museum/art gallery.[56] Édifice expanded on the Streetwork project created a year earlier. Rather than building a wall, Charney constructed an edifice to contain the existing museum (the artwork contained the museum and not the opposite): "One construction is drawn from the other, as a reference to the other. . . . again, an edge of Suprematism, along with ideal configurations of early Renaissance plans: sources long forgotten."[57] But this construction "is free to stand on its own as a distinct work on the formative nature of building."[58] Room 202 was created in 1979 for a group exhibition in New York City in which Charney took part. The building in which he made his installation was a former school, abandoned in the early 1960s and re-opened as an artist centre. The room in question in Charney's installation was a former classroom, in which he "built a full-size construction of the room. . . . [he] then built a second construction to contain the first: each detached from, but congruent with the other."[59] Each construction was rotated vis-à-vis both the original room and the other construction. By doing so, the artist sought "to establish a relationship between the presence of the room as figurative, cultural construct, and its existence as a physical construction."[60] Lastly, Projet (Museum Project,) was a construction conceived for Montréal's Museum of Fine Arts, and dealt with the street-spectacle, the façade as a screen and a portico, an arch of triumph. The work had been conceived for an exhibition called Mémoires that the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts wanted to set up.[61]

Charney indicated that his constructions were always in full-size dimensions: "J'espère que les gens pourront s'y reconnaître, s'accrocher à cette dimension humaine. C'est un problème si je travaille dans une galerie parce que l'on veut avoir un petit objet qui se vend; alors que mes

pièces sont situées visuellement. On ne peut les dégager de leur contexte."[62]

Alex Tzonis contributed the introduction to the exhibition catalogue. He highlighted, in his reading of Charney's works, its investigation with the problems of representation and of classification. Tzonis perceived Charney's critique "of institutions of power . . . their distortions and the hypocrisy of the orthopedics of culture."[63] Also, Charney's latest projects presented the constructions as traces of a collective memory. The work was, for Tzonis, archaeology.[64] However, as discussed above, Charney had, with both the Memo and the Dictionnaire Series, argued against an obliged recourse to construction in order to create a memorial: memorials could be created by events and/or disasters, not only by buildings.[65] Nonetheless, even if he was not actually presenting built pieces, he was dealing with the notion of building (through the images) that reached people's most profound consciousness: "Cette notion de l'image bâtie comme trace de mémoire collective a touché toutes mes oeuvres."[66] He realized that the built object had a specific dimension that could not be made visible by drawings or documents. He stated: "Buildings assume a monumental connotation either because of their implication in some event, or because they are made to be 'eventful' by their display of physical references to heroic attributes."[67] Despite the Modern proponents' claims that the need for monument was obsolete, Charney observed that "the end products of practice inevitably tended to reproduce references to the heroic expression of built forms," even if "not all heroic content is perceived to be monumental."[68]

Gilles Toupin, the La Presse art critic who was so contemptuous of Charney's work at Québec 75, was much more respectful some four years later when he reviewed the 1979 museum exhibition. In 1975, Toupin claimed that no Québec artist was good and original enough to make it on

the international scene (i.e., Paris, New York). Since then, Charney had managed to exhibit in both Paris and New York. For Toupin, the exhibition was complete in itself and absolutely coherent. Édifice, for instance, was neither a work of architecture nor a sculpture. It belonged to both disciplines, yet was a work of art. This is remarkable given the fact that many of the pieces had been conceived and first presented either in the context of an architectural event, or of a group exhibition. In Toupin's view, Charney was an architect in defiance of the accepted code of conduct ("en rupture de ban"), critical of the power structure. Charney's work was an architecture of subversion. Other art critics also fully perceived Charney's commentaries on the built environment as being commentaries on power.[69] The artist saw himself in between two poles: on one hand, he thought that the art object was supported by a whole social practice, but on the other hand, he distanced himself from the artists who thought of themselves as being "engagé" and political, while negating the formal context of creation, which was linked to memory: "On ne peut pas effacer le fait que quand on crée un objet, dans les arts plastiques, on touche tout le contexte de la mémoire, d'une façon ou d'une autre."[70] He believed that each legitimate art or cultural production had to question the institutions that supported it, because every practice was institutionalized, being largely defined by art galleries, and the market for the works of art.[71]

Charney's exhibition at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art was anticipated and discussed in a much more positive (respectful) fashion. The show allowed the public to get to know Charney's works of art as having architecture as their subject matter.[72] Actually, this exhibition made art critics realize how slow they had been in appreciating Charney's work (either by ignoring it or being negative towards it), because it did not "fit into the familiar categories of the avant-garde, but . . . [moved] fluidly between architecture, sculpture and conceptual art."[73] Also, Charney's

work as a whole could hardly be grasped prior to the 1979 exhibition at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, because it was physically inaccessible. In that respect, the catalogue, with Charney's commentaries and several illustrations of his works, filled in the blank.[74]

It seems that the 1979 exhibition at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art opened up some doors in the Québec art world. In 1980, Charney was invited for a conference, Monuments et constructions, oeuvres récentes, at the Musée du Québec and in 1981 he took part in the exhibition Art et Société, 1975-1980 at the same museum.[75] In 1980-81, he continued to be present on the national and international scenes as well.

In 1980, Charney had solo exhibitions in Europe, at the Canadian Cultural Centres of Paris and Brussels: Melvin Charney: Projets/Constructions 1975/1980. In addition, he was invited to take part in three group exhibitions. First, there was Architectural References at the Vancouver Art Gallery in Vancouver (British Columbia); then, Architectural Sculpture presented at the Los Angeles Institute for Contemporary Art. Finally, he was invited by France at the architectural section of the eleventh Biennale de Paris at the Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne. The Vancouver and the Los Angeles exhibitions demonstrated that other artists of international reputation were also interested in architecture. Besides Charney, the artists invited in Vancouver were Alice Aycock, General Idea, Glenn Lewis, Gordon Matta-Clark, Anne and Patrick Poirier, Charles Simonds, SITE and Alan Sonfist. While Charney presented drawings, photographs and other documents pertaining to Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke, Une Histoire, Streetwork, Room 202, and Edifice, Sonfist's participation included documentation pertaining to Time Landscape, a Reconstruction of a Pre-Colonial Forest, grown in New York City (see chapter 2). Regarding the Los Angeles

exhibition, which included forty-six entries of participating artists, some of those selected, besides Charney, included: Siah Armajani, Andrea Blum, Christo, Nancy Holt, Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Morris, Anne and Patrick Poirier, SITE, Robert Smithson, Ned Smyth.[76] There is a sharp contrast between the 1975 group exhibition in Montréal, where Charney's claims for being an artist were dismissed by the critics, and those two North American exhibitions, only five years later. In 1980, Charney had reached a high position in the artistic field. On the Québec art scene, he was invited at the Colloquium held at the Symposium international de sculpture environnementale de Chicoutimi.[77]

Also in 1980 Charney mounted a less prestigious exhibition at Ballenford Architectural Books, in Toronto. Yet, even this exhibition was covered by the press. Adele Freedman explained Charney's work (re: Le trésor de Trois-Rivières and Corridart/Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke) and affirmed that he was "doing with urban sites what earthwork artists do in far-flung stretches of desert--psychoanalyzing the character of a particular site and then making subtle alterations to bring out a particular facet of its inherent makeup."[78] Freedman also announced that Charney would be doing a construction in Kassel, West Germany, in 1982.

Charney had started to work in 1980-81 "on a series of projects based on the Third Reich, World War II and death camps."[79] He was actually invited at the Documenta 7, for the section Documenta-Urbana, in Kassel. For the event, several sites in the city were selected, in order to draw part of the exhibition outside the museum and into Kassel. Charney himself wrote that he worked on several sites,

> the second of which was the Bahnhofplatz. Kassel was an important railroad centre during World War II and it was heavily bombed by the Allies. . . . The figure of a city square obviously emerged from the strata of the site. The site was to be enclosed on one side by the mute, glass walls of the new railroad station, and on

> the other by a full-size construction of the now familiar figure of a place of arrival by railway . . . the well known farm facade with its rails running across the square from one station to another to the final station on the Mount of the Fridericianum.[80]

Charney worked on a third site,

> a typical post-war German street leading into the centre of town. . . . Again the proposal engaged the figure of the farm entrance. It was to be constructed across the street, with the existing tramway tracks passing through it. It was to stand in the middle of the street as the gateway of a Medieval wall which marked the entrance into the core German towns if not into the psyche of its inhabitants.[81]

However, the event did not take place. Nonetheless, Charney created drawings German Series (1) (Better if they think they are going to a farm... (1982) and Better if they think they are going to a farm...No.2 (1982). The drawings represented façades he intended to erect in Kassel for the Documenta, either across the street from the train station, or in one of the city's main street. Johanne Lamoureux, an art history professor at Université de Montréal, noted that in Kassel, Charney would have erected the façade as camouflage, reminiscent of Auschwitz 's. Lamoureux also affirms that with this project, Charney undertook to combine site specificity with preoccupations not necessarily inherent to the site.[82] But Charney contends:

> À Kassel, où tous les artistes invités devaient choisir un site dans la ville, le "sujet", en l'occurrence un site, est surgi après une lecture critique de cette ville. Je ne dissocie jamais l'oeuvre de l'endroit où elle sera placée, bien que l'oeuvre elle-même puisse être déplacée et transportée d'un musée à un autre musée.[83]

Charney continued to work on the theme of the extermination camp as a city, the Second World War, and on architects of such constructions. He created Better if they think they are going to a farm...No.3, (1983-85) and German Series (3) (Way Station, No. 2 (1984) and Way Station, No. 4 (1985).[84]

In 1982, he was invited to take part in four other major events, in Canada (Toronto, Ontario, and Surrey, British Columbia), the U.S.A. (Chicago), and West Germany (Berlin). In Chicago, Charney had a major solo exhibition, Options 12: Melvin Charney--Chicago Construction, inside the Museum of Contemporary Art, for which he also produced a site specific construction, Chicago Construction, an outdoor installation, which was his first ever in the United States. Concomitantly, Charney had a smaller show at Richard Gray Gallery, also in Chicago.[85] The major exhibition was organized by Mary Jane Jacob, curator at the museum. Charney's installation in Chicago continued the museum's "tradition of employing its own building as the inspiration and medium for works of art,"[86] according to Jacob. Some other artists previously invited included Christo, Gordon Matta-Clark, Michael Asher, Max Neuhaus and Charles Simonds.

Mary Jane Jacob presented Charney as an artist and an architect "who creates large-scale architectural installations that are inspired by and comment on the history and symbolism of architecture."[87] She overlooked the other component of his works, the plates, as Tzonis had termed these.[88] This allowed Jacob to state: "Melvin Charney transforms existing buildings into monuments."[89] Jacob also cited Le Trésor de Trois-Rivières as "one of the earliest and most important examples of Charney's investigation."[90] Three pieces were presented in the Bergman Gallery: Streetwork, Room 202, and Édifice, as they dealt "with the interpretation of the architecture of a museum,"[91] an endeavour that Charney pursued with the piece created for the exhibition. As he had done previously for the Art Gallery of Ontario and the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, Charney created a wood construction outside the museum. It extended nine feet (2.7 metres) on the sidewalk and rose almost forty feet (12.2 metres) high. By doing so, Charney transformed the appearance of the

building. He presented the low volume of the edifice as "the fragments of a tower,"[92] almost a pretext to discuss the tall commercial buildings of Chicago. He thus linked the building to the skyscraper tradition in Chicago, to some famous architects having done projects in the city (notably Mies van der Rohe). His own construction borrowed from European classical and Renaissance traditions, with, for example, an allusion to Alberti's Tempio Malatestiano.[93] However, the artist's intention did not fully convince art critic Ann Lee Morgan:

> The forms [of the construction] were banal, too simple to be interesting for their own sake. The construction impeded pedestrian traffic and obscured the entrance to the museum. . . . only by straining the imagination could one see a remote similarity to the broken pediment and tripartite entrance of that fifteenth-century building.[94]

In his construction, Charney invited the public to investigate the square grid ("the idealization of the frame as a symbol"[95]), the wood-frame structure of houses, all elements linked to the history of Chicago, and all supported by visual evidence. Also present were elements typical of Charney's manner: "A structural grid is set within the grid of the structural frame which, in turn, is set within a grid of streets-and so on."[96] With hindsight, we can see that his discourse forecasted an element of the CCA Garden, where there should have been an arcade within the arcade.[97]

In addition, Charney rightly foresaw the shift from the public domain to the private sector. He reiterated, in the artistic context of the exhibition, the concerns he had previously expressed when writing about Place Victoria, in Montréal:

> The transfer of the public function of the street into private interiors of large-scale developments which is being advanced throughout American cities . . . has served to subvert our grasp of outside and inside. Inside, the representation of the street is reduced to diagrams of its former self . . . . While outside, buildings are

> allowed to decay and become no more than metaphors of their former selves.[98]

As explained by Diana Nemiroff, with A Chicago Construction, Charney, while proposing a work that continued his previous research and creations, nonetheless went much farther in his analysis of an edifice, integrating the built environment and the local historical precedents.[99]

Also in 1982, Charney created A Toronto Construction, which drew "on traces of buildings that were previously located on the site. . . . The result is an installation derived from, but different in quality than its surroundings."[100] Made of wood, the work was "composed of numerous types of architectural facades and entrance-ways."[101] The installation was located on a "lost space,"[102] in downtown Toronto's St. Lawrence Market area (on King Street East), between two existing buildings.

The project was coordinated by Visual Arts Ontario, "the largest artists' association in Canada" which was considered to be, after eight years of existence, "a progressive force for public-art education."[103] Besides Charney, two American artists were invited for the Citysite Sculpture project: Robert Stackhouse and Nancy Holt. Artists were allotted a period of four weeks for the construction of their installations. Of the three artists, reviews found, Charney "offered the most visually complex and conceptually grand piece"[104] and "was perhaps the most responsive to its setting, or at least seemed most clearly to have been created for a particular site. . . . [But] The structure simply didn't declare itself strongly enough."[105] Finally, still in 1982, Charney, who used drawing as a medium in his creative process, exhibited some of his drawings. He took part in a group exhibition, Drawings by Contemporary Sculptors, presented at the Surrey Art Gallery in Surrey, British Columbia. For the occasion, he also gave a lecture on his work, including the drawings to be seen in the show.[106]

The next year, Charney made another wood construction in Ontario, this time in Kingston, at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, located on the campus of Queen's University. Inside the art gallery, a mini-retrospective (1981-83) of drawings and photographs accompanied the outdoor construction. Charney's A Kingston Construction was said to have been a very "successful" work by Parachute's reviewer Bruce Grenville even though he found that, when interacting with the piece from the exterior, Charney's construction was similar to medieval enclosed garden and "threatens to slip into an authoritarian, almost Baroque, mode of illusionism. . . . in essence an abstract philosophy of space."[107] Grenville described the whole construction as " 'walkways' that taper off into space, the facades that have nothing behind them, the structures that shift from interior to exterior, and the running of one element into another for no apparent reason."[108] The construction was assembled on the lawn of the gallery and was prolonged into the building. A Kingston Construction, as the A Toronto Construction before, required the viewer to be active and interact with it. In Grenville's view, Charney's provocative works were too often not shown in the appropriate context. A compromise had to be reached between the space which exhibited the work and the nature of the work, a "compromise which hinders the impact of the work and often in the end characterizes the very institutions and principles that Charney seeks to expose."[109]

In 1983, under Phyllis Lambert's leadership, the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) presented at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts (the CCA did not have its present edifice) an enlarged version of a French exhibition that showed the result of a competition for the villas of Pliny. Pierre du Prey, professor of art history at Queen's University, was curator of the Montréal exhibition, entitled The Villas of Pliny and Classical Architecture in Montreal.[110] Lambert was concerned about the installation

of the exhibition, having doubts about the Museum's abilities to handle an exhibition that addressed architecture. She suggested to Pierre Théberge, then head curator at the Museum, that Charney be involved:

> And so there was discussion between him (Théberge) and me about the pertinence of Melvin as an artist, but I certainly could say that as far as I knew as an architect, that he was a very important figure to architecture. And so he agreed, and Melvin therefore made two pieces. One was called Pliny on my mind Number 1 and the other was called Pliny on my mind Number 2. And they both are at my house now, I have them both. . .[111]

Charney's intervention succeeded according to architect Odile Hénault, who found that the sculptural elements he created for the exhibition had broken up the space and alleviated the visitors' route. The exhibition took the form of a series of documents, projects, and models, inspired by two letters by Pliny the Young, in which he described his villas to his friends. The exhibition was designed in three parts: an historical overview of the influence of the letters, an emulation competition and the choice of eight Montréal villas, all three parts integrated by Melvin Charney's installation.[112] Charney's Pliny's On my Mind was "a pedimented, wood, temple-tenement-shed construction."[113]

Johanne Lamoureux found that the exhibition sanctioned the collapse of Pliny's villas: it consumed them in the forms of ruins, and proposed the villas-as-ruins both as a model and as a project. On the other hand, architect Larry Richards, then Director of the School of Architecture at University of Waterloo, reaffirmed the bien-fondé of the exhibition. He then presented his review: yes, there was "a tightly knit call for obedience to classical design principles."[114] But Charney's piece hinted that "defiance of Greece and Rome would be tolerated, even embraced."[115]

In 1985, Charney took part in several events or group exhibitions, in Montréal, Québec City, Toronto, Chicago and Milan. In Montréal, he was invited to take part in two important events. First, the Museum of Contemporary Art celebrated its twenty years of existence by exhibiting from its collection, 163 works of art by 153 different artists, coming from Québec, Canada, and abroad.[116] The collection was heterogeneous and, on several accounts, poor: chefs-d'oeuvre were rare. However, it was a testimony to the Museum's initial efforts. Whereas the collection at that time was reportedly a diversified sample of contemporary art from the 1950s to the 1970s, with a predominance of Québec art, the 1985 exhibition insisted on works of art created since the opening of the Museum (1965-85). Michel Goulet, along with Claude Mongrain, Gilles Mihalcean, Roland Poulin and Henry Saxe were deemed to be the main representatives of the conceptual, minimalist, post-minimalist, and environmental aspects of sculpture and installation.[117] Nonetheless, Melvin Charney's piece, Édifice (3) (1979), created for Charney's 1979 solo exhibition at the museum, was part of the exhibition. In the catalogue, Pierre Landry started his text on Charney with the usual notice about his training as an architect:

> Melvin Charney est architecte de formation. Ses oeuvres . . . ne sont toutefois pas conçues dans une optique fonctionnelle. . . . Sa démarche se développe autour de quelques concepts clés: monument, archétype, conscience collective, histoire.[118]

The exhibition offers an opportunity to verify that the works of art of five out of six of the artists presented in this part of the thesis had been acquired by the museum during those twenty years. In addition, when the work was created after the opening of the museum, they often entered the collection not long after their creation. For example, Charney's Édifice was acquired by the Museum in 1981, Michel Goulet's piece Édification

horizontale II (1978), in 1979. Bill Vazan's Sphère visuelle du pont Jacques-Cartier (1975), entered the museum's collection in 1977. Peter Gnass' Lumenstructure no. 13 (1963) was acquired the same year, whereas his Key West Fla: U.S.A. (1978) entered the collection a year later. Lastly, Charles Daudelin gave his Composition no. 1 (1966) in 1967 and the museum had bought, beside earlier works, the 1973-78 bronze La colonne in 1979.[119]

The second major art event in which Charney took part in Montréal was the group exhibition Aurora Borealis, the first edition of Les Cent Jours d'Art Contemporain. The event was produced by the Montréal International Centre of Contemporary Art and sponsored by an important law firm, Martineau Walker. The exhibition was held at Place du Parc, part of the infamous multifunctional complex La Cité (the very same complex Lambert fought and stopped...), and featured some thirty Canadian artists. Melvin Charney presented Les maisons de la rue Sherbrooke (1976), A Chicago Construction (1982), Le trésor de Trois-Rivières (1975), A Toronto Construction (1982), Better if they think they are going to a farm... (1982), and A Stuttgart Facade (1983). He also created for the exhibition, From Laugier to Popova ... a construction in parts (1985), which "dealt with neo-classical underpinnings of Modernism."[120] Les Cent Jours d'Art Contemporain became an institution in Montréal and the world of contemporary art. It also proved to be an incredible opportunity to launch an artist's international career, as was possibly the case with Charney, and most certainly with Michel Goulet (see next chapter).

Still in 1985, Charney had one solo exhibition, Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction at the Southern Alberta Art, for which he created several drawings on paper: "The drawings mediate between what is seen and what is desired to be seen. Realities are superimposed."[121] The artist and the art gallery's director and curator, Joan Stebbins, originally planned

an outdoor sculpture to be erected nearby the gallery. Financial constraints, however, forced them to revise the project which was finally conceived as a proposal. "The construction thus envisioned is a tall, elevator-like structure, straddling a trestle bridge . . . . On the top of the construction . . . there is a small house similar to houses which can be found along any residential side street of a town."[122]

For this project, Charney explored again the social meaning of architecture which "expand our understanding relative to the historical implication of buildings in our environment."[123] This time, the environment was Lethbridge, and Charney proposed a monumental sculpture inspired from the regional/Prairie vernacular architecture. The grain elevator and the railroad bridge were used as figures of archetypal Prairie images. The railroad tracks were already present in Charney's German Series, evoked above. Charney created for the Lethbridge exhibition St. Anne's in Retlaw...Forgotten Cities (1985), a drawing in which a railroad track passes through representations of buildings.[124]

For the Lethbridge project, Charney stated: "As in all my work, I am interested in the structure of a place. . . . I approach a given place as if its meaning can be deciphered from representations of its existence embedded in its physical traces."[125] He found the "most evident construction on the Prairie . . . [to be] an abstract grid placed upon the land . . . both the most modern of planning devices and the most ancient."[126] For him, the grid is "a mental construct and a representation of a generative device" and "the street layout of the city is a subdivision of the rural grid."[127]

Table 14.--Melvin Charney's exhibitions, 1964-80[128]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1964	Salon des jeunes peintres, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA)	Group
1972	Montréal ...plus ou moins?, MMFA	Group
1973	Canada Trajectoires '73, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris	Group
1973	La Triennale di Milano, Milan (Italy)	Group
1975	Québec 75/Art, Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA), Montréal (Travelling Exhibition)	Group
1976	Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke, Corridart, XXI Olympiad, Montréal	Group
1977	Other Monuments, 1970-76, Harvard University Graduate School of Design, Boston (Mass.)	Solo
1977	03.23.03, Premières rencontres internationales d'art contemporain, ICA	Group
1978	Other Monuments: Six Works, Melvin Charney, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto (ON)	Solo
1979	Room 202, Institute for Art and Urban Resources, Project Studios One (P. S. 1), Long Island City, New York	Group
1979	Melvin Charney: Oeuvres 1970-1979, Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art	Solo
1979	Invitational IV, John Weber Gallery, New York City	Group
1979	Art and Architecture: Space and Structure, Protetch-McIntosh Gallery, Washington D.C.	Group
1980	Melvin Charney: Projets/Constructions 1975/1980 Canadian Cultural Centre, Paris (France)	Solo
1980	Melvin Charney: Projets/Constructions 1975/1980 Canadian Cultural Centre, Brussels (Belgium)	Solo
1980	11e Biennale de Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris (invited at the Section architecture)	Group
1980	Architectural References, Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver (BC)	Group
1980	Architectural Sculpture, Los Angeles Institute for Contemporary Art, Los Angeles (California)	Group
1980-1981	Melvin Charney, Drawings and Constructions, Ballenford Architectural Books (Architectural Books Gallery), Toronto (ON)	Solo

Once again, the Lethbridge project allowed Charney to verify one of his first and indestructible assumptions:

> In Lethbridge, as elsewhere in America, a monumental, i.e. "heroic", dimension of building is more evident in the so-called "vernacular" architecture than in the monuments of "official" architecture. "Official["] architecture . . . present [sic], at best, a second-hand and provincial pastiche of borrowed images (including the recent Modern buildings.)[129]

The Lethbridge construction project nearly closes the chapter of wood constructions as the artist's preferred way of exploring various themes in three dimensions. In addition, the problématiques explored there by Charney, recurrent in his works, addressed elements of an environment that he had started to work with only lately: the railroad tracks. As we will see, the project and the reflection it triggered would have a resonance in one of Charney's forthcoming monuments.

1986-92: Melvin Charney and Public Art

In 1986, Charney was invited to lecture for the Alcan conferences, held at McGill University (a series of conferences on architecture initiated and coordinated by Peter Rose, architect of the CCA). Charney expressed the view that if Montréalers made the effort, they would discover their city's great architectural richness and remarkable symbolic value. He believed that Montréal's situation was unique in North America. A local newspaper reported on the conference and presented Charney as a true artist who utilized the entire urban environment as a means of expression. Charney indicated that his works aimed to help would-be architects and builders to find their soul via what surrounded them. They showed how it was possible, through architecture, to go back to sources of

classicism: "Le 'classicisme', . . . se retrouve dans les quartiers ordinaires de Montréal, et les architectes peuvent, s'ils y sont sensibles, aller puiser à cette source."[130] This was a major shift in Charney's aim. Some eleven years earlier, in the context of Québec 75, Charney had stated that his aim was to make the general public aware of what was happening in their environment, not the architects.[131] It is also noticeable that this new orientation was more compatible with what Phyllis Lambert was saying about Montréal, architecture, and the need for the CCA, at that exact same period (although she had been saying that for a longer period of time).

In 1986, Melvin Charney represented Canada, along with Krzysztof Wodiczko, a Canadian artist then living in New York City, at the 42nd Venice Biennial, a major international art exhibition, with forty participating countries. Internationally known art critics, curators, art dealers and collectors saw the exhibition. The Venice Biennial had the reputation of being "one of the world's foremost exhibitions of well-established--as opposed to experimental--contemporary art."[132] The theme of the year was Art and Science. Both Canadian artists were chosen by Diana Nemiroff, assistant curator of contemporary art at the National Gallery, "not because they are perceived as 'typical Canadian artists,' but because 'both had a common ground in architecture and both had always worked with the nature and meaning of specific sites'."[133] Among other artists present at that edition of the Biennial were Daniel Buren (France) and Isamu Noguchi (U.S.A.), the latter who exhibited Ends, a granite cube, and Slide Mantra.[134]

Canada had regularly taken part in these exhibitions since 1952, exhibiting the work of such artists as Emily Carr, David Milne, Alfred Pellan, Paul-Émile Borduas, Jean-Paul Riopelle, Alex Colville, Michael Snow and Paterson Ewen. But in the 1980s, Canada had on some

occasions presented "controversial displays which were viewed as weird, difficult or out of step with the otherwise conservative and big-league nature of the Venice exhibition."[135] Canadian art critic Lisa Balfour Bowen found equally provocative the works presented at the 1986 exhibition. Other found that Charney and Wodiczko were

> the most challenging in a Biennale otherwise notable for its concentration on painting and sculpture. . . . Both Charney and Wodiczko took the avant-garde position that involved a critique of the traditional modes of viewing that are, quite literally, enshrined in the Biennale format of garden pavilions for art. Their way of thinking about art is not concerned with harmony but with disruption; . . . they try to uncover something meaningful.[136]

Wodiczko's work consisted of night projections on some of Venice's landmarks, which let much of the space in the Canadian pavilion for Charney's work. Charney presented A Venice Construction: Visions of the Temple, which reinterpreted the "histories, architectural and other, of the countries of the Old and New World intersect,"[137] and had a table and chairs as components of the installation inside the pavilion. Art historian Johanne Lamoureux perceived that in Venice, Charney introduced furniture as architecture in his installation. Charney also installed eleven wooden columns outside the building, forming a passage leading to the entrance. Among the pieces of the installation were columns borrowed from his 1984 installation Pliny on My Mind, No. 1 and No. 2. The installation was accompanied by six drawings, some of them related to earlier projects.[138]

Charney's work received positive reviews from the international critics. For instance, John Russel Taylor from the London Times and French art critic Catherine Millet had good words for Charney. Millet in particular associated Charney's work with that of Daniel Buren, who was also at the biennial and won the prize for the best pavilion. In addition, the

French newspaper Libération qualified Charney as the "the discovery of the 42nd Biennial."[139]

However, Balfour Bowen found there was much indifference on site, if not plain negative comments, about Canada's presentation. These came from major league players (the American pavilion commissioner; the Dutch pavilion commissioner; the director of the Tate Gallery in London), while others were very positive (Biennial administrative director; artist Daniel Buren). Similarly, Bowen found that few Canadian publications had devoted space to the exhibition, and that few international journalists wrote about Canadian artists. The lack of interest was seemingly due to Canada's low political significance in the world. It did not have to do with the artists presented.[140]

Back home, Charney exhibited for the first time in a Montréal art gallery, in January 1987. The core of the exhibition at René Blouin's art gallery consisted of the work he had created for the Venice Biennial. He also presented A Construction in Venice later in the year, at the 49th Parallel, Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, in New York City. According to Lamoureux, with A Construction in Venice, the city appeared only during the second act, outside of Venice, when Charney presented the installation in Montréal and New York City. For the presentation on the North American continent, Charney added wooden oars of a lighter colour than the other elements, as an indication that they were not of the same generation, that they were an adjunct. The oars added a symbolic value, referring to the situation of Venice as a city surrounded by water, and possibly, to the historical relationship Venice had with the new world.[141] As table 15 indicates, Charney did not exhibit much in 1986, besides his presence at the Venice Biennial. In that year however, he took part in, and won, a national design contest for a memorial. The monument, the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights, is located on Elgin Street in Ottawa,

on the National Capital's ceremonial route. It was reported that the "tribute competition was organized by a non-profit organization of volunteers under the patronage of some of Canada's leading citizens."[142] The jury for the competition included eight members: André Fortier, who presided, and Sheila Butler, Phyllis Lambert, Suzanne LeMoyne, Mary Pratt, Larry Richards, Jack Shadbolt, and Pierre Théberge. There were 129 artists and architects who submitted a proposal, ten of which made the short-list. Among these semifinalists were Québec artists Melvin Charney, Michel Goulet, Irene Whittome, a veteran of Québec 75, and Claude Tousignant, a Plasticien praised by Fernande Saint-Martin, as discussed before. At the time of the competition, a fund-raising campaign was underway, aiming to collect the $700,000 needed for the completion of the project, half of which was for the construction of the winning scheme. The monument was inaugurated during the Fall 1990.[143]

The site for the Tribute was, to the south, on the same axis as the National War Memorial, and Charney emphasized this link, explaining: "A commemorative to the war dead (and) a tribute to human rights and the peaceful co-existence of people (is) an essential juxtaposition within a civilized and democratic society."[144]

Therefore, Charney worked his memorial in a series of contrasts and oppositions to the War Memorial. Whereas the War Memorial requires that people stand in front of it, looking at bronze statues of soldiers, Charney proposed to involve the viewer more actively. The memorial, of monumental dimensions (fifty-three metres, or 174 feet, long and eleven metres, or thirty-six feet, high), was conceived to be walked through by the public. Hence, Charney opposed the living, general public,

Table 15.--Melvin Charney's exhibitions, 1981-92

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1981	Art et Société, 1975-1980, Musée du Québec, Québec City	Group
1981	Récentes acquisitions, Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC)	Group
1982	Melvin Charney, Chicago Construction, Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago (IL)	Solo
1982	Melvin Charney: Projects and Construction, Richard Gray Gallery, Chicago (IL)	Solo
1982	Cityside Sculpture, The Market Gallery of the City of Toronto Archives and Visual Arts Ontario, Toronto	Group
1982	Canada in Berlin (Okanada), Akademie der Künste, Berlin (West Germany)	Group
1982	Dokumenta-Urbana, Dokumenta 7, Kassel (West Germany) (event cancelled)	Group
1982	Melvin Charney/Recent Construction and Works on Paper, 49th Parallel Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, New York City	Solo
1982	Drawings by Contemporary Sculptors, Surrey Art Gallery, Surrey (B C)	Group
1983	Künstler aus Kanada: Räume und Installationen, Württembergischer, Kunsterein, Stuttgart (West Germany)	Group
1983	Melvin Charney 1981-1983, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston (ON)	Solo
1983	Collection Prêt d'oeuvres d'art du Musée du Québec, Musée du Québec	Group
1983	Art et bâtiment, Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art and Galerie de l'UQAM, Montréal	Group
1983	Chicago Sculpture International: Mile 2, Chicago International Art Exposition, Chicago	Group
1983	Rendere Visible, Galleria Il Salotto, Como (Italy)	Group
1983	The Villas of Pliny and Classical Architecture in Montréal, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts	Group
1984	Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis exhibition, Internationalen Bauausstellung, Martin Gropius Bau, Berlin (West Germany)	Group
1984	Ten Years of Collecting, Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago	Group
1984	The Praxis Collection, Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver (BC)	Group
1984	Festarchitektur, Architektenkammer Nordrhein-Westfalen Akademie, Dusseldorf (West Germany)	Group

Table 15.--Continued[145]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/ group
1985	17e Triennale di Milano, Milan (Italy)	Group
1985	Vingt ans de collection, Montréal MAC	Group
1985	La collection et l'art du Québec au XXe siècle, Musée du Québec, Québec City	Group
1985	Aurora Borealis, The Montréal International Centre of Contemporary Art	Group
1985	Projects for Chicago, Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago	Group
1985	Environmental Concerns, Evelyn Aimis Fine Art, Toronto (ON)	Group
1985	Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction, Southern Alberta Art Gallery, Lethbridge (AB)	Solo
1986	Visions of the Temple, 42nd Venice Biennial, Italy	Group
1987	Melvin Charney, René Blouin Gallery, Montréal	Solo
1987	Graphic Perspectives, The Gallery Stratford, Stratford (ON)	Group
1987	Histoire en quatre temps, Montréal MAC	Group
1987	A Construction in Venice, part II, and other works, 49th Parallel, Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, New York City	Solo
1987	Traces, Department of External Affairs, WA	Group
1988	La ruse historique, l'art à Montréal, The Historical Ruse: Art in Montréal, The Power Plant, Toronto (ON)	Group
1988	Art Rental and Sales Gallery, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto	Group
1988	Melvin Charney, The Sable-Castelli Gallery, Toronto (ON)	Solo
1989	René Blouin Gallery, Montréal	Solo
1989	Expo-bénéfice for Parachute, René Blouin Gallery, Montréal	Group
1989	Une construction à Québec: Maisons-Poteaux-Drapeaux, Territoires d'artistes: paysages verticaux, Musée du Québec, Québec City	Group
1989	Canadian Centre for Architecture: building and gardens, CCA, Montréal	Group
1990	Melvin Charney, René Blouin Gallery, Montréal	Solo
1990	Melvin Charney, The Sable-Castelli Gallery, Toronto	Solo
1991	The Sable-Castelli Gallery, Toronto	Solo
1991-92	Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990, CCA, Montréal	Solo

to the representation of dead warriors. The elements of the Tribute are laid on a narrow and elongated plinth reached from the street by a few stairs and a landing, as if entering a home. Marking the entrance of this processional site is an arch-as-façade, sheathed with granite. Its upper part, borne by two rectangular pillars, had the inscription "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" engraved in both French and English. This text is a quotation from the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. On the other side of the arch is a double row of anthropomorphic columns, made of concrete. The six columns oscillate between figures of headless human beings, and figures of trees, with arms extending as branches, or vice-versa. The passage, which is bordered by the column alignment, gently slopes downwards, while the walls on which stand the figures-trees are levelled. Three of the figures hold in their arm-branch a granite plaque on which the words "human rights," "dignity" and "equality" are written, quotations from the façade's own quotation.[146]

The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights was the first monument created and dedicated to human rights. It was also reported to be "the most important work of public art to be erected in the nation's Capital in 50 years."[147] In addition, it represented a watershed for Charney. It was, in fact, his first public art project, and his first permanent one.[148]

In 1987, Charney had several exhibitions, both solo and in group (see table 15), but it was another public art competition that really marked 1987 and the forthcoming years for the artist. In the context of the provincial regulation that required the creation of art integrated to architecture for projects having benefited from governmental funding, the CCA held a competition. Melvin Charney won the contest that called for an environmental sculpture. He created what he considers to be a sculpted environment, a garden as a work of art.[149]

The site on which the Garden was created previously belonged to a wealthy residential neighbourhood, where orchards grew, and that deteriorated slowly with the advent of modernization in the city. Road enlargement and the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway were responsible for the transformation of the parcel into a "lost space." In addition, the site overlooked (and still does) a blue-collar neighbourhood, whose limit is marked by railroad tracks. There are four parts to the Garden: the orchard, the arcade, the meadow and the plaza, on which are placed allegorical columns. The latter represent elements of the architecture of Montréal and others that marked the history of architecture. The arcade is a full-scale replica of a fragment of the façade of Shaughnessy House, part of the CCA across the street. The CCA Garden is symbolically and visually complex, and a case study about its inception and realization is presented further in this thesis.[150]

It is pertinent, however, to note here how some of Charney's previous themes, recurrent in his works so far, are present in the Garden concept. Firstly, the need to build full-scale, traceable in his various constructions, is once more present with the arcade. At the same time, the allegorical columns succeed forcefully to evoke architecture, both monumental and vernacular, at a much smaller scale this time, and without being a maquette. With the CCA Garden, Charney demonstrated that the power of a metaphor was not necessarily linked to scale. Secondly, railroad tracks were present as part of the physical background of the site, to the point of needing to be hidden by the architect's scheme, in the latter's view.[151] But Charney had spent so much energy to reveal these constructions as monumental urban artefacts, as evidenced in the German Series, including the Lethbridge part, that he refused to hide the tracks. Thirdly, even the early work in the Memo Series and the Dictionnaire could be traced in the garden, as repertories of built forms.

Charney later explained that for the CCA Garden, "je me suis approprié beaucoup de ce que j'ai vu autour de moi. J'ai eu le désir de construire un répertoire de traces de la ville,"[152] an idea which is germane to both early creations. Lastly, Parachute art critic Catherine Bédard also observed that some of the columns themselves are of a schematized anthropomorphism, as was the case for the columns for the Canadian Tribute. Consequently, the site, the CCA programme, the history of the city and of its architecture, and the History of Architecture, all inspired Charney. In addition, his previous projects, his analysis of architectural elements, of the vernacular and of the monumental, his peculiar way of establishing parallels between architectural projects of various eras, allowed him to propose a creation that met the requirements of the programme yet surpassed them, and that, in the context of a public commission. However, the work in and with the landscape and the creation of a garden which could also be read as a history of gardens, were new for Charney.[153]

The Canadian Centre for Architecture opened in May 1989, and the CCA Garden was ready for the public in the next fall. It was inaugurated officially in the Fall of 1990. Both received an equally enthusiastic review, both from the architectural and the art specialists.[154] Charney's proposal for the CCA Garden, and a fortiori, the CCA Garden itself, once completed, propelled Charney at the forefront of the art news, not only locally, but internationally. His previous works were presented anew, re-interpreted or better understood. For instance, the façade, present in his previous works, acquired the status of a paradigmatic figure, given the role played by the arcade (a replica of a part of CCA's façade) in defining and enclosing both the CCA Garden and the René-Lévesque Boulevard it fronted. While the CCA Garden was still in construction, Lamoureux reviewed Charney's previous works in the light of the CCA Garden. She

rightly observed that even when Charney did not erect façades (such as Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke, or A Toronto Construction), he would have a piece of his work run through an existing one (like the installation he made for the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art in 1979) or camouflage it to better reveal it, as he did in Chicago. Often, Charney's previous projects were simply presented and explained as evidence that his incredible success did not happen overnight.[155]

The importance of the role of the client, personified by Phyllis Lambert, has also been acknowledged. The following statement summarizes the general appreciation of both the context of the creation, and the result: "This sculpture garden by Melvin Charney has been drawing high praise, both in Canada and abroad. . . . A shared unity of purpose between artist and client allowed Charney to develop his themes with the fullest, artistic integrity. The result is one of the finest examples of public art anywhere."[156] Montréal art critic Ann Duncan praised the garden

> as the result of a forceful vision and a sustained commitment, it is a gem of a garden . . . .
>
> The imagination and vision belong to Melvin Charney, a 55-year-old Montreal artist and architect who has built an international career by combining his two passions. . . .
>
> The commitment belongs to Phyllis Lambert, the founder, director and chief benefactor of the Canadian Centre for Architecture.[157]

As far as competitions for provincial public art projects are concerned, this was Charney's first participation. Fortunately, he had gained experience for such permanent public projects, a requirement for admissibility to the status of contestant for the CCA competition, with his Canadian Tribute to Human Rights commission. After such a vibrant success, Charney did not get another commission in the context of the provincial programme. This is contrary to what happened to the other artists presented in this study. In fact, for the remaining of our study

period (1987-92), Charney was absent on the scene of public art administered by the provincial bureaucrats.[158]

In addition, in 1990 Charney won one of the few competitions for public art to be held in Montréal. He created stainless-steel, tower-like sculptures, also alluding to Montréal's architecture, for the newly laid out Place Berri, itself designed by landscape architects and professors at Université de Montréal Peter Jacobs and Philippe Poullaouec-Gonidec. Contrary to the CCA Garden, for which Charney was entirely responsible, his participation for Place Berri was more restrained. The project was completed by 1992, the 350th anniversary year of Montréal. The critical acclaim was not as unanimous as it had been for the CCA Garden.[159]

Lastly, Charney admits that he took part, around 1992, in a competition for a public sculpture set up by a private developer, TrizecHahn, who incidentally owned Place Ville-Marie for several years. That was for a skyscraper project in Calgary. According to Charney, the developer had decided to add a public square and a sculpture to the project in exchange for the municipal permission to build higher. However, after a very short while, he withdrew from the whole scheme. In fact, the project never materialized. After the municipal contest for Place Berri, Charney took part in only three other competitions for public art, but after 1992.[160]

As evoked above, Charney continued to exhibit during those last years. In the year that followed the competition for the CCA Garden, he started to be represented by The Sable-Castelli Gallery in Toronto. Concomitantly, he exhibited in that city at the Power Plant art gallery. Dedicated to the defense of Canadian avant-garde art associated with international contemporary art, Power Plant was created around 1987. Early in its existence, the gallery proposed a show, La ruse historique, l'art à Montréal. The Historical Ruse: Art in Montréal, with Parachute's

director Chantal Pontbriand as curator. Pontbriand selected only eight artists (Céline Baril, Geneviève Cadieux, Melvin Charney, Angela Grauerholz, Gilles Mihalcean, Roland Poulin, Rober Racine and Irene Whittome) as representatives of what might characterize the specificity of a certain art created in Montréal. Pontbriand alleged that Montréal artists were interested in history, memory and traces of the past, while those from Toronto dealt more with the contemporary world as projected on a screen, therefore more in the surface. She nonetheless acknowledged the fact that other artists, in Europe and in the United States, were also interested in History as their base material. This posited Montréal artists with the others in the international network.[161]

New art gallery owner René Blouin, who represented Geneviève Cadieux and Melvin Charney in Montréal, received some credit for this aperture from Toronto towards Montréal artists. Blouin, for his part, praised Charney as an artist:

> Melvin est difficilement classable . . . . C'est peut-être un conceptualiste qui a échappé à l'anorexie des minimalistes. Il faisait des installations avant même que le terme ne soit inventé. Il ne souscrit pas aux modes, a développé un vocabulaire autonome et une réflexion personnelle sur la ville. C'est la vie de Montréal qui nourrit son oeuvre. Il puise à plusieurs sources, aussi bien la philosophie, la sociologie, la psychologie que l'histoire, l'art et l'architecture, et il transforme un tas de données obtenues selon ces divers modes de connaissance en un autre mode d'information plus global, plus condensé, plus intuitif. C'est ça un grand artiste.[162]

The great artist, however, did not have an exhibition in his city of birth for a long period of time. Charney started to be represented in Montréal at the time Blouin opened his art gallery. Blouin made connections with Toronto, and Charney was also well represented there.

In 1989, Charney was one of the ten artists invited for the section "Territoires plastiques" of the exhibition Territoires d'artistes: paysages

verticaux, presented by the Musée du Québec, outside of its premises. Louise Déry, then curator of contemporary art at the State museum, conceived and realized the show, which took place during the summer. The exhibition invited, besides Québec artists, some internationally reputed ones, from outside the country, such as Daniel Buren and Sylvie Blocher, both from Paris, Giuseppe Penone from Milan, Robert Stackhouse from New York City, Fortuyn/O'Brien from Amsterdam, and Shigeo Toya from Tokyo. According to Déry, the result sprinkled unexpectedness in the city, even though most artists left the city behind and selected, rather, a more natural landscape ("paysage-nature") to house their project. In fact, eight out of the ten artists, including Charney, selected the Parc des Champs-de-bataille, where the museum is also located. On the highest point in the city, Charney's ephemeral, site-specific creation alluded to the movement of a house swept along by the wind, forceful on that location. The installation consisted in an alignment of posts on which was anchored, at various angles, the repetition of the same schematic façade, thin and pierced by rectangles for the door and windows. The houses on the posts resembled flags on a mast, hence the title: Une construction à Québec: Maisons/Poteaux/Drapeaux.[163]

Also in 1989, Charney's work for the CCA Garden was displayed as the CCA organized an exhibition about the history of the creation of the CCA as an institution, and of the CCA building and gardens: Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture: building and gardens. That exhibition was selected in 1991 to represent Canada at the "Fifth International Exhibition of Architecture" of the Venice Biennial. It was the first time Canada was present at the Architecture Biennial, and the CCA was selected through the International Cultural Relations Program of External Affairs and International Trade Canada.[164]

In 1990, Charney had a solo exhibition at the René Blouin Gallery, in which he presented colour drawings on photographs, which came to characterize the artist as much as his previous constructions. He still addressed architecture as linked to history and memory. Not only did the exhibition receive a good review, but the ensemble of his works was greeted as being remarkably coherent and important. We saw that in the Montréal of the late 1980s, early 1990s, private development forces had become strong once more. In this context, Charney's relentless message about the city as a place of memory, and of knowledge, was poignant again.[165]

In 1991, Charney had a display of his work, solo, in an art gallery in Toronto, followed by an important solo exhibition at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), with Alessandra Latour as curator. He was also represented in a major show about the international presence of Québec artists, at the Musée du Québec. The show at the CCA was entitled Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990, and presented a retrospective of Charney's work. In addition, the CCA published a catalogue in which Charney's notes regarding his projects made evident the continuity of his intentions throughout the years. The presentation at the CCA clarified the link between Charney's early work and the CCA Garden. As stated by Phyllis Lambert, most of Charney's installations had been, until the recent past, voluntarily ephemeral. With the Canadian Tribute and his two subsequent permanent projects, Charney undertook a new stage in his artistic endeavour. Having been on the jury of the first two of those three new permanent works, Lambert was certainly not alien to Charney's new exposure. She openly stated: "The exhibition we are doing now on [him] . . . puts Melvin Charney, a Canadian artist, into the international realm. There is a publication on him. It changes his status."[166] That was an overstatement, since Charney had

been very active and present on the international scene over the years. Nonetheless, the exhibition was important for the artist and was very well received by the media. In a way, the CCA Garden not only highlighted various layers of architectural and urban history, but also the construction of Charney's own oeuvre. It was as if, all of a sudden, everything became clearer.[167]

Also in 1991, Charney was one of the thirty-eight artists selected for the exhibition Un archipel de désirs organized by Musée du Québec's curator Louise Déry. Un archipel de désirs displayed the work of Québec artists who, from the 1960s until the 1980s, had been present on the international artistic scene. According to the research conducted by the Museum for the exhibition, the emergence of Québec artists on the international scene was more visible during the 1980s, but had roots in the 1960s. The show did not aim to be a panorama, nor a record, but a reference on the subject of Québec artists' presence on the international scene. This exhaustive research indicated that Melvin Charney was the first of his generation (after the Plasticiens) to be present in various important international manifestations. For instance, in 1982, Charney was the first (besides Riopelle) to have exhibited in a European or an American museum. He was also the only artist, after Riopelle (in 1959 and 1964) to be invited to take part in Kassel's Documenta. Charney's presence at the Venice Biennial in 1986 also marked a come-back of Québec artists as representatives of Canada, after a long hiatus. In fact, only Charney's presence at the Paris Biennial, in 1980, was not as "spectacular" in that other Québec artists had preceded him (notably Bill Vazan, Yvon Cozic and Serge Lemoyne in 1971). Also, Charney was then one of France's special guests for the architecture section.[168]

Finally, in 1992, Charney's work was on display on several occasions. Concordia University's art gallery inaugurated its new

premises by launching the exhibition Une décennie de collection. The show presented works of art collected by the University over the last decade and created by artists such as Paul-Émile Borduas, Eva Brandl, Melvin Charney, Ulysse Comptois, Andrew Dutkewych, Betty Goodwin, Guido Molinari, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Jean-Paul Riopelle, Barbara Steinman, Françoise Sullivan, and Irene Whittome.[169]

Charney was part of another group exhibition, in Toronto this time, at The Sable-Castelli Gallery. However, it is most certainly the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art's inaugural exhibition that marked 1992 for Charney as far as exhibitions are concerned. For the opening of its new building in downtown Montréal, the Museum organized two exhibitions, one that presented works of art from its collection (see chapters about Peter Gnass and Michel Goulet), the other, Pour la suite du monde, which displayed the work commissioned to the artists specifically for the occasion. Those artists were all known on the international scene, and came from all over the world, including Québec. Charney was again selected to be part of a major show which had an international resonance.[170]

Charney took advantage of the invitation to propose an installation inside the museum, Parabole no. 9 . . .ainsi soit-il: les usines ferment, les musées ouvrent (1992), accompanied by a commentary that associated the closing of old industries (blue collar) with the opening of new industries, the museums (which we term black collar). From this observation, Charney commented on the loss of architectural know-how, by comparing industrial architecture to the architecture of the new museum. In addition to Charney's own commentary, Eric Amouroux saw in the work a critique of the artistic establishment as being a delusion that marked the impoverishment of a part of the Québec working class population.[171]

Charney had started his career with a project that denounced the construction of a museum. Subsequently, he erected pieces that modified the museum configuration. With the CCA Garden, he even constructed an open air museum, as a complement and possibly as an alternative to the CCA itself. Finally, at the newly built Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, he went full circle, by proposing a critique of a museum, both on an architectural and a social level.[172]

Charney had received a few awards in his career. His creation of the CCA Garden, almost considered as the crowning of a long and consistent artistic career, brought prestigious awards to the artist. In 1989, the local newspaper La Presse elected Charney "Personnalité de l'année" in visual arts, particularly for the CCA Garden, but also for his thought as a whole and his art in general. Also in December 1989, the CCA Garden won the Save Montréal prize for its great aesthetic quality. All the success condensed around the construction of the CCA Garden brought recognition to Charney on the part of city officials, who consulted him on some important projects or issues (about Viger Square and Faubourg Québec, de la Commune Street in Old Montréal).[173]

The fallout generated by the creation of the CCA Garden was multiple. In addition to the unanimous critical acclaim and the exhibitions, consultations and other projects that directly resulted from the commission for the garden, Charney received two important signs of recognition in Québec. They are worth noting, despite the fact that they occurred outside our study period. Firstly, in 1993, Charney was appointed by the Minister of Culture, Liza Frulla, on the board of the newly created Conseil des arts et lettres du Québec (CALQ). There were twelve nominees and Charney was the only one representative of the visual arts. The twelve members were appointed by a statutory order from the provincial government. The CALQ's board members were responsible for the

administration of the various governmental programmes that aimed to help creation, by deciding for instance on the juries in charge of the attribution of bursaries or other forms of funding. Secondly, Charney was awarded the Prix du Québec for visual arts, the Prix Paul-Émile Borduas, in 1996. The prestigious appointments conferred notoriety not only to Charney's artistic realizations, but also to the whole of his thought about architecture and urban life.[174]

As the numerous references in this thesis attest, Charney wrote about his work and about architecture and the city. He once explained:

> J'écris sur l'histoire pour situer une polémique à travers laquelle on véhicule des oeuvres et pour situer un point de vue face au besoin de créer des choses. . . . Donc, je décris le passé à travers ce que je cherche dans la prescription du présent, et je trouve que cela m'aide énormément.[175]

On the other hand, Charney explained on several occasions that he could not isolate the discourse from the image: "I work with ideas . . . . But instead of writing about them, I deal with them visually, or physically, because I feel there's a realm of knowledge that's not entirely verbal."[176] In addition, Charney lectured about architecture. In 1988, while he was working on the CCA Garden and a year before the official opening of the CCA, Charney gave a conference, "L'État de l'architecture: entre l'avant-garde immatérialisable et la mutation des styles" as a guest at the Les États généraux de l'aménagement au Canada, held in Montréal and organized by the Faculté de l'Aménagement of the Université de Montréal. He expressed the view that architecture produced in Canada was desperately mediocre. Also, the limits between commerce and culture were totally blurred in the professor's view. He maintained that in Canada, there was no architecture significant at the international level. But Charney did not only lecture in the context of academia or of the CCA. Often he was invited to discuss his work in the context of artistic events,

including exhibitions in which he was involved. Finally, it is worth noting that Charney's works of art are part of prestigious collections, either public (various museums) or private. He is not, however, part of the Lavalin collection, contrary to several of the artists presented in this study.[177]

Conclusion

Melvin Charney belongs to the generation of Théberge, Gnass and Vazan. He received his artistic education as a child (as did Lambert). However, at the time Théberge, Gnass and Vazan studied arts, Charney received a first-class education in architecture. Throughout his career, he combined art with architecture. Remarkably, he never dissociated art from architecture. Furthermore, Charney entered the artistic field late (as did Vazan). This allowed him (as it did Vazan) to embrace new and avant-garde artistic preoccupations, remote from modernism.

Despite what would be affirmed years later, Charney was not immediately welcomed in Montréal's artistic field. Whereas Vazan always had strong support from several art critics (despite some harsh critiques as well), Charney's selection for Québec 75 was highly criticized, in part because he was not a francophone, but mainly because of his status as an architect. His entry on Montréal's art scene was clearly associated with the avant-garde (Québec 75, Corridart, 03.23.03. Premières Rencontres Internationales d' Art Contemporain), and his work was hardly understood, as often happens to avant-garde artists. The Montréal art critics were more respectful of Charney's work after he exhibited with avant-garde artists (whose work also dealt with architecture) on the international art scene. Charney was well aware of the difficulty, for him, to be and to stay

in the Québec art field, so entrenched in the ideology of nationalism and afraid of the international presence and influence of other artists.

The conception and design of Montreal, plus ou moins? in which he was involved, along with other artists, critically dealt with the ongoing urban development. The experience was repeated with Corridart in 1976, the exhibition being held in the city this time. But given the fate of that event, it seems that a critique of the development forces in Montréal could not take place out in the open in that city, it had to be kept within the walls of a museum.

Those exhibitions and artistic manifestations allowed Charney to explore and refine ideas about vernacular architecture versus monuments, about history, memory, urban development, the role of the private and of the public (e.g., the street, the square, the appropriation of the street by private development forces, and their design of underground replicas of streets, the high-rise structures, et cetera), and the development of Old Montréal.

Charney's first solo exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1979 allows us to see the evolution of the artist within a few years. From then on, he would take part in prestigious exhibitions in Canada and abroad, and be invited to lecture about his work. He exhibited with other highly ranked artists on the international art scene, who were interested in land art and in art and architecture. Charney's important presence on the international art scene was recognized by the Musée du Québec, and his first-ranked position on the Canadian artistic scene was established when he represented Canada in the Venice Biennial. Also, his achievements in the Québec art field were acknowledged by the Prix du Québec in visual arts (Prix Paul-Émile Borduas), and by his appointment as a CALQ board member. It is noticeable that Charney was represented by an art gallery in Montréal only after his participation at the Venice Biennial, despite his

previous accomplishments on the international, national and local art scene.

Early on, Charney proposed installations that were exercises in the integration of art to architecture, particularly to art centres or museums (Kingston, Toronto, Montréal, Chicago, New York City). This was done in parallel to exhibitions of other pieces of his, which dealt with the monumentality of vernacular architecture. He juggled with these elements: history, memory, monument, vernacular architecture, and the city, in the context of exhibitions in art galleries or museums. Context, be it architectural or urban, was of prime importance, and he proposed site-specifics art works in the city. While doing so, he was distancing himself from the diktats of modernism.

Charney started to take part in competitions for permanent public art or art integrated to architecture quite late in his career, i.e., after having manifested his strong interest in art, architecture and the city in his numerous exhibitions. Phyllis Lambert was on the jury of the first two competitions in which he took part, i.e., before he became highly reputed for his permanent public works of art. Despite the unquestionable success of his public works of art, particularly the CCA Garden, he did not get many commissions, contrary to Daudelin and Gnass, for instance. Charney's experience with regard to public commissions in Québec reminds us of the situation prevailing in France in the 1980s. On the one hand, the number of public commissions awarded to artists was inversely proportional to their notoriety. Hence, a famous artist would not receive many public commissions. On the other hand, commissions of major importance were awarded to artists highly visible in the artistic field.[178]

Finally, this chapter on Charney allows us to see that his habitus converged with Phyllis Lambert's own. The two of them developed ideas and attitudes that were increasingly compatible, and shared an obvious

interest in art, the city and architecture. Phyllis Lambert was aware of the high value of Charney as an architect and proposed to have him work on an exhibition she organized with the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts. His personal acquaintance with Lambert, and his unremitting work on themes that could materialize in the CCA project, made him a first-ranked artist for the competition for an environmental sculpture, the CCA Garden, which will be presented in full detail in the next part of the thesis.

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[1] Two files on Melvin Charney were consulted: at the Médiathèque of the Museum of Contemporary Art, file 000534, and at the library of the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Melvin Charney's résumés; Melvin Charney 1981-1983 (Kingston, ON: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1983), 54; Diana Nemiroff, Canada XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986 Melvin Charney Krzysztof Wodiczko (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1986), 40; Melvin Charney, Melvin Charney: Oeuvres 1970-1979 (Montréal: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Musée d'art contemporain), 63.

[2] Melvin Charney, "Interview: Melvin Charney" by France Renaud, Claude de Guise, and Ronald Richard, Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA), Tape recording, Montréal, 28 April 1975, p. 2.

[3] Ibid., p. 3; René Viau, "Melvin Charney: l'architecture en paraboles," La Presse, 9 August 1997, p. D 6. When Charney was awarded the Prix du Québec in visual arts in 1996, Forum, the Université de Montréal publication, wrote that in the 1970s, Charney taught in other universities: University of Toronto, Harvard, and UQAM in Montréal. He then came back to the Université de Montréal, according to that source. "Les prix du Québec 1996: 5 sur 9 à des professeurs de l'U de M," Forum Université de Montréal, 9 December 1996, 1, 6. Yet in another reference (the only mention about that, actually), Charney is said to have taught at Ottawa University, towards the end of the 1970s. In Trevor Boddy, "Les jardins de

Melvin Charney au Centre Canadien d'Architecture de Montréal," L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, no. 277 (October 1991): 33-34.

[4] Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 63. In a selected listing of his group exhibitions, both the 49th parallel, Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, New York City, and the catalogue of Options 12, Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, date his participation at the Salon des jeunes peintres at Montréal's Musée des Beaux-Arts to 1963, a time when he was in Paris. Mary Jane Jacob, Melvin Charney Options 12 Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago (Chicago : The Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 1982); "Melvin Charney Recent Constructions and Works on Paper," New York, 49th Parallel Centre for Contemporary Art, 1982, 4 pages; Melvin Charney, "Melvin Charney Entretien avec Chantal Pontbriand," Parachute, no. 13 (Winter 1978): 26. See also Dale McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," Artscanada 33-2, no. 206-207 (July-August 1976): 51.

[5] Melvin Charney, "On the liberation of architecture Memo Series on an Air Force Memorial," Artforum 9, no. 9 (May 1971): 34. Charney also said: "J'ai poursuivi l'idée du 'off-the-shelf', mais cette fois-ci avec un inventaire de tout ce qui peut parler de l'architecture d'un musée." Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 26; see also Melvin Charney, "Melvin Charney Other Monuments four works 1970-76," Vanguard 6, no. 2 (March 1977): 3-8.

[6] Charney, "On the liberation of architecture," 34-35. In the interview with Chantal Pontbriand, Charney indicated that Robert Smithson and him worked on similar ideas after having followed a similar path: study in architecture, dillusion with the practice of architecture: "Robert Smithson travaillait à cette époque sur l'aéroport de Dallas/Forth Worth et faisait à peu près la même chose que je faisais aussi. Il recherchait un schéma physique pour des modèles mentaux suggérés par la création d'un aéroport." In Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 26. See also McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," who affirmed that Charney's proposal "came at a time when Robert Smithson was working on an equally imaginative plan for the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport," p. 51.

[7] Alex Tzonis, "Un monument contre les massacres et la terreur," Le Carré Bleu, January 1972, 13. MEMO was translated by IMAGES-TYPES. See also Patricia C. Phillips, "Théâtre de l'architecture, édification de la mémoire," in Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990 (Montréal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1991), 24.

[8] When Charney received the prix Paul-Émile Borduas, Johanne Lamoureux stated that architects had been less receptive to his work

because it was not architecture, whereas the art world of 1997 found it "normal." Melvin Charney, interview by Chantal Jolis, Prix du Québec serie, Radio-Québec, 18 February 1997. Charney said that when he started his construction, in 1975, what he built was considered art objects by some architects, whereas artists did not consider his work to be art because he dealt with a socially identifiable referencial context. Art was then very auto-referential. See also Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 26-27.

[9] Judi John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments," Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), Toronto, 16 February 1978, 2 pages; Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 26-27.

[10] Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 26; Charney, "Melvin Charney Other Monuments four works 1970-76," 3-8. Several years later, Charney selected some of the images of Un Dictionnaire, and enlarged them and worked with them, adding yet layers of meaning. Informal discussions with the artist. See also Jean-François Chevrier, "Melvin Charney," Galeries Magazine, February-March 1994, 59-60.

[11] Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 29-30.

[12] See Melvin Charney, "National monuments (Melvin Charney: Monuments generated by events beyond cultural practice)," Architectural Design 44 (49), no. 4 (April 1974): 241; Architectural Association School of Architecture, London, England, "Events list 7 Summer term 8-10 June 1977," 1 page; Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 26.

[13] McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," 51; Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 62. The report was The Adequacy and Production of Low Income Housing in Canada, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa, Canada, 1972. Excerpt of the report in Melvin Charney, "Low income housing," Architectural Design 43 (42), no. 1 (January 1972): 7-8.

[14] René Rozon, "La ville au musée," Vie des arts, no. 69 (Winter 1972-73): 29-30. Charney presents himself as an artist engagé, using the fashionable vocabulary of the time, such as bourgeois, siding with the peuple (rather than the public), and against the power (including the financial one), the authorities, etc.

[15] Ibid., 30, 33.

[16] Ibid., 30-31.

[17] Ibid., 33.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 29.

[20] Charney, "National Monuments," 241. See also Charney, "Melvin Charney Other Monuments four works 1970-76," 3-8; Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 62-63; "Melvin Charney Recent Constructions and Works on

Paper"; Melvin Charney 1981-1983, 54; Robert Freeman, Graphic Perspectives: drawings by Melvin Charney, Medrie MacPhee, Arlene Stamp (Stratford, ON): The Gallery Stratford, 1987). It seems quite clear that Charney did not get much review from his early group exhibitions, and that he undertook to explain himself and get some visibility and credibility by doing so. This is revealed by cross-checking the papers written about his work and his exhibitions.

[21] Charney, "National Monuments," 241. The idea will be repeated in several instances by art critics; see for instance, René Viau, "Melvin Charney et ses images architecturales," Le Devoir, 27 October 1979, p. 26.

[22] Charney, "National Monuments," 241; Memo Series was shown in part at the 1973 Paris exhibition, see Architectural Association School of Architecture, "Events list 7 Summer 1977," 1 page.

[23] Charney, "Low income housing," 7.

[24] Ibid., 8.

[25] And later shown at the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, the Winnipeg Art Gallery, and the Vancouver Art Gallery. About Québec 75, see chapter 5. See also, Architectural Association School of Architecture, "Events list 7 Summer 1977," 1 page.

[26] Normand Thériault, "Melvin Charney", in Arts Québec '75, catalogue of the exhibition, p. 22; Charney, "Interview," ICA. Gilles Toupin's critique was the harshest. See Gilles Toupin, "Québec 75 reflets et mirages," La Presse, 25 October 1975, p. D 20; Georges Bogardi, "Quebec 75 A mirror image?," Montreal Star, 25 October 1975, p. D 7; Virginia Nixon, "Quebec '75 Giving spectators a chance to understand," Gazette, 25 October 1975, p. 46. David Burnett was one of the few who truly appreciated Charney's architectural background in his artistic production. David Burnett, "Québec 75/Arts: 1," Artscanada 33, no. 206-207 (July-August 1976): 4-17. Charney acknowledges the importance Québec 75 had for him. It took him a year to get the Trois-Rivières piece done. He admitted that the Air Force competition was an architectural competition, and that he turned it into a public art project. Melvin Charney, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 3 November 1996.

[27] Charney, "Interview," ICA, p. 4-6; Thériault, "Melvin Charney," p. 22.

[28] Melvin Charney, Addendum 2, Explorations Program, Item 11: Project description-objectives, scope, and sources, no date, 5 pages, quotation from the first page. From the Médiathèque. This had been repeated on several occasions by Phyllis Lambert, when she explained why she stopped sculpting and engaged, instead, in architecture.

[29] Charney, "Addendum 2," Item 11.

[30] Not merely of the past, as in the English translation; the memory had been a recurrent theme in Charney's oeuvre.
[31] Charney, "Interview," ICA, p. 8-9.
[32] Charney, "Addendum 2," first page.
[33] Ibid..
[34] Ibid., p. 3.
[35] Ibid., p. 4.
[36] Charney's term quoted by McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," 52.
[37] Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 33. Text written in 1975. See also Charney, "Melvin Charney Other Monuments four works 1970-76," 3-8; Robert Fulford, "Icons and Allegories: The sculpture garden of Melvin Charney," Canadian Art 8, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 54-57.
[38] Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 42. Text dated December 1977. Charney also states: "A un certain niveau, cette construction n'était rien de plus qu'un discours sur la figuration d'une place publique dans la trame traditionnelle de la ville." In Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 27. See also Charney, "Melvin Charney Other Monuments four works 1970-76," 3-8.
[39] McConathy seems to have been the first one to identify Charney as an "artist-architect." Corridart was dismantled during the night of the 13-14 July 1976, one day before the official opening of the Olympic Games. Boddy, "Les jardins de Charney," 31-35; Melvin Charney, "Signs of Recognition Ciphers of Deception," Parachute, no. 36 (September-October-November 1984): 41; Fulford, "Icons and Allegories," 57-58; La Rédaction, "Corridart ou l'atelier dans la rue," Cahiers 10, no. 31 (Fall 1986): 29; Sarah McFadden, "Art Show Smashed in Montreal," Art in America 64, no. 5 (September-October 1976): 152; Nemiroff, Canada XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986; Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 27; McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," 36-53; Jennifer Couëlle, "Prix Paul-Émile Borduas Penser le lieu Melvin Charney oeuvre depuis une trentaine d'années dans les interstices, entre l'art, l'architecture et la théorie," Le Devoir, 9 December 1996, p. C 7.
[40] McConathy, "Corridart: instant archaeology in Montréal," 51.
[41] Ibid., 52.
[42] Charney, interview by author.
[43] Architectural Association School of Architecture, "Events list 7 Summer 1977"; the same was said for a further exhibition in an art gallery. John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments."
[44] Charney, "Melvin Charney Other Monuments four works 1970-76," 3-8; Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 63. Charney later said: "*Memo Series* . . . a été conçu au départ dans un contexte architectural. Pourtant ces pièces

ont été reçues dans un contexte non architectural." Which is not totally accurate, at least not for the immediate reception. Viau, "Charney et ses images architecturales," p. 26.

[45] Jacob, Charney Options 12; Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 63; John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments," 2; Communiqué, Ministère des Affaires culturelles (Québec), Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC) of Montreal, Montréal, 17 October 1979, p. 2.

[46] According to Judi John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments," the title was Melvin Charney: Other Monuments 1970-77. However, the final title referred to in subsequent catalogues is Other Monuments: Six Works, Melvin Charney. Quote from Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 50. The text is dated March 1978. About the title, see also Melvin Charney 1981-1983, 54.

[47] Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 50.

[48] Ibid., 39. See also p. 50 and John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments." The 1979 catalogue for the exhibition at Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art gives 1978 as the date for Streetwork.

[49] Charney dates the series 1975-77 in Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 27.

[50] Ibid., 26.

[51] Ibid., 30.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 63; Claudette Hould, "Melvin Charney, ou les traces d'une mémoire collective," Vie des arts 24, no. 98 (Spring 1980): 78.

[55] John Russel, "Art: Where to See The New Work Where to See New Artists," New York Times, 8 June 1979, p. C 1, C 20; Invitation card to the exhibition, from the artist's file at the Médiathèque.

[56] John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments"; Communiqué, MAC, 17 October 1979; Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79.

[57] Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 58. Text dated August 1979.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., 54; see also p. 28, 55, 63. Created for the Institute for Art and Urban Resources, Project Studios One, New York, 1979.

[60] Ibid., 54; "Melvin has a message no one understands," Saturday Night, October 1979, 6. Frank Gehry, Stanley Tigerman and Mario Gandelsona were also part of the exhibition at P. S. 1. In an interview conducted by Phyllis Lambert, Charney referred to Room 202 to explain how for him representation is, or becomes, an abstraction. Phyllis Lambert, "Une entrevue avec Melvin Charney," in Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990, 28-29.

[61] In the catalogue of the exhibition, some of the earlier works have been renamed. Un Dictionnaire Series (1970-78), also Learnig from the Wire Services. It expanded from the Dictionnaire d'Architecture or Learning from the Wire Services (1973) where Charney screened images from the wire services during the period 1970-73. In the latest version, the period extended from 1970 to 1978. Charney even wrote of a ten year period; see Charney, "National Monuments," 241-243 and compare it with the catalalogue Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, p. 21, 28. Regarding Les Maisons de la Rue Sherbrooke, the reference to Corridart as an event involving several other artists vanished: see particularly Alex Tzonis' text in the 1979 catalogue, p. 11. Finally, what is titled Une histoire in the 1979 catalogue, was previously called Une histoire d'architecture-Le Trésor de Trois-Rivières (1975). Comparison between John, "Melvin Charney's Other Monuments," and Architectural Association School of Architecture, with Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, and Viau, "Charney et ses images architecturales," p. 26.

[62] Melvin Charney quoted in Viau, "Charney et ses images architecturales," p. 26.

[63] Tzonis, "Introduction" to Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 9. Tzonis' analysis was reproduced and translated in "Communiqué," MAC, 17 October 1979: "L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney se présente alors comme une étude épistémologique sur la nature de la classification et sur les protocoles de la représentation et interroge le sens réel de toute création." (p. 2)

[64] Denis Chartrand, "Avant-propos" and Tzonis, "Introduction" to Oeuvres 1970-79.

[65] Charney, "On the liberation of architecture," 34-37. See also Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 6, 14-20; Virginia Nixon, "Builders quarrel over space at Musee d'art," Gazette, 10 November 1979, p. 108-109; Viau, "Charney et ses images architecturales," p. 26.

[66] Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 26-27.

[67] Melvin Charney, "Learning from the Wire Services Un Dictionnaire Series 1970-1978," in Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79, 21. Text dated February 1973.

[68] Charney, ibid.

[69] Gilles Toupin, "Charney: l'architecture archéologique," La Presse, 10 November 1979, p. C 20; Johanne Lamoureux, "Melvin Charney ou l'illusion de la preuve Musée d'art contemporain, Montréal," Parachute, no. 17 (Winter 1979): 66-67; Viau, "Charney et ses images architecturales," p. 26; Hould, "Les traces d'une mémoire collective". Hould wrote: "C'est l'urbanisme, ou du moins ce qu'on appelle l'urbanisme contemporain, qui est le plus touché par le regard lucide qu'il porte sur les réalisations concrètes de la dernière décennie." (p. 78).

[70] Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 28.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Andrew Patton, "Melvin Charney at the Art Gallery of Ontario," Artists Review, no. 13 (April 1978): 12-13; Gerald Needham, "Melvin Charney: Constructs and Concepts," Artscanada issue 234/235, vol. 37, no. 1 (April-May 1980): 24, 26; Jean Dumont, "Expositions illustrant la dualité de jugement entre l'art et la société," Montréal ce mois-ci 5, no. 10 (October 1979): 22-23; Hould, "Les traces d'une mémoire collective," 78; Lamoureux, "L'illusion de la preuve," 66-67; Nixon, "Builders quarrel over space at Musee d'art," p. 108-109; Virginia Nixon, "The big museums' secret: Lots of staff, lots of cash," Gazette, 6 October 1979, p. 53; Toupin, "Charney: l'architecture archéologique," p. C 20; René Viau, "La saison des musées montréalais," Le Devoir, 29 September 1979, p. 24; Viau, "Charney et ses images architecturales," p. 26.
[73] Needham, "Melvin Charney: Constructs and Concepts," 24.
[74] Ibid., 24-26.
[75] Ginette Côté, Communiqué, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des communications, 5 November 1980; Melvin Charney 1981-1983, 54.
[76] "Melvin Charney Recent Constructions and Works on Paper"; Melvin Charney 1981-1983, 54; Bruce Barber, "Architectural References: Post-Modernism, Primitivism and Parody in the Architectural Image," Parachute, no. 21 (Winter 1980): 5-12; Babs Shapiro, "Architectural References: The Consequences of the Post-Modern in Contemporary Art and Architecture," Vanguard 9, no. 4 (May 1980): 6-13; Catalogue of the exhibition Architectural References, The Vancouver Art Gallery, April 30 to June 1, 1980; Catalogue of the exhibition Architectural Sculpture, Los Angeles Institute for Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, September 1980; Hould, "Les traces d'une mémoire collective," 78; Invitation card to the exhibition Melvin Charney: Projets/Constructions 1975/1980, from the artist's file at the Médiathèque. By 1989, Charney still had to emphasize the fact that other artists of his generation, such as Robert Smithson, Christo and Gordon Matta-Clark, had an architectural background. In Jocelyne Lepage, "Melvin Charney, l'Ame-soeur de Montréal," La Presse, 23 December 1989, p. C 7. Most of Charney's bibliographies include his participation at the 11th Biennale de Paris, in 1980. He was in the architectural section, and is not on the list of artists who took part in the event. See Louise Déry, Un archipel de désirs: Les artistes du Québec et la scène internationale (n. p.: Musée du Québec, 1991), 15; "11e Biennale de Paris: Les Canadiens," Parachute, no. 20 (Fall 1980): 4-17.
[77] Richard Martel, "Le colloque: un compte rendu circonstancié," La revue Intervention, no. 9 (Fall 1980): 32-36.

[78] Adele Freedman, "Building metaphors–literally," Globe and Mail (Toronto), 13 December 1980, p. 20. This exhibition does not appear in Charney's bibliography. See for instance Melvin Charney 1981-1983. In Bio-bibliographie, Territoires d'artistes paysages verticaux (n. p.: Musée du Québec and Amis du Musée du Québec, 1989), Louise Déry identifies this exhibition as of 1981, and refers to the Architectural Books Gallery as the place where the exhibition was held. This was Charney's only solo exhibition in 1981.

[79] The quote and the date 1981 come from "Melvin Charney Biographic Notes," in Joan Stebbins and Melvin Charney, Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction (Lethbridge, AB: Southern Alberta Art Gallery, 1986), n. p. Charney wrote that in 1980, he saw on a road outside Frankfort, the ruins of a bombed factory which reminded him of the death camp. With this image he started to work on proposals for the Documenta 7 at Kassel. In Charney, "Signs of Recognition," 41.

[80] Charney, "Signs of Recognition," 41.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Johanne Lamoureux, "Melvin Charney l'architecture mise en jeu," Artpress, no. 123 (March 1988): 21-23.

[83] Melvin Charney, "L'Architecture comme roman une inteview de Louis Martin," Parachute, no. 56 (October-November-December 1989): 10.

[84] Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney, 1975-1990, 129-31, 144-45; Charney, "Signs of Recognition," 41-42; Lamoureux, ""L'architecture mise en jeu," 21-23; Nemiroff, Canada XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986. The event has often been referred to as if it had materialized. See for instance Lawrence Sabbath, "Art Notes: Surroundings add enchantement to animated film exhibit," Gazette, 26 June 1982, p. B 11.

[85] Ann Lee Morgan, "A Chicago Letter," Art International 25, no. 9-10 (November-December 1982): 78, 80; "Melvin Charney Recent Constructions and Works on Paper"; Sabbath, "Art Notes: Surroundings add enchantement to animated film exhibit," p. B 11; Melvin Charney 1981-1983.

[86] Jacob, Charney Options 12.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Tzonis, "Introduction," 6.

[89] Jacob, Charney Options 12. The indoor exhibition was held May 15-July 13, 1982, and the outdoor installation was visible from May 15 to August 29, 1982.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Melvin Charney, "A Chicago Construction," in Melvin Charney Options 12, n. p.
[93] Leaflet, Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art for the exhibition; Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art program for the May-June events.
[94] Morgan, "A Chicago Letter," 80. The Chicago construction and exhibitions are not mentioned in the catalogue Melvin Charney 1981-1983. See also Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Selon l'architecte Melvin Charney Montréal regorge de grandes richesses architecturales," La Presse, 26 February 1986, p. D 9.
[95] Charney, "A Chicago Construction," n. p.
[96] Ibid., n. p.
[97] Charney, interview by author. This is also discussed in the CCA Garden case study.
[98] Charney, "A Chicago Construction," n. p.
[99] Nemiroff, Canada XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986.
[100] "Transforming Existing Buildings Into Monuments," Citysite Sculpture, Toronto, 1982, n. p. See also Charney, "Signs of Recognition," 41.
[101] "Transforming Existing Buildings Into Monuments," n. p.; see also Ronny H. Cohen, "Reviews from New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Toronto, Basel, Paris, Düsseldorf, and Amsterdam." "Toronto 'Citysite Sculpture,' Visual Arts Ontario," Artforum 21, no. 5 (January 1983): 83.
[102] To borrow from Roger Trancik, Finding Lost Space (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1986), 246 p.
[103] Cohen, "Toronto Citysite Sculpture," 83. Bibliographies published in catalogue reported that it was by the Visual Arts Ontario and the Market Gallery of the City of Toronto Archives. See for instance Melvin Charney 1981-1983.
[104] Cohen, "Toronto Citysite Sculpture," 83.
[105] Karen Wilkin, "Toronto Public Spaces & Private Visions," ArtNews 82, no. 1 (January 1983): 94.
[106] Invitation for Drawings by Contemporary Sculptors, Surrey Art Gallery, Surrey, British Columbia.
[107] Bruce Grenville, "Melvin Charney," Parachute, no. 32 (September-October-November 1983): 36.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid., 37.
[110] The title given in the French version of Charney's bibliography is Les Villas de Pline et l'architecture classique à Montréal. The English title is as reported in Richards. Odile Hénault reported on the exhibition, giving it a slightly different title: Les Villas de Pline et les éléments classiques dans l'architecture à Montréal. She presented the exhibition as conceived

jointly by the CCA and by the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, in collaboration with the Institut français d'architecture, in Paris. Odile Hénault, "Pline le Jeune, 2,000 ans plus tard . . .," Le Devoir, 29 October 1983, p. 28, 31. However, Lambert, while admitting having had discussions with Montréal Museum of Fine Arts' director Pierre Théberge, affirmed that the CCA "made" the exhibition: "That was the CCA's exhibition" held at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts "because the CCA didn't have a local yet." Phyllis Lambert, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 15 January 1997. Larry Richards wrote that the CCA and the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) presented this exhibition, giving details of everyone's role in it. It appears that it was a team work involving: Maurice Culot (France), Pierre Théberge (MMFA), Pierre du Prey (CCA), Melvin Charney (conception of the installation) and Phyllis Lambert (direction and coordination). Larry Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders Confronting the Classical Tradition as an Inescapable Wedge in Architectural Circumstances," Parachute, no. 36 (September-October-November 1984): 32, 34-35.

[111] Lambert, interview by author.

[112] Hénault, "Pline le Jeune," p. 28, 31; Johanne Lamoureux, "Mémoire de musée/figures d'amnésie," Parachute, no. 33 (December 1983, January-February 1984): 26. Lambert explained that, in his letters, Pliny described what a villa should be. At that time, she was working on the CCA Building, trying to deal with Shaughnessy House and treat it as a villa. The villa in the garden was present in Pliny's: "He [Pliny] talks about one walking through the gardens at different times of the day." Lambert, interview by author.

[113] Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders," 35. Lambert similarly described Charney's piece in Lambert, interview by author.

[114] Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders," 34, 37; see also Lamoureux, "Mémoire de musée," 27.

[115] Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders," 34, 36. For further details, consult the CCA Garden case study.

[116] Louise Déry, Bio-bibliographie, Territoires d'artistes paysages verticaux, p. 8-9; Museum of Contemporary Art, Calendar of Events, January 1985; Paulette Gagnon and Pierre Landry, Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1985), 14, 68-69.

[117] Gagnon in Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection, 8, 15.

[118] Landry in Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection, 68.

[119] Gagnon in Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection, 68, 136, 302.

[120] "Melvin Charney Biographic Notes" in Stebbins, Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction, n. p.; Claude Gosselin et al., Aurora Borealis (Montréal: Centre international d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1985), 74-76; Nemiroff, Canada XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986; Leaflet of the event, Les Cent Jours d'Art Contemporain, Aurora Borealis, 1985; Elio Grazioli, "Aurora Borealis Centre International d'Art Contemporain," Flash Art, no. 124 (October-November 1985): 54.
[121] Charney, "On a Lethbridge Construction" in Stebbins, Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction, n. p. Charney's text is dated October 1985.
[122] Charney, ibid.
[123] Joan Stebbins, "Introduction," in Stebbins, Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction, n. p.
[124] This drawing is included in The German Series (3), in Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney, 1975-1990, 147.
[125] Charney, "On a Lethbridge Construction," n. p.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79; "Melvin Charney Recent Constructions and Works on Paper"; Melvin Charney 1981-1983, 54; Déry, Un archipel de désirs, 15; Jacob, Charney Options 12; Freedman, "Building metaphors–literally," p. 20; Freeman, Graphic Perspectives drawings by Melvin Charney; Stebbins, Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction, n. p.; Déry, Bio-bibliographie, Territoires d'artistes paysages verticaux, p. 8-9; Invitation card to the exhibition Melvin Charney: Projets/Constructions 1975/1980, held at the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris and in Brussels.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Bonhomme, "Montréal regorge de grandes richesses architecturales," p. D 9.
[131] "Enfin, ce qui importe d'abord pour Charney, ce n'est pas d'éveiller la conscience des gens de sa profession, mais bien que la majorité des gens comprennent ce qui se passe autour d'eux, dans leur environnement..." Charney, "Interview," ICA, p. 6.
[132] Lisa Balfour Bowen, "Canada at the Venice Biennale: An Exercise In Obscurity," Artviews 12, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 16.
[133] Diana Nemiroff quoted in Balfour Bowen, "Canada at the Venice Biennale," 16. See also Catherine Millet, "Venise l'art et l'alchimie et l'alchimie des prix," Artpress, no. 106 (September 1986): 60-61; Nemiroff, Canada XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986; Charlotte Townsend-Gault, "XLII Biennale d'arte di Venezia," Canadian Art 3, no. 3 (Fall-September 1986): 100.
[134] Balfour Bowen, "Canada at the Venice Biennale," 21; Millet, "Venise l'art et l'alchimie et l'alchimie des prix," 60-61.

[135] Balfour Bowen, "Canada at the Venice Biennale," 16.
[136] Townsend-Gault, "XLII Biennale d'arte di Venezia," 100.
[137] Ibid., p. 101; see also Balfour Bowen, "Canada at the Venice Biennale," 20.
[138] Townsend-Gault, "XLII Biennale d'arte di Venezia," 101-102; Balfour Bowen, "Canada at the Venice Biennale," 16; Lamoureux, "L'architecture mise en jeu," 23.
[139] "Découverte de la 42ème Biennale" as quoted by Jocelyne Lepage, "La Biennale de Venise: le plus vieux et le plus gros show d'art actuel," La Presse, 20 June 1988, p. A 10; see also Millet, "Venise l'art et l'alchimie et l'alchimie des prix," 61; Townsend-Gault, "XLII Biennale d'arte di Venezia," 102.
[140] Artist Ian Carr-Harris' opinion, who represented Canada in 1984. In Balfour Bowen, "Canada at the Venice Biennale," 22-23.
[141] Lamoureux was then a professor at University of Ottawa. Gilles Daigneault, "Melvin Charney chez René Blouin Venise n'est pas en Italie," Le Devoir, 31 January 1987, p. B 7; Lamoureux, "L'architecture mise en jeu," 21-23; Charlotte Townsend-Gault, "Construction in Venice, Part 2, 1987 and Other Works by Melvin Charney at the 49th Parallel," New York, 49th Parallel Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, 1987, 4 pages.
[142] Adele Freedman, "Charney wins design contest," Globe and Mail, 30 September 1986, p. D 7. See also Townsend-Gault, "Construction in Venice, Part 2." As the letterhead of the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights/le Monument canadien pour les droits de la personne indicates, the thirty-five patrons included a First Nations' Chief, Chief David Ahenakew, C. M., judges, members of Parliament (for instance, The Honorable Jean Chrétien), engineer Bernard Lamarre, writer Antonine Maillet, a member of the Catholic clergy, Rev. Père Roger Guindon, omi, c.c, and Rabbi W. Gunther Plant, o. c. Also, broadcaster Adrienne Clarkson was a member. Noteworthy was the presence, among those patrons, of McGill University Professor John Humphrey, who had contributed in writing the charter. Charney's file at the Médiathèque; see also, E. J. Gordon, "Canadian ambassador to UN hosts reception at museum," Gazette, 7 October 1986, p. F 9.
[143] Catherine Bédard, "Melvin Charney," Parachute, no. 61 (January-February-March 1991): 58-60; Freedman, "Charney wins design contest," p. D 7; Jocelyne Lepage, "Droits de la personne Melvin Charney érigera un monument au coeur d'Ottawa," La Presse, 16 September 1986, p. C 8; Lawrence Sabbath, "Un monument canadien dédié aux droits de la personne," Vie des arts 31, no. 126 (March-Spring 1987): 65; Thomas Schnurmacher, "Mount Royal not your everyday soap opera," Gazette, 1 October 1986, p. D 1.

[144] Charney quoted in Freedman, "Charney wins design contest," p. D 7; see also Melvin Charney, "Le monument canadien pour les Droits de la personne," in Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990, 175.

[145] Bédard, "Melvin Charney," 58-60; Charney, Oeuvres 1970-79; "Melvin Charney Recent Constructions and Works on Paper"; Melvin Charney 1981-1983, 54; Jacob, Charney Options 12; Freedman, "Building metaphors–literally," p. 20; Freeman, Graphic Perspectives drawings by Melvin Charney; Fulford, "Icons and Allegories," 59; Jocelyne Lepage, "Nos artistes traités aux petits soins," La Presse, 14 May 1988, p. E 17; Jocelyne Lepage, "Le libre-échange. . . avec Toronto!," La Presse, 14 May 1988, p. E 1, E 17; Nemiroff, Canada XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986; Stebbins, Melvin Charney A Lethbridge Construction, n. p.; Déry, Bio-bibliographie, Territoires d'artistes paysages verticaux, p. 8-9; Invitations cards to various exhibitions, from the artist's file at the Médiathèque.

[146] Bédard, "Melvin Charney," 58-60; Charney, "Le monument canadien pour les Droits de la personne," 175-81; Freedman, "Charney wins design contest," p. D 7; Lepage, "Melvin Charney érigera un monument au coeur d'Ottawa," p. C 8; Sabbath, "Un monument canadien dédié aux droits de la personne," 65.

[147] "What is the Tribute?," no author, no date. From Charney's file at the Médiathèque. See also Sabbath, "Un monument canadien dédié aux droits de la personne," 65.

[148] Phyllis Lambert, "Préface" and Alessandra Latour, "Objet et objectivation de l'architecture," in Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990. Alessandra Latour was invited curator for the Charney exhibition held at the CCA in 1991. The equivalent of Lambert's "Préface" was published in Phyllis Lambert, "Melvin Charney au CCA," Designs, December 1991, 28.

[149] Charney, interview by Chantal Jolis, 18 February 1997. Melvin Charney won the Prix Paul-Émile Borduas (visual arts) in 1996.

[150] Melvin Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," in Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture Building and Gardens (Montréal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 87-102; Benjamin Forgey, "Cityscape Reflections in a City Garden The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Apple of Montreal's Eye," Washington Post, 22 September 1990, p. D 1, D 5. Forgey wrote that the Garden was built in part over tunnels of the Ville-Marie expressway. This would bring a greater similitude with the site of Viger Square, which was actually re-constructed over the Trans-Canada Highway tunnels. However, a plan, Route Transcanadienne Autoroute Est-Ouest Projet no. 2 Tronçon B & C Service

d'urbanisme Ville de Montréal, plan no. L-10/N-40, January 1964, indicates that such was not the case. It is possible, though, that the as-built differs from this early plan. Plan consulted at the City of Montréal archives no. 1104, reel 03-30-04.2.

[151] Michel Goulet, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 21 February 1997.

[152] Charney, "L'Architecture comme roman," 10.

[153] Bédard, "Melvin Charney," 58-60. Charney once made it explicit that he never used the term vernacular "parce que c'est un terme véhiculé par une idéologie qui distingue entre des édifices qui représentent les valeurs de la classe dirigeante à part des autres édifices, alors que je crois que tout doit être vu à part égale." Melvin Charney in Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 27. This chapter about Charney's works evidences the artist's preoccupation with the monumental and with the vernacular architecture as an expression of the monumental. In an early text, Charney himself acknowledged the fact. See Charney, "Melvin Charney Other Monuments four works 1970-76," 3-8; Fulford, "Icons and Allegories," 54-56.

[154] The reception of the CCA Garden is adressed in the case study. But for some reviews, see Bédard, "Melvin Charney," 58-60; Boddy, "Les jardins de Charney," 31-35; Ricardo L. Castro, "Architecture centre opens its doors to reveal a gem," Gazette, 13 May 1989, p. K 16; Louise Déry, "Jardins d'artistes," Continuité, Hors-série no. 1 (Fall 1990): 39-42; Ann Duncan, "Architecture Artist Melvin Charney turns a bleak lot into a magical park," Gazette, 21 October 1989, p. K 16; Forgey, "Apple of Montreal's Eye," p. D 1, D 5; Fulford, "Icons and Allegories," 52-59; Johanne Lamoureux, "Une scénographie réversible," ARQ, no. 63 (October 1991): 12-14; Henry Lehmann, "Sculpture's highs and lows City's latest crop holds mixed messages," Gazette, 15 December 1990, p. J 8; Chantal Pontbriand, "Entrevue avec Chantal Pontbriand La Critique aux anges Propos recueillis par Marie Martel," Continuum, Week of September 2, 1991, 22-23; Elaine Shatenstein, "City delights," MTL, Summer 1993, 14-17.

[155] Lamoureux, "L'architecture mise en jeu," 21-23; Serge Fisette, "Melvin Charney La sculpture et l'écho," Espace 7, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 25-27; Fulford, "Icons and Allegories," 52-59.

[156] "In public view," Azure, April 1990.

[157] Ann Duncan, "Sculpture Park Mirrors Montreal's Past," International Herald Tribune, 27-28 April 1991, p. 10.

[158] Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" incl. Bilan 1990-91 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991), p. 10; Louise Déry, interview by author,

Tape recording, Montréal, 21 January 1997; Ghislain Papillon, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 8 November 1996. As for the other artists, all the annual reports were consulted. Charney's name is listed only twice, for the CCA Garden in 1987-88, and for the École des Hautes Études Commerciales (HEC). The only other provincial competition in which Charney has been involved was for a sculpture for the new building of the HEC. As it took place around 1995, it is outside of our study period. Charney, interview by author; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1987-1988" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes Secrétariat à l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, August 1988), p. 20; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1994-1995" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1995), p. 36; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1995-1996" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1996), p. 37.

[159] Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Le Quartier latin s'enrichit de deux nouvelles places publiques," La Presse, 6 May 1992, p. A 3; Charney, interview by author; Ann Duncan, "Charney will turn parking lot into art," Gazette, 20 October 1990, p. K 4; Charlie Fidelman, "A propos d'un art 'pour tous'," Parcours Arts Visuels, no. 14 (Summer 1994): 75-76; Fisette, "Charney La sculpture et l'écho," 26-27; Lamoureux, "Une scénographie réversible," 12-14; Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en évolution, 3rd ed. (Laval, PQ: Éditions du Méridien, 1994), 398-99; Isabelle Paré, "Cinq artistes sont retenus pour réaliser le monument du square Berri," Le Devoir, 29 March 1990, p. 2.

[160] The interview with the artist was our only document about the Calgary project. Circa 1993, Charney also took part in a competition, which he did not win, for the Canadian Memorial, a Canadian war monument in Green Park near Buckingham Palace. The third project was for a sculpture located in front of a building in the Maritimes. Charney, interview by author; "Perspective/News" "Art," Canadian Architect 39, no. 11 (November 1994): 8; Matthew Fraser, "Back to the land," Gazette, 25 September 1993, p. J 4.

[161] Lepage, "Le libre-échange. . . avec Toronto!," p. E 1, E 17; Lepage, "Nos artistes traités aux petits soins," p. E 17; René Viau, "Toronto la pure et la richissime," Beaux-Arts Magazine, no. 58 (June 1988): 100-104.

[162] René Blouin, Charney's art dealer in Montréal, quoted in Lepage, "Melvin Charney, l'Ame-soeur de Montréal," p. C 7. Blouin opened his art gallery in 1986, according to Jean Dumont, "ELAAC 91 La fête est complète," Le Devoir, 9 November 1991, special section "Salon du livre et Entrée libre à l'art contemporain," p. 45.

[163] References about Territoires d'artistes: Déry, Territoires d'artistes: Paysages verticaux; Julie Stanton, "Le Musée du Québec à ciel ouvert," Le Devoir, 20 June 1989, p. 9; Catherine Bédard, "Territoires d'artistes: paysages verticaux," Parachute, no. 57 (January- February- March 1990): 33-34.
[164] Larry Richards ed., Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture Building and Gardens (Montréal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989); Larry Richards, "29 Days of Architecture Report from Venice," Canadian Architect 36, no. 11 (November 1991): 31-33; "Phyllis Lambert's Canadian Centre for Architecture Canadian architects in Venice Biennale," Cultures International 1, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 1.
[165] Bédard, "Melvin Charney," 58-60; Jean Dumont, "L'architecture et la ville," Le Devoir, 6 October 1990, p. C 11.
[166] "Phyllis Lambert's Canadian Centre for Architecture Canadian architects in Venice Biennale," 1.
[167] Lambert, "Préface" in Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990; Lambert, "Melvin Charney au CCA," 28; Boddy, "Les jardins de Charney," 31-35; Louise Déry, "Charney: le pouvoir de transfiguration," ARQ, no. 65 (February 1992): 33; Fulford, "Icons and Allegories," 52-59; Myriam Gagnon, "Melvin Charney Sauve qui peut la ville!," Elle Québec, December 1991, 46; Mona Hakim, "Rétrospective Melvin Charney La conquête de l'espace," Voir, Montréal, 24-30 October 1991; Jocelyne Lepage, "Melvin Charney: une première rétrospective, cela se fête," La Presse, 2 November 1991, p. D 14.
[168] Déry, Un archipel de désirs. This does not invalidate the information presented hereinbefore, regarding Peter Gnass (who exhibited in Buffalo in 1968) and Bill Vazan who was also present on the international scene.
[169] Jean Dumont, "Des échanges et des contacts," Le Devoir, 24 October 1992, p. C 14.
[170] Jean Dion, "Neuf ans plus tard, voici le nouveau Musée d'art contemporain," La Presse, 30 May 1992, p. 16-17; John Bentley Mays, "Pushing ideas around on paper," Globe and Mail, 21 March 1992, p. C 4; Gilles Godmer and Réal Lussier, Pour la suite du monde Cahier: propos et projets (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1992); Marie Laurier, "Pour la suite du Monde Le MAC s'installe au centre-ville le 28 mai," Le Devoir, 22 January 1992, p. B 3; Jocelyne Lepage, "Grand Fury pour l'ouverture du MAC: l'impudence grossière comme force de frappe," La Presse, 30 May 1992, p. E 3.
[171] Eric Amouroux, "Canada Pour la suite du monde Montréal Musée d'art contemporain," Arte Factum, no. 47 (March-April-May 1993): 54-55; John Bentley Mays, "Practicing the art of being seen," Globe and Mail, 30 May

1992, p. C 4; Godmer, Pour la suite du monde Cahier: propos et projets; Lepage, "Grand Fury pour l'ouverture du MAC: l'impudence grossière comme force de frappe," p. E 3.

[172] Charney expressed the view that museums ought to be abolished ("Il faut abolir les musées") when interviewed, along with Christo and Jeanne-Claude, by René-Homier Roy on the television programme "Scènes de la vie culturelle," Radio-Canada, 15 March 1996.

[173] Lepage, "Melvin Charney, l'Ame-soeur de Montréal," p. C 7; Diane Archambault-Malouin, "Esplanade Ernest-Cormier La rencontre de deux architectes montréalais," La Presse, 24 August 1992, p. A 7; Melvin Charney, in collaboration with Catherine Blain, Sylvie Perrault, and François Rioux, "Le Carré Viger Le Faubourg Québec," report for La Société d'Habitation et de Développement de Montréal (SHDM), Montréal, 15 March 1991; Melvin Charney, "Le Faubourg St-Laurent D'un savoir urbain à une vision éclairée du développement du faubourg," Study prepared for the Service de l'habitation et du développement urbain de la ville de Montréal, Montréal, 2 April 1990; Gagnon, "Melvin Charney Sauve qui peut la ville!," 46; Lepage, "Melvin Charney: une première rétrospective, cela se fête," p. D 14; "Le plan d'aménagement de la SHDM," ARQ, no. 65 (February 1992): 27-29.

[174] Canadian Press, "Le nouveau Conseil des arts et lettres du Québec," La Presse, 13 August 1993, p. C 1; Jennifer Couëlle, "Prix Paul-Émile-Borduas Penser le lieu Melvin Charney oeuvre depuis une trentaine d'années dans les interstices, entre l'art, l'architecture et la théorie," Le Devoir, 9 December 1996, p. C 7; Gavin Drummond, "Adventures in the known world Melvin Charney creates art out of architectural essences," Gazette, 14 December 1996, p. H 1, H 2; "Les prix du Québec 1996: 5 sur 9 à des professeurs de l'U de M," p. 1, 6; "Les prix du Québec 1996: 5 sur 9 à des professeurs de l'U de M," Les Diplômés, Winter 1997, p. 26.

[175] Charney, "Entretien avec Pontbriand," 28.

[176] Drummond, "Adventures in the known world," p. H 1. See also Charney, "L'Architecture comme roman," 9-11.

[177] Les États généraux de l'aménagement au Canada Disciplinary Conferences, Résumés, 1988. The author attended the conference; "Communiqué," Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 2 March 1992; "Communiqué," Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 28 May 1992; Fraser, "Back to the land," p. J 4; Melvin Charney, Biographic Notes, 27 August 1987, at the CCA archives; Jacob, Charney Options 12; Paraboles et autres allégories: L'oeuvre de Melvin Charney 1975-1990.

[178] Raymonde Moulin, L'artiste, l'institution et le marché (n. p.: Flammarion, 1992, 1997), 147-48.

CHAPTER 13

MICHEL GOULET

1968-79: An Artist of a New Generation

Born in Asbestos (Québec) in 1944, Michel Goulet earned a Baccalaureate (ès arts) from the Université de Sherbrooke in 1968. He completed his education by attending art classes at the École des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (EBAM) (1968-69) and at the newly created arts department of UQAM, where he specialized in sculpture and graduated (1969-71). It is worth noting that Goulet went to the EBAM at the time when the school was living successive crises (see chapter on Daudelin). The students wanted to modify the artist's place and role in society. They wanted to replace the free and lonely artist by a professional one, acknowledged as such by the community. In addition, students wanted to replace an expressive art by one that would experiment and integrate, as regards discipline as well as the environment.[1]

Already, while studying at the Université de Sherbrooke, Goulet took part in artistic activities. In 1966, he conceived and realized (in collaboration) his first public work, Babelus, during the Semaine des arts (Arts week). The project involved the construction, on the university campus, of a Tower of Babel made of recycled wood. On the last day, the students burnt down their work of the week. By doing so, Goulet wanted to mark his opposition to the traditional form of exhibition held during the

arts week. Concomitantly (1966-68), Goulet was involved with a theatre company, Le théâtre de l'Atelier, as a member of the technical crew as well as the designer of posters. In addition, he worked (1965-68) at the University's art gallery and at the cultural centre, taking part in organizing and setting up exhibitions. In 1969, he was also involved in illustrating the magazine Le Campus Libre, published in Sherbrooke. The magazine aimed to make the population aware of the Québec francophone culture and of the problems inherent to the Eastern Townships region.[2]

From 1972 onwards, Goulet combined teaching with his professional activities as a sculptor. In 1972-73, he was an instructor at UQAM in the arts department, and from 1973 to 1976, he similarly taught art students at the University of Ottawa, where he was a full time professor, from 1976 until 1987, being even the head of the department for the last year. In 1987, Goulet went back to UQAM, where he still is.[3] During the 1972-80 period, Goulet was active as a young artist. In 1972, he joined a group of artists called Pitrumac who focused on light as their research object (e.g., the artistic effects of the polarization of light through the reflection of synthetic materials) and also on kinetic sculpture. The artists worked with plastics, considered as holding promise by Guy Robert. At the time Goulet joined the group, Pitrumac also included Jacques Ladouceur, Clément Picard and Yves Trudeau, all teaching and working at UQAM's research service. In 1974, each of the four artists exhibited in Paris for the twentieth anniversary of the salon Comparaisons. Eventually, Goulet joined the group Lumen, which presented an exhibition at the Saidye Bronfman Centre, in Montréal in 1976.[4]

Goulet took part in both solo and group exhibitions, mainly in the province of Québec and in Ottawa. However, he exhibited in Paris in 1974 with the other members of Pitrumac and, in 1979, he had a duo exhibition (with Pauline Boutillette) at the Chasse-Galerie art gallery in Toronto. Also

worth noting is his participation in 1978-79 at the group exhibition held at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, Tendances actuelles au Québec. Goulet presented Édification horizontale II (1978), a steel structure. This exhibition included the work of such artists as Louis Archambault (photographs mounted on wood supports), Cozic, Charles Daudelin (who presented the model for the Viger Square project, "Projet d'aménagement pour une place publique au square Viger, Montréal"), Pierre-Roland Dinel, Andrew Dutkewych, Ivanhoé Fortier, Peter Gnass, Pierre Granche, Mario Merola, Guy Montpetit, Gunter Nolte, Robert Poulin, Claude Tousignant, Yves Trudeau, and William (Bill) Vazan. Art historian Lise Lamarche, who wrote for the exhibition catalogue, observed that several artists presented works in categories other than the ones they were usually associated with. Goulet exhibited as a sculptor. Actually, Goulet corresponded in every respect to the portrait-robot of the Québec sculptor sketched by Lamarche. He earned a living as a university professor, and was not attached to an art gallery. In those days, sculpture in Québec rarely belonged to private art collections. Often, sculptures were created in public, during events such as symposia. For Lamarche, one of the main components of sculpture was the place it had in the urban space and in the social environment. Finally, Goulet's participation at the Biennale II des artistes du Québec, held at the Saidye Bronfman Centre, is also worth noting. Firstly, because his work was among some ninety pieces selected from the 1,700 pieces submitted. Secondly, because his work was noticed by the critics who considered that Goulet was a sculptor to follow, one who would take over among the established artists.[5] Table 16 presents a listing of the various exhibitions and events in which Goulet took part during the 1970-79 period.

Table 16.--Michel Goulet's exhibitions, 1970-79[6]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1970	Le Piggerie theatre, North Hatley, Québec	Solo
1972	Concours du Premier Ministre, Complexe J, Québec City (prize winner)	Group
1972	Les Moins de trente-cinq, Galerie Espace, Montréal	Group
1973	Travelling exhibition, Eastern Townships, Québec	Group
1973	La Fondation des maladies du coeur (Heart Diseases Foundation), Montréal	Group
1973	Expo-Fraîcheur, UQAM's art collection, Montréal	Group
1974	Plastiques, Galerie d'Art, Université du Québec à Montréal	Group
1974	Salon Comparaison, Artistes invités, Grand Palais, Paris	Group
1975	Mount Royal Art Centre, National competition SCTT-Intelsat (finalist)	Group
1975	Heart Diseases Foundation, Montréal	Group
1975	Formart, Salon des métiers d'art, Montréal	Group
1976	Luminescence, Saidye Bronfman Centre, Montréal	Group
1976	Exhibition, Murray Street, Ottawa	Group
1976	Art et Culture (Art and Culture), The Organizing Committee of the 1976 Olympic Games (COJO), Montréal	Group
1976	Lumen, Musée d'art de Joliette, Québec	Group
1977	Duquet, Goulet, Poulin, Ladouceur, Sherbrooke University Cultural Centre	Group
1977	Galerie de la Salle, Ottawa	Solo
1978	Contradiction '77, American Center for Students and Artists, Paris (France)	Group
1978	Galerie L'Anse-aux-Barques: Sculptures et Dessins (with Lucie Laporte), Place Royale, Québec City (Ministry of Cultural Affairs)	Duo
1978	Sculpture vivante, Cours Le Royer, Montréal	Group
1978-79	Tendances actuelles au Québec, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1979	Algonquin College Art Gallery (Gallery 281), Ottawa	Solo
1979	Chasse-Galerie art gallery, Toronto (with Pauline Boutillette)	Duo
1979	Biennale II des Artistes du Québec, Saidye Bronfman Centre, Montréal	Group

1980-92: From Regional Symposia to the Venice Biennial

In 1980, Goulet was selected to take part in the Symposium international de sculpture environnementale de Chicoutimi (Québec). The symposium had several parts, including one where sculptors were making their sculpture on the site, in front of an audience. Some of the other Québec sculptors who took part in the symposium were Pierre Granche, Armand Vaillancourt and Bill Vazan. Most of the internationally reputed personalities who were supposed to attend the symposium (artists César, Niki de Saint-Phalle, art critic Catherine Millet, and Pierre Gaudibert) did not come. Québec artists Melvin Charney and Francine Larivée attended the Symposium, not to present work in progress but to take part in panels and discuss their work.[7]

At the Chicoutimi symposium, Goulet created Complément axial, a piece which, according to the artist, was a global proposition about the descriptive/determinative contribution of main axes (horizontal, vertical, oblique) of a natural topological place and undulating in binary relations. In an interview given shortly after the event, Goulet explained that he was making a proposition about axes and nature. He constructed elements that could be read as one or several axes, on axes already provided by the site characteristics. Goulet asserted that he was not that worried about nature. Rather, he considered it as raw material. The symposium offered him the opportunity to work out of doors for the first time. On his own admission, his interest to work in the public place came from his work there, mostly because it was almost imposed on him. Lise Lamarche associated this work with American land art. She noted that even Robert Smithson, after working in the desert, selected more accessible sites. Similarly, the site of the Chicoutimi symposium was a derelict former industrial site ("Vieille Pulperie"), a no man's land but also a piece of

nature in the heart of the city. The site had been recycled from an industrial one into a cultural one, according to Lamarche.[8]

The year 1980 and the symposium were a watershed for Goulet. Not long after the event, he exhibited with Louise Robert at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art a show prepared by Lise Lamarche and by René Payant. The exhibition at the museum presented a round-up of Goulet's work of the past five years. The article by Colette Larochelle published by the museum magazine pertaining to Goulet's sculptures highlighted the evolution of the sculptor in that period. The Lieux instables et interdits (Unstable and forbidden places) (1976-77) epitomized his first period. He used an acrylic sheet around which he organized weights, and other elements creating a precarious balance in all the pieces (such as Interdit I, Interdit VII, Interdit VIII, Lieu instable VII). The transparent, sometimes coloured, acrylic allowed one to see through the sculpture, modifying the traditional relation the spectator had with the work of art. The Lieux interdits piece used a wall as a vertical reference. In 1978-79, Goulet stopped using acrylic, which he considered too aesthetic, and started working with steel. He created at first horizontal structures with the material (Édification Horizontale I, ... II, ...IV, ...V, ...VI, ...VII). According to Larochelle, Goulet continued to work on concepts of earlier interest to him, such as balance, the links between elements, the limits and the structure of space, while introducing new concepts such as duality and symmetry. With this series, Goulet was still using the walls and the floor as defining/structuring horizontal and vertical elements. Finally, two installations, Odd Ends and Passage signalled a passage to a new stage in the artist's work in that he re-introduced verticality in his work, deposited on the floor. In addition, he constructed transparency (rather than merely using transparent material). The 1980 exhibition at the museum allowed

one to perceive a conceptual continuity between the sculptures created in the studio and the first one in situ.[9]

Already, before Chicoutimi, Goulet had deliberately stopped using expensive and fancy material that produced in itself an aesthetic object, to focus (and allow the viewer to focus as well) on the object he was creating. Goulet's experience in Chicoutimi made him aware of the public as well as of the place. In an epistle addressed to Lise Lamarche, Goulet expressed, without specifically naming it, his concern about the in situ/de visu relation that works of art developed. Goulet was particularly concerned by the fact that a photo could not render the full impression that a created site could bear. He deplored the fact that he lived in an era that commanded a tele-guided appreciation of a work of art, from a distance, without actually experiencing it for real. His concerns, however, testify to his recent discovery of the possibility for an artist to create a place. From then on, he would explore this avenue, and reveal himself as a prolific sculptor, creating art in the public place as well as exhibiting in art galleries. Rather than "inventing" new forms, Goulet sought to engage again with both private and collective memory, producing an "inventory" of cultural assets, as he did in 1981 with Emprunt/empreinte (Valleyfield, Québec), a project for a construction in the nature (not materialized).[10]

After a rather slow beginning, Goulet rapidly became a reputed sculptor. Exhibitions in private art galleries followed the show at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, including solo ones (see table 17). In addition, the galleries where he exhibited his work, or the events in which he took part, were assuredly more prestigious. For instance, in 1981 he was a member of a group exhibition at the galerie Jolliet, where he presented Contour (1981), a three piece installation. Two cubes and a rectangle, the latter in the form of the frame of a double bed, were set on the gallery floor, one of the two cubes alluding to a box, an element that

Table 17.--Michel Goulet's exhibitions, 1980-86

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1980	Symposium international de sculpture environnementale de Chicoutimi, Québec	Group
1980	Michel Goulet et Louise Robert, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Duo
1980	La sculpture au Québec: 1970-1980, Musée du Saguenay, Chicoutimi and Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1981	Vie des Arts: 25 ans, Galerie de l'UQAM	Group
1981	Sculpture Court Yard, Toronto International Art Fair, Toronto (Ontario)	Group
1981	Sculpture contemporaine, Musée du Québec, Québec City	Group
1981	Galerie Jolliet, Québec City	Group
1982	Galerie Jolliet, Québec City	Solo
1982	Québec aujourd'hui, AGO, Toronto	Group
1983	Michel Goulet: Fac-similé, Galerie Jolliet, Montréal	Solo
1983	50 ans de collection, Musée du Québec, Québec City	Group
1984	L'art pense, Université de Montréal and Galerie Jolliet, Montréal (travelling exhibition)	Group
1984	Rendez-vous international sculpture '84, Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, Québec	Group
1984	Nouvelles acquisitions de la Banque de Prêts d'oeuvres d'art, Museum of Contemporary Art	Group
1984	Passage, Museum of Contemporary Art[11]	
1985	Galerie Jolliet, Montréal	Solo
1985	Michel Goulet Oeuvres récentes, Galerie d'Art de Matane (Québec)	Solo
1985	Musée d'art contemporain: 150 oeuvres choisies, Montréal	Group
1985	Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1985	Regard oblique sur deux générations, Galerie Jolliet, Montréal	Group
1985	L'Art Pense, University of Sherbrooke Cultural Centre	Group
1985	Graff Décembre, Galerie Graff, Montréal	Group
1985	Galerie René Bertrand, Québec	Group
1986	Cycle récent et autres indices, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1986	Fictions/installations, Galerie Graff, Montréal	Group

Table 17.--Continued.[12]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/group
1986	Du poétique de la maquette et de ses répliques, Galerie Christiane Chassay, Montréal and Galerie d'art de Matane, Matane (Québec)	Group
1986	L'Art Pense, Centre culturel de Rimouski (Québec)	Group
1986	L'Art Pense, Galerie Montcalm, Hull, Québec	Group
1986	L'Art Pense, Glendon Gallery, Toronto (Ontario)	Group
1986	Galerie Le Lieu, Québec City	Solo
1986	La Galerie du Musée, 1976-86, Musée du Québec (Québec)	Group
1986-87	Images/mémoire, Musée du Québec, Québec	Group

will be recurrent in Goulet's works. Each of these elements limited or contoured the space, a theme that Goulet would delve into for several years to come. If his participation went almost unnoticed by the critics, things changed radically two years later. The 1983 exhibition at galerie Jolliet, Michel Goulet: Fac-similé, was particularly well received by the critics, even ranking as the third best exhibition of the year by Le Devoir's art commentator Gilles Daigneault. In this show, Goulet explored the concept of the table, presenting two main elements in that form. First, a small table was set in the background, which from afar resembled an old, wobbly table, but was in fact a facsimile of an old wooden table, cast in aluminium. The larger table had eight small tables as place settings, made from (taken from) the plate of the table on which they were put. If Goulet's show reminded one of Judy Chicago's Dinner Party presented less than a year before in Montréal, it was nonetheless a worthy work of its

own. It was the first time that Goulet had constructed "referential" objects and that their assemblage alluded to an installation, rather than a mere collection of new sculptures. Nonetheless, the artist resorted to some elements identifiable with his previous works, such as the manner in which he attached plane surfaces. Actually, those methods were used all at once in Fac-similé, making it an inventory of fastening methods. Goulet's Fac-similé has been interpreted in various ways, but each time, it was presented as a landmark in his works.[13]

The next year, Goulet took part in the group exhibition L'Art pense with a piece called Autour/Atours, in which he continued to develop the work undertaken with Fac-similé. Autour/Atours consisted of a replica of a small table (another facsimile), this time made of copper. The table was put inside its own silhouette, cut out from a sheet of copper. Goulet placed four table legs, made of various materials, around the perimeter of the copper sheet, and put on it several found objects (a round river stone, a piece of a "Meccano" set, a sponge, slate, knitting, a creamer, a G clamp). Goulet took from the copper sheet the shape equivalent to each of these objects. Again, with this work, Goulet had delved into the daily life and exposed it, transformed, to translate it into a work of art.[14]

Also in 1984, Goulet took part in another international symposium of sculpture, the Rendez-vous International sculpture 84, held in Saint-Jean-Port-Joli (Québec), a place widely known for its traditional wood sculpture. Thirteen sculptors created there, executing a commission over a one month period. There were eight Canadian sculptors (Pier Cloutier, Daniel Couvreur, Tatiana Demidoff-Séguin, Peter Gnass, Michel Goulet, Guy Nadeau, Brigitte Radecki, all from Québec, and Gary John Williams from Alberta) selected via a competition, and five foreigners (Nina Goerres from the Netherlands, Harmonie Hammond from the United States, Julian Opie from England, the Italian Michelangelo Pistoletto and Aly Traore Diop

from Senegal), who were invited by the organizers. The sculptors created works of art that aimed at correlating monumental sculpture with architecture. Reportedly, the artists wished to create sculpture that would be architecture without any constraint (which in itself, is contrary to architecture). Artists either intended to make a work of art that would link the neighbouring nature with an aesthetic value, or else, they created a "parc de la sculpture," (sculpture park), a place in harmony with the environment. The last approach definitely oriented the symposium, according to a critic.[15]

Enriched from his previous experience at the Chicoutimi symposium, Goulet had decided that he would never again be the only one creating in front of an unassuming audience. He wanted to reach the public, not to be the only one with possible answers regarding art. Therefore, for the Saint-Jean-Port-Joli symposium, Goulet proposed a work that would be created in collaboration with the public, like the traditional bee. Goulet bought an assortment of bricks and other masonry elements of various forms and colours, and stocked other natural components (such as river stones). With this construction material at hand, he prepared the mortar on the site. Anyone who wished to do so was invited to lay down one brick, hence taking part in the construction of Goulet's sculpture/house. The work was built on the remaining foundations of a former dwelling that had been torn down. Goulet's house was as per the traditional Québec house plan. This was reportedly a popular attraction. The artist himself admits that he enjoyed and appreciated much more the Saint-Jean-Port-Joli symposium than that of Chicoutimi. The final result, Sans toit, Sans toi, was an open house, new yet unfinished, and already with the appearance of ruins. However, after the experience, Goulet deplored the fact that he had not documented the experiment as it was happening, by taking pictures or filming it (as Bill

Vazan did for all his projects). He did not, either, have a logbook, with the participants' names and addresses or impressions. For the artist, this could mean that his real desire of communication with the public had its limitations. After the symposium, Goulet expressed the desire to work more in an urban milieu: "Il faudrait aussi que je travaille en milieu plus urbain, en collectif d'artistes. Je voudrais échapper aux limites de l'individualisme du sculpteur et du plaisir du travail dans la nature."[16] Goulet had lived in the country for some ten years and, by 1984, had been living in Montréal for a few years.[17]

In 1985, Goulet exhibited again at the Jolliet art gallery in Montréal. For the exhibition, he continued to explore the house, but this time in a much more intellectualized manner, according to art commentator Jocelyne Lepage. He also pursued his inventory of given forms, allowing him to create or invent new ones from those. Goulet presented five pieces (Ré(visions), Couvert ouvert, Effets secrets, Tour/tours, Modèles) for this installation called Maison des murs. In one of the sculptures, Goulet resorted to the use of the cardboard box to experiment and express his preoccupations with the habitat. Ré(visions), with all the appearances of a cardboard box, was cast in bronze, while another real carton was displayed in such a way that it resembled a house. A third element, on the floor, had (again) a bed structure, being made of steel frame and layers of painted newspaper. The plan of one such box, unfolded, laid inside the frame. For Trevor Gould, "the concepts of template and model, linked to the idea of production, form the basic thematic structure of this work."[18] The other sculptures explored the idea of industrialization, by the construction in series of houses, boxes, or tin cans. The idea of the box as a house dominated, though. As for his previous exhibitions at the Jolliet gallery, this one was extremely well received by the critics, tagged as one of the main shows of the last months, the show of the spring to be

seen. This time, it was appraised by Daigneault as the second best art show of the year, immediately after Aurora borealis. Despite the appreciation of exhibitions presented at the Jolliet, the art gallery closed in that year of 1985, as did a few others in Montréal. Also in 1985, Goulet's work Édification horizontale II (1978) was selected to be exhibited for the Museum of Contemporary Art's anniversary exhibition Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection. As we have seen, Melvin Charney, Charles Daudelin and Bill Vazan were also selected to be part of this exhibition.[19]

In 1986 Goulet exhibited in museums two new sculptures entitled Le nouvel angle (1986) and Trophée (1986). Both works were first presented in the Fall of 1986 at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Montréal and later, Trophée was part of Images Mémoire, a show at the Musée du Québec in the Winter 1986-87. At this point in his career, Goulet qualified himself as an anthropologist of actual life, who aimed at better understanding and reflecting on our society's way of life. Goulet had started his search with his previous work by delving into the meanings carried by the house and the table. He continued his anthropological work by addressing the figure of the bed, since he found the bed to be such a central stage in our life (birth, death, rest, love). The reference to the bed was not the only element of his new installations. For instance, le Nouvel angle also included parts of a globe, a bucket, a bass and a wrought iron grid, all found objects modified by the artist to become useless.[20]

Goulet took part in a young, yet important international art event held in Montréal, as he was invited for the 1987 edition of the Cent jours d'art contemporain, Stations. For the event, he presented Assemblée (Assembly). The installation was made of a drawing table, also modified by the artist, on which he put the 750 pieces of a puzzle representing a map of the world. The table was placed in front of a room, facing twenty-four metal chairs (like in an assembly), but with the particularity that each

chair was different, singular. In addition, each seat has been modified in such a way that it was devoid of its original function: nobody could sit on the chair. The public was reportedly very fond of Goulet's work.[21]

Towards the end of the Cent jours, in the Fall 1987, it was reported by the press that Goulet would be one of the two artists representing Canada at the 1988 edition of the Venice Biennial. Several countries have a national pavilion in Venice, each one being autonomous with regard to the selection of the artists. Since Canada's participation at the Biennial in 1952, the National Gallery had been responsible for the country's presentation, with the financial participation of the Department of External Affairs. However, in 1988, a jury appointed France Gascon, then curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art, for the selection of the artists. Gascon chose two sculptors, Michel Goulet and Roland Brener. She understood the new process as a tightening up, arguing that it was perceived in the contemporary art milieu as the best way to provoke new ideas. Gascon's selection was not unanimously well received in the Canadian art milieu, though, because Goulet and Brener were not considered top artists. The magazine Canadian art qualified them of "dark horse candidates."[22]

Gascon's rationale was that she wanted to present sculpture, since she perceived "the rising importance of sculpture on the international scene."[23] It seems that she may have been right since sculpture was, actually, predominant at the 1988 edition of the Biennial. In addition, Gascon thought that the Venice Biennial was not a place where artists should be honoured. The presence of American artist Jasper Johns, then an international value, to represent the United States indicates that other countries understood differently what the Venice Biennial was about.[24]

Goulet and Brener were asked to do three new sculptures for Venice. One of them by Goulet, Motives/Mobiles (1987) resorted to the

architect's tilted table, chairs and bed frames, as he had done in the recent past. The organization of these elements was somewhat different, though. The table was tilted, yet devoid of any use since the plate had been removed, leaving a see-through grid in its place. The table was still facing an assembly of chairs, but this time they were piled up, inside a bed frame.[25]

The opportunity to go and show one's work in such an important international forum certainly benefited the young artists. On their own admission, their participation was important in that it allowed them to make contacts with curators and gallery owners from over the world. Without expecting immediate results, they anticipated that their presence would pay off in the long haul. Actually, the art gallery Christiane Chassay, who by then represented Goulet, also went to Venice to promote the artist's work. In addition, Marie Decary's Canal Zap Canal (1988), a movie about Michel Goulet, was in the making during his presence at the festival. In her appraisal of the Canadian participation that year, Gascon affirmed that Canada had upgraded its credibility in the international art world. Goulet's work was presented immediately after the Biennial at a group exhibition held first at the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art, and entitled Les temps chauds (the exhibition travelled in Canada and in Europe). In addition, Goulet and Brener exhibited the following Fall at the Canada House Gallery, in Trafalgar Square, London. Actually, both the Cent jours (Stations) and the Venice Biennial opened doors to Goulet. Table 18 indicates Goulet's exhibitions for the 1987-92 period. Goulet's consecration was not only noticeable in exhibitions, but also in public sculptures.[26]

Table 18.--Michel Goulet's exhibitions 1987-92

Date	Exhibition	Solo/ group
1987	Le nouvel angle, Lieu, Québec City	Solo
1987	Histoire en quatre temps, Museum of Contemporary Art	Group
1987	La rencontre d'un lieu, Museum of Contemporary Art, Vieux-Port de Montréal	Group
1987	Centre d'Exposition Circa, Montréal (with Louise Robert)	Duo
1987	Assemblée, Stations Les Cent jours d'art contemporain, The Montréal International Centre of Contemporary Art, Place du Parc, Montréal	Group
1987	Connexions 87, Exposition internationale d'artistes francophones, Canadian Cultural Centre, Paris (France)	Group
1987	De fer et d'acier, Galerie d'art Lavalin, Montréal	Group
1988	Art Rental and Sales Gallery, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto	Group
1988	Galerie Horace, Sherbrooke, Québec	Solo
1988	Galerie Christiane Chassay	Solo
1988	Voies/voix intimes, Galerie des Arts Lavalin, Montréal, from the Musée du Québec collection	Group
1988	Venice Biennial, Venice, Italy	Group
1988	Les temps chauds, MAC, Montréal	Group
1988	Sculptures from the Canadian Pavilion at the 1988 Venice Biennial, Canada House Cultural Centre, London (England)	Duo
1988	Innovations in Sculpture 1985-1988, The Alrich Museum of Contemporary Art, Ridgefield (Connecticut, U.S.A.)	Group
1988	David and Goliath, Jack Shainman Gallery, New York	Group
1989	Modèles (1985) at L'Histoire et la mémoire, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group
1989	Fund raising for Inter/Le lieu, Québec City	Group
1989	Galerie Christiane Chassay, Montréal	Group
1989	A Good Read: The Book as Metaphor, Barbara Toll Fine Arts, New York City	Group
1990	Les leçons d'époque, Galerie Christiane Chassay, Montréal	Solo
1990	Les lieux communs, Doris C. Freedman Plaza, New York City	Solo
1990	Recent Sculpture (incl. State of Directions, Installation View), Jack Shainman art gallery, New York City	Solo
1990	"Exposition bénéfice" for the Montréal International Centre of Contemporain Art, Place du Parc, Montréal	Group

Table 18.--Continued.[27]

Date	Exhibition	Solo/ group
1990	Éloquentes perspectives, Délégation générale du Québec--Services culturels, Paris (France)	Solo
1990	État des directions, Galerie Christiane Chassay, Montréal	Group
1990-91	Petits formats, Groupement des Arts visuels de Victoriaville, Québec	Group
1991	Expo-vente thématique, Galerie Axe Néo-7, Hull (Québec)	Group
1991	Un archipel de désirs, Musée du Québec, Québec City	Group
1991	15th Biennial of small sculpture, Padua (Italy) ("L'aventure de l'objet")	Group
1992	Michel Goulet Profils/Exils, Oeuvres récentes Galerie Verticale, Laval (Québec)	Solo
1992	Art actuel, présences québécoises, Château de Biron (Dordogne) and La Ferme du Buisson-Centre d'art contemporain, Noisiel, (France)	Group
1992	Sculptures et Installations contemporaines d'artistes Montréalais: 20e anniversaire de la Banque d'oeuvres d'art du Conseil des Arts du Canada, Leonard & Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Concordia University, Montréal	Group
1992	La Collection: tableau inaugural, Museum of Contemporary Art, Montréal	Group

As table 19 indicates, from 1982 on, Goulet took part in several competitions in the context of the provincial programme of allied arts. In addition, Goulet may have proposed one land art piece, Emprunt/Empreinte (1980) for the Corporation d'Hébergement du Québec, but this work is not well documented. The year 1981 coincides with the adoption of the decree, and is considered by some, including Louise Déry, as the first year of the 1%. Goulet, who then lived in Montréal, mainly took

Table 19.--Michel Goulet's competitions for the 1% projects, 1982-92 (bold indicates the winner).

Date-com-petition	Location/ Admin. region	Type of work	Type of building	Budget (work of art) ($)	Artists: **Selected** versus competing
1982	Montréal Centre (06A)		Nursing Home	$ 19,000 $ 14,000 $ 10,000	**Michel Goulet** **Pierre Osterrath** **Guerino Ruba**
1982	Mtl Centre (06A)	Ceramics Fountain	Nursing Home	$ 18,000 $ 30,000	**S. Arsenault** **Michel Goulet**
1982-83 1983-84	Québec (03)	Sculpture Environment	Museum (Musée de la civilisation)	$146,000	M. Beauchemin P. Bougault-Legros Peter Gnass Michel Goulet Pierre Granche Richard Langevin Lisette Lemieux J-Noël Poliquin **Astri Reusch** A. Vaillancourt
1983-84	Montréal Centre (06A)	Sculpture-fountain	Public library (St. Léonard)	$ 31,600	**Michel Goulet** J-Noël Poliquin D. Rolland
1985	Montréal Centre (06A)	Sculpture-fountain	Museum (MAC)	$104,000	Michel Goulet R-Marie Goulet Peter Gnass **Pierre Granche** A. Vaillancourt
1985-86 1986-87	Montréal-Lanaudière (6D)	Sculpture (abandoned)	High school	$ 41,000	Michel Goulet Carol Proulx Andrew Stonyer
1986-87[28]	Montréal Centre (6A)	Sculpture-fountain	Hydro-Québec administrative centre, Laval (voluntarily)	$ 26,000	**Michel Goulet** (no competition)
1986-87 1987-88	Montréal Centre (6A)	Memorial/ environment work, outside	75th anniversary, Ville de Lasalle (voluntarily)	$ 67,500	Charles Daudelin T. Démidoff-Séguin **Georges Dyens** Michel Goulet A. Vaillancourt
1986-87	Montréal-South shore (6B)	Garden	College (CEGEP de Sorel-Tracy)	$ 25,000	Blanche Célanuy Luc Forget Michel Goulet **Pierre Granche** Robert Nepveu

Table 19.--Continued.[29]

Date-com-petition	Location/ Admin. region	Type of work	Type of building	Budget (work) ($)	Contestant artists
1987-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture environment (garden)	Museum (CCA)	$141,000	**Melvin Charney** Michel Goulet William Vazan
1988-89	Saguenay-Lac St-Jean (2)	Sculpture/ mural-fountain	Nursing Home	$ 43,500	Blanche Célanuy Daniel Couvreur **Michel Goulet**
1988-89 1989-90	Québec (3A)	Treatment of the tower (inside)	Museum (Musée du Québec)	$106,000	Pierre B.-Legros Betty Goodwin Michel Goulet Lisette Lemieux **David Moore**
1988-89 1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Treatment of the atrium	Museum (Musée des beaux-arts)	$206,000	**Betty Goodwin** Michel Goulet Gilles Mihalcean Guido Molinari Roland Poulin
1988-89 1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture (exterior)	C.L.S.C.	$ 19,500.	**Michel Goulet** (no competition)
1988-89 1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture Fountain	Nursing Home	$ 48,000.	J-S Champagne Michel Goulet **William Vazan**
1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture installation (interior lobby)	Hospital (Montréal Jewish General)	$ 24,000.	**Pierre Ayot** Michel Goulet Réal Lauzon David Moore William Vazan
1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Environment sculpture (exterior)	Hospital (Mont-Sinai)	$ 56,852.	**Michel Goulet** Roger Langevin William Vazan
1989-90	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture-fountain (exterior)	Hospital (Bayview)	$ 61,160.	**C. Daudelin** A. Dutkewych Michel Goulet
1989-90 1990-91	Montréal (6A)	Sculpture (exterior)	Theatre (Théâtre d'aujourd'hui)	$ 23,000.	J. Alloucherie Daniel Couvreur **Michel Goulet**
1989-90 1990-91	Laurentides (15)	Environment work (interior and exterior)	High school	$ 65,500.	**Michel Goulet** Pierre Leblanc C. Widgery
1990-91 1991-92	Montérégie (16)	Mural Treatment (exterior)	Court House (Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu)	$ 72,500.	Cozic **Michel Goulet** William Vazan
1991-92	Montréal (6)	Sculpture (interior yard)	University (UQAM)	$108,000	Cozic **Michel Goulet** Pierre Granche

part in competitions in the city, but also, sometimes, in adjoining areas (Montréal-Lanaudière, Montréal-South Shore, Montérégie, Laval). He also competed for projects located outside of the region (Québec City, Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean). He proposed pieces for various types of buildings. Finally, it is worth noting that in some rare occasions, he was selected directly, without going through the process of submitting a model, in competition with other artists.[30]

Complying with his first commission for the 1%, Goulet created Portes menteuses (1982), for the Centre d'accueil Henri Dunant, at Ville de Lasalle.[31] A year later, he made Table d'harmonie (1983) for the Centre d'accueil Réal Morel in Verdun. The sculpture-fountain is located inside the building, and is made of wood, concrete, copper and water. Goulet's proposal Trait-d'union (1984) (meaning hyphen, or link) also won. This time, Goulet's sculpture was for the new library of the Ville de Saint-Léonard, then a suburb on the island of Montréal. The library adjoins to the City Hall, and the work of art is located in between the two buildings, hence the name Trait-d'union. Goulet explained his work as being a witness place: witness of everyone's need to draw from our collective and individual memory while also witnessing the need to pursue the human adventure, and to make a concrete gesture that assures continuity (and hence again the title). Goulet's work consisted of a sculpture made of several elements, placed at the heart of an architectural garden enclosed by a so-called propylaeum. Goulet had headless columns positioned two by two according to the regular set up of columns in such a place. Goulet asserted that he aimed at giving the columns an archaeological treatment that showed off their foundation material. The two central columns are taller than the others and also, bear a horizontal structure, from which water flows onto the ground. Goulet's selection was made public in the Fall of 1983 and the work completed by 1984.[32]

Exceptionally, Goulet was selected to compete for the integration of art with four new museums. Ironically, he did not win any of these competitions. One of these was the CCA, and his participation will be described in more detail in the chapter presenting the case study of the CCA and CCA Garden. For the Musée de la civilisation (Québec City), he proposed Mur (1983), for the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, it was Parcours (1985), and for the CCA, Les milles lieux (1987). All of these proposals resorted to the use of architectural elements. Goulet also submitted a proposal for one of the rare garden projects to be commissioned as such in the context of the provincial programme. It was in 1986, one year before his environmental sculpture for the CCA Garden. His garden project, D'oracles en Augures (1986), consisted in various architectural elements (stairs, ladders, walls), scattered on a surface of grass. Goulet won or was directly awarded several other commissions in the context of the 1%, though. In Montréal, the most famous one is Les Enjeux (The Stakes) (1991), the series of chairs aligned along the sidewalk on St. Denis Street, in front of the Théâtre d'aujourd'hui (see chapter six).[33]

In fact, Les Enjeux was accepted and created after Goulet exhibited a series of chairs on the Doris C. Freedman Plaza in Central Park, New York City, in the Summer 1990, and after his selection for Place Roy, in Montréal. In New York, the sculpture entitled Les lieux Communs (or Common Ground), consisted of twelve full size chairs, placed in a circle, each one alluding to the hours on a clock. Les lieux Communs was on display for a few months and was widely discussed in the Montréal press, and also in New York's. Goulet's proposal was selected by New York City's Public Art Fund. It was the first time ever that an artist outside of the United States of America was invited there for a solo exhibition, in seventeen years of the Fund's existence.[34] In April 1990, not long after his

selection for the Central Park exhibition, Goulet won another competition, this time for the creation of public sculpture in Place Roy and La Fontaine Park. Goulet's model for Place Roy was unveiled on 8 May 1990, and the square was inaugurated in the Fall 1990. Henry Lehmann, an art critic with a vested interest in public art, wrote that "for weary strollers wishing to rest their feet, placelessness is what Goulet's piece is all about. There are seats, but no place to sit. . . . Goulet's piece is disappointing precisely because of the many interesting possibilities it suggests but doesn't follow through on."[35] The $225,000 public sculpture failed to create a satisfactorily focus and define the place.[36]

Goulet became widely known for his chair-like public sculptures. He often explained that he wanted to create public art with a human scale. He did not compare his art with an edifice, the built world, or even trees, in term of scale: "Je rapporte tout à l'échelle humaine, même quand je travaille sur la place publique. Je n'essaie pas de me comparer à l'édifice, je n'essaie pas de me comparer au monde construit ou à la grandeur de l'arbre. Je veux que les choses aient leur propre échelle."[37] In general, this strategy worked well for him, as far as winning competitions is concerned. Actually, Goulet appears to have been more successful with the projects of public sculpture that were germane to the work he presented in art galleries, i. e., that dealt with the everyday life objects. In 1986, as a reputed sculptor for the public domain, Goulet made the short-list for the national competition for the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights, won by Melvin Charney.[38]

Following the Cent jours in 1987 and the Venice Biennial in 1988, Goulet took part in some group exhibitions in New York City: at the Aldrich Museum, at the Barbara Toll Gallery and at the Jack Shainman Gallery in Soho which started to represent the artist. In 1990, concomitantly to Goulet's exhibition in Central Park, the sculptor had a

solo show, Les leçons d'époque, at the art gallery Christiane Chassay in Montréal. He also had a solo exhibition of his recent sculptures at Jack Shainman's, where he presented State of Directions. Not only did Goulet exhibit in prestigious avant-garde art galleries, he received great reviews and, in addition, his work was collected in Canada and abroad.[39]

In the installation Les leçons d'époque, Goulet resorted to a large pot that could not be filled. The artist had placed on its top small beads that were prevented from penetrating the receptacle by a grid. The sculptor had also inserted in the centre of the piece a section of an elm, on castors. The artist affirmed that he had checked on this tree for two years. He also claimed that this was his first reference ever to nature.[40] In the installation, Goulet also used trash cans intersected by other objects such as balls, umbrellas, chainsaw. For the artist, these objects were used as in an emergency, sacrificed to sculpture, with no other possible use afterwards. Les leçons d'époque was classified as one of the best exhibitions of the year on the Montréal art scene.[41]

Goulet's participation in the Venice Biennial, his exhibitions in New York City, and his sculpture for Place Roy did not bring him mere recognition from the art milieu, it "consecrated" him. He became a key figure of contemporary art in Québec. In 1990, Goulet received the most prestigious prize in the visual arts in Québec, the Paul-Émile Borduas prize, and he was the youngest artist ever to earn it. For the occasion, Goulet reiterated his view about public sculpture, stressing what he considered to be its novelty. The intimacy he developed with the viewer and the small dimensions made the work of art closer to the individual than to any architecture. The artist, who aimed to give the spectator his own pedestal, claimed that he was redefining the notion of monument. Goulet received the Prix du Québec in November 1990, not long after the unveiling of his public sculpture in Place Roy. In addition, Goulet exhibited

at the galerie Christiane Chassay as well as the Délégation du Québec in Paris in that same month of November. That completed another watershed year for the young sculptor.[42]

The last two years (1990-92) of our study period, Goulet continued to have solo and group exhibitions, as can be seen in table 18. In 1991, he was selected for the exhibition Un archipel de désirs at the Musée du Québec, where the work of Québec artists having been present on the international scene was displayed. Also in 1991, Goulet transformed himself into a curator, as he was invited to select young contemporary artists for the exhibition Entrée libre à l'art contemporain (ELAAC).[43] In 1992, his work was displayed in the context of the opening of the new building for the Montréal Museum of Contemporary Art. He was in the show La Collection: Tableau inaugural that presented some of the work collected so far by the museum, but he was not in the more prestigious Pour la suite du monde, that focused on the work of internationally reputed artists. However, Goulet's art was exhibited a year later for the inauguration of the small garden of sculptures adjoining the museum (as was also Daudelin's). That year, he decided that he would no longer hold solo exhibitions in Québec, and he actually kept his word until 1997. He also continued to take part in competitions and received commissions in the context of the provincial programme of allied arts (see table 20). After 1992, he renewed his early interest in creating sets for theatres, being involved with avant-garde directors from Montréal, also known on the international scene.[44]

Finally, it is worth noticing that Goulet was one of the few happy artists (as was Gnass) who, from 1972 onwards, regularly received scholarships either from the federal or the provincial government. His work has also been extensively collected, by public institutions as well as by private ones (but not Lavalin).[45]

Table 20.--Michel Goulet's competitions for the 1% projects, after 1992 (bold indicates the winner; budgets unknown).[46]

Date of competition	Location/ Admin. region	Type of work	Type of building	Contestant artists
1992-93 1993-94	Mauricie-Bois-Francs (4)	Environment work (entrance, inside and outside)	University (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)	Roger Gaudreault Michel Goulet **Pierre Leclerc**
1993-94 1994-95	Montréal (6)	Sculpture (exterior)	Hospital	**Michel Goulet** (no competition)
1993-94 1994-95	Laval (13)	Sculpture (exterior) and mural treatment	School	**Michel Goulet** Claude Mongrain Dominique Valade
1994-95	Québec (03)	Sculpture (on grounds across from the building)	College (CEGEP François-Xavier Garneau)	Michel Goulet **Roland Poulin** Michel Saulnier
1994-95 1995-96	Montréal (6)	Sculpture (in park across the building)	Hospital	**Michel Goulet** Pierre Granche Catherine Widgery
1994-95	Montréal (6)	Sculpture-installation	Hospital (Institut de réadaptation)	Marie-France Brière **Michel Goulet** Richard Purdy
1994-95	Montréal (6)	Sculpture (enclosed courtyard)	Hospital (Centre de réadaptation Domrémy de Montréal)	**Michel Goulet** (no competition)
1994-95	Montérégie (16)	Sculpture (in garden behind bldg)	Villa des Frênes, Saint-Hyacinthe	Linda Covit **Michel Goulet** Yves Louis-Seize
1996-97	Montréal (6)	Sculpture-low relief (on doors)	Theatre (Théâtre du Nouveau Monde)	Michel Goulet Gilles Mihalcean **Richard Purdy**

Conclusion

Michel Goulet belongs to the generation of artists whose artistic education straddled the EBAM and the university. This generation promoted a professional view of the artist as opposed to the romantic view of the lonely creator. Also, they promoted, as did the avant-garde artists of the 1950s, the integration of art with the environment. Like other artists educated at the EBAM and presented so far (Daudelin, Théberge), Goulet was also involved in designing theatre sets and posters.

However, despite those similarities with artists of previous generations, Goulet indicated early on that he was interested in new forms of artistic expression: ephemeral art, art made with recycled materials or, on the contrary, with new synthetic and expensive ones. As a young artist, he explored diverse avenues, but from the start, he specialized in sculpture (contrary to other sculptors presented in this part of the thesis). He was a young professional sculptor, and as such, he typically earned a living as a university professor.

For nearly his first decade as a sculptor, he took part mainly in group exhibitions, in Montréal, in Québec regions, in Ottawa, Toronto and Paris. The year 1979 was important for Goulet. Firstly, he was selected for the exhibition Tendances actuelles au Québec (1978-79) with major sculptors of the time (including Daudelin, Gnass and Vazan), and secondly, he was identified as one of the most promising young sculptors. The next year was the watershed for Goulet when he was selected for the Symposium international de sculpture environnementale de Chicoutimi. This event triggered Goulet's interest in working out of doors and eventually, in creating public sculpture. On his own admission, he was not interested in nature (as some environmental artists were), nor in extending too far his relation with the public in his work. However, he was fascinated

by the discovery that an artist could create a place with his works of art, not simply deposit art objects in a space (as in art galleries). That was the public dimension that interested Goulet.

From then on, his reputation as a sculptor grew, based on his presence in even more prestigious events (Rendez-vous international sculpture 84, Cent jours d'art contemporain in 1987, Venice Biennial in 1988) and on the promotion of his work by reputed Québec art historians. His sculptures evolved from being purely formal to conceptual, and he eventually proposed installations. While he was creating original sculptures, he was not, contrary to what was suggested by his supporters who wrote abundantly on his work, the leading (i.e., the first) conceptual artist in Québec. Bill Vazan and Melvin Charney were, even though their work was sometimes disregarded by those art critics. Québec museums (the Museum of Contemporary Art and the Musée du Québec) contributed to Goulet's dazzling career, including his selection for the Venice Biennial. In parallel, Goulet benefited from the newly revised provincial programme for the integration of art to architecture. He was often a contestant and he won several of the competitions. Goulet's curriculum reminds us of a type of artistic practice describes by Raymonde Moulin, i.e., an art oriented towards museums. According to Moulin, such an art possesses the sociological characteristics of avant-garde art in that it defines itself by a double protest: one against art and another one against the market. Furthermore, this art, intellectual and impenetrable, is "soutenu d'abord par la communauté artistique et le cercle restreint des professionnels de l'art. C'est un art dont l'existence même suppose le musée et les espaces publics."[47]

This context allowed Goulet to gain a great experience and knowledge of the art field at large. His participation at the Cent jours and the Venice Biennial led him to New York's art galleries and the city itself.

Followed his two most famous public sculptures in Montréal, one awarded in the context of the provincial programme and the other in the context of the newly created municipal action plan.

Goulet rapidly became a consecrated sculptor in Québec's artistic field. The Paul-Émile Borduas prize that he earned so young attests to that. He was among the few Québec artists present on the international scene (as were Vazan and Charney), even though he was not selected for the prestigious Pour la suite du monde organized for the inauguration of the new museum of Contemporary Art, in downtown Montréal.

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[1] Michel Goulet's résumé, artist's file at the Médiathèque, Museum of Contemporary art, Montréal, file no. 001147; Suzanne Lemerise, "L'art–l'artiste–l'école," in Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 291-98, 324-29.

[2] Michel Goulet's résumé; Michel Goulet, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 21 February 1997; Hervé Fischer, "Michel Goulet Entretien avec Hervé Fischer," Inter, no. 25 (Fall 1984): 26-28; "En 2 mots . . . Bienvenue au 'Campus Libre'," La Presse, 8 November 1969, p. 41.

[3] Michel Goulet's résumé; Publicity, "L'Université du Québec à Montréal présente ses plus sincères félicitations à deux artistes, professeurs à l'UQAM, tous deux lauréats de *Prix du Québec* ," La Presse, 10 November 1990, p. B 14.

[4] "Quatre sculpteurs québécois à Paris," Montréal-Matin, 25 May 1974; Robert Marteau, "4 sculpteurs du Québec ont étonné Paris," Le Jour, 25 May 1974, p. V 7; Pierre Pelletier, "Tin Yum Lau, Joyce Devlin, Bernard Poulin et Michel Goulet: L'imagination créatrice à l'oeuvre," Le Droit

(Ottawa), 31 July 1976, p. 22. Regarding Pitrumac, it should be noted that the group who exhibited at the Museum of Contemporary art in 1971 was then made up of Clément Picard, Yves Trudeau and Maurice Macot. Other artists contributed to the final work as well. See Guy Robert, "Pitrumac; une dilatation mentale," Le Devoir, 3 July 1971, p. 10; Guy Robert, L'art au Québec depuis 1940 (Montréal: La Presse, 1973), 418-19; Normand Thériault, "Un premier stade," La Presse, 10 July 1971, p. C 12.

[5] The photography, video and sculpture part was presented from December 14, 1978 to January 14, 1979. Louise Letocha was then Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art. The exhibition was later presented in August 1981 at the Musée du Québec in Québec City. Goulet's dossier at the médiathèque; Musée d'art contemporain, Tendances actuelles au Québec (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1980). For Lamarche's text, see p. 120-22. See also Gilles Toupin, "Les voies incertaines de notre sculpture," La Presse, 23 December 1978, p. B 20; René Viau, "Tendances actuelles: 2ème et dernier volet," Le Devoir, 30 December 1978, p. 16; René Viau, "La Biennale II du Québec et le concours de Sherbrooke: Les artistes font un tour de piste," Le Devoir, 16 June 1979, p. 19.

[6] Michel Goulet's résumé; Ginette Côté, Direction des communications, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Québec Government, Communiqué, "Galerie de l'Anse-aux-Barques: Sculptures et Dessins," 2 pages, no date; Agence France Presse (AFP), "Deux jeunes Québécois exposent en France," La Presse, 9 June 1977, p. B 13; Viau, "Tendances actuelles," p. 16; Viau, "La Biennale II du Québec," p. 19.

[7] René Viau, "Les hauts et les bas d'un symposium dynamique," Le Devoir, 12 July 1980, p. 2-1, 2-2.

[8] "Proposition d'ensemble sur l'appoint descriptif/déterminatif des axes principaux (horizontal, vertical, oblique) d'un lieu topologique naturel et accidenté en relations binaires." Michel Goulet's résumé; Diane-Jocelyne Côté and Chantal Daigneault, "Les sculpteurs, des entrevues de D.-J. Côté et C. Gaudreault: Michel Goulet," La revue Intervention, no. 9 (Fall 1980): 3-5; Goulet, interview by author; Lise Lamarche, "Ligne de faille," Bulletin Galerie Jolliet, September 1981, 11-13.

[9] Goulet had been selected for the exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art before he actually took part in the symposium, but the show came after the symposium. France Gascon, "Entre l'événement et l'histoire: l'exposition Michel Goulet-Louise Robert," Parachute, no. 21 (Winter 1980): 41-43; Colette Larochelle, "Énergie et Espace: Sculptures de Michel Goulet," Ateliers 8, no. 5 (December 1980/January 1981): 3-5;

Gilles Toupin, "Michel Goulet et Louise Robert: Cinq années de travail," La Presse, 4 October 1980, p. C 22. Trevor Gould identifies the series Edification Horizontale 1 through 4. Trevor Gould, "Building Sculpture Michel Goulet," Vanguard, no. 1 (February-March 1986): 27-30.

[10] Lise Lamarche and Michel Goulet, "Entrelacs Nonchalant [sic]," Galerie Jolliet, 1981; Michel Goulet, "Découvrir: de l'invention à l'inventaire," Intervention, no. 15-16 (June 1982): 68-69; Goulet, interview by author.

[11] Only in Lise Lamarche, "Fraction," Galerie Christiane Chassay, Montréal, circa 1988, p. 26.

[12] Michel Goulet's résumé; Goulet's file at the Médiathèque; Gascon, "Entre l'événement et l'histoire," 41-43; Toupin, "Cinq années de travail," p. C 22; Jean Tourangeau, "Dix ans de sculpture au Québec 1970-1980," Ateliers 8, no. 5 (December 1980, January 1981): 1-3; Viau, "Un symposium dynamique," p. 2-1, 2-2; Marie Delagrave, "La Galerie du Musée célèbre ses dix ans," Le Soleil, 27 December 1986, p. D 7; Le Bulletin, Québec, no. 6, 1981; Michel Goulet, Michel Martineau, Louise Robert, Serge Tousignant: Cycle récent et autres indices (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1986), 16-19; Andrée Laliberté-Bourque, Images mémoire (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1986); Musée du Québec, La Galerie du Musée, 1976-1986 (Québec: Le Musée, 1986).

[13] Christiane Chassay, "La table et le tableau," Bulletin Galerie Jolliet, February 1983, p. 15-17; Gilles Daigneault, "Michel Goulet Un couvert peu ordinaire," Le Devoir, 15 January 1983, p. 19; Gilles Daigneault, "Expositions: le palmarès de 83," Le Devoir, 31 December 1983, p. 14; Gould, "Building Sculpture Michel Goulet," 27-30; Goulet, interview by author; René Payant, "D'une table et les autres," Spirale, no. 32 (March 1983): 13-14; Michel Goulet's résumé; Johanne Lamoureux, "Art Actuel," HAR 3220, Université de Montréal, Winter 1995.

[14] Gould, "Building Sculpture Michel Goulet," 27-30. Autours/Atours was given to the Museum of Contemporary Art by artist Pierre Granche in 1989. Michel Goulet's file at the médiathèque.

[15] Daniel Morency Dutil, "A Saint-Jean-Port-Joli un rendez-vous de sculpteurs," Vie des arts 29, no. 117 (December 1984, January-February 1985): 30-33.

[16]Michel Goulet quoted in Fischer, "Michel Goulet Entretien avec Hervé Fischer," 28.

[17] Dutil, "A Saint-Jean-Port-Joli un rendez-vous de sculpteurs," 30-33; Fisher, "Michel Goulet Entretien avec Hervé Fischer," 28; Gould, "Building Sculpture Michel Goulet," 27-30; Goulet, interview by author; Jocelyne Lepage, "A la galerie Jolliet Michel Goulet, l'industrieux," La Presse, 30 March 1985, p. F 1; Julie Stanton, "Michel Goulet: vivre et créer à la limite

de soi," Le Devoir, 28 July 1984, p. 22; Michel Goulet's résumé. According to Goulet's résumé, he was still living in St. Jacques-le-Mineur in 1980.

[18] Gould, "Building Sculpture Michel Goulet," p. 29.

[19] Gilles Daigneault, "Michel Goulet: entre la boîte et la maison," Le Devoir, 6 April 1985, p. 28; Gilles Daigneault, "1985 Arts plastiques Picasso aurait adoré *Aurora borealis* . . .," Le Devoir, 28 December 1985, p. 3-17, 3-24; Gould, "Building Sculpture Michel Goulet," 27-30; Lise Lamarche, "Michel Goulet," Parachute, no. 40 (September-October-November 1985): 31-32; Lepage, "Goulet, l'industrieux," p. F 1; Paulette Gagnon and Pierre Landry, Les vingt ans du Musée à travers sa collection (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1985), 136-37. In the epistolary exchange referred to above, Lamarche addressed the fact that Goulet was her brother-in-law, and that she had been accused of lacking subjectivity.

[20] Marie Delagrave, "Ses sculptures puisent à même le monde des objets usuels Michel Goulet, anthropologue du quotidien," Le Soleil, 7 March 1987, p. C 5; Cycle récent et autres indices, 16-19.

[21] Claire Gravel, "De Berlin à Goulet: les cent pas de l'avant-garde," Le Devoir, 17 October 1987, p. C 1.

[22] Sarah Milroy, "Collage-Venice the Menace," Canadian Art 5, no. 2 (Summer/June 1988): 23; see also Ann Duncan, "Gascon appointed curator as McCord Museum grows," Gazette, 17 March 1988, p. D 13; Ann Duncan, "Canada's star rises at Venice Biennale Montrealer's sculptures attracting attention," Gazette, 13 August 1988, p. D 5; France Gascon, "Venise: des stratégies renouvelées," ETC Montréal, Fall 1988, 46-48; Gravel, "De Berlin à Goulet: les cent pas de l'avant-garde," p. C 1; Jocelyne Lepage, "La Biennale choisit Barbara Steinman," La Presse, 30 April 1988, p. E 1, E 3; Jocelyne Lepage, "La Biennale de Venise: le plus vieux et le plus gros show d'art actuel," La Presse, 20 June 1988, p. A 10; Jocelyne Lepage, "Les deux Canadiens se défendent bien à la Biennale de Venise," La Presse, 23 June 1988, p. B 4.

[23] Milroy, "Collage-Venice the Menace," 23.

[24] Lepage, "Les deux Canadiens à la Biennale de Venise," p. B 4; Jocelyne Lepage, "Venise, Jour II: Quand l'art vous sort par les oreilles," La Presse, 25 June 1988, p. E 6; Jocelyne Lepage, "Avec Jasper Johns, la Biennale a-t-elle voulu remercier la Fondation Guggenheim?," La Presse, 2 July 1988, p. E 1, E 21.

[25] John Bentley Mays, "Caught between industry and art," Globe and Mail (Toronto), 28 June 1988, p. A 15. Motifs/Mobiles was part of the exhibition Un archipel de désirs. See Louise Déry, Un archipel de désirs: Les

artistes du Québec et la scène internationale (n. p.: Musée du Québec, 1991), 80-81, 154.

[26] Duncan, "Canada's star rises at Venice," p. D 5; Gascon, "Venise: des stratégies renouvelées," 46-48; Lepage, "Remercier la Fondation Guggenheim?," p. E 1, E 21; "Canadian sculptors to exhibit in London," Canada Today magazine d'aujourd'hui, July 1988, 13; Marie Décarie, Canal Zap Canal, La maison des quatre, inc., Montréal, 1989; Centre culturel, Université de Sherbrooke, programme of upcoming events, no date.

[27] Marie-Michèle Cron, "Les coups de coeur de Michel Goulet," Le Devoir, 9 November 1991, p. 47; Déry, Un archipel de désirs, 154; Guy Durand, "Le nouvel angle, sculpture-installation au Lieu," Inter, no. 36 (Summer 1987): 58-59; Claire Gravel, "Une mémoire courte," Le Devoir, 17 June 1989, p. C 9; Claire Gravel, "Michel Goulet Point de mire à New York," Le Devoir, 7 April 1990, p. C 1; Claire Gravel, "Les expositions new-yorkaises sont plus percutantes que jamais," Le Devoir, 30 June 1990, p. C 10; Claire Gravel, "L'innovateur modeste Michel Goulet Prix Paul-Émile Borduas," Le Devoir, 3 November 1990, p. C 1, C 13; Marie Laurier, "Pour la suite du Monde Le MAC s'installe au centre-ville le 28 mai," Le Devoir, 22 January 1992, p. B 3; Jocelyne Lepage, "Nos artistes traités aux petits soins," La Presse, 14 May 1988, p. E 17; Jocelyne Lepage, "Michel Goulet à Central Park, New York, et à Montréal," La Presse, 31 March 1990, p. D 8; Jocelyne Lepage, "Les artistes se portent au secours des Cent Jours d'art contemporain," La Presse, 23 March 1990, p. C 7; Jocelyne Lepage, "Michel Goulet renouvelle le concept de sculpture publique," La Presse, 3 November 1990, p. D 13; Hélène Taillefer, "Actualités/Expositions Pour le plaisir de se déplacer," ETC Montréal, Fall 1988, 60-62; Paul Villeneuve, "Quinze artistes québécois en France," Le Journal de Montréal, 9 May 1992; Concordia University, Galerie d'art Leonard & Bina Ellen, "Sculptures et Installations contemporaines d'artistes Montréalais: 20e anniversaire de la Banque d'oeuvres d'art du Conseil des Arts du Canada," 12 November through 17 December 1992; Délégation générale du Québec, Paris, 3 September 1990; Invitation to the opening of Profils/Exils at the Galerie Verticale; Michel Goulet's file at the Médiathèque, including his résumé.

[28] In his résumé, Goulet identifies Trace et fragments insolubles (1985-86), in Laval, as one of his works of public art.

[29] "Bilan des opérations 1981-1982 du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, April 1982), p. 15; "Bilan des opérations 1982-1983 du programme de l'intégration des arts à

l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Secrétariat du programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, June 1983), p. 12; "Bilan des opérations 1983-1984 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts et du cadre de vie, May 1984), p. 17; "Bilan des opérations 1984-1985 Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, September 1985), 38 pages; "Bilan des opérations Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec 1985-1986" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction de l'intégration des arts, June 1986), p. 35, 44; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1986-1987" (n. p.: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes, July 1987), p. 32, 37, 40; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1987-1988" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des Services aux artistes Secrétariat à l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, August 1988), p. 20, 22; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du gouvernement du Québec Bilan des opérations 1988-1989" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1989), p. 21, 23, 28, 29; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan des opérations 1989-1990" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Direction des arts visuels, des musées et de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, 1990), p. 22, 26-29, 39; Affaires culturelles, "Une décennie: L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" incl. Bilan 1990-91 (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1991), p. 64, 72, 73; Affaires culturelles, "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1991-1992" (n. p.: Gouvernement du Québec, 1992), p. 24, 31; Goulet, interview by author.

[30] Reference to Emprunt/Empreinte is found only in Lamarche, "Fraction"; Lamarche's text includes photographs of Goulet's proposals, not only the winning ones.

[31] Goulet, interview by author.

[32] Louis-M. Bergeron, "Un 'trait d'union' entre l'hôtel de ville et la nouvelle bibliothèque de Saint-Léonard," Hebdo Le Progrès, 30 November 1983, p. 3; Louise Déry, "Interroger le lieu," Vie des arts 30, no. 122 (March 1986):

22-27; Goulet, interview by author; Lamarche, "Fraction"; Michel Goulet's résumé.

[33] Goulet, interview by author; Lamarche, "Fraction."

[34] Gravel, "Michel Goulet Point de mire à New York," p. C 1; Lepage, "Michel Goulet à Central Park, New York, et à Montréal," p. D 8; Lepage, "Les artistes se portent au secours des Cent Jours d'art contemporain," p. C 7; New York Observer, 12 March 1990.

[35] Henry Lehmann, "Sculpture's highs and lows City's latest crop holds mixed messages," Gazette, 15 December 1990, p. J 8.

[36] About Goulet's sculpture at Place Roy, see "Une sculpture en deux parties de Michel Goulet pour la Place Roy et le Parc La Fontaine," La Presse, 10 April 1990, p. E 8; Jocelyne Lepage, "La Place Roy Une belle leçon de Michel Goulet," La Presse, 6 October 1990, p. D 10, D 11; "Les 'leçons particulières' de la place Roy," La Presse, 1 October 1990, p. A 5; "Montréal commande une oeuvre à Goulet," Le Journal de Montréal, 9 May 1990, p. 23; Marianne Favreau, "Une oeuvre d'art qui fera parler d'elle," La Presse, 13 May 1990, p. B 5.

[37] Goulet quoted in Gravel, "Michel Goulet Point de mire à New York," p. C 1.

[38] Michel Goulet's résumé; Goulet, interview by author.

[39] Gravel, "Michel Goulet Point de mire à New York," p. C 1; Gravel, "Les expositions new-yorkaises sont plus percutantes que jamais," p. C 10; Lepage, "Michel Goulet à Central Park, New York, et à Montréal," p. D 8; Taillefer, "Pour le plaisir de se déplacer," p. 62.

[40] "C'est la première fois dans mon travail que je fais référence à la nature." Goulet quoted in Gravel, "Michel Goulet Point de mire à New York," p. C 1.

[41] Claire Gravel, "1990 ou le défilé des grandes expositions," Le Devoir, 29 December 1990, p. B 10.

[42] Luc Boulanger, "Michel Goulet L'homme objet," Voir, 8-14 November 1990, p. 12-13; Jean Dion, "Neuf ans plus tard, voici le nouveau Musée d'art contemporain," La Presse, 30 May 1992, p. 16-17; Gravel, "L'innovateur modeste Michel Goulet Prix Paul-Émile Borduas," p. C 1, C 13; Lepage, "Michel Goulet renouvelle le concept de sculpture publique," p. D 13; Publicity, "Deux artistes, professeurs à l'UQAM, tous deux lauréats de *Prix du Québec* ," p. B 14.

[43] Cron, "Les coups de coeur de Michel Goulet," p. 47; Déry, Un archipel de désirs.

[44] Press release, Musée d'art contemporain, "Les artistes jardin de sculptures du Musée," 1993; Raymond Bernatchez, "Michel Goulet dévoile la face cachée des objets," La Presse, 17 May 1997, p. D 15; Gilles

Godmer and Réal Lussier, Pour la suite du monde Cahier: propos et projets (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1992); Marie Laurier, "Pour la suite du Monde Le MAC s'installe au centre-ville le 28 mai," Le Devoir, 22 January 1992, p. B 3.

[45] Michel Goulet's résumé. Correspondance between Christiane Chassay and the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal regarding the acquisition of a work of art by Michel Goulet, in Goulet's file at the Médiathèque. Luc Chartrand, "L'art est-il malade?," L'Actualité, 15 October 1993, 72-78; Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, La Collection Lavalin du Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal: Le partage d'une vision (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme and le Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1994).

[46] "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1992-1993" (n. p: Ministère de la Culture, Direction de l'aide aux artistes, aux arts visuels et aux métiers d'art, 1993), p. 31; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1993-1994" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1994), p. 23, 24, 30; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1994-1995" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1995), p. 22, 33, 37, 41, 43; "L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement Bilan 1995-1996" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1996), p. 22, 23, 38; "Bilan 1996-1997 L'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement" (n. p.: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1998), n. p.

[47] Raymonde Moulin, L'artiste, l'institution et le marché (n. p.: Flammarion, 1992, 1997), 70.

PART FOUR

CASE STUDIES: VIGER SQUARE AND THE CCA GARDEN

So far, we have presented modernism in Montréal where art, architecture and urban modernization played a predominant role. The strongest architectural modernist manifestation in the central city remained the construction of skyscrapers with plazas, mainly by the corporate sector, an imported concept. There was art inside most of these new towers, but public sculpture sponsored by the private sector was marginal. Modern avant-garde Québec artists demanded that the State commission public art. Even if the Provincial Government enacted legislation in 1961, it was not until the early 1970s that the programme became fully in force.[1] Essentially, State-sponsored public art took the form of murals and sculptures. However, the latter were temporarily exhibited in gardens, parks and plazas rather than permanently defining a square. Lastly, the most visible impact of governmental initiatives for the modernization of Montréal's central area was linked to the transportation: subway, expressway and road enlargements.

In Montréal, private corporations built post-modernist skyscrapers, often to the street line, during the post-modernist era. Paradoxically, several of those high-rises were deemed to have a plaza, the modernist attribute par excellence. In fact, the plazas in question resulted, for the most part, from set-backs requirements, not from the by-law that favoured plazas. Also, both the public and the private sectors sponsored and

exhibited sculptures out in the open, near their building. Architects' leadership, artists' habitus, patrons' influence, including the State and its public policies, as well as the relationships between them were factors identified as having an influence on the art forms.

However, post-modernism in Montréal also meant citizens' mobilization against wholesale demolition of neighbourhoods and a preservationist movement under the influence of pre-eminent civic leaders. In the artistic field, emerging post-modernism involved conceptual artists attuned to ecological and urban problems linked to the modernization of cities. As emerging artists they were, predictably, in opposition to the Art Establishment: leading sculptors were then supported by the Establishment, not conceptual artists. Where does that leave artists' gardens or vegetal works of art created by artists?

In the following two chapters, we will examine the process involved in the creation of artists' gardens, parks and public places. The layout of those places was required or made possible because of the construction of an expressway. They were also created in the context of the provincial policy for public art. In the first instance, modernist artists created works of art mostly identified with post-modernism. In the second instance, the CCA Garden, the context was completely post-modern. Nonetheless, each provides an example of the importance of the factors identified above as affecting the form of the work of art. Furthermore, they highlight the possible role of factors such as artists' copyrights and the availability of land as deterrents for having permanent artists' gardens.

[1] By the re-establishment of its mandatory aspect and the nomination of a permanent consultative committee that selected the artists and supervised the implementation of the programme.

CHAPTER 14

CASE STUDY: THE RE-CREATION OF VIGER SQUARE

The case study of the re-creation of Viger Square by artists reveals how one of the city's oldest squares/parks, was, at first, partially cut across to allow for a cheaper and faster construction of the subway; how it was permanently divided for the extension of a street; how it was subsequently converted into a parking lot in the wake of Expo 67; how that same stretch was severed on its fringe for road enlargement, and how, finally, the two remaining city blocks that made up the square were also destroyed for the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway, later known as East-West or Ville-Marie Expressway. At first, the multidisciplinary team at work on the project considered hiring artists to improve the aesthetics of the urban scene, after much, if not all, of the crucial decisions had been made. In any case, the re-creation of this public place was always linked to the construction of the expressway, and consequently, to the political will to have, or not, such a road passing through the city.

Historical Background

The creation of the ancestor of Viger Square was linked to the development of the City outside of its fortifications, which were demolished in 1821. Actually, the decision to tear down the perimeter walls allowed

for the creation of new large public squares (places) in Montréal, on the location of the old city gates. Another example apart from Viger Square is Victoria Square. The idea of creating public places in the heart of each new development characterized the expansion of the city throughout the nineteenth century. Actually, Viger Square as much as Victoria Square were and remained "hinge spaces" between Old Montréal and the faubourgs created following the demolition of the fortifications.[1]

In Montréal, two models prevailed for the creation of public venues in the central area. Either residual spaces (from the demolition of fortifications, cemeteries, reservoir) completely hemmed in by other constructions were assigned a new vocation by public authorities, or alternatively, the public square was planned as an element of mise en valeur for a new development by real-estate speculators, who would give parcels of land to the City. The latter would then contract the obligation to create and maintain a public space (and sometimes other constraints as well). The creation of Viger Square belongs to the second model.[2]

The first public venue in the immediate vicinity and a small part of the actual Viger Square was first planned in 1817 by Montréal's would-be first mayor, Jacques Viger. He wanted to extend Bonsecours Street to the north (actual St. Denis Street), after having laid out a market place immediately to the north of a small river, running alongside of what became Craig Street. A year later, parcels of land that corresponded to the location of Viger's planned market place were donated to the City by his aunt and by Louis-Joseph Papineau, the future leader of the 1837 rebellion. This donation had strings attached. First, the City had to establish a public market on the premises, and second, a bridge had to be built across the river, in line with Bonsecours Street. On the other hand, the donation of land permitted the extension of Bonsecours Street to the north into St. Denis Street, and the development of that northern area of

the city, which benefited both parties, the donor and the City. Five years later the City installed a weighing machine in the market place.[3]

In his history of Viger Square as one of the City's great public venues, Marc Choko demonstrates that the area developed around and after the implementation of the market. Some parcels of land immediately to the west and to the north-west, however, resisted development, which eventually allowed some additional donations of land in 1844. These, combined to the City's own initiative, led to the creation of Jardins Viger (Viger Gardens), officially inaugurated in 1860 (see figure 42). Once more, the civic spirit of the donors is questionable, given the swamp quality of the land and pricey conditions attached to the donation. Nevertheless, the land assembled in 1844 formed an uninterrupted lot, extending from the market place to St. Hubert Street. Among one of the donors' conditions was the establishment of a public promenade by the City, with planted trees, a fountain and grass, and the abandonment of any market project in those premises.[4] Works to fulfil the conditions started in 1848 with the planting of trees, and were followed by the construction of fountains and of a bandstand. The fenced in and well laid out promenade integrated the eastern part of the market, after it was demolished and moved a few blocks away in 1857. The gardens also had a greenhouse from 1863 to 1889, the structure of which was inspired by London's Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. The latter addition enabled Viger Gardens to become "le grand parc huppé de Montréal, lieu de promenade et de détente privilégié."[5] It extended from St. Denis Street to St. Hubert Street, between Craig Street and Dubord Street (now Viger Avenue). In fact, if Montréal already had several public squares, it was the City's first public garden, even though the venue was successively officially named Place Viger (1865) and Square Viger (Viger Square, 1867).[6]

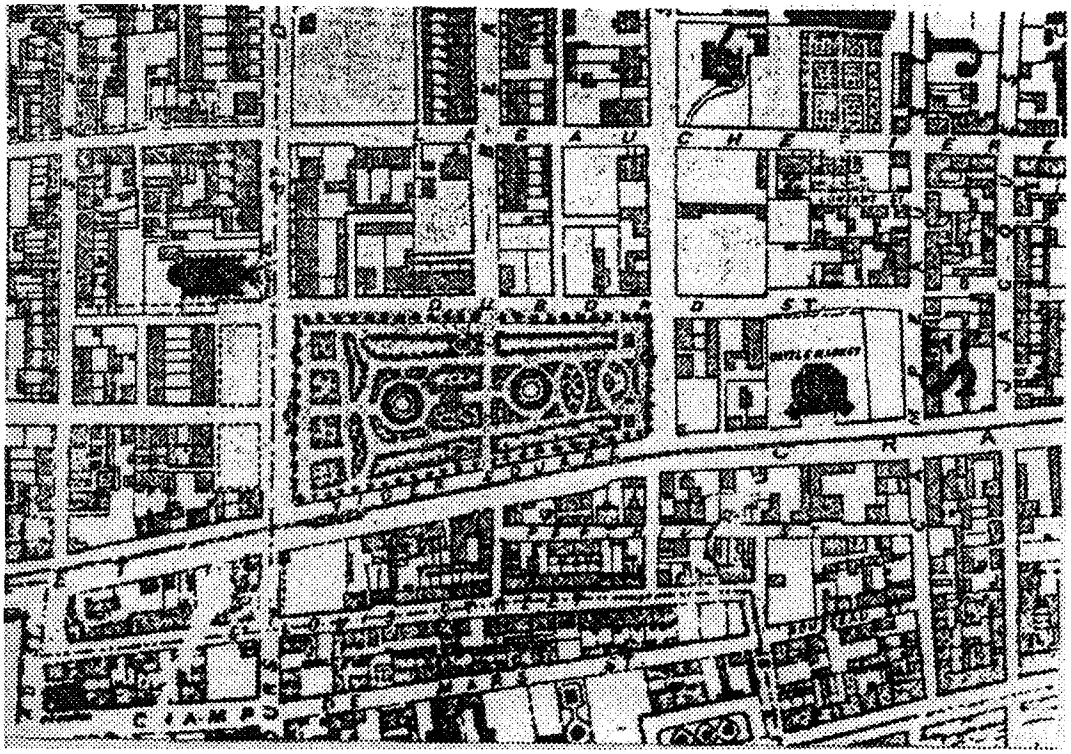


Figure 42. The former location of Viger Market on the west side of St. Denis Street is visible, as is its newest location, more to the east. Viger Square was composed of one piece between St. Denis Street to the west and St. Hubert Street to the east. Source: Map by Plunket and Brady, 1873.

In that era, the venue was celebrated as being the largest and most beautiful square in the city. In fact, between the middle and the near end of the century, the public venue changed from a market place to a public garden to a square. Some forty-two years after the promenade was initially laid out, the square was enlarged, taking advantage of the demolition of the relocated market. Viger Square, circa 1892, extended up to Campeau Street (now St. André Street). Moreover, 1895 marked another milestone for the achievement of the symbolic value of the square, with the unveiling of a monument to an 1837 patriot, Dr. Chénier. The statue, created by a French sculptor, was paid for by private donations, and ended up on the western edge of St. Denis Street, across the street from the square.[7]

The extension of the square was arguably a testimony to its success as well as to the socio-economic and physical development of the area. In his detailed study, Choko demonstrates the close relationship between the presence of the public venue, even in the original form of the public market, and the coming in of major institutions and of wealthy and upper-class residents. The power of attraction of the place also caused its decline. If the great fire of 1852 had allowed for the appropriation of the neighbourhood by the well-to-do, other actions caused voluntarily the demolition of residences to the benefice of institutions. The City expropriated and then gave away the land in order to attract a train station in the vicinity of the place. Château Viger, which not only housed the station, but also a luxury hotel, was inaugurated in 1898. Afterwards, the residences of a whole city block were demolished to allow for the construction of another prestigious institution, l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales (business school), inaugurated in 1910. In between those last two major constructions, large residences bordering the square were transformed to welcome other institutions. For Melvin Charney, the

construction of important public buildings marked the pinnacle of the classical city, which had for armature a hierarchy of urban axes and formalized public places, and which was also made up of Montréal's neighbourhoods. But he also identifies this era, the beginning of the twentieth century, as the hinge between the formation and the deformation of the area. Other institutions moved into the sector or expanded, following those already mentioned. Among them, a new train station on Berri Street, adjoining Château Viger, another insurance company, and also a sweet-factory, across the street from the eastern end of the square. This was, in Choko's analysis, the signal of the incoming of the working class in the immediate vicinity of the square. Concomitantly, the bourgeoisie moved elsewhere. Hence, either the result of the demolitions or conversions, the residential function, which was a premise to the success of the place, was declining, and so was the square itself.[8]

The desertion of the upper-class residents was followed by that of institutions associated with them (the hotel, the train station, and the business school). By mid-century, the southern part of the square had reached a derelict state, and to make things worse, the mayor of the time proposed to implement a parking lot within it. This idea was yet another one (unfortunately not the last one, as will be recounted below) of a series of proposals originating from the City, that aimed to use the square.[9] The decline in the physical and psychological link of the well offs to the venue and its appropriation by the working class also left its imprints on the square itself. In 1930, it was declared a playground by the City. Also, the Public Works Department built urinals in the square,[10] while it relocated one of the two fountains in St. Louis Square. Also, a plan to extend Berri Street by cutting across the square was seriously considered in 1949. The plan did not materialize until the 1960s, arguably for economic reasons (see below).[11]

Choko presents the decline of the square by the fact that it was abandoned by its well-to-do residents, as well as by the departure of institutions. But since the large mansions were converted into boarding houses, taverns and small restaurants, it does not necessarily follow that the neighbourhood experienced a decrease in its population. It may have been poorer, but denser. And until its complete destruction, and that of the neighbourhoods that supported it, the square was frequented (see figure 43). In fact, during the period of feverish demolition/construction in the area that will be recounted below, other major institutions decided to locate in the vicinity of the square. An old factory recycled into condominiums, counter-balanced the loss of the last major financial institution.[12]

Charney focuses on the structuring role of the square in the urban fabric, from its creation to the construction of the expressway. Massive destruction of adjoining neighbourhoods provoked by both the train industry and commercial activities in the port in the 1950s, and particularly by the construction of the expressway and projects such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in the following decades, led to the isolation of the square from the civic components required for its very existence.[13]

The 1960s: The Impact of Circulation on Viger Square

In the pre-Trans-Canada Highway period, circa 1962-64, the City proceeded with extensive expropriations/demolitions in order to enlarge some city streets and accommodate the traffic flow. The construction of



Figure 43. Viger Square in 1965 (photograph by Armour Landry, 1965. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/50/15,643).

several high-rise office towers and of taller apartment buildings contributed to a higher and denser frequentation of the central area. Even if this occurred in the city at large, this research will focus on what happened in the vicinity of Viger Square.[14] Already in 1962, the Executive Committee of the City of Montréal, after having expropriated buildings located on the western side of Berri Street, between Viger Avenue and St. Catherine Street, accepted bids to demolish them and some other buildings on Viger Avenue, to the east of Berri Street, in order to widen the streets (see figure 44).[15] In 1963, the Municipal Council adopted a resolution allowing for the expropriation and demolition of buildings as required for the widening of de Vitré Street, between Victoria Square and de Bullion Street, for its linking with Viger Avenue up to Sanguinet Street, and then for the widening of Viger Avenue, between Sanguinet Street and St. Denis Street. Some expropriations and demolitions were also required for metro works in the same area. In 1964, other demolitions took place on St. Denis Street, de Vitré Street, Sanguinet Street, de Bleury Street, Jeanne-Mance Street, and also Viger Avenue.[16] In the winter of 1964, the City expropriated and then proceeded to demolish some buildings required to enlarge Viger Avenue (between Sanguinet Street and Viger Square) and for the subway construction (within the same limits), and thirdly, to improve the approach of Viger Avenue on the southern side, to the east of Sanguinet Street. Later in the year, City Council voted credits in order to expropriate and to demolish some buildings located on the southern part of Viger Avenue, to the west of Viger Square, again in order to improve the approach to the avenue. It was already understood that this project "integrated perfectly" to the forthcoming one of the future Trans-Canada Highway: "Nous approuvons ce projet [expropriation of buildings on the south side of Viger Avenue] qui s'intégrera parfaitement à celui que nous recommanderons

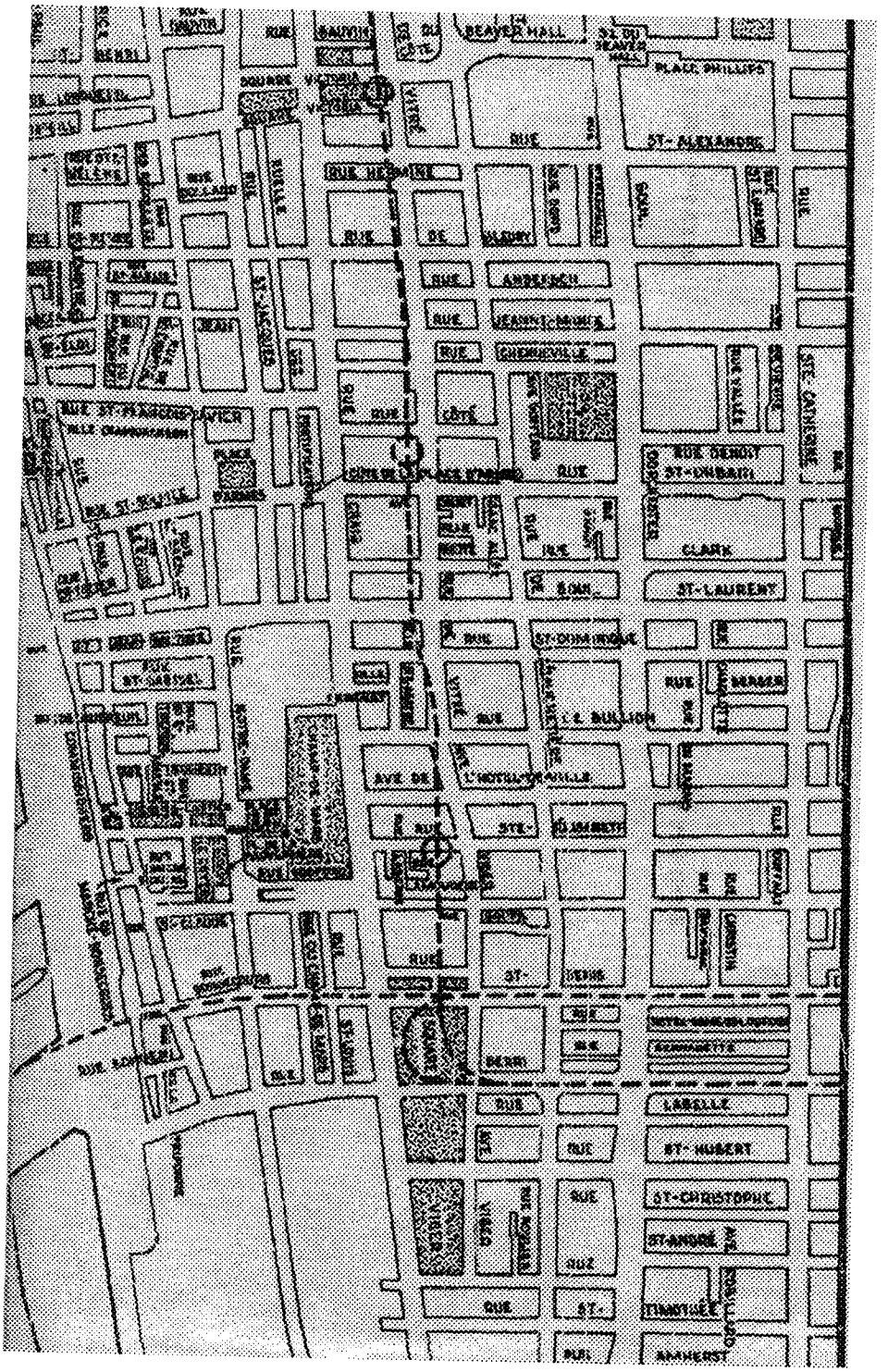


Figure 44. Viger Square area, deeply affected by the expropriations and demolitions in the early 1960s. Map by Cité de Montréal, Public Works Department , 21 June 1966. From City of Montréal archives, coll. 30, series 2, roll 2, no. 370 F-2/2.

incessamment pour le réaménagement dans le voisinage immédiat de la future autoroute transcanadienne."[17]

The Trans-Canada Highway project had been discussed a year earlier, in 1963, at the higher levels of the Federal, Provincial, and Municipal Governments. The Municipal Authorities were conscious of the fact that the City was lagging behind in the implementation of the road network in Montréal and its immediate vicinity. They also appreciated the generous financial contribution put forward by the Federal Government. And they were keen to act swiftly, in order to be ready to welcome the expected visitors for the Universal and International Exhibition of 1967. Therefore, the City of Montréal was ready to assume its share in order to speed up the realization of the road work programme.[18]

Whereas at first, the Trans-Canada Highway was not planned to enter in the City of Montréal, it was not long before both the City and the Provincial Government discussed a deviation of the intended route, in order to pass along the southern edge of the island of Montréal:

> Nous sommes disposés à proposer au gouvernement fédéral que la route transcanadienne laisse le boulevard Métropolitain dans l'axe Cavendish-Décarie pour se diriger vers le sud jusqu'à un point situé assez près du fleuve St-Laurent . . . .
>
> Je vous rappelle que ce parcours modifié permettrait de réaliser des projets que la ville de Montréal avait depuis longtemps sur les étagères et qu'elle ne pouvait entreprendre faute de ressources financières suffisantes.[19]

Québec' Premier agreed with the President of Montréal's Executive Committee about the urgency to proceed with the work. In his letter, Prime Minister Lesage also evoked the conditions regarding the financial contribution that each party would have to assume: 90% of the cost of the expressway would be paid by the Federal Government. The Québec Government was willing to pay the rest provided that each municipality

where the highway was to be built, would pay the costs of the expropriations required for the construction of access, exit, and service roads, as well as the construction costs of the service roads. It was also agreed that the City of Montréal's total financial contribution would not exceed $40 million. By March of 1964, civil servants at both the provincial and the municipal levels had reached an agreement on the technical aspects of the project, and on the route of the future expressway. At the request of the provincial Minister of Roads, Montréal Municipal Council adopted a resolution that assured the Québec Government of the City's intention to take part in the construction of the expressway, within the above specified conditions.[20]

The route chosen was deemed to be the one that was best integrated into the urban fabric and that required the least expulsion of families. Following a recommendation by the City Planning Department, the Executive Committee approved the layout for the sections "B" and "C" of the Trans-Canada Highway, extending from the Turcot yards to University Street (section "B") and from University Street to Papineau Avenue. It was already planned that some stretches of the road would be in a tunnel, notably under Victoria Square and the major part of Viger Square/Park (see figures 45 and 46). Concomitantly, the Executive Committee also resolved to decree, for a period of five years, a modification to the City's general plan in order to allow the expropriation of the buildings and lands that stood in the way of either the expressway or the service roads and access ramps.[21]

At the same period, following the Director of Public Works' recommendation, the Executive Committee authorized public calls for tenders for the construction of a section of a subway line that would run under Berri Street and across Viger Park, a tunnel structure to be built in the open. Consequently, until the final acceptance of those works,

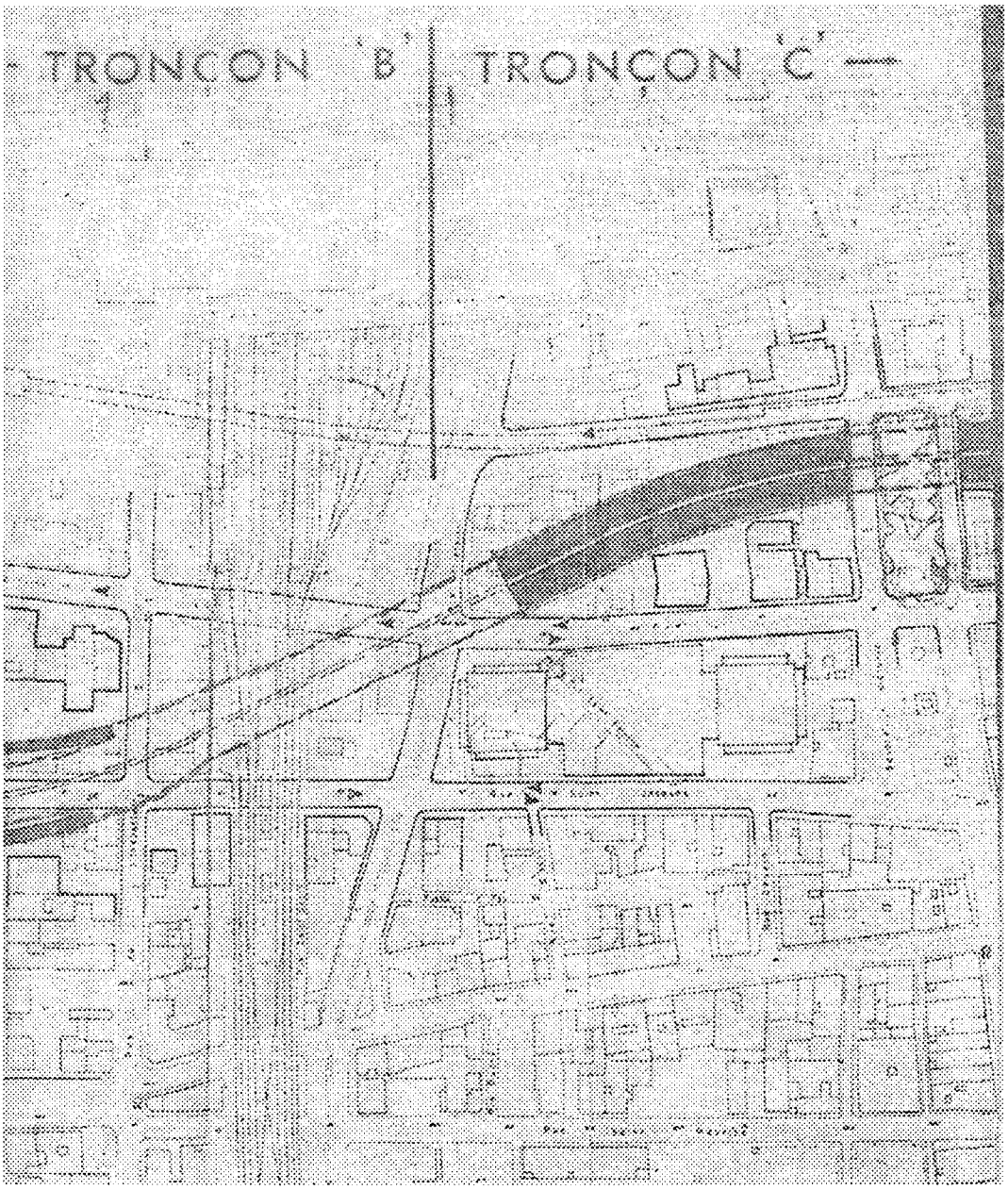


Figure 45. Outline of the expressway, parts of sections B and C. The expressway was planned to go under Victoria Square (the dotted lines indicate underground). Source: Route Transcanadienne, Autoroute Est-Ouest, Projet no. 2, Tronçons B et C, Service d'urbanisme, Ville de Montréal, Plan no L-10/U-40, January 1964. From the City of Montréal archives, roll 03-30-04.2, 1104.

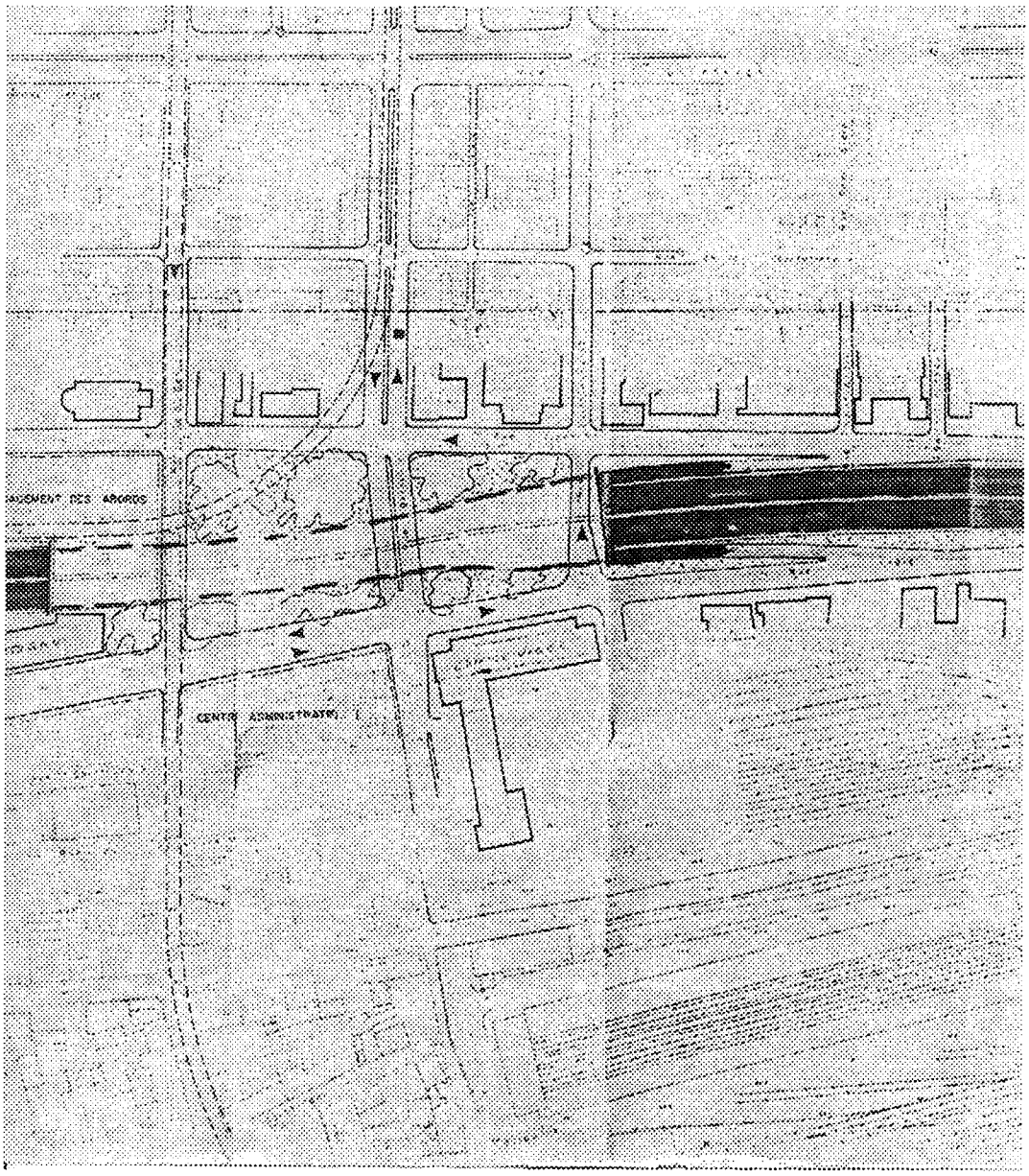


Figure 46. Outline of the expressway, part of tronçon C, i.e., to the East of University Street. The expressway was planned to go under two sections of Viger Square (but not under the playground).

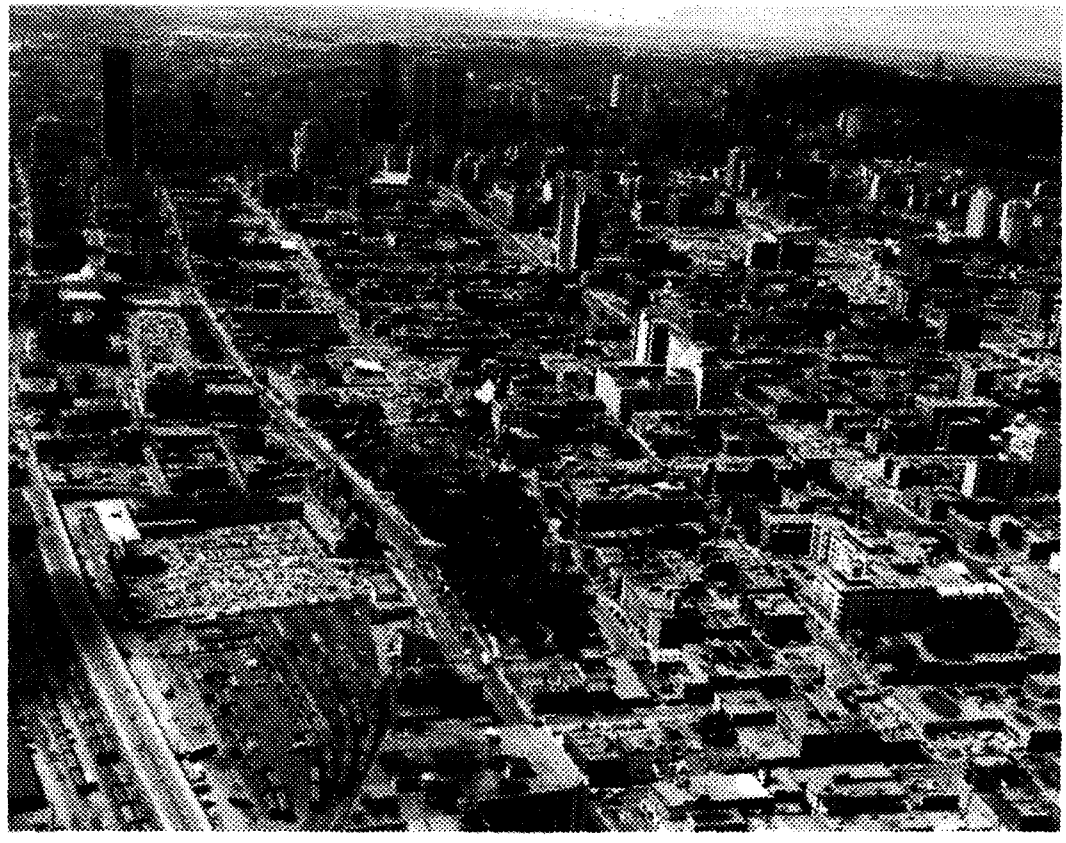


Figure 47. Aerial view of Viger Square and of the neighbouring area (photograph by Armour Landry, 1966. Archives nationales du Québec, 06-M, P97/49/15,593).

towards the end of 1966, the western part of Viger Square/Park was in a state of siege by the construction crews working for the subway (see figures 2 and 47).[22] Officials at the Parks Department and at the municipal Office de l'Embellissement agreed that the land ought to be laid out again. Landscape architects had prepared a new layout, but on a temporary basis. It was anticipated that the construction of the expressway would impact on the premises once more, but the coming of Expo 67 required that the City do some cover up: "Nous prévoyons que la construction de la route à voies rapides (est-ouest) affectera de nouveau ce square. Pour l'année de l'Expo, nous ne pouvons laisser les abords du monument Chénier dans l'état actuel."[23] However, a few months after the subway construction ceased in the park, the police services asked for a parking lot in the very same sector of the park (i.e., the city block made of St. Denis Street, Viger Avenue, Berri and Craig Streets), for the duration of Expo 67 only. Once more, recourse to camouflage was deemed the more relevant and appropriate way of "dressing up" the place for the Expo period, but it was understood that the formerly envisaged "temporary layout" was no longer required.[24]

Given the agreement regarding the layout of the new expressway, the haste with which the project was to develop, and its effect on the anticipated construction works for the subway in the immediate vicinity of section C of the motorway (i.e., to the east of University Street), the Director of Public Works had to request permission from the Executive Committee to demolish, as soon as possible, buildings located on the south side of de Vitré Street, from Square Victoria to St. Denis Street. The Municipal Council had already decreed the expropriations of some lands in this area, to widen de Vitré Street and for subway-related constructions. This time, however, the Municipal Authorities needed a special authorization to act on behalf of the provincial Ministry of Roads.

Therefore, the Legislative Assembly of Québec passed an amendment to the City's charter, effective the day the act was sanctioned, which authorized the City "to acquire, by agreement or expropriation, all immoveables, parts of immoveables and servitudes which it deems suitable to cede to the Minister of Roads for the construction of a portion of the Trans-Canada Highway."[25] In concrete terms, this allowed the City of Montréal to expropriate and demolish complete buildings, rather than part of them, as many were already slated for demolition. Immediately afterwards, the Executive Committee authorized the Director of Public Works to proceed with the public tender calls for the demolition of the buildings in this area.[26]

It was not until October 14, 1964, however, that a formal agreement for the construction of the expressway was signed between the Minister of Roads and Montréal's mayor, Jean Drapeau. One of the premises of the agreement was that both governments acknowledged the need to improve the means of circulation on the island of Montréal, and that the re-routeing of the Trans-Canada Highway would contribute to the much needed improvement. The principle of a new layout had been accepted by the Federal Government and both the Provincial and the Municipal Governments agreed on the modified itinerary. The three levels of government also agreed upon their respective responsibilities and obligations. The Province of Québec was to be responsible for the management of the project: preliminary studies, expropriations, plans and specifications, contract management, site surveillance, et cetera. The Province was also in charge of hiring engineers and experts for the project. The City of Montréal had to designate a liaison officer who would coordinate both requests originating from its various services and provincial representatives needs. The City could expropriate or do related works (demolition) if those works were authorized by the Province. It was

anticipated that the construction costs of the service roads, changes to the layout of the streets, green spaces, parks, and parking lots, in short, all the works done outside the limits of the expressway, would be assumed by the City of Montréal. It was also agreed that after the construction and acceptance of the works, the Province would transfer the ownership of service roads to the City of Montréal. As a matter of fact, the City of Montréal was deemed responsible for the maintenance of the forthcoming works outside the limits of the expressway as such.[27]

In March of 1967, the City's Municipal Council adopted a resolution that accepted the Department of Public Works' recommendation to widen Viger Avenue (the widening of which had stopped earlier at St. Denis Street) towards the east, i.e., from St. Denis Street to Berri Street, and to open Berri Street between Craig Street and Viger Avenue. The net effect would be not only to narrow that stretch of Viger Square on Viger Avenue, between St. Denis and Berri Streets, but more importantly, to divide a unified square in two sections.[28]

Hence, during the major part of the decade, the area in the immediate vicinity of the square, and the square itself, were disorganized in order to allow a major upgrade of the circulation arteries, the future construction of a totally new expressway which was at first not even supposed to invade the island of Montréal, and finally, the construction of the new subway. Throughout these operations, a sense of urgency to proceed was manifest, given the perception by the authorities that Montréal's transportation system was lagging behind, and given also the availability of Federal Government financial aid, which allowed one to envisage a project of such scope that could not be afforded otherwise. But the most stringent reason for the haste, and behind some decisions regarding the temporary use of the square, was undoubtedly the imminent

opening of Expo 67 and the need to accommodate a number of tourists without precedent in this city.[29]

The Expressway And Viger Square

The frenzy around the forthcoming new subway, and above all, around Expo 67 and all the construction works it required, had the effect of overshadowing the destruction of the western stretch of Viger Square when it took place between 1964 and 1967. Very little was written about the partial demolition of the square and of the felling of mature trees at the time this occurred. Nonetheless, a citizen complained about the illegal conversion of the park into a parking lot. The fate of the two remaining city blocks that made up Viger Square was to stir up greater controversy.[30]

In 1970, the destruction that was about to occur to the remains of old Viger Square first raised concerns inside the municipal organization. It was not until the plans of a part of section C of the expressway (from de Bleury to Sanguinet Streets) were submitted to the various City departments for review and comments, that someone officially raised the question of the destruction of the remaining trees. The remark was made in the more general context of commenting on the layout of spaces outside the expressway, even if their limits were not available yet. For Mr. Boucher, a superintendent working for the City, these areas, targeted to be turned into lawns, could otherwise be landscaped with trees, shrubs, and flowers. Moreover, pathways could be provided with benches, fences, and other urban furniture. Parking places could even be included. Boucher had researched the minimum depth required for those vegetal elements in order to survive either on a standard ground ("sous-sol normal") or on other structures (such as concrete slabs). He foresaw that

the four feet (1.2 metre) minimum required for planting on a slab could never be obtained for Viger Square, given the level of the roof slab of the tunnel nearby (to the west of St. Denis Street). He also noted that the excavation for the tunnel, to the east of St. Hubert Street, would be made in the open, across the playground, in the eastern part of Viger Square. Boucher concluded:

> Le parc Viger est planté de magnifiques arbres. Nous osons espérer qu'on mettra tout en oeuvre pour les protéger et les sauvegarder dans toute la mesure du possible. Nous étudierons volontiers avec les ingénieurs, en temps opportun, les moyens pour y arriver.[31]

In short, Boucher gave the alarm and warned that if the highway project extended in keeping with the previous stretch of the route, first, the trees in the eastern section of Viger Square would be cut down, and second, it would not be possible to lay out a park with the usual greenery, given the high level of the roof slab of the tunnel in the area, and the depth required for planting on such a slab. That was in October 1970. Montréal was under siege, in the throes of the October Crisis. Mayor Drapeau, reputed for his lack of sensitivity towards the environment (built and natural) was re-elected during that period. Opposition to the project as planned was not ripe, not yet.[32]

In 1971, some opposition to the highway project and its likely consequences on Viger Square was reported in the newspaper. A protest was held by Dawson College students. But what stands out in the newspapers is the lack of awareness of the probable destruction of the park on the part of Lucien Saulnier, then President of the Executive Committee. Joseph Baker, spokesman for two groups which opposed the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway's east-west extension, announced two days of unofficial hearings in April 1971. Baker first

stressed that the Highway Act made no provision for appeal, except on the part of expropriated parties, and second, that the provincial Minister of Roads was "not subject to the approval of municipalities, small or metropolitan."[33]

It seems that it was not until January 1972 that the concerns for the future of Viger Square resurfaced. This time, the problem of preserving an open space in Viger Square was identified. The construction of the expressway had been under way for a year or so,[34] but section C of the road was still in the form of working drawings. The new Director of the Montréal Housing and City Planning Department, Guy R. Legault, informed the Deputy Minister of Roads that he wanted to cover the part of Viger Square located to the west of St. André Street (this amounts to all three sections of the square) and have the place restored in almost the same conditions that prevailed before the construction of the motorway. Furthermore, Legault believed that the square was still required, based on historical and functional grounds, despite all the demolitions that had taken place in the neighbourhood:

> Cette disposition est requise afin de remettre en usage dans cette partie de la Ville un espace libre qui est nécessaire sur le plan fonctionnel et historique.
>
> Il semble tout à fait naturel de remplacer partout où cela est possible les espaces libres que l'autoroute fait disparaître. Dans le cas présent, étant donné que l'autoroute est en dépression, il s'agit d'aménager une dalle au niveau du sol pour replacer la situation à peu près dans des conditions semblables à celles qui prévalaient avant le passage de l'autoroute.[35]

Not long afterwards, at its January 17, 1972 session, the Commission Jacques-Viger inquired from Legault if the plans by the City Officials to restore Viger Square would be implemented in the near future. The Commission reminded Legault that the City had promised a new layout for the square, once the construction works for the expressway

would be completed. Over a year later, the issue of saving the trees and of having a sufficient depth to allow for replanting on top of the tunnel resurfaced once again. This time, the Parks and the Public Works Departments were reviewing the plans for the section "Sanguinet-Wolfe" of the highway. The City had to relocate some of Viger Square's equipment. But the main concern with the Square pertained to the fact that some eighty trees were identified to be felled, among which fifty-four large ones, and twenty-five smaller ones, that could be transplanted. There were also forty-four trees outside of the route of the expressway which required special care if they were to survive. Moreover, two and a half years after the first signal had been sent regarding the level of the roof of the tunnel and the required minimum depth for landscaping, that critical distance between the tunnel and the park surface was still not determined in the plans.[36]

After the municipal civil servants voiced their worry about the wholesale destruction of the trees and of the public venue to allow for the construction of the highway, the press echoed some of their concerns:

> A moins d'une entente de dernière minute entre la ville de Montréal et le ministère des Transports du Québec, le square Viger, dont l'aménagement remonte au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle, sera détruit avec la construction de l'autoroute est-ouest, dans la métropole. Ce qui en restera--quelques arbres au-dessus d'une voie à circulation rapide--sera une très pâle figure de ce qu'il fut ou de ce qu'il est encore.[37]

The author of the article explained the situation as a clash between Québec and Montréal, not at the political level, but among the civil servants working either for the provincial Ministry of Transportation (previously of Roads) or at the municipal Housing and City Planning and Parks Departments. The engineers' plans had provisions for a trench until St. Denis Street, and then the highway was planned to be underground, in

a tunnel, until St. Hubert Street. Therefore, the tunnel was saving a parking lot (a nonsense, if one forgets that this parking lot was a part of Viger Square at the time of the original planning) but destroying the playground in the eastern part of Viger Square,. Moreover, for the Parks Department, the felling of those trees above the tunnel seemed ineluctable, given the lack of depth between the tunnel roof slab and the ground level. At the City Planning and Parks Department, it was then obvious that the square would never be the same, and that its calling would be totally changed. In fact, the City Planning Department had already prepared a preliminary plan for a new layout, aiming to make the best possible use of the remains of the former square. Against those arguments put forward by the municipal civil servants for preserving mature trees and for maintaining the remains of the urban fabric already greatly torn down, the provincial engineers opposed the extra costs of extending the tunnel up to St. André Street in order to preserve the eastern section of Viger Square. Moreover, the highway was already built up to St. Denis Street, and the extension of the tunnel would require important changes to their plans (hence delays to the project), as well as the construction of a ventilation chimney of important dimensions above the tunnel, in or near the actual park. As other decisions regarding the expressway were contentious among the parties, the Provincial Government wanted to negotiate a package deal with the City and refused to address the issue of Viger Square on its merit alone.[38]

The media as well as some political activists exerted some pressure against the demolition of the square. The counsel of the Parti Québécois' Montréal centre region informed Guy Legault that it was against any measure leading to the destruction, even partial, of the park, or to the amputation of one of its parts. It also asked the Minister of Environment, Victor Goldbloom, to intervene in favour of the preservation

of the park, and called on the Minister of Transportation to take required actions in order to save the park as it was then. It also supported the efforts of the Montréal Parks Department, as the Parti Québécois had always been against the east-west highway.[39]

In the summer of 1973, the negotiations were interrupted as the civil servant in charge for the Provincial Government retired. Resumption of the talks was not anticipated before the next winter, or even fall, at best. Meanwhile, the construction works had been interrupted, but the plans had not been changed.[40]

It appears that at the City of Montréal, the work already undertaken by City Planning was going on. On the recommendation of the Department of Public Works, in the summer of 1973, the Executive Committee allotted money for the preparation of studies, plans and specifications for the layout of several parks and playgrounds. The credits for Viger Square were under the heading of "miscellaneous," i.e., as one project among several others with different needs. Regarding Viger Square, the money was allocated for preliminary studies for a new layout as required by the new east-west expressway.[41]

A year later, Guy Legault met with Bernard Lamarre, a pre-eminent engineer and patron of the arts, to discuss the East-West Expressway, as it came to be called. Lamarre was a senior partner at LVLV (later Lavalin), the consulting firm in charge of that part of the highway. Their agenda included the design of lamp-posts and road signals, the width of service roads, the layout of Papineau Street, more to the east, and the possible junction of the expressway with the Jacques-Cartier bridge. But first and foremost, according to Legault's subsequent comments, the imperative need to save the trees at Viger Square was addressed: "Il faut trouver à tout prix un moyen de sauver les arbres du square Viger."[42] In order to achieve that, Legault requested that a complete survey of the existing

trees be conducted. Moreover, Legault (and Lamarre) acknowledged the necessity to consult with the Executive Committee prior to developing the concepts for the layout of Viger Square. Having seemingly reached an agreement with Bernard Lamarre, Legault assigned to his aide the duty of requesting repeatedly from the transport engineers that they save the trees, knowing that the consulting engineers would support that request: "Il faudra demander avec insistance au Ministère des Transports de conserver ces arbres. Il faudra indiquer au Ministère l'endroit où on veut les planter . . . Les ingénieurs-conseils supporteront la demande que nous ferons."[43] The survey of the trees that followed reported ten trees to be preserved and twenty-two to be cut down in the city block between Viger Avenue and Berri-St. Hubert-Craig Streets, and eleven trees to be preserved and forty-four to be cut down in the adjoining city block (St. Hubert-St. André Streets). That new survey counted less trees than a previous one done by the Parks Department in April of 1973.[44] This went unnoticed, but it is fair to assume that the missing trees were cut down in anticipation of the construction of the highway.

An Art Programme to Rescue a Public Place

The negotiations that were anticipated to occur some time after the nomination of a new technocrat in charge of the expressway appear to have taken place much later, that is, in the summer of 1974, a year after the interruption of the talks. In July, the Ministry of Transportation transmitted to the City the plans of the Trans-Canada Highway, section C, for the segment between Sanguinet and Moreau Streets, asking for an approval in principle of these plans.[45] But at the Housing and City Planning Department, there were several litigious items that still required

negotiations before granting a recommendation for approval to the Executive Committee. Actually, four official meetings took place and much time elapsed before the City Planning Director recommended to the Municipal Authorities the endorsement of the layout of the expressway between Sanguinet and Moreau Streets, along with the acceptance of a new layout for the reconstruction of Viger Square.[46] During the year it took city technocrats to be satisfied with the proposed plans of the motorway, they themselves introduced some elements of change regarding their own conception of the square. Looking back, it appears that, even though it was not the original intent, a programme of works of art was used to replace existing mature trees and give a fresh start to a previously lively public place.

The first account we have of the meeting of officials from the Ministry of Transportation, the City of Montréal, and the consulting engineers to discuss various contentious items regarding the implementation of the highway plan is dated October 1974. From the agenda and the minutes of the meeting, it is possible to infer that the construction works had made very little progress, if any, since the winter of 1972-73. Also, the items discussed by Legault and Lamarre in the summer of 1974 were still on the agenda, including the issue of Viger Square.[47]

At the fall meeting, the Housing and City Planning Department brought a plan showing the proposed layout for Viger Square, from St. Denis to St. André Streets. Michel Stanisic prepared and presented the plan in question.[48] On it, the tunnel ended at St. André Street, hence saving the playground from destruction. Two ventilation towers were identified within the western city block (St. Denis to Berri Streets), which had an agora occupying the centre of the place, and vegetation surrounding each of its sides, as a buffer zone. The park, in the middle of

the three city blocks, had rest areas equipped with decorative pergolas. There was to be a monument in the centre of the park, where trees and vegetation were abundant. Finally, the city block more to the east included benches, trees, and a fence. That area, the longer of the three, was internally divided into zones, presumably for distinct activities. There is no mention whatsoever of a playground.[49] When one looks at the original plan (colour pencil on a blueprint), one has a solid impression of dense vegetation amidst a sea of concrete and tar.

It was decided at the October meeting that the Ministry of Transportation would provide the basic infrastructure and that the City of Montréal's Parks Department would take care of the trees and of the planting. The layout would have to be accepted by the Executive Committee prior to being transmitted to the engineering firm, LVLV.[50] There was also an agreement about the need to relocate, due to the expressway construction, the Chénier monument formerly located on the west side of St. Denis Street. That parcel of land named on some plans place Viger,[51] was now a monumentless, nameless space on Stanisic's new plan.

It was then decided that the monument would be placed in the city block located between Berri and St. Hubert Streets, that is, the second of the three blocks forming Viger Square, and where a monument was already anticipated on the new plan.[52] No evidence was found that the extension of the tunnel was discussed: it must have been talked about previously, given the presence on Stanisic's drawings, of the third block (îlot "C") together with that of the ventilation towers. Photographs of a model exist showing two versions of the layout proposed for the agora: an auditorium version (see figure 48), similar to what was shown on the plan, and another version (see figure 49), where a sculpture in the centre of a circular basin occupies the middle of the place, and where the steps of the

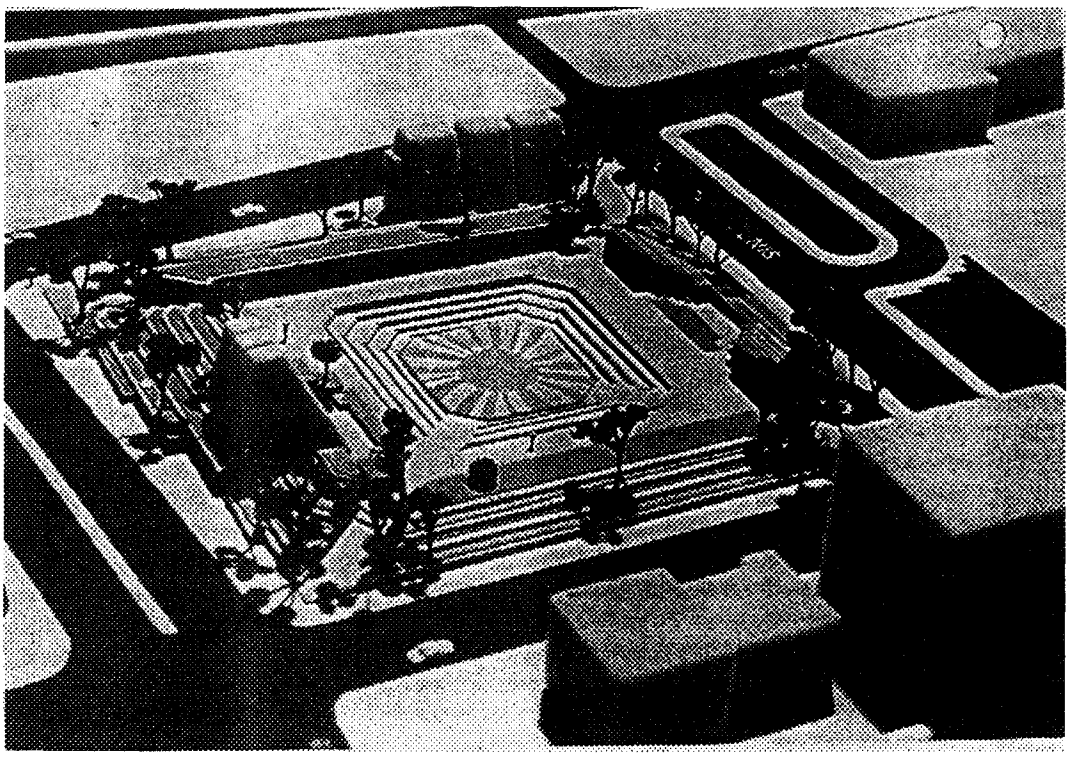


Figure 48. The western part of the square or block A. Photograph of a model showing the auditorium version for the agora. By Housing and City Planning Department, 5 November 1974. Source: City of Montréal, Parks Service.

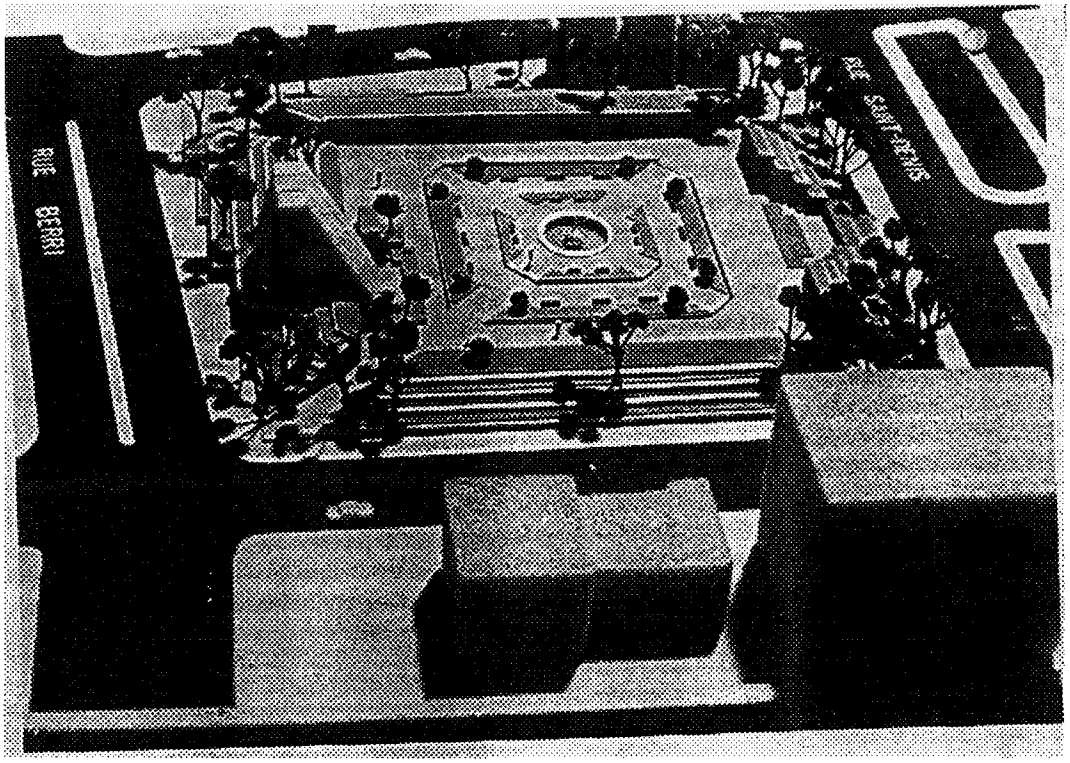


Figure 49. The western part of the square or block A. Photograph of a model showing a sculpture and a water basin. By Housing and City Planning Department, 5 November 1974. Source: City of Montréal, Parks Service.

agora have given place to a flat surface, where benches, trees and grass offer a geometric character. It is remarkable that there are much fewer trees on the model than on the plan.

That Fall meeting appears to have been a watershed in the destruction and immediate redevelopment of Viger Square. First, there was an agreement to reinstate the western part of the square (between St. Denis and Berri Streets). Second, the continuation of the tunnel prevented the expressway from erupting in the eastern part of it, the former playground. At first sight, this looks like the expression of a will to reclaim the lost part of the square, while preserving another one. However, the upper level of the tunnel was not discussed, and there is no indication that its design was changed in order to save the trees. There was certainly an implicit, if not explicit, knowledge that the mature trees that the City wanted to preserve would not live long. There is no indication on Stanisic's plans of the existing trees to be preserved and/or cut down. In other words, the concept as presented on the drawings had not been developed around that necessity. Otherwise, why develop the concept of a playground, in the exact same location as the already existing one? On the other hand, it took almost a year and a half after that meeting for Stanisic to acknowledge the impossibility of maintaining the existing trees in their actual location while constructing the expressway.

There is further evidence that at the Housing and City Planning Department, the authorities were fully aware of the forthcoming destruction of Viger Square. In an internal memorandum addressed to Legault in the weeks following the October meeting, Hugues Desrosiers, an architect superintendent at the Department who worked under Legault's supervision, foresaw a problem with the loss of vegetation at Viger Square, and sought to preserve the spirit of the place through some design artifices:

> La disparition du "toit vert" du square Viger posera un problème: ne pas laisser le piéton en plein désert de béton, balayé par le vent ou écrasé par le soleil, entouré de toute part par la circulation automobile. Serait-il possible de retrouver l'esprit de cette place en y plantant encore des arbres de grande croissance? Il serait peut-être possible de la faire en surélevant le square pour obtenir un terreau d'épaisseur suffisante, du moins à certains endroits. Le piéton dominant les artères voisines s'y sentirait d'ailleurs mieux protégé . . . . On pourrait franchir les niveaux par des escaliers et quelques rampes.[53]

Even if the safeguard of the trees was on the City's agenda,[54] the October 1974 meeting should be understood as the moment when the Ministry of Transportation agreed with the City to leave Viger Square in its quasi original state, but when the City also agreed to let the transport engineers proceed with the construction of the highway according to their design, even if this meant the likely destruction of the existing trees. That compromise was consistent with the agreement signed by both parties. The mutual decision to have the Department of Transportation do the basic layout and the City take care of the trees and planting, reflected just that.

It seems obvious that there was an awareness at the Direction of the City Planning Department of the desperate future of the remains of Viger Square, but that at the same time, the Department was promoting a concept for the redevelopment of the site that could not totally be implemented. Only a few days after Desrosiers' mournful writing about the loss of Viger Square's "green roof," Stanisic put in writing the ideas behind his concept, confirming what was already present in the plans discussed above, and offering further explanations. Each city block would have a function: in the western one would be "des activités propres à une agora, comprenant des événements publics et socio-culturels,"[55] an ornamental park would be in the central part, and lastly the former playground would

become a park equipped for young children and elderly people at the same time.

The agora would be accessed from the four corners of the square by diagonal paths leading to its centre. It would have an amphitheatre, with steps leading down to the centre where future public or social events could take place. Stanisic's agora could easily welcome a crowd of a thousand persons, but, in order to provide the premises with calm, comfort and safety, it had to be cut off from the heavy traffic surrounding the square. For this purpose, it was proposed to use steps made of inert material, used as planters for either flowers or trees or also possibly covered by a "decorative vegetation" such as grass, flowers, shrubs and trees. Those steps would be increasing in height inwards (to a maximum of twelve feet or 3.66 metres), in order to really act as a screen from the street. Also, this height could allow the use of the space underneath for any possible function, ranging from a cafeteria to washrooms, or even storage for urban furniture or equipment of any sort. Besides the functional aspects, the architectural and spatial demands would be met as well: "L'ensemble des masses constituées des gradins et des deux tours de ventilation du tunnel de l'autoroute présentera un tout équilibré et harmonieux dans sa composition architecturale."[56] The concept was presented as flexible, since the central part could be laid out in a classical or conventional way, "dans une interprétation moderne."[57] Finally, the Municipal Authorities would have their say in the final shape the square would take.

In the updated description of the park, Stanisic integrated the decision to have the Chénier monument relocated in the centre space, which he had initially planned as a flower area with a monument. Regarding the playground, embankments at the periphery would ensure the safety of the internal area. Their height was planned to vary from one

foot (0.35 metre) to five feet (1.5 metre), and they would be grassy and planted with shrubs. It is remarkable that, even at that time, Stanisic maintained that older, existing trees, located in these two parts of Viger Square, would be saved, and that new ones would be planted. About the trees in the park section, he wrote:

> De vieux arbres (plantés depuis l'année 1884) seront sauvegardés tandis que d'autres, plantés par la suite, devront être transplantés. Leur choix ainsi que celui des arbres nouveaux à planter seront fixés en consultation avec le service des Parcs, en tenant compte des conditions créées par la future autoroute et son excavation, puisqu'elle traverse en tunnel toute la longueur du square.[58]

Soon after the "meeting of compromises," Lamarre informed Legault of the possibility to get money of up to $200,000 for various artistic productions for the East-West Highway, section C. Lamarre was said to be behind the initiative to give the project to the artists: "M. Lamarre veut prouver aux autorités qu'elles ont tout à gagner en confiant la conception de projets publics à des artistes."[59] The three artists confirmed that Bernard Lamarre assumed the leadership regarding their participation. Legault agreed to Lamarre's request to have the Housing and City Planning Department provide a programme for these works of art. For Legault, this was an important undertaking, since what would be done for section C could be used as a model for the next section, section D.

Legault initially thought that the programme should be elaborated with various artistic disciplines in mind. Places where there would be either sculpture, ceramic, enamel, and so on had to be identified. Legault wanted to be free to suggest the name of an artist capable of meeting the programme requirements without having to hold a competition. Moreover, he clearly had the creation of an object in mind, not of a place or space:

> Il faut faire une description des différents *objets* que les artistes seront appelés à développer. Il faudra décrire *le lieu où se trouvent ces objets*, l'intention ou l'objectif poursuivi, les limites du budget et

> des indications quant à la nature des matériaux, l'allure que peut prendre la création, etc.[60]

Regarding the objects, Legault immediately ruled out the possibility of having sculptures for the motorists (as promoted by Charles Daudelin), but conceived of the possibility to "furnish" the space left between de Vitré Street and the highway. He also gave two examples that eventually became the cornerstone of his programme: to have a sculpture in each of the three sections of Viger Square, and to include the old provincial prison (le Pied-du-courant) in the art programme. Even though all of Legault's suggestions truly remind one of a city beautification art programme, he also wanted to give a contemporary air to his outline: "Il y aurait également lieu de voir comment les 'industrial designers' pourraient contribuer à la signalisation, aux couleurs ou tout autre objet utilitaire."[61]

The Housing and City Planning Director's interest in industrial design was soon to be echoed by Desrosiers. This was in keeping with the current development in the art field, as Claude Théberge's experience demonstrates. After an impromptu conversation with Legault regarding the implementation of the artists' work in the expressway project, Desrosiers freely expressed his own views in a memorandum to his director. Without specifically naming it, Desrosiers had in mind functional art: the road signals and the lighting systems were, in his view, the essential elements of the furniture that would complement the expressway itself. A designer's intervention would be crucial, given the enormous visual impact these elements would have, not only on the road segment, but within the city as well (signals leading to the highway). Furthermore, the areas in the vicinity of the expressway, but at a pedestrian level, ought to be considered as well. Again, creations from an industrial designer would be precious for the design of urban furniture such as street lamps, public benches, bus shelters, and graphic publicity. Some of these new

designs could even become standards to replace what was then used in Montréal as a whole. For those areas on the fringe of the highway, Desrosiers also thought that interventions from a sculptor and a ceramist, or even, a painter and a landscaper could be welcomed, either to design railings, fences and other metallic gates, or to create sculptures as structuring elements on pedestrian paths or as focus elements for the roads in public places (such as Viger Square and le Pied-du-courant). Regarding Viger Square specifically, other elements of design included the boxes for planting trees or flower beds, the design of ground paving and even of the fence for the playground. However, in order to be a success, this project had to have an architect to coordinate and control all the creators involved:

> Cependant, la coordination . . . doit être assurée par une personne de discipline architecte, pour éviter les conflits, la gratuité, la superposition des genres sans leur intégration à l'ensemble. . . .
>
> Il est important qu'un coordonnateur assure la cohésion de l'ensemble et son exécution intelligente. Il devra sans doute être en autorité pour le faire afin d'éviter les méprises connues dans le passé (Place Vauquelin, autoroute Décarie).[62]

Despite Desrosiers' obvious interest in the art programme, he had not been mandated by Legault to work on it. It was the engineer Villemur, then superintendent at the City Planning Department, whom Legault had officially informed of the new programme. During two weeks, Villemur and his colleagues at the Housing and City Planning Department tried to come up with some ideas for works of art that could be installed along the highway. Given the restrained budget (of between $100,00 and $200,00), they concluded that it would be better to concentrate the efforts in a single location. They excluded the Place des Patriotes (le Pied-du-courant) because the provincial Ministry of Cultural Affairs was getting involved in the project. They also rejected another possible location, a strip of land

stuck in between the expressway and Vitré Street, from Hôtel-de-Ville (City Hall) to St. Alexandre Streets. That lost space was more suitable for a landscaped layout than for installing works of art. And they unanimously picked Viger Square, without further explanations.[63]

The group had four ideas for works of art in that space. Firstly, the floor of the agora and the internal walls of the steps around the agora would receive a special "artistic" treatment. The suggested materials for these elements were either concrete, granite, or bricks. Secondly, there would be ambient lighting at the two ventilation towers. Thirdly, there would be a water surface and a flower container, made of concrete, located in the central section of the square, the future park. That element ought to be low, in order not to compete with the lighting creation in the agora. The group also rejected initial ideas of having a monument in the centre of the place, be it a Calder or the Chénier monument. Finally, a sculpture-jeu made of "ferro-cement" would be installed in the park/playground. The area surrounding the three segments of the square would be landscaped, but would not be part of the art programme.[64]

These proposals regarding the type and location of the works of art were accompanied by a recommendation to hold a competition for the selection of the artists and also of the works of art. The emulation among artists, the possibility to discover new and more readily available talents, the possibility to extend the competition into an exhibition, and hence to create a cultural event in the city, were all arguments in favour of the competition. And so was the admitted lack of local experience for that type of realizations: "Dans le cas présent, il est extrêmement difficile, étant donné le peu d'expérience que nous avons à Montréal pour ce genre de réalisations, de prendre une décision unilatérale en étant certains que nous n'aurons pas à la regretter."[65] An idea competition was deemed to be the most advantageous, since it could be organized swiftly and was the

least costly. The jury would be mainly composed of members of the Housing and City Planning Department, with a minimum input from outsiders (a member of the Executive Committee and one or two artists who were also university professors).[66]

The group had also given some thought to the role of the artist: "L'artiste choisi par voie de concours devra jouer le rôle d'un coordonnateur et pourra avoir son mot à dire sur l'aménagement général des structures et des éléments complémentaires."[67] In order for the artist to assume this coordinating role properly, he had to get involved in the project as soon as possible. It was specifically proposed to let the artist have a say in the general layout of the structures and other elements such as lighting, planting, signs. But his first mandate had to be the creation of those four types of works of art described above. The proposal for the art programme clearly took into account Stanisic's concept, an explanation of which was included, along with a plan.[68]

For his part, Stanisic had slightly adapted his November 19, 1974 explanation to the proposed art programme, but had kept the concept almost unchanged.[69] On the plan, the three blocks were identified as <u>îlots</u> "A" (St. Denis/Berri Streets), "B" (Berri/St. Hubert Streets), and "C" (St. Hubert/St. André Streets). The legend assigned a function and a name to each block: "A" was "Square Viger," "B," was "Parc Viger," and "C" became "parc Viger équipé." In the text, no mention was made of the Chénier monument anticipated to be relocated in the centre of the park. He implied in a preamble that the square was no longer fulfilling the public's expectations, and admitted the role of the expressway. He stated:

> Il nous reste à réinventer aujourd'hui un aménagement plus adapté aux exigences d'une autre époque.
>
> La progression de l'autoroute transcanadienne vers l'est de la métropole touchera à une bonne partie des grands arbres du

> Carré Viger. Les arbres à côté de la future autoroute seront sauvegardés.[70]

This appeared almost to contradict his previous statement (which he kept in this text) regarding the need to save the trees planted in 1884. In the end, the proposal was to the effect that the Housing and City Planning Department remained in control of the conceptual aspect of Viger Square, including the definition of functions in each of its three parts. The artist would "decorate" the place with lighting, planting, colours, and sculpture. He would coordinate the overall result. But the group proposal did not anticipate that an artist would totally design the place. This would come later.

These two proposals, one for the art programme and the other for the redesign of Viger Square, were later amalgamated in a single document, the preliminary programme for the layout of Viger Square. It specified that the project ought to be implemented in coordination with the expressway construction works.[71] It renamed city blocks A, B, and C, respectively I, II, and III. It kept the three functions previously articulated (agora, ornamental park and park/playground), anticipating that visual unity would be achieved by vegetation, furniture, and lighting.

The layout of Viger Square I was essentially the same as the one proposed in the plan discussed previously. The text specified that, besides being a meeting place, the site would house temporary open air exhibitions, and would become a square for cultural and artistic activities. The design of the square would also have to integrate the ventilation towers required for the expressway tunnel. The programme also identified the need for additional construction: an office for a guard, a storage space, restrooms for men and women, and a control room for the lighting and other requirements for the entertainment to come. That particular city block was deemed to be a prime location for a public open space, since it

was close to the new Champ-de-Mars subway station and directly in line with Old Montréal. It was then believed that the square would become the crossroads for pedestrians coming from Old Montréal, Université du Québec, Place Radio-Canada, and even from the future Place des Patriotes. Nevertheless, the programme paradoxically required that this public place be protected from the noise of neighbouring streets. In order to give the required character to the space, the treatment of surfaces and lighting were identified as essential. The person responsible for the layout would be in fact responsible for achieving the unity of the space through the choice of materials. These materials needed to resist the climatic conditions and require minimal maintenance. The lighting and the surface treatment were in fact identified as possible artistic elements in the initial art programme.[72]

The preliminary programme for Viger Square II was extremely brief, most likely because it specified that the Municipal Services would be in charge of the layout of the park. Notwithstanding its briefness, that statement already contained a contradiction regarding the mandate of the artist: the person in charge of the layout of the square (seemingly not from the Municipal Services) would preside over the conception and realization of the lighting and of the sculptural element (it had to be a low element, with a fountain and possibly a flower basin) to be located in the centre of the square. Viger Square III was also planned to be the responsibility of the Municipal Services, with the provision that a play-sculpture for small children would be conceived and realized under the supervision of the person chosen for the layout of that part of the square, who would also be responsible of the lighting. Again, the text implied that two entities/persons would be in charge of the layout. It assumed that the artists would have a special commission but would leave the overall design to the Municipal Services. However, segments of the text open up

to what was to come: an artist would be put in charge of the layout of each of these squares.[73]

By early March of 1975, the preliminary plans of Viger Square had been transmitted to the Ministry of Transportation, but the approval of the layouts by the Executive Committee was required before the works could be undertaken by the Provincial Department.[74] This was concomitant to the approval of the remaining part of the expressway (Sanguinet-Moreau), a part of which included the square. Nevertheless, as of April 1975, the final arrangement of the streets surrounding the square was still a contentious issue between municipal and provincial officials. The width of St. Denis Street, between Viger Avenue and Craig Street, as well as the enlargement of the St. Hubert and Craig Streets crossing were under discussion. The Ministry of Transportation's schedule was outlined during meetings held in early April 1975 between provincial and municipal representatives and consulting engineers. The completion of the plans and specifications of the last part of the motorway, from Sanguinet Street to Expressway 25, was planned for February 1976, and the construction works could resume after the Olympics, which were to be held in July 1976.[75] The encounter also included a discussion of the works of art for Viger Square. The Director of the Housing and City Planning Department expressed his personal credo and further commented and criticized propositions put forward by his own staff. Legault was of the opinion that the layout of the public squares located on top of the highway, between St. Denis and Fullum Streets (e.g., Viger Square and Patriots' Place) should be *partially* (author's emphasis) conceived by artists, creating harmonious yet functional wholes. Putting aside his subordinates' former suggestions to hold a competition, Legault offered his view of Montréal's contribution. The City could present to the Ministry of Transportation the names of three or four artists for each project, and leave the selection to the provincial

representatives. The City could also submit a precise programme for each project. Legault's proposal was accepted, and a work schedule for the art projects in Viger Square was decided. By the end of May 1975 the final choice of artists would be made, who would then have until September first to submit their plans and sketches. These would be integrated by the engineers into the working plans and specifications for the end of January 1976.[76] Hence the master schedule of road works would not be compromised.

The park and the playground functions were chosen for the remodelling of Viger Square in order to reinstate the previous activities into these spaces. The fact that the square/park/playground would have stretches of an expressway on each of its side, rather than buildings as it previously had, was not raised as an issue. Neither was the fact that the roads bordering the public venue would be larger, and their traffic denser and faster than ever. Nor, indeed, was the state of the neighbourhood: the great number of demolitions in anticipation of the road works had vacated the area of many of its families and workers. Rather, Legault questioned two elements of the agora concepts: the need for public lavatories in one of the ventilation towers, and for a fountain in the other tower. Acknowledging the fact that the City's requirements had often varied, Legault held up his final decision regarding these two elements of the programmes until the next day. Lastly, the fate of the existing trees in Viger Square was once again discussed. Legault wished to save the larger ones but acknowledged that the Parks Department did not seem willing to transplant them. Since no one at the meeting could confirm a success rate for such an enterprise, an engineer from the Ministry of Transportation was mandated to conduct a research on the subject.[77]

Mandates To Three Artists

Following those coordination meetings, architect Desrosiers set for the two weeks to come a work programme for the four city blocks (three for Viger and one for the Patriots' Place). The sketches (plans, sections and models) for Viger Square had to be revised and a cost estimate, done. Also, the Housing and City Planning Department had to come up with a list of eight artists (two for each city block) to be submitted to the transportation engineers. Finally, Desrosiers chose to do his own independent research with regards to the transplanting of trees.[78]

At the end of April, Desrosiers submitted a report first to Legault, and then to the Ministry of Transportation, to present the proposed layout of Viger Square (as well as that of Patriots' Place). The report included plans and explanatory notes which were based upon the previous concept not only regarding the location (the three city blocks) and the functions for each of the squares (agora, ornamental park and playground), but also the formal aspect (very similar layout).[79] Regarding block A, the previous emphasis, which was mainly on lighting, on vegetation, and urban furniture as integrating elements, was maintained, as was the focus on the treatment of vertical and horizontal surfaces. The central area would be lower, and walls and planted embankments would isolate it from the neighbouring streets. However, the sections indicated that these embankments also provided the much required height in order to allow for the planting of trees. The programme also expressed the need to revise the architecture of the ventilation towers.[80]

Despite the manifest similarity of concepts between preliminary versions and this one, a major element had changed for blocks B and C. Stanisic's previous texts had always inferred that the oldest, biggest trees would be saved, and that new ones would be planted. In the latest

version, the question of trees was addressed separately in the specification section, whereas the paragraph-long description of the ornamental park simply stated the need to have the earth covering the expressway deep enough to allow for the planting and growth of trees as big as possible. The description of the playground simply stated that it would be surrounded by hillocks planted with the same species as in the park. Moreover, whereas the former plan showed trees in those two blocks, the latest one did not.[81] One has to look at the accompanying sections, however, to clearly understand what has been repeated by various persons since 1970: the upper slab of the tunnel was almost at the same level as the ground of the square with a difference of only one foot or 305 millimetres. Therefore, most, if not all, trees shown in the background of the sections (for both blocks) could simply not be planted or would not survive. Finally, the programme included the possibility of using the old fountain that still remained in Viger Square as the central piece for the ornamental park. The programme for the playground was now asking for several sculptures-jeux (play-sculptures) in the central area, as opposed to the single one previously planned. As a whole, the text, when compared to Stanisic's earlier preliminary versions, contained much less indications as to what would be the layout of the park and of the playground.

Some brief specifications were also included in the programme. They dealt with the trees, the lighting, the ground cover, the walls, the fences or gates, the urban furniture, the play-sculptures and the sculpture. The existing trees were to be transplanted first, on the outskirts of the expressway and in the parterre of the Chénier monument, across the street from block A. The floors, walls and fences sections basically dealt with the choice of materials: stone or concrete for the floors and walls, and steel for the fences/gates (hence slightly modifying the December

1974 proposition). The benches, included in the furniture section, were to be in wood and/or concrete. As for the sculptural elements, the proposed materials were wood/metal/concrete for the children play apparatus, and metal for the fountain, with its coping made of stone or concrete. A sculptor could also be asked to work on the volumes of the ventilation towers. The three plans and the supporting text were part of the documents transmitted in June to the Executive Committee for its approval of the concept of Viger Square. Moreover, the explanatory notes were transmitted to the artists as part of the programme.[82]

Regarding the selection of artists, an appendix to Desrosiers' report included a list of twelve names, which was later transmitted, unchanged, to the Ministry of Transportation. That list was in fact more of a grid, where the four locations were identified and subdivided according to the type of works of art that was expected there. For example, the agora had two columns, one for the paving and another for the vertical surfaces. In accordance with Legault's hint at the coordination meeting, there was no fountain in the agora. Also, the sculpture was seemingly expected in the same location as the fountain, but there were two columns, one for each element. Thus an artist could be identified for one element, but not for the other. Jordi Bonet, for instance, was proposed for the sculpture, but not for the fountain, whereas Charles Daudelin was named for the two elements. On the other hand, Daudelin was suggested only for those two items, whereas Bonet was also recommended for the two categories of art in the agora. Besides Bonet, two other artists were suggested for the agora: Jean Lefebvre, a sculptor (for the vertical surfaces only), and Gérald Zahnd, a designer, for both the paving and the vertical surfaces. The names proposed for the fountain were, besides Daudelin and Bonet, André Fournelle and Armand Vaillancourt, for both elements, and Jean Gauguet-Laroche and Yves Gravelle, for the sculpture only. Finally, only

two names were proposed for the play-sculpture and each was proposed only in this category: Peter Gnass, on the one hand, and the designers Fabio Fabiano and Michel Panzini, on the other. Two of the four names selected ultimately were on the list and were chosen in the same category (Gnass for the play-sculpture and Daudelin for the fountain), and the other two were not (Claude Théberge and Jean-Paul Riopelle).[83] Moreover, the two names picked among those who were on the list had previously been identified by Bernard Lamarre as potentially interesting or excellent suggestions. Legault had previously written to Desrosiers:

> J'ai de plus vu monsieur Bernard Lamarre qui m'a indiqué que pour sa part il croyait que le sculpteur Peter Gnass serait certainement un candidat qui pourrait offrir de l'intérêt. C'est lui qui a préparé la première maquette que vous avez concernant la sculpture jeu du terrain de jeux Viger. Bien sûr, l'artiste avait travaillé sans programme. . . .
>
> J'ai parlé à monsieur Lamarre du choix de Daudelin et Vaillancourt. Il croit que ce sont là d'excellentes suggestions.[84]

The list is worth commenting on further. First, besides artists belonging to traditional artistic specializations, there were two designers, which was coherent with both Legault and Desrosiers's early wishes. There was also a craftsman in wrought iron for the creation of a fence at the Patriots' Place. Second, except for Charles Daudelin and Armand Vaillancourt, no other artist on the list could claim to be interested in an urban creation, in contrast to those artists chosen for the Corridart exhibition, held a year later.

In June 1975, Bernard Lamarre was informed of the Ministry of Transportation's choice: "Voici les noms des artistes, désignés par le Ministère, que vous devrez engager comme consultants pour la confection et l'aménagement des endroits indiqués."[85] Lamarre was asked to submit to the Ministry of Transportation a copy of the contracts linking LVLV with the artists. September first remained unchanged as the deadline for

handing in plans and sketches. Lamarre was also reminded that the specialists from the Housing and City Planning Department had offered to take part in the writing of the specifications required for each of the projects. Finally, the Ministry of Transportation informed LVLV that it was to have a liaison officer with the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. That letter confirmed the procedure established in the agreement between provincial and municipal entities. The remodelling of Viger Square was a part of the Trans-Canada Highway, and as such, the Ministry of Transportation was responsible for selecting the artists. Transportation officials chose to have the artists hired by their consulting engineers, considering that the artists were offering "professional services." Moreover, as a result of the long negotiations held between the Ministry of Transportation and City Planning, the concept as prepared by city officials, including the type of works of art to commission, had to be implemented by the Provincial Government.[86]

Shortly after the artists were appointed by the higher officials of the provincial department, however, a meeting took place between two architects from the Housing and City Planning Department (Desrosiers and Stanisic) and two new players from the Ministry of Transportation, an ecologist and a landscape architect (Daniel Waltz and Marcel Tremblay), both working at the traffic service (Service de la circulation), in the division of multidisciplinary studies. At that meeting, besides questioning who was directly in charge of the project at the city, the provincial civil servants asked for the fundamentals underlying the three concepts for Viger Square, and even challenged some of their premises. Desrosiers explained once more that the history of the park, its present function as well as the anticipated development of the neighbourhood were taken into consideration. The example of the playground was offered: contrary to what Legault had stated previously (i.e., the maintenance of its historical

function), Desrosiers commented that the concept was based on "l'éventualité d'un développement résidentiel futur sur le terrain de Radio-Canada."[87] Waltz disputed the validity of the choice in the event the neighbourhood would not develop as planned, but Desrosiers argued that the layout would be flexible enough to be modified if necessary. Waltz also asked the city representatives for all the data upon which the design of both Viger Square and Patriots' Place was based. Desrosiers complied, except for Old Montréal for which the provincial Department of Cultural Affairs had information. He thereby implied that this area would eventually need to use the Viger playground facilities, as City of Montréal was aiming at re-establishing its residential function.[88]

Shortly after, that meeting was followed by another one, attended this time by Legault and Desrosiers as the City's delegates, Lamarre and Claprood, as the consulting engineer firm's, and Waltz and Tremblay for the Ministry of Transportation, plus a representative of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The meeting aimed at establishing the artists' mandate, and at resolving the situation. Desrosiers had prepared a preliminary specification, in which he reiterated the validity of the three plans already referred to.[89] That report, besides anticipating the coordination of the artists' schedules and the type of documents they would have to produce, included a list of the works to be done. Each square was planned to have the same urban furniture (including fountains and drinking fountains). And each square was also planned to have its own specific elements. For the agora, this included the ground covering (a possible choice of three among the following: cast in place concrete, concrete slabs, concrete cobblestones, stone slabs or granite slabs); the stairs (granite or sandstone), wall treatment (concrete or ceramic on/in concrete or stone in concrete), and the size, form and texture of the ventilation towers. The ornamental park simply had a provision for a sculptural element. Finally,

the play-sculpture was seen as being possibly of various volumes or made of a single element. At that late stage in the development of the concept, Desrosiers excluded from the artists' mandate the lighting, which was previously seen as a fundamental, unifying element.[90]

Guy Legault reportedly stated that the concept of Viger Square, and the functions behind it, was something his department had gained: "C'est-à-dire que le tout a été présenté à, et accepté par le conseil municipal de la Ville de Montréal."[91] Therefore, there would be no retrocedence regarding the design. He added that the preliminary plans originating from his organization would serve as images or guides for the artists who would conceive of Viger Square. As presented in the minutes of the meeting, the Housing and City Planning's view of the artists' participation was as follows. The urban policy for Viger Square was under the Housing and City Planning Department's jurisdiction, but the concept would be that of the artists. Technical assistance could be provided to them by engineers and landscape architects. This was a blatant contradiction with Legault's initial statement in which he limited the artists' participation to the creation of an object in a given place. It also denied Desrosiers' view on the artists' contribution:

> Dans le cadre de ce parti [fonctionnel et architectural] reste à préciser la facture des composantes: éléments sculpturaux, coloristes, graphiques constitués des sols, murs, structures de ventilation et mobilier urbain des places.
>
> L'intervention des créateurs désignés par le Ministère des Transports du Québec permettra de trouver pour chacun de ces éléments et les ensembles qu'ils constituent, des expressions formelles appropriées aux fonctions desservies, telles que décrites aux notes explicatives. . . .
>
> Pour la répartition des responsabilités des différents créateurs, nous suggérons qu'un sculpteur soit chargé du traitement des volumes de chaque place publique, soit le Carré Viger et le Pied-du-Courant, qu'un céramiste intervienne sur le bassin de la fontaine du parc ornemental et sur le terrain de jeux.[92]

But Desrosiers' idiosyncratic opinion did not perfectly adhere to the Ministry of Transportation's decision which stated that one sculptor would be in charge of the playground (and not a ceramist). Notwithstanding those differing views, it was agreed that the artists would be hired by LVLV and that they would have to submit several sketches of the concepts. Moreover, the artists would have to present detailed plans of the chosen concept and supervise the construction works. Lamarre proposed a fee of $50 000 for each artist responsible for a block of Viger Square, basing his suggestion on the architects' scale of fees. It appears that besides the divergences on how to propose the municipal concept to the artists, the division of responsibility with regard to each space was also nebulous. Desrosiers clearly had in mind a mandate according to artistic specialities, even if it meant having more than one artist in a single block, whereas Lamarre's proposal regarding the fees indicate that he was contemplating the attribution of one city block to one individual. It also stands out clearly that, at that point in time, the Housing and City Planning Department was not simply having opposing views to those of the provincial government and its engineers, but, more importantly, that Legault was not fully supportive of his architects' desires or their interpretation of his own initial thoughts on the subject.[93]

Finally, some eight months after Lamarre had first talked to Legault of the possibility of getting some financial support for artistic creations, three artists were informed that they had been chosen for the remodelling of an area of Viger Square. They were invited to attend a meeting on 23 July 1975, "dans le but d'expliquer et de vous fournir des renseignements sur [le] mandat que nous voulons vous confier et de discuter des conditions de realisation et d'honoraires."[94] Each artist individually attended the meeting with the municipal and provincial representatives as well as with Lavalin's (LVLV's) engineers. Lamarre presided over the

meeting and engineers from the consulting firm explained the mandate to each artist, which all three accepted, as they signed their contract that very same day.[95] Legault, Desrosiers and Stanisic gave precisions with regard to the contemplated concepts. The Housing and City Planning Department also committed the technical support of various municipal services to the artists. But the one-page minutes of these three meetings emphasized the absolute artistic freedom granted to the artists, provided that they respected the pre-established framework, that is, to create an agora, an ornamental park and a playground for children (the seniors having been dropped from the concept), and a memorial for Patriots' Place. In this regard, the documents, plans and explanatory notes originating from Legault's department were provided as illustrations of the type of project to be implemented: "Ces documents ne sont donnés qu'à titre indicatif."[96] Each of the contracts signed by the three artists in charge of remodelling Viger Square also had a provision about the City's sketches and explanatory notes as being an illustrative aid and an indication only.[97]

This arrangement diminished the scope of another statement of principles in the convention, regarding the obligation to follow the City's pre-established programme:

> Dans la conception de son projet, l'artiste-concepteur sera lié par le programme urbain et le parti établi par le service d'Urbanisme et de l'Habitation de la Ville de Montréal. Afin qu'il soit complètement conscient des restrictions que lui impose cette exigence, ledit service d'Urbanisme et de l'Habitation lui fera parvenir, par l'entremise du client, les plans et autres documents montrant le terrain bâti, le cadastre, la photographie aérienne et le parti de l'aménagement urbain.[98]

In fact, the actual scope of each contract had little bearing on the programme and concept put forward by the municipal representatives, even if these were referred to in an appendix to the contract. With the exception of Peter Gnass, even the mandate assigned to each artist

varied from the municipal recommendation (the list) and from the Ministry of Transportation's decision as transmitted to Lamarre. The commission to lay out a public square ("l'aménagement d'une place publique"), located in the city block limited by Viger Avenue, Berri, Craig and St. Denis Streets, was entrusted to Daudelin when in fact he had been named for the conception of a fountain (and thus identified with block B according to the municipal concept).[99] Claude Théberge, specialist of colours and ceramics (and identified as a ceramist in some of the correspondence) was granted "la conception de l'aménagement d'une fontaine et un parc public,"[100] in the entire block B. And Peter Gnass was attributed, as a mandate, "la conception de l'aménagement de jeux d'enfants,"[101] the only instance where it was not absolutely clear that the artist was expected to create the complete layout of the block. In general, these mandates were certainly much more comprehensive than the description in the documents prepared by Legault's team, and which were referred to in appendix A to the convention. In addition, each artist was subjected to various degrees, to the requirements quoted above. In the case of Daudelin, the subsequent paragraph stated that the artist remained the master of the work, but had to respect the constraints imposed upon him.[102] Gnass was required to respect the safety constraints shown on the sketches (such as providing entrances at street crossings and gates around the play area). Finally, Théberge had none of these limitations, and was, according to appendix A of the conventions, the one endowed with the greatest creative freedom.

Even if the artists were mandated later than expected (July instead of May 1975), the initial deadlines remained in most cases. The artists had to submit their preliminary sketches and studies, with their cost estimates, for the first day of September 1975 (15 September in the case of Gnass). After receiving the client's (LVLV) comments, they had to

revise their drawings in order to produce a sketch accepted by the client by September 30 (October 15 for Gnass). The artists then had to produce working drawings and specifications by the first day of December (8 December for Gnass) and, after receiving LVLV's comments, they had to submit a final (reproducible) copy and a revised cost estimate by January 15, 1976 (23 January for Gnass).[103] This was certainly a very tight schedule given both the extended scope of the mandates and the time it took municipal planners to come up with a concept of their own. A very tight schedule, indeed, given the documents requested and the complete lack of experience of these artists for that type of work.

Besides these distinctive features, the three artists entered into the same convention, including the same professional fees of $50,000. One of the clauses of their contract specifically stated that the artists would have a copyright on all the documents they were to produce, as well as on the project.[104]

Collaborative Art: Artists, Architects and Urban Planners

From this point on, it is impossible to follow systematically the development of the concept of each artist, given the great diversity in archival material pertaining to each project.[105] The following phase of the history of the case will appear to focus more on the public place than on the park or the playground. Charles Daudelin's project was the only one created anew, since his part of Viger Square had been destroyed in 1964 (block A). And Daudelin was the one, among the three artists, who took the greatest freedom vis-à-vis Stanisic's concept. These factors, combined to the fact that the programmatic requirements were more complex for the agora than they were for the park or the playground, may

explain the abundance of information for this part of the project. They account for its greater interest for this research and, therefore, for the focus of this section on this particular creation.

Two weeks after the meeting with the artists, Stanisic organized another reunion, this time between the consulting engineer from LVLV, Eugene Claprood, and several representatives of different municipal departments (Public Works including Parks, and Housing and City Planning).[106] The meeting aimed at informing those departments of the coming project and of their required input in the context of the previous agreements signed between the artists and LVLV. The fact that the artists had total artistic freedom was reiterated, this time by the architects, to their municipal colleagues. The municipal services had a consulting role, with the exception of the lighting expert who was to present a creative study in parallel to those of the artists. The schedule was also discussed, presenting the artists' deadlines, without any mention of Gnass' particular one. The various municipal entities agreed upon a schedule among themselves in order to transmit the artists' documents swiftly. The transplantation of mature trees and the shallowness of the top soil was discussed among the "miscellaneous" items, and the wording of the minutes of the meeting speaks for itself about the anticipated level of success of the operation:

> Transplantation des arbres adultes existant au square Viger, intégration des arbres qui, théoriquement, doivent rester sur place avec des arbres relativement jeunes à planter selon le concept d'aménagement futur, etc.
>
> Le problème d'épaisseur de couche de terre noire nécessaire à la réussite d'opération plantation-transplantation à cause de la présence de la future dalle de béton de l'autoroute. Le niveau supérieur prévu pour la dalle est presque égal au niveau des rues voisinantes.

> La protection des arbres à préserver sur place pendant l'excavation et la construction de l'autoroute. Ce problème est pris en compte par LVLV & Ass.[107]

The tone was much more neutral than it has been previously when addressing the preservation of the trees. With hindsight, we see that the City and Planning Department's deal with the consultant and with the artists involved other municipal departments that were not consulted with regard to the saving of the trees, or with the general mandate confided to the artists. Eventually, this would become problematic, as we will see.

While the Municipal Services were joining their efforts, the Transportation representative and Claprood visited Daudelin and Théberge at their respective studios, and were presented the artists' work in progress. It appears that Daudelin and Gnass met their first respective deadline and that their work was well received by the Ministry of Transportation. The general layout of the public place (agora) was deemed to be very interesting, to the extent that it prevented, in Waltz's opinion, the cramming in of large crowds. Daudelin had also planned to use some water element, and had worked on the ventilation towers. Waltz also reviewed Gnass' documents and was extremely positive about them. But he was still dubious about the validity of the choice of having a playground in that area: "Il nous reste à souhaiter vivement que le tout sera en forte harmonie avec la vie du secteur."[108]

Montréal's representatives, regardless of their will to coordinate their efforts and to comment quickly on the drawings, sent three separate sets of comments to Claprood, two for Gnass and the other one for Daudelin. Also, despite the fact that Gnass presented his drawings last, the City appears to have commented on them first. Desrosiers signed the first report which presented Parks and Public Works' technical advice and comments. For instance, the Parks Department asked for the

replacement of the fence, given its old age (while the Housing and City Planning Department had previously considered saving it). Instructions were given for the planting of trees (types to avoid, location, density), and sodding, types of ground covering, as well as for the location of lighting devices, number of benches and their material, et cetera. There were also comments about the safety aspects of the play equipment.[109] The second set of comments about Gnass' playground came from Stanisic. In fact, the architect could not evaluate the aesthetic integration of each of the proposals for lack of the other two projects. Nonetheless, he approved in principle of the preliminary concept which included several elements of his own plans:

> Dans les esquisses préliminaires d'aménagement du terrain de jeux . . ., monsieur Gnass a gardé la géométrie de lignes fluides et les talus artificiels en bordure tel que suggéré dans [le] "plan guide", fait par la division de l'aménagement urbain, service de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme. Bien qu'il ait toute liberté de s'exprimer, probablement est-ce une coincidence due à son amour pour les lignes fluides que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs dans la plupart de ses formes sculpturales. Quoi qu'il en soit la fluidité des lignes de cheminement et celle des jeux-sculptures s'harmonisent assez bien dans l'ensemble spatial.
>
> . . . La concentration des sculptures-jeux sur ce terrain, suggérée par le concept en question offre assez d'attraits par le choix des jeux et par son futur milieu peu banal.[110]

The location of the entrances, the placement and form of the embankments in particular, which define the perimeter of the park, clearly followed Stanisic's previous drawings, a situation partially acknowledged by the architect. It is reasonable to affirm that Gnass then prepared the final drawings for the playground. [111]

Despite Stanisic's statement about the artists' total artistic freedom, his reaction to Charles Daudelin's obvious independence vis-à-vis the City's suggested layout raises the question of the architect's deep

acceptance of a reality that was, in fact, imposed upon him. On Daudelin's own account, his first concept was a little bit "crazy." It was certainly treacherous, even though he aimed at providing the user with comfort, by having integrated seats in concrete slopes, instead of Stanisic's proposed steps:

> J'ai fait . . . quelques présentations qui étaient peut-être un peu trop folles, oui. . . . toujours à cause de ces pentes-là. Au lieu de faire avec des paliers, j'avais fait ces pentes-là, c'était en béton, comme une grande glissade, comme une . . . rampe, mais pleine largeur, comme pour les handicapés, mais comment je vous dirais ça? dans cette pente-là il y avait des trous, ronds . . . et puis ça redevenait comme une marche, mais c'était un siège. C'était un petit fauteuil . . . . Avec la pente, on avait des petits côtés, . . . puis c'est sûr que descendre dans ça, ben, c'est vrai que ça aurait été un casse-gueule, mais enfin! Mais, on avait des sièges. Tandis que là, c'est dans les marches, et dans les paliers qu'on peut s'assoir. Non, . . . il y avait des côtés un peu fous![112]

Daudelin's appraisal of his own concept is that it was still better than the City's early drawings. For instance, he rejected the idea of having seats in an agora as if it were an auditorium. This was not, however, how Stanisic, the very creator of the early concept, saw the situation. From the very beginning, the architect objected to the artist's re-creation and remodelling of "his" space. Even though Daudelin did submit drawings early in September, the first written comments from municipal civil servants made available to us are dated 23 October 1975. Meanwhile, Daudelin had submitted a model and a text that explained his concept. The project was made up of three undivided zones, each having a different function. There was a zone for the gathering of small groups which provided benches, tables and seats to accommodate players of quiet games (chess, checkers, and the like), or people who wanted to have a picnic. There was also an area to play pétanque. The zone, located near Viger Avenue, included a large water basin, a cascade, trees

and the ventilation tower. The other two zones originated from the area above the tunnel towards Craig Street, and were oriented towards either St. Denis or Berri Streets. The area fronting St. Denis Street was more specifically planned to accommodate festivities and entertainment. It included the Craig Street ventilation tower that housed, besides the equipment required for the highway, a depot for park maintenance, and all the electrical apparatus needed for the activities to be held in the agora. It also had a place for a guard, and could accommodate toilets for the public. Daudelin had seats "dug" into the concrete wall of the tower that faced the stage. The third area, facing Berri Street, was intended to attract the public with snack bars, tables and benches under pergolas. Daudelin used water as the unifying element of his design. He also planned to create a sculpture that would integrate some elements of the ventilation towers (the grates). On the whole, the artist's choice of materials complied with the city's list of possible choices: the walls and steps would be of concrete as, in all likelihood, would be the tables, benches and trash cans. The ground was planned to be mainly of granite, with the provision that, wherever it was possible, there would be perennial ground cover of sweet-smelling plants such as mint, thyme, clover. Daudelin had selected European lindens (Tilia cordata) for the periphery of his place and a random planting of Honey locusts (Gleditsia triaconthos inermis) inside of the park. The artist wished to have water trickle out of the walls in lieu of drinking fountains.[113]

Stanisic's overall evaluation of the concept was negative. He noted the lack of spatial unity:

> En voulant lui donner un caractère multifonctionnel (agora + casse-croûte, + bistrot + espace de jeux, social, etc.) il [Daudelin] n'a pas réussi à composer un ensemble architecturalement harmonieux; plusieurs éléments dominant [sic] se font concurrence, pas

> seulement sur le plan fonctionnel mais aussi sur le plan architectural.[114]

He reiterated that the main objective, clearly expressed in the programme, was to have an agora as the principal function. Since the ventilation towers were given constraints, the artist was requested to integrate these harmoniously to the place and use them as sculptural/architectural elements: "Elles [ventilation towers] constitueraient l'essentiel de l'élément sculptural de la place."[115] Moreover, the architect rejected not only Daudelin's idea of having seats in the slope of the agora, but also his use of the towers to house other facilities needed for the public area, particularly the restrooms. He concluded: "Après toutes ces remarques et dans son état actuel, nous considérons le projet inacceptable et nous suggérons une révision de la part de monsieur Daudelin de façon à respecter les objectifs définis au programme."[116]

Upon reception of the comments from the City, the consulting engineer Claprood informed Stanisic that he had forwarded them to the Ministry of Transportation's representatives. Claprood also pointed out that some of the elements Stanisic had just dismissed had previously been specifically requested by him (in 1971). Waltz replied by backing up Daudelin, and expressing his dismay at Stanisic's "new orientation":

> Nous restons persuadés du grand intérêt du concept général de M. Charles Daudelin. Nous avons plusieurs motifs . . . de ne pouvoir . .] suivre [M. Stanisic] dans l'ensemble de son appréciation sur le concept de notre artiste-concepteur.
>
> Nous regrettons vivement cette nouvelle orientation de M. Stanisic qui ne peut qu'apporter des difficultés supplémentaires imprévues sur un projet que cet architecte de la ville semblait bien avoir accueilli favorablement, projet d'ailleurs tenant compte de son propre projet antérieur et de ses avis oraux ainsi que des recommendations de la ville.[117]

For Waltz, the project could not proceed until a meeting was held: with the city's authorized representatives (hence questioning Stanisic's authority on the subject), with the artist (Waltz had to acknowledge that the concept of the ventilation towers was weak) and, finally, with all other parties involved. If required, he would not hesitate to recommend forming a multi-disciplinal team to solve the problem, of which team Daudelin would be the soul. He concluded: "Il serait fâcheux d'être obligé finalement de devoir recommander de ne produire qu'une simple dalle de recouvrement."[118] Actually a meeting between the engineering firm Lavalin, delegates from the Ministry of Transportation (Tremblay and Waltz) and the Housing and City Planning Department (Desrosiers and Stanisic) was subsequently held to solve the contentious issues. The outcome of the discussion was to the effect that Daudelin had produced an appreciable work, and that his concept was very interesting. There were, however, some changes that needed to be brought, both for the global aspect of the concept and for some details to realize it. The three major elements in need for a revision related to the necessity to give more importance to the agora per se, and to enlarge the area attributed for this function. Also, cuts too sharp between very diverse elements were to be avoided. Finally, the requirement to integrate the concept with that of the next city block, the ornamental park, made the idea of having pergolas close to Berri Street ventilation tower highly objectionable. On the other hand, the water elements introduced by Daudelin were praised as being highly compatible with the project as originally perceived, even if they were not included in the City's programme.[119]

The requirements regarding the towers were also revised. The parties agreed to ask the artist to keep the plans as previously established, and to limit his intervention to a mere "dressing" ("habillage") of the façades. But the remaining architecture of the towers (volumes,

plans) would be as presented in Stanisic's 1971 concept. Regarding the towers, the input of the artist would hence be restrained to suggesting some details in the design in order to favour the feasibility of his overall concept. This last point was more or less consistent with what the Housing and City Planning Department had asked of the artist, since its own evaluation of the situation had fluctuated over time. For instance, as late as February 1975 it stated:

> Les plans préparés pour l'autoroute font partie des données. L'adaptation des tours de ventilation (principalement de la finition extérieure) est à envisager en vue de concourir à l'unité d'ensemble. Les superficies attribuées, dans ces plans, aux aires de services (toilettes, rangement et autres) devront être réaménagées pour rencontrer les dispositions prévues dans le présent rapport.[120]

Legault seemingly did not answer his own questioning of having toilets in the towers. Daudelin, for his part, had been instructed that his development of the agora had to include the ventilation towers for the expressway, but that their architecture had to be revised: "Ce projet incorpore les bouches de ventilation de l'autoroute dont l'architecture doit être revue de manière à rendre plus homogène les deux éléments volumétriques distincts."[121] That idea was reiterated in another document transmitted to Daudelin: "Ventilateurs: -Sur les gabarits donnés par les ingénieurs-consultants, établir la forme et la texture de ces éléments en béton coulé brut de décoffrage dont les plans d'exécution seront ensuite établis par les ingénieurs-consultants avec la collaboration du créateur."[122]

Daudelin was informed of the required changes, which he understood as giving more importance to the agora, which would allow for more people to attend events. He also comprehended that the requirement of grouping the constructions aimed at a better protection and control of the crowd. He was also asked to have more greenery, more

storage space, to have a simpler water system, and to eliminate the wood of the pergolas (whereas the minutes of the meeting discussed above clearly expressed the will of getting rid of the pergolas). The artist responded by increasing the area of the agora and allowing the podium to be seen from almost everywhere in the place. He radically modified the appearance of one of the ventilation towers, lowering it to the point that it was no longer a tower. He added a constructed element to house the electrical and lighting devices, and another one for storing the maintenance equipment. The wooden pergolas became concrete ones. Daudelin maintained the space for restaurants (pubs and snack bars) and boutiques (florist's shop, convenience store), linking them by roofs that extended as canopies. The artist understood that amenities such as restaurants and terraces contributed to the liveliness of a place. Furthermore, Daudelin maintained the undergrowth on the corner of St. Denis Street and Viger Avenue, and complied with the requirement for added vegetation by covering the walls and roofs with greenery. He also intended to have large containers for trees.[123]

Claprood transmitted Daudelin's revised plans to Waltz and to Desrosiers, asking the latter for the input of the City's various departments. The artist would not develop the project further until getting their comments. Given the previous consensus reached by the parties and the dramatic change introduced in the design of the towers, Desrosiers wisely asked the engineers to comment on the technical aspect of the new design, and to accept it. He stressed that he would not comment on the overall concept without being certain that it was technically feasible.[124] It turned out that Daudelin's drastic alteration to the towers necessitated the engineers to redo not only their plans, but those of the tunnel as well. Claprood informed Daudelin that: "Le ministère des Transprots [sic] nous avise qu'il ne saurait accepter une reprise complète des plans des tours 6

et 7 de l'autoroute Ville-Marie. . . . Nous vous prions donc de modifier votre arrangement pour tenir compte de cette exigence."[125] Claprood reiterated the technical requirements to the artist, adding that he could change the packaging ("habillage"). Finally, the Ministry of Transportation also found the proposal of a pub, convenience store, and snack bar on the site to be excessive.

Daudelin verbally proposed a solution to take the critiques into account. He intended to reduce the surface allowed for commerce from 5,375 square feet (499 square metres) to two thousand square feet (186 square metres) but to maintain the total roof surface, and to determine later on the function for these spaces. He also agreed to put back in its previous location the tower located on Berri Street. Before making any further changes, he wanted to get a confirmation about his new intentions. Therefore, a meeting between two engineers from LVLV (Claprood and Laporte) and Desrosiers and Waltz took place a week later to study the scope of the artist's revised concept. The assembly still saw the need to modify some elements. The dressing of the ventilation towers was seen as a priority and had to be completed successfully before moving on to the rest of the project. Desrosiers limited the services area to 1,250 square feet (116 square metres) made up of two modules of twenty-five feet by twenty-five feet (eight metres by eight metres), without access for the public, and determined that one such module would serve as a newspaper stand and the other as a snack bar. There would be removable glass partitions. Desrosiers also asked for some more openings in the roofs and additional vegetation in their vicinity, both at the perimeter of the roof themselves and on the ground. The assembly also agreed to ask for a displacement of the water curtain. Daudelin was informed of these requests and was invited to yet another meeting with Desrosiers and Laporte.[126] Desrosiers explained that in order to prevent competition with

establishments bordering the park, a restaurant could not be allowed within the park. The snack bar and newspaper stand were accepted as services, and it was suggested that they be installed on the perimeter of the park. As far as the planting of vegetation went, it was explained that, in order to facilitate maintenance, it would be grown in removable containers to be installed in permanent concrete supports. Moreover, their installation at the periphery of the roofs would facilitate maintenance. Regarding the ventilation towers, Daudelin objected strongly to the notion of dressing the towers ("habillement") as it implied a notion of camouflage. He explained his new concept which aimed at integrating the towers into the overall ensemble, as opposed to his (in fact, the City's) previous idea of using the towers as sculptural focuses for the place. The artist also indicated that he was studying the idea of having a concept that would make use of the ventilation towers as resounding devices.[127]

Once again, Daudelin modified his concept to take into account these last comments. His new drawings were reviewed by the various municipal departments. But it turned out that some of Desrosiers's instructions to Daudelin were unacceptable to them. Particularly troublesome was the idea of having plants in hollowed concrete beams, as it made the watering problematic. Also, the Parks Department vehemently rejected the possibility of having a newspaper stand in the park. It was also decided that the non-permanent layout of the space under the pergolas would be the franchise holder's responsibility but that the City would have the right to examine it. Desrosiers, who was the coordinator of the various municipal departments in that project, overruled these objections.[128]

In fact, early in August of 1976, Daudelin's very same plans of April 20, 1976, and Théberge's March 24, 1976 sketches were approved by Desrosiers, while Gnass' concept had already been accepted. Except for

Gnass, the artists' project lagged behind the optimistic schedule of having the concept finalized and approved by the end of September 1975. Moreover, the Housing and City Planning Department had to recommend approval of these projects to the City's Executive Committee. Architect Desrosiers merely mentioned that some comments relating to details of these layouts and originating from the City's technical services would later be transmitted. Therefore, Daudelin was allowed to move on to the next phase of the project, which was to work on the preparation of working drawings. The artist was responsible for preparing those plans, including all the details required for the construction of the project. He had to use the engineers' standard sheets to produce them. The engineers were to help and assist the artist on every technical detail (water circulation and lighting for instance). They were also responsible for producing supplementary drawings showing structural, mechanical, and electrical details. Finally, they would verify the artist's drawings.[129]

While the artist was working out the details of the approved concept, the Superintendent of general studies at the City's Parks Department wrote to Legault, repeating the elements discussed at his meeting with Desrosiers. Once again, besides general comments regarding the types of trees usually planted by the City in similar conditions, the lighting and drainage of the space and the need for more benches, the letter addressed two other elements of the concept deemed to be problematic: the plants in the hollowed beams, and the newspaper stand in the park. Finally, the artist must have been informed of that. On 18 November 1976, a meeting was held at his request "pour obtenir, des responsables des différentes divisions concernées, les normes et les us de la Ville concernant les espèces d'arbres et d'arbustes utilisés dans des conditions similaires ainsi que pour le matériel (bancs, paniers, abreuvoirs, etc..) des parcs de la Ville."[130] Stanisic and an engineer from LVLV

attended the meeting, along with some new players with the municipal team, notably Pierre Bourque, then chief arboriculturist working at the Parks Department, who would have a growing influence in the forthcoming development of the project.[131]

There is much less evidence regarding the development of the third concept, that of the ornamental park by ceramist Claude Théberge. On one sheet, the artist presented very preliminary plans, on which he located the main institutions in the neighbourhood (Law court, Union française, university, college, former train station), the three squares, with the tunnel for the expressway (but without sections to relate the ground level to that of the expressway, as Gnass did, for instance), the lines of pedestrian movement and the perimeter of the square with the indication: "Mur et écran de verdure--coupe bruit."[132] On a second sheet he presented the final layout. It appeared to be rather freely inspired by Stanisic's own design. Three out of the four access routes originated at the square's corners and were directed diagonally into the park. However, they did not intersect at the centre, but rather closer to Craig/St. Antoine Street. Théberge also added an entrance to the park from Craig Street, almost in the middle of that side of the park. Trees were located on the periphery of the park. The overall plan was very schematic, and quite vague. There was no legend to determine if the ground cover was mineral or vegetal.[133]

Théberge's concept as a whole was acceptable with the exception of one major point. The ratio between the mineral surfaces and the green planted area was approximately three to one, whereas the City's objective was the opposite. Stanisic reiterated that element of the programme already discussed with Théberge: "Selon notre programme l'îlot du carré Viger doit être aménagé dans un concept entre un parc classique (où la verdure domine) et une place urbaine contemporaine (où le béton domine)."[134] In conclusion, the artist was asked to change the ratio, to the

benefit of vegetation. To do so, it was suggested he increase the flower trays. In this case, Waltz agreed with Stanisic, and added that the multiple angles in Thégerge's proposal created a general feeling of discomfort. Therefore, in addition to increasing the area of greenery, Waltz sought to have a simpler concept, with a more harmonious integration of the elements. The basin with water jets and sculptures in the centre of the place would remain the main elements of the park. Théberge eventually complied with his client's requirements and presented a new concept, which put forward an increased green area and a greater enclosure for the park. The project as presented was immediately deemed "acceptable." It could be presented as such to the various other entities involved. The sets of plans transmitted by Théberge following that meeting were actually accepted.[135]

After such a slow beginning, and shortly after the artists' concepts had been accepted, the project was stopped for political reasons. The very idea of the Trans-Canada Highway resulted from the political will of both the provincial premier, Jean Lesage, and of Montréal's mayor, Jean Drapeau. While it had been anticipated that the construction of the highway would resume soon after the 1976 Montréal summer Olympics, it was not foreseen that there would be a change of Government in the Fall of 1976. Following the November elections, the Parti Québécois (P. Q.) was elected, and as the P. Q. had always been opposed to the expressway project (see above), its very future was in jeopardy. On 8 December 1976, the Ministry of Transportation, under the newly elected government, suspended the studies pertaining to the Ville-Marie expressway.[136] LVLV's Claprood immediately sent a cable to the artists, ordering them to stop their work on the project: "Conformément aux ordres du ministère des Transports, veuillez suspendre immédiatement tout travail sur le projet . . . de la route transcanadienne."[137] It appears that

at the City of Montréal, the numerous persons working on the project were not immediately informed of the situation. Upon Desrosiers' request to hold a meeting to discuss Théberge's work, Claprood replied that the order to stop the works prevented such a reunion. The municipal services also stopped working on the project, and consequently, Viger Square remained in a partially destroyed state.[138]

The City of Montréal had to wait for the approval by the Ministry of Transportation to do any work, even temporary beautification work, in the vicinity of the construction site. Regarding the immediate fringe of the expressway on the south-west side of St. Denis Street (hence directly across the street of the western part of Viger Square), the City's Coordinator at the Office of Beautification inquired from the Parks Department about the possibility to include that small parcel of land with the park where the Chénier monument was standing. With the help of the Municipal Authorities, that portion of land and buildings had been expropriated by the Province, which from then on, was the legal owner. Therefore, the City had to ask the Ministry of Transportation for permission to proceed with earthworks in order to have a grassy square. The answer to the City's request was that the problem of improving the aspect of that parcel of land would be taken care of with the short term works to improve the accesses and exits to the expressway. But no specific date was given as to when the works would be done.[139]

Over a year after the moratorium, Desrosiers submitted to Legault the result of the artists' work accepted so far by the diverse municipal departments. The remodelling of Viger Square had been postponed indefinitely, but, regardless of the final outcome concerning the expressway, Desrosiers proposed to inform the Municipal Authorities of the work accomplished thus far, since they would have to approve of the concepts in any event. Desrosiers also pointed out that block A would

have to be remodelled as per the established programme, since that square had already been demolished:

> Nous soumettons que le principe même du réaménagement des parties du Square Viger qu'il y aura lieu de reconstruire, n'est pas remis en cause. Ainsi, si le prolongement de l'autoroute ne devait jamais avoir lieu ou devait se faire autrement que prévu, l'îlot A devrait néanmoins être aménagé en fonction du programme déjà établi, voire en fonction du design étudié, si toutefois ce dernier est approuvé par les Autorités municipales.[140]

It appears, however, that Desrosiers' proposal remained unnoticed. Towards the end of 1980, the proposed layouts had still not been presented to the Executive Committee. In early May of 1980, the Ministry of Transportation authorized Raymond Thibaudeau, an engineer working at the technical division ("module technique") of the municipal Department of Public Works, to resume the studies pertaining to the Ville-Marie expressway (segment Sanguinet-Wolfe), which had been interrupted on 23 December 1976. The same Provincial Government that decreed the moratorium that stopped the construction of the expressway decided to pursue it.[141] At the time he was granted permission, Thibaudeau was also asked by the provincial department to coordinate all the municipal departments, without mentioning specifically the Housing and City Planning Department: "Pour l'immédiat, nous vous demandons de coordonner tous les services de la Ville de Montréal, qui étaient présents à l'assemblée afin d'évaluer leurs besoins additionnels, ainsi que les implications inhérentes au projet cité en rubrique."[142] Thibaudeau had had contacts with the Ministry of Transportation during the moratorium, to discuss the beautification works evoked above. But it was the Housing and City Planning Department which had received the mandate from the Executive Committee to coordinate with the other municipal departments as well as with the Ministry of Transportation the studies for Viger

Square.[143] Nevertheless, these other municipal departments were also involved with the expressway project as such (expropriations, demolitions, traffic, et cetera). But the works pertaining to Viger Square, treated as ancillary to those of the expressway, had always been under the guidance of the architects from the City Planning Department. However, not long after the works resumed, a crucial change in the management of the project took place.

Shortly after receiving the authorization to proceed with the construction of the expressway, but without knowing exactly at what date the project was to resume, municipal civil servants got organized for that event. The first segment touched extended from Sanguinet Street to St. André Street (the eastern limit of Viger Square). The construction works in the park were planned to be in the open. Therefore, some planning regarding the public square was necessary. For instance, the public lavatory, located in the eastern part of the park, was deemed worthy of conservation and needed to be displaced.[144] The trees also needed protection.

Artist Charles Daudelin could not wait to recommence his work on Place Viger. In April 1980, even before the Provincial Government authorized the City to continue the works, Daudelin took it upon himself to request a formal authorization to pursue his project. He was told that he had to wait until the coming July. For the engineers were mobilized with calls for tender for the continuation of the highway, and had no time until then for the art project. Finally in July, LVLV informed the artist that he would be invited to attend a coordination meeting in order to undertake the continuation of his plans around mid-october. The assembly was finally held towards the end of November 1980. It was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Transportation and of two municipal Departments (Public Works and Housing and City Planning), an engineer

from LVLV, and two of the three artists (Gnass did not attend).[145]

After this three and a half year interruption, several persons in the various municipal and provincial departments, and at LVLV as well, who had worked in the previous phase, were no longer involved with the Viger Square project. For instance, at the time of the moratorium, and even a year later, Guy R. Legault was the Director of the Housing and City Planning Department. When the works resumed, Aimé Desautels, a former Director of the Department, was back in the position. Desautels attended that November meeting with the artists. He explained the absolute need to have the three layouts for Viger Square accepted by the Executive Committee before undertaking the continuation of the plans and specifications. He also expounded on the City of Montréal's and Québec Government's massive investment in Old Montréal in order to develop its residential function. That development called for a revision of the concepts for Viger Square. And even if LVLV's engineer emphasized the fact that the concepts were already well developed, and had already been approved by the Municipal Council (on 8 July 1975), Desautels maintained that he wanted to review the projects before submitting them to the Executive Committee, by mid-January 1981. One of the Ministry of Transportation's delegates underlined the need to resume the preparation of the plans and specifications by the first of June at the latest, in order to have the documents ready for the tender calls in January 1982. Construction works were scheduled for the spring of 1982. Therefore, the Executive Committee's approval was needed for early June 1981, at the latest. Furthermore, since the provincial department was paying for the project, it was aware of additional costs brought about by changes. Therefore, for managerial reasons (time and cost efficiency), the engineers strongly objected to a questioning and possible revision of the project as developed thus far.[146]

The moratorium, and the resulting interference of the provincial government in municipal affairs regarding mere maintenance and public works, did not prevent the Housing and City Planning Department from moving on other fronts. Back in 1979, the Department wanted to take advantage of negotiations between CP Rail and the City (regarding CP's properties south of Notre-Dame, between Berri and Montcalm Streets), to undertake the planning of the area. The idea was to propose a redevelopment based mainly on a residential function, in order to link Old Montréal to the southern part of adjoining neighbourhoods, where residences prevailed. That global planning intended to take into account several projects "under study," among which the zoning project for Old Montréal, and the extension of the expressway and the reconstruction of Viger Square: "Une bonne proposition d'aménagement permettrait certainement au Comité exécutif de mieux saisir le potentiel de ce secteur et par le fait même pourrait sans doute contribuer à l'avancement des négociations [avec CP Rail]."[147] If under Legault's direction, the laying out of the three squares had to maintain their historical function, and if a certain vision for the development of the area was still blurred, there was now a will among the municipal architects and urban planners to develop a global vision, and to mend the urban fabric destroyed by the very passage of the expressway. Desautels's objection and presentation appears to have reflected just that.

Collaborative Art: Artists, Landscape Architects, Horticulturists and Engineers

Henceforward, the Housing and City Planning Department would be excluded from the discussions and meetings regarding the development of

Viger Square.[148] On 15 December 1980, the Director of the Public Works Department, Richard Vanier, informed his six assistant directors that, in compliance with the 1974 provincial-municipal agreement on the construction of the expressway, he had been designated by the Executive Committee as the municipal coordinator of the project. Therefore, he was entrusted the task to act as a liaison officer between provincial delegates and representatives for other organizations working on the realization of the Trans-Canada Highway. Vanier had named Raymond Thibaudeau as his official representative on the project, who was to be assisted by another engineer, Claude Blouin. Specifically, Blouin had to coordinate, among other things, the meetings necessary for the progression of the project, the correspondence with the Ministry of Transportation, the consulting engineers and the contractors, the inspection of the works and the quality control, as well as the modifications asked for by the other municipal departments.[149] Two weeks later, the City's assistant administrative secretary wrote to Jacques Hébert, assistant to the Deputy Minister, about the laying out of Viger Square after the construction of the highway. Hébert was informed that the Executive Committee had perused the concepts of the three areas designed by the artists Daudelin, Gnass and Théberge. Since they had been hired by LVLV at the Ministry of Transportation's request, the City's assistant administrative secretary was asking that LVLV prepare the final working drawings and specifications in order to do all the required works.[150] Desautels' intent to adjust the project with the City's new orientations and possible developments had just been tossed aside by the municipal administration.

In March of 1981, engineers from the Ministry of Transportation and LVLV, but no municipal delegates, met again with the three artists. This meeting was seen as the one that would re-establish the contact between the main forces working at re-launching the Viger Square project: "La

réunion est une prise de contact entre les principaux intervenants pour la relance du projet d'aménagement des îlots Viger lequel a été suspendu à la fin de 1976."[151] Was the City not considered to be one of the main players? In any case, it had no delegate at that assembly. On the agenda was Daudelin's demand for an updating of the artists' fees.[152] Also, the October 1981 deadline for the artists' completion of the conceptual work was discussed. At the March 1981 meeting, the coordination of the concepts was seen as a desirable situation, as it would favour a coherent result. Until then, Desrosiers' wish to develop the three concepts in parallel (with a similar contractual schedule imposed on the artists) had not really materialized: there had been no such collaboration thus far. Such coordination would also determine the impact of the City's requests regarding the planting, benches, lighting, and so on. Consequently, it was established that there would be three individual meetings, one between each artist and the engineers from LVLV, the client. Furthermore, Pierre Bourque, from the municipal Parks Module (Public Works Department), and Marcel Tremblay, the landscape architect from the Ministry of Transportation involved in the project prior to the moratorium, would attend the next general meeting regarding the project in its entirety.[153]

LVLV's engineers met with Daudelin in order to put together the latest version of the artist's documents pertaining to the concept and determine the extent of its development. From there, a programme of work and a schedule could be established. This exercise revealed that, despite the fact that several sketches had been produced, "des plans décrivant complètement l'ensemble du concept d'aménagement de l'ilôt [sic] 'A' ne sont pas encore disponibles."[154] Therefore the artist was requested to complete the graphical representation of his concept with sufficient details in order to obtain its final approval at the next meeting

with the Ministry of Transportation. LVLV could then begin the conception of the technical elements of the artist's proposal.[155]

As anticipated, the encounter between the artist and LVLV's engineers Gaétan Boyer and Jacques R. Tourville was followed by a larger reunion of the artists and delegates from the City of Montréal's Public Works (Bourque and coordinator Blouin), the Ministry of Transportation (Petit, Alepin, Larivée, Tremblay), and LVLV's Tourville and Boyer. Daudelin was accompanied by his son, Eric, who was starting to be involved in the project. Théberge came with the landscape architect Diane Gendron. The meeting aimed at presenting the artists' projects to the municipal and provincial civil servants, to get additional approval despite those received previously:

> Ces projets ont déjà fait l'objet d'approbations de principe mais, ayant subi des modifications mineures, il semble souhaitable, sinon essentiel, que le ministère et la Ville formulent les commentaires et observations qui leur apparaissent pertinents. De cette façon, le travail de conception se poursuivra sur des aménagements qui auront reçu l'approbation de toutes les parties concernées.
>
> . . . Il est actuellement surtout nécessaire d'entériner les éléments majeurs de chaque ilôt [sic] de sorte que puisse être amorcée la conception technique des structures, du drainage et des services.[156]

The main comments about the artists' concepts originated from Bourque and from Tremblay, who already objected to some elements previously approved. With regards to the agora, whereas the original programme had established a will to have the ground covering more of the mineral type, Tremblay offered the opinion that the wooded part of the venue ("la partie boisée de l'ilôt [sic]") would be more welcoming if the ground were instead covered by grass. On the other hand, Bourque raised the issue of maintenance and liveliness that would result from the proposed layout. The municipal policy regarding the inclusion of a

restaurant in the city block was also raised. In his presentation, Théberge insisted on his intention to create an oasis isolated from surrounding noise and pollution. This was quite in harmony with Stanisic's and Desrosiers' original programme. But Tremblay and Bourque had reservations about the concrete wall that surrounded the park and they asked the artist to revise its design. Finally, Gnass underlined the educational aspect of his concept during his presentation. Bourque, referring to the current closing of municipal wading pools for safety reasons, suggested to have water spurt out from poles (as showers) without the accumulation of water in the basin. Alepin ended by suggesting that artists be informed of the characteristics of the trees kept, specifically for Viger Square, in the municipal tree nursery since 1976, after Bourque had verified their actual state.[157]

As decided at that April 27 meeting, both the municipal and provincial delegates were to offer further comments to LVLV's engineers. Bourque's and Tremblay's verbal criticisms were followed by a written, more thorough review of the documents at hand. Comments from the landscape architect working at the Ministry of Transportation were also submitted to LVLV's Tourville.[158] Tremblay was in a position to evaluate the progress made by the artists, since he had been involved in the project from its inception. The tone was respectful of the artists' and of the urban planners'/architects' previous work. Daudelin's concept, in Tremblay's opinion, respected the idea of having a public venue. Tremblay's overall evaluation was followed by suggestions for improvements. For instance, he offered advice on lighting and the selection of vegetation, asked for more benches, and reiterated his suggestion to have grass rather than a mineral surface under the trees. Tremblay was also very appreciative of Théberge's proposal: unique concept, good spatial organization, visual and pedestrian axes well oriented, the idea for the sculpture very original,

and also, a hyphen between the two other squares. He also offered a few suggestions, and some were, in their essence, very similar to Bourque's. Finally, Gnass' original concept was also deemed to respect perfectly the calling of the place. Both fantasy and imagination were at the rendezvous, without neglecting the educational aspect. However, he demanded a revision of the pedestrian pathways in order to create an informal skating rink during wintertime (hence increasing the profitability of the investments). As for Théberge's park, the perimeter wall had to be revised. And as for Daudelin's venue, Tremblay asked that more benches be added in the playground.[159] As a whole, the landscape architect's conclusion was unquestionably positive and optimistic: "Les concepts d'aménagement de parc des ilôts [sic] Viger sont d'une qualité et originalité remarquable [sic]. Les concepteurs ont fait preuve d'un soucis [sic] soutenu en vue de satisfaire les besoins, tant d'une population locale que celle du grand Montréal."[160]

The municipal coordinator attended a meeting with people working at the Sports and Recreation Department, Cultural Activities (represented by comedian Paul Buissonneault and Monique Verschelden) and at the Parks Module-Botanical Garden. On the whole, the appraisal of the documents stemming from that meeting, and formulated in an imperative form, was transmitted as such by Bourque (not by coordinator Blouin) to Vanier, the official municipal coordinator, who was asked to approve the content of the report. The transmittal letter presented the comments as those of the City: "Vous trouverez en annexe les commentaires de la Ville concernant l'aménagement de 3 parcs publics dans l'emprise de l'autoroute Ville-Marie."[161] The expression of the City's needs no longer took into consideration the Housing and City Planning Department's desires.

The few comments about Gnass' project dealt essentially with safety features, including the request to replace the unique shower by several, with a system operated by a guard. Remarks regarding Théberge's work were somehow more important than for Gnass': besides the need to rework the outline of the perimeter wall, the artist was asked to use stone or brick instead of concrete. Today, Théberge remembers that he had to enclose the park and that he was advised to put up a wall, either made of stones, bricks or concrete, as there was a need to isolate the park from the street. He presents the idea of having a lower wall as his own. Moreover, the project reviewers formally requested to save the existing trees, and to modify the layout of the paths if necessary, in order to do so. The type of vegetation was also specified (plants with blossoms and coloured leaves). And the depth of the water in the pond was requested to be at a minimum to avoid the need for a guard. However, these comments did not challenge the two concepts as such. The fate of Daudelin's would be more dramatic. First, Bourque appropriated Tremblay's opinion regarding the need for grass, only to express it in an imperative form: "Remplacer blocs de granite par matières végétales à l'angle St-Denis–Viger."[162] Then, whereas Daudelin had formerly been asked to increase the area for the agora (with the stage at its centre), he was, this time, requested to do the exact opposite: to reduce the area of the stage as well as the distance between the stage and the public, in order to increase the area of planting. He was required to add a railing on the periphery of the stage, when his former concept had water flowing around it. He was also told to allow space for a skating rink in the winter, and in the same breath, to add benches and trash cans nearby. Moreover, the concept of the pergolas and of the vegetation proposed had to be studied again. There was no hierarchy in the list of items, no reference to the programme and other former requests from the Housing

and City Planning Department, as though the project was starting anew under Bourque's command. Upon reception of the comments, Vanier wrote a note to Thibaudeau asking if there was a need to inform the Executive Committee and the Ministry of Transportation. Finally, Thibaudeau transmitted Bourque's integral report to LVLV.[163]

Daudelin was upset by Bourque's critique. After having received his report, the artist met with Bourque and a landscape architect to solve the newly raised issues. But Daudelin's understanding of the situation was that the programme, as originally set out, was questioned: "Je considère que le tout s'est terminé sur [sic] une remise en question du programme puisque je me trouve devant des demandes importantes qui ne faisaient pas partie du programme originel."[164] It emerged from the artist's letter to his client, that the scope of the recently written comments was further extended during that meeting:

> Au début . . . l'îlot "A", celui dont il est question ici, [était] un agora : en me demandant plus de verdure et de plantations, une fontaine plutôt qu'une scène, l'élimination de pergolas et l'utilisation à l'année longue on change l'utilisation du parc et on exige de moi une étude nouvelle de l'ensemble. Ce qui veut dire un long travail tout à fait impossible pour le 15 juillet.[165]

Daudelin's 1981 summary of the meeting he had with Bourque reveals that his appreciation of the situation, as quoted above, was in no way an exaggeration. Bourque had consulted Paul Buissoneau, involved in theatrical activities with the Parks Module. Both Bourque and Buissoneau agreed that the stage would never serve. Therefore, Bourque suggested that the stage be replaced by a fountain. Furthermore, what Bourque had in mind by asking the area for vegetation be increased was the elimination of some of the pergolas or shelters, to be replaced by plants. Daudelin stood out against this new demand: "Je pense qu'il y a suffisamment de verdure pour qu'on n'enlève pas de modules qui sont composés pour

former un ensemble équilibré."[166] Moreover, Bourque asked the artist to rethink the concept of the pergolas, and to remove the vegetation from the roofs. Of particular concern for the horticulturist was the difficulty such an arrangement would create for the watering and general maintenance of the plants. Daudelin expressed his profound disappointment with this decision, all the more so since the idea had already been accepted (and we should add, suggested by Desrosiers). He explained: "On se promenait sous la verdure et non sous des constructions, c'était aussi l'élément non rigide en opposition aux modules géométriques du concept et la suggestion de remplacer par des corbeilles accrochées me semble d'un style très différent de l'ensemble."[167]

Likewise, the new idea to have a skating rink was irksome to the artist. First, he thought this was part of block B. Second, he had never been told that the park would be used during wintertime. Daudelin argued against this proposal by stating that this additional function would require facilities not included in his original plan. Moreover, his concept was multi-level, making it difficult to install such an element. There were, of course, other demands that he could accommodate. He came to a compromise with regard to the wooded area. Given the need to have people walk under the trees, Daudelin proposed to have part of it composed of vegetation and part, in the form of a walkway, composed of hard surfaces.[168]

Following his letter to LVLV, Daudelin appears to have continued working on his drawings, modifying the concept to oblige his remote patrons, while preparing the working drawings. Almost six months after the first meeting attended by Bourque, the latter had not yet provided the artist with the information pertaining to the restaurant, as he was supposed to. This time, Daudelin wrote directly to Bourque, stressing that the working drawings were at their final stage, and that he urgently needed an

answer regarding this issue. Bourque himself replied by confirming the interest of the City in the idea of having a restaurant in the agora of Viger Square: "Dès que votre proposition sera connue, monsieur Jean Emond, directeur du service des Sports et Loisirs qui est responsable des restaurants pour la Ville de Montréal, vous fera connaître ses commentaires sur votre projet."[169]

Despite Daudelin's resistance to a complete upheaval of his concept, he nonetheless had to make important changes until very late in the development of the plans. Some of these modifications were required by LVLV's engineers, brought forth at a meeting he had with them. The water element introduced by Daudelin, and which became so important in his works, was once again modified and curtailed: "Suite aux commentaires des réunions précédentes, l'importance de la chute d'eau prévue près de la rue Viger a été réduite substantiellement: de 50 pieds [15.24 metres] de longueur linéaire, elle a été restreinte à 8 gargouilles de 7 1/2" [191 millimetres] chacune."[170] Also, the number of levels that created a water cascade had to be reduced. In addition, the choice of the material for the pavement remained problematic. Whereas Daudelin had discussed in 1976 his intentions to use granite, the options were discussed anew at the meeting, and the need for further studies was identified. In a later meeting with other LVLV's engineers, the idea of having granite as ground pavement was definitively rejected as too costly. For their part, the engineers suggested, and Daudelin seemingly agreed, to use a deep sandblast for the walls of the ventilation towers.[171]

These meetings between client and artist were followed, still in November 1981, by a reunion attended by seventeen persons: representatives from the Ministry of Transportation (among them Hébert, Tremblay, and Alepin), the City of Montréal (Blouin, Bourque, and one Lafontaine) and LVLV, as well as two of the three artists (Gnass was

absent). Once more, Daudelin was accompanied by his son and Théberge, by landscape architect Gendron. The meeting aimed at presenting to the provincial and municipal delegates, the evolution of the concepts since the last global assembly held in April. It also aimed at settling the last important details before the final approval of the plans and specifications. Since Gnass was absent, the consulting engineers merely took stock of the progress for the concept of block C.[172]

Gendron first presented Théberge's revised concept, which took into account both Tremblay's and Bourque's comments regarding the need to modify the outline of the wall, and its material as well. Bourque was happy with the change, and the other elements discussed regarding the ornamental park were rather technical (the power and maintenance cost of the pump for the sculpture-fountain, the soil depth required for sodding). Bourque invited Gendron to discuss with him the choice of the trees for the three blocks of Viger Square. The possibility to use trees from the municipal tree nursery was raised once more: it would decrease the project costs. Finally, the delegates for both provincial and municipal administrations approved the concept and dimensions of Théberge's sculpture-fountain. They decided that the budget for the black concrete with granite aggregate sculpture (estimated at $130, 000) would be included in the General Contractor's contract.[173]

Quite late in the project, and possibly following LVLV's advice, Daudelin hired a landscape architect to prepare plans and details of the plantings, write complete specifications, and establish cost estimates. Already, Daudelin had engaged an architect to help him with the plans. At the time of those last assemblies, Gendron had been working for Daudelin for a very short while.[174] During his presentation, Daudelin explained some of the changes he had introduced in the mound area. He highlighted the continuity and homogeneity between the mound and the

remaining place, achieved by the use of trees and shrubs in planters. We understand that the hillock area referred to was what was previously labelled as the undergrowth or the wooded area. Bourque was happy with that particular change, stressing that the trees in planters would be saved from the soil compaction caused by crowds. Daudelin had planned to light the hillock area from the ground, but Bourque had strong reservations about that, suggesting instead the use of street lamps that met the City's specifications. Tremblay reiterated his preference for conifers and Daudelin and Gendron agreed to take that into account. City of Montréal's delegates, after having proposed suspended flower planters, expressed their reservations about the idea, due to anticipated maintenance difficulties. Nonetheless, they stated that they respected Daudelin's concept (when it was in fact Bourque's idea, to replace Desrosiers'/Daudelin's concept of having vegetation on the roofs!). Among other modifications stemming from his meetings with LVLV's engineers, Daudelin had had to downsize his former water fall covering the Viger Avenue wall so much so that it was now reduced to water spouts. This was accepted by the various provincial and municipal technocrats. During the reunion, Daudelin explained that he was still having difficulties regarding the choice of paving. The Ministry of Transportation's engineer Alepin expressed the opinion that the lowest cost should guide the choice of materials, thereby suggesting that pavers be chosen. And finally, after all these suggestions, and after the approval of their own previous suggestions (as if they were the artist's original idea), the Ministry of Transportation's engineers discussed the budget constraints of the project. The total cost for the three city squares could not exceed $4.5 millions (1982 value), including the cost of the sculpture(s). Failing to meet that target would involve changing the concepts. That was the first time, ever, that a budget was discussed for

the project, and given the state of completion, the artists were not provided with an individual budget, only a global one. Moreover, the Transportation civil servants affirmed they could not come to a decision about the pertinence of having a sculpture in block "A" until they were informed of the cost estimate of the global project. Upon completion of the plans and specifications, the Ministry of Transportation would deliver the final approval. It was then clearly stated that the Ministry reserved the right to cut off parts of the project in the event that it went over budget.[175]

This was another meeting where Daudelin's concept appeared to fall to pieces. Paradoxically, the agora concept was originally developed by Stanisic/Desrosiers, and Daudelin was the artist who proposed the more daring changes to it (by adding water, for instance, and a sculpture). However, it ended up being the one with the result most remote from the original idea. Afterwards, Daudelin counter-attacked by asking LVLV's engineers to take care of some elements of his concept. In particular, he requested that trees along Viger Avenue and Saint-Antoine Street be planted. Even if they were not in the contractor's contract, they had always been part of the artist's plan, and he insisted on having them.[176] Daudelin also challenged the possibility of not having his sculpture in the venue:

> Je comprends qu'on lie l'existence de la sculpture à l'estimation globale des trois îlots : mais cela ne m'aide pas à comprendre que l'on puisse remettre en question l'existence même de la sculpture. Cette dernière fait partie intégrante du design depuis le début et tout le parc a été fait autour de la sculpture servant de point focal.
>
> Pour que le concept original du parc soit respecté, je considère qu'il est indispensable que la sculpture-fontaine . . . [au] même titre que le plan d'eau qu'elle entraîne, y soient.[177]

Finally, Daudelin rejected the type of street lamps that the City wanted to impose on the artists, arguing that they did not correspond to the original concept of the park. But in the end, the City won this point, and the street

lamps were chosen and installed according to municipal criteria. The proposal of having a skating rink, either in the agora or in the playground, was dismissed by LVLV's engineers after a study of their own: "Il nous apparaît difficile de prévoir l'implantation d'une patinoire, même informelle, sans changer de façon substantielle l'aménagement des artistes-concepteurs."[178]

The artists continued to work on their project, and in early February of 1982, the Ministry of Transportation transmitted copies of Théberge's documents to Blouin, the municipal coordinator. The working drawings were seemingly complete in this case.[179] It took longer before the equivalent drawings originating from Daudelin's and Gnass' studio could be submitted for comments. Towards the end of May 1982, the Ministry of Transportation, after an examination of the documents, estimated Daudelin's documents to be 80% complete, and Gnass', 60%. But the provincial engineers already foresaw overspending and identified, for each project, elements that needed either to be substantially modified or left aside. In their view these alterations did not affect the concept of the project:

> Quelques modifications seront apportées aux plans sans toutefois changer l'aspect conceptuel des ilôts [sic] A, B, et C, et ce, afin de se conformer à l'enveloppe budgétaire globale de 4 500 000, 00 $. Certains éléments ont été retenus comme pouvant faire l'objet de modifications importantes ou d'abandon.[180]

As always since the reopening of the discussions for the square, the technocrats in charge were pretending that they were not changing the concept. This implied that they were respecting the artists' total contractual freedom to create a concept of their own. For Daudelin's project, changes pertained to the water component: the frothing of water, the gargoyles, the suspended fibreglass planters, the planters for trees in the Viger Avenue/St. Denis Street area, and the lighting of the water basin.

In short, much of what had been discussed since the resumption of the project, and the result of important, even crucial concessions on the part of Daudelin, was now jeopardized. Regarding Théberge's and Gendron's ornamental park, there was only one item worthy of saving cost: the existing trees! Not only had that element initially been at the core of the concept (in discussion if not in the plans), Théberge even had recently revised the plan to ensure their survival. Moreover, this proposition originated from provincial civil servants working for a government whose members had publicly taken position against the cutting down of the trees. Regarding Gnass' playground, the elements under scrutiny were the stone paving, the choice of materials, and the furniture. Already in February, Gnass was dealing with LVLV's engineers who were commenting on one of the play-sculptures (the carousel, identified as "B" on Gnass' plans) and presenting a cost estimate, suggesting several changes to the artist.[181]

Daudelin completed his working drawings and specifications by August 2, 1982.[182] Subsequently, based on the artists' documents, LVLV elaborated plans and specifications of its own, which were presented to the Ministry of Transportation's engineers and City of Montréal's coordinator. Even at that late stage, some elements that would alter the aspect of the projects were still being discussed. For instance, at a September 1982 meeting between municipal and provincial delegates and LVLV's engineers, it was proposed to verify with Daudelin if he would like to add some lighting in the basin.[183] Even if the details of what happened are unknown, there is evidence that Daudelin was very unhappy and upset with the lighting and the water systems as developed by LVLV, and claimed once more that it did not respect the concept for the park. Also, the possibility to add an extra ramp for the disabled in Daudelin's venue was contemplated. Yet, this late in the development of his design, the sculptor was asked to add such a ramp and he graciously complied. Not

only was a formal request addressed, asking to make the new places completely accessible to the disabled, but it was proposed to make this "public park" specifically welcoming to those citizens with motor function deficiencies.[184] Furthermore, the President of the Executive Committee, Yvon Lamarre, had asked Vanier, the Director of the Department of Public Works, to take action: "Je vous demanderais . . . de prendre toutes les mesures qui s'imposent afin que les trois secteurs du parc à être aménagé, Place Viger, le soient de façon à être totalement accessibles aux personnes handicapées."[185]

Over a year later, the artists had terminated their mandate without much attention paid to that special order. At the September meeting, other items such as plantings, benches, and even alternate acceptable materials for the play-sculptures, previously discussed with and requested from the artists, were now being revised without them. Only later, when the time came to discuss quality control for choosing the trees, did the artists voice their concerns regarding what appeared on the plans and demanded changes. Clearly, they were not in charge of the plantings:

> M. Peter Gnass mentionne que les arbustes montrés sur les plans dans le bac à plantation du jeu "C" dérogent de son idée originale et demande s'il est possible de les substituer par un arbre taillé ayant la forme d'une sphère de 8' [2.44 m] ϕ? Après discussion avec le représentant du jardin botanique, ce dernier a proposé à l'artiste un arrangement d'arbustes apparaissant au bordereau des quantités et qui permettrait d'obtenir une forme en demi-sphère. Cette proposition a été acceptée par M. Peter Gnass.[186]

A representative working at the Botanical Garden reassured Théberge who wondered whether the plants on the roof of the mechanical room could grow downward and cover the massive concrete structures. Finally, LVLV inquired for Daudelin, who did not attend the meeting, about the possibility to substitute certain types of plants. But the Botanical Garden's

expert rejected the proposal on the grounds that the proposed Boston Ivy was too frail for Montréal's climate.[187]

In the late summer/fall of 1982, the provincial and municipal civil servants were making the final arrangements before the call for tenders. Some of these dispositions were to have a great impact on the overall aspect of the venues, once completed. For example, whereas it had been agreed upon since 1974 that the City would take care of the plantings, Thibaudeau, the city coordinator, refused to have horticulture works done in-house for the project, and proposed to award a contract for these works. Notwithstanding, the City was willing to honour its previous pledge for an amount equivalent to the indexed value of the 1976 provincial deposit (the famous trees in the tree nursery alluded to previously). The City would also have the work to save the existing trees done in-house, as long as the Province would pay immediately for them, in accordance with the municipal cost estimate, and asked: "Auriez-vous l'obligeance de nous informer si ces travaux et la protection des arbres existants seront exécutés par la Ville de Montréal."[188]

On 4 February 1983, the Québec Government, through the Ministry of Transportation, awarded the contract for the re-construction of Viger Square to a general contractor, Simard-Beaudry, for a lump sum of $4,798,794.50. Simard-Beaudry hired a subcontractor for the landscaping requested in the project. The provincial department nonetheless made use of the municipal experts in that domain.[189] The construction for block "A" started in the spring of 1983 (circa April 1983). Daudelin was not in charge of, or responsible for, the construction site. Whereas his contract specified that he had to inform LVLV of the works' progress, and to protect his client against any wrongdoing by the contractor, the reality was somewhat different.[190] A short while after the construction had started, the

artist was invited by LVLV to visit the site at a time that suited his convenience:

> Notre ingénieur résident . . . se fera un plaisir de vous faire visiter le chantier et de vous fournir toutes les informations qui pourraient vous être utiles.
>
> Nous communiquerons avec vous s'il se présentait des situations qui pourraient exiger des modifications au concept retenu d'aménagement artistique du parc.[191]

Daudelin visited the site the day after the invitation and declared being happy with what he saw. For the next three weeks, he could not make any further inspections. The works on the site progressed regularly. They were, according to Daudelin, half-way completed by the end of July 1983. By the first of September, almost 70% of the job was finalized, close to 80% a month later, and 85% by November 4, 1983. Already, in October 1983, the City was getting ready to receive the three parks from the Ministry of Transportation. But a month or so later, the general contractor had left the site with some work pending in each of the three squares. Broadly, mechanical and electrical work had to be completed in a basin in each of the three venues, benches had to be installed, and both Théberge's and Daudelin's sculptures had to be put in place. Gnass' play-sculptures needed to be finalized. The construction was interrupted for the winter, and would resume in the coming spring of 1984, and was expected to be completed by June 30, 1984. Nonetheless, the public could already walk through the parks. Their official opening was scheduled for the spring of 1984.[192]

As soon as the completion date was determined, a proposal to install either a monument or a bust in memory of Jacques Viger emerged from the municipal department of Public Works and was addressed to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, however, declined the

proposal and suggested that such a monument be part of the programme of the Biennial of Street Arts then scheduled for 1985.[193]

The Artists' Sculptures

Daudelin's determination to have a sculpture in his agora bore fruit. In all likelihood, both Daudelin's and Théberge's sculptures were included in the contract with Simard-Beaudry for the global project, even if at the time of the call for tenders, Daudelin had not yet presented a proposal for it. But in September 1982, LVLV had a meeting with provincial and municipal representatives to discuss the tender documents. It was then decided that the General Conditions of the specifications should address the particular requirements for both sculptures. It is arguable that Daudelin developed his concept for the sculpture at that period or afterwards, when the site works started. At the time LVLV was getting ready for the calls for tenders, Daudelin had approached a manufacturer, Canadian Stone Marine, to obtain a budget price for casting a part of his sculpture, which he received. Daudelin presented a carton model to Canadian Stone Marine circa the beginning of March 1983, but had not forwarded his proposal to LVLV as of April 27, 1983. He appeared to have been waiting for a second, complementary preliminary bid for his sculpture, which he received on 7 May 1983. The sculpture imagined by Charles Daudelin had two main components: a disc forming a bronze circular basin of twelve feet (3.66 metres) diameter, supported by four elements made of steel and bronze.[194]

The artist was told by LVLV that he had to coordinate the work relating to the manufacturing, transportation and installation of the sculpture on site with the general contractor. This placed him in an

awkward position. On the one hand, he was supposed to do site supervision of the general contractor's work. On the other hand, on 18 July 1983, he became Simard-Beaudry's subcontractor, responsible for providing not only the sculpture but the shop drawings, and for coordinating with his own subcontractors, who were in fact manufacturing his work of art. Moreover, it was to LVLV that his proposal (his cost estimate for the sculpture plus his fees) was forwarded, and it was LVLV that verified and commented upon his shop drawings. This was also highly unusual. On the one hand, LVLV was giving Daudelin all the technical support he needed, as per their contractual agreement. On the other hand, for the shop drawings, the artist was coming to terms with the engineering firm via the general contractor Simard-Beaudry, as Daudelin was a subcontractor. During the same period, Daudelin was submitting, as an artist, his sketches directly to LVLV, and getting feed-back from the engineers without intermediaries.[195] LVLV was also requesting from Simard-Beaudry the required data from subcontractor Charles Daudelin: "Veuillez obtenir de votre sous-traitant Charles Daudelin les dessins d'atelier de sa sculpture . . . ainsi que la description détaillée des matériaux employés . . . et l'endroit . . . de leur fabrication."[196] But in the end, these fake demarcations vanished and LVLV wrote directly to Daudelin the subcontractor as he was taking much time in providing some required information.

Here is one example of this unusual situation. As an artist unfamiliar with the pitfalls associated with the wheeling and dealing of the construction per se, Daudelin received a claim resulting from misunderstandings and misinterpretations of his directives by one of Simard-Beaudry's subcontractors. The claim was presented by Simard-Beaudry to LVLV, who, in need for explanations, forwarded it to Daudelin. As a subcontractor, Charles Daudelin Inc. presented a claim, which he

pushed forward via Simard-Beaudry to the Ministry of Transportation for final analysis. The Ministry presented a counter-offer, which was immediately accepted by Daudelin.[197] However, it took an incredibly long time before he could receive a (partial) payment. Meanwhile, the artist was nonetheless gradually paying his subcontractor and appeared to find his misadventure quite long and problematic. As a last recourse, he wrote directly to Bernard Lamarre, partner at LVLV: "Je me demande si vous voyez un moyen pour activer le règlement de cette réclamation? . . . Espérant ne pas trop vous ennuyer avec mes problèmes mais espérant aussi que vous aurez une suggestion ou une façon de les résoudre."[198] Lamarre was the one behind Daudelin's choice in the project, according to the sculptor: "C'est Bernard Lamarre qui a proposé ça [art], puis qui a choisi trois artistes."[199] It is impossible to determine for sure if that step for getting paid accelerated the procedure, but eventually, the general contractor apologized and agreed to advance the money to the artist for about half of the claim value.[200]

Not long after Simard-Beaudry had left the site for winter, Daudelin sent his model to the manufacturer Canadian Stone Marine and ordered the bronze disc from them. In mid-January 1984, Daudelin anticipated that it would be delivered from Canadian Stone Marine to Centre de Recherche Industrielle Fortin (CRIF) by the next month, and that CRIF would be ready to receive it. The mechanical control for the water flow would also be delivered by then. The production of the bronze sculpture by Canadian Stone Marine and by CRIF started at the end of January/beginning of February 1984. The dish was delivered by April 24, 1984. It looked as though the sculpture would be ready for the transfer of the parks from the Québec Government to the City of Montréal, which was anticipated to take place as soon as the remaining works would be completed, on 30 June or even before. In fact, the sculpture may have

been completed a little later than scheduled, but not much, according to Daudelin's progressive invoices. By mid-September of the same year, the artist considered his contractual obligations to be fully met, as he presented his last invoice, this time for the project as a whole.[201]

Théberge was also preparing for the official opening, but a transportation incident occurred to his 82 ton (74.4 metric ton) sculpture. The latter was made of fourteen black blocks of concrete and granite. When installed, the ten foot (three metres) high sculpture-fountain occupied a thirty-five foot (3.25 metres) long by twelve foot (3.66 metres) wide surface, the concrete elements facing each other in two rows. Ironically, the truck that first transported the gigantic pieces refused to travel on the expressway, failing an escort. Going through the city, it damaged the work of art, as it was too high to pass under a viaduct. A year later, after having conferred with Italian experts, the damages were repaired, and Forces was finally installed in the park in June 1985. Nowadays, Théberge acknowledges that the idea of the sculpture was imagined early on by Antoine Lamarche, a sculptor who was part of his team at the time. Lamarche had the idea of having powerful forms made of rock or of black granite, marble being excluded as too expensive. The idea was to have huge forms look as though they had been exploded, blown up by hydro-forces, in reference to Québec's Great North, James Bay in particular, as it was very popular at the time. It was reported to symbolize Québec's natural resources (water, rocks, dams). Eventually, Théberge shut down his office and when the project resumed after the moratorium, he continued to work alone on the sculpture. The original idea of having huge blocks of black granite had to be adapted to take into account the risks of not having the required blocks within the given time limit.[202] The artist had the support of LVLV's engineers and of a company that specialized in prefabricated concrete, Shokbéton:

> Donc moi j'ai repris l'idée qui avait été suggérée par Antoine Lamarche au départ, et je l'ai modifiée, je l'ai retravaillée en accord avec les ingénieurs de Shokbéton et de Lavalin [LVLV] pour arriver à cette oeuvre-là. Autrement dit, l'idée de Lamarche, si je me souviens bien, le volume était beaucoup moins élevé . . . et puis la répartition des volumes n'était pas la même . . . [ni le traitement des surfaces].[203]

Using black granite aggregates in the making of concrete, the aim was to get a finish that would come very close to that of Lac St-Jean black granite. According to the artist, the will to evoke the explosion of matter under the force of water (hence the name), called for the fabrication of the concrete pieces in a manufacture rather than casting the concrete on site. The ceramist-turned-sculptor ended up being quite satisfied with the result. The overall concept called for water jets gushing forth between each block. The water was treated to appear whiter and foamier.[204] Moreover, according to the artist, it was intended to go up quite high, up to eight or nine feet (2.4 metres or 2.7 metres) "pour qu'on entende le bruit assourdissant de l'eau . . . vraiment que ça soit la représentation des grandes forces qu'un sous-sol du Grand Nord québécois recèle."[205]

The delay in the placement of Théberge's sculpture forced the Ministry of Transportation to postpone the final approval of the square. But Daudelin also experienced some technical problems in the agora, including a major one with his sculpture, Mastodo. Water was still dripping from the pergolas onto the benches and garbage cans, several days after a rainfall. A chute had to be designed in May 1985, and then installed, in order to correct the situation. His sculpture was conceived to pour, all of a sudden, a large quantity of water (300 canadian gallons or 1,363 litres), every time it fell over, at every quarter of an hour. Once installed on the site, the artist and LVVL's engineers realized how dangerous the work of art could be. In the artist's own evaluation, it was as much, if not more,

dangerous than Allégrocube (Daudelin's sculpture at the base of the court house in Montréal) initially had been: "S'il y a quelqu'un dans les alentours, là, il se fait tuer."[206] Fences had to be installed around the sculpture, and their design and location were worked out by LVLV to Daudelin's satisfaction. The sculpture was put into operation at the official handing over of the three public venues to the City, which took place on 3 July 1985. Soon afterwards, the Ministry of Transportation informed the City of Montréal that the three parks could be opened to the public and that, from then on, the City was responsible for their maintenance. Henceforth, the City officially took charge of the maintenance of the three squares, even if it had taken care of some aspects of it earlier on. A work plan dividing the work between the Ministry of Transportation and City of Montréal had been elaborated in January of 1984, and in all likelihood, the City of Montréal performed its duties even if that was before the final acceptance of the works, which took place on 16 October 1985. Also in all likelihood, the Ministry of Transportation had been responsible for some aspects of the maintenance of the project longer than expected. There was a final acceptance of the works even though some deficiencies had been observed in Daudelin's sculpture shortly after being brought into function. Only a few months after that first observation was made, it was also found out that the bronze dish cast by Canadian Stone Marine was cracked and was in need of repairs.[207]

Artists' Copyrights

In February 1987, the artists Daudelin and Gnass complained that the City had completely neglected the maintenance of their parks so far. They also charged that the municipal services had not done annual

planting in 1986, with the overall result being a deterioration of their work of art. It turned out that this was a measure taken by the City to force the artists to sign an agreement that would fully transfer their copyrights to the Ministry of Transportation, who would further yield them to the City of Montréal: "La ville s'engage dès la signature des ententes, de [sic] prendre en main l'entretien des parcs et corriger toute situation qui laisserait entrevoir une dégradation."[208]

Already in 1984, while the general contractor, its subcontractors and the artists were working to meet their deadlines, some civil servants knowledgeable about the project, Pierre Bourque in particular, were interested in the plantings and maintenance of the three parks with quite a different perspective in mind.

Bourque was concerned about the artists' rights after the handing over of the public venues. He specifically made an inquiry about that matter: "Quels sont les droits des artistes face au parc Viger après la remise des aménagements?"[209] Bourque was warned that, at that stage in the development of the project, the City ought to straighten out its position in order to avoid eventual disputes. The person in charge of the research, Francine Leclerc, had found out about the copyright clause in the contract signed between the artists and LVLV. Moreover, there was no further official agreement between the Ministry of Transportation and the artists to validate the rights and obligations of each of these two parties once the project was completed. Notwithstanding this contractual vagueness, the artists' copyrights included moral or intellectual rights, according to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs' own definition of artists' copyrights. These moral rights included the right, for an artist, to impede any changes or mutilation of his/her work of art. The protection of the integrity of a work of art was, in fact, claimed by the Conseil de la Sculpture du Québec (Québec's Sculpture Council). Leclerc foresaw the possibility, for the

artists, to take legal action against the City, as there was no agreement for the use of the venues nor maintenance specification between the City and the artists. Hence, the City was required by its Administrative Secretary to protect itself against any eventual claim originating from the creators. The use of the provincial contract utilized for the 1% programme appeared to Leclerc to be the right solution. As a result of her research, Leclerc informed Bourque that they ought to recommend, firstly, that the handing over of the project by the Ministry of Transportation (and its reception by the City) be conditional upon the acceptance, by the artists, of signing a contract between them and the City. The second recommendation was to the effect that the City's Legal Department develop a contract for the utilization and maintenance of the park, to be approved by the Department of Public Works and signed by all concerned parties. Bourque approved of Leclerc's report and submitted it to Vanier, Director of the Department of Public Works.[210]

Shortly after, however, Bourque asked a colleague to demand the Ministry of Transportation to negotiate with the artists in order to have them cede their copyrights: "Nous sommes d'avis qu'il y a lieu que le gouvernement du Québec obtienne de chacun des trois artistes en question un document de cession de leurs droits éventuels d'artiste sur ces ouvrages."[211] The rationale underlying his demand was simple enough: the conception and the realization of the three parks was under the provincial department's responsibility. The conception of parks is usually part of the landscape architects' competency, but they do not oppose copyrights to the City, whereas the artists' situation was different. Bourque already foresaw the necessity to eventually alter some elements in the parks and did not want to negotiate with the sculptors before doing the works:

L'aménagement de parcs relève normalement de la compétence de professionnels spécialisés dans l'architecture du paysage. Suite à l'acceptation de projets conçus par ces professionnels, la Ville de Montréal est libérée de toute responsabilité future à l'égard de ces professionnels. Il n'en est pas de même lorsqu'un contrat lie un organisme public ou privé à un artiste sculpteur.

> . . . nous devrons nécessairement altérer ou modifier dans le temps certains éléments de ces parcs et j'apprécierais grandement que la Ville ne soit pas dans l'obligation de négocier avec les artistes sculpteurs pour effectuer ces travaux.[212]

Bourque's colleague, Busseau, graciously complied and, not long afterwards, wrote to Alepin of the Ministry of Transportation to submit Bourque's demand. Afterwards, Bourque and Vanier asked the Executive Committee to sanction their decision to request from the Ministry of Transportation a document that cancelled the artists' copyrights. Not long after, the Executive Committee did approve the report from the Legal Department regarding the artists' copyrights, and demanded that it work out a draft, in cooperation with the Department of Public Works, for a convention regarding the future use of the parks.[213]

It seems that the Ministry of Transportation turned a deaf ear to the City's request. However, the City's reiterated demand, not long before the final acceptance of the works, was given more attention.[214] Two months afterwards, at the Ministry of Transportation's request, LVLV had prepared the draft of a contract to be signed by the Provincial Department and artist Peter Gnass. LVLV acknowledged that the City could modify some aspects of it: "Nous comprenons que cette convention pourrait être modifiée par les soins de votre contentieux afin de l'adapter aux fins demandées par la ville de Montréal."[215] Moreover, a similar contract had

to be prepared for the artists Daudelin and Théberge, and was actually prepared in Daudelin's case.

The draft proposal indicated that Gnass wanted to cede irrevocably to the Ministry of Transportation all his copyrights pertaining to the project, for which he was to receive the symbolic sum of one dollar. The artist would also hand over to the Ministry all the documents pertaining to the project. The copy possibly kept by the artist would be for his personal use and reference only. The City's Legal Department accepted the draft and worked out another contract to dispose of the copyrights for the project, this time to intervene between the Ministry of Transportation and the City of Montréal. The Legal Department was aware, however, that despite the artists' eventual agreement to these contracts, they had the right to restrain the City from doing any deformation of, mutilation or any other change to the work of art that would be prejudicial to their honour or reputation. The civil servants from the Parks Department were also informed of that. In the event of future changes or repairs, they would have to prepare sketches or plans and inform the Executive Committee. The City had the obligation to correct or eliminate any cause of harm or possible danger to public safety, while respecting as much as possible the artists' moral right.[216]

In the end, the artists were invited to attend a meeting with delegates from the Ministry of Transportation (Hébert and Alepin), the City of Montréal (Vanier, Busseau, Bourque and Blouin) and engineer Lemelin from LVLV. Daudelin and Gnass attended whereas Théberge had informed Lemelin that he did not have any particular claim and that he would support any agreement endorsed by the other two. The meeting had been called by the Ministry of Transportation in order to get the artists' comments regarding the ceding of their copyrights to the Ministry of Transportation who would, in turn, transfer these to the City. Municipal

representatives told the artists that the aim of these agreements was not to remake the parks but to prevent any future claim from their part, in the event changes would be required for safety, maintenance, or aesthetic reasons:

> La ville n'a nullement l'intention de changer quoi que ce soit au concept. Le seul but est de rendre plus sécuritaire l'utilisation des parcs et d'en améliorer l'apparence. Cela [ne] peut se faire qu'à la condition que les artistes lui cède [sic] les droits d'auteur.[217]

They added that the City was morally bound to consult the artists, if needed and feasible, for any change that might be required and that would appear to modify the concept. The artists even agreed to provide any such consultation for free. It resulted that Gnass and Daudelin accepted to cede their copyrights with regard to the use of the works of art, and even changes brought to the latter, as well as to the use of the artists' documents. They refused, however, to give up their rights for the reproduction and changes to the documents and to have the works of art reproduced without first obtaining their permission and paying them.[218]

The municipal delegates were concerned with the safety aspects of the works of art in both blocks A and C. In the latter, the limited number of exits was considered unsafe, as was the accumulation of water due to a drainage problem. In the agora, Daudelin's sculpture had not been in operation for safety reasons. The crack in the dish, observed for some time, was still not repaired and neither were the damaged shock absorbers, even though the manufacturer had notified Daudelin of their worn out state, who in turn had informed LVLV before the final acceptance. Rather than take action in order to put the sculpture in mint condition, the Public Works chose to leave the sculpture still (i.e., not operate the mechanism). On the other hand, safety was given as an excuse for introducing changes to the concept that Bourque had failed to

obtain in the earlier phase of Daudelin's project. Therefore, for safety reasons, some of the pavement was to be removed to allow for more plantings.[219] Similarly, the Public Works technocrats objected to having advertisements on the billposting column, and they informed Daudelin that they advocated having plantings around it instead. This attitude from the municipal delegates raises the question of the sincerity of their rather soft commitment regarding copyrights.

At that information meeting, it was decided that the text of the agreement would be amended to the artists' satisfaction. Moreover, the Ministry of Transportation pledged that it would take any possible measure to have the sculpture repaired. Lastly, the City committed itself to taking charge of the maintenance of the parks immediately after the signature of the agreements. After the meeting, Gnass informed LVLV that he accepted the text as presented, no longer asking for the above mentioned changes. Apparently, he was aware that the law prevailed over any contractual agreement, and that therefore, he would be acknowledged as the artist having created the place. The report of the meeting states: "En effet, selon la loi, il [Peter Gnass] est conscient qu'il garde malgré la cession de ses droits d'auteur la paternité de son oeuvre et que le terme reproduction n'a pas le sens de fabrication, mais d'impression tel que photos."[220]

In the end, the two other artists sided with Gnass, and the three signed the agreement as originally proposed, that is, they irrevocably transferred all of their copyrights to the Ministry of Transportation.[221] Thus, the artists guaranteed that they were the only ones who had held copyrights for the documents prepared for the conception and realization of the work, as well as on the work of art itself. Implicitly, they disregarded any possible claim for copyrights originating from the landscape architect, Diane Gendron.[222] Even now, they tend to disregard or minimize the

contribution of the landscape architect or of any other person, except the obvious contribution of LVLV's engineers.[223]

Afterwards, the Ministry of Transportation had to dispose of the copyrights by retroceding them to the City of Montréal. About two weeks after the signature of the first set of agreements between the artists and the Ministry, the Minister of Transportation, Marc-Yvan Côté, forwarded to the new Mayor, Jean Doré, the second set of agreements to be signed, this time between the Ministry of Transportation and the City of Montréal. Côté demanded that before signing, Doré obtain a resolution from the Municipal Council authorizing him to sign the agreements. Claude Saint-Mleux, from the City's Legal Department, met with the coordinator of special projects Blouin, and with Leclerc, who had initially conducted the research about the artists' copyrights, in order to analyse Côté's proposal.[224] In fact, the City's Legal Department had been involved in the writing of these agreements, and had previously approved their contents. Therefore, in its recommendation to the Executive Committee to approve the agreements, it reiterated its approval while underlining once more the artists' rights to restrain the City from bringing any change to the work of art susceptible to cause prejudice to the artists' honour or reputation: "Il y a donc lieu pour la Ville qui procède à l'entretien des parcs de respecter 'ce droit moral de l'auteur' qui est extra-patrimonial et hors commerce."[225] In the summer of 1987, the Executive Committee, based on this advice, recommended that the Municipal Council approve the three agreements, which it did on 18 August 1987. Afterwards, the agreements were signed at the municipal level and forwarded to the provincial department for signature. On 17 December 1987, the copyrights were finally officially transferred to the City of Montréal and accepted as they were, with their limits. Consequently, the City received the copyrights for the artists'

documents as well as for the works of art, i.e., the public places. The artists were nonetheless protected by the Copyright Act.[226]

The study of the documents pertaining to the episode of the copyrights indicates clearly that the artists were informed of what was about to happen, and that they were even consulted before a final text was submitted to them. Clearly, they could not be forced to give up their rights. They certainly were not fiercely opposed to signing the agreement, mainly for two reasons. First and foremost, as Gnass had pointed out, they were aware that the law would still protect them. Also, they might have abandoned their rights in exchange for a formal pledge from municipal representatives that their creations would be well kept and taken care of.

At the present time, the artists are bitter about the whole situation: in their opinion, there is no proper maintenance of the public venues. For instance, Théberge, who was reassured about the fact that vegetation would cover a massive concrete form leading to the sculpture, now complains that the vegetation looks like cabbages on a mass of concrete. Moreover, the artists' evocation of the copyrights transfer presents them as victims, as having been forced to sign, and as being deprived of any recourse: "Les droits d'auteur étant cédés, on n'a aucun aucun recours." When asked why did the artists give their copyrights, Claude Théberge replied: "On n'a pas le choix, hein? C'est ça. C'est présenté par Lavalin, au nom du Ministère des Transports et de la Ville de Montréal, et puis signez ça. . . . C'était à prendre ou à laisser."[227]

But the artists were not the only ones frustrated and disappointed by the outcome of the negotiations. In fact, despite the Legal Department's and Municipal Council's approval of the agreements, some employees of the Parks Department resented this pact. Bourque's representative, Leclerc, understood that each future change to the parks had to be negotiated with the artists:

> Les droits d'auteur ne peuvent en aucun temps être cédés mais peuvent faire l'objet de négociations avec les artistes en regard de transformations pouvant être requises.
>
> L'entente à signer par les artistes ne garantit rien de nouveau et il faudra être vigilant quant aux modifications que l'on voudra apporter au parc.[228]

Leclerc blamed LVLV for having negotiated copyrights for the layout of public venues, when an architect does not benefit from a similar protection for one of his buildings: "Ce contrat n'a pas sa raison d'être et malheureusement contraint la Ville de Montréal pour la durée de vie des aménagements du Parc Viger."[229] The municipal crews were concerned that even furniture items such as benches and waste baskets, when destroyed by vandalism or otherwise, were elements of a work of art and ought to be treated as such:

> Ces objets [corbeille à papier en fibre de verre et bois des bancs et paniers à rebuts] faisant partie intégrante d'une oeuvre d'art, nous nous devons de les maintenir en bon état. Ceci implique que ces pièces doivent être refaites avec les mêmes matériaux et dans le plus grand respect de la pensée de l'artiste-concepteur.
>
> . . . Nous sommes en effet dans l'obligation d'entrer d'abord en relation avec l'artiste-concepteur pour connaître quelles sont ses exigences en matière de respect de son oeuvre.[230]

A further analysis of those past events reveals that Bourque, after having requested specific changes for each of the projects, withdrew from the discussions with the artists and was involved only when came the time to discuss the handing over of the parks to the City.[231] In all likelihood, Daudelin's complaints to LVLV about important changes imposed to his concept, and the artist's growing assertiveness, combined with the Ministry of Transportation's request to meet a global budget, brought a change of attitude on the part of the municipal representatives.[232] Possibly this induced Bourque to draw back and wait until he would be in a position to redo those works according to his own idiosyncratic standards.

Bourque and his entourage, when asking for the transfer of the copyrights, already foresaw the need for changes in the venues. They were waiting until the artists had given up their copyrights: "Quant à la question de la main-mise des artistes-concepteurs, il est évident que la Ville ne peut donner aucune autorisation à qui que ce soit pour modifier l'aspect actuel des parcs tant que cette question [propriété des parcs] ne sera pas aussi réglée."[233] They had planned to use plants to soften the hard, mineral aspect of the parks: "La Division Planification préparera un plan de plantation pour l'îlot 'A' de manière à enjoliver les murs aveugles et à animer l'ensemble du parc. Des massifs de fleurs doivent aussi être prévus. . . . Les artistes Charles Daudelin et Peter Gnass seront informés des modifications apportées aux parcs."[234] That will was expressed immediately after the meeting with the artists regarding the giving up of their copyrights. Bourque himself determined that a precise maintenance programme would be elaborated by his team, and that, as early as the coming summer, the parks would be as good looking as the approach to City Hall: "Il est de la volonté de notre service que ces 3 parcs atteignent dès 87 un niveau de qualité comparable aux abords de l'hôtel de Ville."[235] Some time later, reality caught up with the horticulturists' good will. In the agora, a high ratio of the vegetation in the planters died, whereas nothing was planted on the roofs, as they deemed nothing could grow there.

Besides the problem of vegetation, the Department of Public Works, which then included the Parks Service, had to deal with a situation of accelerated deterioration of some of the elements of these parks (with the possible exception of Théberge's), including some of the sculptures. In fact, both Gnass and Daudelin's works of art presented, very early on, signs of deterioration and were a cause of concern for safety reasons. It appears that this situation did not

improve over time and that dealing with the artists' copyrights became problematic.[236]

A Project for a Kinetic Sculpture

However frustrated the artists may have been regarding the outcome of the projects, Charles Daudelin had the opportunity to exert his moral right to preserve the integrity of his work of art. An episode full of irony occurred while the parties were negotiating the transfer of copyrights, maintenance of the works of art, and the artists' right to oppose any change to the venues. The facts are worth a brief recounting as they highlight not only the artists' rights, but more strikingly, the absence of a coherent policy prevailing then at the City regarding works of public art.

A student in environmental design at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) proposed the creation of a kinetic sculpture, to be installed in Daudelin's work of art, that is, in the agora. The student, Raymond Bertrand, proposed to improve the urban environment on the social and aesthetic levels altogether, by erecting a forty foot (12.2 metres) high tower made of tubular steel. Aluminium plates were to be installed in the structure to reflect light, and colour lighting would have been projected on the mirrors. The luminous tower was thought by its creator to be in harmony with Montréal's urban environment. Moreover, its creator's aim was to make Place Viger (block A) more lively. Bertrand also thought that the expressway would entice the public to go to this public place, made lively by the sole presence of the sculpture: "Autoroute et échangeurs amèneront les gens à ce carrefour désormais vivant. Une fois sur place,

le visiteur aura le spectacle de la sculpture se découpant dans le ciel et dominant son environnement."[237]

Among the several factors contributing to the choice of the square, one was that the sculpture, as conceived, would integrate finely with the concrete slabs.[238] Not only did Bertrand write directly to the City's Administrative Secretary, after having discussed his project with both Parks' representative (Bourque) and people from the City Planning Department. He sought political support from the Federal Member of Parliament (MP) who wrote a letter: "L'on ne peut que mettre de l'avant un tel projet à caractère esthétique ayant des retombées sociales décisives. De plus, l'avènement du cinétisme en sculpture (déjà près de 40 ans) doit se concrétiser afin de situer Montréal au summum de la socialisation de l'art."[239] The MP underlined the lack of life and the failure of the venue to generate collective pride, despite the contribution of forty million dollars allocated for the creation of the park.[240]

The Legal Department refrained the City from getting involved in any further action until Bertrand received Daudelin's formal approval, which he did not obtain. The Department of Public Works, however, was ready, upon the presupposed accord from Daudelin, to proceed with structural studies and with the preparation of an agreement project to intervene between Bertrand and the City. Daudelin's unequivocal refusal forced Bertrand to seek another location, and he presented a revised proposal, this time for the park across the street, owned by the City. Diverse municipal services got seriously involved in the study of the project, except for one major aspect: nobody ever questioned the artistic merits of the work. Anticipated maintenance problems and costs, as well as public safety issues inherent to the concept were looked at in the feasibility study by the Department of Public Works and the Parks Department.[241]

Finally, Bourque wrote a report in which he explained the consultation held in the various municipal services. The new-found location was not acceptable for both environmental "integration" and safety reasons. Bourque proposed to install it, instead, in the large plaza of the Olympic Park. Moreover, he pointed out that the complexity of the system could require maintenance from specialized crews. Referring to Daudelin's sculpture Mastodo in Viger Square, which caused maintenance problems, Bourque concluded that the in-house expertise to take care of such sculptures was not available. Finally, the artist's copyrights resurfaced as a negative element: "Nous croyons en dernier lieu que la responsabilité que la Ville devra assumer face à l'oeuvre de Monsieur Bertrand en vertu de ses droits d'auteur dépasse largement les engagements que la Ville peut prendre."[242] While not recommending the project, Bourque was aware that the municipal administration could nonetheless go on with it. In the end, his report must have been influential: there is no further documentation pertaining to the project and no work of art attributed to Raymond Bertrand in the municipal inventory of public art.[243]

In 1990, as the Doré administration consulted with the public regarding the future of the central area, the city experts claimed that they would upgrade green spaces and public squares. They anticipated to do so with both Phillips and Dorchester Square, to create the new Berri Square, and to get rid of the concrete walls that enclosed Viger Square.[244] Phillips Square was revamped, Berri Square is completed, but as of now (fall 2000), concrete walls still enclose Viger Square.

Conclusion

In the mid-1970s, Viger Square was still a traditional square, which form had evolved over the years to become a market square, a garden, a park, a square and a playground. The vitality of the square was linked to that of the neighbourhood, and it seems that the open space lived in symbiosis with its surroundings. The physical destruction of the neighbourhood and the eviction of its residents certainly contributed to the decline of the square. Later on, assaults to its physical integrity challenged once more its very being. Viger Square stood in the way of the modernization of Montréal.

In Montréal as in several North American cities, blue-collar neighbourhoods in or near the central area were sacrificed for urban modernization. Once the neighbourhood was dismantled, why bother with the square? It is arguable whether the square should have been saved for historic considerations. What is remarkable, however, is that this point was argued by civil servants. Architects and urban planners thought the square should be kept, environmentalists and landscape architects were not so sure. However, the politicians, those who were responsible for this state of affairs, did not raise the question. The politicians who sped up the implementation of the expressway undoubtedly prioritized its construction over the safeguard of the square, let alone its century-old trees.

Harvey contends that modern artists were asked to play heroic roles in the modernization of the city, which included its destruction. This is precisely what happened with Viger Square. In the original intent, modern artists would be asked to improve the urban decor by proposing designs for road signage, colourful treatments for walls and pavements. Even though a highly modernist view of the integration of art to architecture and the urban environment, this nonetheless is reminiscent of

collaborative post-modern public art praised by art critics. The artists, however, needed to be under the architects' control. In this view, defended by architects, architecture was treated as a sculpture, truly as a work of art (e.g., the ventilation towers) not to be spoiled by artists. In the final version, the artists theoretically reached a total autonomy for the creation of a public, open space. This freedom was granted by the engineers who hired the artists, with the blessing of the Ministry of Transportation.

We can see from the start that all three artists did not use the possible autonomy to the same extent. Théberge was endowed with the greatest creative freedom, yet his proposal remained very close to Stanisic's early proposal. Daudelin was the more daring. His experience allows a measurement of the difficulty, for an artist, to reach autonomy in the context of collaborative art.

Daudelin's idea to have waterfalls, restaurants, tables and chairs, plays for adults and other activities that draw large crowds, reminds us of William Whyte's recommendations for the creation of a lively open place. None of these ideas were implemented, however. The policy of the time did not allow to have a restaurant, and the design had to respect that municipal policy. The waterfalls were too costly and have been replaced by gargoyles. The stage dimensions had to be reduced. Hence the flexibility of the layout, promised by Desrosiers, could never be achieved. The truly recognizable artistic elements that remained were the sculptures adorning public spaces. The places themselves, however, lack liveliness and are not to the artists' satisfaction.

On the other hand, all three artists borrowed and used ideas proposed by other team members. For instance, the idea to have concrete pergolas in the agora did not originate from Daudelin. In fact, the artists had to comply with other requirements (for technical, economical

and political reasons) while they also borrowed or accepted others' ideas and incorporated them within their concept. They always claimed, however, that they were responsible and in charge of the whole concept, which is remote from reality. This situation makes their claims for their exclusive copyrights unsympathetic. The obligation to grant copyrights to artists in such a situation may explain why the experience of gardens or places created by artists was not renewed for several years in Montréal.

Finally, in addressing the safeguard of trees and the predominance of vegetation over mineral, the case of Viger Square highlights diverging views, with regard to public open spaces in the city. The team of architects and urban planners who were first in charge of the design of the square had assigned it three different functions, largely based on history: a square, a park, and a playground. While there was vegetation in the three venues, the agora also included a large mineral component for its pavement. After the moratorium, when comprehensive urban planning was tossed aside, the supervision of the design of the places was left in the hands of transportation engineers, public works engineers, horticulturists, and landscape architects. Among the various views that emerged, we see that Bourques', for instance, intended to have a park in the agora (to wit, his request for diminishing the stage area, increasing the surface of turf and decreasing pavement, not having eating-places, et cetera), an attitude that is reminiscent of Olmsted's unequivocal refusal of anything other than vegetation. The engineers, for their part, simply wanted to instil some efficiency in the project. Hence, besides technical details, they took charge of the working drawings and included the three open places within the calls for tenders of the expressway.

The case study of Viger Square is a dramatic demonstration of the unfoundedness of some concepts hailed in the literature that addresses public art. Viger Square offers a counter-argument to those who affirm

that public places created by artists will automatically yield positive results in a city. It also demonstrates that collaborative art is not necessarily a solution and that the synergy between actors will not always result in works of art of greater quality. On the contrary, the case of Viger Square gives credit to Camillo Sitte's view about a public place as a work of art. Sitte affirmed that such a work of art could not be created by groups, in committees or offices, but that it had to be thought by one person.[245] Some affirm that an artist has to be commissioned directly, without going through a competition, in order for him to be totally creative. In Viger Square, prominent artists were selected without having to compete. Furthermore, their choice was approved by a senior engineer who also happened to be a patron of the arts. The process that the artists had to endure after their selection was certainly more constraining than most competitions. Lastly, the case of Viger Square discredits the idea that the early involvement of artists in a project of public art will de facto yield positive results. In fact, we could learn from Viger Square to be wary of recipes, or what Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee have termed "design by public policy."

In the end, the difficulties inherent to the process of collaborative art (which appears to be a pre-requisite to artists' gardens or places) and the resources needed may explain why this form of art remained rare in North American city centres. Furthermore, we learn from the case study of Viger Square that it takes more than capable artists, sensitive patrons and public policies to allow for the creation of gardens or other open spaces by artists. There needs to be, in the first place, land available. The next chapter presents the case study of the CCA Garden where land also plays a crucial role.

[1] "Hinge space": the expression is borrowed from Melvin Charney, who uses the idiom "espace[s] charnière[s]" in Melvin Charney, in collaboration with Catherine Blain, Sylvie Perrault, and François Rioux, "Le Carré Viger Le Faubourg Québec," report for La Société d' Habitation et de Développement de Montréal (SHDM), 15 March 1991, p. 4; see also 18-19; Marc H. Choko, Les grandes places publiques de Montréal (Montréal: Méridien, 1990), 18, 19, 193; Cécile Grenier and Dinu Bumbaru, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," La Presse, 7 September 1985, Plus, p. 6-7.

[2] Choko, Les grandes places, 19, 195.

[3] Ibid., 112; Jean-Claude Robert, Atlas historique de Montréal (Montréal: Art Global and Libre Expression, 1994), 102; Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 6-7; Form 2, "Réponse à une demande de renseignement du comité exécutif," from Public Works, signed by Jacques Racicot, eng. superintendent and C.-A. Boileau, to the Executive Committee, 23 November 1966; City of Montréal, Department of Public Works, plan B-101 St-Jacques, "Plan montrant des parties de la Place Viger situées au nord-est de la rue Saint-Denis et au nord-est de la rue Craig devant être distraites de cette Place et versées dans le domaine publique [sic] pour les fins de l'avenue Viger et de la rue Berri," 8 July 1966. City of Montréal archives, 4th series, Conseil-Rapports et dossiers, Berri Street, no. 3886.1-2/1.

[4] In 1844, the City had also bought the land equivalent to today's Berri Street between Viger Street and St. Antoine Street. Choko, Les grandes places, 114, 116; Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 6-7; Racicot and Boileau, "Réponse à une demande de renseignement du comité exécutif," 23 November 1966; plan B-101 St-Jacques.

[5] Choko, Les grandes places, 116; see also 118, 194; Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 6-7.

[6] City Council passed a resolution to change the name of Dubord Street to Viger Avenue. Extract of the Minutes of the City Council of Montréal, Special Meeting, held on 6 November 1905. Choko, Les grandes places, 116; Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 6-7. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[7] According to Grenier and Bumbaru, the first version of the square was completed in 1850. According to Choko, its heyday was around 1870, hence before the square was enlarged. Choko, Les grandes places, 111, 118, 122; Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 6-7. Based on maps dated 1846 and 1890, Charney observes that the venue went from "une place" made of the widening of a street, to a square. Charney, "Le Carré Viger Le Faubourg Québec," p. 22.

[8] In 1824, the cathedral and the episcopal palace were built on the corners of St. Denis and St. Catherine Streets. This constituted an attraction for the French-Canadian bourgeoisie, who occupied the area after the 1852 major fire destroyed the workers' wooden houses. In 1864, the second anglican church in Montréal, the Holy Trinity Memorial, was built on the north-west corner of St. Denis and Dubord Streets. By then, English-speaking merchants were also living in the area. In 1893-95, Université Laval built on St. Denis Street what was to become the first edifice of Université de Montréal. The École des Hautes Études Commerciales required the demolition of the city block located between Viger Avenue, Labelle, La Gauchetière and St. Hubert Streets. Residences were recycled to house institutions such as the Union Nationale Française, the French Consulate and an insurance company. For Charney, the apogee of Viger Square took place around 1907. The new train station was built in 1910-11, the insurance company Société des Artisans in 1912. The working class presence was manifest by the incoming, in 1913, of the Union des Charpentiers de Montréal and in 1920, of the sweet factory Laura Secord. In his final analysis, Choko observes that, at the origin, the residential function prevailed in the immediate vicinity of each of the four squares that he studied. He attributes the decline of the square to the massive demolition of residences. Charney, "Le Carré Viger Le Faubourg Québec," p. 5-7; Choko, Les grandes places, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 122, 125, 129, 195; Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 6-7.

[9] In 1935, it was decided to close the hotel. It re-opened in 1939, recycled as a war-time facility. In 1943, Université de Montréal moved in. The train station closed in 1951. Over the years, several uses were contemplated for the Viger Square site: a library in 1903, a new City Hall in 1931, and a large auditorium/convention centre in 1937. Finally in 1939, the site seemed fit for a new civic centre. Choko, Les grandes places, 131, 132, 136; Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 6-7. It is reasonable to presume that the war refrained the municipal administration from proposing other projects on the site. After the Second World War (1952), Camilien Houde envisioned a parking lot there.

[10] Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 7. On a plan dated 1954, a playground and a "comfort station" are identified on the eastern stretch of the square, that is, the part that was added around 1892, between St. Hubert and St. André Streets. Underwriters' Survey Bureau, Limited, Montréal, vol. 3, March 1954, sheet 109. The 1954 map, in Charney, "Le Carré Viger Le Faubourg Québec," p. 21; the plan V-25 St-Antoine, prepared by the municipal Department of Public Works, dated

29 March 1949, bears the mention "terrain de jeux [playground] Square Viger." Another plan, V-17 St-Jacques, "Plan topographique du parc et terrain de jeux Square Viger" has no date. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[11] The Lacroix fountain, previously located in the eastern part, was moved north to St. Louis Square. Choko, Les grandes places, 131. Regarding the extension of Berri Street, plans and maps indicate the street, as if it was already laid out. A 1949 plan, "Ville de Montréal Service d'urbanisme" 56-68, 1949, shows Berri Street extending through the park. Another 1949 plan, V-25 St-Antoine, also indicates the extension of Berri Street through the park, but does not include it in the list giving the lines as established by the Superior Court in July 1949. A plan, B-60 St-Jacques, "Plan montrant des lignes homologuées projetées pour la rue Berri entre l'avenue Viger et la rue Dorchester," 19 October 1953, shows the opening of Berri Street between Craig Street and Viger Avenue. The plan consulted bore a mention to the effect that it was not an official project. The 1954 Underwriters' map, sheet 109, also indicates the western part of the square divided by the street. Finally, the City Planning plan dated 1964, on which the route of the future section of the Trans-Canada Highway was drawn, also shows Berri Street cutting through the square. "Route Transcanadienne Autoroute Est-Ouest Projet no. 2 Tronçons B et C Service d'Urbanisme, Ville de Montréal," plan no. L-10/U-40, January 1964. Another plan, B-101 St-Jacques, "Plan montrant des parties de la Place Viger . . . devant être distraites de cette Place et versées dans le domaine publique [sic] pour les fins de l'avenue Viger et de la rue Berri," 8 July 1966, shows the parts of Viger Square (Place Viger) to be taken away from the venue for the purpose of the street. Copy of the maps and plan from City of Montréal's Parks and City Planning Departments and from City of Montréal's archives no. 1104, reel 03-30-04.2 and no. 3886.1-2/1. According to Grenier and Bumbaru, Berri Street was extended after 1965. Grenier, "Au temps où il y avait un Square Viger . . .," p. 7.

[12] Choko affirms that in the 1960s, the square sheltered vagrants living in the vicinity. A major union, the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN) inaugurated a new building that housed all its services in 1965. Dawson College also located across the street from the square, on Viger Avenue. Laura Secord closed in 1982, and the building, recycled into condominiums, was ready to house new residents in 1984. La Société des Artisans, having merged with Les Coopérants, moved into the heart of the central business district (CBD) in 1987. Choko, Les grandes places, 131, 137-38, 140. A protest against the destruction of the venue was held in 1971 by Dawson College's students. "Save our trees, highway critics

plead," Montréal Star, 2 April 1971, Final ed., p. 25.

[13] In the mid-century, both the rail and maritime industries generated the destruction of Faubourg Québec and the decline of the square as a major urban place, according to Charney. This was followed by the demolition of Faubourg Saint-Laurent and Centre-Sud neighbourhoods, also linked to the square. Demolition was made necessary, amongst other reasons, by the construction of the expressway and of the new CBC building. Charney, "Le Carré Viger Le Faubourg Québec," p. 4, 7, 17, 19, incl. fig. 15.

[14] Jean Pelletier and Ludger Beauregard, "Le centre-ville de Montréal," Revue de géographie de Montréal 21, no. 1(1967): 5, 31-35, 37-40; Jan C. Rowan, "The Story of Place Ville-Marie," Progressive Architecture 41, no. 2 (February 1960): 126.

[15] "Extrait du procès-verbal d'une séance du Comité Exécutif de la Cité de Montréal, tenue le 6 juin 1962." See also plan, B-60 St-Jacques, "Plan montrant des lignes homologuées projetées pour la rue Berri entre l'avenue Viger et la rue Dorchester," 19 October 1953, which shows the continuation of Berri Street from Viger Avenue up to Dorchester Street, thereby widening it. Montréal's Executive Committee accepted on 6 June 1962, Beaver Demolition Co.'s bid for the demolition of several buildings, including those identified as no. 457 and no. 441 Viger Avenue. Letter from M. Messier, eng. superintendent, to Lucien L'Allier, Director of Public Works, 15 June 1962 and letter from Messier to L'Allier, 10 October 1962. Other demolition works were slated on Berri, La Gauchetière, Bernadette, and St. Catherine Streets. City of Montréal archives, 4th series, Conseil-Rapports et dossiers, Berri Street, no. 3141.1-3/1 and Parks Department.

[16] The list is not exhaustive, but indicates the scope of demolition that took place in order to modernize the city. These were expropriations with "prises de possession préalables," which enable the City to demolish first and reach agreements with the citizens later. Excerpts from the minutes of sessions of the Executive Committee held on 13 February 1963, 11 March 1964, and 23 June 1964; Public Notice to be published on 16 February 1965; "Cinquième rapport du bureau des expropriations de Montréal," 10 February 1965, signed by René Reeves and François Vezina; excerpt from the minutes of Montréal's Municipal Council meeting held on 12 September 1963; excerpt from the minutes of Québec Municipal Commission's meeting held on 2 October 1963; letters from Charles-E Brunette, ing. superintendent, to Aimé Desautels, arch., assistant director of the City Planning Department, dated 6 September 1963 and 9 September 1963; letter from C.-A. Boileau, superintendent, engineer and land surveyor, to L'Allier, 29 August 1963; letter from Desautels to Lucien

Hétu, Director of the Municipal Services, 25 July 1963. City of Montréal archives no. 3363.1-2/1.

[17] Letter from Brunette to Desautels, director of the City Planning Department, 16 March 1964. See also letter from Boileau to L'Allier, 12 March 1964, p. 1; City of Montréal, Office of the City Clerk, letter from the City Clerk, Gabriel Morin, to Roger Desaulniers, secretary of La Commission municipale de Québec, 24 March 1964; Excerpt from the minutes of the Commission municipale de Québec's meeting on 2 April 1964. The demolition works following these expropriations were completed by the spring-summer of 1965. Resolutions no. 4054 and no. 4055 of the Executive Committee accepted the demolition works on 2 July 1965. City of Montréal archives, 4th series, Conseil-Rapports et Dossiers, Aménagement des abords-rue Viger (élargie), no. 2916.1-1. See also no. 3363.1-2/1.

[18] Letter from Lucien Saulnier, President of City of Montréal's Executive Committee, to Bernard Pinard, Minister of Roads, Province of Québec, 1 August 1963, p. 1. City of Montréal archives no. 1104.2.

[19] Letter from Jean Lesage, Prime Minister of the Province of Québec, to Saulnier, 19 August 1963. City of Montréal archives no. 1104.2.

[20] Ibid.; letter from Pinard to Saulnier, 10 March 1964; excerpt from the minutes of Montréal Municipal Council, held on 19 March 1964; Route transcanadienne Entente entre le Gouvernement du Québec et la Ville de Montréal, 14 October 1964, p. 2, item 9. City of Montréal archives, no. 1104.2.

[21] The route approved was as shown on the plan L-10/U-40, January 1964. Letter from Desautels to Hétu, 8 April 1964; excerpt from the minutes of a session of Montréal's Executive Committee held on 9 April 1964. The decree was re-conducted for a four-year period a year later. Excerpt from the minutes of City of Montréal's Executive Committee session, held on 2 April 1965. City of Montréal archives, dossiers c/c, 4th serie, no. 1104.1, reel no. 217 and no. 1104.3-1/1.

[22] The part inside the city block between St. Denis Street, Berri Street, Viger Avenue and Craig Street. City of Montréal, Department of Public Works, "Métro Tracé du Métro dans le Parc Viger," prepared by R. Charest, eng., 25 August 1964, plan no. 5581; excerpt from a session of the Executive Committee, held on 2 December 1966. Moreover, there is other evidence that the part west of St. Denis Street, where the Chénier monument was located, was also affected by the works. This parcel of land was, toward the end of the reconstruction project of Viger Square, included and called "îlot Saint-Denis du parc Viger." Letter, Raymond Thibaudeau, eng. assistant director, technical module, City of Montréal

Public Works Department, to Jacques Alepin, eng., assistant to the regional director, Ministry of Transportation, 21 September 1982; letter, Maurice Gauvin to André Champagne, Director of the Parks Department, 2 September 1966; letter, Marcel Pinet, eng., assistant to the Metro Chief Engineer, to L'Allier, 24 March 1964; excerpt from the minutes of City of Montréal's Executive Committee session, held on 24 March 1964; Denis Akzam, LVLVA, "Compte rendu de réunion," 13 September 1982, p. 2. City of Montréal archives, no. 1102.12-10/1 and Parks Department.

[23] Gauvin to Champagne, 2 September 1966.

[24] Memorandum from the City's Administrative Secretary, Germaine Pepin, to the Director of the Traffic Department, 4 January 1967; memorandum from Pinet to Champagne, 26 April 1967. A manuscript note on Pinet's memorandum indicates that the parties involved were unsure of the future of that stretch of the square after Expo 67, until the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[25] Third Session, Twenty-Seventh Legislature, 13 Elizabeth II, 1964, Legislative Assembly of Quebec, Bill 68, An Act respecting the city of Montréal, 29 July 1964, article 2. The act was sanctioned on 31 July 1964; letter from the engineer superintendent to L'Allier, 29 July 1964; letter, Boileau, engineer and chief land surveyor to L'Allier, 10 August 1964; letter from the Law Office to Germaine Pepin, assistant director to City Hall services, 27 August 1964. City of Montréal archives no. 1104.3-1/1 and no. 1104.4-2/1.

[26] Boileau to L'Allier, 10 August 1964. The letter includes the list of the plans and of the sites touched by expropriations. Excerpt from the minutes of the session of City of Montréal's Executive Committee, held on 11 August 1964. A month and a half later, the Municipal Council instructed the Law Office to expropriate those same parcels in order to cede those to the Government for the construction of the highway. Excerpt from the minutes of the session of the Municipal Council held on 29 September 1964. See also the plans of the expropriated parcels, produced later, in order to be included in the settlement contracts. Nos CR: 4367 to CR: 4379 incl. and CR: 4383. The Municipal Council voted to accept the project of the contract that ceded the parcels of land to the Provincial Government only in September 1972. Excerpt from the minutes of the session of the Municipal Council held on 25 September 1972. The contract no. 803, "Cession par la Ville de Montréal à Sa Majesté La Reine aux droits de la Province de Québec," was signed on 10 October 1972, in front of Y. Delorme, notary. City of Montréal archives no. 1104.3-1/1, no. 1104.4-2/1, no. 1104.7-1/1.

[27] Route transcanadienne Entente entre le Gouvernement du Québec et la

Ville de Montréal, 14 October 1964. Following a recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Municipal Council passed a resolution to accept the project of agreement. Excerpt from the Municipal Council session held on 29 September 1964. City of Montréal archives no. 1104.2.

[28] The widening of Viger Avenue was in effect the implementation of a street line sanctioned in 1949 by Québec Superior Court. Memoranda: Form 1, "Pour son renseignement," from Public Works, signed by Racicot and by Boileau, to the Executive Committee, 12 September 1966; form 2, from Racicot and Boileau, to the Executive Committee, 23 November 1966; letter from Armand Pagé, Chief lawyer at the City, to Pepin, 9 January 1967; excerpt from the minutes of the City's Municipal Council, held on 9 March 1967; plan B-101 St-Jacques, 8 July 1966. City of Montréal archives, no. 3886.1-2/1.

[29] All the expropriations were done with "prise de possession préalable".

[30] We traced two articles from 1964. The first one in Le Journal de Montréal, where it was reported that the transformations caused by the imperatives to develop the city had some heart-pinching effects. The effects of progress were more cruel for Viger Square, where citizens, some who were seniors and others who were vagrants, lost their place: "Tous éprouvent une forte nostalgie à y voir tomber les arbres," Le Journal de Montréal, 5 August 1964. Also, a citizen wrote to denounce the use of the park as a parking lot, which was contrary to the intent when the land was given to the city. See Maurice Viger, "Un parc converti illégalement en terrain de stationnement," La Presse, 28 June 1967, p. 4.

[31] Letter, Omer Boucher, engineer superintendent, to Jacques Gaulin, engineer superintendent, City of Montréal, 13 October 1970. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[32] Paul-André Linteau et al., Le Québec depuis 1930: Histoire du Québec contemporain, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (n. p.: Boréal, 1989), 547; Paul-André Linteau, Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération (n. p.: Boréal, 1992), 534-36.

[33] "Save our trees, highway critics plead," Montreal Star, 2 April 1971, p. 25.

[34] In a letter from Yvon Delorme, notary for the City, to Pinard, 25 February 1971, Delorme wrote that the construction of the Transcanadian Expressway had already begun for a few weeks. City of Montréal archives, no. 1104.7-1/1.

[35] Letter, Guy R. Legault arch. to Claude Rouleau, Deputy Minister of Roads, 10 January 1972. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[36] Letter, Claude David, secretary of the Commission Jacques-Viger, to Legault, 24 January 1972; letter, Jacques Gaulin, engineer superintendent

from Public Works, to Champagne, 22 February 1973; letter, Jacques Belle-Isle, engineer, Parks Department, to Champagne, 18 April 1973; letter, Maurice Beauchamp, Parks Department, to Champagne, 24 April 1973. Beauchamp estimates that the required depth of soil should be of a minimum of six feet (1.83 metre). City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[37] Claude Gravel, "Ultime tentative de Montréal pour sauver le carré Viger," La Presse, 26 May 1973, p. A 1.

[38] Ibid., p. A 1, A 2.

[39] Cablegram (telegram) from Pierre Paquette, president of the Parti Québécois Montréal centre region, to Guy Legault, director of the City Planning Department, 14 June 1973; Québec Presse, 24 June 1973. Parks Department.

[40] Claude Gravel, "L'avenir du 'carré' Viger: pas de décision avant l'automne prochain," La Presse, 7 July 1973, p. A 3.

[41] Excerpt from the minutes of Montréal's Executive Committee session, held on 24 July 1973; memorandum from the Finance Director Bélanger to the Administrative Committee, and to the President and Members of the Executive Committee, 16 July 1973; Demande d'autorisation (form 5) from the Department of Public Works, signed by Boileau, to the Executive Committee, 9 July 1973. Item 3 of the request explains that under miscellaneous are studies either requested by the Executive Committee, the Sports Department, the Parks Department, etc. to be done by Public Works with regard to either projects belonging to other municipal services (City Planning and Housing Department), or stemming from external organizations (such as the subway or the Trans-Canada Highway). The appendix to that same request listed eleven projects under miscellaneous, among which was Viger Square. "Etudes préliminaires de réaménagement en fonction de l'autoroute est-ouest." City of Montréal archives no. 73-2487.

[42] GRL (for Guy R. Legault), Service de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme, to M.J. Villemur, 29 August 1974. For a time, the reconstruction of Viger Square was discussed with the creation of a memorial on the site of Montréal's former prison. Montréal Housing and City Planning Department.

[43] GRL [Legault] to Villemur, "Mémoire/Service de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme," 12 September 1974. City of Montréal Housing and City Planning Department.

[44] J. Cabana, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, "Autoroute No. 20 - Square Viger," 23 October 1974; Beauchamp to Champagne, 24 April 1973. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[45] The assistant to the Deputy Minister transmitted the plans for the

expressway, section C, between Sanguinet and Moreau Streets, on 12 July 1974. Letter, Jacques Hébert, eng., assistant to the deputy minister, to Jean Villemur, eng., superintendent, division of aménagement urbain, 23 December 1974; Villemur, "Autoroute est-ouest Tronçon Sanguinet/Moreau," 3 March 1975, transmitted by Hugues Desrosiers to Legault on 20 March 1975, along with the form 1, Renseignements au comité exécutif, Housing and City Planning Department, 20 March 1975, unsigned; form 1, Renseignements au comité exécutif, Housing and City Planning Department, 6 June 1975, signed by Desrosiers and Legault. Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.

[46] As of September 1974, there were still nine items identified by the Housing and City Planning Department that needed to be discussed with the provincial Ministry of Transportation. Division de l'aménagement urbain, "Autoroute transcanadienne, tronçon Sanguinet-Moreau-Points à discuter avec le ministère des Transports du Québec," 18 September 1974. The meetings took place on 15 August, 25 October, 22 November 1974, and 7 April 1975. By early March 1975, the plans were approved by the city engineer who recommended the approval to the various hierarchical levels up to the Executive Committee. Villemur, "Autoroute est-ouest Tronçon Sanguinet/Moreau," 3 March 1975. Legault waited until June to grant his recommendation. Form 1, 6 June 1975, by Desrosiers and Legault. Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments. The term *reconstruction* was not used, but rather repairing or remaking (la réfection). However, the preamble to the Executive Committee stated that the construction of the highway in the area included the principle of the covering up of the expressway at Viger Square.

[47] In the Winter of 1972-73, the plans under review related to the Sanguinet-Wolfe section of the highway. In May 1973, the expressway was reported to be at St. Denis Street. Gravel, "Ultime tentative," p. A 1, A 2. The agenda prepared by City of Montréal Housing and City Planning Department, dated 18 September 1974, dealt with the Sanguinet-Moreau section. Perhaps the works on the plans and specifications went on, hence were more advanced, but the starting point of the section (Sanguinet Street), plus the fact that Viger Square was still an unsolved matter, concur to show that the construction of the highway had made almost no progress--if any--between the Winter of 1972-73 and the Fall of 1974. The minutes of the meeting prepared by LVLV infer that the meeting discussed the highway between Wolfe and Fullum Streets, to the east of Viger Square, even though the Square was on the agenda and was actually discussed, as reported in the minutes prepared either by LVLV (item 4), or by Villemur, "Autoroute transcanadienne, tronçon

Sanguinet-Moreau-Points [à] discuter avec le ministère des Transports du Québec," 18 September 1974; Villemur, "Rencontre avec le Ministère des Transports le 25 octobre 1974 à 10:00 hres," 4 November 1974; G. B. [for Gaetan Boyer from LVLV, listed as having attended the meeting], "Réunion tenue au bureau du ministère des transports le 25 octobre 1974 à 10:00," 4 November 1974. City of Montréal Parks, and Housing and City Planning Departments.

[48] Ville de Montréal, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, "Aménagement du parc Viger proposé," K-25/U-65 1, October 1974, signed M.S. Michel Stanisic presented the concept according to LVLV's minutes of meetings, which referred to a plan. Boyer, "Réunion tenue le 25 octobre 1974," 4 November 1974. Later in the project, Stanisic added "architect" to his signature presumably because at the time of the meeting he was a trainee. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[49] An internal memorandum at the Housing and City Planning Department written not long after the minutes of the meeting, leaves no doubt as to the intentions to have a playground there. Desrosiers to Legault, 14 November 1974. Housing and City Planning Department.

[50] Boyer, "Réunion tenue le 25 octobre 1974," 4 November 1974, item 4, p. 1; Jacques Hébert, assistant to the Deputy Minister, later confirmed that the Transport Department would be responsible for the basic works for the spaces and that the municipal Parks Department would take care of the trees and of the planting. Letter, Hébert to Villemur, 23 December 1974. Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.

[51] See for instance plan by City of Montréal, City Planning Department, 56-68 and 56-72, dated 1949.

[52] Villemur, "Rencontre avec le Ministère des Transports le 25 octobre 1974," 4 November 1974, item 6, p. 2.

[53] Desrosiers to Legault, 14 November 1974. The part on Viger Square was included in a memorandum that addressed a completely different subject (the art programme). Housing and City Planning Department.

[54] Villemur, "Autoroute transcanadienne, tronçon Sanguinet-Moreau-Points [à] discuter avec le ministère des Transports du Québec," 18 September 1974.

[55] Michel Stanisic, "Aménagement des trois îlots du square Viger," 19 November 1974, p. 1. Also in Michel Stanisic, "Aménagement du carré Viger," 3 December 1974, p. 1. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[56] Stanisic, "Trois îlots," 19 November 1974, p. 1. Also in Stanisic, "Aménagement du carré Viger," 3 December 1974, p. 2.

[57] Stanisic, "Trois îlots," 19 November 1974, p. 2; Stanisic, "Aménagement du carré Viger," 3 December 1974, p. 2.

[58] Stanisic, "Trois îlots," 19 November 1974, p. 2.
[59] Jocelyne Lepage, "Peter Gnass Souvenirs d'Allemagne," La Presse, 10 March 1984, p. C 23.
[60] Legault to Villemur, "Programme pour l'application de certaines disciplines artistiques dans le tronçon C de l'Autoroute," 13 November 1974. Parks Department. Author's emphasis.
[61] Ibid.; Legault added to his memorandum a sculpture project by Peter Gnass, who was eventually chosen to design one of the three places.
[62] Desrosiers to Legault, 14 November 1974.
[63] Letter, Villemur to Legault, 3 December 1974 (possibly 2 December 1974: there is a copy, at the Parks Department, where a 2 has been written by hand over the 3). Attached to the letter were two texts, prepared by the team in charge of sites and locations. One is "Utilisation des crédits de $100 000 à $200 000 pour productions artistiques dans le cas de l'autoroute est-ouest, tronçon C," by AMUR (AMUR stands for Aménagement urbain, of which Jean Villemur was the superintendent), 26 November 1974. The other is also by AMUR, "Memorandum concernant l'opportunité de tenir un concours pour le projet de l'aménagement de caractère artistique du futur carré Viger," 27 November 1974. Also attached to Villemur's letter was the plan for the new layout of Viger Square, and Michel Stanisic's explanatory report, "Aménagement du carré Viger," 3 December 1974. Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.
[64] Villemur to Legault, 3 December 1974.
[65] AMUR, "Memorandum concernant l'opportunité," p. 1.
[66] Ibid.; AMUR, "Utilisation des crédits pour productions artistiques."
[67] AMUR, "Memorandum concernant l'opportunité."
[68] We believe that the plan, even though not identified in Villemur's letter dated 3 December 1974, was the following: Ville de Montréal, Service de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, "Aménagement du square Viger proposé îlots A B C," K-25/U-65 2, October 1974, signed M.S. City of Montréal's Parks Department.
[69] The main difference with the former plan was that the city blocks were identified as a, b, and c. Also, a fountain in the centre of the ornamental park had replaced the anticipated monument. The plan K-25/U-65 1 shows a monument in the centre of city block b, whereas the plan K-25/U-65 2 shows a fountain. Both plans are dated October 1974.
[70] Stanisic, "Aménagement du Carré Viger," 3 December 1974, p. 1.
[71] It stated that the plans prepared for the expressway were part of the programme. Unsigned document, "Programme préliminaire d'aménagement du Carré Viger," 5 February 1975, p. 1-3. This document

specifically referred to the plan of the layout of Viger Square K-25/U-65-1, i.e., the same plan referred to from the beginning and in all likelihood, the one presented at the October 1974 meeting discussed above. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[72] "Programme préliminaire d'aménagement du Carré Viger," 5 February 1975, p. 1-3. Discussion about Viger Square I refers to plan K-25/U-65-1.

[73] Ibid., p. 2-3.

[74] In addition to the approval of the layouts, it was recommended that the Executive Committee ask the Parks Service (then part of the Department of Public Works) to complete a study on the planting of the three blocks making up Viger Square, in accordance with the plan prepared by the Housing and City Planning Department, and that Parks Service provide a technical report regarding the possibilities of the transplantation of the remaining trees in Viger Square. Villemur, "Autoroute est-ouest Tronçon Sanguinet/Moreau," 3 March 1975, transmitted to Legault by Desrosiers, 20 March 1975; Villemur and Desrosiers, unsigned copy "Renseignements au comité exécutif," 20 March 1975, items 1 and 4. It seems that this was not transmitted in March 1975. A similar form, dated 6 June 1975 was later forwarded. Desrosiers and Legault, "Renseignements au comité exécutif," 6 June 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[75] Two meetings took place on 7 April 1975. The first one was at nine o'clock, with the engineers from LVLV, and the second one at 10:30, with the engineers from Desjardins + Sauriol. See minutes of meetings: J. C. Therrien, eng. at Desjardins + Sauriol & Associés, consulting engineers, "Gouvernement du Québec-Ministère des Transports Autoroute 20 dans Montréal Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 11 April 1975; E.G. [Eugene Claprood, eng. from LVLV & Ass.], "Minutes de l'assemblée tenue à 9:00 heures le 7 avril 1975 à la salle de conférence du sous-ministre des transports à Montréal", 11 April 1975. Therrien's minutes of the meeting identified the section as Sanguinet-Fullum. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[76] Claprood, "Minutes de l'assemblée tenue à 9:00 heures le 7 avril 1975 à la salle de conférence du sous-ministre des transports à Montréal", 11 April 1975, p. 2.

[77] Ibid., p. 3, art. 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, p. 4, art. 4.

[78] Desrosiers to Legault, Villemur and Guy Rainville, 8 April 1975. Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.

[79] Letter, Desrosiers to Legault, 29 April 1975, including Desrosiers' "Notes explicatives," "Service de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme Autoroute 20 Ville-Marie Tronçon C Sanguinet-Moreau Aménagement des places publiques et participation des arts plastiques," 30 April 1975, also including as an

appendix, "Liste des créateurs suggérés pour l'aménagement des places." The report also included three plans, all prepared by M.S. [Michel Stanisic]. K-25/U-65 -2, "Aménagement du square Viger proposé Ilôts [sic] a b c," October 1974; K-25/U-65 -3, "Aménagement proposé Square Viger," April 1975, and K-25/U-65 -4, "Aménagement proposé 'Parc Viger' Ilôts [sic] 'B-C' Plan et Coupe," 24 April 1975. Letter, Desrosiers to Jacques Hébert, 30 April 1975, including another version of Desrosiers' "Notes explicatives" (exact same text regarding Viger Square), the same list of artists, and the plans K-25/U-65-2, -3, -4. Parks and Housing and City Planning Department, CIDEC, and Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[80] Desrosiers, "Notes explicatives," 30 April 1975, p. 2; plan K-25/U-65–3, April 1975. The plan includes sections of the block A, and a perspective of the place from the street. The walls are predominant, and quite high.

[81] Stanisic, "Aménagement du Carré Viger," 3 December 1974, p. 3; Stanisic, "Trois îlots," 19 November 1974; the plan K-25/U-65-2 (October 1974) shows the three city blocks and a lot of vegetation. The latest version, K-25/U-65-4 (April 1975), while basically reproducing the same layout, omits the vegetation and presents a cross-section for each block, B and C.

[82] Form 1, 6 June 1975, and "liste des documents annexés," 6 June 1975. Following this report, the Housing and City Planning Department was awarded the task to coordinate the continuation of the studies with the other municipal departments and with the Ministry of Transportation. Desrosiers to Legault, 22 December 1977. Parks Department.

[83] Form 1, 6 June 1975; Desrosiers to Legault, 29 April 1975, p. 1, and one of the appendixes, "Liste des créateurs suggérés pour l'aménagement des places"; Desrosiers to Hébert, 30 April 1975, including the same list of artists. The list of artists was also part of the documents submitted to Montréal's Executive Committee in June 1975 for the approval in principle of the expressway plans. Letter from Henri Perron, eng., assistant to the Deputy Minister of Transportation to Bernard Lamarre eng., 9 June 1975. Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments; CIDEC.

[84] Memorandum, Legault to Desrosiers, 15 April 1975. Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.

[85] Perron to Lamarre, 9 June 1975, p. 1.

[86] Ibid.

[87] MT [Marcel Tremblay], Ministère des Transports, Direction générale du génie, Service de la circulation (Montréal), "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," held on 20 June 1975, undated document. Michel Stanisic was identified as an architect for the first time. See also letter, Daniel Waltz to

Claprood, 25 September 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department; CIDEC.

[88] Tremblay, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," held on 20 June 1975; Desrosiers to Waltz, 25 June 1975.

[89] The representative for the Cultural Affairs was Jean-Guy Théoret. Théoret was also involved in the project of the CCA Garden. Tremblay, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," held on 8 July 1975, undated document; plans SHU S-25/U-65 -2, -3, -4; Desrosiers, "Autoroute 20-Places publiques Devis préliminaire pour l'intervention des créateurs. Réf. lettre du Ministère des Transports du Québec du 9 juin 1975," 8 July 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[90] He excluded it from the mandates to the artists, but not from the overall concept. Desrosiers, "Autoroute 20-Places publiques Devis préliminaire pour l'intervention des créateurs. Réf. lettre du Ministère des Transports du Québec du 9 juin 1975," 8 July 1975.

[91] Tremblay, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," held on 8 July 1975. Legault included Patriots' Place with the fate of Viger Square. In the minutes of the meeting, it is reported that the preliminary plans are by the architect Desrosiers. However, in Desrosiers' document dated 8 July 1975, the plans are attributed, as they have always been, to Michel Stanisic.

[92] Desrosiers, "Devis préliminaire pour l'intervention des créateurs," 8 July 1975.

[93] Perron to Lamarre, 9 June 1975; Tremblay, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," held on 8 July 1975."

[94] CPCN wiregram from Bernard Lamarre, Lavalin, to Charles Daudelin, 17 July 1975. A telegram confirmed a meeting to be held with the artist at Lavalin's office, in the presence of representatives from the Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, and Housing and City Planning Department. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[95] We assume that each artist received a wiregram, since all three attended the meeting held on 23 July 1975, and individually signed their contract with LVLV that same day. The painter Jean-Paul Riopelle, selected for Place des Patriotes, also attended the meeting at Lavalin. Waltz and Tremblay, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 28 August 1975; convention between Charles Daudelin sculptor and Lalonde, Valois, Lamarre, Valois & Associés, 23 July 1975; convention between Peter Gnass sculptor and Lalonde, Valois, Lamarre, Valois & Associés, 23 July 1975; convention between Claude Théberge artist and Lalonde, Valois, Lamarre, Valois & Associés, 23 July 1975. Parks Department; CIDEC.

[96] Waltz and Tremblay, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 28 August 1975.

[97] Appendix 'A,' second paragraph of the conventions of Daudelin, Gnass, and Théberge.
[98] Ibid., first paragraph.
[99] Convention between Charles Daudelin and LVLV, p. 1 of 6 and p. 5 of 6, article VII.
[100] Convention between Claude Théberge and LVLV, p. 1 of 6. See also page 5 of 6, article VII. Contrary to Daudelin and Gnass who were identified as sculptors, Théberge (not on the list, but chosen by the Ministry of Transportation) was not identified with a specialty. Théberge was later identified as a ceramist by both the Ministry of Transportation and Housing and City Planning. Perron to Lamarre, 9 June 1975; Waltz and Tremblay, "Compte rendu de réunion," 23 July 1975; appendix 1 to Stanisic's compte rendu of a meeting: MS [Michel Stanisic], "Compte rendu d'une réunion sur les projets du Carré Viger et Place des Patriotes, tenue au service de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme le 7 août 1975," 2 September 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[101] Convention between Peter Gnass and LVLV, p. 1 of 6.
[102] Convention between Charles Daudelin and LVLV, appendix A, second par.
[103] Appendix 'B' of the artists' conventions. Peter Gnass' résumé indicates that he worked in 1975 for the "Préparation du projet 'parc Viger' à Montréal (parc pour enfants)."
[104] Articles III, c), and IV, p. 3 of 6 of each of the artists' convention. The fees were renegotiated later in the project.
[105] Peter Gnass now lives in France, whereas Claude Théberge lost all his documents pertaining to the project. Only Charles Daudelin kept (extremely well) all the relevant documents, and was also generous enough to allow the author unrestricted access to all his written documents.
[106] Stanisic, "Réunion tenue au service de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme le 7 août 1975," agenda; Stanisic "Comte rendu d'une réunion sur les projets du Carré Viger et Place des Patriotes," 2 September 1975. Parks Department.
[107] Stanisic, "Comte rendu d'une réunion sur les projets du Carré Viger et Place des Patriotes," 2 September 1975," p. 2.
[108] Waltz to Claprood, 25 September 1975, p. 1. Waltz discusses all three concepts, but there is no indication that he and Claprood visited Gnass' studio. CIDEC.
[109] It is assumed that Daudelin presented his drawings first, because Claprood transmitted Daudelin's to Waltz on 5 September 1975, and Gnass' on 17 September 1975. Waltz to Claprood, ibid.; Desrosiers to

Claprood, 22 September 1975. Parks Department; CIDEC.

[110] Stanisic, "Commentaires sur les esquisses préliminaires d'aménagement du terrain de jeux (Carré Viger) fait par monsieur Peter Gnass, sculpteur," 30 September 1975, p. 1. See also Desrosiers to Claprood, 2 October 1975. Much later, additional comments pertaining to Gnass' concept were enunciated by the maintenance division of the Parks Department. There is no evidence that these were transmitted to the artist, or to Desrosiers. Jacques Belle-Isle, eng. superintendent, to Jean-Henri Hébert, Engineer, Team Chief of the Technical Division of General Studies, Department of Public Works, 26 March 1976. CIDEC; Parks Department.

[111] The following Peter Gnass' sketches (dated 1 September 1975 to 3 September 1975), were consulted, along with an explanatory page referring to the play-sculptures A, B, and C (no date, but a manuscript note on it indicates that the page refers to Gnass' preliminary drawings, and another note refers to an early September 1975 meeting):
1-Peter Gnass, "Terrain de jeux route transcanadienne" "En préparation" "Topographie avec arbres exist. (16) et terrain pour A[rbres] de grande taille," 1 September 1975; 2-Peter Gnass, "Terrain de jeux route transcanadienne" "En préparation" "Proposition de circulation," 1 September 1975; 3-Peter Gnass, "Terrain de jeux route transcanadienne" "En préparation" "Dessin de principe topologique Proposition aménagem. et disposition," 2 September 1975; 4-Peter Gnass, "Terrain de jeux route transcanadienne" "En préparation" "sorties électriques spéciales [for] espaces verts" "Proposition aménagem. et disposition," 2 September 1975; 5-Peter Gnass, "Terrain de jeux route transcanadienne" "En préparation" "coupe section ch. 178+00 Aménagement terrain et élément jeux 'tourniquet'," 3 September 1975; 6-Peter Gnass, "Terrain de jeux route transcanadienne" "En préparation" "coupe section ch. 176+00 Aménagement terrain et élément jeux balançoires," 3 September 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department. Peter Gnass' résumé states that in 1976, the artist worked at the "Préparation des plans définitifs final [sic] pour le parc Viger, Montréal."

[112] Charles Daudelin, interview by author, Tape recording, Kirkland (PQ), 27 February 1998.

[113] Ibid. In an unrecorded conversation that followed, the artist expressed his dismay at Stanisic's early concept. LVLV's transmittal sheet of Daudelin's model and text, signed by Real Laporte, eng., to Desrosiers, 9 October 1975; Charles Daudelin, "Carré Viger Projet A - Agora," undated document, unsigned. Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[114] Stanisic to Claprood, 23 October 1975, p. 1. Parks Department.
[115] Ibid., p. 2.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Waltz to Claprood, 3 November 1975. See also Claprood to Stanisic, 24 October 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[118] Waltz to Claprood, 3 November 1975.
[119] The water element, a fountain, was planned in block B, not in the agora. That was stressed by Legault himself. Stanisic, plans K-25/U-65 1 to 4; Villemur to Legault, 3 (or 2) December 1974; "Programme préliminaire d'aménagement du Carré Viger," 5 February 1975; Claprood, "Minutes de l'assemblée tenue à 9:00 heures le 7 avril 1975 à la salle de conférence du sous-ministre des transports à Montréal", 11 April 1975, p. 2-3; Desrosiers, "Notes explicatives," 30 April 1975, p. 1, 2, 4; "Liste des créateurs suggérés pour l'aménagement des places," April 1975; Desrosiers, "Devis préliminaire pour l'intervention des créateurs," 8 July 1975; Théberge's convention, p. 1, compared to the two other artists' conventions; Waltz, "Compte rendu de réunion," p. 1. Meeting held on 18 November 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[120] Unsigned document, "Programme préliminaire d'aménagement du Carré Viger," 5 February 1975, p. 4. See also Waltz, "Compte rendu de réunion," p. 1. Meeting held on 18 November 1975.
[121] Desrosiers, "Notes explicatives," 30 April 1975, p. 2, underlined in the artist's copy. A copy of the text had been transmitted to the Ministry of Transportation, approved by Montréal's Executive Committee, and was among the documents referred to in the artist's contract. See also Claprood, "Minutes de l'assemblée tenue à 9:00 heures le 7 avril 1975 à la salle de conférence du sous-ministre des transports à Montréal", 11 April 1975; Therrien, "Gouvernement du Québec-Ministère des Transports Autoroute 20 dans Montréal Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 11 April 1975. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[122] Desrosiers, "Devis préliminaire pour l'intervention des créateurs," 8 July 1975, p. 3, underlined in the artist's copy.
[123] The need to control the crowd was confirmed in an interview with Daudelin and Théberge. This was a period of protest in Montréal, and as the square was to be in front of the main union CSN building, it was expected to receive large crowds. The idea of having an agora there, in fact, stemmed from the desire of the Municipal Authorities to get rid of protesting crowds in the streets. Daudelin, "Carré Viger Projet A-Agora," January 1976. Michel Stanisic had proposed drawings of the towers, as illustrations: "Esquisses qui illustrent un concept possible." See M. Stanisic, Ville de Montréal, Planning Department, August 1971, K-10/U-

325 -1 "Le [sic] tour de ventilation d'autoroute tronçon 'C' Les esquisses" and K-10/U 325 –2; Daudelin, interview by author; Claude Théberge, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 16 March 1998. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[124] Daudelin delivered a second model, drawings and written explanations to Claprood's office on 20 January 1976. Daudelin to Claprood, 15 March 1976; Claprood to Desrosiers, 23 January 1976; Desrosiers to Claprood, 20 February 1976. City of Montréal Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[125] Claprood to Daudelin, 8 March 1976. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[126] Daudelin to Claprood, 15 March 1976; RL [Réal Laporte, LVLV], "Compte-rendu [sic] de la réunion tenue le 23 mars 1976 chez L.V.L.V. concernant le projet C. Daudelin," 25 March 1976; Claprood to Daudelin, 25 March 1976; Laporte, "Compte-rendu [sic] de la réunion tenue aux locaux de Lavalin le 1er avril 1976 relativement à l'aménagement du carré Viger," 6 April 1976. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[127] Laporte, "Compte-rendu [sic] de la réunion tenue aux locaux de Lavalin le 1er avril 1976 relativement à l'aménagement du carré Viger," 6 April 1976.

[128] Daudelin to Claprood, 20 April 1976; Raymond Thibaudeau, eng., superintendent at the Department of Public Works, to Omer Boucher, eng., 20 May 1976. Daudelin attended the meeting along with Desrosiers and Stanisic and representatives of the Parks Department and Public Works, all municipal entities. Contrary to the previous meetings with the artist where a representative of LVLV, Daudelin's client, and of the Transportation Department were present, this time the meeting took place between the artist and municipal representatives only. J. H. Hébert, eng. "Compte rendu de la réunion du 13 juillet 1976," 13 July 1976; Desrosiers to Claprood, 4 August 1976; Desrosiers' letter was transmitted to Daudelin by Claprood on 17 August 1976. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[129] Desrosiers to Claprood, ibid.; P.P. [Pierre Patry], "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une réunion tenue à l'atelier de Charles Daudelin, lundi le 13 septembre 1976," 20 September 1976. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[130] J. H. Hébert, 18 November 1976. Hébert wrote the first page of what would have been the minutes of a meeting (location, attendance, aim), indicating that Stanisic volunteered to write the minutes of the meeting. See also letter, Thibaudeau to Legault, 4 November 1976. City of Montréal Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.

[131] At the time this thesis was written, Pierre Bourque was Mayor of the City of Montréal.
[132] The four plans were on the same sheet. Claude Théberge, Parc Viger, Plan d'implantation, Ilot B, no date. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[133] Desrosiers transmitted to LVLV two plans on 10 December 1976, one of which was "plan d'ensemble du parc." It is not possible to determine if it was another plan with the same title, or the exact same one. Desrosiers to Patrie, LVLV, 10 December 1976; Claude Théberge, Parc Viger, Plan d'ensemble du parc, Ilot B, no date. City of Montréal Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.
[134] Letter, Stanisic for Desrosiers, to Claprood, 23 October 1975. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[135] Ibid.; Waltz to Claprood, 3 November 1975. In the minutes of the meeting, Théberge is no longer referred to as "artist," but as "C. Théberge & Ass." Patry, "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une réunion tenue aux bureaux de Claude Théberge le 4/2/76," 6 February 1976; Desrosiers to Claprood, 4 August 1976. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[136] Clement Demers wrote to Desrosiers, regarding the construction housing the urinals in the playground of Viger Square, and commented on the uncertain future of the highway. The expressway had changed name, and came to be called the Ville-Marie expressway. Demers to Desrosiers, 19 November 1976; Claprood to Desrosiers, 22 December 1976. City of Montréal Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.
[137] CNCP Télécommunications, wiregram from Claprood to Daudelin, 8 December 1976. Only the cablegram sent to Daudelin was available for consultation. We presume that all three artists received a similar message on that date. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[138] Desrosiers to Patrie, 10 December 1976; Claprood to Desrosiers, 22 December 1976; Desrosiers to Legault, 21 January 1977. City of Montréal Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.
[139] There is no evidence that these beautification works were done in a reasonable time frame. A linear stripe along St. Denis Street was created as a park by the Ministry of Transportation in 1982, when the expressway was under construction. Letter, Paul-Émile Sauvageau, coordinator at the Office d'embellissement, to André Forest, eng. superintendent, technical division, Aménagement des Parcs, 19 August 1977; Forest to Thibaudeau, 7 September 1977; Thibaudeau to Claude Lortie, eng., Regional Director, Ministry of Transportation, 18 November 1977; Lortie to Thibaudeau, 25 November 1977; Thibaudeau to Forest, 9 December 1977; Forest to Boileau, 14 December 1977; Joanne Proulx, landscape architect, "Ville de

Montréal compte rendu de réunion," 17 August 1988, p. 1; Stanisic, "Aménagement du Square Viger," January 1977, no. K-25/U-65 –8; Desrosiers, "Notes explicatives," 30 April 1975. In this text, Desrosiers included Place Viger, where the monument to Chénier stood, within Viger Square I. Stanisic's plan added that parcel of land to the Viger Square project. City of Montréal Parks and Housing and City Planning Departments.

[140] Desrosiers to Legault, 22 December 1977. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[141] It is possible that the Ministry of Transportation informed the Department of Public Works to stop the works on the highway in late December 1976, which would be a few weeks later than for the artists. The Parti Québécois was re-elected in 1981. Gaétan Boyer, eng. LVLV, "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une réunion aux bureaux du ministère des Transports le 26 novembre 1980 à 9h30," 28 November 1980, p. 1; letter, Guy Paquette, eng. Regional Director, Ministry of Transportation, to Thibaudeau, 6 May 1980; Linteau, Le Québec depuis 1930, 711. Charles Daudelin's personal archives; City of Montréal Parks Department.

[142] Reference is made to a meeting held on 24 April 1980, and attended by representatives of the various municipal departments that Thibaudeau was asked to coordinate. There is no mention of the Housing and City Planning Department. Letter, Paquette to Thibaudeau, 6 May 1980.

[143] Desrosiers to Legault, 22 December 1977. Desrosiers referred to the Housing and City Planning report dated 6 June 1975.

[144] Thibaudeau to Vanier, eng. Director of the Public Works Department, 27 May 1980; City of Montréal, "Renseignements," form 1, City Planning, Aménagement urbain, 10 July 1980. The signature of the Director on the form appears to be A. Desautels, previously the head of the Housing and City Planning, before Legault took office. In this form, the text states that the works for the extension of the expressway were anticipated for the fall of 1980. Another document later stated that the works would start at the beginning of 1981. This document asked for the budget to have some public works done by the contractor hired by the Ministry of Transportation. Maurice Vézeau, eng. team chief, "Autoroute Ville-Marie de Sanguinet à St-André. Conduite d'eau de 2100 mm (84") en béton armé. Projet No A-195-3-1 Projet No 7900221 du budget d'immobilisation 1981-83. Activité 4141 Déplacement et réinstallation de la vespasienne," 31 October 1980, p. 2; appendix 1 to form 07-26-15-18; Demers to Desrosiers, 19 November 1976; Desrosiers to Legault, 21 January 1977. City of Montréal Parks Department; City of Montréal's archives no. 80-05834.

[145] Daudelin to Pierre Lamarre, eng. LVLV, 30 April 1980; Lamarre to Daudelin, 6 May 1980; Boyer to Daudelin,15 July 1980; Boyer, "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une réunion aux bureaux du ministère des Transports le 26 novembre 1980 à 9h30," 28 November 1980. Peter Gnass was living in France in 1980 (see chapter ten). Charles Daudelin's personal archives..
[146] On 7 November 1980, the Ministry of Transportation had awarded the contract for the construction of the segment of the expressway between Sanguinet and St. André Streets. Vanier, "Memorandum" to: René Morency, eng. assistant director, Execution Module; Raymond Thibaudeau, eng., assistant director, Technical Module; Gabriel Théberge, eng., assistant director, Waters Module; Denis Bouchard, arch., assistant director, Module Building; Pierre Bourque, assistant director, Park Module; Raymond T. Cyr, eng., assistant director, Roads Module, Department of Public Works, 15 December 1980; Blouin, "Note explicative," no date, for two sessions of the Executive Committee, held on 17 March 1982 (resolution 82 01834) and 31 March 1982 (resolution 82 02219). Therefore, the author assumes that the transportation engineer had planned to include the works for Viger Square with the next contract for the highway. Hence the apparent urgency to proceed with the making of the tender documents. Boyer, to Daudelin, 15 July 1980; Boyer, "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une réunion aux bureaux du ministère des Transports le 26 novembre 1980 à 9h30," 28 November 1980. City of Montréal archives no. 82-01834 and no. 82-02219 and Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[147] Memorandum, Demers to Michel Laville, arch., Division de l'aménagement urbain, 13 August 1979. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[148] According to the documents consulted, the Housing and City Planning Department was not even (officially) informed of the further development of the project, as it was not on the distribution list of the minutes of meetings and other correspondence.
[149] Memorandum, Vanier to the six assistant directors working at the Department of Public Works, 15 December 1980. This memorandum was not transmitted to the Housing and City Planning Department. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[150] Hébert had been involved in the project since the retirement of his former colleague, in 1973-74. Tassé, eng., to Hébert, 29 December 1980. City of Montréal Parks Department. Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Les arbres tombent au square Viger, La Presse, 14 November 1980, p. A 5; Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Le plan Daudelin est rejeté: La forme du nouveau square Viger demeure indécise," La Presse, 15 November 1980, p. A 25;

Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Grâce au prolongement de l'autoroute Une agora verra le jour au carré Viger," La Presse, 12 July 1980, p. A 5.
[151] Jacques R. Tourville, LVLV, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 20 March 1981, p. 2, art. 1. Meeting held on 19 March 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[152] The artists were told at the meeting to present a common request. A letter signed by the three artists was sent to LVLV's Tourville on 17 April 1981. The letter confirmed their demand for a revision of the contracts signed in July 1975. By the same occasion, they asked for a revision of the mode of payment, which allotted 50% of the total fees for the site supervision. The artists had worked a lot on the preliminary drawings, and received a relatively small amount of the total fees for that. Letter, Théberge, Daudelin and Gnass to Tourville, 17 April 1981. Negotiations between the artists and the Department of Transportation, via LVLV, followed, and a counter-proposal from LVLVA for the artists was submitted to the Ministry of Transportation on 19 October 1981. Tourville to Roland Guillemette, eng., chief of contracts, Ministry of Transportation, 19 October 1981. In December 1981, the engineer in charge of the Contracts Service advised the Deputy Minister of Transportation to offer each artist a non negotiable lump sum settlement of five thousand dollars. The calculations indicate that this offer was well below any calculation, and any hypothesis regarding the delay and the cost index. Ministry of Transportation's Alepin transmitted the offer to LVLVA almost one and a half year afterwards. Memorandum, Guillemette to Pierre Michaud, eng., Deputy Minister, 3 December 1981; letter, Alepin to Boyer, 24 May 1983. This was accepted by Daudelin, as indicated by his invoice. Daudelin to LVLVA "Mémoire de frais," 20 July 1983. Charles Daudelin's personal archives; CIDEC.
[153] Tourville, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 20 March 1981. Whereas Daudelin acknowledges that there was supposed to be a collaboration, Théberge affirms, on the contrary, that the artists were not asked to do so. On the whole, there was no such cooperation. This was not a contractual requirement, however. Daudelin, interview by author; Théberge, interview by author; conventions between LVLV and Daudelin, Gnass, and Théberge. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[154] Tourville, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 30 March 1981, p. 2, art. 2. Meeting held on 27 March 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[155] Ibid. We could not consult the minutes of the meetings held with the other artists. It is reasonable to assume that each of them had a similar meeting to evaluate the work done so far and what remained to be done. This recent appraisal by LVLV appears surprising since a few months before the moratorium, LVLV's engineers had met with Daudelin to

discuss the preparation of the final drawings (working drawings with details, etc.) Moreover, at that 1976 meeting, the artist and the engineers had discussed the modules of the pergolas. They had even decided on their prefabrication (concrete), whereas the other elements made of concrete would be cast in place. Daudelin explained that he had planned to use granite pavements for most of the ground covering. Hence some decisions on materials had been made in 1976. Patry, "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une réunion tenue à l'atelier de Charles Daudelin, lundi le 13 septembre 1976," 20 September 1976. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[156] Tourville, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 27 April 1981, p. 2, art. 1. Meeting held on 23 April 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[157] Ibid., p. 2-4.

[158] Jean-Claude Larivée, eng. to Tourville, 29 May 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[159] Marcel Tremblay, landscape architect, chief, section Centre, 21 May 1981, p. 1-8. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[160] Ibid., p. 8.

[161] Maurice Beauchamp for Pierre Bourque to Vanier, 11 May 1981. See also Robert Lecavalier, eng., "Réunion," 8 May 1981. Minutes of the meeting held on the first of May 1981; report, Pierre Bourque, "Aménagement des parcs au Square Viger," 11 May 1981. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[162] Bourque, "Aménagement des parcs au Square Viger," 11 May 1981, p. 2. See also Théberge, interview by author.

[163] Bourque, "Aménagement des parcs au Square Viger," 11 May 1981, p. 2; Vanier to Thibaudeau, 14 May 1981; Thibaudeau to Tourville, 28 May 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[164] Daudelin to Boyer, 2 July 1981. The meeting with Bourque was held on 12 June 1981. The landscape architect was not identified, and therefore it is not certain if it was Tremblay, or someone else. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Daudelin, summary of the meeting held at the Botanical Garden, on 12 June 1981, no date, p. 1. Transmitted with the letter to Boyer, dated 2 July 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[167] Daudelin, summary of the meeting held at the Botanical Garden, on 12 June 1981, no date, p. 2.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Bourque, assistant director and chief horticulturist to Daudelin, 13 November 1981. See also Daudelin to Bourque, 22 October 1981.

Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[170] Denis Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 4 November 1981, p. 1. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[171] The range of possibilities for the pavement included granite bricks, unit pavers, concrete and concrete slabs. Daudelin, summary of the meeting held at the Botanical Garden, on 12 June 1981, no date, p. 1-2; Denis Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 4 November 1981 and 18 November 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[172] Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 24 November 1981. Peter Gnass' résumé indicates that in 1981, the artist worked at the preparation of the plans and specifications for Viger Park in Montréal. Eric Daudelin attended the following meetings: 23 April 1981, 4, 18 and 24 November 1981. Eric Daudelin also took over from his father to do site visits when the latter was out of town or otherwise not available. Daudelin to Tourville, 13 May 1983; Tourville, "Compte-rendu [sic] de réunion," 27 April 1981; Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 4, 18, and 24 November 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[173] Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 24 November 1981, p. 2.
[174] According to Daudelin, LVLV required him to work with Gendron. Daudelin, interview by author; Tremblay, 21 May 1981, p. 3; contract between Charles Daudelin and Diane Gendron, landscape architect: "L'Association des architectes paysagistes du Québec Entente de services professionnels entre client et architecte paysagiste, " Parc Viger-ilôt [sic] A, 12 November 1981. Another contract, "L'Association des architectes paysagistes du Québec Entente de services professionnels entre client et architecte paysagiste" Parc Viger-Ilot A, was signed between the two parties (Daudelin/Gendron) on 29 March 1982. The same services were asked, but in the second agreement, Daudelin had to pay a monthly fee to the landscape architect. Also, Gordon Edwards, architect, and members of his staff, worked on the project in 1976. Invoice, Gordon Edwards architect to Charles Daudelin, 23 March 1977; letter, Louise and Charles Daudelin, 30 December 1981 (with payment). Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[175] Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 24 November 1981.
[176] Daudelin wrote two letters about the need to plant these trees. Daudelin to Boyer, 10 December 1981, and 16 December 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[177] Daudelin to Akzam, 16 December 1981. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[178] Letter, Akzam to Tremblay, 1 February 1982. See also Daudelin to Askam [sic], 11 January 1982; Daudelin, interview by author. CIDEC;

Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[179] Larrivée to Blouin, 5 February 1982. Blouin transmitted the documents to Bourque, for comments. Blouin to Bourque, 10 February 1982. Parks Department.
[180] Larivée to Blouin, 28 May 1982, p. 1. Parks Department.
[181] Ibid.; Lavalin's note de service, Akzam to Gnass, 9 February 1982; J.F. Pilon, Lavalin's engineer, to Lavalin's Boyer, 1 February 1982. Attached to Pilon's letter was a sketch and a cost estimate. CIDEC. Eventually, LVLV came to be known as LAVALIN Inc.
[182] Since Daudelin was paid on 15 August 1983, that is, over a year after he invoiced for what he considered working drawings and specifications 100% completed, some could take objection to the assertion that his documents were accepted as such. Daudelin, "Etat de compte," 2 August 1982. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[183] Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 13 September 1982, p. 1. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[184] Ibid.; manuscript letter initialized C.D., no date, addressed to Lavalin's Akzam. No typewritten version of the letter was found, and it is unknown whether it was ever sent. The artist specified that he had perused the lighting and the water systems drawings for the first time. Daudelin's manuscript note on Bourque's report presenting his comments "Aménagement des parcs au Square Viger," 11 May 1981; Daudelin, summary of the meeting held at the Botanical Garden, on 12 June 1981, no date; Robert Le Gresley, arch., Coordinator of Planning, Real Estate Department (Service des Immeubles) to Roland Garand, Deputy Director, Secrétariat Administratif, Service des Immeubles, 5 June 1981. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.
[185] Memorandum, Yvon Lamarre, President of the Executive Committee, to Richard Vanier, Director, Department of Public Works, 3 July 1981. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[186] Léandre Leblond, "Compte rendu de réunion," 15 August 1983, p. 1, art. 2. See also Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 13 September 1982. City of Montréal Parks Department. Gnass' résumé states that the artist presented the final drawings and specifications for Viger Park in 1982. Gnass specified: "Collaboration Gouvernement du Québec et Lavalin."
[187] Leblond, "Compte rendu de réunion," 15 August 1983, p. 1, art. 2.
[188] Thibaudeau to Alepin, 21 September 1982 and 1 November 1982. City of Montréal Parks Department.
[189] The contract was identified as "Projet 665-0905-2 Aménagement de 3 ilôts [sic] du Parc Viger" -plans prepared by LVLV. Busseau and Vanier, Form 1 "Renseignements," 2 December 1983. Contract signed on 18 July

1983, by the General Contractor, Simard-Beaudry, and Daudelin as subcontractor; "Formule type canadienne de contrat de construction entre entrepreneur et sous-traitant"; Leblond, "Compte rendu de réunion," 15 August 1983, p. 2; Alepin to Pierre Busseau, eng., Assistant-Director, Technical Module, Department of Public Works, 1 September 1983. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[190] Convention between Daudelin and LVLV, p. 2 of 6, Art. Ic. All three artists were being paid for the site supervision. They did not receive an important part of their fees until the construction took place (50% in the original contract, that they failed to renegotiate); "Mémoire de frais," Daudelin to LVLV, 20 July 1983. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[191] Tourville to Daudelin, 12 May 1983. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[192] Daudelin's son was delegated to supervise the site works for him. Daudelin to Tourville, 13 May 1983; "Mémoire de frais," Daudelin to LVLV, 20 July 1983 (47% completed); 1 September 1983 (68%); 4 October 1983 (79%); 4 November 1983 (86%); Busseau to Alepin, 12 October 1983; Alepin to Vanier, 18 November 1983. The construction of block C also occurred in 1983-84. Gnass' résumé states that during this period he was doing site supervision for the children's playground; Busseau to Alepin, 2 December 1983; Busseau to Clovis Riopel, Director of the Police Department-station 33; Busseau and Vanier, Form 1, 2 December 1983. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[193] In the end, the event did not take place. City's Administrative Secretary--name impossible to read--to Vanier, 9 January 1984; Busseau to Bourque, 23 January 1984; Busseau and Vanier, Form 1, 2 December 1983. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[194] Construction began circa April 1983, see above. Letter, Louise Daudelin for Charles Daudelin, to J. G. McLoughlin, Director and General Manager, Canadian Stone Marine Ltd., 8 March 1983; letter, Boyer to Daudelin, 27 April 1983; Jean-Marie Fortin for the Centre de Recherche Industrielle Fortin Ltée. (CRIF), "Sculpture Parc Viger Prix et détails," 7 May 1983; Akzam, "Compte rendu de réunion," 13 September 1982; quotation from McLoughlin to Daudelin, 19 October 1982; amendment to Stone Marine first quotation, which provided the price for the supports; McLoughlin to Daudelin, 16 December 1982; Daudelin, "Sculpture pour le parc Viger (dessin et maquette de Charles Daudelin joints)," 2 pages, no date. The description was part of a proposal that explained each party's duties and responsibilities (the artist and the CRFI Ltée, CSM, the engineer and the General Contractor). The total of the works is the same that was submitted by Daudelin to LVLV. It is uncertain whether this letter

of two pages was sent, as it is not signed, nor dated, and has no addressee; letter, Daudelin to Boyer, 13 May 1983. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[195] The subcontract was to the amount of $186,465, as per Daudelin's submission to LVLV. This included his fees, a third of the sculpture cost. Daudelin had to comply to the usual requirements asked from a subcontractor, such as when to present his invoice, and the need for a statutory declaration. Contract signed on 18 July 1983, by the General Contractor Simard-Beaudry and Charles Daudelin as subcontractor "Formule type canadienne de contract de construction entre entrepreneur et sous-traitant," p. 2-4; invoice, Daudelin to Simard-Beaudry Inc., 29 June 1983; Daudelin's Estimé progressif de sous-traitant to Constructions Simard-Beaudry Inc., 25 July 1983; Daudelin's Estimé progressif de sous-traitant #2 to Constructions Simard-Beaudry Inc., 25 March 1984; Daudelin's Estimé progressif de sous-traitant #3 to Constructions Simard-Beaudry Inc., 25 June 1984; Daudelin's Estimé progressif de sous-traitant #4 to Constructions Simard-Beaudry Inc., 25 July 1984; Charles Daudelin, Déclaration statutaire for Viger Park, 11 May 1984 and 5 September 1984. On some occasions, and especially later in the project, Daudelin signed as President of Charles Daudelin Inc. and some of the correspondence from his subcontractors was addressed to Charles Daudelin Inc. Daudelin had three subcontractors: Centre de Recherche Industrielle Fortin Ltée (CRIF), Canadian Stone Marine Ltd. (Stone Marine or CSM) and Contrôles Flo-Spec Ltée. "Contrat de fabrication de sculpture pour Le Parc Viger, Montréal," between Charles Daudelin and Centre de Recherche Industrielle Fortin Ltée, 30 July 1983; letter, Daudelin to Stone Marine Canadienne, 24 April 1984, ordering the bronze basin for his sculpture; letter, Boyer to Daudelin, 18 October 1983; letter, Boyer to Daudelin, 27 April 1983; letter, Daudelin to Boyer, 13 May 1983; letter, Boyer to Daudelin, 9 December 1983; letter, Boyer to Daudelin, 3 January 1984; letter, Daudelin to Boyer, 12 January 1984; convention between Charles Daudelin and LVLV, appendix A. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[196] Memorandum, Leblond to Simard-Beaudry' s project manager Christian Landry, 22 December 1983. See also Landry to Daudelin, 9 January 1984; Daudelin to Landry, 12 January 1984; Claude A. Cossette, eng. LVLV to Daudelin, 30 January 1984. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[197] Claude Maheu, President of Mabel Metal Products inc. to M. Lebeau, Plomberie S. Lemaire Inc., 28 February 1984; Maheu to Lebeau, 29 February 1984; Maheu to Lebeau, 5 March 1984; Maheu to Lebeau, 27

March 1984; Patrice Lemaire, President of Plomberie S. Lemaire Inc. to Landry, Simard-Beaudry, 12 April 1984; Lemelin eng. at LVLV, to Daudelin, 10 September 1984; Daudelin to Lemelin, 21 September 1984; Michel Aubry, eng., Chief of the Department of contractual claims to Simard-Beaudry Inc.'s Vice-President Hénault, 20 August 1985; Landry to Charles Daudelin Inc., 4 September 1985; Daudelin to Landry, 6 September 1985. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[198] Daudelin to Bernard Lamarre, 4 December 1986. Daudelin wrote to Lamarre after having received a letter from Simard-Beaudry's Vice-President Hénault informing him that he was hoping for a settlement in the winter 1986-87. Bernard Lamarre was regularly on the distribution list at LVLV for the incoming correspondence regarding the project. Hence, even if he was not directly involved in the management of the project, he was certainly broadly informed of its development. See also Hénault to Daudelin, 10 November 1986. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[199] Daudelin, interview by author. Peter Gnass confirmed this fact. Peter Gnass, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 24 October 1998.

[200] Hénault to Daudelin, 19 March 1987. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[201] Daudelin to LVLV's Boyer, 12 January 1984; CSM's shipment slip, 24 April 1984; CSM's invoice #5647, 3 May 1984; N. Lapointe, controleur [sic], CSM to Daudelin, 21 May 1985; Fortin to Charles Daudelin Inc., 27 May 1985. The contract Daudelin had with CRIF specified that the installation of the work would occur between 15 April 1984 and 15 May 1984. "Contrat de fabrication de sculpture pour Le Parc Viger, Montréal," between Charles Daudelin and Centre de Recherche Industrielle Fortin Ltée, 30 July 1983; Blouin to Bourque, 18 January 1984; Daudelin to Boyer, 14 September 1984; Daudelin's Estimé progressif #3 to Simard-Beaudry indicated 75% completed by 25 June 1984 and his Estimé progressif #4, 100% completed by 25 July 1984. City of Montréal Parks Department; Charles Daudelin personal archives.

[202] Théberge, interview by author; Gilles Normand, "L'immense sculpture de Théberge est enfin installée au parc Viger," La Presse, 7 June 1985, p. C 11; Le Devoir, 7 June 1985, p. 2; Le Journal de Montréal, "Tout est bien qui finit bien," 9 June 1985; Collection d'art public Ville de Montréal Inventaire no. fiche 38E-VI-0982, no date, p. 4-5. CIDEC.

[203] Théberge, interview by author.

[204] Lac St-Jean is one of Québec's region. In the interview, Théberge named it "black matter": "de la matière noire," but in the newspaper articles of the time, the sculpture is presented as being made of concrete and granite, one even specifying granite aggregates. However, in the

description of City of Montréal's inventory we can read: "organisation iconographique: 14 blocs de granite noir disposés à la verticale et parallèlement." No mention is made of the concrete. Théberge, interview by author; Collection d'art public Ville de Montréal Inventaire no. fiche 38E-VI-0982" no date, p. 4; Normand, "L'immense sculpture de Théberge est enfin installée au parc Viger," p. C 11.

[205] Théberge, interview by author.

[206] Daudelin, interview by author. See also Blouin to Alepin, 3 September 1985. Blouin was referring to a letter from Busseau to LVLV's Lemelin, dated 10 December 1984, regarding that problem. Boyer to Simard-Beaudry, 9 May 1985; transmittal slip LVLV to Daudelin, 9 May 1985. On the slip, there is a note from Daudelin regarding both the chute and the fence. He objected to the already chosen colour of the fence. LVLV's sketches of the chute, no. 23 and 24, dated 9 May 1985; "Boul. Ville-Marie Parc Viger îlot 'A'-détail des goulottes"; letter, Robert H. Percival, President contrôles Flo-Spec Ltd. to Daudelin, 30 January 1984; letter, Daudelin to Flo-Spec Ltd., 6 February 1984. In this letter, Daudelin held back 10% of the value of the order until the guarantee of the required flow of 350 to 400 gallons (1,59 litres to 1,818 litres) of water at every fifteen minutes be met. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[207] Daudelin, interview by author; Cécile Cléroux, eng. to Daudelin, 14 September 1984; Cléroux to Daudelin, 11 October 1984. As late as of May 1985, the artist was objecting to the choice of colour for the fence. Le Journal de Montréal, 9 June 1985; Busseau to Vanier, 16 December 1985; handwritten note by Daudelin: "Au début de l'été 85 le Parc a été donné à la Ville de Montréal et la sculpture a fonctionné au même moment parce que la Ville a fait faire une clôture avant de la faire fonctionner." As of 18 September 1986, the negotiations between the City and the Provincial Government regarding the ownership of the parks were not yet completed. "Note additionnelle," Vanier to Busseau and Bourque, 18 September 1986; McLoughlin to Daudelin, 21 February 1986 and 27 February 1987; Blouin to Claude Lanctôt, Public Works Department, 7 August 1985; Blouin to Alepin, 3 September 1985; Bourque to Blouin, 25 October 1985; memorandum, René Morency, eng. Assistant Director, Module exécution des travaux to André P. Hébert eng., Assistant Director East Region, 9 May 1984; Jean Landry, division Planification et aménagement, to Robert Payette, eng. Superintendent, Module exécution des travaux, East Region, 17 September 1984; Blouin to Bourque, 18 January 1984; Fortin to Charles Daudelin Inc., 28 September 1985; Daudelin to Boyer, 8 October 1985. City of Montréal Parks Department; CIDEC; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[208] Jacques Lemelin, eng. LVLV, "Compte rendu de réunion," 2 February 1987, p. 3, art. 4; see also p. 1, art. 3 and p. 3, art. 6b; Jacques Hébert to Pierre Michaud, eng. Deputy Minister of Transportation, 4 March 1987. Montréal's archives no. CO8705209; Charles Daudelin's personal archives; CIDEC.

[209] Quote of Bourque's own question. Francine Leclerc, Chargée de recherches to Bourque, 4 April 1984. City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[210] Leclerc to Bourque, 4 April 1984, including "Historique du dossier," 4 April 1984, p. 1-4. Stamp on Leclerc's letter with Bourque's signature. Leclerc referred to the following articles of the provincial contract: 2I, J 3, devis d'entretien, 7A vices cachés, 9 propriété de l'oeuvre et 10 droits d'auteur. Also, according to Peter Gnass' résumé, Gnass had deposited a memoir regarding copyrights in visual arts in Québec, in 1979. City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[211] Letter, Bourque to Busseau, Assistant-Director, Technical Module, 16 April 1984, p. 1. City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[212] Bourque to Busseau, 16 April 1984, p. 1. See also Bourque to Morency, 2 November 1983. City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[213] Blouin to Alepin, 3 September 1985; Busseau to Alepin, 25 April 1984. Busseau specifically demanded to Alepin that immediately after the final acceptance of the works, he negotiates with the artists in order to get a document to transfer their copyrights. Busseau to Vanier, 16 December 1985; Ville de Montréal, Renseignements, Formule 1, signed by Bourque and Vanier, 23 July 1984; memorandum, City of Montréal's Administrative Secretary to Me Jean Péloquin, Chief Lawyer at the City, 22 August 1984. City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[214] Final inspection of the works took place on 16 October 1985, and it was proposed by Bourque that the final acceptance be of that date. Blouin to Alepin, 3 September 1985; Jean A. Lefebvre eng. LVLV, to Vanier, 8 November 1985. City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[215] Lefebvre to Vanier, 8 November 1985; see also a copy of the same convention, no date, blanks filled by hand, presumably by Daudelin. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[216] "Projet de convention de cession intervenue dans la ville de Montréal," between Peter Gnass sculptor and the Ministry of Transportation of Quebec, no date, p. 2-3; Claude Saint-Mleux to Me Jean Péloquin, 8 October 1986; "Convention de cession intervenue dans la ville de Montréal" between Peter Gnass, sculptor and Québec's Ministry of Transportation. Approved by Péloquin, Chief advocate of the City, on 10

October 1986. Stamp on the document with date and signature of Péloquin; "Convention de cession intervenue entre VILLE DE MONTREAL . . . et LE GOUVERNEMENT DU QUEBEC (MINISTERE DES TRANSPORTS)" no date, but stamped approved: "Approuvé quant à sa validité et à sa forme, 10 oct. 1985" and signed by Péloquin,10 October 1985. The version approved by Péloquin referred to Gnass' project, but a similar version was prepared for Daudelin, and in all likelihood, for Théberge as well. "Convention de cession intervenue entre VILLE DE MONTREAL . . . et LE GOUVERNEMENT DU QUEBEC (MINISTERE DES TRANSPORTS)" for Daudelin, blanks filled by hand; Busseau to Bourque, 8 December 1986; Busseau to André P. Hébert, eng. Assistant Director, Module exécution des travaux, 9 December 1986. Charles Daudelin's personal archives; City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[217] Lemelin, "Compte rendu," 2 February 1987, p. 2, art. 4; see also p. 1, art. 1, 2. Note: Despite a memorandum from Bourque to Lise Cormier, Paul Lannoy (spelling uncertain) and A. P. Hébert, dated 27 January 1987, which referred to a meeting already held between the Ministry of Transportation's delegates, the artists and the directors of the municipal Department of Public Works (Parks Department), it appears that only one such meeting took place. Not only did the unique above-quoted minutes of meetings infer that, but an internal letter at the Ministry of Transportation refers to *a* meeting held with those parties. J. Hébert to Michaud, 4 March 1987. It is possible that the meeting took place before 2 February and that this was the date of the compte rendu. Lise Cormier, to whom Bourque's memorandum was addressed, wrote a follow-up memorandum on 29 January 1987. City of Montréal's CIDEC and Parks Department.

[218] Lemelin, "Compte rendu," 2 February 1987, p. 1, art. 2 and p. 2.

[219] Ibid., p. 2, art. 4, p. 3, art. 5; CSM to Daudelin, 27 February 1987; the meeting was held on or before 2 February 1987. Fortin to Charles Daudelin Inc., 28 September 1985; Daudelin to Boyer, 8 October 1985. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[220] Lemelin, "Compte rendu," 2 February 1987, p. 4, art. 7, "Hors réunion." See also p. 3, art. 6. Peter Gnass has the reputation of fighting for his rights, even if this means going to court. This point was demonstrated in chapter ten.

[221] "Projet de convention de cession intervenue dans la ville de Montréal"; "convention de cession des droits d'auteur pour la conception et l'aménagement d'un îlot du Carré Viger dans l'axe de l'Autoroute Ville-Marie," entente no. 1712 entre le Gouvernement du Québec (Ministère

des Transports) et Charles Daudelin, sculpteur, 5 March 1987; entente no. 1713 entre le Gouvernement du Québec (Ministère des Transports) et Peter Gnass, sculpteur, 5 March 1987; entente no. 1714 entre le Gouvernement du Québec (Ministère des Transports) et Claude Théberge, artiste, 5 March 1987. The only difference between both versions i.e., the project and the actual agreement, is the reference to a plan as on p. 2 of 5, and the inclusion of the plan showing the location of the project. This reference could be interpreted as an indication that the work of art was not only a sculpture, but that it encompassed the whole city block.

[222] This is particularly blatant in the case of Théberge. Not only did the landscape architect Gendron attend meetings with the artist to explain the concept, she also signed and sealed the working drawings on which it was written: "conception Claude Théberge realisation Diane Gendron architecte paysagiste." See for instance plan "Parc Viger îlot 'B' Aménagement pavage & mobilier," 82-10-05, contract 1420-94. Sheet no B-A-2. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[223] Daudelin, interview by author; Théberge, interview by author. There is a telling episode regarding Daudelin's unwillingness to have other people's contribution acknowledged. Discussions regarding the design of a bronze plaque had been dragging for a long time, and the matter was still unresolved at the meetings regarding the copyrights, but identified as in need of action. Daudelin objected to the text proposed by the Ministry of Transportation, where Gordon Edwards architect, Diane Gendron landscape architect, the engineering firm Lavalin and even Eric Daudelin were identified as contributors. Daudelin requested that his text: "Charles Daudelin artiste-concepteur Agora 1975 Mastodo [the sculpture] 1984" be accepted. Boyer to Jacques Hébert, 27 June 1984; Lemelin, "Compte rendu," 2 February 1987, p. 3, art. 6c; Lucie Drouin, public relations at the Ministry of Transportation to Daudelin, 16 March 1987; Daudelin to Drouin, 18 March 1987; sketch of the proposed text. Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[224] Marc-Yvan Côté to Mayor Jean Doré, 23 March 1987. Minister Côté was a member of the Liberal Government under premier Robert Bourassa. Jean Doré was elected Mayor of Montréal in 1986. Linteau, Montréal, 534; Leclerc, "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une rencontre avec Me Claude St-Mleux du service du Contentieux et M. Claude Blouin, le jeudi 11 juin 1987 en regard du sujet en titre" "Sujet: droit d'auteur-Parc Viger," 29 June 1987. In this one page account of the meeting, Leclerc, in charge of the research at the Botanical garden, appears to be writing to Bourque. Leclerc attended given Bourque's absence. "Ville de Montréal Notes

explicatives," regarding agreements 1717, 1718, and 1719, by Me Claude Saint-Mleux, 26 June 1987. City of Montréal's archives no. CO 8705209; CIDEC.

[225] Saint-Mleux, "Notes explicatives," 26 June 1987; "rapport au comité exécutif" HG0145430. Recommendation approved by Me Allard, Acting Chief Lawyer, 26 June 1987. City of Montréal's archives no. CO 8705209.

[226] Despite the City's commitment to answer as soon as possible, it took a little over eight months to send back the copies signed, with the appropriate approval from the Executive Committee. Jean-Robert Choquet, Mayor's directeur de cabinet to Marc-Yvan Côté, 31 March 1987; Daniel Guillaume, Surintendent, Bureau du Greffier, to Honorable Marc-André [sic] Côté, 9 December 1987; Luc Castonguay, attaché politique, to Guillaume, 21 December 1987. In this letter, Castonguay corrects the name of the Minister: Marc-Yvan and not Marc-André. See also the three agreements: "Entente" "convention de cession des droits d'auteur pour la conception et l'aménagement d'un îlot du Carré Viger dans l'axe de l'Autoroute Ville-Marie," "Entente intervenue entre le Gouvernement du Québec (Ministère des Transports) . . . et la corporation municipale de la Ville de Montréal," 17 December 1987. "Entente" 1717 for Charles Daudelin's copyrights on block A; "Entente" 1718 for Peter Gnass' copyrights on block B; "Entente" 1719 for Claude Théberge's copyrights on block C. See in particular p. 3, art. 2. Except for the specifics (location and artists' name) of each project, the three agreements are the same. The provisions of the agreements are as per the one accepted by the City's Law Department on 10 October 1985; Conseil municipal-document de travail, project 875-81, 16 July 1987; Executive Committee to the Municipal Council of Montréal, 4 August 1987; "Extrait authentique du procès-verbal de l'assemblée du Conseil municipal Ville de Montréal, Séance tenue le 18 août 1987" Resolution no. 8705209. City of Montréal's archives no. CO 8705209; CIDEC.

[227] Théberge, interview by author; see also Daudelin, interview by author.

[228] Leclerc, "Compte-rendu [sic] d'une rencontre avec Me Claude St-Mleux et M. Claude Blouin, le jeudi 11 juin 1987" "Sujet: droit d'auteur-Parc Viger."

[229] Ibid.

[230] Letter, Cormier to J. Champagne, 9 March 1990, p. 1. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[231] According to the documents consulted, Bourque attended his first meeting regarding the project on 23 April 1981. He took part in subsequent meetings, or commented on the proposed documents. He was also informed by receiving copies of the correspondence. Examples:

meeting 1 May 1981; Thibaudeau to Tourville, 28 May 1981; meeting with Daudelin on 12 June 1981; Daudelin to Bourque, 22 October 1981; Bourque to Daudelin, 13 November 1981; large meeting attended by artists and Bourque on 24 November 1981. After having been overwhelmingly present in 1981, there is no trace of Bourque's influence for two years. His involvement during that period appears to have been minimal. He did not attend the coordination meeting, during the construction, regarding the planting works (L. Leblond, "compte rendu," 15 August 1983). He appears to have been following the project from afar (Alepin to Busseau, 1 September 1983, refers to a letter coming from Bourque). When the chief horticulturist resurfaced in the project circa November 1983, he made a short statement that was very telling of his appreciation of who was in charge of the parks, even though it was inaccurate: "Le concept d'aménagement et la réalisation des 3 parcs situés au carré Viger sont la responsabilité du ministère des Transports du gouvernement du Québec." Bourque to Morency, 2 November 1983. After that, he continued to be involved, but with regard to the maintenance of the parks: for the installation of a bust in one of the parks (23 January 1984), for the City's responsibility for the maintenance and plantations in the parks when the works were to be completed (Blouin to Bourque, 18 January 1984, Morency to A. P. Hébert (cc. to Bourque), 9 May 1984), and for the transfer of the copyrights, initiated by Bourque (Leclerc to Bourque, 4 April 1984; Bourque to Busseau, 16 April 1984; Busseau to Alepin (cc. to Bourque) 25 April 1984; Bourque and Vanier, form 1, 23 July 1984). Bourque was also involved for the final acceptance of the works (Bourque to Blouin, 25 October 1985), and later informed of the progress of the negotiations regarding the transfer of the copyrights (Busseau to Bourque, 8 December 1986. Lemelin, "Compte rendu," 2 February (meeting attended by Bourque).

[232] Daudelin to Boyer, 10 December 1981, and 16 December 1981; Daudelin to Aksam [sic] 16 December 1981 and 11 January 1982; Larivée to Blouin, 28 May 1982; Thibaudeau to Alepin, 21 September 1982 and 1 November 1982.

[233] "Note additionnelle," Vanier to Bourque and Busseau, 18 September 1986. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[234] Bourque to Cormier, Lannoy, Hébert, 27 January 1987; see also Cormier to Michel Devoy, 29 January 1987. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[235] Bourque to Cormier, Lannoy, Hébert, 27 January 1987; see also Cormier to Devoy, 16 May 1988. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[236] Bourque to Cormier, Lannoy, Hébert, 27 January 1987; Cormier to

Devoy, 16 May 1988; Cormier to Devoy, 29 January 1987; Blouin to Alepin, 3 September 1985; A. P. Hébert to Busseau, 16 January 1987; Jacques Champagne, manager centre-south region, to Cormier, 2 May 1989. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[237] Document (proposal), Raymond Bertrand "Projet de sculpture cinétique: tour lumino-dynamique à l'intention de la Ville de Montréal," August 1986, p. 2; see also Bertrand to Raymond Régnier, Administrative Secretary, City of Montréal, "Projet de sculpture cinétique," 20 August 1986. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[238] Bertrand, "Projet de sculpture cinétique: tour lumino-dynamique à l'intention de la Ville de Montréal," August 1986, p. 3.

[239] Jacques Guilbault, Député de St-Jacques, to Régnier, 9 October 1986, p. 2. See also Bertrand to Régnier, 20 August 1986. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[240] This figure is almost ten times larger than the value of the contract between the provincial Ministry of Transportation and Simard-Beaudry. Guilbault to Régnier, 9 October 1986, p. 1. City of Montréal's Parks Department.

[241] Saint-Mleux, "Notes explicatives," dossier HF0335368, no date; Blouin, "Notes explicatives," dossier HF0335368, no date; Busseau and Vanier, "Rapport au comité exécutif," 8 October 1986; Bertrand to Régnier, 20 December 1986; John Gardiner, member of the Executive Committee, to Bertrand, 20 January 1987; André David for the municipal Secrétariat général to Bertrand, 26 January 1987; memorandum, Manon Forget, conseillère associée, Executive committee, to Kathleen Verdon, Member of the Executive Committee, 16 February 1987; Michel Devoy, assistant-surintendant, Service des loisirs et développement communautaire, to Marc Fluet, architect, surintendant module bâtiment, 15 June 1987; Busseau to Morency, 4 August 1987; Cormier to Robert Payette, eng. surintendant zone centre-sud, 29 October 1987; Charles H. Rodier, gérant des métiers, région est, to Cormier, superintendant, Botanical Garden, 16 November 1987; illustration 3D "sculpture lumino-cinétique," R. Bertrand, LXXXVII. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[242] Letter, unsigned, Bourque to Jean-Vianney Jutras, Director, Service des loisirs et du développement communautaire, 14 June 1988. City of Montréal Parks Department.

[243] "Oeuvres d'art public Ville de Montréal," updated May 1994. CIDEC.

[244] Isabelle Paré, "Montréal organise un vaste forum sur l'aménagement du centre-ville," Le Devoir, 29 March 1990, p. 10.

[245] Camillo Sitte, L'art de bâtir les villes, trans. D. Wieczorek (Paris: Livre et communication, 1990), 131.

CHAPTER 15

CASE STUDY:
THE CANADIAN CENTRE FOR ARCHITECTURE GARDEN

Introduction

As an institution, The Canadian Centre for Architecture/Centre Canadien d'Architecture (CCA) embodies a unique concept, developed over several years. Some twelve years after the early conception of the institution, the CCA Building was constructed to house the CCA's collection and other related activities.[1] The CCA Building, as well as the CCA Garden, reflects the ideals and ideology of the founder, Phyllis Lambert. However, despite the uniqueness of the institution, the creation of the CCA and the construction of its permanent premises must be understood as part of a global trend towards developing cultural institutions, particularly museums, in city centres. The promotion of culture also included renovating older buildings, and the whole operation was a means to rehabilitate city centres.[2] The construction of the CCA Building and of the CCA Garden did not solely depend on the vision, will or wealth of Phyllis Lambert. It also required the willingness and cooperation (financial and legislative) of three levels of government (municipal, provincial and federal). In fact, this case constitutes a telling example of a private/public partnership.

The history of the CCA Building and of its Garden is also linked to the history of Montréal, both past and recent, when older, but still sound structures were being razed in the name of progress. Therefore, in recounting the founding of the institution, we will insist on one decisive phase: the construction of its permanent premises. We will examine the negotiations required to obtain the land on which the CCA Building and the CCA Garden now stand. We will also explain how, from Phyllis Lambert's will to avoid the eventual presence of disturbing neighbours across the street from the CCA Building, the CCA ended up commissioning one of the best works of public art. Moreover, the recounting of the creation of the CCA, its Building and its Garden, will reveal the attitudes of the various actors towards art, architecture, landscape, the city, and their relation to nature.

The Garden resulted from the obligation, on the part of the CCA, to comply with the requirements of the Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec[3] after it received a grant for the rehabilitation of Shaughnessy House and for the construction of its new building. This explains why the case study of the CCA Garden demands a detour in the history of the CCA Building, and of the CCA itself as an institution. However, notwithstanding all the facilitating elements evoked above, it is the homology between the *habitus* of the artist, Melvin Charney, and the patron, Phyllis Lambert, that made possible at all the creation of the CCA Garden as a work of site-specific art. Even if the original programme called for an environmental sculpture in a park designed by the architect Peter Rose, ultimately Charney's concept won.

Buying and Selling Shaughnessy House

As an activist, Lambert protested against the demolition of the Van Horne mansion, another of Montréal landmark. But as her attempts to buy and secure the house failed, she quietly proceeded to buy Shaughnessy House and actually saved it from demolition.[4]

Before Lambert acquired Shaughnessy House, Derek Drummond and Bruce Anderson, both Associate Professors of Architecture at the School of Architecture of McGill University, visited and inspected the premises, in November 1973, in order to determine whether or not "the property merits the impending classification by the Québec Ministry of Cultural Affairs as a National Historic Monument."[5] The investigation revealed for the first time that Shaughnessy House was not a mansion (and was not originally planned as such) but, rather, two semi-detached houses. The abodes were not, in Drummond and Anderson's view, exemplary of Victorian domestic architecture. Arguably, the interiors were not all original, and not at all well preserved. Their restoration would require major expenses. Furthermore, the professors foresaw that it would be difficult to find a suitable new use for the structures. Moreover, by that time, the entire city block between Dorchester Boulevard,[6] Baile, Saint-Marc and du Fort Streets, referred to as "îlot Shaughnessy," included, beside Shaughnessy House, a two-story heating plant and a small garage. Over 80% of the land was vacant. Drummond and Anderson concluded that the building no longer "played an integral role in the spatial and architectural definition of this part of Dorchester Blvd,"[7] as the architectural and environmental fabric no longer existed. They therefore objected to the following statement: "L'édifice constitue un exemple unique et très bien conservé de riche maison victorienne d'inspiration néo-classique de la fin du XIXe siècle à

Montréal,"[8] made by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs as a step in the process leading to a possible classification of the edifice.

Jean-Claude Marsan, activist and professor of architecture at the Université de Montréal, also presented a report, seemingly after Drummond and Anderson. Marsan agreed that the building was made up of two residences. Nevertheless, he saw Shaughnessy House as a typical example of a comfortable Victorian residence, without being great architecture, "pas plus que la Maison Van Horne ne tenait du chef d'oeuvre. Mais cette Maison reflète bien les idéaux, les prétentions et les goûts de l'époque."[9] However, Shaughnessy House imposed itself mainly by its site, and the overall house-site needed protection against the construction of high-rise buildings in the immediate vicinity. Marsan recommended to regroup the parcels of land of this city block, by developing

> un projet global qui intégrerait la Maison Shaughnessy d'une façon sympathique. Ainsi un complexe résidentiel ou hôtelier pourrait contribuer à mettre cette résidence et son site en valeur, tout en développant le potentiel économique de l'endroit.[10]

He further believed that preserving Shaughnessy House would stop the deterioration of the built environment and would make possible other conservation projects, such as the preservation of the Grey Nun Convent located nearby and then threatened by the development forces.

It appears from these two reports that Lambert needed some back-up from the academic milieu for the classification of the property as an Historic Monument. Failing to receive the anticipated encouragement from McGill University's professors, she then asked Marsan to write in favour of the classification of Shaughnessy House. The provincial classification in effect protected all buildings within a perimeter of 152 metres (500 feet) from the outside of the classified monument, and could therefore prevent undesirable development. As a consequence, the land

on which the CCA Garden now stands fell in the protection area. During the month of February 1974, the building was first classified as an Historic Monument by the Québec Ministry of Cultural Affairs. This was followed, shortly after, by its designation as an historical site by Environment Canada. Lambert offered to buy the premises five days after the house became a Bien culturel classé.[11] On 16 April 16 1974, she became the owner of the building known as Shaughnessy House and of some parcels of land of the Shaughnessy block, for which she paid $725,000. As a purchaser, she accepted the restrictions imposed on the property, governed by the Cultural Property Act.[12]

A building classified Historic Monument, at a time when such a classification was rarer than nowadays, certainly had a greater value than the same building without the prestigious classification.[13] Another point is worth noting. In their report, Drummond and Anderson stated not knowing whether an architect had drawn plans for the house. The Groupe de recherche sur les bâtiments en pierre grise de Montréal (GRBPGM) verified the carpenter's and mason's contracts and was able to establish their reference to the plans and specifications of architect William J. Thomas. Having a building designed by an architect, doubled by a designation of Historic Monument, established a legitimacy for Shaughnessy House as the future home of the CCA. Lambert had first planned to sell the property to a firm from Toronto that wished to integrate Shaughnessy House into a hotel complex (the type of project supported by Marsan in his report). But the project failed and Lambert remained owner of the building. In late spring, early summer of 1984, Lambert, identified as Dame Phyllis Bronfman Lambert, sold Shaughnessy House and the land to the CCA for $1. 2 million.[14]

Creating the CCA and its Permanent Building

In 1979, Lambert created the Canadian Centre for Architecture, praised to be unique in the world. The public and research programmes of the CCA are based on collections of drawings, prints, books, photographs and architectural archives. Lambert was interested in the history of Montréal (as some of her earlier texts testify clearly) and she saw the city as a study centre in itself.[15] But given the quasi-total absence of historical scholarly research on the subject, she felt that she had to create the research herself in order to understand the city:

> And I concluded that setting up an independent institution for this [research on Montréal's history] and for comparable research projects would make much more sense than having an institution that was attached to another institution.[16]

At the same time, Lambert wanted an international institution, and the same year she became a founding member of the International Confederation of Architectural Museums (ICAM).[17]

In 1978, Lambert had asked a former colleague, Daniel Robbins, "to prepare a report on the founding of an architectural museum. The report was central to establishing the terms of reference for incorporating the CCA in 1979."[18] On 21 June 1979, the first directors of the Corporation, Phyllis Lambert, Arnold Ludwick, Yvan E. Phillips and Peter C. Swann filled in the "Application For Incorporation of a Corporation Without Share Capital Under the Canada Corporations Act" with the head office of the proposed Corporation located in the city of Toronto. On 6 September 1979, the CCA got its letters patent as such. Also in 1979, the name of the Centre changed from The Architectural Study Centre/Centre d'Étude d'Architecture to the Canadian Centre for Architecture/Centre Canadien d'Architecture.[19]

The initial objectives of the CCA, listed in the Application For Incorporation, were several:

> 1 a) to promote the study and understanding of architecture by scholars and members of the profession of architecture and the public . . . as well as all other disciplines and activities related to architecture and to the built environment;
>
> b) to hold conferences, meetings, and exhibitions in order to promote discussion of architectural and related subjects and the exchange of views in matters related to architecture and to the built environment;
>
> c) to establish a library and collection of books and other materials that deal with architecture and the built environment, . . . ;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> e) to maintain suitable quarters for the corporation and to permit the same to be used, . . . ;
>
> f) . . . [to enter into arrangements with all levels of authorities] which may seem conducive to the attainment of the objects of the Corporation . . . and to obtain from any such authority any rights, privileges and concessions which the Corporation may think it desirable to obtain, . . . ;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> h) to invest moneys of the Corporation not immediately required for the purposes of the Corporation . . . ;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> 2 b) to acquire . . . property, whether real or personal, immoveable or moveable, of every class and description whatsoever and to use and apply, exclusively for the purposes hereinbefore and hereinafter mentioned, the principal thereof as well as the income therefrom;
>
> . . . . . .[20]

Lambert became director of the Canadian Centre for Architecture after its incorporation. In its first year of existence, the CCA was located in Lambert's office in Old Montréal, where the drawing collection was kept. Books and photographs continued to be bought, but were stored elsewhere.[21] Subsequently, the CCA rented, as a temporary measure, office space belonging to Cadillac-Fairview and located on the second floor of 1440 St. Catherine Street West. It remained there until 1989, the year in which it moved to its actual location.[22]

Already in 1979, Lambert had in mind to use Shaughnessy House for the CCA. Actually, at the Board meeting where the statement of incorporation of the CCA was announced, its new location was also presented:

> In all likelihood the Shaughnessy House is to be the locus of the CCA. It was agreed that the building and the corporation should be separate entities. Sale of the Shaughnessy House to an agency such as Heritage Canada or Parks Canada might provide a tax benefit to the donor.[23]

It appears that by 1978, Lambert had architect Peter Rose working on Shaughnessy House. By 1979, Rose had conceived several projects for the CCA. Towards the end of 1980, and at the beginning of 1981, the architectural firm of Barton Myers and Associates, based in Toronto, completed studies for the relocation of the CCA to downtown Montréal, in a renovated Hudson Bay Company warehouse. Peter Rose and Peter Lanken were consulting architects. In 1980, the decision not to build "an office structure" was made.[24]

Lambert continued to collect and classify her drawings, photographs, and books about architecture. Forecasts for the collections and for the personnel working on these called for more space. However, the form the collection would take was not at all clear. Neither was the idea about the institution that would be needed to house it. The original

concept of a study centre evolved during the planning of the building, when the need for exhibiting the artifacts became clear. Lambert had wanted the CCA to be more than a traditional museum: it also had to be a study and research centre. The objects in the collection would serve to understand architecture as a process.[25] Concomitantly, the CCA worked on its operational goals and developed a Policy Paper I/Basic Policy, in which it was stated, among others, that "the CCA is registered as a charitable organization. It is private in its funding, in its public, in its operations."[26] Later, another document aiming "to clarify, elaborate and comment on CCA Policy Paper I . . . [was] concerned with defining the component parts of the CCA"[27] and stated that the CCA had to serve more than one public. The refining of the CCA's goals and objectives, along with some negotiations in order to comply with objective 1f (see above), had the CCA seeking confirmation of its stated objectives by modifying or clarifying its status. For instance, at the 22 May 1984 Board meeting, it was reported that the CCA had been "recognized as a category 'A' institution under the Cultural Properties Import Export Act, as a museum under the Tariff and Customs Act and as a member of the Canadian Museums Association."[28] The CCA presented itself either as a private foundation of public interest, devoted to the art of architecture, or as a non profit corporation incorporated under part two of the Canadian law on commercial corporations.[29]

After having abandoned the idea of renovating the downtown warehouse for the CCA, Lambert decided to design the new CCA herself, from Ridgway, her Los Angeles office. In 1981, working with Gene Summers, she conceived three proposals, using the actual site of the CCA, i.e., the entire Shaughnessy block. Ridgway's proposals were to highlight Shaughnessy House. Therefore, new constructions would either be far away from the Historic Monument or underground. As

Lambert's primary idea was to re-establish Shaughnessy House as a villa, the house had to be surrounded by gardens. Hence, all three proposals had gardens contiguous to the house. The Ridgway office continued to work on the plans for the CCA until 1983 and kept gardens as part of the composition. However, Lambert eventually came to realize that Shaughnessy House, never having been a country villa, but rather, two semi-detached houses surrounded by similar constructions and framed by large landscaped areas, did not have the volume to stand by itself on the entire city block. In 1983, she understood that the universal space she had been seeking to create for the exhibition area was not appropriate for the type of exhibits the CCA would be presenting. In her initial research, she had been trying to obey two conflicting forces. On the one hand, the will to save Shaughnessy House, to restore it and to give it back to its urban milieu, ordered not only the restitution of the physical integrity of the building, but of the urban fabric as well. On the other hand, that choice required the acknowledgement of the specificity of the site, which went against the universal space she was also trying to implement. By affirming the need for a specific programme and a design to answer specific needs, Lambert was not only dissociating herself from Mies van der Rohe, creator of such universal spaces. She was also distancing herself from other architects and collectors of architectural documents who had not tried to implement specific premises for specific functions.[30]

This need to develop the architectural programme along with the institution had an impact on the selection mode of the architect. It prevented Lambert from holding a competition for the CCA building. In 1983, Peter Rose was designated as architect of the new CCA building, and he started work on his plans in October 1983. Two young architects

from Princeton, having studied with Michael Graves, joined Rose's team in 1984.[31]

The Architect of the CCA Building

Peter Rose was born in Montréal in 1953 and graduated in architecture from Yale, where Charles Moore was dean of the School of Architecture. Rose's reputation was well established in Canada by the late 1970s. In 1978 and 1982, he was honored by both McGill University and the Québec Order of Architects for the design of two residences, the Bradley House (North Hatley, Québec) and the "Maison sur la colline" (Magog, Québec). His design for a ski pavilion built in Saint-Sauveur (Québec) in 1977 was discussed by Charles Jencks, in the introduction to Post-Modern Classicism (1980).[32] In 1979, he was a co-founder of Trace, a magazine about Canadian architecture. He also founded and coordinated the Alcan Conference series on architecture. Peter Rose was a team member who designed the Alcan headquarters in Montréal, a project mixing existing buildings with new construction. The Maison Alcan received the Prix d'Excellence in Architecture in 1984. Rose's work has been discussed in Progressive Architecture and Architectural Record, and has been exhibited in art galleries and museums.[33]

The CCA is said to have made Peter Rose "a major figure on the international scene."[34] Having chosen a top architect for the Seagram Building, Lambert now had a self-imposed mission of finding the best person for each particular aspect of the project (i.e., new construction or restoration). Lambert explained her choice of Rose for the CCA. He was from and working in Montréal. They both had returned to this city after a sojourn in the USA. They saw Montréal as a subject to study. They

walked its streets and were knowledgeable of its history. A close relationship had to, and did, develop between Rose and Lambert. Lambert did the preliminary work and, as a consulting architect, directed Rose's concept. She acknowledges that the CCA is Rose's building.[35] For his part, Rose was aware that Lambert was part of the power structure, and that she was "immersed in world architecture, so the agenda . . . [was] to produce high-level work, ... [She was] an incisive critic and a stickler for detail."[36] Yet he admired her passion. After the new CCA building received much praise, Lambert explained that in Montréal, successful projects were the fruit of collaboration between clients and architects who had previously analyzed, and understood, the quality of the traditional built environment.[37]

When the design of the new CCA was made public, the relation between the architecture and the urban fabric was evoked: not to be salvaged from destruction as in the early days (i.e., before the classification of Shaughnessy House) but to be mended, rehabilitated. Said Lambert:

> From the outset Peter and I wanted to make a building that was related to the history and culture of the city. A major role of the new building and its surrounding land was to reknit the urban tissue of an area made derelict by highway construction in the 1960s. The building had to--as any work of architecture must--add to and heighten the architectural quality of its neighbourhood,. . .[38]
>
> Architecture should deal with the issues of its time. I see it as a continuity, a look at what's gone before, in which the International Style was a break. As a formalistic exposition of architecture, it set aside such issues as the relationship of buildings to the fabric of the city.[39]

A few years after the acquisition of Shaughnessy House in 1974, Lambert set to work creating the institution that would become the CCA. Even if the first step was its incorporation in 1979, and if Lambert anticipated to locate it in Shaughnessy House, a lot of work remained to

be done before the CCA could move to its new building. Lambert worked in parallel at refining the concept of the CCA as an institution, and at designing its future premises. At one point, she decided that she would not design the building herself, and hired Peter Rose to do so. Rose was clearly identified with post-modernism, and Lambert had distanced herself from modernism. Hence, Lambert and Rose had compatible habituses and a shared vision of architecture and of the city, Montréal in particular. This led Lambert to select Rose.

Parcels of Land: Leftovers from Urban Renewal

The history of the CCA is also linked to the relationships between its collections and the City of Montréal at large, the CCA's neighbourhood in particular. The restoration of Shaughnessy House, the new construction, and the CCA Garden have been integral parts in rehabilitating the area. This neighboorhood had not always been in need of rehabilitation, though. Having bought Shaughnessy House, Lambert proceeded to investigate in the history of the expanse. She could eventually state, after the CCA was conceived, that this part of Montréal had an historical value equivalent to that of the old city. Earlier on, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the site had had a rural character, with vineyards, orchards and gardens. As the research undertaken by Phyllis Lambert and historian Robert Lemire (working for the CCA) demonstrated, the area evolved over three centuries from a rural setting to a suburban one, and on to an even denser, truly urban environment. The neighbourhood also experienced the pitfalls of 1960-70s urbanization, that is, extensive demolition for road works and

expressway construction, as well as construction of new building types, office buildings, hotels and condominiums along Dorchester Boulevard.[40]

In trying to integrate a new construction to a heritage building, and to make the best use of the entire city block on which Shaughnessy House stood, an enormous difficulty had to be surmounted: Lambert was not the owner of all the lots. The negotiations in order to acquire the remaining land of Shaughnessy block were complex and time consuming. They involved either the CCA's Director of administration or members of CCA's Board of Directors, some of whom were lawyers, real-estate appraisers, et cetera, working for CEMP Investments and who knew how to negotiate and make deals.[41] This part of the story has always been skipped, but it is worth recounting: the CCA's ownership of Shaughnessy block eventually led the City of Montréal to grant an emphyteutic lease for the land across the street, where the CCA Garden now stands.

The Land for the CCA Building

By 1976, the Montréal firm of architects Desnoyers Mercure Lezly Gagnon Sheppard was mandated to set up Shaughnessy House. It was already known then, that besides the land included with the property "Shaughnessy House" (6,085 square metres or 65,500 square feet) and owned by Phyllis Bronfman (Lambert), the remaining land of the Shaughnessy block (4,924 square metres or 53,000 square feet) belonged either to the Provincial Government or to the City of Montréal. The architects asked the City about agreements in effect between Ville de Montréal and la Voirie du Québec (Transport Québec); about the possibility to include municipal land to develop a master plan; about the

possibility to exchange land with the City to relocate an existing, adjoining park, Strathcona Park, as well as about the possibility to consider an interrelation between the park and semi-private spaces. The architects' inquiry also related to aerial rights above the highway ramps.[42]

In 1981, the matter of the negotiations for acquiring the land adjacent to Lambert's property was submitted to the CCA's Board of Directors, which considered various possibilities, "including a purchase, an exchange or the obtention, servitudes from the City of Montréal, etc."[43] The Board also established criteria to orient the CCA in its negotiation: control by the Canadian Centre for Architecture of all the land; minimization of real estate taxes to the greatest possible extent; creation of a park.[44]

A year later, a map was prepared identifying the owners of the various parcels of land surrounding the plot of land on which Shaughnessy House stood (see figure 50).[45] Two main landowners stood out: the City of Montréal and the provincial Department of Transportation. One of the two parcels belonging to the City of Montréal (P1631) was Strathcona playground. The other parcels had been expropriated in order to build access ramps (exit and entrance) to the Ville-Marie Expressway.[46]

The landowners having been identified, the CCA manager and directors aimed at obtaining the land for free. On 15 October 1982, Pierre-André Themens, a lawyer partner at Goodman Phillips and Vineberg, and Gilles Crépeau, CCA's Director of administration, wrote a letter to Pierre Schooner, Director and General Commissionner of the Commission d'initiative et de développement économiques de Montréal (CIDEM), but never sent it. The text, however, was proposed by Crépeau to James D. Raymond as a basis for the letter that Phyllis Lambert would address to Mayor Drapeau. Raymond was vice-president of CEMP

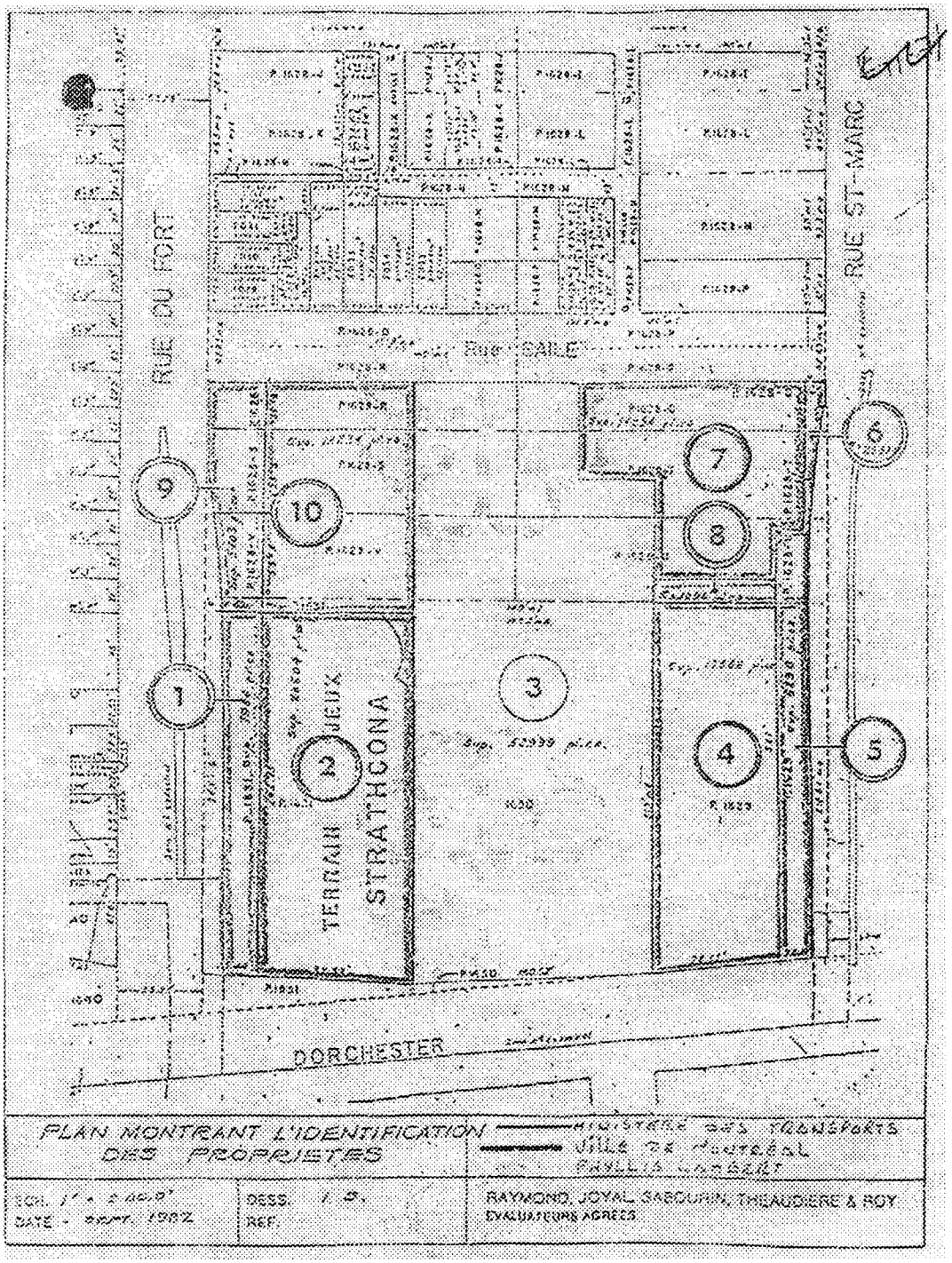


Figure 50. Plan showing the identity of the owners of the various parcels of Shaughnessy block, dated September 1982. Source: CCA Archives and City of Montréal archives, 84-08072.

Investment and a member of CCA's Board of Directors. Actually, some elements of the text were used when Lambert wrote to Mayor Drapeau. In his covering letter to Raymond, Crépeau summarized the CCA's position with regard to the land:

1- CCA would prefer by far to own, rather than to rent (by emphyteutic lease) all parcels of land of the city block;

2- CCA would rather acquire these lots for a nominal value ($1.00 each) rather than at the market value. In order to present this point, "nous pourrions employer l'argumentation de l'importance du CCA pour la Ville de Montréal en tant que métropole";[47]

3- CCA also wanted to negotiate the relocation of Strathcona playground in a place that would be less likely to harm the laying out of the Shaughnessy block: in all likelihood along Baile Street between the two parking lots;

4- Finally, CCA wished to be in charge of the layout and maintenance of the park, in order to achieve a greater harmony of design, and make sure that it would always be well kept.

In the event that the City of Montréal would not have accepted this proposal, the directors had a contingency plan.[48] This plan carefully orchestrated a scheme that ultimately aimed to meet with Mayor Drapeau. It was a first mandatory step since the City of Montréal owned two of the parcels of land and could be instrumental in the negotiations for the remaining ones. And so, in anticipation of their 10 December 1982 meeting, Lambert wrote a letter to Mayor Jean Drapeau on 7 December, explaining to him the CCA and its potential benefits for Montréal. Lambert also pointed out the CCA's uniqueness, as well as the jobs generated by its creation. The CCA's realizations would set up Montréal as the world centre of architecture. She then introduced the need for the CCA to be located in an appropriate environment, stressing

that the set-up of the Shaughnessy block met those requirements. She referred to restoration work done on Shaughnessy House, "monument historique classé."[49] An essential component of the laying out of the CCA in the Shaughnessy block was the integration of parks and gardens with the use of Shaughnessy House by the CCA, referring to it as the "concept of a villa in a park." She then asked that, in order to realize the project which she described in her letter, the City of Montréal transfer all the parcels of land of the Shaughnessy block, i.e., those belonging to the Québec Government and to the City of Montréal, for $1.00 "et autres considérations, considérations qui vous seront soumises lors de notre entretien de vendredi."[50] She concluded by stating that initiatives such as the CCA would affirm a strong cultural presence, hence contributing to maintain Montréal's status as a genuine metropolis.

The next day, at another meeting of the Board of Directors, the CCA's proposal to Mayor Jean Drapeau was discussed. Phyllis Lambert as Director of the CCA, and James D. Raymond were commissioned to make any offer to the City that would yield CCA "un contrôle de fait ou de droit" on the entire city block, "même si cela devait se faire par emphytéose,"[51] which was certainly not proposed in Lambert's letter!

She invited Mayor Drapeau over to the CCA premises on Ste. Catherine Street. And despite their glorious fights of the past, Drapeau accepted her invitation. According to Lambert, Drapeau "started to move in the direction of Save Montréal/Heritage Montréal."[52] During the visit, Lambert showed him some of the CCA's prints of Trajean and Drapeau was impressed and enthusiastic about both what he saw and the people working at the CCA. Lambert also spoke to the Mayor about the land. Through people she knew in Montréal's business community, particularly from CEMP, and Leo Kolber, she drafted a proposal for that land, which

involved, after all, an emphyteutic lease. Lambert recalls: "I think it was Drapeau's idea to give to us [the land] on emphyteutic lease."[53]

On 23 December 1982, following her meeting with Mayor Drapeau, Lambert wrote a letter to Pierre Schooner. The CCA was officially making proposals and requests to the City of Montréal, pertaining to the location, in Montréal, of the cultural institution that was the CCA. In that letter, Lambert affirmed that the remaining land of the Shaughnessy block (besides CCA's) belonged to the City of Montréal or was about to be so "en vertu d'ententes avec le Ministère des transports du Québec relativement aux résidus d'expropriation."[54] In order for the CCA to get its permanent location in Montréal and allow it to proceed with the restoration of Shaughnessy House in an appropriate environment, the CCA was offering the City of Montréal to lay out and maintain as a public park all the lots that the City of Montréal would lease to the CCA on an emphyteutic lease of ninety-nine years, for a symbolic annual rent of $1.00. That park was to be open to the public. The City of Montréal would allow the CCA to proceed to any required construction as long as it respected the global layout of the city block. The CCA's project then involved an underground construction on the larger part of the lot, and, at the ground level, the conversion of the area to a green public space.[55]

Schooner recommended to the Executive Committee (see figure 50 for the identification of the lots):

1- to mandate the municipal departments to undertake the negotiations with the provincial Ministry of Transportation to hand over to the City of Montréal the lots identified as nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and to ask the provincial Ministry of Cultural Affairs to back-up the City's request.

2- to close Strathcona park (no. 2) as soon as possible, to pass a by-law closing the underground and to allow an emphyteutic lease of lots no. 2 and no. 7.[56]

Schooner gave this advice on the basis of the total value of the private investment about to be made. The anticipated cost for building the CCA was $15 million and the investment for the exhibition artifacts was estimated at about $20 million. The CCA was to assume all the costs for this.

Starting in January 1983, the process to acquire lots from the Provincial Government was set in motion. The land transfer involved several departments of the City of Montréal, namely Traffic, Real Estate Management, Public Works, and Urban Planning, as well as the Legal department. Having received input from all the above mentioned departments, the Executive Committee, at its 4 February 1983 meeting, welcomed favourably the CCA's request for the land. This led Yvon Lamarre, president of the Executive Committee, to write to Michel Clair, Minister of Transportation, asking for the lots in the name of the CCA and explaining this project. Clair was favourable to the City of Montréal's and CCA's requests for the transfer of the land. However, that land, previously expropriated or bought by the Province of Québec, was considered biens immeubles publics excédentaires following the construction of the Ville-Marie Expressway. This created another problem since the by-law regarding the conditions of alienation of surplus public goods (Règlement concernant les conditions d'aliénation des immeubles publics excédentaires) stated that such land should not be transferred at a price below market value. Instead of letting go of the land via public tender calls, the Minister recommended to the Treasury Board that a special dispensation be granted to dispose of the land. In the short term a loss of revenue of about $140,000 was to be expected. But the anticipated world-wide influence and benefits brought by the CCA were expected to be greater in the long run. It was also pointed out that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs agreed on the validity of the transfer for the

CCA as well as the interest that such a Centre would bring about. On 13 September 1983, the Minister received from the provincial Treasury Board the essential exemption that he had requested. In all these dealings, the fact that Shaughnessy House was a Bien culturel classé had a major significance and impact.[57]

In the fall of 1983, Themens, the counsel who handled most of the negotiations for the CCA, had reminded the City that the completion of the preliminary drawings for the CCA building depended on the final agreements regarding land transfer. On 3 May 1984, Peter Rose transmitted to the Administrative Secretary of the City, sets of plans of the new CCA, stressing that both Mayor Drapeau and the Director of the City Planning Department had already received them with great enthusiasm. Rose hoped that these plans would contribute to facilitate the land exchange to be done at the City Council meeting of 17 May 1984. The City of Montréal, the Québec Government and the CCA had entered in tripartite negotiations. They required time but ultimately resulted in the CCA's receiving all the much-needed parcels of land for free. Initially, however, the parties had been working towards an agreement for an emphyteutic lease. The draft of the emphyteutic lease between the City and the CCA included a provision that stated that the City would have owned, at the expiry of the lease, all constructions *on* the leased land. Eventually, the Executive Committee agreed for a sixty-four-year lease. But on 8 June 1984, the initial structure for the land transfer was modified. Instead of an emphyteutic lease, the City was giving away the land to the CCA, therefore renouncing the ownership of some part of the CCA in the long term. This ensured the CCA that it could live as a whole, without further threats of being dismantled. Meanwhile the City took action to close the parks on the land it owned in Shaughnessy block (see figure

51). A by-law (no. 6453) was adopted on 20 June 1984 at the City Council meeting, ordaining the closing of the lots. [58]

The City Planning Department, which had been asked for input regarding the transfer act, stated that the contract should include an easement ("servitude") for a park to compensate for the land being transferred by the City (which included the previous Strathcona park), and that it should be identified as such in the cadastre. The new park had to be located approximately as shown on plans "A" and "B" (see figures 51 and 52) and extend over about 2,920 square metres. The layout of the park had to be approved by the Public Works Department. And finally, the public had to have access to the park at all times. All the above conditions were included in the draft of the contract, which had a provision for a green space as per a plan by the City Planning Department, 31 May 1984 (see figure 51).[59]

Whereas earlier on, the requests for land made it clear that the new construction would be underground (reflecting Ridgway's proposals of the time) and green space accessible to the public would be laid out at the ground level (treating Shaughnessy House as a villa), that specificity was eventually discarded as Peter Rose's plans were being developed. A short time before signing the official contracts, the City Planning Department described the project as involving the new construction of a one storey building with three underground levels, all linked by a central foyer to Shaughnessy House. The project as conceived met the requirements of the zoning by-law then in force in the area, but did not conform to the requirements of other by-laws. Notwithstanding, the City Planning Department did not object to the project and drafted a by-law to be adopted by the municipal authorities, allowing for the construction of the CCA. The City Council later adopted the said by-law. Moreover, the provincial Ministry of Cultural Affairs had to approve the project, since it

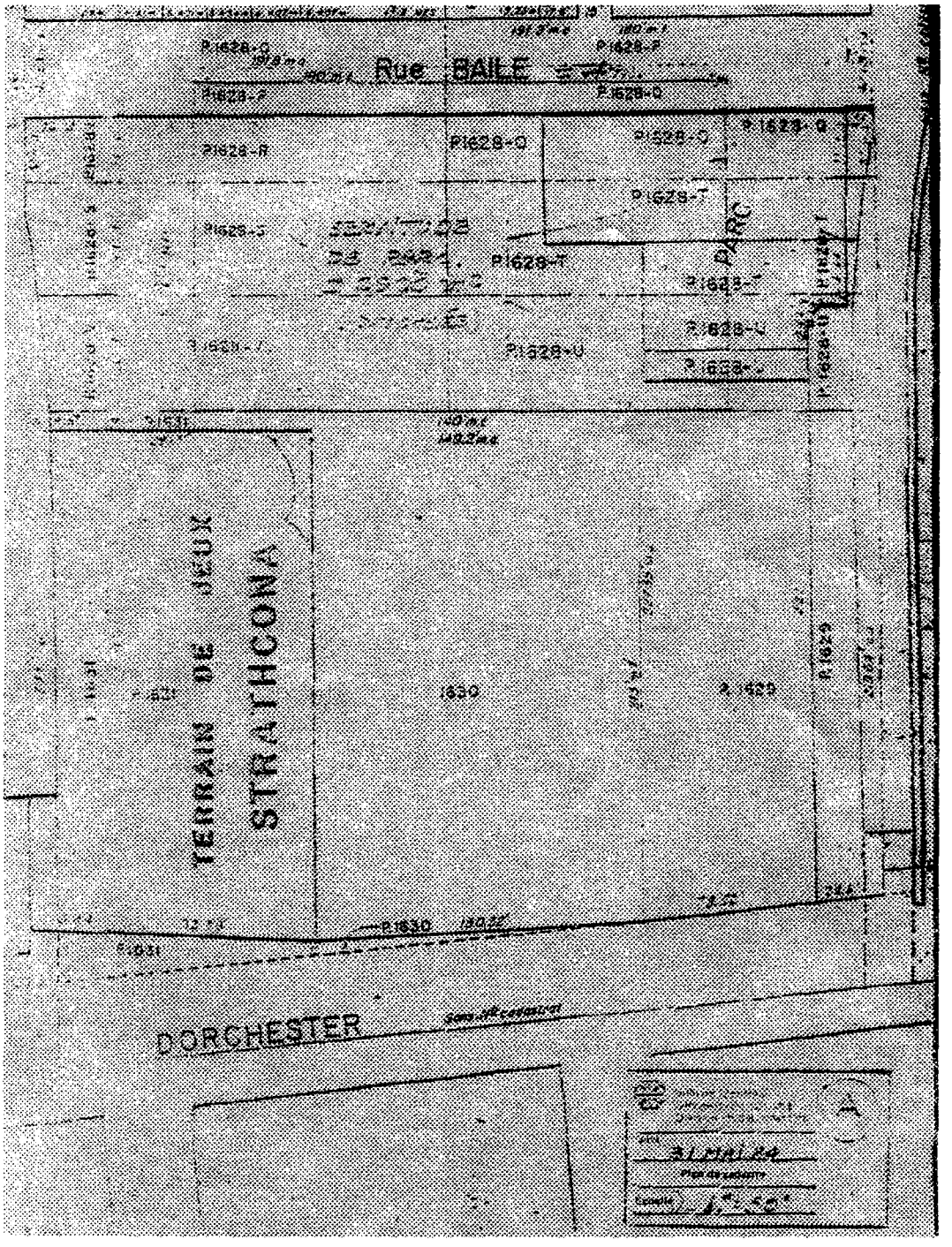


Figure 51. Plan A, dated 31 May 1984. The location of Strathcona playground and of the easement for the future park are indicated. City of Montréal archives, 84-08072.

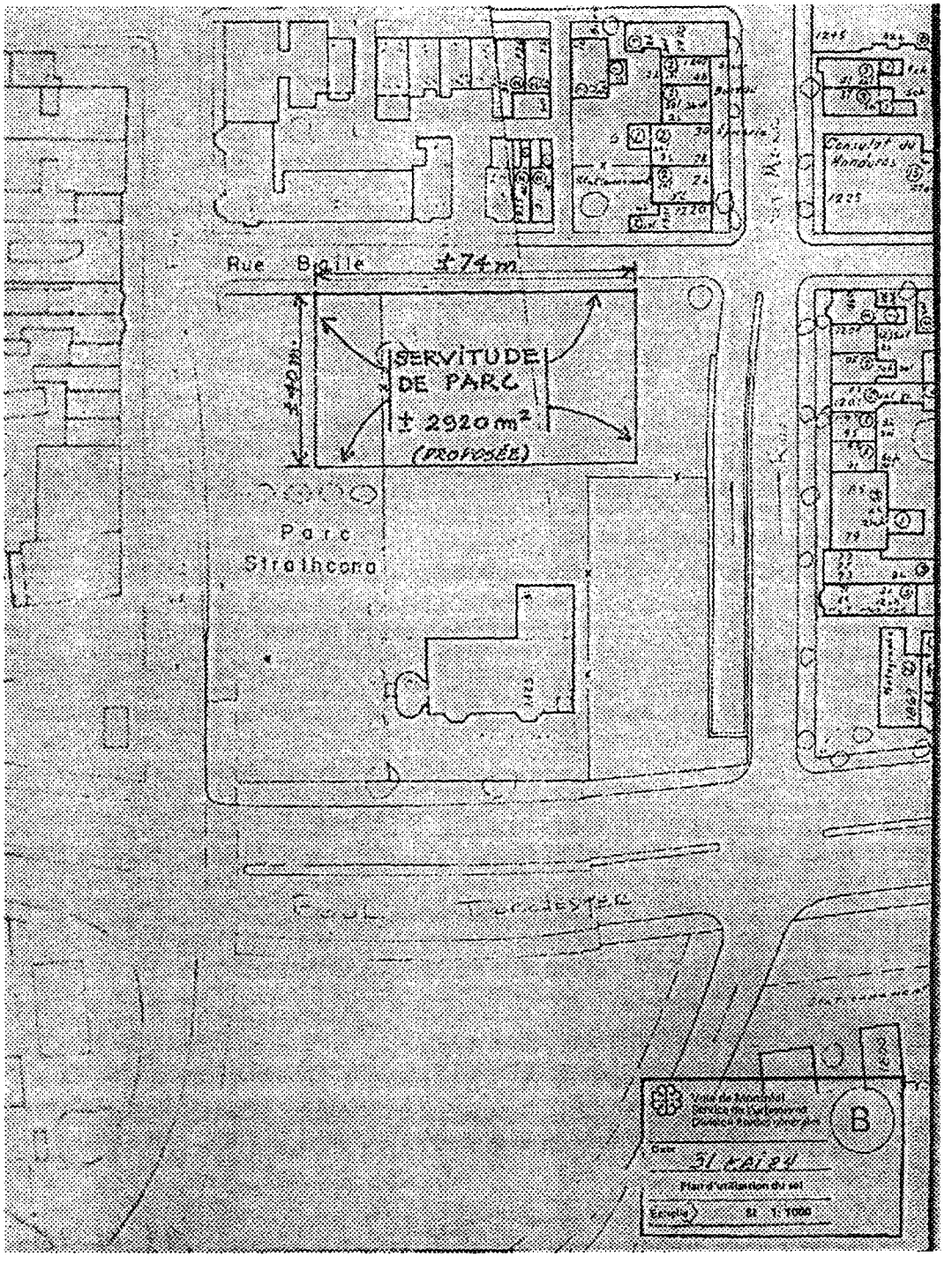


Figure 52. Plan B, dated 31 May 1984. The location of the easement for the future park is clearly indicated. City of Montréal archives, 84-08072.

was in the area of protection of a bien culturel classé.[60] However, as Themens had tactfully reminded an assistant deputy minister earlier on, "le Gouvernement du Québec accorde son soutien inconditionnel au projet,"[61] and the CCA did not anticipate any difficulty to get that provincial approval. The evolution of the architect's concept, coupled with all the intricate details of the negotiations, could explain why the City Planning Department requested a specific area to be contractually designated as a park.

Finally, it was on 9 May 1984, that the Ministry of Transportation of the Province of Québec agreed to the proposed contract of land transfer, for free, to the City of Montréal. The land, evaluated to be worth $565,000, was given to the City on the express condition that it would, in turn, be donated to the CCA for the restoration of Shaughnessy House in order to implement an international architecture centre, and nothing else. Then the City had to take the appropriate legal procedures to accept the real estate and transfer it to the CCA. Two official documents were signed by the three parties on 24 July 1984: the first one, between the City of Montréal and the Ministry of Transportation, the second, between the City and the CCA. It appears that the City of Montréal waited for Lambert to sell her property to the CCA before the latter was awarded the land. The total value of the land given by the City of Montréal (including the value of the land given by the Province) was of $1,165,000.[62] Less than a year later, on 13 May 1985, the ground-breaking ceremony for the construction of the new CCA building was held. Lambert then presented the project in relation to the public garden on Baile street, which helped to link the CCA building to the immediate neighbourhood. The CCA press release indicated that the CCA had invested $10.6 million in the development and was trying to raise five million dollars more from the private sector. During the ceremony, both the Federal and Provincial

Governments pledged their financial aid of four million dollars, each, to the project, whose total value amounted to $23.6 million. At that time, Lambert projected the opening ceremony within three years, i.e., in 1988.[63]

For Lambert, the CCA elevated the subject of architecture by making "it clear that architecture is not just a commercial venture. It is not just a way of making money; it has a deep influence on society."[64] When the CCA opened to the public, she asserted that Montréal would become the national and international centre of studies and research in architecture, urban planning and landscape architecture because of the attractive power of the CCA on the international elite in these domains.[65] And the reception of the CCA indicates that the institution was effectively perceived as a means of international promotion and economic development for Montréal.[66] Philip Johnson has acknowleged both the CCA's and Phyllis Lambert's influence on architecture. In addition, the CCA collection compared favourably with that of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York City.[67]

The Land For a Second Public Park

After the Provincial Government and the City of Montréal had given the land on the north side of Dorchester Boulevard, and shortly after the May 1985 ground-breaking ceremony, the CCA asked the City of Montréal for more land. It was needed to create a public park, this time across the street from the CCA, south of Dorchester Boulevard. The idea of the public park (that eventually became the CCA Garden) came to Lambert after she had heard from various sources that the City of Montréal was planning a regional police station for this location. Lambert

set about to talk to friends she had in the business community (Chamber of Commerce/Board of Trade) about this "unfortunate" idea.[68]

On 21 August 1985, the CCA formally requested that the City of Montréal give up, through an emphyteutic lease, the above-mentioned land. Furthermore, it indicated its intention to create a park on this very location, in the coming fall. The municipal administration agreed in principle to the request, but had to ask once again for the land from the Minister of Transportation. Part of the land requested for the park had been expropriated or bought for the Trans-Canada Highway (Ville-Marie Expressway), and consisted of leftovers from the construction that belonged to the Ministry of Transportation. The other part had been expropriated by, and belonged to, the City of Montréal when it widened Dorchester Boulevard, or else, the City had owned it as public property for a longer time (des Seigneurs Street, Edgehill Street).[69] The City actually asked the Minister to proceed in the same manner as for the previous land assembly, except that this time, the transfer would involved an emphyteutic lease. Since in this occurrence, the CCA did not need the land for the construction of its new building, the rationale in asking for the land was somewhat different:

> Nous aimerions soulever à votre attention que le Gouvernement du Québec a déjà contribué aux projets du Centre canadien d'architecture d'une part par une contribution de quatre millions de dollars (4 000 000,00 $) par son Ministère des affaires culturelles et d'autre part, par la première contribution de terrains qui avait été faite et à laquelle il est fait référence dans la lettre du Centre canadien d'architecture.
>
> Nous aimerions soulever de plus à votre attention l'article 17 du règlement ci-haut mentionné qui prévoit que le Ministre des transports peut consentir <u>à titre gratuit</u> à une municipalité un droit réel pour des travaux d'utilité publique <u>s'ils confèrent une plus-value à l'immeuble</u>.[70]

Since the CCA had indicated that it intended to invest over one and a half million dollars for that park, the City argued that this would, indeed,

increase the value of the CCA building, and that therefore, article 17 of Treasury Board regulation 154599 could apply. On 6 November 1985, the Minister of Transportation confirmed that his ministry agreed to transfer to the City, for free, the parcels located between the two access ramps of Ville-Marie Expressway. The agreement was under the specific condition that this assemblage would serve exclusively for landscaped layouts and for parks. Without further delay, the Minister officially requested from the Treasury Board the permission to give the land to the City of Montréal for the purpose of transferring it to the CCA.[71]

After the Provincial Government had agreed to give away the land, the City's notary, Normand Latreille, asked the opinions of the various concerned municipal departments. The previous land transfer, on the northern side of Dorchester Boulevard, had opened doors for the CCA, both at City Hall and the Québec Government. It thus helped the CCA to obtain more land, even if for different purposes. But, in spite of the fact that the request was received favourably, it took a long time before all the details of the transactions were worked out.[72] Finally, on 16 October 1986, the Municipal Council adopted a resolution (no. CO8615535) accepting the parcels of land given by the Provincial Government. Those, in addition to the others owned by the City, would allow the CCA to obtain an emphyteutic lease and "permettront l'aménagement d'un parc de verdure sur cet emplacement."[73]

On 3 November 1986, a double transaction took place. First, the Provincial Government transferred the land, considered as "biens immeubles publics excédentaires,"[74] to the City, for free, provided that the City would lease it (emphyteutic lease) for seventy-five years to the CCA. Second, the City granted the CCA an emphyteutic lease. In the contract, the Provincial Government spelled out that the parcels of land ought to be used exclusively "pour les fins de l'aménagement d'un parc de verdure

par le Centre Canadien d'Architecture."[75] The value of the land given by the Department of Transportation was of $170,000, whereas the total value of the leased parcels was of $590,000. In the contractual agreement, the CCA accepted to pay one dollar each year and to construct and maintain a park worth at least $500,000, as per the cost break-down prepared by Peter Rose. The CCA also agreed to conform to a document entitled "Normes et programmes" d'aménagement et d'entretien prepared by the section Encadrement du module parcs du service des Travaux publics (i.e., specifications for the layout and the maintenance of public parks, by the municipal parks service). The improvement works had to start within the year following the signing of the contract (hence before 3 November 1987) and be completed within the next three years. At the end of the lease, after seventy-five years, the City would become owner of all the work done on the land.[76]

Peter Rose, Phyllis Lambert and Melvin Charney: Search For the Classical Architectural Order

Peter Rose was planning to design the park, which was to include paths, shrubs, one minor fountain and a major one (worth twenty thousand dollars and sixty thousand dollars respectively). An allowance for the irrigation system (fifteen thousand dollars) was also included. The fountain element seemed to have been important for some city officials in their acceptance to lease the land for the CCA project.[77] Later, Rose's concept evolved and he replaced the fountains with ponds. A general idea of what Peter Rose had in mind then, for the park/garden, can be seen from his September 1985 sketch. The architect's park was composed of three parts, vegetation on the eastern part, the middle left

an empty rectangle in front of Shaughnessy House, and the western part contained a pond set amidst vegetation. A wall ran across the southern edge of the park. Three axes in the central part clearly related the garden to the CCA building, across the street.

Lambert had had extensive historical research done about the neighbourhood, looking for important elements that defined and characterized the landscape of the past. Several ancient maps of the site had revealed the existence of ponds in the landscaped gardens adjacent to mansions or other important constructions. Lambert confirmed her unflagging interest for the pool in a garden in relation to a building (villa), as an element defining the cultural landscape of the site: "Important to the history of the area and setting the CCA in context is the great garden of the Sulpicians with its long pond. . . . (Very important in relation to Mels [sic] garden)."[78]

One may wonder if Lambert and Rose did not, for a time, consider having a pond as an element of drainage used also as an element symbolic of gardens in general, as well as of the history of the surrounding area. In fact, a firm of engineers and planners hired by the CCA to investigate the possibilities for the site drainage, considered the use of surface detention ponds as a measure of water control. A possible location for these ponds was on the south side of Dorchester Boulevard.[79]

In fact, the insistance on the part of Lambert to include these elements of the landscape was coherent with her interest in reinterpreting classical elements of the past. In 1983, at the very moment she was working on the concept of Shaughnessy House as a villa (with the new construction underground and gardens that would set off the house), she had the CCA import the French exhibition presented at the Institut Français d'Architecture showing the results of an emulation competition

on the villas of Pliny. The gardens were present in Pliny's description of what a villa should be: "He [Pliny] talks about one walking through the gardens at different times of day."[80] The Montréal exhibition added two parts to the original competition: an historical overview of the influence of Pliny's letters and also, the presentation of eight Montréal villas. Also, the academic work of a young Montréal architect, Erik Marosi, a member of Peter Rose's team for the CCA Building, was included in the show. But the pièce de résistance was the intégration of all three parts of the show by Melvin Charney, who created an installation, Pliny's on My Mind, for the occasion. The exhibition praised classical architectural tradition through this exercice in reinterpretation of the historical, classical elements of the villa in a garden. This was also a test of the CCA's relationship with scholars. The apology was vigourously condemned by art historian Johanne Lamoureux, who objected to the merits of emulation as a method of learning, stressing that it had been rejected by Modernism. Lamoureux also objected to the proposed view that using architectural vocabulary from the Antiquity would generate more humane built environments:

> Il semblerait que la modernité architecturale ait été trop radicale et qu'elle menacerait de nous laisser des 'paysages urbains sans mémoire'. Faut-il entendre par là . . . que certains éléments, comme le fronton et la colonne, ont un potentiel d'impression mnémonique plus grand![81]

Six months later, Parachute published a text by architect Larry Richards, then Director of the School of Architecture at the University of Waterloo. Richards, while presenting no explicit reference to Lamoureux's former critique, nonetheless confirmed the validity of the exhibition: "Confronting the classical tradition seems to be inescapable, even for the most extreme modernist."[82] He stated that the "classical" in architecture belonged to several traditions, present throughout history.

Having justified the need for such an exhibition, Richards then presented his review: indeed the exhibition called for the following of classical design principles. But Charney's piece brought up questions that addressed the meaning of the classical tradition in current architectural production, one of which was:

> In addition to Villas, is the classical tradition capable of producing processes, buildings and cities sufficiently touchable, flexible, affordable and "toughly" public to be convincingly of the masses as well as the classes?[83]

Richards' partial answer was that:

> Charney is both obeying and disobeying the imperatives of the classical state of mind. Toronto architect/critic George Baird has commented that classicism is not on Charney's primary axis of intention, speculating that the classicizing only comes second-hand through his vernacular preoccupations.[84]

Moreover, Charney had expressed his admiration for one of the exhibited projects, Leon Krier's, which presented "the figure of a city within a city."[85] For Richards, the exhibition raised the question of the possibility to regenerate a classical architectural tradition.

Hence, the CCA exhibition at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts sparked different reviews depending on the background and education of the reviewer. Johanne Lamoureux used an art history approach and despised much of the underlying premises of the exhibition. Larry Richards, on the other hand, read it with the open mind of a knowledgeable architect. The Pliny exhibition also seems to have been premonitory as it cast some of the leading roles for the CCA, Building, Garden or their related activities.[86]

Art Integrated to Architecture: From Environmental Sculpture to the CCA Garden

Obligation to Comply with the Art Programme

The accounts by the media as well as by Lambert about the creation of the CCA Garden give the impression that both Lambert, as a consulting architect, and Rose, as the architect of the project, always knew what they wanted, almost anticipating the final result as it now stands. In fact, not only did the decision to have a park across the street from the CCA come quite late in the process, but originally, it was far from obvious that the CCA Garden, as we know it today, would eventually be created.[87]

Towards the end of November 1984, after the CCA had been alloted the land for its building (but before its second request for more land), Lambert, on behalf of the CCA, applied for a grant at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Programme d'aide financière aux équipements culturels (Programme for Financial Aid to Cultural Facilities). The CCA presented a break-down of the anticipated costs, in which $150,000 had been allocated to the item Frais d'intégration des arts (Cash Outlay for the Integration of Arts), for a total estimated cost of $23,638,618. On 6 May 1985, the Minister of Cultural Affairs wrote to Phyllis Lambert, informing her that since 1983, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs had chosen to help and finance major facilities projects that fitted "dans le plan de la relance économique du Gouvernement."[88] In that perspective, Lambert's request for funding had been approved and her project was to receive a maximum of four million dollars. One of the conditions was that the works should start as soon as possible, but no later than within six month after receiving the grant.

Even though it was not specifically mentioned by the Minister as one of the conditions to be eligible for the grants, it appears that the CCA had agreed to comply with the requirements of the provincial Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec. The regulation requested that all construction projects, including restoration of existing buildings, of government-owned buildings accessible to the public, and for which the construction costs were of $150,000 or more, allocate a proportion of their budget to the programme of integration of the arts, and met the requirements of said regulation. The latter also applied to a non-governmental organization receiving a grant from the government, if the money was given under the condition that the Règlement... be applied.[89]

The regulation had provisions for two types of integration of art, depending on the construction costs estimates. It could be incorporated into the building, in compliance with plans and specifications, or it could, for construction costs estimated to be below one million dollars, simply be inserted in the building, with no need for plans and specifications. The CCA clearly had to have plans for the incorporation of the work of art with the building, with construction costs then estimated to be over twenty million dollars (see appendix B).

Then the CCA had to make decisions regarding the type of work of art and its location. As Lambert said: "This place is on the art of architecture and I didn't want to have some little work that somebody did affichées sur [posted] on a wall somewhere."[90] At one point Lambert considered having busts of contemporary architects made, but she later rejected the idea. She also did not want to have the work of art "hidden within inside the building or in park Baile."[91] Lambert waited for the design of the landscaping and parks to be in their final stages before she moved on with her obligation regarding the percentage for the art

programme. The dossier was begun but left pending as the CCA was not ready to proceed. Clearly, for Lambert, the design of the CCA's parks had to be completed before dealing with the work of art. The required approvals for the landscape, from the City and from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, and the meeting with representatives from that same ministry for the 1% were, as of March 1987, "different issue[s]."[92] Finally, the patron decided that she wanted the work to be in the park, across Dorchester Boulevard. The programme submitted by the CCA stated clearly: "Il est donc projeté de commissionner et de placer dans le parc public voisin, une oeuvre d'art publique [sic] majeure qui s'accordera avec son emplacement, qui complémentera l'édifice du Musée, et qui reflètera les objectifs et les intérêts du CCA."[93]

In retrospect, it appears that Lambert, who did not want a police station built across the street from the CCA, did not want either to have a possibly questionable work of art within the immediate vicinity of the CCA Building. Hence the idea of having it located across the street, in the park.

From Lambert's explanations about how she thought of various possibilities with regard to the work of art, it is obvious that she felt under obligation to comply with the requirements of the art programme.[94] Louise Déry, involved in the process of the CCA Garden competition, believes that Lambert chose to take part in the governmental process: "Il est apparu judicieux à la fondatrice du CCA d'adopter pour la procédure de cette commande le modèle de fonctionnement et de sélection d'artistes de la politique québécoise du 1%."[95] In our view, what happened is that a park had been designed by Peter Rose (possibly in cooperation with the landscape architects) and would have been built as per his plans, in order to comply with the requirements of the emphyteutic lease. But the four million dollars grant from the province required that

the CCA comply with the integration of arts programme. Hence the commissioning of a work of art following the rules set up by the provincial regulation.

The Application of the By-Law

The first three phases in the administration of a project of art integrated with architecture absolutely require the assistance and involvement of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, whereas the last phase, the realization and implementation of the work of art on the site, generally occurs without its input: it involves the artist, the architect, the owner, and possibly the engineer. The mandate of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, in short, is to make sure that a work of art of the best possible quality will be created by contemporary artists, within the budget limits. First, the organization in charge of the project being built has to determine the programme, i.e., what it wants as work(s) of art, expressed in terms of objectives and problématique, rather than in terms of results. Next, the builder, via his architect, has to present the programme to a permanent committee, which is empowered to accept or reject it. That same permanent committee will, in the third phase, evaluate the proposals submitted by the creators. The permanent committee includes someone working at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, specialist(s) in visual arts appointed by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, as well as the representative of the owner/organization-builder and the architect of the project.[96]

After the acceptance of the programme and budget, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs has to determine who could or will create the work of art. The Minister has the power to select one artist or to name those who will be invited for a specific project. In fact, a jury is responsible for the

selection of the candidate(s), chosen from a regional bank of artists registered in the programme (banques régionales de renseignements). The Ministry of Cultural Affairs foresaw three modes of designation of the artists, depending on the anticipated construction costs and the nature of the building (national--i.e., provincial--versus regional character). In the case of a low-cost project (construction costs below two million dollars and budget for the art below $26,000), the Ministry appoints only one artist and transmits the name to the organization taking part in the programme (mode A). Projects costing over five million dollars and of a national (provincial) character would be open to each Québec artist registered in the programme, who would be invited via a public notice (mode C). This mode of selection also applied to a regional project costing over five million dollars, as well as to a construction of national (provincial) character costing over two million dollars. In between these two cases is a third possibility, that of a limited competition, where three artists are selected and invited to submit a proposal (mode B). The limited competition is the mode chosen for projects ranging from two million dollars to five million dollars, with a budget for art ranging between $26,000 and $56,000 and also, for regional projects costing over five million dollars and with an art budget exceeding $56,000. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs submits the artists' names to the owner/organization-builder. Ghislain Papillon, an architect working at the programme of art integrated with architecture, said something quite different. The selection of artists is done by the exact same people who accept the programme: the owner, the architect, and the specialists in visual arts. This was the modus operandi at the time of the CCA competition. Moreover, Papillon stressed that the civil servants working for the Ministry of Cultural Affairs do not vote on the choice of the artists, even if they attend the meeting to make sure that all the artists' files of the

eligible regions have been considered. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs' representative may also answer any pertinent question regarding the experience of a given artist with public art.[97]

A Competition for an Environmental Sculpture

The Permanent Committee Accepts the Programme

A "permanent" committee responsible for the application of the policy of integration of arts to architecture and environment had to be set up. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs had one representative, Ghislain Papillon, from its Direction des services aux artistes. Two members were specialists in visual arts appointed by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, namely Louise Déry and Jean-Claude Leblond, the latter acting as president of the permanent committee and of the jury. In the case of an organization such as the CCA, where the integration of an arts programme was due to governmental financial aid, the committee had to include a representative of the users. The other members of this committee, which was made up of a maximum of five members but possibly made up of seven, included Phyllis Lambert, representing the CCA, Timothy Porteous, representing the users, Jean Talbot, CCA's Director of financial services, and the CCA's architect, Peter Rose.[98]

Among other things, the permanent committee had to evaluate and approve the programme of integration of art, which programme was determined by the CCA and its architect. According to the regulation, the CCA should have set up the first meeting with the permanent committee no later than at the examination of the preliminary drawings in order to get its advice on the programme (articles 13 and 16). Upon approval of

the programme, the process of selecting the artists, and ultimately the work(s) of art, would have started (article 18), so that the work of art would have been chosen before completion of the final working drawings and specifications (article 20). However, because the grant was awarded so late in the process, just before the construction started, the design of the building was certainly beyond the preliminary stage.[99] Notwithstanding this fact, the CCA waited for a fairly long period before moving ahead with regard to the art integrated with architecture. The CCA discussed with the Ministry of Cultural Affairs on 19 August 1986, about its compliance with the provincial policy. Both the CCA and the Ministry agreed that the CCA had until the spring of 1987 to first, complete the programme (that would determine the nature of the work of art to be created, the location, the technical and thematic constraints, and the schedule of work) and second, to present it to the permanent committee and receive its approval. Already, though, the CCA could inform the Ministry of Cultural Affairs that the programme

> sera conçu en fonction de la phase d'exécution des travaux d'aménagement des espaces publics entourant l'immeuble du CCA. C'est pourquoi, malgré l'avancement actuel des travaux de construction, la réalisation de ce programme se fera en respectant les objectifs de la Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices publics du gouvernement du Québec.[100]

The first meeting of the permanent committee was held on 18 March 1987, to explain the process and each member's responsibilities. It was also to assess the programme that was explained by the CCA and its architect. First, Phyllis Lambert presented the CCA and developed a history of the nineteenth century land division of the Domaine de Messieurs de St-Sulpice, on the fringe of which is the CCA site. The leading idea governing the architecture and layout of the entire site "se résume à redonner la qualité des espaces construits et non construits

atteinte dans l'aménagement des Domaines du XIXe siècle,"[101] but in a contemporary construction. Lambert explained the double duty of the park across the street: to establish a link with the public space in front of Shaughnessy House and to give the City of Montréal a new urban park that takes into account the history of the place (lieu). Then Peter Rose, responsible for conceiving the plan of the park, clarified the nature of the integration project he was hoping for:

> L'oeuvre sera de caractère sculpture environnementale. L'aire d'intervention donnée à l'artiste sera limitée à l'espace parterre du jardin, i.e. un espace créant une sorte de large promenade reliant le boulevard Dorchester à la falaise. Cet espace parterre est ouvert et bordé par deux haies d'arbres qui complètent le jardin.
>
> La nature de l'intégration est certes une prise en charge globale par l'artiste de tout le parterre. Des éléments construits amplifiant l'axe de symétrie et ponctuant l'espace dans un certain ordre avec des rappels historiques sont les composantes majeures de ce programme d'intégration. [102]

It is worth noting that Papillon, the architect who wrote the account of the meeting indifferently used the term "garden" or "park," whereas the CCA's text always referred to a park, a public park.

The committee members were unanimous in accepting the programme that had just been presented. The CCA's written brief further stated: "Pour une communauté de son envergure et de son importance historique, Montréal n'a à son crédit que peu d'oeuvres d'art publiques contemporaines majeures."[103] The new CCA building was offering a rare opportunity to create an original work of art of long-lasting value for the City. The brief explained that the CCA had acquired an emphyteutic lease on the property across the street from its building, which would be landscaped and maintained as a public park. This was the site for the art work, a site chosen for its prominence and accessibility: "L'oeuvre d'art formera une partie distinctive et visible de l'environnement du parc lui-

même, du boulevard Dorchester et des environs."[104] The programme also stressed that the artist ought to be able at all times to collaborate with the architect. Finally, it was stated that "[l']oeuvre doit illustrer des principes de conception solides et doit aussi fournir une satisfaction esthétique. . . . Elle doit représenter une véritable union entre l'art et l'architecture."[105]

At that first meeting, the CCA's overall budget of $150,000 for the work of art, including a sum of $9,000 for the three models to be presented by the preselected artists, was also accepted. In the programme, the CCA had stated that it hoped the work of art would be installed by September 1988, for the anticipated opening of the Museum, and that the selected artist could be commissioned by the first day of June 1987. At the first meeting, the committee agreed on the schedule milestones: the meeting to select the artists, the architect's briefing of the artists, and the presentation of the models (on 4 June 1987). These were met, with the exception of the presentation of proposals, which occurred some two months later than expected. [106]

The Jury Selects the Artists

If Phyllis Lambert, as the CCA's representative, was in charge of the choice of the work of art as well as of the control of the integration of this work to both the architecture and the environment, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was responsible for the selection of the artists invited to submit proposals. In the case of the CCA, the possibility of a national (provincial) competition was considered earlier by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, but the limited competition (mode B) was finally chosen. The members of the jury, at that time, included among others, Peter Rose and

Jacques Cleary, then Director of the CCA, but not Phyllis Lambert. Lambert would have been a member of the permanent committee, but it was not clear whether it would have been as an architect (Peter Rose would also have been a member) or a user (Jacques Cleary would have attended as Director of the CCA). The determination of who would be a member of the jury was crucial, as it was responsible for the selection of artists.[107] The programme spelled out minimum requirements expected from the artists: "Pour créer une telle oeuvre il faudra un artiste dont l'expérience et la formation lui donneront une sensibilité pour les exigences particulières de cette commission et le talent technique pour la réaliser."[108] Knowing what Phyllis Lambert thought of the crucial importance of the choice of an architect, it seems that her presence, as a jury member, was an absolute necessity for her.

In the end, Phyllis Lambert, Tim Porteous and Peter Rose sat on the jury, which was in strict compliance with the procedure. Jean-Claude Leblond presided over the jury. Louise Déry was not part of the jury, but two other ressource people, not members of the permanent committee, were: Michelle Guay and Louise Page. Presumably, one of these two individuals took over Papillon's role, who did not vote. The jury met, as planned, on 8 April 1987, in order to select the three artists who would submit a proposal for an environmental sculpture for the CCA park. At the meeting, in addition to explaining the selection process and everyone's responsibilities, the CCA's programme was explained again, and afterwards, the selection of the candidates took place. This confidential exercise consisted of going through the file of each artist of the eligible region (Montréal), viewing the slides of his/her work, and determining whether the artist should be selected or not. Each jury member went through that process, after which a consensus had to be reached regarding the three names to be chosen for the competition.[109]

Phyllis Lambert's personal notes are a testimony of the exercice. On one sheet, she had the names of the artists ranked in alphabetical order, and three columns: yes/maybe/no. She seemed to have had only one yes, for Melvin Charney, even though there was at first an x (black ink) in the “yes” column for Armand Vaillancourt, who was eventually ruled out (“no” with lead pencil). As for Michel Goulet and Bill Vazan, they were at first in her “maybes.” Other "maybes" who eventually changed into "nos" were artists Francine Larivée, Joseph Marcil (with a note "very interesting"), Astrid Ruche and Linda Covit, André Fournelle, David Moore, and Tatiana Démidoff-Séguin. Mario Merola was an immediate “no.” She then made-up a short-list of candidates, among whom were Charney, Vazan, Goulet, Granche as substitute, and Gnass, whom she finally ruled out.[110]

Finally the jury selected Melvin Charney, William (Bill) Vazan, and Michel Goulet. Two other artists, Pierre Granche and Peter Gnass, were chosen as substitutes. That same day, Ghislain Papillon invited verbally each artist to take part in the competition and confirmed their selection in writing the next day.[111]

As usual, Papillon had informed each artist of who the other two competitors were. Each of them promptly accepted to be a contestant.[112] Why were these artists chosen, and why did they accept to take part in the competition? All three artists had registered in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs' repertoire as sculptors in the Montréal region. This fact alone supposes that the artists had an interest in these competitions. But since the CCA brief was so singular, and called for an interest and an ability to deal with issues related to the site, to the city, and to architecture, how did these artists feel about their chances of coming up with the winning scheme?

In the case of Melvin Charney, neither his selection nor his acceptance was a surprise. Although this was his first participation in a provincial public art competition, he nonetheless had had two previous experiences competing for permanent public art, having even won once.[113] Moreover, outside the realm of competitions, he had some highly significant and notorious experience with temporary art dealing with the urban, public scene, among which were Les maisons de la rue Sherbrooke, created for Corridart (1976), A Chicago Construction (1982) and A Toronto Construction (1982). He had a limited experience with competitions for public art because there were not so many of them. As Charney put it: "To do public art does not depend on me, I mean I'm ready to do it anytime, there's just no project, there's no work."[114] Even now, Charney insists that there are still very few of these competitions, and that often neither the jury nor the general conditions are good: "It's a little discouraging."[115] From the artist's viewpoint, the programme for the CCA garden competition was very good. In fact, we can see that the brief embodied some of his most crucial preoccupations and interests of the past twenty years: the history and theory of architecture, the relationship between vernacular and monumental architecture, the relationship between one specific construction and its immediate environment as well as with the history of the environment and of architecture, monumentalism versus non-monumentalism as expressions of memorials. In all of that, he had shown a profound preoccupation for the site-specificity of an art work in general, and in the context of museums in particular. He had both a practical and a theoretical knowledge of architecture, as was requested in the programme. Lambert looked at Charney's file as she did for the other ones. But she was well aware of his work, and had held positions where she could appreciate it: she had been on the jury for the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights.[116] Also she

had argued with Pierre Théberge, then head curator at The Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, in order to have Charney create an installation for the Pliny's exhibition, despite being uncertain about Charney as an artist. But already then (in 1983), Lambert praised Charney's view on architecture. She said:

> I was not going to get into an argument with Pierre about Melvin as an artist, but I certainly could say that as far as I knew as an architect, that he was a very important figure to architecture. . . . Why Melvin? Because there was no other architect in town who was thinking in terms of the problematics of architecture, of the history of architecture, and how that history affects us now. . . . And you know Melvin was certainly clearly one of the most interesting minds anywhere thinking about architecture.[117]

As for Goulet, he had previously taken part in provincial competitions for the integration of art with architecture. At the time of the CCA competition, he had already realized three projects in the context of the provincial regulation. In 1980, he had taken part in the Symposium international de sculpture environnementale de Chicoutimi, and this is, admittedly, when his epiphany regarding public art occurred. This event was followed by his experience with the 1%, when he created Portes Menteuses for Ville Lasalle, in 1982. The choice of Goulet, who had not manifested a thorough personal interest for the urban sphere except when accepting some public commissions, and who had, at that time, a limited experience with Montréal, could seem surprising. However, Goulet himself was not surprised, and thought he had a chance at winning. Also, the programme appealed to him.[118] He thought it was a project he could do:

> Tout mon travail s'intéressait beaucoup, beaucoup au bâti, donc c'était . . . certain que . . . j'étais un bon choix. . . . Tous les éléments de mon travail sont très très proches de ce qui est bâti en architecture. Des formes de construction, des moyens de construction, des techniques simples et élémentaires.[119]

Therefore, to conceive a work of art about architecture, in an urban milieu, Montréal, suited him just fine. Goulet admits, however, that he was afraid of not being the CCA's candidate. Even knowing the project would be evaluated by a jury, according to a well-established procedure he was acquainted with, did not prevent Goulet from thinking that, first, he was not the CCA's candidate and, second, that regardless of the jury, the presence of Phyllis Lambert on the committee was equivalent to having her do whatever she wanted to. Recalling his recent experience in the competition for the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights, he was full of apprehensions. He nonetheless decided to accept the project, and to do as he usually did in such cases: work harder.[120]

Lambert, on the other hand, thought that there was a chance for Goulet to do the piece, based on her knowledge of his work and interests:

> And then, we [the jury] chose Goulet, because he seemed to be interested in that kind of more overall solution . . . I think he was very interested in site, and I knew his work. . . So I knew his solution for example to the Monument . . . in Ottawa.[121]

Bill Vazan's situation was more similar to Charney's than to Goulet's. Both Charney and Vazan had started as young artists in the same era. They both proposed other art forms than what was known and accepted on the Québec art scene (e.g., Québec 75, Corridart). Vazan, too, had installed projects in museums and the city, though in his case, they were based on nature and prehistory. It was also Vazan's first concrete experience with the 1% programme. Even though he did not think he had great chances of winning a competition against Melvin Charney, he nonetheless decided to compete, for mixed reasons. First, he thought that he might have a slight chance. As well, regardless of whether he would win the competition or not, the experience of being paid to present a model was worthwhile for him. Also, he did not want to upset the Ministry of Cultural Affairs' representative by turning down the

offer. Finally, he thought this could be a way to make contacts who would eventually bring him some more work.[122]

Lambert also knew Vazan's work. She, for one, "knew that Vazan would not do that [i.e., not create the sculpture in the park],"[123] and presumably accepted to invite him because the CCA's Tim Porteous wanted him to compete.[124] The committee picked Vazan because he was interested in the

> settlement of the land before the European. . . . And so the question was then, that we wanted something, but some relationship to the land and that was conceivable that somebody would want to think of this land in this sort of prehistory aspect. Whether we would have chosen that or not, you know, that was not the question, but at least there was somebody who was thinking that way, and that was important.[125]

In conclusion, all three artists were happy to be selected for the competition. They felt confortable with the programme. Moreover, despite an acute awareness on the part of both Goulet and Vazan that Lambert might prefer Charney, they thought they might have a chance to win. Lambert, for her part, made no mystery of her admiration for Charney as an architect, but also, that Goulet, the artist, might possibly win. In the end, whatever the outcome, the fact that three very capable artists accepted to enter the competition was important and interesting for Lambert.

The Artists Meet the Architect

Papillon had scheduled the usual meeting between the artists and the architect for 16 April 1987. It appears there was a meeting on 26 May 1987, attended by the three artists, Lambert and Rose. The meeting was really intended to be an information session where the architect would

present the programme and provide all the required information regarding the expected works of art.[126] The artists were told that they could modify the given contours of the site, as well as the given location of the trees. Finally, the "proposed art work may be one piece in one location or many pieces in many locations."[127] The artists were also informed that the CCA intended to exhibit all proposals. In fact, the meeting was impeccable, and very stimulating, according to Michel Goulet's recollection of the event. The artists received a lot of explanations, particularly pertaining to the history of the site and its surrounding, Shaughnessy House, and the forthcoming museum. Documents and a model were given to them (see figure 53).[128]

The historian Robert Lemire had already found evidence that was used to understand the history of the area and to consider design possibilities for the CCA and Baile Park. A package of this historical data was handed out to each artist, to facilitate their meeting of the requirements of the programme regarding the history of the built environment.[129] Artists learned that land development in the area took place in two different times and modes, one at the North of what became Dorchester Boulevard (originally Grand Chemin de la haute folie), and one at the South. In the early eighteenth century, that road was the southern limit of the Domaine des Sulpiciens which was used as a farm until circa 1865 (the CCA building is on a southern part of the site). The first appearance on a map of a house there dates back to 1879.[130] But the development south of that road occurred as early as 1659, year of the first land concessions. For the site facing Shaughnessy House, Lemire identified four distinct periods of development[131]: the "Rural Farm" (1659-1800), followed by "Rural Farm and Orchards" when, towards 1801, orchards appeared on the two small parcels. During the period 1802-45, the "surrounding area was renowned for its orchards and gardens."[132]

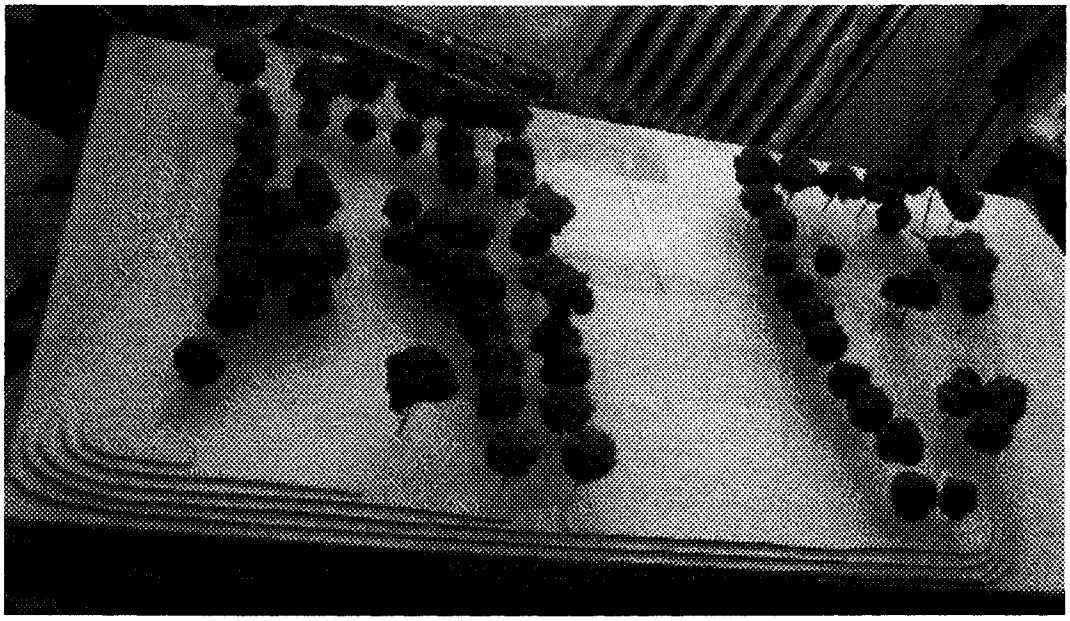


Figure 53. Model of the site provided by the CCA for the art competition. Model photographed by the author in Bill Vazan's studio in Montréal.

During the third period (1846-72), that of "Suburban Villas," the "properties bordering Dorchester Street maintained their rural aspect . . . [with] large single family dwellings set among spacious grounds."[133] Finally, the "Urban Residential" period (1873-90) saw the demolition of a mansion for the subdivision of the property into building lots.[134] A private route, Edgehill, was opened, and by the end of the period, merchants and manufacturers had built substantial detached and semi-detached houses on this avenue. Row housing on Dorchester Street blocked the view of the villa built on a previous orchard (lot no. 630).

The twentieth century, which was excluded from Lemire's study, was nonetheless well researched and accounted for. By 1901, the area had reached full density and was occupied by owners. The situation remained as such until the mid 1920s, when single family houses started to be converted into rooming houses. By 1940, some mansions were demolished and their conversion into rooming houses and apartment blocks, or their change of function, followed in the fifties. By then, there was also construction of apartment blocks in the neighbourhood. Finally, as we saw above, the sixties and seventies suffered from massive modernization, with demolition for road works, leaving behind much vacant space, despite some construction of new building types.

Artists had until early August to submit their proposal. As they were developing it, Peter Rose was already talking of excavation works to raise the land level on the south side of Dorchester Boulevard, in order to hide the expressway and to focus on the steeples of the churches, visible in the background. Both Rose and Lambert tried hard to establish a modern landscaped layout. In their view, a modern landscape differed in two important ways from those of the past. Firstly, the planting had to be different and simpler "because we cannot have the hordes of gardeners that people did when they were doing parks or gardens eighty or

hundred years ago."[135] Secondly, the scientific knowledge regarding soils, plant cultivars and their growth with regard to seasonal changes, had progressed enormously since those days. This allowed for the selection of species according to colors, form, height of trees, et cetera. Rose discussed the landscape as a whole, including both sides of Dorchester Boulevard. He anticipated planting elms, maples, and ashes, but no apple trees. He concluded:

> We're trying to develop drawing techniques to study landscape. In any case, the landscape is like a laboratory and will be worked on over time. We intend it to have a very strong relationship with the building and with the history of the place, and to be an example for the rest of the city.[136]

Michel Goulet has remote memories about what the brief was all about: to build an environmental work of art in front of the CCA building. Nonetheless, Goulet remembers that the intent was to focus the passersby' attention on the sculpture rather than on the hideous urban background, which Goulet called a dump. Hence the place for the environmental sculpture was up front (the north), as can be seen on Goulet's proposal (where the sculpture is actually located) (see figure 54). A "curtain" of trees would have blocked the view on the highway. Furthermore, he remembers that the architect asked for a pond that would reflect the CCA building across the street. The environmental sculpture located in the reflecting pool was a basic requirement, according to both Goulet and Charney. Looking back, Goulet does not remember that the intent was to have artists use the entire site, quite the contrary: according to him, a wooded garden had been planned and a precise location determined for the work of art. It was made clear to the contestants that the garden was the architect's design and should not be altered, except for the addition of the environmental sculpture. Goulet still remembers

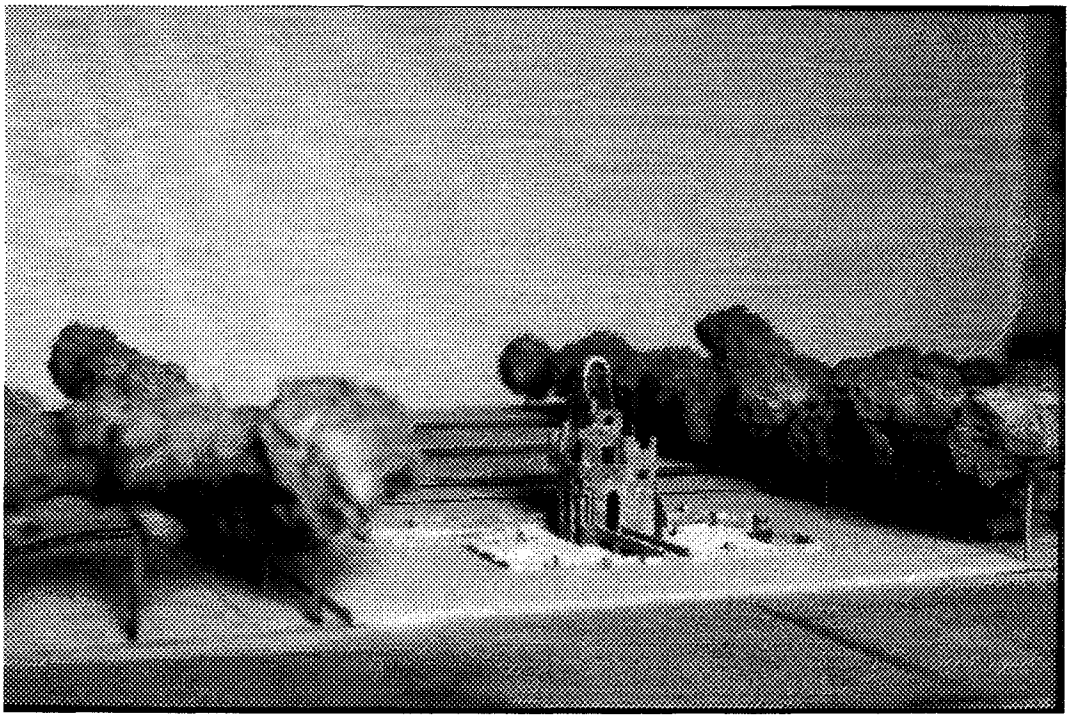


Figure 54. Michel Goulet's maquette presented for the CCA competition. Photograph courtesy of Michel Goulet.

that at the time of the meeting with the architect, he was enthusiastic about Peter Rose's idea and his assessment of the situation. Actually, until he saw Charney's proposal, Goulet thought it was a good idea not to have to look at what he considered mistakes on the City of Montréal's part:

> La grande coupure des voies ferrées, la démolition des bâtiments, la pauvreté d'un quartier autrefois industriel . . . . Alors moi je trouvais que c'était une bonne idée [que] de se tourner vers l'avenir et . . . vers le musée . . . et de [ne] pas aller montrer ça [la ville, les viaducs, et cetera].[137]

In fact, Goulet could not understand why, during the site visit with the architect and with the owner, Charney dismissed Rose's design as unacceptable, and told Goulet that he would have to rework and modify it: "J'ai dit: 'Melvin, pourquoi?'"[138] Hence, after the meeting and the site visit, Goulet chose to comply with the programme requirements and the verbal instructions given to the artists, while he admits having always felt free, in previous 1% projects, to move away from the programme, if necessary. Therefore, Goulet worked out a solution that took into account the requirement for the water basin.[139]

Charney was amazed with the requirement for the reflecting pool, on the northern edge of the site. He simply could not figure out what Peter Rose was trying to reflect, Shaughnessy House being too far away. Moreover, Charney was convinced that a pool did not fit "into the geology of an escarpment."[140] Unhappy with the architect's design of the garden, Charney knowingly took some liberties with the brief and the architect's instructions:

> So when it came to the CCA, I was handed like the other competitors, a plan of the garden. It was a useless plan, I thought it was done completely backwards, it had the emphasis on the wrong side, . . . on the North instead of the South and so on, it had a wall around it, and had pathways that went to nowhere. It was just one of those floating pieces of nonsense that could be put in anywhere, . . . for the Canadian Centre for Architecture, I took a

> gamble and did the whole site, including the sculpture: the sculpture was not different than the site, sculpture fitted into the site, the sculpture could not work anywhere else, except in the conception of the site as it was.[141]

Charney created a garden, as gardens are "the initial environmental sculpture . . . they are conceived as environmental sculptures."[142]

Finally, Vazan does not really recollect the specific of the competition, but thinks artists were told they could expand on the site, but not use it completely. He remembers that the middle part of the site was meant to receive the environmental sculpture, and also, to have been told to take advantage of the site from the north-west corner, i.e., of the view of the Sulpician's up north. He remembers, however, that there was almost a quarrel about that last point during the visit.[143]

Presentation of the Models

In the morning of 7 August 1987, the three artists came to present their proposal in front of the permanent committee, one after the other. As usual, they had been requested to present a same-scale model, an explanatory text, technical explanations (how will the art work be built, what material will be used, dimensions, and so on), and a break-down of the costs. There was, in addition, a model of the new CCA building, at the same scale as the models presented by the artists. The model of the CCA building was placed in front of the artists' model in order to provide an overview of the whole project. For each presentation, which lasted some forty-five minutes, the committee discussed the work with the artist, asking questions when necessary to clarify the concept and make sure that it was well understood. As usual, the committee did not evaluate the work in front of the artist.[144]

Melvin Charney was scheduled to go first. He presented a model and a comprehensive, explanatory text. He assimilated the requested environmental sculpture to an urban garden. His analysis of the site revealed that the park for the CCA presented "a unique occasion to create an urban garden in Montreal."[145] Moreover, the garden being public and monumental, it would provide "a place where one has a sense of the grandeur of the city--there are too few such places in Montréal."[146] His conception evoked the specificity of the site as a fragment of the city, and of urban history. The site-specificity made the park, and the sculpture, environmental: "The Park is composed of a local ecology of constructed, urban, as well as vegetal forms."[147] Charney's concept put forward three distinct gardens in one. First, the Park-Sculpture would be an "Urban Garden," taking advantage of the urban structure and constraints of the site. Second, it would be a "Museum Garden," conceived as an extension of the museum. And third, it would be a "Neighbourhood Garden,"

> conceived to be a community park, picturesque, episodic and sentimental, with a series of bucolic interiors, as presently designed by the CCA, but without the "reflecting pool" and the enclosing walls on Dorchester Boulevard. Access walks, pathways and the alignment of trees are maintained as given.
>
> In all of the above, the CCA garden is to have open, transparent edges, and to be directly accessible from the sidewalk without intervening walls or gates as are most of the city squares and parks in Montréal, Westmount and Outremont, except for a few recent and deplorable examples such as Carré Viger and Victoria Square.[148]

Having elevated this original lost space more so to the south to reduce the impact of the expressway, Charney proposed to focus on the urban skyline as seen from the escarpment. He brought elements of that skyline into the garden by creating a series of allegorical columns, each interpreting "the architectonics of prominent structures of the city

below"[149] such as grain elevators, church steeples and factory chimneys. The artist also proposed to make reappear, from the ground, ancient layers of the city: cadastral divisions and an orchard. The cadastral lines would be "presented as the remains of mitoyen walls, 18 inches wide, as prescribed by laws duting [sic] back to the fourteenth century."[150] The CCA building also reappeared, with the partial reconstruction of Shaughnessy House (the arcade), and by locating a plaza behind it, that would house the allegorical columns. The plaza corresponds to the exhibition hall of the CCA. Also, axes were established to relate the garden to the CCA building. The arcade was located behind the place allotted for the environmental sculpture.[151] Charney further explained that with the construction of the façade of Shaughnessy House, each façade would become the mirror image of the other, creating a "dialectic relationship between one side of the street and the other."[152] These structures would also frame Dorchester Boulevard, "monumentalizing both the street and the garden."[153] The design also took into account the fact that the site of the CCA garden and of the CCA building developed differently in the history of the city, and that their cadastral lines did not align. Lastly, despite Charney's stated intent to use pathways as designed by Peter Rose, his text also indicated that he may already have thought otherwise: "A secondary series of axis drawn from the tripartite composition of the CCA building is used to set up the walkways of the garden."[154]

The allegorical columns were derived both from Montréal structures as seen from the escarpment "and from an interpretation of these forms as archetypal fragments of architecture."[155] Rows were made up of two, three, four, and two columns respectively, for a total of eleven. The first column of each row (closer to the southern edge, hence closer to the immediate environment) sculpturally represented elements of the

skyline of the lower town, while the following columns, on a given north-south axis (closer to the museum across the street), would re-interpret those same elements as celebrated by Architecture and by an architectural museum. Charney indicated the position and the meaning of each of these allegorical columns. For instance:

> (row c) column 6: The form of grain elevators as found in the town below.
> column 7: The grain elevator as a temple of rational architecture.[156]

Charney's text was erudite, offering several references to art and gardens and explaining how his proposed garden would be a contemporary conception of classical gardens.[157] It was also didactic, explaining and showing how arcades could be "traced throughout the history of garden architecture."[158] Also, quoting Alberti, he not only affirmed that columns should be put in gardens, but he also placed them in line (on the cadastral line), and as per their traditional alignment in gardens of the past.

The essential relationship between the CCA as an architectural museum, and its surroundings, including the remains of a heavily industrial neighbourhood with vernacular architecture, was thus established. The garden would be this link, a mirror, and a museum. It would be architecture and it would be nature.

In his proposal, Charney's depiction of the nature elements was kept to a minimum. As indicated earlier, he would go along with the CCA's design. He specified one important element: the trees in the eastern zone of the garden would be "in place of an orchard which existed on the site early in the nineteenth century."[159] But his text really focused on explaining his solution for the competition programme and the request for an environmental sculpture.

Finally, in his technical and budgetary specifications, Charney pointed out that most of the budget would go to the allegorical columns, then estimated to cost $14,000 each, for a total of $154,000. He clearly indicated that the cost of the Arcade, Plaza and Cadastral walls would be included in the general cost to lay out the garden, and that the savings resulting from not having a reflecting pool would be allocated to the construction of the Arcade. He had no provision for his own fees.

Using the model provided by the architect, Michel Goulet presented his solution (see figure 54), accompanied by a supporting text. His concept did not modify any of the architect's givens regarding the slope of the land, the planting of trees, or the placing of the sculpture. Goulet proposed the construction of a tower made up of fragments interpreting nineteenth-century houses found on this city block until the 1970s. The tower was installed inside the reflecting pool, to which Goulet gave the contour of a previous house found on this location. Visitors would have accessed the tower by walking on a footbridge, above the reflecting pool. The link with the city would have varied according to the level and orientation within the tower. Some architectural details would have been reconstructed and proposed as artefacts to be seen by visitors. At the top of the tower, the visitors would have focused on the museum with the help of a bull's-eye and a sentry-box would have offered a view of the entire city. The work would have been made of red bricks with black mortar joints.[160]

The artist's descriptive specification was quite vague, except to affirm that the foundations of his construction would be below the frost level, under the basin slab, or to give the slope of the stairs. The cost of the pool was equivalent to what was anticipated by the architect, even though Goulet's budget had a provision of four thousand dollars for changes to be made to the basin. His total estimated cost was of

$150,000, of which $19,000 were for the costs of the model, the insurance, and consultation fees paid to an architect and an engineer. His own fees for the work were estimated at $31,225. Hence, Goulet's total estimated costs for the work of art were a little less than $100,000. The sculptor now affirms that being afraid not to be the CCA's candidate led him not to take any chance with the budget, and that this affected his concept. For instance, he claims that had the budget been larger, he would not have chosen brick, but grey stone instead.[161]

Goulet was stimulated by the interest demonstrated by committee members for his work, who asked only intelligent questions. In particular, he remembers that both Peter Rose and Phyllis Lambert took the time to carefully look at his model, bending to be at the proper level (and not look from above as it usually happens). They made him feel that the work of art was a gift the artist would be offering to the museum. He was quite enthusiastic about the experience.[162]

Bill Vazan did not present a model, but simply some sketches that he did at the very last minute (see figure 55), along with a brief, hand-written statement. Vazan proposed to create "a place of memory + reflection (mind + form),"[163] made up of sixteen granite boulders, posed in an oval shape, that would have referred to the "extension of the 19th century idea of the open aerated structure,"[164] in this case, the solarium.

Vazan kept the pool, as it would have reflected the sky, the clouds, the polished rocks, and the visitors. In fact, he would have played the mass of the granite against its reflection in the water basin. He referred to the transparency created by the void between the rocks and to the reflection of the rocks as "oriental metaphysic." The artist presented his work as both an early and a future "architectural structure" that referred to body enclosures and conceptions of the cosmos. He also anticipated to add "angle-cut rocks" to be used as seats at the look-out corner and at

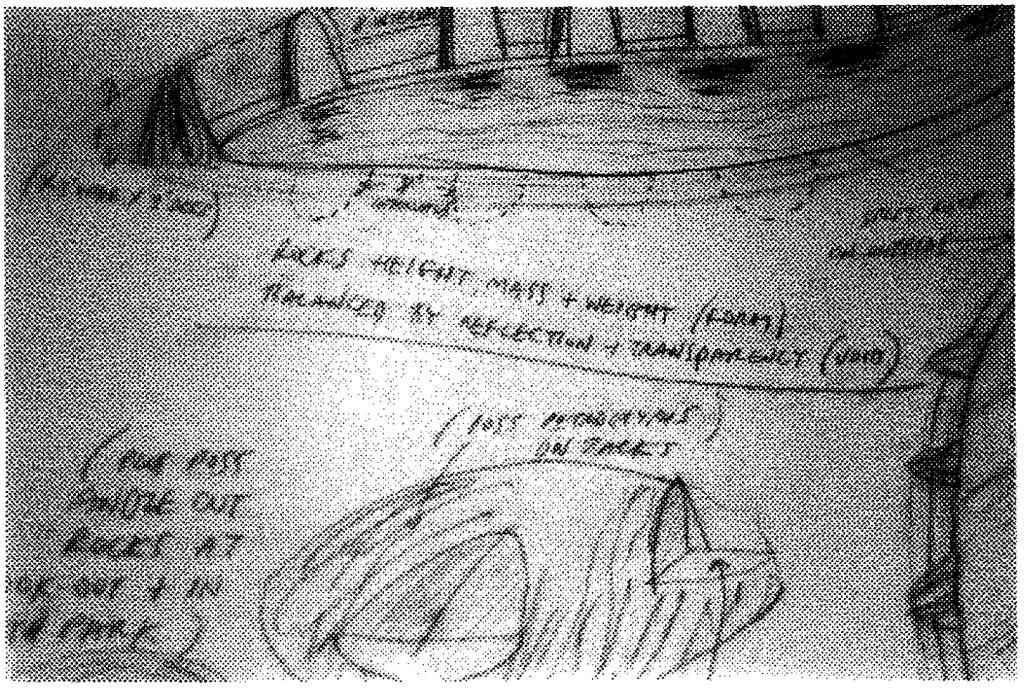


Figure 55. A partial view of Bill Vazan's sketches presented to the committee. Photograph by the author in the artist's studio.

the northern pool. In the end, he estimated that the total cost of his work of art would be of $144,970, of which $25,000 would have been for his fees, and close to $21,000 for insurances, taxes and the model. Hence the cost of his work would have been of slightly less than $100,000.[165]

Selection of the Winning Scheme

Except for Vazan's presentation, which was succint, the other ones were remarkable and professional. The models were clear, and the discussion went smoothly. The presentations were followed by the members' deliberation in the afternoon. How did it go? What did the committee members think of the proposals? Was there a consensus about the choice of the winning scheme? Each committee is autonomous in its working manner and proceeds according to its president's method, in this case Jean-Claude Leblond. Usually, the president provides the criteria for analysis to the committee members before the presentations begin. And each person taking part in the deliberations expresses an opinion regarding the proposals. A consensus usually emerges slowly from the discussions. Actually, very rarely is there an immediate and spontaneous collective acceptance of one work in particular. The different backgrounds and expectations of the committee members certainly accounts for this. The case of the CCA was highly unusual, in that both the architect and the owner knew where they were going. Moreover, they were capable of taking part in the theoretical and technical debate regarding the proposals. For Louise Déry, Lambert clearly understood what was at stake and had a personal interest in not having a fiasco exhibited on her property, which she would never let happen, anyhow. She also certainly exerted leadership, but, on the other

hand, the other members of the committee were art specialists, capable of articulating an opinion, and chosen for that reason.[166] Conversely, in Lambert's view, everybody on the committee "understood what the CCA wanted," i.e., "something that relates to the place that you're doing the work for. . . . I had very clearly set out that's what I wanted to do from the beginning, and everybody agreed with that."[167]

Lambert found interesting Goulet's idea to refer to a previous house on the site, the Casgrain Campbell (of which the pool replicated the contour), but she noticed that the building material had been transformed from the original greystones to red bricks with black joints. She also observed that there was a need for research about the important elements of architecture in Montréal. This was a serious matter and not an uncertain (aléatoire) one, in her view.[168]

Charney's solution immediately appealed to her. She thought that this was obviously the best proposal:

> Of course Melvin had done an overall solution where he'd looked at . . . this whole land and he tied that into the existence of the CCA and . . . the new building . . . the CCA had made out and he also tied it into, of course, the city beyond, Melvin has always been able to do that in an extraordinary way. And I was not myself interested in putting a piece of sculpture down in the centre of that property looking at the CCA. I wanted something where the works that were to be proposed were part of the whole garden solution as it had been in eighteen-century France and . . . England and most of all England than France actually, and extended to Poland and places like that. I knew this part of history . . . pretty well and one of my great friends, John Harris, is a garden historian . . . .[169]

Lambert had actually been thinking a lot about gardens, and had been to Poland

> with the International Confederation of Architectural Museums and seen these wonderful gardens . . . sort of programme gardens, which were very much like the English parks, . . . where you stand at one point and you're led on to . . . you discover series of monuments as you walk through the space. And I . . . envisaged

> [this land] as a entity, . . . the garden and the work of art being one.[170]

As usual, the deliberation took place immediately afterwards, in the afternoon, and took some time.[171] Phyllis Lambert had decided to be the last one to speak, and she took notes about the other members' opinion.[172] For the CCA's users' representative, Tim Porteous, all three solutions were good, but he added he would favour Charney's proposal unhesitatingly, as the history components would be a richness for the visitors. Louise Déry immediately rejected Vazan's solution as inappropriate, and discussed Goulet's and Charney's more in length, seemingly uncertain: "Au premier abord Charney très convaincant mais l'anti intégration peut avoir autant de force."[173] She thought Goulet's social integration was stronger, whereas Charney was more intellectual.

All three projects appealed to the architect of the CCA building, who found them all seductive. Rose appreciated the poetry of Vazan's work but rejected it as not being site-specific, even more so for such an urban site. He found Charney's proposal very strong on the historical aspect. But he had problems with the fragment of the CCA (the arcade): "L'écran le succès de l'intégration de cette partie me donne des difficultés."[174] He added that for him Goulet's presentation was a complete surprise: "Très fort. Une folie--très fort."[175] He found the idea of being able to enter and walk up the stairs very interesting. But he was afraid of the details: "One piece can hold the park and control it all. It pulls it together giving the long view . . . A very powerful piece mais si c'est produit tel que présenté j'ai peur."[176] In short, Rose appears to have preferred Goulet's concept as it preserved Rose's own concept for the garden, but the technical aspect made him question the project.

For Papillon, the three projects were "excellent," but he found Vazan's reference to the solarium inappropriate. He was "fascinated" by

Goulet's and Charney's projects. He believed that the idea of giving the contour of the Casgrain Campbell house to the water basin was a very inspired one. But he was worried about the bricks in the water basin. Charney's project also appealed to Papillon, particularly the ambulatory and the industrial elements. He was not much pleased, though, by what he termed the ruin, the arcade. He liked the back of the garden, not the front of it. He nonetheless concluded that he was voting for Charney.[177]

Leblond's thoughts about Vazan's project were similar to the other committee members'. But unlike them, he believed Goulet's proposal did not "coincide" with the environment, and that, moreover, there was a possibility to produce a tacky work. On the other hand, he believed that the notion of a garden, as proposed by Charney, had been lost over time, and that the garden could be a place of delight.[178]

Some members (Lambert, Porteous, Leblond) were more strongly in favour of Charney's work than others. Also, Phyllis Lambert's personal notes of the deliberations make it evident that the idea of replacing the reflecting pool by a reflecting building was not unanimously well received, particularly by the architect and Papillon. Ten years later, these hesitations are not only forgotten, but their very existence dismissed. Louise Déry, for one, does not recall that Charney's occupation of the whole space rather than that allocated to the environmental sculpture, and his exclusion of the reflecting pool, raised any questions. The whole space had to be treated, whoever the artist. She does not remember the reflecting pool as having been a mandatory element of the programme. Charney's proposal was not discussed in terms of meeting the programme, but on its own merit.[179]

As of now, it is impossible to determine precisely what information was provided to the artists. But given the prior contractual requirement that the CCA put up a garden as per Peter Rose's design, and the fact

that the water element was identified (as fountains rather than a reflecting pool), and given also the plans by Peter Rose handed out to the artists, it is easy to see that, undoubtedly, the sculpture was to be located in a very definite and confined space, and that the design of the garden was in no way offered to the artists. The winning scheme having differed from the requirements of both the written programme and the oral instructions given by the architect, the members of the permanent committee (not all of whom have been interviewed) tend to dismiss the imposed constraints on the artists as having been mere suggestions, whereas the artists recall them in terms of constraints and requirements of the brief. [180]

The fact that an artist does not comply entirely with the requirements of a programme is considered to be normal, and is accepted as such by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. However, an artist who choses to put his creation in a different location than the one provided by the architect does so at his own risk. Such a proposal is nonetheless considered and analysed, as are the other ones. The purpose of the committee is to encourage the creation of the best work, and if a diverging solution happens to be the best, and is doable, it is chosen on its own merits. The requirements are expressed in terms of performance, of objectives to be met, not in terms of solution. The artist is paid to offer a unique vision, a work of art. Hence, usually, the work is not analyzed in terms of the relevance of the content, but as regards its feasibility and safety. Also, the social integration of the work in the community (pertinence of the work for the immediate clientele, school, hospital, museum, et cetera) is seriously taken into account. The permanent committee's analysis operates a delicate balance between the need to respect both the artist as a creator, and the public.[181]

It appears that no one on the committee questioned the projects in terms of their costs, even if the cost estimate is usually one of the

elements taken into account for the selection of a project. The artist is responsible for the budget and a proposal could be questioned, and eventually refused, because the cost estimate is either too high or not realistic and the committee has reasons to believe that it could not be met. This has happened on some rare occasions ever since the provincial programme existed. Or else, an artist could be asked to consider modifications to the proposal in order to reduce the anticipated costs. Conversely, it seems that it has never happened that a public owner proposed to increase the budget (the percentage of the construction cost) in order to get a work of art that appeared to be excellent but costly. In the case of private projects, however, it occasionally happens that the owner (a religious order for instance) expresses a willingness to exceed the minimal budget if a more valuable concept is presented. This possibility would be discussed prior to the competition. Papillon contends that this is what happened with the CCA competition. This particular project was considered by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs as a private project done on a volunteer basis, since most of the financing came from the CCA, and not the Provincial Government. In fact, Lambert knew she had to create a garden/park, and she was aware, according to Papillon, that she would have to spend enormous amounts of money to create an interesting place, given the original state of the land. He is adamant about the fact that it was clear to everybody that, provided there would be a great idea, it would get done, whatever the costs. He also affirms that the artists were informed of the possibility for them to exceed the budget. This fact is vigorously denied by both Leblond and Goulet: the latter affirms that the need to stay within the budget was one of his major constraints.[182] Charney, for his part, states that his training as an architect helps him "to be very realistic in terms of

budget."[183] But he adds that he only submitted the allegorical columns as part of the 1% budget:

> The rest of the garden was not part of the one percent, it was never part of the one percent. . . . [For any 1% project] foundations support of the sculpture is done by the client . . . The garden, which I considered the support, was done by the client. This was a separate contract entirely different than one percent, it was never claimed to be part of the one percent.[184]

Charney's proposal was not much over the stated budget (it exceeded budget by four thousand dollars, but he did not include the cost for the models and insurance. His fees were also excluded). He was careful in his proposal to explain that the cost of the arcade, for instance, would replace that of the pool. And his budget was certainly not less detailed than those of the other two artists, who remained within the target. All this indicates that some committee members may have been aware of the possibility to go over budget, but not the artists.

As for other 1% projects, it would have been possible, at this point, to reject all three projects during the meeting, if the objectives of the programme had not been met. In such a case, the programme could have been revised, and the choice of artists modified as well, and the process would have started over again. This is a last recourse solution, since the net budget of the work of art would be decreased by the cost of the new models.[185] In this particular case, not only could the committee have rejected all three projects, but some believe Phyllis Lambert alone could have done so. Louise Déry affirms that since Lambert's financial implication in the project was so important in comparison with the grant she had received, she could have refused the artists' proposals. However, during the evaluation, Déry did not feel that she had to accept one proposal in particular to please her. The other committee members had experience in the field, and could appreciate the subtleties of the winning project: "Le grand plaisir qu'on a eu . . . c'est de découvrir . . . sur

la table un projet très fort."[186] To approach the creation of the work in terms of a garden "was just so clearly the right way to look at that land . . . and that's why Melvin Charney was awarded the commission."[187] That was not, for Lambert, a difficult decision to make. She remembers that the choice of Charney's proposal

> was completely unanimous, that it was . . . [a] so much more interesting solution than just putting one work in . . . the property, which is essentially what . . . Vazan had. His own circle of you know, petroglyphs, standing there, and Goulet . . . put a brick building with black joints in the middle of a pool, and it sort of fell in the northern part of the property.[188]

She believes that since the committee understood the CCA's needs and will, it was also easy for its members to agree upon the winning scheme. There was, then, a unanimous decision to accept the project.[189]

As usual, the artists were informed of the results not long after a decision was reached. Papillon was often granted permission by the president of the jury to give some personal comments to the artists when informing them of the results.[190] He told Goulet that the committee had hesitated for a very long time between his project and that of Charney's. Goulet went first to pick up his model and remembers very clearly his impressions when he saw the other projects: "J'ai vu le projet de Vazan, j'ai trouvé ça ridicule. C'est aussi simple que ça, je n'ai pas aimé ça."[191] And then he saw Charney's project, found it was a beautiful one and told Papillon: "Je ne comprends pas que vous ayiez discuté très très longtemps, moi j'aurais tout de suite choisi celui-là, je n'aurais même pas discuté. Je n'aurais pas pris le mien, j'aurais pris celui-là, c'est extraordinaire."[192] Goulet realized then that Charney had "la brillante idée d'en faire un jardin de sculpture"[193] and despite his disappointment in having lost the competition, he thought that Charney's proposal was the best and deserved to be put in the public place. The winner says simply: "The reason I feel I was able to pull off the CCA competition is

because I was dealing with people, with Lambert in particular, who knew what architecture and art was about so she could understand the potential some of the ideas [had]."[194]

A Commission for a Garden

On 16 September 1987, Phyllis Lambert invited the press to the unveiling of "a unique sculpture project planned for the garden opposite the Canadian Centre for Architecture in connection with the 'INTEGRATION' program of the ministère des Affaires culturelles."[195] During the ceremony, the representative of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Jean-Guy Théorêt, Director of the Ministry's office for the Montréal area, pointed out that the 1981 integration programme aimed both at ensuring that artists would take part in the creation of the built environment and also at increasing investments in the production of works of art. He explained that the programme also applied to private sector construction that benefited from governmental subsidies. Since the budget came from the organizations that built a project, there was a direct relationship between the real estate market and the budget for the work of art. This was a sure means to improve the socio-economic status of creators. According to Théorêt, the CCA was about to realize the most important commission for a work of art integrated into the environment. The selected work of art was the outcome of a rigorous process, of which two art specialists were part, as well as the architect, the owner, the users' representative and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs' representative. The unveiling was echoed in the press, where the analogy with Charney's Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke was sometimes established. The project was received positively by the art press.[196]

Eventually, the press leaked that Charney was awarded a $2.3 million commission for the whole site: "Charney is in creative charge of the entire concept from landscaping to sculpture down to the choice of every bench and shrub."[197] Charney confirms that his commission was larger than as requested by the 1% competition, and that he ultimately ended up completely designing the garden, modifying Rose's layout: "The owner . . . actually gave me a contract from the front of the Shaughnessy right of the southern tip of the garden, so I had both sides of the street to work with."[198]

One major conceptual change appears to have taken place in the design of the garden after the competition. It is noticeable that the garden is described as being composed of four parts, or typical figures as Charney later termed them: the orchard, the arcade, the meadow and the plaza/look-out. The meadow, however, was not in the original proposal for the 1% competition, but was developed later on in the project.[199] The added designation of the meadow is in reference to the early vocation of the land in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It thus strengthens and balances altogether the historical references embodied by the garden.

Actually, since the time he was awarded the commission until the very end, Charney worked to refine the concept and to work out the details (see appendix C). Most of these meliorations and refinements were accepted by the owner, Lambert, or her representatives: "I was very lucky with the CCA to be dealing with a client and an institution that gave me the leeway to do what I wanted to . . . [but] not totally."[200] This has not always been the case, and the artist had to negotiate hard for some elements of the overall concept:

> There is a few things where they stopped me on, which I feel bad about, they now feel bad about, but what can you do? Give, you know, lose some win some. . . . At times we [Lambert and Charney] had horrible arguments because she did not allow me to

> evolve some of these ideas particularly in dealing with the Arcade. I had a different second arcade . . . and then I had to deal with her second and third in command who were just very secondary people who gave me problems on budget. There was a chair missing at the sculpture . . . there were small things that they obliged me to do that I didn't want to; nevertheless I feel I got about 95% of the thing done.[201]

The "mirror image" was present in Charney's garden in order to express the double (dédoublement) present in the city. He had two chairs (in column one and in column eleven), but one was dropped by Guy Doré, in order to save costs. One of the main elements in the garden not to be realized as Charney had wished was the second arcade, the "B":

> The arcade itself was in . . . the original submission, but since there was one arcade that was a mirror image of the building across the street, I had to have an image of an image in order that . . . people understand that this was an image of an image. So I had the second one done in a more abstract way and quite tall; it was a grid inside the grid and I proposed it and did it in model form. I poured in two months of work in order to present it and Lambert poured in as much work . . . not to do it . . . . And ultimately I did not do it. I gave in and so she gave in too. I did a second arcade more or less like the first arcade and it meant I could reuse the coffrages, the formwork, a second time which would actually save on cost . . .[202]

The construction of the garden started in June 1988 and was completed in October 1989, shortly after the official opening of the CCA building and Baile park.[203] By January of 1989, Charney had almost completed the working drawings of the allegorical columns. He admitted:

> It has not been easy to resolve the conception of these [individual] pieces both in terms of their surroundings and their pertinence to a centre for architecture. But that has been done. . . . I now hope that their construction will proceed with equal success.[204]

According to the agreements reached in order to get the land, the City was supposed to verify Peter Rose's plans to make sure that they

complied with its guidelines for parks. The relationship between the City of Montréal officials and the artist appear to have been very stressed at some point. City officials did not proceed hastily in the review of the drawings and specifications, particularly regarding works to be done on René-Lévesque Boulevard. The approval of "trees, lamps, Garden, etc." waited some eight months on civil servants' desks and Lambert had to send a letter to get the project in motion. The fountain was an important element for those at the City who first recommended the project. Charney's design, however, did not have this item. Even after the completion of the garden, Charney was still dealing with the City of Montréal's demands. In winter-spring 1990, he was still considering installing approximately eighteen benches to comply with municipal requirements. A "no" written in the margin vis-à-vis this item lets us suppose that Lambert refused: in fact, the benches were never installed, neither were the trash receptacles, nor the drinking fountain in Arcade "A". Could the application of municipal standards to a work of art that defied all standards have caused problems to those in charge of the review of the plans?[205] One item gives an idea of how the "park" approach and the "garden as art" approach were indeed different. The lighting of the east and main walkways was eliminated in order to save costs. Charney admitted to Lambert: "It is presently very dark on both walkways. However, the lighting of Arcade 'A' will provide sufficient ambient lighting on the pathways."[206] Lighting the arcade, the representation of Shaughnessy House, added to the dramatic presence of the garden, while at the same time resolving a more functional aspect of the lighting of the park. Charney was still working on the lighting of the two arcades as late as May 1990.[207]

It also appears that the relationship between the artist and the architect was tense, each one apparently battling to have his contribution

acknowledged as such. Charney admits that his take-over of the architect's design of the overall site did not necessarily please Rose, but that it occurred because it was the owner's decision:

> I must say there was . . . quite a fight between the architect and the owner of the building after the decision was made to go ahead with the version of the garden that I had presented.
>
> . . . The owner told the architect that . . . she's the owner, and she makes the decisions . . . and . . . [I] had to negotiate with the architect some modus vivendi which meant again give and take. I just found that when you deal with gardens and deal with architects doing hard buildings they expect gardens to give a relation to the hard buildings.[208]

Whereas at the time of the competition, Peter Rose referred only to Lambert and himself as the ones involved in the planning and conception of the landscape (with no mention whatsoever of the contribution of the landscape architects), Lambert managed later to clarify everyone's contribution: "The CCA landscape was designed by Diana Gerrard and Gunta Mackars, Peter Rose, and myself. Its principal elements are Baile Park, at the entrance of the CCA, and the CCA Garden, designed principally by Melvin Charney."[209] Baile park is rectangular in shape (see figures 51 and 52) and has in its centre a simple well-kept lawn, facing a section of blind wall. This public space was intended to serve as an entry garden to the CCA.[210]

For Charney, "it was a very long process, the process was a tough one,"[211] more so because the CCA fired the landscape consultants, Gerrard and Mackars from Toronto, when the artist's project was two-thirds completed. Their role in the design of the CCA garden has been little discussed. Charney, who is credited for the design of the garden, acknowledges the landscape architects' contribution in the following way:

> I did the whole plan of the garden they helped me as they said themselves toughen it up by getting by, because I only had one species of apple tree in the orchard and they suggested three species and it's better to have three species rather than one and

> they had more experience than I did in landscape. . . . What they lacked was they couldn't draw, they couldn't imagine a space and they couldn't figure out very simple things like shifts in grade which I had to do all the work for them, but they knew about seeds and knew where to locate certain plants but in the long run I had a lot of difficulties with them because they suggested certain flower varieties and I gave in on a few of them which I shouldn't have because I should have stuck to the more tougher varieties and what happens three years after is that all the varieties of softer flowers they proposed disappeared because tougher, more durable varieties took over. It's a very difficult site, because the site faces north, there is a strong wind and the winter freezing cycle is particularly deep . . .[212]

On the other hand, Gerrard reportedly contended that "we [at Gerrard and Mackars] worked together with Melvin to make the garden a more sophisticated place, ... The challenge was to create a sense of place and a sense of scale."[213] Given the fact that the same landscape architects worked on Baile park, the forecourt of the building, and on the CCA Garden, first as designed by Peter Rose and then by Melvin Charney, and given the striking difference in each of these concepts,[214] it seems likely that Gerrard and Mackars were providing technical guidance only, which is also what Lambert later affirmed:

> For me it was also essential that the CCA landscape express a fundamental relationship between nature and the city. Peter Rose laid out the form of the landscape, the relationship of treed and open spaces. I asked Diana Gerrard and Gunta Mackars to develop a landscape based on the ecology of the area. A study was made to identify the three historical periods of plant association: the native plants, the plants introduced by European settlers, and the cultivars (species genetically altered) . . .
>
> The microclimate of the site was mapped to determine the effects of wind, sun, and shade, and the environmental stresses of a contemporary northern city. . . . Trees and plants of the three historical periods of plant association were located within the appropriate microclimate and according to the design. The result was in three ecological types--forest edge, meadow, and orchard--each reflecting the particular and specific structure of individual plants . . .[215]

This garden addressed nature as much as architecture. Rather than discussing the relative merits of the English versus French gardens as a starting point, Charney proposed a reading that dragged the history and the meaning from the land.[216] His concept of the garden was "established by invoking the site as an urban composition, and by invoking the formal specificity of garden architecture as a parallel text. The urban constituents of the site were then correlated to basic garden formations."[217]

He commented that "la nature n'existe qu'en soi. Ici c'est la nature figurée. Je ne peux pas travailler avec la nature. Je ne peux que la représenter."[218] This approach, which was the same one he had for architecture (the arcade being a representation of Shaughnessy House, and the architectural figures of the allegorical columns also being representations), explained how he, as an artist, was relating to nature:

> Horticulture was thus generated by the formal composition of the garden. Each constituent contained a history of landform and plant material. Trees dominate. Given the nature of the site, the configuration of trees is essentially urban. . . . Walkways are framed by rows of trees. Since . . .part of the site itself was once an apple orchard, a grid of apple trees is planted in the garden. Similarly, the planting along the cadastral walls reflects the shrubs and flowers . . . which grow spontaneously along the stone walls dividing farms, and which can still be found on the island of Montréal.[219]

The garden was a representation of the earlier ecology of the place, not only by having an orchard and a meadow, but also in the choice of the vegetation (perennials, columbine, cornflower, daisies...).[220] When the garden became a reality, Charney further added that the orchard was still "a 're-presentation' of the city's past when there were numerous orchards in the area, one on this very site."[221] But the artist would admit that these parts "are not entirely abstract. They're specific and can be seen as such by the public. There is an orchard. An orchard

is an orchard."[222] Also, vegetation bore a temporal dimension (seasonal cycles, growth and decay), while some of the formal elements of the gardens referred to anterior states of the place. His intention was "to expose the place in the present, as a singular fragment of the city, and as an ongoing process of transformation whose most recent embodiment is that of a garden."[223]

Thus, Charney's garden is the embodiment of what he believes a green space in the city should be. His idea of an urban green space opposes that of Frederick Law Olmsted, among others, who advocated the creation of parks as "lungs" in the nineteenth-century city. To Olmsted's idea of a park as a pastoral world, a retreat from, and the antithesis to the city, Charney opposed a truly twentieth-century urban garden, one that would be the representation of the city itself.[224] First of all, he accepted the challenge to create a garden on a parcel of land cramped between two expressway ramps, between a boulevard and a highway, overlooking rail tracks, in short, to create a garden amidst both noise and air pollution. The other aspect of the urban garden was precisely its constructed aspect and its several references to the history of the city: the garden as an extension and inclusion of the city.

Charney's garden is a demonstration of what he has been claiming and advocating some twenty-five years earlier. It was already obvious to him that context was an element too often forgotten when addressing city life. Groups such as Green Spaces, (directed by Lambert), concerned with urban pollution and green spaces, had bourgeois preoccupations while showing a lack of understanding of Montréal's own context. The number of green spaces in a downtown area was not at all indicative of the vitality of a city, of its urban life:

> A Montréal, l'esprit communautaire de la ville est tel que les places publiques, les lieux de rassemblement et même les rues reflètent son vrai caractère urbanisé et civilisé, et qui sont des espaces non pas nécessairement verts, mais *ouverts* et accessibles au public. .

> . . Je crois donc que par sa présentation Espaces Verts a soulevé un malaise provenant du fait qu'on néglige l'aspect public et communautaire de notre ville.[225]

Charney further explained how the relationship of the CCA building with the CCA garden was ordered in much the same way as in Paris' eighteenth-century hôtels particuliers. These hotels had their façade made up of a simple wall, in scale with the secondary street, on which they were often located, whereas the back of the building was located in a landscape of long pathways bordered with trees. Similarly, the entrance of the CCA building was on a secondary street, while its monumental façade was at the back, on René-Lévesque Boulevard. Charney conceived the garden accordingly. For him, the boulevard was "a scar" and "projects such as the Ville-Marie autoroute have demolished much of our urban fabric. . . . The real challenges are these desolate bits of land: To negate the negation [i.e., demolition]."[226]

As the construction of the garden was near completion, Charney explained how the allegorical columns were environmental sculptures: "They're like doing environmental sculptures where the whole city is a kind of environment."[227] The allegorical columns are made of concrete (base), stainless steel, wood and copper (see figure 56). As per the original proposal, bronze arrows were installed on the southern wall pointing towards important buildings of the industrial landscape.[228] They have since been stolen. Charney continued to explain the garden, making more and more evident how intimately related this work of art was to his earlier preoccupations and interests:

> The garden is a reflection of the history of the nineteenth-century workers' neighbourhood and the factories which made a very real contribution to the history of architecture, ... The main break-throughs in how buildings were conceived to be industrial were in this area. A lot of the discoveries that were used by modern architects in Europe for the first time were made on site in North America . . . In Le Corbusier's *Towards a New Architecture* . . . the

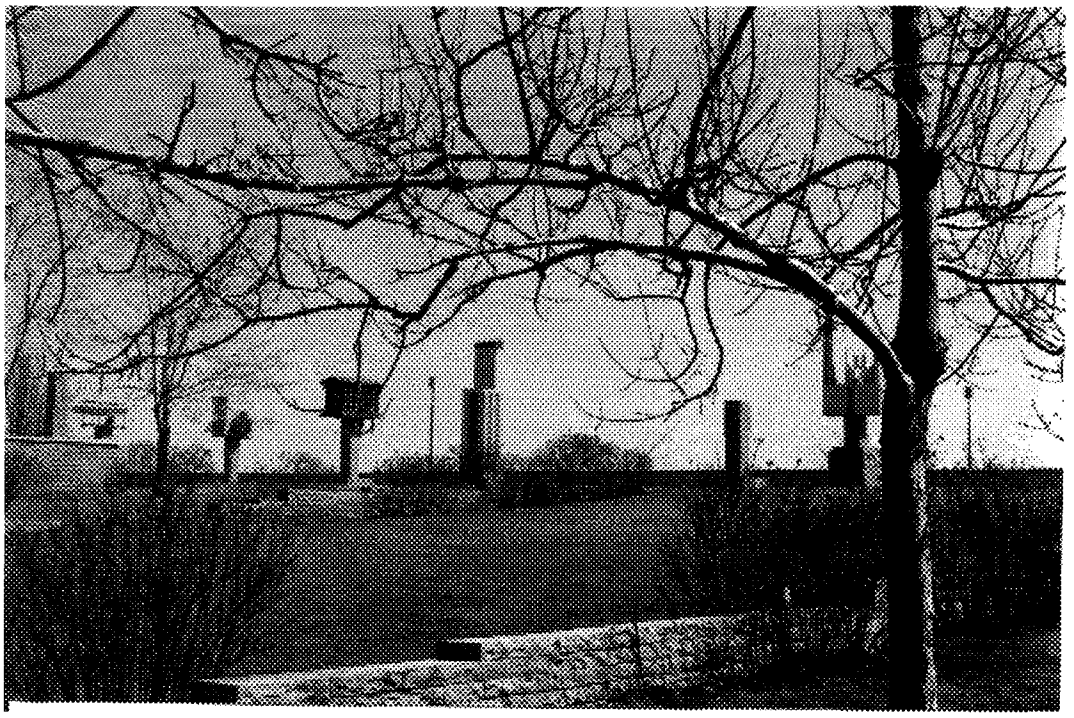


Figure 56. Partial view of the garden, showing a mitoyen wall (cadastral division) in the foreground and, in the background, some of the allegorical columns. Photograph by the author, spring 1999.

> third illustration is a grain elevator from the Port of Montreal that was unfortunately torn down.[229]

The allegorical column number eight which displays a temple on top of a spire, referred to nineteenth-century depictions of Arcadia, which "always had a little arcadian temple on a hill. My arcadian temple is the house of Mr. Ordinary right on top of the sculpture, which is a true twentieth-century house of Adam in Paradise-more like a shack."[230]

Charney also had the opportunity to present his view on public art. Referring to artist Paul-Émile Borduas, who believed that art gave people the ultimate privilege to see themselves in their own eyes, Charney explained that this was also true at a collective level, in the city: "Quand je fais de l'art public, je m'engage un peu à renvoyer aux gens ce sentiment de privilège."[231] Art reporter Jocelyne Lepage agreed that the CCA garden was offered to the public as a gift, a privilege.

The Reception of the Garden

Even before the completion of the garden, a local art critic was using terms such as "miraculous" and "miracle" when referring to the presence of the garden in the area. Another one preferred the term "magical". Also, this site-specific garden could make one think about the Programme d'intégration des arts à l'architecture in particular, and of public art in general, in other terms than what was known to Montréalers: art pieces, rarely first-rate ones, scattered around the city.[232] Most of its appeal, apart from its aesthetic quality, stemmed from its didactic content, the fact that it was reflected upon, and bore so many different references to history. "C'est un jardin qui offre plusieurs niveaux de lecture, . . . un jardin allégorique et didactique dont on n'épuise pas immédiatement

tous les sens. Un jardin où l'on a le goût de retourner."[233] At the same time, the garden could be enjoyed without knowing every detail and reference to the past: "What you do experience is something very dramatic. I mean, you don't have to know every little thing that's going on in this garden to really enjoy it."[234] Ann Duncan predicted "that the project will have a profound influence, far beyond our city's limits, on how art is incorporated in public spaces."[235] And art critic Chantal Pontbriand added: "I think this will be a real landmark for the city. I've never seen anything quite like it anywhere."[236]

In 1989, the newspaper La Presse elected Charney Personnalité de l'année in visual arts particularly for his garden, but also for his thinking as a whole and his art in general. Also in December 1989, the CCA garden won the Save Montréal prize, for its great aesthetic quality.[237] At home or abroad, the reception of his work of art was equally enthusiastic and spoken about most favourably. Adele Freedman saw,

> embedded in the garden, . . . a proposition about place-making phrased as a series of questions: Where are we? Who are we? Where have we come from? . . . Charney put a garden in Montreal--and Montreal into the garden. There is no mistaking this place for another. Now that's cultivation![238]

At the same time, Charney's garden appeared to specialists to belong "to the great tradition of architectured gardens, from Tivoli to Versailles, whilst reinventing the physical dimension of their style and underlining their history."[239] Art critic Pierre Restany could not stop praising the garden:

> The museum garden thus becomes a receptacle for the city's memory: a memory within everybody's reach, magnified by the aesthetic quality of symbols and their semiotic power. Art rejoins the city's soul, to create the ideal extension of the Architecture Museum, exactly as Phyllis Lambert has hoped. Montréal, a metropolis pillaged by real estate speculation and the colossal demolitions of the past fifty years, thus regains a part of its identity.

> It took the sensitivity, culture and gifted intuition of Melvin Charney to work this miracle of the mind and the heart.[240]

As for the integration of Charney's garden to the CCA building, which was also part of the original "design imperatives," it was equally well received: "Rose's building and Charney's garden make a contrasting but not an odd pair. Indeed, they form one of the more philosophically and aesthetically rewarding ensembles in contemporary world architecture."[241]

However, Charney's decision to include the city in the garden, and his rejection of Olmsted's ideals, were perceived by a Montréal professor of landscape architecture as the eschewal of "the social ideology of a healthy environment."[242] Peter Jacobs admitted that the garden skilfully included references to classical garden elements. He nonetheless regretted the absence of flowers and of more traditional garden furniture such as "benches, fountains and follies that give life to and inform our sense of gardens built for the more sensual of pleasures."[243] For Jacobs, the model of garden proposed by the CCA is

> one which is largely dispassionate and speaks of private discourse more than public dialogue. Although it successfully reflects the city as a changing place of dwellings, the garden lacks the qualities of color and joy that animate our sense of urban place and of urban settlement.[244]

Another professor of landscape architecture and colleague of Jacobs observed that while post-modernity in architecture was visible in Montréal, landscape architecture in Montréal was still using nineteenth-century modes of expression: "Tout se passe comme s'il fallait préserver les bases ou la vision d'une époque avant de se lancer dans de nouvelles aventures."[245] The CCA garden, however, in its layout and multiple references, would be a post-modern expression of landscape architecture. For Philippe Poullaouec-Gonidec, the artist took up a critical

stance on the urban environment and his garden aroused doubt and questioning. External forces contributed to give a meaning to this previously lost space, and a lesson could be learned on how to built a new place.[246]

Actually, there were articles in the media about the upcoming garden until its official inauguration, which took place on 23 September 1990.[247] This was an event widely publicized and covered by the press. The public was invited as the CCA had planned a party in the garden to follow the official opening. The idea was to have a:

> CELEBRATION: a joyous, public, celebratory event to consecrate the Garden in the imagination of the public, marked by a performance, a program of orchestral music, etc. typical 'music in the Park on a Sunday afternoon' in the tradition of the Boston Pops in the Commons, concerts in Central Park or on Mount Royal.[248]

The Québec Minister of Culture, Lucienne Robillard, and the mayor of Montréal, Jean Doré, presented their speeches. The press was quick to repeat the CCA's claim that the CCA Garden was the first public space to be created in the downtown area of the city in the last fifty years. The garden, in itself and as an extension of the CCA building, was immediately perceived by the press as a major success, and applauded as an exploit.[249]

Conclusion

The study of the documents pertaining to the CCA, its building and garden, show that both Phyllis Lambert and Peter Rose had wanted to plan a garden to accompany Shaughnessy House. They studied the history of the place, of the neighbourhoud and of the city, in order to be capable of developing a concept that would make sense both from the

point of view of the history of architecture and of gardens. But the elements that Lambert and Rose chose were different from those in Melvin Charney's winning concept. For instance, we can see Lambert's quasi-obsession with the grey stone buildings reappearing in the forms of a grey stone wall, defining the entrance of the garden. Lambert had often referred to these walls, or to the grey-stoned walled gardens of religious institutions, which visibly impressed her.[250] There most certainly exists a link between her admiration for these forms and the initial proposal for the CCA Garden where such stone walls were planned.

Larry Richards stressed both Rose's and Lambert's propensity for classical aestheticism. But his analysis of the CCA ensemble, as a classical composition, relies heavily on the CCA Garden. He states that Lambert and Rose chose and designed this classical ensemble, but Charney's input was in fact crucial. Lambert's initial design attempted to treat Shaughnessy House as a villa. A garden, or a park, would have been the perfect setting for such a villa. But this concept presented problems of two orders: functional (for the CCA) and historical. Shaughnessy House never was a villa, but rather twin houses framed by large landscaped grounds, and surrounded by similar properties. Also, the house alone on the boulevard and the city block could not all by itself restored the urban fabric destroyed by massive demolitions and the construction of a highway.[251] The concept was set aside, even though the idea of a garden emerged later, for the other side of the street.

The Pliny exhibition had dealt with the necessity to re-enact and re-activate classical elements in architecture, even if that meant stirring up controversy. Over the years, each in their own way, Lambert, Rose and Charney continued to seek how to integrate classicism in contemporary architecture. However, classical elements are numerous, and their choice, as well as the perception of their importance by the

designer, have a definite influence on the final solution. Thus, Rose and Lambert made many efforts to relate the presence of ponds in the neighbouring sites with the history of gardens. They emphasized the aspect of the villa, the bourgeois character present in the origins of this site. Charney remained true to his interest for the vernacular in architecture, for popular architecture. In his early projects as an artist, he already claimed that popular architecture was the source for the contemporary monumental. Rather than reject the industrial city, as Lambert did in her epic fights, Charney chose to integrate it. By physically re-instating a re-presentation of this industrial architecture, not only did he promote it from the lower to the upper city, but he also bestowed upon it the statute of classical element in the History of Architecture. This example concealed a valorous teaching. Actually, post-modern architecture often referred to history, but in a gratuitous manner. Charney for his part affirmed that nothing was gratuitous in the choice he made in the components of the garden.[252]

In the years following the inauguration, the CCA Garden continued to be presented, discussed, analyzed, referred to, and most of the time, highly praised. It was included in the second edition of the open-air museums, but was considered to be "far more than just a mini 'open-air museum', the result is a microcosm, a city within the city."[253] For his part, Charney saw the garden as an outside museum, one which would be a counter-part to the CCA and propose the city as an exhibition, to be seen from the belvedere on the southern flank of the garden.[254] Thus Charney also proposed a reflection on what were, and could be, outdoor museums in a city.

[1]Larry Richards, "Critical Classicism and the Restoration of Architectural Counsciousness," in Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture Building and Gardens (Montréal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 123.
[2] The creation of the CCA should be understood within the context evoked by Lambert: "The strategy is to develop in Montréal, a world centre for research and diffusion of knowledge in architecture, its social aspects, landscape, and urban planning." Phyllis Lambert, "Les actes du colloque: le défi de Montréal," 1988, p. 106; see also p. 102. She further links the industry of renovation and conservation to the emergence of "a new institutional type" (p. 104), i.e., architectural museums and archives which were, in her view, "innovators in the field." (p. 105).
[3]Gouvernement du Québec, Loi sur le ministère des Affaires culturelles (L.R.Q., c. M-20, a.2), "Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec."
[4] Donna Gabeline, "Phyllis Lambert has a dream. And you're in it," Montréal Business Report Second Quarter, 1980, 74; Michael Fish, "Letters," "Phyllis Lambert gives city a great monument," Gazette, 8 May 1989, p. B 2; Richards, "Critical Classicism," 123; Lucie K. Morisset, "Profil Phyllis Lambert et l'architecture," ARQ, no. 88 (December 1995): 7.
[5]Derek Drummond and Bruce Anderson, "Report on the Architectural and Environmental Aspects of 1923 and 1925 Dorchester Blvd. W. in Montréal," probably 1973, n. p., first page of the report. CCA archives Box A1-0032 B29-5-3; dossier ICONO, CCA New building Site History.
[6] Dorchester Boulevard was renamed René-Lévesque in 1988. Larry Richards, "Preface," to Canadian Centre for Architecture, 9.
[7]Drummond, "Report," n. p.
[8] Avis d'intention of Québec Ministry of Cultural Affairs, to classify Shaughnessy House as a National Historic Monument, quoted in Drummond and Anderson's report.
[9]Jean-Claude Marsan, no date, no signature. In his report, Marsan agreed that the building was made up of two residences, which was stated for the first time in Drummond and Anderson's report.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Shaughnessy House was designated as a Historical Monument by the ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec on 6 February 1974 (number III-020). Environment Canada designated it a Historical Site on 14 February 1974. Lambert first offered to buy the house on 11 February 1974, and the vendor presented a counter-offer on 6 March 1974. Dame Phyllis Bronfman Lambert accepted the counter-offer on 12 March 1974. The Minister of Cultural Affairs authorized the "aliénation d'un Bien culturel classé" on 10 April 1974. Saul Morris Notary, "Deed of Sale by Sisters of Service of Canada unto Dame Phyllis Bronfman (Mrs. Phyllis Lambert)," 16 April 1974, 4th copy, 15; Phyllis Lambert, "Design

Imperatives," in Canadian Centre for Architecture, 67, note 2; Normand Latreille notary, "Cession par Sa Majesté du Chef du Québec [à] Ville de Montréal re: Parc de verdure Centre Canadien d'Architecture," 2nd copy, no. 6316, 3 November 1986, 22; Helen Malkin, "Building and Gardens: Participants, Chronology, and Specifications," in Canadian Centre for Architecture, 155. City of Montréal archives, no CO8408072 and no. CO8615535.

[12]"The Cultural Property Act, which restricts its [property] use, sale and etc." (p. 15). The date of the deed of sale is 16 April 1974. The sale included more than Shaughnessy House: the land and the buildings erected on the land, "bearing civic addresses 1923 Dorchester Boulevard West and 1926 and 1928 Baile Street and with all other buildings thereon erected." (p. 8) The vendor had acquired the sold property in 1940 and 1941 through three different deeds of sale and two different vendors (p. 10). Morris, "Deed of sale by Sisters of Service," 8-10, 15.

Several wrong figures have been reported for the price paid by Lambert for Shaughnessy House: $600,000, $100,000, $750,000 in: Richard Martineau, "Phyllis Lambert La reine-maire," Mtl, May 1989, 48; Dominique Demers, "Phyllis la Redoutable," Châtelaine, May 1989, 192; Adele Freedman, "A one-of-a-kind statement Phyllis Lambert's dream has 'put Canada on the map'," Globe and Mail (Toronto), 7 March 1987, p. C 6; Jean-Yves Girard, "L'État Des Choses," Voir, 27 October-2 November 1988, p. 4. The exact amount, $725,000 was reported in the media, in: Gabeline, "Phyllis Lambert has a dream," 74; Guy Pinard, "Sur la scène de l'actualité," La Presse, 19 May 1985, p. 9.

[13]Lambert believed in the virtues of designating buildings for their protection and for their environment. This was not a mere theoretical credo. Before selling the Seagram Building, the Seagram Company (with Lambert as Director of Planning for the Building) asked New York City, in 1976, to modify the law so that the Seagram Building could be designated a landmark. The eighteen-year-old structure was not old enough: only buildings of thirty years of age and more could be so designated. The law was not modified, and Seagram resorted to contractual clauses of a lease agreement, part of the agreement of purchase and sale, to ensure that the purchaser would maintain the architectural integrity of the building. David W. Dunlap, "Seagram Landmark Move is Backed," New York Times, 21 April 1988, p. B 2; Phyllis Lambert, "A Testimony to the Seagram Building," New York Landmarks Conservancy Newsletter, Fall-Winter 1988, 2.

[14]Exact date of the sale of Shaughnessy House to the CCA is unknown, probably in June 1984. The Minister of Cultural Affairs authorized the sale on 16 May 1984. On 22 May 1984, the notary Jean Miquelon was still working on the contract for the deed of sale. Draft of the deed of sale between Dame Phyllis [Bronfman] Lambert to Canadian Centre for

Architecture, p. 2, 4, 9. Letter, Me Pierre-André Themens to Me Normand Latreille, 22 May 1984. On 4 July 1984, a memorandum from the Urban Planning Service, signed by Michel Gauthier engineer, to the Executive Committee, referred to a request for the enlargement and restoration of Shaughnessy House by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. At a meeting of the Administration Board of Directors, it was resolved that: "CCA purchases from Mrs. P. Lambert, for and in consideration of the payment at closing of an amount of $1,200,000.00" Shaughnessy House and all the land situated in the Shaughnessy block and belonging to Phyllis Lambert. Minutes of a meeting of the Board of Directors of Canadian Centre for Architecture held on 22 May 1984, p. 2. See also Paul Cummings, "Interview: Phyllis Lambert Talks with Paul Cummings," Drawings 11, no. 3 (September-October 1989): 57. Lambert gives the impression that she had, since the beginning, owned the whole city block, which was not the case. Scott Disher, "The Queen Bee of Canadian Heritage Conservation," Montréal Calendar Magazine, March 1985, 75; Pinard, "Sur la scène de l'actualité," p. 9. CCA's archives A 1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B28-3-6; City of Montréal archives no. CO8411634 and no. CO8408072.

[15] Morisset, "Profil," 7. About the uniqueness of the CCA, see: Phyllis Lambert, "Le Centre canadien d'architecture," Le Devoir, 20 May 1983, p. 13; Phyllis Lambert, "Allocution de Phyllis Lambert à l'occasion de l'inauguration des travaux de construction du nouvel édifice du centre canadien d'architecture, Montréal," 13 May 1985, p. 3; Douglas Brenner, "Architecture Hard-Hatted Woman," House and Garden, May 1989, 38; Demers, "Phyllis la Redoutable," 192; Gérald LeBlanc, "Phyllis ♥ Montréal," La Presse, 12 May 1989, p. B 3; Lambert, "Introduction," to Canadian Centre for Architecture, 11-13; Phyllis Lambert, "New City 'Wall' Move by religious orders helped set out urban pattern," Gazette, 11 February 1975, p. 9; Cummings, "Interview: Phyllis Lambert," 57; Phyllis Lambert, "The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal," Canadian Architect 34, no. 8 (August 1989): 17. The fact that in Lambert's view Montréal was the laboratory, the experimental place, also indicates why it was so important to save it from destruction. Not only was it good for the benefit of the citizens, but it was also part of the concept of the CCA: to have the city, its buildings, its history, its traces and its inhabitants as a demonstration of how a city works.

[16] Phyllis Lambert in Edward Kaufman, "Interview with Phyllis Lambert of the Centre canadien d' architecture," Newsline: Columbia architecture planning preservation, May 1989, 2. See also Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 58. Note: Jean-Claude Marsan's seminal work, Montréal en évolution, was first published in 1974.

[17] Morisset, "Profil," 7.

[18]Phyllis Lambert, "Rhode Island School of Design Museum Notes," 1996, p. 12. Daniel Robbins had worked with Lambert in 1971 on the expansion of the Fogg Art Museum. Daniel and Eugenia Robbins prepared a second report, in 1986, on the "CCA Study Centre." Eugenia Robbins collaborated on both reports.

[19] "Application For Incorporation of a Corporation Without Share Capital Under the Canada Corporations Act," p. 6-8, signed on 21 June 1979, by applicants Phyllis Lambert, Arnold Ludwick, Ivan E. Phillips, Peter C. Swann. Under the provisions of Part II of the Canada Corporations Act Film 444, document 53, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. "The date of the CCA letters patent was September 6, 1979." Minutes of Administration Board of Directors Meeting, 20 September 1979. CCA archives A1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007-B28-3-6; City of Montréal archives, no. CO 8408072.

[20]"Application For Incorporation of a Corporation Without Share Capital Under the Canada Corporations Act."

[21]Until very late, the collection of photography remained in New York City (it was still there during the fall of 1985), where the CCA had an office. Minutes of the Administration Board of Directors Meeting, 20 September 1979; Line Ouellet, "Phyllis Lambert en entrevue avec Line Ouellet," Continuité, no. 30 (Winter 1986): 10; Robert Fulford, "Joan of Architecture," Imperial Oil Review, Winter 1989, 11; Lambert, "Le Centre canadien d'architecture," p. 13.

[22]CCA Administration Board of Directors Meeting, 22 April 1981; CCA Administration Board of Directors Meeting, 22 May 1988; CCA Administration Board of Directors Meeting, 8 December 1982; CCA archives: A1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B28-3-6. The CCA officially opened on 7 May 1989. Malkin, "Building and Gardens," 156.

[23]Minutes of the Administration Board of Directors Meeting, 20 September 1979. This gives credit to the above hypothesis that buying a Historic Monument had greater value. Also, it appears that tax considerations were important to Lambert.

[24]Phyllis Lambert in Kaufman, "Interview with Phyllis Lambert of the Centre canadien d'architecture," 2; see also Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 56-57; Richards, "Critical Classicism," 124; Harold D. Kalman, "Consultant in the History and Conservation of Architecture," letter to Ms. Diana Chaplin, Phyllis Lambert architect, 16 June 1981. In this letter, Dr. Kalman refers to a letter dated 22 September 1978, forwarded to Peter Rose. CCA's archives, ARCON 1994: 0017, Box A1-0032 B29-5-3; dossier ICONO.

[25] Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 55; Thomas Weston Fels, "Phyllis Lambert: an Interview," Print Collector's Newsletter 20, no. 5 (November-December 1989): 170.

[26]CCA Policy Paper I/Basic Policy, 2 March 1981, Revised 2 June 1981, Revised 30 April 1982. Item (i) INTRODUCTION. CCA archives A 1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B-28-3-6.
[27]Founder's clarification of terms and implications. Le Centre Canadien d'Architecture The Public Collection Programs The Canadian Centre for Architecture. 2 June 1981, revised 30 April 1982. CCA archives A1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B28-3-6.
[28]Minutes of the 22 May 1984 Administration Board of Directors Meeting, "Report on Designations." See also letter from Me Pierre-André Themens [for the CCA] to Me Normand Latreille, City of Montréal, 22 March 1984: "Nous venons d'être informés que Centre Canadien d'Architecture . . . vient d'être reconnu par le Secrétariat d'État comme une 'institution' au sens de la Loi relative à l'importation et l'exportation de biens culturels." CCA was recognized as a museum by the Canadian Museums Association on 13 January 1984. Malkin, "Building and Gardens," 155. City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.
[29]Michel Clair, Minister of Transportation, Québec Government, "Mémoire au Conseil du Trésor-Gouvernement du Québec," 26 August 1983; CCA director Phyllis Lambert to Mayor Jean Drapeau, 7 December 1982; Me Peloquin, chief barrister, and N. Latreille, notary, City of Montréal, memorandum to Executive Committee, 14 June 1984 and projet d'acte on cession par la Ville de Montréal au CCA de certains lots, Approved 14 June 1984 by City of Montréal legal department, first page; Emphyteutic lease by City of Montréal to Canadian Centre for Architecture, no. 6317, 3 November 1986, second copy, Me Normand Latreille notary, 1st page. In the lease version, the term "commercial" is omitted. The CCA asked for exemptions of municipal land and business taxes. The City of Montréal lawyer's view was that the CCA's aims were not charitable but cultural. Me Annie Gerbeau, z9-06-90. City of Montréal archives nos. CE9002647, CO8615536, CO8408072, CO8408162, and CO8615536.
[30] John Harris, "Storehouses of Knowledge: The Origins of the Contemporary Architectural Museum," in Canadian Centre for Architecture, 15-32; Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 55-68; Richards, "Critical Classicism," 124-25, 127-29. Figures 42-44, p. 125 show models of Ridgway's proposals A, B, and C. All three proposals, excerpted from a September 1981 document, are laid out on the entire Shaughnessy block. Lambert confirmed this fact: "I had always looked at the whole block. I never looked at, just at that piece of land here. . . I always looked at the whole block. . . I just always did." Phyllis Lambert, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 15 January 1997; Drummond, "Report," n. p.
[31] Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 57-58; Richards, "Critical Classicism," 124, 127, 130; Malkin, "Building and Gardens," 155.

[32] Charles Jencks ed., Post-Modern Classicism: The New Synthesis (London: Architectural Design and Academy Editions, 1980), 12-13.
[33]Including the Art Gallery of Ontario and the Museum of Modern Art. Notes biographiques, Peter D. Rose; Richards, "Critical Classicism," 128, 130; André Boulanger, "Peter Rose et Phyllis Lambert remportent le Prix d'excellence en architecture," Habitabec, 8 December 1989, p. 44-45. CCA's archives, ARCON 1991: 0042: 0010 A1-0006, B28-5-01.
[34]Paul Goldberger, New York Times' architectural critic, quoted by Ingrid Peritz, "The house that Phyllis built," Gazette, 6 May 1989, p. A 4.
[35]Architect Denis St-Louis was in charge of the restoration of Shaughnessy House. Geoffrey Simmins, "Phyllis Lambert A daughter of wealth and privilege, this professional architect fulfills a philanthropic dream," City and Country Home, March 1986, 163; Kevin Callaghan, "Phyllis Lambert Takes the Show on the Road," Inland architect 32, no. 1 (January-February 1988): 93; Cummings, "Interview: Phyllis Lambert," 57-58; Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 58; Richards, "Critical Classicism," 127-28.
[36]Ian Allaby, "Design Force/Hors ligne," En route, May 1989, 92; see also Mark Abley, "Bronfman virtues, vices passed on to daughter," Gazette, 7 November 1987, p. B 1.
[37]Claude Turcotte, "Montréal à l'heure des choix quant au développement urbain," Le Devoir, 19 April 1989, p. 13.
[38]Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 60.
[39] Lambert quoted in Grace Glueck, "Philanthropist Backs Archive in Montreal," New York Times, 29 May 1986, p. C 2.
[40] By the end of December 1980, Robert Lemire had completed a historical analysis (1839-1939) of the CCA site. The history of the city block and Shaughnessy House is gathered in a CCA document, "Maison Shaughnessy Historique de l'îlot et de la maison," 8 April 1982. In March 1987 the material from the historical research encompassed the city block across the street from Shaughnessy House. It was intended to be used for a presentation by Phyllis Lambert in April 1987 (presumably for the 1% competition). The March 1987 material was also transmitted to the artists for the public art work competition. The research continued in 1988 and the resulting material was presented in Robert Lemire's, "The CCA Site: An Illustrated Chronology, 1694-1988," in Canadian Centre for Architecture, 139-51. Weston Fels, "Phyllis Lambert: an Interview," 170; Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 64; Lambert, "Allocution de Phyllis Lambert à l'occasion de l'inauguration des travaux de construction du nouvel édifice du centre canadien d'architecture, Montréal," p. 4; Richards, "Critical Classicism," 123. CCA archives ARCON 1994: 0017, A1-0032 B29-5-3; ARCON 1993: 0053: 003, A1 0016 B29-4-6. CCA's Documentation of Site for Competition, transmitted by Marie Arama, Phyllis Lambert's secretary to Margaret Boyce, 4 March 1997. The idea

that the CCA was restoring the city fabric was repeated in the press: Fulford, "Joan of Architecture," 12; René Viau, "Phyllis Lambert visualiser l'architecture," Beaux-Arts Magazine, no. 66 (March 1989): 26.

[41]Gilles Crépeau was CCA's director of administration of the time; Ivan E. Phillips was a lawyer, partner at Goodman Phillips & Vineberg and a member of the CCA's board of directors; James D. Raymond was vice-president of CEMP Investment and a member of the CCA's board of directors; Pierre-André Themens was a lawyer, partner at Goodman Phillips & Vineberg. Themens was the most directly involved in the negotiations with the City and the Provincial Government. Letters from Themens to Latreille, notary at City Hall, 29 November 1983 and 29 December 1983; Themens to Jacques Hébert, Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Transportation, 25 May 1984. CCA archives A 1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B-28-3-6; City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.

[42]Maurice Desnoyers, architect, to Jean-Louis Sauvé, Administrative Secretary, City of Montréal, 20 December 1976. City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.

[43]Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, 28 September 1981. CCA archives A1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B28-3-6.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Raymond, Joyal, Sabourin, Theaudière & Roy, real estate appraisers, "Plan montrant l'identification des propriétés," September 1982, prepared from a City of Montréal map. CCA archives, A1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B-28-3-6; City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.

[46]Strathcona playground was the result of the former owner of the land, David Wolfe's, will to sell the land to the city "for the purpose of establishing a Park or playground thereon." Wolfe's last wishes were accomplished by his widow, Dame Dora Goldberg, and a contract, drawn up by a notary, was passed on 9 July 1946. The city paid $38,851 for the land. The contract refers to a plan prepared by the City, dated 25 January 1945. Plan no. D72, St. Antoine ward; Note de service from Themens, Goodman Phillips & Vineberg, to Lambert, Directeur Centre Canadien d'Architecture, 27 March 1997, Objet: "Assemblages des terrains requis pour la réalisation du Centre Canadien d'Architecture et son parc," p. 1 reads "Les terrains longeant les rampes d'accès à l'autoroute Ville-Marie furent expropriées par le gouvernement du Québec pour permettre la réalisation de cette autoroute." Note transmitted by Phyllis Lambert to author, 25 April 1997. Ellen Posner wrote that in 1969 many of the neighbours of Shaughnessy House were demolished to make way for the Ville-Marie expressway. Ellen Posner, "Phyllis Lambert and Her Mansion for Master Builders," Wall Street Journal, 6 July 1989, p. A 10. City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.

[47] Gilles Crépeau to James Raymond, 26 November 1982. Lambert to Drapeau, 7 December 1982. CCA archives A 1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B-28-3-6; City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.
[48]Pierre-André Themens presented a proposal at the Board of Directors Meeting, 13 May 1982. The minutes of this meeting do not clearly spell out the terms of this proposal. However, it presents the budget of the "dépenses d'immobilisation" for the CCA, for the years 1981-85. The 1981 figure ($204,598) represents actual spending. For 1982 ($2,530,000) and 1983 ($8,470,000) it could represent the maximum amount the CCA was willing to pay for the land. Figures for 1984 and 1985 were left in blank. Since the ground-breaking ceremony occurred in 1985, the 1982-1983 figures could not have pertained to CCA construction, except, perhaps, for some costs of maintenance of Shaughnessy House. It was at this meeting that Gilles Crépeau was appointed Director of Administration. CCA archives, A 1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B28-3-6.
[49]Lambert to Drapeau, 7 December 1982.
[50]Ibid.
[51]Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, held on 8 December 1982. CCA's archives, A 1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B28-3-6.
[52] Lambert, interview by author.
[53]Ibid.
[54] The letter stated that the land was the CCA's, when in fact it was Lambert's. Lambert had not yet sold it to the CCA. Phyllis Lambert to Pierre Schooner, 23 December 1982, p. 1. City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.
[55]Ibid., p. 2.
[56]The CCA was said to own lot no. 3 (see figure 50). In fact, at that time, it belonged to Phyllis Bronfman [Lambert]. Pierre Schooner to the Executive Committee, 17 January 1983. Re: CCA-Ilot Shaughnessy. City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072.
[57] "Une fois la réalisation de l'autoroute complétée, et les rampes d'accès construites, ces terrains tombèrent dans la nomenclature de terrains dits 'excédentaires' du Gouvernement du Québec." Themens to Lambert, 27 March 1997. The note explains the land assembly. C.T.146358. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs had contributed financially, in 1982, to the safeguard of the building, classified as a Historic Monument. Michel Clair, Ministre des Transports, 26 August 1983. Mémoire au Conseil du Trésor-Gouvernement du Québec (ref. to Article 13 of Treasury Board by-law no. 108738); Yvon Lamarre, President of the Executive Committee, to Michel Clair, Minister of Transportation, 29 April 1983; Me Latreille to Me Péloquin, 1 November 1983; Me Normand Latreille, Notary, "Cession par Sa Majesté du Chef du Québec à Ville de Montréal (Centre Canadien d'Architecture)," 2nd copy, no. 5,200, 24 July 1984, p. 2, 20-22. Depot of

the documents for expropriation, 19 November 1970; dates of purchase of some parcels: 30 December 1971 and 23 June 1972. City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072 and no. CO8615536.

[58] Themens to Lambert, 27 March 1997; draft of the lease, no date; Deputy Administrative Secretary, memorandum to the notary, Director of Service of Real Estate Management, 22 April 1983; Yvan E. Phillips, Administrator of the CCA, to André Payment, City of Montréal, 8 June 1983. The letter refers to a meeting held on 6 June 1983 between the legal advisers of both City of Montréal and the CCA. See also Memo Gestion Immobilière to Assemblée du Comité Exécutif, 13 July 1983. What is identified as Terrain de jeux Strathcona et Parc on plan A, 31 May 1984 corresponds to the description. Memo Public Works 8 July 1983. Re: CIDEM, CCA, Ilot Shaughnessy. See also: Renseignements, Service de l'Urbanisme à la demande du Secrétaire Administratif de la Ville, 24 January 1984; "Closing of lots numbers 1628-Part Q, 1628-Part T, 1628-Part U, Part 1631, of the Cadastre of the City of Montréal (Saint-Antoine Ward)," identified on David Rabin's plan no. 29019-B, dated 12 June 1984; By-law no. 6453; Themens to Latreille, 29 November 1983; Peter Rose to M. Regnier, Secrétaire Administratif, 3 May 1984. City of Montréal archives nos. CO8408072, CO8408162, and CO8411634.

[59] Aimé Desautels, architect, Director of the Service d'Urbanisme to Me Latreille, 31 May 1984. Draft for the contract between City of Montréal and the CCA, item 30, "Espace vert." No copy of the final agreement was available for consultation, but the draft was signed by P. Lambert, no date (possible date: June 1984, as it was transmitted by Latreille to the Executive Committee in mid-June 1984). City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072 and no. CO8408162.

[60]By-law in force was no. 4981, amended. Its requirements were met even though the adopted by-law (no. 6480, item 8) stated: "That project shall meet all requirements of the by-laws of the Ville, but shall be exempt from incompatible provisions of the zoning by-law of part of St. Andrew Ward (4981, as amended)." Requirements of other by-laws not met pertained to parking space (no. 6444) and to the loading/unloading of merchandise (no. 2269). By-law no. 6480 adopted on 20 August 1984: "By-law hearing approval of the construction and occupancy plan of a documentation centre in the quadrilateral bounded by Dorchester Boulevard and Fort, Baile and Saint-Marc Streets," second study. Michel Gauthier eng. Service de l'urbanisme to the Executive Committee, 4 July 1984. The draft of the contract between City of Montréal and the CCA, possibly June 1984, referred to Peter Rose's "plan d'implantation 1/5" dated 2 May 1984 and to David Rabin's plan no. 29019-B of 12 June 1984. City of Montréal archives nos. CO8408162, CO8411634, and CO8512885.

[61]Themens to Hébert, 25 May 1984.

[62]The contract, signed by the Ministry of Transportation, was transmitted for approval by City Council on 16 May 1984. It was recommended by the Executive Committee on 30 May 1984. It was then submitted to a special meeting of the City Council on 4 June 1984. The beginning of the construction works was said to depend on this approval. On 18 June 1984, it was approved. Themens to Hébert, 25 May 1984; Chief lawyer of City of Montréal, memorandum to the Members of the Executive Committee, 14 June 1984; "Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance du Conseil municipal de Montréal tenue le 18 juin 1984"; "au Conseil Municipal de Montréal," stamped "submitted" 18 June 1984 and "approved" 18 June 1984. Moreover, the contract between the Government and the City stated that the City could take possession of all the lots of land given, by 18 June 1984 (before the signing of the contract). Latreille was the notary for both deeds, bearing no. 5200 and 5215 of his repertory; Latreille, "Cession par Sa Majesté. . . à Ville de Montréal (Centre Canadien d'Architecture)," p. 2, 23-24, 36. On 20 June 1984, "Montréal City Council adopts resolution in which all land on the block north of boulevard René-Lévesque which is not part of the Shaughnessy House property be donated to the CCA with the understanding that the CCA create and maintain it as a green space." Malkin, "Building and Gardens," 155; Themens to Lambert, 27 March 1997; Themens to Latreille, 22 May 1984; draft of the contract between City of Montréal and the CCA, possibly June 1984. City of Montréal archives no. CO8408072 and no. CO8408162.

[63]Lambert, "Allocution de Phyllis Lambert à l'occasion de l'inauguration des travaux de construction du nouvel édifice du centre canadien d'architecture, Montréal," p. 4, 6; CCA communiqué, "EMBARGO," 13 May 1985; Malkin, "Building and Gardens," 155; Stuart Wilson, "Opening ceremonies for Architecture Centre set for May 7," Montreal Downtowner, 26 April 1989, p. 19; LeBlanc, "Phyllis ♥ Montréal," p. B 3.

[64] "Phyllis Lambert's Canadian Centre for Architecture Canadian architects in Venice Biennale," Cultures International 1, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 1.

[65] Jean-Guy Martin, "Montréal n'a pas besoin de gratte-ciel," Le journal de Montréal, 19 April 1989; "Coup d'oeil sur Phyllis Lambert," Commerce Montréal, June 1989, 23. At the ground-breaking ceremony, Lambert affirmed that the architectural richness of Montréal, combined with the interest of the population and the CCA collections and programmes, would allow Montréal to become "un des lieux les plus vibrants dans l'expression de l'art architectural et urbain" in Lambert, "Allocution de Phyllis Lambert à l'occasion de l'inauguration des travaux de construction du nouvel édifice du centre canadien d'architecture,

Montréal," p. 2; Irwin Block, "Architecture mecca opens," Gazette, 8 May 1989, p. A 1 (early edition).
[66] LeBlanc, "Phyllis ❤ Montréal," p. B 3.
[67] Fred A. Bernstein, "Joan of Architecture," Metropolitan Home, November 1989, 101.
[68] CCA's legal adviser and secretary of the Administration Board had been in more or less constant communication with several people at the City of Montréal (various services) as regards the land transfer for Shaughnessy block. Lambert, interview by author; Phyllis Lambert, letter to author, 25 April 1997; Ann Duncan, "Artist Melvin Charney turns a bleak lot into a magical park," Gazette, 21 October 1989, p. K 16; Viau, "Visualiser l'architecture," 27.
[69] CCA's letter could not be consulted, only references to it. Jean-Claude Boudreau, Director of Real Estate Department at the City of Montréal, to Guy Tardif, Minister of Transportation, 13 September 1985. In this case, the depot of the plans for the expropriation also occurred on 19 November 1970. F. Couture, Real Estate Department, City of Montréal, to Robert Gagné, Regional representative of the Ministry of Transportation, 17 October 1985; the letter is appendix "C" to the request to the provincial Treasury Board no. 159423 from the Ministry of Transportation, 20 November 1985, signed by Minister Tardif on 14 November 1985. Couture's letter refers to map 497/1J. Some of the land had been bought, in 1972, 1973 and 1982, and some expropriated. Me Normand Latreille, notaire, "Cession par Sa Majesté du Chef du Québec [à] Ville de Montréal re: Parc de verdure Centre Canadien d'Architecture," 2e copie, no. 6316, 3 November 1986, p. 22-23. Some of the demolition occurred previously, according to photographic evidence gathered by Robert Lemire, who dates the demolition for the widening of Dorchester Boulevard (Atwater to Delorimier Streets) in 1969-70. CCA's package handed out to the artists: "Documentation of Site for Competition." City of Montréal archives no. CO8615535 and no. CO8615536.
[70] Boudreau to Tardif, 13 September 1985.
[71] Ibid. The regulation C. T. 154599 was not identified as such in the letter, but was referred to clearly in further documentation. Tardif to Yvon Lamarre, President of the Executive Committee, City of Montréal, 6 November 1985; Request to Treasury Board no. 159423, November 1985. City of Montréal archives no. CO8615536.
[72] In the former case of land transfer, the various municipal services had been asked for their input before the request was addressed to the Provincial Government. Latreille to Raymond Régnier, Administrative Secretary, City of Montréal, 14 March 1986; Themens to Me François Godbout, Legal Department, City of Montréal, 8 May 1986; Themens to Bernard Malouin, Real Estate Department, City of Montréal, 5 June 1986;

Themens to Lambert, 27 March 1997. City of Montréal archives no. CO8615536.

[73]Legal Department, report to the Executive Committee, 1 October 1986; Minutes of the City Council meeting held on 16 October 1986. At that meeting, Montréal City Council adopted a resolution (8615536) accepting the project of the emphyteutic lease between the City and the CCA, for a seventy-five-year period at an annuity of $1.00 per year. City of Montréal archives no. CO8615535 and no. CO8615536.

[74]Latreille, "Cession par Sa Majesté . . . Ville de Montréal re: Parc de verdure," p. 2.

[75]Ibid., p. 24. See also p. 25-26. As of 17 May 1986, the Administration Board of the CCA had agreed upon the clauses of the emphyteutic lease to be signed between the City of Montréal and the CCA. Excerpt from a resolution adopted by the CCA at the 17 May 1986 Administration Board Meeting, signed by Themens, Secretary, 5 September 1986. Me Normand Latreille, notary, "Bail Emphytéotique par Ville de Montréal à Centre Canadien d'Architecture," 2nd copy, no. 6317, 3 November 1986. Mayor Jean Drapeau represented City of Montréal in both cases. Themens to Lambert, 27 March 1997. City of Montréal archives no. CO8615535 and no. CO8615536.

[76]Peter Rose's cost estimate, dated 4 June 1986, was referred to in the emphyteutic lease. Latreille, "Cession par Sa Majesté . . . Ville de Montréal re: Parc de verdure," 35; Latreille, "Bail Emphytéotique," p. 6, 7, 19, 23, 53; Malouin, Notes explicatives-CONSEIL-20 June 1986. City of Montréal archives no. CO8615536.

[77]"L'aménagement de cet îlot de verdure qui inclut une fontaine sera réalisé selon les exigences du Service des travaux publics, Module parcs," in Malouin, Notes explicatives, 20 June 1986. Peter Rose's cost estimate, dated 4 June 1986, was transmitted by Themens to Malouin on 5 June 1986. City of Montréal archives no. CO8615536.

[78]Phyllis Lambert, note "CCA Book Outline and Related Issues," dated 23 March 1988, p. 1. A map by R. W. S. Mackay, "James Came Topographical and Pictorial Map of the City of Montréal" Montréal, 1846, bears the added comment "John Donegani owned the larger of the two former orchards at this date NB Pond behind house." Another comment: "1801 Construction of reflecting pond with landscaped gardens adjacent to Fort de Belmont." And on a 1825 map by Adams, a pond is indicated, south of Dorchester Boulevard, more or less where Perras' orchard was. Finally, in the illustrations dated 1988 (13 April, revised 7 July and 28 July 1988), again several ponds were indicated on the various maps. History of CCA site, Draft, 16 July 1988, CCA archives, ARCON 1994: 0017, Box A1-0032 B29-5-3.

[79]These ponds constituted alternates 1 and 2, estimated to cost $108,000 and $270,000 respectively. Having ponds was not the preferred

alternative among the four others that were considered. Philip Cheung, eng., The Proctor & Redfern Group Consulting Engineers & Planners, report, "Canadian Centre of Architecture Site Drainage Investigation Montréal, Québec," Don Mills, Ontario, August 1987. The site visit took place on 21 July 1987. CCA's archives ARCON 1993: 0053: 003 A1-0016 B29-4-6; document no. E. O-87151.

[80]Lambert, interview by author. The exhibition was The Villas of Pliny and Classical Architecture in Montréal. Larry Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders: Confronting the Classical Tradition as an Inescapable Wedge in Architectural circumstances," Parachute, no. 36 (September-October-November 1984): 32-36.

[81]Johanne Lamoureux, "Mémoire de Musée/figures d'amnésie," Parachute, no. 33 (December 1983, January-February 1984): 26, see also 27. Malkin, "Building and Gardens," 153; Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders," 35; Lambert, interview by author.

[82]Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders," 32.

[83]Ibid., 36.

[84]Ibid.

[85]Melvin Charney, "Of Temples and Sheds," ARQ, no 15 (October 1983), quoted in Richards, "Loving, Obeying, Defying, Orders," 35. The complete ARQ issue was devoted to the exhibition and to classicism.

[86]Pierre du Prey was curator of the exhibition. Larry Richards was later invited (1986) to edit the book Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture Building and Gardens and to be curator of the CCA exhibition about its building. Melvin Charney created the CCA Garden. Erich Marosi was a member of Peter Rose's design team. George Baird interviewed Peter Rose for the book directed by Richards. And Phyllis Lambert continued to be involved, as we shall see.

[87]Phyllis Lambert herself tried to take part in the design of the garden as late as 1987. See two sketches dated 4 July 1987; one other sketch with no date; two other pages: "solution to the garden" one dated 3 July 1987 and the other with no date. These sketches did not lead to the actual solution. CCA's archives ARC-V1993: 0053: 003 B29-4-6 A1-0016 "CCA Building Landscape P. L Drawings"; Louise Déry, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 21 January 1997; Lambert, interview by author; Jean-Claude Leblond, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 2 October 1997.

[88]Le ministre des Affaires culturelles à Phyllis Lambert, directeur Centre canadien d'architecture, 6 May 1985; Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Programme d'aide financière aux équipements culturels, Formulaire de demande de subvention, 6 pages. Signed by Phyllis Lambert on 28 November 1984. See also Programme d'aide financière aux équipements culturels, Fiche synthèse, no.1714-A0-94, signed on 15 April 1985, by Jean-Guy Desroches, chargé de

projet. The correct total amount for the anticipated costs should have been $20, 638, 618 (addition error). Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Intégration des arts à l'architecture, Montréal, file on the CCA Garden.

[89]Le ministre des Affaires culturelles à Phyllis Lambert, 6 May 1985. Essentially, the conditions attached to the grant pertained to the schedules of work and of financing, and to the obligation to inform the public about this financial aid. Jacques Cleary, Director of Administration, CCA, to Ghislain Papillon, 26 August 1986. In the mid-seventies, Jacques Cleary was trained as an artist and even took part in the 1970-71 exhibition "Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-70." Also, he had previously worked as the coordinator of sculptures at Man and His World. Later, he worked for the Ministry of Cultural Affairs as Director of the programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, where he had been Louise Déry's first boss. After his brief passage as the Director of Administration at the CCA, he was appointed Director of the Conseil des Arts de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal. Musée d'art contemporain, Panorama de la sculpture au Québec 1945-70 (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1970); Louise Déry, "Art public et intégration des arts à l'architecture au Québec: Contextes et créations," (Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, 1991), 150; Déry, interview by author; Gouvernement du Québec, Loi sur le ministère des Affaires culturelles, L.R.Q., c. M-20, a.2, Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec, 1981, modified in 1985; section I, Définitions a, c, j; section VI, Dispositions particulières, art. 25. This text is almost always referred to in the art milieu as the "1%" or "règlement du 1%"; Charles Daudelin to Jacques Cleary, enveloppe, circa 1976. Ministère de la Culture archives; Charles Daudelin's personal archives.

[90]Lambert, interview by author.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Memorandum, Lambert to Jean Talbot, CCA, 9 March 1987. See also memorandum, Lambert to Tim Porteous and Jean Talbot, 24 February 1987. A handwritten note (no date, no signature) in Ministry of Cultural Affairs' dossier, "Centre Canadien d'architecture," reads "Jacques Cleary . . . nous avisera lorsque prêt!! A relancer!" Ministère de la culture, archives; CCA archives, CCA Building Landscape; Ministry of Cultural Affairs' Politique de l'intégration de l'art à l'architecture, Box A1-0016 B29-4-6.

[93]"Projet d'une oeuvre d'art à être intégrée à la construction de l'édifice du CCA," 2 pages. No date on the programme, but according to a document found in the CCA's archives that referred to this text, the date would be 17 March 1987. Signed TP/s2, presumably for Timothy Porteous. The first draft, in English, is dated 10 March 1987. CCA's

archives: CCA Building, MAC-1% Sculpture Competition, Held, Friday, 7 August 1987, 9:00-3:00 pm Documents/correspondence.

[94]Lambert, interview by author. Even though a letter from the CCA stating that it anticipated "la réalisation d'un programme d'intégration des arts dans le cadre de son projet de construction," may indicate a willingness on its part rather than an obligation. Cleary to Papillon, 26 August 1986.

[95]Déry, "Art public," 207; Déry, interview by author.

[96]According to Ghislain Papillon, it is only when there are problems with either the artist or the owner, that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs gets involved during the creation of the works. Ghislain Papillon, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 8 November 1996; Louise Déry, Art Architecture Environnement, Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1985, p. 41-42; Gouvernement du Québec, Loi sur le ministère des Affaires culturelles, L.R.Q., c. M-20, a.2, Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec, 1981, modified in 1985; art. 6, 13, 14; Ministère des Affaires culturelles, L'intégration des arts à l'architecture: Qui fait quoi?, Québec, 1987; L'intégration des arts à l'architecture. Guide d'application du règlement" (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1989), p. 9-10.

[97]Data for mode B and C were in force when the CCA competition occurred. They were revised in a 1989 publication. According to the "Guide d'application du règlement," the competition by public notice occurs for construction of national character, and estimated to cost more than ten million dollars. Below that amount, there is a limited competition. Gouvernement du Québec, Loi sur le ministère des Affaires culturelles, L.R.Q., c. M-20, a.2, Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec, 1981, modified in 1985; art. 7; "Guide d'application du règlement," p.11-14; Déry, Art Architecture Environnement, 41-42; Papillon, interview by author; Jean Basile, Laurent Bouchard, and Jean-Claude Leblond, "Le système d'attribution de bourses, de prix et subventions," interview by Michel Lacombe, radio programme SRC-R, Le midi 10. Transcription by Caisse, Chartier 1450CUL2, p. 11-12.

[98]At the time of the competition, Louise Déry was Director of the Rimouski Regional Museum, and Jean-Claude Leblond was editor at the Vie des arts magazine. Even though Lambert had wanted, in addition to Peter Rose and herself, Jean Talbot and Tim Porteous attend the meeting, Papillon did not invite Talbot, who came nonetheless. Papillon to Lambert, 11 March 1987; Lambert to Porteous and Talbot, 24 February 1987. "Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, Réunion du comité permanent," "Ordre du jour" for a meeting regarding the CCA's project, held on 18 March 1987; "Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture. Réunion du comité permanent Procès-verbal" for the CCA

project, meeting held on 18 March 1987; Déry, interview by author; Cleary to Papillon, 26 August 1986. Talbot was Director of CCA's financial services, and Tim Porteous was Associate Director. "New Urban Garden for Montréal," Landscape Architectural Review (December 1987): 26; "Un jardin urbain à proximité du Centre canadien d'architecture," Revue québécoise d'urbanisme 8, no.2 (December 1987): 7; Gouvernement du Québec, Loi sur le ministère des Affaires culturelles, L.R.Q., c. M-20, a.2, Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec, 1981, modified in 1985; section II, art. 5; section IV, art. 12; section VI, art. 25 c, e; Déry, Art Architecture Environnement, 41; Adele Freedman, "Gardens grow as artworks in Montreal, Ottawa," Globe and Mail, 26 September 1987, p. C 19; "Actualités et communiqués," Cahiers des arts visuels au Québec 9, no. 36 (Winter 1987): 53. Ministère de la culture, archives; CCA archives, CCA Building Landscape, Ministry of Cultural Affairs' Politique de l'intégration de l'art à l'architecture, Box A1 0016 B29-4-6.

[99] Gouvernement du Québec, Loi sur le ministère des Affaires culturelles, L.R.Q., c. M-20, a.2, Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec, 1981, modified in 1985; section I, definitions; articles 6, 15; "Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture. Réunion du comité permanent Procès-verbal," of the meeting held on 18 March 1987.

[100]Cleary to Papillon, 26 August 1986. The permanent committee is referred to as the Ministry of Cultural Affairs committee, of which the CCA's architect plus two representatives would be part. In fact, this did not change its membership nor its function.

[101]"Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture. Réunion du comité permanent Procès-verbal" of the meeting held on 18 March 1987, p. 2. See also "Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture, Réunion du comité permanent," "Ordre du jour" for that meeting; Papillon to Lambert, 11 March 1987. The minutes of the meeting do not really develop these points. For further details, see Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 61, 64; Melvin Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," in Canadian Centre for Architecture, 88. Ministère de la culture, archives; CCA archives, CCA Building Landscape, Ministry of Cultural Affairs' Politique de l'intégration de l'art à l'architecture, Box A1 0016 B29-4-6.

[102] "Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture. Réunion du comité permanent Procès-verbal" of the meeting held on 18 March 1987, p. 2.

[103]"Projet d'une oeuvre d'art à être intégrée à la construction de l'édifice du CCA," probably 17 March 1987, 1.

[104]Ibid.

[105]Ibid., 2.

[106]The budget was $150,000 plus 10% for contingencies during the realization of the project. Of that amount, $35,000 would be the fees of the selected artist. At an earlier stage, the way to determine the budget for the work of art had been raised by both the CCA and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs: would it be a percentage of the total construction cost, or of the provincial grant? Ministère de la culture's dossier, hand written sheet, no date, no signature. "Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture. Réunion du comité permanent Procès-verbal" of the meeting held on 18 March 1987, p. 2; "Projet d'une oeuvre d'art à être intégrée à la construction de l'édifice du CCA," probably 17 March 1987, 2 pages.

[107]This is not addressed in the "Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec." Déry's text, Art Architecture Environnement (1985) did not address that either. Qui fait quoi? (1987) only states that the owner representative and the architect sit on the jury, without giving the details of its membership. The 1989 text, "Guide d'application du règlement," addresses that, but it was not available at the time of the competition. "Règlement sur l'intégration des arts à l'architecture et à l'environnement des édifices du Gouvernement du Québec," section II, art. 7; Déry, Art Architecture Environnement, 41-42. Ministère de la culture's dossier, hand written sheet, no date, no signature.

[108]"Projet d'une oeuvre d'art à être intégrée à la construction de l'édifice du CCA," probably 17 March 1987, 2.

[109]Regions 06A, 06B, 06C and 06D were presented. Region 6 is the Montréal region. According to Papillon, typically the architect, the owner, and one or two specialists in visual arts sit on the jury. Art projects costing over $30,000 need two specialists. In this case, the users' representative was also present. As a civil servant from Cultural Affairs, Papillon did not vote, and was replaced by a person of resource. The information that Leblond was president comes from Déry, who was not on the jury, however. Leblond confirmed the fact, even if at first, he did not recall it. Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture Réunion du jury pour la sélection des créateurs et créatrices "Ordre du jour" and Ghislain Papillon, "Procès-verbal," for the CCA project, 9 April 1987; Déry, interview by author; Leblond, interview by author; Papillon, interview by author; Lambert's handwritten notes (her personal archivist confirmed it was her handwriting); Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Qui fait quoi? CCA archives, CCA Building Landscape, Ministry of Cultural Affairs' Politique de l'intégration de l'art à l'architecture, Box A1-0016 B29-4-6.

[110]The list here is not exhaustive, but is given only as an indication of Lambert's unique certainty and several hesitations. Lambert's handwritten notes.

[111]Papillon, "Procès-verbal," 9 April 1987; form signed by each member of the jury: "Programme de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture Jury pour la sélection des créateurs et créatrices" for the CCA project, 8 April 1987; letter (typical), Ghislain Papillon to Melvin Charney, Michel Goulet and Bill Vazan, 9 April 1987.
[112] Melvin Charney, letter to Papillon, 9 April 1987; Bill Vazan, letter to Papillon, 8 April 1987; no letter from Goulet could be traced in the Ministère de la culture's file; Goulet, interview by author.
[113]Charney's winning project was the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights, Ottawa, 1986. His other participation was for the Montréal's Old Port. Michel Goulet was also a contestant for the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. Author saw Charney's sketches. Melvin Charney, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 3 November 1996; Charney, informal conversation with author; Lambert, interview by author.
[114]Charney, interview by author.
[115]Ibid.
[116]Members of the jury included Phyllis Lambert, Pierre Théberge, Larry Richards, Sheila Butler (artist and professor), Suzanne LeMoyne (artist and professor), Mary Pratt (artist), Jack Shadbolt (artist and teacher). Memorandum, The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights/le Monument canadien pour les droits de la personne, no date, 1 page. Charney said that it was "a very good jury." Charney, interview by author; Lambert, interview by author.
[117]Lambert, interview by author. Lambert publicly expressed a similar opinion about Charney in Gavin Drummond, "Adventures in the known world Melvin Charney creates art out of architectural essences," Gazette, 14 December 1996, p. H 1, H 2.
[118] Goulet, interview by author; Goulet's résumé, 1986.
[119]Goulet, interview by author.
[120]Ibid.
[121]Lambert, interview by author.
[122]Bill Vazan, interview by author, Tape un-recording, Montréal, 30 January 1997.
[123]Lambert, interview by author.
[124]Lambert's personal notes, meeting of the jury, 8 April 1987. Beside her "x" in the maybe column, she added "Tim [Porteous] for him." CCA's archives, CCA Building Landscape Ministry of Cultural Affairs' Politique de l'intégration de l'art à l'architecture, Box A1-0016 B29-4-6.
[125]Lambert, interview by author.
[126] Papillon to Charney, Goulet and Vazan.
[127]Agenda, "Re: Meeting with Artists," 26 May 1987, handed out to the artists the day of the meeting.
[128]Goulet, interview by author. Materials listed on the architect's agenda included: site model 1/8"; site plan 1/32"; contour plan @ 1/16" (with

street contours); city context plan; long section; Dorchester elevation, 1/8." The model displayed Peter Rose's scheme, with a predetermined place for the work of art. Because Bill Vazan did not present a model, and had kept it in his studio ever since, the author was able to see the architect's layout for the garden and the predetermined space allotted for the work of art. There was no pool on the model. Vazan, interview by author; Charney, interview by author.

[129]Lambert, interview by author; Arama to author, 4 March 1997; Lambert to Rose, 1 April 1987; Ministry of Cultural Affairs programme L'intégration de l'art à l'architecture Documentation of Site for Competition, by P. L., 1 April 1987 (1 page); Lemire, "Historical documentation," March 1987, 13 pages. Information received from the CCA. The CCA reconstituted the equivalent of the package handed out to the artists by the architect's office. It appears that the CCA did not keep an extra copy for its file.

[130]Document from the Notman archives MP170; Hopkins Atlas, 1879. Lemire, "Historical documentation," March 1987; CCA, "Documentation of Site for Competition."

[131]It must be emphasized that this was an original research that Lambert decided to have done, as almost nothing existed about the history of the site and its surroundings, coupled with the history of the architecture built on these sites. This project had been going on for years. Therefore, there exists slight differences in the categorization of the periods to be found in the package that was handed out to the artists and what can be found in Lemire, "The CCA Site: An Illustrated Chronology, 1694-1988," 139-51. In fact the dates of the events in Lemire's package handed out to the artists, and those in the book are the same, except for the date of the opening of du Fort Street (1871-72 in the book and 1760 in the package).

[132]CCA, , "Documentation of Site for Competition."

[133]Ibid.

[134] The attached houses, McIntyre and Brown, known today as Shaughnessy House, were built during that period, i.e., 1874-75. The construction of Strathcona House, next to McIntyre and Brown, followed in 1886 (demolished in 1941). The houses were identified on Hopkins' 1879 map part of CCA's Documentation of Site for Competition. Lemire, "Illustrated Chronology," 144, 146, 148; CCA, "Documentation of Site for Competition."

[135]Peter Rose in George Baird and Chantal Pontbriand, "Interview with Peter Rose 29 June 1987," in Canadian Centre for Architecture, 76. The slope in the land can be seen on the model given to the artists. With regard to the artists' proposals, see Sylvie Vachon for Papillon, letter (typical) to Lambert, Porteous and Rose, 17 July 1987. The date of the meeting of the permanent committee was 7 August 1987. Each artist was informed the same day. Vachon for Papillon, letter (typical) to Charney, Goulet and Vazan, 17 July 1987. The date of the presentation by the

artists was determined at the 26 May 1987 meeting. Melvin Charney's handwritten note on the agenda. According to Papillon, the artists are usually given two months to work on their proposal, after the meeting with the architect. Papillon, interview by author.

[136]Rose, in Baird, "Interview with Peter Rose 29 June 1987," 76.

[137]Goulet, interview by author. Vazan had to work out a proposal at the very last minute, having had a death in his close family. Therefore, there are several details that he could not remember, including information pertaining to the reflecting pool. Reflecting pool was Peter Rose's term, according to Goulet. Charney also used that same term. Charney, interview by author; Vazan, interview by author.

[138]Goulet, interview by author.

[139]According to Goulet, artists were told that the shape and size of the reflecting pool could be modified. Goulet, interview by author.

[140]Charney, interview by author. This information was first read in Serge Fisette, "Melvin Charney La sculpture et l'écho," Espace 7, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 26, and was later confirmed by Charney.

[141]Charney, interview by author.

[142]Ibid.

[143]Vazan, interview by author.

[144]This was the usual procedure. The permanent committee was made up of the same persons as for its first meeting, except that Mr. Talbot, from the CCA, did not attend. "Politique de l'intégration des arts à l'architecture Réunion du comité permanent, Ordre du jour" for the CCA project, 7 August 1987. The deliberations were confidential, and there are no minutes of the meeting, after the presentations. Five *Polaroid* pictures were taken: one of each artist in front of his proposal, another of Lambert and Rose in front of the winning proposal, i.e., Charney's model, and another one, a group photo of Lambert, Rose, Déry, Papillon and two other persons in front of Goulet's model. "Photos Taken 07-08-87, MAC, 1% Competition CCA Building"; Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Qui fait quoi?, "Rôle de l'artiste"; documents presented by the artists: Melvin Charney, "Environmental Park and Sculpture," August 1987, 24 pages; Michel Goulet, "Les Mille Lieux: Traces et fragments pour revoir la ville," August 1987, 5 pages; Bill Vazan, untitled text, no date, 2 pages. Lambert, interview by author; Déry, interview by author; Papillon, interview by author; CCA's archives, file "CCA Building MAC-1% Sculpture Competition Held Friday August 7, 1987, 9:00 am-3 pm-Documents/correspondence"; Ministère de la culture's dossier.

[145] Melvin Charney, "Environmental Park and Sculpture," August 1987, 24 pages, p. 1. Charney was scheduled for 9:30 am, Vazan for 10:15 am and Goulet for 11:00 am. "Ordre du jour" for 7 August 1987.

[146] Charney, "Environmental Park and Sculpture," p. 2

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., p. 4
[149] Ibid., p. 3
[150] Ibid., p. 14
[151]This can be seen by comparing the location of the arcade and the location of Michel Goulet's sculpture. Also, the model reveals that already, Charney had two arcades, i.e., Arcade "A"and Arcade "B." Melvin Charney's model was examined at the CCA on 18 March 1997.
[152]Charney, "Environmental Park and Sculpture," p. 6.
[153] Ibid., p. 5
[154] Ibid., p. 6.
[155] Ibid., p. 16
[156]Ibid., p. 17.
[157]For instance, Charney drew an analogy, supported by visual references, between the pediment seen through the trees of Le Nôtre's layout in Watteau, La Perspective, and the pediment of the entrance to the Collège de Montréal seen from column 11 of the Garden.
[158]Charney, "Environmental Park and Sculpture," p. 9; figures 3, 4, 5, 6.
[159]Ibid., p. 14. Charney expanded on the meadow and the orchards in further texts. See for instance, Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 87-102.
[160] Michel Goulet, "Les Mille Lieux: Traces et fragments pour revoir la ville," August 1987, 5 pages; Goulet, interview by author.
[161]Goulet, "Les Mille Lieux"; Goulet, interview by author.
[162]Goulet, interview by author.
[163]Bill Vazan, untitled text, no date, 2 pages, p. 1; Vazan, interview by author; Déry, interview by author; Papillon, interview by author.
[164]Bill Vazan, untitled text.
[165] Ibid.
[166]These deliberations were confidential and, therefore, the information provided and the sources to get it were limited. Déry, interview by author; Papillon, interview by author; "Ordre du jour" for the meeting held on 7 August 1987.
[167]Lambert, interview by author.
[168]Phyllis Lambert's handwritten notes taken on 7 August 1987, for the competition. Her notes regarding Charney's project are unreadable except for the budget item. She had few remarks for Vazan's work. Lambert's handwriting was identified by CCA's chief of research, Michèle Picard. CCA's archives, dossier "CCA Building MAC 1% Sculpture Competition Held Friday August 7, 1987, 9:00-3:00pm. Documents/Correspondence."
[169]Lambert, interview by author.
[170]Ibid.
[171]Papillon affirms: "Vraiment on a été dans une incertitude pendant plusieurs heures pour pas dire quelques journées." However, one of the

Polaroid photos shows Lambert and Rose in front of Charney's model, presumably at the end of the day, after having chosen the winning project. Papillon, interview by author; Déry, interview by author; "Photos Taken 07-08-87, MAC, 1% Competition CCA Building."

[172]The order was Tim Porteous, Louise Déry, Peter Rose, Ghislain Papillon, Jean-Claude Leblond, and Phyllis Lambert. Lambert herself wrote "I will go last." Lambert's handwritten notes are not a complete account of everything that was said, but represent what Phyllis Lambert found noteworthy. They appear to have been taken as fast as possible, as people were talking. They present the great advantage of having been taken immediately, without knowing what would happen of the garden, which project would win, and how it would be received by the public and the art critics. Hence some comments may contrast with what had been said afterwards. "CCA Building MAC-1% Sculpture Competition Held Friday August 7, 1987, 9:00 am-3 pm- Documents/correspondence."

[173]Lambert's handwritten notes.

[174]Ibid.

[175]Ibid.

[176]Ibid.

[177]Ibid. According to what Papillon had stated previously, he should not have voted.

[178]"Le jardin c'est un lieu de délice." Lambert's handwritten notes.

[179]Déry, interview by author. In all fairness to Mrs. Déry, it should be added that she had warned the author, before the interview, that she might not recall some elements, given the time elapsed. Furthermore, she referred the author to Mr. Papillon about this subject.

[180]Plans handed out to the artists were limited to: 1-Plan by Peter Rose and Erol Argun, architects; Phyllis Lambert architecte conseil. Centre Canadien d'Architecture, Sections, June 1987. 2-Plan by Peter Rose and Erol Argun, architects; Phyllis Lambert architecte conseil; also stamped by landscape architect Diana Gerrard, AAPQ. Parc Dorchester, Layout Plan, May 1987. The reflecting pool is clearly identified on this plan. 3-Plan by Peter Rose and Erol Argun, architects; Phyllis Lambert architecte conseil. Parc Dorchester, Grading Plan, May 1987.

[181]Papillon, interview by author.

[182] Lambert's handwritten notes; Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Qui fait quoi?; Déry, interview by author; Goulet, interview by author; Leblond, interview by author; Papillon, interview by author.

[183]Charney, interview by author.

[184]Ibid.

[185]Papillon, interview by author.

[186]Déry, interview by author.

[187]Lambert, interview by author.

[188]Ibid.

[189]Déry, interview by author.
[190]Without of course breaching the confidentiality of the discussion. Papillon, interview by author.
[191]Goulet, interview by author.
[192]Ibid. The fact that the competition was tight between Charney and Goulet was reported in the media. Jocelyne Lepage, "Le miracle de Melvin Charney Le jardin du Centre canadien d'architecture," La Presse, 4 November 1989, p. K 6.
[193]Goulet, interview by author.
[194]Charney, interview by author.
[195]CCA's invitation card; see also "Déroulement de la rencontre de presse" for the unveiling of the model, 16 September 1987, 2 pages. Ministère de la culture's dossier.
[196] Freedman, "Gardens grow as artworks in Montreal," p C 19; Jean-Guy Théorêt, "Dévoilement de la maquette de la sculpture environnementale au Centre Canadien d'Architecture. Allocution lors de la cérémonie et la rencontre avec la presse," 16 Septembre 1987. Théorêt omitted the participation of Mrs. Guay and Page, and attributed to Louise Déry the attendance at the jury for the selection of artists, which is incorrect. See above. Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Québec et la Fondation Bronfman font don d'un parc à la ville de Montréal," La Presse, 17 September 1987, p. A 5; Angèle Dagenais, "Devant le futur Centre canadien d'architecture Melvin Charney créera un parc de sculptures," Le Devoir, 17 September 1987, p.13; Ann Duncan, "Montréal artist wins design contest," Gazette, 17 September 1987, p. D 18; "Un jardin urbain à proximité du Centre canadien d'architecture," 7-8; Le Journal de Montréal, 17 September 1987; "Ensemble inédit de sculpture urbaine," Nouvelles OAQ [Order of Architects of Québec], November-December 1987, 4; Jean-Louis Robillard, "Pièces sur pièces-mots pour mots: le happening de l'architecture au Québec-an 1987," ARQ, no. 40 (December 1987): 12-25; "Planning a Garden," Westmount Examiner, 24 September 1987. Only Dagenais and Bonhomme referred to Les Maisons de la rue Sherbrooke and the experience of Corridart.
[197]Georges Bogardi, "Charney's sculpted garden grows Park project on Dorchester is architect's personal vision," Montréal Daily News, 21 March 1988, p. 31. About the value of the commission, see also Gerry Bergeron, "Paradise Restored," Azure, May 1989, 11.
[198]Charney, interview by author.
[199]Charney, "Environmental Park and Sculpture"; Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 87-102; about the meadow, see p. 92, 99. On a September 1987 drawing, there is a meadow. See drawing GA-5, Site Plan, 16 September 1987 (with two revisions in September 1987). CCA archives ARCON 1991: 0060, Package 3/1 Folder AR42: 05, Melvin Charney-Jardin du CCA. On a November 1987 drawing, the

meadow and the orchard are named. See GA-8 Site Plan B, 2 November 1987, with four revisions from January 1988 to May 1988, in ARCON 1991: 0060, Melvin Charney-Jardin du CCA-1991, Package 4/1, 1 of 3, Folder AR42: 07. Texts from the media that explicitly referred to the meadow: Jean Chartier, "Le Centre d'architecture fait cadeau à Montréal de son jardin de sculptures," Le Devoir, 24 September 1990, p. A 3; "Le CCA a remis officiellement son Jardin de sculptures au public," La Presse, 24 September 1990, p. B 4; Adele Freedman, "Fast Forward," "A cross-Canada checkup of people and events in the arts," Canadian Art 7, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 38. In Fall 1989 articles, there was a description of the western part, but not a specific reference to a meadow.

[200]Charney, interview by author.

[201]Ibid.

[202]Ibid. This can be seen on: GA-9/9, CCA Garden, Arcade Study, February 1988; GA-9/6, Arcade Study, 03-02-88; GA-9/8, Arcade Study, February 1988; GA-9/5 Arcade: "Les Maisons de la rue"- Étude, February 1988; GA-9/7, Superposition of Arcade, February 1988. On these drawings we can see that the Arcade B is not the exact reflection of Shaughnessy House and that the Arcade is higher. Another drawing, GA-9/13, The Interpretation of the Interpretation: Arcade "B", March 1988, validates Charney's statement quoted above. One drawing, GA-9/17, Arcade "A" & "B" Élévation charpente portique, dated 21-01-88, has an inscription at the portico: "cadre" behind the arcade and refers to drawings GA-9/11, 9/9, 9/10, 9/6, 9/8. There is a January 1988 drawing without the frame at the back (GA-9/2), but a few dated February or March 1988 have the frame behind (GA-9/5, GA-9/6, GA-9/7, GA-9/8, GA-9/9, GA-9/11). Another drawing with a frame behind the arcade: GA-9/16, Arcade "A" & "B" Élévation charpente portique, 21-01-88. Four drawings (GA-9/18 to GA-9/21 incl.) all dated February 1988, are entitled "Arcade "B" as a grid. But in March 1988, Charney also had the Arcade B as a mirror of Arcade A, with a note "All Dimensions Identical to Arcade A (GA-9/22 Arcade "B" as a "MIRROR" of Arcade "A"-Plan Study of Dimensions, March 1988). CCA's archives: ARCON 1990: 0091 Melvin Charney-Jardin du CCA 1990 C) Design Development Drawings: Arcades. ARCON 1991: 0060 Package 2/1, Folder AR42: 02 Melvin Charney-Jardin du CCA 1991.

[203]The official opening of the CCA building was on 7 May 1989. See Malkin, "Building and Gardens," 156. The Garden was completed in December 1989, according to Déry, "Art public," note 1, p. 194. According to the local art press, however, it opened to the public on 27 October 1989. See "Garden to open today," Gazette, 27 October 1989, p. A 3; Marianne Favreau, "Montréalités" "Des riverains ont été exemptés des frais de pavage de leur ruelle," La Presse, 29 October 1989, p. B 5. Favreau does not give the opening date but writes: "Ce beau jardin . . .

est désormais ouvert au public." In another article, "Canadian Centre for Architecture to dedicate park," Gazette, 21 September 1990, p. C 5, it is written that the garden was completed in October 1989. About the CCA garden, see: Chartier, "Le Centre d'architecture fait cadeau à Montréal de son jardin de sculptures," p. A 3; "Le CCA a remis officiellement son Jardin de sculptures au public," p. B 4; "Canadian Centre for Architecture to dedicate park," p. C 5.

[204]Charney to Guy Doré, Directeur intérimaire CCA, 30 January 1989. Charney sent a copy of an article to Doré on urban sculpture that was published in the New York Times and that included a very good critique of the CCA garden "to give you an idea how difficult a problem it is considered to be, and how well we have proceeded with the various aspects of the design." The New York Times' article referred to was: Paul Goldberger, "Sculptural Links in the Chain of Urban Events," Architecture view, New York Times, Sunday, 29 January 1989, p. H 33. CCA's archives.

[205] Among all the elements of park furniture, only a bicycle rack was installed as planned. Charney, memorandum 90.2 to Lambert, 4 January 1990, "Re CCA Garden: Update on general status"; Charney, memorandum 90.5 to Lambert, 15 May 1990. Besides benches, trash receptacles were also discussed, the latter presumably referred to by Peter Rose (PR in the margin). Drinking fountain seen on drawing GA-25/1, dated 15 April 1988. Also on drawing GA-17-2, dated 26 September 1988. Other reference to drinking fountain: GA-25, 12 May 1988, rev. 1, 08-07-88 and rev. 2, 26-08-88. Charney to Christian Thiffault, Architect, Division des projets publics, Service de l'habitation et développement urbain, 27 September 1988. In this letter, Charney refers to plans of the CCA Garden that he transmitted on 5 July 1988, and about which he had to meet with Thiffault on 23 September 1988. Charney, memorandum to Doré, CCA, 13 March 1989. "RE: CCA Garden: a brief report to bring you up-to-date." At item 2 of the memorandum, "Ville de Montréal," Charney complains that he found the persons working on the Boulevard René-Lévesque dossier "lacking ideas, and generally unable to identify urban design issues in regard to a general plan for the Boulevard. . . . they are now thinking of giving the work out to some outside firm which can only cause further delays." Author's visits to the site. CCA archives: ARCON 1996: 0060: 003 B42-4-3; ARCON 1991: 0060 Melvin Charney - Jardin du CCA, 1991, Package 4/1 1 of 3 Folder AR42: 07; ARCON 1991: 0060 Melvin Charney Jardin du CCA 1991, Package 4/1 2 of 3 Folder AR42: 08; Tube ARCON 1990: 0091 fonds 41, Melvin Charney, Jardin du CCA; Fonds 41, Melvin Charney, Jardin du CCA, 1991 AR42: 09, Package 4/1 (3/3); Melvin Charney, drawing GA-6-1, 24-08-88, plus 3 revisions: 11-88, 05-89, 08-89, Site Plan: West Walk Rev.

[206]Charney, memorandum 90.3 to Lambert, 4 January 1990. "Re CCA Garden lighting," item 4, Pedestrian lighting.
[207]Ibid.; Charney, memorandum 90.5.
[208]Charney, interview by author. It is indeed very difficult to disentangle who did what when reading Charney's, Lambert's, and Rose's texts in Richards, Canadian Centre for Architecture, because they all seem to have had similar ideas and been involved in the conception of the Garden. This makes references to other documents an absolute necessity. See also Esther Beaudry, chef des publications, Internal memorandum to Doré, 1 November 1988, 2 pages.
[209]Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 64-65.
[210]Description of the garden is Rose's. Rose in Baird, "Interview with Peter Rose 29 June 1987," 76. Dimensions of the park: 2920 square metres or 74 metres x 40 metres (which amounts to 2960 square metres) more or less. Baile Park had to be created and maintained by the CCA, as it was given the land on which Strathcona Park previously stood by the City of Montréal.
[211]Charney, interview by author.
[212]Ibid.
[213]Jean Gerrard quoted in Christopher Hume, "Oasis of Urbanity," Landscape Architecture 80, no. 2 (February 1990): 30, 33. To our knowledge, the media paid little attention to the possible contribution of landscape architects, except in the form of name dropping. Note that it is the only place that Jean Gerrard is referred to. Usually, it is Diana Gerrard.
[214]Hume, "Oasis of Urbanity," 30, 33; Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 65-68. Figures 19 and 20 present drawings adapted from Gerrard and Mackars Landscape Architects, "Preliminary Landscape Report: CCA," 3 February 1988, 26-27; Rose's plans for the CCA garden, handed out to the artist, listed above. These plans indicate "Conseillers en Aménagement Paysager Gerrard & Mackars." Only one of these plans, "Parc Dorchester Layout Plan" is stamped/sealed by Diana Gerrard, Association des Architectes paysagistes du Québec no. 161.
[215]Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 65, 67. The text refers to figures 19 and 20. See also "PL/Diana Gerrard Job Meeting: August 19, 1987" to support this claim. CCA's archives ARCON 1993: 0053: 003, A1-0016, B29-4-6.
[216]Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 92; Louis Le Grand, "Melvin Charney: un architecte, un plan, un parc," Le Devoir, 12 December 1987, p. C 6.
[217]Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 90.
[218]Melvin Charney quoted in Le Grand, "Melvin Charney: un architecte, un plan, un parc," p. C 6; see also Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 98.

[219]Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 98-99.
[220]Ibid.; Adele Freedman, "CCA's New Garden Is Much More Than Just a Lawn: Interview with Adele Freedman," interview by Sheila, CBC (FM) radio programme "Art Tonight," 20 September 1990, 18:45 (6 min.). Text of the interview by Documentation Bowdens, Montréal, p. 4-6. During the interview, Freedman explained how Charney's garden related to the gardens of other landscape architects, such as Olmsted; in short, the ideas expressed in Charney's text discussed above.
[221]Katherine Tallman, "Arcadia and Architecture," Montreal Magazine, September 1990, 35.
[222]Charney quoted in Tallman, "Arcadia and Architecture, " 35.
[223]Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 99.
[224] Ibid., 90.
[225] Charney quoted in René Rozon, "La ville au musée," Vie des Arts, no. 69 (Winter 1972-73): 30.
[226]Charney quoted in Bogardi, "Charney's sculpted garden grows Park project on Dorchester is architect's personal vision," p. 31; Charney, "A Garden for the Canadian Centre for Architecture," 90.
[227]Charney quoted in Duncan, "Magical park," p. K 16. Duncan's article was later translated by architect Denys Marchand, professor at the School of Architecture, Université de Montréal, and published in Trames, with the foreword: "Cet article nous permet de mesurer l'intérêt avec lequel le jardin de sculptures du Centre canadien d'architecture a été reçue [sic]" (p. 74). See Ann Duncan, "L'artiste Melvin Charney transforme un terrain vague en un parc magique," trans. Denys Marchand, Trames 2, no. 3 (1990): 74-76.
[228]Charney, "Environmental Park and Sculpture," p. 3; Chartier, "Le Centre d'architecture fait cadeau à Montréal de son jardin de sculptures," p. A 3; Canadian Press, "Le Jardin de sculptures, une autre réussite majeure pour le Centre canadien d'architecture," La Tribune (Sherbrooke, PQ), 24 September 1990; Canadian Press, "Le Jardin de sculptures de Montréal," La Voix de l'Est, 24 September 1990; Duncan, "Magical park," p. K 16. Duncan refers to benches. Plans also indicated some benches. Benjamin Forgey, "Cityscape," "Reflections in a City Garden The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Apple of Montreal's Eye," Washington Post, 22 September 1990, p. D 5; Trevor Boddy, "Les jardins de Melvin Charney au Centre Canadien d'Architecture de Montréal," L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, no. 277 (October 1991): 31-35.
[229]Charney quoted in Tallman, "Arcadia and Architecture," 36.
[230]Ibid.
[231]Jocelyne Lepage, "Melvin Charney, l'Ame-Soeur de Montréal Personnalité de l'année/Arts visuels," La Presse, 23 December 1989, p. C 7.

[232]Duncan, "Magical park," p. K 16; Jocelyne Lepage, "Le miracle de Melvin Charney," p. K 5.
[233]Lepage, Le miracle de Melvin Charney," p. K 6. See also Freedman, "Much More Than Just a Lawn" Documentation Bowdens, p. 5.
[234]Freedman, "Much More Than Just a Lawn" Documentation Bowdens, p. 7. The same idea will later be expressed by Heidi Landecker: "It is an intellectual approach, yet the space functions as a dramatic unit whose puzzling character invites return visits, whether or not one bothers to investigate its layers of meaning." Heidi Landecker, "Garden Allegory," Architecture, December 1990, 62.
[235]Duncan, "Magical park," p. K 16.
[236]Chantal Pontbriand quoted in Duncan, "Magical park," p. K 16.
[237] Lepage, "L'Ame-Soeur de Montréal," p. C 7. Diane Archambault-Malouin, "Esplanade Ernest-Cormier La rencontre de deux architectes montréalais," La Presse, 24 August 1992, p. A 7; the esplanade was named Esplanade Ernest-Cormier on 28 November 1985, at the request of the CCA, to honour the hundredth anniversary of birth of Montréal architect Ernest Cormier.
[238] Freedman, "Fast Forward," 38.
[239]Ibid. In the same issue of Canadian Art, Susan Crean also eagerly anticipated visiting the CCA garden. See Susan Crean, "Le jardin imaginaire An exploration of Gardens as Living Metaphors," Canadian Art 7, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 96. In a later interview, Freedman reported that Charney had explained to her when she visited the garden for the first time, that he was "trying to answer the question: 'Where are we?'" Freedman, "Much More Than Just a Lawn," Documentation Bowdens, p. 3-4.
[240]Pierre Restany, "Melvin Charney: Giardino-scultura del CCA a Montreal," Domus (Milan), January 1990, 7.
[241]Forgey, "Cityscape," p. D 5.
[242]Peter Jacobs quoted in Hume, "Oasis of Urbanity," 32. Peter Jacobs was a professor at the School of Landscape Architecture, Université de Montréal.
[243]Ibid.
[244]Ibid.
[245]Philippe Poullaouec-Gonidec, "Lecture de jardins: le CCA et Picassiette," Continuité, Hors série no. 1 (Fall 1990): 63.
[246]Ibid. 64-66.
[247]Bergeron, "Paradise Restored," 11; Bogardi, "Charney's sculpted garden grows Park project on Dorchester is architect's personal vision," p. 31; Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Un 'Jardin' allégorique d'un nouveau type ornera le centre d'architecture," La Presse, 15 June 1989, p. C 1, C 2; Melvin Charney, "Park of the Canadian Centre for Architecture,

Montreal," Canadian Architect 33, no. 5 (May 1988): 38-39; "De pommes, de roses et de sculptures," Le Devoir, 24 September 1990, p. A 1.

[248] Charney, "Memorandum/90.9" to Lambert, 18 June 1990. Re: Opening/inauguration of the CCA Garden, 23 September 1990. CCA archives, ARCON 1996: 0060: 003 B42-4-3. C6/14.1 Correspondance-Architecte Charney, Melvin CCA Garden 87, 90.

[249] The garden was first planned for Spring (May) 1990: "Garden to open today," p. A 3; Duncan, "Magical park," p. K 16; "Pencil Points," Progressive Architecture 71, no. 1 (January 1990): 28. About the September opening: Canadian Press, "Le Jardin de sculptures de Montréal"; "Centre for Architecture opens wide its garden," Examiner, 20 September 1990; "Au Centre canadien d'architecture," La Presse, 22 September 1990, p. A 8; Chartier, "Le Centre d'architecture fait cadeau à Montréal de son jardin de sculptures," p. A 3; Freedman, "Much More Than Just a Lawn," Documentation Bowdens; "Jardin du CCA," Bulletin de la Fondation Héritage Montréal, Fall 1990, 4; "Ouverture officielle du jardin du CCA sur un air de jazz," La Presse, 21 September 1990, p. C 5; Ann Duncan, "Best Bets," "Art," Gazette, 21 September 1990, p. C 6; Publicity by the CCA: "Un dimanche de jazz dans le jardin" "le 23 septembre prochain de 13h00 à 17h00" "pour célébrer la remise du Jardin du CCA au public," La Presse, 22 September 1990, p. L 4. In addition to Lucienne Robillard and Jean Doré, Phil O'Brien, president of Devencore and president of the board of trustees of the CCA, also attended the ceremony, along with Senator Leo Kolber, and the director of the McCord Museum, Luke Rombout, and Jean-Claude Marsan, dean of architecture [in fact, dean of the Faculté de l'Aménagement] at Université de Montréal, as well as Dinu Bumbaru, director of Héritage Montréal. From Tommy Schnurmacker, "Royal audience awaits Montreal choir in London," Gazette, 5 October 1990, p. C 10.

[250] Lambert had previously stated that the nineteenth century new religious buildings and their stone walls redefined the limits of the city, and had formed, therefore, the new city walls. See Lambert, "New City 'Wall' Move by Religious Orders," p. 9. See also: Lambert, "Newsletter," Society of Architectural Historians 33, no. 1 (February 1989): 4.

[251] Lambert, "Design Imperatives," 57; Richards, "Critical Classicism and the Restoration of Architectural Consciousness," 122-32; see figure 52, p. 132.

[252] "Every element of this garden was thought out. There's nothing gratuitous here." Charney quoted in Tallman, "Arcadia and Architecture," 35.

[253] Juliana Balint, "Skulpturen im Park," MD: Meobel interior Design 39, no. 2 (February 1993): 29. The original text is translated in both French and English.

[254] Tallman, "Arcadia and Architecture," 36.

PART FIVE

CHAPTER 16

ANALYSIS

The problem statement and the research question fundamentally dealt with the relation between works of art and the urban space. In order to answer the question as to why the sculpture in a plaza at the base of a skyscraper had been paradigmatic of public art since the late 1960s, at the time when various forms of environmental art were trying to emerge in the city, we had to identify and understand the influential factors at play in the creation or the selection of certain forms of art to be exhibited in the city. We also had to identify the influential factors behind the creation of public urban spaces, including those designed by artists. Since this form of art in the city is generally identified as public art or results from programmes of art integrated with architecture, we surveyed the specialized literature about it in an attempt to isolate the relevant factors. But, as the research question also more generally addressed the factors of change of art forms, we consulted the literature in the sociology of art that dealt with the issue, while also attempting to establish a possible relation with the forces at play in the city and having a crucial role in the art forms. Furthermore, we considered any clue that could help explain the popularity of sculpture and the unpopularity of the garden as specific art forms. The historical and

theoretical framework highlighted the pivotal role of New York City as a leader in art, architecture, and urban planning and design. Its influence was manifest in several North American cities. The empirical part of our research shows that Montréal was also marked by New York City, even though Montréal had its own particular development.

This research addresses a very specific period, 1967-92, during which post-modernism overlapped the last manifestations of modernism and eventually overrode them. While the skyscraper with a mineral plaza is a modernist icon, and while the large-scale sculpture of industrial fabrication is also typically modernist, the archetype of the sculpture in a plaza in front of, or beside, a skyscraper was also, if not more, a post-modernist construct. Concomitantly, a true post-modern paradigm in the art world, the "sculpture in the expanded field," to borrow from Rosalind E. Krauss, and, more generally, the use of nature in the creation of works of art (gardens, trees, plantations of various sorts) have not been widely extended in the urban sphere. Why not? Were such projects not considered feasible? Despite the wide diversity of such possible projects, did they present characteristics that would have prevented their commissioning? And when such projects were created, who ordered them? These questions led to another, more general one: what was the context of production of those artistic places and works of art?

Several of the manifestations in the development of public art in the 1960s had their roots in previous eras. The literature review highlighted some authors' idiosyncratic explanations as to which factors would have influenced the adoption of certain forms or art. Notwithstanding each peculiar viewpoint, a coherent global picture stands out from both the theoretical and empirical parts of the research.

The literature identified the actors among the factors affecting the various art forms. Particularly, inter-disciplinary relations, to wit

relationships between artist and architect, artist and landscape architect, artist and urban planner, and artist and patron were deemed to affect the art forms. The architect was sometimes included among the patrons, but not the landscape architect or the urban planner. The role of generalist held by the architect throughout history appears to be the explanation for this situation. Therefore, the schism between art and architecture mentioned so frequently could have lead to the hegemony of architecture and, in the instances where art still had to relate closely to architecture, to the architect acting as patron. Throughout the twentieth century, some leading architects (such as Le Corbusier) were also influential in the planning and organizing of cities. This could explain why the relation between artists and urban planners was so rarely discussed in the literature we surveyed. In fact, their association was more sporadic. Their nineteenth-century collaboration to promote city beautification was followed in the twentieth century by the association of artists with urban and real-estate developers.

For Barbara Matilsky, the clear historical correlation between the evolution of art forms and the dramatic changes brought to the environment explains the emergence of new forms of art in and with nature, which she labels environmental art, from the 1960s onward. The urban environment being plagued with problems, artists selected the cityscape as the site and subject matter of their creations. Their ecological concern explains why some turned towards nature to create environmental art, as opposed to brick walls to create murals (other artists chose the latter avenue in the same period to protest urban renewal schemes). This interpretation, along with the artists' revolt against the art market, has often been offered to explain the surge of artists involved in both urban and non-urban environments. Matilsky's demonstration of the historical precedents to this reaction, albeit original and interesting per se, does not

differentiate between landscape painters, sculptors, and landscape architects. She contends that in the nineteenth century, the latter, rather than artists, addressed the ongoing environment upheavals. We could argue that sculptors, through city beautification and architectural ornamentation schemes, addressed the problem differently. In the nineteenth century, supporters of green spaces and of civic sculptures co-existed, but did not always work in symbiosis. In the late 1960s, the resurgence of artistic concerns with the environment and of work in nature was in part attributed to architect-trained artists (Smithson, Christo). However, Matilsky (as others) determined that those places had to be created by artists. In their view, the outcome of artists' projects was totally different (understand better) than landscape architects' or other designers' work. Furthermore, we observe that the works of art discussed in the literature are often the same, but presented in a different perspective. However, ecological art as an art form remained marginal in any given city, if compared to the sculptures that continued to be set up.

City beautification (or improvement) projects of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries underlay the relationship between artist and landscape architect and, more specifically, between sculptor and landscape architect. In each occurrence, tensions existed between the two disciplines. In the nineteenth century, leading landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted proposed and achieved nothing less than the definition of an autonomous field, from which sculptors and artists (and even architects) were excluded. His designs of Central Park in New York City and Mount Royal Park in Montréal are autonomous, self-supporting representations of his vision of nature, from which art, and sculpture in particular, were excluded. He opposed the view that objects of contemplation such as sculptures could be beneficial to urban life.

Furthermore, at one point, there was much support for the idea that playgrounds could replace sculptures as memorials.

The emancipation of landscape architecture needs to be contrasted with the promotion of the unity of the arts that predominated in that era. The arts included were not only sculpture and mural painting but landscape gardening as well. In sum, if landscape architects excluded sculpture from their field of practice, architects of the time promoted its integration in theirs. In parallel, landscape painting, previously deemed a minor genre, gained a higher rank as an acceptable subject matter, as determined by the French Academy. However, the French avant-garde artists of the time were opposed to those very classifications. It is ironic that as landscape gained support from the art establishment, it was deemed a minor genre in the recently constituted autonomous field of art. Later on, a modern sculptor such as André Bloc advocated the creation of urban places and gardens by sculptors, not architects or landscape architects. In the course of the twentieth century, nature was at odds with technology and progress, which ruled artistic, architectural and urban developments. Modernism broke away from former models of the city, and from the association between city and landscape. Therefore, if landscape stemmed from the project of modernity (see appendix A), modernism disregarded landscape and the idea of nature altogether. In Montréal, a plaza presented as "landscaped," such as the CIBC's, had very little vegetation.

The emerging field of modern sculpture, which developed after painting in the western industrialized world, including in Montréal, used parks as exhibition spaces. In London, the International Exhibition of Sculpture, held in 1951 in Battersea Park, showed the works of leading sculptors, including Henry Moore, Alberto Giacometti, Jean Arp, Alexander Calder, Jacques Lipchitz, Louis Archambault, and even the late Auguste

Rodin. Similarly, a few years later, Archambault took part in exhibitions of sculpture out in the open in Montréal: at St. Helen Island and at the Botanical Garden. The 1964 International Symposium of Sculpture was held on Mount Royal. Sculptors wanted to work outside, or at least, to exhibit their work out of doors, taking advantage of new materials and new technologies. International sculpture events (exhibitions, symposia, biennials) took place out of doors. In Montréal, the sculpture garden set up for Expo 67 reflected that reality. Furthermore, most Montréal museums were either created or they expanded after the emergence of the autonomous field of sculpture, which could also explain why sculptures were exhibited out of doors, at least early on. If that autonomous field emerged slowly, by the late 1960s, it had outranked painting in the artistic field. In addition, sculptures had become larger and used industrial materials and techniques. Their logical location was out of doors, not in a living room or even in an art gallery or a museum. Sculpture in Montréal followed that general trend. After Expo 67, Guy Robert was capable of assembling in a relatively short time a collection of sculptures by artists of the immediate metropolitan region. He asserted that this would not have been possible a few years earlier.

Expo 67 was a major event that accelerated the modernization of Montréal, and possibly amplified its scope. Major works were undertaken in the city, a situation which is similar to the one experienced by other host cities of World Exhibitions. In addition, Expo 67 widely exhibited art, including modern sculpture out in the open. By then, several of those modern sculptures had entered collections and were identified as masterpieces. At the same time, in Montréal (but not exclusively), the culture of modern art, and particularly sculpture, was recent enough (we think of the five-year-old controversy over the Henry Moore's sculpture) that in general, the public had never seen most of those sculptures for

real. In sum, the presence of sculpture at Expo 67 (in such quantity and quality) was a break-through that made its mark. In addition to modern masterpieces, contemporary art (kinetic art) was also displayed. Expo 67 further allowed the exhibition of sculptures by Québec artists next to sculptures by major artists from everywhere in the world. Like the Chicago Colombian Exposition, Expo 67 was a major stage for sculpture, and much remained of it. It is true that some of those artifacts were not totally preserved (the sculpture garden of modern masterpieces had to be dismantled and the Calder was left to rust by Municipal Authorities), but ideas about the place of sculpture in the public domain and ideals about the use of sculpture for city beautification and as place marker could, from this time forward, grow and flourish.

From the late 1960s onwards, sculpture expanded to include the territory, the site on which the work would usually be set up. Environmental or ecological projects (termed sculptures by several) in cities aimed to improve their environment, which is strongly reminiscent of the sculptors' aim a century ago. This time however, the sculptors' means were different. They did not associate with landscape architects (at least not when sculptors took the leadership; the situation differed in the case of "collaborative" art, though). Sculptors reached the avant-garde of the artistic field by proposing new art forms, issues, and contexts. Sculptors' move out in the open was not only a symbolic rupture with art institutions and the art establishment, but a physical one as well. Autonomous sculptors at the avant-garde did not only battle with a former generation of artists to maintain their position. They strongly opposed any association with landscape architecture. By doing so, they excluded landscape architects from their artistic field. Gardens or ecological art produced by artists, and linked with the artistic institutions (art galleries, museums, publications) have been considered as works of art. The contribution of

these artists to avant-gardism has been dismissed or overlooked in the sociology of art. Crane explicitly excludes them from her study on the avant-garde because their medium and location were so different. But is that not the very role of an avant-garde, to expand the horizons of art? By the time ecological art was avant-gardist, art institutions and the art market, so present in the urban realm, were seeking to define and promote their own view of avant-gardism. The very denial of landscape as avant-garde art in the city by the art establishment probably contributed to its lack of consideration by urban decision-makers. The exclusion of certain art forms among connoisseurs must have nurtured doubts as to their value in the minds of possible patrons.

The artist-patron relationship is always referred to in discussions about the adoption or rejection of art forms. For Wines, this relationship constitutes the prime reason for the growing autonomy of the artists and for the subsequent discord in the relationship between artist and architect. In the course of the nineteenth century, there were upheavals in the world of State patronage. At the time when, in France, artists conquered their autonomy and the State disengaged from art patronage, sculptors in North America sought energetically for patrons who would recognize the value of sculpture. Parallels can be drawn between the conditions of New York City's sculptors of the time and those of a sculptor such as Alfred Laliberté. In both cases, there was a lack of strong tradition of civic sculpture. Furthermore, artists had to go to Europe to receive a proper training. Their education at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris influenced their view and practice of their art. Laliberté's ideals were close to those of the City Beautiful: he created sculptures for the city of Maisonneuve (now incorporated in Montréal), conceived in the spirit of City Beautiful. He also initiated projects of civic sculpture, protested against transforming parks into parking lots, and relentlessly lobbied for improving the status of

sculpture, being even involved in the creation of the new École des Beaux-Arts in Montréal. However, in Montréal, contrary to New York City, the Catholic church was still commissioning works of art, whereas there were not many commands from the State for civic monuments. The organization of sculptors in Montréal progressed tremendously during those years, but it seems that it was still far behind New York City in the degree of organization reached.

However, the development of modernism in art in Montréal was in sync with that of New York City. Despite limited experiments with sculpture, Automatists, artists signatories of Prisme d'Yeux, Post-Automatists, and Plasticiens, all preferred painting as an art form. There were very few exceptions: Louis Archambault, who evolved from ceramics to sculpture, Armand Vaillancourt and Robert Roussil. Artists were grouped by ideology (signatories of the Refus Global versus Prisme d'Yeux), but sculptors did not organize on a disciplinary basis until the early 1960s. Before that however, artists lobbied the government for implementing a regime of art integrated with architecture. They were inspired by modernist thinkers even though, with hindsight, we can assimilate their discourse and pressure tactics to those of the sculptors of the American Renaissance, as presented by Michele Bogart. But as explained by Louise Déry and Harriet F. Senie, there was a filiation between both movements (modernism and the revival of sculpture).

During the formation of the autonomous field of sculpture, an absence of patronage prevailed, but the situation evolved as sculptors eventually accepted commissions from both the State and private corporations. As a result of increased patronage by corporations, a great number of sculptures were displayed out of doors in corporate plazas. The first case of such corporate art patronage was the Rockefeller Center. It borrowed from City Beautiful ideals of integrating art, architecture and

landscape architecture in urban development although the art forms and the artists previously associated with City Beautiful did not prevail. However, the patron pursued civic ideals such as those described by Bogart. The first instance of corporate art patronage was intertwined with the market, as art was deemed attractive for commercial activities. Two major points stand out regarding the selection of artists and of their works of art for the Rockefeller Center. An advisory committee made up of experts in the domain worked closely with the architects and the developer. One criterion for the artists' selection was their ability to behave in a business-like manner. The works had to integrate not only with the architecture of the project, but with its spirit and its organization. The case of Rockefeller Center demonstrates that, from the start, corporate patronage influenced the art form itself. Furthermore, the composition of the team of art experts who worked on the project is another clear demonstration of the structural homology between the artistic field and the field of power, as made explicit in Bourdieu's model.

Rockefeller Center was an influential model, not only in New York City but also in Montréal. In New York City, the Equitable Company admitted to having been influenced by the early example of art used as an integral part of urban renewal and of art integrated to architecture. If the Rockefellers had close ties with the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), the Equitable Company paired with the Whitney Museum. In addition, a new generation of Rockefellers followed in their parents' steps. The Chase Manhattan Bank had art integrated early on in the project development (Noguchi's Garden), and Dubuffet's sculpture was added on afterwards, in the plaza. In Montréal, the planning of Place Ville-Marie was influenced by the Rockefeller Center. Place Ville-Marie was certainly completed many years after the construction of the New-York based model. As we saw, its realization took long, and was delayed by external factors. The filiation is

nonetheless real, even though in the case of Place Ville-Marie, the influence was more at the urban scale and pertained to the integration of functions. If at the time of the construction of the Rockefeller Center, Art Deco dominated the architecture of corporate high-rises, when the Royal Bank Tower of Place Ville-Marie was built, high modernism and the so-called International Style had moved in. The tower was a modernist one, and there was no place for art integrated with architecture, with the possible exception of sculpture on a plaza. Place Ville-Marie had a huge plaza, but without a sculpture in it. The sculpture and its fountain now in place came only ten years later, at a time when sculptures had begun to be set up in corporate plazas. This situation is somehow similar to that of the Chase Manhattan Bank. From all the literature reviewed about the Place Ville-Marie project, it stands out that the architecture of the complex (and particularly of the skyscraper) was the work of art and the pole of attraction. Years later, the architect of the Complexe Desjardins in Montréal, a project also undertaken in the context of urban renewal, admitted that he, too, had been inspired by the Rockefeller Center. This time, the epigone had a filiation not only with regard to the integration of urban functions, the buildings, and the provision of a Grande Place. The architect, Jean Ouellet, had elaborated on a comprehensive plan to have art integrated with architecture. Even though the Complexe Desjardins was a public-private partnership, Ouellet's view about the integration of art, as well as his plan, were not inspired by the provincial programme. Integrating art with architecture was his credo, as it was for a few modernist architects. By his desire to have artists on the design team, Ouellet was closer to Vasarely than to Rockefeller, who wanted to do so for pure managerial reasons. In addition, Ouellet's inclusion of the works of designers dealt in a contemporary manner with the modernist ideals of uniting the arts and ceasing to treat them as specialties.

In both Place Ville-Marie and the Complexe Desjardins, the model of Rockefeller Center appeared to have been far more influential than the regulations then in force. As we saw, neither Place Ville-Marie nor Complexe Desjardins included a plaza or an enclosed public place in exchange for greater density or height. The model of the New York City plaza was used for Place Ville-Marie, before the enforcement of incentive zoning in a given area of the city centre. And, contrary to New York City's projects described by William Whyte, which exploited the zoning code by building a plaza in exchange of higher densities, the atrium of Place Desjardins was not the result of any sort of bonus programme. Furthermore, the will to include art on the premises was not a consequence of municipal or provincial requirements. It seems fair to assume that Place Ville-Marie followed corporate trends, first with its plaza and then by adding a sculpture. In the case of Complexe Desjardins, it appears that the influence of modernist architects may have been stronger than the emerging corporate model, even if the latter should not be excluded. A sculpture was installed outside the edifice, on a (then) derelict stretch of St. Catherine Street, even if the Grande Place was large enough to house a sculpture, including one of important dimensions. Art was used as an element of city beautification and as a tool for urban renewal and development.

Bourdieu affirms the structural homology between an autonomous artistic field and the social field as well as the field of power. He further states that an autonomous artist entertains an independent relationship with his patron. Hence, an artist in a top position in his field would not be in a servile relation with members of the social establishment. This was observed in the course of this research. The UNESCO Building in Paris provides a good example. Top modernist architects who believed in integrated art selected reputed modernist artists. In this case, architects

behaved as patrons. Noguchi could create a garden, which was then highly innovative, and remote from the market realm. The UNESCO project set a trend for subsequent projects, for which reputed modernist artists were commissioned for works of art.

The Seagram Building provides an example of structural homology between autonomous architect and artist, and the owner. The architect Mies van der Rohe was carefully selected as it was understood that the construction of the Seagram Building by a first-class architect would make a statement. The integral support Phyllis Lambert gave him on behalf of Seagram allowed him to work autonomously at his masterpiece. Not only was the skyscraper a break-through, so was the plaza. Furthermore the architect, who thought of having a sculpture on the plaza, considered Henry Moore, a highly reputed modernist artist. The sculptor refused the commission, stating his independence as a creator. Sometimes, autonomous artists could simply not accept a commission. In other cases, commissions did not affect the artists' autonomy. The first wave of corporations that bought sculptures to be set up in plazas selected highly ranked sculptors. Those corporations gained a status symbol by having recourse to those sculptors, and not the opposite, i.e., the sculptors were already rich in symbolic capital. The latter did not modify or adapt their work, maintaining their independence. In such cases, the patron did not change or influence the art form. In Montréal, this was observable at the CIBC plaza. Henry Moore did not come to visit the site. He was already working at his sculpture when it was selected. Once again, we observe the homology between art, architecture and the field of power (institutional). Mayor Drapeau, even though uninformed regarding modern sculpture, nonetheless praised the coming of the work of art in the landscape of Montréal on the basis of the sculptor's sole reputation. In the

case of the CIBC, the UNESCO project could have had a possible influence, as it had for several other corporations.

It is likely that the Seagram Building was another source of influence that could contribute to the explaination of the absence of sculpture or other pre-eminent and highly visible art in corporate plazas. In Montréal, the CIL House had art inside the building, but nothing outside. This is worth noting since SOM had architects on the design team of the CIL, and was known to encourage the use of works of art. The firm had had a few experiences with Noguchi, and it was behind the commissionning of the Picasso sculpture in Chicago and its installation in 1967 (after the CIL House was built). In 1969, Alexander Calder's La Grande Vitesse was set up. However, in some instances, monumental modern sculptures were installed several years after the completion of the edifice. Calder's Flamingo was set up some twelve years after the erection of Mies van der Rohe's Federal Center in Chicago. And Jean Dubuffet's Group of Four Trees was installed eleven years after the Chase Manhattan Bank was built. With this regard, the absence of sculpture in the plaza of Place Ville-Marie until the early 1970s was not exceptional. Possibly, the absence of sculpture could be explained by the fact that, when the first generation of modernist skyscrapers was built in Montréal, the modernist sculptures of the time were still of relatively small dimensions, i.e., their scale was small compared with the size of the plazas and the high-rises. The point was made by Henry Moore for the Seagram Building. Henry Moore's Three Piece Reclining Figure for the CIBC Tower in Montréal was set in a plaza of relatively modest dimensions. Furthermore, its size is also small when compared with the new dimensions reached by sculptures created only a few years later. Thus, the autonomy of modern sculptors, the rarity of modern sculpture in those days, coupled to their relatively small dimensions may also explain

why, at first, modernist skyscrapers and their plazas did not all exhibit sculptures.

In Montréal, the two other early modern towers, aside from Place Ville-Marie and the CIBC Tower, had art integrated with architecture. In the case of the Hydro-Québec Building, it was a mural by Jean-Paul Mousseau, an artist of the avant-garde in Québec. In the case of Place Victoria, Moretti had commissioned art from traditional artisans from Murano. Yet the result was eminently modern. These two examples illustrate that some modernist architects encouraged the integration of the arts with architecture, and wanted to unite various art forms of the past (Beaux-Arts with applied arts, for instance). Therefore, all three instances (sculpture in a plaza, no art in the plaza, or more traditional forms of art integrated with architecture) attest to a diversity that was prevalent in modernism, and that is, nowadays, often overlooked when addressing the general topic of "public art." As we see, even when addressing the artist-patron relation, we have to take into account the influential role of the architect.

However, it seems that market forces have contributed to the homogenization of art forms. There has been an important evolution in the relationship between the artist and the corporate patron . There is a consensus in the literature about the evolving role of the market. Corporate forces, including real-estate development, have almost assimilated the artistic world. The market played a crucial role in promoting certain art forms over others, and it became increasingly influential over the years. At first, corporations acquired symbolic capital by commissioning (or simply buying) the works of reputed artists. Then, we observe the predominance of sculpture as an object of value that can be displayed, moved, removed, traded, sold, and so on. Organizations recurrently bought or commissioned works of art and increasingly

assimilated them to sellable goods that had to be moveable. Sculptures and paintings, in particular, were highly suitable for that purpose. In the course of this research, we observed that several modern sculptures were removed from Montréal plazas, not only Alan Sonfist's work, as referred to in the introduction.

Conversely, the market and its leaders, often associated with art institutions, played a role in limiting the development of ecological art. Here, too, there was an homology between major corporate leaders and major art institutions. In opposition to this situation, as Matilsky and others have noted, ecological and environmental art was put forward by artists who rejected the art market and who refused to produce art as a commodity or as an object of consumption. For their part, most patrons refused to finance or simply ignored the works of ecological artists. However, a few did commission ecological/environmental works of art. Also, some museums did contribute directly to the realization of such works of art (Sonfist's, Beuys' in New York). Montréal artist Bill Vazan, who worked as a conceptual and land artist, also needed the co-operation of several museums and art galleries to perform his work out in the open. The same could be said about Melvin Charney's Garden for the CCA.

David Harvey's assertion that the ideas and ideals of modernism were assimilated and perverted by the forces of economic development, was also verified in this thesis. The early skyscrapers of high modernism, which at first were highly imaginative and innovative constructions, were followed by uninspired epigones. The same holds for art in the urban landscape. Even an artist such as Charles Daudelin, who was one of the first to promote the integration of the arts, ended up using facile formulas and proposing interchangeable sculptures as art integrated with architecture. In his case however, it was not the market forces that affected his works as much as governmental programmes. Whether in the

context of private/corporate or of public commissions, it is a fact that the practice of several artists slowly evolved from autonomous to heteronomous. This does not mean, contrary to what has been asserted by Déry and others, that the commission necessarily involves a loss of autonomy for the artist, as the case of the CCA Garden clearly demonstrated.

In the case of the CCA Garden, every aspect of the procedure set forth by the government to integrate art with architecture was strictly followed. It had been decided that three artists would be pre-selected by a jury to present a model in response to a programme elaborated by the CCA and its architect, Peter Rose. The committee that adopted the programme would also select the best of the three proposals presented by the artists. The composition of the committee and jury, their mandate, the transmission of information to the artists: everything complied with the requirements. Nonetheless, the CCA had a strong input throughout the process. The presence of the CCA director, Phyllis Lambert, on the permanent committee that accepted the programme and chose the winning scheme, and on the jury that selected the three artists, was determinant. Lambert wanted Melvin Charney to be part of the competition, as she thought he was one of the greatest minds with respect to architecture, even if she was not certain of his standing as an artist.

Lambert herself did not want to have a work of art in the immediate vicinity of the new CCA Building and thought of having it installed in the park across the street. The layout of the park by Peter Rose was part of the constraints imposed on the artists, who were asked to present an environmental sculpture--which is one of the possible art types to be created in the context of the 1% programme--and to locate it in the northern part of the site, closer to the sidewalk and to the CCA Building across the street. Peter Rose's layout included a pond, and the

integration of the sculpture with the reflecting pool was another constraint. The pond was important to Lambert as it was a classical element for gardens and parks also found in older properties in the vicinity. Data regarding the architectural and urban history of the site and of the neighbourhood were handed out to the artists, as they were asked to integrate some of these elements with their creations. Finally, the artists' work had to meet a set budget. Bill Vazan and Michel Goulet, the other two artists who made up the short list, complied entirely with the programmatic requirements. Melvin Charney did not. He objected to having a reflecting pool so far away from the building it was supposed to reflect, and proposed, instead, a partial replica of Shaughnessy House--the arcade--as a reflection of the building. This was more in line with his previous artistic production. Also, he installed his sculptures on the southern part of the site, on the edge of the look-out, and took advantage of the industrial skyline of the lower city, while the patron's inclinations were more to restore elements of the pre-industrial era. Charney's exploration of vernacular architecture as an expression of contemporary monumental was also a coherent continuation of his past work. At the time of the presentation, Charney's conceptual proposal was that of a garden as environmental sculpture, but also with allegorical columns and an arcade. The last two elements were presented as the formal environmental sculptures to be taken into account for budget reasons. Charney did not, then, modify dramatically Peter Rose's layout, except to get rid of the reflecting pool and of peripheral stone walls that would have delineated the entry to the garden. Charney's proposal was chosen by the committee. Afterwards, Lambert, seduced by Charney's concept, awarded him a larger contract--outside the realm of the 1%--by putting him in charge of the whole laying out of the site. While even the costs of the sculptures of the 1% (columns plus arcade) were larger than what was

forecasted in the initial budget, the total cost of the garden was well within the required percentage, given the final construction cost of the building. Charney was imaginative in addressing every aspect of the requirements, including the budget.

The artist is satisfied that he could realize 95% of what he wanted to, a situation attributable to his patron, Lambert. While she gave him great freedom, she nonetheless had a determinant impact on his work, if only because she decided to make the site into a park and to locate a work of art in it. In putting the emphasis on greenery, on nature, she prompted Charney to create a green space, which departed from his own evaluation of the requirement for open spaces in Montréal. We saw that whereas Lambert directed the movement Green Spaces (and even funded it via Heritage Montréal), Charney thought that such groups misunderstood Montréal's context. For him, open spaces, not necessarily green spaces (espaces ouverts versus espaces verts) were important to the vitality of a city. This case shows that some works of public art can be created with great independence, a freedom coming from the intellectual and financial input by the private sector and by the artist. However, not every private actor and every artist could have yielded this work. The converging interests of Charney and Lambert, and the evolution of their habitus, which became increasingly compatible, ended up in an homology between Lambert's and Charney's position in their respective field. The case highlights a level of autonomy on the part of the artist, in a context said not to be conducive to creativity and artistic autonomy. Moreover, this case demonstrates that the involvement of private sponsors does not necessarily lead to commercial art, provided the artist is granted freedom to create.

The invasion of artistic practice by commercial forces (which does not exclude public institutions stirring the economic development) is

therefore certainly a major reason that explains the development of a given model, i.e., the sculpture in a plaza at the base of a skyscraper. This invasion also accounts for the limitation of the garden or of other permanent ecological art forms. Oddly enough, this situation marked the post-modernist development of urban centres, even though the model was made of modernist components (sculpture, plaza, skyscrapers). We understand that whereas high modernism promoted pure forms in art and architecture, the post-modernist eclectic formula adopted, higgledy-piggledy, elements of the recent past, to wit sculpture, either modern or more traditional, post-modern skyscrapers and a parvis-like space that is still labelled a plaza. We saw that for Senie and for Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, post-modern plazas are more landscaped. In Montréal, the retrofitting of some early modernist plazas and the construction of new ones could be assimilated to this trend. For instance, Canderel's kinetic sculpture was commissioned some twenty-five years after the heyday of kinetic art. Its installation required changes to the modernist plaza and the overall result is post-modern, even if the assemblage seems to be made up of modernist elements. On McGill College Avenue, more traditional sculptures (the figurative dancers, the human figures and the animals) were selected to adorn the space created by a minimal set-back, at the base of post-modern high-rises. To complete the picture, some greenery, often in the forms of trees on a plaza or plants in granite planters, is provided. In sum, post-modernist development posted several elements that were associated with high modernism but without the clarity the former had. The reading is blurred.

Public policies are also among the factors cited in the literature as influencing art forms. In the case of Montréal, we identified the provincial programme for the integration of art with architecture, the Loi sur les Biens Culturels, which protected not only a heritage building but its immediate

surroundings, municipal regulations on building restrictions (height, set-back) and local incentives to developers as the main public policies that could have impacted on the art forms under investigation.

Between 1961 and 1992, the three levels of government (federal, provincial, municipal) had, at one time or another, a programme that promoted art in relation to new construction and public places. The short-lived federal programme had little impact, if any, on Montréal's landscape. The municipal one was implemented by the end of our study period and will be analyzed below. But from the research it stands out that, for the most part of our study period, the provincial programme had the greatest impact. Contrary to what is usually done in assessing the programme, to wit starting with the year of the adoption of the decree (1981), we think that taking into account the first twenty years (1961-81) of its existence in the form of statutory orders provides a better understanding of its possibilities and of its shortcomings. Furthermore, we think that it is indispensable to assess the evolution of the programme in parallel with the evolution of the art field in Québec. The artistic contexts and the curriculum vitae of the artists who were presented in this thesis intertwined and allow for such an evaluation. As expressed in the literature review, both artists and support structures, including art programmes, ought to be examined in order to fully appreciate the situation.

The existence of the programme of integrated art resulted from the will and lobby of avant-garde artists, who believed in a form of social art. This is contrary to Bourdieu's theory, where the modern avant-garde clashes with social consciousness (and any form of morality associated with art). At the time of their lobby, artists such as Daudelin, Merola, Mousseau, and Théberge practised and promoted mural art as the best suitable form of integrated art. The art forms in the early programme corresponded to what those avant-garde artists were creating. There was

a clear correspondence between the artists' works and the possibilities offered by government regulation. It is as important to acknowledge that fact as it is to mention the voluntary aspect of the early programme, or the variations in the percentage allotted to the arts, which is how the literature presents the provincial programme. Architects also played a crucial role in applying the early versions of the programme. Most of the time, they were ultimately responsible for the decision to include art or not (even when it was mandatory since little or no control existed), for the choice of the artist, and for the type and location of the work of art. Thus, Charles Daudelin painted murals on interior walls upon the request of an architect in the late 1940s. Later, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, he also created murals or reliefs, and even a play-sculpture upon architects' requests. Daudelin was then experimenting with materials, but under the close supervision of architects. However, to this example of an artist who had previously done small-scale sculpture, and adopted a specific art form to comply with the architect's vision, Claude Théberge offers a counter-example. Highly influenced by Le Corbusier and André Bloc, he developed a working relationship with artisans of various disciplines, setting up a studio and workshop adapted to their needs. Théberge solicited work from architects, and he promoted murals, creating them by playing with colours, materials, technology, and textures.

Though talented (as assessed by his early awards), well-trained, and autonomous, Théberge could not survive the implementation of the more formal governmental programmes. For his part, Daudelin left behind murals as the chosen form of integrated art when he won a commission (not in the context of the provincial programme, though) for a gigantic bronze sculpture. It is noteworthy that in both instances (murals and sculpture), the decision about the art form was made by the architect. We think that it did not necessarily limit Daudelin's autonomy, but rather

expanded the realm of possibilities for the artist to create. This constitutes, in our view, a clear example of what Bourdieu labelled mutual adjustment, i.e., the relation an emancipated artist entertains with a patron when awarded a commission. A tension is perceptible throughout Daudelin's career between the assertion of his autonomy as an artist and his compliance with the architect's vision, a compliance that is inherent to his credo in art integrated with architecture. However, he submitted as "integrated art" sculptures that were in fact large-scale replicas of sculptures he had formerly conceived in his studio, at a small scale, and without any reference to a given project. This was more apparent in the course of the official provincial programme. In this regard, our appraisal of the level of integration of some of his sculptures in Montréal, for the Convention Centre and for the Court House, differs from mainstream literature. We think that those two instances could be understood as the creations of an artist, still modern, stating his autonomy towards public commissions.

The various versions of the programme adopted between 1961 and 1981 gave leeway to its interpretation, as attested by the Viger Square project and several commissions awarded to Charles Daudelin. Given the predominance of sculpture in the artistic field, the influence exerted by Expo 67, and the possible inspiration of the Henry Moore set up in the plaza of the CIBC Tower, artists switched to sculpture (in some cases on architects' impulse), as exemplified by Charles Daudelin and Peter Gnass. Those who did not, like Claude Théberge, rallied to other extended art forms such as (industrial) design. In a sense, public policy that had first been implemented to serve avant-garde artists' vision eventually normalized artistic production and had an influence on the forms of art included in Montréal.

In addition to the conditions evoked above that are related to the art field and to public policy, we think that there was another factor at play: there were simply more places in Montréal to exhibit sculptures. Initially, possibly due to a desire on the sculptors' part to maintain the rupture with sculptors of Alfred Laliberté's generation, there were few exhibitions of sculptures in public squares (Vaillancourt in St. Louis Square being the exception). Over time, the earlier exhibitions of sculpture in nature (e.g., in St. Helen Island) were replaced by the exhibitions of sculpture in the plazas of recently completed modernist projects: Place des Arts and Place Ville-Marie. These new settings were more central and gave more visibility to sculpture. Therefore, budget permitting, sculpture was increasingly displayed next to a building as integrated art. Among other examples that we discussed are sculptures by Michel Goulet, Pierre Granche, Bill Vazan, Andrew Dutkewycz, et cetera.

Both Bourdieu and Rochlitz claim that by the 1980s and the early 1990s, public institutions had incorporated contemporary art into official art. Bourdieu further accuses State patronage and the committees involved in attributing commissions of normalizing artistic research. Michel Goulet provides a good example of an artist whose career was largely promoted by State institutions, including the 1% programme. The art he proposed as public art resembled at times the sculptures he created for exhibitions in art galleries. Is this an indication of Goulet's autonomy as an artist or an illustration of Bourdieu's and Rochlitz' assertions? One fact remains: Goulet quickly became an artist respected by the art establishment, and it was that establishment that had promoted his career. This is not, in Bourdieu's view, a sign of autonomy.

Sculpture finally reached a high position in the artistic field in Montréal in the late 1960s, at the time of the emergence of land art in the wild and of ecological art in New York City. In Montréal, sculpture was

praised by the art mediators as the art form that could offer a new springboard for the evolution of the arts in Québec. The new formal development of sculpture allowed the then predominant Plasticiens to create sculpture. Thus, there would be continuity in artistic production. The then director of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Fernande Saint-Martin, battled fiercely to impose this view at the time when a new "garde" threatened the old one. With hindsight, we can see that another major rupture occurred in the artistic field in 1975. Newcomers or former secondary actors had an increasingly prominent role. Chantal Pontbriand and France Morin founded a new contemporary art magazine, open to international art. Former art critic Normand Thériault assumed the leadership of Québec 75. Artists such as Melvin Charney, Bill Vazan and Irene Whittome, who had been active for a while, advanced even further in the field.

Members of the artistic establishment criticized the alternative definitions of art that were being proposed. They even opposed the fact that the definition of art should be examined. The filiation between the works of artists such as Bill Vazan and Melvin Charney with the art world outside Montréal was rebuked by Saint-Martin. She blamed their international sources of influence, refusing to consider the possible germaneness between the 1975 situation and that of early modern art in Québec, also subjected to international influence. She claimed that modern Québec art had been at the avant-garde of New York City, whereas the new tendencies exhibited at Québec 75 were dependent upon international art. Whereas Charney's and Vazan's art clearly belonged to the realm of the expanded field of sculpture, environmental art and the design of the urban environment were explicitly identified as being outside the accepted artistic field. Furthermore, the place of origin and

language of the artist served as criteria for excluding certain art forms. Nationalist considerations blinded some mediators to artistic merit.

Architecture as an artistic subject matter was specifically identified as not acceptable inside the narrowly defined artistic field. It has been written (Lamoureux, Wines) that architects rejected the artistic proposals of their fellow architects-artists. Our study demonstrated that several highly ranked mediators of Montréal's artistic field were at first fiercely opposed to the coming of an artist such as Charney in their field, and tried to confine him to the architectural field. This fact is often overlooked but nonetheless makes sense in the logic of the art field: art is an autonomous discipline, distinct from architecture.

We find this detail to be highly significant, especially when we relate it to two other events. The values expressed in the exhibition about Pliny's Villas and the ideas promoted by Lambert, Charney and other architects were at first ridiculed by art critic Lamoureux. We hold that this opposition of views encapsulates diverging approaches towards art and architecture. Leading architectural thinkers were then re-thinking the modernist heritage and looking at what classical elements might still be referred to in the contemporary world. This recourse to the classical past represented a facet of post-modernism. The difference of views was also present on the urban scene. At the time when architects were fighting to "Save Montreal" and were reconsidering some aspects of modernism, artists continued to promote modernist ideals and their resulting projects. In fact, they often blamed the architects for the state of the cities and of architecture, but without challenging the precepts underlying those results. Modernist artists' unconditional admiration for Le Corbusier is a case in point. In practice, this uncritical attitude made possible an urban disaster such as Viger Square. On the other hand, architects' rebuke of the modernist city

and the reflection that ensued made possible, years later, the creation of the CCA Garden.

The habitus of the various parties involved and their position in their respective fields were certainly determinant in the final outcome of both projects. We learned from Viger Square that, with the exception of Pierre Bourque, nobody ever questioned the entrance of artists into the architectural and urban field (this is still the case now), but that people praised it instead. Those artists and their supporters had a greatly different habitus (including training and education) from an artist-architect such as Charney. Consequently, their vision of the city also diverged. In sum, the mediators in the art field accepted the entrance of artists in the field of architecture and urban design, but not the opposite. We learned from the case study of Viger Square that the artist is not always capable of assuming the role of the urban visionary and of translating the message into a proper design. This is an important lesson since the literature often asserts the positive contribution of the artist to the melioration of the urban landscape. The possibility that a competent, reputed artist could spoil the urban environment (for a long time) when commissioned to work on an environment-oriented project is not raised in the literature. The superiority of the artist's intervention over that of an architect or a landscape architect is assumed de facto.

The Viger Square and the CCA Garden case studies are both very instructive. The projects involved artists who, at the time of their selection, were highly regarded in the local and national art field, and had in most cases some experience outside the country as well. In both case studies, we could assess the role of an art connoisseur and patron in giving the impulse that led to the creation of the urban places by artists. These individuals were also highly influential in the designation of an entire site as a work of art, and were involved, to various degrees, in dealing with

provincial and municipal technocrats. Lastly, they were capable of taking advantage to the full of the art programmes then in force.

The situation of the artistic field in Québec in the mid-1970s and the specific case of Viger Square offer other explanations for the limited number of artists' gardens in the city. Then, such projects would have been created by a new generation of artists who threatened the artistic and social establishment (as they did in Québec 75 and Corridart a year later). That establishment specifically targeted various forms of environmental art as unsuitable and non-artistic. At the same time, the artists' entrance into the urban sphere was welcomed, but yielded bad results. Viger Square is the only early example of an artists' garden or public place as art. It is highly probable that, in addition to the new restrictions imposed in the provincial regulation, the difficult context of the creation of Viger Square and the poor results further limited the likelihood of getting similar projects by artists. Also, the debate about artists' copyrights for urban projects highlighted other difficulties in defining their place in urban design, in addition to the cost associated with the maintenance of such places over the years.

Vaserely's view of the integration of art with architecture involved an early collaboration between the artist and the architect's team. This vision has often been repeated as an ideal to attain and as a promise of a great work of art. For instance, the case of Battery Park City is cited as an example of such "collaborative art." Our two case studies mitigate this ideal which we came to consider as a Utopia. The three artists involved in the re-creation of Viger Square were mandated quite early in the development of the project. Concepts for each city block had previously been developed by the City's architect. We have to remember that, at first, the artists' contribution was exclusively considered for the creation of objects in space or patterns on the walls and the ground, and therefore

some concept had to exist. Ultimately, the artists were given the "freedom" to design their respective city block as a whole, as long as it was in line with the city's guidelines. For the CCA Garden, the opposite occurred. The artists were selected for the competition very late in the process. In the case of Viger Square, an early collaboration yielded poor results, whereas in the case of the CCA Garden, a late involvement of the artist did not prevent a remarkable outcome from occurring. With hindsight, it is less than certain that the artist will gain greater autonomy and yield superior art due only to his early involvement in a project. Our study reveals that, even if the opposite should not necessarily become the norm (e.g., involve the artist at the very end of the project), nothing, except remnants of a modernist ideology, argues in favour of an early involvement. From the two case studies, we learn that it was the possibility for an artist to modify some aspects of the initial programme that yielded the best results.

The discussion about public art that has developed since the late 1960s is generally presented in the context of art integrated with architecture, which means that art is created and evaluated in relation to buildings, rather than in relation to the more global urban environment. Inspired by models of the past, by tradition as well as by modernist ideology, the governmental programmes promoted this view of public art as art integrated to architecture. In Québec, for instance, the provincial regulation eventually specifically excluded viaducts, bridges, and highways from its realm of application. Artists have had to create works of art that relate to a specific building, i.e., to find places for works of art within the confines of an architectural project. The poor siting of the intended "square" at the Convention Centre in Montréal, and the determination to locate a sculpture in this place is a telling example of the possible consequences of this inherited view. Whereas the provincial regulation

expressly identified sculpture as an appropriate art form, and thereby certainly contributed to the multiplication of sculptures, it never expressly included, per se, the creation of a public space by an artist. A relation can be established between what is expressly identified by the provincial programme and what is being proposed by the artists. If the CCA Garden constitutes an exception, we have to remember that the patron herself required an environmental sculpture for the project.

If on the contrary, the work of art could be integrated with the broader environment (despite what the title of the provincial regulation suggests), then it would not necessarily have to be next to a building. Furthermore, the provincial regulation requires that money be spent on art for each edifice as it is being built or retrofitted. A different provincial programme could certainly yield different results and have an impact on the forms of the works of art created. For instance, a distinct fund for public (or urban) art, fed by developers' contribution, could help to ensure diversity. Such a fund could limit, if not totally eliminate, the association between a work of art and a given building. The work of art could be created in a different location than the development itself, possibly a more appropriate one. It could also be more costly, since it could utilize the art budget of several projects. Such a programme could make it possible to appropriate land in the city for gardens as works of art integrated with the environment. As things stand now, the opposite is done. Out of a political will to promote democracy in the arts, the budget of a given project is often split (as was the case with the Convention Centre), leading to a proliferation of minor works. Of course, the CCA Garden was realized in the context of the provincial regulation and nonetheless could be integrated with both the architecture and the broader environment. However, this was possible in the first place precisely because land had been ceded to the owner of the CCA, and because that person

presumably allocated extra funds to the work of art. Without that land and an appropriate budget, the garden would not have come into being. Furthermore, without the owner's specific habitus, no such thing as the CCA Garden would have been created.

On the other hand, the case of Viger Square evidenced a high level of heteronomy on the part of the artists. In this case, we also observed difficult relations among the various technocrats involved. We also highlighted the more covert role of the leading engineer of the project as patron of the arts. Throughout the project, the artists sought to cooperate and comply as much as possible with the various demands, without even admitting that they were not the only ones responsible for the resulting art form. The artists were so thrilled by the prospect of creating a public place as art, of substituting themselves for the architect and landscape architect (they hired the latter because they were almost forced to) that they did not question the value of the programme and of its various requirements. This led Daudelin to defend the concept of an agora first imagined by somebody else and to adopt the idea of a concrete pergola that was first intended to be made of wood and to ornament the park in the next parcel. Similarly, Gnass promoted the idea of a playground for teenagers! Furthermore, landscape architects, along with horticulturist Pierre Bourque, influenced the height of the perimeter walls and much of the vegetation. If some landscape architects were sympathetic to the artists' projects, Pierre Bourque was clearly not so. He embodied the tense relation between officials and artists that was referred to earlier, and he was a staunch defender of his field.

The art programme of the City of Montréal was implemented with the view of using art to promote the City internationally. The municipal plan of action may not have been as explicit as the provincial programme in determining that sculptures would be favoured over other art forms.

Even though it called for works of art integrated with the environment (rather than to an edifice) and coupled those works of art with public spaces, it favoured sculpture (be it environmental). A review of projects sponsored by the City of Montréal shows that only three works were commissioned (in the period under study) and that all three were environmental sculptures created by artists, while the surrounding space was left to other creators. In both Berri Square and Place Roy, artists were commissioned as sculptors to add artistic elements to a place created by landscape architects. Otherwise, the municipal projects tended to add sculptures to existing squares or parks (e.g., Mémoire ardente, Place Roy in La Fontaine Park).

The Loi sur les biens culturels influenced construction in Montréal. By fostering the conversion and preservation of older edifices, it limited the development of high-rises in the city, and of plazas. A new type of space emerged, the atrium inside a commercial complex. Art in conversion projects was sometimes located indoors. The limited amount of space available out of doors, combined with the development of atriums, favoured the installation of art inside those premises. Complexe Desjardins, the first to include an atrium, may have been a source of inspiration for later projects. However, contrary to the Complexe Desjardins which exhibited a monumental sculpture on the outside, some conversion projects had works of art inside (the World Trade Centre, the Maison Alcan). The CCA, which constituted a form of conversion, was exceptional. The assemblage of land was greater than the immediate needs of the Centre, which made possible the creation of the Garden.

Lastly, the influence of municipal by-laws was assessed. The first generation of modernist skyscrapers did not result from Montréal's regulation. The specific needs of the developer in the case of the Stock Exchange Tower and of the Banque Nationale appear to have influenced

the regulation, and not the opposite. The study of the generation of high-rises that we broadly identified as post-modern also indicated that the provision of plazas was not contingent upon municipal regulations specifically adopted for plazas. Plazas were built where no incentive for them existed, and they were not in the area where they were being promoted. However, space resulting from increased set-backs required by the city led to the layout of what looks like plazas on Sherbrooke Street. In sum, we cannot talk of a model resulting from by-laws and other municipal constraints.

In short, several factors have been identified as having influenced the choice of art forms in the city. A broad contextual study showed that some factors were not necessarily as influential as generally thought. More importantly, they do not act in isolation. Regarding the influence of public policies, this research shows that the provincial regulations pertaining to both the 1% programme and the preservation of historic edifices influenced the forms of art and of urban development. In the first instance, they favoured sculpture as an acceptable form of integrated art. In the second instance, they contributed to the limitation of the number of high-rises and plazas, and to the multiplication of indoor atriums. Contrary to a common assumption, municipal zoning by-laws were not the main force behind the construction of high-rises and plazas. Furthermore, no mandatory requirement or incentive could explain the presence of sculptures in front of private, corporate high-rises. The admitted reasons offered for exhibiting sculpture vary from prestige (CIBC) to celebration and commemoration (Place Ville-Marie and the former CIL House), to good citizenship (Canderel). However, we observe a striking similarity between privately owned and publicly owned works of art: the sculptures in front of the Federal Guy-Favreau Complex, the Convention Centre, La Laurentienne/Banque Nationale de Paris, or La Tour l'Industrielle Vie were

created by sculptors with different habituses and positions in the art field, yet the placement of their work is very similar.

The brief overview of the evolution of Québec's artistic field and of its relation with public policies, particularly those stemming from the provincial government, indicates a relative autonomy experienced by avant-garde artists, be they modernist or post-modernist. The avant-garde influenced public art and then, institutionalized public art tended to normalize artistic production.

We learn another lesson from this research. Post-modern public art (including gardens), acknowledged as such by the art milieu, was created in a context where art and culture were used as tools to promote the city and its economic and touristic development. There is a world between integrated art with a social purpose, as promoted by modernist artists, and integrated art as implemented by the CCA. Indeed, Phyllis Lambert vigorously lobbied in favour of art and culture in the years preceding the construction of the CCA and of the CCA Garden. For her, art served as a lever to promote Montréal. Once again, we observe a structural homology between political and economic powers and the art establishment. Therefore, as such, Charney's artistic autonomy is exceptional. Indeed, the literature indicates that post-modernist art is so linked to market and political forces that artists can only develop an heteronomous relation with those forces and the institutions that represent them.

This thesis traces the evolution from modernism to post-modernism in art, architecture and urban development. The vignettes inform us about modernist and post-modernist skyscrapers, the first ones in the early 1960s and the second ones in the 1980s and 1990s. We presented case studies about two public places, the elaboration and construction of which

occurred more or less in the intervening time. From the beginning of the works on Viger Square to the completion of the CCA Garden, the time elapsed is such that we witness the change from modernism to post-modernism in the specific domain of artist-designed public spaces. Both case studies follow the process of creation of such open spaces. In so doing, they explain not only how that change occurred in Montréal, but also, why it occurred.

Why did we witness a shift of paradigm? The research allows us to affirm that, first of all, as a legacy of the modernization of Montréal, there were several lost spaces in Montréal. Those spaces did not necessarily have the shapes of usual lots, since several of them were remnants from expropriation and highway construction. Those lost spaces scarred the urban landscape and they did not easily allow new layouts of large-scale projects. The destruction of the urban fabric, so characteristic of modernization, provoked protests and created a new awareness of the value of older buildings. In Montréal, heritage preservation and repairs to the urban fabric, which were facilitated by the legislation voted to calm public protests, followed the demolition of the 1960s and 1970s. Phyllis Lambert was a catalyst for this change of heart and for the legislative protection of heritage buildings. This particular law had the effect of blocking the construction of high-rises in the central area and, therefore, of limiting the proliferation of the pure modernist model. Lambert not only advocated preservation, but she also chastised the construction of skyscrapers.

We may also say that some partners, who were well informed of contemporary art, wanted to commission works of art that were "different." Hence Bernard Lamarre and Phyllis Lambert acted as catalysts in the advent of new art forms. Lamarre, for one, managed to have artists that he appeciated receive the commission for the creation of an entire public

place, even though none of the three artists was then involved in ecological art, environmental art, or even conceptual art. The case of Viger Square highlights Lamarre's predominant role. It is not at all certain that, without his involvement, artists would have been working on the project. Moreover, even if involved, they would have been commissioned for a sculpture or the design of flooring, had Lamarre not decided to split the work per city block, rather than by speciality, as was originally intended. On the other hand, Lambert first intended to have a sculptor add an environmental sculpture in an architect-designed park. But she was prompt to recognize the value of Charney's proposal and she adapted her plan to allow for the construction of his project.

With the case of the CCA Garden, we see two early conceptual artists at work. Vazan was clearly identified with the ecological movement, but not Charney. Artists had various motivations for working outside of their studios. Some had ecological concerns, but others had more global preoccupations, including the nature of urban development. Even before proposing his garden for the CCA, Charney had clearly expressed his opposition to the then prevalent form of urban development that involved so much destruction. In this case, both Vazan and Charney were well informed of the ecological movement and of conceptual art. However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to affirm that they imported the model to Montréal, as other artists had done earlier with modernist projects in the city.

Hence we see that the two case studies allow a deeper understanding of the causes behind the adoption of certain art forms. In addition to the factors identified as having had an influence on the selection of art forms (such as historic models, regulations, patrons, actors and relations among them), we see that the bare material reality of the city, destroyed for its modernization, was a prime factor. For Viger

Square, architects and urban planners at the City fought for preserving a historic square, even though nothing remained of the historic conditions that had led to its construction. With the CCA (building and garden), Lambert had clearly expressed her will to mend the urban fabric. A cultural reality was superimposed on the material one, along the lines traced by an ecological, a post-modern and a personal sensibility.

The model consisting of a modernist skyscraper with a plaza at its base originated in New York City. The Seagram Building became the prototype, as it expressed the views of a prominent modernist architect, not only about architecture, but also about urban development and about art. It was also in New York City that the factors discussed above and which contributed to the proliferation of the model, with the eventual inclusion of a sculpture in a plaza, prevailed at first (zoning by-laws, corporate patronage, and so on). Therefore, those factors may explain the emergence and proliferation of the model in New York City, in that they are indigenous to the city. In the case of cities influenced by New York City, the importance of those very factors may vary. The realization of the original model in other cities depends on specific conditions. In the case of Montréal, the early modernist projects indicate that the architects were well aware of the model, and each project demonstrates how each architect and owner freely interpreted it. The modernist skyscraper as a work of art per se, as a sculpture, prevailed, as it did for some time in New York City in the wake of the Seagram Building.

However, in the years that followed, we witnessed only a partial, fragmentary realization of the model. As such, the five factors identified in the introduction (the characteristics of an artistic genre; the relations among key players; the art market and the manipulation of demand; the public policies in art and urban development; the interests of patrons) which were present in New York City, were also influential in Montréal.

Local artists started creating modernist sculpture and were interested in displaying it in plazas. Relations among architects and artists prompted some of them to create large-scale sculptures (Daudelin). The implementation of the provincial programme and its support of sculpture could be said to have manipulated demand in favour of that art form (Gnass). On the other hand, no municipal policy either incited or forced the inclusion of art. Phyllis Lambert influenced demand (and supply, to a certain extent) against skyscrapers and plazas. Furthermore, the public policy for heritage buildings may have counteracted the municipal by-law that encouraged high-rises and plazas. As a result, Montréal did not become a city of towers, and those that were built in the 1980s and 1990s did not have plazas where municipal regulations encouraged them. What came to be labelled a plaza was much like a parvis, and was often the result of other zoning requirements. Lastly, sculpture was displayed in front of relatively low buildings (Place des Arts, Guy-Favreau Complexe) or made do with very little space (Canderel on de Maisonneuve, Place Desjardins). The private sponsors who encouraged sculpture did so for various reasons, notably for visibility. The most recent skyscraper, the IBM-Marathon Building, seems to have imported its design from New York City, as was the case for the early modernist towers.

In the end, the adoption of the model of a skyscraper with plaza and sculpture, albeit in a hybrid form, raises questions regarding the role and design of public space. The future of public space as an artistic object is at stake and calls for a new reflection about its presence in the inner city. Specifically, what is and what should be the artists' role and the role of other key actors? Can we assess the success or failure of a place on artistic merits alone? Those questions were not asked by our research and would merit research of their own.

CONCLUSION

The research question addressed the production of works of art in the city, focusing on two different types: the sculpture in a plaza in front of a skyscraper, and artists' gardens. The question touches on the expression of modernism and post-modernism in art, architecture, and urban development. The trilogy made up of office towers, plazas, and abstract, monumental sculptures could be interpreted as a modernist paradigm. The research thus raised the following questions:

1- How can we explain that this paradigm, made up of three modernist elements, developed and emerged in the post-modern era in art, architecture and urban development?

2- Why have there been so few post-modern artistic manifestations (such as gardens) in that era? We examined other facets of the question as well: what factors favoured the emergence of sculpture, and eventually of gardens? What factors prevented gardens and ecological art from becoming the dominant art form? What became of public sculpture after the advent of gardens as works of public art?

At first, we identified five factors, which could hypothetically account for the phenomena at stake, and which we explored through a literature review. These factors are:

1- the characteristics of the genre;

2- the relationships between main actors, particularly artists and patrons; specifically, we wondered if works of art resulting from

a commission would take on different forms than those initiated by the artist (i.e., if commissions prevented innovation);

3- the art market and the manipulation of demand by critics;
4- the influence of various public policies pertaining to art, culture, and urban development;
5- the effect of patrons' self-interest; we wondered if certain art forms resulting from private commissions prevailed and if there were marked differences in the art forms attributable to public commissions.

The very definition of what constitutes a work of art seems to favour some art forms over others, in this case sculpture over gardens or other forms of earthworks. Intrinsically, a work of art is deemed to be unique, created by the artist himself, and have a finished aspect (as opposed to a work that evolves and changes over time). Furthermore, the work of art as a collectible object, privately owned, treated as an investment, and a marketing tool, influences the form a work of art can take. Finally, the definition of what art is, and of what constitutes a garden, depends on the artist's own definition, i.e., of the works of art proposed by those occupying a vantage position in the artistic field.

Pierre Bourdieu explains the influence on art forms by what he terms the habitus of the artist and of the patron, their respective position in the artistic and social fields, and the homology between those fields. Given the evolution of the art market and of the commissioning of the works of art prevalent in the passage from modernism to post-modernism, we argued that Bourdieu's scheme was particularly well suited for understanding the public art encompassed in our study period (1967-92), not only for modern art. The writings of Bourdieu and David Harvey suggest that manifestations of modernism and of post-modernism, while being recognizable, have also, occasionally, blurred edges. In this light,

we can explain the advent of a post-modernist paradigm made up entirely of modernist elements.

The relationships between artists and architects, landscape architects, urban planners, and patrons strongly influence the art form. In particular, some prominent architects played a crucial role in advocating art integrated with architecture, mainly sculpture. The architects' overbearing view of what the allied arts should be was combined with the modern artists' emerging autonomy from patrons. Eventually, this gained autonomy translated into the autonomy of sculpture. However, the artists' emancipation from traditional patrons exposed them to the increasingly dominant role of the market in artistic production. Autonomous sculpture became the paragon of modern urban, public and corporate art. Post-modern sculpture, i.e., "sculpture in the expanded field," to which field gardens and earthworks belong, was driven by the will of some artists to resist to market forces, as a sign of revolt against art institutions, of opposition to (corporate) architecture and urban development, and of denunciation of the inconsiderate exploitation of the environment. Those various motivations explain why much anti-establishment art took the form of gardens and even ecological works of art, with environmental overtones of varying degrees.

The manipulation of demand certainly played a role in the preference of some art forms over others, insofar as ecological art was denied avant-garde status by some art specialists. This possibly contributed to lessen the importance of this artistic genre. Moreover, gardens and/or ecological works granted the status of "works of art" were those associated with art institutions, mainly museums. Patrons, be they private, corporate or public, did not commission such works in any significant number. In short, the market contributed to limit the development of ecological art and to promote sculpture as the preferred

form of public art. Public art programmes, too, favoured sculpture, while municipal policies and by-laws in large cities had a clear impact first on the sheer quantity and later on the design of plazas and skyscrapers.

Finally, a correlation has been established between changes to the environment and new art forms. The urban problems, those unresolved by public policies, contributed to the advent of new art forms, to ecological art. In that respect, it is clear that the social context, especially a growing sensitivity to worsening environmental and urban problems, influenced artistic production from the 1960s on.

Those factors explain the selection of art forms in an urban North American context, and particularly in New York City, which has been a trendsetter for other cities. Our research demonstrates that Montréal was also greatly influenced by New York City, not only in architecture and art but in urban planning and development as well. However, it also shows that Montréal experienced a development of its own, even though we observe, at first, the import of a modernist model that materialized in New York City, both in architecture and urban planning. On the Montréal art scene, modern art in general and sculpture in particular evolved simultaneously and in a fashion similar to that of the international modern avant-garde. Specifically, the autonomous field of sculpture emerged slowly, a fact translated in the production of only a few modern sculptures, at first of relatively small dimensions when compared to the monumental size of the modern skyscraper. By the 1960s, sculpture dominated painting. From then on, more sculptures were produced, exhibited, and sold. The dimensions of sculpture also grew significantly. The setting of such large-scale sculpture in plazas or in front of high-rises was well-suited for the corportations and institutions. Their support for those works of art gained momentum, and was paramount in the era of post-modern construction in Montréal. The state of the city after urban renewal projects

(vacant lots) allowed for the creation of gardens as works of art. As our case study shows, a number of important commissions were awarded for public art in open spaces. That these spaces were not used to create gardens or environmental works of art is due, in part, to the fact that artists' copyrights were ill-adapted to the creation and maintenance of permanent gardens.

Furthermore, the ownership and the cost of land prevented the creation of gardens in prime urban areas. Finally, our research highlights the difficulty, for artists and patrons, to negotiate with public authorities. The time and costs involved, as well as the need to have intermediairies to facilitate the bargaining, possibly refrained the expansion of gardens as possible works of public art. Finally, the case of Montréal shows clearly that special events could either promote a specific form of art, or deter it. For instance, Expo 67, where so much high-quality sculpture was displayed in public space, certainly promoted the use of sculpture as landmarks and as a means to embellish urban sites. On the other hand, during major events such as Québec 75 and Corridart, the Establishment vigourously opposed environmental art.

In this context, what was the role and interrelationship of the key players? The personal trajectories of individual artists certainly shaped artistic production. For artists such as Charles Daudelin, Peter Gnass and Michel Goulet, sculpture was a means to enter and/or to stay in the artistic field, and even to hold a more advanced position in it. For others, a sensitivity to the environment--urban in the case of Melvin Charney, natural in the case of Bill Vazan--informed their works. Our case study also enables us to observe the crucial role played by the architects in the selection of the works of art that were to occupy public places. Finally, the relationship between patrons and artists was also determinant: first in the selection of artists and art forms, and second in the elaboration of the

resulting work of art. With regard to the result, the key factors were the patron's support for an artist's work and his or her willingness to grant the artist full autonomy in creating the work.

In short, it appears that a variety of private and public actors influenced the demand for certain art forms. The exemplary role of the CIBC in its selection of Henry Moore was certainly influential, as were events such as Expo 67, Québec 75, Corridart, and various sculpture symposia. Québec sculptors orchestrated a strong lobby in favour of sculpture, and of a public art policy. Mediators, be they art critics, curators, art history professors, were also influential. The Establishment, too, steered demand by promoting sculpture and vividly opposing environmental art.

The case of Montréal also reveals specificities with regard to the role of public policies and programmes. Public policy behind the creation of public art clearly favoured sculpture, to the detriment of gardens, even though it did not explicitly exclude artists' gardens as possible works of public art. On the other hand, municipal by-laws that were passed to favour the provision of plazas in exchange for greater densities, did not influence the construction of plazas and skyscrapers in Montréal's central area. Finally, there was no incentive or obligation for the developers to display art in plazas or elsewhere in newly-built or renovated premises, though certain corporations elected to install sculptures in front of their buildings.

Indeed, private corporations, not only public entities, played an important role in the selection of sculpture (first in the decision to have sculpture) and in the laying out of plazas and other spaces. More important, the case of Montréal highlights the potentially beneficial role of private sponsors in the creation of great public places (CCA Garden versus Viger Square), and the crucial role that an individual patron of the

arts can play, both in the art field in general and in specific commissions. Phyllis Lambert certainly exercised much influence on the local scene in her vigourous opposition to skyscrapers and her defence of art as a marketing tool for the city. Her role in the creation of the CCA Garden was especially crucial. The success of the work may in part be attributed to the homology between Lambert's habitus and that of the artist, Melvin Charney.

What happened to sculpture after the advent--even if on a small scale--of gardens as forms of public art? Essentially, we observe in Montréal that several of the prominent sculptures were either removed or displaced. At the same time, we notice that some plazas were being "greened," rendered more ecological. In sum, it is true that owners and developers willingly put art in their premises, without being forced to or strongly influenced by incentives. Conversely, they were also free to remove the sculptures, when they deemed that art was no longer pertinent. Thus, we witnessed, in Montréal, the removal of sculptures, some that were place markers. This phenomenon gives credit to those who affirm that public sculpture has been used as a commodity, a marketing tool. It also strongly suggests that the autonomy of sculpture was overwhelmed by the autonomy of corporations and institutions, and that in such a context, the public nature of art is questionable. As far as the "greening" of plazas is concerned, the results would need to be monitored and studied more closely, in order to assess the real contribution of this trend to the urban landscape. Is it yet another public relations strategy? At first, the genuine impact of such spaces as significant public places is questionable.

In the end, this research raises other questions that would need a study of their own. Firstly, the role of the public space as an art form was raised. Particularly, the role of the artist in that creation was evoked.

Secondly, how should we determine the success or failure of a work of public art? What criteria of evaluation--artistic, urbanistic, or other--should be used?

This research allows us, in the meantime, to formulate some recommendations with regard to the creation of public art. Essentially, public policies should be modified to dissociate public art from the concept of art integrated with architecture as we know it. In fact, public art should be independent from a given construction project, and really be autonomous anc city-oriented. We recommend that public policies be reconsidered to favour the creation of artistic urban places in strategic locations rather than the haphazard distribution of artistic objects in the city. To this end, we favour the creation of a fund made up of a percentage of contributions from developers, public and private, for every project built in the city. Setting up this trust fund, whose use should be monitored closely, could help disentangle art from the construction and/or renovation of buildings, and render it truly public.

APPENDIX A

POSTMODERN LANDSCAPE: LAND ART AND URBAN LANDSCAPE

(presented at the UAAC Conference, 5 November 1995)

The title of this panel refers to the making of the landscape defined as a subjective space. Much of the recent French literature about landscape insists on the subjectivity involved in its creation. As opposed to the objective environment, the landscape is not a given. But this idea is far from being widely accepted so much so I felt compelled to present in the first place some of the leading ideas about the landscape. Nonetheless, I believe that more than one subjectivity or that the subjectivity of more than one viewer is at play when the construction of some landscape is involved. I am tempted to add: this is particularly true when the construction of the artistic landscape is involved. But as we shall see, the notion of landscape in itself supposes that a coefficient of art has been added to the objective environment. I propose to investigate this assertion about the multiple subjectivities by looking at the paradigm of the postmodern landscape, that is to say, the land art. The way in which some land art projects in the desert were acknowledged and acclaimed, both in the art world and the world of landscape architecture, contrasts strongly with the reception of some previous, less gigantic urban earthworks/ art works. It also exemplifies that more than one subjectivity is influential in constructing the landscape.

1. Landscape as individual and social constructs

Some scholars in the landscape domain affirm that the landscape appeared in the western world towards the 16th century as pictorial

representations (Michel Collot, 1986). This is corroborated by the art historian Ernst Gombrich, who acknowledges that painting a landscape for its own sake-without human figures or subjects, was a novelty of the sixteenth century (Altdorfer, Paysage/Landscape, 1532, Munich, Alte Pinakothek[1]; Jacob van Ruysdaël, Étang entouré d'arbres. After 1660[2]). It was, according to Gombrich, only when we started to take an interest in the artist's manner for itself, that it was possible to sell a painting with no other aim than to recall the lasting impression of a beautiful landscape.[3]

But the notion of the landscape did not exist everywhere, and does not or has not always existed. Augustin Berque links its introduction with the Modern Times. He stresses the concomitance between the discovery of the linear perspective and that of the landscape in Europe. The distance that the observer started to establish with the object eventually lead to a possible perception of the landscape as a distinct object from the observer/subject. In Berque's view, the landscape resides in the complex interaction of the object and of the subject. Landscape, therefore, is a dynamic and relative entity where nature and society, the glance (eye) and the environment interact constantly. For Berque, however, the landscape lived for five centuries only, as it died around 1982. In his view, the movement that gave birth to the landscape eventually destroyed it. This is so because rather than experiencing a unity, the modern observer grasps the environment (or milieu) as a collection of objects that can be manipulated. Nowadays, not only is the subject outdistanced vis-à-vis the landscape, but he/she is also vis-à-vis herself/himself.

But everybody is not as pessimistic about the fate of the landscape. For instance, Georges Bertrand (1978) affirms that it experienced a revival in France towards 1965. At that time, there started research about the landscape, as a part of a movement that questioned and tried to renew scientific research. This happened in the global context of a renewed

interest for the environment and the ecology. Therefore, this revival is somewhat foreign to Bertrand's own definition of the landscape as a social interpretation of nature.

The philosopher and professor of aesthetics Alain Roger observes accurately that some forms or expressions of the landscape died, such as the Sea or the Mountain, but that the models that make possible an aesthetic perception of the nature are still alive. Hence, new forms or expressions should replace the ones that are obsolete. Moreover, the landscape does not belong to every social group. Some would see the land (le `pays') as opposed to the landscape (paysage). This is the view of Augustin Berque. Michel Conan mitigates this assertion by saying that some social groups or sub-groups share and identify with some particular landscapes. Landscape, for Conan, is a public good, a symbol of shared values and ideals of a determined social group. But landscape evolves over time and may be redefined. This is consistent with the view that landscape lays at the junction between nature and society. Or, that it is an interface between object and subject (G. Bertrand; M. Collot). Some, as Augustin Berque, also define landscape as the relationship between object and subject, that is, between nature and the viewer. Alain Roger insists on the cultural component of the landscape, which does not solely have a social dimension. Therefore, the landscape is not nature, nor is it the environment. The subjectivity of the viewer who experiences the landscape is a key element in the construction of a landscape. Landscape is, for Michel Collot, a perceived space. It is linked to the experience of the viewer.

2. Creation of the landscape: the paradigms of the landscape in history.

Hence, landscape is not a given, raw and objective data: it needs the subjective input of at least the viewer, and sometimes of more than one person, to exist. In Conan's view, it involves the subjectivity of several persons linked by shared values. Social groups are linked and gathered according to the ownership relation they have with the land. The same piece of land may therefore be a site, a land, a landscape, or nothing of these. The identity of the landscape does not stem from the design or work of the (raw) land, but rather, from the symbolic value it is imbued with, according to the members of a given social group. But while Conan's demonstration focuses on the antagonism of values between urban and rural dwellers, I propose that we look at some other potential sub-groups, such as artists and landscape architects. By focusing on the artists as social sub-groups (which is a fact well documented by Pierre Bourdieu[4]), we realize that they have been leaders in creating new landscapes. We also observe that they seem to have tried to reach the physically unreachable lands. Alain Roger is particularly explicit about this fact. In his view, historically, artists acted as mediators in the creation of landscapes. Whereas from the 16th century until the 18th century, the countryside was the paradigm of the landscape (e.g., Bruegel, Les Moissonneurs, 1565), Roger observes a shift in the 18th century. Two new paradigms of the landscape were then created. The Mountain, which was previously simply an ugly part of the country became the ultimate expression of the landscape. Later on, the same happened with the Sea. These are what Roger calls the zero degree of the landscape, that is, nature untouched (even visually), unmediated. This notion of the zero degree of landscape will be referred to throughout this text, as it sets a framework for understanding the landscape. An important characteristic of these expressions of the landscape is that they were, before the artistic

mediation, inhospitable, terrifying spaces. They were also no man's land in the real sense of the idiom: they first had to be reached by explorers. Afterwards, the artists mediated or represented the reality: they created the landscapes of the Mountain and of the Sea.

Another important distinction brought by Roger is that of the in situ (real, direct experience of a site) and in visu (artefactual, indirect) landscapes. I would add: with the in situ, it is the subjectivity of the subject/viewer which forms the landscape, whereas with the in visu landscape, it is an already mediated reality or, the subjectivity of the artist that is offered to the viewer to experience it subjectively. The subjectivity of the artist is subjected to the subjectivity of the viewer (subject). For Roger, the cultural landscape always precedes the natural one: nature is cultural. This was obviously the case when the 18th century painters represented landscapes of the mountain, not accessible yet to the large public. But what about now? For Michel Conan, the in situ landscape is far more important today because of the development of the tourism. Augustin Berque considers that this distinction is getting thinner nowadays, also stating that landscapes are no longer pictorial. John T. Lyle, on the other hand, affirms that the landscapes are still pictorial, but only more abstract. Considering the modernist gardens in France as presented by Dorothée Imbert (Gabriel Guevrekian's gardens: Jardin d'eau et de lumière (*garden of water and light*) and Villa Noailles[5]) or the painting influenced gardens of Roberto Burle Marx, it is difficult not to agree with Lyle's statement. Nonetheless, since the 18th century, there has been a `trajection', that is, a back and forth movement between both the in situ and the in visu.

3. Land art in the desert or the arctic: post-modern paradigms of the landscape.

(Michael Heizer, Five Conic Displacements, Coyote Dry Lake, Mojave Desert, California, 1969; Michael Heizer, Double Negative, Mormon Mesa, Overton, Nevada, 1969, 1970[6]).

Art critic Rosalind Krauss[7] considered the emergence of the land art as the manifestation of the rupture with the historical traditional forms of the sculpture, that introduced the postmodern era of the artistic production. Artists and art critics are not the only ones to have recognized the tremendous importance of the land art. Landscape architects refer to the projects in the desert associated with the land art movement and they discuss it in one way or the other. The scale of the projects, their remoteness, the direct involvment of artists in nature are recurrent themes. Therefore, I propose to consider the Desert (Michael Heizer, Complex 1, Garden Valley, Nevada, 1972-1974[8]), and to a lesser degree, the Arctic, (here, I am referring to Andy Goldsworthy's projects) as the new paradigms of the landscape. They are, as their predecessors, located in inaccessible and inhospitable spaces. These spaces have had for long - and still have to a certain degree- the value of land (`pays') and have been zero degree of the landscape. Moreover, they all have been created by artists in the first place. Some landscape architects eventually created landart works (Jacques Simon in France, for instance), but their work was inspired by those of the artists.

But rather than presenting the art works in the in visu mode, that is, representing a mediated view of a landscape, the artists made direct works in nature - first in situ-thus allowing further representation in the in visu mode: in art galleries, art books and magazines, even in original art works (Mark Tansey's painting depicting Robert Smithson's Spiral Jetty). In situ landscapes gave rise to in visu landscapes. But despite some

striking contrasts with the first representation of the 18th century evoked earlier, this was not the first time artists were directly constructing and modifying the landscape. A rare example exists of an artist sculpting the mountain (Gutzon Borglum sculpted the head of George Washington at Mount Rushmore, 1927-1941[9]). Also, a more generalized one was invented and *en vogue* during the 18th century. The landscape gardening gave rise to gardens as an art form, but its very existence was mediated by the landscape painting, according to Alain Roger.[10] He affirms that artists such as Claude Lorrain, Poussin, and Salvatore Rosa, contributed to the fact that the art of gardens became an art of the landscape. More recently, a revival of this art form was concomitant, if not antecedent to, the first land art works in the desert. This art was created in, and created an, urban landscape.

4. Land art in the city and the urban landscape.

Even if generally associated with far out nature, mainly with the desert, the art associated with nature was not located exclusively within nature. We certainly have all heard of land artists' projects in Great-Britain and in the Netherlands. They have been asserting the difference between the European and the North-American landscape by stating the absence of wilderness in the old countries, hence giving rise to a distinct artistic production. The guiding thread between both groups is their work with and within nature. Some do convey an ecological or environmental message to their works, as this work by Herbert Bayer, Mill Creek Canyon Earthworks, completed in 1982, in the outskirts of Seattle.[11] But not all of them do.

However, both groups locate their works in nature as opposed to in the city. When assessing the influence of these land artists on the city, and the various forms of environmental art that were created, writers such

as John Beardsley present a melting pot of art works,[12] leaving the reader under the impression that actual land artists have been absent from the urban scene. But a quick review of some urban land artworks reveals first, that at least one manifestation occurred in New York City prior to Michael Heizer's first work in the landscape, which Beardsley dates in 1967. Alan Sonfist proposed Time Landscape, A Reconstruction of a Pre-Colonial Forest, in 1965[13]). Later on, Poppy Johnson made Earth Day in 1970, and Adam Purple, his Garden of Eden, in 1974[14]. Followed in 1975 Charles Simonds' garden La Placita. Each of these projects reclaimed a *terrain vague*, a lost space within New York City.

The first land art projects in nature--at least the North-American ones--did not have an environmental flavour, as opposed to the first urban ones. Actually, the first land art projects in the desert were quite disruptive environmentally, which was not the case for those within New York City. There could be a link between this fact and the state of many North-American cities at the time. Many urban renewal projects took place, dismantling complete neighbourhoods. A lot of demolition occurred in the wake of land speculation. The lost spaces became problematic as has been demonstrated by Roger Trancik in his book, Finding Lost Space.[15] The image of Purple's garden conveys this reality strikingly. Eventually, though, a second generation of land art works arose, and the artists were then reclaiming the land, often disrupted by industrial activities.

This brings us back to the zero degree landscapes. Some writers reviewed (Berque, Keller, Lassus, Lyle) are of the opinion that after the desert and the arctic, which have been used for creating new landscapes, there are no other places where to go. Bernard Lassus also evokes the need to go "deeper" in nature, not necessarily physically, but symbolically, as it is not possible to go farther. Both Keller and Berque evoke the

possibility that the globe (écoumène terrestre) be the next zero degree landscape.

Mikel Dufrenne, in his forework to Pierre Sansot's book Poétique de la ville,[16] talks about the city as an ocean of stones which is as much Nature as the nature, the mountain or the sea. Given the `desertic' nature of most modern and post-modern cities, the idea that those cities become the next "land to artialise", the next zero degree of landscape, is not so incongruous. Actually, this idea is quite appealing. It is reasonable to suppose that these New York artists of the 1960s were also discovering a new paradigm of the landscape, this time a devastated urban one. This would constitute an inversion of the possible meaning of the landscape as an urban invention, as proposed by Michel Conan. Conan did not refer to the urban landscape, nor to the improbable nature invading the city. Rather he understood the landscape as a search--outside the city--for nature. This quest of city dwellers for nature outside the city leads us to ask whether it would not be worth trying to introduce landscape in the city that is, nature with an art coefficient. In such a case, the zero degree of landscape would also be an inversion: rather than being raw nature, or an unmediated environment, it would be a nature so extremely mediated that it almost lost sight of both nature and its nature.

5. Landscape: in situ versus in visu.

Both land art works in the desert or in the city consisted of artists' direct interventions on the environment. The landscape created in the desert or in far-out arctic spaces was widely known not because so many of us experienced it on the site--in situ-- but because it was widely spread in the art circles, that is to say in urban areas. By so doing, mediators were creating in visu landscapes. On the other hand, earlier urban gardens were not much publicized (certainly not as much as were the land

art works associated with Michael Heizer, Walter de Maria, Robert Morris or Robert Smithson (e.g., Smithson's Spiral Jetty, April 1970). They were primarily experienced as in situ landscapes.

Whereas both categories were landscape, when these landscapes came to the city, one was of the in situ type and the other one, of the in visu. While this distinction between the landscape as subjectively perceived on the site by one viewer and as subjectively mediated by the artist is both thoughtful and useful, it must be realized that the definition of some theoreticians of the landscape is unmistakably of the in situ type: the landscape is a three dimensional space, and allows the world to be around me, not in front of me. This is Michel Collot's view and, while he conceives that a landscape could become a picture, he defines the landscape as the site being experienced by the viewer. Each viewer decides which part of the landscape he/she is going to focus on. Hence each in situ landscape is unique. It could be understood that a mediated landscape includes a *lieu commun* or at least, a common denominator when delivered to the public's eyes. In this view, then, the landscape proposed in the city are the ones that allow direct experience-without precluding the possibility of mediated experiences as well.

I would submit that some extra subjectivities lead to the recognition of some land art forms and projects, over others, such as the urban type. True, the artworks in the desert were grandiose, impressive, of a gigantic scale. But I suspect that there might be other reasons than the one intrinsic to the art object itself for this acceptation and recognition. The mediating process itself, e.g., the fact that gallery owners and other art specialists chose to support the artists has certainly been influential. In this way, the mediated landscape helped launched the unmediated one. This undoubtedly casted a shadow on land artwork performed in the city. Hence the subjectivity of the *art world* proponents, to borrow from Becker,

played a major role in establishing which landscape, those true land art works in the desert or the urban ones, were worth looking at and experiencing.

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[1] Ernst Gombrich, Histoire de l'art, trans. J Combe and C. Lauriol, rev. ed. (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), 273.
[2] Ibid., 338.
[3] Ibid., 274.
[4] Pierre Bourdieu, Les règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire (n. p.: Éditions du Seuil, coll. "Libre Examen," 1992).
[5] Dorothée Imbert, The Modernist Garden in France (New Haven and London, England: Yale University Press, 1993), plates VI, XIV, XVI.
[6] Gilles A. Tiberghien, Land Art (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995), 139, 48, 49.
[7] Rosalind E. Krauss, The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: MIT Press, 1985; first MIT Press paperback ed., 1986).
[8] Tiberghien, Land Art, 72, 74, 75.
[9] Ibid., 94, 95.
[10] Alain Roger, "Esthétique du paysage au siècle des lumières," in Composer le paysage constructions et crises de l'espace, collection milieux Champ Vallon, p. 65.
[11] Barbara C. Matilsky, Fragile Ecologies: Contemporary Artists' Interpretations and Solutions (New York: Rizzoli, in association with the Queens Museum of Art, 1992), 46, fig. 42.
[12] John Beardsley, Earthworks and Beyond, expanded ed. (New York, London, England, and Paris: Abbeville Press, 1989). See chapter 5, "Beyond Earthworks: The New Urban Landscape," 127-56. Beardsley presents such projects as Richard Serra's Tilted Arc (1981), Isamu Noguchi H. E. Dodge and Son Memorial Fountain, in Detroit, Michigan (1978), Ned Smyth's Piazza Lavoro/ Mythic Source, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1984) and several others.

[13] According to Barbara C. Matilsky, the project was conceived in the mid-sixites, and planted in 1978. Robin Cembalest affirms that it was planted in 1965. In Urban Encounters, Institute of Contemporary Art, University of California, 1980, Time Landscape is dated 1977 (p. 20). Robin Cembalest, "The Ecological Art Explosion," ArtNews 90, no. 6 (Summer 1991): 100; Matilsky, Fragile Ecologies, 82.

[14] National Geographic, September 1984.

[15] Roger Trancik, Finding Lost Space (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1986).

[16] Pierre Sansot, Poétique de la ville (Paris: Méridiens Klinckieck, 1971, 1988), 5.

APPENDIX B

HAS QUALITY A PRICE?

With the possible exception of auctions, when private transactions are involved, it is always difficult to get the information regarding the cost of a work of art. This case is no exception: the details regarding the cost are but confidential.[1] The question of whether the money spent for the realization of the work of art could have influenced the final outcome has barely been addressed. Relying on Charney's disclosure of the costs ($320,000 for the sculptures executed according to the 1% proposal and $1.9 million for the rest of the park, Parachute's art critic Pontbriand, who was so enthusiastic about the garden, believed "that money has something to do with the quality of the project."[2] These figures, compared to the initial budget of $150,000 for the 1% (and $500,000 for the park according to Peter Rose's estimate), had misled people to affirm that the CCA could never have afforded such a garden if it had limited itself to the 1% budget requested by the governmental programme. This is what Papillon affirms to this day.[3] Lambert, the patron, does not seem to recall what the percentage of the work of art was in relation with the building cost:

> Melvin's individual pieces plus the piece . . . correspondent to the Shaughnessy House itself, whether that all fit in under the 1% . . . that I'm not sure of that, OK? . . . That's a technicality, but if that had not happened, we would have done something there anyway . . .[4]

But she is adamant that there is no point, no interest, in knowing (or being interested to know) it, and therefore refuses to divulge the final percentage to which the cost of the work of art corresponds. She nonetheless adds,

enigmatically, that a work of art "can be outside of the cost, you know...,"[5] and that "if you want to spend more of your funds than the allotted money, . . . nobody says you can't do that."[6] But Charney precisely assesses the cost of the garden in relation with the construction cost of the CCA building. This, in itself, increased tremendously since the construction of the building started to be discussed. In 1981, the budget for the CCA building project was of $9 million.[7]

As of 12 January 1987, the update of the budget (which included some actual construction costs) stated that the cost for the new CCA building had been almost $24.5 million and that an additional $6.5 million still remained to be spent for an anticipated total of $31 million, more or less. At the unveiling of the project for the CCA Garden, in September 1987, the cost of the CCA building was reported to be in the range of $38 million. However, in May 1989, at the opening of the building, the construction cost was reported to have escalated to $45 million. When the project neared completion, the figures--non official--were much higher: upward to $60 million according to Canadian Art magazine who relied on inside informants.[8]

Charney claims that "the major overrun was on the building itself . . . It's an opulent building, it's not a luxurious building, it's an opulent building."[9] While the announced cost of the building was $64 million, its actual cost was closer to $100 million. And 1% of that amounts to $1 million for the sculpture alone, while the allegorical columns finally amounted to $350,000. Given the size and the quality (he insists on the quality of materials) of the sculptures, the artist concludes: "CCA got its money worth for the $350,000, its real money's worth."[10] According to the provincial by-law, the art budget for projects of over $5 million should be of $56,000 for the first $5 million, and 0.5% for the remaining part of the cost. Assuming costs of a hundred million dollars, it would yield an art budget of

$531,000 ($475,000 + $56,000) as opposed to one of $351,000 for construction costs of $64 million. In any case, it is true that the cost of the sculptures would not exceed the percentage. As for the cost of the garden itself, not part of the provincial competition, it is impossible to present accurate figures. Besides the $2 million discussed above, other figures are thrown in: Déry talks of a value of $5 to $6 million. A Ministry of Cultural Affairs official estimated "sans que nous puissions disposer des chiffres complets et précis quant à la participation financière du promoteur,"[11] the cost of the plaza (on which the sculptures stand) to be of $1 million.[12]

But there are other costs never discussed, and they pertain to the maintenance of the garden. While no figures are available, the artist is nonetheless capable of appreciating the quality of its preservation: "There's immense care being . . . put into the garden and a huge maintenance budget. I think it's the best kept garden in the world right now . . . better than Versailles garden."[13]

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[1]Louise Déry, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 21 January 1997; Phyllis Lambert, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 15 January 1997; Ghislain Papillon, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 8 November 1996.

[2] Ann Duncan, "Architecture Artist Melvin Charney turns a bleak lot into a magical park," Gazette, 21 October 1989, p. K 16.

[3] Jocelyne Lepage, "Le miracle de Melvin Charney Le jardin du Centre canadien d'architecture," La Presse, 4 November 1989, p. K 6. According to Lepage, the estimated cost of the garden was close to two million

dollars. The garden was also reported to be valued at two million dollars by Peter Day, "This winter, a selection of forthcoming exhibitions," Canadian Art 4, no. 4 (Winter/December 1987): 31. Papillon, interview by author.

[4]Lambert, interview by author.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Melvin Charney, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 3 November 1996. The budget was "detailed as follows: $3 million for new construction; $3 million for repairs & renovation of Shaughnessy House; $1 million for landscaping; $2 million for equipment, furniture and fixtures," plus all professional fees to be incurred. Minutes of the Board of Directors' Meeting 28 September 1981, CCA's archives A1 ARCON 1990: 0024: 0007 B28-3-6.

[8] "CCA New Building 1987 Shaughnessy House documents," Budget update as of 12 January 1987. The cost of the CCA building was of $38 million, according to Ann Duncan, "Montréal artist wins design contest," Gazette, 17 September 1987, p. D 18; Angèle Dagenais spoke of $37.6 million in "Devant le futur Centre canadien d'architecture Melvin Charney créera un parc de sculptures," Le Devoir, 17 September 1987, p. 13. And Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Québec et la Fondation Bronfman font don d'un parc à la ville de Montréal," La Presse, 17 September 1987, p. A 5, also talked of $37. 6 million. Bonhomme affirms that the cost of the CCA was assumed by the Bronfman Foundation. About the estimated construction cost at the opening of the building: Ian Allaby, "Design Force/Hors ligne," En route, May 1989, 86. Allaby's figure is $45.4 million; Douglas Brenner, "Phyllis Lambert: Peripatetic heroine of architecture," Architectural Record 176, no. 12 (October 1988): 73; Canadian Press, "Centre canadien d'architecture Mulroney rend hommage à Mme Phyllis Lambert," Le Journal de Montréal, 8 May 1989; Charlotte Gray, "Magnificent obsession Phyllis Lambert . . .," Chatelaine, May 1989, 105; d'Arcy Janish, "1989 The Honor Roll: Phyllis Lambert," Maclean's, 25 December 1989, 18. Other, lower figures have also been reported by the press of the time: a $35 million museum by Douglas Brenner, "Architecture Hard-Hatted Woman," House and Garden, May 1989, 38; $40 million by Richard Martineau, "Phyllis Lambert La reine-maire," Mtl, May 1989, 52; $42 million by Irwin Block, "Architecture mecca opens," Gazette, 8 May 1989, p. A 1 (early edition); "Phyllis Lambert's new Canadian Centre for Architecture is a triumph of the will," Canadian Art, Summer 1989. CCA's archives, A1 0016 ARCON 1993: 0053: 003, B29-4-6.

[9] Charney, interview by author.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Laurent Bouchard to Michel Leroux, "Intégration des arts au Centre Canadien d'Architecture (CCA)," 2 pages, 21 September 1990. Ministère de la culture's dossier.
[12] How accurate is this estimate? Bouchard over-estimated the costs of the sculptures: between $400,000. and $500,000. Ibid.
[13] Charney, interview by author.

APPENDIX C

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE CCA GARDEN

For the competition, Charney made drawings that studied the site, in particular, the arcade in relation to Shaughnessy House. While studying the site for the competition, Charney was knowledgeable of the presence of previous buildings. In one plan, he drew the outline of three previous buildings (circa 1930), which divided the site in three. Doors were drawn to the west, giving access to a route.[1] This appeared to be part of the information transmitted to all three artists, since Michel Goulet used in his work the contour of the house that was located there.[2] Also Charney studied cadastral divisions on the land.[3] In addition, he experimented with several variations of the columns: in number and in placing them. In one instance, there were seventeen columns/sculptures, forming a grid. There were columns on each side of the arcade, where he eventually placed the orchard and the meadow. This affected the plaza, which was not as clearly defined as it is now. There were three half-circles in the northern wall. The garden was divided in three parts by the east and west walks, each one ending at one of these semicircles. The third one was shown on Peter Rose's plan, at the west edge of the wall, where Charney had already placed a column.[4] In yet another essay, he had nineteen columns, the northern wall had two hemicycles and column 11, as an isolated element, had disappeared.[5] In another instance, he had nineteen columns in four lines and seven north-south axes, all around the arcade. What is now column 11 was isolated.[6] In another sketch, he had twenty-one columns divided in four lines and

three north-south axes (rows), around the arcade. Column 21 would have been a reflection of the college, and required moving the walkway.[7]

Then, in early July, some clarifications about the columns are visible. Their number had been reduced to twelve. There are six north-south axes (termed "rows" in his proposal) on the plan, five in line with the columns on the plaza, where their location is circumscribed. There is no column to the east or the west of the arcade, which is more or less located as we know it now. There is a ten foot (three metres) difference in the site level.[8] In a further step, he kept the twelve columns, had three pedestrian pathways, and maintained the same levels and the arcade as created previously.[9] He did a three-dimensional study of the arcade and determined more or less the height of the wall.[10] On one specific drawing (ink and graphite), we can see that the concept is found. The arcade is placed, and the columns are located is six rows, and numbered, as in his final proposal for the competition. The elements of the garden are identified by their names: arcade, esplanade, divisions cadastrales. Difference in levels between north and south is given (161-151). There is vegetation to the east. There are two rows of trees immediately to the west of the arcade, and a third row at the western limit of the site. The western walkway is winding and reaches column 11, whereas the eastern walkway is perpendicular to the street and leads to the first row of sculptures [(row a), col. 1 and 2]. Finally, the southern wall is straightened, freed of the hemicycles.[11]

The first drawing produced after the competition was held is of the entire site (CCA building and garden). On the building side, Charney traced the property lines and the contour of Shaughnessy House as well as the axis of the party wall.[12] He then worked, in September-October 1987, on the preliminary working drawings of the "Esplanade retaining wall."[13] Also in September-October 1987, Charney studied the cadastral walls in relation to the difference in levels given to the site (161-151).

This was followed by the placing of allegorical columns and the arcade in the form of Shaughnessy House.[14] In the fall 1987-winter 1988, Charney was already working on the landscape in front of Shaughnessy House and planning some work on the terreplein that divided Dorchester Boulevard.[15] During that period of time, he also did several essays for the plantings in general (in front of Shaughnessy House and also for the garden, and in front of Dorchester/René-Lévesque), and particularly for the orchards.[16] Still in October-November 1987, he produced several drawings that studied the plan of the arcade, its bay windows, stairs, foundation, and so on.[17]

In January 1988, great care was given to the study of site levels. At that time, he was altogether studying the landscape in front of Shaughnessy House.[18] In the winter of 1988, he proceeded to the study of some sections of the garden, one in relation to Shaughnessy House, establishing a symmetry, i.e., same distance, sixty-five feet, six inches (20 metres), on each side of the boulevard, between the sidewalk and the façade.[19] Also, in February of 1988, Charney worked on the site plan, and the verger (orchard) and the pré (meadow) are shown on a drawing.[20] On this drawing, the drinking fountain disappeared, but the position of park benches was clearly indicated: five on the esplanade, between the six allegorical columns, and two in the next row. Also visible is the centre line of Shaughnessy House, in line with the centre line of the arcade. The western axis of the CCA is in line with the main pathway, while the eastern axis is in line with the "East walk". These do not correspond to the cadastral axis of the garden nor to the cadastral wall.[21] He also had to take into account the less obvious constraints of the site, such as the Hydro-Québec vault, which required a lot of attention.[22]

From early March 1988 to July 1988, Charney put a lot of efforts in arcade "A" and arcade "B"[23] and in September 1988, he was still working on arcade "B."[24] In April 1988, he started to explore the west walkway in

relation to the Hydro-Québec vault and column 11.[25] And he was still working on it as of August 1988. In one instance, he had a straight pathway, perpendicular to the plaza and the sidewalk, whereas in the other, the pathway was curvilinear.[26] The curve was allowed to join the retaining wall of the vault and appears, in plan, to be directed towards column 11. Charney himself drew a sketch of the walkway reaching column 11, and almost parallel to the ramp to the expressway.[27]

In the summer of 1990, he was working on an information sign and panel at the entrance to the garden[28] and on the arrows pointing towards the landmarks below.[29]

The construction drawings are unmistakably those of an architect, with sections, elevations, construction details. Afterwards, the artist also created artistic drawings of his garden, as he had done for some of his previous art projects. Architectural drawings were, for the most part, done by apprentices (Charney's students or ex-students) working under his supervision, as is usually done in architects' offices. Here can be seen the true meaning of the much repeated fact that he is both an artist and an architect.[30]

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[1]Site study: Presence of 1930's Building on Site of CCA Garden. Dwg: M. C & F. R. June 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091. A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990. N.B. This portfolio is made up of thirteen drawings, dated either June 1987 or July 1987.

[2] Michel Goulet, interview by author, Tape recording, Montréal, 21 February 1997.

[3] CCA Garden: Site Study--Existing traces or cadastral divisions. June 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091. A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawing. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[4] Sculpture column grid/1 Site study: CCA Garden June 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091. A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[5] CCA Garden Conception of Garden Plan, June 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091. A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[6] Sculpture column grid/2, June 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091. A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[7] Column Grid/3 Study: CCA Garden June 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091 A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[8] There are six columns on the southern line; then three, two, one. Site Study & Sculpture Emplacement: CCA Garden, July 7, 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091 A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[9] CCA Garden Site plan. Column Layout. July 14, 1987. See also Site Levels-CCA Garden Competition on Study Drawing, July 14, 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091 A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[10] Arcade Study-July 1987. Note "cut down wall". ARCON 1990: 0091 A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[11] The Canadian Center For Architecture Garden: Site Study Melvin Charney, July 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091 A) Original Competition Study & Design Drawings. Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.
[12] August 29, 1987, drawing GA-5/1. CCA archives, Fonds 41, Melvin Charney, Jardin du CCA, Tube ARCON 1990: 0091.
[13] GA-7/1, 21 September 1987; general revision: 30 September 1987 in ARCON 1990: 0091. GA-7/1 *CCA Garden Belvedere Wall Study*, October 22, 1987, drawn by Melvin Charney, in ARCON 1991: 0060, AR42: 06.
[14] GA-6/1, October 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091.
[15] GA-8. Site Plan B, November 2, 1987, with four revisions from January 1988 to May 1988, in ARCON 1991: 0060. Melvin Charney, Jardin du CCA, 1991, Package 4/1, 1 of 3, Folder AR42: 07.
[16] Compare drawings GA-8/P-2, November 2, 1987, revised three times from January 1988 to March 1988, with GA-8/P-1, November 2, 1987, no revision ARCON 1991: 0060. Package 3/1, Folder AR42: 05. Compare also with GA-8, November 2, 1987, revised four times, from January 1988

to May 1988. ARCON 1991: 0060. Package 4/1, 1 of 3, folder AR42: 07. See also GA-5, Site Plan, September 16, 1987, revised twice in Sept. 1987, and GA-4, September 16, 1987, Site Plan, with four revisions (September 1987 to February 1988. ARCON 1991: 0060, Package 3/1, folder AR42: 05.

[17] GA-10/9, CCA garden portique: window section & elevation, October 6, 1987. Note: portique is arcade "A" in GA-10 series Working Drawing Development Series, October-November 1987. ARCON 1990: 0091 Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.

[18] GA-5-A/1 TO GA-5-A/6, January 1988. ARCON 1990: 0091.

[19] GA-14, 15 February 1988. ARCON 1990: 0091.

[20] GA-6 Jardin du CCA-Site plan, February 15, 1988; revisions in March, May, June and July 1988. In 1991 AR42: 09, package 4/1 (3/3).

[21] This was explained by Charney himself. See Melvin Charney, "Un jardin pour le Centre Canadien d'Architecture," 92-93.

[22] GA-14, 15 February 1988. ARCON 1990: 0091. Later drawings that involved the vault: GA-6-6, May 1, 1989; GA-6-10, March 8, 1991; GA-18-1, October 1988; GA-19-1, September 7, 1988. This is a partial list. ARCON 1991: 0060, Charney CCA Garden, Package 4/2, 1991, AR42: 10.

[23] GA-17, March 5, 1988, with four revisions, the last one being 08-07-1988. GA-17-2, September 26, 1988. In 1991 AR42: 09, Package 4/1 (3/3). Melvin Charney, CCA garden.

[24] GA-6-2, Modification de la position de l'arcade "B", September 26, 1988. ARCON 1991: 0060 Charney CCA Garden Package 4/2 1991.

[25] GA-26/3, Étude de la grotte, April 26, 1988 and GA-26/4, West Walkway & Grotto, April 28, 1988. ARCON 1990: 0092 Melvin Charney-CCA Garden 1990.

[26] GA-26-B, Retaining Wall at Hydro Vault-plan. July 1988. GA-26-A, Retaining Wall at Hydro Vault, July 25, 1988. ARCON 1990: 0091, Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990.

[27] GA-6-1/1, August 12, 1988, West Walkway. ARCON 1990: 0091, Melvin Charney CCA Garden 1990. See also GA-6-1/2, August 1988; GA-26/1, August 1988; GA-26/2, no date. ARCON 1990: 0092, Melvin Charney-CCA Garden 1990.

[28] GA-30 series, July, August, September 1990. ARCON 1991: 0060 Package 2/3, folder AR42: 04. Melvin Charney Jardin du CCA 1991.

[29] GA-29 series. ARCON 1991: 0060 Charney CCA Garden 1991. Package 2/2, folder AR42: 03. Few drawings dated from February or March 1990; the reminder are dated from June 1990.

[30] GA-18 to GA-23 incl., dated April 15, 1988. GA-24, GA-25, May 12, 1988. GA-27, 18 July 1988. Arcon 1991: 0060, Melvin Charney Jardin du CCA 1991, Package 4/1, (2/3) Folder AR42: 08. Charney, "A Garden for the CCA," in Canadian Centre for Architecture, 100-102.

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