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Nan Hoover: Her artistic journey as an exploration of light and shadow

Nan Hoover began her artistic career in the 1950s during the postwar era (WWII), a time of optimism and positivity when the world seemed open to progressive new ideas. But it was also an era of uniformity, where gender and social roles for women were narrowly defined. It was in this cultural environment that Hoover entered the art academy. At 19 years of age, she was determined to be an artist above anything else, and she had the support of her family to pursue her goals to study painting and sculpture at the Corcoran School of Art and Design in Washington DC. There, she was trained and steeped in the male-dominated practices that controlled the 1950s art aesthetic. This school offered both art and dance courses, two areas of interest to Nan. It was a non-academic bastion of tradition, and the professional art school of George Washington University attached to the Corcoran Gallery of Art (established in 1869). Classes were held in buildings in the heart of the nation's capital, just blocks from the White House. Her teachers were male and presided over what we now call master classes.¹

Like many females in 1954, Nan married. Harold Hoover was also an artist, and an enlightened man; Nan continued her studies until she finished the course the following year. After graduation in 1955, she set up a painting studio in New York City and continued to exhibit her paintings in Washington DC and New York. By age 27 she had three children (practically one child each year) while maintaining her artistic practice. There is not a great deal of detail about Hoover's early years, but it appears that she was intent upon seeking her artistic dreams, even if her actions were against the accepted behavior for women and the rules of society of the time. Considering the political events and cultural changes happening where Nan Hoover worked, her early travel, and the possible connections between people she knew, and the exhibitions she participated in, is one way to recognize what influenced decisions. The focus of this text is to place Nan Hoover and her practice within the international experimental art scene and cultural discourse and establish her practice in relationship with other artists of her generation. These early associations and influences contributed to her eventual role as an innovator, educator, and inspired artist. Her passion for life, and her openly curious nature, followed her throughout many decades of her art practice.

Although it was the dominant art style in the 1950s, Nan Hoover did not practice what she was taught: Abstract Expressionism. She rejected this American painting movement, which expressed action and emotional content. Instead, her paintings focused on the human figure and were quiet and flat. Towards the end of the decade, when Pop Art began to emerge, she would have been exposed to this broadly defined movement which employed images of mass culture, advertising, and fashion. But this provocative new style ultimately influenced the

¹ The Corcoran art school was not accredited, and did not award a recognized degree until 1978, long after Nan Hoover was an established artist in Europe.

complex, international social and cultural scenes of the 1960s with mixed media practice. It also introduced what would become known as Contemporary Art, which grew to dominance in the 1960s, and which was supported by commercial galleries as well as by the alternative space movement². Although Nan continued to paint on canvas, she (like all artists of the time) was surrounded by the bold cultural developments of the decade. She painted amidst the vibe of the noisy, cultural change of beat poetry, jazz, spoken word, experimental film, dance, and alternative theatre works, all presented in downtown New York. In the late 1950s, downtown New York City was an affordable place for artists, and below 14th Street one could find cheap studio rents (for example, \$50 a month). An environment of lively artist-run spaces developed relationships with young, aspiring, experimental artists who began to take on credibility. This scene was a counterpoint to uptown New York City, which was considered commercial and elite, home to the wealthy, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Downtown was considered avant-garde³ and was populated by “struggling artists” from around the world, especially by European exiles who had fled persecution during the war years and then postwar poverty in their homeland. The downtown scene challenged the rule-bound traditions that surrounded recognized dominant Modern Art styles and practice, and the museum culture that protected the status quo. It must have been an exciting time, and one that forecast the big cultural changes that were on the way. By the end of the 1950s, a group of young, experimental artists of Nan’s generation emerged and began to dominate the contemporary art scene. They included Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008), Yayoi Kusama (1929), Dan Flavin (1933-1996), and Claes Oldenburg (1929-). John Cage (1912-1992), the pioneering performer who used silence, chance, and time as basic elements of his work, was teaching at The New School for Social Research at this time. With his companion the dancer and choreographer Merce Cunningham (1919-2009), he mentored and collaborated with the new generation and challenged them to reject modernism.

The influences and interactions between New York artists and their European counterparts grew during this time, facilitated in part by postwar opportunities for established artists and performers. The first Documenta was established in Kassel, Germany in 1955. It was created as an international exhibition with the goal to reconnect Germany and re-establish German culture with the world. Although it was politically motivated at the beginning, Documenta became a highly regarded indicator of important art, and it was an early international meeting place for discourse between artists, curators, collectors, and art historians. The “art scene” of the 1950s was dominated by male artists, and the predominant practice of New York galleries was to show men. Likewise, the art news centered on male artists and their sometimes-radical bad-boy behavior. Female visual artists were not so visible during this era and women were better known in the music industry, where they carved out their identities, often in the Nashville country music scene. Contemporaries of Hoover with a public following include Loretta Lynn (1932-), Patsy Cline (1932-1963), and Patti Page (1927-2013). Marilyn Monroe

² The Getty.edu: Contemporary artists may question traditional ideas of how art is defined, what constitutes art, and how art is made, while creating a dialogue with—and in some cases rejecting—the styles and movements that came before them.

³ “...a person or work that is experimental, radical, or unorthodox with respect to art, culture, or society.” Kostelanetz, Richard, *A Dictionary of the Avant-Gardes*, Routledge, May 13, 2013

(1926-1982) dominated the film screen and was the most popular female sex symbol of the 1950s.

Postwar prosperity also introduced advances in technology that affected women, who were offered shiny new labor and time-saving devices to lure them out of the job market, and back into the home. Gadgets like electric toasters, dishwashers, mix-masters, and portable vacuum cleaners were just a few new “tools” designed by men to make homemaking more “modern” and offer women leisure time. A postwar baby boom was the result of this optimistic future, as well as the G.I. Bill (which offered returning war veterans subsidized mortgages and educational opportunities), and the expansion of cities into the suburbs. “The Family” was strongly promoted by the American advertising industry, in magazines and publicly on billboards, but was most noticeable on television which reached new levels of influence. Acceptable female roles were portrayed in weekly serialized programs, which promoted fictional scenarios, like “Leave It to Beaver,” where families lived in nice homes, and the wife was depicted preparing meals in a modern kitchen, while a father came home from the office (with his briefcase) to dinner waiting for him. In this perfect setting, everyone in the family would have a turn to tell each other about their day. These bourgeois trends were challenged by a counterpoint, the dark side of the 1950s, namely the voices of The Beat Generation. The free life was popularized by the author Jack Kerouac; the science fiction fantasy stories written by Isaac Asimov; and even in the wild, sexualized music of Elvis Presley. These early indications of a smoldering, repressed resistance and a new future reality would develop into the “social revolution of the 1960s.”⁴

There was also a lot of political and activist activity in New York in the 1960s. Primarily, this was a generation opposed to the war in Vietnam and supported civil rights and liberal ideals. The 1960s were widely recognized as the beginning of a new era of what we now call multi-disciplinary art, and artists also expressed the desire to shed the influences of the old art movements of the past, including Surrealism and Dada, in addition to Abstract Expressionism. It was inclusive, with interdependent forms of dance, music, sound, performance, film, painting (and ultimately video and new media) that combined to radically change the concept of art practice. Nan’s generation openly shunned the commercial influences that dominated the museum and commercial gallery world. But although surrounded by these issues, Nan Hoover did not engage in political activism (including feminism) during her life. She often self-referenced her dyslexia as a reason that she did not read a lot of theory. But she did engage socially with artists, and the public events taking place must have had some impact on her. For example, the avantgarde music scene became very influential during the 1960s. LaMonte Young (1935-) was active, composing minimalist compositions and performing them downtown from the late 1950s. Some of his notable performances lasted up to six and a half hours (of a single note).⁵ His collaborator was his wife Marian Zazeela (1940-), who was an early multimedia artist. She added light environments to their *Theatre of Eternal Music* events. Other minimalist

⁴ <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/outlines/history-1994/postwar-america/the-culture-of-the-1950s.php> accessed May 25, 2022.

⁵ <https://www.vulture.com/2015/06/la-monte-young-dream-house.html>

performance artists of Nan Hoover's generation included performer Tony Conrad (1940-2016), composer Terry Riley (1935-), dancer and filmmaker Yvonne Rainer (1934-), John Cage, Merce Cunningham, and Yoko Ono (1933-), who was known for hosting performance art events in her Chambers Street loft.⁶ These visionaries were a few of the pioneering experimental artists who collaborated frequently. Performance, sound, and experimental dance in New York's underground scene was where aspiring young artists of the time participated in open events. They were all artists who embraced the energy of time and action, unlike sequestered painters who applied paint on canvas, isolated in their studio.

Film in the 1950s and early 1960s was also changing and began to convey a new visual language of smoldering sexuality. James Dean became a star in the film *East of Eden* (1955); Elvis Presley became a film legend in *Love me Tender* (1956); and Alfred Hitchcock produced *Vertigo* (1958).⁷ But it was perhaps Federico Fellini's *La dolce vita* (1960) that was most influential, and likely affected adventure seekers, who until the early 1960s could only fantasize about life in the decadent cities of postwar Europe. Or perhaps the film *Paris Blues* (1961), which featured Sidney Poitier, Diahann Carroll, and Paul Newman, set in the complex jazz scene of Paris postwar nightlife, presented the European potential for cultural inclusion. Everything became possible in film which opened new possibilities for dreams about artistic life abroad.⁸

Nan Hoover embarked on her first trip to Europe in 1962 at age 31. She went to Paris where she stayed for six months and during that time did small paintings and drawings. All travel in 1960 was a luxury. Non-stop transatlantic commercial jets had only recently been introduced and were quite expensive. The new John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York's futuristic architectural icon, was completed in 1962, and it promoted adventure by creating the illusion of positive and easy air travel. In Paris, Nan would have found a city undergoing widespread reconstruction and growth. Like most European cities that had experienced widespread bombing in WWII, buildings were routinely being cleaned and neighborhoods were being renewed and modernization was rampant; the shopping mall Forum des Halles was established at this time. But as in America, youth culture was also growing. In the USA, *The British Invasion* dominated the music scene, while in France it was popular alongside the café culture and *Le Jazz Hot*. Postwar Paris had become a destination for the more affluent tourist, and with prosperity and tourism growing, newly enabled Americans became visible in Europe, earning the moniker "Ugly American."⁹ The sidewalk cafes, historical landmarks, and high fashion were what most tourists came to Paris to experience, but young artists and writers came for the inspiration of its legendary bohemian lifestyle.¹⁰

⁶ <https://dsps.lib.uiowa.edu/downtownpopunderground/person/john-cage/>

⁷ *Vertigo* included an animated title sequence designed by Saul Bass in collaboration with the American computer graphics pioneer John Whitney. Art & Film.

⁸ <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,940625-1,00.html> re: tourist Europe 1960. A guide to Prices & Places. Monday June 13, 1960, accessed May 1, 2022.

⁹ The term Ugly American is from the 1958 political novel by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer. A fiction based on reality, that Americans failed to understand local culture when they traveled.

¹⁰ <https://groveatlantic.com/book/bohemian-paris/> Accessed May 1, 2022.

Paris was the center of the art and literary world at the beginning of the 20th Century and was known romantically as the City of Lights.¹¹ Its numerous venues for art, dance, literature, and its famous late-night jazz scene became fabled hangouts for a new generation of these young artists, who were eager to soak up the influences left behind by the previous generation. The well-known open atmosphere in the city also attracted many young black American musicians and authors, who fled American racism (as portrayed in the film *Paris Blues*). In Paris at that time, all artistic ethnicities could live side-by-side, cheaply.¹² They partied hard, loved indiscriminately, and even with very little money, thrived artistically. Robert Rauschenberg visited Europe (and Paris) in the early 1960s, and the American artist Larry Rivers (1923-2002) lived in Paris for many years.¹³ The black and gay painter Beauford Delaney (1901-1979)¹⁴ as well as the writer and activist James Baldwin (1924-1987), took up residence in Paris in the 1950s to escape American racism. The new youth scene in Europe during the 1960s was deeply influenced by philosophical discussions, held late at night in the noisy small clubs which catered to the alternative scene. This vibrant French intellectual scenario was intense and uneasy, with pre-1968 revolution ideas brewing. The main influential thinkers at the time were Michel Foucault (1926-1984), Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995), and the Algerian-born Jacques Derrida (1930-2004). They publicly debated Socialism, Marxism, and Phenomenology, and their discussions in turn influenced the emerging art styles of the time. Additionally, discussions surrounding ethics and an emerging feminism were fed by the continuing publications and presence in salons of the reigning feminist theorist Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986), and her partner Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) who bridged existentialism and phenomenology to introduce a new art construct.¹⁵

The commercial art scene of France was ruled by the elders Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) who was commercially productive until his death, and the younger Yves Klein (1928-1962) who, with his action painting was a pioneer of performance art. Even with these giants of artworld fame, Paris was slowly beginning to lose its position as the center of art. But even so, Paris continued to be a mecca for artists of all genres who were ambitious and eager to absorb culture, style, and the latest theoretical ideas. While Nan Hoover was in Paris, the art scene started to become extremely radical, due to the high profile activities of the Situationist International (SI) an organization of social revolutionaries made up of artists, intellectuals, and political theorists. From its formation in 1957 to its dissolution in 1972, the SI was culturally and politically influential, it's intellectual foundations were derived primarily from Libertarien Marxism, and

¹¹ https://surface.syr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=french_colloquium

¹² <http://parisvoice.com/american-artists-in-france/>

¹³ <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/in-focus/parts-of-the-face-french-vocabulary-lesson-larry-rivers/an-american-in-paris>

¹⁴ <https://www.messynessychic.com/2020/06/04/the-other-lost-generation-of-black-american-artists-in-paris/>. Accessed May 1, 2022.

¹⁵ INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITY STUDIES Vol 4, No 1, 2012 ISSN: 1309-8063 (Online) 249 SARTRE'S CONCEPTION OF ART GROUNDED ON HUMANIST EXISTENTIALISM AND PHENOMENOLOGICAL ONTOLOGY. http://www.sobiad.org/eJOURNALS/journal_IJSS/arihieves/2012_1/metin_bal.pdf Accessed May 12, 2022.

was a major critique of mid-20th Century advanced capitalism.¹⁶ This movement would become a full-scale student revolution in 1968. Other influences on the art scene of the era include the publication *Understanding Media*, by the Canadian theoretician Marshall McLuhan, who in 1964 reacted to the cultural upheavals of the time and connected language and technology with human behavior. McLuhan, who is famous for coining the term “the medium is the message” also predicted “the global village.” He brought scholarship and critical analysis to the growing field of communication technology.

Nan Hoover made an unusually adventurous trip to Berlin in 1962, and she mentioned in her curriculum vita (in 1990) how “moved she was by the recently built Berlin Wall.” Like Paris, Berlin was a city with a reputation for its decadent Bohemian lifestyle, thriving cabaret and late-night clubs, and daring art scene. Berlin had been on the front lines of WWII, right up until the Third Reich fell in 1945 at the hands of the Soviet Red Army.¹⁷ Like Paris, it experienced massive destruction that required rebuilding to regain its status as a major metropolis. Throughout the 1950s, Berlin was a hub that joined the east and west. The city had been divided into four sectors at the end of the war, into The American, The French, The British, and The Soviet Sectors. In 1961 a line was drawn between the Soviet Sector and the three sectors controlled by Western allies. Controls were put in place that restricted passage to the west, and The Berlin Wall¹⁸ was established with little warning. The entire city of Berlin suddenly became an island that was surrounded by not only a wall, but also by a death zone controlled and patrolled by East Germany. This action was recommended by Russia’s Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev as the only way to stop the flow of residents from the east to the west (between 1949 and 1961, 2.5 million people migrated to the west). These harsh restrictions meant that travel between Paris and Berlin in 1962 was complicated: there were no direct trains (the famous TGV was not established until 1981). So, the overnight journey could have required many document checkpoints along the route, because to enter the city of West Berlin, one had to travel through the German Democratic Republic (GDR), and no stopping was permitted for any reason.¹⁹ For Nan Hoover to make a trip from the lyrical and lovely western city of Paris to the dark enclosed “island” city of West Berlin in 1962 would have been an epic voyage, and an experience that would not easily be forgotten. The politics of the east/west divide were being discussed everywhere, far beyond West Berlin, but very few outsiders had witnessed the Berlin Wall in person, at that time.

When she returned to New York, we can only assume Nan Hoover was more confident, and had a broader outlook on art and society. The friendships made during her travels connected her to a larger scope of ideas and naturally would have influenced her personal relationships. The New York downtown art scene was gritty when compared to the café culture of Paris, but also exciting. New York was becoming dominated by a group of gender fluid artists who surrounded Andy Warhol (1928-1987), an artist, filmmaker, and producer of successful advertising images. The concept of popular culture and of an underground cultural revolution was generally

¹⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Situationist_International. Accessed May 12, 2022.

¹⁷ <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/battle-of-berlin-memorial-tiergarten>

¹⁸ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/berlin-crises>

¹⁹ <https://en.unesco.org/courier/october-1999/berlin-island-was>

becoming accepted by 1963: the music scene and British fashion were dominant influences on young designers and inspired them to create futuristic look. American rock 'n' roll of the 1950s gave way to a new wave of music inspired by The Beatles and The Rolling Stones from England. The Fluxus Movement (1959-1978)²⁰ emerged as an international association of unconventional artists, who practiced street performance, happenings, and staged events with a general disregard for the institutions of "elite high art." Instead, they worked with the detritus of society and practiced with humor. This movement attracted the Korean composer Nam June Paik (1932-2006) who moved to New York in 1964 from Germany, where he had already work with John Cage. In New York, Paik began collaboration with the cellist Charlotte Moorman (1933-1991) and they joined fellow Fluxus members Yoko Ono, George Maciunas (1931-1978), Alison Knowles (1933-), and Dick Higgins (1938-1998), among others. Fluxus members created "concerts" and events in New York and throughout Europe in the 1960s.²¹ Paik introduced video for the first time in 1965, with his prototype of the reel-to-reel Sony Portapak. The legend has become part of contemporary art history: Paik recorded video during the journey he made in a taxi from the airport (where he picked up the new equipment) and showed the resulting videotape to an unsuspecting audience at the Café a Go Go, a basement nightclub in the Andy Warhol Garrick Theatre building on Bleeker Street in New York's Greenwich Village.

The British music scene continued to prevail during the 1960s, establishing London as one of the most interesting art scenes and places to be at the time. Nan traveled to London in 1969 to visit Dutch friends, and subsequently went across the channel to visit Amsterdam. On that fateful trip, she recounts that she "fell in love with Amsterdam...primarily because of the light and the water." Amsterdam was considered the cosmic center of culture, so we can confidently conclude that there were other things that influenced her, including the extremely open cultural scene where English was widely spoken. She returned home but then left New York and her family and moved to Amsterdam in 1969. It was a radical move, but she often exclaimed that her artistic life, which mattered most to her, truly began at this point! In this European environment, she had the opportunity to reinvent herself in a new culture, away from the responsibilities of home life and politics, such as the antiwar, feminist, and civil rights demonstrations that dominated America. It was the same year as the Apollo Moon Landing that allowed Neil Armstrong to take "...one small step for man." Meanwhile Hoover took a giant leap for herself, and she thrived artistically, renewed at age 38.

Shortly after moving to Amsterdam, Nan was introduced to the middle-aged painter Karl Appel (1921-2006), a prominent Dutch artist who was one of the founders of the influential art movement CoBrA (1948-1951).²² Primarily an Abstract Expressionist, Appel followed the manifesto of "free thought and the action of painting freely." Nan's previous experience living and working in Paris gave her the experience to take a position as caretaker for his property near Auxerre, at the Château Molesmes, located in wine country in north-central France.

²⁰ <https://www.theartstory.org/movement/fluxus/>

²¹ Alison Knowles interview on the history of Fluxus. Youtube.com/watch?v=OAtlxL9g0o accessed June 15, 2022.

²² CoBrA: the last true avant-garde movement of the 20th century - hristies.com/features/the-language-of-cobra-celebrating-70-years-of-creation-before-theory-9123-1.aspx

Between 1971 and 1973 Hoover worked at Appel's château, but she commuted frequently to Amsterdam for exhibitions of her work, most probably by overnight train via Paris. It is likely that she used the time at the chateau to paint, and the affiliation with the well-known Appel would have been beneficial to her career, bringing her into contact with an international artistic community. On one return trip to Amsterdam in 1973, Nan met and moved in with the Dutch artist Richard Hefti (1936-1993) whom she later married. She left her job in France, so to earn money, she often worked in the city in cafes or as a bartender. Hoover's practice shifted significantly when Hefti brought a Sony Portapak video camera into their studio, and they could explore what video offered. Being adventurous and curious, and because talk of the new medium was likely a topic in the art discourse of the time, Nan gave it a try. It seems that the immediacy, the control it offered the user, and its ability to examine space and capture time in private appealed to Hoover, and she immediately embraced video's new possibilities. Her response to video was intuitive; for her it was a personal medium, and one that allowed her to explore her favorite topics: the body, light, and movement. But Hoover never categorized herself as a "video artist" or a "performance artist," rather, she approached video as a way to free herself to move in space, and to record her actions. She created performance works in many different locations in the city as well as in her studio at this time. She enjoyed working alone, as she had been accustomed to do as a painter.

Video brought artists together in Amsterdam, through the shared use of technology. There were only a few artists with video equipment at that time, and they knew each other.²³ These new electronic tools were not widely used by painters. Sam Schoenbaum, her longtime performing collaborator, recalls meeting Nan in 1975, at the newly opened art center De Appel with four artists with whom Nan was close at the time.²⁴ All were painters who were also working with video: the Colombian-Dutch artist Raul Marroquin (1948-) who had already begun working with video in Bogota in 1968, Michel Cardena (1934-2015) also from Colombia who moved to the Netherlands independently in the 1960s, and Sam, an Australian painter who worked nomadically (but frequently spent time in Amsterdam). They were all exhibiting painters who explored video in the 1970s, which was reel-to-reel ½ inch video tape. Marroquin made a videotape with Anthon Verhoeven in 1971 at the Wu Young Tchong Studio in Maastricht, called "A Few Little Things about Warhol." It shows a connection between the underground scenes of Amsterdam and New York.²⁵

The Dutch video scene was in its infancy in the 1970s. A group founded by Jack Moore (1940-2014)²⁶ known as VideoHeads was a dominant media presence in Amsterdam at that time. Moore was an American expat who with a handful of visual artists surrounding him had been instrumental in the production of one of the key British events during the Summer of Love. *The 14-Hour Technicolor Dream* was held on April 29, 1967, at the Alexandra Palace in north London.²⁷ It was reportedly a sensational event for the swinging London scene of the late-

²³ [A SHORT HISTORY OF DUTCH VIDEO ART | artmuseum.is \(listasafnreykjavikur.is\)](https://artmuseum.is/listasafnreykjavikur.is)

²⁴ In discussion with Sam Schoenbaum via What's App in May 2022.

²⁵ <https://raulmarroquin.wordpress.com/tag/videoheads-amsterdam-paris/>

²⁶ <https://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/13159167.jack-moore/nd>

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_14_Hour_Technicolor_Dream

1960s, with approximately 7,000 persons attending the live psychedelic performance spectacle that featured pop bands like Pink Floyd, alongside projected film footage (of John Lennon, Yoko Ono, Mick Jagger, Allen Ginsberg, Michael Caine, and others). This successful mega-experience likely emboldened Moore to co-establish the Melkweg (Milky Way)²⁸ in 1970, shortly after he moved to Amsterdam. Moore brought video equipment with him from London, reportedly given to him by John Lennon and Yoko Ono, as a gift.²⁹ The Melkweg remains a club venue that supports live music, film, performance. Located in the center of Amsterdam in a former sugar refinery and later milk factory (until 1969) it quickly became an active venue that focused the city's nightlife around the Leidseplein. It became the largest alternate underground scene in Amsterdam, and early on hosted well known acts like Prince, U2, the Arctic Monkeys, as well as avant-garde performances by Philip Glass (1938-), Laurie Anderson (1947-) and others. It was located just a couple of streets away from Paridiso³⁰, which was founded in 1968. After being squatted, Paridiso evolved into a designated youth center, although it was more associated with Punk and the hippie counterculture. Both venues hosted dance parties and raves alongside all the important music groups of the 1970s and 1980s. Partially funded by government subsidies, they remain important cultural hubs. These two clubs created an exciting night scene in Amsterdam that attracted Amsterdam's artists. In addition, the open and permissive Dutch attitude drew counter-culture personalities from around the world, and the city became a melting pot of tourists, artists, and musicians.³¹ Having lived and worked in both Paris and London, it is reasonable to speculate that Moore and Hoover crossed paths at some point, maybe even before they both settled in Amsterdam; they shared several mutual aspirations.

The 1970s, as noted by Roselee Goldberg, Performance Art Curator at The Kitchen, actually began in 1968, when the anti-establishment movement took hold, and student unrest fueled widespread anger against political power structures.³² It was a time of upheaval, when non-commercial art spaces gained prominence and encouraged collectors' interest in non-object art, including performance, actions, and happenings. The club-scene played an important role, and Max's Kansas City was an in-spot for all experimental artists.³³ Video played a role in anti-war positions alongside performance art, theatre, and experimental music. In 1970, Andy Warhol established The Factory in New York, which was a decadent bridge between the commercial world and the underground. It challenged the public to accept new lifestyle options. The Kitchen was founded in 1971 by Woody (1937-2019) and Steina Vasulka (1940-), located in the kitchen of the Mercer Arts Centre in Greenwich Village as a space for experimental composers, performance, dance, and video. The same year, Electronic Arts Intermix was established as a non-profit distribution and production agency supporting the new

²⁸ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melkweg>

²⁹ <https://paulgormanis.com/?p=10954>

³⁰ Paridiso hosted the important conference The Next Five Minutes in the early 1990s.

³¹ Tourists were attracted to the 1976 legalization of the earlier tolerated and wide use of soft drugs, and the well-known Red-Light District that featured windows for prostitutes (which was not legalized in The Netherlands until 2000).

³² Performance: Live Art 1909 to the present. Roslee Goldberg. Harry Abrams, Inc., New York, 1979. Pps 98-0125 "Seventies" Performance: 'To be with Art is All we Ask'."

³³ London, Barbara. Video/Art: The First Fifty Years. Phaidon Press, London/New York. 2020. Introduction.

field of video art and David Ross (1949-) was hired as the first Video Curator at the Everson Museum of Art in Syracuse, New York. Andy Warhol acquired a Sony Portapak in the early 1970's³⁴ and began to develop concepts for his future broadcast series, "Andy Warhol's T.V." (1983-1984), in connection with his experimental filmmaking, photography, silkscreen prints, and influential *Interview Magazine* (founded in 1969). After Nam June Paik's introductory use of the Sony Portapak in 1965, video equipment became commercially available, and emerged as a new tool in the hands of artists on both coasts. In 1968 in California, Bruce Nauman (1941-) started to create video works in his studio, demonstrating the personal relationship and intimacy that the medium offered. William Wegman (1943-) used video to discuss language with his dog, Man Ray, and Gene Youngblood (1942-2021), the young radical journalist for the *LA Free Press* (among other media outlets) published his book *Expanded Cinema*, which defined and connected experimental film, television and video art disciplines.³⁵ The first west coast alternative scene was F-Space (1971), an artist run space shared by graduate students from the radical University of California at Irvine, including Chris Burden (1946-2015) who did his famous performance 'Shoot' in this space, now immortalized on Super8 film. That same year, Judy Chicago (1939-) and Miriam Schapiro (1923-2015) founded the Feminist Art Program at California Institute of the Arts. In Los Angeles, "Womanhouse" was created by the participants in that program, exhibited in 1972, and in 1973 the Woman's Building opened to a full program of exhibitions, performance art, and multi-media events in downtown Los Angeles.³⁶

In the 1970s, artists working in traditional as well as non-traditional media began to develop performance work using video, which allowed them to expand their work for new audiences. Museums began to recognize the new art form, and although the word "video" was still not a household name, it was growing in influence. This era is well documented, and we know that significant video and performance pioneers from other disciplines included Vito Acconci (1940-2017), Joan Jonas (1936-), and Steina Vasulka. From 1972 to 1980 the Women's Video Festival took place at The Kitchen in New York. In Berlin, the n.b.k. (Neuer Berliner Kunstverein)³⁷ established the publicly accessible Video-Forum (1971), with acquisitions of video artworks and documentations of performance, some dating from the mid-1960s, including videos by Joseph Bueys (1931-1986), Nam June Paik, Gilbert (1943-) & George (1942-), & Wolf Vostell (1932-1998). In 1974, Barbara London (1946-) began her career as an assistant curator at the Museum of Modern Art in NYC, the year the museum hosted the first international conference concerning video. The "Open Circuits"³⁸ conference was led by experimental television producers Fred Barzyk (1936-), of WGBH and David Loxton (1943-1989) from WNET 13; curators and art critics Vilem Flusser (1920-1991), Jane Livingston (1944-), David Ross, Gregory Battcock (1937-1980), and Gerald O'Grady (1931-2019); and artists John Baldessari (1931-2020), Douglas Davis (1933-2014), Joan Jonas (1936-), Shigeo Kubota (1937-2015), Alan Kaprow (1927-2006), Michael Snow (1928-), and Richard Serra (1939-). The conference was a major international exploration of the future of television, with respect for the newly established video as a media

³⁴ <https://warholstars.org/warhol/warhol1/chron/video.html>

³⁵ http://www.vasulka.org/Kitchen/PDF_ExpandedCinema/book.pdf

³⁶ <https://thewomansbuilding.org/>

³⁷ <https://www.nbk.org/video-forum/>

³⁸ https://www.barbaralondon.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Video-at-MoMA_Open-Circuits.pdf

worthy of art making, education and cultural influence. Recognition of the influence of mass media as art (already present in Warhol's work) was becoming part of cultural discourse.

London began regular programming of video art at MoMA that year, aided by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.³⁹ In 1974 David Ross moved to California to establish the first west coast video program at the Long Beach Museum of Art⁴⁰, where a plan was announced for the museum to establish a cable TV station in the museum, to connect with the public.⁴¹ This began by providing video production and postproduction equipment and support to a growing group of Los Angeles area artists and institutions. In Amsterdam, the Stedelijk Museum hired Dorine Mignot (1944-2006) in 1974 as the museum's first curator for time-based art, and she immediately began a formidable collection of video art works during her tenure that ended in 2006. The following year, 1975, De Appel was established in Amsterdam by Wies Smal (d. 1983) as a research space for performance and presentations of experimental work, including the emerging video art. It was a locus for artists who worked across all genres of new forms.⁴² Many new institutions emerged in the US and Europe, and with them new artforms were introduced to the public (which were often confusing to them). Challenges were made to the art being shown, performance, actions, video, and experimental sound was disputed by art critics, who in reviews blatantly asked, "is this art?"

It should be noted that in these early years, a chasm developed between video art presented in "the art world" of museums and galleries, and the artistic, experimental underground scene, with those artists who were exploring the technical aspects of the medium. In a prominent place in the technical development of video, Nam June Paik was one of the medium's deepest thinkers and his artistic practice manipulated both the video and television signals for social content. He worked with the Japanese engineer Shuye Abe (1932-) in the studio of California Institute of the Arts (Cal Arts), to develop the Paik/Abe Video Synthesizer and Scan Modulator in 1970, which opened a new way to consider video art (no longer only a personal medium).⁴³ But performance artists often worked in real time, and their video outcome was often unedited, lasting the length of the tape. Content and technique became counterpoints of critical discussion. This discourse took place against the outright rejection of all video technology by the experimental film community, who deplored the quality of the early reel-to-reel images, the lack of resolution and inability to capture depth of field, which film excelled at. But the intimate, real-time ability to work alone in the studio, the personal aspects of video, were greatly embraced by artists, especially those working with the exploration of time and space in performance.

³⁹ https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/5491/releases/MOMA_1977_0030_29.pdf

⁴⁰ Disclaimer: this writer was employed by the City of Long Beach at the Long Beach Museum of Art between 1978-1984. Nan Hoover's work was exhibited at LBMA several times, and copies of her videotapes are included in the Long Beach Museum of Art video archive, at The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

⁴¹ That plan was skuppered in 1978.

⁴² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Appel

⁴³ http://vasulka.org/Kitchen/PDF_Eigenwelt/pdf/126-129.pdf

With the growing number of exhibitions and public performances in the 1970s, *Art Forum*, *Art Canada* and other respected art journals began to profile the emergence of video as art, and performances by artists, alternative theatre, and dance. The art gave media activists credibility, and the alternative messages these groups brought to the discourse was significant. The video commune Videofreex,⁴⁴ located in upstate New York was one example of the pioneering activism that video, as well as performance, could contribute to the political resistance to the status quo. This alternative art community was primarily youthful and embraced the main “movements” of the 70s: feminism, civil rights, and anti-war sentiments. In this way, artists held on to the dream that they could change the world, and help it become a better place. The topics of concern that began to emerge as themes, were also explored in works by artists around the world. This became an element of common belief, shared deeply by this disparate but connected community, and tied them together in networks of support and collaboration. At the time, mail art (often via post cards) was the main venue that connected artists in international networks of communication (long before digital networks). Word of mouth brought by travelers was essential, and international art publications circulated the news of artistic topics, achievements, and gallery success albeit several months late.

The artworld’s commercial galleries and museums were slow to celebrate video in the early years of its use. There were a few exceptions: the Galerie Parnass in Wupertal⁴⁵ was the first, to show Nam June Paik’s installation of television sets in 1963; the Howard Wise Gallery in New York presented the exhibition *TV as a Creative Medium* in 1969, featuring 12 artists, including Nam June Paik, Ira Schneider (1939-), Charlotte Moorman, and Frank Gillette’s (1941-) ‘Wipe Cycle’;⁴⁶ the Leo Castelli Gallery, founded in 1957, began showing video art in 1972, and joined forces with the Parisian gallerist Ileana Sonnabend (1914-2007) in 1974, to distribute and represent artists working with video.⁴⁷ In Florence, Italy, Maria Gloria Biccocchi (dates unknown),⁴⁸ an art collector, founded art/tapes/22, a video studio active between 1973-1976, and hosted international artists from all disciplines who were invited to produce video art, many for the first time.⁴⁹ In the northern hemisphere, the emergence of parallel galleries and performance spaces were spread across Canada, from Vancouver to Nova Scotia. Western Front and Video Inn in Vancouver, and Toronto had A Space, the first artist-run video facility. In Halifax, experimental performance, sound, and video was active at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design from the late 1960s. Together with the New York scene, and the growing California (west coast) scene, an underground railway of sorts existed to host and present performance artists and those working with experimental electronic technology.

Nan actively worked to develop her performance practice during the 1970s, she performed 29 times, according to her bio, in her Amsterdam studio but also in Berlin several times (traveling through the same East Berlin tunnel she traveled in 1962). While in Berlin she always enjoyed

⁴⁴ <https://www.vdb.org/videofreex/archive>

⁴⁵ <http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/works/exposition-of-music/images/12/>

⁴⁶ <https://www.eai.org/webpages/1004>

⁴⁷ <https://www.castelligallery.com/blog/castelli-sonnabend-videotapes-and-films>

⁴⁸ <https://rewind.ac.uk/people/maria-gloria-biccocchi/>

⁴⁹ <http://digicult.it/digimag/issue-067/arttapes22-interview-with-maria-gloria-biccocchi/>

her visits to the Paris Bar. She worked with Mike Steiner (1941-2012) at his Studio Galerie in Charlottenburg, Berlin, and in 1976, he produced her work *Silence*, and it is assumed to have been part of a cable TV show he hosted in Berlin. Steiner, who was inspired by seeing Fluxus and media artists performance on visits to New York, also operated a hotel in Berlin. He produced artists' video works and offered artists equipment and support. Steiner presented artists such as Allan Kaprow (1927-2006), Bill Viola (1951-), Laurie Anderson, Charlemagne Palestine (1945-), and Valie Export (1940-) in Berlin. His Galerie was a studio as well as an exhibition space, and Steiner was one of the earliest gallerists to regularly document performance art with video. He recorded performances not only by Hoover, but also by Ulay (1943-2020) and Abramovic (1946-), and Joan Jonas (to name a few). Steiner's video collection is now part of the Hamburger Bahnhof Collection in Berlin.⁵⁰ Nan made a rare video with sound in collaboration with Sam Schoenbaum, *Minutes of the Meeting* (23.27 minutes), in the Agora Studio in Maastricht in 1977. It broke with her private, studio practice because in this work, the audience, located in another room, followed her movements that were mediated by video.⁵¹

A very big international event that was important to Hoover's career took place during the summer of 1977. Documenta 6 was an enormous overview of the most important art of the time.⁵² Hoover was presented at the main exhibition site, in the Fridericianum galleries along with a who's who that included many performance artists and filmmakers. Documenta 6 also presented a live satellite telecast that opened the exhibition and hosted performances by Douglas Davis (1933-2014), Joseph Beuys and Nam June Paik, connecting artists in Kassel (the location of Documenta) and New York City and it was also televised to 25 countries. This was one of the first instances of live television communication as art on the international scene. Douglas Davis performed *The Last Nine Minutes* a participatory work asking viewers to consider the distances between the viewing audience and the artist. This telecast was documented and is available from Electronic Arts Intermix in New York.⁵³ Following Documenta, Nan and her Sam Schoenbaum embarked on a North American tour, and made stops in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Vancouver, Toronto, and New York (where Nan had screenings of her videotapes as part of *Projects: Video XIV* at the Museum of Modern Art). She presented and performed at the main alternative spaces of the time, many of them still active and vital today, such as The Western Front in Vancouver, and A-Space in Toronto. In 1978, she performed in Barbara T. Smith's studio in Los Angeles. Hoover's growing esteem also resulted in a solo exhibition in 1979 at The Stedelijk Museum, curated by Dorine Mignot, with a small catalog (28 pages) in Dutch and English.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ <https://www.smb.museum/en/exhibitions/detail/live-to-tape/>

⁵¹ Steetskamp, J., Looking back: the roots of video production at the Jan van Eyck Academie, 2007, University of Amsterdam, School for Cultural Analysis, Maastricht. PDF conference contribution. See also: <https://www.li-ma.nl/lima/catalogue/art/nan-hoover/minutes-of-the-meeting/576>

⁵² https://www.documenta.de/en/retrospective/documenta_6

⁵³ <https://www.eai.org/titles/documenta-6-satellite-telecast>

⁵⁴ According to her 1990 curriculum vita Nan Hoover made her first video installation for her 1979 solo show at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, where she also showed a photo installation, performance photos, video tapes, as well as giving an opening performance.

By the end of the 1970s, Performance Art was a global term, and a recognized practice understood as “art” and not theatre. It was definitive anti-capitalist art, pure and non-commercial. Performance Art, like its companion Video Art was experienced at most of the major arts institutions that presented art of the time. It was active, exciting, and always innovative, and it attracted new audiences. Nan performed in The Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Stockholm, Canada, and the US. Female performance artists active around the same time as Hoover included Ann Bean (1950-), Ann Halprin (1920-2021), Yvonne Rainer, Meridith Monk (1942-), Valie Export, and Carolee Schneeman (1939-2019), Sanja Iveković (1949-), and Marina Abramovic. Hoover defined herself apart from other female artists. She was not concerned with ideas or issues of the time, but rather her content remained focused on the exploration of light and shadow, and she continued to work alone in her studio, in dialogue with a fixed camera. She also made time exposures to create photographs of herself and then sometimes rephotographed her movement just to see the effect. There was rarely mediation by another person in her process. Throughout the 70s, Hoover explored opposites: light and shadow, stillness, and movement, the conscious and unconscious. She recognized that silence (or near silence) was an essential aspect of her work,⁵⁵ and she equated audience attention to the state of voyeurism, especially with the rise of addiction to television. Hoover worked on the contemplation of a slowly evolving image and the visual effect of light as seen in a given space of time. She often referred to Plato, who in his *Allegory of the Cave*, deems reality to be an illusion, and “nothing but shadows.”

In 1980, her career became professionally recognized on the international stage, when she was awarded the prestigious fellowship from the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst or German Academic Exchange Service)⁵⁶ in the multi-media/new media category, which included the invitation to work in Berlin, along with a stipend and living allowance. Her many previous visits to Berlin would have been useful experiences, aiding her plan to produce new work. During this residency, she successfully created a new work on Super 8 (much later transferred to DVD) and a photo collage entitled *Doors* (1981). Super 8 was a medium that could easily be projected, and this performance-based installation required a life-size projection in a darkened enclosure. This was a time when affordable, small (non-intrusive) video projectors were not available to most artists. *Doors* also introduced Hoover’s slow Zen-like performance movement as an installation. After her residency in Berlin, Nan took a teaching job in San Francisco at the infamous San Francisco Art Institute, where she was colleagues with artists who also worked conceptually as performers, including Sharon Grace (dates unknown), Doug Hall (1944-) and Tony Labat (1951-). She worked in 16mm film during this time and developed her slow walking performances that recorded her movements as she circumambulated a specific space for approximately 20 minutes. These works were intensely silent. In the early 1980s, she also actively exhibited throughout Germany, Canada, England, and in Greece.

⁵⁵ Susan Sontag commented on silence as the artists’ “ultimate other-worldly gesture’ that frees them from servile bondage to the world. http://www.kim-cohen.com/Assets/CourseAssets/Texts/Sontag_The%20Aesthetics%20of%20Silence.pdf

⁵⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_Academic_Exchange_Service

During the 1980s there was an explosion of festivals, exhibitions, and events featuring performance and video art and Nan Hoover was included in many of these international events. Around the world, major cities including Den Haag, Bonn, Berlin, Los Angeles, Madrid, Locarno, Montpelier, Basel and New York, hosted Video Festivals and attracted enormous audiences who were fascinated by the multimedia performances, events, and video salons. The artists were invited and formed a small band of pioneering entrepreneurs who knew each other, although they usually only met at these events. Nan became recognized for her appearance in a long black cape, brimmed black hat, and bright red lipstick. She commanded respect and attention. She easily chatted with curators, television producers, and academics who flocked to the many international happenings, where they learned about the latest visual achievements, partied, dined, and sat in dark rooms together for hours. The 1980s was also a time when artists embraced working with the tools of communication, television, and mass media. As the equipment improved, became smaller, and editing became easier to handle and less expensive, more artists were attracted to television as a “natural” home for their work. As video improved in quality (higher resolution) and became digitally compatible across the globe, even small format videotapes were recognized as capable of being broadcast. Artist’s Television became a goal for many artists, and innovative programs were started at community cable television stations in major cities. The cost of production for broadcast quality became very much an issue that demanded major support, funding, and access to professional post-production studios (off hour editing could cost as little as \$100 per hour). But new digital television technology, alongside the advancements in portable video recorders, and advanced editing software, also gave artists the opportunity to manipulate video’s potential to alter time. Suddenly slow-motion video became possible, as well as multi-layered imagery. These time-warp techniques had been practiced by Nan Hoover, without high tech or digital assistance, for years.

A new kind of television emerged in the 1980s. Remote, on-location portable handheld telecasting affected the news, which became more current. MTV was launched in 1984 and music videos with their fast-paced editing infiltrated television with youth culture and targeted advertising. British television introduced Max Headroom, a digitally created alter-ego image of the investigative journalist Edison Carter.⁵⁷ CNN was launched in Atlanta Georgia in 1980, the first all-news channel and one of the first 24-hour program providers. Cable television expanded and created niche markets with specialized program content, and local access channels. Television became a huge goal of many artists working with video, and the negative dominance of TV was a common critique among intellectuals. Nan Hoover’s work was antithetical to television, being silent (a big TV no-no) and unedited, it was out of range of any broadcast potential, but this was no issue for Hoover, who never watched it. Nan was regularly invited to present her work in art contexts, and she engaged audiences with her performances as well as her video works. For performance art, video became recognized as an essential tool, and performance was hardly presented without multiple cameras recording the time-sensitive event from several perspectives.

⁵⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Headroom

Two important exhibitions were held at The Stedelijk Museum in the 1980s. In 1982, Hoover participated in the Stedelijk Museum's survey exhibition, *60/80 Attitudes/Concepts*, an important look at interdisciplinary art in various media (sound, performance, video) by international artists.⁵⁸ Hoover's work for the exhibition, *Intercept the Rays* was an 11-minute performance for video where Nan's body is recorded, moving horizontally, very slowly, across a field of blue as in a mystical state. The exhibition itself was groundbreaking, bridging a generational divide and including new, emerging media artists alongside recognized artists. One of the first international exhibitions to examine video by artists from many disciplines who used gallery space for installation of video, was *The Luminous Image* at the Stedelijk Museum in 1984, curated by Dorine Mignot.⁵⁹ The exhibition featured 22 artists from North America and Europe and was a highlight for Nan Hoover, who was commissioned to create a new work. Nan's work *Walking in Any Direction* was a real-time installation, one that gave the audience the opportunity to be the performer and experience an "out of body" sensation. Using video monitors placed on the floor and a live camera, the viewer could see themselves (at least their lower legs and feet) from both directions, coming and going, using light and shadow to emphasize the two viewpoints. It was similar the concept that Bruce Nauman used in his 1970 work *Live-Taped Corridor*, although in a different physical space and with different effect. *The Luminous Image* was a milestone exhibition that attracted audiences from around Europe and abroad,⁶⁰ and situated video installation well within the museum world's attention. The critical acclaim it received left no doubt that the medium was indeed, "art." From this point, Nan Hoover's work was widely acclaimed.

When Nan Hoover was 55 years old, she became professor at the Kunstakademie Dusseldorf in 1986 (where she continued teaching until 1996). She, like many artists who had little to sell, was relieved to finally have a guaranteed income, and she was proud to join the faculty, with her practice using video, along with photography and performance. She was influential to a young generation of artists who were anxious to explore multi-media. Like her predecessors at the Akademie, Nam June Paik and Joseph Bueys, Hoover embarked on new adventures with her students, traveling with them to explore new cultural territory and opportunities, together. She created projects in Poland, Iceland, Japan, Taiwan and Croatia, and she continued to expand her performance practice with public artworks and installations. But no matter what style of artwork Nan Hoover engaged in, be it an outdoor installation, performance, gallery show, video presentation or theatre collaboration, she always insisted she was a painter and said that her work was not media art, but should be considered painting with light, time, and movement.⁶¹

⁵⁸ The exhibition included John Cage, Vito Acconci, Laurie Anderson, Abramovic/Ulay, Meredith Monk, David Tudor, Joan Jonas, Andy Warhol, Dan Graham and many others.

⁵⁹ Mignot, Dorine, Curator. *The Luminous Image/Het Lumineuze Beeld*. Exhibition catalogue, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. Sept 14, 1984-Oct 10, 1984.

⁶⁰ *The Luminous Image* featured an international group of known and emerging artists, including Vito Acconci, Brian Eno, Shigeo Kubota, Nam June Paik, Tony Oursler, Bill Viola, Dara Birnbaum, Robert Wilson, Max Almy, and Marina Abramovic/Ulay as well as several Dutch artists.

⁶¹ Nan explains her position as a Visual Artist clearly in 'My Life as an Artist, Nan Hoover', an interviews she gave before her death to her friends Helena Muskens and Quirine Racke. They created a three channel experimental documentary, 2015, (22.34 minutes). Viewable at: li-ma.nl/lima/catalogue/art/rack=muskens/my-life-as-an-artist-nan-hoover/19948 accessed June 15, 2022.

Now the art scene has become crowded with legions of artists not only working with video and performance, but also with digital technology and telecommunications. Both video and performance are accepted and acknowledged art forms, are widely shown, and commissioned by prestigious art institutions. As the field of time-based art expanded and embraced many new forms, Nan Hoover continued to mentor students and young artists to follow their passions. Her generosity towards the development of their careers, and her sincere interest in her colleagues was steadfast. She did not compromise and as she aged, she dove deeply into her studio practice, she continued to develop new techniques, working with different media. Her legacy remains. She is a recognized pioneer in the field of video and performance art, and she has earned the position as one of the most valuable female artists of her generation. She has been awarded prizes, honors, and respect for her contribution to contemporary art. Her untimely death in Berlin in 2008, was a surprise to her community of friends and colleagues. Her time-based art works, drawings and photographs remain in the memory of all who have been given the opportunity to take part as her audience.

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