

Depictions of Progress: Images of Montreal in Contemporary Guidebooks, 1839-1907

RHONA RICHMAN KENNEALLY, MCGILL UNIVERSITY

There is not on record an achievement of human intellect, skill and industry that will bear comparison, in British America at least, with the transformation of a "ridgy mountain," the mere adjunct to a primitive Iroquois Indian township, within the span of a human life, into one of the mightiest and grandest cities of Canada's Dominion. — *Montreal Illustrated*, 1894¹

Contemporary travel guidebooks provided the curious traveller with a useful introduction to Montreal during the second half of the 19th century. Perhaps even more useful now to historians, these popular publications render a rich sense of the city through their process of singling out and highlighting its perceived attractions. Guidebooks distil a city's essential identity by selectively presenting its component parts, both in the text proper and in the advertisements. Modes of presentation reinforce this distillation, such as whether particular elements of the city are addressed in isolation or in the context of the metropolis as a whole, and the degree to which images of the city are presented in a static or dynamic fashion.

Given their mandate to identify and emphasize the favourable attributes of their subjects, these guides can serve as a particularly rich primary source in approaching some basic questions about Montreal during the second half of the 19th century. Which of its particular traits are consistently identified? What are its resources said to comprise? To what is its prosperity — or otherwise — attributed? On close investigation certain patterns appear, some of which can also be observed in the representations of other North American cities of the period. Significantly, the juxtaposition of the built, developed, industrialized Montreal and its surrounding natural environment — the contrapuntal relationship between the tamed and as-yet untamed geography — is a recurring theme of these guides. Inherent in the playing-out of this theme is a symbolical system, employing such icons as the building and the river, through which is encoded the idea that Montreal in this period was a progressive metropolis undergoing modernization and industrialization. Notwithstanding the contemporary criticism of such developments in many intellectual circles, particularly towards the end of the period under re-

view, these guidebooks presented nature and progress as entirely compatible. Moreover, despite periods of economic reversal in Montreal in the 19th century, the visual and verbal communication of this progress-based stance remained essentially unchanged throughout the sixty or so years under review.

There was a proliferation of guidebooks on Montreal during the second half of the 19th century. Most were published in Montreal, and most of their authors are anonymous. Some focus uniquely on that city, in some cases undergoing multiple editions, such as the *Stranger's Guides to Montreal*, whose versions dated 1848, 1868, and 1879 are examined in this study.² Of the guides devoted exclusively to Montreal, some address their subject in a general way while others emphasize the city as a commercial centre. Examples of the latter group are the *Commercial Sketch of Montreal and its Superiority as a Wholesale Market* of 1868, and *Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View. Leading Firms and Moneyed Institutions*.³ Hotels such as St. Lawrence Hall, the Donegana, and the Ottawa — located in Montreal — or the Windsor issued concise guides for their patrons.⁴ Montreal was also considered from a broader perspective through guidebooks that covered major cities of the United States and Canada, including the *Appleton's Travellers Guides*, which also appeared in multiple editions, including those of 1853, 1871, and 1876.⁵ Some of these books had elaborate texts with coloured drawings, while others, for example the 1868 *Tourist's Guide to the City of Montreal*, probably sponsored by St. Lawrence Hall, were more modest and printed "for gratuitous circulation."⁶ The *Stranger's Illustrated Guide* of 1868 was published by C.R. Chisholm, "News Agent, Grand Trunk Railway" and cost 25 cents; it may have been available at train stations, as was sometimes the case with British guidebooks of the mid 19th century.⁷

Whichever guidebook was selected, perusing it gave the curious tourist a distinct point of departure from which to explore the city. Through words and illustrations, and through advertisements for shops and businesses that sometimes appeared as well, Montreal was unveiled. Practical, useful information, such as which street one ought to select for a pleasant morning's walk, was included for obvious reasons. But the primary business of a guidebook, after all, was to bring out the city's best: its most appealing architecture, its most attractive vistas, the parts of the city that most effectively evoked its positive characteristics; in short, the most impressive or informative or amusing destinations worthy of a visit. Of course, a guidebook might also be critical: Thomas Doige's text of 1819 pronounced Montreal as "not at present over-burthened with amusements."⁸ By-and-large, however, negative aspects of the city were not discussed.

The 19th century was a period of urbanization throughout Canada, the United States, Britain, and other industrializing countries. Following in the wake of the early settlers, the inhabitants of the expanding cities of North America appear to have found their urban environments especially marvellous. John Reps has observed that 19th-century Americans hungered for visual representations of their country, and that views of towns and cities may have been the single most popular category.⁹ Often encompassed by huge expanses of open land, the growing settlements were routinely depicted as swelling dots in the landscape, dots that, after mid century, were increasingly connected by the dashes of the railway lines. **Figure 1** shows London, Ontario, in the late 1840s, before it was linked to other Ontario centres by the railway. The sense of isolation of this town is exemplified by the trees that illustratively sandwich the town and by the absence of context beyond the vegetation in the left foreground and the open space of the background. And yet, the barge on the river and the



Figure 1. London, Canada West. Lithograph, ca. 1847-50. (National Archives of Canada / C-040810)

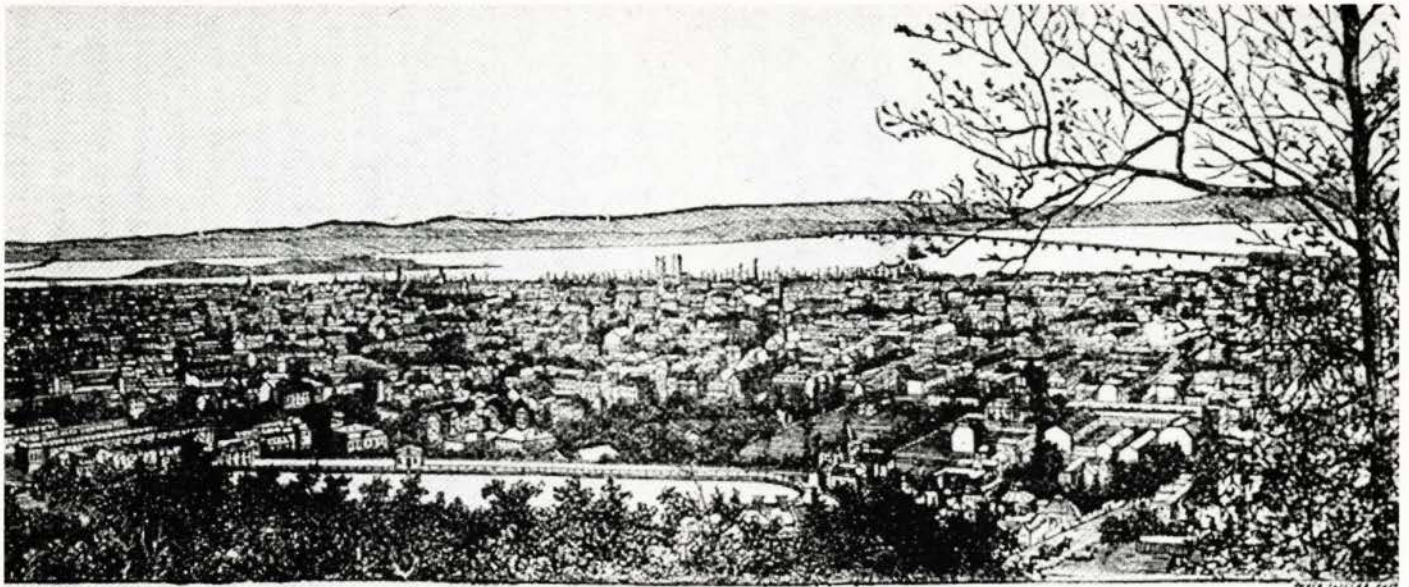
path that leads beyond the frame of the lithograph suggest the possibility of a connection to elsewhere. The symbolic indicator of settlement resides in the collectivity of built forms set in a natural habitat: the structures that comprise the city, from monumental to modest, encapsulate the idea of the city. At first, there seems to be a clear distinction between town and landscape, a notion substantiated in part by the fences on the left and right and the banks of the river. However, a distinctly active process of transition — of progress — can be read in the apparently newly cut tree trunks in the right foreground, in the implied movement of the barge (precursor to the train), and in the continuity of the road beyond the confines of the drawing. The city as a dynamic entity undergoing slow-but-sure expansion by claiming land that will accommodate new structures, thereby bringing adjacent wilderness under control, is an image that is evoked repeatedly in civic views in the second half of the 19th century.

One very popular technique for representing a city during this period, used in Montreal as well as in many other North American cities, was the bird's-eye view. In essence an aerial axonometric depiction of a community, the drawing typically included areas beyond the parameters of the city, and thus was another documentation of the interstices between "civilization" and the hinterland. Elizabeth Singer Maule notes that, in bird's-eye views,

The towns are always neat, busy, and progressive. Their streets and terrains are nearly flat, their unimportant buildings similar, their trees all lollipops. They are peopled with stick-figure citizens who crack whips over teams of Noah's ark horses. Locomotives belch coloring-book smoke, and ships crowd together in rivers and harbors, endowing the towns with vitality and bustle. The towns intentionally appear more active than they were, an attribute wholly in harmony with the boastful atmosphere of the middle and late nineteenth century.¹⁰

While this is perhaps an exaggerated description, there is no denying the subjectivity of bird's-eye views, nor their enormous potential to convey the symbols of a city's virtues by exploiting this vantage point.¹¹

There are a number of 19th-century bird's-eye views of Montreal in the guidebooks, and they usually take advantage of the city's natural "crow's nest," Mount Royal. **Figure 2** is dated 1886, and depicts the city as prosperous and vigorous: Montreal looms large, spreading beyond the confines of the drawing at either side but bounded by the river and contrasted with the bare mountains on the south shore. Its buildings appear formidable, especially the Victoria Bridge, a symbol of Montreal's commercial prowess, whose opening in 1859 was attended by the Prince of Wales. The significance of the city beyond its boundaries is suggested as well by the ships on the St. Lawrence River. Interestingly, the view also includes a substantial amount of vegetation: the tree on the



View of the City of Montreal, looking towards the St. Lawrence River.

Figure 2. Bird's eye view of Montreal from Mount Royal. (*Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View*, 1886, 67. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)

right, the wooded foreground, and the mountains beyond the river are pronounced. This representation appears in a guidebook focusing on Montreal's industries, and yet has pastoral connotations.

In this case, two essentially contradictory impulses seem to be at play. On one hand is an articulated admiration of the achievements of Montreal and its thriving economic and cultural life, the city's expansion a tribute to its success. On the other hand is a desire to show reverence for the natural landscape (still expressed by citizens today for Mount Royal Park and the relatively unspoiled areas adjacent to the city). This ostensible compatibility of progress and the pre-industrial environment from which the city rose was disputed by contemporary critics of industrialization and urbanization. As early as the 1830s, British critics such as A.W.N. Pugin lamented the contamination of England in the name of growth and progress. In *Contrasts*, arguably his most famous work, Pugin sets up an opposition between what he perceived as the dispassionate, money-driven society of his day, which was taking its toll on both the population and the landscape, and the community-spirited, non-exploitive (of either humans or resources) world of medieval England.¹²

Perhaps because the vast expanse of wilderness in Canada seemed of a scale that could accommodate endless exploitation, there was apparently a tendency in this part of the world to gloss over the paradox — to show a respect for nature and a glorification of its beauty and purity while, at the same time, accepting an insatiable drive to harness, modify, and adapt it. Susan Danly, in considering the impact of the railway in the United States, pointed to

a pervasive belief in Manifest Destiny [as having] tended to conceal the contradictions between the need for economic growth and the aesthetic desire to preserve the natural landscape. These contradictions were nowhere more apparent than in the paintings, prints and photographs of the western landscape between 1865 and 1900. Images of the railroad as the symbol of economic expansionism and man's technological triumph over nature were produced alongside grandiose landscape paintings that presented the geological monuments of the West as the ultimate expressions of divine creative power.¹³

During this same period, artists and photographers such as William Notman fashioned dramatically appealing images out of the wild Canadian frontier, even while the groundwork was being laid to harvest it ever more efficiently. As will be demonstrated below, in the Montreal guidebooks the enthusiastic utilization of natural resources was seen as distinctly positive evidence of the success of this new and exciting age.

Not surprisingly, given its definitive role in the history of Montreal, the St. Lawrence River receives a substantial amount of attention in the guidebooks. The significance of rivers to the urban environment is addressed by Andrew Hemingway in his 1992 book *Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Identifying rivers as symbols of Britain's power, wealth, and political health, he charts the abundance of related imagery in 18th-century British poetry. He adds that, in the early 19th century, "the economic and social functions of waterways, and the sheer volume of discourses about them, overlapping and interlocking with one another, made rivers a crucial pictorial theme."¹⁴ This economic and social function carried through to the new

world, where rivers such as the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, and the St. Lawrence helped determine the skeletal structures of settlement. It is only necessary to glance at **Figure 3**, which depicts Quebec City in 1759, to note the enormous significance, granted by the artist, to that city's location on the St. Lawrence.¹⁵

Without question, Montreal owed a substantial measure of its success during this period to its strategic spot on this river, and the guidebooks almost without exception wax eloquent about the city's accessible inland maritime location, which made it the head of ocean navigation. As early as 1848 the wharves were touted as "constructed in a manner unequalled upon this continent [and] worthy of all commendation."¹⁶ By around 1880, its facilities were said to afford "every convenience for loading and dispatching ships, such as steam elevators for grain, and appliances for shipping cattle. With the aid of the electric light ... ships are loaded or discharged at night as well as during the day. A railway track runs along the whole length of the river front upon the level of the wharves, and connects the different railways with the river and ocean craft."¹⁷ Further improvements in harbour facilities were recorded in 1894.¹⁸

If the St. Lawrence River can be understood as a symbol that epitomizes the seemingly boundless energy and resources of Montreal, the river must be seen both as a manifestation of the power and caprices of nature, and as the nucleus of a transportation system wrought in large measure by human hands. Before the St. Lawrence could be used, it had to be conquered by the construction of canals and bridges (Montreal is, after all, an island), by making it deeper near Quebec City, and by overcoming its rapids. The acts that were necessary to render it compliant were what made it such an effective conveyor of the image of Montreal as a city with seemingly endless capabilities. **Figure 4**, of the harbour in 1886, captures this sense of pride. And so do the contrivances that made the river accessible, the Lachine Canal and especially the Victoria Bridge. Lovingly documented by Notman, the bridge was often given prominence in the broad sweeping views of the city (see **Figure 2**) as well as in more detailed views. The thrill of taming nature is most eloquently conveyed in the observation of an 1886 guide:

Engineers will admire the constructive faculty of Stephenson in the Victoria Bridge, but the party which goes up river to take the steamer to run the Rapids will almost be sorry when it appears ahead, for it tells that the last and heaviest Rapid has been passed by the steamer, and that the pleasant excitement of a day passed amid all the appearance, and with none of the reality of danger, is over.¹⁹

Once the rapids were a deterrent. Now, they were like bumper cars at an amusement park — retaining the thrill of the ride, but with the assurance of surviving intact.

Once bird's-eye views were superseded by human-level views of the city, virtually all the illustrations in Montreal guidebooks focused on architecture. Buildings became the chief markers of Montreal's urban identity; even in street views, the street itself and its activities were frequently little more than a backdrop to the buildings.²⁰ Both public and private architecture — government, educational, and religious buildings, factories, banks, etc. — were typically presented as isolated facades, as in **Figure 5**, an illustration of churches from Newton Bosworth's *Hochelaga Depicta*.²¹ During the time period under review, what was meant to impress was the grandeur of the structures and the sophistication of their styles. Guidebooks occasionally referred to the city's once-ubiquitous greystone facades, which enhanced the formidable quality of the buildings and must have seemed unusual to visitors.²²



Figure 3. View of Quebec City, 1759: "Quebec, The Capital of New France, A Bishopric and Seat of the Sovereign Court." (Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University)

Figure 4. Montreal harbour. (*Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View*, 1886, 73. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)



ST. GABRIEL'S SCOTCH CHURCH. BONSECOURS CHURCH



CHRIST'S CHURCH (EPISCOPAL)

Figure 5. St. Gabriel's Scotch Church; Bonsecours Church; Christ Church. (*Hochelega Depicta*, 1839. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)

The convention of portraying structures in isolation, disassociated from their context or surrounded by ornamental borders or wide margins, can be followed through to the turn of the 20th century: **Figure 6** is an advertisement dated 1903 for the Montreal branch of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.²³ There is a consistent presentation of Montreal as a city of institutions — of churches, banks, administrative agencies, educational establishments, and recreational facilities — with a harbour at one end and a mountain at the other. These institutions, understood to be the physical structures that collectively comprise the city, are symbols of the application of human capabilities and ingenuity on the *tabula rasa* of virgin land. When humans are included in the images, they seem intended to animate the buildings and not to symbolize Montreal in their own right. Building interiors, minor streets, residential areas, and residences other than monumental ones are almost always excluded.



THE CANADIAN IMPERIAL BANK OF COMMERCE



RADWAY'S READY RELIEF EMPORIUM



Figure 6. Advertisement, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Montreal branch. (*Montreal and Vicinity*, 1903. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)

Figure 7. Advertisement, Radway's Ready Relief Emporium, St. Paul Street, Montreal. (*Commercial Sketch of Montreal*, 1868. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)

Montreal's 19th-century focus on the building as the concrete manifestation of identity translates in a very interesting way to the advertisements that were included in many of the guidebooks. **Figure 6** is an example of how the building as "solid icon" is exploited in numerous advertisements.²⁴ The logic of depicting a bank as an impenetrable, imposing structure is obvious. But how is one to account for **Figure 7**, an advertisement for Radway's Ready Relief Emporium, whose central illustration is not their product but the building where it could be purchased? The intention is unmistakably to convey a sense of reliability, of literally standing behind the product. Hence, Radway was not to be seen as a mixer of magic potions but as the proprietor of a substantial enterprise. By alluding to the symbolic repertoire of the building, the sought-after message of reassurance could be effectively formulated.

Given the symbolic overlay of the building, consider what happens when it is integrated with the imagery depicting

Montreal's commercial might. The result can be witnessed in another series of advertisements promoting buildings rather than product, but this time adding a dynamic component that established an affinity between the ambitious endeavours of the manufacturers or retailers of that product and the entrepreneurial efforts of the new captains of industry. In **Figure 8**, the smoke billowing from the Montreal Saw Works in 1868 was packaged as the stuff from which prosperity would emerge. Many other ads relied on the same technique.²⁵ Significantly, the smoke seems not to have polluting, unclean connotations: **Figure 9** is an advertisement showing substantial emissions coming from a factory that manufactured biscuits and confectionary. Such a company could never intentionally have wanted to be associated with something perceived as a toxic contaminant. In these examples, what the product itself looked like must have been less important, or less captivating, than the manifestation of zealous productivity.

One more superposition can be made by adding the river imagery to the equation. In **Figure 10**, a food product is once again advertised, this time by the St. Lawrence Sugar Refining Company. The commanding size and activity of the enterprise is encoded as before through the volume of smoke, but the message is enriched by the inclusion of the St. Lawrence River. The result is a narrative that silently but graphically traces the arrival of the raw materials, their transformation into useful products that will benefit the modern world, and their eventual transportation to destinations near and far. Perhaps the ultimate synthesis of all these variables, this ad promotes nothing so much as the work ethic in full tilt.

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, then, Montreal sought to define itself as a major commercial centre in Canada. It is consistently represented as simultaneously taking command of the wood and water that it translated into products and services, and thriving in harmony with the natural habitat just outside its expanding boundaries. An amalgam of impressive edifices housing significant, successful institutions both public and private, Montreal displayed its dynamism through the factories which literally advertised themselves operating at full steam. Declarations of pride, the illustrations contained in these guidebooks no doubt were also generated in the hope that they would create self-fulfilling prophecies. The reputation of success would be an effective incentive to perpetuate that success by attracting financial capital and generating additional business. A few of the guidebooks are quite blunt in promoting their subjects in order to encourage such investment. For example, the publisher of *Appleton's Northern and Eastern Traveller's Guide* tried to promote itself "especially to those directly interested in the prosecution of works of internal improvement, or who may contemplate becoming so. Investments in railroad stock are the safest and most profitable in the country."²⁶ Regardless of whether that commercial message was so blatantly mercenary

or more subtle, the overriding image was of an exciting metropolis self-confidently striding towards ever-greater achievement.

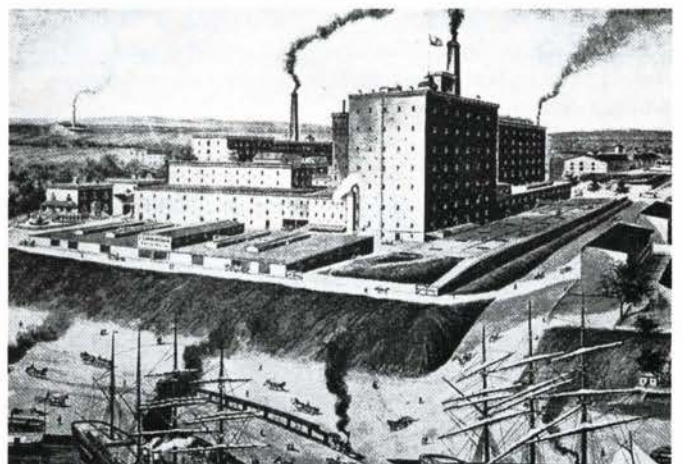
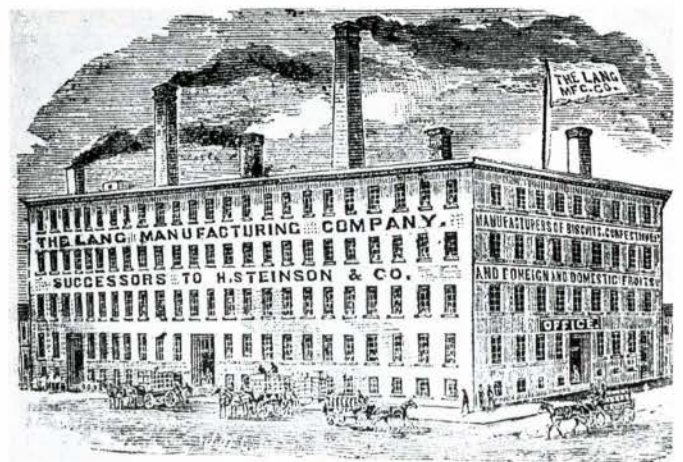
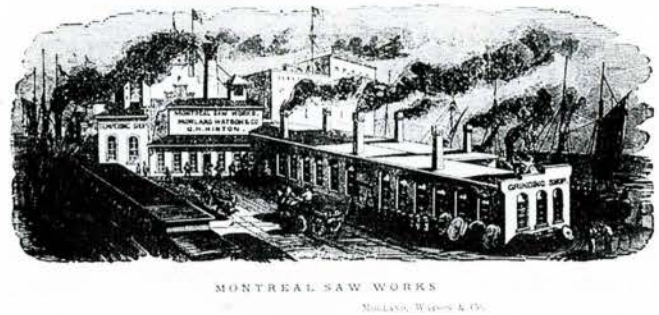


Figure 8. Advertisement, Montreal Saw Works. (*Commercial Sketch of Montreal*, 1868. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)

Figure 9. Advertisement, Lang Manufacturing Co., Biscuits and Confectionary, Montreal. (*Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View*, 1886, 172. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)

Figure 10. Advertisement, St. Lawrence Sugar Refining Co., Montreal. (*Montreal: The Commercial Metropolis of Canada*, 1907, 214. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University)

Endnotes

- 1 Anon., *Montreal Illustrated*, 1894 (Montreal: The Consolidated Illustrating Co., 1894), 38.
- 2 Robert W.S. Mackay, *The Stranger's Guide to the Island and City of Montreal* (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1848); Anon., *The Stranger's Illustrated Guide to the City of Montreal* (Montreal: C.R. Chisholm, 1868); Anon., *The Strangers' Guide to the City of Montreal* (Montreal: T.E. Foster, 1879).
- 3 *Commercial Sketch of Montreal and its Superiority as a Wholesale Market* (Montreal: Chisholm & Dodd, 1868); *Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View. Leading Firms and Moneyed Institutions* (Montreal: Historical Publishing Co. and Gazette Printing Co., 1886).
- 4 St. Lawrence Hall, *The Travellers' Guide for Montreal and its Vicinity* (Montreal: Printed for the Publishers, [1858]); Donegana Hotel, *A Handbook of the St. Lawrence River, Briefly Noticing Objects of Interest on the Route* (Montreal: Proprietors of the Donegana Hotel, 1864); Ottawa Hotel, *The Ottawa Hotel Traveller's Guide for Lewiston, Niagara River, Toronto, Lake Ontario, River St. Lawrence, Montreal, Quebec and the Saguenay* (Montreal: Gazette Book and Tor [sic] Printing House, 1871).
- 5 W. Williams, *Appleton's Northern and Eastern Traveller's Guide: With New and Authentic Maps Illustrating those Divisions of the Country* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853); *Appleton's Hand-Book of American Travel ... and the British Dominions* (New York: D. Appleton and Co.; London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1871); *Appleton's Illustrated Hand-Book of American Cities; Comprising the Principal Cities in the United States and Canada* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1876).
- 6 *Tourist's Guide to the City of Montreal. For Gratuitous Circulation* ([Montreal]: L. Bernard, 1868).
- 7 Anon., *The Stranger's Illustrated Guide to the City of Montreal* (Montreal: C.R. Chisholm, 1868).
- 8 Thomas Doige, *An Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders, and Housekeepers Residing in Montreal, to Which is Prefixed, a Descriptive Sketch of the Town* (Montreal: James Lane, 1819; reprint, Montreal: "Witness" Printing House, 1899), 25.
- 9 John W. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the U.S. and Canada* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 3.
- 10 Elizabeth Singer Maule, *Bird's Eye Views of Wisconsin Communities* (Madison Wisconsin, 1977), 1, cited in Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 261.
- 11 In *Silver Cities*, Peter Bacon Hales relates a fascinating example of the exploitive potential of the bird's-eye view, in this case in an anonymous photograph taken in 1854 of St. Anthony, Minnesota. Here, the vantage point is the top of a bluff beside the river that runs through the city, a vista that ranges from dock and warehouse to the main street to a caravan of fur carts. As a result, "the finished daguerreotype thus told its viewers of St. Anthony's geographical and physical advantages, its principal industries, and its rapid expansion, without violating the medium's mythic reputation for absolute truthfulness." *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization 1839-1915* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 21.
- 12 Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *Contrasts; or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste: Accompanied by Appropriate Text* (London: The Author, published at St. Marie's Grange, near Salisbury, Wiltshire, 1836). By the beginning of the 20th century, urban crusaders such as Jacob Riis in the U.S. and Herbert Brown Ames in Montreal were working to publicize the tragic aspects of urbanization and industrialization — exploitation of the poor, frequently abysmal working conditions, pollution, and the attendant effects on such indicators as infant mortality.
- 13 Susan Danly and Leo Marx, eds., *The Railroad in American Art: Representations of Technological Change* (Boston: MIT Press, 1988), 16. See also Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- 14 Andrew Hemingway, *Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 217, 291.
- 15 The similar pivotal importance of the Delaware River to the location of Philadelphia is unmistakable in a circular 1847 map by J.C. Sidney. See Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1985), 345.
- 16 Robert W.S. Mackay, *The Stranger's Guide to the Island and City of Montreal* ([Montreal], 1848), 29.
- 17 St. Lawrence Hall, *St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal* ([Montreal], 1880?), 31.
- 18 Anon., *Montreal Illustrated*, 1894 (Montreal: The Consolidated Illustrating Co., 1894), 38.
- 19 Anon., *Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View*, 49.
- 20 See, for example, a view of Notre Dame Cathedral in Newton Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta* (Montreal: William Greig, 1839). There are exceptions: see, for example, a view of Notre Dame Street in *Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View*, 75. But even here, though the area in front of Nelson's Pillar has kernels of human interest, the scale of the structures and the breadth of the open space command the most attention.
- 21 Presenting buildings acontextually was a common practice, in Montreal and elsewhere, during this period. See, for example, Ernst and Co.'s "Illustrated Plan of the Cities of Manchester and Salford," England, dated approximately 1857, illustrated by G.F. Chadwick, "The Face of the Industrial City," in *The Victorian City*, ed. H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), vol. 1. Other examples are in Montreal guidebooks: "Post Office, Montreal," in the *Stranger's Illustrated Guide to the City of Montreal*, 1868, n.p.; "Protestant churches in Montreal," in Alfred Sandham, *Ville-Marie, or, Sketches of Montreal, Past and Present* (Montreal: George Bishop and Co., 1870), 254; "City Hall and coat of arms," in *Illustrated Montreal: The Metropolis of Canada* (Montreal: J. McConniff, 1890), n.p.; "Buildings of the McGill Campus," in N.M. Hinchelwood, *Montreal and Vicinity* (Montreal: Desbarats and Co., 1903), n.p.
- 22 See, for example, Doige, *An Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders, and Housekeepers Residing in Montreal, to which is Prefixed, a Descriptive Sketch of the Town*, 12; and St. Lawrence Hall, *The Travellers' Guide for Montreal and its Vicinity*, 7.
- 23 Hinchelwood, *Montreal and Vicinity*, 166-7.
- 24 See, for example, an advertisement for B. Ledoux, carriage maker, which does not let the potential customer see the object he manufactures, but rather the medals bestowed on the company and the structure that houses it: symbols were more important than product. *Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View*, 129. Other examples: Henry Morgan and Co., in *Commercial Sketch of Montreal and its Superiority as a Wholesale Market* (Montreal: Chisholm & Dodd, 1868), n.p.; O'Heir's Wholesale Clothing, in *The American House Traveller's Guide for River St. Lawrence and the Cities of Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa* (Montreal: J.B. Laplante, 1872), n.p.; S. Davis and Sons Cigar Manufacturing, in *Montreal Illustrated, 1894* (Montreal: The Consolidated Illustrating Co., 1894), 292; Robin, Sadler and Haworth (leather belting), in *Suburban Montreal as Seen from the Routes of the Park and Island Railway Company* (n.p., ca. 1895), n.p.
- 25 Similar advertisements include one for Davis and Lawrence Co. Limited, which sold and manufactured drugs, in *Industries of Canada: City of Montreal, Historical and Descriptive View*, 131; John Labatt's beer, in *Montreal Illustrated, 1894*, 322; and William Sutherland and Sons, which sold sashes, blinds, etc., in *Montreal: The Commercial Metropolis of Canada* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co., 1907), 250.
- 26 *Appleton's Northern and Eastern Traveller's Guide*, 3.