ELITES AND SCOTTISHNESS IN MONTREAL:

IDENTITY, CULTURE, AND THE SELF IN PORTRAIT PHOTGRAPHY, 1860-1900

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the visual representations of Scottish culture in William Notman's collection of photographic portraits to demonstrate how Highlandism and Scottish cultural symbols were used by Montreal's Anglo-Protestant community in efforts to express a distinct identity. The use of the Scottish national costume, linked to the military character of Highland culture, contributed to the Anglo-Protestant elite's claims to status in 19th-century Montreal. Portrait photography of both children and adults was thus used to represent the values imagined to be associated with Scottish character, and played an important role in projecting and shaping identities of self, integrating the modern and the mythical.

La présente recherche se penche sur les représentations visuelles de la culture écossaise dans la collection de portraits photographiques de William Notman afin de démontrer comment les symboles et expressions de la culture Highland ont été utilisés par la communauté anglo-protestante de Montréal afin d'exprimer leur propre identité. L'usage du costume national écossais, lié au charactère militaire de la culture Highland, contribue à renforcer leur prétention en tant que groupe dominant à Montréal au XIXe siècle.

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INTRODUCTION

A brave soldier dressed in a kilt, accompanied by bagpipes, and pictured in a rugged romantic landscape: this image of the Scottish Highlands is a well-known one. However constructed and mythical this national and cultural identity was, Scots often recognized it as their own. As Highlandism developed throughout the late 18th and early 19th century, it most certainly had an important influence on how Scottish emigrants perceived themselves and their cultural identity as they migrated and settled throughout the British Empire, including in Canada. As historian J.M. Bumsted notes, "there are several ways to identify Scottishness overseas. One is through individual self-ascription; … Another is by concentrating on the symbols and public expressions of Scottishness."[1] The example of the Anglo-Protestant – in particular, Scottish – elite in 19th-century Montreal raises several questions. How did symbols of Scottish culture come to be identified with British and imperial pride and identity in the colonial environment? How were these characteristics transmitted through the empire, and in what ways did they become symbolic of the elite?

This research focuses on the expression of Scottishness and Highland identity by the Anglo-Protestant elite of Montreal through cultural symbols, and the public aspect of this expression trough the medium of photography, between 1860 and 1900. By using a digitized selection of the Notman Photographic Archives available through the McCord Museum Archives in Montreal, this study aims at exploring the ways in which Highlandism was used to define and express identity through the medium of photography.

[1] J.M. Bumsted, "Scottishness and Britishness in Canada, 1790-1914," in *Myth, Migration, and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700-1900*, ed. Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Pub.; Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1999), 97.

The relationship between Scottishness in Canada and photography has not been the subject of much research so far. The emergence and development of a Canadian identity through fashion, clothing, and photography has been studied by Gillian Poulter, Eileen Stack and Karen Stanworth, but the place of Scottish and Highland cultural symbols in shaping colonial nationalisms in Canada has not benefited from the same attention.[2] Rather than focusing on the specific Scottish origin of a population, this thesis examines Scottishness as a tool in shaping and expressing one's identity. It explores how portrait photography shaped expressions of Scottishness and the importance of these identities to Montreal's upper-middle-class Anglo-Protestant minority. As such, this study contributes to our understanding of photography as an expression of social relations and identity, and its place in historical understanding of Montreal's Scottish community and Highlandism more broadly.[3]

Chapter One explores the socio-economic and political contexts surrounding the development of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite and looks at the emergence of photography as a tool for the expression of ethnic and social identity. The chapter also surveys the evidence from the William Notman Photographic Collection and how the production and composition of photographs were shaped by the gendered character of Victorian society and Highlandism.

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[2] Gillian Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sports, Visual Culture, and Identity in Montreal, 1840-85* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Eileen Stack, " 'Very Picturesque and Very Canadian': The Blanket Coat and Anglo-Canadian Identity in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. Alexandra Palmer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) and " 'Bonnie Lassies' and a 'Coat of Many Colours': Highland-Inspired Clothing at the McCord Museum," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, ed. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Karen Stanworth, *Visibly Canadian: Imaging Collective Identities in the Canadas, 1820-1910* (Montreal/Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

[3] See Ian Brown, ed., *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Sherry H. Olson and Patricia A. Thornton, *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, ed., *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Gerald Tulchinsky, *The River Barons : Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); Brian Young, *Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec: The Taschereaus and the McCords* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

Photographs of members of Montreal's Scottish elite, liberal professionals outside of the military context, provided gendered representations of enterprise, innovation, and cultural achievement associated with the Scottish national costume and its military connotations. It served as a conspicuous visual representation of one's cultural identity in 19th-century Montreal, situating individuals and families within a community and asserting status associated with the Highland costume. The chapter serves to introduce and contextualize the evidence from the Notman Collection and its significance to the study of Scottishness and the self-imaging of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite.

Chapter Two traces the revival and invention of Highland traditions in Scotland and the evolution of the Scottish national costume to expressions of Highlandism portrait photography in Montreal during the middle years of the 19th century. It explores how Highland regiments and their influence across the British Empire were responsible for the disseminating Highland dress and the prestige associated with it. The military character of Highlandism manifested itself not only through the uniform of the Highland regiments but also through the values of strength, authority, respect, and discipline it embodied and granted to those who associated with it. The Highland military uniform also provided a visual representation that marked soldiers, militiamen or regulars in the wider community. Militia regiments acted as social clubs, providing members with social and business connections. Photography converted these performed identities to a state of permanence. It provided a fixed and concrete visual representation of the characteristics and values represented by the Highland uniform and symbols.

Chapter Three investigates the role of children in the projection of Highlandism in photographic portraiture. Photography, developing as a medium from the mid-19th century, was quickly perceived as a mirror of reality, a truth fixed on paper, and not only helped forge national

identities but also modern memory.[4] Children, as malleable innocent beings, were the perfect candidates to project a family's ethnic identity, and vehicles to link this cultural pride to socio-economic status and success. Photography, as a commercial medium, banked on the nostalgia elites had for an imagined Scotland of old, and offered the perfect canvas for families to create and project a cultural identity which would represent both their ethnic heritage and their place within the socio-economic elite of Montreal and the wider Dominion.

The medium of photography played a crucial role in how the Anglo-Protestant elites of Montreal developed and expressed their identities. Representations of Scottish culture and Highland dress were instrumental in this development, as Highlandism came to play a crucial role in how elites in the British Empire represented themselves. In the context of Montreal, where an Anglo-Protestant minority established itself at the upper echelon of the socio-economic ladder, Highlandism and its military character became crucial to this elite's identity and its expression through photography. Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elites identified with Victorian ideals of masculinity and family, and the military character of Highlandism, heightened by the local presence of Highland regiments. This martial connotation to manhood further gendered the Scottish national costume in photography, a medium which was perceived as a true representation of one's character. In keeping with the Victorian ideals of family and childhood, children were seen as the perfect embodiment of national culture and imperial pride. Photographs of children in Highland dress further reinforced the Romantic and nostalgic perception of Scotland and Great Britain for imperial immigrants to Canada. Photographic display in Highland dress served as a potent expression of elite identity in 19th-century Montreal.

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[4] Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Victorian Photography, Literature, and the Making of Modern Memory* (London: Routledge, 2017), 15-16.

CHAPTER ONE:
The Rise of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant Elite and Portrait Photography

Major changes in all spheres of society characterized 19th-century Britain, and shaped life in its colonies across the globe. The development of Montreal as a financial, commercial, and industrial centre for Canada was shaped in large part by an Anglo-Protestant minority, composed of many Scots who had migrated in search of profitable endeavors in the colonial environment. The absence of centuries-old institutions and social structures permitted the emergence of this new colonial elite. This group made crucial use of emerging technologies and benefited from socio-economic connections with Great Britain to elevate itself to elite status, and was also heavily influenced by Scottish cultural elements in the articulation of its cultural identity. This chapter aims at painting a portrait of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite, how it developed within the city and how the Scottish cultural character became embedded in the identity of many imperial immigrants who joined the urban elite. The emergence of photography and changing social concepts are also examined here in order to better understand this elite's conception of their own identity.

I

From the initial wave of Scottish migration following the British Conquest, the Scottish presence played an important role in the economic and social life of Montreal. Their involvement in the fur trade – especially in the North West Company, founded in 1779 by Simon McTavish – made more than one Scottish migrant successful. In addition to McTavish, many other Scots such as James McGill, George Simpson, and John Redpath became prominent business figures and set the tone for later Scottish migrants who would contribute to Montreal's growth and influence as the commercial, financial and industrial centre of the colony. Following the Napoleonic Wars in

Europe, emigration from the British Isles resulted in a dramatic growth in population of the British North American colonies. Included among the emigrants were aspiring entrepreneurs whose commercial ventures served as a foundation for the emergence of a capitalist class in the colony. Family-run firms were common, and connections in Great Britain often facilitated commercial success. In the nineteenth century, this was seen with families such as the Allans, Drummonds, and Stephens. Many a Scottish emigrant intended to return to Scotland or London after what they hoped would be a successful career in British North America; Donald Smith and George Stephen are but the most prominent examples of entrepreneurial figures aspiring at a fortunate return to Great Britain.[5] While they may have been mostly people of "modest means" when they first crossed to North America, they benefited from valuable contacts within commercial networks.[6] British migrants to the colony had the advantage of imperial connection, from the fur traders of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies to the industrial and financial magnates of the later-nineteenth century, which played an important role in making the commercial networks that structured important aspects of Montreal's economic life.[7] Originally, the colonial economy had been based on agriculture and the extraction of natural resources such as furs to send to the metropole, in classic mercantilist fashion. By the 1820s, the development of canals, as well as the ongoing shift from wind to steam power, facilitated transportation and enhanced the natural advantages of Montreal's location on the St. Lawrence River, a waterway that extended the city's commercial reach deep into the continent.[8] In the 1850s, the construction of railways made a dramatic contribution to industrial development, as Montreal experienced the revolution of steam

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[5] Douglas McCalla, "Sojourners in the Snow? The Scots in Business in Nineteenth-Century Canada," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Build Canada*, ed. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 77-78.
[6] McCalla, "Sojourners in the Snow," 85.
[7] Roderick MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, 1840-1895" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1997), 11-12.
[8] Olson & Thornton, *Peopling the North American City*, 7-9.

technology with the erection of the Victoria Bridge and the completion of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1858.[9] During the nineteenth century the ongoing development of manufacturing was accompanied by communication innovations such as the telegraph, the tramway and the rotary press, which facilitated exchange of both information and resources and Montreal became the transit port for wheat, cattle, and copper from the West.[10] Montreal thus grew from "a city of plank and shingle" to "buildings clad in bricks, streets paved with asphalt and festooned with wires,"[11] and with it came the competition not only for work and wages, but also for living space as the population density tripled during the nineteenth century.[12]

The emergence of a middle class shaped the physical expansion of Montreal, demonstrated by the development and evolution of the Square Mile. As Montreal's population grew, heads of patrician families such as John Redpath and Thomas Phillips started to sub-divide their land in lots, collaborating with architects to build townhouses, which would house wealthy, usually Anglo-Protestant families.[13] This new development was known as the New Town, the Square Mile later in the 19th century. As the socio-economic differences became more pronounced between the inhabitants of luxurious mansions and those of more modest terraced units, the latter came to represent a steppingstone in the socio-economic ladder for families aspiring at upward social mobility.[14] Terraced houses, in their uniformity, projected an ordered, standard image, something that would have been desirable for many families in the beginning of their quest for upper-middle-

[9] Olson & Thornton, *Peopling the North American City*, 50.
[10] Olson & Thornton, *Peopling the North American City*, 9-11.
[11] Olson & Thornton, *Peopling the North American City*, 9.
[12] Olson & Thornton, *Peopling the North American City*, 11.
[13] The families peopling the Square Mile were fairly diverse, representing every major ethnic and religious group in Montreal, from French Catholic to Anglophone Jews. However, this present research focuses on the expression of Anglo-Protestant elite identity through the use of Highland and Scottish cultural symbols, which is why I have chosen to focus on the group I call Anglo-Protestant when looking into the context of the development of Montreal's socio-economic elite. This group includes immigrants from the British Empire and Montrealers of British origin, with a particular focus on the Scots, as their cultural identity was highly influential for Montreal's elite.
[14] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 213-214.

class status. Villas and mansions, however, each had their own individual appearance and character, which was something that spoke to ambitious family heads. Most Square Mile residents represented "new money," and villas were often commissioned by the owners themselves, thus connecting a certain house with a certain family. The association of a mansion with a specific family created a connection to the land and revealed aristocratic pretension.[15] By the 1860s, a Square Mile community had been established which "projected a sense of class distinction and specific ethnic character." The residents were people of means and influence, as was attested by the many villas and mansions under construction, like Braehead, Ionontеh and Ravenscrag. These homes were symbols of not only wealth and status, but also expressed claims to ethnic superiority of a majority Anglo-Protestant urban elite.[16] The desire to appear aristocratic and well-established manifested itself in the romantic names many wealthy families gave to their mansions. Ideas of the ancestral home and the influence of the Romantic movement were apparent with names like Thornhill, Homestead, and Rokeby, to name only a few.[17]

Many of these houses were known in the community by their owner's names – the "Hugh Allan house," or the "Harrison Stephens house" for Ravenscrag and Homestead, respectively – which reflected patriarchal, liberal individualism.[18] But while the Square Mile mansions invoked individual capitalist success, they were still the homes of families. Women, wives, and mothers, were essential to home keeping and childrearing, acting as hostesses, domestic managers, and moral examples for their children. They were often the driving force behind the maintenance of social status and relations, providing entertainment to others inside their homes. Servants too played an important role in maintaining these houses and employing household staff was also an

[15] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 213-214.
[16] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 210.
[17] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 214.
[18] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 225-226.

expression of wealth and influence for a status-conscious elite.[19] By the 1890s, the Square Mile had become the centre of Montreal's anglophone elite, where were situated their homes, as well as their cultural, educational, and religious institutions.[20] Working-class districts such as Griffintown and Pointe-Saint-Charles, near the Lachine Canal and the port, were entirely separate spaces in Montreal's fractured urban landscape.[21]

Proximity to Mount Royal and its not-quite tamed wilderness reinforced privilege, as access to nature and outdoor space was important to upper classes of the Victorian era. While the rest of the city developed and expanded its industrial and residential neighbourhoods, the Square Mile offered playgrounds for the children of well-off families, and Mount Royal, with its slopes and wilderness, granted some sanctuary from the rapidly urbanizing surrounding districts. It also provided elite families with the necessary space for sports and activities, from tobogganing to snowshoeing, curling, and hunting. William Notman and other photographers pictured wealthy families in their lush gardens and luxurious mansions, practicing winter sports, or taking part in balls and other outings. Notman's work also features the many villas and buildings built throughout the development of the Square Mile. Such photographs provide a telling representation of the Anglo-Protestant elite and its lifestyle during the second half of the nineteenth century, Notman's business producing valuable insight into the socio-cultural identity of this particular group.[22]

[19] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 225-226. These servants were often from Great Britain, showing the Square Mile's attachment to British character. See MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 231.
[20] MacLeod, *Salubrious Settings*, 233.
[21] Olson & Thornton, *Peopling the North American City*, 50-51.
[22] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 205.

II

As Scots and other Anglo-Saxon immigrants slowly made their mark in the developing city of Montreal during the Victorian era, the medium of photography thus appeared. Nicéphore Niépce, a French amateur inventor, first developed the heliographic process in 1822, using the camera obscura to create the first permanent photographic image.[23] Working with Niepcé, Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre developed in the 1830s a new technique using a copper plate coated with silver iodide, exposed first to light and then to mercury vapour and common salt. This technique, known as the daguerreotype, was sold to the French government by Daguerre and Niépce's son in 1839, along with the heliograph. The daguerreotype was very popular in the early days of photography, used for a large number of portraits in the mid-19th century. It was, however, supplanted by a new process that produced clearer and more detailed images, the wet-collodion process.[24] In 1851, Englishman Frederick Scott Archer developed this new process using a glass plate coated with a solution of iodide and collodion, immersed into a solution of silver nitrate in a dark room. The plate, still wet with what was now silver iodide, was exposed in the camera, then developed with a solution of pyrogallic acid and fixed with sodium thiosulfate.[25]

The rapid development of photography was linked to the concurrent emergence of the middle class, new money and new technology going hand-in-hand with one another. As Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves explain, "[p]hotography offered the double promise of an exploitable technology in its own right and of new means of making and distributing images of the

[23] N. Rosenblum, Erich Robert Helmut Gernsheim, Beaumont Newhall and Andy Grundberg, "History of photography." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 3, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/technology/photography (accessed 19 May 2021).
[24] Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Daguerreotype," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 6, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/technology/daguerreotype (accessed 19 May 2021).
[25] Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Wet-collodion process," Encyclopedia Britannica, October 18, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/technology/wet-collodion-process (accessed 19 May 2021).

face for a group of people acutely conscious of social advancement."[26] Not only was the emerging market for portrait photography a catalyst in the rapid progress made in the fields of mechanics, optics and chemistry, it also greatly influenced social constructs and perceptions. The Victorians placed their faith in the power of depiction the camera provided, seeing photography as a technology for the production of objective knowledge, "a mirror with a memory," which made photographic portraits influential in the shaping of social perceptions and status.[27] In the same way that painted portraits conferred status to those being "done in oils," the experience of having one's photograph taken was also expensive and therefore only the monied classes could afford the luxury. Nonetheless, in an industrializing Victorian society, "it was cheaper than the painted portraits and had the added cachet of being thoroughly modern, an instant means of not only conferring status but of emphasizing that status in the radical new order of this capitalist, urbanized world."[28] While, starting in the 1860s, the *carte de visite* made the medium of photography more easily available to the lower classes, sitting for one's photography remained somewhat of a luxury limited mainly to the monied classes.[29]

A Scottish immigrant who profited greatly from the growing popularity of photography was William Notman. Born on 8 March 1826 in Paisley, Scotland, Notman emigrated to Canada in 1856 to escape the fallout of his and his father's bankruptcy. He found work with Ogilvie, Lewis and Co., also setting up a small photography studio in his house on Bleury Street. The growing popularity of photography convinced Notman's employers to lend him the necessary funds to buy

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[26] Peter Hamilton & Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography* (Aldershot, Hampshire; Burlington: Lund Humphries, 2001), 18.
[27] Hamilton & Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned*, 14-15.
[28] Hamilton & Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned*, 32.
[29] A *carte de visite* was a portrait mounted on a 4" by 2 ½" card, meant to be presented when visiting social relations.

the equipment he needed to start his own business.[30] In 1858, he was granted a contract to document the construction of the Victoria Bridge, and produced two portfolios of photographs, which the Canadian Government gifted to the Prince of Wales in 1860. The Victoria Bridge photographic project cemented his place in the profession as a leading photographer. Following this, Notman proclaimed himself "photographer to the Queen."[31] Many photography studios opened in Montreal in the late 1850s, mainly around Place d'Armes; by 1860, no less than seventeen studios dotted the area. For his part, Notman had chosen to establish his studio away from the city centre, on Bleury Street near the Square Mile, where many of Montreal's prominent Anglo-Protestant merchants and industrialists had begun to establish residences.[32] Notman aimed his services at this elite clientele, and the decision seemed to pay; by 1864, he had 35 full-time employees and nearly monopolized the portrait market around the Square Mile.

William Notman established his business in an era when Montreal grew through the rapid development of technology, the concentration of capital and industries in the city, and the emergence of mass production, which fueled a consumer economy. As the art historian Anthony W. Lee states, Notman

> took to new technologies like none of the competitors in the neighbourhood could, he introduced a rationalized method for making and selling pictures into what had previously been, in the hands of its earliest practitioners, an artisanal devotion; he both fanned the flames of consumer desire and was the beneficiary of ceaseless consumer fantasies; and he created office and service jobs at the expanded studio in place of what had normally been a mostly solitary enterprise for the cameraman, thereby bringing the "art" of photography […] more squarely into the domain of a service industry.[33]

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[30] Hélène Samson and Suzanne Sauvage, ed., *Notman, Photographe visionnaire* (Paris: Hazan; Montreal: McCord Museum, 2016), 5.
[31] Anthony W. Lee, *The Global Flows of Early Scottish Photography: Encounters in Scotland, Canada, and China*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 118-120.
[32] Lee, *The Global Flows*, 114.
[33] Lee, *The Global Flows*, 128-129.

Moreover, by choosing to place his studio near the Square Mile and the concentration of capital-rich families there, he situated himself squarely in the midst of the city's Anglo-Protestant elite and profited greatly from the business they offered throughout the second half of the 19th century. In an imperial context where photography played an important part in the processes of exploration, surveying and mapping of both territories and people, the technology could be turned inwards to depict colonial elites in portraits.[34] The development of a capitalist economy in the Canadian colonies created a context where one's visual impression and projected persona was of the utmost importance for successful transactional relations.[35] Photographic portraits offered a means to project identity – cultural, ethnic, or even financial.

Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite sought to use the medium of portrait photography to project images of success, authority, and prestige. In particular, it was the combination of photography and the symbols of Highlandism that, for many Anglo-Protestant elites, produced the desired visual representation of their sense of self: models of Victorian manhood and British gentlemanly masculinity. Work, business, and a capitalist identity were important characteristics of manhood in the Victorian era, with independence and self-sufficiency playing a role in one's socio-economic advancement and masculine identity. But the expansion of the British Empire throughout the 19th century reinforced the military aspect of manliness, as militarism and imperialism strengthened the importance of discipline, duty and national pride in representations of masculinity.[36] These trends powerfully shaped how elite Montrealers wished to represent themselves in portrait photography, especially through the figure of the Highland soldier.

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[34] Hamilton and Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned*, 86, 92.
[35] Annie Rudd, "Good Subjects, Bad Objects: Posing Devices and the Nineteenth-Century Commercial Studio," *Photographies* 13, no. 2 (2020): 211.
[36] John Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 332. See also Donald J. Mrozek, "The Habit of Victory: The American Military and the Cult of

III

Figure 1: William MacLennan, Montreal, QC, 1890
Wm. Notman & Son, 1890, 19th century
Silver salts on glass - Gelatin dry plate process 17 x 12 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
II-91676 © McCord Museum

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, many a prominent Montrealer had their portrait taken displaying the martial character of Scottish identity which characterized Highlandism. A picture of William McLennan taken in 1890 offers a prime example of how this cultural character was performed by a civilian member of the elite. McLennan is photographed in a Highland dancing position, both arms up, as if executing a "sword dance," a basket-hilt sword and its sheath crossed on the ground at his feet. He is dressed in full Highland attire, his jacket also adorned with several medals covering the front. A bagpipe is placed on the table, completing the picture of a dancing performance.

Son of a successful Montreal businessman, William McLennan chose to pursue a career in law. His father Hugh, whose own father had emigrated from Scotland, was born in Glengarry County, where a large number of Highland Scots were established. He moved to Montreal in the 1850s, and, taking advantage of the agricultural and industrial revolutions, he founded the firm J.

Manliness," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J.A. Mangran & James Malvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 225.

and H. McLennan with his brother John, which expanded rapidly. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, he was also involved in the Montreal Board of Trade and the Montreal Harbour Commission. As a philanthropist, Hugh McLennan supported the Art Association of Montreal and the Montreal Sailors' Institute, and also served as President of the St. Andrew's Society and governor of McGill University.[37] Working as a notary, William McLennan became known for his work as an author and translator. His first major publication was a collection of fourteen French-Canadian folk songs with their corresponding translations in English. This attempt at preserving these songs was well received and McLennan subsequently saw several of his works, poems, stories, and novels published in magazines and newspapers in Canada and the United States. Also very involved in Montreal's cultural scene, he served on the governing council of the Fraser Institute, and was an active member of the Arts Association of Montreal, the Shakespeare Club and the Pen and Pencil Club.[38] Furthermore, McLennan had a sharp interest for history, something that is reflected in the production of two historical novels, *Spanish John* (1898) and *The span o' life* (1899), which address the subjects of Jacobitism and the Battle of Culloden. In *The span o' life*, the main character, Hugh Maxwell of Kirkconnell, exhibits stereotypical Highland values of loyalty and honour; once a supporter of the Stuart dynasty, he realizes that the cause is dead, illustrating how Highland Scots turned their loyalties to the British monarch.[39] The importance and value attached to kinship and family relationships is also an important theme of McLennan's second novel.

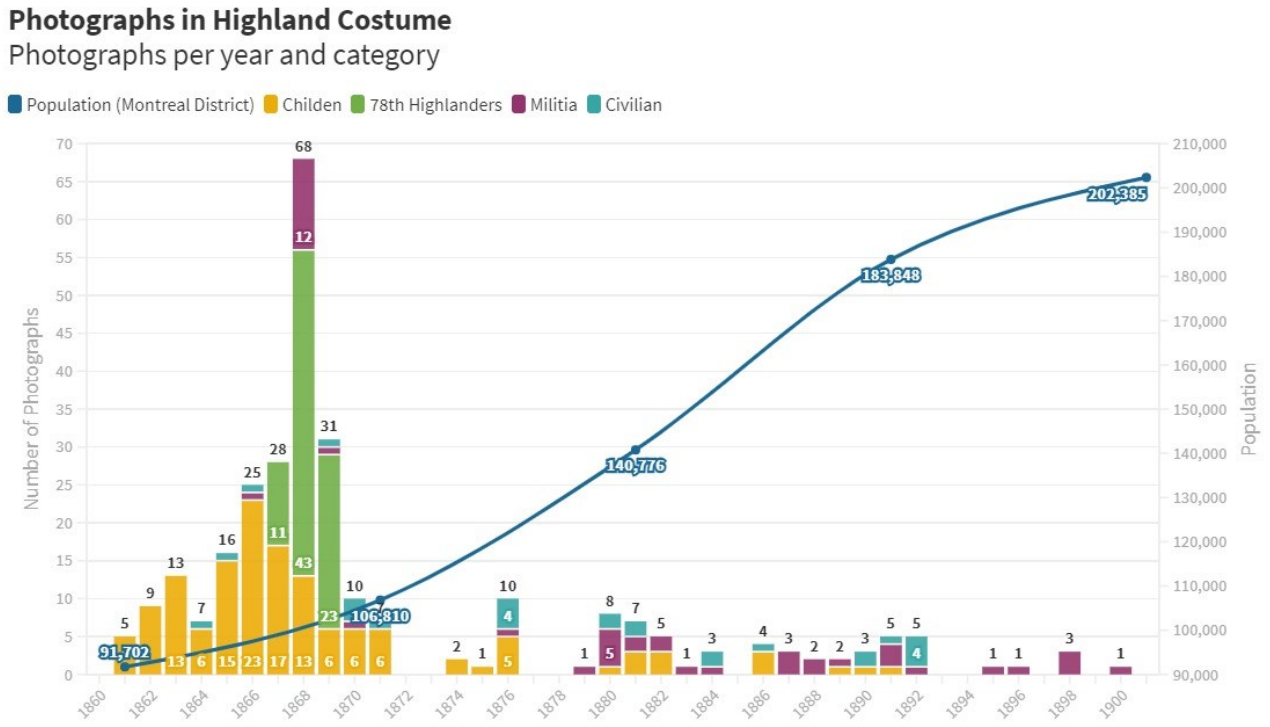
[37] Leslie G. Monkman, "McLENNAN, WILLIAM," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 (accessed July 21, 2021, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mclennan_william_13E.html).
[38] Monkman, "McLENNAN."
[39] William McLennan and J.N. McIlwraith, *The Span o' Life, A Tale of Louisbourg & Quebec* (New York; London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1899).

In the 1890 photograph, McLennan adopts a Highland dancing pose. The sword dance, which he emulates here, is a war dance recorded as early as the 15th century, meant to prove one's strength and agility through complicated steps danced around and over swords crossed in an "X" on the ground. Its performance was considered an omen for the battle to come; if the dancer touched or knocked over the sword, the battle could be lost. The choice to adopt such a pose for his portrait, with numerous medals pinned to his chest and bagpipe in the background, leaves no doubt as to McLennan's intention of projecting his Scottish heritage to the viewer. This portrait and William McLennan's related cultural interests are prime examples of the influence of Highlandism within Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite.

IV

Portraits like McLennan's, representing Scottish cultural symbols, were far from unique amongst Montreal's Anglo-Protestant community. The McCord Museum holds in its archives about 45,000 photographs from the Notman studio in Montreal, dating from 1856 to 1935. Part of this collection was digitized and made available online; samplings of 5 by 7-inch portraits from the studio were digitized for every five-year increment, starting with 1870 to correlate with the first Canadian census, then 1875, 1880, and so forth. Picture books from the Notman studio dated between 1860 and 1867 were then added to the online digital collection, as well as all other *cartes de visite* portraits from that same period. The concentration of photographs featuring Highland costume between 1860 and 1870 within the online Notman collection can be attributed to how the archives of the McCord Museum were digitized. There is, it should be noted, significant material from the last 30 years of the 19th century still only available on site at the McCord Museum archives.[40]

[40] Heather McNabb, Phone conversation, 20 July 2021.



The following graph shows the spread of photographs in Highland dress per category and year, as well as the growth of population in the District of Montreal according to the Canadian census. The categories are as follow: children, soldiers of the 78th (Highlanders) Regiment of Foot, members of the Highland militia regiment, and adult men in liberal professions. These categories will be used in the following chapters in exploring and analyzing the different aspects of Highlandism in the Notman Collection photographs.

Table 1: Montreal's Scottish Population through the decades

Year	Population[41] (District of Montreal)	People of Scottish origin	Percentage of Scots
1860-1870	91,702	3,495	3.5%
1871-1880	106,810	3,933	3.6%
1881-1890	140,776	3,566	2.5%
1891-1900	183,848	3,200[42]	1.95%

[41] The data used is taken at the beginning of each decade, from the Canadian census.
[42] As the ethnic origin was not part of the data collected in the 1891 census this number is an average between the data from 1881 and 1901.

Table 2 shows the proportion of photographs in which the subject wears one or more element of Scottish dress, and while the small number of portraits may at first glance seems insignificant in the larger context of the development and growth of Montreal in the 19th century, it presents a cultural representation of the Scottish and Anglo-Protestant elite, which, though only a small minority of the city's population, exerted a dominant presence in financial and industrial life. Furthermore, it also indicates that wearing Highland dress in a photographic portrait was a clear and deliberate choice. Unlike other props or clothing items offered to the sitter by the studio such as the blanket coat, the digitized collection of the Notman Collection does not appear to feature subjects wearing the same Scottish outfit or accessories.[43] William Notman was never photographed in Highland costume, and very few of his children's portraits display the use of tartan cloth or accessories. It can therefore be assumed that the Highland costumes worn by the sitters, and the decision to be photographed in them, were their own.

Table 2: Highland costume in photographs

Year	Number of Photographs[44] (male; child; baby)	Number of Photographs in Highland costume	Percentage
1860-1870	17,898	211	1.18%
1871-1880	3,417	29	0.85%
1881-1890	4,026	30	0.75%
1891-1900	1,486	16	1.07%

[43] Stack, "'Very Picturesque and Very Canadian'," 25; This observation excludes military men photographed in their Highland uniform.

[44] The data used is taken from the items of the William Notman Collection at the McCord Museum available online. The items of this sample are taken from the "Portrait; Male", "Portrait; Child", and "Portrait: Child; Baby" categories, by the following artists: "Notman, William", "Wm. Notman & Son", and "Notman & Sandham."

Looking back at the graph, one can observe the high number of photographs in Highland dress between 1867 and 1869. As stated, there is a larger amount of material available in digitized form from 1860 to 1870, but this high number is also attributable to the presence of the 78th (Highlanders) Regiment of Foot in Montreal. By having their own photographs taken, sometimes with their family, members of the regular British Army regiment garrisoned in the city between those years seem to have inspired fellow soldiers of the local militia regiment, known then as the 5th Battalion Royal Light Infantry, to have their portrait taken in their Scottish military uniforms as well. As the militia regiment did not at the time have a full Highland dress uniform despite having a Highland company, only its most fortunate members – the officers – could afford the Scottish national dress as their military dress uniform. During this period photography emerged as "an exciting new medium and was in the process of negotiating a place for itself within the hierarchy of fine arts and crafts,"[45] which is also reflected by the number of photographic portraits produced by the Notman Studio in the 1860s.

Many of the subjects in the photographic portraits taken at the Notman Studio were part of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite. Some of them were prominent businessmen or financiers, and many were involved in commerce and trade. Those outside of the socio-economic elite remained well within the broader middle class that was developing in the 19th century. While photographic portraits were generally affordable compared to the luxury of a commissioned painted portrait that only the richest could afford, photography was still considered a relative luxury, as even a dozen *cartes de visite* cost between $1.50 to $4.00, at a time when the weekly salary of a male store clerk was only about $8.00. In 1878-79, Notman charged $4 for 12 *cartes de visite* and $8 for a dozen cabinet photographs, while weekly wages for a skilled adult worker ranged from $7.50 to $15. For

[45] Poulter, *Becoming Native*, 88.

their part, liberal professionals such as lawyers and doctors could earn up to $40 a week at the time.[46] Therefore, it was principally the wealthy who could reasonably afford to represent themselves through photography and "display this type of cultural capital."[47]

V

This wealthy group of people, who patronized the Notman studio, contributed to the circulation of capital and the emergence of a consumer society, as well as feeding into the Victorian fascination with displays of one's identity and character. As the expansion of the Square Mile was paralleled by the evolution and growth of the middle class in Montreal, the capitalist economic scene was also undergoing significant developments. Force of character paired with reliability and good morals had become important qualities for businessmen, often held as necessary traits for upwards social mobility and economic success.[48] Writing on the United States, Scott Sandage has asserted, "[w]ith few exceptions, the only identity deemed legitimate in America is a capitalist identity."[49] Throughout the second half of the 19th century, the qualities of a good businessman – innovative, enterprising, ambitious – became the qualities of a good liberal man, the successful individual. Business success became one of the staples of manhood, and failure quickly became associated with weakness of character and femininity, one's selfhood and worth becoming linked with success or failure in entrepreneurial venture.[50] Male domination in the marketplace was very much linked to male authority in the home; patriarchal authority was well-established within the elite in Victorian society, and business success was a requirement for heads of family wishing to live up

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[46] Katharine J. Borcoman, "William Notman's Portraits of Children" (MA thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1991), 4.
[47] Poulter, *Becoming Native*, 89-90.
[48] Christina De Bellaigue, "Great Expectations? Childhood, Family, and Middle-Class Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century England," *Cultural and Social History* 16, no. 1 (2019): 33.
[49] Scott A. Sandage, *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 5.
[50] Sandage, *Born Losers*, 25, 31.

to expectations of manhood.[51] With the development of photography and the belief that it objectively captured one's real character, success and failure came to be viewed as the consequences of recognizable traits, the belief that photography represented the truth of one's identity. The medium was thus adopted as a way of projecting an "objective" image of success.[52]

Narratives of individual success in the marketplace and Highlandism both marginalized women. Consequently, of the 13,749 digitized items in the "Portrait; female" category of the Notman Collection online, only about 50 of them feature women in some element of tartan or Highland dress. Of that small number, 34 portraits picture unmarried teenagers and women, married women only occupying a minuscule space in the representation of Scottish cultural attire. Furthermore, in most photographs of female subjects, tartan seems to be used mainly as a fabric for dresses rather than an instrument to showcase ethnic or cultural belonging. It appears to have be used for dresses in step with 19th-century fashion trends. And because Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's use of tartan in their own clothing undoubtedly influenced womenswear across Great Britain and the Empire, it is difficult to separate emulation of royalty from Scottish cultural pride in analysis of the motivations behind the display of such patterned fabrics.[53]

Portraits of women and teenage girls in full Highland outfits were few and far between. Only five subjects were photographed in complete Scottish attire, with skirt, sash, and feather hat, between 1867 and 1892, two of these being for a larger composite picture. This brings us back to consideration of the Victorian attitudes that conceived of women in relation to male heads of households. While a large number of lower-class women were required to work outside the home to support families, this was not often the case among the middle and upper-middle classes, which

[51] Young, *Patrician Families*, 14.
[52] Sandage, *Born Losers*, 114-116.
[53] Stack, "'Bonnie Lassies'," 149-150.

represent the majority of subjects in William Notman's photographs. Although, it should be noted, elite women did play important roles in other aspects of bourgeois life, especially in philanthropy and associational spheres. Nonetheless, through the division of public and private spheres, men were responsible for providing financial stability and status to their family. Women were responsible for managing the household, chores, and servants, as well as supervising and rearing children. Because British North America lacked the traditional British titled and landed aristocracy, the colony developed its own hierarchy, replacing bloodline with wealth and industrial success, in accordance with the development of a capitalist economy which rewarded self-reliance and ambition.[54] The role of a middle-class woman in such a context was to manage her household so it would reflect her husband's financial success.[55] Residences and their luxury were meant to be displayed to fellow elite families, social rituals of entertainment maintaining the image of socio-economic success while the homes themselves provided women with a space to develop their identity.[56]

Marriage was also an important aspect of social status and mobility for Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite, as bourgeois and upper-middle-class men tended to choose their marriage prospects – or their daughter's – within their own class, as "marriage within elite families with long roots in the colony provid[ed] local familial and social connections."[57] Within the urban elite, and the Square Mile especially, women tended to be somewhat isolated from the rest of the city, which reinforced their role as mistresses of the household as well as the importance of maintaining

[54] Susan M. Cruea, "Changing Ideals of Womanhood During the Nineteenth-Century Woman Movement," *ATQ: 19th century American literature and culture* 19, no. 3 (2005): 190.
[55] Cruea, "Changing Ideals," 189.
[56] Elizabeth Kirkland, "Mothering Citizens: Elite Women in Montreal, 1890-1914" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2011), 55-56.
[57] Bettina Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: lives, laws, and politics in nineteenth-century Montreal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 45.

the home in a way that highlighted and confirmed their husband's social status and wealth.[58] When looking at photographs of women and teenage girls, the small number of Scottish outfits pictured can likely be attributed to this separation between the roles of men and women, and the constant and undeniable dependence of a woman's status to that of a male figure.

Masculinity and martial character were depicted through "Highlandism" as primordial aspects of Scottish and Highland culture, and one can conclude that women and femininity were judged incompatible with such attributes. That is not to say that women did not wear Scottish clothing. Mrs. Sarah Ogilvie, wife of Alexander Walker Ogilvie, wore a tartan silk dress at a reception for the Prince of Wales in 1860, and at the 1870 Skating Carnival, no less than six women wore a Highland Lassie costume, a kilted skirt paired with a shoulder plaid and sporran.[59] However, Highland-inspired clothing appears to have been worn by women mainly in the context of fancy dress or theatrical outings, and few of them were photographed in such outfits.

VI

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, women of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite generally wore tartan fabric or accessories as a fashion statement rather than an expression of Scottish heritage or culture. Through their role in the private sphere and within the household, Victorian women were often seen in relation to male heads of households and were tasked with the display and maintenance of their socio-economic status. The emergence of photography as a modern medium to showcase individual identity helped in showcasing elite status and, coupled with the development of a capitalist economy, contributed to the growing importance of visual impressions and projected character. Identity and respectability became linked with ideals of

[58] Bradbury, *Wife to Widow*, 107.
[59] Stack, "'Bonnie Lassies'," 155-157.

manhood and socio-economic success. In 19th-century Montreal, members of the Anglo-Protestant elite fused Scottish cultural elements and characteristics with these projections of masculine identity in photographic display of the Highland costume, often embraced by middle-class and elite liberal professionals. Scottish dress and culture, as well as their visual expression, were gendered in the values they represented. Linked with the Highland regiments across the British Empire, the Scottish national dress invoked ideals of manliness associated with imperialism and militarism, and implied superiority in the public realm. Highlandism and the expression of Scottish culture was gendered and fundamentally masculine in its manifestation, in no small part because of its martial implications; the following chapter will aim at shedding some light on the military aspect of Scottish character in 19th-century Montreal and its association with the longer history of Highlandism.

CHAPTER TWO:
The Military Aspect of Scottish Character:
Montreal's Highland Regiments and Cultural Identity

When one pictures Scotland, one of the first images that comes to mind is that of the kilted soldier, often with bagpipes, set in a Highland environment. However, this romanticized perception is a far cry from the Highlanders of the 16th and 17th centuries, or from the Scots of the 18th and 19th centuries. A closer look at the development of Highlandism and the invention of Scottish tradition aims at reconciling the image of the wild savage Highlander with glamourized and polished versions of the Highlander.

The concept of Highlandism emerged during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, following the defeat of the Jacobites by British government troops at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. This battle ended the Jacobite rising of 1745 and opened the door to retributions from the British Parliament against the Highland population. Kilts and tartans were banned, and the Highlands demilitarized. Perception of the Jacobite cause and Highlanders would, however, evolve drastically over the following decades. In 1761, poet James Macpherson published *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, together with Several Other Poems composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal*, which purported to be a translation of a Gaelic epic by legendary poet Ossian. Though Macpherson's claim of authenticity were refuted quickly, this publication would help set in motion the Celtic revival in Scotland.[60] Several other figures contributed to this revival and romanticization of the Scottish Highlands and the Jacobite cause, including David Stewart of

[60] T. M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofter's War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 96; Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 17.

Garth, Lady Carolina Nairne, Robert Burns, and above all Sir Walter Scott. Scott's novel *Waverley* contributed greatly to converting Jacobitism from a treacherous movement arrayed against the Hanoverian monarchy to a seductive and romantic cause, and with this Highlanders were transformed into a loyal and courageous people whose military character served British interests across the empire. [61] At the same time, through Scott's influence on the Romantic perception of the Highlands – as well as the works of other Scottish philosophers like John Miller and Adam Smith, and the development of transportation technologies and infrastructure – a tourism industry developed in the Highlands.[62]

The founding of the London Highland Society in 1778[63] and of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh in 1820 further boosted the popularity of the emerging Highland myth. The 1822 state visit of King George IV to Edinburgh, orchestrated by Sir Walter Scott, cemented tartanry and kilt-wearing as pillars of the re-invention of Scottish traditions.[64] The royal visit contributed to the development of new patterns of tartan, as well as to the establishment of Highland costume as mainly a gentry and aristocratic fashion, which reinforced the "mystique of Old Caledonia" amongst all classes.[65] Highlandism also emerged from the Highland regiments of the British Army, which distinguished themselves by success in imperial campaigns. Enlisted Highlanders and Lowlanders built the image of a courageous, daring, loyal and manly race, and "as the martial energies of the Gael were successfully channelled into service in the imperial armies the exploits

[61] Devine, *Clanship*, 90-91.
[62] Devine, *Clanship*, 93-94, 97.
[63] Its main function was "the encouragement of ancient Highland virtues and preservation of ancient Highland traditions" (Trevor-Roper, 26).
[64] Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition," 26, 29.
[65] W.A. Thorburn, "Military Origins of Scottish National Dress," *Costume* 10, no. 1 (1976): 36-37.

of the Highland regiments rapidly became the stuff of the legend and romance and a basic factor in the development of the Highland myth."[66]

While the invention of Scottish tradition appears to be focused on aspects of Highland culture, especially the Scottish national costume in the form of military dress, several processes of appropriating these cultural elements for all Scots were the work of Lowlanders. Highlandism emerged as romantic nationalism spread through Europe. And while vigorous displays of national identity would risk the relationship between Scotland and England, which was essential to Britain's political stability in the north, a distinctive Scottish identity blurring the lines between Highlanders and Lowlanders answered a nationalist sentiment without compromising the Union.[67] The distinctiveness of the Celtic and Gaelic culture present in the Highlands before the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, reimagined in the works of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, cemented the revival of Scottish traditions and the appropriation of Highland cultural characteristics in a national identity that would now include all Scots, Lowlanders and Highlanders alike.[68]

This new Scottish culture and identity was disseminated and reproduced in British North America by the important number of immigrants of Scottish and British origin. For many of these newcomers, namely those who would form Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite, it was through the development of Highland regiments in the regular British Army and the subsequent militia units in Canada that Scottish character came to be represented by the figure of the Highland soldier. The uniform provided a visual statement for the ideal Scot, and representations of Highland dress in

[66] Devine, *Clanship*, 91.
[67] Devine, *Clanship*, 98.
[68] Bumsted, "Scottishness," 91-92.

photographic portraits give us tools to understand how the military aspect of Scottish character was understood by the Anglo-Protestant elite.

This chapter explores the military origins and subsequent development of the Scottish national dress in the 18th and 19th centuries and looks at the role it played in the invention of tradition in Scotland and British North America. Highland dress came to embody specific characteristics and values associated not only with Scottish culture, but a British Victorian identity, a character that was adopted by the Anglo-Protestant elite of Montreal, who aimed at elevating and reinforcing their socio-economic status through the visual representations of the Highland soldier, who embodied the ideal of masculinity and prestige, a figure of imperial success. To better understand how the Highland soldier came to be such a important symbol, it is first necessary to look back to the Highlands of the mid-18th century.

I

The ban on tartan and the Highland costume following the Jacobite rebellion and the Battle of Culloden in 1745 effectively demilitarized the Highlands and the clans. Highlanders were perceived as backwards, savage and cunningly dangerous. With the Proscription Act of 1746, the British Parliament banned the visual symbols of Highland culture as well as the bagpipes, while also forbidding Highlanders to bear arms. The only exception to the Proscription Act applied to the Highland regiments, their members

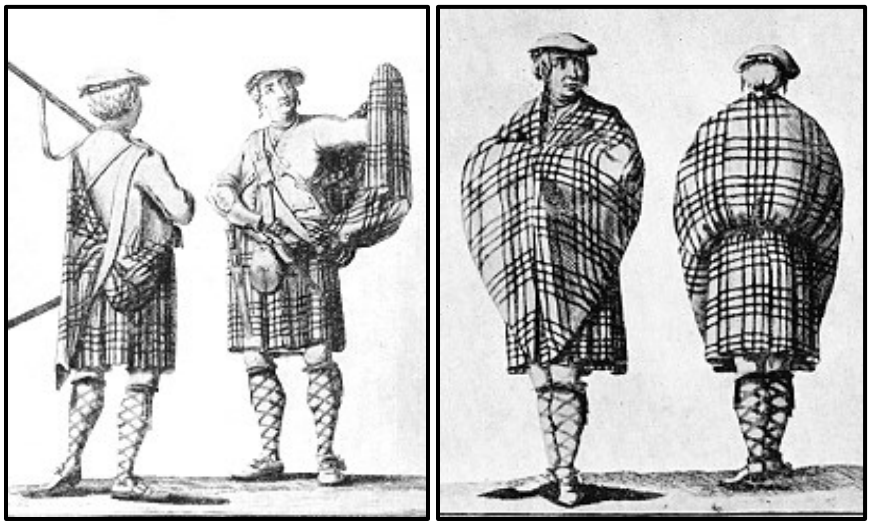

Figure 2: The feileadh mòr, the ancient dress of the Highlander.

being the only ones allowed to wear the belted plaid and tartan.[69] By the time the Act was repealed in 1782, the uniform of the Highland regiments had been constructed into a new Scottish national dress, a costume that had been modified through the years and differed substantially from the original belted plaid of the clansmen. "This was now a uniform costume in the military style, modified to include Highland features, themselves altered to conform to contemporary ideas of martial elegance, and to requirements of campaign conditions," writes Thorburn; the wearing of the original belted plaid was quickly deemed impractical when paired with the current army jacket.[70] The *feileadh mòr* was transformed into what is known today as the little kilt (*feileadh beag*, or philibeg) which retains the original pleats at the back, regimental customs dictating the style of the pleats. The top part was now disconnected from the bottom, serving mainly as a decorative plaid, and the original flat bonnet of the clansmen became increasingly adorned with feathers and plumes to denote regimental identity. The sporran, a leather purse worn in front of the kilt, evolved in a similar fashion. The once practical and simple pouch became gradually more elaborate, the flamboyance of its design and conception serving as another regimental distinction. All in all, through the evolution of the uniform in the Highland regiments, the national costume evolved and acquired new, imperial associations. The native garment that was the belted plaid had ceased to exist.[71]

However, as the Scottish national dress was evolving (and while the only exception to the ban on Highland dress was made for the serving members of Highland regiments), it was not uncommon for the lairds, nobles, and aristocrats who made up the upper echelon of Scottish society

[69] Hugh Cheape, "*Gheibhte Breacain Charnaid* ('Scarlet Tartans Would Be Got…'): The Re-Invention of Tradition," in *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, ed. Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 17.
[70] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 33.
[71] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 33.

to wear the Highland costume in the privacy of their homes. Some even had their likeness taken while wearing a costume inspired by the uniform of the Highland regiments. This helped reinforce the legitimacy of the new Highland dress created in the context of the British Army, and also contributed to the prestige of what became known as the Scottish national dress.[72] Following the repeal of the Proscription Act, Highland dress was no longer seen as the garment of backwards, rebellious Highlanders, but the costume of the rich and sophisticated, and an undeniable symbol of the military strength and loyalty of the Highland regiments. The Scottish national costume was thus aligned with British loyalism and also displayed the martial values and characteristics assigned to Highlanders in an expanding British Empire. It is not surprising, then, that a costume symbolizing prestige and strong imperial ties was integrated in British culture and identity, adopted by Scottish and other British emigrants alike.

This same military influence that affected the belted plaid and its integration in the British cultural landscape also shaped the evolution of the jacket worn with the kilt. As Thorburn notes, "this military jacket and its subsequent changes of style […] became firmly associated with the kilt as national dress, and even the military changes in collars and cuffs for instance were repeated in civilian versions."[73] Furthermore, the changes in Scottish and British society during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, through the Industrial Revolution, also influenced the evolution of Highland dress as the old structure and social order evolved, especially in the context of the Highland Clearances. The national dress to which Highland society was once associated became a conscious expression of a constructed national pride, the gentry's appropriation of the costume coinciding with its decline as the everyday apparel of ordinary people. The emergence of this new

[72] Cheape, "*Gheibhte Breacain Charnaid*", 18; Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition," 24-25.
[73] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 33.

Scottish national dress took place before the advent of photography, therefore its visual representation depended on the portraits of clan chiefs and other important people of the Highlands, which further contributed to the prestige and romanticization of the Highlands and its national costume. Subsequently, the fame of the Highland regiments was heightened by their participation in the Napoleonic Wars, contributing to a greater influence of military trends in fashion. This was especially true when it came to the Highland costume, as the army had created what was now the only regulated Highland costume in existence.[74]

Through the Highland regiments and military service, men from any social class or financial means could aspire to be clothed in the Scottish national dress and embody its patriotism, strength, and national pride. This demonstrates the influence of the military not only on the physical dress of the Highlanders, but also on the characteristics which became associated with its wearers. As such, it was often perceived that Highland regiments originally recruited amongst clan members, an idea which reinforced the feeling of kinship between the soldiers, an *esprit de corps*.[75] This idea of recruitment based solely on clan loyalty and of the close relationship between officers and their men, however, does not reflect the socio-economic reality of the 18th and 19th century Highland regiments.[76] Rather, the Disarmament and Proscription Acts, as well as the incorporation of the "clannish" Highlands into a new market for military labour as Great Britain extended its

[74] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 33.
[75] While originally only the Highland regiments adopted the Scottish national dress of tartan kilts and doublet jackets as their uniform, this fashion was extended to the Lowland regiments as well by the 1880s. While this decision was met with some reticence within the Lowland infantry regiments, their members had to adopt the Highland costume as their own uniform: "the Victorian fiction was thus elevated to regulation for the World to see, and all the Queen's Scottish soldiers would clearly proclaim the idea of a tartan nation." (Thorburn, 37) As the British Empire had been expended across the globe, a British military presence was often required in the various colonies and occupied territories. This included Canada, which hosted several regiments of the British regular army during the 19th century in Ottawa, Montreal, Kingston, and Halifax. One of these regiments was the 78th (Highlanders) Regiment, a unit in the regular British Army.
[76] Matthew P. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 60.

military presence across the Empire, helped create a society where prospective soldiers sold a marketable good: their military service.[77] Matthew P. Dziennik argues that "soldiers understood that they were entering a labor market and, as such, saw soldiering as contractual employment rather than an exercise in clannish dependence," which meant that the relationship between officers and their troops did not rely on clan loyalties and dependencies, but on market relations.[78] However, this reality was not reflected in traditional military history, and the myth of the loyal Highland soldier was perpetuated across the years, notably through the work of David Stewart of Garth, an officer of the 42nd Regiment of Foot.

His *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland* (1822), while greatly romanticized, served as a reference for the image and conception of the Highland soldier well into the 21st century.[79] The myth of clan loyalties within Highland regiment was thus perpetuated over the years and across the Empire, and while the economic reality of service remained the main driving force for recruitment, one can presume that the romanticized image of the loyal Highlander contributed to the enrolment of many in the British Highland regiments and militia units in Canada. The perception of Highland soldiers as loyal, efficient, and resilient – an idea which encouraged the creation of a Scottish militia unit in Montreal – can also be explained by the willingness of British authorities to invest large sums of money in their military force. As Dziennik states,

> We should . . . consider the role of "commercial branding" in the history of the Highland regiments. In an environment where the state was willing to pay large sums of money to secure military labor, there was an obvious incentive for Highland elites to market their product as innately suited to war and to inflate the value of Highland soldiers compared to Lowland or English soldiers. The military symbolism of the

[77] Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 76-77.
[78] Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 76.
[79] Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 59.

> Highland regiments and their conspicuous uniforms were set to this purpose and probably reinforced metropolitan perceptions of Highland abilities.[80]

Furthermore, the evolution of Highland society and military service affected the elite's social behaviour. The Scottish lairds and aristocrats saw military service as a way to assert their gentlemanly character and elite masculinity, and the British Army further provided them with an expression of traditional Highland clanship through the Highland regiments.[81] Commissions were purchased and granted by elites on the basis of patronage until the 1871 Caldwell Reforms. This was also influenced by networks of kinship and favoritism, reinforcing the illusion of clanship. There was no more potent visual representation of the Scottish character than the Highland soldier and his uniform.

The uniform of the Highland regiments, in the broader context of the late 18th and early 19th-century revival of Highland cultural markers, was one of the most important symbols in the re-invention and re-appropriation of the Scottish past and traditions for British imperial purpose. Before the official creation of the 43rd (later 42nd) Royal Highlanders, also known as the Black Watch, in 1739, the six Highland companies did not have an official uniform. Clansmen simply wore what was considered to be the dress of the Highlanders, the belted plaid, a large piece of woollen cloth about five feet long and sixteen feet wide, "held together by a waist belt, the bottom part […] was a knee level, bunched at the back, while the top part was looped up to the left shoulder, or spread out as a cloak, or cover for the arms."[82] The belted plaid was usually worn with a flat bonnet, hose and a simple skin purse, the sporran, and it was also used as a sleeping blanket.[83]

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[80] Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 72.
[81] Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 80.
[82] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 32.
[83] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 30.

Following the official formation of the Royal Highland Regiment, a uniform had to be devised in order to keep with the standards of uniformity expected from a unit of the regular British Army. While the belted plaid was kept as part of the uniform, by the 1860s it was being paired with the British Army red coat, which had to be cut shorter to accommodate the plaid. An official tartan pattern, or sett, was also adopted: the Government tartan, known also as the Black Watch tartan. It was the first time a significant number of people, soldiers from the Scottish Highlands, "were all clothed in a Highland costume of uniformed appearance, with regulated tartan and identical accessories."[84]

As more Highland regiments were raised, regimental characteristics also appeared, each claiming some unique aspect while keeping with the uniformed appearance of the military. As such, the 78th (Highlander) Regiment of Foot and the 73rd Regiment of Highlanders added white and red line to the Black Watch pattern, creating what would become known as the Mackenzie tartan, both these regiments having been raised by prominent members of the Mackenzie clan. Thus, regular Highland units did not select their regimental tartan from a pre-existing selection, but rather created their own pattern, to which a name, a clan, was attributed.[85] Regimental tartans and accessories gave some uniqueness to the various Highland units of the regular British Army and reinforced the concept of kinship and belonging that had existed in the context of clans. The regimental characteristics enabled clansmen to reassert and rehabilitate claims to status while reinforcing British loyalism.

As with many other aspects of 19th-century society, the military also underwent a major transformation in how it was perceived by the majority of the population, especially the middle

[84] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 31.
[85] Thorburn, "Military Origins," 32.

class. Before the mid-19th century, officers had been considered "idlers" through their aristocratic social provenance and attitudes, and "stood in sharp contrast to the rationality and bureaucratic ethos of a rising middle-class."[86] But by the middle years of the 19th century the military had become perceived as a rational, efficient, and technologically sophisticated organization, in accordance with the ideals of the rising middle class. Many people, especially among British and Canadian authorities, saw the militia as a way to boost national pride and patriotism as well as unify the population.[87] The uniform associated with the military sought to symbolize patriotic ideals, and its reminder of Scottish culture reinforced the importance of the military factor of Highlandism [88]

II

By the mid-19th century, the Scottish factor was well and truly embedded in the history of British North America's colonial defense and already had a significant impact in Montreal. Following the 1763 Treaty of Paris, British officials maintained the sedentary militia already in place to administer the Province of Quebec, and stationed regiments of the army in Halifax, Quebec City and Kingston until 1871. The militia in place was mainly a paper force – the men divided in territorial battalions and commanded by leading colonial figures. They received no formal training and were only called to muster once a year for a rollcall.[89] During the War of 1812 four battalions of sedentary militia were established in Montreal, including a battalion led by James McGill.

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[86] Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms: Communication through clothing* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 106.
[87] Poulter, *Becoming Native*, 215.
[88] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms*, 107.
[89] Paul P. Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch: The First Hundred Years* (Montreal: The Black Watch (R.H.R.) of Canada, 1987), 7.

The main defensive effort remained in the hands of British regular troops stationed in the colony. By 1837, Montreal was also home to several units of volunteer militiamen, eight infantry battalions, two troops of cavalry, two companies of artillery and two of rifles. These forces were, however, inadequate for colonial defence, and British officials authorized the volunteer corps to receive training and equipment from the regular soldiers and instituted a regular training period. In response to the 1837-1838 Rebellion in Lower Canada, the militia was organized into three units, the Montreal Rifles, the Montreal Cavalry, and the Montreal Light Infantry, the latter consisting of a company composed exclusively of Scots – by birth or descent – making it the first Scottish military unit to be raised in Montreal.[90] Military enthusiasm was much reduced following the suppression of the Patriote resistance, and the volunteer corps eventually disappeared. With the 1846 Militia Act, an active militia of 3,000 men was established for Canada, but it only had to train one day a year. And as a consequence of the Crimean War, the British regiments garrisoned in Canada were withdrawn and responsibility for colonial defense fell to Canadian authorities. This brought a revival of the sedentary militia units, including the Montreal Light Infantry, which was reorganized in 1856 and again included a Highland Rifle Company.[91]

With the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States in 1861, not only was Canada's transatlantic trade affected, so was its military situation. As the American federal authorities raised large armies, Canada saw a potential threat and new militia units were formed. The *Trent* Affair threatened war between Great Britain and the United States, and the defence of Canada became an important preoccupation, as more British troops and munitions were sent to the colony.[92] In early 1862, the formation of new Canadian regiments was also authorized. The Scottish elite of Montreal

[90] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 7-8.
[91] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 8.
[92] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 8-9.

did not waste any time putting together a battalion of their own. On 31 January 1862, the 5th Battalion Royal Light Infantry was formed in Montreal. The new battalion emulated the Scottish regiment known as the Black Watch by raising six companies at once, "much as the Parent Regiment's Independent Companies had been recruited in Scotland a hundred and thirty-seven years previously."[93] As had been the case for the recruitment of the imperial Black Watch, six companies of 55 men each were raised by "Chieftains," to form the regiment; the first Commanding Officer, Haviland L. Routh, as well as Andrew Allan, Gordon G. Mackenzie, James L. Mathewson, John M. Hopkins, and Alexander Campbell were all members of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite, involved in commerce, industry, and banking. Two more companies were added to the Royal Light Infantry between 1862 and 1863, and on 9 October 1863 the Highland Rifle Company of the 1st Prince of Wales Regiment – previously the old Montreal Light Infantry – adopted the Black Watch tartan for its trews. Apart from the Highland Company, the Regiment's early uniform was that of the British Light Infantry, though it remained decidedly Scottish in character and through the ethnic origin of its officers and troops.[94]

The presence of the Highland solider in the local, urban landscape was drastically amplified while the 78th Highlanders were posted to Montreal between 1867 and 1869, before they moved on to Halifax until 1871. This regiment of the regular British army took part in the Napoleonic War, the Anglo-Persian War, and the suppression of the Indian Mutiny (1857-1859) before relocating to Gibraltar.[95] While in Montreal, the garrisoned troops were regularly tasked to provide entertainment at various events organised by several organizations, most of them associated with

[93] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 9.
[94] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 10-11.
[95] Cameron Pulisfer, "A Highland Regiment in Halifax: the 78th Highland Regiment of Foot and the Scottish National/Cultural Factor in Nova Scotia's Capital, 1869-71," in *Myth, Migration, and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700-1900*, ed. Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Pub.; Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1999), 141.

Montreal's Scottish community. Their presence and participation in these events – mainly that of the band and pipers – not only served as publicity for the different associations and benevolent societies of the Anglo-Protestant community, but also legitimized them in the eyes of the general population, their military character bringing a certain official prestige to the proceedings. Mentions of the band and pipers of the 78th Highlanders in the Montreal *Herald* demonstrate their regular participation in charity concerts and events such as the St. Andrew's Society's "Fête" in September 1867, the "Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert" in aid of St. Matthew's Church in March 1869, and a costume night organized by the Victoria Skating Club Women's Committee in January 1868.[96] Among this latter group were wives of prominent Scottish Montrealers such as Mrs. Isabella Allan, wife of businessman Andrew Allan, and Mrs. Charlotte Stephen, wife of George Stephen, who was later founder of the Canadian Pacific Railway and became Lord Mount Stephen in 1891.[97] Not only do these events show the use of military assets for publicity, philanthropy and social relations, they also demonstrate a connection between the upper-middle-class Anglo-Protestant community and the 78th Highlanders, an association forged in celebration of the military character of an imagined Highland culture.

III

The role of the 78th Highlanders in cementing this connection between Highlandism and military character in the eyes of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite is undeniable. It was common for military members to be photographed in their uniforms: there are at least 34 portraits of the 78th Highlanders in the Notman collection that date from the 1867-1869 period during which the

[96] "Grand Vocal & Instrumental Concert," *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 3 March 1869; *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 21 September 1867

[97] "Soirée costumée, Club à patiner Victoria," *La Minerve: journal politique, commercial, littéraire, agricole et d'annonces*, 28 January 1868

Regiment was stationed in Montreal for the second part of its North American tour. Over the second half of the 19th century, however, it was not the norm to have a portrait taken in Highland dress for adults. Of the 25,500 digitized items of the "Portrait, male" category in the Notman Collection online between 1860 and 1900, only 145 present adult men in full Highland dress. The 78th Highlanders make up 53 per cent of that number, while other military portraits account for 29 per cent and civilian subjects account for the remaining 18 per cent. Military portraits therefore constitute a significant majority off all photographs depicting adult males in Highland dress.

Among the 78th Highlanders, a little over half of their officers were Scottish or had Scottish connections. This demonstrates the popularity of Highland regiments well into the second half of the 19th century, which encouraged recruitment among both Highlanders and Lowlanders.[98] The importance of such national and cultural preoccupations among officers of the regiment was also reflected in how the 78th Highlanders engaged with Montreal's Scottish community. By contributing to various events, parades and concerts around Montreal, the regiment and its members became associated with the city's Anglo-Protestant community, particularly its elite. In the press, the regiment was often mentioned as a publicity device, their presence used to boost attendance of events. For example, the Montreal *Herald* advertised the Caledonian Society's "Hallow E'En Festival" of 1867 and noted the participation of pipers from the 78th Highlanders.[99] The *Herald* also advertised their performance at the "Grand Promenade Concert, to be given by

[98] Pulsifer, "A Highland Regiment in Halifax," 142.
[99] "Hallow E'En Festival, The Caledonian Society of Montreal," *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 29 October 1867.

the Montreal workingmen's mutual benefit and widow and orphans provident Society at the Victoria Skating Rink, on Monday evening 4th Nov 1867."[100]

Figure 3: Sergeant Foulis and family, Montreal, QC, 1868
William Notman (1826-1891)
1868, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process, 8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-32247.1 © McCord Museum

Their musical performances, as well as their Highland dancing, were regularly praised in the press, as reviews of concerts, celebrations and Scottish games provided the readers with accounts of events in and around Montreal. The officers and commanders of the regiment also attended dinners with prominent politicians and industrialists on a regular basis, integrating themselves into Montreal's social fabric and cultivating contacts and relations with some of the most influential people in the city.[101] Furthermore, the 78th Highlanders influenced the transformation of the 5th Royal Scots into a proper Highland unit, providing not only guidelines for the structure and uniform, but also setting an example to emulate. It is also likely that this relationship between the 78th Highlanders and Montreal's Anglo-Protestant community convinced some members of the regular regiment to remain in the city after their service. This was the case with "Sergeant-Major Fraser, Messrs. Foulis, John Black, John and

[100] "Programme of the Grand Promenade Concert," *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 1 November 1867.
[101] John Young, "The Governor General's Visit to Montreal," *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 3 February 1869.

Walter Wilkie, and Piper Duncan, all late of the 78th Highlanders, now of the 5th Royals," who chose to stay in – or come back to – Montreal and join the developing Scottish militia unit. [102] The fact that men chose to make a life for themselves and their families in Montreal, integrating a Scottish militia unit, shows not only the strength and influence of Highlandism in the development of identity and social relations, but also the importance of the military for Montreal's Anglo-Protestant community. Sergeant Patrick Foulis, born in Scotland in 1842, had his photograph taken at the Notman studio with his wife and two children in 1868, while serving with the 78th Highlanders (see Figure 32). The military characteristics of the Highland costume, here used in its capacity as military uniform, were important and appreciated enough to be immortalized in a family photograph. In choosing to be photographed in uniform, Foulis sought to embody the characteristics and values of the Highland soldier. This visual representation through Highland dress further extends to the rest of the family, the military character granting them the respectability associated with patriotism and loyal service to one's country. Such a portrait was an ideal representation of the middle-class Victorian Scot, a respectable military man, embodying national and imperial pride through his uniform, acting as a protector and provider, not only for his family but the empire as well.

[102] "Hallowe'en, Celebration by the Caledonian Society," *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 1 November 1879.

This next portrait taken in the Notman studio in 1887 pictures another Mr. Foulis, William, also born in Scotland. Employed as a clerk, he and his family lived in the St. Louis Ward, not far from both the New Town and the port and industrial district.[103] He is pictured here wearing the dress uniform of the 5th Royal Scots, with kilt, plaid, and doublet jacket. He also carries a sword, denoting his rank as either an officer or a senior non-commissioned member of the rank. As a figure of leadership among the regiment, Mr. Foulis must have been well-respected among his fellow militiamen and the Anglo-Protestant elite.

Figure 4: Mr. Foulis, Royal Scots, Montreal, QC, 1887
Wm. Notman & Son, 1887, 19th century
Silver salts on glass - Gelatin dry plate process 25 x 20 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
II-85287 © McCord Museum

A significant number of portraits of military subjects wearing Highland dress date from 1868, during the 78th Highlanders' stay in Montreal, or after 1880. It was that same year, in 1880, that the Regiment previously known as the Royal Light Infantry, then the 5th Battalion Royal Fusiliers, became the Royal Scots Fusiliers, officially recognizing the Scottish origins and heritage of many of its members. Four years later, the Regiment changed its name again, becoming the Royal Scots of Canada. It is likely that the change in name, and thus official recognition of its Scottish character, influenced some of its members to have their portraits taken in their uniform.

[103] Department of Agriculture, *1881 Census of Canada: Province of Quebec, District 90 Montreal, Sub-district Montreal East, Sub-division 2 E. St. Louis Ward*, Library and Archives Canada, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1881&op=pdf&id=e008160156 (accessed 14 March 2021).

One example is the photograph of Major Henry Herbert Lyman, taken at the Notman Studio in 1887. As an officer, he is not wearing a kilt and sporran, but rather tartan trews and riding boots coupled with spurs. This enables him to command his troops from horseback, which was still the norm in the British – and Canadian – military at the time. Trews were also used by Lowland regiments, and their use here shows the integration in the uniform of the Royal Scots of Highland and Lowland characteristics alike.[104] The result is a display of a mixed Scottish culture by a colonial military force composed mainly of imperial immigrants aiming to represent the British allegiances and identities.

Figure 5: Major H. H. Lyman, Montreal, QC, 1887
Wm. Notman & Son, 1887, 19th century
Silver salts on glass - Gelatin dry plate process
25 x 20 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
II-85439 © McCord Museum

Major Lyman's family was part of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite, residing in Thornhill in the Square Mile.[105] The family was active in business, notably with Lyman, Sons & Co., wholesale druggists and chemists at 382, 384 and 386 St. Paul Street. The Lymans were among the most successful in the pharmaceutical industry, not only in Montreal but also in Toronto. Originally from England, Lyman Sr. emigrated to the United States before relocating to Canada.

[105] Major H.H. Lyman was also deeply interested in natural history. He collected insects and butterflies and became one the most recognized lepidopterist in North America. He died in 1914 when he and his wife drowned in the sinking of the Empress of Ireland.

They were not of Scottish descent; however, Henry Herbert as well as his brother Frederick S. evidently had a certain attachment to the Scottish culture. The involvement of the Lymans in Montreal's Scottish community and militia unit shows that Highlandism drew in other imperial immigrants, as its military character appealed to many.

Most subjects of photographs taken in military Highland attire resided in the Square Mile or near Mount Royal. Notman's photography studio as well as the armoury where the militia unit held its training were also located nearby. This speaks to the geographic closeness of the Anglo-Protestant elite as well as to its tendency to revolve around the same common institutions such as militia units, churches, and schools.

Within the regiment now known as the Royal Scots Fusiliers (1880-1884), there was a general wish amongst the officers and troops to boost the Highland character of the unit, a large number of its members being of Scottish origin or descent since its conception. One of the first steps was to have all ranks wear the doublet jacket, as well as tartan trews; this was accomplished in 1879. The appellation "Royal Scots" drew back to the British Regular Service, in which their own Royal Scots were a Scottish regiment outfitted in tartan trews.[106] The challenge, however, for the Royal Scots of Canada was how to transition to a fully kilted Highland unit. The Canadian government did not allocate funds to regiments for special accoutrements such as Highland dress, only providing trousers and tunics up to authorized strength, which left the regiment with the expensive task of coming up with the necessary funds. Thus, members who could afford the expense of buying their personal kilts and accoutrements were permitted to wear it off-parade, and company funds were established to equip all troops. By 1883, the entire unit was outfitted with

[106] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 25.

kilts. The regiment was responsible for the expense of providing Highland dress for its members and this remained the case until recent years, and most likely contributed to officers signing over their pay to the regimental funds until after the Second World War.[107]

That the regiment undertook such expenses to outfit the entire unit with a standardized Scottish costume reveals a popular desire to be associated with Highland symbolism. It also highlights the involvement of its officers, many of Scottish origin and members of the Anglo-Protestant elite, as well as the generosity of a few "friends of the Regiment" such as Lord Strathcona and Sir H. Montagu Allan, who donated thousands of dollars to the regimental fund.[108] Photographs of military subjects in Highland dress show an active effort to associate with Scottish military values, something that held value for many among the Anglo-Protestant community. The uniform in itself – as well as the lengths the Royal Scots of Canada went through to become a fully kilted unit – were of great importance because of the meaning it held.[109] Moreover, once the whole regiment was provided with common uniform, it also became difficult to differentiate between the social standings of members. While it was fairly easy for the trained eye to distinguish between an officer, a non-commissioned officer such as a sergeant or a member of the rank through the slight variations in their uniforms, it was difficult to separate members of each category from one another when it came to social status. Here, the uniform erased the stratification of clothing and the visual differentiation between classes through clothing, thus levelling social and organizational interactions and relationships.[110] With the uniform as an equalizer, it became easier for a militiaman from a lower class to step into the role of someone with a higher social standing: "while

[107] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 26.
[108] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 26.
[109] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms*, 66.
[110] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms*, 58-59.

one is in uniform, indicators of all other statuses are suppressed."[111] As they wore their military clothes, interacted with fellow members of the regiment, or had their photograph taken in uniform, the wearers associated with the values and cultural attributes symbolized by their garments, which in turn contributed to shaping their own self-image and identity, as individuals and as a group.[112] To the man in the street, there was no real visual difference between the different ranks or messes to which a soldier belonged. Officers and members of the ranks alike shared the common experience of military culture and behaviour, as well as the image that came with the uniform.[113] By having their portrait taken in uniform, members of the Royal Scots of Canada associated themselves with the imagined values of Highland character and masculinity.

IV

Highland regiments created a Scottish national costume that quickly became one of the most undeniable and visible symbols of Scotland and the British Empire, distant from the native belted plaid of the Highlands. Highlandism and its military character – through the Scottish national costume and Highland uniform – were used by many in photographic portraiture in 19th-century Montreal. Within the city's Anglo-Protestant elite, the characteristics and values of the military, particularly of Scottish regiments, were well regarded. Many of the subjects portrayed in Highland military uniforms were part of the banking or industrial elite, while others came from lower economic and social status. The militia unit helped its members forge socio-economic relations, and the presence of Scottish regiments in the community – regular army or militia –gave visual representation to the military character of Highlandism. The 78th (Highlander) Regiment of Foot was greatly influential in establishing a Scottish and British visual presence in Montreal, as well

[111] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms,* 67.
[112] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms*, 153.
[113] Ian Stuart Kelly, *Echoes of Success: Identity and the Highland Regiments* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 10.

as in the development of the Royal Scots of Canada. Portraits of members of the 78th Highlanders provide evidence of the place of Scottish dress in expressions of imperial, masculine identity. Presenting oneself as a Highland soldier was a way to project an image of strength, manliness, and loyalty, a trend appealing not only to military members, but also to liberal professionals. The Scottish national dress, in various types and styles, was used also in children's photographic portraits, which will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE:
A Canvas for Cultural and National Identity:
The Children of Montreal's Scottish Community

Many families amongst the financial and merchant elites of Montreal, a large majority of them part of the Anglo-Protestant elite, sought to immortalize images of their children in photographic portrait. As one sifts through the Notman archives, the influence of Highlandism in the portraits of children becomes clear. Girls and younger boys often wore tartan dresses or ribbons, and several male children were pictured wearing full Highland dress, complete with a plaid, kilt, and hair sporran. While the tartan outfits worn by the girls could perhaps be dismissed as simple fashion choices, influenced by the British royal family's wearing of tartan fabric, the symbols of Highland culture displayed by the photographed boys are more overt. In total, the digitized sample of the Notman collection contains over 140 photographs of children depicted with one or more element of Scottish culture, from simple tartan ribbons on a dress to kilts and sporrans.

I

While the Victorian period saw not only rapid industrialization and urbanization, it also gave way to a new conception of the family ideal. Indeed, Romantic concepts of domesticity – with the father as the authoritative head of the family, and the mother tending to emotional and physical needs – became the norm which most British families aimed to attain. This was also the case in the colonies, including Canada. Even though this ideal was realistically only achievable for the middle and upper classes, domesticity and a harmonious home life became the goal towards which many families strove. In this Victorian conception of the family, which developed as the Industrial Revolution changed the social order, children were "dutiful, obedient, and thankful for their

parents' support and care."[114] After the emergence of a child-centred concept of childhood in the 17th century following the Reformation, the conception of childhood had been mainly based on the Christian concept of mankind's fall from divine grace. Within this framework all children were born sinful and required a heavy-handed and strict education.[115] However, in the second half of the 18th century, childhood came to be perceived in a more positive light, associated with attributes such as innocence, creativity, freedom and malleability. This evolution in popular thinking can be explained by the influence of the Enlightenment and a growing number of intellectuals who broke away from the Christian belief of original sin. These thinkers believed that children were born as clean slates, their development influenced by their environment.[116] The general understanding of childhood and education was also greatly influenced by the work of French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau through the publication in 1762 of *Émile ou De l'éducation*, which suggested that the rational development of a child did not take place before puberty, and that new ways of educating children should be devised in order to steer away from rote-learning.[117] Furthermore, in the late-18th and early-19th centuries, the influence of Romantic writers and poets such as William Blake and William Wordsworth contributed to changing the social conception of childhood, bringing an idealised version of the child into art and literature.[118]

Drawing on a Romantic vision and Enlightenment concepts, the 19th-century child was seen as a blank canvas, a symbol of purity and spontaneity waiting to be shaped by familial and environmental influences, leaving their parents in charge of preserving their idealized

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[114] Ginger Suzanne Frost, *Victorian Childhoods* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2009), 11.
[115] Laurence Brockliss, "Introduction: The Western Concept of Childhood," in *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1-2.
[116] British philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) developed the concept of *tabula rasa*, or blank slate, in which the child was shaped by their environment and education.
[117] Brockliss, "Introduction," 3.
[118] Brockliss, "Introduction," 4.

innocence.[119] This Romantic belief in the purity of childhood also meant that children were often used to represent national and cultural identity.[120] As explained by sociologist Nathan Joseph, "since they are 'innocents' – cognitively and morally – and representatives of the future, they are most fit to wear costumes incorporating sacred symbols of a culture. It is therefore the children who are singled out to wear costumes denoting patriotism, ethnic pride, and religious piety in pageants or parades."[121] He also adds that folk clothing – in this case, Highland attire – can become a national emblem once its symbolism becomes deeply rooted in the collective consciousness in regard to a reconstructed tradition.[122] In keeping with the words of Joseph, the children of the Anglo-Protestant elite of Montreal were used in photographs to represent a specific culture and national identity. The Enlightenment conception of childhood went hand-in-hand with the Romantic perception of the Highlands and Scottish tradition, and the visual representations of Scottish culture were easily adopted by Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite to express an identity that strove towards Victorian ideals of a successful family.

[119] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 76
[120] Stack, "'Very Picturesque and Very Canadian'," 28.
[121] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms,* 195.
[122] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms,* 200-201.

II

For our purposes, only a few specific photographs will be examined in greater detail in order to establish some patterns of cultural expression through photographs of children. All are a result of the albumen process, which experienced great popularity in the second half of the 19th century, especially when it came to the production of *cartes de visite*. Those portraits were chosen based on the obvious display of Scottish dress as well as on the families to which the children belonged. The first of these photographs is a picture of Maurice Drummond taken in 1864 in which the boy is dressed in kilt, hair sporran and doublet-style jacket, sporting a tartan fly plaid and brooch as well as a glengarry bonnet adorned with feathers and a cap badge. The boy appears no older than six years old, and his serious appearance, as was customary in portraits at the time, and the slight squinting of his eyes gives him a proud and challenging expression. This, coupled with his position, can give the viewer an impression of dominance, as if the boy were a small laird of sorts. This impression of power and influence comes perhaps as no real surprise, as Maurice Drummond

Figure 4: Maurice Drummond, Montreal, QC, 1864
William Notman (1826-1891) 1864, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-11476.1 © McCord Museum

was the eldest son of Sir George Alexander Drummond and Helen Elizabeth Redpath, both from prominent Scottish families in Montreal.[123]

Another photograph that draws our attention is of another Drummond child; Huntley (1864-1957) poses in 1866 garbed in a tartan toddler dress with a hoop and stick. Considering the child's young age, no older than two years old, such a genderless outfit is expected, as infants and toddlers of both genders were usually dressed the same for the first years of their life. The tartan pattern of the boy's dress, however, gives a clear indication of his family's ethnic and cultural belonging, and is in keeping with the Romantic revival of tartan in the Victorian era which put both boys and girls in tartan and kilts.[124] It was not usual for children to be photographed with a toy, in this case the hoop and stick held by little Master Drummond. The Enlightenment-

Figure 5: Master H. Drummond, Montreal, QC, 1866
William Notman (1826-1891) 1866, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-20755.1 © McCord Museum

[123] Born in Edinburgh in 1829, George Drummond came from a wealthy family, immigrating to Montreal in 1854 after John Redpath invited him to join him in managing the sugar refinery he was building near the Lachine Canal. Redpath had also immigrated from Scotland in the early-nineteenth century and the refinery would make his and Drummond's fortunes. Redpath was married to Jane, George's sister and Drummond married Helen Redpath, John's daughter in 1857, further linking the families through marriage and business. Drummond remaining linked with the firm of John Redpath & Son until 1876. Following the dissolution in 1880 of the firm John Redpath & Son, Drummond was named a director of the Bank of Montreal in 1882. He later became vice-president, then president of the bank, a position he held until his death in 1910. Under his leadership and influence, the Bank of Montreal underwent expansion that was tied to the industrial development of Montreal. Drummond also served an important role on the political scene, playing an active role in the Liberal-Conservative Party, and being appointed to the Senate by John A. Macdonald in 1888. Through the second half of the 19th century, George Alexander Drummond became established as one of Montreal's financial and industrial elites, leading an upper-middle class lifestyle but also engaging in philanthropy, sports, and the artistic scene. Indeed, he was president of the Royal Canadian Golf Club Association and of the Art Association of Montreal, while also helping found Margaret's Home for Incurables. Michèle Brassard and Jean Hamelin, "DRUMMOND, Sir GEORGE ALEXANDER," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 (accessed 9 December 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/drummond_george_alexander_13E.html.)

[124] Joseph, *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms*, 16.

influenced material culture surrounding the concept of childhood influenced child-rearing theory to incorporate games and play, in order to allow the child to remain in his own untainted universe as long as possible.[125] It is also possible that giving the child something to hold was a strategy used by the photographer to help the sitter keep still while the portrait was taken.[126] The Drummond family achieved prominence in Montreal's industrial and economic sphere, also exercising their influence in the associational and artistic scenes. Their status as one of Montreal's most important families is reflected in their decision to have their eldest boys represented in photographs. The choice of the *carte de visite* format was logical, as one might suppose the photographs would circulate among the social circle of the elite. By representing their boys dressed in tartan, especially Maurice in Highland attire, the Drummonds were projecting their Scottish origins and rising position among Montreal's Scottish elite.

Figure 6: Master A. McGibbon, Montreal, QC, 1866
William Notman (1826-1891) 1866, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process 8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-20659.1 © McCord Museum

The next photograph pictures young Master A. McGibbon, most probably the son of Alexander McGibbon, a Montreal merchant of Scottish descent. [127] According to his age during

[125] Brockliss, "Introduction," 3.
[126] Stanworth, *Visibly Canadian*, 273.
[127] Alexander McGibbon Sr. was born in Petite-Côte in 1829 to Scottish farmers. He married Harriet Davidson in 1855, herself from Scotland. In 1859, McGibbon went into business himself, as a grocer, setting shop first on Notre Dame, then on St. James Street, and establishing himself and his family nearby in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. He later moved his family to Peel Street and became one of the most prominent grocers in Montreal, catering to the higher echelon of Montreal's society. Alexander McGibbon Sr. was also very active in Montreal's Scottish community, as he served as president of the St. Andrew's and Caledonian Societies. He was also involved in Montreal

the 1881 census, little Alexander is no older than 5 years old in this picture.[128] He is dressed in a kilt and hair sporran, in a similar fashion to Maurice Drummond's portrait. While Alexander is not the eldest son in his family, he is the one photographed in Highland attire. This could be for a number of reasons, one of them being that he is his father's namesake and thus chosen to represent Alexander Sr.'s Scottish origins.

Robert McGibbon, the eldest son of the family, was pictured the same year as his brother but instead of the Highland attire, he is dressed in what appears to be a woollen or tweed three-piece suit paired with leather boots. Robert was about 8 years old at the time and it is possible that this more business-like, adult, attire is considered appropriate for his age; he is no longer in the early years of childhood, and his clothing intends to represent a progression towards adulthood. His costume is more traditional, the setting also drawing into the privilege of the upper-middle-class to enjoy outdoor leisure and sport. Both

Figure 9: Master R. McGibbon, Montreal, QC, 1866
William Notman (1826-1891) 1866, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-21677.1 © McCord Museum

politics, serving as a member of the city council from 1863 to 1866 and was a strong supporter of the Conservative party and John A. Macdonald. McGibbon was appointed inspector in the Department of Indian Affairs in 1886 following the North-West Resistance. While the job required a lot of often arduous travel to and across Western Canada, it also came with quite a significant salary which contributed to the McGibbon family position in Montreal's Scottish society.
E. Brian Titley, "McGIBBON, ALEXANDER," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 (accessed 21 July 2021, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mcgibbon_alexander_13E.html)

[128] Department of Agriculture, *1881 Census of Canada: Province of Quebec, District 90 Montreal, Sub-district St. Antoine Ward,* Library and Archives Canada, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1881&op=pdf&id=e008161908 (accessed 14 March 2021).

photographs are telling. Alexander, through his Highland dress, serves as a visual representation of the McGibbon family's Scottish heritage, reinforced by the child's innate innocence. Robert, in his three-piece suit, also symbolizes traditional Victorian values and projects the image of the family's socio-economic status, embodying a characteristic scene of middle-class outdoor leisure.

Through the photographs of his sons, Alexander McGibbon Sr. left no doubt in the viewer's mind about his family's socio-economic status. Furthermore, a family portrait was also taken at the Notman studio in 1869; here little Alexander appears dressed in a similar fashion to his father and older brother – all in black, as respectable and successful in the public and private spheres alike. The diced hose he wears act as a reminder of the McGibbons' cultural identity and his place within the Anglo-Protestant community. McGibbon Sr. himself also had his photograph taken in Scottish national dress in 1876, a clear effort to represent his family's Scottish heritage.

Figure 80: McGibbon group, Montreal, QC, 1869
William Notman (1826-1891) 1869, 19th century
Silver salts on glass - Wet collodion process
17 x 12 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-37457 © McCord Museum

Figure 81: Alex McGibbon, Montreal, QC, 1876
William Notman (1826-1891) 1876, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
17.8 x 12.7 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
II-43009.1 © McCord Museum

Figure 12: Master Hugh Allan, Montreal, QC, painted photograph, 1867
William Notman (1826-1891) 1867, 19th century
Silver salts, watercolour on card - Albumen process
69 x 52 cm
Gift of Mrs. Gertrude H. Bourne
N-1981.16.1© McCord Museum

The next photographs which capture our interest are portraits of Hugh Montagu and Bryce, sons of Sir Hugh Allan, shipping magnate and financier.[129] The pictures, taken in 1866 in the Notman Studio, were turned into painted photographs through the work of painter John A. Fraser, head of the studio's art department at the time. Like the other photographs examined earlier, Master Hugh Allan is represented wearing a kilt and hair sporran, coupled with a doublet-style jacket and tartan fly plaid. He also sports diced hose as well as a glengarry bonnet with a feather and holds a fishing rod. While the original albumen photograph places him standing on a fur

[129] Hugh Allan was born in Scotland in 1810, immigrating to Canada in 1826. Born into a family with important shipping interests, his father and older brother James operated ships between Glasgow and the St Lawrence River. Allan profited from his family connections, access to capital and social bonds and, in 1835, was named a partner of Millar, Edmonstone and Company, quickly expanding the company's shipping operations. Allan's shipping operations grew steadily, and he was elected president of the Montreal Board of Trade in 1851. The Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, known as the Allan Line, was incorporated in late 1854, and awarded the transatlantic shipping government contract in 1856. Its steamships transported manufactured goods and natural resources, troops, and immigrants, but also royalty, the Marquess of Lorne and Princess Louise making the voyage to Canada aboard one of the Allan Line's former troop-carriers. Sir Hugh Allan, made a Knight Bachelor in 1871 for his service in the development of ocean steam navigation, also invested heavily in the development of railways. In 1872, Allan was awarded the government contract to build the transcontinental railway. However, his heavy subsidy to John A. Macdonald's Conservative Party election campaign in exchange for the contract placed him at the heart of the Pacific Scandal which caused the dissolution on Macdonald's government and of his own railway company. The scandal cut short his ambition and participation in the western railways, but he remained involved in other railway companies and syndicates. Allan was also heavily invested in the banking sector, namely as a member of the Bank of Montreal board (1847-57) and as founder of the Merchants' Bank of Canada, of which he was president for several years (1864-1877 and 1882). He held shares in a number of other banks and credit institutions and was involved in nearly all sectors of the developing Canadian industry and finance sectors, from insurance to manufacturing companies. He was also very active in the exploitation of natural resources such as land, fish, and mining, particularly coal. Allan commissioned Ravenscrag, a 690,260-square-foot Italian Renaissance mansion on the slopes of Mount Royal. He was also involved in Montreal's associational community, president of the St Andrew's Society (1848-1850) and of the Montreal Curling Club (1846-

or sheepskin rug, the painted version features a mountain and stream background, placing the boy in Scottish nature. Furthermore, John Fraser's painting adds what appears to be the colours of the Allan tartan – a version of the MacDonald of Clanranald tartan – to Hugh's kilt and fly plaid. This is not only a sign of the family's Scottish origins, but also a symbol of their belonging to a specific clan. The positioning of the boy's legs, shoulder-width apart with the right knee bent, projects a sense of power and mastery. Indeed, with the background of nature coupled with the Master Allan's outfit and solemn expression, the painted photograph gives the viewer the impression of a small laird in the Scottish Highlands. As Hugh was the heir to his father's fortune and successful business, it was perhaps expected that he be represented as such.

Figure 13: Master Bryce Allan, Montreal, QC, 1866, painted photograph, 1867
William Notman (1826-1891) 1867, 19th century
Silver salts, watercolour on card - Albumen process
55 x 45 cm, Gift of Mrs. Gertrude H. Bourne
N-1981.16.2 © McCord Museum

Bryce Allan, Hugh's younger brother, can be seen wearing a modified Highland attire. Indeed, his kilt is not made from tartan, but rather a plain woolen cloth. A hair sporran, glengarry bonnet and diced hose are also part of his attire. In the painted photograph, the artist has added again a mountain and stream background, an image that could even complete the nature scene in Hugh's portrait. He has also

1847 and 1874-75). With impressive wealth, estimated at between six and ten million dollars, he became one of Canada's first monopoly capitalist. Allan died in Edinburgh, Scotland, on 9 December 1882 and was buried in Montreal on the 27th, his funeral causing the closing of the stock exchange for the afternoon. Allan left behind an impressive fortune to his heirs, in capital and shares, and left a lasting mark on Montreal and Canada's industrial and financial sectors. Brian J. Young in collaboration with Gerald J.J. Tulchinsky, "ALLAN, Sir HUGH," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11 (accessed 18 June 2021, http://biographi.ca/en/bio/allan_hugh_11E.html.

placed the boy sitting on rocks, and added a fishing net in his left hand, establishing a link between this likeness and his brother's. The main difference between Hugh and Bryce's portraits is that the first one is done in colour while the latter remains in greyscale. Furthermore, Bryce is wearing a modified Highland outfit devoid of tartan, making it much plainer. As Hugh Montagu is older, and the heir, his portrait is done in colour, and he wears the family's tartan to showcase his position. On the other hand, Bryce finds himself in a more supporting role, wherein he completes the picture of his older brother. As both the painted photographs show significant change from the original picture taken in the studio, it can be assumed that John Fraser's creative decision – notably concerning the background – were endorsed, if not directly ordered, by the client, Sir Hugh Allan Sr.

Another representation of the Allan family comes in the form of this 1863 photograph of John and Hugh Andrew Allan, nephews of Sir Hugh Allan Sr. through his brother Andrew. The oldest, John, most likely about seven years old, is wearing a similar outfit to the one worn by his cousin Hugh Montagu in his 1866-67 portrait. He displays not only the traditional ensemble of the kilt, fly plaid, hair sporran and doublet-style jacket, but also what appears to be a matching tartan waistcoat. John also appears to be wearing a dirk as well as holding a glengarry bonnet in hand. Little Hugh Andrew, about six years old, is wearing dark trousers fastened below the knee, or "knickerbockers," with matching jacket and

Figure 94: Masters John and Hugh Allan, Montreal, QC, 1863
William Notman (1826-1891) 1863, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process 8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-9463.1 © McCord Museum

vest. While his outfit does not display obvious Scottish elements, apart from the "Tam o' Shanter" bonnet, his plainer clothes could be explained by a desire not to overshadow his older brother. Hugh Andrew is also represented in a higher position in the frame, sitting on a wooden structure while John is standing, leaning against it. Whether the boys' placement was influenced by their difference in clothing or vice versa, the image that is projected is one of order and stability between the brothers, which reflects on the family and its place in business and Montreal's Anglo-Protestant community.

It is important to consider that painted photographs were not very common in the second half of the 19th century. The work the artist had to do to render the photograph on canvas was tremendous, and such projects were expensive to produce. This is even more true of the two painted photographs of Hugh Allan's boys, as they feature the added nature background. Thus, the portraits of the Allans – through the sheer expense of having them painted and also enlarged to a much greater size than a simple *carte de visite* – were set apart from most others who had their children photographed. These choices reinforce the Allan family's place at the top end of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite, as the expression of their identity also demonstrated their wealth and social status.

It is also crucial to consider the influence of traditional court painting, not only of photographic portraiture in general, but also more specifically on painted photographs. Court portraits were meant to elevate the sitter, to grant an air of nobleness and grandeur, thus placing him or her at the centre space of the composition. Furthermore, placing the subject in a frontal view, looking directly at the viewer, further contributes to an impression of grandeur and success. While some changes are observable in photographic portraits, such as the use of furniture for support, the formal qualities which characterized court portraiture are nevertheless still present in

photographs.[130] This is especially the case with *Master Hugh Allan*; the boy is placed in the centre of the composition, his posture such as to appear to be looking down at the viewer. This puts him almost in a position of domination and grants him an air of nobility characteristic of court portraiture. That such a comparison can be drawn also speaks to the intention of Hugh Allan in commissioning such a portrait.

Looking at the numerous photographs of children in Highland attire held in the William Notman Collection, one cannot help but notice that nearly all of them seem to fall within the same narrow age group. Indeed, most of them appear to be between three and nine years old, younger toddlers and infants pictured in gender-neutral dresses. Older children were dressed in clothing dictated not only by their gender but also by their age, as they were growing up into the adult world and dressed as such. Boys wore knickerbockers, paired with matching jacket and vest, and as they got older, they often dressed in a suit and tie, in similar fashion to the adults around them. Keeping this in mind, it could be said that the ideal age for a child to embody cultural symbols of Scottish national identity was during the first decade of life, when they were judged malleable and pure enough to properly represent these symbols. Children of this age group were considered the ideal canvas to embody cultural values of ethnic pride and patriotism.

In keeping with this idea, another photograph draws our attention, a picture of Master John Fraser taken in 1867. It is most likely a photograph of John A. Fraser's son, taken while his father was head of the Art Department at the Notman studio. John Arthur Fraser was born in London to a Scottish father and an English mother and emigrated to Canada in 1858 with his family, settling in Montreal a couple of years later. He was employed by William Notman to tint photographs and

[130] Borcoman, "William Notman's Portraits of Children," 5-6.

as head of the Art Department. In parallel, his oil paintings of landscape granted him success and popularity through local exhibitions of the Art Association of Montreal.[131] While Fraser Sr. did not remain in Montreal for long, the significance of the photograph of his son John is still worth examining, if only for Fraser's place within the Notman studio. Taken in 1867 – the same year John A. Fraser produced the painted photographs of Hugh Montagu and Bryce Allan – this picture of the painter's son is a near exact reproduction, both in positioning and in clothing, of the *Master Hugh Allan* portrait. Only a few differences appear in the outfit, namely the dirk at the waist and the leather belt across the chest, and the absence of feather adorning little John's glengarry bonnet. Apart from these, the two photographs are essentially the same.

Figure 105: Master John Fraser, Montreal, QC, 1867
William Notman (1826-1891) 1867, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-27333.1 © McCord Museum

It is possible that John Arthur Fraser's association with Notman and his Anglo-Protestant elite clients influenced him to have his son's photograph taken in a Highland outfit. As his painting was gaining popularity with exhibitions by local dealers and the Art Association of Montreal, it could be that Fraser felt it was in his interest to integrate Scottish cultural symbol into his family's projected image. By having his son represented in Highland garb, Fraser attempted perhaps to illustrate to the viewer his place in Montreal's – and Canada's – Anglo-Protestant upper-middle

[131] Dennis Reid, "FRASER, JOHN ARTHUR," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12 (accessed 22 July 2021, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/fraser_john_arthur_12E.html).

class, thus projecting himself into its artistic and associational scene. He was also of Scottish and English descent, and as an imperial immigrant, the adoption of Highland dress fit into the representation of British Victorian values symbolized in childhood and the Scottish costume.

Figure 116: Master James Muir, Montreal, QC, 1867
William Notman (1826-1891) 1867, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-24658.1 © McCord Museum

Ebenezer Muir had a photograph of his son James taken in 1866. Looking at data from the 1871 census, we learn that Muir had another son, also named Ebenezer, who was older and had seemingly aged out of the appropriate age frame for wearing a Highland-inspired outfit; he was around 10 years old when this photograph was taken, while James was no older than three years old.[132] The brothers are, however, pictured together with their sister Evelyn in *Mrs. Muir's children* and, while little James wears the same tartan-accented outfit, his sibling are dressed more plainly, in a classic black suit for his brother and a dress with a ruffled hem and ribbons at the sleeves for his sister. In both photographs, Master

[132] Department of Agriculture, *1871 Census of Canada: Province of Quebec, District 106 Montreal West, Sub-district St. Antoine Ward,* Library and Archives Canada, accessed March 14, 2021, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1871&op=pdf&id=4395467_00076

James Muir is wearing a toddler dress with a large stripe of tartan near the hem, as well as a tartan border at the sleeves, the garment paired with a matching sash. This outfit is not only age-appropriate for the boy but also showcases his innocence while strongly hinting at a Scottish connection through the use of tartan.

Figure 17: Mrs. Muir's children, Montreal, QC, 1867
William Notman (1826-1891) 1867, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
8.5 x 5.6 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
I-24659.1 © McCord Museum

Ebenezer Muir was of Scottish descent and, as a pharmacist, owned a drug store on Place d'Armes, facing the Notre-Dame Basilica, selling high quality and imported merchandise.[133] Unfortunately, in 1875, the business became insolvent and Muir had to declare bankruptcy.[134] This does not, however, negate how tartan was used in little James' photograph to project to the viewer a distinguished and successful image of his father through the association with the Scottish cultural element. Muir's drug store was located in a prime spot to entice tourists, and upper-middle class Montreal Scots. It was located near the Bank of Montreal Head Office; this prime location most likely gave Muir visibility among Montreal's elite community. Projecting an identity that aimed at inserting the Muir family into the business and social scenes of the Anglo-Protestant elite might not have resulted in financial success for Ebenezer Muir, but the attempt is nonetheless telling. The family

[133] John Langford, *The Tourist's Guide to the City of Montreal* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1866), 67.
[134] *Gazette officielle du Québec, Québec Official Gazette* (Quebec City: Québec, 1875).

photograph is identified as “Mrs. Muir’s children,” which speaks to the role of women in childrearing. Their innocence and malleability are here used to project a Scottish cultural element in an Anglo-Protestant identity, but it also highlights the importance for middle-class women to uphold the values of a proper Victorian family.

Lastly, we take a look at a photograph of two Cantlie children, William Henry Northcote Cantlie and James Alexander Cantlie Jr., taken in 1882. This picture, with the exception of the Allans’ painted photographs, is done on a larger scale than the other ones, 15x10 cm instead of the more traditional 8.5x5.6 cm. This could be explained by the rapid popularisation of the *cartes de visite* during the 1860s. In this picture of Masters Willie and James Cantlie, both boys are dressed alike, in a kilt and hair sporran, and a dirk at their waist. The younger-looking of the two is sitting slightly behind his brother on a structure made to look like a stone wall, a background of nature behind the two. As mentioned, they are both looking off-camera, their body also angled to their left. This gives the photograph an aura of nostalgia, the brothers projecting the innocence of childhood. James Alexander Cantlie’s wife was sister to George Stephen, later Lord Mount Stephen. Needless to say, Cantlie, through family ties as well as commercial success, belonged to Montreal’s Anglo-Protestant elite. The use of Highland outfit

Figure 18: Masters Willie and James Cantlie, Montreal, QC, 1882
Notman & Sandham, May 2, 1882, 19th century
Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process
15 x 10 cm
Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd.
II-64990.1 © McCord Museum

worn by his sons in *Masters Willie and James Cantlie* is here intended to situate the family's position and status within this elite. The Cantlie family appear to have placed much importance on the Scottish element of their identity, as well as on the military character of Highlandism, which, as we have seen, played a great role in the shaping of Montreal's socio-cultural for the Anglo-Protestant elite. James and William's older brother, George Stephen Cantlie, joined the Royal Highlanders of Canada, Montreal's Scottish militia regiment in 1885, and was involved in the city's Scottish institutions throughout his life.[135]

III

It was not uncommon for middle class and upper-middle class Montrealers of Scottish origin or descent to have had their children photographed wearing Highland attire. While girls sometimes wore tartan ribbons or dresses, a large majority of the pictures featured boys in Highland outfit. This could be explained by the masculine characteristics often associated with Scottish traditional clothing, such as virility and militarism, which were projected onto male children. By having their offspring photographed in Highland attire, members of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite sought to project an image of their status. Through the association of their family's name and achievements with their Scottish origins, and by using the medium of photography to draw from the tradition of court portraiture, they attempted to create an image of themselves that would assert their high standing in the social order. The images they created also served to illustrate and embody the ideals of Victorian childhood and family, which were also crucial in elite social status and identity.

[135] "Lieut.-Col. George Stephen Cantlie, D.S.O.," Marianopolis College (accessed 31 July 2021, http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/encyclopedia/GeorgeStephenCantlie.htm).

The high number of photographs of children in Highland dress in the 1860s can be attributed, as for adults, to the digitizing process of the McCord Museum archives, as well as to the popularity of the *cartes de visite*. By representing their children in scenes and outfits associated with Highland traditions and the nostalgia for an imagined Scotland of old, the Anglo-Protestant elite threw a backward glance to the romantic past of Scotland. This was also a way to think about the future, as Victorians also considered what the photographs they took would offer to the next generations; "to photograph old things … was also to forge relations with future generations."[136] Many of the children pictured belonged to prominent families engaged in business institutions that played an important role in the development of a Canadian political economy. The photographs, then, can be read as contributions towards the shaping of a new colonial nationalism, in which the Scottish factor would be deeply embedded.

[136] Green-Lewis, *Victorian Photography*, 42.

CONCLUSION

The photographic portraits of the William Notman Collection offer an opportunity to examine in closer detail how Scottish identities were embraced by members of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite during the second half of the 19th century and shaped by the medium of photography. Scottish identity was commonly expressed through the military uniform of Highland regiments, of both the regular British Army and the Canadian militia, a trend influenced by the presence of the 78th (Highlanders) Regiment of Foot in Montreal between 1867 and 1869. This Highland regiment contributed towards the establishment of the military aspect of Highlandism as an ideal of imperial and masculine identity in the local environment, linked to a longer and broader history of the emergence of the Highland military uniform as the new national dress of Scotland. Using the photographic portrait to fix an image of self in time and space, Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite expressed through the Scottish national costume their identity and status as a preeminent group in the city and the Dominion.

The use of children to express national and cultural identity through clothing and costume was also common in the 19th century, especially with the popularity of the *cartes de visite* in the 1860s. The Romantic understanding of childhood played an important role in the perceived capacity of children to embody Scottish ethnic identity. Through Highland-inspired clothing, families sought to project onto their children Scottish identities in photographic portraits, drawing influences from court portraiture and miniatures. The use of Scottish cultural elements in photography was also particularly gendered as the military aspect of Highlandism expressed ideals

of masculinity that were in circulation throughout the empire. The Scottish national dress presented a visual representation of highly desirable characteristics to Victorian society.

Portrait photography of both children and adults was thus used to represent the values associated with Scottish character, and to link those values with the Anglo-Protestant elite's status within Montreal. Whether or not these attempts were successful in influencing how they were perceived by the general population, they nonetheless produced compelling evidence of how they wished to see themselves depicted. Portrait photography played an important role in projecting and shaping identities of self, integrating the modern and the mythical.

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