LANDSCAPES AND POSTCARDS FROM THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS: A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract
This essay examines 20th century postcards as a popular and efficient means of communication that feature landscape representations of the Eastern Townships. It considers how landscapes adapt to prevalent modern interests and preoccupations including technology, time, and travel.

Résumé
Cet article analyse la popularité et l'efficacité de cartes postales du 20e siècle comme méthode de communication qui fournissent des représentations du paysage des Cantons-de-l'Est. Il examine la manière dont les paysages s'adaptent aux intérêts et aux courants dominants, incluant la technologie, le temps et les déplacements.

Introduction

Landscapes bear traces of each subsequent generation's cultural priorities and social preoccupations as they are woven into the surface of the natural environment's material fabric. At the same time, the postcard as a cultural object has the potential to contribute meaning to certain landscapes, as they re-present a richly diverse socio-cultural mix of interests, values, and activities that unquestionably contribute to any region's cultural landscape. J.B. Jackson, the founder of cultural landscape studies during the mid1950s, was intent on exploring the visual experience of the everyday world. He noted that, because the etymology of the word *landscape* is a human construct, it "is not a natural feature of the environment but a *synthetic* space, a man-made system of spaces superimposed on the face of the land."[1] He emphasized how "when we talk about the importance of *place*, the necessity of

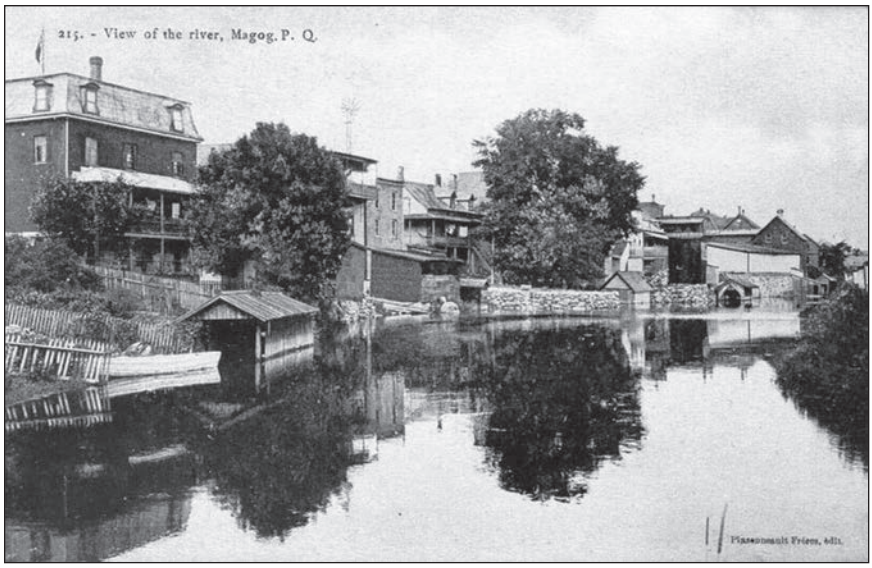

Figure 1. *View of the river, Magog, P.Q.*
Pinsonneault Frères, édit. Divided back, unposted. Private collection.

belonging to a *place*, let us be clear that that place means the people in it, not simply the natural environment."[2] In *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, Jackson argued that "no landscape can be exclusively devoted to the fostering of only one identity,"[3] and he understood the term landscape to signify "a portion of the earth's surface that can be comprehended at a glance."[4] Paul Groth later emphasized how cultural landscape studies "focus most on the history of how people have used *everyday* space [...] to establish their identity, articulate their social relations, and derive cultural meanings."[5] This study attends to how postcards are produced for, and derive meaning from, their uses and contexts in a variety of social ways that are simultaneously reflected in the very "everyday" landscapes they picture.

The Postcard's Golden Age

During the first decade of the twentieth century, German-issued cards dominated most postcard markets as "hundreds of companies in Germany were producing billions of cards each year."[6] Although this great number of postcards were printed in Germany, many of them were ordered by retailers and distributors from around the world, and were often based on photographs taken by regional or local photographers, similar to the one shown in Figure 1, *View of the river, Magog, P.Q.*, issued by Pinsonneault Frères who had a photography studio in St. Jean and Sherbrooke during the early decades of the 20th century. Figure 2 is a

Figure 2. *Strathcona Square, Sherbrooke, P.Q.*
Pinsonneault Frères, édit. Divided back, posted.
BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D675P147R.

postcard of their Sherbrooke studio in Strathcona Square. Note how the sign on the building's upper facade advertises "A. Z. Pinsonneault, Photograph" and specifies that they sell "Illustrated Post Cards" on its upper left corner, second line. The billions of postcards that circulated during the first decades of the 20th century are a testament to that era's worldwide achievement in mobilizing people and things on an unprecedented scale, with, arguably, unparalleled efficiency. Postcards were regularly delivered the day after being posted, and many even arrived on the same day that they were mailed. The postcards' newly shortened messages were often no more elaborate or personal than any one of today's briefest tweets or texts. For example, the postcard's momentum escalated to such an extent during its "golden age" (c. turn of the 20th century–1917) that a card mailed from Richmond, Quebec, on June 19, 1906, arrived the next morning in Lewiston, Maine, at 7 a.m. June 20 (fig. 3). As a means to ensure the speedy delivery process, "many trains had a postal car where mail was sorted and stamped while the train was in motion."[7] The cards soon began replacing letters as a quicker and cheaper method to send a message-another sign of the industrial era's quickening pace.

It is important to note, however, that postcards were opposed to by some who did not like the openness of the card, preferring more discreet and private exchanges. As such, not everyone embraced them as a substitute for letters, nor did they share in the enthusiasm for

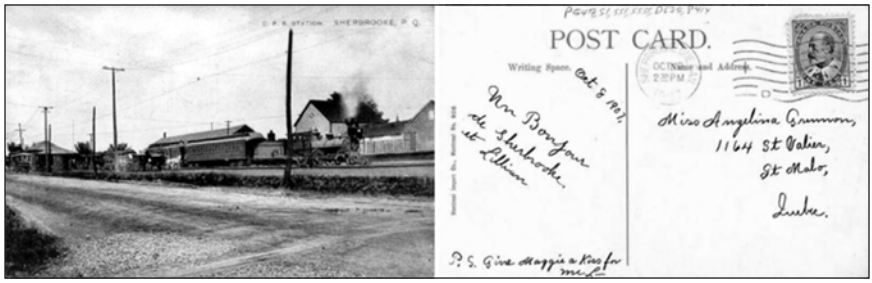

Figure 3. *C.P.R. Station, Sherbrooke, P.Q.*
Printed by Montreal Import Co. Divided Back. Posted. BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D675P414R & P547S1SS1SSS1D675P414V.

the modern pace of life. On August 19, 1905, a journalist penned a pointedly disapproving article in Montréal's weekly, *Album universel*:

> Par ces temps de villégiature, la carte postale est souveraine. On ne s'écrit plus! On s'envoie des images. L'impression que l'on recueille de telle ville visitée, de telle construction admirée, on la retrouve imprimée chez le marchand du coin, dans les gares, les bateaux, partout. Plus d'effort! Même aujourd'hui on ne se donne plus la peine de visiter ni la ville ni le monument. Aussitôt débarqué, le voyageur pressé fait sa provision de cartes qu'il enverra à ses parents et amis.[8]

Key to this journalist's wistfulness was his overall objection to some of the cultural changes that transpired in the name of progress at the time, underscored by his specific objection to postcards in particular, which he disdainfully perceived as a form of image-based shorthand communication. He clearly and simultaneously expressed his displeasure with modernity's temporal "progress" and his contempt for postcards. Despite such expressions of resistance, the postcard's popularity continued to spread in tandem with industrialization, as pictures of places were increasingly mailed around the globe.

Timothy Ingold has insisted on how "one of the outstanding features of human technical practices lies in their embeddedness in the current of sociality."[9] The current cultural preoccupation with electronic messaging and near addiction to social media sharing resonates with the modern era's social practice of exchanging postcards as a quick, brief, and illustrated means of communication. In hindsight, people's desire to stay "in touch" through messaging has continued for well over a century in Canada, dating back to 1898 when the nation's first private postal cards began circulating.[10] Additionally, with illustrated postcards, the message was only part of the communication as the illustrations themselves quickly became objects of popular interest on an international scale. Today posting pictures has reached epic proportions through Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, SnapChat, or

texting. The most obvious difference is a technological one; images and messages are currently exchanged virtually via electronic media, rather than materially via postcards. Of particular relevance to this study on picture postcards of landscapes is how "topographicals or view cards-[are] the largest and most popular category of postcards-representing familiar places."[11]

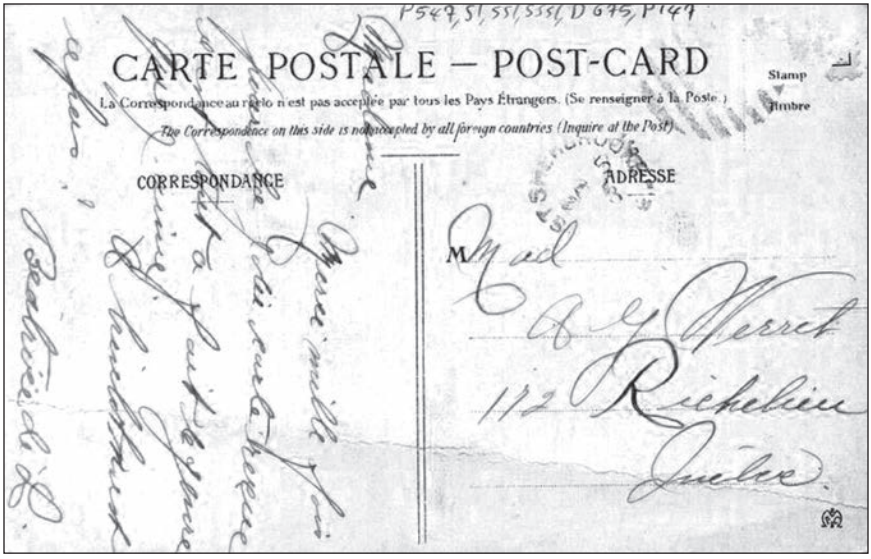

Figure 4. *Strathcona Square, Sherbrooke, P.Q.*
Pinsonneault Frères, édit. Divided back, posted. BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D675P147V.

The postcard's popularity peaked during their "Golden Age", a modern period during which people were exchanging cards internationally with unprecedented frequency. As a result, social circles broadened as acquaintances introduced one another to strangers for the sole purpose and pleasure of exchanging cards. Figure 4 shows the verso of the *Strathcona Square* postcard shown above. Note the formal wording, which suggests that the sender is not closely acquainted with the recipient, Mme A. Y. Verret, as she writes "Madame, Merci milles fois pour la jolie carte reçue c'est tout a fait ce genre que j'aime. À bientot n'est ce pas? Beatrice de L." Some people even resorted to classified advertisements in local newspapers, looking for "friends" with whom to exchange cards. In contrast with Beatrice's more polite approach, other cards, however, were expressly sent as brief informational messages, similar to a quick text message today, or as a fast and fun way for people to stay in touch through affectionate and ordinary communications, such as the following message, mailed locally from

Sherbrooke to St. Malo Quebec, approximately 50 kilometres away (fig. 3):

> *Oct 8 1907,*
>
> *Un Bonjour de Sherbrooke et Lillian*
> *P.S. Give Maggie a kiss for me. L-*[12]

Postcards, Mobility & Technology: Modern Influences on Perceptions of Time, Space and Landscape

Themes and issues relating to mobility, technology, space and time will now be woven together in relation to postcards relevant of the Eastern Townships. Particular emphasis is placed on how perceptions of landscapes, and the land itself, were transformed in the wake of calls for progress and prosperity. The industrial era's quickening pace clearly affected people's perception of distance as the railway came to be regarded by many as the annihilator of both time and space.[13] The Eastern Townships' proximity to the United States encouraged a high volume of crossborder train traffic due to industrialization. A large number of Quebec's working class factory labourers immigrated to New England throughout the 19th century to seek employment in the region's prosperous manufacturing industry. By 1850 there were 156 textile mills in Vermont alone "that never produced more than 5% of the total New England production."[14] In *Postcards from Vermont*, Allen Davis refers to a turn of the century postcard of a textile mill in Winooski that "employed more than 400 people, at least half of them women of French-Canadian background."[15] On June 19th, 1906, a postcard was mailed in Richmond, Quebec, and arrived the next morning in Lewiston, Maine, at 7 a.m. (fig. 5). The inscribed message is brief and to the point:

> *Je suis a Richmond 9 Heur nous sommes en retard*
> *Je ne remonterai pas ce soir*[16]

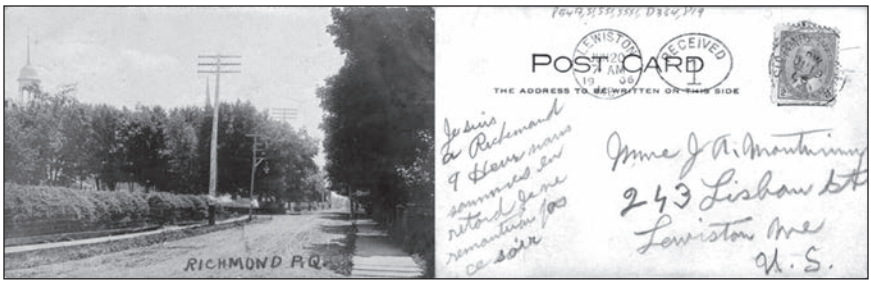

Figure 5. *Richmond P.Q.*
Undivided back, posted. BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D364P19R & P547S1SS1SSS1D364P19V.

This particular card underscores the vital role postcards played during the early 20th century as a means for communicating even mundane information. The ordinariness of the image printed on the card's recto is largely inconsequential to this person's message, although it does reinforce the everydayness of the communication due to the street scene's plainness. The long straight road lined with well-trimmed hedges, mature trees and hydroelectric polls do suggest, however, that this is an established and prospering modern community. The sender needs no signature or initials, as he/she knows that Mme. J.A. M. will know exactly who sent it. The message is strictly informational as it pertained to a railway passenger's unexpected delayed travel plans on June 20, 1906, and underscores how distances no longer presented communication barriers during this time of increased mobility. Postcards were clearly a preferred method for routine and speedy communications during this era, just as today's messaging systems and expanding social networks have grown increasingly efficient and convenient due to technological innovations.

The modern era was characterized by a correlation between heightened mobility and practices of communication, which underscore the tremendous impact technology has on socio-cultural patterns. Postcards emerged during an era of spreading industrialization which contributed to an explosive commodities-based "world" market that relied upon and generated greater mobility. This new traffic was characterized by the circulation of both humans and products. Within this new stream of traffic, the postcard was an important and accessible product in terms of affordability and availability. From that point forward, people's relationship to the landscape became less intensive and less auratic.[17] Travel, for many people and purposes, transformed into a regular, if not routine, integral part of modern everyday life. This ordinary pattern of people on the move affected people's daily lives and is often visually apparent (fig. 6), if not literally expressed in written messages on postcards (fig. 5), indicating the extent to which rail travel had become commonplace by the turn of the 20th century.

Modernity is often linked to notions of prosperity and progress, which in turn implies a future condition. In his discussion on imperialism and landscape, W.J.T. Mitchell notes how imperialism

> conceives itself precisely as an expansion of landscape understood as an inevitable, progressive development in history, an expansion of "culture" and "civilization" into a "natural" space in a progress that is itself narrated as "natural." Empires move outward in space as a way of moving forward in time; the "prospect" that opens up is not just a spatial scene but a projected future of development and exploitation.[18]

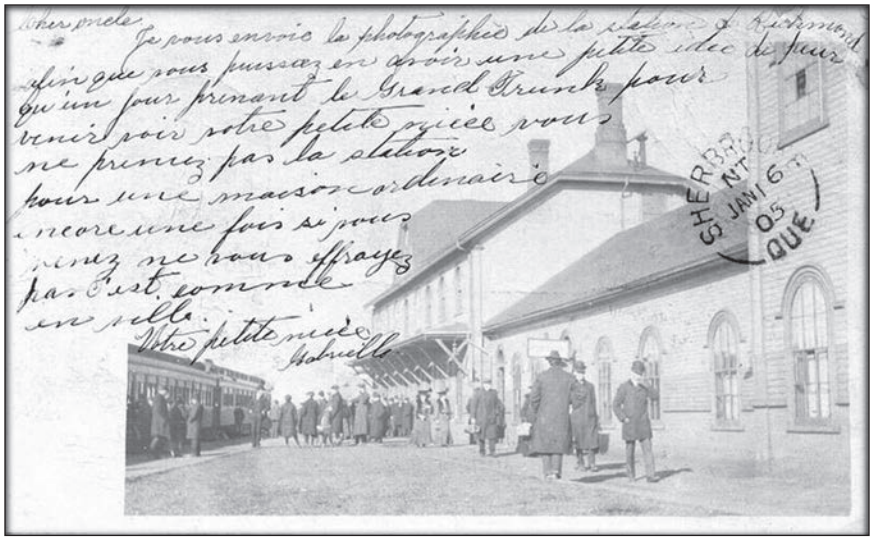

Figure 6. *Richmond, Quebec, Railway Station.*
Postmarked January 6(?), 1905. Undivided back. BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D364P25R.

Conversely, anti-modern sentiments also arose in the early 20th century as nostalgic counter-narratives that challenged modern calls for progress and prosperity, as noted by the journalist's article in *Album universel* cited earlier. Nostalgic impulses are associated to spatial and temporal longings. Kim Sawchuck notes for example, how "the antimodernist's longing for another place and time was not only a desire for simplicity or premodern pasts, the serenity of paradisial places," it was also "a search for an alternative space-time relation to that being inaugurated in the name of Progress."[19] In light of the growing commercial importance that train and boat schedules had on fuelling business and international trade, it is unsurprising that time was standardized in keeping with the by-now familiar adage "time is money." Sawchuck describes how "the variety of local times caused confusion with scheduling, accidents, and passenger irritation. No one could easily determine when a train would arrive at a particular station, and worse, trains crashed because of shared lines."[20] Consequently, "the standardization of time to the pulse of the twenty-four hour clock was adopted in 1883 by the United States, in 1885 by Europe, and in 1886 by Canada."[21] Suddenly, as far as the general public was concerned, "standardized, time zones were imposed, and the introduction of new technologies made it possible to cover greater distances quickly- all of this transformed space-time relations."[22]

As many pictures and messages reveal, trains and their schedules were often the subject of postcards during an era when railroads

moved across the continent covering distances at unprecedented rates. According to one study, many early train travellers perceived themselves as little more than parcels projected through space, and lamented how the loss of landscape affected all their senses including sight, smell, and sound. Due to the speed at which the trains travelled, the earliest passengers could no longer visually apprehend the scenery's details in the foreground as anything other than a blurred or evanescent landscape as they found themselves "flying" through it. The loss of detail and altered perceptions during the modern age, caused by industrialisation, along with a growing number of encounters with new and more distant places, arguably contributed to the picture postcard's popularity at the turn of the 20th century. When travelling by pre-industrial means, Dolf Sternberger notes how "the foreground enabled the traveler to relate to the landscape through which he was moving. He saw himself as part of the foreground, and that perception *joined* him to the landscape, included him in it."[23] From the train's interior, however, the traveler moving through the landscape is detached from it, and becomes an observer of the natural environment rather than a participant within it. The implementation of railway networks created a new spatio-temporal panoramic landscape, one that Benjamin Gastineau qualified in 1861 as a choreographed landscape, due to how "the motion of the train shrinks space, and thus displays in immediate succession objects and pieces of scenery that in their original spatiality belonged to separate realms."[24] Picture postcards enabled several generations to leisurely review the minute details enclosed within these portable and affordable remediated spaces that fixed both banal and monumental moments in time, as a pleasurable and personal means to come to terms with the steadily escalating sense of urgency and preoccupation with time that permeated everyday life. In Davis' study of postcards from Vermont, he notes how "the photo postcard in a variety of ways represented the accelerated pace and the visual nature of [North] American culture in the twentieth century."[25] The postcard written in Richmond, Quebec – while "*waiting on my train*" (fig. 7) – underscores the escalating sense of urgency regarding time and documents the sender's obvious obsession with time which, in this instance, is directly linked to the notion of regulated train schedules. As Stephen Kern acknowledges, there are many "'causes' of changing ideas about time and space, such as the scheduling requirements of railroads that directly necessitated the institution of World Standard Time."[26] He further estimates that there were approximately 80 different railroad times operating simultaneously in the United States alone in 1870,[27] which would have impacted the Eastern Townships region due to its

close proximity to the border and its shared lines. Even though the railroads imposed a uniform world time on November 18, 1883,[28] coordinating train schedules proved to be a challenging task that did not always function according to plan as described in the message below. Addressed to Miss Yvonne Lemieux in Levis, Quebec, from Richmond station Qc. at precisely 2:20 p.m. on February 11, 1907, the sender wrote:

> *Dear Yvonne-*
>
> *I suppose you will be surprised when you get this if you have not already heard that I left for Montreal by the 7. am. train this morning. I decided at 11.[30] last night to go then. Owing to the train getting into Richmond where we change cars for Montreal when going by the Grand Trunk, the Portland train for Montreal did not wait and so I have to wait here from 12.[30] to 4.[10] pm. and will only get into Montreal @ 6.[15] instead of 1_pm. I will cross the Bridge on this card in a couple of hours- I took this train so as to get into Montreal @ 1_pm. and have the afternoon to spend there, but did not expect to have to spend it in this "one horse" town. I will send you another card when I get to Montreal. I suppose you will be wondering how I came to decide on leaving so quick but will let you know that when I get back.*
>
> *Goodbye,*
>
> *[signature]*[29]

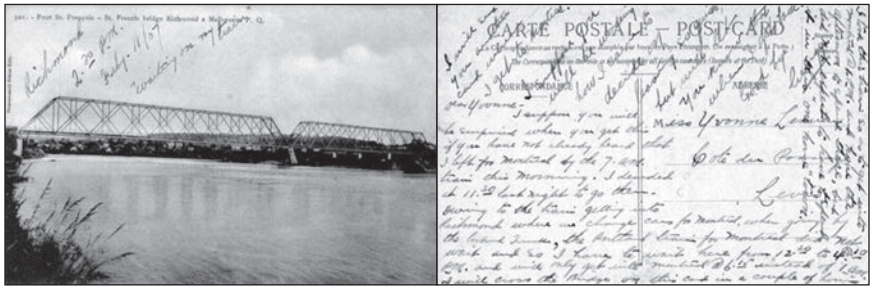

Figure 7. *Pont St. François – St. Francis Bridge, Richmond & Melbourne P.Q.* **Pinsonneault Frères, édit. Divided back, unposted. BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D364P29R & P547S1SS1SSS1D364P29V.**

St. Francis bridge from Richmond & Melbourne P.Q. (fig. 7) emphasizes the extent to which postcards manifest spatio-temporal concerns, and also reinforces their significance as visual and material mediators of technology, mobility, and communications. Both the images and texts that appeared on postcards represent cultural signifiers that signal an era's perceptions of progress and prosperity, as well as space and time. When looking at the reprinted photograph of the St. Francis bridge in Figure 7, we can appreciate the immediacy, close-ups, and foreground features that are particularly compelling in the then relatively new medium. As a viewer, it is easy to situate oneself

within the landscape, standing on the embankment right next to the photographer. Heins Buddemeier found that the 19th century public initially became fascinated "not by the taking of a picture of any specific object, but by the way in which any random object could be made to appear on the photographic plate. This was something of such unheard-of novelty that the photographer was delighted by each and every shot he took."[30] Buddemeier further described with enthusiasm "how intensely the first photographs were scrutinized, and what people were mostly looking for. For instance [...] tiny, until then unnoticed details are stressed continuously: paving stones, scattered leaves, the shape of a branch, the traces of rain on the wall."[31] This commentary seems particularly relevant to the postcards' miniature scenes, which are held in the hand and peered at closely. As a viewer of the St. Francis Bridge postcard, one notes the landscape's dark and detailed plant stalks bending organically towards the river in the foreground, and the extent to which they contrast with the carefully engineered and calculated regularity of the bridge's diagonally criss-crossing manufactured metal trusses that occupy the middle ground. Beneath and beyond the bridge, tiny white buildings highlight the distant shoreline, offering evidence of settlement and community. This particular image gives every indication that the prevalent enthusiasm for photographed minutia and details of random objects, referred to above, were seemingly maintained during the picture postcard era, and undoubtedly contributed to the postcard industry's unprecedented social mania in the wake of new technology.

As mobility became increasingly mechanized, people's travel experience became less organic, and more regulated and uniform. Schivelbusch emphasizes that "as the natural irregularities of the terrain that were perceptible on the old roads are replaced by the [...] linearity of the railroad, the traveler feels that he has lost contact with the landscape."[32] The experience of travelling by rail became less immediate than other forms of transportation, due to how the traveler by train necessarily perceives the landscape as it is filtered through what Schivelbusch terms "the machine ensemble." He further insists that "the speed and mathematical directness with which the railroad proceeds through the terrain destroy the close relationship between the traveler and traveled space."[33]

When examining the image shown in Figure 8, a postcard of Magog's Main Street, the viewer becomes aware of that close relationship between space and traveler to which Schivelbusch is referring. This particular picture contains several traditional methods of traversing the land, other than by train, including by foot, horse drawn open-carriage, hard-top and open-top automobile, and bicycle. Other than

Figure 8. *Main Street, Magog, Que.*
Printed by Novelty Manufacturing & Art Co. Ltd., Montreal. Unposted, divided back. BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D63P30R.

by foot, they are all mechanized means of travelling through the landscape that offer each traveler a mediated relationship between themselves and the publicly travelled space. Each individual must adapt to the pace or speed at which they will travel, and the route they will take while travelling. They might rush across Main Street in a single shot, or stop several times along the way. Still, these modern travellers will encounter others along the way, and they are at liberty to stop and chat, or continue on with a courteous nod, or with eyes focused straight ahead. The streetscape is a vibrant and active ordinary space in which the business and pleasure of turn of the 20th century everyday life unfolds. The streetlights, hydro lines, and cement sidewalks that line Main Street in Figure 8 are all modern products of the era's growing industries and evolving technologies that enhance, to varying degrees, people's experience of circumventing the landscape. Many found that the train, on the other hand, disrupted the close relationship between traveler and space, and one source describes how it was "experienced as a projectile, and traveling on it, as being shot through the landscape- thus losing control of one's senses."[34] In 1844, an anonymous European author emphasized how

> travelling on most of the railways, the face of nature, the beautiful prospects of hill and dale, are lost or distorted to our view. The alternation of high and low ground, the healthful breeze, and all those exhilarating associations connected with 'the Road,' are lost or changed to doleful cuttings, dismal tunnels, and the noxious effluvia of the screaming engine.[35]

Postcards clearly functioned "as symbolic and material connections"[36] that represented an important element in a complex system of expanding social relationships which resulted from heightened mobility facilitated by technology. Schivelbusch emphasizes how the railway was perceived by progressive thinkers "as the technical guarantor of democracy, harmony between nations, peace, and progress. According to them, the railroad brings people together both spatially and socially."[37] Also products of technology, postcards likewise brought people together socially, but they did so virtually rather than physically. Kern identifies how between 1880 and World War I "a series of sweeping changes in technology and culture created distinctive new modes of thinking about and experiencing time and space."[38] The innovations he then lists predominantly relate to methods of travelling through the landscape or communicating.

In hindsight, it is unsurprising then that the Golden Age of postcards fell within this timeframe or that topographical view cards were the most popular. The social and industrial climates that coincide with that period saw the postcard as an ideal means for communicating, through text and image, that overcame former spatial and temporal barriers. Postal service efficiency set these picture-messages into motion, successfully connecting people faster than ever before. Due to industrial innovations, the experience of landscape introduced new perceptions of space that were related to the time it took to circumnavigate the land, in conjunction with the method used to travel from point A to point B. Fear of flying, claustrophobia and motion sickness are just a few examples that reinforce the extent to which travel methods affect the experience of movement through space. As Kern observes, "the perspective of time was not some concrete change inherent in an object but merely a consequence of the act of measuring."[39] Similarly, I contend that landscape representations do not represent some concrete aspect inherent to the land, but rather they manifest various cultural perspectives and interpretations as a consequence of the act of framing. Malcolm Andrews insists that land is the raw material and that landscape is always already artifice in light of how "the frame literally defines the landscape."[40]

The Commercial and Complicitous Nature of Landscape and Tourism

Although private enterprises had been financially investing in tourist infrastructures since the 19th century in Quebec, Ian McKay notes that until the 1920s,

> it had not been a permanent part of state policy either to attract tourists or to coordinate various aspects of local culture and society as part of the "tourism plant." After that decade, however, the state aggressively intervened in civil society to construct such a plant by paving highways, developing hotels, inventing new ethnic and sporting traditions, and monitoring the steady advance of the "industry."[41]

The new tourism industry in turn contributed to explosive growth in the fledgling souvenir industry which significantly promoted postcards. As a scholar who has written extensively about tourism, Dean MacCannell observes how "the commodity has become an integral part of everyday life in modern society because its original form is a symbolic representation (advertisement) of itself which both promises and guides experience in advance of actual consumption."[42] In the context of this study the term commodity is understood as encompassing the commodified landscape promoted to suit the tastes of sightseeing travellers, and the touristic experience itself. This understanding overlaps with Schivelbusch's view of the 20th century tourist's commercialized experience for whom, he writes "the world has become one big department store of countrysides and cities."[43] MacCannell's analysis addresses the leisure class' touristic practices, and the tourism industry's production of resorts and parks which he describes as "tourist factories."[44] He explains how his theory of cultural experiences necessitates "two basic parts which must be combined in order for the experience to occur. The first part is the representation of an aspect of life [...] I call this part the *model,* using the term to mean an embodied ideal."[45] He describes the second part of the experience as "the changed, created, intensified belief or feeling that is based on the model. The second part of the experience I call the *influence*."[46] In the present study on landscape and tourism, landscape fulfills the criteria MacCannell establishes for his "model"- that is the representation of an aspect of life as "an embodied ideal." The second part of the cultural experience is based on the influence the model has on those who experience it; in this case, how landscape influences the traveler's perception of land as spaces recreation, labour, leisure or everyday life. A *medium*, MacCannell writes, "is an agency that connects a model and its influence."[47] In this instance, the medium is the postcard which links the model (landscape) and its influence (tourist) as cultural experiences. Finally, MacCannell

emphasizes on how the model "must appear to be disinterested if it is to be influential, so that any influence that flows from [it] can appear to be both spontaneous and based on authenticity."[48] Because landscapes often represent objects of nature such as trees, fields, lakes, rivers, and skylines for example, they harbor a deceptively "authentic" quality that conveys disinterestedness. This objective, even seemingly spontaneous quality, reinforces the landscape's effectiveness as an influence within the cultural experience; the viewers believe that what they are seeing is nature, and therefore by extension, authentic. Postcards that picture landscapes are thus well suited as media that connect the landscape (model) to its influence, or in this case the tourist. MacCannell labels the combination of "a cultural model, its influence, the medium that links them, the audiences that form around them, and the producers, directors, actors, agents, technicians, and distributors that stand behind them, a *production*."[49] Cultural experiences, according to him, are therefore cultural productions that are produced by governments and private stakeholders alike. Cultural productions include phenomena such as advertisements, elections, parades, marathons, festivals, historical monuments, spectacles, and holidays. MacCannell underscores how exploiting people's leisure time drives the economics of cultural production.[50]

Travel

Just as Cornelius Van Horne and his partners were developing a westward-oriented tourist industry tied to the Canadian Pacific Railway, local and regional investors in the Eastern Townships were scrambling to establish tracks and stations in their communities to secure future business interests and economic development. During the second half of the 19th century, towns and villages in the Townships, as elsewhere, either prospered or vanquished depending on their proximity to a railway and a station. From this historical point forward the circulation of people and things became a routine part of burgeoning modern economies. Within this context, travel is seen as "a commodity, a service performed, transportation purchased in the form of a ticket."[51] Looking at landscape, travel, and postcards together is important in order to understand how the commoditization of place pointed to a new cultural experience, which is to say, a new industry based on tourism. Within this tourist paradigm the destination or place itself became a new type of commodity. Postcards can be understood as important players in the industrial conquest of space for their efficient and quick means of communicating, but also due to the extensive circulation of images that represented targeted places. Touristic postcards articulate a specific kind of relationship to place. A postcard

identified as *Perkins Landing, Que. Lake Memphremagog* (fig. 9) represents the landscape from a tourist's point of view, one of the docks along the lake's shoreline that extends from Newport, Vermont to Magog, Quebec. The postcard was mailed in 1908 by Gordon who sent the following short message to Maude in Roxbury, Massachusetts:

> *Am on the 1st trip of the "Lady". This is one of our stops, mailed while in Canada.*

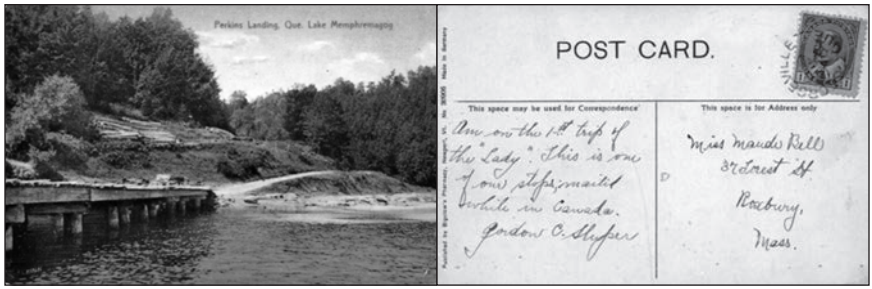

Figure 9. *Perkins Landing, Que. Lake Memphremagog.*
Published by Bigelow's Pharmacy, Newport Vt. Made in Germany. Divided back posted c. 1908. Private collection.

This particular card reinforces how postcards enabled individuals to share even minute details of their travel experiences despite distances, without requiring a telegraph office to do so or the longer time needed to compose a conventional letter. Accordingly, Gillen and Hall emphasize how "the early 20th century postcard mobility meant an incredible change in the way people communicated and imagined the world. Although most people could not travel, they were nevertheless affected by those who did."[52] The picture on the postcard enabled Maude to imagine herself next to Gordon, admiring the landscape from the dock at Perkins Landing and, depending on whether Gordon sent her other cards, she might have also had the opportunity to picture herself traveling across Lake Memphremagog aboard the steamer *Lady of the Lake* that he mentions (fig. 10).

The property of Montreal's shipping magnate Sir Hugh Allen, the paddle wheel steamer was a luxurious iron steamship that measured 167 feet in length and could comfortably accommodate close to 650 passengers, travellers and vacationers between Magog Qc. and Newport Vt. as it stopped at villages and various landings along the way.[53] It was launched on Lake Memphremagog in 1867 amidst a spectacular celebration. Gordon's reference to the *Lady*'s first trip in his 1908 message to Maude must have, therefore, referred to that specific season's first voyage. The boat sailed from Newport twice

Figure 10. *The Wharf on Lake Memphremagog, Newport, Vt.* **Published by Livingstons' Pharmacy. Private collection.**

a day, stopping at the Owl's Head Mountain House Hotel (fig. 11), Perkins Wharf, and Georgeville from Tuesday to Sunday. On Mondays, the steamer made one round trip across the full length of the lake. An 1891 timetable issued for "The Fine Iron Steamer" noted how on Mondays the boat arrived in Newport "at 3.45 p.m., in season to connect with the express train for Montreal, via the Canadian Pacific Railway." [54] The advertisement brochure described how the boat sailed among many beautiful residences "making a trip of 75 miles, affording ever-changing views of Lake and Mountain Scenery." The ad also promoted the boat's first-class restaurant that served "nice warm meals at all hours," and offered fine cigars, confectionary, and views of the lake on sale at its newsstand.[55] Presumably those "views" would have been printed on postcards like the ones shown on the next page (figs. 11–13)

Figure 14, *View of Mountain House Hotel and Lady of the Lake on Lake Memphremagog,* is a panoramic photograph of a beautiful and Romantic era inspired landscape. This representation fully naturalizes the steamer and hotel's harmonious integration within the natural environment. The view conveys a refreshingly tranquil and peaceful setting where man's built material (boat, docks & buildings) are subordinate to nature and all that it offers in summer: an abundant supply of fresh fish and produce, clean water to bathe in, refreshingly

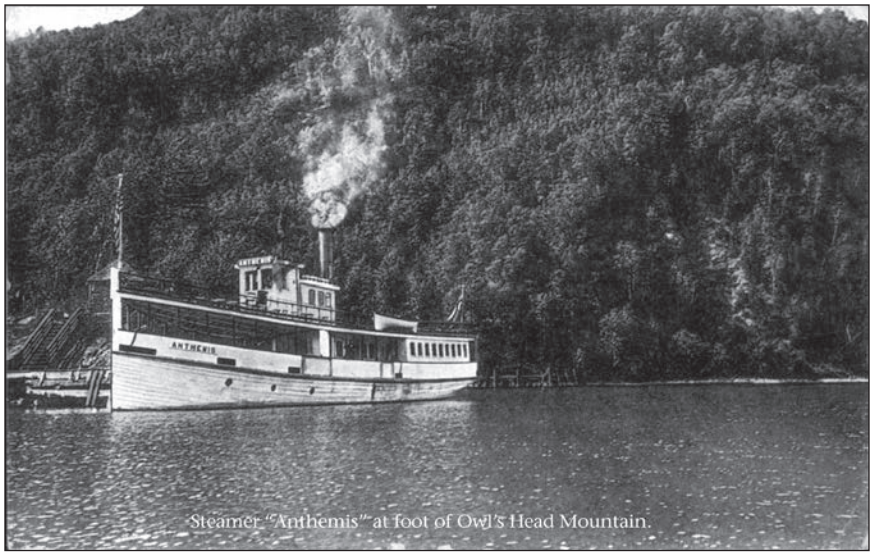

Figure 11. *Steamer Anthemis at foot of Owl's Head Mountain.*
Private collection.

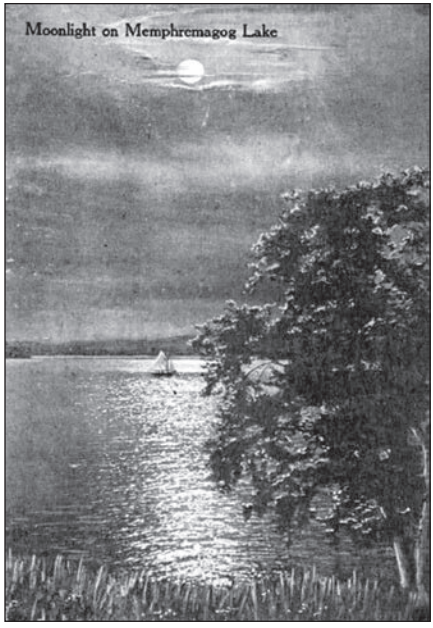

Figure 12. *Moonlight on Memphremagog Lake.*
Private collection.

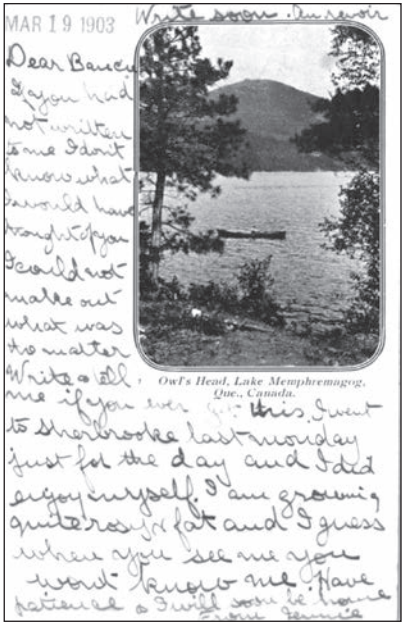

Figure 13. *Owl's Head, Lake Memphremagog, Que, Canada.*
March 19, 1903.
Private collection.

Figure 14. *View of Mountain House Hotel and Lady of the Lake on Lake Memphremagog. Owl's Head Mountain House, Lake Memphremagog, QC,* Wm. Notman & Son, **c. 1887. Silver salts on glass. Gelatin dry plate process, 20 x 25 cm. VIEW-1961. McCord Museum.**

cool canopies of shade beneath the trees, and an extensive amount of space for tourists to leisurely explore.

This photograph reinforces how discreetly and intimately landscape, leisure and travel were woven together during the 19th century within representations of the natural environment produced commercially by professional photographers as various media, including postcards. *The Lady* was purchased by the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers Railroad in 1885 and continued to provide its excursion tours to the railway's passengers staying at select hotels such as the Memphremagog House, a luxury hotel in Newport Vermont.

Figure 15 shows a postcard that features Lake Memphremagog's southern shore. The photograph was necessarily taken before May 7, 1907, the day Memphremagog House was destroyed by fire. The hotel is the most imposing structure in this landscape, situated at left in the background at the water's edge, easily accessible by boat. This landscape is compelling due to its tranquility, balance of light and dark, and assortment of varying textures to engage the eyes. The

Figure 15. *View of the Memphremagog Hotel.* **Published in Nelson and Malloy,** *Images of America Around Lake Memphremagog,* **p. 33.**

diagonal fence cutting across the foreground adds dynamism to the otherwise conventional picturesque composition. What is perhaps the most fascinating aspect of this representation is, however, how two of the region's most important industries, lumber and tourism, combine to dominate the landscape so forcefully, yet naturally. The logs floating in their pen in the foreground enrich the image and signal prosperity as does the large, commanding hotel situated at the tip of the angle where the town meets the port. *The Lady of the Lake* was eventually purchased by the Canadian Pacific Railway which had the boat's schedule synchronized with its train arrivals and departures in Newport and Magog.[56] The lake's largest paddle wheeler remained in service until 1915 and was later towed from Newport to Magog in 1917 where it was dismantled for parts shortly thereafter. Journalist Matthew Farfan concludes that "the decline of train travel, big hotels, excursion tours, and the rise of the automobile, ensured that a large steamer like the *Lady* would not remain profitable -at least not on a lake the size of Memphremagog."[57] *The Lady of the Lake* reinforces how industrialization's steam engine technology contributed to revolutionizing perceptions of the landscape by enhancing its accessibility and promoting it as a commercial resource.

Going To Market

The postcard of *Lansdowne Market* (fig. 16) represents a place located in Sherbrooke at the turn of the 20th century that embodies several

themes relating to postcards raised so far. Going to market during that era was very much a social experience and an event that brought people together from various distances for the purpose of commodity exchange. The human figures pictured in this image are either on the move or gathered closely together in conversation, this marketplace being a site that facilitated mobility and communication, in essence a cultural production that parallels the postcard's. The market was where people and products circulated within a cultural production system that can be understood as a regional space or destination produced specifically for, in this case, consumption by locals. The human traffic at the market is generated in the context of a leisurely experience that is driven by a consumption-based behaviour directed towards commodities and the social experience itself. Symbols of technology are embedded in the image's materiality and represented in its iconography throughout: its photographic reproduction of a place, the printed image and typeset, its architecture, the hydroelectric poles, and the railway tracks in the foreground. Lansdowne Market, like the postcard it is pictured on, is a commodified social space that mediates communication, production/consumption exchange, and mobility within a spatial-temporal cultural landscape context.

By leaping forward approximately seventy years and examining *Lennox Gift Shop Bienvenue* (fig. 17), we realize the extent to which such "marketplace" cultural productions are hyper-mediated by postcards

Figure 16. *Lansdowne Market. – SHERBROOKE (Canada).*
C. turn of the 20th century. A.Z. Pinsonneault, photo. Divided back, un-posted. BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, P547S1SS1SSS1D675P151R.

and socio-commercial patterns alike. With this photograph of a gift shop, we are made aware of how the mere acquisition of a souvenir becomes the cultural experience, regardless of that experience's authenticity. Consumers no longer have to travel abroad to collect memorabilia from distant places as the products are increasingly brought to them. Commodities, in this way, substitute their place of origin as cultural experiences. *Lennox Gift Shop* offers consumers Irish linens, Indian Slippers, Handicrafts, Antiques, Eskimo Art, Bone China, and Maple Products – all promoted as SOUVENIRS from, presumably, Lennoxville Quebec where the shop is located. The only potentially authentic commodities on that shopping list of international products sold in Lennoxville are the maple products and perhaps some of the antiques. As such, the souvenirs are nothing more than commodified symbols of a consumption-based experience that reflected a new category of tourists labelled as "day trippers." Catherine Gudis notes how cars and highways opened up the countryside for all types of businesses and leisure pursuits.[58] The excessive signage pictured on this postcard reinforces how the landscape was adapting commercially to accommodate a growing "auto-oriented consumer landscape, where drivers were encouraged to window shop right through the windshield."[59] According to Gudis, due in part to automobiles and advertising, tourism developed into "a simple commercial means by which drivers could consume the landscape and places beyond the billboards."[60]

Figure 17. *Lennox Gift Shop*.
Photographed and published by W. Schermer, Montreal, Qc. Divided back, unposted. Private collection.

Conclusion

The insight that postcards have added to the advancement of visual studies is increasingly recognized amongst scholars from various disciplines. As objects that encapsulate modern interests on multiple levels, postcards popularized the collecting and trading of images, and became highly distributed pop culture commodities. Postcards brought landscape representations into mass and public circulation on an unprecedented scale which contributed to those representations' social and cultural everydayness. It is significant to note how the region's tourists and townspeople were collecting and sending landscape pictures of the Townships on postcards during the same era that many elite art patrons were acquiring oil paintings that represented that same territory's landscape. The popularity and iconography of the postcards, however, speak to the importance of technology and tourism during the modern era, and the extent to which landsape was associated to various industries. This article explored how postcards contribute vital insight and legitimate value to an expanded visual culture field as images that are communicative, set into circulation and re-circulated, shared, and collected, while also attending to the ways which postcards re-mediate landscape art traditions. It also addressed themes of landscape, everyday life and leisure relative to modern innovations relative to mobility, technology, and communications. The human interaction and engagement with the landscape is at the forefront of this analysis and indebted to Jackson's acknowledgement of vernacular landscapes as worthy of study and their potential for adding new layers of understanding and meaning to traditional landscape ideals and the natural environment.

ENDNOTES

1. Groth and Bressi, 8.
2. Jackson, 155.
3. Jackson, 12.
4. Jackson, 8.
5. Groth and Bressi, 1.
6. Woody, qtd. in Prochaska and Mendelson, 32.
7. Davis, p. 12.
8. Poitras, 45.
9. Ingold, 195.
10. Poitras, 17.
11. Schor, qtd. in Prochaska and Mendelson, 8.

12. BANQ, P547S1SS1SSS1D675P414V.
13. Schivelbusch, 13.
14. Davis, 55.
15. Davis, 71.
16. BANQ, P547, S1, SS1, SSS1, D364, P19V.
17. Schivelbusch, 184.
18. Mitchell, 16.
19. Sawchuck, qtd. in Jessup, *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience*, 7.
20. Sawchuck, 157.
21. Sawchuck, 156.
22. Sawchuck, 156.
23. Sternberger, qtd. in Schivelbusch, 65.
24. Gastineau, qtd. in Schivelbusch, 63.
25. Davis, 13.
26. Kern, 2.
27. Kern, 12.
28. Kern, 12.
29. BANQ, P547S1SS1SSS1D364P29R & P547S1SS1SSS1D364P29V.
30. Buddemeier, qtd. in Schivelbusch, 65.
31. Buddemeier, qtd. in Schivelbusch, 65.
32. Schivelbusch, 25.
33. Schivelbusch, 58.
34. Schivelbusch, 58.
35. Schivelbusch, 58.
36. Geary and Webb, 4.
37. Schivelbusch, 73.
38. Kern, 1.
39. Kern, 18–9.
40. Andrews, 5.
41. McKay, qtd. in Jessup, *The Group of Seven*, 152.
42. MacCannell, 22.
43. Schivelbusch, 188.
44. MacCannell, 164.
45. MacCannell, 23-4.
46. MacCannell, 24.
47. MacCannell, 25.
48. MacCannell, 24.

49. MacCannell, 24.
50. MacCannell, 28.
51. Schivelbusch, 186.
52. Gillen and Hall, qtd. in Andriotis and Mavric, 21.
53. Farfan, "Steamers of Lake Memphremagog, Part 1," consulted June 15, 2013.
54. Nelson and Malloy, 89.
55. Nelson and Malloy, 89.
56. Farfan, "Steamers of Lake Memphremagog, Part 2," consulted on June 30, 2016.
57. Farfan, "Steamers of Lake Memphremagog, Part 2," consulted on June 30, 2016.
58. Gudis, 1.
59. Gudis, 6.
60. Gudis, 4.

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BAnQ, Collection Magella Bureau, http://pistard.banq.qc.ca/unite_chercheurs/description_fonds?p_anqsid=20170125210037915 6&p_centre=03Q&p_classe=P&p_fonds=547&p_numunide=1568.

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