ONE-PERCENT FOR WHOM?
CANADA'S PUBLIC WORKS FINE ART PROGRAMME, 1964-1978: ITS RISE AND DEMISE

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Canadian Art History

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

November 29, 2000

ABSTRACT

The Public Works Fine Art Programme (1964-1978) is examined within the larger context of federal government patronage of the arts and the difficulties that ensue when a programme no longer brings prestige to its government department. Its roots can be found in the nation building goals of the Massey-Lévesque Commission and its Report, which stressed a united Canada, enriched by federally supported cultural programmes. Yet, by the early 1970s, when several works of art commissioned through the Programme were presented to the Canadian people, Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier's policies of decentralization and democratization had altered the way Canadians viewed their relationship to cultural activities. This thesis examines the Fine Art Programme within the context of its era. It contends that its closure stemmed not only from temporal circumstances, but also from negative public reception of the art, the centralist ideology of its Advisory Committee, and a dichotomy between Programme headquarters and regional interests.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you John Dolcini for your unwavering enthusiasm, encouragement, and support. Thank you to my thesis advisor Michael Bell, for guiding me to essential texts and sources of information, as well as the more weighty issues. A special thank you to Herbert Cole, George Rolf, Peeter Sepp, and David Silcox, for generously sharing your knowledge of, and experiences with, the Fine Art Programme—much of which had not been recorded prior to this undertaking. Thank you, as well, to Leezah Cohen, Lynda Kelly, Gail Moorhead, and Daniel Sharp—for answering so many questions during my months of research.

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INTRODUCTION

> It is difficult when artists...explore new modes of expression; it takes time for the public to accept this. Artists challenge ways of looking at things and that can create negative reactions. But that kind of creativity and exploration, if it is good, will evolve into a new understanding. In that way, artists are an important impetus to the evolution of the mind and the development of aesthetic views...A lot of the experiments will be rejected, the selection committees [will] make mistakes, [but] this is part of the larger body of research. Examining the Fine Art Programme is useful for this, and if only twenty-percent of the works end up as acceptable, that is good. There will be those that are not accepted...criticism of the Fine Art Programme is part of the process.[1]

In late December, 1964, the Cabinet approved the proposal for the Fine Art Programme. When this took place, the Department of Public Works became the principal art patron in Canada. The Programme was modeled by sanguine culture advocates with high expectations of success. Its mandate stipulated that one-percent of the construction costs of new public-access federal buildings would be allocated for works of art—and that those works would be integrated with the architecture. It had the dual aim of commissioning works of art by Canada's best contemporary artists, "and in doing so, to give Canadians a sense of quality in their environment."[2] In all, it was responsible for over two hundred and thirty works of art (costing $3.7 million) in its fourteen years of operation—until it fell victim to federal budget restraints. Coincidentally, the Programme's closure, in 1978, took place amid turmoil over one of its abstract sculptures.

Twenty years later, as research for this thesis commenced, the Fine Art Programme was all but forgotten—except for the controversies it had raised. With the

intent of shedding light on its legacy, early research revealed that the primary archival resources are significantly spotty in relation to several years of the Programme's operation. Moreover, the Department of Public Works retains little corporate memory of the Programme, magnifying the need for a recovery of its history. After examining material compiled from a variety of sources, the Programme emerged as a significant contribution to Canadian cultural development. Its era, the 1960s and 1970s, held immeasurable promise for the arts. When it began in 1964, the Programme reflected a more centralist government ideology. However, with the establishment of the Trudeau Government in 1968, Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier introduced cultural policies that eventually led the sister Department of Public Works to a more democratic and decentralized Programme—one that was responsive to the interests of the public,[3] the Client (that is the government department occupying the building), and the artists. Yet, even with those changes, the Fine Art Programme failed.

This thesis contends that there were several circumstances, occurring in an era of social and political change, that caused the Programme to fail. Though each was manageable individually, together their magnitude far outweighed the Programme's benefits. From its origin, the public was ill-prepared for the abstract works of art sited at the new federal buildings. Yet, the Programme's Fine Art Advisory Committee of art experts (responsible for approving the artists and works of art) neglected to consider the public's needs and horizons of experience, assuming instead that people would eventually accept the art. The Programme's plight was further compounded by communication problems between Headquarters in Ottawa and the six more or less autonomous Public

Works Regions across the country. Eventually, the Programme was revised to reflect the Trudeau government's cultural policies of decentralization and democratization by including an educational component and public representation on its Advisory Committee. However, the Programme could not escape the pervasive and damaging effects generated years earlier by the negative reception of the abstract works of art. In the end, even though the Minister of Public Works, then Judd Buchanan, had been a staunch supporter of the Programme since his appointment in 1976, the Programme required the Cabinet's support to survive the controversy. This was because Canada's parliamentary system "dictates that ministers must stand or fall as an elected Government collectively."[4] If a minister cannot secure agreement on a proposal, "...the dissenting member must acquiesce in the rejection of his/[her]ideas or tender his/[her] resignation."[5] One can only assume, therefore, that the other ministers opposed the continuation of the Programme, or, perhaps their support was not lobbied.

This focused examination of the Fine Art Programme occurs within a broader context that includes the weightier issues of nation building imperatives, the establishment of an international position for Canada, and the contribution of avant garde art to those endeavours. When Lester B. Pearson became Prime Minister in 1963, his aspirations for Canada's future were optimistic. He was deeply concerned with the need for national unity, a belief that stemmed from the devastating effects of the Great Depression and the Second World War. Pearson set out to break with the hardships of the past by providing the country with a unique flag, increased access to post-secondary education, and a policy of bilingualism and biculturalism. He believed that the

government was obliged to take a leadership role in allowing equal economic and social opportunities for all Canadians, and that such actions would increase national unity.[6]

Pearson also held a firm grasp on international affairs. He viewed internationalism as an opportunity to heighten awareness of Canada's potential in relation to human accomplishments—as well as the threats to those accomplishments. Those sentiments were rooted in the recent past, for by the end of World War II, the United States had emerged as a major world power. However, the Cold War brought with it the threat of nuclear annihilation, changing the world forever through the realization that North America could no longer rely on distance and the expanse of oceans to protect it from attack. Pearson's skill as a negotiator during the Suez Crisis in 1956 enabled him to bridge the ideological gap between the United States and Great Britain—a feat which won him the Nobel Peace Prize and contributed to his Liberal leadership in 1958.[7] As Prime Minister, he saw how then President Lyndon Johnson escalated the Vietnam War and excluded China from the international community—decisions that Pearson disagreed with strongly. In fact, he suggested to Johnson that he confer with North Vietnam officials and propose that they change their policy toward South Vietnam.[8] During his years in office, Pearson sought the recognition of China, a closer relationship with the West Indies, and established communication between black and white members of the Commonwealth of Rhodesia. He sent peacekeepers to Cypress and increased foreign aid by 280 percent between 1964-1967.[9]

It was within this political backdrop that the Cabinet approved the Fine Art Programme in December of 1964. Thus, when the Department of Public Works began its

campaign to provide the country with new federal buildings, the inclusion of art work by Canada's leading avant garde artists was an appropriate complement to Prime Minister Pearson's nation building strategies. Moreover, because avant garde (or modernist) art was firmly established as the art world's dominant aesthetic by the 1960s, the Fine Art Programme held the potential to made a significant contribution to Canada's international presence as well.

The preeminence of the avant garde had grown steadily following World War II.[10] As anti-communist sentiments intensified in North America, education and democracy emerged as the best defence against any repetition of its horrors. Artists, already associated with artistic freedom, acquired the additional attributes of personal liberty, a sense of alienation, and defenders of democratic ideals. Freed from political tensions, they turned to myth, surrealism, automatism, native art, and biomorphic imagery for their large-scale paintings.[11] Paris, the previous long-standing centre of the art world was superseded by New York. In 1948, Clement Greenberg, an important American art critic stated:

> If artists as great as Picasso, Braque, and Léger have declined so grievously, it can only be because the general social premises that used to guarantee their functioning have disappeared in Europe. And when one sees, on the other hand, how much the level of American art has risen in the last five years, with the emergence of new talents so full of energy and content as Arshile Gorky, Jackson Pollock, David Smith—then the conclusion forces itself, much to our own surprise, that the main premises of Western art have at last migrated to the United States, along with the center of gravity of industrial production and political power.[12]

When young, up and coming Canadian artists took advantage of Canada Council grants or Pearson's policy of increased access to post-secondary education for their artistic training, they were instructed in the tenets of modernism, and whether explicit or implicit,

the ideals of freedom and democracy were woven into their training and subsequently, their art practice. One need only view the reproductions included in this thesis to see the influence of the avant garde on the artists who participated in the Fine Art Programme.

It is the intent of this thesis to narrate the Programme's history and the reasons for its closure—within the context of its era. However, there were over two-hundred and thirty works of art commissioned for the new federal buildings across Canada during its fourteen years of operation. Therefore, three federal building projects in the National Capital Region will serve as case studies to examine dilemmas that were common to the Programme throughout all six Regions.[13] Where appropriate, selected projects will highlight problems or achievements in specific Regions.

In recounting the history of the Programme, material located in a number of Ottawa-based resources will be cited. The National Archives of Canada is the repository for the Fine Art Programme Advisory Committee "Minutes of Meeting." The twenty-six volumes will prove to be a well-spring of information on Programme policy and procedures, the views of Programme participants, and difficulties experienced over the years. They include brief biographies of Committee members, lists of building projects, a sample artist questionnaire, artist contracts, and copies of various memoranda. Unfortunately, this system of recording detailed "Minutes of Meeting" ended in January of 1975. The remaining years of the Programme will be recounted from interviews conducted with former Committee members, three Programme Managers, former and current Public Works personnel, and current building occupants. Some of these individuals also supplied material from their personal Programme files, as well as written

and audio-taped memoirs. The names of Committee members, who served after 1975, are found among the "Curator's Research Papers" at the National Gallery of Canada Archives. In addition, the Public Works Library has a set of the "Advisory Committee on Art: Fine Art Programme Reference File." Like the "Minutes of Meeting," this six volume set also ceased within 1975. They contain statistical information on each building project (with some gaps) from 1964-1975. This reference system includes a separate photograph album component with images of each work, although many of the photographs have gone missing over the years. There had been a slide file component, as well, which included biographical information on each artist. However, it too is missing. The National Library of Canada is the repository for copies of speeches by Gérard Pelletier. This thesis will demonstrate that his cultural policies of the late 1960s and early 1970s had a dramatic impact on the evolution of the Programme. Finally, each work of art commissioned for the case study buildings was viewed in situ (with the exception of those works which were removed due to damage or Client request). A selection of these works (and others) will be discussed in relation to the reception of the art.

The narrative of the Fine Art Programme suggests that its achievements and failures were affected by its place in time. During its first several years, its organization reflects the bureaucratic conventions of the early 1960s, while its revised structure clearly demonstrates the extent to which Programme officials aspired to update its mode of operation. In order to narrate its history, analyze the effects of the reception of the art, and examine the impact of certain temporal circumstances, three methodologies will be applied. First, the historical record will be examined through the lens of four specific

issues as a method of identifying the impact of each issue on the Programme's achievements and failures. Second, because negative reception of the art played a major role in the Programme's closure, aspects of reception theory will provide a more focused examination of the various stakeholders' horizons of experience. Third, reception history will be analyzed to uncover the impact of particular written and oral responses to the art, as well as the impact of certain government policies, cultural developments, and social events.

Four texts in public art criticism will provide a context for examining the reception of the art and the role of the Advisory Committee. In Outdoor Sculpture: Object and Environment, Margaret A. Robinette documents the results of a 1972-1973 survey conducted in seven cities across the United States on thirteen abstract and two representational sculptures. Her data indicates a strong correlation between an appreciation for abstract art and higher levels of education. Also providing a framework for discussion is a selection of essays from Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy, edited by Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster, and Contemporary Public Sculpture: Tradition, Transformation, and Controversy, by Harriet F. Senie. The authors discuss issues of American government and private patronage of public art, the need to consider the expectations of all pertinent groups involved in the process, the necessity for a built-in familiarity factor when siting art in public settings, reasons why public art projects fail to achieve their intended goals, and the requirement for an educational component—preferably within the elementary and high school systems, but at the least during the preliminary and installation stages of the art projects.

Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art, a collection of essays edited by Suzanne Lacy, provides similar insights, though the essays address "new genre" public art and focus on the development of innovative and controversial works by artists whose political, social, and personal agendas include strategies to promote social healing, increase public awareness of the plight of the disadvantaged, and methods of developing a sense of community in multicultural urban centres.

Two studies of reception provide a theoretical context for analysis. In The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Responses, Wolfgang Iser describes the phenomenology of reading as an interplay between text and reader. He proposes that a "gap" in understanding exists between individuals because we cannot know how others experience us. Writers cannot predetermine whether readers will comprehend their texts in the intended manner. In fact, each reader has an unique horizon of experience, comprised of his or her particular background, education, and life experiences—and it is this that determines the reader's reception of the text. By applying Iser's model of the text and the reader to the work of art and the beholder, it is possible to understand why the abstract works of art commissioned for the Fine Art Programme were negatively received. In addition, Wolfgang Kemp's "The Work of Art and Its Beholder," provides a method of examining the impact, on the Programme, of certain events, articles, and oral comments. Kemp's theory that each work of art is created with an ideal beholder in mind raises the questions of for whom were the Fine Art Programme works of art created and what, then, do those works reveal about the Programme?

Review of Federal Policies for the Arts in Canada (1944-1988), by D. Paul Schafer and André Fortier, and Culture and Politics in Canada: Towards a Culture for all Canadians, by D. Paul Schafer, trace the history of cultural policy developments in the country and shed light on the efforts of many individuals and arts groups to make cultural activities available to all Canadians. "The Fine Art Programme: A Policy Study and Examination of Managerial Procedures and Objectives," c.1977-1978, provides an overview of the Programme's operations from the standpoint of recommending various improvements, some of which were implemented. This study suggests that a number of policy studies were produced for the Programme, though research for this thesis did not uncover them at the National Archives, or at the other repositories cited in this introduction.

John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (published during the Programme's first year of operation), will provide an apt background for determining the impact of "elite" groups in government and the arts. Portions of several texts will contribute to establishing a social and political context of the era, including Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism, by Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English; Lament for an Army: The Decline of Canadian Military Professionalism, by John English; Beyond the Bottom Line: Management in Government, by Timothy Plumptre; and a selection of essays in the Journal of Canadian Studies.

There are no known texts exclusively devoted to the Fine Art Programme, although Public Works produced at least three public information booklets over its years

of operation. In 1977, The Fine Art Programme: 1% was published to promote its revised formation. Its length of sixteen pages belies its value as a source for the Programme's last years. The Programme is also summarized briefly in the Carleton University Master's thesis by Gwenda (Gunda) Lambton, Canadian Women Artists in Canadian Public Art, (now published as the text by Gunda Lambton, Stealing the Show: Seven Women Artists in Canadian Public Art). Six of the seven artists discussed in her text were commissioned to create works for the Programme.

The scope of this thesis will be limited to an examination of the Fine Art Programme in the context of its era. It will not describe the works of art, offer critical analysis, or discuss their success in relation to being integrated with the building architecture.[14]

Chapter One recounts the background and origins of the Programme by relating the influence of the Massey-Lévesque Commission and its Report on Canadian cultural development. It cites the precedents for the Programme, and proceeds to narrate the first ten years of its operation by focusing on the responses of Programme personnel and Advisory Committee members to the various problems that arose.

Chapter Two describes the problems it experienced, and the subsequent decentralization and democratization of the Programme, rendering it more reflective of the Trudeau government's cultural policies. It recounts the events that brought about its closure in 1978, as well as a final unsuccessful attempt to revive the Programme in 1984.

Chapter Three proceeds from that retrospective strategy to a more analytically based examination of the Programme. It focuses on the impact of four issues which

emerged as principal areas of difficulty: the negative reception of the art; the decision-making power of the centralist Advisory Committee; the way in which certain regional interests influenced responses to the Programme in those Regions; and the effect, on the Programme, of certain government cultural policies, accented by the heightened social consciousness occurring in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The Conclusion demonstrates that a variety of factors brought about the closure of the Fine Art Programme—none of which alone would have caused its demise. The Programme was conceived in an era when culture advocates still envisaged a national cultural project. However, by the early 1970s, when the Programme's first works of art were unveiled, Public Works had been decentralized and Canada had an official policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework. Yet, the Programme remained ideologically centralist and the art reflective of the Advisory Committee's aesthetic. Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier had put together a cultural policy of democratization and decentralization that proposed "to make the country's proliferating collection of cultural assets accessible to all Canadians, regardless of age, gender, economic status, religious affiliation, educational level, ethnic background, or geographic location"[15] However, it took until 1977 for the Programme to adjust its methodology to echo the broader policy framework, by which time circumstances had conspired to bring the Programme to a close.

ENDNOTES

[1] André Fortier, telephone interview, August 24, 2000.

[2] George Rolfe, personal files, Department of Public Works, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," Nov., 1969, 6. The source of this quotation is a "paper" prepared by David Silcox, then the Canada Council representative on the Fine Art Programme Advisory Committee. He was asked, in May of 1969, to prepare "an official statement on the true intent of the [Fine Art Programme] policy."

[3] For this thesis, the public is defined as: the "general public" or the "increasingly diverse...groups whose interests in self-direction frequently overshadow their sense of participation in the broader fabric of society." Harriet F. Senie, "Introduction," in Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy, edited by Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): xv. The "Advisory Committee on Fine Art Terms of Reference" states: "The term public should be subject to the widest interpretation." George Rolfe, personal files, Public Works Canada, "Advisory Committee on fine Art Terms of Reference," June, 1969, 17.

[4] Timothy Plumptre, Beyond the Bottom Line: Management in Government, (Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988): 61.

[5] Plumptre, 61. The author is quoting from Peter Kellner and Lord Crowther-Hunt, The Civil Servants, (London: MacDonald General Books, 1980): 63.

[6] Claude Ryan, "Lester B. Pearson and Canadian Unity," in Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator, edited by Norman Hillmer, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999): 83. Ryan writes that Pearson was committed to accommodating Quebec's demands in order to achieve national unity. His recognition of bilingualism and biculturalism as a part of national unity stemmed from his experiences while working for Louis St. Laurent when St. Laurent was Minister of External Affairs (now Foreign Affairs). Pearson's list of accomplishments, all of which improved the lives of middle and lower income Canadians, included: Medicare, pensions, social assistance, increased access to post-secondary education, the federal labour code, employment services, training, family allowances, student loans, guaranteed income supplement, full equalization of expanded provincial tax points, industrial and rural development, economic growth, and nearly full employment. For this list and an d more on Pearson's reforms see Tom Kent, "Reformism," in Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator, edited by Norman Hillmer, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999): 168

[7] Robert Bothwell, "Canada's Moment: Lester Pearson, Canada, and the World," in Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator, edited by Norman Hillmer, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999): 24-25.

[8] President Johnson perceived himself as a moderate and was irate over Pearson's suggestion. Pearson responded with a lengthy written explanation, but the relationship was never reestablished. For more on this event, see Greg Donaghy, "Minding the Minister: Pearson, Martin, and American Policy in Asia, 1963-1967," in Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator, edited by Norman Hillmer, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999): 134-139.

[9] Andrew Cohen, "Pearsonianism," in Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator, edited by Norman Hillmer, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999): 154.

[10] In 1946, the Advancing American Art Exhibition travelled abroad, demonstrating that "the American government was willing to involve itself in the international art scene." Serge Guilbaut, How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War, translated by Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983): 118.

[11] American artist Mark Rothko believed that "myths are the eternal symbols upon which we must fall back to express basic psychological ideals." Serge Guilbaut, How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War, translated by Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983): 112. Barnett Newman believed that to depict the threatening nature of modern life representationally, was to produce nothing more than magazine art; "to wallow in the filth of everyday life...was tantamont to accepting it," 113.

[12] Serge Guilbaut, How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War, translated by Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983): 170. The author is quoting Clement Greenberg, "The Decline of Cubism," Parisian Review, 3 (1948): 369. Guilbaut writes that Greenberg believed that it was the American artists' familiarity with isolation that allowed them to capture the reality of the age. Paris had been spoiled by success, "paralyzed by the applause it received, and lulled to sleep by the steady drone of praise...", 169-170. Thus American modern artists emerged as the most capable of expressing the modern age.

[13] The National Defence Building (also know as the Major General George R. Pearkes Building), the Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building (also known as the Lester B. Pearson Building and previously called the External Affairs Building), and the Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information (also known by its acronym CISTI and as the Jack Brown Building, and previously called the National Science Library).

[14] This thesis will not include discussions of conventional memorial works of art or monuments commissioned independently of a building project.

[15] D. Paul Schafer, Culture and Politics in Canada: Towards a Culture for All Canadians, (Markham, Ontario: World Culture Project, 1998): 35.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FINE ART PROGRAMME: 1963 – 1973

> Nation-building...imperatives have provided powerful incentives for public expenditures on the arts...This ...reveals that increasingly, cultural pursuits are seen by citizens and governments as integral elements in the fabric of everyday Canadian life.[1]

The Fine Art Programme originated in 1963 when J.A. Langford, then Chief Architect of the Design Department at Public Works, proposed the idea to his Department Minister.[2] He conceived of the Programme as a way for Public Works to visually enhance new federal public-access buildings by allocating one-percent of their construction costs for works of art. The significance of the Programme related to its mandate to commission works of art that would be architecturally integrated with the building through a collaborative effort between the artist and architect during the design stage.[3] The timing of Langford's proposal coincided with several other cultural endeavours throughout the country including plans for the National Arts Centre, Canada's Centennial celebration, and Expo 67. Langford realized that such a Programme would enable Public Works to actively participate in the promotion of Canadian art and artists, while providing aesthetically enriched public buildings. Public Works became, in effect, the principal patron of public art in Canada.

This idea of government patronage of the arts evolved, in part, out of necessity because Canada did not have the same kind of philanthropic and cultural formations as the United States.[4] However, even though the Fine Art Programme emerged in an era of economic prosperity and vigorous cultural development, the roots of the policy behind

the Programme can be found in the climate of awareness created by the Massey-Lévesque Commission and its Report. Originating in 1949 as a "crusade for Canadian cultural nationalism" and a defence against the encroachment of popular culture from the United States, the Massey-Lévesque Commission proposed federal funding for Canadian universities, broadcasting, film, and assistance to volunteer associations.[5] According to Paul Litt, author of The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission, it was the recommendation to create the Canada Council (founded in 1957) that became the "centrepiece" of the Massey-Lévesque Commission.[6] In Vincent Massey's day, many of the supporters of state-sponsored funding to the arts were also involved in politics and academia; in fact it was their lobbying throughout the country that helped persuade the government of the political and cultural importance of the ideas put forth by the Massey-Lévesque Commission. They accomplished this by explaining (to the public and at hearings) that culture should not be perceived as "a badge of wealth and status...[but as the] acquisition of knowledge and insight...a process of exploration, reflection, and intellectual growth, through which individuals come to know themselves, as well as the nature of their social existence, better."[7] Supporters of the Massey-Lévesque Commission encouraged cultural development as a defence of everything that Canada fought for in World War II, and continued to be threatened with by the Cold War. In effect, an ideological subtext of the Commission recognized that fascism and communism precluded the right to freedom of expression, thereby requiring Canada to firmly establish its own identity, including a cultural identity, or risk victimization from outside powers.[8] Massey et al patterned the Canada Council on the Arts Council of Great Britain,

established in 1946. Similar to its model, the Canada Council operated (and continues to operate) as an arm's length agency, receiving and distributing government funding, yet remaining all but independent in its day-to-day operations.[9] (It must be noted however, that the government's 100 million dollar windfall from the Killam and Dunn Estates in 1956 certainly helped to motivate Prime Minister St. Laurent to announce the establishment of the Canada Council just months later at the National Conference on Higher Education.[10]) Litt concluded in his text, that "the real significance of the Massey-Lévesque Commission lies less in the fate of its major initiatives than in the general impact it had upon the attitudes of the public and the *policies of the government.* It helped to usher in a new age in which a conscious and coordinated government cultural policy came to be expected."[11] Moreover, because of its arm's length position, politicians were able to keep a distance and thereby protect themselves from negative public response to its cultural interests. As Paul D. Schafer and André Fortier stated in Review of Federal Policies of the Arts in Canada: 1944-1988: "It was as though the government wanted to establish a private foundation, by limiting as much as possible, its links with the institution it created."[12]

It is not surprising then, that in the early 1960s, with the approach of Expo 67 in Canada's centennial year, the government sought various ways to develop and promote a national identity for the country, including the adoption of a unique flag. Funding for advanced research and scholarship increased; for example, the Canada Council sponsored (in cooperation with University of Toronto Press) J. Russell Harper's survey text, Painting in Canada: A History (1966). As the government continued to fund Canadian

cultural development, it established itself as the principal patron of the arts by providing for the public good through various cultural organizations and programmes. These endeavours can be viewed as cultural parallels to government sponsored benefits such as health care, public libraries, and education. However, in relation to the Fine Art Programme, this kind of support revealed a tacit hegemonic relationship, establishing the government or its agent[s] as an authority, not only on art but also on what was best for the public—a situation that would prove to have a significant impact on the Programme.

In 1963, when J.A. Langford proposed the Fine Art Programme to the Public Works Minister, Jean-Paul Deschatelets, he instructed Langford to prepare an official draft to the Cabinet requesting a budget of "up to one-percent of the building construction costs...be allocated for the Fine Art embellishment...[of all new federally funded public usage buildings]."[13] On September 24, 1964, after reviewing Langford's proposal, the Cabinet authorized Public Works "to study and make recommendations to Cabinet on the question of the amount which the government should, as a matter of policy, allow for the artistic decoration and the beautification of buildings constructed by [the Department]."[14] Deschatelets and Langford spent seven weeks preparing memoranda that outlined the reasons why the Department needed a regulated one-percent funding structure for fine art. The final document, submitted on November 6, 1964, related how the current system operated in an ad hoc manner, allowing the Chief Architect of Public Works to submit a request to the Treasury Board, expressing the reasons why a particular building of national significance required a work of art. The procedure was not only somewhat protracted and uncertain, but because the requests for art were made after the building

contracts were awarded, it did not allow for the integration of art and architecture, an aesthetic ideal that Langford perceived as fundamental. The memorandum proceeded to establish that the Fine Art Programme would commission works of art for all federally funded public access buildings such as "embassies, chanceries, office buildings, Department of Veteran Affairs, National Health and Welfare, hospitals, clinics, "Indian and Eskimo" schools, penitentiary reception buildings, regional laboratories, reception areas, post offices, Unemployment Insurance Canada buildings, and National Employment reception centres, etc." Those excepted were "shops, warehouses, storage buildings, and single family residences."[15]

As a means of establishing parameters for the Programme, Langford proposed a policy based on six factors. First, "Fine Art" was defined as "those elements of building design including murals, sculptures, ornamental surface treatment, mosaics, frescoes, tapestries, paintings, fountains, special lighting installations, etc., which are conceived and executed by professional artists."[16] Second, eligible artists had to be "Canadian residents, with some training from a recognized school of art or be capable of showing examples of art work of suitable character for the project." In addition, a survey would be conducted to prequalify the artists.[17] Third, the Consulting Architects (members of architectural firms engaged by Public Works to design and erect the buildings) would assume the role of project coordinators, ensuring the proper integration of art and architecture, through a collaborative relationship with the chosen artist[s]. The Consulting Architect, along with the Chief Architect of Public Works, would select the artist, as well as determine the most suitable theme, character, and location for the art.[18]

Fourth, the final approval of the artist and the artwork would be made by an advisory committee, called together by the Chief Architect of Public Works, and composed of the Director of the National Gallery (then Charles Comfort), a director of a nationally recognized art school, and the "Artistic Editor" of Canadian Art (then Paul Arthur).[19] Langford suggested these particular individuals for their ability to "represent a broad and expert opinion on the quality of the artwork...and being a small committee [they] could meet regularly at reasonable cost, to handle the [artists nominated by] the consulting architects."[20] When they met, the Chief Architect would "administer the submissions to the Fine Art Committee." In addition, he would act as an intermediary between the artist and the consulting architect to "coordinate the artwork into the architectural design, administer the contract [with the artist] and supervise the execution and installation of [the art]."[21] Fifth, the sum of one-percent of the building construction contract would be set aside for commissioning the art. [22] Sixth, there should be no project restrictions in regards to the location or size of the town. "A small mural featured in a [rural] post office or a remote northern school will be seen by and exert as much influence on the citizens of Canada" as a large mural in a government building in an urban centre.[23]

To establish a Canadian precedent for the one-percent funding concept, Langford cited the Department of Transport airport terminal projects that began in 1958 with an allocation of one-half of one-percent to commission works of art for a new terminal in Gander, Newfoundland, and three additional terminals in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmonton, beginning in 1962.[24] Langford also cited Hamilton Southam's successful proposal for a three-percent art allowance for the National Arts Centre (NAC). [25] As

Chief Architect, Langford was involved with the NAC project, and he based his proposal for the Fine Art Programme on what he gleaned from the NAC Visual Arts Committee—which was created to advise Southam on the choice of artists and the kind of art required for the complex. In fact, when the Programme's policy and procedures were finally written in 1968, they were modeled on those used by the NAC Committee.

In December of 1964, the Cabinet reviewed Langford's memorandum regarding the Fine Art Programme, and accepted the proposal in principle. A record of the decision was sent to Deschatelets on January 4, 1965, with one significant alteration to Langford's original version. Regarding the fourth factor, the Cabinet memorandum requested that the membership of the Advisory Committee "be composed on the basis of recommendations from the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery," rather than the three individuals suggested by Langford.[26] This decision may have been made in anticipation of negative public response to the art, for the Department of Transport airport projects had received some unfavourable publicity.[27] Articles in the press reflected public displeasure over the use of tax dollars for works of art at a time when many rural communities lacked practical necessities such as roads and airstrips. Others resented the choice of abstract works for the terminals.[28] By requesting that the National Gallery Board of Trustees choose the Advisory Committee members, the Cabinet protected Public Works from taking direct responsibility for the artwork. The Board of Trustees maintained an arm's length relationship with the government in that it was entrusted with funds and certain decision-making authority, but the government did not have direct administrative control over the Board's activities.[29]

1968-1969: Defining Policy and Procedures
Establishing the Advisory Committee

Nearly four years passed, yet, Langford's proposed Fine Art Programme had no official policy and procedures, nor had its Committee members been appointed.[30] By then, the National Arts Centre was nearing completion; its Visual Arts Committee had commissioned several works of art for the Centre. Officials at Public Works decided to implement the Programme, based on the 1964 Cabinet approval. By 1968, Langford had been promoted to Assistant Deputy Minister of the Design Directorate with Kelvin Stanley replacing him as Chief Architect. Realizing the necessity for experienced personnel, Stanley appointed Herbert G. Cole as Programme Manager. Cole had been Project Architect for the NAC and had worked closely with Southam and the Visual Arts Committee. Cole and Stanley worked together to adapt the NAC Visual Arts Committee policy and procedures to conform to the mandate of the Fine Art Programme.

There is no stated explanation for the four year delay recorded in the Programme's archival material; however, because the Cabinet had approved the Programme in principle only, Public Works did not have an official starting date. Moreover, the enormous workload leading up to the Centennial Celebration, Expo 67, and the construction of several new federal buildings of national importance consumed the Department. In addition, Public Works, like all major government departments, was in the process of decentralizing its functions. This meant that each of the six Public Works regions (Atlantic, Quebec, Capital, Ontario, Western, and Pacific) acquired greater responsibility and decision making power.[31] In an article written about the reorganization process in Dispatch (the Department's internal news magazine), it was stated that certain

departments, such as Design, were behind schedule because of the need "for additional office space [and because many] key personnel [had] been appointed and frequent conferences [had] been held at headquarters to iron out organizational details and re-appraise systems and procedures."[32] But perhaps of even greater significance was the fact that, prior to the success of the NAC project, Public Works officials expressed little if any interest in commissioning works of art—they attributed that responsibility to the National Gallery or the Canada Council. They conceived of themselves as builders, and believed that, if necessary, a work of art could be added when the project was completed.[33] In reality however, neither the National Gallery nor the Canada Council would have taken part in the commissioning of art, for the Gallery was mandated to purchase works for its collection and the Council supported artists through grants.

The appointment of the Committee members (by the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery) may have been delayed, in part, due to certain changes that were finalized in April of that year. In an effort to simplify administrative matters, Judy LaMarsh (then Secretary of State), placed four of Canada's national museums—the National Gallery, the National Museum of Natural Science, the National Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) and the National Museum of Science and Technology, under a single board with a Secretary General to manage financial and administrative matters.[34] The National Gallery's Board of Trustees was replaced by a Visiting Committee, and one of its first tasks was to assist Public Works and the Canada Council in the appointment of the Fine Art Advisory Committee members.[35] However, not long after that initial meeting, the Visiting Committee decided to delegate its

responsibility, regarding the Advisory Committee member appointments, to the Director of the National Gallery.[36] Ultimately, the National Gallery Director committed to providing a representative to sit on the Committee, rather than taking on the responsibility of recommending all the Committee members.[37] It was the Canada Council that offered the most assistance in appointing the first Advisory Committee members and formulating the Programme's policy and procedures. Cole had witnessed how Southam relied on the expertise of the Canada Council in establishing the NAC Visual Arts Committee and he entreated the aid of David Silcox, the Council's Visual Arts Officer. Cole stated that Silcox "was of immeasurable value. He was our mentor...a great help in establishing the actual policy and procedures and the way it was administered."[38]

The newly appointed Committee members not only represented each of the six Public Works regions, but were also experienced professionals in curatorial practice, arts administration, or academia. In this way, Langford's original notion of a Committee with broad and expert opinions was fulfilled, as was the Cabinet's directive to choose members based on suggestions from the National Gallery Board of Trustees (or Visiting Committee after the LaMarsh 1968 decision). The members drew lots to determine the length of time they served on the Committee, either one, two, or three years. By staggering the duration of their appointments, it was possible to keep continuity in the Programme.[39]

The Committee members gathered for their first meeting on October 2-3, 1968, in the Public Works Design Directorate Board Room, located in the Charles Tupper

Building (Ottawa). Even though he had become a Public Works Assistant Deputy Minister, Langford attended the first meeting to narrate its origins. Stanley, who shared Langford's sympathy for federal patronage of Canadian artists, cultural enrichment for the Canadian people, and the Programme's unique potential to create something new in Canada through the integration of art and architecture, served as Chairman of the Advisory Committee as well as Chief Architect. (See Appendix A for Programme Committee members.)

The Advisory Committee members expressed their enthusiasm for the Programme and acknowledged that their role was one of tremendous responsibility to the Canadian people. One member remarked that, because of the magnitude of the Programme, "the Committee's actions could affect the entire Canadian attitude toward art. The whole national [art] scene could be affected." [40] Langford explained how he originally envisaged a three-person committee that could meet with ease and frequency. But with the 1967 decentralization of Public Works, Regional Directors assumed responsibility for decision making, thereby necessitating Committee representation from each region.[41] This allowed Headquarters, located in Ottawa, to focus on establishing policy and standards of operation. Although each of the six regions were responsible for hiring their own Consulting Architects to choose the artists and collaborate on the fine art programme for each building project, Stanley indicated that Headquarters retained the authority to approve the final selection.[42] After Langford's introductory comments, Stanley presented the agenda for the two-day meeting which included a review of the Standard Artist Agreement, the Committee's "Terms of Reference," the Fine Art

Programme policy, as well as a tour of some local building projects under construction.[43] However, several of the members indicated that aspects of the policy were unclear and not conducive to the Programme's success and the group engaged in a lengthy dialogue over these matters.

First, the Committee wanted to define its specific responsibilities as an Advisory Committee, as well as the nature of its working relationships with Public Works personnel. Stanley began by explaining that, as Chief Architect, he acted as administrator of the Fine Art Programme submissions. The Consulting Architects, who worked for independent architectural firms hired by Public Works as an extension of the Department, selected the artists. On each project, the Chief Architect and the Consulting Architect collaborated on the most suitable site, theme, character, and type of art for the building.[44] Public Works intended for the Committee to "assist the Consulting Architect and the Department in the implementation of policy...with their broad and expert opinion on the quality of any art work."[45] The Committee, though, expressed concern as to whether or not the Consulting Architects would share their national vision of the Programme in choosing artists. They did not want this national Programme to become a series of local art programmes, falling far short of the original intent. Therefore, one member suggested that the Committee propose the artists to the Consulting Architects as a mode of determining "the best man for the job."[46]

The members also pointed out that under the current policy, by the time the Committee viewed the artists' sketches, the design phase of the building would have reached a state that precluded any recommended changes.[47] In response, another member

stated that some architects might resent such interference, suggesting that "cooperation is at the core of success." [48] Langford reminded the Committee that, although Public Works did not want to dictate on matters of artistic taste, it was of primary importance that the Department, including the Consulting Architect, retain confidence in the Programme and be satisfied with the art.[49] Nevertheless, the members believed that, as experienced professionals they knew the Canadian art scene, both nationally and in their own regions, and they persisted in their request to propose the artists. Stanley indicated that his primary concern centred on whether or not the Consulting Architects would choose artists who were able to collaborate on the design. In the end, it was agreed that it would be feasible for each Committee member, as a representative of his/her own region, to confer with the Consulting Architect and the Chief Architect in selecting the artist as well as the most suitable theme, character, and location for the work of art. The Committee also wanted to stress the importance of thinking on a "national basis."[50] They clearly believed their mandate centred on obtaining the best art for the Canadian people, and that would be accomplished by commissioning the best artists.[51]

As their discussion progressed, the members determined that in order for the initial artist's submission to be reviewed by the Committee, it was necessary for the Consulting Architect and the artist to devote several hours to preparing the design—and without the approval of the Committee, the artist was, in effect, working for free. Therefore, the Committee proposed that the policy be altered to include a two-stage procedure. The initial submission would include an architectural model of the building or photographs of the model, as well as plans, perspective drawings, and sketches. In

addition, an architectural statement of intent would be included describing the nature and media of each work of art, a breakdown of the fine art budget allocation, and biographies of the proposed artists.[52] At this stage, the submission would be reviewed by the Committee without the Consulting Architect present.[53] If approved, the artist would be awarded a contract and then proceed to create detailed sketches or a maquette, as well as a statement of intent defining the theme, character, and execution of the work.[54] This second stage would then be reviewed by the Committee at which point they would either approve it or suggest changes which were also subject to the Committee's approval. (See Appendix B for procedural roles of Programme personnel.)

Some of the Public Works Regional Directors had expressed interest in competitions as a method of finding the best artists. Although many of the Committee members agreed initially, after some discussion on the matter, they decided that competitions were not only time consuming and labour intensive, but also attracted too many novice artists. They proposed that competitions should be used in a limited manner among invited artists who would be paid a fee, but only when such competitions were "of benefit to the project."[55]

The second matter the Committee wanted to discuss was the amount of funding available for art in low-budget buildings. At the time of the first meeting, the Design Directorate was operating with a $70 million annual budget. There were over four hundred building contracts in effect, although much of that money would be spent on alterations, additions, and renovations, and therefore not be subject to the policy.[56] Committee members quickly pointed out that buildings such as local post offices,

constructed on a $25,000 budget, allowed only $250 for art. In response, Stanley indicated that the Design Directorate was aware of the situation and had considered using the one-percent figure as a consultation fee for artists to design fountains or decorative lighting as part of the lobby area in a building. In this way, the "art" expenses would be part of the construction contract rather than the art allowance. Other suggestions included combining the one-percent figure from a number of low-budget buildings from the same project and commissioning an artist to create a single work that could be replicated for each building. They also considered allocating a portion of the funds from high-budget buildings that did not require the total art allowance.[57]

Some members felt that it would be more expedient to increase the one-percent figure for the low-budget buildings. But Stanley informed them that the Cabinet Directive precluded such an increase, stating that it was the official basis of the Programme's funding. The Committee persisted; based on their intention to commission Canada's most accomplished artists to create the finest works of art for the Canadian public, they recommended that Public Works "take the initiative to have the policy changed."[58]

> The intent of the policy agreed to by the cabinet is not serving the national interest in buildings constructed under a certain amount. Therefore, it should be recommended that special consideration be given to increase the allocation for buildings costing between say X dollars and X dollars. The intent of the policy cannot be implemented under present arrangements on smaller projects.[59]

Langford informed them that "to request more than one-percent would be dangerous" because it would necessitate the approval of the Treasury Board and Cabinet, which could interrupt the operation of the Programme.[60] However, the Committee did not

relent; they requested that the one-percent figure be revised or more broadly interpreted. They based their request on the fact that, as it stood, it did not fulfill the original intent of the Programme because it was not possible to create a high calibre work of art within the budget allowance. Stating that smaller communities should not suffer in the overall visual arts program, they suggested that buildings costing up to $100,000 have a minimum art budget of $2,500; buildings ranging from $101,000 to $300,000 have a $3,000 budget; and projects over $300,000 should receive the one percent allowance.[61]

The third topic the Committee wanted to address in its first meeting involved the "prequalified list of artists" as mentioned in the Cabinet Directive. They stated that, because such a list would soon become outdated, it was not worth the time and effort to create it. Instead, they suggested that the Consulting Architects refer to art magazines, artist files from Canada Council, catalogues of exhibitions from provincial, commercial, and university art galleries, and information available from the National Gallery.[62] They discussed the possibility of including international artists, but most felt that the Fine Art Programme was an opportunity for Canadian artists. In addition, rather than requiring artists to be Canadian residents, the Committee members proposed the same residency ruling as Canada Council, stipulating that "an artist must be a Canadian citizen or have landed immigrant [status] for at least one year.[63] They also recommended that the item listed in the Langford proposal requiring an artist to provide evidence of training from a recognized school of art be dropped. They felt that "such a requisite would offer nothing in the way of help [when selecting] suitable artists, indeed it could disqualify several who might otherwise be ideally suited. (Certain primitive painters, etc.)"[64]

The fourth matter the Committee brought up for discussion pertained to the definition of a work of art as created by an artist. The members agreed that personnel directly involved with the artists and their work needed to have a clear understanding of the difference between works of art and design aspects of a building that should be part of the construction costs. The Committee identified this as an important issue in the 1960s because many Canadian artists were working with industrial materials such as fluorescent lighting tubes and structural steel. They also viewed it as significant because Public Works had to submit the building proposal to the Treasury Board for financial approval, and the allowance for art had to be separately identified for each project.[65] For instance, if the architect's plan called for a decorative brick wall pattern designed by an artist, the bricks would be paid for by the construction budget (unless the artist fabricated the bricks) while the cost of the artist's design and its execution would be part of the one-percent funding. Therefore, in order to protect the Programme's budget, the Committee felt it necessary to advise the Consulting Architect on whether or not a work of art created with industrial materials was within the parameters of the Programme's definition of art: "In general, it was agreed that anything designed by an artist was to be considered a work of art for compliance with the policy...with the final decision subject to the Committee's opinion."[66]

The original policy document defined "art" simply as a work "done by a professional artist." After some discussion, the Committee determined that the definition was inappropriate because it assumed that all professional artists produced high-quality work, and it omitted any opportunities for unknown artists to participate.[67] They

requested some degree of latitude for interpreting the qualifications of the artists, stating that "the quality and suitability of the artist to the specific project, his reputation, or his participation in exhibitions of national and international significance, and his ability to carry out projects in consultation with the Consulting Architect...will be the determining factors in the selection of an artist." [68]

Towards the end of their first meeting, the Committee reviewed the "Terms of Reference for an Advisory Committee on Fine Art for New Building Projects by the Department of Public Works," prepared by Cole and Stanley in April of 1968, with the aid of the Canada Council (David Silcox). It was written as a kind of handbook or guide to their responsibilities by listing policy, administrative procedure, and the make-up of the Advisory Committee. In relation to the make-up of the Committee, the members agreed that it would be advantageous to invite the Visual Arts Officer of the Canada Council (then David Silcox) to be a permanent member. In this way the Programme would benefit from his "invaluable knowledge and expertise" regarding the visual arts nationwide.[69]

The Committee went on to briefly discuss the need for publicity, citing the importance of support from professional critics such as Anita Aarons of Architecture Canada. Everyone agreed that the public needed to be enlightened with accurate official information and that the Committee should advise on its content and method of release in order to obtain "good press."[70]

Stanley informed them that further meetings would be called at the discretion of Public Works Design Directorate, depending on the number of building projects in

process, but he thought that they would meet again in late January of 1969. He conceded that Public Works did not possess the same critical expertise as the Committee in evaluating art, and acknowledged that the works created under the auspices of the Programme would be superior to anything done prior. Stanley informed the members that all of their recommendations were subject to Public Works approval, as well as the individual interpretation of the Project Managers and Consulting Architects. Furthermore, the Committee would have to be able to defend any significant alterations to the original policy, and those alterations would have to be submitted to the Cabinet for approval.[71] Regardless of the outcome, the policy had to be complied with by all. (In October of 1969, Stanley sent a memorandum listing the Committee's recommendations to the Deputy Minister of Public Works, but he did not receive a response that year.)[72] Although the Treasury Board had to approve alterations to the funding structure, the Public Works hierarchy allowed for certain minor changes, based solely on Stanley's approval or that of the Deputy Minister. The two-stage proposal system was adopted immediately, as was the members' capacity to advise the Consulting Architects in their regions. The definition of an artist was never definitively established—the implication being that it required intuition, experience, and a broad knowledge base rather than a defined list of attributes, to identify Canada's most gifted artists.

The Committee met for the second time on May 22-23, 1969, and spent much of their time reviewing proposals for various building projects. David Silcox was in attendance as a co-representative (with Guy Viau) of the Capital Region. Stanley informed the Committee that since the first meeting, the Department had approved a

work of art for a Post Office in Hamilton, Ontario, because "time was not available to delay the work until the Committee would be convened."[73] The Committee voiced its desire to be contacted by phone if such an event were to occur in the future.

That same month, artists from across Canada began writing to the Department requesting information on how they might be considered for a commission with the Programme. Public Works responded by sending questionnaires to the artists which they completed and returned. These were used by the Consulting Architects as reference material when choosing artists. (See Appendix C)

By December of 1969, certain situations came to light that revealed weaknesses in the operation of the Programme. Apparently, due to lack of familiarity with Programme procedures and insufficient awareness of the Canadian art scene, the Consulting Architects often submitted incomplete or incorrect proposals. This caused delays in awarding the commissions to the artist, and therefore the kind of planning-stage collaboration between the Consulting Architect and artist did not take place. Part of the problem resulted from the decentralization process because the Regional Directors were nearly autonomous, and not always amenable to direction from Headquarters. Moreover, most Public Works personnel outside of the Capital Region felt ill-informed about the Programme, despite the fact that the Programme was mandated by the federal government, and information regarding policy and procedures had been circulated throughout the Regions.[74] In response, Public Works prepared a "Fine Art Reference File" consisting of a "General Information Brochure," photographs, and 35mm slides of each work commissioned for the Programme, that could be loaned out to the Regions.[75]

Furthermore, Public Works asked David Silcox to prepare a paper, to be distributed internally, expressing the "true intent of the [Fine Art Programme] policy." [76] Silcox began by stating:

> The aim of the Fine Art Programme is a dual one. First it is to provide works of art of the highest quality for all federal buildings and secondly, in doing so, to give Canadians a sense of quality in their environment. No one argues any more that works of art enhance buildings and building sites, but only exceptional work will catch the imagination. The Committee places this desire for quality and imaginative solutions above regional practicalities and asks architects to think in national terms when selecting artists. There is now a considerable body of reference literature in the back issues of Vie des Arts and Arts Canada magazines, in the catalogues published by the RAIC (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada) and in exhibition catalogues. Other information may be obtained in the libraries of every public art gallery or museum.[77]

Silcox continued by citing the members of the Committee as excellent sources of information and advice. Furthermore, he stressed the importance of using the entire one-percent allowance to create imaginative works of art, not only for lobbies and building exteriors, but also for cafeterias, meeting rooms, foyers, and auditoriums. Silcox stated that whether seen by the general public or not, these works would affect their immediate environment. He also reiterated the importance of close collaboration between the artist and Consulting Architect in order to ensure success in the Programme.[78] It was hoped that with this information, the Consulting Architects would be able to manage without seeking help externally.

1970-1973: The Regional Seminars and their Aftermath

In 1970, Public Works scheduled seminars in each of the six Regions, as a method of informing and assisting the Consulting Architects and the various Department personnel involved with the Programme. By the end of the year, the Committee and

Department decided that, in order for the Programme to run more smoothly, they had to improve it in three particular areas. First, since the Consulting Architects were not Public Works employees, they required clearly defined instructions regarding their responsibilities in the submission process. Second, a solution had to be found for the problem of providing high calibre artwork in low-budget buildings—and to do so within the mandatory one-percent funding structure. Third, a public relations programme needed to be developed in order to create awareness of the Programme's intent and to counteract negative public response to the art.

1.) The Submission Process

Cole provided detailed instructions on the submission process to the Consulting Architects and Project Managers. They were informed of the importance of providing artists' drawings or maquettes for the Committee meetings in a timely manner. Committee members also felt that it would be helpful if the Consulting Architects attended their meetings when the submissions were presented by the Chief Architect. In this way, the Department and Committee could resolve any unclear issues and avoid approval delays. But Stanley stated that this would be unwarranted, due to the amount of time and travel expense necessary to bring the Consulting Architects to Ottawa.[79] Instead, they decided that if the Committee meetings were held at the regional offices instead of Headquarters, it would be possible to not only communicate with the Consulting Architects about the proposals, but they could also develop better working relationships by holding informal evening discussion groups.[80]

At the first regional meeting in Toronto, September 30 - October 1, 1971, Cole presented a mock submission as an example of what the Committee expected to see at various stages of the submission process.[81] In addition, a "Resumé of Procedures for Fine Art Submissions" was distributed to those in attendance. However, even with these attempts to clarify the process, misunderstanding and complaints of scant information continued to be recorded in the "Minutes of Meeting" over the following several months. As a result, at the September 14-15, 1972 meeting, the Committee recommended that an education officer be hired to liaise between the Committee, the regions, clients, and the public.[82] Moreover, because the same situations continued to occur, the members agreed that:

> The basic problem with the present system is the advisory capacity only of the Committee. The onus is on the [Consulting] Architect to make the initial decision, so that the Committee can only react to his preliminary proposal. Instead, with its expertise and easy access to information, the Committee would like to make the first decision in conjunction with the Architect. If that were the case, the onerous problem of setting up and maintaining all the information within architectural communities would be solved.[83]

Largely due to Cole's efforts, the Department established a secondary reference file system in each region, providing the Consulting Architects with a list of artists, their media, biographies, and several slides of their work. That notwithstanding, by September, 1973, communication between the artists and Consulting Architects continued to be a problem, resulting in works that the Committee felt were poorly-integrated with the architecture.[84]

2.) Low-Budget Projects

We saw that at the first meeting, the Committee had requested that Public Works alter the funding policy for these projects. However, even though the proposed policy

change was submitted to the Deputy Minister of Public Works, then Lucien Lalonde, in 1969, it was not approved until 1974. Therefore, shortly after the 1970 Regional Seminars, the Committee began strategizing on how to provide artwork for low-budget buildings, most of which were small post offices. Construction on the post offices began in 1957 after the Cabinet authorized the nation-wide winter building project, "to stimulate the construction industry in its periods and areas of low employment."[85] Even though the post offices were constructed on a low budget, Public Works Minister Deschatelets viewed them as important:

> When we are building a federal building, whether it be in a large city or a small village, we must not forget it will represent the federal government in the area. In my opinion, the more we seek to achieve a thing a beauty, something pleasant to look at...the greater will be the importance of the results. I believe that a little village post office can be such as to create among the people the desire to improve their own homes and to adopt town planning for their locality...We have already put the emphasis on this aspect in order to achieve this [objective].[86]

As a way of supplying the post offices with art, Committee member Richard Simmins suggested that the Department begin collecting works that could be placed in those buildings, and moved around to other sites as needed.[87] After some discussion though, the members decided that this was outside the mandate of the Programme.

During the Regional Seminars, a plan emerged to place advertisements in The Craftsman, Canadian Architecture, Architecture Canada, and Arts Magazine, calling for artists to submit ideas for reproducible prototype art for the low-budget building projects. By 1972, the Committee had received over thirty responses and it was determined that a Subcommittee on Prototype Art be established, headed by Nancy Dillow and Marguerite

Pinney. However, after the Subcommittee reviewed all the submissions, only two were deemed acceptable.

They devised a second strategy whereby five artists would be chosen to create designs for works of art that could be reproduced. Each artist would receive $500 for the approved design, as well as a payment for each fabricated piece. The Subcommittee prepared and submitted a separate policy, procedure, and budget to the Department, requesting that the project begin in 1972, with the first works installed by 1973 or 1974.[88] In addition, Public Works purchased prepackaged art multiples called "Artario 72" and "Editions I," each designed by Peeter Sepp, then the Visual Arts Officer at Ontario Arts Council. The "Artario 72" project was a compact exhibition (selling for $198) of sculptures and prints by twenty Canadian artists, shipped in a trunk-size box. In addition to the art, each of the 500 exhibition "trunks" (which sold out immediately) contained a catalogue, educational materials, study guides, and display pedestals. Sepp's goal was to make art accessible to middle-class collectors. The "Editions I" project began as a juried competition among Canadian printmakers: the thirty award-winning lithographs, woodcuts, serigraphs, and linoleum block prints were reproduced in a catalogue from which collectors could order original prints directly from the artists or his/her representative gallery. Both of these projects were intended to assist Canadian artists and increase public awareness of and appreciation for contemporary art. Their affordable prices made the works available to a large sector of the population.[89] Stanley circulated "Artario 72" and "Editions I" to the Public Works architects across the Regions as a mode of stimulating new solutions for Prototype Art. It is quite likely that none of these

approaches were ever implemented because by 1974, artists began contacting Public Works, offering to donate their work, rather than have the low-budget buildings go without art.

Finally, in October of 1974, C.M. Drury, then Minister of Public Works, signed a new budget policy for the Fine Art Programme, and the Treasury Board approved it. The Department decided that buildings costing $50,000 or less would not be included in the Fine Art Programme. Those costing $50,000 to $100,000 would receive 2 1/2%; those costing $100,000 to $250,000 would receive $2,500; and those costing over $250,000 would be allocated the 1%.[90] Therefore, most of the low-budget buildings, including the post offices, were no longer eligible for works of art through the Programme.

3.) Public Relations

The third ongoing topic of discussion revolved around public relations. The Committee members agreed that it was important to promote the Programme to the Canadian people, but they were indecisive about how to counteract negative public response to the art. The need for a public relations programme was discussed by the members at the first Committee meeting in 1968, citing that to date, "the press...had not been altogether favourable."[91] Between 1968 and 1970, the Committee and the Department concentrated on educating those working within the Programme, rather than expanding their focus to include the public as well.[92] In part, this was because the Committee members firmly believed that most people were in favour of the Programme, wanting only "the best and the latest, [but those people did] not go out of their way to express their opinion."[93] It was not until after the 1970 Regional Seminars that the

Department openly discussed the need to respond to public complaints; Stanley stated that the Committee was well-equipped to "provide cover and answer questions as to why and how some works were accepted. No better group of people could be assembled to give approval to proposals than those who serve on this Committee. This will answer or silence most questions."[94] However, any discussion among the Committee members regarding negative public response to *specific* works of art, does not appear in the "Minutes of Meeting" until 1973.

By 1971, the Fine Art Programme was receiving critical letters from angry citizens and negative comments by political figures. Stanley researched public art programmes in Holland, Germany, Quebec, and Sweden; in fact he travelled to Sweden in March and attended an official meeting of the country's public art programme. He toured various building projects, heard about successes and failures, and learned that Sweden's art budget was 1/4 of one-percent. Its programme committee members were appointed by the government and worked directly with the architects in choosing the artists and selecting the art. They also purchased art, maintaining a large inventory that could be placed at various sites.[95]

Following Stanley's return from Sweden, J.A. MacDonald, then Deputy Minister of Public Works, impressed upon Stanley his desire for the Programme to present a good image to the public. When the Committee met again on June 17-18, 1971, Stanley stated: "What is needed is a properly oriented public relations programme with built in appeal and subtle educational aspects."[96] The Committee and Department worked together to create a media campaign clearly defining the aims of the Programme, and packaged it so

that it could be submitted to the press. Public Works Information Services prepared and distributed a press release that opened with:

> Perhaps you've wondered who authorized the sculpture in front of your local post office or who commissioned the mural in the local federal building (whether you approve or disapprove is immaterial, at least you've noticed them). The eight people who ultimately are entitled to the accolades or the brick-bats are the members of the Advisory Committee on Art of the federal Department of Public Works.[97]

Apparently the Committee members did not see the press release before it was published, because they expressed concern that it over-emphasized the individual Committee members, their credentials and their role in approving the art, rather than focusing on the individual works, the artists' intentions in creating them, and the aims of the Programme.[98] Despite these attempts, most of the public relations efforts continued to go towards improving internal communications between the regions, the clients, and the Committee, rather than the public—until 1973, at which time critical events occurred.

In April of 1973, Stanley received a letter from Ralph Stewart, the MP from Cochrane, Ontario, and Chairman of the Commons Committee on Broadcasting, Film, and Assistance to the Arts. He stated that he had set aside three hearings in May for his committee to "examine the question of commissioning Canadian artists with respect to public buildings in Canada."[99] He arranged for representatives of the Canadian Art Museum Directors' Organization (CAMDO) to attend and he wanted a representative of the Advisory Committee there to discuss the policy of the Fine Art Programme. Stewart felt that as Chairman of the Commons' Committee with the mandate to address the federal government's programmes of assistance to artists, he was obligated to investigate

the Fine Art Programme's commissioning process—even though Public Works was responsible to its own Standing Committee, not Stewart's.

Transcripts from that May 16, 1973 House of Commons Standing Committee Meeting reveal that Stanley, the public servant, attended as the Advisory Committee representative. Stewart's demeanor toward Stanley was cordial. He made it clear that he was representing individuals from artists' groups who had expressed to him, "concern about the commissioning of works of art in public buildings." He asked Stanley to explain how the artists were selected, how the commissions were given, whether the artists were well-known and Canadian, and whether the works of art were purchased or created specifically for a particular building.[100] After Stanley answered those questions, Stewart stated, "many of the artists of Canada feel that they do not have sufficient opportunity for the chance to compete in supplying works of art."[101] Stanley reiterated that the Consulting Architects recommended the artists and the kinds of art, while the Advisory Committee accepted or rejected those recommendations. Stanley further explained that competitions were rarely used because of the expense, time involved, and the fact that they did not always attract the best artists. Stanley stated: "The policy of the Committee has not been in essence to support the artistic community per se—in other words, to be essentially a basic support of up-and-coming artists—but rather to provide the public of Canada with the best quality art that is available in Canada by our better artists."[102] With that, Stewart went on to other topics. Stewart's inquiries coincided with the unveiling of Robert Murray's *Tundra 1971, for Barnett Newman* and Hugh Leroy's

Untitled at the National Defence Building, and Murray's *Haida* at the Foreign Affairs Building—works of art for which Stewart expressed disdain, (figs. 4, 5, 15).

Despite the fact that the Advisory Committee met on May 24–25, 1973, the "Minutes of Meeting" do not include a discussion of the House of Commons proceedings. However, in August, Stewart was interviewed by Richard Jackson of the Ottawa Journal, and when the Committee met on September 20-21, 1973, they were very concerned about the potential impact of his comments. Stewart criticized the kind of art the Programme commissioned, contending that it was little more than "welded junk and scrap metal." He stated:

> The so-called avant garde artist very often is nothing more than a big put-on who takes advantage of those in official federal positions who do not really know the difference between art and junk. Very often those who approve these projects are afraid to express their true opinion in fear of being seen as not knowing where it's at. The taxpayers get stuck for this stuff and they should at least have the right to know what it is they are looking at.[103]

He viewed the Advisory Committee as an elite group who ignored other more talented artists in favour of a chosen few who created works of art that most of the public did not appreciate or understand. He believed that the Programme needed to establish a clearly defined "norm" for judging the art, and that the chosen works should be pleasing to the greatest number of taxpayers.

Stanley described the Stewart article as, "...rife with disparaging innuendo and criticism; furthermore, it gave rise to a flood of questions in the House, letters to the Minister, and many newspaper articles."[104] In light of these events, Stanley asked the Advisory Committee members if they believed the works of art created for the Programme could be qualified as good or bad without the perspective of time. The

members informed him that they were doing everything possible to achieve "high standards of quality," and that "they should not allow the attack to go unanswered."[105] It was decided that not only would they contact the press, but solicit the support of respected art critics as well. They considered contacting David Silcox (by then he had resigned from the Committee after becoming Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at York University), Robert Fulford, editor of Saturday Night, and Kay Kritzwiser, art critic for the Globe and Mail.

Just three years earlier, the Committee members were not overly concerned about negative publicity. They agreed that it was not necessary for the art to be immediately acceptable. In fact one member stated:

> If the comments are "I don't understand it," it can provide a basis for discussion and personal involvement, consequently a success...Works that are open to debate have an intangible quality and value. Violent reaction by the public will make them aware of art 'per se.' [The public is] now involved, and in the future other forms of art will be recognized and eventually become a form of [peoples'] perception (good or bad) and will add meaning to peoples' lives.[106]

It was quite likely that the Advisory Committee did not express concern over negative responses to the art because it had enjoyed significant government support—not only from the Cabinet which approved the Programme (especially the Minister of Public Works who wielded immense power), but also through its connections to the National Gallery, the Canada Council, and other cultural institutions. However, because Ralph Stewart presented himself as a representative of dissatisfied citizens and artists, as a Member of Parliament and Chairman of a Commons Committee, he had the potential to influence not only the public, but the highest levels of the government as well.

The Committee members had stated that "they should not allow the attack to go unanswered."[107] One member suggested that Stewart's condemnation be compared with some of the "disparaging and rather dull remarks once made about the Group of Seven, demonstrating the history of unenlightened criticism at other times."[108] In this way, they hoped that people would realize that these contemporary works would eventually be embraced by the majority (as were those by the Group of Seven).

Although less than positive in his commentary on the Programme, Stewart raised some interesting issues that affected it throughout its existence—and their occurrence signal the point at which all the problematic circumstances surrounding the Programme culminated in 1973. When the Programme originated in the 1960s, the pattern of strong centralization in the government, introduced during wartime, still prevailed. Public Works, was (and is) one of the most powerful government departments in that it is responsible for the construction of buildings (and land improvements) for all the other federal government departments. Even though Public Works was decentralized by 1967, it still maintained a centralized hierarchy in that all of its regions and directorates continued to be responsible to its Minister. The Fine Art Programme had been conceived before the April 1, 1967, target date for decentralization and therefore its formation was inherently centralist. Moreover, the degree to which decentralization affected the way the Fine Art Programme operated was inflected by the Minister's own philosophy on the matter. It originated in an era of enhanced government patronage of the arts—the aftermath of the Massey-Lévesque Commission and its Report. Those involved with the Programme wanted, first and foremost, to promote Canadian culture, provide the public

with the finest works of art, and ward off cultural influences from the United States.[109] Moreover, by the time it was underway, government sponsored services such as social programmes, education, research, and arts programmes had come to be accepted and *expected.*

The original Advisory Committee members were appointed by Public Works, the Canada Council, and the National Gallery—each with inherent power and respect. All the Committee members were well-educated experienced professionals who fervently defended their responsibility to provide major works of art for the country's federal buildings, and they were not about to dilute that responsibility by seeking the opinions of those with lesser qualifications. Even when the Department was decentralized and the Committee meetings were held in the six Public Works Regions, the Committee members wanted to acquire additional authority—enabling them to recommend the artists to the Consulting Architects. In so doing, they would ensure the choice of artists with national reputations—rather than local favourites. Their perspective on the Programme was not only centralist, but national as well. They saw themselves as seismographers of society, responsible for developing Canada's "attitude toward art," and they believed that only well-established artists with national reputations were suitable for commissions. Moreover, they assumed that the public would heed their opinions because of their expertise. But the Committee members were not well-known by the general public, a fact that made it difficult for their choices in art to be respected. Despite requests by the Department, the Committee was reluctant to defend its choices publicly. Even the

various supportive articles in arts magazines only reached a limited audience of art-savvy readers. (The exception to this was Kay Kritzwiser's article in the Globe and Mail).

We have seen that negative responses to the art came from various sources (MP Ralph Stewart, the press, and outspoken members of the public), and that the primary complaint related to the abstract nature of the works. However, the fact that individuals spoke out indicates their concern for Canadian culture as well. In the late 1960s, Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier began proposing the democratization of Canadian culture. In a speech to the Montreal Board of Trade in 1968, Pelletier discussed how the meaning of the word "culture" no longer referred to the educated bourgeoisie, with their knowledge of and sensitivity to the "finer things." "This," he stated, "is doubtless why culture became synonymous with ease, luxury, frivolity. It is also why those identifying themselves with culture retained their monopoly of it, imposing on it their own values, even despising those who did not have the means to participate in it."[110] Pelletier questioned just how much this had changed. He viewed artists as pillars of society, and believed that the government had the responsibility to establish a cultural policy and make "*available to the general public the means of cultural expression necessary to obtain the participation of the greatest possible number of citizens both as creators and consumers...Culture should be allowed to transform and shape itself to suit the needs of the public and the inspiration of its creators...*"[111]

Pelletier's desire to democratize the arts stimulated individuals to voice their aesthetic opinions; it had the power of a mantra in the minds of Canadian artists seeking opportunities to further their careers through a Fine Art Programme commission. By

1969, the Department was receiving constant requests from artists for information on the Programme. Yet, until 1974, Public Works sent interested artists questionnaires to be filled out and returned. They were told that the Consulting Architects chose the artists, and that they would have to make themselves known to the architectural firms.

In examining the first ten years of the Programme, a number of polarities emerged. The centralist ideologies of Public Works Headquarters and the Advisory Committee stood in stark contrast to Pelletier's influential ideals of decentralization and democratization. Aspiring Canadian artists throughout the regions sought ways to be considered for commissions, only to be passed over in favour of those with national reputations. Members of the public, annoyed by the Committee's tendency to choose abstract works that were hermetic, sought ways to make their opinions known by writing letters to Public Works and their local politicians. For years, the Committee held to the belief that those dissatisfied individuals would eventually come to appreciate abstract art, concluding that it was best to refrain from explaining it. However, by the end of 1973, due to increasing political and public pressure, Public Works officials determined that the Programme had to be democratized.

ENDNOTES

[1] John Meisel and Jean Van Loon, "Cultivating the Bushgarden: Cultural Policy in Canada," in The Patron State: Government and the Arts in Europe, North America, and Japan, edited by Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and Richard S. Katz, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987): 307.

[2] The Design and Construction Branch of Public Works administered the Fine Art Programme; however, within that Branch were several subgroups—each of which managed the construction of buildings for a specific client, such as post offices or penitentiaries. The construction of other buildings of unique purpose such as the National Archives, the National Gallery, or the National Arts Centre, were administered by the Public Works Special Projects Group. The Fine Art Programme was part of this Special Projects Group until 1974, when the Programme was involved with so many building projects that it was made a separate entity.

[3] National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC) Public Works Canada (hereafter PWC) Fine Art Advisory Committee (hereafter FAAC) RG 11, Vol. 4428, File 26, "Minutes of Meeting," (October 2-3, 1968): 4. For a discussion of the integration of art and architecture, see Harriet Senie, "Sculpture and Architecture: A Changing Relationship," in Contemporary Public Sculpture: Tradition, Transformation, and Controversy, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): 61-92. It is quite likely that Langford became familiar with the collaborative concept through his architectural training. In the early 1950s, the Bauhaus philosophy of integrating art and architecture spread to North America after Groupius and Breuer went to Harvard, Albers to Black Mountain College, and Mies van der Rohe and Moholy-Nagy to the Illinois Institute of Technology. Isamu Noguchi was the first contemporary artist, working in abstraction, to collaborate with architects, 62-63, 72.

[4] In relation to benefactors in the United States: "The United States remains the one conspicuous exception to the general rule that modern governments are increasingly becoming the principal patrons of the arts. The reason for this is not far to seek. In no other country in the world are there still vast reservoirs of private wealth from which cultural and intellectual life is nourished. The great trusts and foundations existing for these purposes control massive sums in capital and in annual expenditure. The Americans can, therefore, still afford to leave such matters largely in their hands. Other countries cannot afford to follow their example." Report on the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, 1949-1951, hereafter the Massey-Lévesque Report. (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1951): 273, #7.

[5] Paul Litt, The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 3.

[6] Litt, 4. The Canada Council remains the primary funding body for Canadian artists in the twenty-first century. Support for scholars, part of the original mandate of the Canada Council, is now provided through the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC).

[7] Litt, 84.

[8] Litt, 85-86. See also Michael Bell, "Introduction," The Kingston Conference Proceedings, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre and Queen's University, 1991): vii. These same issues of cultural development, the artist's worth in society, and the government's power to affect the relationship of art and artist to his/her audience and society through federal programmes was discussed at the Kingston Conference of Canadian Artists in 1941. A group of 150 artists, art historians, and museum directors discussed how art could be used to preserve democracy and defend against fascism through posters, murals, illustrated war records, and publicity, 7.

[9] Nicholas Pearson, The State and the Visual Arts, (Stony Stratford: Open University Press, 1982): 53. The British Arts Council was established first as The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA). It originated as a private non-state organization through Dr. Thomas Jones, then Secretary of the Pilgrim Trust—which supplied the initial grant of L25,000. When additional government funding exceeded the private funding, the Pilgrim Trust withdrew and the organization emerged as the Arts Council, 48.

[10] J.L. Granatstein, Canada 1957-1967: The Years of Uncertainty and Innovation, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986): 139. The annual income from the interest of 50 million dollars went to finance the activities of the Canada Council, the other 50 million went to education.

[11] Litt, 247. Litt is referring to a passage in Bernard Ostry's text, The Cultural Connection (Toronto, 1978): 63-64, emphasis is mine.

[12] D. Paul Schafer and André Fortier, Review of Federal Policies for the Arts in Canada, 1944-1988, (Ottawa: Canadian Conference of the Arts, 1989): 11.

[13] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4428, File 26, "Minutes of Meeting," October 2-3, 1968, 3. The 1963 document also included the following proposals: a) a definition of "Fine Art," b) a definition of an artist, c) the role of the architect, d) the request for the appointment of a Fine Art Advisory Committee, and e) the establishment of the one-percent budget for art. See also: NAC, MG 30, D208, Lawren Harris Papers, Vol. 1, "Report on Action," Federation of Canadian Artists and the Special Committee on Reconstruction Briefs, 1944-1945, Arts and Letters Club, George T. Pepall, July 5, 1944: 6. The concept of a one-percent funding structure was recommended in the "Report on Action." It stated: "The Arts and Letters Club joins other organizations in urging increased government support of the arts in Canada." They proposed that an arts commission be established to employ artists in postwar rehabilitation projects, and they requested "the expenditure of one-percent for fine arts decoration in the construction of all new public buildings...[to] create a national unity and strengthen the tie that binds Canadians and develop a national culture which will become an integral part of the life of our people through the arts..." See also the Massey-Lévesque Report Report, 85, #31. In reference to various ways in which the government could assist artists in exhibiting their work and making a living through their art, two (unnamed) national arts organizations, "suggested the appropriation of one-percent of the cost of all federal buildings for sculpture and murals."

[14] George Rolfe, personal files, DPW, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," Nov., 1969, 1. (This document is reproduced in "Proposed Fine Art Policy, " "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968. See NAC, RG 2, Vol. 6265, A-5a Cabinet Conclusions, "Cabinet Minutes," Sept. 24, 1964, 11. It was actually Judy LaMarsh (then Minister of Health and Welfare) who, in an earlier discussion of the "Ottawa 10 Years Construction Plan," suggested: "The Government should have a clear policy with respect to the amount of money that should be set aside for the artistic decoration and beautification of buildings, and that a percentage might be used for that." LaMarsh was an ardent supporter of the Programme.

[15] NAC, PWC, FAAC, "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 5.

[16] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," 2.

[17] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy, 2, 4. See also "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 4. "Langford pointed out that in discussing the proposed policy with the National Gallery, they had intimated that such a survey could be made and that indeed they had such an index. This had never, however, been made available to the Department of Public Works."

[18] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," 2.

[19] In fact, Paul Arthur's title was "Editor." The position of "Artistic Editor" (or "Art Editor") did not exist in 1964.

[20] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," 3. The precedent for a three member art advisory committee was set in an Order-in-Council, dated April 3, 1907. It stated that, at that time, the Minister of Public Works was entrusted with funds for "securing for the country objects of rare value from the artistic standpoint, and in promoting the growth of a true taste and general interest in public art amongst the people of Canada." The Minister of Public Works recommended an Advisory Council of three, composed of "gentlemen who have shown their interest in and appreciation and understanding of art as evidenced by their public connection with art associations, and their private patronage of art." These men were to act as arts advisors in relation to monuments and works of art created for the country. NAC, MG 26, J2, Vol. 36, "Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by his Excellency the Governor General on the 3rd of April, 1907." In 1922, Prime Minister William L. Mackenzie King recommended the "constitution of an organized body to aid and advise the Minister of Public Works in the determination of all questions germane to the selection of sites for public buildings and monuments, the style of architecture best suited...and the beautification of the government buildings and grounds." Mackenzie King recommended a committee composed of himself, Hewitt Bostock (Speaker of the Senate), Rodolphe Lemieux (Speaker of the House of Commons), Charles Murphy (Postmaster General), and H. S. Beland (Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment). NAC, RG 25, Vol. 1321, file 634, "Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by his Excellency the Governor General on the 31st of May, 1922." In 1927, Murphy was replaced by J. A. Robb (Minister of Finance), and Beland was replaced by Ernest Lapointe (Minister of Justice). NAC, "Bennett Papers," Reel M-1106, "Certified Copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Privy Council, Approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 1st of February, 1927."

[21] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy ," 3-4.

[22] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," 3.

[23] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," 3.

[24] See Erica Meysick-Fracke, Art in Our Airports, (Ottawa: Department of Transport, 1977). This text may no longer be available, except from the author. For a brief overview of the airport projects see Gwenda (Gunda) Lambton, Canadian Women Artists in Canadian Public Art, unpublished Master's Thesis, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1988): 2.

[25] In the final analysis, the amount spent on art at the NAC was approximately one-percent of the costs of the building. For an overview of the National Arts Centre project, including list of Advisory Committee members, artists, photographs of artwork, and expenses, see Jeanne Parkin, Art in Architecture: Art for the Built Environment in the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: Visual Arts Ontario, 1982): 3-14.

[26] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," 5.

[27] See Anita Aarons, "The Dual Nature of Commissioned Work," Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal, Feb. 1965, 13-14; Frank Rasky, "The Agony and Ecstasy of Our Airport Art," Canadian Weekly, May 9-15, 1964; Evan Turner, "Art at the Airports," Canadian Art, Is. 9, Vol. 21, (May-June, 1964): 129-140; "Press Comments on the DOT Art Programme," Canadian Art, Is. 9, Vol. 21, (May-June, 1964): 141-144; Frank Lowe, "Art in the New Airports Give Canada a Sophisticated Image," Canadian Art, Is. 9, Vol. 21, (May-June, 1964): 145-146.

[28] Frank Lowe, "Art in the New Airports Gives Canada a Sophisticated Image," Canadian Art, Is. 9, Vol. 21, (May-June, 1964): 145.

[29] Lawrence Grant, Museum Policy, Museum Practices and Cultural Change, unpublished Master's Thesis (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1992): 10.

[30] Between 1965 and 1968, prior to the establishment of the Advisory Committee, Public Works was involved in the construction of nine public-access federal buildings across Canada that were eligible for the Fine Art Programme. Prior to the Committee, works were purchased for the National Research Council Building, the Environmental Health Laboratory Building, two Postal Terminals, the John Carling Building, the National Art Centre, Charles Camsell Hospital, the Victoria Federal Building, and the Port Simpson School.

[31] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 9.

[32] "Reorganization: New Jobs, Faces, and Places," Dispatch, no. 1, (1967): 3. See also Dispatch, no. 2, (1967): 3-8, for a brief history of the Department of Public Works. In 1967 Public Works employed 10,000 personnel, and had a budget of $275, million In addition it spent another $50 million on services for other government departments. For an overview of the decentralization process at PWC, see Dispatch , no. 1, (1966): 3-4. The reorganization process resulted from the Royal Commission on Government Organization 1960, Report 1962-63 (Glassco Report). It urged greater delegation of responsibilities to managers within a the bureaucracy and recommended other alterations to the structure of the government. At Public Works, decentralization was a solution to managing the huge increase in the Department's workload due to the growth of the country and its resulting needs. When the Programme began, Public Works also acted as chief purchasing agent and provider of common services until that function was assumed by Supply and Services.

[33] Herbert Cole, personal interview, July 3, 2000.

[34] Jean Sutherland Boggs, The National Gallery of Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971): 61. When the National Gallery Board of Trustees (chaired by M. Jean Raymond) learned of LaMarsh's decision, they expressed concern that the Gallery would be "submerged in the complexity of a corporation of museums with different functions...[and its] national purpose could be lost."

[35] Public Works Library, PWC, "Advisory Committee on Art: Fine Art Reference File," Edition I, 1969-1970, 1. Although the Cabinet approved the provision for the Chief Architect to call together an Advisory Committee, with decentralization, it became necessary for the Committee members to represent each of the six regions—which resulted in Stanley expanding the number of Committee members. It was due to Herbert Cole's experience with the NAC project that the Canada Council became involved. The inclusion of the National Gallery representative was part of the original proposal.

[36] National Gallery of Canada Archives (hereafter NGC Archives) PWC, FAP, Curator's Research Papers, Mayo Graham, Box 1. Letter to Shio Yen Shih, Director, National Gallery of Canada, from Guy Desbarats, Deputy Minister, PWC, August 11, 1977. Desbarats referred to the fact that the responsibility of recommending the Committee members had been delegated to the National Gallery Director years earlier because the Visiting Committee met too infrequently.

[37] Cole, personal interview, July 3, 2000. At the first Fine Art Programme Committee meeting, the members requested, and it became convention, that they could serve an unlimited number of terms and exercise the right to nominate their successors. Neither this change, nor the National Gallery's decision to provide a representative for the Advisory Committee (rather than assume the responsibility of recommending all the committee members) were written into the Programme's policy.

[38] Cole, personal interview, July 3, 2000.

[39] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 23. Also, Public Works Library, PWC, "Fine Art Reference File," Edition I, 1969-1970, Appendix E, 3. Dorothy Cameron and Richard Simmins served for one year, Mira Godard, Stuart Smith for two, and Nancy Robertson-Dillow, and Guy Viau for three years.

[40] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 9. Statement by Richard Simmins.

[41] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 9. The Regional Directors reported to the Senior Assistant Deputy Minister, who in turn, reported to Lucien Lalonde, then Deputy Minister of Public Works.

[42] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 10. Headquarters also handled some special projects such as the Department of Foreign Affairs embassies and chanceries, located abroad.

[43] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 3.

[44] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 15. More specifically, a Public Works Project Manager determined whether the building served the public and therefore was eligible for art. If so, he/she informed the Consulting Architect of that fact. The Consulting Architect then chose the artist as well as the kind of work appropriate for the space and made an official submission, which included this information and supporting material, to the Chief Architect—who, in turn, reviewed it and submitted it to the Advisory Committee.

[45] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 4.

[46] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 8. Suggestion by Dorothy Cameron. See also page 15.

[47] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 15.

[48] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 8. Response by Richard Simmins.

[49] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 8.

[50] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 16.

[51] This kind of thinking reflects the Canada Council's influence. From its inception, the Canada Council sought to establish a group of professional artists and arts organizations which possessed the highest standards of excellence.

[52] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 31-32, 42.

[53] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 31.

[54] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 25-26, 33. It was decided that the artists should retain ownership of the maquettes and they should have the right to submit or sell them to other clients if Public Works did not commission the artists. In addition, the fee for a maquette or sketch would should constitute a part of the total cost of the art work, 26.

[55] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 26, 43.

[56] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 9-10.

[57] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 20.

[58] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 21.

[59] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 21. This recommendation was made by Richard Simmins.

[60] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 5.

[61] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 43. The member from the Atlantic Region, Dr. Stuart Smith, suggested that the responsibility for choosing art for low-budget projects (under $3000.00 art allowance) be delegated to the individual regions, but the other members objected, stating that they did not agree with any delegation of their authority. They believed that every work of art for the Programme should be considered by the Committee as a whole, 43-44.

[62] "Minutes of Meeting, "Oct. 2-3, 1968, 13.

[63] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 13. Guy Viau recommended that international artists be considered for commissions, but he stood alone in this belief.

[64] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 13.

[65] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 19.

[66] "Minutes of Meeting, "Oct. 2-3, 1968, 38.

[67] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 12. Comments offered by Dorothy Cameron and Guy Viau, respectively.

[68] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 12.

[69] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 40.

[70] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 44. In a 1971 issue of Architecture Canada , there was a short article by Anita Aarons in which she called for artists and architects, who understood the political and aesthetic problems involved in the integration of art and architecture, to form pressure groups to see "that legislation confirms in perpetuity the 'good intentions' of past political actions." She stressed that the 1% art allocation become law, so that the Programme could not disappear at the political whim of less sympathetic politicians. Anita Aarons, "Opinions," Architecture Canada, (Oct. 25, 1971): 2.

[71] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 14.

[72] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 16-17, 1969, Appendix R. The following changes to the Programme policy were recommended by the Committee to the Department of Public Works: 1.) The Fine Art Advisory Committee will have the responsibility to advise on the final acceptability of any work of art as originally defined in the Cabinet Directive. 2.) Pertaining to the selection of artists and their professional acceptability, the decision will be based on the quality and suitability of the artist for the project, his reputation, participation in exhibitions of national or international significance and his ability to carry out projects in consultation with the Consulting Architect. 3.) The Consulting Architect's proposal is to be referred to the Committee for approval in principle at the concept stage before any financial commitment is made to the artist. After Committee approval, the second stage goes into effect whereby the artist is given a contract and creates a maquette and or drawings which will also be approved by Committee. 4.) The Committee requests authority to make alternative recommendations on works and/or artists during initial presentation stage. Consulting Architects should be

encouraged to select works and artists on a national rather than regional basis. 5.) Committee members be appointed by the Deputy Minister of Public Works upon recommendation of the Fine Art Advisory Committee members in consultation with National Gallery Board of Trustees and Canada Council, to ensure broad and expert opinion. 6.) All buildings requiring alterations and additions should be included in the Fine Art Programme. An allocation of $2,500 for buildings costing up to $100,000; $3,000 for buildings from $101,000 to $300,000; all projects over $300,000 to receive one-percent allowance. 7.) The Committee will advise Public Works personnel on the acceptability of an artist's qualifications and what constitutes an acceptable work of art. 8.) Public Works personnel will be responsible for the administration of the submissions to the Fine Art Advisory Committee, the integration of the art in the architectural design, the administration of the contract with the artist, and the supervision of the execution and installation of the art. 9.) Committee members are empowered to consult with the regional member on projects.

At the first meeting, Stanley also informed the Committee of a letter from the Treasury Board, dated Feb. 10, 1965, requesting that the Advisory Committee take over the responsibility of commissioning portraits of government officials. Opinions were divided on the issue. Some were not only opposed to the concept of official portraits, based on their belief that not many artists were working in a realist style in the 1960s, but they also felt that their responsibilities only pertained to the "aesthetic judgement on artists and works [of art] to embellish government buildings." Portraits, then would be considered "acquired art" and not part of a building's embellishment, and therefore "did not fall under the one-percent mandate. They suggested that Public Works form another committee to advise on portraiture. "Minutes of Meeting, Oct. 2-3, 1968, 21-22.

[73] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," May 22-23, 1969, 5.

[74] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Memo from Design Branch to Consulting Architects," Dec. 30, 1969, and "Memo to K.C. Stanley from R. S. Jones," Jan. 19, 1970.

[75] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," Nov., 1969, 10. The NAC does not have a copy of the General Information Brochure, slide file, or photograph albums, although the NAC finding aids suggest that the Atlantic Region office still retains some visual material on their region. The Public Works Library does hold photograph albums created by George Rolfe in the late 1970s, but they do not appear to be the original albums mentioned here. Public Works (Real Property Services) commissioned George Rolfe to travel across the country in 1997-98 to locate, examine, measure, appraise, and photograph each work. The three volume set contains photographs of most cultural assets owned by Public Works.

[76] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," Nov., 1969, 6.

[77] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," Nov., 1969, 6-7.

[78] Rolfe, personal files, "Proposed Fine Art Policy," Nov., 1969, 7.

[79] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," June 17-18, 1971, 31.

[80] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," June 17-18, 1971, 31. These regionally located Committee meetings began with the Ontario Region (Toronto) in Sept., 1971. Invitations were issued to the Consulting Architect, Committee members, Public Works personnel, and artists.

[81] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 1971, Appendix B, 2.

[82] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol 4429, file 26, Interim Box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 14-15, 1972, 17.

[83] "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 14-15, 1972, 40.

[84] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim box, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 20-21, 1973, 9.

[85] "Design and the Small Post Office," Dispatch, (Fall, 1964): 1.

[86] "Design and the Small Post Office," 1.

[87] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 29-30, 1970, 26-27.

[88] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim Box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," July 13-14, 1972, 16-19.

[89] "Artario 72" Artists included: Ron Baird, Ted Bieler, Tom Mike Bidner, John Boyle, Louis de Niverville, Mack Drope, Kosso Eloul, Wyn Geleynse, Arthur Handy, Michael Hayden, Don Jean-Louis, Rita Letendre, John MacGregor, Robin Mackenzie, Kim Ondaatje, Jacques Schyrgens, Michael Snow, Ray Speirs Tony Urquhart, and Dik Zander. Some of the "Editions I" artists included: Ed Bartram, Anthony Benjamin, Karl Beveridge, Stan Bevington, Henry Dunsmore, Paul Feldman, Phyllis Kurtz Fine, and Kazimir Glaz.

[90] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4430, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 17-18, 1974, 4.

[91] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 2-3, 1968, 44.

[92] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Dec. 11, 1969, 25. When issues of negative public reception of the art and a public education programme were brought up in Committee meetings during 1968-1969, it was decided that no proposal for a general public relations programme would be considered at that time.

[93] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4429, "Report on Fine Art Seminar," June 10, 1970, 10. Comments by Mira Godard.

[94] "Report on Fine Art Seminar," June 10, 1970, 10.

[95] For discussion of Stanley's trip to Sweden see, "Minutes of Meeting," June 17-18, 1971, 24-25.

[96] "Minutes of Meeting," June 17-18, 1971, 26.

[97] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 1971, Appendix Y.

[98] "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 1971, 35.

[99] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim box, "Minutes of Meeting," May 24-25, 1973, Appendix F.

[100] Canada House of Commons, "Committee on Broadcasting, Film, and Assistance to the Arts," Chairman Ralph Stewart, No. 1-15, Ottawa: 29th Parliament, 1st Session, 1973-74, Issue #9, Wed., May 16, 1973, 20.

[101] "Committee on Broadcasting, Film, and Assistance to the Arts," Chairman Ralph Stewart, No. 1-15, Ottawa: 29th Parliament, 1st Session, 1973-74, Issue #9, Wed., May 16, 1973, 20.

[102] "Committee on Broadcasting, Film, and Assistance to the Arts," Chairman Ralph Stewart, No. 1-15, Ottawa: 29th Parliament, 1st Session, 1973-74, Issue #9, Wed., May 16, 1973, 21.

[103] Ralph Stewart, quoted by Richard Jackson, "MP Arts Chairman Raps Government Displays of Welded Junk and Metal Scrap," Ottawa: Ottawa Journal, (August 17, 1973): 17.

[104] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 20-21, 1973, 28-29. See also, Richard Jackson, "MP Arts Chairman Raps Government Displays of Welded Junk and Metal Scrap," 17.

[105] "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 20-21, 1973, 29.

[106] "Report on Fine Art Seminar," June 10, 1970, 6. Quote by Mira Godard.

[107] "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 20-21, 1973, 29.

[108] "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 20-21, 1973, 30.

[109] It is ironic that Robert Murray became a major force in the Fine Art Programme commissions. He is a Canadian who established his artistic reputation in New York. However, the Committee recognized that it would accommodate this hybrid situation and changed its criteria. In fact, at the first Committee meeting, the members requested that the policy be changed from requiring Canadian residence to requiring Canadian citizenship or one year landed immigrant status. Nevertheless, Murray's commissions for the National Defence Building and the Foreign Affairs Building were temporarily suspended in 1972 pending a ministerial decision on the award of a contract to an artist who was a non-resident of Canada. K.C. Stanley explained this to the members at the March 2-3, 1972 Committee meeting, and they agreed that: "We would hope that the Minister would be able to authorize the contribution of the contract with Robert Murray for both DND and External Affairs [now Foreign Affairs]. Mr. Murray is a distinguished Canadian artist and while he is a resident in the United States, it is as a Canadian that he is known, and it is Canada that is enriched by his art." "Minutes of Meeting," March 2-3, 1972, 6. There is no further mention of this matter, but Public Work's Minister Dubé must have agreed with the Committee because six months later, Murray's contracts were reinstated. "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 14-15, 1972, 26. However, it was not made policy because in Nov. of 1974, Stanley brought the issue of residency to the Deputy Minister, then J. A. MacDonald, once again. MacDonald decided to adhere to the original policy stating that the artists must be residents of Canada.

[110] NLC, Gérard Pelletier, "Towards the Definition of a Cultural Policy," Notes for an address given by Pelletier to the Board of Trade of Montreal (Montreal, Oct. 28, 1968): 4

[111] Pelletier, Oct. 28, 1968, 10, emphasis is mine.

CHAPTER TWO

1974 – 1978: DECENTRALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION 1984: ONE LAST ATTEMPT AT A MORE CENTRALIZED PROGRAMME

> The unavoidable truth that not all outdoor sculpture is well received by its audience, the public, must be acknowledged...Sometimes animosity is exacerbated by misunderstanding to the point of stubborn rejection...[1]

Throughout 1974, Public Works initiated a number of strategies to promote a positive image of the Programme to the public, the arts community, and the press. In fact, Public Works Minister Jean-Eudes Dubé accepted an invitation to speak about the Programme at Direction 74, the yearly meeting of the Canadian Conference of the Arts.[2] It is quite likely that, as a result of the feedback he received there, as well as the impact of Ralph Stewart's influence at the highest levels of government, Dubé decided to interview members of the public and seek suggestions from his department's Regional Directors. After meeting with the Advisory Committee to discuss the feasibility of certain Programme changes, he issued a press release stating: "As a firm believer in our Fine Art Programme I am pleased to announce changes that will not only strengthen the Programme but will widen the choice of works of art and involve more people in their selection."[3] Dubé believed that the Committee had, "a duty to the artistic community and to the people of Canada as well. Therefore, it is essential that we add to this Committee representatives of the people who can speak for those who do not have a professional interest in the arts."[4] Dubé's views echoed those of Gérard Pelletier in his ardent speeches on cultural development when he stated:

> Thus, culture is not a mere nicety, art is not an incidental, inessential activity, a luxury on which to spend our excess wealth. They are rather the pillars of any rich and significant social life, of any healthy, dynamic economy. That is why...any government would be just as much to blame for neglecting culture or treating it like a poor relative as it would be for not building highways or [for] letting its forests burn down.[5]

As the Committee members' appointments lapsed, Dubé replaced them with two representatives from the public, two visual artists, two critics of varied backgrounds, two architects, and one representative from the National Gallery.[6] The Canada Council representative remained, as did the Chief Architect of Public Works and other departmental Programme staff. Dubé also decided that the Committee members would elect their own Chairman; previously the Chief Architect held that position. In addition, he incorporated more competitions, open to all artists, and provided the public and the press with more in-depth information about the Programme. Dubé stated that the Committee members "would be afforded ample opportunity to better explain their choices to the general public."[7] In response, the Committee proposed the publication of a "sophisticated" booklet, with photographic illustrations of the artwork, that could be sold at the recently established Information Canada bookstands.[8]

On July 11, 1974, the National Gallery hosted a reception to acquaint local artists and architects with Programme policy and procedures. Members of the Advisory Committee answered questions, and the entire group viewed a screening of the CBC film, "Art for Whose Sake?" which was to be broadcast on CBC later in the year. The impetus for this film came about in November of 1973 when Public Works asked CBC to interview Hugh Leroy about his recently installed sculpture at the National Defence building. Janet Evans of "This Day" became interested in the controversy surrounding

Leroy's sculpture, and decided to do an hour long programme focusing on the problems encountered by Canadian artists when the government assumes the role of art patron.[9]

The film opened with comments from a few Ottawa citizens who were asked for their opinions on the appropriation of tax dollars for the commissioning of artwork. Although most supported the intent of the Programme, they opposed the individual works, stating outright disdain or showing lack of understanding.[10] Following their comments, Ralph Stewart stated:

> As a Member of Parliament, I have a duty to speak out when I feel that public funds are not being used correctly. But in addition, as Chairman of the Commons Committee on Broadcasting, Film, and Assistance for the Arts, I also have the right to criticize in a constructive way, not any particular work, but the commissioning of art for public buildings. People can do whatever, but not at public expense.[11]

(In fact, although Stewart had the right to criticize as a private citizen, his Committee had no authority over Public Works or the Programme.) Stewart reiterated his earlier Ottawa Journal comments, stating that the officials of the Programme were "being fooled [by the artists and the Committee] into accepting art that is not good because they think if they don't [accept it] they will be seen as 'not with it.'" He felt that "a beautiful fountain...with the play of waters" was a better choice for the space in front of Foreign Affairs "than the piece of metal that [didn't] seem to say anything and [wasn't] even pleasant to look at."[12]

Several artists were interviewed for their opinions on the Programme and the public's negative response to the art. Robert Murray stated "...people are persuaded to believe they have the right to express all kinds of opinions on any topic, but in fact, there is another responsibility that goes with this kind of feeling...you must inform yourself about what you're talking about."[13] Murray believed that one could experience his work

viscerally by walking around it, but if one wanted to "understand how it relates to other works or to art history, then you have to go deeper, [and] this is where so many people give themselves away."[14] Artist Guido Molinari stated that if the Programme were to please everyone, market research would have to be done. "But there is no pure public opinion. Rather, the artist, in creating, offers the public a chance to see what an artistically free person can do."[15] Stanley suggested that if the Programme sought to please everyone in choosing the art, they would end up with "lukewarm soup." He admitted that they made a significant mistake by not being proactive and informing the public that the Programme was commissioning Modern Art: "I admit we should have, it would have been wiser, but there was some nervousness about the Programme. We felt it might be more easily handled to go ahead and produce the [art] rather than try to condition everyone."[16] Luke Rombout (then Director of the new Canada Council Art Bank) pinpointed some of the problems particular to North American culture by stating: "If the people had access to the thinking of an artist, the public would know that we are involved in serious issues. In Holland [Rombout's birthplace] visual art is part of growing up in all schools. To be conscious of one's artistic heritage is part of life..."[17]

Generally, other than Stewart, those who were asked agreed with this; they believed that because Canada was a relatively young country without the kind of private financial backing that was available in the United States, Canadian artists had to rely on Government support for the arts to further develop the country's cultural identity. It was thought that eventually, with more public information and better communication, the

important accomplishments achieved by the Fine Art Programme would emerge as records of their time.[18]

In some ways, the situation did improve. As a result of their public relations efforts, Public Works received some letters of support; and in response to the negative comments, staff from the Information Services Department wrote to each individual, explaining the intent of the Programme and its contribution to Canadian cultural development.[19] Interest in the Programme suggests it was acquiring a good reputation. Representatives from the Art Department of the University of Oregon, the Capital Planning Commission of Tijard, Oregon, Ontario Hydro, the New Jersey Art Inclusion Program, and the Australian Government all requested information on how they might duplicate the Fine Art Programme. In addition, the National Association of Designers requested that a representative of the Programme speak to an assembly of designers from Canada and the United States in November; and the Royal Canadian Academy of Artists and Architects asked Stanley to take part in a panel discussion in Toronto on November 23, 1974.[20]

Unfortunately, just as the Programme began to respond to those who expressed interest and support, as well as those who were critical, the *official format* of the "Minutes of Meeting" ended with the January 30-31, 1975, volume. Coincidentally, that is also when Herbert Cole left the Fine Art Programme. It was he, as Programme Manager, who took meticulous care in making sure that the "Minutes" of each meeting were recorded in detail, published by the Public Works printing department, and distributed to all those directly involved. When Cole began as Manager, the Programme

was part of the Special Projects Group, which consisted of several other divisions, including the Foreign Affairs Overseas Capital Construction Programme. By 1974, the number of building projects requiring involvement with the Fine Art Programme increased to the extent that Public Works decided to make it a separate entity and appoint an Executive Manager whose sole responsibility would be the Programme. Cole was offered the choice of that position or a secondment to Foreign Affairs as a Project Manager for the Overseas Capital Construction Programme, and he chose the latter. At Cole's last meeting, Stanley applauded his dedication and informed the group that Marguerite Pinney, the Pacific Region representative from 1970-1973, would assume the newly created position of Executive Manager, beginning as a consultant in March, and becoming full-time in April of 1975.[21]

1975 - 1977: The Fine Art Programme under Marguerite Pinney

The Committee met for the next time on May 26, 1975, and the resulting "Minutes" of that meeting take an abbreviated form. There is no explanation as to why the "Minutes," some of which had been well over one hundred pages in length under Cole's direction, were reduced to three to ten page summaries. However, Pinney had such decision-making authority. Moreover, shortly after she assumed the role, Pinney introduced a number of changes that resulted in more frequent meetings. In May of 1975, the Studio/Gallery Visit Subcommittee was formed. It was comprised of the Executive Manager, the regional Committee representative (from the region in which the building was to be constructed), an additional Committee representative from outside that region, the Headquarters representative, a Public Works architect appointed by the

Regional Director, and a representative from the local arts community.[22] The Studio/Gallery Visits allowed for a more revealing look at the artists' work than the existing system of viewing their slides, as well as the opportunity for the architects and artists to compare aesthetic ideologies. By June of 1976, this subcommittee had visited 194 artists and recommended that 146 of them be eligible to participate in the Programme.[23]

Pinney fervently supported decentralization. She felt that the concept of a "Headquarters Advisory Committee" created barriers between Ottawa and the regions; as a result, she instituted a system whereby six Regional Advisory Committees were set up to advise and approve the artists and artwork. The original Advisory Committee became the National Advisory Committee and dealt only with major building projects of national importance.[24] Unfortunately, with the new abridged format, the "Minutes of Meeting" records of the Studio/Gallery Visits, the Regional Committee meetings, and the National Committee meetings are not complete, nor do they offer much more than sketchy comments and lists of those in attendance.

One of the more significant modifications Pinney instituted pertained to the artists' submissions. As a method of stimulating creative innovation among the chosen artists, she requested that they prepare three preliminary submissions—without any precise foreknowledge of the funding available for the project. The artists created three designs, based on low, medium, and high budget ranges, from which the Committee would then select the best one for the site.[25] This approach, necessitating significantly more time and expense, won favour with neither the artists nor the architects. Despite the

good intentions, the three-preliminary proposal system left the artists and architects feeling as though they had no true sense of personal involvement in the process of integration. As a result, the complaints that previously had been primarily from artists seeking commissions and disgruntled citizens displeased with the choices of art, grew to include people inside the Programme. Finally, on November 19, 1976, Public Works suspended the Programme for a "cooling" period.[26]

Just two months prior, Judd Buchanan had become Minister of Public Works. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the Programme, and began reviewing the policy changes that the original Committee members had proposed in October of 1969, as well as the subsequent revisions they had suggested in 1970, 1971, 1972, and the changes made by Dubé in 1974.[27] He also studied a number of recommendations for improvements suggested by regional personnel. Consequently, he approved a new policy Directive and revived the Programme in May of 1977 with two salient changes.

First, Buchanan acknowledged that the final responsibility for the success of the Programme rested with the Minister of Public Works.[28] Although this was written into the policy, and was implicitly understood, the previous Ministers, whether they supported the Programme or not, maintained a more arm's length relationship. (Dubé was an exception in that he spoke about the Programme to the press and in public.) In that way, the Advisory Committee (with its inherent autonomy) assumed a kind of nebulous accountability. The changes implemented by Dubé in 1974 also implied a more active involvement by Public Works, yet, the actions taken by Pinney while she was Executive

Manager suggest that the Regional and the National Advisory Committees still held the preponderance of decision making authority in choosing the art.

Buchanan's intention is signalled clearly in the way he amended the policy. Where the original 1964 Directive gave the authority to the Advisory Committee to "*approve* the proposed location, theme, and character of the art work and the selection of the artists," the 1977 Directive amended that sentence to read "*advise* on the proposed location...[with the] final responsibility [to be] vested in the Minister of Public Works."[29] Second, the original policy stated that the Committee members were chosen based on *recommendations* from the National Gallery; the new policy stated that the National Gallery [Director] would be *consulted* on the membership—suggesting that Public Works would play a more important role in choosing the membership.[30] In effect, the revised wording of the policy emphasized Buchanan's support of the Programme and his intent to ensure that the "composition of the Advisory Committees reflect[ed] regional and local viewpoints."[31] Buchanan retained the funding formula that had been approved by Public Works Minister C.M. Drury in 1974: the 1% figure applied to all buildings with construction costs over $250,000; $2,500 for buildings with construction costs between $100,000-$250,000; and 2 1/2% for buildings between $50,000-$100,000 (with a minimum of $1,250). The National Advisory Committee continued to advise on the large-budget projects over $2 million, but the committees for the smaller budget projects were composed primarily of local individuals.[32]

1977 - 1978: The Fine Art Programme under Peeter Sepp

When Buchanan revived the Programme in May of 1977, Pinney continued to act as Executive Manager until November when K.C. Stanley appointed Peeter Sepp to replace her, but with the new title: Chief of Design Integration.[33] Sepp had been the Visual Arts Officer at Ontario Arts Council, and was recommended to Stanley by Brenda Wallace, Sepp's counterpart at the Canada Council. His more democratic vision of the Fine Art Programme corresponded to Buchanan's changes. Sepp's understanding of it was refined by his upbringing in Estonia and Sweden, where comprehensive art programmes are part of one's education. In an interview with Sepp, he spoke of Sweden's national perspective on the arts, including a sense of personal responsibility for shaping one's own environment, which tended to result in a widespread interest in art by the public.

Sepp perceived himself as "a cultural bureaucrat in a democratized society [who wanted to] empower the community and help the arts, and therefore the society."[34] Early on he created an informative illustrated booklet for artists and members of the public who wished to participate, entitled Fine Art Programme: 1%. Sepp followed Pinney's pattern of keeping spare "Minutes of Meeting." However, his booklet is a significant document because it reveals that, as Dubé had indicated in 1974 and Buchanan made policy in 1977, the intent of the Programme had shifted from merely *providing the public with works of art*, to *actively seeking the participation of local citizens in choosing it*. The booklet opens by listing the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the Regional Liaison Officers, the individuals who acted as contacts for artists, architects, and the

public. It continues by explaining the relationships between the various "players" in the Programme, and then invites interested individuals to participate: "We'd like you to help us find the best artists working in your region, we'd like you to help us pick the artist whose work you feel should be ordered for a federal project and we'd like to hear your ideas and suggestions about art in public places as a community investment." Sepp's booklet acknowledges that there had been "controversy"—but stressed that:

> ...friendly controversy about art is good if we want to enjoy a democratic way of life where all of us are entitled to our own personal taste, if we want to develop our own individualism while supporting the growth of our neighbours' individualism, if we want to believe that a healthy society is based on the ability of its members to collaborate on basic survival issues while openly discussing our different unique points of view.[35]

Another important aspect of this document is that it provides a written record of how the procedural and administrative changes, that occurred after 1975, were implemented. For instance, it explains that Sepp continued Pinney's initiative of establishing the "local project committees" to supplement the National Advisory Committee (which continued to deal with building projects of national significance costing over $2 million). However, he included two kinds of local project committees. For building projects of local significance, costing between $100,000 and $2 million, the committee included the Regional Fine Art Programme Director, the Chief of Design Integration (ex-officio), the Design Architect (previously the Consulting Architect), a Client representative, local community representative, local arts community representative, and one or more members of the permanent six-person National Advisory Committee. When the cost of the building project of local significance was between $50,000 and $100,000 there were no National Committee members included.[36] Once this

group determined the kind of art best suited for the site, they would choose one or more artists to prepare sketches or maquettes—which they would review and approve or reject. Once approved, the proposal was submitted to the Minister of Public Works for his approval, and if given, the artist was awarded a contract.[37] This did not mean that the opinions of the National Advisory Committee (as an entity) had been circumvented; they not only had one or more representatives on the local committees, but they continued to advise on and approve the major projects of national significance (those costing over $2 million).[38]

Sepp was not hired to participate in the selection process, but rather to develop various ways to ameliorate the growing discontent with the Programme among many artists, architects, and much of the public. In light of his democratic vision, one of Sepp's first objectives was to build better working relationships among those involved. He organized "think-tanks" which brought together members of the National Advisory Committee, artists, architects, the media, and Public Works personnel. In effect, it was his dream to change the social paradigm, to democratize the arts by educating interested individuals about how the arts affect their society. He opposed the concept of a small group of experts choosing the artwork for a community without involving the local people.[39] Rather, he supported open competitions and local community involvement—with plenty of information made available to the public long before the artist began working on the art.

Stanley also chose Sepp because of his breadth of experience in architecture, industrial and exhibition design, commercial art, and arts administration. From the

beginning of the Programme in 1964, Langford, Stanley, Cole, and Pinney had recognized the fundamental importance of collaboration between artist and architect, but since that time, all too often the artist was brought in, as Sepp observed, "when the building was well past the integration stage."[40] In addition, Sepp understood the feelings of citizens who perceived the Programme officials as an elite group, making decisions *in camera* without regard for public opinion. Although he knew that a certain degree of secrecy was necessary to protect the integrity of the selection process, Sepp intended to make the Committee members aware of how they and the Programme were perceived by the public. He also hoped to facilitate a means for the successful collaboration of the artists and architects—but he proposed to extend that relationship to include the public. In this way, he sought to engender not only the public's enthusiastic participation, but their trust as well.[41]

Sepp proceeded to accomplish his goals for the Programme by preparing the local public when the building project was still in the planning stage. He and his staff created "Sculpture Symposium," a portable exhibition of photographs and short educational essays on how the artwork was commissioned. They organized public meetings so that people could discuss the artistic and the budgetary concerns of the project.[42] Furthermore, in April of 1978, he coordinated a seminar-workshop with the assistance of Public Works, the Canadian Artists Representation (CAR) and the Glenbow Alberta Institute in Calgary (where it was held).[43] They invited the National Advisory Committee, the Regional Liaison Officers, artists, architects, Public Works personnel, and the press. They discussed the roles of all those involved in the Programme, how it

operated, and made recommendations for improvements. In addition, they held an evening question and answer session with the public.

In June of that year, Sepp wrote an article for Art Magazine, summarizing the sentiments of many attending the event:

> Whether we'd like to see the most sublime contemporary objects placed in a public environment or whether we'd like to encourage the rebirth of anonymous collaboration between artists, building technologists, and the community, we'll need to involve more people into this process that involves public money and space. We must be able to communicate in clear simple language what constitutes 'quality' in contemporary art, or we must ask the patron-tax-payer to hire professional 'quality experts' to make his taste decisions for him, because we admit we can't teach him to appreciate 'quality'. Until we develop effective communication of values that can be shared or tolerated by most sectors of society, we'll be viewed with resentment as a self-seeking, arrogant and closed-shop un-interest group, undeserving of public support or interest....[Yet,] if we are ready to explore the full potential of this Programme in light of current cultural values and social processes, we'll need to appreciate and respect the sensitivity of every participant, including the consumer...We'll need to prove that we truly believe in democratic principles and that we're ready to collaborate with every interested citizen as an equal in designing a democratic process. And maybe we'll be brave enough to allow local people to take personal responsibility for selecting the artists and art works of their choice for their communities. They are paying for it, they'll be living with it and they'll learn by it.[44]

Sepp and his staff built up an inventory of over 1,500 Canadian artists and updated the existing slide file to aid the Consulting Architects. Fine Art Programme: 1% included a section with detailed instructions on how to take high quality slides of artwork. They organized a national sculpture competition for the new Calgary Federal Building by advertising it in magazines and newspapers across the country. By mid 1978, Sepp and his group had been responsible for over thirty new commissions worth $750,000. Moreover, the revised Fine Art Programme began to receive a significant amount of favourable response from the public and the press.[45] Ironically, just as the

Programme's image began to improve, a work of art commissioned and installed in 1975 (prior to Sepp's involvement), played a major role in the Programme's closure in 1978.

Back in June of 1972, the Consulting Architects for the new Canadian Grain Commission Building in Winnipeg, Manitoba, (Smith, Carter, Seale, and Partners) notified Public Works that an art allowance had not been designated in the construction budget, even though they had recommended a large scale exterior sculpture for the building. The Public Works Western Region Office informed Stanley that there were no funds available for art.[46] In April of 1973, the Consulting Architect, Ernest Smith, met with the Regional Committee member, Kenneth Lochhead, after which Smith informed Stanley that he and Lochhead "mutually agreed" that the building required a major contemporary work of art for the fore-plaza. They determined a budget of $50,000, and Smith was to follow up with a list of artists.[47] The Regional Office, however, did not change its position on the funding. Then, in June of 1974, because no funds were forthcoming, Cole met with Luke Rombout, the Director of the Art Bank, and Smith—and they decided that the Grain Commission might rent a work of art from the Art Bank. Although Stanley supported the idea, and Luke Rombout traveled to Winnipeg to view the proposed site and agreed that the Art Bank could accommodate the Client, the Advisory Committee members disagreed, stating that after ten years, the rental fees would exceed the value of the art.[48]

At the July, 1974 Committee meeting, the members proposed a competition between ten invited artists, with each to receive $500 for their maquette and travel expenses.[49] In January of 1975, five artists, Henry Saxe, Ulysses Comtois, John Nugent,

Ricardo Gomez, and Hugh Leroy, were chosen by Smith (with Kenneth Lochhead's advice). Because the Western Region had not indicated an art allowance in the building's construction budget, Headquarters determined that the funds would come from the Western Regions Accommodation Capital Vote.[50] The Chairman of the Board of Grain Commissioners, then H. H. Baxter, attended the meeting when John Nugent's proposal was selected by the Advisory Committee. Although he expressed reservations about its design, the Committee members were pleased with the work and did not ask Nugent to make any changes, and *Number One Northern* was installed in late 1975.[51] (fig. 2.) Unfortunately, despite continued complaints by Baxter, his feelings about the work were ignored—even by the Public Works Minister, then C.M. Drury. Shortly after its unveiling, Baxter was responsible for collecting 300 employee signatures, protesting the work and requesting its removal. The Agriculture Minister, then the powerful and larger-than-life Eugene Whelan, called the work a waste of taxpayers' money.[52] Moreover, despite the fact that Nugent designed *Number One Northern* to represent Canada's hardy top grade, red spring wheat hybrid of the same name, many people in Winnipeg were either unaware of this or resented Nugent's abstract interpretation of the famous wheat. Much of the anger stemmed from the fact that public involvement had not been sought during the selection process. In a visit to Winnipeg, the Capital Region Advisory Committee member, Mayo Graham, viewed the sculpture and stated:

> My opinion is that both the sculpture and its location are fine. To me the problem is not the work but rather the bus 'hut,' bench, and surrounding planting. Frankly, I think that we should care enough about the sculpture to highlight it...rather than try to hide or detract from it with these other unattractive elements....I hope there is still the possibility of convincing those in charge to keep the Nugent sculpture in place. Contemporary work seems

> naturally to draw hostility, but I feel that this work deserves complete support from the Department.[53]

Nevertheless, by July of 1978, Whelan convinced Buchanan to have the work removed. As a result, Winnipeg lawyer for CAR (Canadian Artists Representation), Paul Walsh, filed an action to stop the removal and Nugent was given one month to choose between two alternate sites—but he felt that neither one was suitable.[54]

On August 31, 1978 Sepp stood by as *Number One Northern* was dismantled and placed in storage.[55] The unfortunate event occurred at a time when the federal government was undergoing a period of extreme economic restraint. The sculpture, which had been commissioned before Sepp's reforms, was subjected to criticism by Winnipeg citizens who were now aware of the new Programme policies of public involvement. Perhaps coincidentally, or as a result of these factors, rumours began to circulate that Public Works was going to cancel the national competition for the Calgary Federal Building and shut down the Fine Art Progamme. It is ironic that Prime Minister Trudeau, who supported cultural development, democratization, and decentralization—the very notions that Dubé, Buchanan, Pinney, and Sepp inserted into the Programme—was the individual who authorized its closure. He made the official announcement during his campaign in September of 1978 by including its demise with other federally funded programmes as a cost saving measure. The works of art that were near completion were finished and installed, but most projects were cancelled.[56] Sepp left Public Works to become a consultant for the National Gallery, then embarking upon a review of its architectural needs in anticipation of yet another (and finally successful) attempt to persuade the government to provide new quarters.[57]

1984 - 1985: The Fine Art Programme under George Rolfe

In January of 1984, George Rolfe, then Chief of Fine Art and Graphic Design in the Public Works Design Directorate, was asked to develop and implement a new operating policy for the Fine Art Programme. He, with the assistance of Radmila Swann, then Assistant Director of Policy Development and Analysis, examined documents pertaining to the Programme, viewed the works of art, and spoke with people who had been directly involved. In June of 1984, on his last day in office, Minister of Public Works Romeo Leblanc signed the Fine Art Programme into existence once again. On the 25th of that month, the Cabinet authorized funding for the new Programme. It may be that Leblanc's interest in reviving the Fine Art Programme was influenced by the 1982 Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (Applebaum-Hébert Committee), which proposed that "the role of creative artists should be given special priority in consideration of cultural policies in order that the public might benefit from the results of creative work." [58] The report suggested that the Canadian public and the federal government should recognize and celebrate the excellent standard of artistic achievements by Canadian artists.[59]

When Rolfe began his research on the Programme, he discovered that most of the Design Architects still wanted to include works of art in their buildings, yet without the one-percent funding structure in place they had great difficulty getting approval from the Treasury Board. Rolfe understood the financial administration of the federal government, and he concluded that the artwork had to be considered as part of the normal embellishments of the building construction. The Cabinet permitted the Minister of

Public Works to "draw up to $1 million from the services to government programmes fund in each of the fiscal years [between 1984 and 1987], to buy works of art for selected federal buildings." (The average amount was to be about 1% of the building costs, up to $500,000.)[60] Rolfe's Programme precluded some of the earlier problems that occurred when certain Clients viewed the one-percent art allocation (coming from the building construction costs) as an infringement on other practical building requirements. Drawing funds from the government programmes fund allowed for a more "ad hoc" system of designating eligible buildings.[61]

Rolfe's revisions reflected some of the changes made by Ministers Dubé in 1974 and Buchanan in 1976 in the sense that Rolfe also recommended that there be both a National Advisory Committee and Local Advisory Committees. However, Rolfe proposed important changes in relation to the works of art. He did not stipulate that all public-access buildings include art, nor did he state that the works had to be integrated with the architecture. In relation to artistic decisions, he clearly defined who held the authority. Rolfe recommended that the National Committee (responsible for projects designated as having national significance) be chaired by the Public Works Assistant Deputy Minister of Design and Construction, while the Chief of Design Integration performed the roles of administrator, secretary, and coordinator. The National Committee included the Design Architect and the Assistant Deputy Minister for Cultural Affairs (Department of Communications, now Heritage). Rolfe also included six representatives of the artistic community, one from each Public Works region (appointed for three year terms), with two serving per project. In addition, a National Archives

representative was included to provide a historic context to any discussions about the art. Finally, two local individuals, appointed on a project-by-project basis, represented the local art community and the client.[62] Projects not deemed to be of national significance were handled by Local Advisory Committees, chaired by the Chief of Design Integration. These Committees included the Regional Fine Art Coordinator, the Design Architect, and three other members chosen on a project by project basis, one representing the local art community, one with knowledge of the community's traditions and development, and one representing the client.[63]

His revised policy and procedures stipulated that the Project Architect and the Regional Liaison Officer of the Fine Art Programme would determine if the building required a work of art; and that they, along with the Design Architect, would propose the kind of art and a list of artists to the Advisory Committee. When they were satisfied with the proposal, the information was sent to the Minister of Public Works for approval. Next the artists were paid a nominal fee to prepare sketches. The chosen artist then created a maquette for approval by the Chief of Design Integration, Project Manager, and Design Architect. If accepted, the Deputy Minister of Design and Construction sent the maquette on to the Minister for final approval, resulting in a contract for the artist.[64]

Rolfe decided that the Committee members needed to have particular backgrounds and expertise to ensure that the work of art commissioned would have a direct relationship to its audience. Throughout the Programme's previous existence, when new works were unveiled, most of the criticism focused on the abstract nature of the art. Rolfe believed that, in reality, abstraction was less problematic than it had come

to be perceived. Abstraction could be accepted and embraced by the public, if the work of art held meaning that was apparent to them. Rolfe stated: "When public money [is spent] you must limit yourself to the centre; abstract work if you like...but most people won't accept the extreme, and it's not right that public money is spent on the extreme."[65] Rolfe felt that such "extreme" works were those that were appreciated for their formal qualities alone; works that he believed required significantly more art background than most people possessed. Therefore, by including individuals on the Committees who considered the historical or social relevance of a work, the Programme would be better equipped to provide art that the public might appreciate. He did not support the kind of Programme democratization that Sepp instituted, although in general he praised Sepp's work. Rolfe believed that the broad range of opinions held by a population as diverse as Canada's, precluded any kind of consensus if the public were involved.

Rolfe wanted to ensure that the artists would use high quality materials, resistant to vandalism. He devised a plan for the continued care and maintenance of each work by requiring the artists to determine the degree of permanence of their work, provide documentation and samples of their materials, and supply any necessary cleaning instructions. He also believed it was important that the government retain the right to move the work, if the building were to be torn down.[66]

As progress on the revised Programme continued, a fundamental problem developed as a result of the failure of Bill C-(91). Due to a change in legislation, the Public Land Grants Act allowed Public Works to lease-to-purchase buildings. Since the government would not own the building, the question arose as to whether or not the

Minister of Public Works had the legislative authority to allocate public funds to commission works of art that would not belong to Canada. Bill C-(91) would have "provided a legislative base from which the Minister could have framed an Order-Council to gain that authority."[67] The Assistant Deputy Minister, then Guy Desbarats, decided that when the Fine Art Programme became active, only removable works of art would be commissioned for such properties until the problem was solved.

The Department probably would have been able to settle the issue of Bill C-(91) but throughout the early 1980s, the country was experiencing financial difficulties due to inflation and a growing debt. Then, in September of 1984, the Progressive Conservative party assumed leadership and funding to cultural agencies was cut by 5%. Rolfe continued his work until March of 1985 when he was directed to send out a memo regarding the fate of the Programme. In it he stated:

> I regret to have to tell you that, due to the necessity for fiscal restraint at this time, the formal Programme is cancelled. This does not preclude the Department from continuing to support artists or from buying Fine Art, but these endeavours will now be undertaken on an ad hoc basis when new construction or major renovation projects are planned.[68]

In this chapter, we have seen how Public Works Ministers Dubé and Buchanan took steps to overcome the Programme's negative public image through adopting Pelletier's notion of democratization. The Committee enlarged to include members of the public, artists, art critics, and architects—as well as representatives of the National Gallery, Canada Council, and Public Works. Competitions were now allowed, and the Advisory Committee members assumed accountability for their choices. In effect, these changes addressed some of the issues that bothered M.P. Ralph Stewart, the artists seeking commissions, and members of the public.

Sepp built on this revision by bringing to the Programme his wide breadth of experience. His innate faith in the abilities of the individual inspired him to make the Programme accessible to the people. Rather than ignoring controversy, he acknowledged it and sought to provide a forum where interested parties could discuss differing points of view. Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the Grain Commission fiasco was its timing. Had Sepp's Programme run for several successful years prior to the removal of *Number One Northern*, the loss of political support for the Programme that resulted from public criticism in 1973 may not have reoccurred in 1978. It is true that the government was experiencing economic restraints, yet the commissions for the Fine Art Programme were funded by the one-percent allocation, and the Programme staff was quite small.[69] It is more likely that political unease resurfaced with the Grain Commission event, thereby making the Progamme a convenient addition to the growing list of federal programmes to be cut. Moreover, with the establishment of the Canada Council Art Bank in 1972, a ready-made source for works of art became available to the federal government—without all the bother and expense of the commissioning process.

The idea that the passage of time might have saved the Fine Art Programme was borne out by its last rebirth under George Rolfe. Romeo LeBlanc supported it, as did the Department architects who had found it difficult to obtain Treasury Board approval for works of art after the Programme closed in 1978. Rolfe brought to the Programme a solid understanding of government policies and procedures. His revised policy empowered the Public Works Project Architects and Fine Art Programme Coordinator to determine if the building required art, thereby reducing the scope of the Programme.

Rolfe's vision of the Programme was centralist and bureaucratic in that the Minister of Public Works held ultimate approval of the art for public buildings.[70] He stipulated that the Advisory Committee members were advisors only, making recommendations based on expert opinions of professionals who were knowledgeable about the historical, social, and aesthetic value of the art. Also of great importance, as has become quite apparent over the past four decades, Rolfe recognized the need for ongoing maintenance of the commissioned works. When the Programme was cut in March of 1985, once again fiscal restraint was the stated cause. In fact, by the end of the Trudeau era, "the deficit was a staggering $33 billion on revenues of $64 billion."[71] Upon assuming leadership, the Progressive Conservative government created the "Canada Task Force on Program Review" (the Nielsen Report) to examine government programmes. Its study team determined that the "economic rationale for cultural programs [was] not strong...[It suggested, however,] that cultural programs should focus on assisting...individual members of the cultural community...[and] that programs should...channel support efficiently to a large number of individuals in the cultural community."[72] Rolfe's revised Fine Art Programme did not fit this criteria, particularly because it allowed for a more "ad hoc" approach and would therefore result in fewer building projects and works of art. Moreover, the Task Force study team found that the heritage value of the more than 230 existing works of art from the Fine Art Programme dictated the need for Public Works to establish a restoration and preservation programme. Rather than suggesting any revival of the Programme, the Nielsen Report recommended that "part of the acquisition budget

of the [Canada Council] Art Bank be devoted to funding works of fine art in...new federal buildings."[73]

ENDNOTES

[1] Margaret Robinette, Outdoor Sculpture: Object and Environment, (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1976): 10.

[2] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4430, file 26, Interim box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, 11. The Canadian Conference of the Arts was founded in 1945 as the Canadian Arts Council, and changed its name in 1957 with the establishment of the Canada Council. It is an independent nonprofit association of arts organizations and individuals in Canada, whose aims are to work for the encouragement and advancement of the arts in Canada, to serve the interests of Canadian artists, and to help advance cultural development of Canadian people. The NAC holdings are rich in documents and transcripts of speeches from the 1960s and early 1970s, but less so from the mid 1970s. Dubé's presentation is not included.

[3] "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, "Press Release," 124. There is no indication that Dubé changed the Programme's official policy document.

[4] "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, "Press Release," 124.

[5] National Library of Canada (hereafter NLC), Gérard Pelletier, "Towards a Definition of a Cultural Policy," Notes for an address given by Pelletier to the Montreal Board of Trade, (Montreal, Oct. 28, 1968): 7-8.

[6] The lists of Committee members in Appendix A reveal that, except for representatives of the public, this kind of representation was already on the Committee as early as 1971.

[7] "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 2-25, 1974, "Press Release," 125.

[8] "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, 33-34.

[9] "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, 10. There were two works in question: *Haida* by Robert Murray, sited in front of the Foreign Affairs building; *Untitled* by Hugh Leroy, sited at the southeast court of the Department of National Defence building. Leroy's sculpture was removed to an undisclosed location in the early 1990s, due to deterioration.

[10] Comments included: "pure charlatanism," "a piece of junk," "not art as far as I am concerned," "I like Modern Art, but not this," and "I don't understand Modern Art." NAC, PWC, VI 9609-0016, "Art for Whose Sake?" Produced by Michael Malby for CBC Television, c.1974, copyright PWC.

[11] NAC, PWC, VI 9609-0016, Ralph Stewart, MP for Cochrane, Ontario, interviewed by Janet Evans, "Art for Whose Sake?" Produced by Michael Malby for CBC Television, c.1974, copyright PWC.

[12] Ralph Stewart, "Art for Whose Sake?"

[13] Robert Murray, artist, interviewed by Janet Evans, "Art for Whose Sake?"

[14] Robert Murray, "Art for Whose Sake?"

[15] Guido Molinari, artist, interviewed by Janet Evans, "Art for Whose Sake?"

[16] K.C. Stanley, Chief Architect, PWC, interviewed by Janet Evans, "Art for Whose Sake?" At that time, neither art experts nor gallery officials explained or defended the art they sanctioned. The common

practice for members of elite groups was to make informed statements which, because of their expertise, were not questioned by the Department that sought their services.

[17] Luke Rombout, Director, Art Bank, interviewed by Janet Evans, "Art for Whose Sake?"

[18] Janet Evans, "Art for Whose Sake?"

[19] Gail Moorhead, former Fine Art Programme Administrative Assistant, telephone interview, March 2, 1999.

[20] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4430, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 17-18, 1974, 37-38.

[21] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4430, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 30-31, 1975, 3.

[22] National Gallery of Canada Archives, Curator's Research Papers, Mayo Graham, Box 1, "Fine Art Programme," "Ottawa Studio/Gallery Visits," May 15-16, 1976. Although they were never mentioned in the "Minutes" from 1968–1975, studio visits did occur after 1970 when the Committee began meeting in the Regions. Although no official Sub-Committee was formed, Stanley and the members determined that it would be one way of familiarizing the Consulting Architects and regional personnel with the artists and their work. Cole, personal interview, July 3, 2000.

[23] The May, 1976 Ottawa Studio/Gallery visits included: Jane Martin, Gerald Trotter, Jerry Grey, Carol Bretzloff, Gunther Nolte, Bruce Garner, Gerry La Force, Robert Trepannier, John Tappin, Hilde Scheier, Anne Orton, Joyce Devlin, Jennifer Dickson, Ric Gorman, Jim Boyd, Leslie Reid, Gord, Smith, Alex Wyse, Art Price, Carolyn Davis. For this and additional lists see National Gallery of Canada Archives, Curator's Research Papers, Mayo Graham, Box 1, "Fine Art Programme, "Studio/Gallery Visits, May, 1976."

[24] Leezah Cohen, former Fine Art Programme Coordinator, telephone interview, February 23, 1999.

[25] Leezah Cohen, telephone interview, February 23, 1999, and Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Executive Information Series," Part 1: Directives, Fine Art Programme, May, 1977, 11. This three-proposal system also required the artist to indicate the cost of each proposed work of art.

[26] Natalie Luckyj, personal files, The Fine Art Programme, A Policy Study and Examination of Management Procedures and Objectives, c.1977-1978, 10.

[27] Luckyj, personal files, The Fine Art Programme, A Policy Study and Examination of Management Procedures and Objectives, 8-9.

[28] George Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Executive Information Series," Part 1: Directives, Fine Art Programme, May, 1977, 1.

[29] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Executive Information Series," 1.

[30] In fact, Buchanan appointed David Silcox as Chairman of the Advisory Committee in 1977. David Silcox, personal interview, June 11, 2000.

[31] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Executive Information Series, " 2.

[32] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Executive Information Series," 3-4.

[33] Peeter Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[34] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[35] Sepp, personal files, DPW, "The Fine Art Programme," 5.

[36] Sepp, "The Fine Art Programme," 4-5.

[37] Sepp, "Fine Art Programme," 5.

[38] Luckyj, personal files, "The Fine Art Programme, A Policy Study and Examination of Management Procedures and Objectives," 40. It is also possible that the local Committees were set up, in part, as a cost saving measure because the expense of bringing together the main Committee was approximately $4,000 per two-day meeting.

[39] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[40] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[41] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[42] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[43] The Canadian Artists Representation or CAR, now called CARFAC was founded in 1968. It is a national, non-profit organization of professional visual artists. Its purpose is to promote the visual arts, aid artists in their practice, and improve the status of the artist in Canada. It is actively involved in copyright law issues and works on behalf of artists in relation to taxation, customs regulations, and health and safety issues.

[44] Peeter Sepp, "One Percent to the People! Who Pays and Why?" Art Magazine, Vol.9: 38/39, (June, 1978): 10.

[45] Sepp, personal files, Peeter Sepp, unpublished article, " The Politics of Public Art," July 23, 1979.

[46] The reason why the Grain Commission building did not have an art allowance was because, when the building was tendered some years earlier, "the budget was trimmed to the point of allowing no art work." "Memorandum" from Herbert Cole to Public Works Building Manager K. R. Gelhede, "Minutes of Meeting," May 24-25, 1973, Appendix M.

[47] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," May 24-25, 1973, 15, and Appendix M.

[48] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4430, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," May 23-24, 1974, 6. The idea seemed quite feasible as, by then, the Art Bank had purchased a number of large scale works of art that were not rented because they were not appropriate for most government offices. For more on the Art Bank, see Marianne Heggtveit, The Canada Council Art Bank: National Treasure, Support to Artists, or Decorating Service for Governments, unpublished Master's Thesis, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1993), and Mary M. Johnson, The Federal Government and the Politicization of the Canada Council: Exploring the Fine Line Between Accountability and Interference, unpublished Master's Thesis, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 2000): 53-64.

[49] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4430, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," July 11-12, 1974, 64. See also "Memorandum" from K.C. Stanley to S.E. Pupek, Public Works Project Manager, Western Region, Feb. 21, 1975, "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 30-31, 1975, Appendix M. The memo states: "It was recommended by the consulting architect, Mr. Ernie Smith, to hold a limited competition with five artists participating, in order to select an appropriate sculpture for the Canadian Grain Commission Building."

[50] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4430, file 26, "Memorandum" from K.C. Stanley to Public Works Deputy Minister J.A. MacDonald, Feb. 19, 1975, "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 30-31, 1975, Appendix M. It is likely that special funding arrangements were made for this building because it was an important project. The Grain Commission sold grain internationally, and was important for the Western Canadian economy. The Capital Vote allows for the regions to get budgetary funding through votes.

[51] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[52] NGC Archives, Mayo Graham Papers," Cathy Schaffter, "The Fine Art Programme: To Tinker of not?" The Winnipeg Tribune, (Aug. 5, 1978): 13.

[53] Mayo Graham Papers, "Letter" from Mayo Graham to Bob Osler, Acting Chief of Environmental Design, Aug. 9, 1977.

[54] Mayo Graham Papers, Ritchie Gage, "Artist Loses Two-Month Fight: Steel Sculpture Put in Storage," Winnipeg Free Press, Vol. 85, no. 282, (Sept.1, 1978): 1,3.

[55] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[56] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999. The competition for the Calgary Federal Building went ahead. The winning artists included Anna Marie Schmid-Esler, David Gilhooly, Wendy Toogood, Joyce Hall, Alan Wood, and Henry Saxe. Current Public Works records do not list Henry Saxe's exterior sculpture, but rather a work by Douglas Bentham.

[57] It was Pierre Elliot Trudeau who approved the construction of the new gallery building in Ottawa, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull.

[58] NLC, Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, (Ottawa: Department of Communications, Canada, 1982): 4.

[59] Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, 145. The Report referred to some of the Programme's past difficulties in relation to the integration of art and architecture; it did not call for a reinstatement of the Fine Art Programme per se, but rather recommended the formation of a Canadian Council for Design and Applied Arts, and that it would assume the responsibility of ensuring that federal buildings make extensive use of contemporary Canadian art and design, 165-166.

[60] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, Aide-Memoire, "Public Works Canada Fine Art Programme: The Purchase of Works of Art for Government of Canada Buildings," Sept. 4, 1984.

[61] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Corporate Projects Policy Committee Document: The New Fine Art Programme," July, 1984, 1. Eleven new or renovated buildings were proposed, including the Guy Favreau Building in Montreal, where Ulysse Comtois' interactive sculpture, *Untitled* was sited. It had been removed from the National Defence Building in the early 1970s, resited at the Tupper Building, and then moved to Guy Favreau; and the Winnipeg Taxation Data Centre, which became the home of John Nugent's *Number One Northern* until Oct. of 1992, when it was placed in storage at the St. Andrew Lock and Dam.

[62] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Public Works Canada Fine Art Programme: Operational Policy," July, 1984, 1-2.

[63] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Public Works Canada Fine Art Programme: Operational Policy," July, 1984, 2-3.

[64] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Public Works Canada Fine Art Progamme: Operational Policy," July, 1984, 3-4.

[65] Rolfe, personal interview, Oct. 29, 1999.

[66] Rolfe, personal interview, Oct. 29, 1999.

[67] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, Memorandum from the Assistant Deputy Minister of Design and Construction to the Deputy Minister, Re: "The effect of the failure of Bill C-(91) on the PWC Fine Art Programme," Sept. 19, 1984.

[68] Rolfe, personal files, PWC, "Memo," March 27, 1985.

[69] The cost of holding a Committee meeting was about $4000 in the mid 1970s. Luckyj, personal files, "The Fine Art Programme, A Policy Study and Examination of Management Procedures and Objectives," 40. Salaries and administrative costs came out of the Public Works operating budget and are not identified in the Public Works "Annual Reports" or the Public Accounts of Canada, "Estimates." However, in the Nov. 15-16, 1972 "Minutes of Meeting," it is confirmed that Stanley's earlier request to increase the Programme's budget to $25,000 had been approved, 5.

[70] This, of course, was always the case; however, it was Rolfe's contention that the Minister or his representative would be actively involved in approving the art.

[71] Mary Janigan, "'Not His Main Thing,' Trudeau Stumbled When it Came to the Economy," Maclean's, Special Commemorative Edition, Trudeau: His Life and Legacy, (Oct., 2000): 97.

[72] Erik Nielsen, Task Force on Program Review. Economic Growth, Culture and Communications: A Study Team Report to the Task Force on Program Review, (Ottawa: Canada Government Publications, Supply and Services, Canada, 1985, 12.

[73] Nielsen, 237.

CHAPTER THREE

A CLOSER LOOK

> In the absence of *shared* beliefs and even *common* interests, it should not be surprising that so much of the well-intentioned art acquired for public spaces has failed...[1]

The previous retrospective chapters set a context for a more detailed examination of the Fine Art Programme by focusing on the difficulties it experienced in relation to four particular issues: negative reception of the art, the decision-making power of its centralist Advisory Committee, regional response to the Programme, and government policy influenced by heightened social consciousness. This chapter examines the Programme's historical record through the lens of these four issues as a means of suggesting the role each played in its closure. However, because the Programme experienced problems related to these issues over a period of two decades (during which various solutions were implemented), their boundaries, at times, are blurred.

The theories of reception aesthetics and reception history will facilitate a more focused examination of the negative reception of the art by the public, certain Clients, political figures, and the media (although threads of these theories are woven into the three other categories as well). Selected works of art from three National Capital Region building projects will serve as case studies: The Department of National Defence Building (DND) (figs. 3-13), the External Affairs Building, now the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) (figs. 14-25), and the National Science Library, now the Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information (CISTI) (figs. 26-33). Where applicable, other individual works, sited in various Regions, will also

serve as examples. (All the works of art created for the three case study building projects are included in the illustrations, however, only a selection are discussed in the text.)

Diverse Horizons of Experience Influence Reception

Negative responses to the abstract works of art played a significant role in the closure of the Fine Art Programme. Such responses occurred because much of the public had not come to embrace abstraction—despite the fact that it was the dominant aesthetic among artists favoured by the Canada Council, National Gallery, and a number of commercial galleries. Abstraction was prevalent in Canada by the 1960s, after Canadian artists began travelling to Europe and the United States (often assisted by Council grants) for fine art training. Many painters followed the New York trends of abstract and geometric expressionism, colour field painting, pop and op art, minimalism, mixed media, and conceptual art. Sculpture also changed radically by the 1960s: traditional manifestations in stone, marble, and wood were replaced with abstract forms made from welded steel, aluminum, fibreglass, textiles, and found objects. As with the painters, Canadian sculptors felt similar pressures from the New York art scene—with David Smith's *Cubi* structures establishing the paradigm for technique and form. Some Canadian artists viewed this interest in American art as a threat to national cultural identity, though that opinion was not shared by all. Despite New York's influence, the Canadian art scene adopted abstraction more slowly than that in the United States; yet, regardless of the slower pace, the public was ill-prepared for it.

Reactions to the Fine Art Programme commissions suggest that abstraction presented problems for many people because they did not view it as a true art form. This

belief assumed that anyone could create an abstract work of art equal to or better than the one paid for with tax dollars. Moreover, as the press heard such sentiments, the resulting newspaper articles emphasized the use of public funds for unnecessary intangibles while more practical needs were ignored—a situation that further inflamed public opinion and diminished the potential for meaningful reception.[2]

The theories of reception aesthetics and reception history offer a method of examining this issue. Reception aesthetics draws a parallel between the act of reading a text and the act of beholding a work of art. It is the aesthetic cognate of reception theory, which evolved in the writings of several literary scholars, beginning in the 1960s with a marked shift in concern from the author and the text, to the text and the reader. In beholding a work of art, whether it is representational, abstract, or symbolic, viewers arrive at it with their own historical horizons of experience—based on their background, powers of observation, and education. They look for signs or symbols that communicate meaning and aid in fostering aesthetic, intellectual, or emotional connections with the art. This occurs as an internal questioning and answering process composed of a series of rapid, and usually unconscious, mental images which create meaning or significance. However, particularly in relation to abstract works, viewers often confront "gaps" in their understanding and they are forced to fill in those gaps with their own horizons of experience.[3] As in reading, so it is in viewing art—for it is the beholder who formulates expectations, modifies meanings, and determines which memories to apply to the work. During this process, the work of art can provide fertile ground for an ever expanding network of connections, either to past experiences or other relevant works that help to

establish significance and meaning. It is these connections that offer seemingly suitable answers to fill gaps, thereby allowing the art to speak and cause beholders to feel as though they know what the artist was trying to communicate. They may attribute meaning to the artist's inclusion of particular symbols or choice of colours. Unidentifiable shapes may allude to familiar objects or patterns, and viewers may perceive references to archetypal imagery, believing they were intended by the artist. It is the beholder's level of engagement and satisfaction with this process that allows for meaningful viewing.

Reception history is distinguishable in that it is used in art-historical research as a method of uncovering the ramifications of how past works were received by contemporaries—through an examination of written and oral material[4]. In his essay, "The Work of Art and Its Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetic of Reception," Wolfgang Kemp references three approaches to the practice of reception history. Two of those approaches will be adapted to suit our examination of the Fine Art Programme.[5] The first approach will focus the lens of certain cultural, political, and social events on the Fine Art Programme, thereby acknowledging their influence and uncovering reasons why particular decisions were made. The second approach deals with written and oral reactions of beholders to works of art. By examining recorded comments and press reports, it is possible to assess their impact on the Programme.[6]

One recurring complaint about the Programme, first noted when the Defence Building opened, was that the artists created abstract works that lacked relevance to the local audience (i.e., the Client, users of the building, and the local community). Many

people viewed them as unwelcome intrusions into familiar public sites. Abstract works can be particularly difficult to engage with because their impact often results from an appreciation of colours or shapes that resonate with the beholder, yet resist iconographic decipherment. Despite a subtle initial connection, discomfort arises if the work remains hermetic. When beholders first viewed Robert Murray's *Tundra, 1971, for Barnett Newman* and Hugh Leroy's *Untitled* sculpture at the new Defence Building, many responded with disgust and wonderment over why the government had spent their tax dollars on such strange meaningless "junk" (figs. 4, 5).

Plans for that building began in 1968, about the time when the Advisory Committee first met. However, then the Department of Transport was the intended Client. DND was housed in temporary quarters on Cartier Square (now where the Ontario Court House is located on Elgin Street), constructed just prior to the war. By the 1960s, plans were underway for new Defence headquarters on LeBreton Flats, then a large open area located near Wellington and Booth. Public Works intended the building to be the focal point for the western edge of Parliament Hill, complete with a piazza akin to that at San Marco Cathedral in Venice, Italy! The public square was to be embellished with three towers representing the Army, Navy, and Airforce, and serve as a site for major functions.[7] However, in 1968 (following a proposal by Defence Minister Paul Hellyer in a 1964 White Paper[8]) the armed forces were unified and plans for DND headquarters with its Italianesque square were cancelled. Because DND's needs changed, the Cabinet determined that it, rather than Transport, would move into the building on Colonel By Drive.[9]

Originally, the central interior corridor of the building, spanning the distance between the McKenzie King and Laurier bridges, was conceived as a public pedway. The Consulting Architect proposed two murals, two tapestries, and a sculpture for that space which were sited in 1973 (figs. 7-11). However, due to security requirements at DND, access to the corridor was limited to entrants with specific purposes. The works were rarely viewed by anyone other than those who worked in the building and they received little, if any, negative publicity. But the exterior sculptures by Murray and Leroy (figs. 4, 5), as well as Murray's *Haida*, sited in front of Foreign Affairs in 1972 (fig. 15), provoked derogatory articles in the press that ultimately caused Public Works Minister Dubé to alter the Programme's policy.

The deprecatory articles, beginning immediately after DND opened in 1973, included provocative tactics such as sarcasm, name calling, and false or misleading statements. Some of the disparaging references included: "blob," "a shovel," "artistic rip-off," "welded junk and scrap metal," "monstrosity," "non-art," "a symbol to government waste and stupidity," and "avant garde nonsense."[10] The abstract works were problematic because they required a context that would create meaning and significance for beholders. Without a background in Modernism, viewers commonly responded by equating the work of art with other familiar, and sometimes worthless, objects—as if to say anyone could do as well and if that's the case, the work "is a rip-off."[11] However, when the press used "jokes" and "sarcasm" to associate the art with mundane or useless objects and anti-art assumptions, it "inhibit[ed] (if not prohibit[ed]) any other reading of the work."[12] Artist Hugh Leroy considered the press as delinquent for presenting the

most uninformed point of view and magnifying it.[13] Author and educator Harriet Senie has also blamed the press for similar occurrences in the United States, but held the artists and public art administrators culpable as well, "for ignoring the total context within which public art exists and therefore the possibility of just such responses."[14]

The public's anger and resentment, expressed through derogatory articles in the press, not only reflected the viewers' efforts to make sense of something they did not understand, but also demonstrated an awareness of the hegemonic relationship of government. The Programme provided cultural enrichment for Canadians as a kind of benefit of good citizenship through the payment of taxes.[15] Yet, throughout its first ten years (1964-74), Programme personnel never consulted or prepared the public before placing the unfamiliar objects in familiar places.[16] This deprived the public of a way to establish a context for the art—which itself presented difficulties in light of Canada's diversity and insufficient common interests or beliefs. According to Canadian artist Jerry Grey: "Too much art seemed to me simply large scale museum art, good in itself but requiring more attention, sophistication, and experience than most people bring to public places."[17] The beholders, whose horizons of experience lacked the attributes listed by Grey, found themselves confronted by the gap. Robert Murray suggested that by offering the work one's "attention" it was possible to have a dialogue with it. He recommended that viewers ask and answer questions about its size, material, and colour, and then analyze the work by using that information and allowing the art to reveal itself. "The key" stated Murray, " is not to expect instant gratification from abstraction."[18]

However, too many beholders lacked the "sophistication" and "education" to appreciate Murray's or Leroy's sculptures.

Although contemporary works were exhibited at public and commercial galleries, viewing them in such venues was a matter of choice for those so inclined. Typically, gallery visitors were "better educated, affluent, young, and mobile." A 1974 Canadian Government survey revealed that over three-fourths of the 1,033 respondents with undergraduate and graduate degrees had visited a gallery within the preceding twelve months; less than a third of the 4,054 elementary school graduates and just over half of the 2,722 high school graduates made such visits. [19] Similarly, periodicals such as Art Magazine, Artscanada (now Canadian Art), and Architecture Canada were readily available, though primarily read by the culturally informed. Modernism may have been the dominant aesthetic among critics and curators, but at least sixty-percent of the paintings sold at Canadian contemporary art galleries were by artists working in representational styles.[20]

If the works of art were created with an ideal beholder in mind, as Kemp proposed in "The Work of Art and Its Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetic of Reception,"[21] then for whom were these abstract works created? We have seen that they were of the same genre as other contemporary works in galleries. Such works reflect the artist's self-directed creative process, a kind of response to materials or one's personal aesthetic, rather than a response to subject matter. This way of working evolved out of modernist traditions, a familiar context for curators, critics, art historians, other contemporary artists, and some university educated gallery visitors. Generally, however,

the public's horizon of experience was informed by "representational" artwork and the derogatory newspaper articles; and, at that time, there existed no conventional art world ideology that endorsed counteracting negative publicity or public opinion by writing educative articles directed at the public. Clearly though, in order for Canadians to appreciate the works created for them, the Programme required a subtle educational component.[22] The presence of hermetical works on familiar territory spawned resentment and militated against the Programme's future success. Without a context to facilitate an appreciation of the works, taxpayers contacted their local politicians and press, eventually generating questions about the Programme in Parliament and the Cabinet.

Nearly every derisive article emphasized the amount of money paid to the artists, suggesting that the sum was extravagant. Senie commented on this situation in "Baboons, Pet Rocks, and Bomb Threats:"

> When art and money are juxtaposed (as they frequently are on the front page of newspapers), the inevitable association is one of ...excessive spending when public money is involved. Although the intrinsic value of art is not translatable into monetary terms, in our consumer culture money is easier to understand than art and it appears to be an accessible and accurate barometer of worth.[23]

In addition to the press coverage, Public Works received phone calls and letters expressing dislike for the Murray and Leroy sculptures. People were angry over government spending for abstract art while other more immediate national social problems, such as poverty and education, required funds. Others wanted the money spent on practical necessities such as roads. This put Public Works and Programme officials on the defensive. Cole arranged for his small staff to respond to the letters and calls by explaining that the Programme contributed to Canadian cultural development.

They pointed out that the fee paid to the artist covered the cost of materials, studio rental, fabrication, site visits, long distance phone calls, transportation of the work, and insurance for the piece until it was successfully installed.[24] It often took up to four years before a proposed work of art was approved and installed—resulting in financial losses for some artists.

When the Foreign Affairs Building opened in 1973, criticism from the press focused on three works, but Murray's *Haida* was the primary target (fig. 15). Usually it was associated with the Defence Building's *Tundra 1971, for Barnett Newman* (fig. 4), which probably intensified the negative responses—the rationale being not one but two publicly funded "piles of scrap metal" by the same artist.[25] The Foreign Affairs Building was a high-profile project and its opening generated significant attention from the public and press. Despite some security restraints, a large portion of the ground floor was (and remains) open to the public. As a result, certain interior works received criticism, particularly *Veneration of the White Collar Worker* and *Veneration of the Blue Collar Worker*, by Vancouver artist Gathie Falk (figs. 21, 22). Occupying two 74 foot walls of the cafeteria, the ceramic murals received daily scrutiny. In the cafeteria courtyard, Arthur Handy's *Untitled* red steel sculpture was compared to "a roof-top at ground level" (fig. 23). Once again, the press used sarcasm and focused on the cost of the of the art.[26] One of Falk's murals provided subject matter for the Ottawa Citizen's cartoonist, and a photograph of the mural was printed on the paper's front-page.[27] This caused concern at Public Works. The Capital Region Manager of Design and Construction sent copies of the two images with a memo to the Assistant Deputy

Minister, then L. A. Deschamps, stating: "I honestly think that DPW's reputation suffers from such art works as the attached indicates. I can see nothing but apologies being made for this particular work for many years to come."[28] A Foreign Affairs representative (interviewed for the article) responded by stating that Public Works, rather than Foreign Affairs was responsible for the art.[29]

The national and international importance of the Foreign Affairs Building project required that the Client play a more prominent role in the art selection process. Christine Perks, the Project Architect for the Foreign Affairs Building, "cleared" the art proposals with the Client before the Fine Art Programme Committee members viewed them.[30] She prepared a slide presentation for the Committee to acquaint them with the building environment and the reasons for the particular works proposed by the Consulting Architect.[31] The building was to be a showcase for visiting dignitaries, with exquisite (and costly) furnishings throughout, particularly on the upper floors.[32] Foreign Affairs demonstrated more than a casual interest in the arts; it established a Cultural Affairs Division in 1966, and in 1970, purchased a large collection of contemporary works from the Canada Council for the purpose of promoting Canadian art and artists in the various embassies and chanceries around the world. In addition, a selection of works from its collection is exhibited during the summer to enhance public tours.

Foreign Affairs also commissioned a large scale mural as a tribute to former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's career at Foreign Affairs (fig. 24). Pearson had been an Ambassador to the United States, Under Secretary to the Deputy Minister, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Moreover as

President of the General Assembly of United Nations, "he raised Canada's status in the world to that of a leading power in search of peace and security."[33] The Fine Art Programme Advisory Committee was invited to participate with the Foreign Affairs art committee in judging a limited competition for the mural. The selected artists included Anne Kahane, Christopher Pratt, Leo Mol, John Matthews, Ted Bieler, Richard Turner, and Jordi Bonet. At the first meeting, Committee members stressed the importance of choosing well-established artists and they suggested that Ron Bloore, Charles Gagnon, Jack Chambers, and Jack Shadbolt be included.[34] The Foreign Affairs committee, which had already decided that the mural would include quotations (in English and French) from Pearson's speeches, agreed with the additions. The judging took place at Foreign Affairs in January of 1974 and Charles Gagnon was awarded the commission.[35]

The Fine Art enhancements to the Foreign Affairs and National Defence Buildings foreground the importance of each Client's horizon of experience—the impact of which affected how the works of art were promoted and cared for by each Client. Foreign Affairs was concerned with the country's political and economic interests, as well as its various mission sites in over one hundred countries. It also promoted awareness of Canada's cultural identity and its cultural industries abroad through its Cultural Affairs Division, established in January of 1966.[36] Foreign Affairs assumed a uniquely active role in approving the artists and works of art for its Headquarters building by forming its own art advisory committees. Included in the Foreign Affairs fine art advisory committee for the Lester B. Pearson Memorial were F. Tovell, then the Director of Cultural Affairs, D.T. Fortier, then the Assistant Under Secretary of State; J.C.G. Brown,

of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of Communications and General Services; and G. Pearson (son of Lester B. Pearson) and then Chairman of the Policy Analysis Group.[37] By extrapolating from social scientist John Porter's model of elite power groups, it can be stated that the Foreign Affairs advisory committee was endowed with "the recognized right to make effective decisions on behalf of [others]."[38] These bureaucratic and political elites attained status, in part, through academic excellence and professional recognition. Characteristically, they were recruited for their specialized knowledge; they held common values as well as possible collegial links through educational institutions, club memberships, social interactions, friendships, and ethnicity.

The "Minutes of Meeting" do not list which Foreign Affairs personnel comprised the committee that reviewed the remaining nine works of art (that is, those commissioned by the Public Works Fine Art Programme), but most likely its members would have had similar attributes. Foreign Affairs leadership included an ample number of Rhodes Scholars, as well as those who attended Cambridge and Oxford. Its staff consisted of arts and humanities graduates chosen for their wide scholarship, moral qualities, and idealism. Of the three to four thousand applicants taking the foreign service exam, five to fifteen percent are interviewed with about twenty individuals chosen.[39] Staff from the Cultural Affairs Division shared the Fine Art Programme Advisory Committee's desire to choose Canada's best artists, and they demonstrated their aesthetic awareness by seeing to it that the department's entire collection of art was carefully maintained and promoted.[40]

The situation with National Defence was quite different. We saw how, when the armed forces were united and DND required new Headquarters sooner than originally

planned, the Cabinet Ministers determined that Defence would become the Client for the building on Colonel By Drive. The art had been approved by the Advisory Committee, and if the Client expressed reservations about the works, there is no record of it. By the time the new building was completed, Defence was concerned with much larger issues than the abstract nature of the building's art—issues that also affected the horizons of experience and attitudes of DND decision makers.

Canadian armed forces had undergone several changes after World War II; most remarkable was the diminished quality of its education and training programmes. Author, historian, and retired lieutenant-colonel John English cites the event as the cause of the "professional decline within the army."[41] In the 1950s, officers had been required to excel on intellectually challenging examinations in order to attend the Canadian army staff college and achieve advancements in rank. However, after 1964, the Canadian armed forces assumed the primary role of peacekeeping. A few years later, following unification, the system of training officers underwent substantial modifications. The focus on military training was subsumed by executive development and the intellectually challenging qualification exams were terminated, "which more than any one other factor accounted for [the forces'] professional regression."[42] Instead, promotions were often based on subjective criteria, resulting in many less qualified officers attending the Canadian army staff college. Entrance exams to the college no longer required high marks, yet its graduates still went on to attain senior rank—with some reaching lieutenant-general.[43]

All this occurred in a mercurial climate: disenchantment intensified when the Canadian forces were assigned indistinguishable uniforms after unification. In 1971, the Management Review Group recommended streamlining the military and civilian staff at Defence. By 1972, DND Headquarters had become a huge bureaucracy mainly concerned with procurement and administration,[44] resulting in a certain urgency to move to its new location. Most of the military's elite senior officers at Defence in the 1970s (General, Brigadier General, Major General, and Colonel) were World War II veterans; many were "grass-roots" recruits and enlisted men who, because of their exceptional performance during the war, were promoted.[45] At the new National Defence Building, the combination of "old-school" officers and younger "less qualified" officers (contributing to disenchantment among the ranks), the various administrative changes, and the Cabinet's decision to locate Defence in a building designed and *embellished for another department*, paralleled the placement of DND in a building in which eight works of art seemed irrelevant by comparison.[46] DND elite tolerated the art even though the works related to neither the function of the military nor its identity. (The fate of these works will be discussed in the next section.)

The Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information (CISTI) is, to this day, considered to be one of the most successful Fine Art Programme projects. CISTI is not only the principal repository for scientific information in Canada, and a research facility for scientists from around the world, but also offers remote access to its users. When it opened in 1974, Committee member Dorothy Cameron found it to be "the most successful amalgam of art in an architectural setting in a public building in this country,

ever"[47] (figs. 26-33). Although the works were not integrated with the architecture as well as Consulting Architect Steve Irwin had hoped for, this shortcoming occurred because of "the elephantine gestation period involved," rather than ineffectuality.[48] The architectural firm was hired in 1964 and its design achieved in 1968, but the plans subsequently underwent two years of alterations. Construction began in 1971 and the building opened in 1974.

Prior to the information age, CISTI was called the National Science Library, located in the National Research Council's (NRC) main building at 100 Sussex Drive. For years, the Chief Librarian, then Dr. Jack Brown, had been requesting that the NRC provide a separate library facility. The NRC initiated construction of a series of new buildings at the Montreal Road Campus in 1939, and some years later CISTI became part of the "master plan."[49] However, the rapid evolution of technology made it difficult to determine its exact needs; yet Brown persevered until 1964 when the planning began in earnest.

Originally, the NRC did not want CISTI (also known as the Jack Brown Building) to participate in the Fine Art Programme. However, because Irwin was a staunch supporter of the Programme's ideals, he anticipated the possibility for art and designed the building accordingly—and eventually the NRC did agree to include art in the new library building.[50] When the Committee approved the Consulting Architect's art submissions, Cole met with Brown and the NRC Executive Council to review them. Although the Programme's policy and procedures did not require the Client to review the art proposals, Cole did so as a courtesy.[51] Brown expressed pleasure with all the

proposed works, but the NRC Executive Council was indifferent—it was comprised of scientists and engineers whose principal concerns centred around the successful function of CISTI rather than its appearance.[52] However, when they viewed the completed project, the Executive Council members praised the art for its relevance to CISTI's *raison d'être*. The artists succeeded in incorporating various scientific concepts into the works of art, and those concepts were within the parameters of most beholders' horizons of experience. Moreover, the media coverage was favourable.

Bentham's *Prairies* (fig. 27), sited outside, in front of the building's main entrance, did not engender the same response. The Consulting Architect's original proposal suggested a vertically oriented sculpture by Ron Baird, to be located at the south (rear) entrance of the building. Later, he decided to relocate it to the north (main) entrance and to change its design to an horizontal configuration and site it farther from the building. Irwin wrote to the Committee, stating that this was to "allow the sculpture to be viewed from [the] existing buildings, [and by] visitors to the Library, and...passing traffic on Montreal Road...We feel that the sculpture should be...large...participative in nature...and most strongly recommend our original artist, Ron Baird."[53] But the Committee rejected Baird as the artist, suggesting instead that Irwin consider siting two or three works on the large expansive north lawn. They recommended Hugh Leroy, Douglas Bentham, and Tim Whiten.[54] Bentham's approved proposal described a work of overlapping plates of steel "spreading horizontally at a height of twelve to fifteen feet and spanning an area of twenty-five to thirty feet."[55] In the end, Bentham's *Prairies* was smaller than he envisaged, but this may have been due to the cost of creating such an

enormous work because the contract only awarded him $24,000. Its location in front of the main entrance provoked negative response from the Client and NRC personnel, although the specialized nature of the NRC precluded any significant exposure of the work to the public. Unfortunately, its installation coincided with the negative publicity surrounding Murray's *Tundra* and Leroy's *Untitled* at DND and Murray's *Haida* at DFAIT (figs.4, 5, 15). As a result, Bentham's *Prairies* was perceived as more of the same (fig. 27). One writer quoted a CISTI employee who stated: "This thing is more trash foisted on us by the Department of Public Works."[56] The sculpture was made of Cor-Ten steel, a material designed to oxidize to a uniformly rusted surface. It was the target of far fewer such articles than the Murray or Leroy works; nevertheless, in the early 1980s, the Client removed the sculpture and placed it in a storage facility on the campus.[57] At the time, its removal was rationalized. Rumours circulated about its potential public safety hazard because of its sharp edges; some purported that the site had to be dug up in order to work on a water main. In reality, *Prairies* resonated with neither CISTI nor the NRC. The elite in those institutions, highly educated in the sciences, preferred the interior works by Michael Hayden, Joyce Wieland, Robin Mackenzie, Nobuo Kubota, Jean Noel, and Glenn Lewis—each of which established a cogent connection between the sciences and art (figs. 28-33).

During the construction phase, Public Works and Programme personnel remained optimistic about how these three buildings, as well as other buildings across the country, would be received. The Department was involved in a national Programme intended to integrate art and architecture, benefit the Canadian people, demonstrate

Canada's world-class cultural status, and establish a federal presence in the Regions. The uproar created over the works by Murray, Leroy, and Bentham (and to a lesser degree, Falk) motivated Stanley and Cole to solicit favourable reviews by art critics. As a result, several laudatory articles were published in the press in 1973-1974.[58] However, the most outstanding coverage came when Artscanda devoted an entire issue to public art.[59] After numerous written attacks on Leroy's sculpture, Louis Dudek, a poet and Professor of English at McGill University, countered the one-sided reports by interviewing the artist. This allowed Leroy to explain the expenses incurred in creating such a work and that abstract sculptures could be better appreciated if viewed with a different mindset than when viewing a representational work.[60] More than four years later, Pearl Oxorn described her response to Leroy's work:

> ...the elegant 28-foot high sculpture is a work of imposing authority. Startling in its effect, it invites contemplation. In harmony with the massive building, it conveys a feeling of solidarity by its size and scale. Seen from the terrace of national defense headquarters, one experiences the stability of its fluid linear movement; from the Nicholas Street side, against the background of the huge building, it has perceptually diminished in size, yet it holds its own because of its directional emphasis. It is energy forcing itself upward and we empathize with its thrust as it echoes the massive pillars. It also gives the building an identity." [61]

Such a description does not necessitate an extensive art background; it does demonstrate how an open mind can respond. Leroy's was not a difficult work—its relation to the building was quite obvious. Oxorn's statement suggests that a work of art speaks to the beholder because he or she chooses to engage with it.

During the early years of the Programme, the public needed to know that there existed no particular proper reception of abstract works of art. Had there been an educational component to the Programme, the threatening nature of abstraction may

have been mitigated. However, theories on art in the public interest were borne of such programmes as this one. Scholarly research began in the 1970s and most texts, overwhelmingly by American writers, were not published until well into the 1980s and 1990s. Author Margaret A. Robinette, in the vanguard of such research, addressed public response by conducting a survey and publishing the results in the 1976 text Outdoor Sculpture: Object and Environment. She found that most people "[felt] that the arts [were] important to the quality of life in their communities...[and] that public funding of such programs [was] generally favoured; and that outdoor sculpture [was] recognized as an important, positive element in [the] urban environment."[62] Dubé found this to be true when he conducted his informal survey in front of DND. Although most of his interviewees expressed dislike for the sculpture, they supported the concept of publicly funded art. Robinette proposed that public taste alone should not be the criteria for selecting the works of art, but "one thing is certain...people do like to be consulted about their feelings towards the art,"[63] After many struggles, Programme personnel recognized the need for and developed ways to inform and involve the public. Peeter Sepp opened the selection process up to those who were interested. He embraced controversy as a mode of fostering discussion and understanding. But all that did not occur until the Advisory Committee underwent a sea change.

The Fine Art Programme Advisory Committee: Centralist Ideology in a Decentralized Department

The two principal forces within the Fine Art Programme were the Public Works civil servants who took care of its administration and the Advisory Committee which approved of the artists, the works of art, and in the early days, advised on matters of

policy and procedures. The 1965 Cabinet approval of the Programme occurred prior to the implementation of the policy of decentralization at Public Works, and for that reason, its mandate was predicated on centralist ideals. Langford's original proposal empowered a three person committee of experts to approve the artists and their works. However, in 1968, when Public Works prepared to put the Programme into effect, the Department was decentralized and the Committee expanded to include representatives from each of the six regions.

During those interim years, Public Works found itself in one of its busiest phases. National prosperity and recently implemented social programmes and centennial projects necessitated the construction of several new administration and special purpose buildings—the National Arts Centre (NAC) representing the quintessential example of Canada's cultural maturity during the 1960s. Prime Minister Pearson presented it as a centennial gift to the Canadian people. As Chief Architect of the Design Directorate Special Projects Group, Langford was involved with the NAC project and he witnessed the inestimable value of expert advice when administering a visual art programme. He and Herbert Cole (the NAC Project Architect prior to becoming the Fine Art Programme Coordinator) found the kind of arts *savoir faire* they required through association with NAC Project Coordinator G. Hamilton Southam,[64] Canada Council Associate Director Peter Dwyer (1966-1967), Canada Council Arts Officer David Silcox (1965-1970). When the Fine Art Programme Advisory Committee members were appointed in 1968, each represented a Public Works region as well as a particular area of visual arts-related expertise. During their first meeting, after some discussion between Langford, Stanley,

Cole, and the committee members, it was determined that the Committee would request that a Canada Council representative become a permanent member.[65] The Canada Council representative quickly became a prominent force in the Committee.

With the strength of conviction borne of the Council's arm's-length relationship with the government, as well as the six independent experts and the National Gallery representative, the Committee emerged as a quasi-autonomous force with centralist ideals. For the first six years of the Programme, until Public Works Minister Dubé altered the make-up of the Committee to include public representation, the membership embodied arts professionals from cultural and academic institutions. During those years, at least seventeen, if not all eighteen members of the Committee had undergraduate degrees, four had master's degrees, and two had doctorates.[66] *En masse*, they formed a small elite group representing curatorial and artistic or architectural practice, gallery directorships, journalism, and university department chairs and professors. They operated in a particular space with a collective horizon of experience that differed from the Clients, occupants of the buildings, and the public. The Committee functioned as an extension of the Public Works bureaucracy, sanctioned to make decisions concerning public art on behalf of the Canadian people. As is the case in bureaucratic administration, the members exercised a certain level of control over the Programme based on their knowledge. Porter writes that "power rests on knowledge" and that in some instances "experts actually run the bureaucratic organizations where they work."[67] Although the members did not *run* the Fine Art Programme, their horizons of experience empowered them with a certain ascendancy. For example, the Committee preferred to

suggest the artists to the Consulting Architects rather than have them make their own choices; rejected open competitions even though Public Works did not oppose them and artists requested them; did not consider emerging artists as eligible for commissions; and was reluctant to respond to Stanley's plea that it publicly defend the Programme. The Committee decided which artists were of a calibre to represent the best in Canadian art. In effect, the members were culturally informed advocates of modernism and understood that the roots of abstraction lay in particular nineteenth century events that inspired artists to assert their own creative freedom of expression. The members were chosen for their knowledge and experience because they possessed attributes not commonly held by those with interests in other fields. They chose artists, not only for their impressive exhibition records, but for their creative originality, ability to articulate their ideas in written form, and how they represented the latest international art trends. Focusing on building Canada's cultural reputation rather than appealing to public interest, the Committee reserved its approval for artists with star power.

As architects, Langford, Stanley, and Cole received an education that included an aesthetic training, but not equivalent to that of the Committee members. They were interested in the visual arts, but admittedly, did not have the necessary expertise to approve the artists or the works of art proposed by the Consulting Architects. Each worked in private architectural practice prior to their employment in the public sector. During the early 1960s, Langford was a Public Works Deputy Minister for the Province of Saskatchewan; Stanley was Construction Coordinator for Expo; and Cole was the Project Architect for the National Arts Centre.

Public Works viewed the Committee as a mandatory component of the Programme. As a result of this situation, the Committee tended to disregard the wishes of those who did not share its horizon of experience. For instance, at the second Committee meeting Stanley mentioned that some problems had come up with the artwork for the Research Laboratory in Harrow, Ontario. The Client did not see the value of spending large amounts of money on art when their project needed funding for research programmes, equipment, and staff. The Committee had already approved a sculpture by Ron Baird and a mural by Ted Bieler at the first meeting. But the Client decided that one mural would suffice, and that Baird (who was both a painter and sculptor) should do the mural rather than Bieler. The Committee defended its decision, stating that Bieler should receive the commission as originally planned, but Stanley warned them that "a major confrontation between ...Public Works and one of the client Departments before the Treasury Board at this time might result in a withdrawal of the Fine Art Programme policy altogether."[68] Nevertheless, the Committee did not change its position.

Similarly, the Committee required numerous changes to proposals for the Government of Canada Building in North York, Ontario. Jeanne Parkin wrote about this project in Art and Architecture: Art for the Built Environment in the Province of Ontario. She stated:

> [The Committee's recommendations] resulted in enormous problems and frustrations for both architect and artist, who felt this was unnecessary bureaucratic interference...In most instances, the Committee's alterations were based on purely subjective, aesthetic judgment by individuals who had no previous involvement in the development of the project. This weighty bureaucracy was one of the most glaring deficiencies in the Federal Government's one-percent for art programme, and applied, not only to this case, but to most of the DPW projects.[69]

In 1968, when the members first viewed the eight proposals for the National Defence building, the Department of Transport was still the Client. When DND became the Client, the Committee recommended that the works be accepted, stating that they were "excellent."[70] However, DND officials believed that, due to the tacit importance of Canada's defence, the building and its works of art should be consistent with its function—and for that reason they disapproved of the abstract nature of the works, [71] though there were no complaints to Programme personnel recorded in the "Minutes of Meeting." In the early 1990s, after years of neglect, as well as structural damage, Hugh Leroy's sculpture was removed. According to Public Works records, it is listed as missing.[72] By the later 1990s, a few years after Defence had restricted all public access to the building's central corridor during the Gulf War conflict, the office of the Minster of Defence gave instructions for the murals by Guido Molinari and Jacques Hurtubise to be replaced by murals of military battle scenes (figs. 12,13). In fact, the corridor now has numerous military images, on loan from the War Museum. Within a year after the building opened, the interactive stainless steel sculpture by Ulysse Comtois (fig. 11) was arranged in a fixed position and bound with brown paper after an individual injured a finger while manipulating the arms of the work. Shortly thereafter, it was moved to the Tupper Building and later transferred to the Guy Favreau Building in Montreal. Although Defence would prefer it, the tapestries by Mariette Rousseau-Vermette and Micheline Beauchemin cannot be removed until after the deaths of the artists, due to special contract arrangements[73] (figs. 9, 10). Robert Murray's *Tundra 1971, for Barnett Newman* was repainted in the Fall of 2000 (fig. 4). Gino Lorcini's exterior sculpture, also

refurbished in 2000, is the only work that remains free from criticism. A brigadier general proposed a possible reason: "It looks like troops at attention"[74] (fig. 6). These activities were part of a larger building improvement project which included new landscaping for the area where Hugh Leroy's *Untitled* had been located (fig. 36).

The negative response to the art by the public and the scathing articles in the press (particularly the interview with Ralph Stewart) motivated Stanley to ask the Committee whether or not their representation was broad enough to consider the interests of all Canadians. The Committee reiterated its intent to pursue the highest standards of quality, [75] but the negative publicity motivated Dubé to alter the make-up of the Committee in 1974. He reconfigured it to include two public representatives, two artists, two architects, two critics, plus the NGC and Canada Council representatives. He suggested that the members publicly defend the Programme, which it preferred to do by proxy through supportive art critics such as Anita Aarons, Michael Greenwood, Kay Kritzwiser, Hugo McPherson, and Douglas Richardson.[76] In addition, Public Works published a two-colour sixteen-page booklet which described the Programme and included images of selected works of art. Because the Department considered CISTI to be a successful and well-received example of the Programme's achievements, it produced a black-and-white illustrated booklet on the building. However, it was not until Sepp began his programme of public education in 1977 that the works of art were contextualized and the public was invited to learn about the Programme and participate in the selection process. But by then, the Fine Art Programme was not engaged in any new major building projects in Ottawa and the opportunity to alter perceptions in regard

to DND, Foreign Affairs, and CISTI had been greatly diminished, if not lost. One of the last Fine Art Programme works sited in the National Capital Region was *The Great Canadian Equalizer*, by Jerry Grey (fig. 37). It was installed at the Jean Talon Statistic Canada Building in 1978.[77]

Prior to the change in the Committee's make-up, the members viewed themselves as fulfilling the Programme's mandate to provide the nation with the best in Canadian art—and for them, that meant contemporary art. As elites, their paternalist perspective resulted from their expertise as well as their belief that people would come to embrace the works in much the same way as those by the Group of Seven eventually were accepted. Defending or explaining the art was never part of their purview because, at that time, things were not done that way. The fact that Public Works brought together an Advisory Committee comprised from various elite groups was consistent with bureaucratic methodology.[78] To be fully rationalized, the Department needed experts and it recruited individuals with the best qualifications. By forming an Advisory Committee of elites, the Department could rely on the members' broad range of expertise without assuming full responsibility for the decisions made.

Considering the Impact of Regional Interests

The decentralization of Public Works resulted in the appointment of six Regional Directors who reported to Headquarters, yet were essentially autonomous in relation to the administration of the building projects in their own Regions.[79] Programme Manager Herbert Cole had access to six regional programme managers who kept him informed on

regional activities and helped facilitate the Programme's day-to-day operation. They were civil servants who performed that function in addition to their full-time positions.

Early on, problems arose when certain Regional Directors responded unenthusiastically to the Programme. In part, this occurred because there was some leeway in the Programme's application. Only new public access federal buildings were to be included in the Programme.[80] Yet, without a precise definition of public access, there was room for interpretation. Then, when the Regions became semi-autonomous, the directive from Headquarters to include works of art in their regional buildings seemed more like interference, particularly because the Programme required that nationally recognized artists rather than local favourites be considered for commissions. Regional personnel also expressed frustration over the lack of comprehensive information on Programme policy and procedures.

When Stanley and Cole made the decision to hold the Committee meetings in the Regions rather than at Headquarters, it mitigated some of the tension, but there were still those Regional Directors who viewed art (specifically abstract art) as a frivolous government expenditure for the new regional federal buildings. This became increasingly significant with inflation in the early 1970s. There were some Clients who resented Headquarters' mandatory one-percent art allowance in the face of rising construction costs. Moreover, Public Works' civil servants with intentions of career advancement were uneasy about being associated with the kind of negative press and public criticism that Ottawa experienced with the DND and Foreign Affairs buildings. Potential Assistant Deputy Ministers did not want to be linked to negative publicity.

The significance of regionalism in relation to the Programme is situated in a broader context of regionalist/nationalist tensions during the 1960s and 1970s. Since the end of World War II, the country had been profiting economically from the federal government's decision to provide raw materials to the Europeans and Americans. The benefits of this government action enhanced the public's appreciation for the kind of prosperity enjoyed in North America and created optimism and the notion that government "should assume responsibility for sustaining high levels of employment and economic growth."[81] However, another effect was the establishment of a government, centralized in Ottawa, and reluctant to give up its power to the provinces.[82] Over the years, the image of a prosperous and unified nation contrasted with various regional aspirations. When the government embarked upon its policy of decentralization, it allowed for federal bureaucracies, such as Public Works, to be regionally situated, thereby providing sources of employment for areas in need of economic bolstering, while establishing a federal presence in the provinces.

There are various ways to define a region: it can be equated with a province;[83] it can be conceived of as a metropolitan centre with its hinterland, such as Toronto and its surrounds; or defined by its climate and geography, such as Atlantic, Central, Prairie, and Pacific.[84] The Ontario Region, which includes most of the province (except the area designated the Capital Region) is home to Toronto, the nation's financial hub. Its per capita income, during the years of the Fine Art Programme, was nearly double that of the most impoverished provinces. It dominated the country in manufacturing corporations, population, employment, and cultural achievement.[85] Toronto could claim the National

Ballet, the Art Gallery of Toronto (later the Art Gallery of Ontario), the Ontario Society of Artists, and the Royal Canadian Academy. Ottawa held the title of national capital, but at that time, it was considered a cultural hinterland compared to Toronto—the Ontario Regional Director might have been less than enthusiastic about direction from Ottawa in cultural matters.

We saw in the previous section how the Committee ignored the Client's wishes concerning the mural for the Research Laboratory in Harrow, Ontario. As a result, Stanley sent a memo to the Ontario Region Chief of Design stating: "...the Client should not be ignored. Every attempt should be made to win them over to the concept and hopefully have them endorse the [art] provision. Things would go much easier if the Client is allowed some feed-in to the programme and allowed to comment prior to finalization."[86] The "Minutes of Meeting" do not reveal whether Stanley's memo had any impact on the situation. However, in June of that year, the Ontario Region informed Stanley that, "due to a shortage of funds, the Client...decided to abandon any idea of artwork for the building."[87]

In the Western Region, a sense of rugged individualism and a mistrust for federal government interference in provincial matters arose out of the Region's identification with its agricultural production and natural resources. This mistrust intensified with the 1973-74 oil crisis and the National Energy Programme's system of taxes and grants. When energy prices quadrupled the economy was affected dramatically. Trudeau responded by maintaining domestic price levels lower than world levels, and placing a federal export tax on Alberta's oil. Alberta and the producing provinces resented such a

step, not only because they were not consulted beforehand, but also for the way it seemed to favour the Central provinces. The Premier, Peter Lougheed, stated that such a breach "firmly implanted in the minds of Albertans...Ottawa's attitude towards the West.[88] Albertans wanted more control over their destiny, less centralization, "less suffocation by Ottawa," and more decisions made in Edmonton than in Ottawa.[89] Author Ralph Matthews stated that among the majority of Canadians, "there is not only an identification *of* but also identification *with* [one's] home region."[90]

It is quite reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Western Regional Director sympathized with this point of view, particularly because the Western Regional office was located in Edmonton, Alberta. Autonomy in the Western Region was an issue long before the oil crisis. In 1969, planning began for the Freshwater Institute on the University of Manitoba campus in Winnipeg. The Consulting Architect proposed two exterior sculptures and an interior display of fishery gear. The Client, represented by Mr. Denbeigh, envisaged two exterior sculptures, to be created by university students. The Committee rejected the idea outright, proposing instead, artists Ed Zelenak and Ivor Smith. However, in 1966, Langford had agreed that Denbeigh would be consulted on all matters concerning the art. After learning that the students would not be eligible, Denbeigh proposed a competition among twenty-three artists.[91] The Committee members applauded his choices, but rejected his suggestion for a competition. Instead, they singled out five artists from among his twenty three, and recommended that he choose two—but Denbeigh held firm. He was invited to the next Committee meeting, held in Winnipeg, at which time the Consulting Architect proposed a more limited

competition among George Norris, David Marshall, and Eliza Mayhew—each of whom were on Denbeigh's original list. In the end, George Norris was awarded the commission; he created an exterior fountain made of stainless steel and glass (fig. 34). The proposal for a fishery gear display in the lobby was replaced with an interior sculpture relating to microscopic studies of freshwater animal life by Tony Tascona[92] (fig. 35). It is apparent that, in this example, the regional preference for University of Manitoba student artists conflicted with the Committee's insistence on nationally acclaimed artists. However, Denbeigh did succeed in convincing the Committee to hold a competition.

As described in chapter two, the reception of John Nugent's sculpture at the Winnipeg Grain Commission proved to have a devastating impact on the Programme. In light of the repercussions of that fiasco, it is clear that the Commissioner's opinion was not deferred to when he first expressed reservations about the work at the 1975 Committee meeting. Moreover, there seemed to be no acknowledgement of the Client's importance as an international supplier of grain, or of the potential for the Agriculture Minister's involvement, due to the Client's high profile.

The events documented in the "Minutes of Meeting" from the first seven years of the Programme suggest that the Western and Ontario Regions preferred more independence from Programme Headquarters in Ottawa. In Toronto, the site of the Ontario Regional Office, social sophistication and cultural development exceeded that in Ottawa and affected relations with Programme personnel. In the West, affinities for regional characteristics superseded the more nationalist perspective of the Committee.

Participants in this regional/headquarters dichotomy clung to their own points of view. Problems occurred when Consulting Architects chose local favourites over nationally acclaimed artists and the Committee responded by proposing different artists or suggesting alterations to the artwork's design. This situation was further complicated if the Consulting Architect and the new artist did not develop a good rapport. All of this resulted in a high level of inefficiency that frustrated the Consulting architects and the artists, as well as the Public Works project architects, Programme Managers, and Regional Directors.

Cultural Maturity in an Era of Political Change and Social Consciousness

The Fine Art Programme carries an imprint of Canada's political, social, and cultural development during the 1960s and 1970s. It emerged near the end of an era dominated by centralist ideology, yet it evolved into a more democratic and decentralized Programme as a result of certain key individuals and cultural events.

We have seen that the Massey-Lévesque Commission and its Report marked the beginning of an era of unprecedented cultural growth (including the formation of the Canada Council and other cultural organizations) and rendered the federal government the principal patron of the arts. In 1962, the Glassco Commission Report suggested grouping the various cultural agencies together under the Secretary of State. Also at that time, the Centennial Commission was working towards its celebration; plans for the NAC were underway; and similar arts-related buildings were in various stages of completion in Montreal, Charlottetown, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver. With so much cultural activity, the Pearson Government followed through on the Glassco Report

recommendation in 1963.[93] Maurice Lamontagne became Secretary of State in 1964, and he set out to establish a dialogue between his Office and the arts community. The Canadian Conference of the Arts sponsored *Seminar 65* and *Seminar 66*, during which artists and representatives of government agencies met to discuss cultural imperatives. Participants recommended that the Canada Council remain the principal agency for administering grants. However, although it was not recorded, the government may have proposed increased government influence through a closer link between the Secretary of State and the Council—thereby foreshadowing Gérard Pelletier's policies.[94] In 1966, the Department of Foreign Affairs instituted its own Cultural Affairs Division—demonstrating that culture played an important role in both domestic and international development.[95]

Canada replaced the British Union Jack with its own flag in 1965, after three unsuccessful design proposals over nearly forty years. Diefenbaker wanted a flag that honoured both founding nationalities, but Pearson insisted on a design without reference to Britain. After six months of controversy in the House of Commons, the maple leaf became the symbol of a new Canada, breaking with the past and looking towards its Centennial year. Expo 67 and the Centennial celebrations deepened the country's sense of cultural optimism. For Canadian architects, designers, and artists, Expo proved that their talents equaled those of American and European artists; for Canadians, Expo instilled a sense that the arts were no longer an elitist interest. Centennial celebrations took place throughout the nation, and were complemented by the construction of new art galleries, museums, and other cultural facilities in the provinces.[96] The events not only

confirmed that cultural activities were important to Canadians, but that the government played a significant role in providing them.

When Trudeau became Prime Minister in 1968, he brought to the office a vision of Canada as a bilingual country with a unified cultural policy that would set priorities for arts funding. Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier played a pivotal role in the realization of that vision by establishing policies to ensure the availability of the arts, culture, and heritage to all Canadians regardless of age, race, gender, economic level, religion, educational level, and region. To a large extent, his policy of decentralization and democratization expanded the Massey-Lévesque Commission aspiration to "share the wealth across the country and strengthen the Canadian cultural fabric and national unity."[97] However, Pelletier believed in a "truly popular-culture as opposed to the bourgeois culture...[though] not a mass culture [or a] lowering of...cultural standards and giving in to the cheapened values which some commercialized past-times represent as the only cultural concept within the comprehension of the general public."[98] Pelletier stressed the importance of total cultural accessibility, and called for the co-operation of all three levels of government to facilitate his ideas. In relation to artistic activities, he proposed the establishment of open studios and workshops. He believed in the necessity of a youth policy that would enable young people to express their ideas and thereby help to define Canada's common goals.[99]

Pelletier sought to institute a policy of clearly defined objectives and provide the means to achieve them within a timeframe. Although he defended the autonomy of cultural agencies, he recognized that they were established in response to specific needs

and were responsible to various ministries. He believed that in order to "move toward a global cultural policy," they should be "part of a single culture budget like Defence or Transport."[100] In 1969, Pelletier began meeting annually with the federal cultural agency directors to discuss policy directions for culture. His bureaucrats (such as André Fortier) devised a system of allocating funds for various programmes, and introduced an Arts and Culture Branch (in the Ministry of Secretary of State) as a way of determining whether requests made by cultural agencies were aligned with Ministry policy.[101] Pelletier aspired to do away with cultural isolation by providing equal access to funding. His plan addressed Canada's increasing multicultural population by making no distinctions between "scientific, humanist, traditional, contemporary, elite or popular [forms]."[102] Pelletier's policies of decentralization and democratization served to deepen citizen involvement in cultural activities, which in turn justified the necessary spending required to bring the arts to the greatest number of people.[103] The significance of his initiatives regarding Canada's cultural policies, and the long-term impact of those policies on artists and the public, warrant further study.

Fortunately for the Programme, certain key individuals advocated points of view that were similar to Pelletier's. We saw how Dubé, in 1974, acknowledged the Programme's responsibility to artists as well as "the people of Canada," by including representation from the public and the arts and architecture communities on the Committee.[104] With the appointment of Marguerite Pinney in 1975, the Regional Advisory Committees were established. She shared Pelletier's views, and believed that the artist, architect, and Committee had to respond to each location "through the eyes of

the people that lived there."[105] In 1976, Buchanan reviewed the Programme's preceding eight years and revised its policy to align more closely with Pelletier's. He also officially restored the ultimate responsibility for the Programme to the Minister of Public Works.

It was Peeter Sepp who possessed the necessary qualities to implement and build on Buchanan's alterations. He came to the Programme with the realization that Expo and the Centennial (with its cultural building projects) had increased the public's exposure to art. He witnessed the inception of the Canada Council Art Bank, created (in part) to develop an appreciative audience for Canadian contemporary art. He recognized that many of the Programme's difficulties related to the lack of Client and local community participation in the selection of artists for each new project. Sepp also cited the need for scholars to communicate with the public about the art—to prepare and educate it. He realized that if the Programme and its Advisory Committees could not *gain* the respect of the public, and *retain* the support of the Public Works Minister, it would not continue in the economic, political and social climate of that time.

When Sepp held the Seminar at the Glenbow Alberta Institute in April of 1978, nearly one-hundred members of the general public attended the evening session open forum. In the end, most agreed that they needed more information on the Fine Art Programme and it should be readily available to the public, architects, artists, and regional Public Works personnel. Thus, the way would be eased for more open competitions, increased responsibility for the regional project teams, and enthusiastic participation by the Clients and local communities. Such collaboration would result in art that reflected the interests of those for whom it was to be created. But he warned that

Programme personnel had to question themselves as to whether or not they were truly motivated to act on the people's behalf.[106]

Lesser known artists began seeking information on the Fine Art Programme as early as June of 1969, though they had little opportunity to participate until Sepp initiated the system of open competitions in 1977. In 1972 and 1973, the Canadian Conference of the Arts organized "Direction Canada," with meetings held across the country and in Ottawa. Artists and arts organizations, anxious to participate, offered more than 2,000 recommendations focused on improved status for artists, artist participation on boards making cultural decisions, better funding, decentralized and democratized access to the arts for artists and the public, more arts information, better art education, and improved media support of cultural activities.

It is interesting to note that these recommendations were similar to changes in the Fine Art Programme. Sepp responded to artists' concerns with open competitions. When a new project began, he invited the local community, Client, and users of the building to participate in the selection process. These changes not only served the Programme well, but also provided subtle education. For example, when the Atlantic Region began planning for a new Marine Biology Laboratory in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the scientists requested that the artists live on the research vessel as a way to get acquainted with the staff, understand the function of the new laboratory, and thereby be inspired to create works that would be integrated with the laboratory milieu—an arrangement that held education potential for both the artists and the scientists.[107]

Sepp did not want the Committee members to be perceived as a "secret society" motivated by their own interests to choose from a small group of artists whom they deemed part of the Canadian contemporary art canon.[108] His revised Programme was working. Much of the opposition, fostered by negative publicity and Stewart's political influence during the early 1970s, had been replaced with optimism. Sepp believed that the Fine Art Programme would evolve naturally—if it maintained clear lines of communication within a flexible administration. But in Winnipeg, in 1978, the power of art was astonishing for its ability to evoke strong negative reception, especially in the media—and such was the case with Nugent's *Number One Northern*. Furthermore, when those responses reached the Cabinet level, the Ministers closed ranks to protect the integrity of Public Works. As Cabinet Minister Maurice Lamontagne once stated:

> ...the mass media have...a great deal of influence on the politicians...If a Minister enjoys a good press, he will be envied and respected or feared by his colleagues. If he has no press, he has no future. And, if he has a bad press, he is in serious trouble, because he will be viewed even by his own associates as a political liability, in spite of the qualities he may have.[109]

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This closer look at the Fine Art Programme reveals that most of the artists were responding to contemporary trends in abstraction. Their participation in the Programme was sanctioned by the Committee members who were advocates of modernism and the avant garde. From the Programme's inception, Langford, Stanley, Cole, the Public Works Ministers, even the Cabinet (initially), viewed it as a source of Departmental prestige because of its potential to enrich the architecture for which they were responsible. The Committee members believed they were embarking on a mission to benefit the Canadian people by offering them an opportunity to interact daily with

contemporary works of art by some of the nation's best artists. They received the art with joy, but the works aroused indignation in much of the unprepared public. Furthermore, artists and arts groups objected to the closed selection process, and many Clients resented the fact that they were not given the opportunity to comment on the art for their buildings. In addition, regional differences created disruptions in Programme operations.

With Sepp, all of these troublesome issues were studied and the Programme revised. In its decentralized formation, local selection committees were created to include a broader spectrum of interests. Democratization brought open competitions, as well as public involvement. Compared to its first years' activities, the Programme was operating successfully and efficiently. Actions taken in Cabinet precluded its opportunity to continue.

ENDNOTES

[1] John Hallmark Neff, "Daring to Dream," in Art and the Public Sphere, edited by W. J. T. Mitchell, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990): 6. My emphasis.

[2] The issue of spending public funds on "difficult" works of art emerged again when the National Gallery purchased Barnett Newman's *Voice of Fire*. The painting, executed in 1967 for the exhibition of contemporary American painting at Expo 67, was purchased by the Gallery in 1987-89 for $1.76 million (Cdn.) and officially announced to the public in 1990. Much controversy resulted: the primary issues included the amount of money spent and the painting's minimalism. Those issues were positioned in larger themes such as the Canadian budget deficit, the impact of the recently signed Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement and what it meant for the country's economy and social safety net, and the role of government in cultural agendas. Barnett Newman was an important influence on Canadian artists Roy Kiyooka, Ronald Bloore, Art McKay, and Robert Murray at the Emma Lake Artists' Workshop in 1959. For a thorough discussion of the *Voice of Fire* controversies, see Voices of Fire: Art Rage, Power, and the State, edited by Bruce Barber, Serge Guilbaut, and John O'Brian, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). Pages 4, 134, and 184 referenced here.

[3] Wolfgang Iser, The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978): 107-136.

[4] Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," Art Bulletin, vol. 73, 2, (1991): 184-188. Bal and Bryson discuss how the application of reception history can be faulted for its potential to draw erroneous conclusions based on incomplete historical records and absent voices.

[5] Wolfgang Kemp, "The Work of Art and the Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetic of Reception," The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspective, edited by Mark A Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, Keith Moxey, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 180-196. Kemp noted these approaches in relation to the tradition of reception aesthetics and did so as background for his essay.

[6] Kemp, 181-182. The third area of research that monitors the art trade, including the theft, destruction, and collecting of art. It is one aspect of a larger programme that pertains to works collected by major galleries.

[7] Herbert Cole, audio-taped memoirs, recorded August 11, 2000.

[8] For more on this topic, see Paul Hellyer, Damn the Torpedoes, My Fight to Unify Canada's Armed Forces, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990).

[9] Cole, audio-taped memoirs; and Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, John English, Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism, revised edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989): 263.

[10] See "We Now Own Big Metal Blobs Someone Calls Art," Orilla Packet and Times, (Sept. 20, 1973): 94; "Vox Pop: A Hailstorm for 'Haida,'" Time, (Jan. 21, 1974): 5; Susan Riley, "Junk By Any Other Name, Ottawans Don't Like It," Ottawa Journal, (Nov. 17, 1973): 35; Richard Jackson, "MP Arts Chairman Raps Government Displays of 'Welded Junk and Metal Scrap,'" Ottawa Journal, (Aug. 17, 1973): 17.

[11] Harriet F. Senie, "Baboons, Pet Rocks, and Bomb Threats: Public Art and Public Reception," in Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy, edited by Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): 243.

[12] Harriet Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture: Tradition, Transformation, and Controversy, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): 4.

[13] NAC, PWC, VI 9911-0033, *Art for Whose Sake?*, produced by Michael Malby for CBC Television, (Ottawa: PWC): c.1974. Hugh Leroy, interviewed by Janet Evans.

[14] Harriet Senie, Contemporary Public Sculpture, 4.

[15] At issue was the government's decision to delegate decisions made about the art to a committee of experts, appointed to a "position of privilege" from which they were empowered to "convert questions of taste (on which they would in a democratic society have no claim to special consideration), into questions of technique (on which they can claim a privileged position for their own opinions)." Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and Richard S. Katz, "Government and the Arts: An Overview," in The Patron State: Government and the Arts in Europe, North America, and Japan, edited by Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and Richard S. Katz, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987): 5. The Advisory Committee members' specialized knowledge of art-making went beyond that of Programme personnel and the public. In choosing the best artists they determined which were the most adept at expressing themselves in the dominant aesthetic, abstraction. They never thought to consider if abstraction reflected the taste of the public. For an overview of government arts patronage in Canada, see (in the same text), John Meisel and Jean Van Loon, "Cultivating the Bushgarden: Cultural Policy in Canada," 276-310. See also Harold Fromm, "Private Muses: Criticism, Professionalism, and the Audience for the Arts," in Academic Capitalism and Literary Value, (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1991): 51-69. Fromm questions the assumption of ascendancy of art academia, who disregard the public for their lack of art knowledge, yet fail to help enable the public to participate in the arts. See also Edward C. Banfield, The Democratic Muse: Visual Arts and the Public Interest, (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Banfield argues against American government patronage of the arts. He states "that public funding encourages arts agencies to emphasize activities that have little or nothing to do with art...instead of making aesthetic experience more accessible, they turn attention away from it...By misrepresenting the nature of art, they contribute to widespread public confusion and indifference to it," 6-7.

[16] The 1974 advances were limited to more competitions, the inclusion of a broader representation on the Committee, and the publication of an information brochure.

[17] Jerry Grey, personal files, press release, *The Great Canadian Equalizer*, March 28, 1979.

[18] "Risky Business: The Sculpture of Robert Murray," produced and directed by Anne Newlands (NGC) and Peter Biesterfeld (Dolphin Productions), (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1999).

[19] Brian Dixon, Alice E. Courtney, and Robert H. Bailey, The Museum and the Canadian Public, ed. John Kettle, (Toronto: Culturcan Publications, 1974): 3, 30-33. Of those respondents, 6% with elementary school diplomas, 9% with high school diplomas, 15% with university degrees, 9% with post graduate degrees, and 23% with some post graduate experience visited *frequently*. See also National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report, 1990-1991, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1991): 9. It was not until the *Voice of Fire* debate that the Gallery began to: "be aggressively proactive in giving [its] public the educational materials they need and want to assist them in better understanding modern and contemporary art...[through] Education Services."

[20] Dale McConathy, "The Dollar Value of Art," Artscanada, is. 200/201, (Autumn, 1975): 38. McConathy included Alex Coleville, William Kurelek, Tom Forrestall, Jean McEwen, Christopher Pratt, Jack Chambers, and Jack Bush.

[21] Kemp, 183. Kemp proposes that reception aesthetics provides a way to understand the signs within the art that communicates meaning. It allows one to read those signs in a social and historical context, and determine what the art is about in that context. In the gallery, a viewer not only is prepared to be looking at art, but also is presented with a larger context of similar works. Kemp proposes that works are created with the intention of stimulating conversation with the viewer, 184-186. Kemp refers to a seventeenth century representational painting to explain his theory. The Fine Art Programme works were sited in public spaces in which the viewers were not prepared to be looking at art, nor were there other works nearby to provide a context.

[22] Senie, *Contemporary Public Sculpture*, 4.

[23] Harriet F. Senie, "Baboons, Pet Rocks, and Bomb Threats: Public Art and Public Reception," in Critical Issues, 242.

[24] Gail Moorhead, former Fine Art Programme Administrative Assistant, telephone interview, March 4, 1999.

[25] Murray's *Haida* was installed in 1972, prior to the opening of Foreign Affairs and DND. *Tundra* was installed in the Spring of 1973.

[26] See James Nelson, "New Federal Building Home for New Art," Saturday Ottawa Citizen, (Aug. 11, 1973): 60; Scott Honeyman, "A preview of External's New Home," Ottawa Citizen, (Apr. 17, 1973): 39; Marsha Skuce, "Mike-toting Dubé Learns About Art," Ottawa Citizen, (Jan. 7, 1974): 3; Vox Pop: A Hailstorm for *Haida*," Time, (Jan. 21, 1974): 5.

[27] "External's $15,000 Homage to the White Collar Worker," Ottawa Citizen, (April 17, 1973): 1; Scott Honeyman, "A Preview of External's New Home," Ottawa Citizen, April 17, 1973): 39.

[28] NAC, PWC, FAAP, RG 11, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim Box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," May 24-25, 1973, Appendix E.

[29] Under the present day rubric "Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Fine Art Programme Collection" the Department manages a total of 4,800 original works which includes the 292 works purchased from the Canada Council's collection, and the art commissioned for the Public Works Fine Art Programme. In addition it owns 3,800 reproductions.

[30] Herbert Cole, personal interview, July 3, 2000.

[31] NAC, PWC, FAAP, RG 11, Vol 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 29-30, 1970, 13.

[32] See Kay Kritzwiser, "Ottawa Showplace for Stunning Art but Many Works Provoke Hostility," The Globe and Mail, (Nov. 24, 1973): Entertainment and Travel, 1. Kritzwiser raised the point that the furnishings for Foreign Affairs were of the finest quality, and obviously extravagant in cost.

[33] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim Box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 20-21, 1973, Appendix P.

[34] NAC, PWC, FAAC, Vol. 4429, file 26, Interim Box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, 20. Jack Shadbolt could not participate and was replaced with Gershon Iskowitz. Christopher Pratt dropped out of the competition too late to be replaced.

[35] "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, 1. Attending from the Fine Art Advisory Committee: K.C. Stanley, Herbert Cole, Peter Bell (Atlantic), Jean-Louis Lalonde (Quebec), (Ken Lochhead, the Ontario representative was not in attendance), Suzanne Rivard-LeMoyne (Capital), Clifford Wiens (Western), Joan Lowndes (Pacific), Mayo Graham (Headquarters). Those representing Foreign Affairs: Luke Rombout (Art Bank), G. Pearson (Chairman of Policy Analysis Group, Foreign Affairs), D. Fortier (Assistant Under Secretary of State, Foreign Affairs), J.C.G. Brown, Bureau of Communications and General Services, Foreign Affairs), R. Hubbard (Curator, NGC), P. Webb (Consulting Architect), W. N. Turner (Regional Manager, Capital Region), W. Rankin (Project Architect, Capital Region), Wendy Sailman (Information Officer, Public Works), and Leezah Cohen (Fine Art Programme Coordinator). The group viewed the unidentified submissions, then met together for the process of elimination. Two submissions, Gagnon's and Bloore's, were chosen and further discussion led to the choice of Gagnon.

[36] John Hilliker and Donald Barry, Canada's Department of External Affairs, Volume II, Coming of Age, 1946-1968, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995): 394. The Cultural Affairs Division did not originate because of concerns over cultural promotion on an international scope, but rather as a reaction to Quebec's efforts to establish cultural relations with France. After declaring that Quebec had "the right to conclude international agreements on subjects within its jurisdiction...and that henceforth Quebec would insist on reciprocity for the privileges granted to foreign representatives...the Cabinet approved...and an agreement was signed [with France] on November 17, 1965." The Cultural Affairs Division was formed in January, 1966 to support and expand on that programme, 394. See also Robert J. Williams, "International Cultural Activities in the Conservative Era: A Study in Frustration," prepared for the conference, *Diplomatic Departures? The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-1993*: 2-3. "It is widely understood that Canadian...state-sponsored cultural activities abroad began in the 1940s, as...an ad hoc contribution to the promotion of international understanding." In 1979, DFAIT Cultural Affairs Division was superseded by the Bureau of International Cultural Relations. Its mandate included (in part) the international promotion of Canadian performing arts and visual arts. See also "Review of the Fine Art Program," (Toronto: Lord Cultural Resourses Planning and Management, Inc., May, 1994): 4-5. Regarding the display of art in Canada's missions, it is believed that, "Original [Canadian] art is important, it's a way of presenting the dynamism of a country;" and that "The Foreign Affairs Collection is a showcase for Canadian art and can really help an artist in his or her career." See also The Lester B. Pearson Building: Home to Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, (Ottawa: Communications Bureau, 2000): 2-5. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) continues to promote Canadian culture abroad. In 1998-1999, it supported 450 Canadian cultural events and benefited various Canadian cultural industries abroad.

[37] "Minutes of Meeting," Jan. 24-25, 1974, 63.

[38] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965): 201. Porter discusses bureaucratic, political, ideological, and economic elite groups. He replaces Marx's theory of class structure and the division of owners and nonowners with elites and nonelites. He states that with the growth of industry, employment changed class relations because jobs required more skill and training. Within all sectors of the work world is a hierarchy of skill, responsibility, and prestige.

[39] For a history of the foreign service examination see www.drait-maeci.gc.ca/depthistory4-e.asp, Hector Mackenzie, Our Past: The History of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Recruiting Tomorrow's Ambassadors: Examination and Selection for the Foreign Service of Canada, 1925-1997." Candidates for foreign service graduated at the top of their class. As early as 1958, most applicants had at least one year of post-graduate study. By 1965, the foreign service exam included an essay question, a multiple choice section, an oral exam, and proficiency in a second language. A

distinguished curriculum vitae was also important. In 1968 the essay portion of the exam was eliminated. Beginning in the 1980s, applicants required a graduate degree in order to write the exam.

[40] Robert Murray's *Haida* was repainted in the late 1990s. Unfortunately, Roger Vilder's kinetic sculpture had to be placed in storage (fig. 25). Its location, in a corridor behind a glass partition, proved to be problematic when visitors occasionally were mesmerized by the movement of its neon tubes and walked into the glass wall. Over the years, DFAIT has published booklets which describe and celebrate the department's works of art. The most recent, The Lester B. Pearson Building: Home to Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, was published in honour of the building's twenty-fifth anniversary.

[41] John A. English, Lament for an Army: The Decline of Canadian Military Professionalism, (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1998): 52.

[42] English, 48-53, quotation, 53. In today's armed forces, career promotions are directly related to education. As of 1997, all officers are required to hold a university degree.

[43] English, 53. Generals who rose through the ranks amassed a great deal of power. Young favoured officers were prematurely promoted as a way of "producing as many general officers as possible to advance regimental interests." Often, these younger officers prohibited the advancement of "older better qualified officers from assuming the command and staff appointments. [This rapid rise] encouraged a dilettantish rather than professional approach to soldiering," 55.

[44] English, 56.

[45] In 1969-1970 approximately one third of all the officer corps working at National Defence Headquarters had university degrees. Of that group, just under half were combat officers. Department of National Defence Library, Department of National Defence, "Report of the Officer Development Board," (Ottawa: National Defence, March, 1969): 56-57.

[46] Canadian art history reveals that artists provided important services for the military through cartography, topographical landscapes, and documentation of wars, aircraft, and naval ships. However, those were practical applications. According to Military Historian Steven Harris, the Department of Defence continues (on rare occasions) to commission works of art, but only when the Canadian Forces involvement is of international importance, such as in the Gulf War. Defence has a photography division that is responsible for taking advantage of good photographic opportunities, but there are no full-time photographers. Dr. Steven Harris, Military Historian, History and Heritage, Department of National Defence, telephone interview, Sept. 5, 2000.

[47] Douglas S. Richardson, "National Science Library: Art in Architecture," Artscanada, is. 190-191, (Autumn, 1974): 49. Dorothy Cameron represented the Ontario Region on the Fine Art Advisory Committee from 1968-1970. She was a fervent supporter of Canadian contemporary sculpture. In 1964, she held an exhibition at her Here and Now Gallery titled *Canadian Sculpture Today*. In 1967, she organized *Sculpture 67* for the National Gallery (as part of the Centennial celebration), held outside of Toronto City Hall. She owned two galleries in Toronto during the 1960s, the Here and Now Gallery and the Dorothy Cameron Gallery. She also was an Art Consultant.

[48] Richardson, 65.

[49] Lynn Delgaty, Archivist, National Research Council, telephone interview, August 28, 2000.

[50] Cole, audio-taped memoirs.

[51] Client participation was one of Sepp's revisions to the Programme.

[52] Cole, audio-taped memoirs.

[53] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, 4429, file 26. Interim Box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 14-15, 1972. Appendix GG, Letter from Stephen Irwin to A.R. Haywood, PWC Project Manager, August 17, 1972.

[54] "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 14-15, 1972, 35.

[55] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, 4429, file 26, Interim Box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Nov. 15-16, 1972, Appendix F, Letter from Douglas Bentham to Steve Irwin, Nov. 9, 1972.

[56] Anonymous, "Squaring Off for Another Art Go-Around: New National Science Piece has Enemies," Ottawa Citizen, Dec. 15, 1973: 19.

[57] George Rolfe, personal interview, April 26, 1999.

[58] See Kay Kritzwiser, "Ottawa Showplace for Stunning Art But Many Works Provoke Hostility," The Globe and Mail, (Nov. 24, 1973): 1, Entertainment and Travel Section; "The Physical Art," The Canadian Magazine, Toronto Star, (Apr. 23, 1977): 24-26; Kay Kritzwiser, "Think Tulips Instead of Banks of Snow," The Globe and Mail, Feb. 16, 1974): 29; Kathleen Walker, "Fascinating People-Involving Sculpture Building to Thing of Beauty," Ottawa Citizen, (Feb. 23, 1974): 69; "Donnez-leur le nom que vous voulez!" Le Droit, (Feb. 19, 1974): 4; James Nelson, "Artists Decorate New Library," Montreal Gazette, (Feb. 2, 1974): 75; "The Quilt is the Message," Ottawa Journal, (March 26, 1974): 29.

[59] Artscanada, "Sculpture: A Rebirth of Humanism," (Autumn, 1974). See Michael Greenwood, "Robert Murray: Against the Monument," 28-39; Joe Bodolai, editor, "Sculpture: A Rebirth of Humanism, An Artscanada Symposium, 40-48; Douglas S. Richardson, "National Science Library: Art in Architecture," 49-67. Gathie Falk's *Veneration of the White Collar Worker* and *Veneration of the Blue Collar Worker* were mentioned in Joan Lowndes, "Modalities of West Coast Sculpture," 68-73; and Douglas Bentham's *Prairies* was cited in Hugo McPherson, "Bentham's Prairie Sculpture," 76-78.

[60] Louis Dudek, "$50,000 For This?," Ottawa Journal, Jan. 24, 1974, 37-38.

[61] Pearl Oxorn, "The Role of Sculpture in Environment," Ottawa Journal, June 10, 1978, 38.

[62] Margaret A. Robinette, Outdoor Sculpture: Object and Environment, (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1976): 94. Robinette sureyed 375 people to get their reactions to fifteen sculptures, thirteen of which were abstract. 60% indicated that they liked the abstract works, while 12% claimed to dislike them and 28% were neutral, 92.

[63] Robinette, 10.

[64] Southam attended the University of Toronto and Oxford; he was a Captain and World War II veteran. A member of the Southam publishing family and writer for the Ottawa Citizen, he joined External Affairs (now DFAIT) in 1948 and served as Third Secretary to Stockholm, Chargé d' Affaires in Warsaw, Ambassador to Poland, and Head of Information Division. He was the first President of the National Gallery Association, first President of the National Capital Arts Alliance, and Chairman of the

Organization Committee of UNESCO Festival and Seminar on Films on Art. The Canadian Who's Who, Vol. 12, 1970-1972, (Toronto: Who's Who Canadian Publications, 1972): 1051.

[65] Cole, personal interview, July 3, 2000. Because the Committee had the authority to make suggestions regarding policy and procedures, it was determined that they would recommend the Canada Council member. On Dec. 10, 1968, Deputy Minister Lucien Lalonde appointed a Canada Council representative (then Arts Officer David Silcox) as a permanent Committee member.

[66] Public Works Library, PWC, "Fine Art Reference File," Edition VI, "Biographies," 158-176. There also are Committee member biographies (often more detailed) in most of the volumes of the "Minutes of Meeting."

[67] Porter, 221, 222.

[68] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," May 22-23, 1969, 8.

[69] Jeanne Parkin, Art in Architecture: Art for the Built Environment in the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: Visual Arts Ontario, 1982: 49. For an account of this building project, see Parkin, 47-53.

[70] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," April 9-10, 1970, 3.

[71] Paul Brez, Real Properties Manager, Department of Defence, personal interview, March 25, 1999. It may be that DND, under pressure to relocate after the armed forces were unified, decided not to make an issue of the art—particularly because the Committee supported it and the building was to open soon.

[72] Lynda Kelly, Real Properties Services, PWC, telephone interview, Sept. 6, 2000.

[73] Brez, personal interview.

[74] Joe Bodolai, "Sculpture: A Rebirth of Humanism, An Artscanada Symposium," edited by Joe Bodolai, Artscanada, (Autumn, 1974): 45.

[75] NAC, PWC,FAAC, RG 11, 4429, file 26, Interim box 134, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 20-21, 1973, 28-29.

[76] See Kay Kritzwiser, "Ottawa Showplace for Stunning Art But Many Works Provoke Hostility," The Globe and Mail, (Nov. 24, 1973): 1, Entertainment and Travel Section; Kay Kritzwiser, "Think Tulips Instead of Banks of Snow," The Globe and Mail, Feb. 16, 1974): 29; Kathleen Walker, "Fascinating People-Involving Sculpture Building to Thing of Beauty," Ottawa Citizen, (Feb. 23, 1974): 69; "Donnez-leur le nom que vous voulez!" Le Droit, (Feb. 19, 1974): 4; James Nelson, "Artists Decorate New Library," Montreal Gazette, (Feb. 2, 1974): 75; "The Quilt is the Message," Ottawa Journal, (March 26, 1974): 29; Artscanada, Sculpture: A Rebirth of Humanism, (Autumn, 1974). See Michael Greenwood, "Robert Murray: Against the Monument," 28-39; Joe Bodolai, editor, "Sculpture: A Rebirth of Humanism, An Artscanada Symposium, 40-48; Douglas S. Richardson, "National Science Library: Art in Architecture," 49-67. Gathie Falk's *Veneration of the White Collar Worker* and *Veneration of the Blue Collar Worker* were mentioned in Joan Lowndes, "Modalities of West Coast Sculpture," 68-73; and Douglas Bentham's *Prairies* was cited in Hugo McPherson, "Bentham's Prairie Sculpture," 76-78.

[77] Jerry Grey, personal files, "Artist's Statement," *The Canadian Mosaic, The Great Canadian Equalizer*, 1977. For a description of this project, see Gunda Lambton, Stealing the Show: Seven Women Artists in

Canadian Public Art, Montreal & Kingston: McGill/Queen's Press, 1994): 98-111. In the late 1970s, a few more Fine Art Programme commissions were sited at Place du Portage in Hull.

[78] In the decade prior to the Fine Art Programme, within the Canadian public service bureaucratic elite (that is deputy ministers, assistant deputy ministers, and directors), 159 out of a total of 202 (78.7%) had university degrees and 55% of those had post graduate degrees. Porter's statistics are based on a 1955 survey of bureaucratic elites from Agriculture, Citizenship and Immigration, Defence Production, External Affairs, Finance, Fisheries, Justice, Labour, Mines and Technical Surveys, National Defence, National Health and Welfare, National Revenue, Post Office, Public Works, Resources and Development, Secretary of State, Trade and Commerce, Transport, Veterans' Affairs, and Non-departmental. Porter, 433; 612, Tables 23, 24.

[79] "Century of Good Service," Dispatch, no. 2, (Ottawa: Public Works, 1967): 7. Cole, personal interview, July 3, 2000. Until the building boom and decentralization, Public Works architects designed most government buildings. In the early 1960s, when the Department began hiring private architectural firms, the staff architects became administrative representatives (known as Project Architects) between the Department and the private firms.

[80] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4429, Interim Box 134, "Capital Region Seminar Report," April 29, 1970, 8. In 1970, David Silcox proposed, and the Committee agreed, that "any building or project that the public visits or that comes within the general public environment should contain artwork," although his recommendation was not written into Programme policy. Silcox made this statement in response to Project Architect Christine Perks' question at the Capital Region Seminar in April of 1970. She asked for a definition of "Public," because it was the initial basis on which a decision was made to include art in the buildings,7.

[81] David A. Wolfe, "The Rise and Demise of the Keynesian Era in Canada: Economic Policy, 1930-1982," in Readings in Canadian Social History, Volume 5, Modern Canada: 1930-1980s, edited by Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc., 1984): 46.

[82] Dale McConathy, "The Patron-Politicians," Artscanada, is. 200/201 (Autumn, 1975): 57.

[83] Prior to decentralization, in 1957 John Deutsch devised the system of equalization in which a province would be allowed to collect 10% of the federal personal income tax, 10% of the taxable income of corporations, and 50% of the federal succession duties. Then the amount that could be collected by the two wealthiest provinces would be averaged. The other provinces would be brought up to that standard through additional grants. Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism, revised edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989): 137.

[84] William Westfall, "On the Concept of Regions in Canadian History and Literature," Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 15, no. 2, (Summer, 1980): 3.

[85] Ralph Matthews, "The Significance and Explanation of Regional Divisions in Canada: Toward a Canadian Sociology," Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 15, no. 2, (Summer, 1980): 54.

[86] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG11, Vol. 4429, Interim Box 134, " Memo" from K.C. Stanley to D.H. Miller, March 6, 1969.

[87] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 16-17, 1969, 8.

[88] Paul W. Bennett and Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The Challenge of Canadian Diversity, 1960-1980s: Emerging Identities or Portent in Deconfederation," in Paul W. Bennett and Cornelius J. Jaenen, Emerging Identities: Selected Problems and Interpretations in Canadian History, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1986): 530-531. Quotation from p. 531.

[89] Ralph Matthews, "The Significance and Explanation of Regional Divisions in Canada: Toward a Canadian Sociology," Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 15, no. 2, (Summer, 1980): 43.

[90] Matthews, 48. Matthews refers to Mildred Schwartz's study of Canadian responses to public opinion polls in relation to the impact of regionialism on attitudes. Schwartz wrote: "One of the earliest findings from an examination of public opinion polls over a twenty-year period, was the continuing relevance of where people lived to their outlook on national problems." Quoted from Mildred Schwartz, Politics and Territory: The Sociology of Regional Persistence in Canada, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974): xi.

[91] "Minutes of Meeting," Oct. 29-30, 1969, 19 and Appendix N. Denbeigh proposed George Norris, David Marshall, Jack Harmon, Peter Ochs, Bill Koochin, John Fraser, Elek Imredy, Leonnard Epp, Gordon Smith, Jack Dale, Gerhard Class, Tony Bisig, Dick Turner, Rudy Bozanek, Greta Dale, Eliza Mayhew, Sam Burick, Gerald Carter, Joan Gambioli, Frank Perry, Michael Minot, Jean McEwen, and Jack Akroyd.

[92] "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 1971, 12, 24.

[93] Schafer and Fortier, 15-16.

[94] Schafer and Fortier, 18. The authors point out that, in his opening address, Lamontagne asked for opinions "on establishing a Consultative Arts Council, similar to the Economic Council of Canada," which resembled the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs. A second recommendation made at the Conference requested an increase in the Canada Council's annual budget. Lamontagne obtained $10 million to be distributed over three years. Then, in 1967, annual appropriations were introduced to supplement the income from its founding $50 million endowment.

[95]D. Paul Schafer, Culture and Politics in Canada: Towards a Culture for All Canadians, (Markham: World Culture Project, 1998): 32. Schafer points out that the passing of the Broadcasting Act in 1968, with its stipulation that Canadian broadcasting should be "owned and controlled by Canadians" and that "all Canadians are entitled to broadcasting service in English and French," the federal government established an *official* link between cultural policy and national unity, 33.

[96] D. Paul Schafer, Culture and Politics, 30-31.

[97] Schafer and Fortier, 8. See also D. Paul Schafer, Culture and Politics, 34-36. Pelletier's strategy was remarkable for its clearly stated objectives, means of application, and timeframe. In addition to democratization and decentralization, he proposed a policy of pluralism, federal and provincial cooperation, and international cooperation. Pelletier's pluralism meant multiculturalism within a bilingual framework that provided Canada's various cultures with equal access to funding and the arts—even if their form of expression differed from the dominant aesthetic. Democratization and decentralization were to counteract elitism and centralism and invite citizen participation in cultural activities. Moreover, the Government could justify such funding if it echoed the interests of the citizenry. He set out policies for film, publishing, and museums—for exhibition centres in remote areas, museum-mobiles, a Canadian Conservation Institute, Canadian Heritage Information Network, and a mode of strengthening the National Museum Corporation in order to coordinate the work of all federal museums.

[98] Pelletier, 1968 Speech, 9.

[99] Pelletier, 1968 Speech, 12-15.

[100] NLC, Gérard Pelletier, "The Development of a Cultural Policy in Canada," Notes for an address by the Secretary of State to the Canadian Conference of the Arts, Toronto, Sept. 12, 1970, 4, 8-9.

[101] Schafer and Fortier, 27-28.

[102] Pelletier, 1970 Speech, 14.

[103] D. Paul Schafer, Culture and Politics, 35.

[104] "Minutes of Meeting." Jan. 24-25, 1974, 124.

[105] Dale McConathy, "Looking Ahead," Artscanada, (Autumn, 1975): 91. Quote by Marguerite Pinney.

[106] Sepp, "One-Percent to the People," 10. Sepp's vision of the Programme suggests a certain sympathy for the kinds of social changes occurring in North America during the 1960s. The radical student movements, the Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam War, and the Women's Movement shed light on social injustice, and questionable government and business practices. Sepp opposed the hegemony that created such injustices and those sensibilities also permeated his ideas about public art. He rejected the concept of a small group of elites making decisions on behalf of the public. As an arts advocate, he saw how Canadian artists suffered with low wages, high unemployment, lack of social security benefits, and poor working conditions. He witnessed how Jack Chambers and Greg Curnoe started the Canadian Artist Representation (CAR) in response to the National Gallery making slides of artworks without seeking the artist's permission or paying fees. Sepp, while working at the Ontario Arts Council, helped to facilitate the first payment of artist's exhibition rental fees by public and commercial galleries. For further discussion of these kinds of cultural developments in Canada, see D. Paul Schafer, Culture and Politics 38-39.

[107] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999. Numerous telephone calls to Public Works Atlantic Region personnel and the Property Manager for the Department of Fisheries Laboratories neither turned up any information as to whether or not the artists ever fulfilled this plan, nor did they reveal the location of such works of art. It is likely that this project was cancelled.

[108] Sepp, personal interview, March 29, 1999.

[109] Timothy Plumptre, Beyond the Bottom Line: Management in Government, (Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988): 126-127.

CONCLUSION

"*Mirum somniavi somnium.* (We had dreamed a wonderful dream.)"[1]

In recovering the history of the Fine Art Programme, we have seen that a number of circumstances impeded its successful operation and jeopardized its continuation. These circumstances were categorized in relation to the reception of the art, the make-up and role of the Advisory Committee, regional interests, and federal cultural policies influenced by social imperatives. By examining the Fine Art Programme in this context, the connection between the Programme and its era emerged as a matrix where cultural and social ideals came face to face with political ambitions—creating a paradoxical atmosphere that eventually brought about the Programme's closure.

Much of the negative reception of the art stemmed from its incomprehensibility. Many of the abstract works lacked relevance to their intended audiences. Some works were considered worthless expenditures, while others were perceived as threatening invasions into familiar territory. Works such as Murray's *Tundra* and *Haida*, Leroy's *Untitled*, Nugent's *Number One Northern*, and Bentham's *Prairies* (figs. 4, 15, 5, 2, 27) derive from the modernist ideology that glorifies artistic "self sufficiency and...isolation from the rest of society."[2] They focus on the artist and the creative process rather than the audience and the subject matter. Abstraction itself was not the sole source of the public's irritation though; people also reacted strongly because the Fine Art Programme was funded with tax dollars, yet, for the first several years, the public remained outside the decision-making process.

The Programme's operational framework had been determined years earlier and was influenced by Herbert Cole's experience with the NAC project. When Stanley and he set out to establish an advisory committee of art experts to approve the works of art, they were following conventional bureaucratic practice—one which the public generally accepted in other fields. To some extent, the Committee's autonomy served Public Works well. Rather than taking responsibility for the art that generated negative public response, the Department, in 1971, issued a press release stating that the *Committee deserved the "accolades or brick-bats."* Again, when Stanley appeared before Stewart's Standing Committee in 1973, he responded to Stewart's question regarding why there were no competitions by stating, "the *policy of the Committee* has not been to support the artistic community per se...but rather to provide the public with the best quality art that is available in Canada by our better artists."[3] (Emphasis mine.)

Until Dubé altered its make-up in 1974, the Advisory Committee adhered to an elitist construct of connoisseurship. Such elites determined taste in high art, as well as which works were legitimate in relation to art history.[4] Moreover, the members' inherent sympathies, resulting from their associations with museums and academia, militated against sensitivity to popular public opinion. Committee members were dedicated to approving works by Canada's "best" artists, believing that the public would eventually come to accept contemporary art. They never viewed themselves as the Programme's defender nor the public's educator—and the "Fine Art Advisory Committee: Terms of Reference," approved by the Public Works Minister, did not include such responsibilities. The Committee met only four times a year, and each member had a separate full-time

career. They were paid a per diem of $100 (later increased to $150), plus expenses. Public Works never arranged for an official press conference for the Committee to speak out on behalf of the Programme—and even if it had, the members viewed such a task as a Public Works staff function.[5]

The individuals who served as Public Works Ministers during the Programme years were generally supportive of its aspirations, despite its inconsistency with the Public Works mandate.[6] Langford had proposed the Programme in an era of cultural enthusiasm and it held the promise of ministerial prestige through its contribution to the nation's cultural development. Ministers such as J.P. Deschatelets, L.L. Cardin, G.L McIlraith, A. Laing, and C.M. Drury were silent supporters, while J.E. Dubé (who was the most outspoken) and J.J. Buchanan became directly involved by making changes to the policy. After Public Works began receiving complaints about Murray's *Tundra* and *Haida* and Leroy's *Untitled*, Dubé sought the opinions of the public by conducting interviews at the openings for the Foreign Affairs and National Defence buildings. He found that most people approved of the Programme, but could not relate to the abstract works of art. He also appeared in the 1974 CBC film *Art for Whose Sake*? in which he stated to the House of Commons, after he was asked what he was going to do about the "monstrosities" in front of National Defence: "Who am I to judge what is beautiful, that is in the eye of the beholder, and a Committee has been established to evaluate this."[7] Dubé overtly expressed his support, but he still made it clear that the Committee, rather than the Department, approved both the artists and the art. It was Buchanan who, in 1976, explicitly reclaimed responsibility for the Programme and the works it commissioned. In

so doing, he also placed himself in a more vulnerable position in the Cabinet. When the Programme was cut in 1978, Buchanan bowed to pressure from other Ministers who viewed the intense controversy over *Number One Northern* (and the Programme in general), as potentially threatening to the Department's prestige and an unnecessary distraction from their primary duties.

Regional interests came to the fore in the mid 1960s when Public Works was decentralized and the Regions became semi-autonomous. At that time, the Department was involved in a nation-wide building campaign. The Regions were provided with the Fine Art Programme policy and procedures; however, the reorganization process coupled with the heavy workload, impeded the degree to which the intent and import of the Programme was communicated to the Regions. These circumstances were intensified by a general lack of regional enthusiasm over taking direction from Headquarters—so soon after becoming semi-autonomous. The situation was most acute in the Western Region due to its particular identity and its tenuous rapport with Ottawa. Each Region bore the responsibility of informing the Consulting Architect about the Programme policy and procedures. Yet, in the early years, they often received information after their design plans were beyond the collaborative stage, a situation that not only contravened the Programme's mandate to integrate the art and architecture, but also slowed the entire commissioning process. Furthermore, although most Clients welcomed the artistic embellishments to the new federal buildings, some believed the art to be unnecessary while others resented the fact that their tastes in art were ignored. The lack of regional

enthusiasm, coupled with the impact of a few dissatisfied Clients, did little to generate political, public, or media support for the Programme.

The Programme underwent fundamental changes in the mid 1970s after Public Works Ministers Dubé and Buchanan realized that it neither reflected the Trudeau government's broader cultural policies nor the interests of the Canadian public. Pelletier pointed out that the arts were often inaccessible to the masses due to a lack of venues and insufficient economic means; and when they were accessible, certain social barriers precluded "entry into the palaces of culture"[8] He equated the importance of cultural support with the creation of Canada's infrastructure and he sought to ensure that neither people living in impoverished areas nor the French speaking population were excluded. It is quite likely that Pelletier disapproved of the Programme's original Committee of experts, for he viewed the Canada Council as an "elitist anachronism".[9] Moreover, because he believed that there were "no minor arts...only arts which convey the spirit of a people" he would have supported open competitions and equal opportunities for regional artists. He would have encouraged public participation so that Canada's culture could "transform and shape itself to suit the needs of the public and the inspiration of its creators...[without becoming] an intolerable straight jacket..."[10] Although Pelletier left the Secretary of State position in 1972, his successors maintained similar policy direction, so the changes that were made to the Programme by Dubé in 1974, Pinney in 1975, and enlarged upon by Buchanan and Sepp in 1976 and 1977, were still in keeping with the broader cultural policy of the government.

Democratization inspired a new assertiveness that empowered individuals and groups with agendas to work towards altering the status quo. Artists pursued their careers with new intensity by seeking commissions and forming local arts groups. At the meetings of the Canadian Conference of the Arts, members consistently called for new facilities, schools, workshops, activities, and information to be available to interested Canadians in all areas of cultural development. Pelletier expressed his sympathy for these pursuits when, in 1971, the Government provided millions of dollars for its Local Initiatives Program and Opportunities For Youth. As part of decentralization and democratization, a series of museum exhibits were assembled for schools and other venues. A fleet of mobile museums and a train travelled to cities, towns, and remote areas, providing Canadians with access to a sampling from the collections of the national museums.[11]

When Peeter Sepp took over as Chief of Design Integration in 1977, he not only set out to revise the Programme to reflect Pelletier's policies of democratization and decentralization, he also improved its image among artists, arts organizations, and the public. Sepp's Programme was just gaining strength and stability when the Winnipeg Grain Commissioner, H. Baxter, succeeded in having John Nugent's *Number One Northern* removed. The Minister of Agriculture, Eugene Whelan, relayed Baxter's sentiments to the other Cabinet Ministers and "there was an acknowledgement in Cabinet that [the Ministers] did not need, [nor]...should [they]be supporting this kind of thing."[12] Thus, it was only a matter of days before the Programme was closed in September of 1978.

When George Rolfe was asked to develop and implement a new operating policy for the Fine Art Programme in 1984, he took care to ensure that it would not fall victim to the same contentious issues. His Programme allowed for voluntary participation and thereby increased the potential for cooperation from the Regions and the Clients. His inclusion of upper level government officials assured that the works had a measure of political acceptance and that the Programme reflected general cultural policies of the time. Although he did include both a Client and a local art community representative, he avoided the kind of public participation in the selection process that Sepp had instituted in 1977. However, because he intended to exclude hermetic works in favour of those with historical relevance and site specificity, he expected the public to accept the art and the Programme. The revised Programme never got off the ground.

From Langford's original dream in 1963, to the Committee's first meeting in 1968, and the Programme's ultimate closure in 1978, Canadian society changed significantly—but the Programme was slow to respond. We have seen that the original Advisory Committee conceived of itself as the arbiter of taste for the nation. It did not consider the aesthetic predilections of a substantial sector of the public, nor did it tend to yield to the interests of the Clients or the Regions. As an elite group of experts, it sought to provide the Canadian people with the best works of art. Yet, it often impeded Programme operations by requesting that the Consulting Architects use alternate artists or that artists make (design-stage) changes to their works. Had the original Committee adjusted to the times, there might have been fewer problems.

We will not know if Sepp's revised Programme was the ultimate solution. There are indications that, if the Cabinet had chosen to weather the "Whelan controversy," Sepp's changes might have proved successful because they not only allowed for a more comprehensive involvement of participants, but they also altered the horizons of experience for those involved—through education and participation. Perhaps the most necessary component was, and remains, strong ministerial leadership and support.

Both of these conjectures were borne out in Winnipeg in October of 1997 when *Number One Northern* was welcomed back to the Canadian Grain Commission Building. Some months earlier, a reporter for the Winnipeg Sun had noticed the sculpture in a storage facility and contacted John Nugent. When the Minister of Natural Resources, Ralph Goodale (the Minister who is also responsible for the Canadian Wheat Board), learned of the sculpture's fate, he was shocked. After a few letters, telephone calls, and negotiations, Public Works refurbished the work and reinstalled it. Whether the reason was reconciliation, appreciation for the sculpture and its meaning, or a combination of both, the irony is not lost. In a staff bulletin, Grain Commissioner, Barry Senft stated that the sculpture "represents the achievements of western Canadian grain producers and their contribution to Canada...[and] it seems fitting that Number One Northern be erected...in the heart of Winnipeg, in the midst of Canada's grain trade, almost at the geographic centre of North America."[13]

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In the years following the closure of the Fine Art Programme, the Canada Council Art Bank became the primary source for art in federal buildings though its rental system. In 1972, it began purchasing contemporary Canadian art and renting the works to government offices. The Art Bank provided a means of support for novice and well-established Canadian artists, familiarized the public with contemporary art, encouraged private collecting, and assisted commercial galleries. The Art Bank proved to be an attractive option because it allowed clients to choose the works they wanted, change them over time, and engage in discussions with knowledgeable Art Bank staff about contemporary art in a "non-threatening" atmosphere. Despite significant differences between the two programmes, ultimately, each served the same function of providing contemporary Canadian art to enhance the private and public spaces in government buildings.[14]

In 1984, as George Rolfe finalized his revisions to the Fine Art Programme, the Public Land Grants Act passed, permitting clients the option to lease-to-purchase federal buildings. As a result, Public Works needed a way to provide removable works of art because the Programme could not architecturally integrate works in buildings the government did not own. Rolfe's Programme was cut in 1985, and although there is no official record of a decision to replace the Fine Art Programme with the Art Bank, in a 1987 memo, Public Works Minister Stewart McInnes stated: "....the Government does...promote the acquisition of art through the Canada Council Art Bank...Works are rented to Federal Departments, Provincial and Municipal Governments, and other non-profit organizations. This ensures wide distribution and high visibility of the art

works."[15] The Art Bank not only provided the solution to the problem created by the Land Grants Act, but it also allowed for the continued presence of contemporary visual art in federal buildings while extricating Public Works from the administrative burden, negative public and media response, and the resulting political fallout generated by the Fine Art Programme.

This focused historical thesis allows ample opportunities for further research. By concentrating on individual building projects, the Programme might be examined from the perspective of one aspect of its mandate, that being the integration of art and architecture. Questions arise as to the success of this intent, as well as to what degree the works of art served to humanize the somewhat sterile architecture.

The Fine Art Programme might be compared with other similar extant programmes, be they of Canadian (provincial or municipal) origin, or of other countries. In so doing, successful methods of operation could be identified.

Research might focus on the public's reception of the works of art commissioned by the Programme in the six Public Works Regions. By examining initial responses (documented in the media) and comparing them with subsequent and current responses, it is possible to assess how works of public art become symbols of civic pride or public landmarks. This seems to be the situation with John Nugent's *Number One Northern.*

This thesis could serve as a basis for examining the Programme from the point of view of Canadian cultural policy, because ministerial support was fundamental to the Programme's successful operation and without some kind of legislated mandate, such

cultural endeavours will always be subject to the whims of those in positions of political power.

The Fine Art Programme began as a wonderful dream, but over time, it became a complicated and frustrating reality. The principal source of its difficulties can be traced to its venue. Public Works, an enormous bureaucracy with the mandate to provide and maintain housing for all government departments, was not equipped to administer a cultural programme. It partially solved that problem by relying on the Advisory Committee members' expertise. However, even though they enjoyed a measure of autonomy, the Committee members had neither the opportunity nor the authority to realize the dream.

ENDNOTES

[1] Gérard Pelletier, Years of Choice, 1960-1968, translated by Alan Brown, (Toronto: Methuen, 1986): 172. Pelletier recalled this phrase from his Latin Grammar book in 1965 as Marchand, Trudeau, and he prepared to announce their decision to run for Parliament. At the time Pelletier vacillated "between the heavens and the earth," exuberant over the great things they hoped to do for the country and worried that the Liberal party would not open its door to them (170, 172).

[2] Suzi Gablik, "Connective Aesthetics: Art After Individualism," in Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art, edited by Suzanne Lacy, (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995): 74.

[3] NAC, PWC, FAAC, RG 11, Vol. 4428, file 26, "Minutes of Meeting," Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 1971, Appendix Y, and Canada House of Commons, "Committee on Broadcasting, Film, and Assistance to the Arts," Chairman Ralph Stewart, No. 1-15, Ottawa: 29th Parliament, 1st Session, 1973-74, Issue #9, Wed., May 16, 1973, 21.

[4] Suzi Gablik, "Connective Aesthetics: Art After Individualism," in Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art, edited by Suzanne Lacy, (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995): 74. Gablik further states that when galleries and experts determine "appropriate taste" they are also ensuring maximum profits for collectors. See also NAC, MG 28, I189, 22-10, 22-13, "The Arts Establishment and Counter Culture," Report on 1970 Canadian Conference of the Arts: Cultural Policy, unpaginated. As early as 1970, participants at the Canadian Conference of the Arts expressed concern over whether cultural policy should be determined by the "people" or the culture "elite." Cultural policy development involved "class warfare" because the status quo of the "upper class" took preeminence over the suggestions of the "working class." The dilemma was whether to respond to public demand for the kind of art they desired or risk the public's resentment by disregarding their demands. Conference attendees acknowledged that such demands were often based on an attraction to the familiar or the lowest common denominator, which usually resulted in a "cultural wasteland." In the end, the Conference placed much of the responsibility for developing society's cultural policy strategies on local arts communities.

[5] David Silcox, former Fine Art Programme Advisory Committee member, Canada Council Arts Officer, Dean of the Faculty of Fine Art, York University, current Chairperson, Canadian Artists and Producers Professional Relations Tribunal, and Director, University of Toronto Art Centre, personal interview, June 11, 2000.

[6] Public Works mandate stated that it served as provider of buildings, lands, and improvements to those lands needed to fulfill the duties of the other government departments. Public Works Annual Report: 1971-1972, (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1973): 9.

[7] NAC, PWC, VI 9911-0033, "Art for Whose Sake?"

[8] NAC, MG 28, Vol. I 189, 22-13, anonymous, Canadian Conference of the Arts, "Working Papers: Democratization of the Arts," 1970, unpaginated.

[9] Mary M. Johnson, The Federal Government and the Politicization of the Canada Council: Exploring the Fine Line Between Accountability and Interference, unpublished Master's Thesis, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 2000): 46. Johnson wrote: "..the Canada Council suffered under the antagonism of Gerard Pelletier, its own Minister, who 'persisted in his belief that the Council was an elitist anachronism and chipped away relentlessly at its autonomy.'" Johnson quoted Sandra Gwyn in "The Canada Council as an Endangered Species," Maclean's, No. 85 (Dec., 1972): 27.

[10] NLC, Pelletier, "Towards the Definition of a Cultural Policy," Notes for an address given to the Montreal Board of Trade, Oct. 28, 1968, 10.

[11] D. Paul Schafer and André Fortier, Review of Federal Cultural Policies for the Arts in Canada (1944-1988), (Ottawa: Canadian Conference of the Arts, 1989): 30.

[12] David Silcox, personal interview, June 11, 2000.

[13] Barry Senft, Chief Grain Commissioner, Canadian Grain Commission Staff Bulletin, (Winnipeg: Canadian Grain Commission, Sept. 24, 1997). The sculpture had been installed at the Winnipeg Taxation Data Centre after its removal from the Grain Commission in 1978. When some renovations took place there, it was decided that it posed a safety hazard and was cut into three pieces and placed in storage in 1992, at the St. Andrew's Lock and Dam, north of Winnipeg. Doug Lunney, a reporter for the Winnipeg Sun not only called Nugent, he also wrote two articles: Doug Lunney, "Northern Exposure: $50,000 Piece of Sculpture is Collecting Dust on Scrap Heap," Winnipeg Sun, (April 12, 1997): A2; Doug Lunney, "Number One Northern gets Second Chance: Sculpture to be Rehabilitated," Winnipeg Sun, (May 16, 1997): 2. It was John Nugent who contacted the Public Works Minister. Public Works brought Nugent to the Grain Commission for a small celebration at which time a plaque (of substantial size) describing the meaning of the sculpture, was installed. Scott Furevick, Client Services, Unit Director, Canadian Grain Commission, telephone interview, Oct. 15, 2000. Nugent expressed "delight" that his work was back in place. For complete documentation of the events, contact the University of Regina Archives. John Nugent, telephone interview, Oct. 18, 2000.

[14] By the 1980s, the Art Bank was renting works of art to the Department of Transport for its airport terminals. However, after the airports were privatized, most of the Art Bank works were replaced with large scale advertisements and occasional loans from galleries. Marianne Heggtveit, Canada Council Art Bank, telephone interview, Sept. 27, 2000. In 1994, the Department of Foreign Affairs reviewed the option of renting art from the Art Bank to supplement its own Fine Art Programme Collection at its varous mission sites, but decided against it. Daniel Sharp, Fine Art Officer, Valued Assets, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, telephone interview, Sept. 19, 2000.

[15] George Rolfe, Personal files, "Memorandum" to the Canadian Artist Representation from Stewart McInnes, July 15, 1987. It would be incorrect to assume that the Art Bank was considered as a replacement for the Fine Art Programme when it was closed in 1978. In the summer of that year Secretary of State John Roberts had eliminated the Canada Council's 1979-80 appropriations for Art Bank purchases. The Council responded by continuing to purchase art with other funds in its budget.

APPENDIX A
Fine Art Advisory Committee Members
1968 - 1970

Dr. Stuart Smith Director, Department of Fine Art, University of New Brunswick Director, Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick	Atlantic Region
Mira Godard Director, Galerie Godard Lefort Montreal, Quebec	Quebec Region
Dorothy Cameron Art Consultant Ottawa, Ontario	Ontario Region
David Silcox Visual Arts Officer, Canada Council Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
Guy Viau Deputy Director, National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Headquarters Region
Nancy Dillow Director, Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery Regina, Saskatchewan	Western Region
Richard Simmins Curator, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria Vancouver, B.C.	Pacific Region
K.C. Stanley Chief Architect, Department of Public Works Design and Construction Branch Ottawa, Ontario	Chairman

Fine Arts Advisory Committee Members
1970 - 1971

Dr. Stuart Smith Director, Department of Fine Art, University of New Brunswick Director, Beaverbrook Art Gallery Fredericton, New Brunswick	Atlantic Region
Mira Godard Director, Galerie Godard Lefort Montreal, Quebec	Quebec Region
Anne Brodzky Editor, Artscanada Toronto, Ontario	Ontario Region
Suzanne Rivard-LeMoyne Visual Arts Officer, Canada Council Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
Pierre Théberge Curator of Contemporary Art National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Headquarters Representative
Nancy Dillow Director, Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery Regina, Saskatchewan	Western Region
Marguerite Pinney Assistant Curator of Information, Vancouver Art Gallery Vancouver, B.C.	Pacific Region
K.C. Stanley Chief Architect, Department of Public Works Design and Construction Branch Ottawa, Ontario	Chairman

Fine Art Advisory Committee Members
1971 - 1972

Peter Bell Artist, Art Specialist, Art Gallery at Memorial University St. John's, Newfoundland	Atlantic Region
Jean-Louis Lalonde Architect, Senior Partner, Hébert and Lalonde Montreal, Quebec	Quebec Region
Anne Brodzky Editor, Artscanada Toronto, Ontario	Ontario Region
Suzanne Rivard-LeMoyne Visual Arts Officer, Canada Council Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
John Macgillivray Chief, Installations Officer National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Headquarters Region
Nancy Dillow Director, Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery Regina, Saskatchewan	Western Region
Marguerite Pinney Assistant Curator of Information Vancouver Art Gallery Vancouver, B.C.	Pacific Region
K.C. Stanley Chief Architect, Department of Public Works Design and Construction Branch Ottawa, Ontario	Chairman

Fine Art Advisory Committee Members
1972 - 1973

Peter Bell Artist Art Specialist, Art Gallery at Memorial University St. John's, Newfoundland	Atlantic Region
Jean-Louis Lalonde Architect Senior Partner, Hébert and Lalonde Montreal, Quebec	Quebec Region
Anne Brodzky Editor, Artscanada Toronto, Ontario	Ontario Region
Suzanne Rivard-LeMoyne Visual Arts Officer, Canada Council Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
John Macgillivray Chief, Installations Officer National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Headquarters Region
Kenneth Lochhead Artist Former Professor, School of Art, University of Manitoba Winnipeg, Manitoba	Western Region
Marguerite Pinney Assistant Curator of Information Vancouver Art Gallery Vancouver, B.C.	Pacific Region
K.C. Stanley Chief Architect, Department of Public Works Design and Construction Branch Ottawa, Ontario	Chairman

Fine Art Advisory Committee Members
1973 - 1974

Peter Bell Artist Art Specialist, Art Gallery at Memorial University St. John's, Newfoundland	Atlantic Region
Jean-Louis Lalonde Architect Montreal, Quebec	Quebec Region
Anne Brodzky Editor, Artscanada Toronto, Ontario	Ontario Region
Suzanne Rivard-LeMoyne Visual Arts Officer, Canada Council Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
Mayo Graham Assistant Curator, Contemporary Canadian Art, National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Headquarters Region
Kenneth Lochhead Artist Former Professor, School of Art, University of Manitoba Winnipeg, Manitoba	Western Region
Dr. Joan Lowndes Art Consultant, Art Critic, Vancouver Sun Vancouver, B.C.	Pacific Region
K.C. Stanley Chief Architect, Department of Public Works Design and Construction Branch Ottawa, Ontario	Chairman

Fine Art Advisory Committee Members
1975

Bruce Parsons	Atlantic Region
Normand Thériault Curator, Montreal Museum of Fine Art Montreal, Quebec	Quebec Region
Kenneth Lochhead Artist Ottawa, Ontario	Ontario Region
Luke Rombout Visual Arts Officer, Canada Council Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
Mayo Graham Assistant Curator of Contemporary Canadian Art National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Headquarters Representative
Clifford Wiens Architect Visiting Critic, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba Winnipeg, Manitoba	Western Region
Dr. Joan Lowndes Art Critic, Vancouver Sun Vancouver, B.C.	Pacific Region
Dr. Kenneth Morton	Public Representative
Marguerite Pinney Assistant Curator of Information Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver, B.C.	Observer
K.C. Stanley Chief Architect, Department of Public Works Design and Construction Branch Ottawa, Ontario	Chairman

(Identified) National Fine Art Advisory Committee Members
1976

Mayo Graham Assistant Curator of Contemporary Canadian Art, National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
Cliff Wiens Architect Visiting Critic, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba Winnipeg, Manitoba	Western Region
Joan Lowndes Art Critic, Vancouver Sun Vancouver, B.C.	Pacific Region
Marguerite Pinney Design and Construction Directorate Department of Public Works Ottawa, Ontario	Chief of Design Integration

National Fine Art Advisory Committee Members
1977 - 1978

Andrew Lynch Architect Halifax, Nova Scotia	Atlantic Region
Julien Hébert Artist and Designer Montreal, Quebec	Quebec Region
David Silcox Director of Cultural Affairs Metro Toronto, Ontario	Ontario Region
Mayo Graham Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art National Gallery of Canada Ottawa, Ontario	Capital Region
Dr. Anne Davis Curator, Canadian Art Winnipeg Art Gallery Winnipeg, Manitoba	Western Region
Walter Harris Chief of Fireweed Tribe Kispiox, B.C.	Pacific Region
Peeter Sepp Department of Public Works Design and Construction Directorate Ottawa, Ontario	Chief of Design Integration

APPENDIX B

Fine Art Programme
Procedural Roles of Programme Personnel
(1969)

Project Manager

1. Determine that the proposed building project serves the general public.
2. Brief the Consulting Architect on the policy and procedures of the Programme.
3. Ensure that the Consulting Architect prepares a Fine Art Proposal for the Advisory Committee.
4. Mail two copies of the Proposal to Headquarters.
5. If a contract is to be awarded, prepare five copies and send them to the artist. Once returned with signatures, arrange for Department signature and distribute copies of contracts.
6. Ask artist to prepare a submission including a sketch or maquette, and description of materials, design, and scale.
7. Forward the Submission to the Chief Architect with confirmation of the cost estimate for final approval by the Committee.
8. When the submission is approved, advise the artist to proceed with the work of art and advise the Consulting Architect.
9. If problems arise during the execution of the work, notify the Chief Architect and seek his advice.
10. Inspect the artwork during its development to ensure that the intent of the approved submission is carried out and certify that the artist is paid in accordance with the agreement.
11. When the artwork is complete, obtain at least three colour 35mm slides; one showing the completed work, one showing the work in situ, and one close-up or detail. Send these and the final cost of the work, with a copy of the artist's biography and a detailed assessment of the quality of the artist's work, his services and the degree to which it affects the building space to the Chief Architect.

Chief Architect

1. Shall act as Chairman of the Fine Art Advisory Committee.
2. Shall appoint an Advisory Committee member from each of the six regions (with the recommendation of the Director of the National Gallery, and the Director of the Canada Council.
3. Shall notify the Regional Directors of the regional Committee member.
4. Review the Fine Art Proposal to ensure its completeness and suitability to the project.
5. If the Committee recommends against approval or recommends conditional approval, consult the appropriate parties.
6. When the proposal is satisfactory, submit it to the Committee for final recommendations and/or approval. If the Committee finds the Proposal totally

unacceptable, the artist shall be advised and paid for the work done. If the Proposal is to proceed with changes, inform all parties.

7. Notify the Project Manager of the Advisory Committee's decision on the Proposal.
8. After the work is completed and slides taken, review the material submitted by the Project Manager and add any comments on the work or the artist to the Consulting Architect's file.

Consulting Architect

1. Determine the most suitable artist to create a work of art for the building project.
2. Prepare a preliminary Fine Art Proposal to be given to Advisory Committee for initial approval.
   A.) Include a set of drawings showing the location of the art.
   B.) State the visual theme or purpose of the art and its relevance to the architectural design.
   C.) Define the characteristics of the art including medium, colour, scale.
   D.) Include a perspective drawing of the proposed location of the art.
   E.) Include name, C.V., and photographic samples of the artists work.
   F.) State total building budget, total fine art budget, and cost of each work proposed.

APPENDIX C

Department of Public Works
Ministère des Travaux Publics

Reserved / Réservé

Consultant's Questionnaire
Questionnaire Relatif aux Experts-Conseils

1. Firm Name and Address / Nom et adresse de la société

2. Date

3. Telephone

List of addresses of branch offices attached on a separate sheet ☐
Liste des adresses des succursales sur feuille distincte annexée

4. Principals and Associates / Directeurs et associés

Name / Nom	Professional & academic qualifications Titres professionnels et universitaires	Position in firm Position au sein de la soci

5. Languages / Langues

Languages in which firm can produce documents.
Langues dans lesquelles la société peut produire les documents.

English ☐ Anglais

French ☐ Français

6. Number of Employees by Category (Specify) / Nombre d'employés par catégorie (détailler)

Professional / Professionnelle		Technical / Technique		Administrative		Others / Autres

7. Other Consulting Firms Usually Employed / Autres sociétés d'experts-conseils habituellement employées

Please indicate (√) if the firm is affiliated to yours / Veuillez indiquer (√) si la société est affiliée à la vôtre.

Name and address / Nom et adresse	Specialty / Spécialité

8. Recent Commissions for the Federal Government
Commissions récemment données par le gouvernement fédéral

Completion date Date d'achèvement	Department Ministère	Project / Projet	Technical officer-in-charge Agent technique à la direction

9. Non-Federal Projects Within Last Two Years
Projets ne relevant pas du gouvernement fédéral au cours des deux dernières années

Project / Projet	Commissioned by Exécuté pour	Technical officer-in-charge Agent technique à la direction

10. Attached are photographs ☐ and/or brochures ☐
Ci-joint des photographies et (ou) brochures

11. Recent Competition or Design Awards
Prix mérités récemment à la suite de concours ou de présentation de projets

12- Classification of Firm / *Classification de la société*

Circle the numbers of the general classification and specialization of your own firm only. Specialties of outside firms are shown in Block 7 and should not be checked here.

Encercler les numéros de la classification générale et des spécialités de votre propre société seulement. Les spécialités des sociétés extérieures sont indiquées à l'article 7 et ne doivent pas être pointées ici.

General Classification / *Classification générale*

1	Agriculture Engineering *Génie agricole*	9	Industrial Design *Esthétique industrielle*	17	Municipal Engineering *Génie municipal*
2	Architecture	10	Industrial Engineering *Organisation scientifique du travail*	18	Naval Architecture *Architecture navale*
3	Architecture Specifications *Devis architecturaux*	11	Interior Design *Plans intérieurs*	19	Quantity Surveying *Métrage (Economie des construc. tions)*
4	Art	12	Land Surveying *Arpentage*	20	Sanitary Engineering *Génie sanitaire*
5	Chemical Engineering *Génie chimique*	13	Landscape Architecture *Architecture Paysagiste*	21	Testing and Inspection *Essais et inspection*
6	Civil Engineering *Génie civil*	14	Marine Engineering *Génie maritime*	22	Town Planning *Urbanisme*
7	Electrical Engineering *Électrotechnique*	15	Materials Engineering *Technique des matériaux*	29	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*
8	Geotechnical Engineering *Géotechnique*	16	Mechanical Engineering *Génie mécanique*		

Specialization / *Spécialités*

	Agricultural *Travaux agricoles*	145	Multi-Storey *Immeubles-tours*	184	Soil Mechanics *Mécanique des sols*
101	Farm Buildings *Bâtiments agricoles*	146	Penitentiaries *Pénitenciers*	185	Sub-soil Investigation *Examen des sous-sols*
102	Farm Planning *Planification agricole*	147	Research Laboratories *Laboratoires de recherches*	189	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*
103	Farm Services *Services Agricoles*	148	Scale Models *Maquettes*		
109	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*	149	Schools *Écoles*		Highways and land transportation *Transports routiers et ferroviaires*
		159	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*	191	Geometric Design *Études géométriques*
	Artwork *Ouvrages artistiques*			192	Industrial Complex Road Design *Études des routes pour complexes industriel*
111	Ceramics *Céramique*		Electrical systems *Systèmes électriques*	193	Parking Structures *Bâtiments de stationnement*
112	Fine Arts *Beaux-arts*	161	Communications	194	Pavement Design *Études des revêtements de chaussée*
113	Fountains, Pools and Water Devices *Fontaines, étangs et jeux d'eau*	162	Control *Commandes*	195	Railways *Chemins de fer*
114	Glass *Verre*	163	Distribution	196	Traffic Studies *Études de la circulation*
115	Graphics *Arts Graphiques*	164	Elevators and Escalators *Ascenseurs et escaliers mécaniques*	197	Transportation Systems *Systèmes de transport*
116	Industrial Arts *Arts et métiers*	165	Generation *Production d'énergie*	198	Urban Transit *Transport urbain*
117	Murals *Peintures murales*	166	Illumination *Éclairage*	209	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*
118	Sculpture	167	Transmission		
119	Weaving and Tapestry Tissage et tapisserie	169	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*		Marine *Génie maritime*
129	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*			211	Bulk Cargo (Solid) *Cargaison en vrac (solides)*
			Feasibility studies *Études de possibilités*	212	Bulk Cargo (Liquid) *Cargaison en vrac (liquides)*
130	Bridges and tunnels *Ponts et tunnels*	171	Economic Feasibility Studies *Études des possibilités économiques*	213	Canals *Canaux*
		172	Physical Feasibility Studies *Études des possibilités physiques*	214	Coastal Processes *Études d'hydraulique côtière*
	Buildings *Immeubles*			215	Dams *Barrages*
141	Commercial *Immeubles commerciaux*		Foundation engineering *Technique des fondations*	216	Ferry Terminals *Terminus de passages d'eau*
142	Hospitals *Hôpitaux*	181	Foundations for Structures *Fondations pour ouvrages*	217	Fishing Harbours *Ports de pêche*
143	Industrial *Immeubles Industriels*	182	Geophysical Surveys *Levés géophysiques*	218	General Cargo Facilities *Installations de manutention des cargaisons*
144	Landscaping *Aménagement paysagiste*	183	Rock Mechanics *Mécanique du roc*	219	Ice Problems *Problèmes relatifs aux glaces*

Classification of firm (cont'd) — *Classification de la société (fin)*

220	Marine Hydraulics *Hydraulique maritime*	263	Filtration Plants *Usines d'épuration*		Surveying *Levés et relevés*
221	Navigation *Chenaux de navigation*	265	Heating Plants *Chaufferies*	321	Aerial Surveying *Levés aériens*
222	Recreational Harbours *Ports de plaisance*	266	Incinerator Plants *Usines d'incinération*	322	Geophysical and Soils Surveying *Levés géophysiques et levés des sols*
223	Transit Sheds *Entrepôts de marchandises et transit*	267	Power Plants *Centrales d'énergie*	323	Hydrographic Surveying *Levés hydrographiques*
224	Water Transportation Systems *Systèmes de transport maritime*	268	Sewage Treatment Plants *Usines de traitement des eaux-vannes*	324	Land Surveying *Arpentage*
229	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*	269	Water Treatment Plants *Usines de traitement de l'eau*	325	Photogrammetry *Photogrammétrie*
		279	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*	326	Underwater Inspection *Levés sous-marins*
	Materials handling *Manutention des matériaux*			329	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*
231	Agricultural Systems *Systèmes agricoles*		Project management and control *Gestion et contrôle des travaux*		
232	Container and Pallet Systems *Containers et palettisation*	281	Construction Management *Gestion des travaux de construction*		Testing and Inspection *Essais et inspection*
233	Industrial and Commercial Systems *Systèmes industriels et commerciaux*	282	Cost Planning and Control *Planification et contrôle des coûts*	331	Asphalt *Asphalte*
234	Liquid Materials *Liquides*	283	Project Planning and Scheduling *Planification et programmation des travaux*	332	Cement and Concrete *Ciment et béton*
235	Mail Handling *Manutention du courrier*	284	Supervision Generally *Surveillance générale*	333	Metals *Métaux*
236	Solid Materials *Solides*	285	Supervision of Construction *Surveillance des travaux de construction*	334	Plastics and Synthetics *Matières plastiques et synthétiques*
239	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*			335	Roofing *Toiture*
			Quantity surveying *Métrage (Économie des constructions)*	336	Test Borings *Forages*
	Mechanical systems *Systèmes mécaniques*	291	Construction Estimates *Estimation des coûts de construction*	337	Water *Eau*
241	Air Conditioning *Climatisation*	292	Quantity Take-Offs *Relevés des Quantités*	338	Woods and Preservatives *Bois et préservatifs*
242	Air Filtration *Épuration de l'air*	299	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*	339	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*
243	Control Systems *Systèmes de commande*				
244	Fire Protection *Protection contre les incendies*		Scientific disciplines *Disciplines scientifiques*		
245	Heating *Chauffage*	301	Automation *Automatisation*		Utilities *Services*
246	Insulation *Isolation thermique*	302	Computer Applications *Applications des ordinateurs*	341	Air Pollution Problems *Problèmes de la pollution de l'air*
247	Plumbing *Plomberie*	303	Geology *Géologie*	342	Central Chilled Water Systems *Systèmes centraux d'eau réfrigérée*
248	Refrigeration *Réfrigération*	304	Hydraulic Design *Études hydrauliques*	343	Central Heating Systems *Systèmes de chauffage central*
249	Underground Distribution Systems *Systèmes de distribution sous-terraine*	305	Model Studies *Études sur maquettes*	344	Irrigation and Drainage *Irrigation et drainage*
250	Ventilation *Aération*	309	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*	345	Power Systems *Systèmes de production d'énergie*
251	Vibration and Acoustics *Vibration et acoustique*			346	Sewage Treatment *Traitement des eaux-vannes*
259	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*		Structural design *Conception des structures*	347	Waste Disposal *Systèmes d'égouts*
		311	Concrete *Béton*	348	Water Pollution Problems *Problèmes de la pollution d'eau*
		312	Steel *Acier*	349	Water Supply and Treatment *Approvisionnement et traitement de l'eau*
	Plants *Usines et Centrales*	313	Timber *Bois*	359	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*
261	Chilled Water Plants *Centrales d'eau réfrigérée*	319	Other (specify) — *Autre (préciser)*		
262	Electrical Generating Plants *Centrales d'énergie électrique*				

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Fine Art Advisory Committee Meeting, c.1972-1973. From front left: Leezah Cohen, Peter Bell, Marguerite Pinney, K. C. Stanley, Herbert Cole, Jean-Louis Lalonde, Anne Brodzky, Suzanne Rivard-LeMoyne.

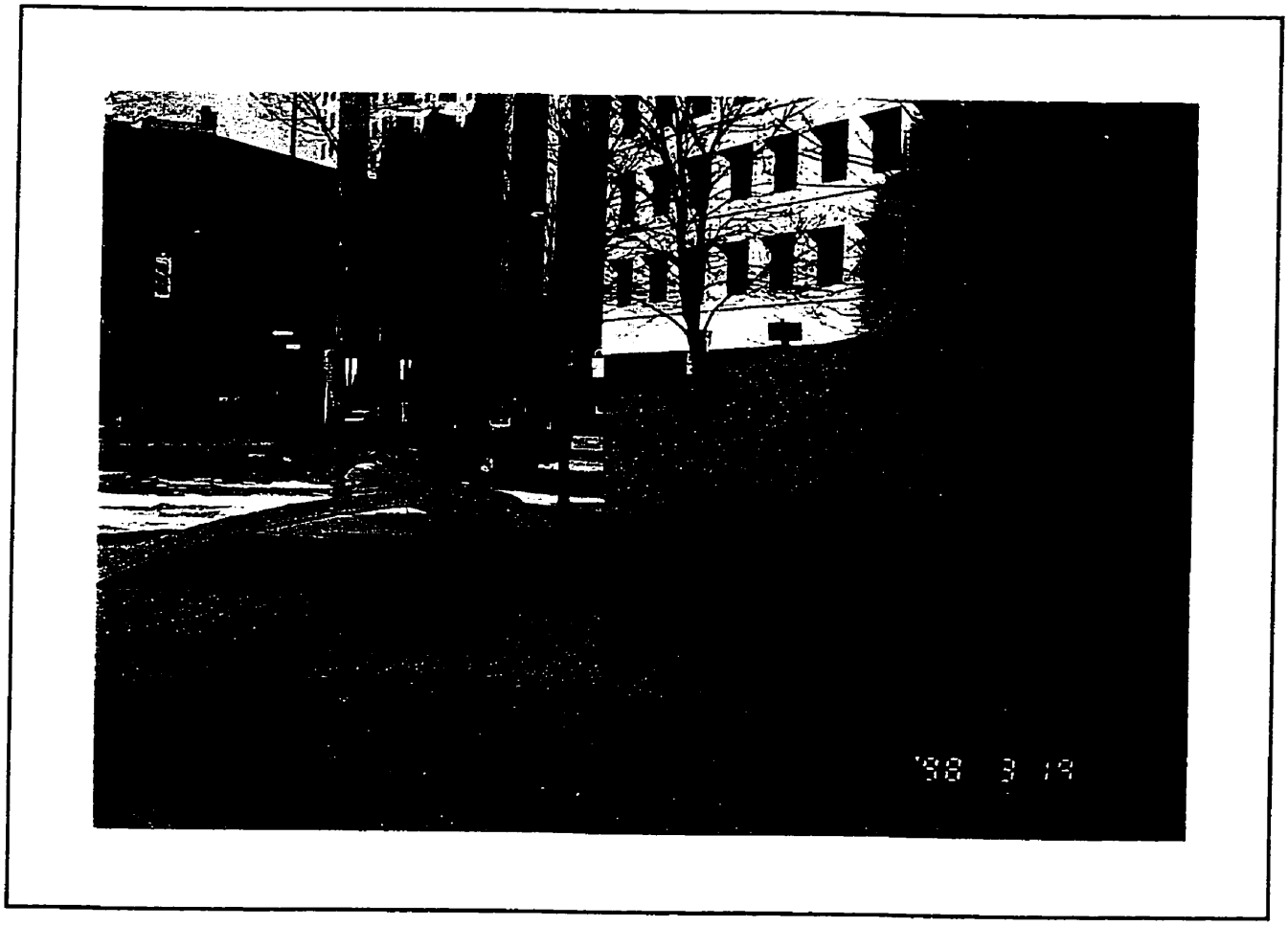


Figure 2. John Nugent. *Number One Northern*, 1975. Winnipeg Grain Commission, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

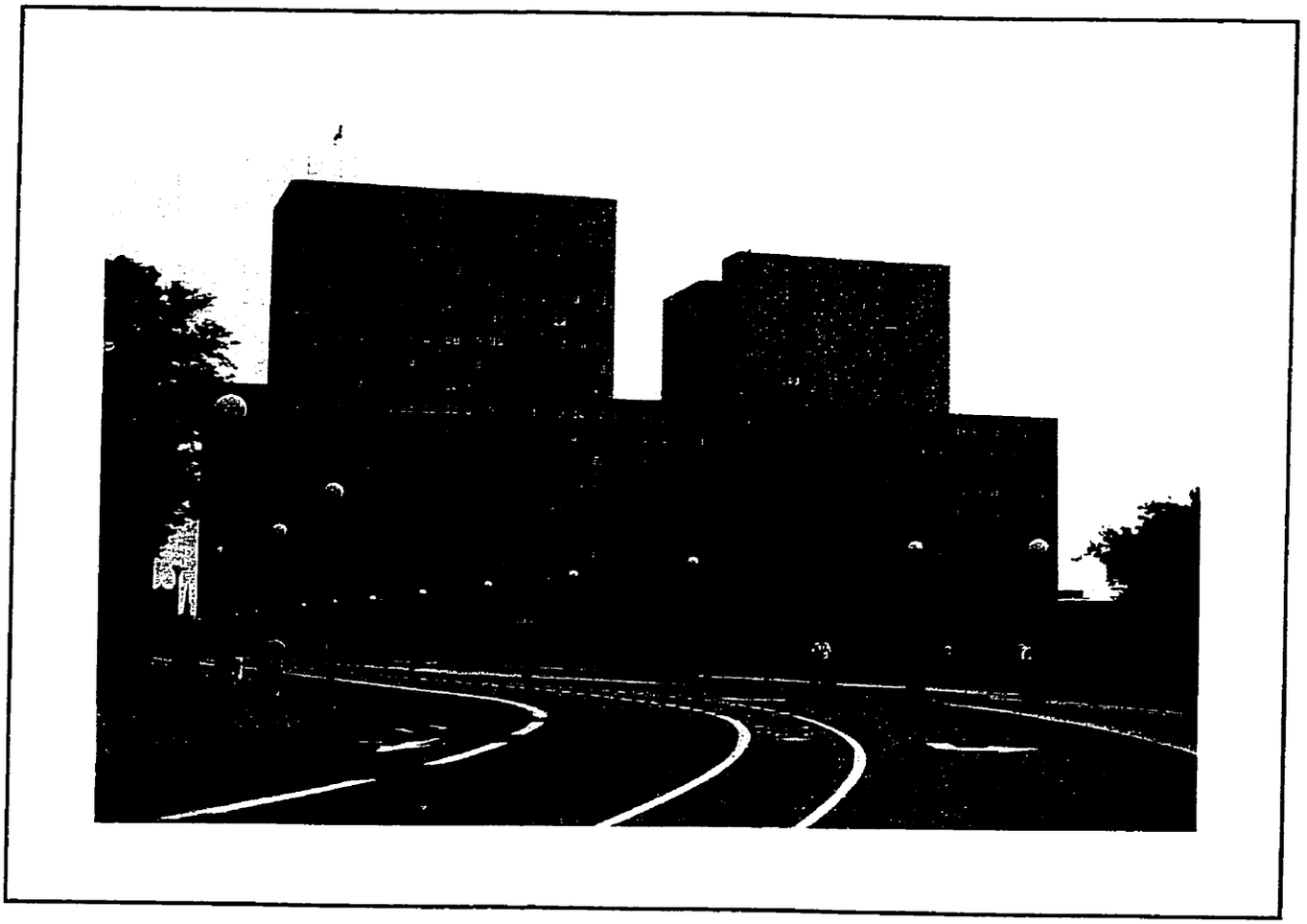


Figure 3. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

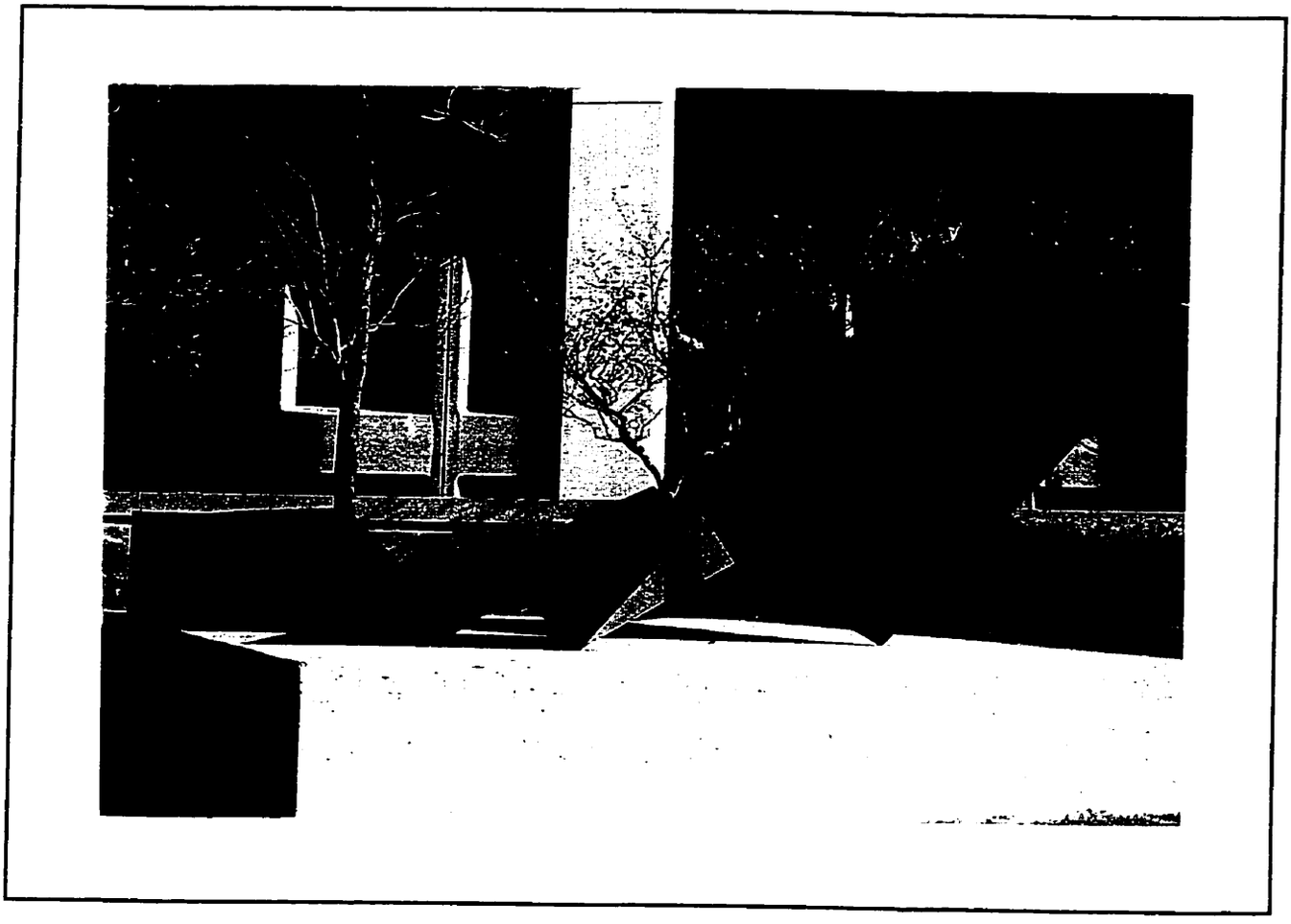


Figure 4. Robert Murray. *Tundra 1971, for Barnett Newman*, 1972-1973. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

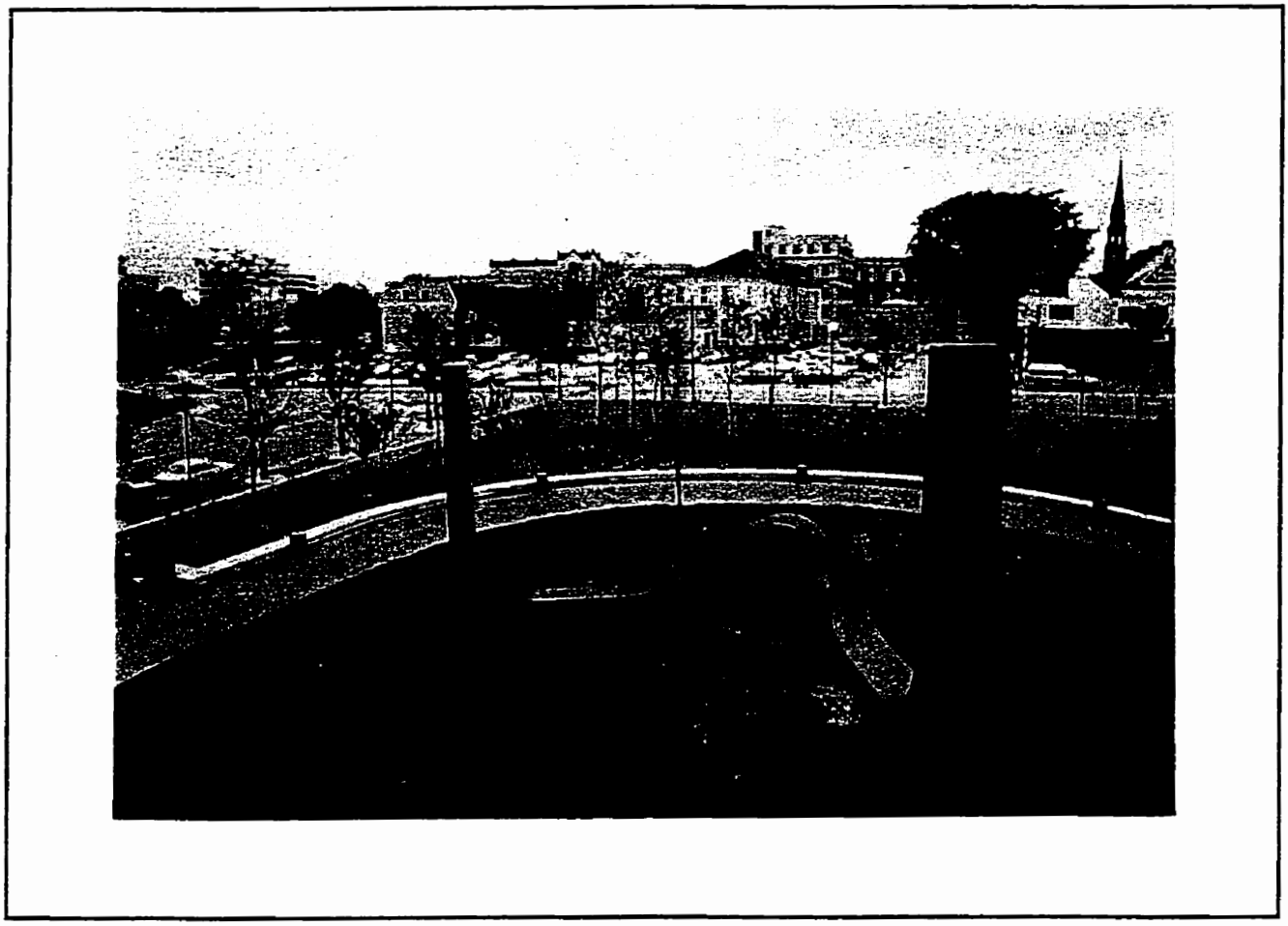


Figure 5. Hugh Leroy. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

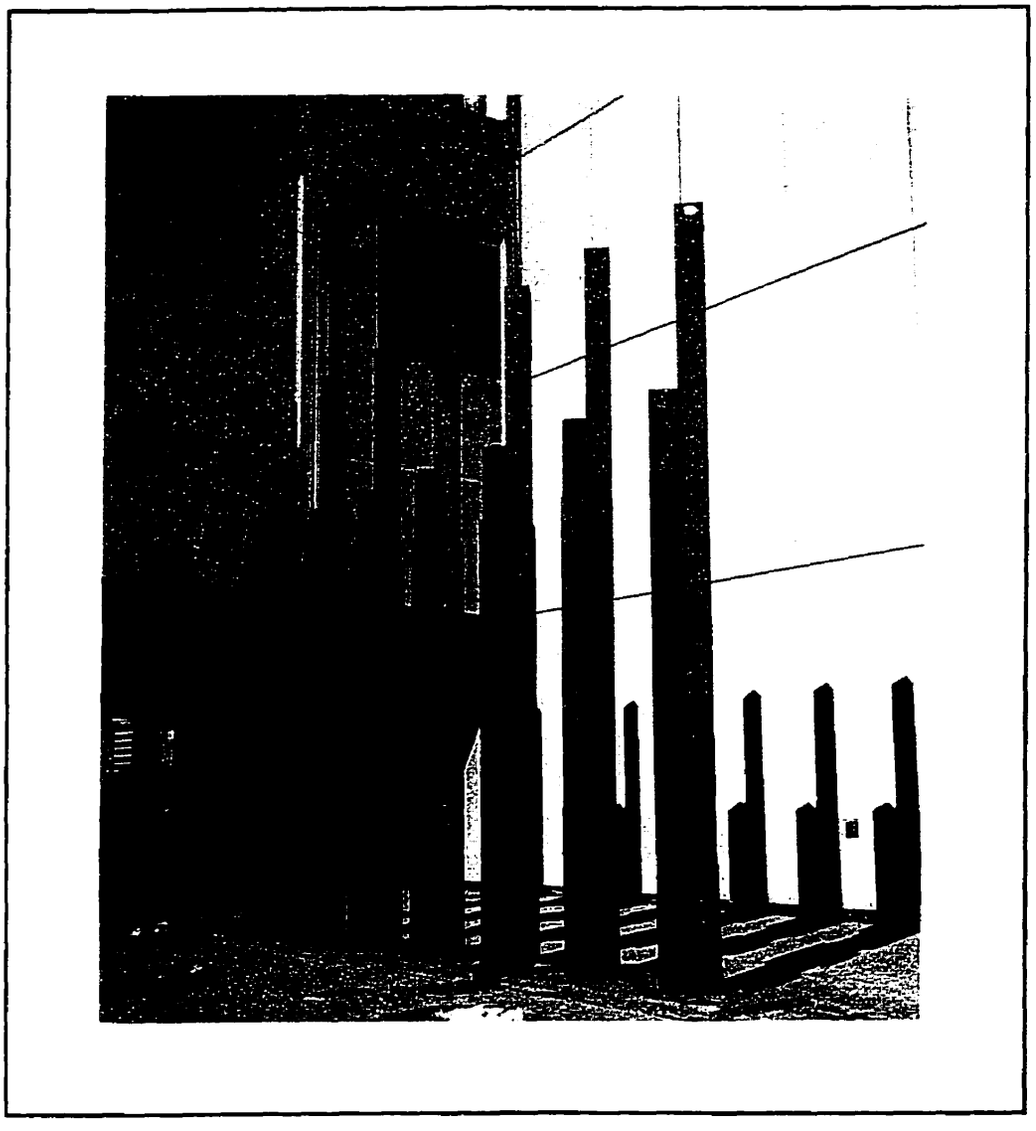


Figure 6. Gino Lorcini. *Untitled*, 1972. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

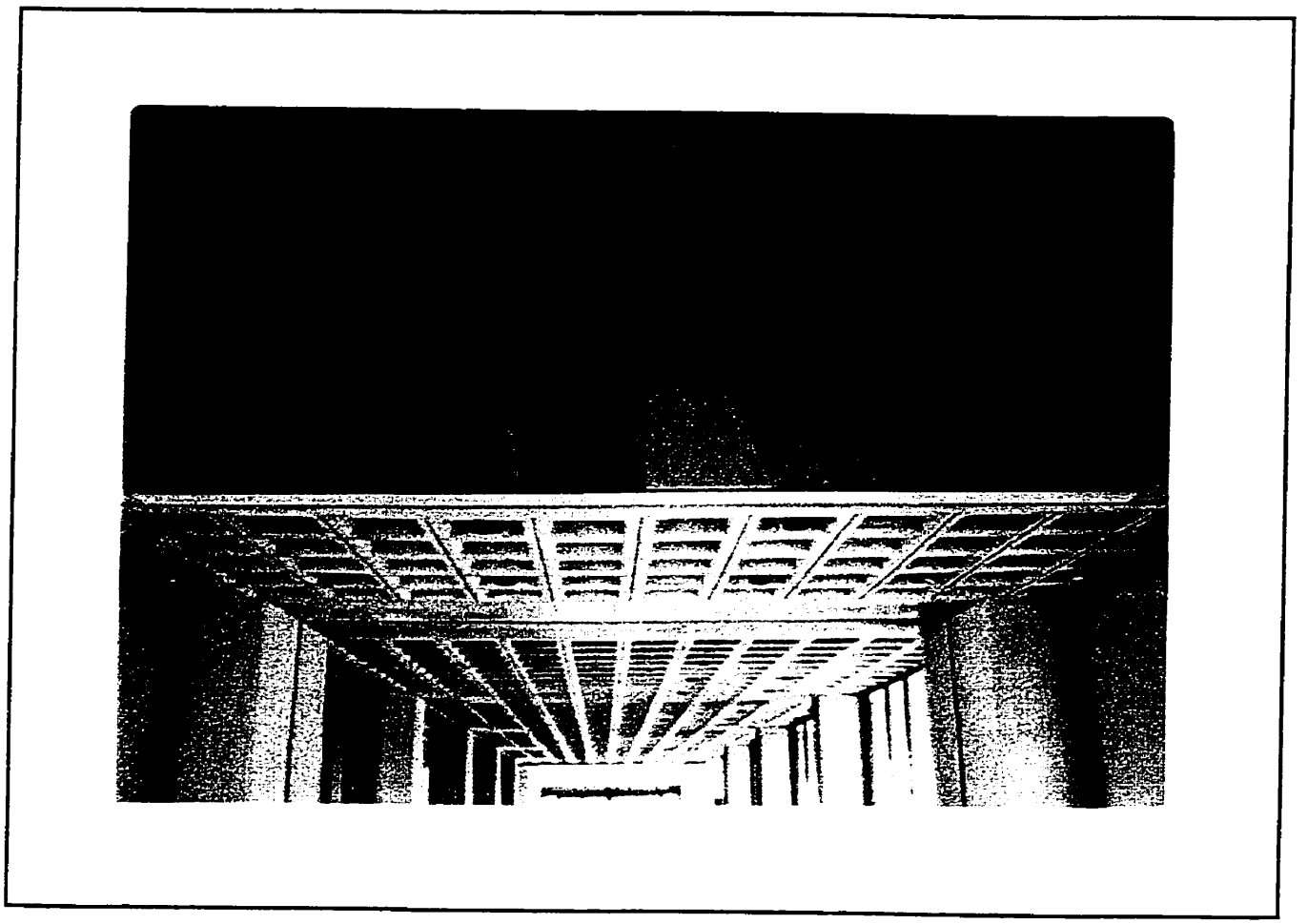


Figure 7. Guido Molinari. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

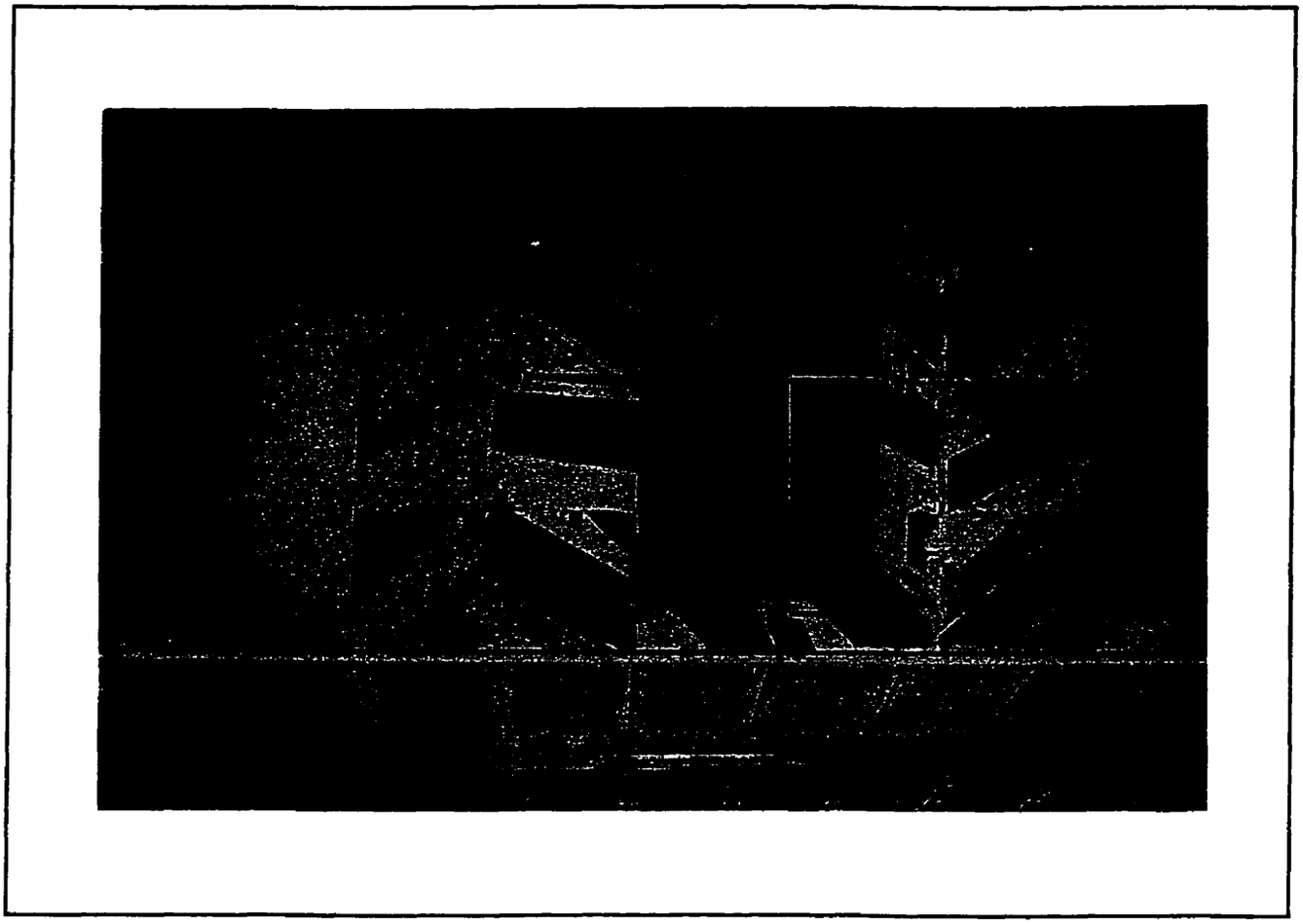


Figure 8. Jacques Hurtubise. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

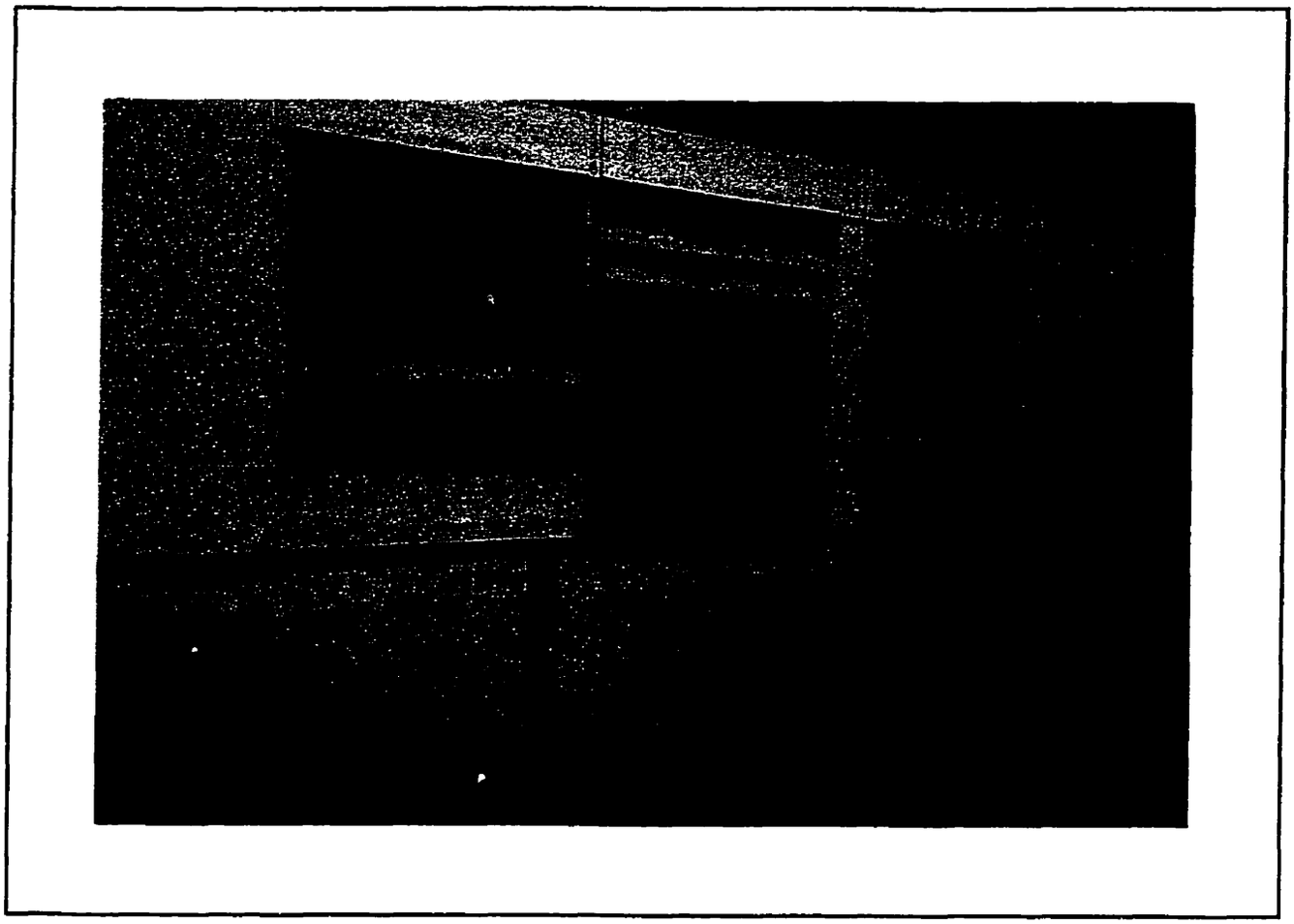


Figure 9. Mariette Rousseau-Vermette. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

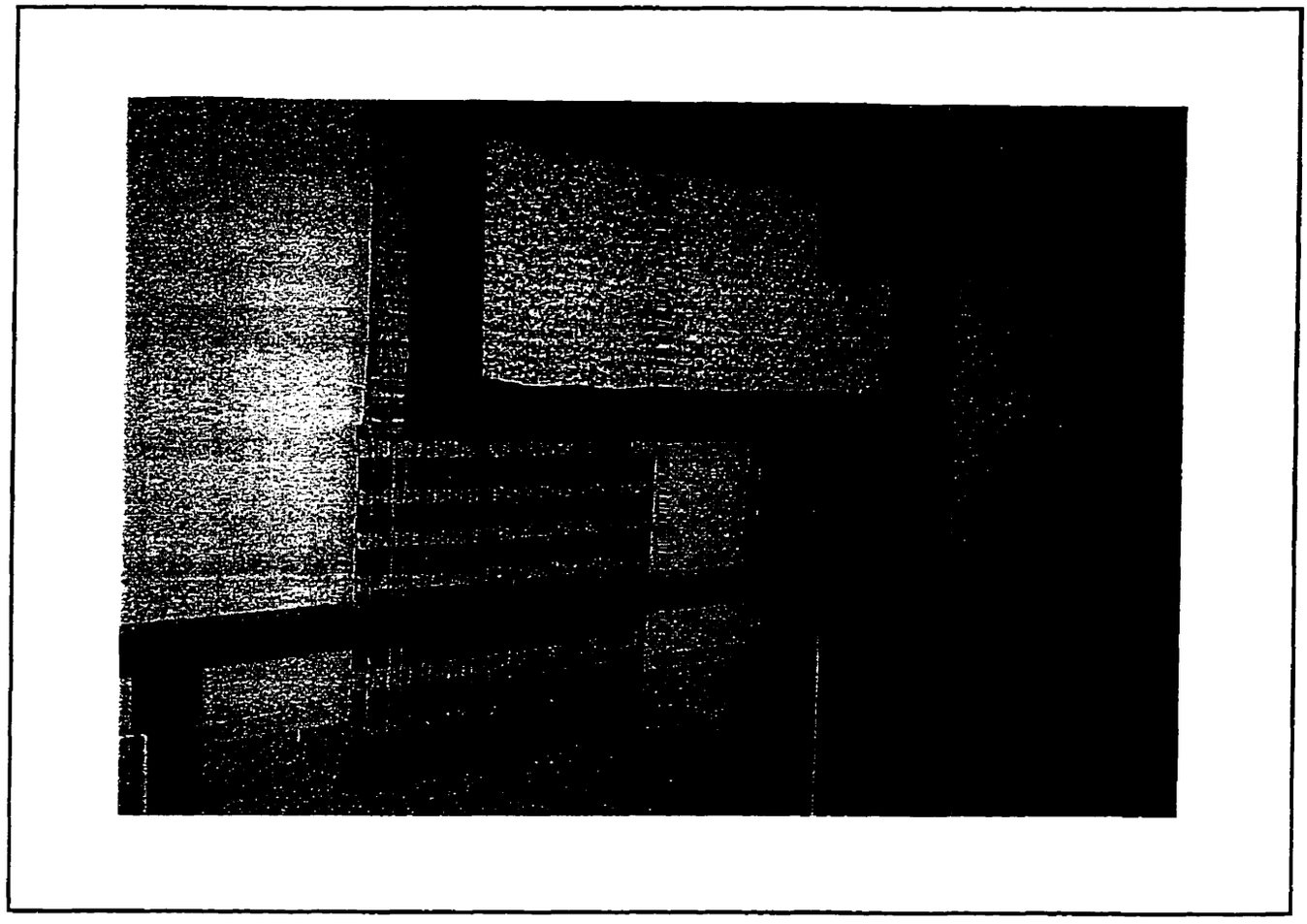


Figure 10. Micheline Beauchemin. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

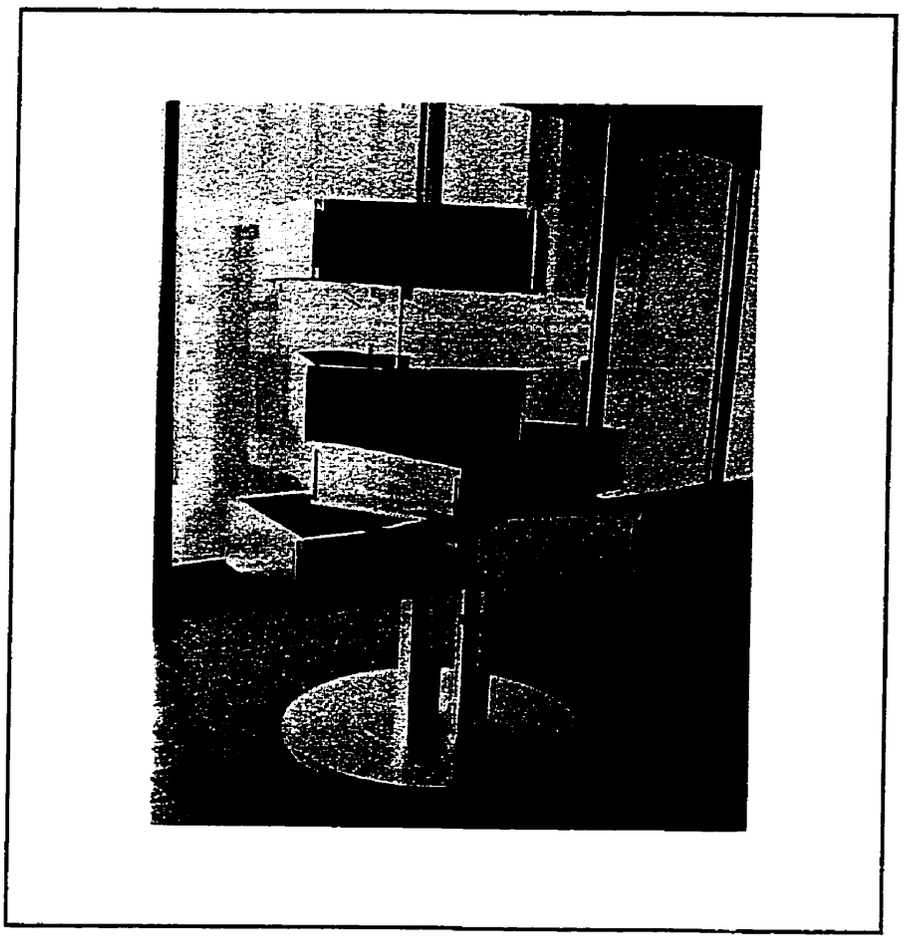


Figure 11. Ulysse Comtois. *Untitled*, c.1973. National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

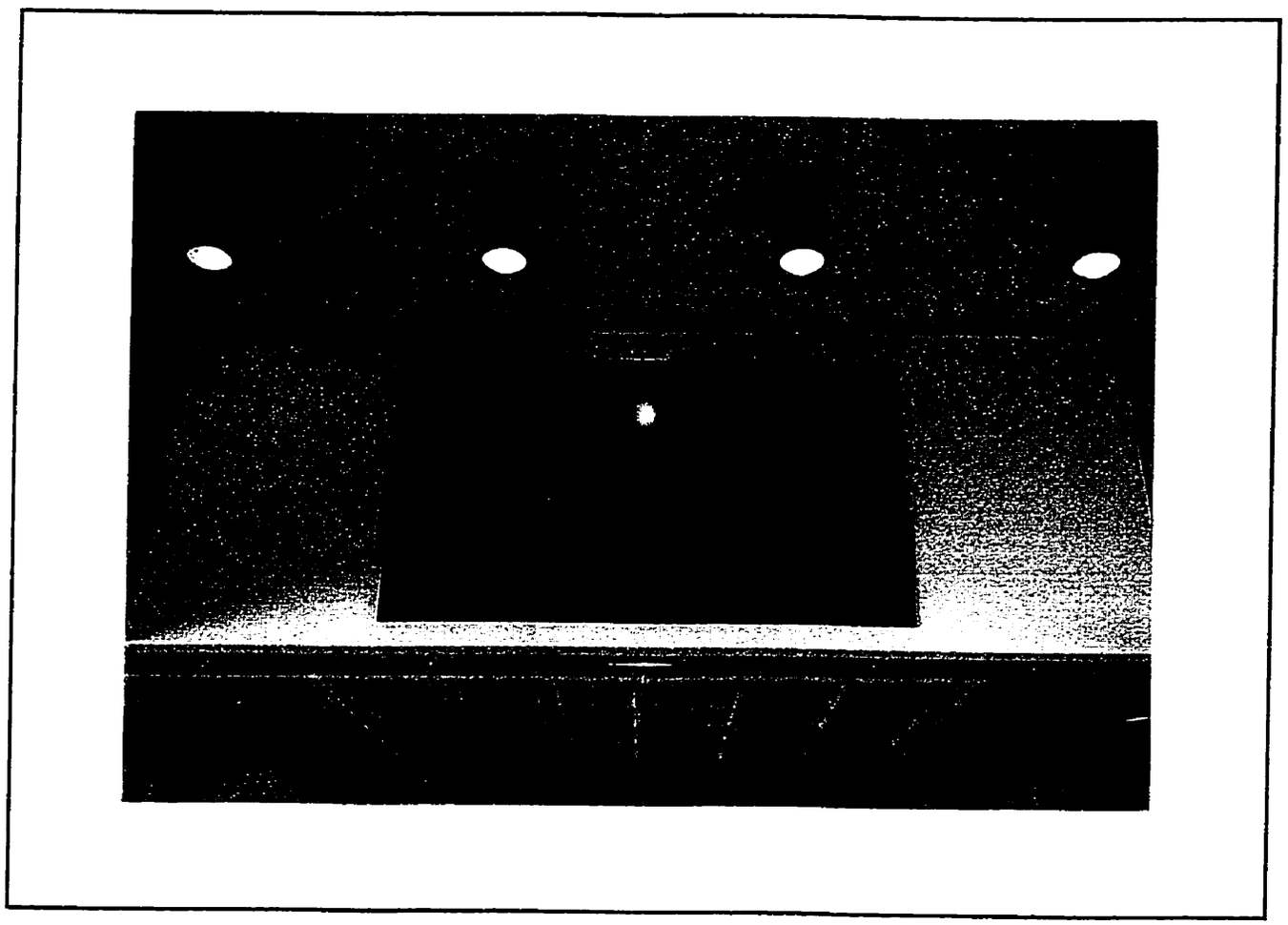


Figure 12. Battle Scene, replacing Molinari mural. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

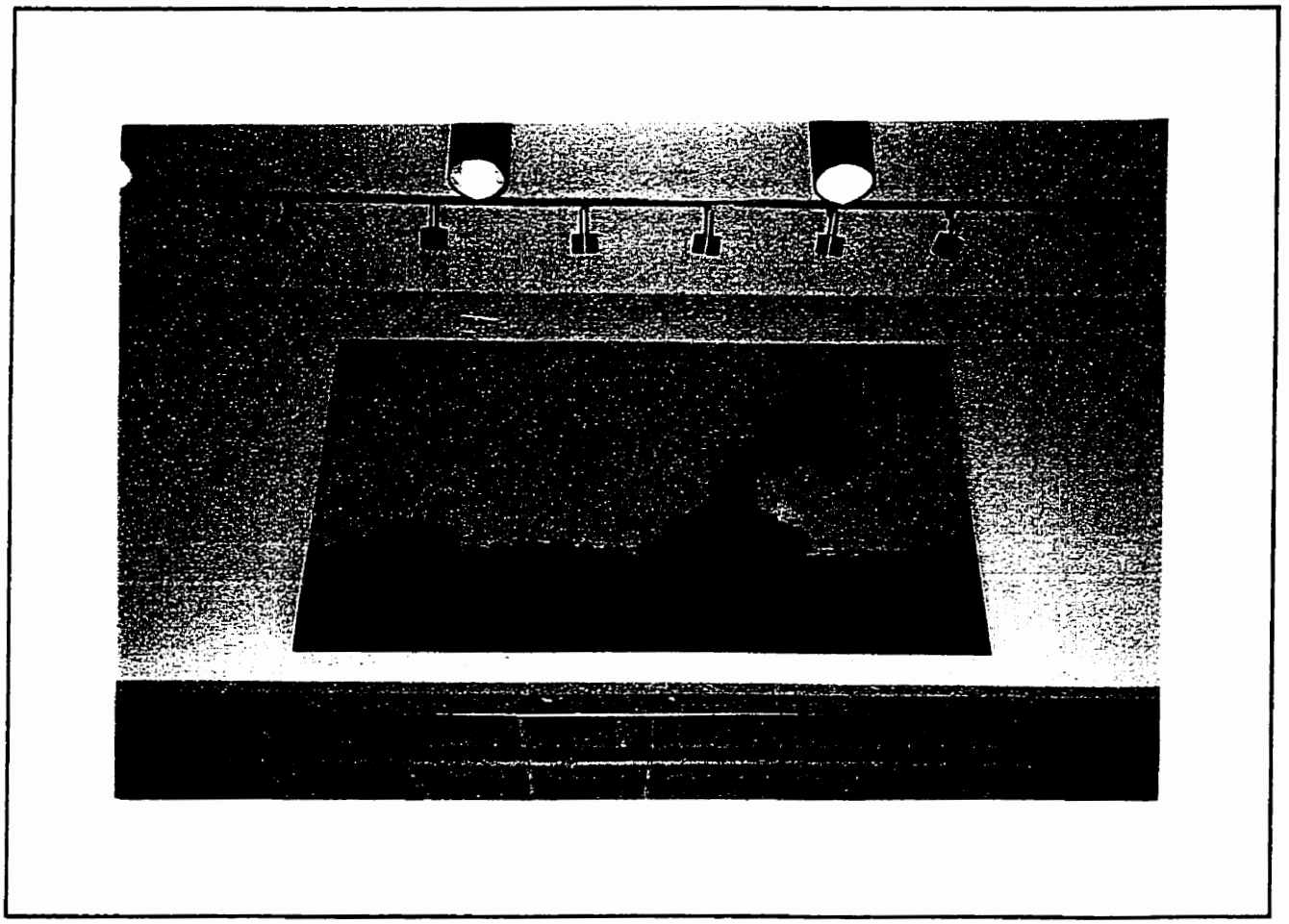


Figure 13. Battle scene, replacing Hurtubise mural. Department of National Defence Headquarters Building, Ottawa.

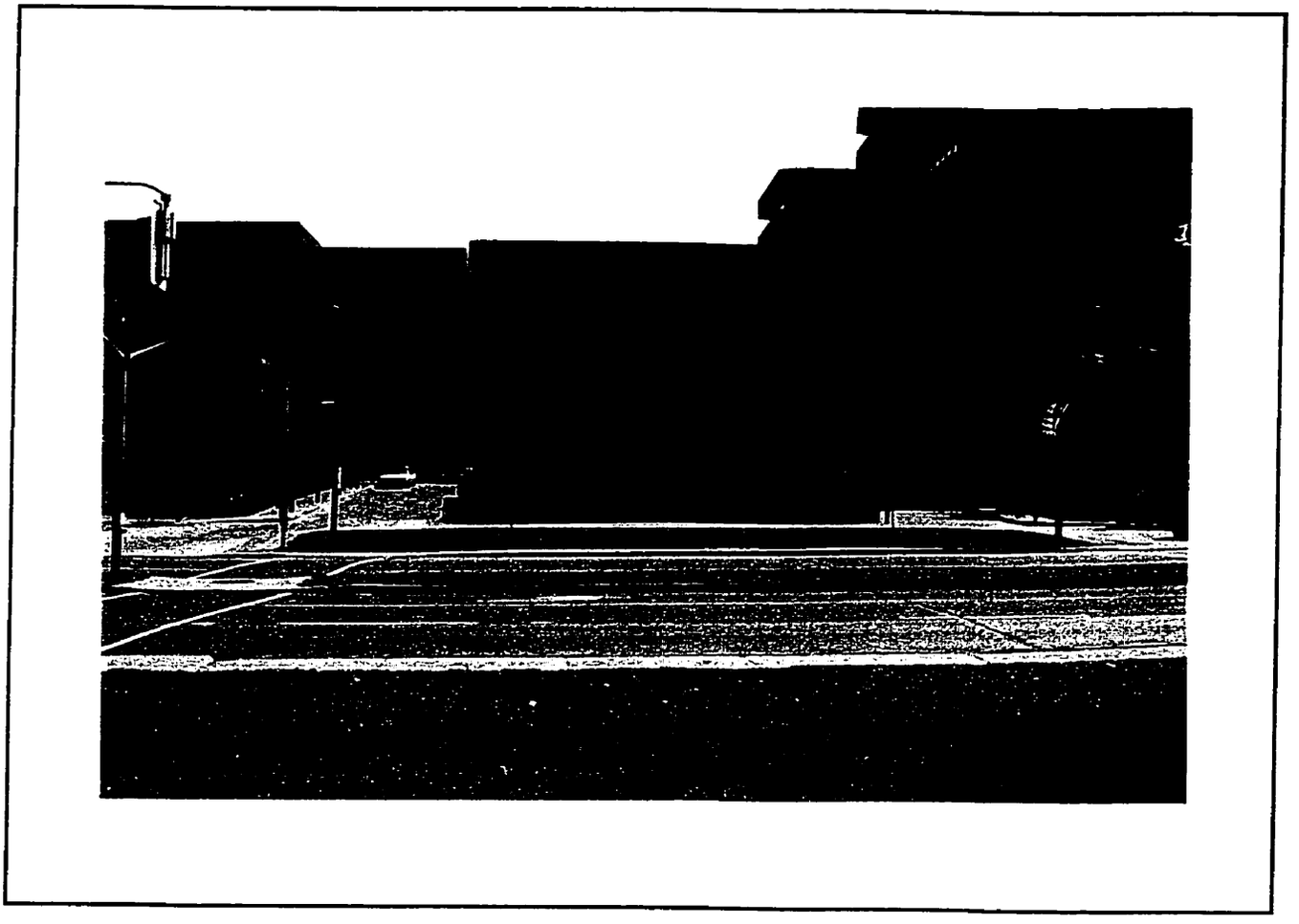


Figure 14. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

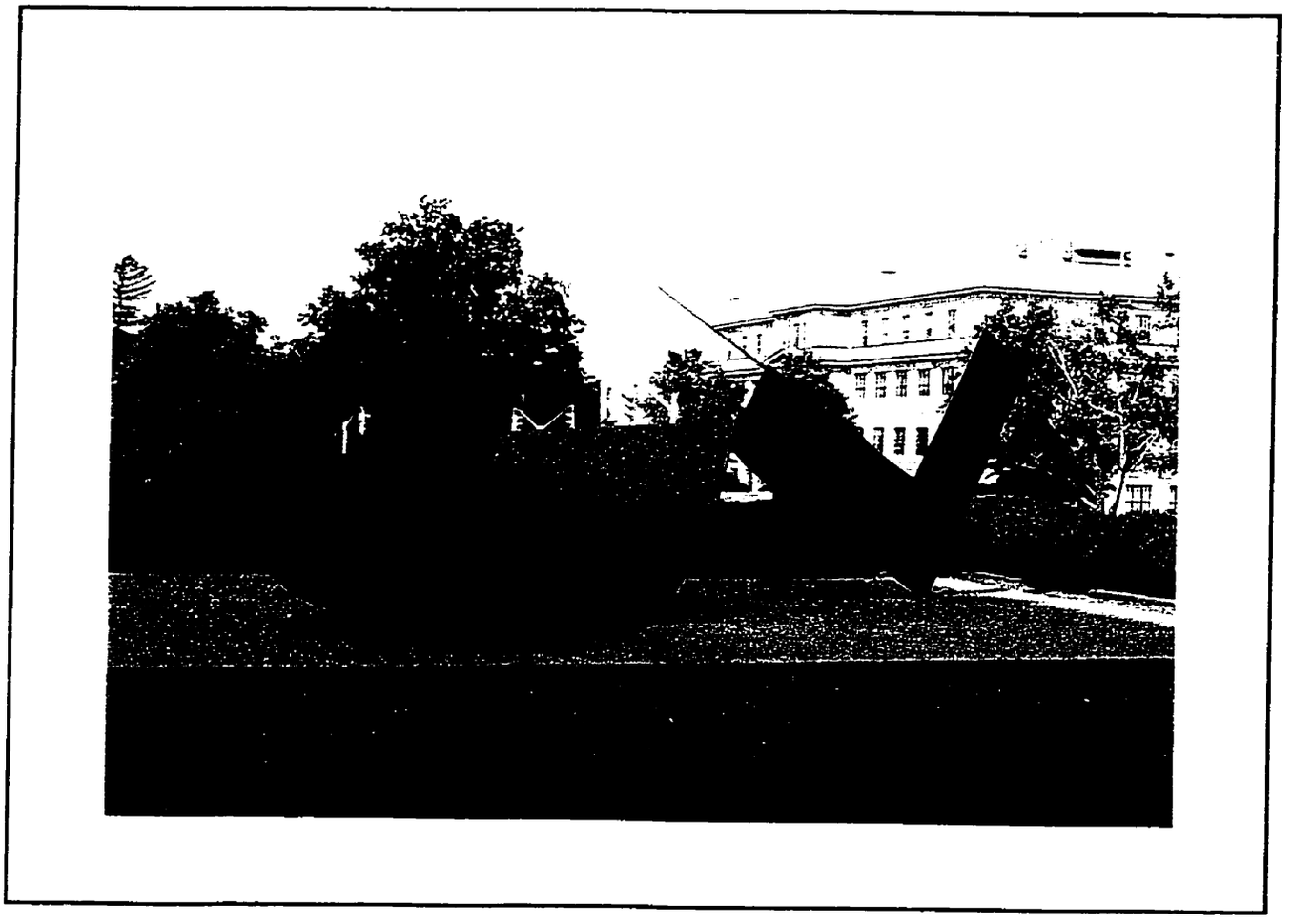


Figure 15. Robert Murray. *Haida*, 1972, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

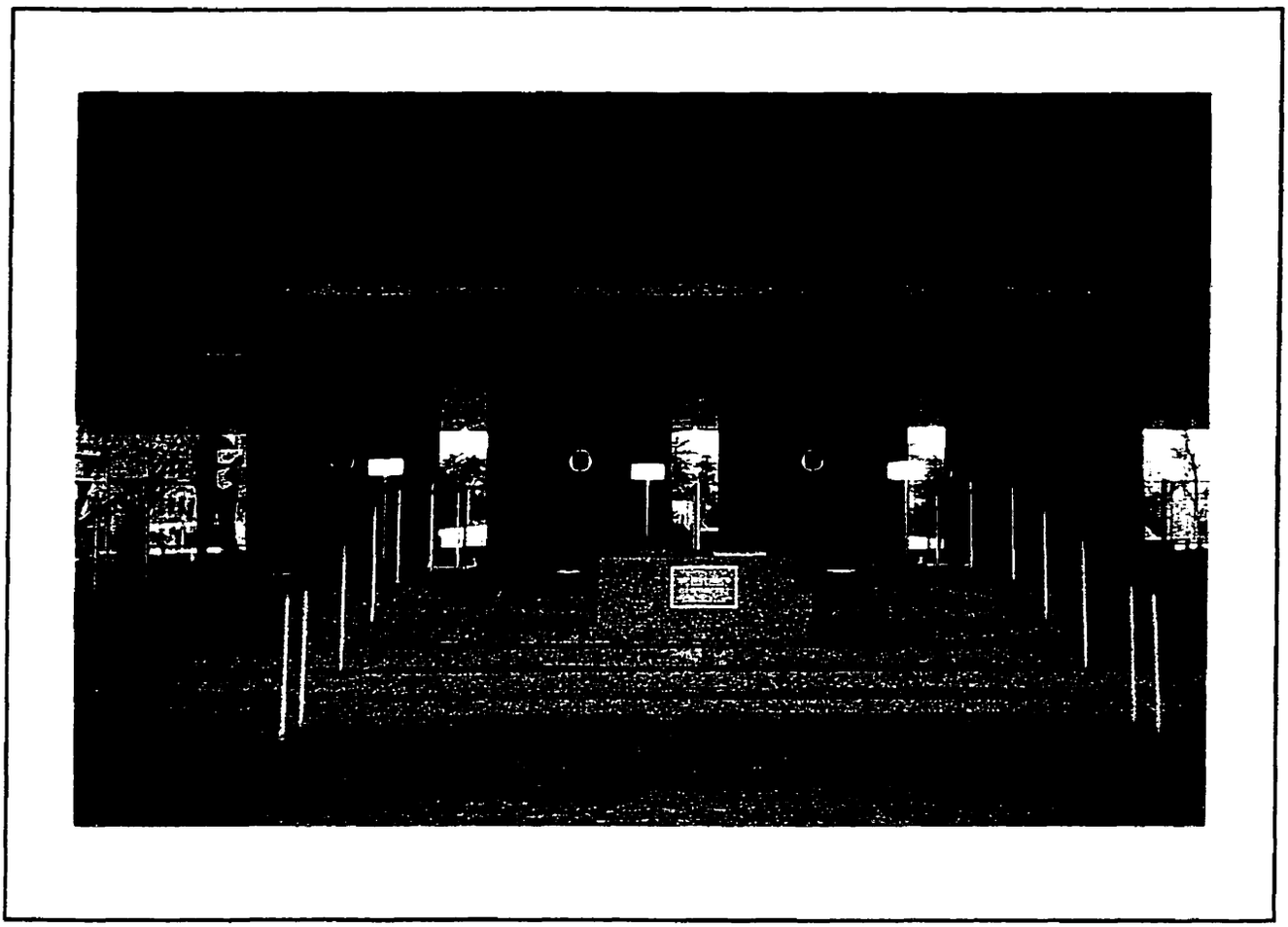


Figure 16. Robert Hedrick. Bronze entrance doors, 1973, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

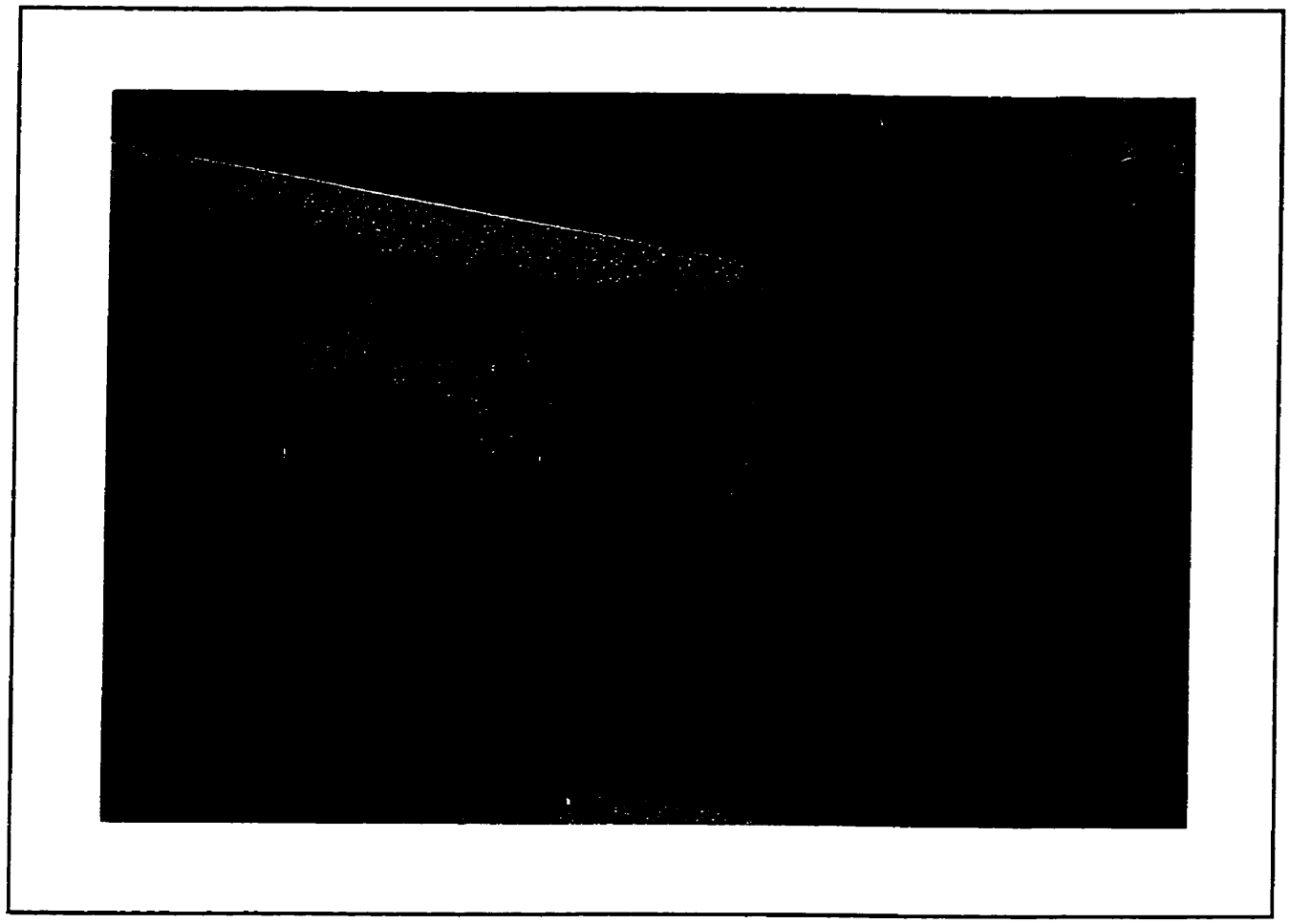


Figure 17. Kenneth Lochhead. *External Affairs*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

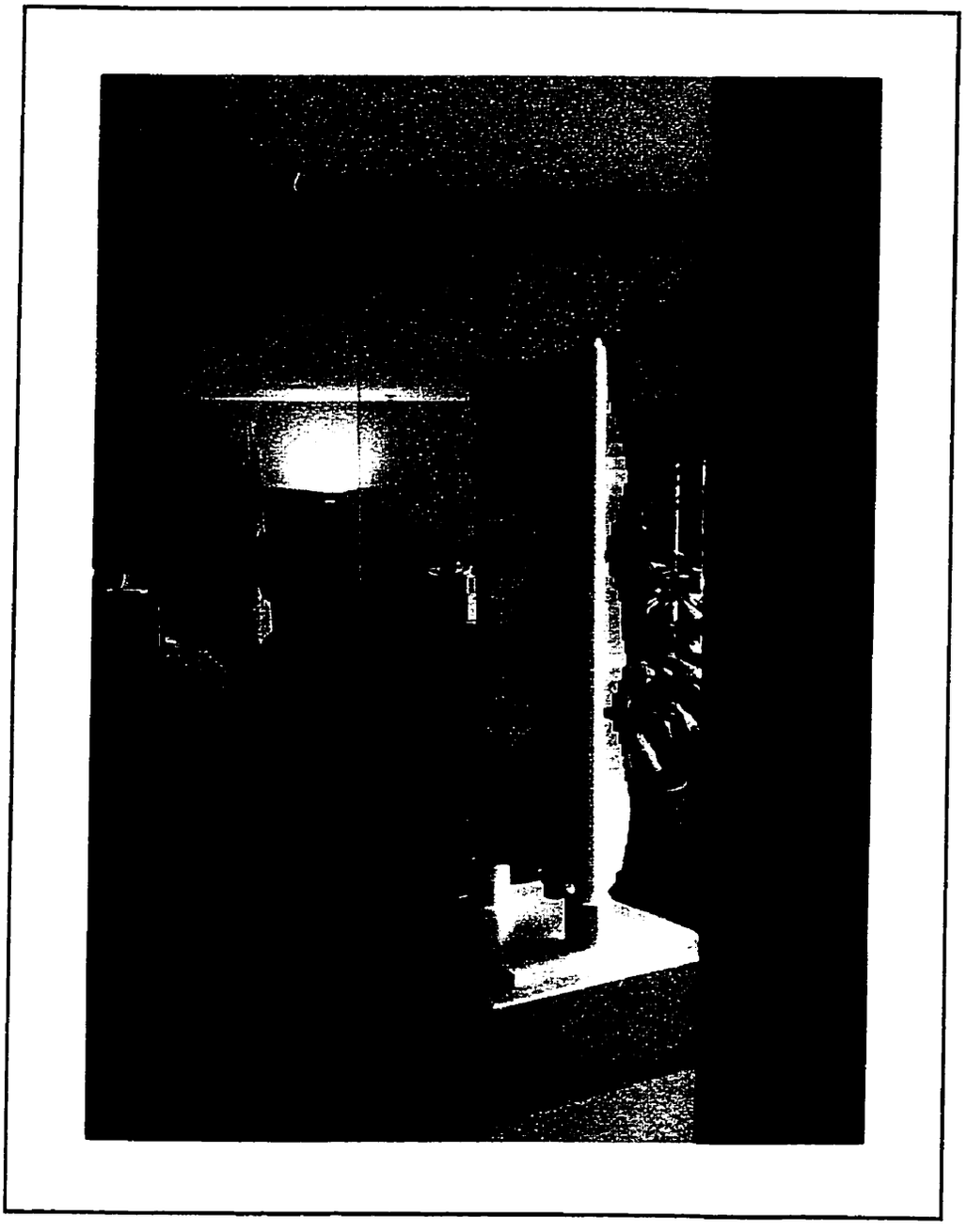


Figure 18. Ulysse Comtois. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

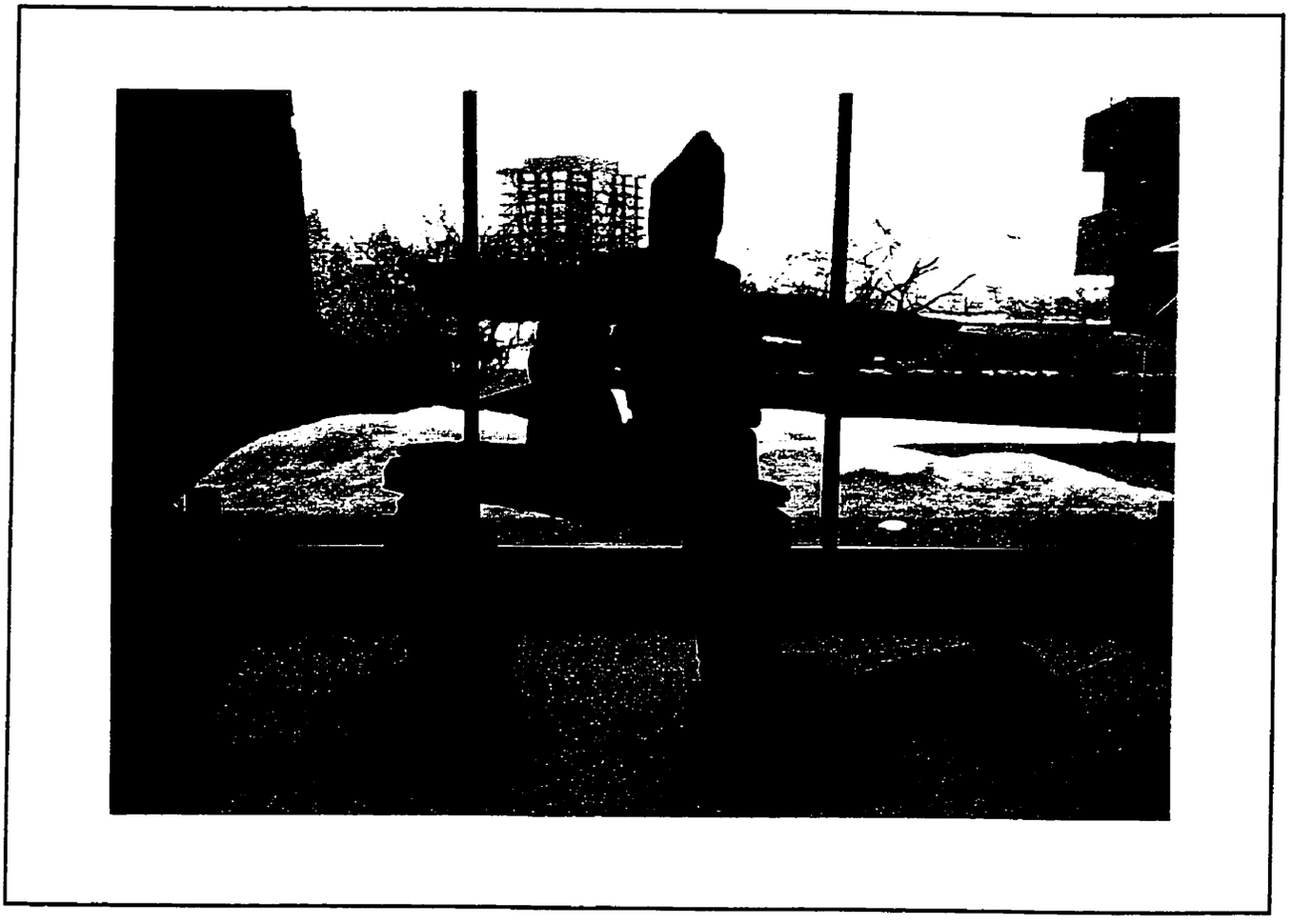


Figure 19. Oseotuk Ipeelee. *Inukshook*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

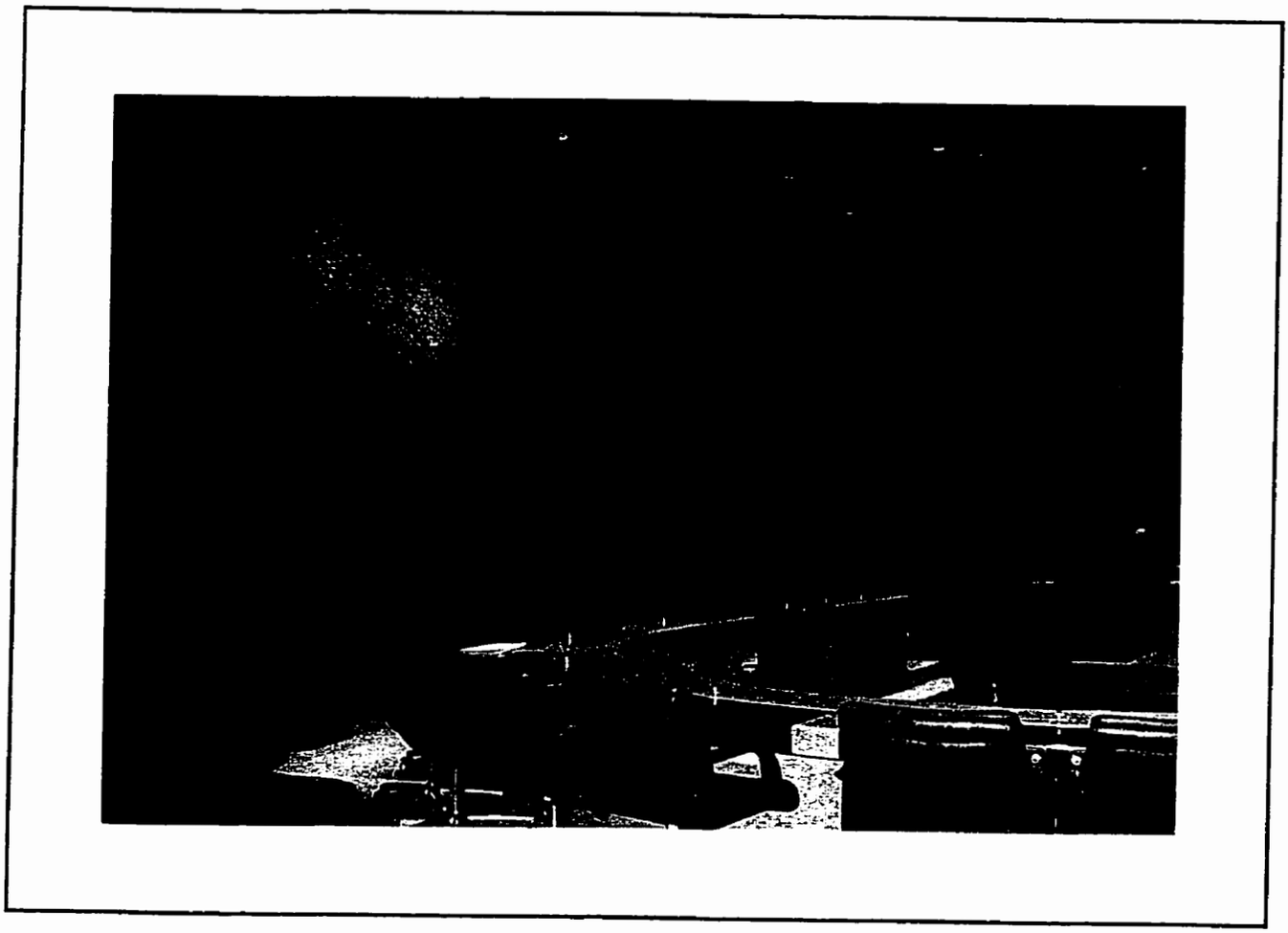


Figure 20. Joyce Lehto. *Manitoulin Canada*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

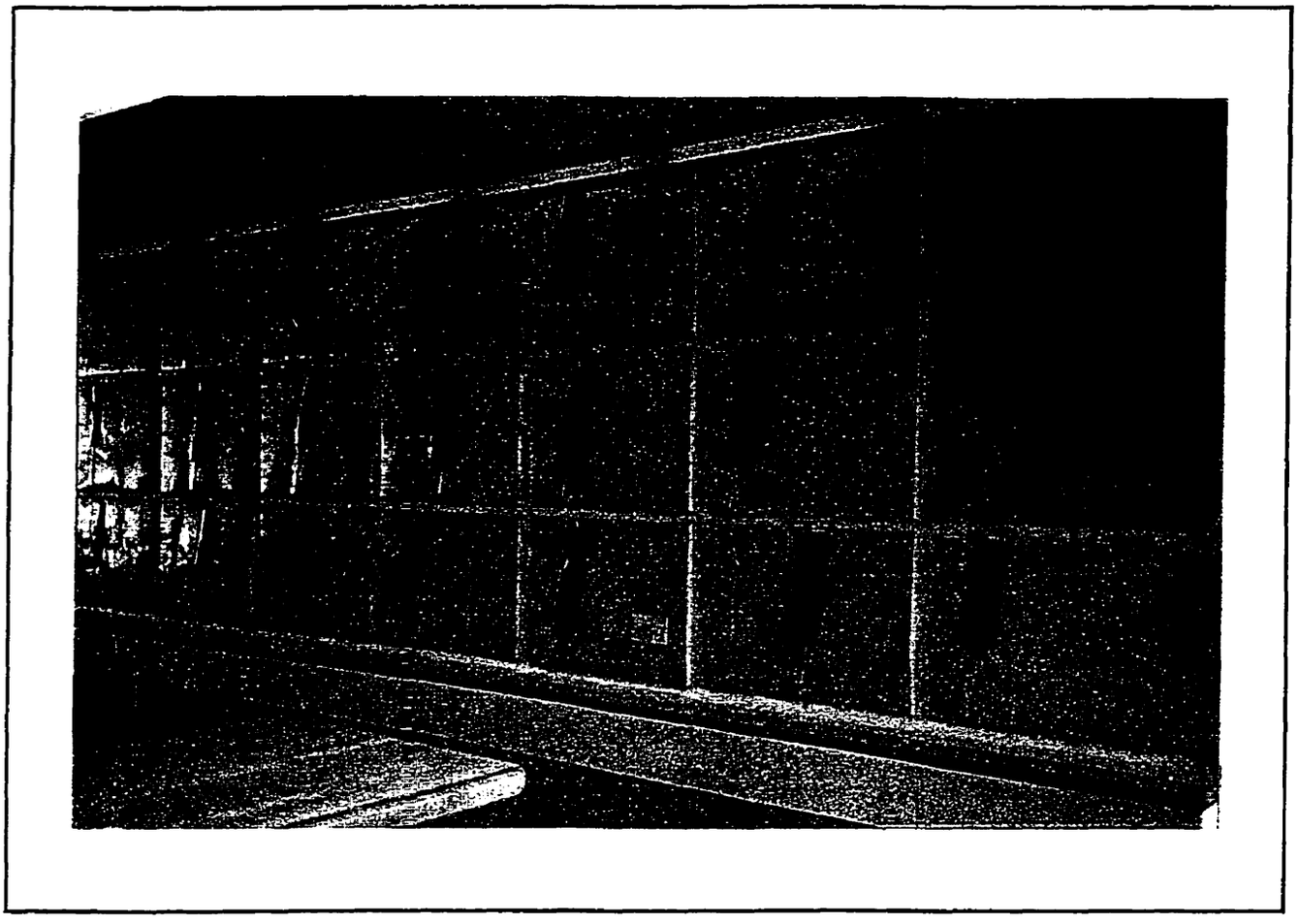


Figure 21. Gathie Falk. *Veneration of the White Collar Worker*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

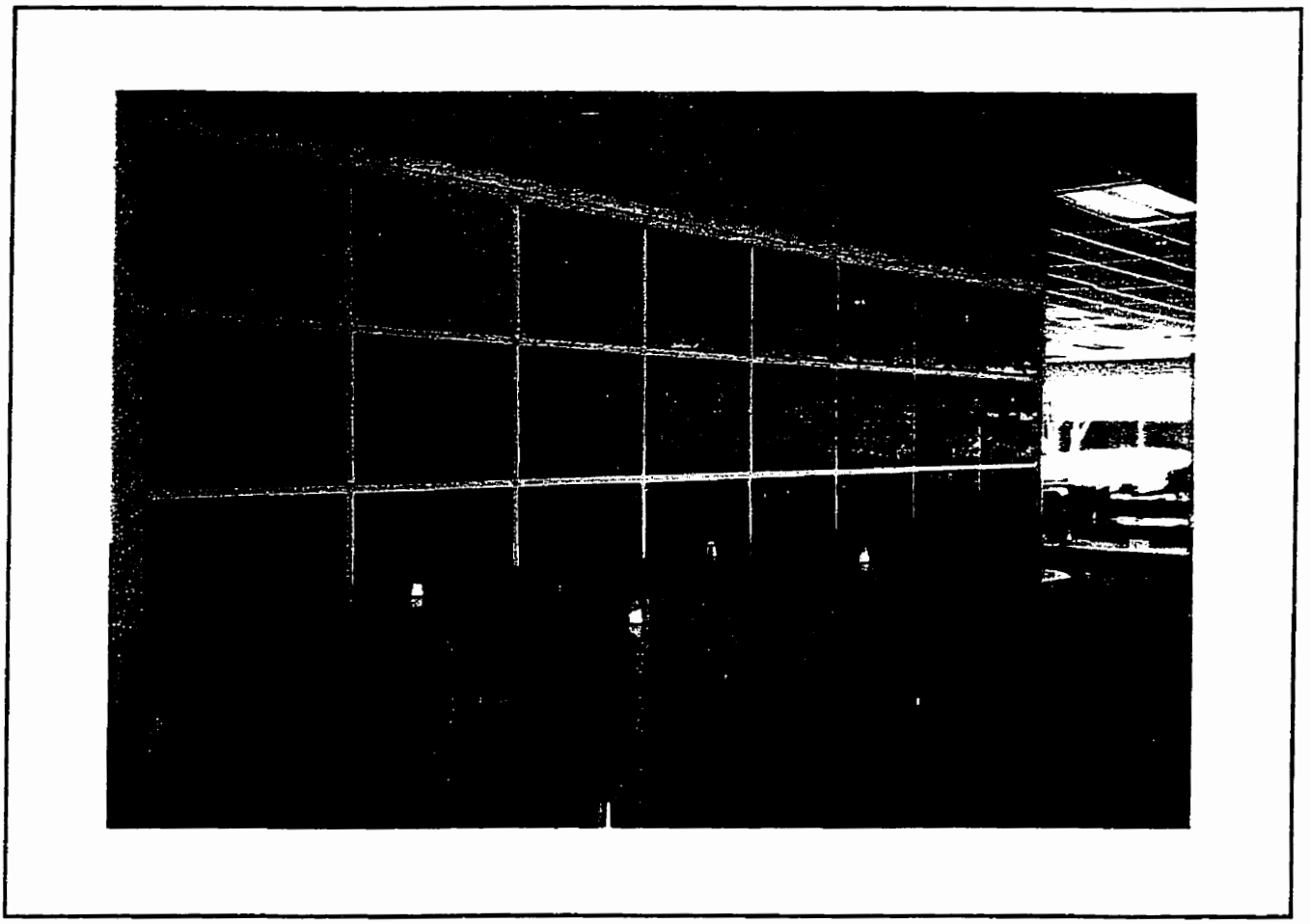


Figure 22. Gathie Falk. *Veneration of the Blue Collar Worker*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

Figure 23. Arthur Handy. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

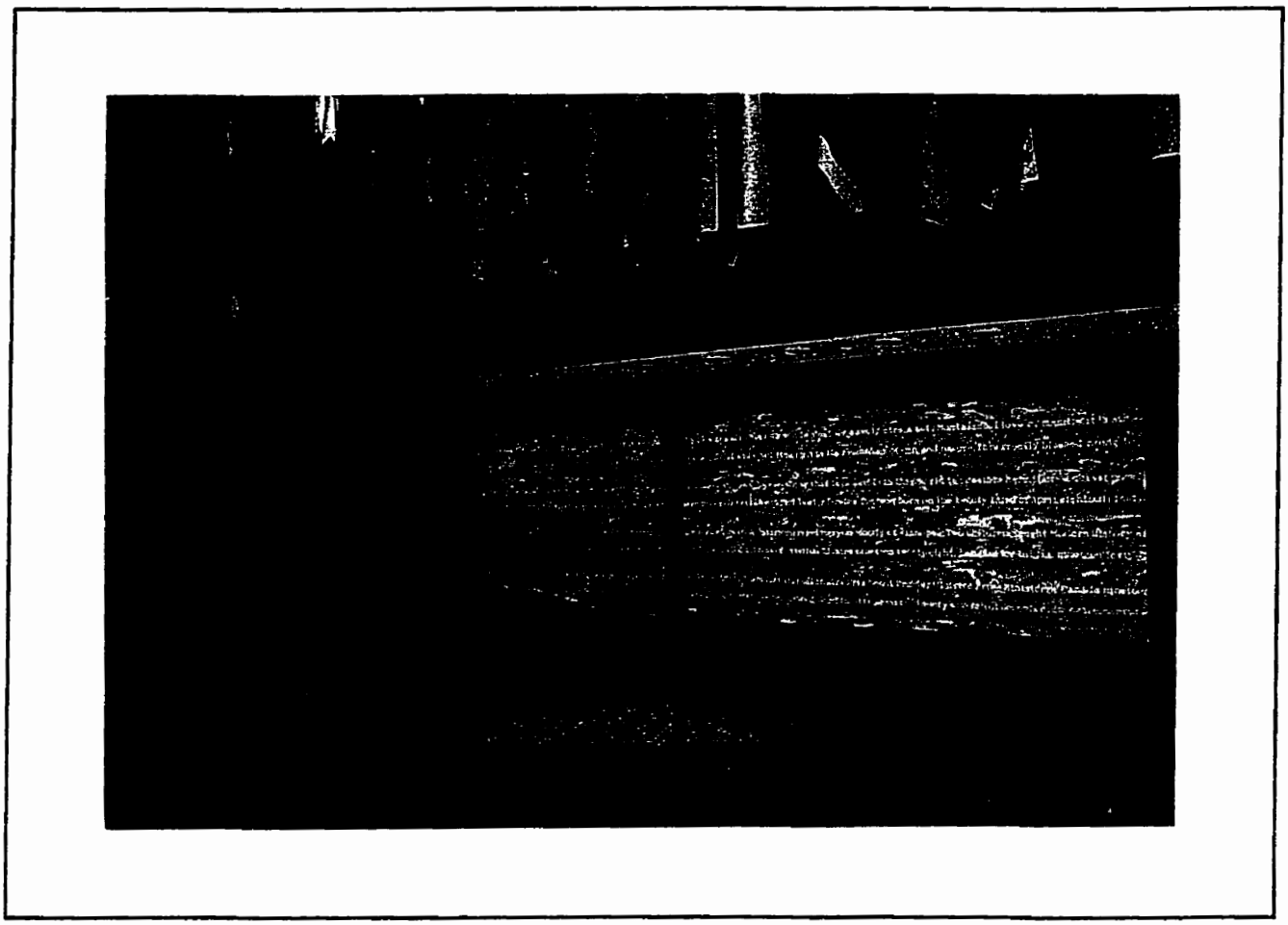


Figure 24. Charles Gagnon. *Thought screen Timespace*, 1975. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

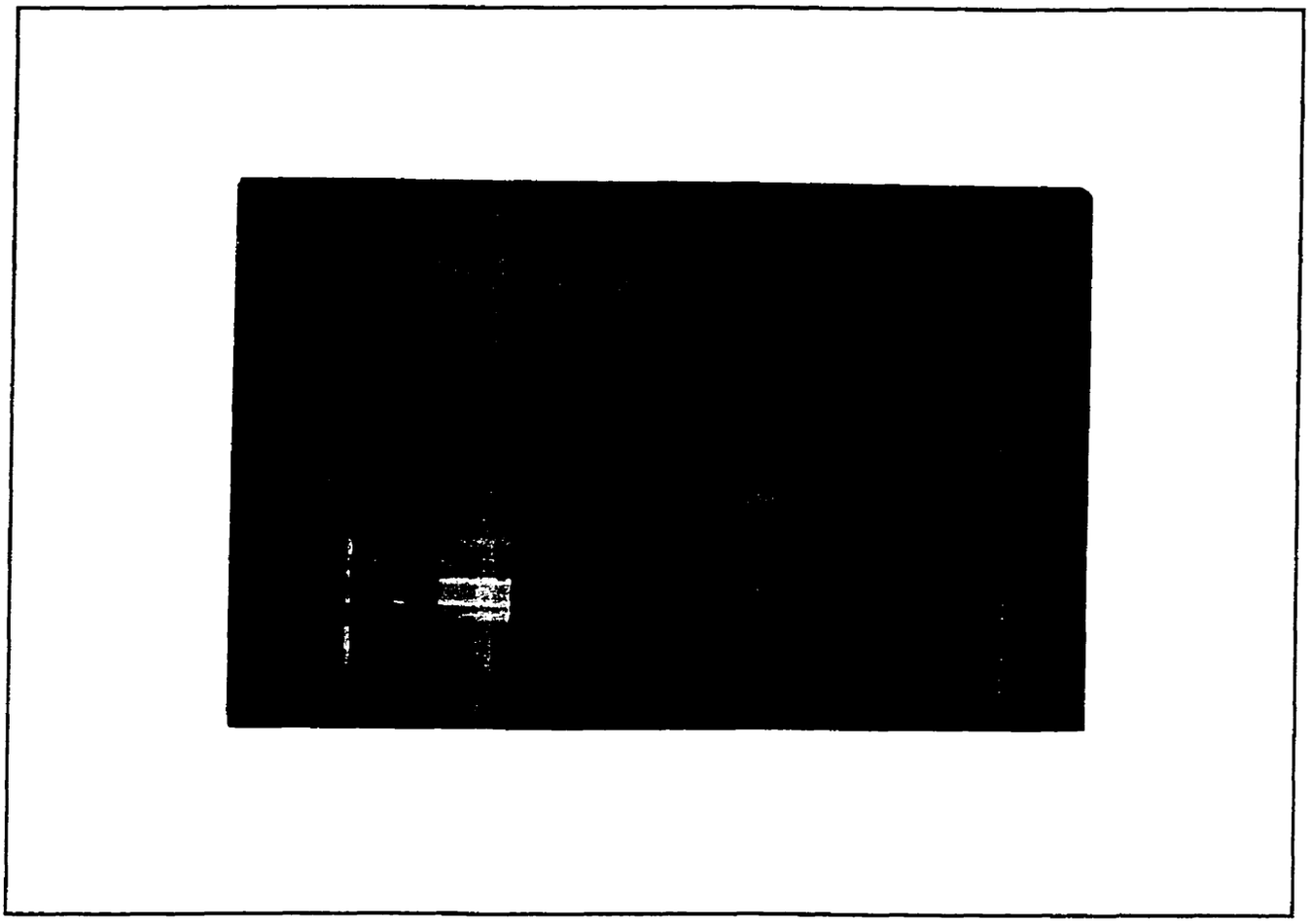


Figure 25. Roger Vilder. *Untitled*, 1973. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Building, Ottawa.

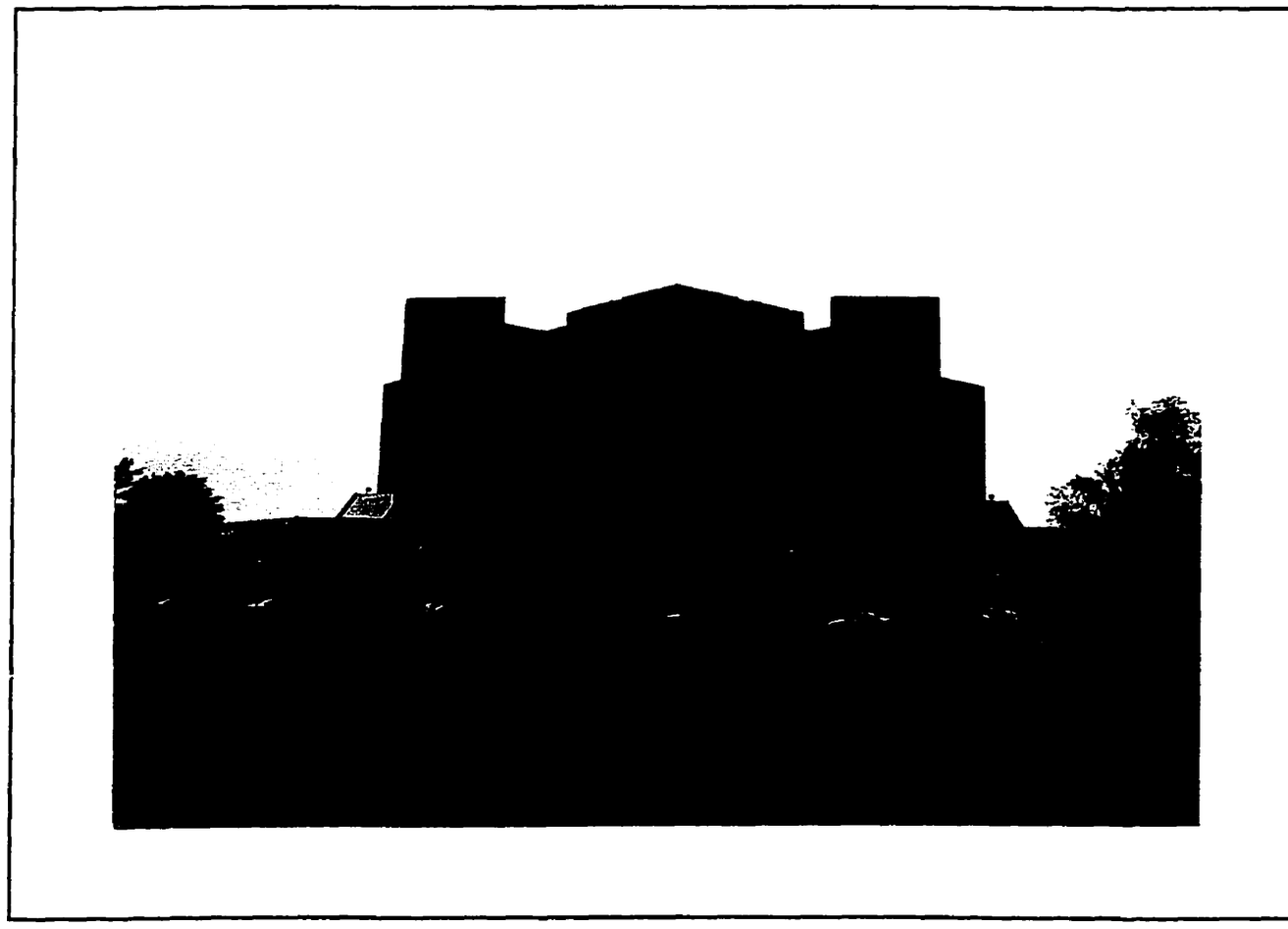


Figure 26. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.

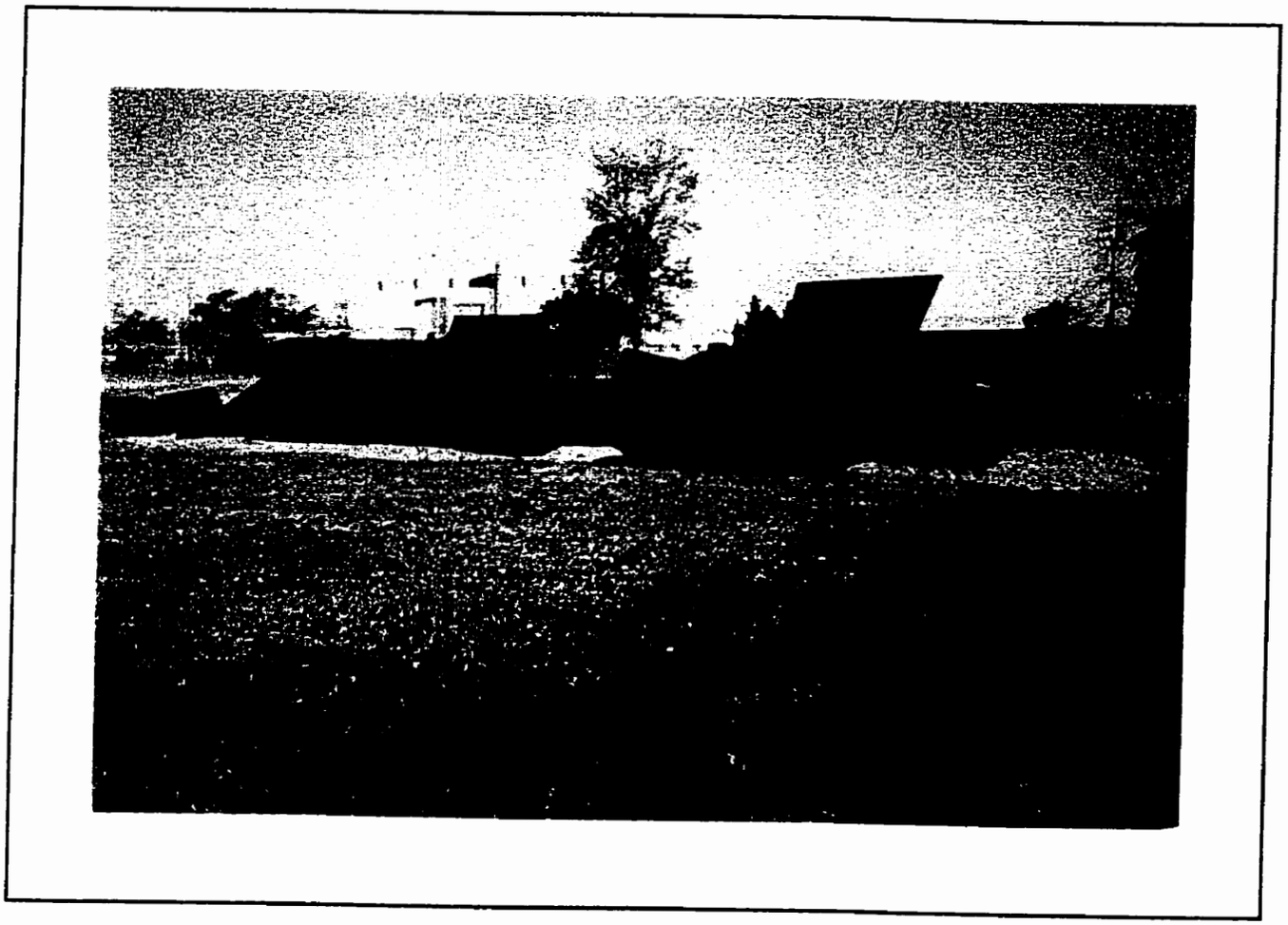


Figure 27. Douglas Bentham. *Prairies*, 1973. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.

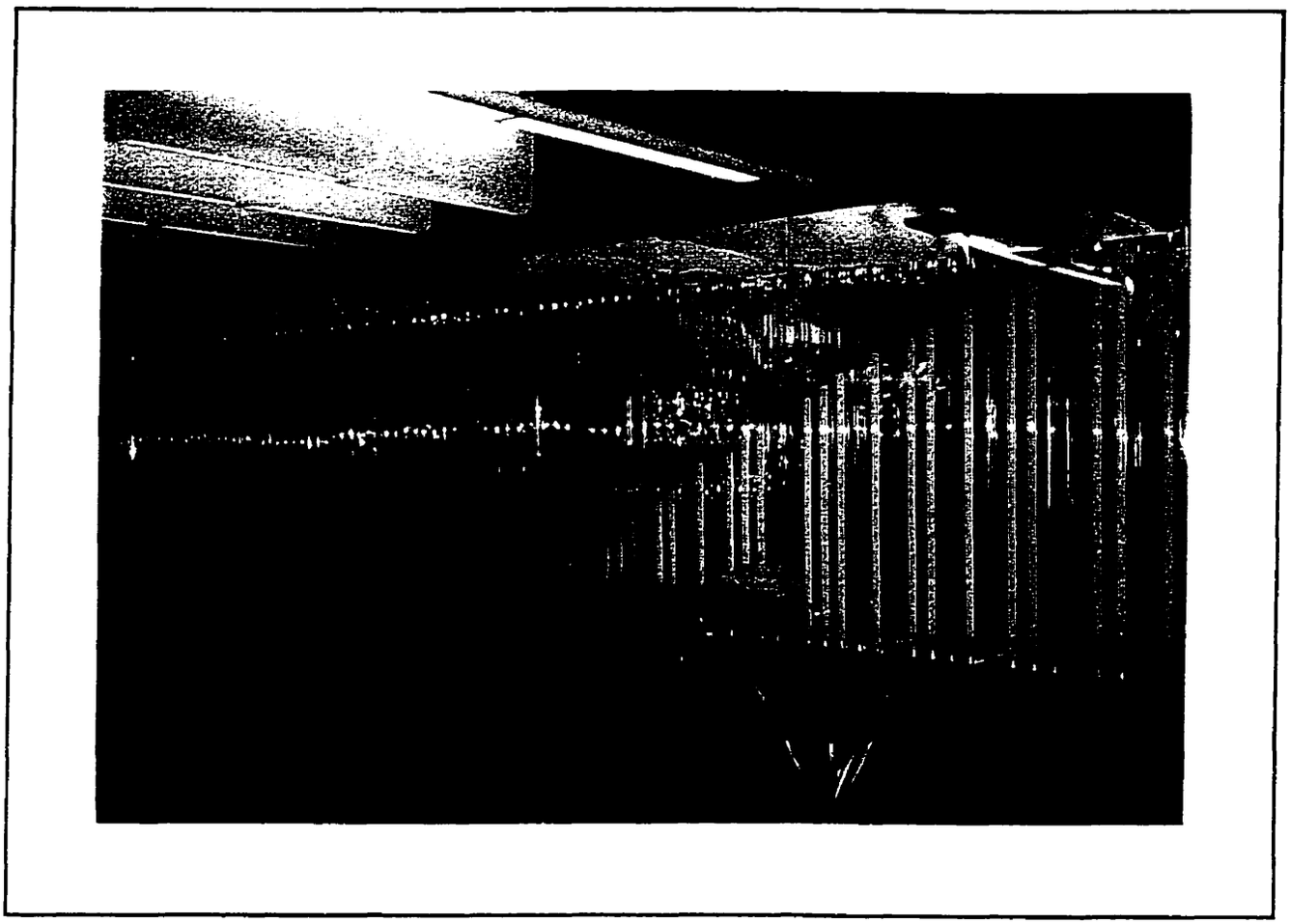


Figure 28. Michael Hayden. *Elemental Mural*, 1974. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.

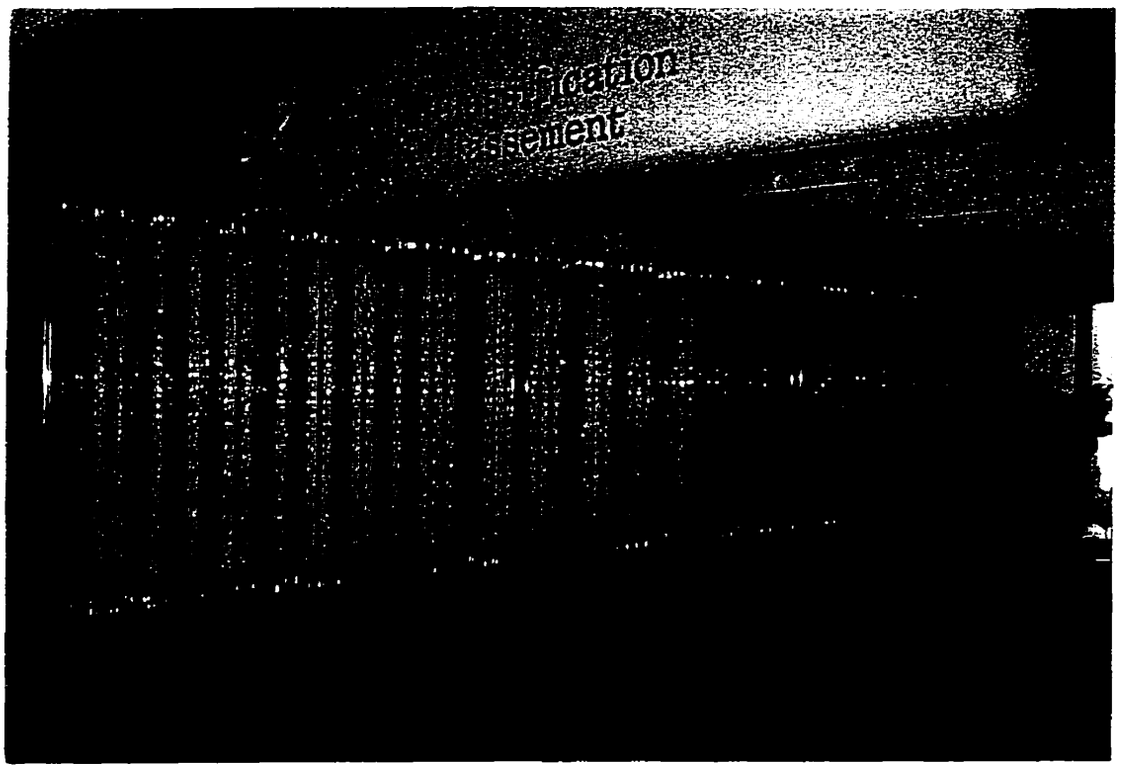


Figure 29. Michael Hayden. *Elemental Mural*, 1974. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.

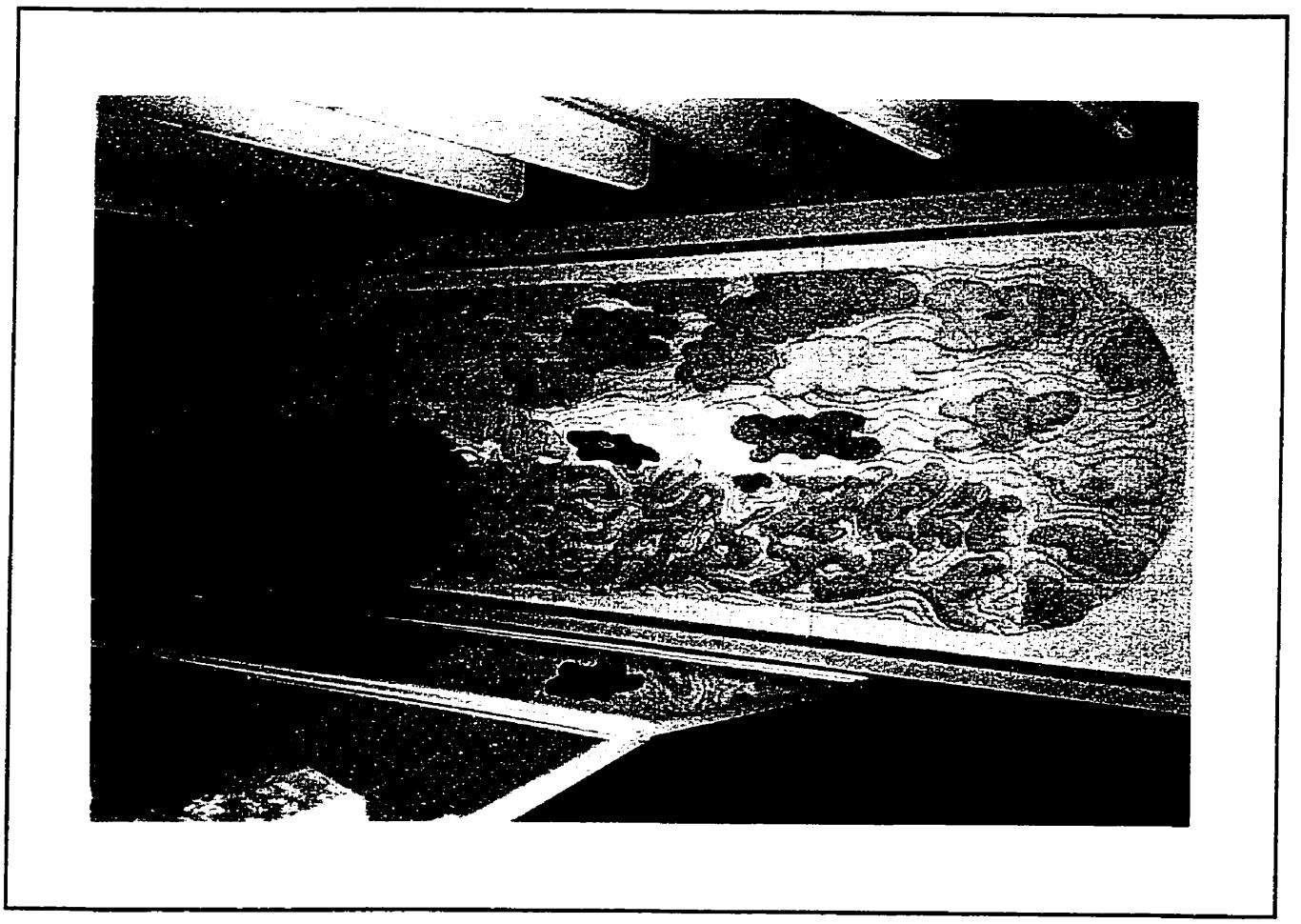


Figure 30. Joyce Wieland. *Defend the Earth / Defendez la Terre*, 1973. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.

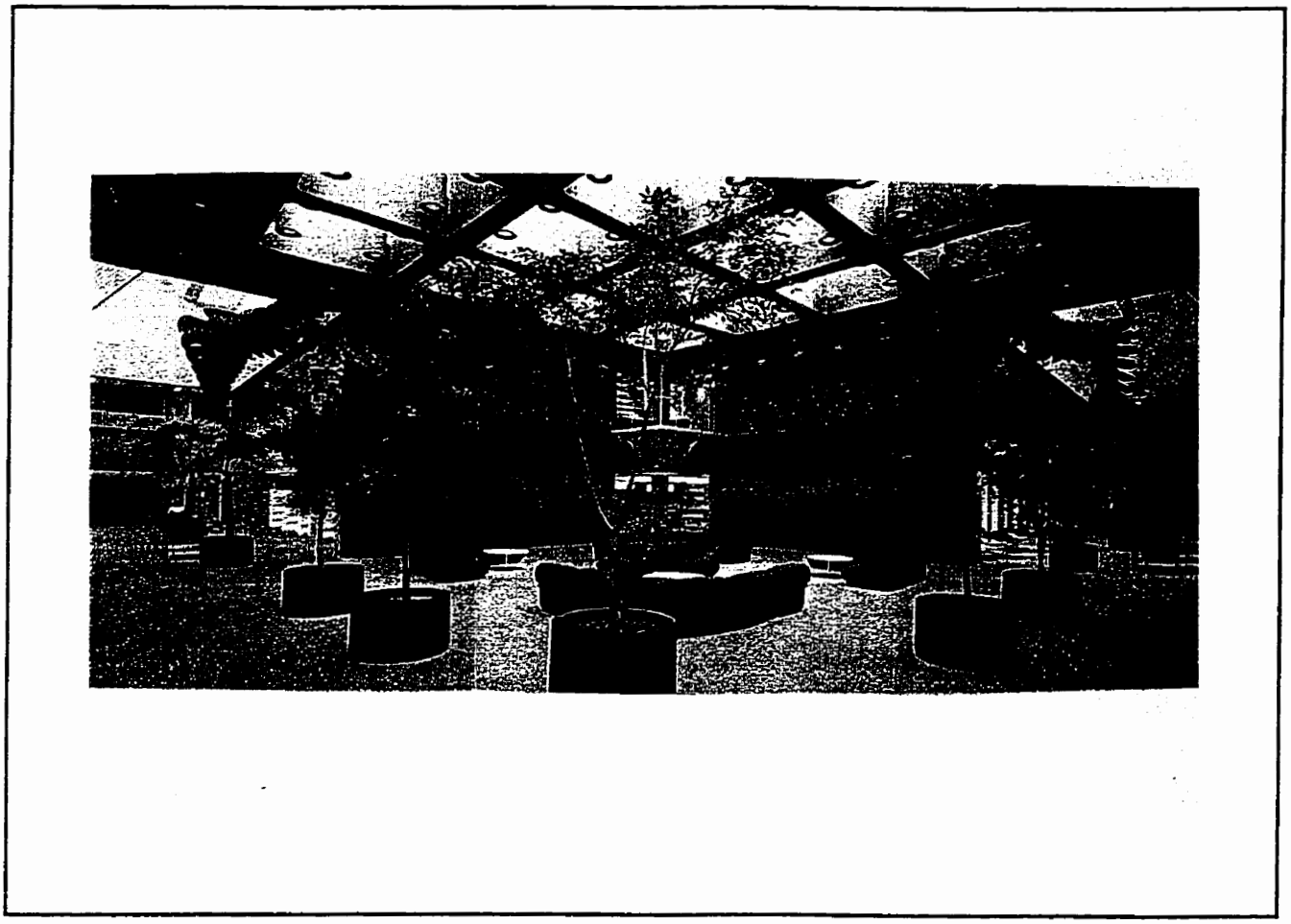


Figure 31. Robin Mackenzie. *Plant Mural* (centre-walls), 1974.
Nobuo Kubota. *Wave I* and *Wave II*, (far left and far right-light wells), 1973. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.

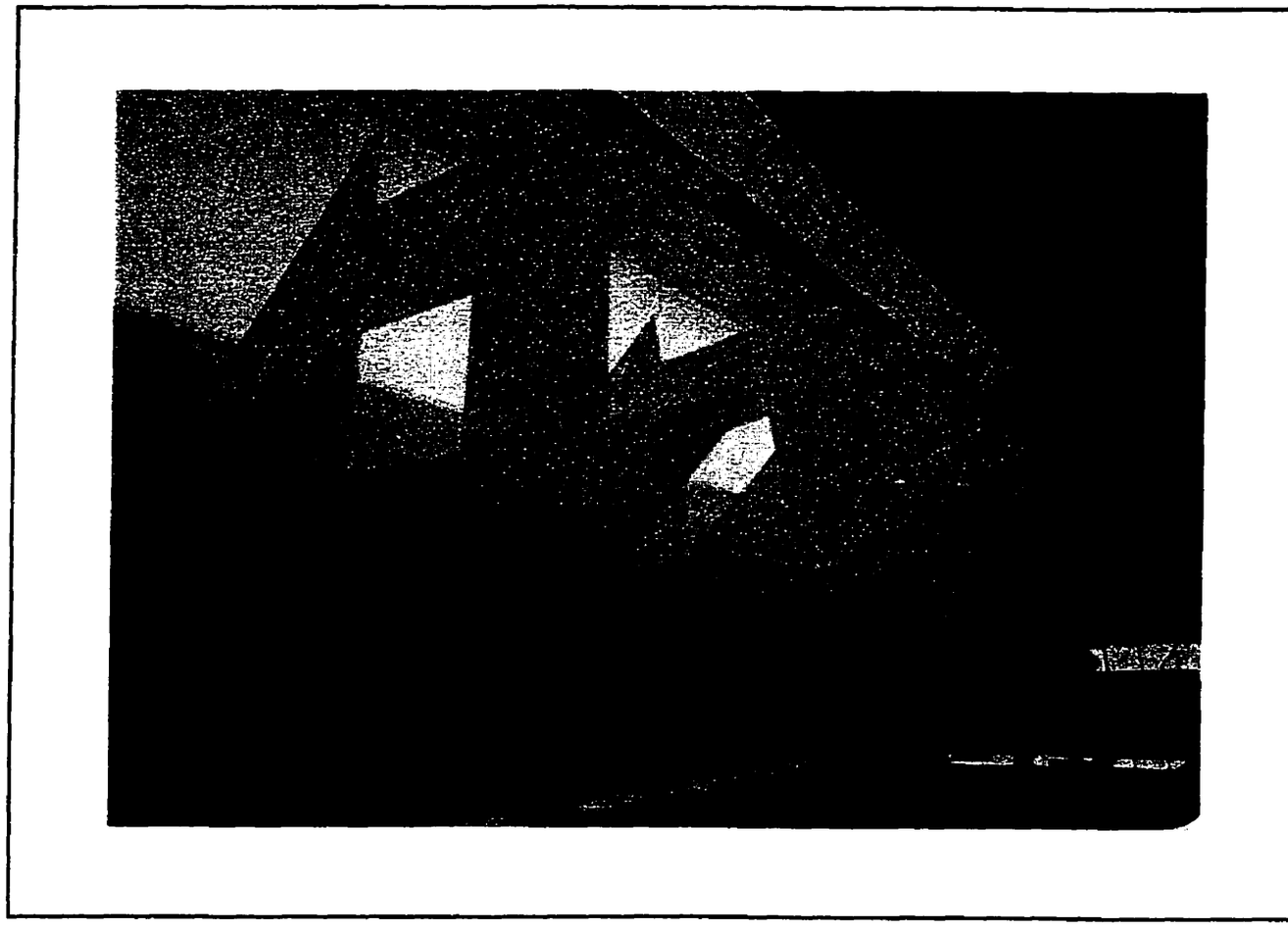


Figure 32. Jean Noel. *Fluff*, (banners in two corridors), 1973. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.

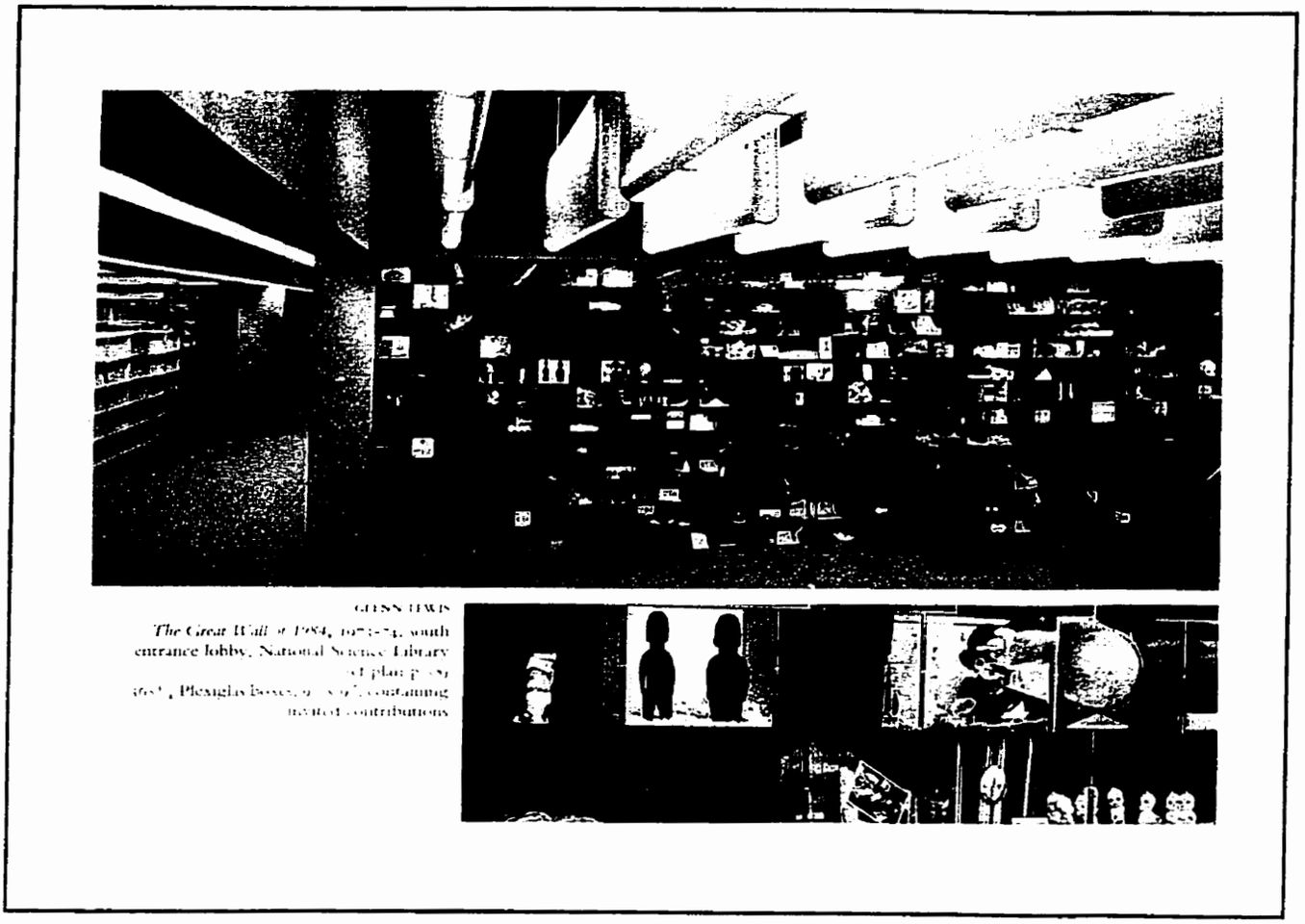
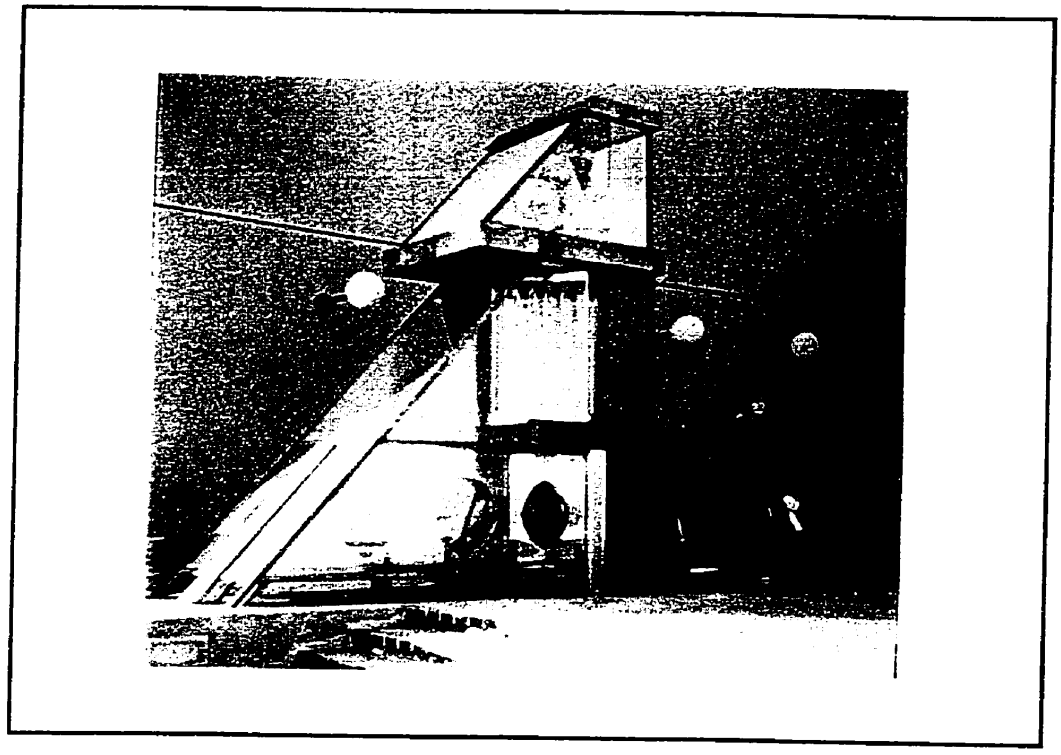


Figure 33. Glenn Lewis. *The Great Wall of 1984*, 1973. Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, Ottawa.



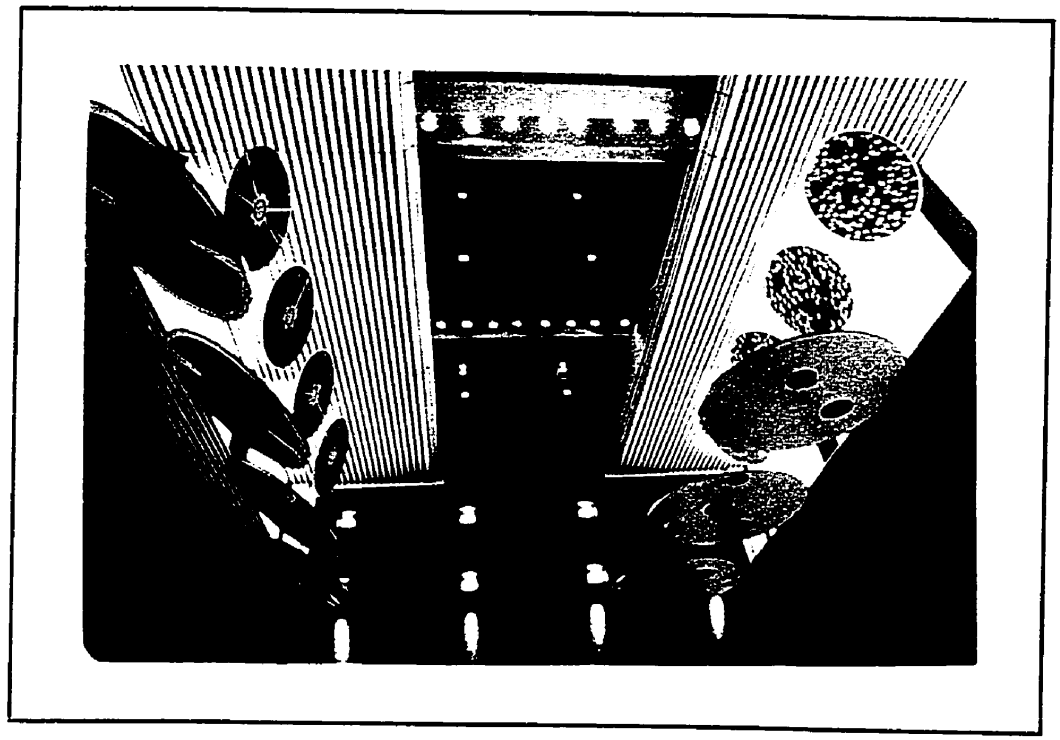


Figure 34. George Norris. *Untitled*, 1973.
Figure 35. Tony Tascona. *Untitled*, 1972. Fisheries Research Board of Canada Freshwater Institute, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

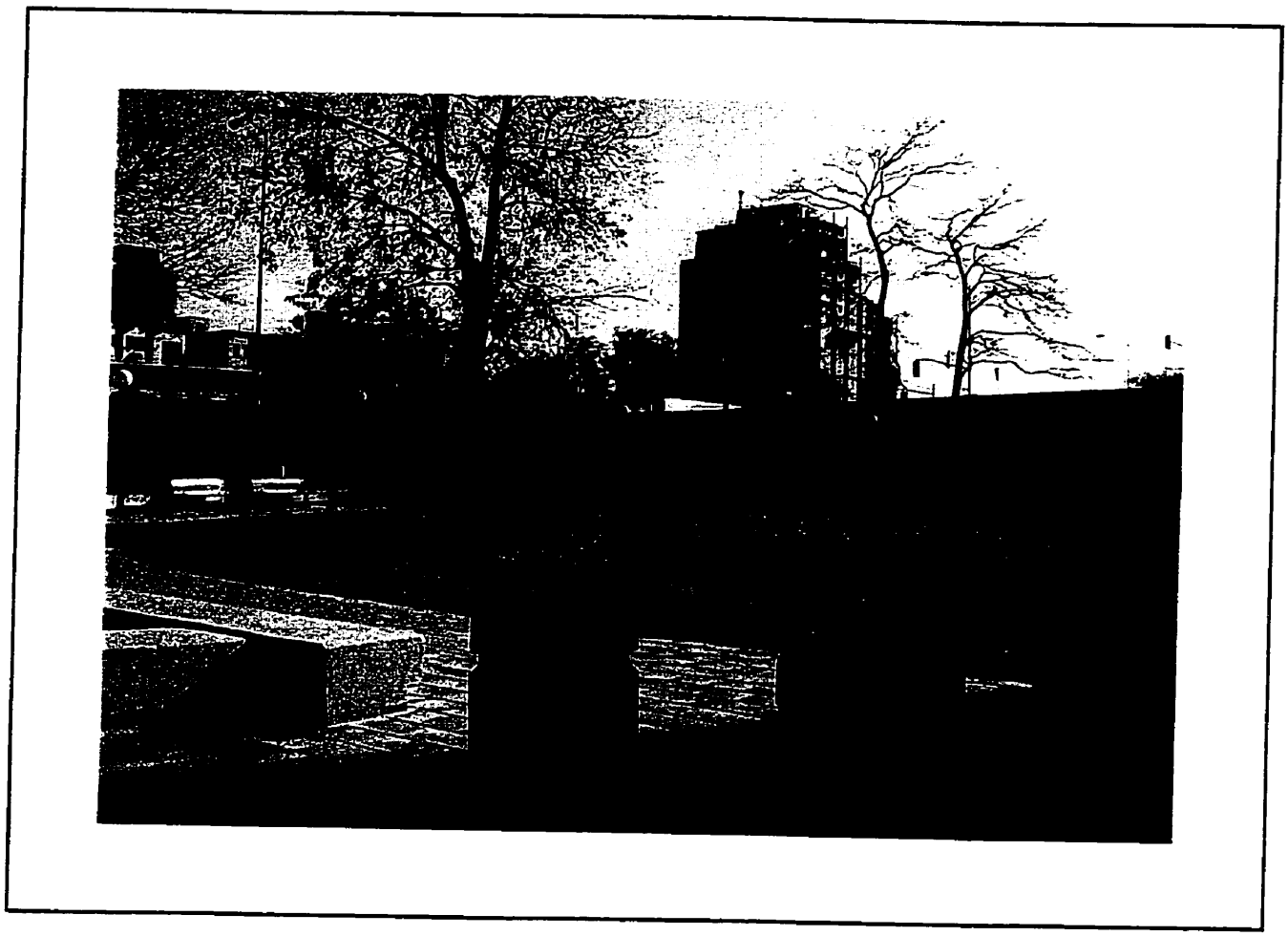


Figure 36. Redesigned site of Hugh Leroy's *Untitled.* Department of National Defence Headquarters Building

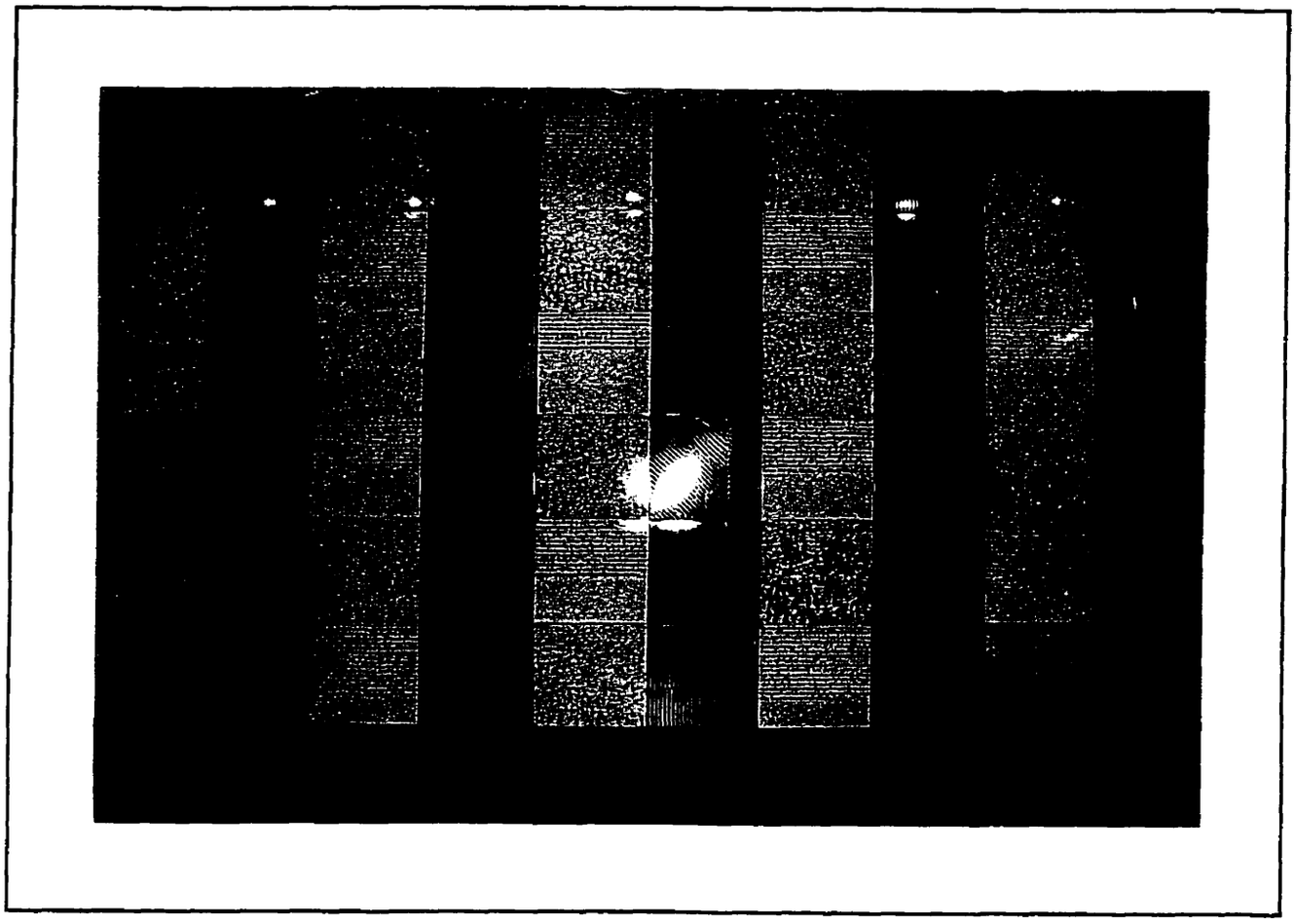


Figure 37. Jerry Grey. *The Great Canadian Equalizer*, 1979. Jean Talon Building (Statistic Canada), Ottawa.

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