Landmarks and Image Building of Old Montreal (Vieux-Montréal) from the 1860s to 1970s

By

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Table of Content

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The term "Old Montreal" (hereafter OM) generally refers to the eighteenth-century fortified area, now surrounded by McGill Street, St. Antoine Street, and Berri Street. The creation of the word "Old Montreal" dates to the 1880s in the wave of the historical commemoration movement led by cultural elites. As the city's sole 'historic district', this is one of the areas with the highest concentration of landmarks in the city. Historians talk more of the temporal, geographers of the spatial, but the historical landmark or landscape is anchored in time and space.

Using both texts and visual images of landmarks at the old city centre and the waterfront, I track the way these sites have been used to re-imagine Old Montreal over nearly a century. I devised two questions based on this aim:

- What connotations did the visual representations of landmarks imply?
- What is the role of landmark buildings in shaping OM's urban imageries?

The former question is a question of "what" connotations, while the latter explores "how" it shaped OM. The former question focuses more on the landmark itself, while the latter more emphasizes its relationship with the surroundings. Thus, I will examine the landmarks on individual level and on group level, both the content and the structure of its image patterns.

Let us start out by agreeing on some definitions: landmark, image, and imagery. Landmark originally refers to an object made to mark a location or boundary on land. Scholars have summarized the characteristics of a landmark as easily recognizable and have historical values. Old Montreal builds its imagery through the imageries of landmarks. "Imagery" commonly appears in visual or literary arts as a visual metaphor or symbol of certain idea. Here I use "image" for an entirely visual representation, and "imagery" for the impression in people's minds informed by all kinds of media.

Using Old Montreal as an example, I will approach the landmarks in two different ways. A landmark is constructed. The man-made landmarks are usually also symbols of cultural and political institutions. I will place the discourse of travel guides and the visual images of postcards in the broader history of how these landmarks are represented and used. A landmark is also subjective because the concept of "landmark" is originally based on the viewer's mind. Artworks

reflect their authors' subjective worlds and perspectives. I will explore the symbolic components in the artworks and their interpretations of the landmarks.

Through analysis of the connotations, I argue that constructed landmarks have systematically and automatically shaped the "imagery" of Old Montreal, but individuals can recreate their imageries. The literature review (chapter 2) spreads out from the various definitions of "landmark" and the geographic research based on these definitions. Then I will introduce my research methods (chapter 3) and the two types of primary sources: visual and textual. Correspondingly, chapter 4 reports and discusses the two types of analysis: travel guide text analysis and image analysis. Finally (chapter 5), I explain how the various images are woven together as the holistic imagery of Old Montreal.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

I considered three broad categories of literature: methodology for study of landmarks and landscapes, concepts of the imagery of cities, and analysts of place and memory. The most helpful works are centered on concepts and methods, sometimes applied in some other city or landscape.

2.1 Landmark and Landscape

The dictionary definition of "landmark" initially refers to the boundary (mark) or the object marking the boundary of a region (land) ("Landmark, n.," 2022). Another meaning originates from objects that guide sailors in navigation and later expanded to any easily recognizable object in the landscape ("Landmark, n.," 2022). In the same way, because maps cannot preserve all the information, geographers have chosen their emphasis when adding text to their maps. Certain buildings have names on them, while most are left blank. Gradually, people associate a landmark with a broader space, including its surroundings. In other words, the landmark becomes a guide for direction and a representation of the larger area. Another meaning of a landmark is a place with embodied value (Richter & Winter, 2014). In more modern use, a landmark can be an object that signifies historical and cultural value. Therefore, the term goes beyond the spatial meaning and refers to something metaphorically "easy to recognize" or "memorable" in a process (Richter & Winter, 2014, p. 2). A "landmark event", for example, is a marker in a lifetime or history by anticipation, recall, or even subconscious feelings.

The definitions of landmarks as physically recognizable objects align well with the geographical literature on their role in people's navigation and perceptions of their surroundings. Kevin Lynch, in *The Image of the City* (1960), classified landmarks as one of the key elements to understanding the city. Landmarks help people to judge the distance or direction of other places in their environment. Landmarks are also essential for remembering locations of other nearby objects, or for retracing their steps. In behavioural and cognitive geography, "landmark" is a more subjective concept people use as reference points in cognitive maps (Howard, 2016). Landmark buildings, and even spaces between them act as signifiers of space (Mowla, 2002). As essential tools for wayfinding, the landmark is also crucial for spatial knowledge formation in the brain (Epstein et al., 2017).

Another group of scholars, concerned with symbolic meanings, studied landmarks as constructions and expressions of cultural identity. First, landmarks can serve as symbols of a particular culture or group and can be used to convey cultural values and beliefs. For example, indigenous communities recreate the indigeneity of land by constructing buildings with indigenous motifs (Nejad & Walker, 2018). An emperor can impose visible signs for recognition of legitimacy or priority. Second, the construction of landmarks can result from political power and social formation. Shifts in power and resistance of different ethnic groups can lead to the alteration of landmarks and their usage or destruction (Osborne, 1998). Recent scholars have explored landmarks' role in constructing and expressing cultural identity, and how these processes are shaped by global forces such as globalization and migration (Massey, 2005).

The geographers borrowed the word "landscape" from artists. The word initially signifies a "view," "a portion of land which an eye can comprehend at a glance" (Jackson, 1984). Thus, both landmark and landscape refer to a visually comprehensible space. Landscape usually refers to a larger unit and a more holistic view (Zedeño et al., 1997). Cultural geographers have extended the definition to both the physical features of an area and the human interaction with that environment. Carl Sauer believed a landscape is not simply a scenery but an integrated and dynamic system of human and natural processes (Sauer, 2008). Thus, it can reveal the relationships among many landmarks, and their relation to the environment and people. Some authors used quantitative methods to prove that the number and distribution of landmarks can influence urban landscapes (Chen et al., 2021).

2.2 Image and Imagery of the City

Since the 1970s, a growing number of scholars have explored city image and its formation. Post world war cities have grown significantly, which built new landmark and removed the old ones. We can distinguish two types of intersection of ideas between the city and image: urban image and urban imagery. Image is the direct visual representation of the city, and they are many, while the imagery is a subjective image formed out of the cultures and ideas of a city (Domosh, 1992). The visual images, in clusters or sequences, work to shape and constitute the latter.

A branch of scholars explored the visual representation of the city and connected it to visual sources. A small group of geographers and architects use visual arts such as paintings and photography as a means of studying and analyzing the spatial relationships, cultural meanings, and sensory experiences of a particular place. Architects like Higuchi (1989) explored features in the landscape and introduced photographic concepts into geographical analysis of landscapes.

Cultural geographers study the ways in which representations of the natural world have been used to convey cultural and ideological meanings. Cosgrove & Daniels (2013), for example, argue that the depiction of landscapes in art, literature, and other forms of representation has often been used to reflect and reinforce dominant social and political ideologies. They discuss, for example, the ways in which 18th and 19th century European landscape painters often depicted nature as a wild and untamed place, with dark forests, raging rivers, and towering mountains. This depiction of nature, according to Cosgrove, reflected a belief in the superiority of European civilization over the "uncivilized" wilderness. Greater use of visual arts methods in the study of landmarks could be valuable because many were designed with particular symbolic meanings. Some scholars approach it from a perspective of tourism geography, exploring how the advertising images and the buzzwords around a city can shape the impression of it (Smith, 2005). Arreola & Burkhart (2010) suggested a time-series approach for visualizing the evolution of urban landscapes.

Several other studies considered city itself as a representational medium and explored the language and meaning of the urban form. Kevin Lynch (1960) is one of the first to investigate the components of "imageability" of a city. He discusses the ways in which its physical layout, including its streets, buildings, and public spaces, shapes our mental map of that place. He argues that our understanding of a city is shaped not only by its physical characteristics but also by the

meanings and associations we attach to those characteristics. Rapoport (1977), too, considered human perception of the environment as a decoding process. Urbanites read and understand the city's environmental cues and formal language. Since the 1970s, some architects developed quantitative method like space syntax to examines the spatial and temporal aspects of urban form, looking at how the physical configuration of streets, buildings affect patterns of movement (Hillier, 1996). By analyzing the spatial structure of the city, space syntax reveals people's mental image of the city, and how these perceptions are shaped by the physical environment.

2.3 Place and Memory

The second definition of landmark implicates the quality of a landmark as a "land", a place meaningful for human experience and attention.

The spatial turn in social science in the late 20th century led to the increasing studies of place and space. Phenomenological philosophers have explored the way in which spaces evoke memories, dreams, and desires, arguing that spaces have a profound impact on our sense of self and our relationship to the world (Bachelard, 1964). Humanist geographers like Edward Relph (1970) and Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) introduced phenomenological methods into geography. They differentiated "place" from "space" on the grounds that the former is filled with meaning (Tuan, 1977). In this sense, the regular encountering of "space" makes it a landmark. Buttimer and Seamon (1980) suggested experience-based and actor-led approaches to place. More recent humanist geographers consider place in a more fluid sense in the context of globalization (Cresswell, 2008).

Some scholars have explored the sociopolitical dimensions of space, arguing that space is actively produced and shaped by social structures and power relations. Lefebvre (1974) argues that space is produced and can be interpreted in the social and political dynamics of contemporary society. He noted spatial practice is "the perceived, the conceived, and the lived". Scholars also look at the relationship between power and memory formation in colonial and totalitarian states, such as "imaginative geographies" and representational power (Said, 2000; Forest et al., 2004). Some urban geographers explored how urban developments reshaped national memories and identities (Moser, 2018; Aşur et al., 2022).

Another strand of scholars studied the relation between history and memories, notably French historian Pierre Nora. He believes traditional historical discourse will suppress individual

memories. However, memory crystallizes and secretes itself in "Lieux de Mémoire" (Nora, 1989). Landmarks are "Lieux de Mémoire," and I will investigate several layers of memory within them instead of their lifeless chronology. I do not intend to abandon current history narratives, but to be aware of narratives constructed around specific landmarks.

CHAPTER 3: SOURCES AND METHODS

From the historic kernel of the city, I select three sets of landmarks, I call them "congregates." For each set I collect images, produced at various times (1860-1980) from a variety of sources and media. I use textual sources such as guidebooks to interpret the images. Then I consider the question of how the images contribute to a representation or meaning of the city.

3.1 Scope

My decisions about the scope of the study are based on the history of Old Montreal and the availability of appropriate sources. As mentioned before, the concept of "Old Montreal" emerges in the 1880s. Since textual sources are available since 1860s, I decided to extend back to 1860s, and to compare the difference before and after.

I choose Old Montreal because it is the region with highest density of landmarks in this city. Recognizing this high density, instead of studying a "landmark" individually, I will study a "congregate of landmarks". Landmark is defined in relation to landscape – the perspective in which it can be recognized. Therefore, a landmark is meaningful to its surroundings and is representative identifier of a larger region. But multiple landmarks can belong to the same landscape. I define "congregate of landmarks" as two or more landmark buildings which appears in the same landscape. An image can reflect different context, but geographer focus more on the spatial context. As I mentioned in the literature review, landmarks cannot exist without the landscapes in which they are recognized. When I looked at the pictures, I found it challenging to pair one picture with one landmark. Because the landmarks in OM are so close together, they always appear together in one image. My database is composed of three landmark congregates:

1. Congregate around Place Jacques-Cartier: Vauquelin statue, City Hall, Nelson Monument, Château Ramezay, Bonsecours Market and Church

2. Congregate around Place d'Armes: Aldred Building, Notre-Dame Basilica, Saint-Sulpice Seminary, The Maisonneuve Monument, Bank of Montreal

3. Congregate around Place d'Youville and Place Royale: Pointe-à-Callière (Royal Insurance Building), Monument aux pioneers

3.2 Textual Sources

The textual resources are eighteen travel guidebooks in the municipal archive across different periods between 1867 and 1967. Travel guidebooks are an excellent source for studying landmarks because they usually highlight worth-seeing spots and introduce their stories. Oriented to a traveller on foot, they often explain why they consider those spots as landmarks and how they represent them to tourists. Although they come from various producers, such as travel company, hotel, and municipality, their intended readers are all travellers. For my research interest, I will just focus on the parts that mention Old Montreal. The texts are just complementary to the visual sources.

3.3 Visual Sources

The visual sources I gathered from two rich local collections: the Christian Paquin postcard collection from Pointe-à-Callière, and the photography, lithography, and painting collection from the McCord Museum. I searched the two museum databases using the name of each landmark, the names of the squares and streets. I collected all the pictures that included one or more landmarks between the 1860s and 1970s. They amounted to 253 postcards and 370 pictures in total. Out of this database, I removed the repeated, unintelligible or unclear ones and the ones without author or date of production. The filtering left 109 postcards and 276 pictures. Some non-postcard images are sources for postcard images. In other words, some pictures were chosen to be postcards. The corpus of images is concentrated in the period between 1880s to 1920s. So, I will not rely on quantitative analysis. The main users of the postcards are tourists and so the images used in postcards are selected. But the picture sources from artists and photographers, especially the individuals, are subjective, which can partly show their imagery of the city.

Visual materials are a neglected primary source in geography. The image itself is saturated with information. Geographers borrow the word "landscape" from artists. And the

discipline of geography also is filled with spatial and visual relationships. Moreover, the buildings printed on postcards are typically considered as remarkable. Thus, visual sources, especially postcards, are valuable for landmark research. I will use structural analysis, and content analysis to get all the information I need.

Structural Analysis

The first part includes the entire sample I filtered out. Inspired by Higuchi (1989), I aim to identify the trend of spatial relationships reflected in the images. These spatial properties include the following:

- Location: Where is the observer?

- Orientation: In what direction is the observer facing?

- Depth: What is the distance between the eye of the observer and the perspective point?

- Elevation: is the viewer higher or lower than the landmark?

- Light: Is the picture light or dark? How are the tonalities used to draw our attention or affect our response?

After describing the visual structures of the postcard and non-postcard images separately, I place the images on maps (Figure 3.1). An arrow identifies one or several images with similar location and orientation. The direction of the arrow signifies the orientation of the viewer. I make two maps: one based on the postcard collection (https://mcgillgis.maps.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=f5b229781979435fb1e4efb28f7d3f02) , another based on the images from other medias (https://mcgillgis.maps.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=6e3a3f9727524955870d4d80ff92dc0c). I mark all the arrows in the maps to compare the potential spatial pattern.
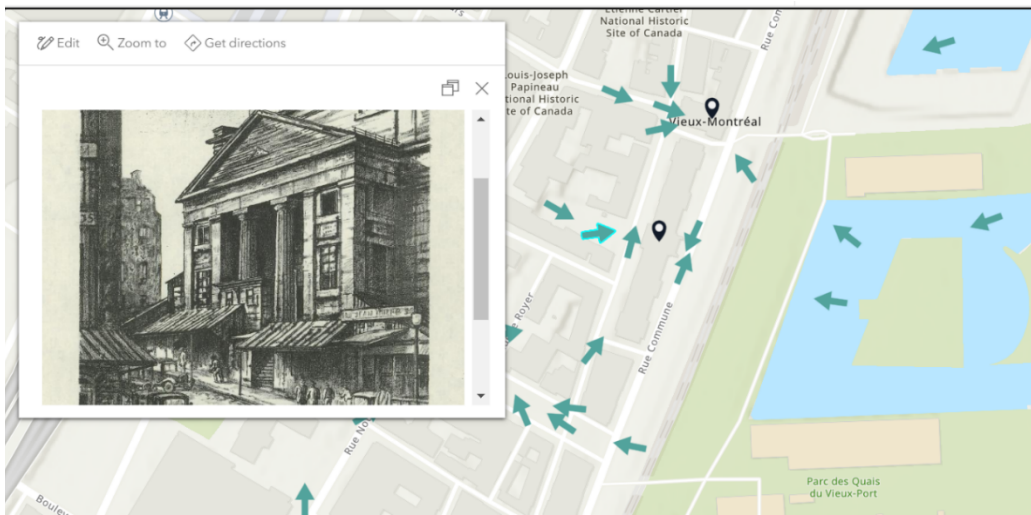
Figure 3.1: Mapping Landmark Images in Old Montreal
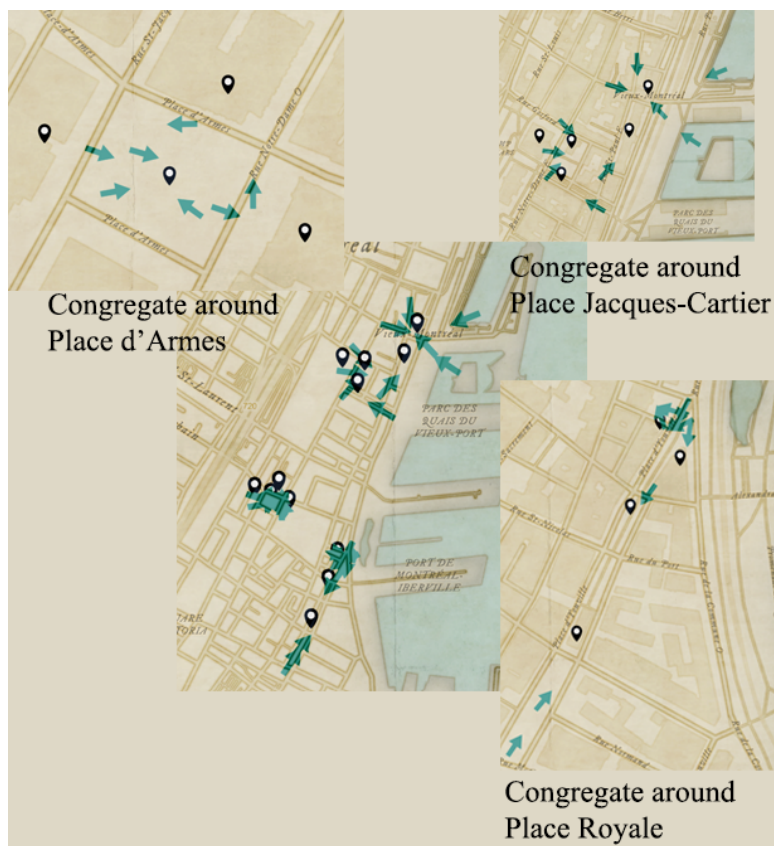
Figure 3.2: Mapping from Postcard Sources
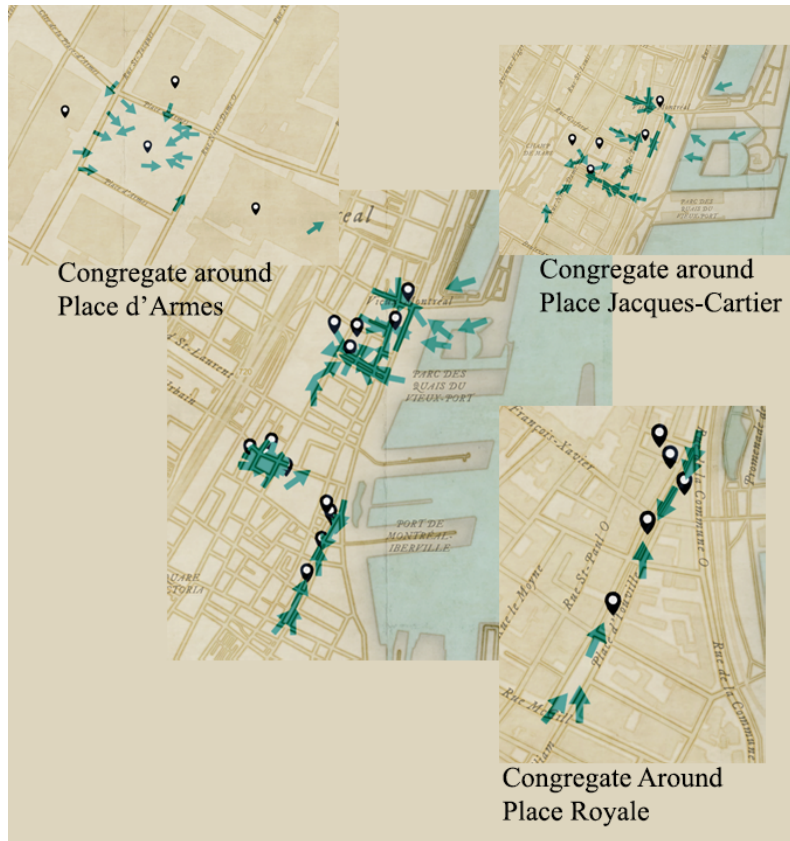
Figure 3.3: Mapping from Non-postcard Sources

Content analysis is employed for just a small part of the sample for which enough material is available, such as information about the producer and other types of landscapes he or she has produced. I first identify all the elements in the picture and the context (time, artist…). Second, I will examine the composition of each painting, including the relative proportion of the landmark(s) and other elements, and the spatial relationship among the elements. Third, I will interpret the iconography of the elements related to one another. Fourth, I will compare different pictures by the same author, for the same landmark or period. Comparison is essential. Finally, I compose all the scattered notes and thoughts into one or more interpretations.

CHAPTER 4: THE CHANGING CONTEXT

4.1 Creation of an "Old Montreal"

The current landscape is achieved by the several successive waves of cultural preservation movement in Old Montreal.

The heritage preservation movement of the 1880s was a response to rapid changes of urban form in industrial era and rising Canadian nationalism. Signified by the construction of the transcontinental railway in 1886, Montreal has become the hub of economy and communication in Canada. Civic prides grew with the growing importance of the city. The middle and upper class have urged and supported the city to build public monuments in the tradition of great centres of Europe (Gubbay, 1978). The rapid industrialization and active trades also led to the construction of new commercial and industrial buildings near the old port (Gubbay, 1978). The creation of "Old Montreal" is a part of a broader commemoration movement of the past among cultural elites, facing a disappearing pre-industrial Montreal. The expression of "Old Montreal" and "vieux Montreal" already appeared in books and newspapers around 1880s (Burgess et al., 2004). Various buildings were classified as historic and attached plaques in Old Montreal, notably Château Ramezay, which has become a historical museum itself (Burgess et al., 2004). Between 1890s to 1920s, various monuments were erected such as the Maisonneuve Monument and Monument aux pionniers (Gubbay, 1978). One strand of preservationist is associated with the nationalist sentiments. Victor Morin, the chairman of both Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste and Societe historique de Montreal, organized tours since 1917 (Burgess et al., 2004). Established in 1922, Historic Monuments Commission also have been consistently devoted to monument construction and heritage tours in Old Montreal (Poole, 2012). But most of the landmarks they created or tagged are from French Regime, as Old Montreal was not intended to glorify the progress of industrial Canada under the British Regime (Poole, 2012). Another strand of preservationist, mostly anglophone, try to create a harmonious image between the French and the British. Their narratives included the OM history under British regime and the landmarks from British industrial era (Lighthall, 1892).

A second historical district preservation wave appeared with the construction boom after World War II. The reliance on automobiles led to deterioration of the old buildings inland. Like other North American cities, the City of Montreal proposed to build expressway connected to the port. These would radically change the fabric of the old urban center. Since 1950, seventeen heritage organizations have protested the plan and demanded a historic district (Burgess et al., 2004). Important voices were urban planners like Jaques Greber and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. The official delineation of Old Montreal an historic district in 1964 is a compromise between the

will to "develop" and the will to "conserve". Some old buildings are already demolished, and a new expressway is planned in the north of Old Montreal district.

In general, although not oppose to all industrial developments, when the old landmarks lost their functions or destroyed, cultural preservationist tried to memorize them as landmarks in various ways.

4.2 Image Production of Old Montreal

The visual representations of landmarks are associated with both the social values and personal experiences.

Some urban landscape artworks are just to cater European traditional Bourgeois taste. Middle class Anglophone focus on city and urban life, taste of cheerful, picturesque convention. Some commercial artists like James Duncan illustrates a gemeinshaft and organic solidarity within society (Caulfield, 1987). This type of art forms a vital function of preindustrial European society in maintenance of dominant social and moral values.

Recording the landmarks in Old Montreal is also a part of the heritage preservation movement. In the late 1880s, David Ross McCord, the founder of McCord Museum, commissioned over 200 artists to depict historical buildings and sites in the province (Burgess et al., 2004). A large proportion of photographs were produced in the famous studio of William Notman (1826-1891), the "Notman Studio". The technique and equipment of the studio are of high quality and many photographers worked in the studio (Art Canada Institute, 2014). Since the 1870s, Alexander Henderson specialized in landscape photography and created various about urban landscapes for Notman (Triggs, 1977). Painters and photographers like Georges Delfosse also autonomously organized exhibitions, or created portfolios about disappearing buildings in Old Montreal (Burgess et al., 2004).

In addition to commercial and preservation art, some artists used artworks to represent their own voices. For example, Adrien Hébert's urban landscape paintings of the 1910s and 1920s reflect social questions by showing mechanization and human labor in the urban life (L'allier, 2015). Some artists created less formal, but highly emotional artworks to record the "charms" in the city (Kinsman, 1967).

The British American Bank Note Co., an old firm highly skilled in engraving and lithography, started to print postcards in 1871 (Canadian Museum of History, n.d.). The introduction of the UPU (Universal Postal Union) in Canada in 1878 standardized and streamlined international mail services, making it easier and cheaper for people in Canada to exchange postcards from around the world (British North America Philatelic Society, n.d.). This led to an increase in demand for postcards, and private printers began producing a wider variety of cards to meet this demand (British North America Philatelic Society, n.d.). What is surprising, only in 1903 did the Canadian Post Office department authorize the transmission of picture postcards (Canadian Museum of History, n.d.). The early twentieth century is the "golden age" of postcards thanks to printing technology development, transportation networks, and booming tourism (Distad, 2009). Most tourists in early 20th century stayed in the perimeter of OM. As the Montreal was an attraction to compete with Niagara Falls and with Toronto, the "French touches" become a special identity of Montreal postcards. The content of most postcards can be classed as "view" or "topic" cards. The former includes monuments, sceneries, and artworks of a region, while the latter is more chaotic, range from holiday events to commercial advertisement (Distad, 2009). In my study sample, most cards are "view" cards and so the tourists and local vacationers are typical users.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

I will first address the image production for Old Montreal through the analysis of textual sources. All images of three congregates of landmarks will eventually contribute to a controlled imagery of OM.

5.1 Travel Guide Analysis

The travel guide in the 1860s and 1870s generally started with an overview of Montreal – its location, population, and central areas… but the 1882 guidebook shifted into the "founding story" of Montreal immediately after the geographical introduction of the Island (City of Montreal, 1882). The 1911 guidebook even put the history of Montreal in the first part: "When Jacques Cartier, the Columbus of Canada sailed up to the island in 1535…" (Lighthall, 1911, p. 2). In later years, although the structure of the book differs from time to time, it became the tradition to start with treasured memory of French Canada. The reference to the ancestral stories

added historical and cultural value to Montreal. By crystalizing these stories, Old Montreal, becomes an all-in-one landmark.

Travel guides in 1891 started to use the term "Old Montreal" and give a specific section on historic buildings (Royal Society of Canada, 1891). Although not many books use the name of "Old Montreal" until the 1960s, Victor Morin type walking guide tour in the old centre of Montreal has become a tradition (Figure 5.1). A guide of Old Montreal written in 1968, while describing the buildings and their history, makes minimal reference to their structural relationship or present condition. Its tours are more similar to the imaginary walks of armchair tourism.

TABLEAU 1. LISTE DES ARRÊTS COMMENTÉS

	RÉGIME FRANÇAIS 1642-1773	RÉGIME ANGLAIS 1774-1867	1917
Place d'Youville (L)	Lieu de débarquement		Obélisque des Pionniers
Vieux-Fort Ville-Marie (L)	Château de Callière		Statue John-Young
Hôpital général (V)	École instruction jeunesse		
Église/Monastère récollets (L)	Monastère		
Rue Notre-Dame, Saint-Paul (L)	Tribunal		Maison finance
Ruelle Chagouamigan (L)	Ruelle		
Place du Marché (L)	Place du Marché		Place Royale
Château de Maisonneuve (L)	Château de Maisonneuve		Magasins Frothingham et Workman
Hôtel-Dieu (L)	Hôtel-Dieu		Magasins
Rue Saint-Sulpice (L)	Séminaire		Tour N-E église Notre-Dame
Place d'Armes (L)	Lieu de bataille		Banque de Montréal
Église paroissiale (L)	Église originale		Église Notre-Dame
Séminaire Saint-Sulpice (M)	Séminaire		Séminaire
Cathédrale anglicane (L)		Cathédrale	
Congrégation Notre-Dame (L)	École Marguerite-Bourgeoys		Église Notre-Dame-de-Pitié
Église/Monastère des jésuites (L)	Monastère	Prison	Palais de Justice
Place Jacques-Cartier (L)	Château de Vaudreuil	Statue Nelson	
Château de Ramezay (M)	Château de Ramezay	Fleury Mesplet	Société d'archéologie et de numismatique de Montréal
Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours (M)	Chapelle originale	Chapelle restaurée	Chapelle modernisée
Marché Bonsecours (M)		Marché/Hôtel de ville	Marché de fleurs
Rue Friponne/Faubourg Québec (L)	Magasins du roi		
Citadelle et canoterie (L)	Moulin à vent	Carré Dalhousie	Hôpital Notre-Dame

Légende — (L) : Lieu (V) : Vestiges (M) : Monument.   Arrêts commentés exclus : rues de Ville-Marie et fortifications.

Source : Société historique de Montréal, 1917, « Première partie. Compte-rendu des fêtes. Montréal 1642-1917 », *Aux origines de Montréal. Mémoire de la Société historique de Montréal. Onzième livraison*, Montréal, ADJ Ménard, p. 19-34.

Figure 5.1: Liste des Arrêts Commentés from *Montréal 1917: L'émergence d'une identité patrimoniale*, by D. Joly and M. Drouin

Influenced by Morin's tour, the travel guide since the 1920s was almost entirely structured as strings of landmarks. The guidebooks embedded the history of Montreal in the introduction of successive landmark buildings. In other words, landmarks became the narrators of history. The twentieth-century travel guides added some new "points of interest," such as Château Ramezay, the first museum converted as a museum and the first historical monument recognized by the Historical Monument Commission of Quebec. Served as a governor's residence, army headquarters, and a school, it witnessed and shaped the political and commercial life of New France and of Lower Canada for more than two centuries (Château Ramezay, n.d.). Although mostly landmarks from preindustrial eras, most travel guides include building from British industrial era such as financial institutions and hotel, which created a luxurious and consumeristic landscape. The selective inclusion of industrial landmarks reflected the shaping of Old Montreal do not necessarily oppose the industrialization, but how to keep "landmarks" facing modern changes.

All within walking distance, the "strings" of landmarks a have become "clusters" of in the eyes of tourists. Next, we move into analysis of the visual images, ordered as three groups or congregates of historic buildings.

5.2 Image Analysis of Congregate around Place Jacques-Cartier

Postcard collections tend to have more standardized images of landmarks. The images produced for postcards have much less diversity except for elevation. The postcard map has six arrows (2 sides of the Bonsecours market, the interior of Bonsecours church, one side of Bonsecours market, and two sides of Château Ramezay) that includes five or more images with similar angle and location. However, on the other map, only two sides of the Bonsecours market have more than five similar images. Even when they have the same frame and angle, they show a greater variety of context and activities accompanying the landmark: other buildings, other landmarks, everyday life, and people. For example, Bonsecours Market and the church are always present together in a market scene. Compared with those, the postcards always lack context. They typically show an empty scene, a lone building, or a specific ceremonial event. This produces a homogeneous image of the historic building. Image is particularly important because tourists require a coherent representation/meaning of the city, one that is easy and pleasant to consume (Poole, 2012). In other words, the production of the image can guide the

formation of city imagery in our heads. The municipality does intentionally change the building structures to create a specific landscape. The restoration process of the 1960s intentionally kept two dozen private buildings for restoration along St. Paul Street (Poole, 2012). Because of their special location, they served to formally frame Bonsecours Chapel and Bonsecours Market, and further monumentalize them.

In terms of the location of the landmarks, more emphasis has been put on the Château Ramezay and Bonsecours church in a postcard, while less on the Bonsecours market. The only building that is shown from diverse perspectives is Château Ramezay. Both the Chapel and the Château are officially promoted heritage places. Château Ramezay became a museum for tourists in the late 19th century, while Bonsecours Chapel has housed Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum since the late 20th century. Most postcards of Château Ramezay are "souvenirs" from the museum itself, and the back of the postcards shows stories of the place. It is a purposeful museification process by reproducing the images of the past.

The postcard collection tried to create a "peaceful" scene, which downplayed the role of nature in the whole landscape.

As I mentioned, the tradition of travel guidebooks starts with the story of how the first colonizers endured the hardships and eventually developed the island into a town. This is a standard narrative of human conquering nature. Most postcards do not contain a nature environment except the atmosphere. The only natural environment shown is "domesticated", such as the clean and trimmed trees outside the Château Ramezay looking like a row of security guards (Figure 5.2). The relationship between nature and humans embodied by landmarks is a master-servant relationship.

Figure 5.2: *Château de Ramezay* (1932). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

And most importantly, none of those postcards shows a winter landscape, and few show people. Bonsecours Market typically has the quality of "horizontality", firmly clinging to the ground (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 *Bonsecours Market* (n.d.). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

The building occupies a high proportion of the image. This makes it feels "safe" and peaceful, like the feeling when we are looking out to the sea. Speaking of the sea, water is one of the few natural elements that appeared in the postcards together with Bonsecours Market. It extends the horizon of the Bonsecours Market and further creates a sense of peacefulness (Figure 5.4). In this type of scene, Bonsecours Market, a public gathering arena, signifies that human passion dominates the cold water and ice of St. Lawrence River.

Figure 5.4: *Bonsecours et ses Environs* (1931). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

In earlier ages, however, not everyone accepted the narrative of domesticated nature. Henri Julien, a comic artist, revealed the importance of the unfrozen St. Lawrence River to the city's functions (Figure 5.5). He also criticized the city's inability to resist infectious diseases due to poor public hygiene (Figure 5.6).

OLD FATHER ST. LAWRENCE SHAKING OFF HIS WINTER COAT, AND MAKING READY FOR A GOOD SUMMER'S WORK.
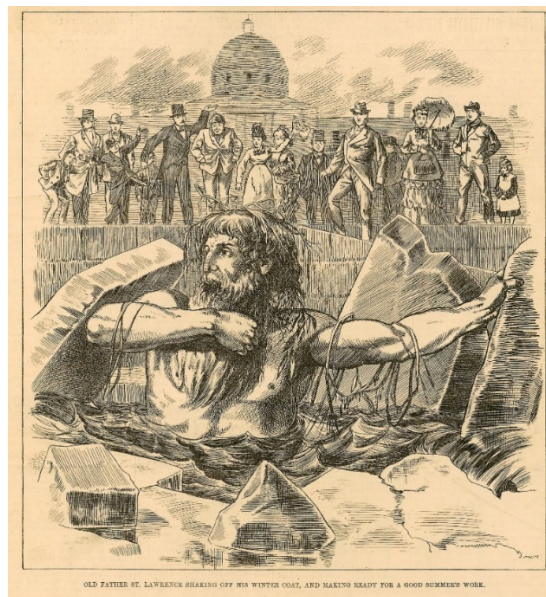
Figure 5.5: *Old Father St. Lawrence Shaking off His Winter Coat*, by H. Julien (1876). Retrieved from McCord Museum

Figure 5.6: *Montreal's night mayor on his Ghostly Rounds*, by H. Julien (1876). Retrieved from McCord Museum

Bonsecours Market is gloomy in the background and also does not have the width to stand calmly on the ground (Figure 5.6). Some other artists have emphasized the power of nature. In the photograph of the great ice shove, Bonsecours Market is squeezed into the corner, almost swallowed by nature (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: *Ice shove at City Hall (Bonsecours Market)*, by A. Henderson (1873-1874). Retrieved from McCord Museum

The harmonious image of the first congregate somehow corresponds to the travel guide that uses landmarks as narrators. The analysis demonstrates postcard representations are partly

controlled by institutions like museums or municipal government, as tourism becomes important as income.

5.3 Image Analysis of Congregate around Place d'Armes

The public square known as Place d'Armes is more like a stage for multiple cultural landmarks: The Art Deco style skyscraper Aldred Building of 1931, the neo-classical Bank of Montreal dome, and the neogothic basilica, and in the middle of the empty square a complex sculptural monument. Although different landmarks from different era will show up together, the holistic image usually harmonious. For example, the Bank of Montreal building have almost become the standard background of Maisonneuve Monument with similar color palette and symmetrical composition (Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8: *Maisonneuve Monument* (1915). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

However, among all the city's landmarks, Notre-Dame Basilica and Maisonneuve Monument receive the most attention for art production. Although the images incorporate other landmarks, these two are always the center of focus (Figure 5.9). Most images orient the viewer towards the front of Notre Dame or to the Maisonneuve statue, and the viewpoint is usually lower than the landmark (Figure 5.9). This emphasizes its superiority.

Figure 5.9: *Église Notre Dame et Place d'Armes* (1914). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

Several images look from above. Both are connected to the establishment of the city of Montreal. St. Sulpice Seminary, next to the Basilica, is the oldest building in use in Montreal, while M. de Maisonneuve himself was the founder of Fort Ville-Marie. A guidebook of the 1930s mentions the relationship between Notre Dame and modern buildings: "the lovely tone of "le gros Bourdon", the largest bell in America, can be heard for miles up and down the river and echoes against the skyscrapers which have conquered Montreal's skyline, once dominated by Notre Dame's fine towers." (Montreal Tourist & Convention Bureau., 1937, p. 5) The Gothic revival style Basilica was once the tallest building in this region. Even in the newer images, Notre Dame is always in a superior position and at the centre of the frame. Maisonneuve Monument, facing Notre-Dame Basilica, sits in the middle of the square. Although Aldred building is clearly a modern building that contrast Notre Dame, its setbacks at the 8th, 13th, and 16th floors allow more light on the square. This also creates a cathedral-like massing echoing adjacent Notre-Dame Basilica and a more harmonious building interrelation. The image around Place d'Armes has rare street scenes due to the square shape and the connection to the road. But the depth is enhanced by other compositional skills. The image usually represents a clear and brightly lit day. Nevertheless, the center of Notre Dame is always dark, it seems to swallow the light around it (Figure 5.10). In other words, the lighting enhances the depth of the photo. When Place d'Armes was still a fenced "public garden" from mid 19th century to 1915, the presence of trees made the

entrance blurred, enhancing the sense of mystery and alluring the tourist to explore (Figure 5.10). Moreover, the symmetrical image naturally created an axial effect.
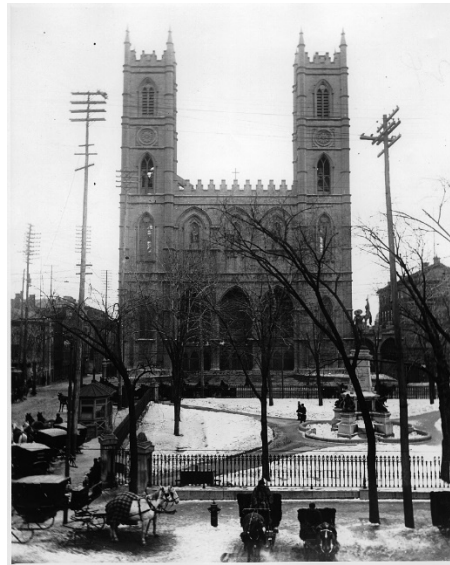
Figure 5.10: *Notre Dame Church from Imperial Building*, by Alfred Roper (1897). Retrieved from McCord Museum

In the interior images as well, contrasts of lighting further enhanced such depth. In the 1870s, Victor Bourgeau transformed a dark and gloomy interior into a feast of colour (London, 1986). The Aldred Building, in contrast, uses outdoor natural lighting to emphasize the height. Rather than inviting tourists, the covert entrance and the concrete texture made the building more defensive. It uses light to enhance the level of superiority rather than the depth (Figure 5.11).

Figure 5.11: *Edifice Aldred* (1929). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière.

The unparalleled image production of Notre-Dame church in the late 19th century and early 20th century also reflects the new appreciation of cultural preservation. The gothic Revival style was popular in Europe in the 19th century. North American architects embraced it as a way to connect modern architecture with the cultural heritage of the European past (Gowans, 1952). As mentioned, the cultural elites wante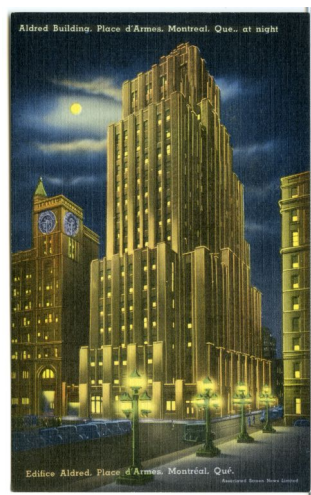d to evoke nostalgia for the preindustrial past. The twin towers of Notre Dame, completed in 1843, were a prominent feature of Montreal's skyline before the city became industrialized. As the first parish church built by Sulpicians, the building speaks to its Catholic roots. The church was built during a time when the French-Canadians were concerned about preserving their distinct cultural identity (Gowans, 1952). Thus, drawing on both British and French tradition, Notre-Dame Basilica connects itself to the great European metropolitan and experienced a second wave of "revival" in the late 19th century.

This congregate exist some landmarks from the industrial era, mostly .

Tall landmarks surrounds Place d'Armes, leaving the flat square in the middle. The emptiness of the square also gives meaning to the landmarks. Heidegger writes:

> "Amid beings as a whole an open place occurs. There is a clearing, a lighting. Thought of in reference to what is, to beings, this clearing is in a greater degree than are beings. This open center is therefore not surrounded by what is; rather, the lighting center itself encircles all that is, like the Nothing which we scarcely know." (Heidegger et al., 2002)

In other words, the square reveals the meaning of Place and arranges spaces. It is the square that allows the urbanite to understand the surrounding landscape. Thus, "square" itself can be seen as the landmark of landmarks because it reveals the spatial relationship among them. The square became a landmark also because it held significant events (Figure 5.12). These events add layers to the "Lieux des Memoire."

Figure 5.12: *The Grand Torchlight Procession in Honor of Mr. Thos. White, M.P. for Cardwell and the Conservative members elect for Montreal* (1878). Retrieved from McCord Museum

Many artworks still do not follow the standard imageries preferred for postcards. Joseph Sidney Hallam's painting did not focus on a landmark building but represented a view of the square itself (Figure 5.13). He included prominent landmarks like the Basilica, Maisonneuve Monument, and the Bank of Montreal, but he views them from the side rather than the front, leaving just a tiny strip of church and bank on the painting. The square emerges at the center, contrasting with the shadows around it. The range of shadows sets the limits of the square, making it an enclosed space. On the square are just everyday bustling rather than festival crowds. This painting generally looks at the landmarks in a holistic context rather than focusing on one of them.

Figure 5.13: *Place d'Armes*, by Joseph Hallam (1951). Retrieved from McCord Museum

John Henry Walker's comic in about 1870 further excluded "landmark" (Figure 5.14). People would not even know it is Place d'Armes if the title did not mention it. The emphasis on mundane activities further detaches the viewer from the grand narrative that historic "landmarks" represent.
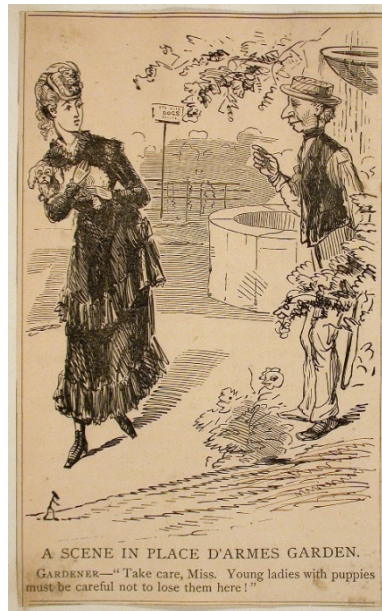

Figure 5.14: *A Scene in Place d'Armes Garden*, by John Henry Walker (1870). Retrieved from McCord Museum

The Place d'Armes makes a firmer understanding of a visual 'congregate', as I have found how images of the several landmark buildings interfere or interact. Although some have different meanings, even antagonistic, the antagonistic elements of our history get reconciled in the 'conservation' imagery by prioritizing the ones associated with older ages. This also corresponds to travel guides. Although all the modern landmarks exist, the largest portion of description contributed to Saint-Sulpice Seminary, Notre-Dame Basilica, and Maisonneuve Monument.

5.4 Image Analysis of Congregate around Place Royale

Compared to the two congregates already treated, the landmark in this zone is created more based on "land" than on "mark". This area best compels the concept of a congregate and demonstrates the way the broader landscape can impact the formation of landmark.

The total number of images is significantly lower than in the previous congregates. Monument aux Pionniers, this zone's sole monument, only has three images. Other seemingly

insignificant buildings are more often shown on photos and postcards. Sailors Institute is surprisingly frequent at the intersection of Place Royale and Place d'Youville. Royal Insurance Company and the Custom House at the same intersection have a comparable frequency. In other words, a monument is not necessarily treated as a landmark, but it has an advantageous position in the landscape. In most images, the observer is at the intersection between two squares and three streets, looking along the diagonal toward the façade. The skill in composition enhances the monumentality of a landmarks in an advantageous location. This is best reflected in the Sailors' Institute (Figure 5.15). All the pictures view the building from the front and try to make the photo a triangular shape. Convergence of three streets offers an unusual opportunity. The triangular shape, both on the map and on the picture, symbolizes the solidity of the place, which was the first colonial fort.

Figure 5.15: *Sailors Institute* (1905). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

The geographical factor naturally contributed to the unusual depth of the photo. Streets on the two sides extend to the frame, making the landmark more prominent in the middle of the image (Figure 5.16). A similar view and composition are used in the images of Royal Insurance Company at the intersection of two streets. The extension of the street ensures the connection to other spaces. Thus, buildings at intersections naturally act as landmarks because of the corner position. When the road forks, road signs are needed – visual as well as verbal - to indicate direction.

Figure 5.16: *Custom House and Sailors' Institute* (1911). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

This intersection can even connect to other congregates. The landscape surrounding Custom House is not blocked by any other tall buildings, with Aldred Building and Notre-Dame faintly emerging behind it (Figure 5.17).

Figure 5.17: *Custom House* (1930). Retrieved from Pointe-à-Callière

The images sometimes evoke collective memories that shaped the urban fabric. Different from the squares in the other three congregates, the southern half of Place d'Youville was never empty and its spatial features have changed over time.

Although St. Ann's Market was burned down in 1849, some images still reproduced of this fire. Originally a market, it was refurbished to house the Legislative Assembly in 1843 (Bernard, 2015). In 1849 when Montreal was the capital of the Province of Canada, the dissatisfaction of Tories against the Rebellion Losses Bill led to a riot (Bernard, 2015). A fire station erected in Place d'Youville also became a landmark frequently appearing in the images

(Figure 5.18). Thus, in Place d"Youville, "fire" had become a "historical" landmark, which can be expressed in the form of a physical landmark.

Figure 5.18: *Fire Station on Youville Square*, by Alfred Vickers (1925). Retrieved from McCord Museum

Although this congregate has the smallest number of images, both the content and structure have diversity. As mentioned before, even the memory of "fire" could generate various forms of images. Some sketches represent the landscape of the whole square, in which one cannot tell whether the parking lot or the fire station is the landmark (Figure 5.19).

Figure 5.19: *Caserne de pompiers et la place d'Youville à Montréal*, by Jacques Gagnier (n.d.). Retrieved from Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

Instead of representing a complete landmark, some deconstruct the building into smaller parts. Kingsman's painting below direct at a corner of the fire station (Figure 5.20). Her painting usually focuses on moments and transient experiences in street life (Kingsman, 1967). She expressed her love in such transient moments and experiences in her portfolio preface:

> "Among the cities of the world that charm, Montreal takes its honourable place… Charm is not a matter of fine buildings, sweeping bridges, and prodigious views, although we have these, too. It lies in the little quiet streets of our town, shaded by elms and maples. It lies in the funny, lovable miscellany of architecture…"
> (Kinsman, 1967)

Figure 5.20: *Fire Station*, by K. Kinsman (1967). Retrieved from McCord Museum

In some paintings, the monument becomes more accessible, merged into the bustle of everyday life (Figure 5.21). Compared to the previous two congregates, many fewer tourists visited this

area until the excavation of Pointe-à-Callière. Thus, there are fewer postcards production and more personal interpretation of landmarks.

Figure 5.21: *Monument on Place d'Youville* by C. Paul (n.d.). Retrieved from McCord Museum

5.5 From the Image of Landmarks to the Imagery of Old Montreal

The textual and image analysis reveals the tendency of standardization in postcard production and controlled landscape. The total imagery of these landmarks is hard to summarize with just several adjectives. Instead of summarizing the imagery of the landmarks, it seemed more worthwhile to explain how these imageries were created. This relates back to our statement in the introduction: the imagery of landmarks is both constructive and subjective.

The postcard collection in all three congregates tends to generate a frame for one or more buildings. The easier access to technology does not contribute to diversified production in the postcard industry but to the replication of images, notably the front shot of Notre-Dame. Different photos use the same photo angle, and some just copy the existing ones. Even without support, some postcards have a "self-reproducing" ability after a certain stage. Globalization and technology enhanced the effect, as a tourist tends to seek a continuous landscape to consume.

The image pattern of these landmarks is also disseminated and replicated by postcard companies in Europe and the US.

The meaning attached to the images of the landmarks is controlled both in terms of nature and industry. Perfectly echoing the travel guidebooks, the postcards often treat landmarks as narrators and leisure isolated with accidents. We saw that postcards in the first congregate repress the presence of dangerous nature. The manifestation of preindustrial aesthetics reflects the cultural conservatism toward the end of the 19th century. Even the icon of "fire" in the third congregate is dangerous, it is locked as a history of the past. And the protagonist of the event is also conservative. Most landmarks are from pre-industrial era. Even the industrial elements presented in the postcards are mostly related to leisure experiences such as hotels, which shaped a consumeristic landscape.

However, the imagery of the landmarks is not entirely constructive. The artwork collection still saw many diverse, subjective interpretations of landmarks. At the end of each congregate, I presented the artworks that deviate from the typical image and the way landmarks are shaped by larger landscapes, the way the composition reduces the significance of a landmark and re-situates it in mundane life.

Based on the analysis, I propose three pathways of visual representation of space: distortion, replication, and re-creation. The visual representational space could distort physical space. For example, although the physical space is a square, the image production of Notre-Dame Basilica emphasized the depth of the image, creating an axial effect. Representational space is also a spatial cue that people receive, interpret, and recreate. For some people, the continuous and massive quantity of similar representations of a landmark encourages them to replicate it. But a small part of the collection still shows the deviation from standard images. Even with the same photo, different people will color them differently. This shows the reinterpretation of the representational image.

CHAPTER 6: REFLECTION

6.1 Implications

In addition to finding a result for the real attention behind these images, another contribution of the article is to explore a method to interpret visual material in geography

research. The discipline of geography is filled with spatial concepts. The article used Old Montreal as an example to understand spatial concepts such as "landmarks" through multimedia sources.

The research confirmed the importance of understanding geography in a relational way. As shown before, such tendency has already existed in current scholarship of relational geography. Space syntax method believed the relation between spaces rather than the space itself is more important. Most studies treat the landmark building as a point on the map. The research shows the power of spatial relationships: the emptiness contrasts with the monumental building. The intersection of roads can turn a building into a landmark. Such relation is not only visual and spatial, but also symbolic, such as the superiority of certain landmarks.

6.2 Limitations

One contribution of the study is the method, but the largest flaw is also in the method. Most analysis is an interpretation based on observation. Both human eyes and language are slippery, even if I compared the visual source with texts. The confirmation of any of the results needs more types and a larger quantity of sources. The coverage of postcards was not consistent throughout the period because illustrated postcards of Montreal landmarks only appeared in the twentieth century. Some important contexts like postcard histories are extremely hard to find. The scarcity of contextual material made me turn to work on other cities.

Finally, the research ignored the interior of the landmark. As mentioned before, a landmark is not only a point. Inside the landmark are more meanings and more spatial relationships as cues. We would certainly want to ask whether they reinforce or contradict the meanings evoked by the shell of the building and streetscape.

6.3 Conclusion

"Landmark" signifies a spatial visibility, which will need the broader landscape to complete. Images can express meanings that distort physical space. Sometimes the conservation in imagery is even more tenacious than actual space, and reproductive by guidance. But subjects can always re-assign meaning to the space.

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