The notion of Nationhood is as manufactured as the outside perceptions of those individuals who are deemed a part of it. Cultural branding is at the heart of National identity making, it defines political and social norms, stands in as general belief values, which, in a globalized market context, are translated into material form and ultimately commodified, further solidifying external perception. How do we contend with this when perceptions turn from empowering to pejorative? How are projections of people and, by extension, objects, observed under the umbrella of culture and what happens when the identity of that culture becomes inextricably absorbed into the realm of nostalgia? What becomes of cultural *production* when it is at the mercy of hierarchies and tastemakers? During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the province of Quebec, as much as the rest of Canada, witnessed a resurgence of interest in handicrafts, folktales, song and traditional dance. This interest stemmed from a fear of losing tradition in light of encroaching industrialization, urbanization, and modernity at large. This essay will attempt to uncover the above questions in relation to Quebecois folk art by examining its socio-political context and by comparing the powerful constructed notion of "the Folk" to the practice of urban, contemporary, Quebecois folk artists, Marie-Annick Viatour and Gaétan Berthiaume. In short, this is an exploration of what it means for an object to mediate between modernity and nostalgia and how it affects the object's creator by virtue of its reception.

While Ian McKay's book *Quest of the Folk* is essentially about Helen Creighton's contribution to the notion of "the Folk" and its development as a key to understanding Nova Scotian culture and history, it is also about urban cultural producers and their construction of "the Folk" as a romantic antithesis to everything disliked about modern

urban and industrial life. McKay maintains that the invention and diffusion of the Folk became a manner of negotiating the impact of modernity[1] as the significant rise of industrialization and the migration of rural dwellers to the city produced the fear of a disappearing culture, which could only be saved by preserving artistic heritage, and "traditional" methods of production. What began as a genuine concern by parties such as Alice Peck and May Phillips, founders of the Canadian Guild of Craft in 1894, who wished to enable rural craftswomen to maintain a quality of life and earn wages outside of the industrialized city by selling their products through the Guild,[2] soon became a "movement of aesthetic-colonization of the country by the city."[3] This is something that has been witnessed throughout history and modernity and often described as "anti-modernism." European examples of such movements can be found in England during the late Victorian era as William Morris and the Arts and Craft movement focused on rural English craft revival, the Humanist movement during the Renaissance and their notion of the noble savage, as well as Romanticism in relation to notions of the noble peasant and the rise in popularity of collected folktales by the Brothers Grimm.[4] McKay traces the earliest form of such positioning as rising out of the "discoveries" in America but all of these examples are noteworthy as they emphasize a progression towards positioning the Other and the conservation of "the Folk" as a "touchstone by which classical and modern worlds could be measured."[5]

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[1] Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, 4-8
[2] Ellen Easton McLeod, "Embracing the Other'," in *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999: 208
[3] McKay, 9
[4] McKay, 11-12
[5] McKay, 10

The romantic notion of Other as we now know it was lost on Alice Peck and May Phillips, who idealized the modest livelihoods of the First Nations people and French Canadian *habitants.* Belonging to Montreal's middle-class Anglophone community, well versed in history and folklore, Peck and Phillips would direct their philanthropic duty towards the conservation of "primitive arts"[6] and felt that the objects created by the French Canadians and First Nations were representative of Canadian craft tradition. While the Guild seems to have been founded on good intention and genuine reverence, they were nonetheless participating in a dynamic of power and their efforts to conserve what seemed to be quickly disappearing developed into a sense of authority or connoisseurship, which pervades the Guild to this day.[7] Folk, naïve, primitive, grassroots, patenteux, are terms which have been used as pejorative descriptors, and according to curator Nancy Tousley, these negative perceptions accumulate into a positive stereotype, amounting to an ideological verdict.[8] It remains easier to sell a sense of nostalgia in the form of folklore than a realistic representation of marginalized people and whom best to encourage the production of nostalgia than those who helped produce its value.

Cultural theorist Svetlana Boym describes nostalgia as "a longing for that shrinking 'space of experience' that no longer fits the new horizon of expectations." She deems it a side effect of the teleology of progress,[9] progress as not only a narrative of temporal progression but also of spatial expansion, in this case, modernization and

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[6] McLeod, 204

[7] The Guild's current website specifies their mandate to "encourage, preserve, improve and stimulate Canadian crafts, prevent the loss and degradation of crafts, encourage the practice of crafts by making it an honourable and lucrative profession [and to] help artists and artisans by maintaining a market for them throughout Canada and abroad […]."
http://www.canadianguild.com/modules.php?name=Historique#1894

[8] Nancy Tousley, "A Dream of More: In Memory of Lee Davis," *Welcome to our World: Contemporary Canadian Folk Art*, Susan Foshay, Pascal Galipeau and Nancy Tousley, Kleinburg, Ontario: McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 33

[9] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books, 2001, 10

industrialization. Dr. Johannes Holfer, coined the word “nostalgia” in 1688 to label what he deemed to produced erroneous representations of the past, maintaining that it was, in fact, a hypochondria of the heart.[10] Restorative nostalgia, as deemed by Boym, works to recapture and preserve the essence of an absolute truth and authenticity. With this is mind, it is not surprising that the nostalgic “space of experience” would revolve around the craft object, either in its performative stage while the creator produced the work for a pageant or fair or in its final stage once the work stood up against its modern surroundings. Sociologist, Zygmunt Bauman asserts that pre-modern space was understood in relation to ones body (arms length, rule of thumb, etc.) and the awareness of the body in relation to land and community “long before the metal rod called the meter, that impersonality and disembodiment incarnate, was deposited […] for everyone to respect and obey.”[11] In other words, the technological object has come to stand in for the body while the craft object, with its ideological implication of tradition, *pastness*, human touch, and domestic scale, remains within the community of pre-modern space and, by extension, outside of the city.

The German word “Volk” functioned to describe both the peasant and “the people,” however, it was more convenient to claim that peasant customs were *intrinsic* to the people as it abided a greater sense of nationalism. Folk represented an ideal form of self-sufficient society, “permanently rooted over generations in small, uncommercialized, communities”,[12] far more than the city workers, the “learned class,” or aristocrats associated with capitalism, the oral versus printed world. Indeed, the constructed identity of the Folk was a bricollage of often-unrelated cultural artifacts such as handicrafts,

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[10] Boym, 3
[11] Boym, 11
[12] McKay, 12

music, stories and sayings, which nonetheless served to unify a nation through dissemination and nostalgic collection.[13] According to McKay, the myth of the Folk as a "cultural core", free of corruption by society,[14] holds latent biblical undertones; Adam and Eve in the garden, free of original sin. This, in turn, evokes a sense of innocence and childlike qualities, which, as we will return to later, is problematic in that it eliminates the social complexities of rural communities and further polarizes "non-Folk."

This is not to say that rural craft production was not intimately connected to moral values, spirituality, and folktales. Many rural Quebecois artists contributed to the iconography within their church through the production of wooden sculpture, metal procession pieces, and more.[15] At times, non-functional works were inspired by folktales which incorporated elements of religion and spirituality, such as the Chasse-Galerie[16] (Fig 1), an early folktale that stems from France but modified by Quebec's French settlers when adapting a First Nations legend about a flying canoe. The tale of Chasse-Galerie holds a powerful and ongoing presence in Quebecois culture, often adapted in song, performance, and medium specific arts, however, the incorporation of loggers, canoes, and the story's ties to wood are not incidental. The logging industry was, and still is, vital to Quebec and the woodwork that stemmed from this industry, which was the primary material for constructing sailing vessels, community buildings, homes, furniture, and

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[13] McKay, 12-13
[14] McKay, 11
[15] Thérèse Latour and the Art Gallery of Ontario, *Trésors d'art populaire québécois/Folk Art Treasures of Québec*, Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, Direction des musées et centres d'exposition, 1980, 16-19-20
[16] Although there are many variations on this tale (the French version revolves around a man who wishes to go hunting rather than go to church), the *Chasse-Galerie* is the story of a group of loggers who make a pact with the Devil in order to fly into the night and visit their families on New Years Eve. The Devil warns, however, not to commit blaspheme during the voyage, not to drink alcohol, or touch crosses atop church steeples, they must return before six o'clock the next morning, otherwise they lose their souls. Of course, some of the loggers do not heed the Devil's warning resulting in their troublesome return and eternal damnation to roam the sky at night in their flying canoe. (Oral version of story passed down to the author)

domestic tools among much more, substantiates the importance of this medium as that which is ingrained into the cultural psyche and landscape.

The entwinement of Folk, mysticism and the everyday was used to promote an "organic solidarity that modernity did not erase" and "testified to the possibility and necessity of the nation,"[17] which was used in turn for political purposes. In Atlantic Canada, Folk songs collected by Helen Creighton were sought after by the government to be used as propaganda for recruiting during the Second World War,[18] likewise, the National Film Board of Canada used images of Quebec's natural resources, rural beauty, traditional farming and craft making to motivate French Canadians to help "protect" it from the Nazi regime.[19] Quebec nationalists used similar tactics during the mid twentieth century seeking to unite French-speaking Quebecers through use of the notion of Folk and its associated craft production. Political solidarity would potentially bring enough incentive to claim Quebec as a self-governing entity through sovereignty. This could be interpreted as a dual severing of lineage: from the old world, France, which may have served as a common starting point for French speaking identity as distinct from the English speaking majority represented throughout the rest of Canada; however, the developed notion of Quebec as the *petit cousin* of France would be condescending enough to distance nationalists while being used superficially to foster aspects of tourism. Once again, a polarity was formed to distinguish the Folk.

Quebec born, Oxford educated anthropologist, Marius Barbeau was a central figure in the renewal and recognition of Canadian craft in Canada and abroad during the

[17] McKay, 12-13
[18] McKay, 79-80
[19] Radford Crawley, *Québec, tremplin stratégique*, 16 min 54 s., National Film Board of Canada, 1942

early twentieth century, particularly crafts produced by the Inuit and French speaking Quebecois. Not surprisingly, Barbeau theorized the impact of modernization on the "Folk society" of French Canada.[20] The building blocks to Quebec's craft revival were the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, which began in the eighteen nineties, the Cercles de fermières and the Écoles menagères of 1915 which brought together women in agriculture to create and sell their crafts, and the "back to the land" movement of 1929, generated by the provincial government, which featured a handicrafts school within the department of agriculture.[21] The National Film Board produced a documentary on Quebec craft, *The Hands Are Sure*, which further advanced the success of the movement, so much so that the handicraft industry started to reshape itself based on the tourism it generated. This alarmed purists like Marius Barbeau who worried about the repercussions of diluting craft tradition for the sake tourist consumption.[22]

A strong ally of Helen Creighton, Barbeau would regularly co-organize cross country craft fairs with cultural promoter John Murray Gibbon during the late nineteen twenties which featured the participation of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. Drawing financial support and promotion from the Canadian Pacific Railroad and the Canadian Steamship Line[23], these craft fairs would serve to showcase the developing notion of a plurality of Folk, the *Canadian mosaic*, while encouraging means of tourism and implicitly reflecting a vision of Canadian-ness to Canadians, a cohesive identity "rich in

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[20] McKay, 57
[21] McKay, 158
[22] McKay, 158
[23] McKay, 157

immigrants"[24] (read Other/Folk) that was otherwise feared to be under threat by modernity.[25] Paradoxically, the relationship between nationalism, craft based economies, tourism and the expansion of the railroad conflate ideologies of conservation, authenticity, and modernization while also negotiating temporalities of past, present and future.

As aforementioned, this craft fair system featured handicraft sales and demonstrations of production as well as folk dance and song performances, which, when related to Svetlana Boym's notion of the *Off-modern*, can clearly delineate this spectacle as a promotion of temporal and spatial extensions into the past, future, and present. The fair represents a remainder of history, a pastness recognized in the performance of "Folk," a future (modernity) clearly represented through the involvement of the CPR and CSL as symbols of progression, while the present is embodied and situated through the viewer. While Boym applies this theory to architecture, sculpture and ruinophilia, framing communist utopian projects as dialectical ruins, we can thread the notion of ruinophilia to that of "the Folk"– in its encompassing of object making, disavowing of modernity, and fear of a disappearing "cultural core." The Off-modern, like the craft fairs, reaches into "different existential topographies of cultural forms" combining "empathy with estrangement." [26]

David Brett's notion of modernity also underscores the relationship between craft (decorative object) and its reception as anti-modern throughout several incarnations. He

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[24] Stuart Henderson, "While There is Still Time…": J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928- 1931, Journal of Canadian Studies/ Revue d'etudes canadiennes, Vol 39, No 1, Winter 2005, 154
[25] Henderson, 141
[26] Svetlana Boym, *Architecture of the Off-Modern*, Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008, 35-36

refers to modernity as moving target, varied in style and taste, where the only commonality is *action*, the concept of the present moving toward the future.[27] But what if the concept of the present is a projection of the past used to progress towards a future that values tradition? If the Canadian craft revival of the early twentieth century is of any example, the socio-political quest to preserve culture for posterity has largely witnessed the conservation of preconceived notions and idealized versions of history best observed through object-making, often labeled craft or decorative art. Brett's argument is that decorative qualities have never been technically revoked; they have simply shifted in style depending on principles of taste and locations of authority. He reminds us that just as there were movements deemed "anti-modern" such as the craft revival, there were simultaneous movements that rejected one form of representation in favor of that which was deemed progressive and modern. That being said, perhaps we should observe the anti-modern/Folk and modern/non-Folk not as polarities but as parallel movements. The author maintains that when a decorative object is used in the everyday we loose sight of it as we become a part of it[28] and certainly Sandra Alfoldy and Janice Helland would agree that the ergonomics of craft can become "so much a part of our understanding of spaces that we easily overlook the very object we rely upon for meaning."[29] It would seem fitting then to compare craft to architecture as that which surrounds us everyday but that we similarly overlook as we navigate through or around it. The commonality here is that craft objects, like architecture, "literally and figuratively shape space" and therefore, according to Alfoldy and Helland, "give architecture a vocabulary that enhances

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[27] David Brett, "Chapter 5: The Refusal," in *Rethinking Decoration: Pleasure and Ideology in the Visual Arts*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 194
[28] Brett, 212
[29] Sandra Alfoldy and Janice Helland, "Introduction," *Craft, Space and Interior Design*. Hampshire, England and Burlington Vermont: Ashgate, 2008, 3

meaning."[30] Brett asserts that contemporary architecture reflects a decorative continuum in that its urban function is like that of costume jewellery; it is used to complete the city and even bring international repute in order to compete with other cities. Its design has "little to do with 'function' and everything to do with bravura, display, social location and pleasure."[31]

The comparison between the meaning and value of architecture and craft object is crucial to contemporary craft theory as the notion of Folk lingers still and with it is the duality of city and country, the industrialized versus the rural, progress versus tradition and more importantly, its social and political connotations. An example of nostalgia through use of Folk and craft is signified in the photographed image of Mr. Wilfred Richard (Fig 2), which will be read using Roland Barthes' method of analysis. Taken for the cover of *Pour passer le temps: Artistes populaires du Québec*, a publication funded by the Quebec minister of cultural affairs, this image should be received as a highly intentional advertisement for cultural heritage and carries with it a coded and non-coded iconic visual messages and a linguistic message. The scene features Mr. Richard, seemingly content as he rests one hand on a finished wooden sculpture depicting a rooster while the other hand gently supports the pipe in his mouth. Assisted by the wooden staircase in the background, a diagonal line is formed from the top of Mr. Richard's head leading the gaze past his sculpture toward the bottom right corner where the subject's toolbox is plainly visible; it is a repurposed *Paysanne*[32] tomato basket. The inclusion of this toolbox emphasizes an agricultural pride that not only applies to the subject but also

[30] Alfoldy and Helland, 2
[31] Brett, 214
[32] Translates to female peasant.

to a broader sense of 'Quebecoisness' which, in the context of the book cover, sits directly over the Quebec government logo.

A part from this linguistic message is a series of discontinuous signs, the pure image. The first takes us back to the overall scene, we are in simultaneously in a farmhouse and in a studio, the architecture of which is made of wood and designed in a traditional style. The outdated, yet sturdy- if still functioning- refrigerator, the fresh block of carving wood, and the woodcarving tools laid out in the foreground further echo this traditional architecture and more importantly, echo an agricultural lifestyle prior to current technologies, even though this image was taken in 1984. The second sign is evident in the backdrop of the image. The overall colors of the image are blue and white, the colors of the provincial flag, hence the colors stand in a relation of "redundancy with the connoted sign of the linguistic message."[33] Certainly, we can assume that this portrait is 'authentic', however, stereotypes involving the noble peasant are present and deliberately employed to represent the Folk; the pipe and plaid shirt, unbuttoned pants held up by suspenders, weathered face and dirty fingernails, serene demeanor. In order to be read, these signs require some general cultural knowledge but what is probably most recognizable without cultural knowledge is the fact that we are witnessing what is assumed to be a private space. In this way, the crafter, his artwork, and the space they occupy are subject to the political and public domain.[34] While Mr. Richard shows agency and pride in his work through his agreement to pose for such a constructed portrait, his biography is now consumed by the public space produced by and disseminated through

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[33] Barthes, Roland, "The Photographic Message" and "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text*, New York: Noonday Press, 1977, 34

[34] Alfoldy and Helland, 4

photography, his cultural biography is further carried out into the life of his craft production.[35]

Alfoldy and Helland cite Jane Rendell's argument that "architecture is a space of related social interactions rather than a series of isolated objects."[36] As objects take on cultural biographies and lives of their own, well outside of isolation and domestic privacy, so too can the palimpsestic nature of architectural spaces, shifting from public to private and back again,[37] which brings us to the work of contemporary urban folk artists, Marie-Annick Viatour and Gaétan Berthiaume. Having each received a Bachelors of Fine Arts in studio art from Concordia University in Montreal during the late nineteen eighties, the artists represent a departure from the Folk represented by Mr. Richard. They are institutionally trained artists, which could represent a polarity in opposition to the self-taught, once again evoking urban versus rural, however, while the romantic meaning implied in the 'self-taught' suggests an isolated and therefore 'authentic' evolution of art production, it is rarely the case. Mr. Richard, for example, was trained by his father, Damase Richard,[38] suggesting the inheritance of artistic knowledge and skill. Closely linked to cultural producers, Viatour and Berthiaume are Members of the Conseil des métiers dart du Québec as well as the Empreinte Cooperative in old Montreal, which represent craft based artists. The artists draw inspiration from antique mechanized toys and marionettes as they are interested in investigating the movement these objects and actions evoke. Through use of wood as a primary medium, their inspiration also stems from Quebec folk songs and folktales, which the artists translate into their vividly colored

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[35] Alfoldy and Helland, 4
[36] Alfoldy and Helland, 5
[37] Alfoldy and Helland, 4
[38] Simard, Jean, Bernard Genest, Francine Labonté and René Bouchard, *Pour passer le temps: Artistes populaires du Québec*, Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1985, 11

toys and sculptures. While circus themes are also a large part of their production, they have most recently produced twenty-six hand-painted and carved wooden toys based on the work of Quebecois author and playwright, Michel Tremblay (Fig 3).

A well-known nationalist as well as talented literary artist, Tremblay was first to introduce the use of joual in theatre in the nineteen sixties, an adaptation of the French language that was integral to the urban portrayal of Montreal's French speaking working class. He stirred controversy by portraying the lives of working class women and by attacking the severe religious structure of Quebec, all with distinctive humor and realism. His play, *Assorted Candies* was based on a child's perspective of his family and society, hence the inspiration for Viatour and Berthiaume's toys (Fig 4). While these creations undoubtedly evoke a sense of nostalgia through their antiquated incarnations, they also reflect the cultural reality of living in a city and the changing notion of Folk art, which may nonetheless still conform to the notion of *cultural mosaic* that was key in promoting craft fairs of the early twentieth century. As found in Tremblay's plays, the colorful exaggerations of Viatour and Berthiaume's sculptures reflect an exaggeration of characters and identities that still engage with socio-political dichotomies– that of class and language.

Tremblay's use of working-class language was largely criticized as something that did not belong in the literary realm, joual was perceived as strictly oral. However, the ultimate success of his work implies both an interest in Other by the cultural elite and a sense of subversion by re-appropriating joual to push forth nationalist agendas.[39] In this way, Viatour and Berthiaume's toys oscillate between childlike and politically complex,

[39] Mathilde Dargnat, *Michel Tremblay: Le "joual" dans Les Belles-Soeurs*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002, 29-30

they embody the stereotypes and dualities that simultaneously belong to the working class and the cultural elite, the oral and the material, text and translation. The inclusion of their works in cultural institutions such as the Maison de la culture Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie's gallery space (Fig 5) support Alfoldy and Helland's notion that craft is constantly at play in enclosed space and that, together, "craft and space create ever-changing snapshots of public and private moments."[40] Exhibiting their crafts within this space further extends the notion of private and public as the works are encased under glass in a modern gallery setting, suggesting a twofold distancing from the private sphere by virtue of the toy's unwavering connotation of the domestic.

The implication of these toys can be considered within literary theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's notion of the politics of translation and the implications of seeing language as a process of meaning construction. Spivak sees the seduction of translating as being a "miming of the responsibility to the trace of the other in the self" and encourages translators to be accountable for the reception of meaning.[41] An important aspect of this accountability entails that translators should surrender themselves to the rhetoricity of the original, which, in this case, is the translation of oral language (joual) to sculptural medium. Spivak goes on to state that if one is "interested in talking about the other, and/or in making a claim to be the other, it is crucial to learn other languages. This should be distinguished from the learned tradition of language acquisition for academic work."[42]

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[40] Alfoldy and Helland, 4

[41] Gayatri Chakaravorty Spivak, 'The Politics of Translation,' in Michèle Barrett and Anne Phillips (eds), *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates*, Polity Press, 1992, 177

[42] Spivak, 190

While clearly an academic, Tremblay's use of joual is considered to be empowering in light of his characters,[43] although he can still be accused of using his subjects to fuel an image of cultural identity– 'the people' as romanticized foundation of a sovereign province– not unlike the promoters of Canadian craft.

Viatour and Berthiaume might encounter problems if seeking to translate Tremblay's representation through Spivak's criteria as "translation remains dependent upon the language skill of the majority"[44] and, in this case, if that majority does not have prior knowledge of visual codes being used, the social and political commentary of translation are easily lost leaving ample room for the romantic associations within the notion of the Folk. It might be helpful then to observe their work through the auto/biographical 'I.' Sociologist, Liz Stanley's notion of the auto/biography emphasizes an understanding of 'the self' and 'a life,' taking into account that knowledge-production differs systematically by social-location. Not unlike Spivak, Stanley is concerned with the reflexivity within research processes and the representation it entails. She encourages observations through a fluctuating lens at the micro and macro levels in order to understand the self as possessing agency and navigating within a society set with cultural codes.[45]

With this understanding in mind, the meanings of Viatour and Berthiaume's works have the potential to fluctuate upon reception/perception of the viewer- as it did in this essay. This is the position of an object that is so heavily laden with social and political meaning, that has enormous implications of historical, social, political

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[43] Marie-Lyne Piccione, *Michel Tremblay, l'enfant multiple*, Talence: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1999, 145-146

[44] Spivak, 189

[45] Stanley, 50

dimension and so it is perhaps of great importance that this subject matter can be perceived in such unassuming manner (a potential Trojan horse), so that we might welcome the plurality of meanings associated with an otherwise marginalized example of cultural production. As Michel Tremblay used joual as an empowering tool to subvert class stereotypes, Viatour and Berthiaume echo the class stereotypes of Tremblay's urban working-class while simultaneously using nostalgia and embedded stereotypes of Folk artists and art production. These contemporary crafters use a notion of modernity that is not counter to or anti-modernity but that which shifts perceptions of the traditional into another path of progression.

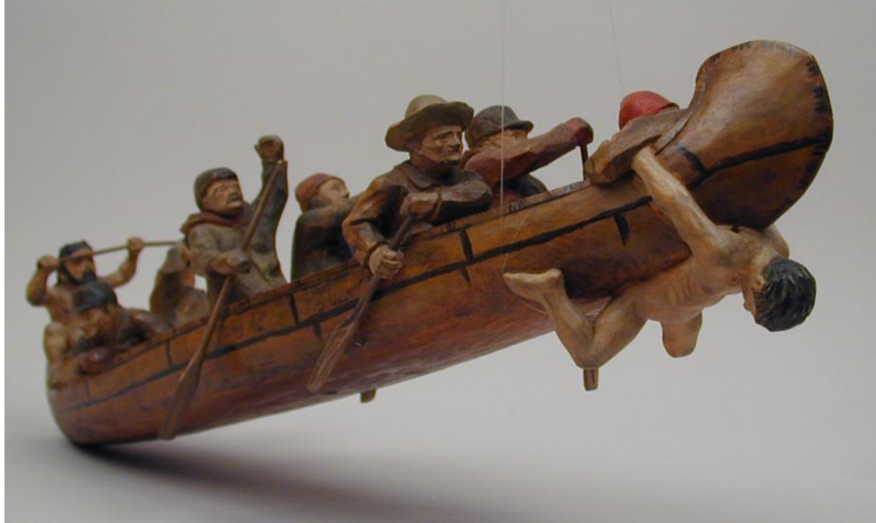

Fig 1. Léo Arbour (1912-2003) La Chasse-galerie, circa 1935, sculpted and painted wood, 18 x 62,5 x 17 cm, Photograph courtesy Jean-Marie Gauvreau Collection, Musée des maîtres et artisans du Québec, 732-0482

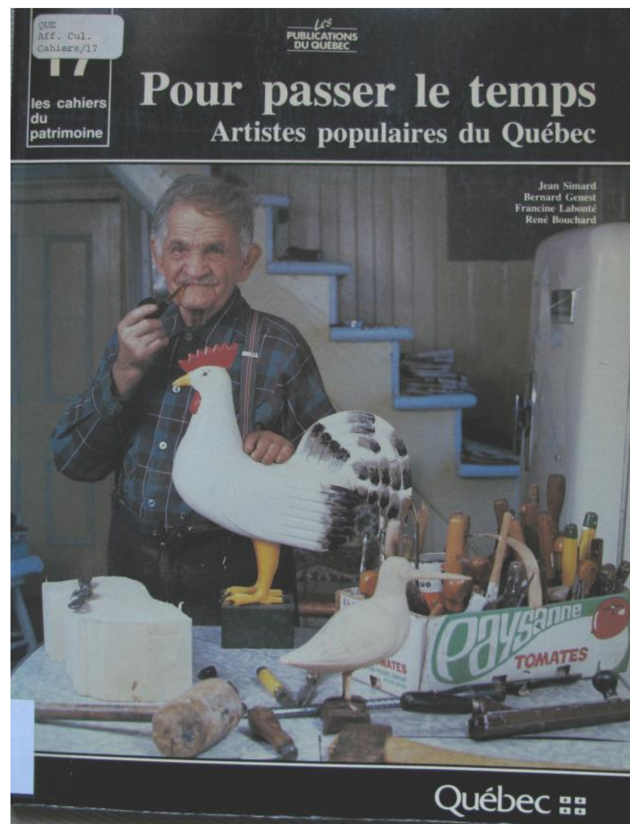

Fig 2. Wilfred Richard photographed by Louise Leblanc for the cover of *Pour passer le temps: Artistes populaires du Québec*, eds. Jean Simard, Bernard Genest, Francine Labonté, René Bouchard, Québec, Les Publications du Québec, coll. Les Cahiers du Patrimoine no 17, 1985

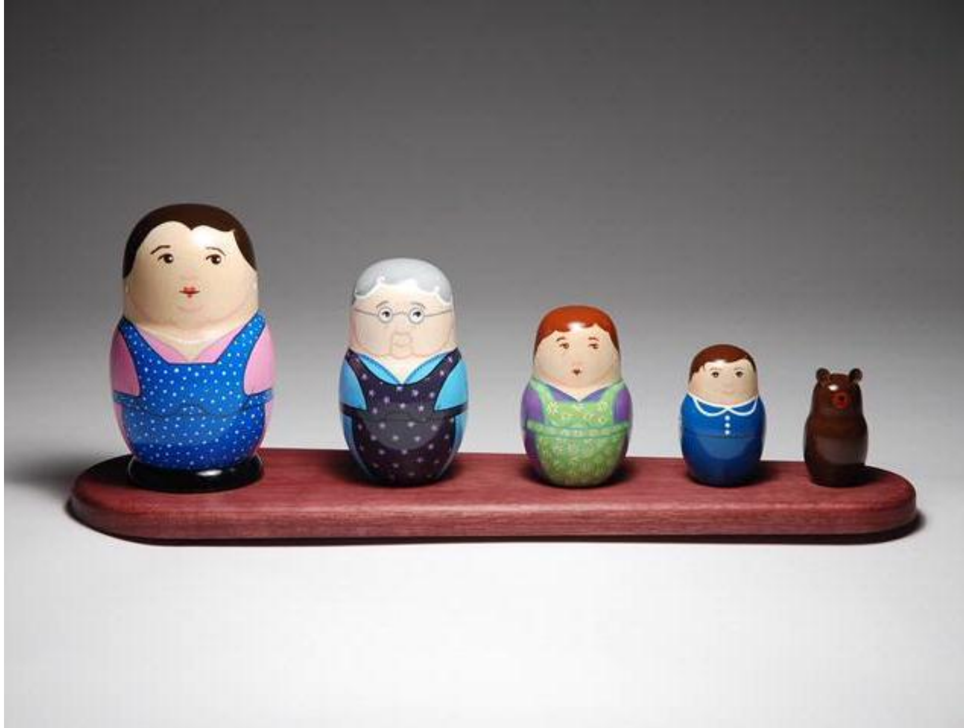

Fig 3. ©Viatour-Berthiaume, *Ma mère Nana, ma grand-maman Victoire, ma tante Bartine, moi pis mon Teddy bear*, acrylic on wood, 2009, 15 X 39 X 11cm. Based on Michel Tremblay play *La grosse femme d'à côté est enceinte*. Photograph by Gaétan Berthiaume, courtesy *La Presse*, www.cyberpresse.ca, published May 22, 2010

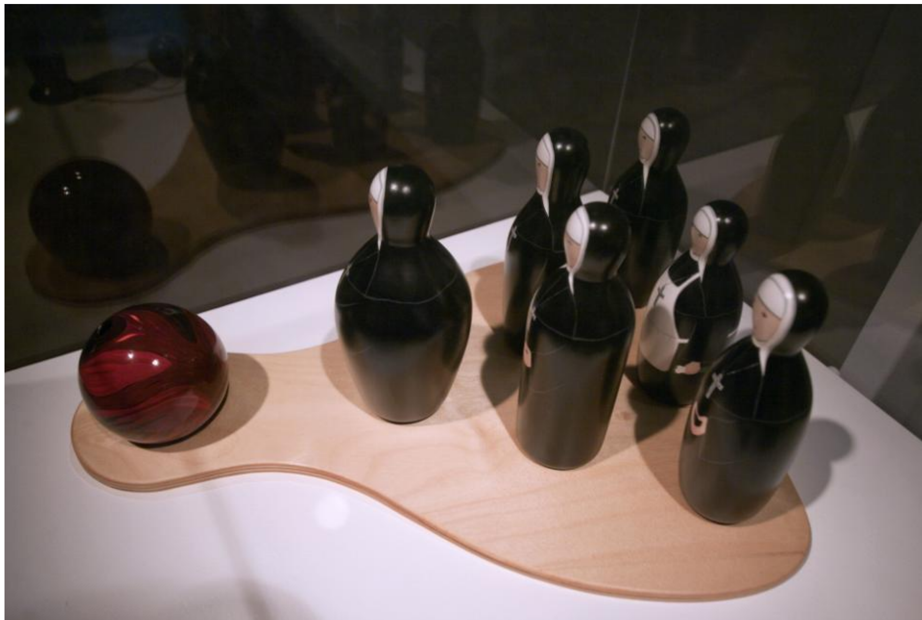

Fig 4. ©Viatour-Berthiaume, Bowling set, sculpted and painted wood, 2009, Photograph by Pierre Chantelois, *Les beautés de Montréal*, http://lesbeautesdemontreal.com, published July 30, 2010

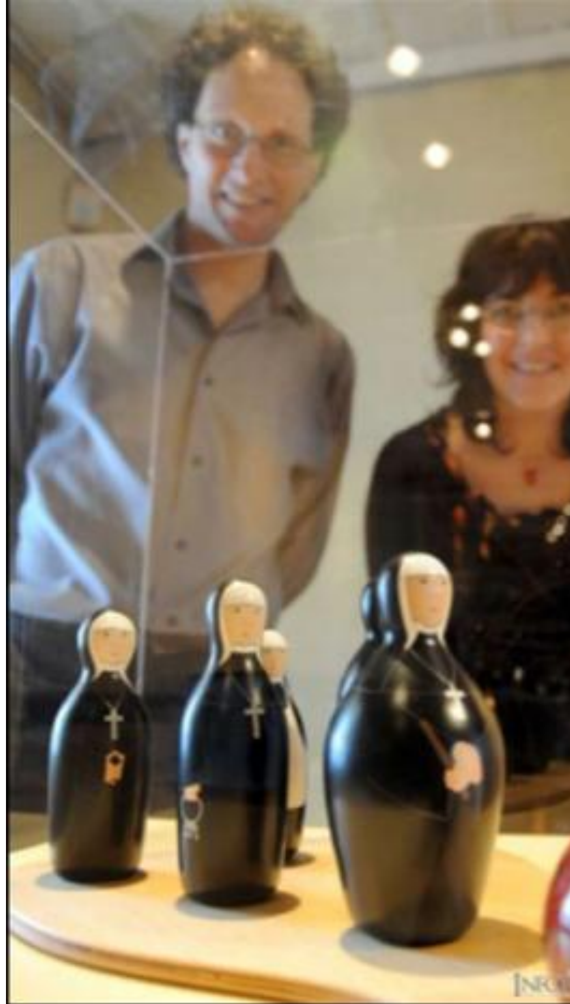

Fig 5. Image by Patrick Deschamps, ©*Viatour-Berthiaume*, Photograph of artists overlooking encased work, Bowling pins and bowling ball set, sculpted and painted wood, 2009, *Avenir de l'est*, www.avenirdelest.com, Photograph first published January 29, 2010

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