Culture Wars:
A Study of Canada's Black Watch and the Military–Cultural Complex

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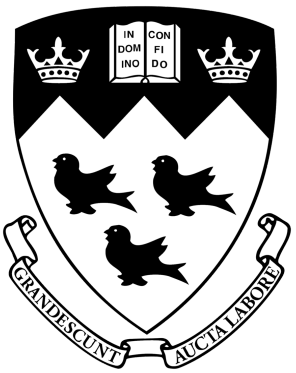

Abstract

The purpose of this short study is twofold. First, it seeks to examine the degree to which the military has actively shaped mass culture in Canada, using the example of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada. To this end, Black Watch personnel are looked at primarily as agents of cultural production and promotion, who could engage in cultural affairs through their regiment just as much as those working within civilian institutions. Secondly, this study seeks to trace the instances when the Black Watch cooperated with civilian institutions through a mutual interest in cultural affairs, as a novel angle to the study of military–civil society relations. To this end, the regiment's interactions with private industries, institutions of higher learning, religious organizations and charitable societies will be highlighted. The cultural activities of the Black Watch were largely shaped by its status as the regiment of the Golden Square Mile. This local context will be considered throughout, as it informed the regiment's cultural activities and shaped its interactions with civil society. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the temporal scope of this investigation is limited to peacetime; it covers the cultural activities of the Black Watch during the interwar period, as well as the postwar years up until the disbandment of the regiment's 1st and 2nd Battalions in 1970.

L'objectif de cette courte étude est double. Premièrement, il cherche à examiner dans quelle mesure l'armée a activement façonné la culture de masse au Canada, en utilisant l'exemple du Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) du Canada. À cette fin, le personnel de Black Watch est considéré avant tout comme des agents de production et de promotion culturelles, qui pourraient s'engager dans les affaires culturelles par l'intermédiaire de leur régiment tout autant que ceux travaillant au sein d'institutions civiles. Deuxièmement, cette étude cherche à retracer les cas où le Black Watch a coopéré avec des institutions civiles à travers un intérêt mutuel pour les affaires culturelles, comme un angle nouveau pour l'étude des relations entre l'armée et la société civile. À cette fin, les interactions du régiment avec les industries privées, les établissements d'enseignement supérieur, les organisations religieuses et les sociétés caritatives seront mises en valeur. Les activités culturelles du Black Watch ont été largement façonnées par son statut de régiment du Golden Square Mile. Ce contexte local sera pris en compte tout au long du parcours, car il a éclairé les activités culturelles du régiment et façonné ses interactions avec la société civile. Il n'est peut-être pas surprenant que la portée temporelle de cette enquête se limite au temps de paix ; il couvre les activités culturelles du Black Watch pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, ainsi que les années d'après-guerre jusqu'à la dissolution des 1er et 2e bataillons du régiment en 1970.

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For Esther Kilgour Williams

Granny

who first inspired my love of history

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INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to make an unconventional contribution to Canadian military history. Rather than poring over letters, dispatches, and official histories to examine the actions of soldiers during wartime, it instead focuses on the activities of the military during peacetime. In particular, it traces the activities of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada during the interwar and post-Second World War periods until the disbandment of the regiment's 1st and 2nd Battalions in 1970. Both Canada's senior Highland regiment and the regiment of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, the Black Watch provides an important case study that facilitates an assessment of the military as a vessel for cultural production and promotion, the active role which military personnel have assumed in shaping culture, and interactions between the military and civil society. It also reveals the persisting significance of local context and community in shaping and informing the expression of group identity.

In the twentieth century, significant debates emerged surrounding appropriate commemorations of war and the place of Highland regiments within an increasingly nationalistic "Canadian" military. The involvement of the Black Watch in these "culture wars" was powerfully shaped by the local context of Montreal's Golden Square Mile. The Black Watch's officer class was largely drawn from the neighbourhood's wealthy and overwhelmingly anglophone population. This context is of great importance because the regiment's cooperation with civil society was largely undertaken through existing institutional and familial channels of the Square Mile. The local environment significantly shaped the character of the regiment's cultural output and its interaction with and impact

upon civil society. However, the geographic scope of this study is not entirely limited to the Square Mile, as the Black Watch was involved in cultural affairs and maintained many relationships with civil society outside of this local context.

As both officers of the regiment and scions of prominent families, Black Watch personnel sought to guard their legacies following the First World War by shaping a romantic mass military culture that privileged acts of valour. Many of them also sought to preserve the Scottish connection within the Canadian military following the Second World War. The officers of the Black Watch examined here are thus looked at primarily as agents of cultural production and promotion, who engaged in cultural affairs through their regiment not unlike those working within civilian institutions, with whom they often cooperated. It will be concluded that through this personal initiative and cooperation with civil society, they were able to both shape mass military culture and preserve their distinct Highland regimental identity.

The bulk of the primary source material represented here has been culled from the Black Watch Museum and Archives, the largest regimental archives in Canada. These sources were previously unindexed, having been organized by the author over two summers working in the regimental archives. They include internal correspondence, correspondence between members of the regiment and various civilians and civil society institutions, financial records, and official memoranda. This is the first time these sources have appeared in an academic work. Furthermore, sources from the archives of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, the regimental church of the Black Watch, are also represented here in Chapter Two. These include correspondence and minutes of committee meetings.

Chapter One surveys scholarly treatments and definitions of military culture, and contextualizes the imperial and local contexts of the Black Watch as both a British Highland regiment and the regiment of the Square Mile. Differing from the work of scholars such as

James Burke and Allan English that have examined the internal organizational culture of the military, Canadian historians such as Jonathan Vance, Ian McKay and Jamie Swift have examined "military culture" as a broader phenomenon. This definition of military culture encompasses culture intimately related to the military – such as the wearing of poppies, the design of cenotaphs, and the ceremony of parades – but which is accessible to *all* Canadians. This thesis adopts this framework for the study of military culture, but also contributes new research on the agency of the military in shaping this culture. This dynamic does not receive sustained treatment in the works of Vance or McKay and Swift, though scholars such as Wesley Gustavson and Patrick Brennan have been more sensitive to the cultural agency of military personnel. The connection between British military culture and Highlandism within an imperial context adds nuance to this discussion. A contextual section on the origins of the Black Watch makes this connection, describing the ways in which Highlandism has historically found expression within the military. That eighteenth-century British militarism incorporated Highland identities and cultural elements is key to appreciating the distinct regimental identity of the Black Watch and the challenges it faced in twentieth-century Canada. The regiment's reactions and capacity to answer these challenges were determined by its local context, which is also explored. The attitudes and ambitions of the Black Watch's officer class were informed by the local Square Mile society which they belonged to, lending itself to cooperation between the military and civil society in cultural activities in the twentieth century. These historiographical and contextual sections provide a foundation for analyzing this nexus between the military, culture and civil society.

Chapter Two examines the cultural activities of the Black Watch during the interwar period, revealing the agency of its personnel in shaping military culture. This examination is framed within the context of contemporary tensions between romantic and realist interpretations of Canada's participation in the First World War. The regiment's officer class

was firmly on the side of preserving a romantic military culture, which was the common narrative shared among the established families of the Square Mile. This is represented by Lt.-Col. Charles Bereford Topp's history of the regiment's 42nd Battalion, a typically romantic work produced and funded by his fellow officers and civilian members of Square Mile society. To further underline the local context, this and similar "regimental works" are contrasted to the writings of Square Mile outsiders such as Cpl. Will R. Bird, a veteran of the 42nd Battalion who sought to answer such romantic portrayals with his own realist recollections, published outside of the regiment's auspices. The chapter also offers a section on the McLennan Window, a stained glass window dedicated to Lt.-Col. Bartlett McLennan and installed at the regimental church, the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. The McLennan Window reflects a romantic narrative of the war similar to Topp's history but manifested as a physical monument. The contributions of Black Watch officers to the installation of the window are examined, including how they helped to design and finance it, highlighting the broad range of cultural activities which the regiment engaged in during the interwar years. Through these and several other examples, the regiment's ability to influence military culture and its relationships with civil society within the local context of the Square Mile is revealed.

Chapter Three covers the cultural activities of the Black Watch during the quarter-century that followed the Second World War, and emphasizes the emergence of a new cultural debate in Canada concerning the nature of the Canadian military. This was a period when modern Canadian nationalism was in its embryonic stage following the decline of the British Empire. As anglosceptic reformers in Ottawa sought to purge British symbolism from the military, the distinctiveness of the Black Watch as a Highland regiment was made uncertain. This caused great anxiety among the Black Watch's officer class, largely drawn from the many Scottish-Canadian families who had built the Golden Square Mile. Wishing to preserve their regimental traditions against "Canadianization," these men turned their

attention to the maintenance of the regiment's Highland identity and broader promotion of Scottish cultural traditions within and outside the military. Continuing their collaborations with civil society to this new end, they championed collaborations with charitable organizations, institutions of higher learning, and private enterprises. Initiatives such as the joint effort between the Black Watch and the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal to establish a junior civilian pipe band, the opening of the Black Watch's armoury to host concerts by the Gaelic College's "Macdonald Hundred" pipe band, and the efforts of the regiment to record and produce vinyl records of pipe music with Decca Records: all speak to how the Black Watch and civil society mutually reinforced and promoted Highland cultural forms in postwar Canada. Though the Black Watch was significantly reduced in strength in 1970 following the unification of the Canadian Armed Forces, these efforts were not in vain, as its Highland distinctiveness persists to this day.

In treating the Black Watch as a culture-producing body, as well as a military one, the intention of this thesis is to open the door for further inquiry through this novel approach to military history. By focusing on a single regiment, the nuances of a broader military–cultural complex are revealed. In the case of the Black Watch, its officer class was drawn largely from the Golden Square Mile, which invariably guided the regiment's cultural activities. The Black Watch was a distinct cultural institution shaped by its local context during the twentieth century, and serves to demonstrate the military as an institution embedded in Canada's civil society in complex and meaningful ways.

CHAPTER ONE

The Military, Culture, and Military Culture

The cultural involvement of Canada's military, examined here through the example of the Black Watch of Canada, has long evaded the attention of historians. In part, this can be attributed to the somewhat esoteric nature of the subject itself. Though there has been no dearth of Canadian military histories since the professionalization of history in this country, it has only been in the last quarter century that historians have begun to take seriously the relationship between the military and culture in Canada. Still, it is surprising that among those who have written about this relationship, none have considered at length how the military has itself acted as a cultural producer and promoter. Rather, the military has been depicted largely as a passive entity in the cultural realm, an object which other actors have drawn inspiration from to shape a distinct military culture in Canada. Save the works of a few individual soldier-scholars, members of the military have been neglected in studies of military culture, while the idea that the military could involve itself in non-military culture is rendered almost unthinkable in the literature. This chapter provides a review of this literature and introduces the Black Watch as the regiment of Montreal's Golden Square Mile – the primary focus of this study.

I

Culture as a general term has been notoriously difficult to define across a wide variety of disciplines, with military culture being no exception. There are indeed multiple understandings of military culture. One popular definition derives from the works of American sociologist James Burk, who has emphasized that military culture involves four

key elements: discipline; professional ethos; ceremonial displays and etiquette; and cohesion and esprit de corps.[1] This definition has been adopted by Canadian scholars such as Allan English, who has explored the military as a type of organizational culture in a Canadian context.[2] English and others have dealt with an insulated military culture within the Canadian Armed Forces, within which there exist multiple subcultures among the different branches: navy, army, and air force. As M.D. Capstick has reiterated in the *Canadian Military Journal*, such a military culture involves an internal "shared institutional ethos," from which arises a "common framework for those in uniform" regarding standards of behaviour.[3] This definition of military culture, though it indeed exists and may be useful, tends to separate the military from civil society and thus ignores how both military and civil society can participate in and contribute to a shared military culture. While the narrow definition may be useful in some cases, it is a less helpful lens through which to view the military–cultural nexus that is the central focus of this thesis.

A definition of military culture more appropriate for this thesis has been provided by Ian McKay and Jamie Swift in their 2012 book, *Warrior Nation*. "Military culture," they write, "is all about war stories and places with evocative names: Dieppe, the Somme, Paardeberg. Medals are hugely important, as are cenotaphs, triumphal arches, and mass graveyards. Parades abound."[4] In Canada as elsewhere, the experiences of soldiers captured in memorials, art, literature and other mediums provide continued vitality to the military and have likewise been integrated into wider conceptions of Canadian nationalism, becoming subject to the mythmaking and romanticization inherent in such a process. As McKay and Swift argue, this military culture has been essential in transforming actual conflicts into

[1] Don M. Snider, "The Future of American Military Culture: An Uninformed Debate on Military Culture," *Orbis* 43, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 11-26.

[2] Allan English, *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

[3] M.D. Capstick, "Defining the Culture: The Canadian Army in the 21st Century," *Canadian Military Journal* (Spring 2003): 48.

[4] Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012), 206.

romanticized struggles for a noble cause, namely the preservation of a free and democratic Canada against perennial threats of authoritarianism. McKay and Swift adopt less of an institutional approach and instead examine the interplay between the military and civil society as equal contributors to military culture and constituent parts of a Canadian national whole.

In his influential work *Death So Noble*, published in 1997, Jonathan Vance laid the groundwork for how many subsequent historians have thought about military culture in Canada, including McKay and Swift. Vance examines how the experiences of Canadians in the First World War were mythologized, a process which began before the war had even ended. This mythologized or "accepted" version of the war as it was constructed – and indeed often still exists – in the collective memory of Canadians was highly romantic, and subsequently informed those who went on to shape Canada's military culture during the interwar period. Among those who constructed this account were intellectuals, political leaders, social elites, renowned members of the literati, and the everyday Canadians whose efforts were not always concerted but ultimately served the same end of producing a military culture that reflected the mythologized version of the war. "It is this diversity of authorship," Vance writes, "that makes the memory of the war so fascinating. It crossed boundaries of gender, class, religion, ethnicity, and region."[5]

Throughout his book, Vance focuses on both individual and collective contributions to Canada's military culture and how they shaped, and were also shaped by, Canada's romantic war myth. Collective contributions made through bodies such as the Canadian War Memorials Fund (CWMF), orchestrated by Lord Beaverbrook, feature prominently. As an outgrowth of the Canadian War Records Office (CWRO), the CWMF was initiated in 1916 with the express purpose of disseminating a romanticized version of Canada's war effort

[5] Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 7.

through art. Before the war's end, over 100 artists, one-third of them Canadian, had produced nearly 1,000 artworks for the CWMF, most of which are now held at the Canadian War Museum. The unusual diversity that could be found in such collective contributions is represented by one example Vance provides of a war memorial committee in Guelph, which included delegates from the Trades and Labour Council, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Teachers' Association, the Independent Order of Foresters, the Men's and Women's Canadian Clubs, the Rotary Club, the Independent Labour Party, city council, and the Knights of Columbus.[6]

Individual contributions are also discussed by Vance. From the outset of the war, Canadian church leaders were quick to provide their followers with a means of understanding the conflict as a noble crusade to defend Christendom. As Vance writes, "Within the Methodist Church, general superintendent Samuel D. Chown and Dr. W.B. Creighton, the editor of the *Christian Guardian*, nailed the king's colours to the church's mast and girded themselves to lead their flock against the German Antichrist."[7] This religious understanding of the war trickled down into the minds of many civilian writers, who expanded upon it in their works. For instance, Marjorie Pickthall attributed symbols of Christ's crucifixion to the Canadian soldier in her poetry, thus transforming him into a Christ-like "universal victim suffering for humanity."[8] Other poets such as W.D. Lighthall continued this theme of the soldier's "Passion" by expressing ideas of rebirth: "And the life I gave at Passchendaele / Hid the life of morrow year — / I am here."[9] Such religious understandings of the war were subsequently incorporated into the designs of countless war memorials, the most prominent example perhaps being the National War Memorial in Ottawa, which depicts Canadian

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[6] Vance, *Death So Noble,* 209.
[7] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 35.
[8] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 39.
[9] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 47. This excerpt comes from Lighthall's poem "Deathless," first published in Edward S. Caswell, *Canadian Singers and Their Songs* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1919), 69.

soldiers marching eastward through an arch towards a heroic death and everlasting life as noble crusaders.[10]

Vance does discuss instances of individual contributions from Canadian military personnel to Canada's military culture. As he notes, John McCrae's poem "In Flanders Fields" and Sir Arthur Currie's famous dispatch of March 27th, 1918 were two of the most reproduced pieces of Canadian writing to come out of the First World War.[11] However, these writings were incorporated into Canada's military culture by those working outside a military context, and were not the result of any concerted, collective military effort to influence Canada's military culture. Indeed, Vance writes that McCrae was very much "thrust to the forefront of Canada's war myth" against his own will, as he had initially discarded his poem before it was discovered and submitted to *Punch* for publication.[12] Other soldiers that contributed to Canada's military culture such as Frederick George Scott, whom Vance also discusses, drew inspiration from their war experience to produce poetry and writing as private citizens.[13] Scott, like Pickthall and Lighthall, made contributions in an unofficial capacity.[14]

The primary focus of this thesis will indeed be individuals such as Scott: soldiers who acted as cultural producers. However, it will build on the work of Vance and others by examining how such individuals have acted as cultural producers from within the military. It will examine the Black Watch as both a regiment of the Canadian Army and a culture-producing body, similar to the Canadian War Memorials Fund, a university, or government department. In viewing the regiment through such a lens, it will trace how

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[10] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 44-5.

[11] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 101.

[12] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 199. Though McCrae may have written the poem, it was the businesses, school teachers, newspaper publishers, government departments and propaganda bureaus who reproduced the poem and made it famous across the Anglosphere, integrating it into Canada's military culture as they saw fit long after McCrae had died in early 1918.

[13] See Frederick George Scott, *In the Battle Silences: Poems Written at the Front* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1916); *The Great War as I Saw It* (Toronto: F.D. Goodchild, 1922).

[14] See Lorne Pierce, *Marjorie Pickthall: A Book of Remembrance* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925) and W.D. Lighthall, *Old Measures: Collected Verse* (Toronto: Musson, 1922).

regimental funds have been allocated towards cultural ends, how individual members worked to produce culture as part of a regimental effort, and how regimental correspondence points to the Black Watch belonging to a wider network of non-military cultural producers. Such activities have been missed by a strict focus on individual soldier-scholars or organizational culture *within* the military.[15] The thesis will also emphasize how such activities were often undertaken in collaboration with civil society by considering the local context of the Black Watch as the regiment of Montreal's Golden Square Mile. Under the autonomy provided by the British regimental system, the Black Watch's officer class enmeshed their regiment in Square Mile society through institutional and familial linkages. Through an analysis of this local context, it is possible to see how the Black Watch used this position to enhance its ability to act in a cultural capacity, an insight that has been lost within strictly national or imperial frameworks of analysis.

No study of Canadian military culture has taken such an approach. Since the publication of Vance's *Death So Noble*, historians have followed in his footsteps by mostly considering cultural production in the sphere of civil society.[16] In *Warrior Nation*, McKay and Swift examine a tension articulated by Vance: between a romanticized version of the war and a contrasting realist interpretation that was often derided as vulgar and unpatriotic. McKay and Swift offer portraits of military figures such as General E.L.M. "Tommy" Burns, whose first-hand experience during the First World War compelled him to reject romanticized narratives of war. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Burns contributed regularly under a pen

[15] In a recent article, Vance has also examined an organizational military culture among veterans of the First World War, who sought to reproduce the camaraderie they enjoyed in Europe back home within veterans' associations. See Jonathan F. Vance, "'When Wartime Friends Meet': Great War Veteran Culture and the (Ab)Use of Alcohol," *Canadian Military History* 32, 1 (2023).

[16] For example, Theresa Iacobelli has shown that the adoption of Remembrance Day as an official holiday in Canada involved considerable attention from business interests. Many business associations were opposed to November 11th as the official date, rather than the first or second Monday of the month, because in their view, should the holiday fall on a weekend, this would "inconvenience not only the general public, but also Canadian retailers, who did their briskest business on weekends." See Theresa Iacobelli, "From Armistice to Remembrance: The Continuing Evolution of Remembrance Day in Canada," in *Celebrating Canada: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities*, eds. Mathew Hayday and Raymond B. Blake (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 175.

name to the magazine *American Mercury* and later *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, espousing a realist interpretation of the First World War. One extract quoted by McKay and Swift is revealing. In recounting his service at Vimy Ridge, Burns wrote:

> [We] kid [the troops] with the news that they are to die for the Glory of the Flag, for the defense of democracy, for their wives and firesides, to keep God's country inviolate, to save humanity from militarism… kid them with pictures of Christ on the Cross and a dead soldier at his feet… with the promise of forgiveness of their sins and the hope of a glorious resurrection.[17]

Burns's version of the war directly contradicted the hyper-patriotic commemorations examined by Vance. Rather, Burns's writings were early contributions to a military culture that views Canada as a "peaceable kingdom" and which embraces peacekeeping as an "anti-military military role."[18] It is for this reason that McKay and Swift number his works among the anti-war literature of the period, as exemplified by the works of R.C. Sherriff, Erich Maria, and Charles Yale Harrison.[19] Yet like these authors, Burns was also working outside of a military context despite his distinguished service record.

A history as well as a spirited critique of the Harper government's rhetoric concerning the War in Afghanistan, *Warrior Nation* provides an excellent supplement to Vance's *Death So Noble*. Nonetheless, the focus of both books remains on those who have shaped Canada's military culture – be they romantics or realists – from outside of the military.

Scholarly work on official military histories tell a different story, and are more close to the focus of this study. Wesley Gustavson and Patrick Brennan have both highlighted the importance of official military histories in shaping impressions of Canadian participation in the First World War, though in favour of its romanticized retelling. It was Col. Archer Fortescue Duguid, director of the Historical Section of the Department of National Defence,

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[17] McKay and Swift, *Warrior Nation*, 82.

[18] McKay and Swift, *Warrior Nation*, 292. This view can be seen as the result of national mythmaking itself, in contrast to the militaristic view of Canada as a "warrior nation" that McKay and Swift primarily focus on, and which can be found in the works of John Buchan as part of the War Propaganda Bureau through to Peter McKay's rhetoric in his role as Stephen Harper's Minister of Defence.

[19] McKay and Swift, *Warrior Nation*, 83.

whose official history defended Canada's military leadership against British official historians who were highly critical of Canadian Corps commander Sir Arthur Currie for his conduct at the Second Battle of Ypres. The efforts of Brigadier-General Sir James Edmonds, the British Army's senior historian, to provide a fair account of the "none too brilliant early performances of the Canadians" were unsurprisingly met with "outrage and thinly veiled accusations of anti-colonial prejudice from Canada."[20]

British contempt for Currie also extended to other Canadian commanders thought to be part of his "personal faction," including Sir Frederick Loomis, Commanding Officer of the Black Watch during the First World War.[21] Loomis is depicted in *The Landing of the First Canadian Division at St. Nazaire, 1915* – an artwork commissioned by Beaverbrook's CWMF – alongside the Pipes and Drums of the Black Watch, a typically romantic rendering of Canadian involvement in the First World War which hangs in the Senate Chamber, no doubt aided in its effect by Duguid's history.[22]

To understand the disconnect between Duguid and Edmonds' official histories, Gustavson notes the different purposes of writing history that each subscribed to. For

[20] Patrick Brennan, "The Other Battle: Imperialist vs. Nationalist Sentiments among Senior Officers of the Canadian Corps," in *Rediscovering the British World*, eds. Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 257.

[21] Brennan, "The Other Battle," 258.

[22] Edgar Bundy, "The Landing of the First Canadian Division at St. Nazaire, 1915," 1918, oil on canvas, 271.8 cm. x 452.8 cm., Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.

Edmonds, the sole purpose of an official history was to provide an objective account of the war, which should appeal to both the general reader and military professionals. Meanwhile, Duguid held that history's primary purpose was commemoration, and "saw no contradiction between historical accuracy and nationalist commemoration."[23] "Duguid therefore liberally interpreted an already broad mandate and actively set about moulding the memory of the war" in accordance with the preexisting romantic narrative that had largely been shaped by civil society. He also ensured that his official history would remain authoritative by controlling access to war records and denying access to those who undermined this narrative. For example, Duguid disapproved of the critical tone found in the writings of W.B. Kerr, a history professor and former Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) artilleryman, and subsequently denied his requests for information from the Department of Defence.[24]

In contrast to the works of Tommy Burns, the contributions of Duguid more closely resemble the contributions made by Black Watch personnel that will be examined here. That is, his official history represents more than the work of an individual soldier-scholar; it was produced under the auspices of the Department of National Defence. Yet, to only consider Duguid's example belies the full extent to which the military has worked collectively to shape military culture in Canada. In an obituary written in 1976, the historian and fellow soldier G.W.L. Nicholson remarked that Duguid would be chiefly remembered for his official history, noting that "many men have left a lesser memorial." Still, Nicholson lamented that Duguid had only managed to finish a single volume detailing the first year of the war, which he attributed to the work being "conceived on too grand a scale to be accomplished by one man lacking the assistance of a staff of trained historians."[25] By comparison, the cultural

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[23] Wesley Gustavson, "Competing Visions: Canada, Britain, and the Writing of the First World War," in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*, eds. Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 144.

[24] Gustavson, "Competing Visions," 146.

[25] G.W.L. Nicholson, "Archer Fortescue Duguid 1887-1976," *Historical Papers / Communications historiques* 11, no. 1 (1976): 270.

contributions of the Black Watch during the interwar period represent coordinated and varied attempts to integrate the romanticized narrative of the First World War into Canada's military culture. In Chapter Two, it will become clear that such contributions from within the Black Watch were undertaken largely as a regimental effort, involving cooperation not only between its constituent members, but between the regiment and civil society as well.

II

While the example of the Black Watch will be used here to shed light on how the military has actively shaped military culture in Canada, its status as a Highland regiment presents an opportunity to reflect also on the relationship between the military and Highlandism. This also affords for a discussion of the regiment's place within a British imperial context, and how the rise of Canadian nationalism following the Second World War precipitated a shift in the regiment's cultural milieu and priorities. The Black Watch became preoccupied during the postwar years with preserving the Highland cultural traditions and symbols that had been fundamental to its identity. In this sense, the history of the regiment's cultural contributions in the postwar period was very much a reflection of mid-twentieth century post-imperial angst.

Despite the sovereigntist tendencies of modern Scottish nationalism in this post-imperial age, the distinctiveness of the Scots – particularly Highlanders – and their culture within the United Kingdom emerged from a British imperial context. While much of the Lowlands had undergone a process of Anglicization by the time of the Acts of Union in 1707, the Highlands retained a linguistic and religious distinctiveness. However, the modern trappings of Highland culture that we often associate with the whole of Scotland today – such as tartans, kilts, and bagpipes – did not yet possess any quality of "Highlandness." In this context, a Highland culture was invented through a process of upholding Highlanders as a distinct peoples from both the English and Anglicized Lowlanders, who were deserving of equal respect within the new constitutional order of Great Britain. The kilt, though having

been invented by a Quaker from Lancashire in the 1720s, was soon incorporated into this process of self-mythologization, and came to represent an ancient Highland martial spirit following its adoption by the British Highland regiments, most notably the 42nd Regiment of Foot, the original Black Watch of Scotland.[26] Irish ballads were also appropriated in works such as the Ossian cycle of epic poems to create a supposedly indigenous literature for Celtic Scotland, a "chain of error" that was later perpetuated by the English historian Edward Gibbon.[27]

It is precisely this context which Benedict Anderson has cited in answering Tom Nairn's question of why no Scottish nationalist movement emerged in the late eighteenth century.[28] If Highlanders were to be deserving of a distinct respect within the nascent British state, the substance of their distinction would have to abide by Hanoverian conceptions of respectability. For Anderson, the process of self-mythologization that occurred after the Acts of Union therefore represents the continuation of Scotland's Anglicization, whereby Protestant and English-speaking Lowlanders collaborated with London to purge the Highlands of any Irish and Catholic cultural influences.[29] This Highland cultural identity, as it was invented in the eighteenth century, came to be absorbed into an emerging British nationalism which Linda Colley has famously described as having incorporated multiple identities. In her foundational work *Britons*, Colley writes that antipathies between Scots and Englishmen did not dissolve following the Acts of Union, "not least because of the persistence of Jacobitism until the 1740s."[30] However, she argues that by the second half of

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[26] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 21.

[27] Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition," 17.

[28] See Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain* (New York: Verso Books, 1977).

[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 90.

[30] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 117.

the eighteenth century, the Scots came to be seen by the ruling elites at Westminster as useful, loyal and every bit as *British* as England herself.[31]

It was through this process of absorbing the Highlanders into a new British imperial system that the connection between Highlandism and the military was solidified. As Colley further notes, the intentions of English-speaking Lowlanders and Hanoverian elites were to integrate Highlanders into a British commercial system that would not only secure their loyalty, but also allow them to be safely absorbed into the imperial war machine of an expanding British Empire. "Scotland," she writes, "was no longer an expensive nuisance" by the end of the eighteenth century but had become "the arsenal of the empire."[32] According to Hugh Trevor-Roper, it was the British Highland regiments alone that "kept the tartan industry alive."[33] By the 1780s, Highland dress was already being embraced by Scotland's upper and middle classes eager to use their mythologized identity in order to curry favour with a Hanoverian high command steeped in German military tradition, a tradition which held the existence of a natural aptitude for war among those from mountainous regions such as the Highlands.[34] By making appeals to these sentiments – for example, by exaggerating the importance of the declining clan system as a means for mustering troops – Scottish landowners benefited greatly from military patronage appointments granted to them by successive Whig governments in London.[35]

Though largely an opportunistic invention, this mythologized view of Highlanders as an ancient race of kilted warriors took on a certain reality outside the upper echelons of British society by the end of the eighteenth century. As Matthew Dziennik has observed, in the century that followed the Battle of Culloden, the Scottish Highlands became the most

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[31] Colley, *Britons*, 119.
[32] Colley, *Britons*, 120.
[33] Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition," 24-5.
[34] Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil: Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000), 16.
[35] Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, 62.

militarized area in Western Europe, with military recruitment representing the most significant activity of the state in the region. The post-Culloden period also saw monumental change in the landholding patterns of the Highlands, and access to North American land grants through military service became an attractive option for tenants facing an increasingly hostile estate environment.[36] For example, many veterans of the 78th Regiment of Foot, Fraser's Highlanders, eventually settled in Quebec following their victory on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, and later served Britain in North America once again during the American Revolution. Yet, as Dziennik argues, Highlanders not only embraced their new identity for personal advancement, but also for ideological reasons. Highland soldiers believed that access to land in North America could allow them to live freely as loyal British subjects, reflecting a concomitant belief in the ability of the British constitution to provide "this most central of rights."[37]

Throughout the nineteenth century, displays of Highland identity affirmed both the loyalty of Scots to Britain and the martial spirit of Highlanders, qualities that Lowlanders also began laying claim to. Using the example of Montreal's St. Andrew's Society, Gillian Leitch has considered this culture in a colonial context, illustrating how it informed a distinctly Scottish-Canadian identity. It was in the context of politically tumultuous times, in the years preceding the Rebellions of 1837-38, that the St. Andrew's Society was established by the city's Scottish elite in an effort to assert the connection between Scottish identity and British loyalism. Indeed, many of the Society's founding members, such as its first president, Peter McGill, were also active members of the Constitutional Association and shared its loyalist political outlook and emphasis upon the British presence in Lower Canada. The Society also embraced the romantic, mythologized view of Scotland that first emerged in the eighteenth century. At Burns Suppers and its annual St. Andrew's Ball, Society banners and likenesses

[36] Matthew Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 165.

[37] Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 176.

of Robert Burns and Highland soldiers in full costume were displayed alongside the flags and regalia of the British Empire.[38] Ultimately, these social gatherings allowed Montreal's Scottish community to relish in a unique heritage of its own within an overarching British identity, reflecting the "dual identity of society members as Scots and Britons" in the process.[39]

It was from this British imperial world that the Black Watch was raised by Montreal's Scottish elite in the midst of the American Civil War. In early 1862, General Orders of the Province of Canada had authorized the organization of several new Canadian regiments in response to fears of American belligerence, which would also fuel the idea of Confederation. Of these regiments was the 5th Battalion Royal Light Infantry, authorized with a strength of eight companies, six of which were respectively raised by local Montreal chieftains Haviland Routh, Andrew Allan, Gordon MacKenzie, James Mathewson, John Hopkins and Alexander Campbell, all of whom were of Scottish descent.[40] While the regiment was thus distinctly Scottish from its earliest days, this was not initially reflected in its name or the uniforms of its personnel; the regiment was in fact only redesignated as the current Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada in 1935. Rather, the 5th Battalion was initially a light infantry unit, outfitted with standard uniforms of British light infantry regiments distinguished by silver lace and buttons.

When the regiment was redesignated as the 5th Royal Fusiliers in 1875 and adopted the characteristic busby headdress of British fusilier regiments, it still lacked the superficial characteristics of a proper Highland regiment. Hutchison describes at length the various changes that the Black Watch underwent in seeking to express its Highland identity. As he

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[38] Gillian Leitch, "Scottish Identity and British Loyalty in Early-Nineteenth-Century Montreal," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, eds. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 216.

[39] Leitch, "Scottish Identity and British Loyalty in Early-Nineteenth-Century Montreal," 218.

[40] Paul Phelps Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch: The First Hundred Years, 1862-1962* (Toronto: T.H. Best Printing, 1962), 9.

remarks, from its inception there was a general sentiment among the ranks of the 5th Royal Fusiliers to emphasize "Highlandness" as intrinsic to their regimental identity.[41] In 1879, the regiment would undergo the first major step to fulfilling this desire when it adopted Highland doublets and tartan trews for all its personnel, which were paraded for the first time in Montreal on May 10th of that year. Following this, in 1880 the regiment was redesignated as the 5th Royal Scots Fusiliers and saw two of its companies completely outfitted with kilts. When the entire regiment was finally outfitted in Highland dress in 1883, it was again redesignated as the 5th Royal Scots of Canada the following year. Therefore, nearly twenty years after its authorization, a distinct Highland identity for the regiment had come to fruition, on display for all to see during weekly parade nights and demonstrations to mark special occasions such as the sovereign's birthday or jubilee.[42]

III

The local context was a powerful factor in shaping the Black Watch and facilitating its interactions with civil society. The regiment was indeed connected to and supported by the relatively tight-knit community that was Montreal's Square Mile. This close local analysis of the regiment's history provides new insight into the nexus between the military and civil society. It is thus imperative to situate the regiment geographically, which is crucial to understanding the particular arena for the regiment's interactions with civil society.

The transformation of the Black Watch during the latter half of the nineteenth century was cemented soon after the dawn of the twentieth broke, when the regiment would carry itself into the great conflicts that solidified its fame. This distinction was hard-fought. And the cost of outfitting a Highland regiment was also substantial, as Ottawa "found little money to modernize arms and equipment inherited from the 1860s" in the decades following Confederation.[43] Not unlike other militia regiments in Canada at the time, the accoutrements

[41] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 25.
[42] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 29-30.
[43] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2007), 96.

of the Black Watch's Highland identity were made possible through private funds. In the 1890s a special fund was started to outfit the regiment with feather bonnets, attracting donations from prominent Montreal Scots such as Sir Donald Smith, Sir William Christopher Macdonald, Senator Robert Mackay, and Sir H. Montagu Allan.[44]

Such acts of charity were grounded not only in links between military and civil society, but through class association as well. From its inception, the Black Watch had developed alongside Montreal's Golden Square Mile, where large sums of Canada's wealth – much of it accumulated by Scottish business figures – had been concentrating since the mid-nineteenth century. When the regiment's Scottish baronial-style armoury was built in 1906 on land donated by Sir Hugh Graham – later Lord Atholstan – it was already effectively the "Square Mile Regiment," with many of its officers having been drawn from the neighbourhood. Sir Hugh had contributed a generous donation of $5,000 for its construction, a sum that was matched by Robert Mackay and Lord Mount Stephen.[45] Mackay had been honorary colonel of the regiment since 1900, while Lord Mount Stephen's nephew, the indefatigable Col. George Stephen Cantlie, had joined the 5th Royal Scots in 1885.[46]

The relationship between the Black Watch and Montreal civil society was not maintained solely on an individual level but an institutional one as well. Many of the businesses of these prominent Square Mile millionaires were involved with the regiment. A receipt from 1911 shows that Henry Birks & Sons supplied stick pins, links, rings and vest buttons to the regiment at a "usual discount" of 10 per cent for such "esteemed orders."[47] Both Lt. Henry Gifford Birks and Lt. Gerald Alfred Birks, grandsons of the eponymous

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[44] Ernest J. Chambers, *The 5th Regiment Royal Scots of Canada Highlanders: A Regimental History* (Montreal: Guertin Print Company, 1904), 68.

[45] Roman Jarymowycz, *The History of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada*, vol. 1 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023), 50.

[46] "Black Watch Cheers 'Father of Regiment'," *Montreal Gazette*, April 20th, 1955, p. 3. Cantlie's career with the Black Watch would span 70 years, as was reported in the *Gazette* as a Commonwealth record. He was honorary colonel when he died in 1956 at the age of 89.

[47] H.B. Mitchell to Col. George S. Cantlie, March 2nd, 1911, BW-19, "Miscellaneous re: Uniforms," Black Watch Museum and Archives [hereafter BWMA], Montreal, Quebec.

Henry, fought with the Black Watch during the First World War as members of the 42nd and 73rd Battalions, respectively. Nor were these associations strictly limited to the Square Mile either. For instance, when the 73rd Battalion was raised in 1915, a special meeting of the Verdun branch of the Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association was called to discuss a proposal of raising funds for the presentation of a machine gun to the new battalion. It was conservatively estimated that $4 would need to be collected from each member in order to raise the $1,000 needed for the purchase of the gun. However, the plan was ultimately cancelled when Lt.-Col. Peers Davidson, Commanding Officer of the 73rd Battalion, relayed instructions from Ottawa that no raised funds could be earmarked for a particular battalion.[48]

In terms of military-civil society relations at the institutional level, the relationship between the Black Watch and the St. Andrew's Society is perhaps the most significant and certainly the most longstanding. This relationship was established in the nineteenth century, with a considerable overlap between regiment and Society membership that persisted into the early-twentieth century. Indeed, in an almost uninterrupted succession, seven out of the Society's eleven interwar presidents had served as officers in the Black Watch during the First World War.[49] The regiment has also played a key participatory role in the annual St. Andrew's Ball since 1895.[50] To this day, Highlights of the Ball such as the performance of the Address to a Haggis and the Debutantes' Waltz are punctuated by "Grand Marches" performed by the regiment's Pipes and Drums, whereby guests are led to and from the ballroom in an elaborate marching ceremony.

These associations between the Black Watch and local Square Mile society were integral to the cultural activities of the regiment. In the following two chapters, we will see

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[48] Sons of Scotland (district committee – Montreal district, Verdun branch), "Minute book, 1913-1922," MSG1205, series 7, file 24, box R-1205-8, McGill Rare Books and Special Collections, Montreal, Quebec.

[49] These men were: Col. George S. Cantlie (1917-1920); Lt.-Col. William Clark-Kennedy (1922-1924); Col. A.E. Ogilvie (1924-1926); Lt.-Col. Gavin L. Ogilvie (1928-1930); Col. Andrew Fleming (1930-1932); Col. William Leggat (1932-1934); and Col. Hugh M. Wallis (1936-1938). Lt.-Col. Sir H. Montagu Allan had also served as president immediately before the war, from 1911 to 1913.

[50] Jarymowycz, *The History of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada*, 1:37.

that the Black Watch's forays into producing and promoting military culture were seldom undertaken alone, and often benefited from the support of various individuals and institutions from within civil society. Local connections facilitated much of these activities. The local context of the Square Mile, as a distinct focus on this thesis, presents an opportunity to study how the Black Watch has collaborated with civil society to the end of promoting its Highland cultural connection.

CHAPTER TWO

Shaping Military Culture During the Interwar Period

The date was August 3rd, 1918, five days before a series of fierce Allied offensives against the German Army would commence, putting Europe on a road to eventual peace that would be realized with the Armistice signed that November. This Hundred Days Offensive began with the Battle of Amiens, which would end in a resounding victory over the Germans by combined British, Canadian, Australian, French, and American forces. In preparation for the approaching battle, the 42nd Battalion was tasked with crossing the flooded and swampy Luce River to capture Hill 102, a German strongpoint.[51] While performing reconnaissance of the area from which the 42nd was to advance, its Commanding Officer, Lt.-Col. Bartlett McLennan, and his party were spotted and shelled by German artillery. McLennan was killed, thus marking the 42nd's "bitterest day" of the war according to the battalion's official history.[52] News of McLennan's death resounded not only throughout the regiment but the entire Canadian Corps. In an unprecedented show of support, and despite the preoccupations of the imminent Hundred Days Offensive, his funeral was attended by Gen. Arthur Currie, Maj.-Gen. Louis Lipsett, Brig.-Gen. Hugh Dyer, and many other distinguished officers at Longueau the following day.

Though McLennan's social status might have been typical of the Black Watch's officer class – he was the son of a successful Golden Square Mile merchant – the weight of

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[51] Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting in the Great War 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008), 433.

[52] Charles Bereford Topp, *The 42nd Battalion, C.E.F., Royal Highlanders of Canada, in the Great War* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co. Ltd., 1931), 204.

his loss on the regiment was commensurate with a truly exceptional military career. He had been awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) for his service at the Battle of Mont Sorrel, and was three times mentioned in despatches.[53] In the years that followed the war's end, as the whole of Canada was deciding on how to appropriately commemorate its war dead, it was only appropriate that McLennan's service be properly honoured. The regiment ultimately sought out James Ballantine of Edinburgh to design a stained glass window in his memory, and to the memory of all the officers and men of the 42nd.[54] The window was unveiled at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul on Dorchester Street in November of 1921.

The window is separated into three sections and conveys the religious undertones of the military culture described by Jonathan Vance.[55] The central section is divided into three "lights," featuring a depiction of Christ in the middle, flanked on either side by David holding the head of Goliath, and Saint Andrew bearing his saltire, emblematic of Scotland. To the left of this display is a medieval Crusader with sword and shield in hand, standing above the Cross of Saint George and gazing up at the face of Christ as the recipient of his devotion and reason for his plight. On the right, a private of the 42nd Battalion in full kit is depicted in the same pose above the Black Watch regimental badge, drawing an obvious comparison of the modern soldier as a modern Crusader and defender of Christendom. These three sections are mounted above words of memory to McLennan and all men of the 42nd, concluding with the epitaph: "They sought the glory of their country / They see the glory of God."

This example of the McLennan Window encapsulates two important themes that will be examined throughout this chapter. First, it illustrates the local interaction between the regiment and civil society in cultural production. Not only did the regiment seek out individuals such as Ballantine, but the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, as the regimental

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[53] Jarymowycz, *The History of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada*, 1:207.

[54] Ballantine worked for the Scottish firm of Ballantine and Gardiner started by his father, whose most famous commission is most likely the stained glass windows found in the British House of Lords.

[55] See Vance, "Christ in Flanders," in *Death so Noble*, 35-72.

church of the Black Watch, presented an opportunity for personnel to directly involve themselves in this act of memorialization. At the unveiling ceremony, the window was presented to the Church by Lt.-Col. Royal Ewing, McLennan's successor as Commanding Officer of the 42nd Battalion. It was accepted on behalf of the Church by Brig.-Gen. James G. Ross, a veteran of the 13th Battalion and chairman of the Church board of trustees.[56] The sermon was delivered by Maj. the Rev. George G.D. Kilpatrick, padre of the 42nd Battalion.[57] Secondly, the commissioning of the window relied on private donation from within the regiment and its production was shaped by the regiment. Wealthy individual members contributed with their pocketbooks, such as a personal contribution of £1,000 made by Ewing to Ballantine for the design and installation of the window.[58] While Ballantine would have certainly taken charge in the design of the window, the regiment also clearly had some creative license. This is evidenced by the inclusion of a small Star of David in honour of Lt. Myer Tutzer Cohen, a Jewish officer of the 42nd, affectionately referred to as "MacCohen" by his brothers in arms, who was killed at Passchendaele in 1917.

I

The interwar period was a time of unprecedented concern for how Canada's military would be – and indeed ought to be – remembered by posterity. Fuelled by tensions between realist and romantic interpretations of the First World War, the nature of Canada's military culture hung in the balance of this peacetime cultural conflict. Writing was perhaps the most democratic means of expressing one's interpretation of the war, with differing experiences, memories, and aspirations all finding their way into the pages of books and articles early on.

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[56] Jarymowycz, *The History of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada*, 1:333-4. In 1924, General J.G. Ross retired as chairman of the board of trustees; Colonel G.S. Cantlie took his place. Presiding over the church as they awaited a new minister was Lieutenant Colonel The Reverend Alexander M. Gordon DSO MC. Noting that Colonels Ewing, Leggat and Starke were also on the board, Presbyterian wags wondered if the governance of St. Andrew and St. Paul was "emblematic of the Church militant."

[57] "Unveiled Window to Fallen Heroes: Gift of 42nd Battalion to Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul," *Montreal Gazette*, November 14th, 1921, p. 4.

[58] James Ballantine to Col. R.L.H. Ewing, December 30th, 1921, BW-34, "Event Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

An examination of written works published during the interwar period therefore serves as a good starting point for discussing how members of the Black Watch involved themselves in shaping memory of the war. Though the regiment has distinguished itself in a multitude of ways both on and off the battlefield, it is seldom remembered for the impressive number of writers it produced during the First World War. The history of the Black Watch's involvement in that conflict was largely self-published.

Many works produced by individuals rejected the romanticism characteristic of the official histories of the Black Watch; yet, both represent cultural outputs from within the military itself. Furthermore, this dichotomy of narratives speaks to the local context of the Golden Square Mile. Whereas the official histories represented a joint effort between military and civil society within the milieu of the Square Mile, individual writings were largely produced by outsiders to the local life of the regiment who were more willing to engage in realism.

The earliest individual work written by a member of the regiment was Cpl. William Breckenridge's *From Vimy to Mons: A Historical Narrative*, published privately in 1919. Breckenridge, a native of Scotland who had joined the 42nd Battalion in 1915 as a signal sergeant, provides a first-hand account of his experiences during the twilight of the war.[59] His narrative is decidedly realist, exemplified by his description of the vengeful spirit that overtook the 42nd following the death of McLennan. He recounts coming across a group of German prisoners at Amiens begging "Merci Kamerad, Merci Kamerad," and replying to them "Merci Kamerad nothing. You tried hard to get us and now we're going to get you." However, despite these harsh words and the suggestion by Lt.-Col. Ewing that all the prisoners be killed, it was Breckenridge who ultimately convinced his new Commanding Officer that to "kill them in cold blood [would] pay them back at their own game."[60] The

[59] "Final Tribute Is Accorded To W. Breckenridge," *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, June 4th, 1959, p. 5.
[60] William Breckenridge, *From Vimy to Mons* (self-published, 1919), 168.

Germans' lives were spared, and they were instead put to work as stretcher-bearers. Another realist account of the war can be found in Maj. W.G. Peterson's *Silhouettes of Mars* (1920), which opens with the haunting words, "We had dreamed of war; now we lived amidst its realities. We had often read of battles; now, at last, we fought them… For war had gripped us swiftly, pulling off his mask and suddenly disclosing the hideousness of the face beneath… The papers were right then! This is war!"[61]

These works, however, often blurred the line between romanticism and realism, and could strike a balance that is best exemplified in the works of Cpl. Will R. Bird. Bird was undoubtedly the most prolific writer to come out of the Black Watch. He had begun his career as an author from a military hospital bed overseas after submitting a short story to Halifax's *Sunday Leader* that would later secure him a job with the paper. In the early 1930s, Bird published three books in quick succession that chronicled his experience serving with the 42nd Battalion: *And We Go On* (1930), *Thirteen Years After* (1931), and *The Communication Trench* (1933). The most successful of these works, *And We Go On*, is a relatively unknown classic today. It was in this book, as Ian McKay and Robin Bates have noted, that Bird acted as an "*engagé* writer bent on countering an emergent fashionable skepticism about the Great War" represented by such contemporaneous works as Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) and, especially, Charles Yale Harrison's *Generals Die in Bed* (1930).[62]

Though sharply critical of those who sought to depict the war through the lens of a "sordid" realism, and resentful of their pacifist criticisms, Bird was nonetheless resistant to the mythology of the war. Hence the subtitle of the book: "A story of the War by a Private in the Canadian Black Watch; a Story Without Filth or Favor." In *And We Go On*, Bird blends a realist interpretation of the war with a kind of individualized romanticism, especially of the spiritual variety which Vance has highlighted in religious understandings of the war. Bird's

[61] W.G. Peterson, *Silhouettes of Mars* (London: John Lane Company, 1920), 1.
[62] Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In the Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 134.

graphic descriptions of combat are compounded with a very personal understanding loss, particularly the loss of his brother Stephen, a private of the 25th Battalion (Nova Scotia Rifles) who was killed in 1915 by a German landmine. Bird describes seeing the ghost of his brother while he took shelter in the cellar of a ruined building during the Battle of Arras; the ghost saved his life by leading him out on the street just before a "a salvo of shells" destroyed what was left of the structure. As they stepped out of the cellar, just "like the smoke and mist that drifted away from [the shells], Steve faded away from view."[63] "His warm hands pulled me from the bivvy," Bird later wrote in *Ghosts Have Warm Hands* (1968), the republication of *And We Go On*, "he had saved my life."[64]

The works of Bird, Breckenridge, and Peterson also offer insight into the internal class dynamics that were at play in the writing of the regiment's history. Though Bird cannot be easily characterized as a realist, McKay and Bates note that he

> ...sharply rebuked the elites who had run the war and then set the terms of its remembrance. He savaged the military record-keepers [such as Col. A.F. Duguid] who continued to guard bits of information "more closely than the gold of the Mint," even from veterans. …With respect to the crop of battalion histories emerging in the 1930s, he acidly remarked that those of the 16th and 42nd should have come bearing the disclaimer "For Officers Only."[65]

Such a willingness on the part of Bird, Breckenridge and Peterson to rebuke the Black Watch's officer class by engaging in realism is reflective of their position as outsiders to the Golden Square Mile. Bird was from Nova Scotia and returned there after the war, where he later established himself as a writer. Meanwhile, Breckenridge had come to Canada from Scotland in 1906, and had moved to Sherbrooke after the war.[66] Peterson, another Scottish expatriate, was the son of Sir William Peterson, principal of McGill University from 1895 to 1919. He had moved with his family to Canada when his father was appointed principal, and

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[63] Will R. Bird, *And We Go On* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 169.

[64] Will R. Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands: A Memoir of the Great War, 1916-1919* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1968), 41.

[65] McKay and Bates, *In the Province of History*, 137.

[66] "Wm. Breckenridge Ex-Sherbrooke Resident Dies," *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, June 1st, 1959, p. 3.

returned to Scotland after the war to pursue a career in academia, where he ultimately ended up teaching at the University of St. Andrews.[67]

Not unlike other official military histories, the histories of the Black Watch's three battalions of the CEF were steeped in a romantic interpretation of the war and were indeed, as Bird's disclaimer asserts, written "for officers, *by* officers." In other words, these histories engage in a kind of romanticism by omission, whereby the heroic deeds of individual soldiers are privileged so that the reader is left with a picture of the war as a glorious and hard-fought campaign to preserve Christian civilization. Accounts of officer incompetence and gruesome descriptions of seemingly vain sacrifices are not to be found within their pages. This romanticism – more subtle than the poetic works of W.D. Lighthall or Marjorie Pickthall – was produced as part of a collective effort between the regiment's officer class and civil society to perpetuate Canada's war myth.

In 1932, Maj. Charles Bereford Topp, known to his fellow officers simply as "Toppo," published the official history of the 42nd Battalion during the First World War, of which he had been second-in-command. His was an officer's history of the kind loathed by Bird: "based upon the official War Diary of the 42nd Battalion… [and] kept as part of their duty by the various Officers who served as Adjutant." None other than Col. A.F. Duguid aided Topp in the writing. Duguid "not only outlined the general structure of the book with chapter headings, but read the proofs as well as the manuscript."[68] As one might expect, Topp favoured a romantic narrative of the 42nd that Duguid was happy to assist him with, which largely omits the experiences and visceral recollections such as those of Bird and Breckenridge.

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[67] Sir William Peterson "was one of Britain's greatest gifts to Canada, but he, at least, always knew that he was only on long loan." S.B. Frost, "Peterson, Sir William," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003.

[68] Topp, *The 42nd Battalion*, vii.

The book details the operations of the 42nd chronologically and assesses its effectiveness in an unvarnished manner that lacks poetic descriptions of either great successes or catastrophic failures. It reads as a series of reports, which are peppered with praise for the actions of specific individuals throughout: "Sgt. William Bestwetherick… assumed command of the platoon and his coolness during the whole operation was outstanding,"[69] "LCpl. M.R. Comba was number one of a Lewis gun crew and handled his gun with skill and coolness throughout the operation,"[70] and "Lt.-Col. C.J.S. Stewart… was the most gallant gentleman who had won the honour and love of the whole Brigade."[71] Though these words of praise are largely reserved for officers, Topp by no means undermines the service of other ranks and acknowledges that "individual acts of gallantry [within the battalion] were so numerous that it [would be] impossible to recognize all of them."[72] These recollections contrast to Breckenridge's account of having to calm down a hotheaded officer at Amiens, or Bird's description of an officer who, ignoring his warning, was killed by a German sniper after looking over a trench.[73] Topp's descriptions of conflict are presented as matter of fact. Whereas Peterson described Passchendaele as a "grim stretch of horror… a quaking morass of hideous mud and other things,"[74] Topp describes the battle as "another night and day of the utmost discomfort, during which the enemy's fire was of the heaviest nature."[75] His history thus selectively upholds acts of gallantry rather than first-hand experiences of the horrors of war.

The means by which Topp's history was written provides insight into the regimental effort behind the work, in contrast to the individual writings of outsiders such as Bird, Breckenridge and Peterson. It was published by the Gazette Printing Company, whose vice-

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[69] Topp, *The 42nd Battalion*, 141.
[70] Topp, *The 42nd Battalion*, 170.
[71] Topp, *The 42nd Battalion*, 278.
[72] Topp, *The 42nd Battalion*, 276.
[73] Bird, *And We Go On*, 22.
[74] Peterson, *Silhouettes of Mars*, 75-77.
[75] Topp, *The 42nd Battalion*, 167.

The McLennan Window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. Note the small Star of David to the left of David's head in honour of 'MacCohen.'[76]

[76] A description taken from the same unveiling ceremony booklet as this illustration reads as follows: "Architecturally, the window is divided into three lights, flanked on either side by single lights. The central feature of the design is a Celtic figure of the youthful Christ, radiant and victorious in the lift of humanity. Grouped round Him are the Scriptural figures of David, who is holding the head of Goliath, typifying our young new Army, in its conquest of right over might, and also of St. Andrew, with the emblematic Cross of Scotland, to whose original regiment of the Black Watch this Battalion is affiliated. In the left-hand light is a figure of a Crusader in mediæval armour, with shield and sword; beneath are the emblems of the Cross and the Crown of Thorns. In the right-hand light is a figure of a modern Crusader—a Private of the 42nd Bn. R.H.C., in complete battle array; beneath is the regimental badge." Memorial Window Booklet, 1921, BW-27, "Church Ceremonies," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

president, John Bassett, had a son in the regiment, John W.H. Bassett. According to the elder Bassett, the total cost of the books, numbering nearly one thousand copies, was the substantial sum of $4,486.86.[77] As a letter sent from Lt.-Col. Herbert Molson to Lt.-Col. Ewing in 1934 reveals, the remaining printing expenses not recuperated from sales of the book amounted to $2,034.25. These heavy costs were covered at least in part by individual contributions from members of the regiment, including a generous $500 contribution from Lt.-Col. George S. Cantlie that was subsequently matched by Molson.[78] Like Ewing, Cantlie had commanded the 42nd during the war, with Molson having also served in the battalion along with two of his brothers. It is also worth noting that the two copies of this history held at McGill University's McLennan Library were donated by its namesake, Isabella McLennan, sister of Bartlett, who also assisted in the book's publication. "My grateful thanks are given," Topp wrote, "to all those who have helped in the compilation of the book and particularly to Colonel Ewing and Miss I.C. McLennan, to whose constant encouragement, advice and practical assistance in selecting material and editing the manuscript such merit as this work may possess is largely due."[79]

Topp's history of the 42nd Battalion therefore represents the fruits of both a wider regimental effort and a collaboration between the Black Watch and civil society, very much rooted in the Square Mile. As the book's author, Topp was also his own subject as an officer of the 42nd; this positionality defined the way in which he wrote about the battalion's service, and inclined him towards the romanticism that Col. Duguid was happy to assist him in producing. Ewing, Cantlie, and Molson – his brothers in arms – also acted as his subjects, editors, and patrons; likewise, their support for the book, financial or otherwise, not only made it possible for Topp to produce his history but their status as officers further helped to

[77] John Bassett to Lt.-Col. George S. Cantlie, October 22nd, 1934, BW-07, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[78] Lt.-Col. Herbert Molson to Lt.-Col. R.L.H. Ewing, January 18th, 1935, BW-07, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[79] Topp, *The 42nd Battalion*, viii.

set the romantic tone of the work. This regimental effort to publish the book benefitted from additional civil society support. Isabella McLennan helped to edit and disseminate the book, while John Bassett published it; both belonged to Montreal high society and had a vested interest in the book's content as members of the Black Watch regimental family. These combined efforts of both the regiment and civil society were responsible for the production and dissemination of the history of the 42nd Battalion.

Histories of the regiment's two additional CEF battalions were also produced alongside Topp's volume. And they share Topp's romantic interpretation. The official history of the 13th Battalion was actually the first of the three to be published, having been written by R.C. Fetherstonhaugh in 1925 and self-published by the battalion.[80] Unlike Topp, Fetherstonhaugh did not have an immediate connection to the regiment, though his brother, the architect Harold Lea Fetherstonhaugh, had designed the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. The history of the 73rd Battalion was completed in 1944 by Col. Paul Hutchison, though only a small number of typed volumes were produced until the book was properly published in 2011.[81] Officers could also produce individual histories, such as Col. A.L.S. Mills' *Reminiscences of an Infantry Officer 1914-17* (1940), a war memoir from an officer's perspective and decidedly less critical of the war's mythologization than the realist works of Bird, Breckenridge, and Peterson. Mills, the son of the Anglican Bishop of Ontario, served as the regiment's Commanding Officer from 1931 to 1932. The foreword to his book thanks both Col. Paul Hutchison and Capt. Hugh Mathews for "reading the manuscript and making many valuable suggestions" to the work, further illustrating how these histories produced from within the regiment were usually a collective undertaking.[82]

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[80] R.C. Fetherstonhaugh, *13th Battalion Royal Highlanders of Canada 1914-1919* (Montreal: 13th Battalion Royal Highlanders of Canada, 1925).

[81] Paul Phelps Hutchison, *The 73rd Battalion Royal Highlanders of Canada, 1915-1917* (Montreal: Royal Highlanders of Canada, 2011).

[82] A.L.S. Mills, *Reminiscences of an Infantry Officer 1914-17* (self-published, 1940), i.

In countering the realist narratives found in the writings of other Black Watch personnel, the authors and contributors to these officers' histories were well aware of their wider significance. Though the fighting had ended, a new culture war had emerged in which the legacies of officers were at stake, and favourable public opinion had to be continuously maintained. After all, in 1927, the *Port Hope Evening Guide* had published a scathing attack on Gen. Arthur Currie for having ordered an attack on the Belgian city of Mons on November 11th, 1918, with the knowledge that an armistice had already been signed. Currie sued for libel, and sought $50,000 from the newspaper in a court case which Robert J. Sharpe has described as the final battle of the Canadian Corps. When a parade of senior Canadian officers was called to testify during the trial, it was Col. Royal Ewing of the 42nd who was first to take the stand.[83] During Ewing's testimony, the *Evening Guide's* lawyer suggested that it would have been better for the 42nd to have remained where it was and not enter Mons, to which Ewing replied "You mean if we hadn't gone to France at all?"[84] Currie was ultimately vindicated in the lawsuit, though compensated only $500 for his troubles, and the liberation of Mons remains a great source of pride for the Black Watch. Yet, if it had not been clear before the trial, it certainly would have been after the fact, not least to Ewing: should the regiment's officers wish to preserve their legacy, they would have to actively do so, beyond writing alone.

II

As the example of Topp's history illustrates, efforts at shaping military culture from within the Black Watch could be – and were often – undertaken as a collaborative effort between the regiment and local individuals or organizations within civil society. When such activities occurred locally, it was through the pre-established institutional and familial linkages of the Golden Square Mile. Further consideration of the relationship between the Black Watch and

[83] Robert J. Sharpe, *The Last Day, the Last Hour: The Currie Libel Trial* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 170.

[84] Sharpe, *The Last Day, the Last Hour*, 171.

another Square Mile institution, the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, demonstrates the significance of these local networks and contributes new insight on the regrettably understudied subject of military-civil society relations in Canada.

The Church of St. Andrew's and St. Paul was founded in 1918 when the congregation of St. Paul's Church united with that of St. Andrew's Church, with the regiment having had associations with each prior to this arrangement. The connection between the Black Watch and St. Andrew's began in 1882, when the regiment's own Chaplain, Capt. the Rev. J. Edgar Hill, had become its minister, and it was here where the McLennan Window had originally been installed in 1922. This church, which had been located on Beaver Hall Hill near Victoria Square, was torn down in 1927 to make way for the imposing Bell Telephone Building that still occupies its former lot. Furthermore, the regiment's original 1862 Colours had been laid up in St. Paul's on Dorchester Street since 1912, until that church was demolished around 1928, though ultimately rebuilt and later repurposed. It is from this context that the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul was constructed on Sherbrooke Street in 1932, which remains the current and sole regimental church of the Black Watch.

Though it is difficult to determine exactly how many Black Watch personnel have belonged to the congregation of the Church of St. Andrew's and St. Paul or its predecessors over the years, the regiment's presence within the church's governing body is much clearer. The regiment's presence was particularly strong during the interwar period, when members of the regiment were involved in the construction of the new church.

Contemporary financial statements suggest that the total cost of constructing the new church, including the purchase of the land, totalled $740,925.59, though $305,917 of this was covered by the sale of the old St. Andrew's Church.[85] According to a memorandum prepared by H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, the architect, the estimated cost of moving the stained glass from

[85] Riddell, Stead, Graham & Hutchison, "Report on Our Examination of the Cost of the Construction of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul," 1932, File-124, "Cost of Construction of New Church," Archives of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul [hereafter A&P], Montreal, Quebec.

the old St. Andrew's Church alone, including the McLennan Window, had been around $17,000.[86] The burden of these high expenses was shouldered in part by members of the congregation, who collectively pledged $117,381 towards the cost of the new church.[87] While it is reasonable to assume that many of these pledges were made by more affluent members of the Black Watch who belonged to the congregation, especially considering the context of the Great Depression, the amounts of individual contributions are unknown. Nonetheless, indicative of the Black Watch's important role, Col. Ewing, Col. Leggat, and Col. Fleming all helped to organize appeals campaigns to recuperate money for the congregation on behalf of the church board of trustees in 1931 and 1933.

The involvement of the regiment in the church's construction can also be seen in other and perhaps more interesting ways. While the availability of funds was an important consideration in the construction of the new church, the question of where the church should be located and the availability of land was of equal concern, particularly for the Black Watch. Rapid urban development had been underway in Montreal since the beginning of the twentieth century, and as early as 1910, speculators were already driving up the prices of land across the island.[88] This only continued during the interwar period, though development was slowed by the onset of the Depression. The land which the old St. Paul's Church had occupied on Dorchester Street before its removal was absorbed into an ambitious Canadian National Railways project to construct a terminal station and office buildings, though the project was halted in the early 1930s due to financial troubles and the site subsequently

[86] H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, "Memorandum," June 12th, 1930, File-125, "Sale of the Property to C.N.R.," A&P, Montreal, Quebec.

[87] The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, "Statement of Cash Received and Cash Paid in Connection With Erection of New Church," October 5th, 1932, File-265, A&P, Montreal, Quebec.

[88] Gilles Sénécal and Nathalie Vachon, "Metropolitan Expansion: The Challenge of Polycentricity," in *Montreal: The History of a North American City*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod, vol. 2 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 78.

became known as the "Dorchester Street Hole."[89] Finding an appropriate lot for the new church was a challenging task.

The central figure in securing the land for the new church was Col. Royal Ewing of the 42nd Battalion. A member of the congregation and church board of trustees, Ewing was also a broker with the real estate insurance company he had established with his brother in 1906, Ewing & Ewing, which had insured both the old St. Andrew's and St. Paul's churches. Acting on behalf of his company, Ewing seems to have been personally involved in negotiating the purchase of the land on Sherbrooke Street that was to become the site of the new church, which belonged to the estate of Senator Robert Mackay. This was made clear in a letter from Ewing to Norman J. Dawes in 1927, then chairman of the church board of trustees. He wrote that "the situation in so far as the Mackay Estate are concerned is that it was only through the kindness and intervention of Mr. Hugh Mackay, K.C., and the fact that he would like the Church to have the property, that we succeeded in obtaining the option."[90] It is also worth reiterating that it was the late Senator Mackay who had contributed $5,000 for the construction of the Black Watch's armoury in 1906, and it is likely that Ewing would have already been acquainted with the Mackay family.

The importance of the new church's location for the Black Watch cannot be understated. Since the nineteenth century, the Black Watch had held an annual church parade in which the regiment would march with great pomp and circumstance from its headquarters to attend services at St. Andrew's Church, accompanied, of course, by its famous Pipes and Drums. The last parade before the construction of the new church was described by the *Montreal Gazette* as

> [o]ne of the most largely attended of any annual church parade ever held by the Royal Highlanders of Canada… when the regiment marched out four hundred and

[89] Don Nerbas, "William Zeckendorf, Place Ville-Marie, and the Making of Modern Montreal." *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 43, no. 2 (2015): 6.

[90] Col. Royal L.H. Ewing to Norman J. Dawes, October 26th, 1927, File-130, "Mr. Dawes," A&P, Montreal, Quebec.

> sixty strong, and paraded to the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul [on Dorchester Street]… Many were the praises sung of this popular unit, which never fails to attract a large number of interested spectators, numbering hundreds on every occasion that it parades through [the] streets of Montreal.[91]

If the new church had been constructed too far from the armoury, this would have obviously threatened this tradition, depriving the regiment of an opportunity to engage with civilians through a public display of martial prowess that was aligned with the romantic histories produced by Topp, Fetherstonhaugh, and Hutchison. Indeed, following the unification of the two congregations in 1918, it was not intended that the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul would remain near the Black Watch armoury, as the "locality of the… Churches [was] increasingly felt to be a serious hindrance to their work."[92] Having the new location on Sherbrooke Street helped ensure the survival of the annual church parade, which continues to this day.

Once the land for the new church had been secured, its construction commenced, naturally, with the process of hiring an architect. In 1929, it was decided by the congregation's newly formed building committee that a design competition would be held, with the winner being awarded the contract for the new church. The building committee included several Black Watch officers, such as Lt.-Col. William Leggat, Lt.-Col Robert Starke, and Col. Andrew Fleming, the latter serving as chairman of the church board of trustees during the construction of the new church.[93] Whether their connection to H.L. Fetherstonaugh's brother, who had written the official history of the 13th Battalion, had any bearing on him being given the contract to design the new church is a matter of speculation. However, it is possible that their preference for Fetherstonaugh was influenced by the fact that his design left the McLennan Window intact despite competition regulations allowing for

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[91] "Fifty Years in R. H. of C. Honored," *Montreal Gazette*, October 8th, 1928, p. 2.

[92] J.S.S. Armour, *Saints, Sinners and Scots: A History of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal 1803-2003* (Montreal: The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 2003), 154

[93] Other Black Watch officers who sat on the church board of trustees during the interwar period included Brig.-Gen. James G. Ross, Col. Royal Ewing, Col. George S. Cantlie, Lt.-Col. Gavin L. Ogilvie, and Lt.-Col. W.W. Ogilvie, all veterans of the First World War.

reused stained glass windows to "be modified to some extent" to make their reinstallation more feasible.[94] Not all windows were spared in his design. For example, a window commissioned in honour of the Rev. James Barclay from the old St. Paul's Church had its lower panels incorporated in the new church's chapel, while its upper circular windows were divided between the Minister's study and another Presbyterian church at Métis-sur-Mer.[95]

Given the Black Watch presence on the committee, it is unsurprising that the competition regulations also made clear to prospective designers that a "provision [must] be made for memorial tablets" in the entrance hall to the new church so as to properly commemorate the congregation's war dead, many of whom had belonged to the regiment. This was also incorporated into Fetherstonaugh's design, and three bronze memorial tablets commemorating Black Watch soldiers were subsequently installed near the church's entrance where they could easily draw the attention of congregants. These tablets are dedicated to the memories of: Capt. Leon Hall Curry of the 42nd Battalion, son of Senator Nathaniel Curry; Maj. Gilbert Donald McGibbon of the 13th Battalion; and Maj. Edward Cuthbert Norsworthy, also of the 13th Battalion, who had been Second in Command of the regiment. Along with the memorial tablets, the new church also became home to the regimental colours, which hang alongside the pews and ultimately direct one's attention to the McLennan Window. The construction of the new church was thus significantly influenced by the Black Watch and represented a powerful articulation of the military presence in civil society.

In addition to the opening of the church and the publication of Topp's history of the 42nd Battalion, 1932 was a particularly active year for the regiment. That year happened to be the 174th anniversary of the Battle of Carillon, where the 42nd Regiment of Foot – the original Black Watch – had participated in a failed defence of Fort Ticonderoga (then known

[94] "Regulations governing architectural competition for new church building for the congregation of the St. Andrew and St. Paul presbyterian church, Montreal," 1929, File-136, A&P, Montreal, Quebec.

[95] Armour, *Saints, Sinners and Scots*, 133.

as Fort Carillon) against the forces of Montcalm during the Seven Years' War. A joint effort was mounted between the Société Historique de Montréal and the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal to commemorate the battle. The effort had been spearheaded by A. de Lery Macdonald, a well-known Montreal lawyer and historian. "The immediate purpose of this pilgrimage," wrote Macdonald in a letter to Col. A.L.S. Mills, was to "attach to the walls of the old Fort a bronze tablet to the memory of Chartier de Lotbinière, Canadian Engineer who planned and built Fort Carillon."[96]

In a more specific appeal, Macdonald made clear that this would be an opportunity for the present generation to recall "the heroism of the Canadian Militia and of the Black Watch on that occasion."[97] Col. Mills, then commanding officer of the regiment, was appointed a member of a committee tasked with organizing the delegation, which also included Sir H. Montagu Allan, then serving as honorary colonel. In the end, several officers of the Black Watch and 65th Carbiniers de Mont Royal were sent, as well as a military band which participated in a parade with the 105th Ambulance Company of Ticonderoga and the local branch of the American Legion. In total, over 200 Canadian delegates attended the ceremony, which also included: A. de Lery Macdonald; Victor Morin, writer and Montreal city councillor; Abbé Olivier Maurault of the Université de Montréal; and W.D. Lighthall, the war poet and Macdonald's law partner.[98]

In addition to working with various cultural institutions, the Black Watch also maintained relationships with members of the business community. Also in 1932, for example, the regiment hosted the Duke of Montrose during a visit to Canada in his capacity as Honorary President of the Scottish Trade Mission. The trade mission had been organized

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[96] "Seigneury Head Dies Here: A. de Léry Macdonald Was Descendant Of de Lotbiniere," *The Montreal Star*, May 22nd, 1939. Lotbiniere was an ancestor of Macdonald.

[97] Société Historique de Montréal, "Dévoilement d'une plaque commémorative au Marquis de Chartier de Lotbinière, Chevalier de St. Louis, Capitaine de la Marine et Ingénieur du Roi sur la frontière de Carillon, 1755-1758," 1932, BW-34, "Letters/Invitations," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[98] "Fort Ticonderoga Tablet Dedicated: Delegation of Canadians See Memorial Unveiled to Marquis de Lotbiniere," *Montreal Gazette*, July 11th, 1932, p. 4.

to promote economic exchange between Scotland and Canada during the Depression by exhibiting a large variety of products brought on the ocean liner *Letitia*, which had on board eighty-seven stalls exhibiting 140 different lines of manufactured goods. Among the manufacturers included in the initiative was Peter Henderson Ltd., the famous bagpipe maker and Highland dress outfitter which supplied the Black Watch, whose company representatives accompanied the Duke on his tour of the armoury. Upon his return to Scotland, the Duke expressed thanks to Lt.-Col. H.M. Wallis on behalf of himself and his colleagues: "Personally I will long remember my visit to your Headquarters; and the splendid parade of your fine Regiment. The Pipe Band was quite one of the best I have ever heard."[99]

However, the effects of the Depression and a lack of regimental funds appears to have taken a toll on the regiment's cultural activities. This is reflected in a letter sent from Col. Charles E. Walsh of the Tenth Regiment Infantry of the New York National Guard to Col. A.L.S. Mills on June 9th, 1932. Walsh expressed regret that America's "sister country to the North was not represented" by the Black Watch at Albany's Port Celebration for that year. "We were in hopes that your outfit would be here to lend added color to the ceremonies, but, as in everything else now, lack of funds prevented the transportation and subsistence of your Regiment to this City."[100] The regiment had participated in an annual Memorial Day parade in New York City in 1925 and 1927 on the invitation of the British Great War Veterans of America, and it seems that participation in this event was halted as well during the 1930s.[101]

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[99] Duke of Montrose to Col. H.M. Wallis, July 20th, 1932, BW-34, "Letters/Invitations," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[100] Col. Charles E. Walsh to Col. A.L.S. Mills, June 9th, 1932, BW-34, "Letters/Invitations," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[101] "Black Watch Here for Two Busy Days," *The New York Times*, May 31st, 1925; "Canadians to Parade Here: Men of the Black Watch Will March on Memorial Day," *The New York Times*, May 1st, 1927; "Canadian Troops Aid Benefit Here," *The New York Times*, February 3rd, 1932; "Sovereigns Chat Informally With Subjects Who Acclaim Them at World's Fair," *The New York Times*, June 11th, 1939. There is no mention in local newspapers of the Black Watch visiting New York City after 1932, when it performed at a benefit put on by the Canadian Club of New York. The regiment did not even make the trip in 1939 when George VI and the Queen Mother attended that year's World Fair. Instead, the "Yonkers Kilty Band," consisting of ten pipers and six drummers, served as a guard of honour dressed as members of the Black Watch and Seaforth Highlanders.

These interactions speak to the independence which the Black Watch was afforded under the British regimental system in Canada, an important factor in its ability to engage in cultural activities. Rather than acting strictly as a representative of the Canadian government or even the Canadian military – bound by the formalities and expectations thereof – the regiment could interact with civil society as an independent body. Moreover, this also allowed the regiment to hold considerable control over its own finances. For example, the year following the Duke's tour, the Regimental Trust Fund was established with a sum of $7,116.81, with the original trustees being Col. Sir H. Montagu Allan, Col. H.M. Wallis, A.D. MacTier, Brig.-Gen. G.E. McCuaig, and Col. Royal Ewing.[102] The Trust Fund was given a wide mandate. According to the original agreement, the Trust Fund was to be used for any purposes which the Trustees "may from time to time consider to be in the interests or for the benefit of" the Black Watch, its current and former members, and their families or dependents. This independence of both association and regimental finances dovetailed nicely, especially during the Great Depression when a lack of regimental funds made it more difficult to engage in cultural activities.

In 1934, the Black Watch played an important role in organizing the "Searchlight Tattoo," a military tattoo held at Percival Molson Stadium that September over two nights. The regiment's own Capt. H.G. Jones served as senior director of music for the tattoo, which also included performances by the regimental bands of other local units such as the Royal Montreal Regiment, the 17th Duke of York's Royal Canadian Hussars, Le Régiment de Maisonneuve, the Canadian Grenadier Guards, Les Fusiliers Mont-Royal, and the Victoria Rifles of Canada. The Black Watch Pipes and Drums were also joined by the Pipes and Drums of the 48th Highlanders, who stayed at the armoury while away from their regimental

[102] The Black Watch of Canada Trust Fund, "Minutes of a meeting of the Trustees of The Black Watch of Canada Trust Fund held at the Office of Sir H. Montagu Allan, C.V.O., Room 919, 159 Craig Street, West, Montreal, on the 29th day of September, 1931 at 12 o'clock noon," September 29th, 1931, BW-07, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

headquarters in Toronto. The tattoo involved both combined and individual performances by the bands, drums, fifes, pipes, and bugles of these regiments against a backdrop of a dazzling and novel electric light show. By all accounts, the Searchlight Tattoo was a massive success in terms of promoting military culture, having drawn "gasps of admiration and prolonged applause" from the thousands of audience members it attracted.[103]

Uniquely, the Searchlight Tattoo was also an opportunity to raise funds for the Black Watch, and represented a collaboration not only between regiments, but with Montreal's business community as well. Unlike the church parades, Remembrance Day parades, and other annual public events, the Searchlight Tattoo was the first time the regiment had organized a for-profit public display of this scale.[104] It involved launching an advertising campaign, printing programmes in both English and French, and organizing an elaborate electric light display at the stadium that accompanied the music of the massed bands. These activities were sponsored by local businesses – mostly tobacco, dairy, and brewing companies – whose advertisements were placed in the programme. These sponsors also included family businesses which had links to the regiment, with advertisements for Molson's Export Ale and table lighters shaped like Highland soldiers sold by Henry Birks & Sons.[105] These sponsorships had the benefit of allowing the regiment to organize an event that would both promote military culture and raise funds – that could later be directed towards more cultural activities.

III

The Searchlight Tattoo is therefore characteristic of the military-civil society relations that have been examined in this chapter. It was an instance whereby the Black Watch, as a

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[103] "Military Tattoo in McGill Stadium is Memorable Event," *Montreal Gazette*, September 17th, 1934, p. 5.

[104] Adeline Fisher, "Traditions and Tattoos: How Montreal's Interwar Consumer Culture Changed Military Displays in the Black Watch" (Unpublished undergraduate essay, McGill University, 2023), 2.

[105] Searchlight Tattoo Programme, September 1934, SC-028, "P.P. Hutchison's 'Highland Scrapbook' (Vol. II)," p. 95, BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

regiment of the Canadian Army, collaborated and engaged with civil society to the end of promoting a particular type of romantic military culture. Yet, the Searchlight Tattoo also serves as a good point of departure to introduce the theme of the following chapter. Though it was a decidedly military occasion, the Searchlight Tattoo also afforded an opportunity for the Black Watch to uphold a distinctly Scottish connection. Through its Pipes and Drums, alongside that of the 48th Highlanders, the regiment distinguished itself not only as a valorous regiment, but as a *Highland* regiment as well.

The cultural activities of the Black Watch during the interwar period were shaped by the tension between romantic and realist interpretations of the First World War. As it manifested within the Black Watch, this tension came to represent the internal divides within the regiment. Whereas the Black Watch's officer class favoured the romantic military culture supported by Square Mile society and facilitated through its networks, rank-and-file soldiers who were largely outsiders to the Square Mile took no issue in tempering this romanticism with their own realist recollections. This dynamic would shift fundamentally following the Second World War. With the rise of ethnic identities and Canada's new nationalism, the officers of the Black Watch – many of whom came from prominent Scottish-Canadian families – began concerning themselves with preserving the Scottish connection in Canada. This was done not only for an increasingly diverse public that could suddenly lay equal claim to a hyphenated Canadianism, but also against successive governments which sought to undermine regimental traditions through military reform and centralization.

CHAPTER THREE

A New Cultural Front:
Defending Regimental Traditions in the Postwar Years

The cultural activities of the Black Watch during the interwar period were invariably fuelled by anxieties over which interpretation of Canada's involvement in the First World War would predominate in peacetime, with the regiment's Square Mile officer class favouring a romantic war myth that contradicted the realist accounts of outsider, rank-and-file soldiers. Between the end of the Second World War and the unification of the Canadian Armed Forces in 1968, when the survival of regimental identities was uncertain, the Black Watch addressed an even more elemental issue: its identity. This chapter examines the ambiguous position of Highland regiments, following the decline of the British Empire, within an increasingly "Canadianized" military during the postwar years. It explains why and how the Black Watch sought to revitalize its Highland identity following the Second World War, and the means by which it did so. Similar to Chapter Two, what emerges is largely a Square Mile story. In seeking to preserve their regimental traditions, the same officer class which had fought against a realist military culture during the interwar period turned its attention towards the promotion of the Scottish connection within the Canadian military. In so doing, Black Watch officers expanded their collaborations with civil society.

I

The two decades that followed the Second World War was a period of national soul-searching in Canada. The decline of the British Empire, particularly after the Suez Crisis, forced even the most ardent imperialist holdouts to reconsider the colonial position that for so long had

defined Canadian existence. Emerging from the war as the clear leader of a self-defined "Free World," the United States was eager to take advantage of this situation by absorbing Canada into its own sphere of influence, not least to counter Soviet power in the international system through NATO. Great Britain, as Harold Macmillan famously said, had become the Greeks to America's Roman Empire, much to the delight of Canadian continentalists. Canada's pivot towards the Americans had been initiated as early as 1935, when a trade agreement negotiated between Mackenzie King and Franklin D. Roosevelt saw Canada extend most favoured nation status to the United States for the first time in its history. Furthermore, this opening of trade relations paved the way for the Ogdensburg Agreement of 1940, which established the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, and the Hyde Park Declaration of the following year, which allowed for greater coordination of both countries' defence industries.[106]

Canada's pivot towards the United States had profound domestic cultural implications as well. Fearing the influence of American mass culture as a threat to Canadian distinctiveness in North America, many in Canada sought to properly define and bolster the culture upon which Canadians could build a meaningful new national consciousness. This desire to define Canadian culture and the particular value system thereof was an important impetus for the appointment of the Massey Commission in 1949. To counter American cultural influence, the Commission's report promoted a secular humanism derived from British idealist thought, viewed by its authors as the intellectual inheritance of the British Empire fulfilled in North America by Canada as part of the newly constituted Commonwealth of Nations.[107] Yet, the Massey Commission was not comprised of anachronistic imperialists who sought a return to the *status quo ante bellum*; rather,

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[106] Richard N. Kottman, "The Canadian-American Trade Agreement of 1935," *Journal of American History* 52, no. 2 (September 1965): 275.

[107] Paul Litt, *The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 92.

commission members wanted to distinguish Canada from both the United States *and* Britain. Indeed, the commission's chair and namesake, Vincent Massey, has been numbered by C.P. Champion as one of several "Eminent Pearsonians," a group of nationalists associated with Lester Pearson who were "neither unquestioningly anglophile nor quite anglophobe."[108] Rather, these were "anglosceptics" who felt that Canada's connection to Britain would be best maintained by forgoing the colonial dynamics of empire and forging a new national consciousness.

Among these eminent Pearsonians was Brooke Claxton, the Black Watch's local member of parliament, who sought to supplant British identity within the Canadian military in his capacity as Minister of National Defence from 1946 to 1954. Though Claxton came from the same *haut-bourgeois* milieu of Westmount that had produced many of the regiment's officers, with whom he had attended the same schools and belonged to the same clubs, he did not share in their anglophilia.[109] Though Claxton was by no means an anglophobe, he was nonetheless committed to the Pearsonian vision of a distinctly nationalist Canadian military void of British symbolism. He despised the "stuffy and pompous pseudo-English accents" affected by many Canadian officers, which he considered to be wholly "un-Canadian" and antithetical to his nationalist ideal.[110] Rather, Claxton promoted the idea that Canada's new NATO commitments should be fulfilled not as a mere extension to the activities of Britain or the United States, but according to the independent foreign policy of a distinctly "Canadian" nation.

Shortly after the war, Claxton implemented reforms that were intended to nationalize the Canadian military towards this end. In 1948, he opened the National Defence College in

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[108] C.P. Champion, "Eminent Pearsonians: Britishness, Anti-Britishness, and Canadianism," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 16, no. 1 (2005): 326.

[109] Like many of the regiment's officers, Claxton graduated from both Lower Canada College and McGill University. He succeeded Col. Andrew Fleming as President of the Canadian Club of Montreal in 1938 and was a guest of honour at multiple St. Andrew's Balls during his tenure as Minister of National Defence.

[110] Champion, "Eminent Pearsonians," 332.

Kingston in 1948, which offered a domestic version of the same curriculum of both the Imperial Defence College of Britain and the National War College of the United States. He also oversaw the opening of respective staff colleges for members of the Canadian Army and Royal Canadian Air Force to domesticate the professional development of mid-ranking officers, as well as opening of the Collège Militare Royal in 1952 to increase francophone representation in the military.[111] These reforms contributed to the modernist vision for the military profession that has been described by Peter Kasurak as one that sought integration with Canadian society and was "education centered, outward looking, and interested in taking an active role in the development of national security policy."[112]

Of course, what constituted "Canadian society" was also undergoing considerable nationalist reinvention during this time. The passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947, which introduced *Canadian* citizenship as a legal term for the first time, gave way to public debates in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s about what it meant to be "Canadian." As José Igartua has observed, the definition favoured by nationalists, similar to their vision for the military, was one that discarded the British connection and the racial associations thereof in favour of distinctly Canadian symbols. Theirs was a civic nationalism, based on shared political beliefs and spurred by the conviction that "only by a melding of the 'races' would Canadian identity blossom."[113] Ultimately, this "onslaught of an all-encompassing Canadianism," as one op-ed page in the *Star* referred to it, won out by the 1960s and was enshrined through policy by the governments of Pearson and Pierre Trudeau.[114]

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[111] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2007), 228.

[112] Peter Kasurak, "Concepts of Professionalism in the Canadian Army, 1946–2000," *Armed Forces & Society* 37, no. 1 (2011): 96.

[113] José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 98.

[114] Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, 95.

Though Igartua has characterized this rise of civic nationalism in the postwar years as representing the "de-ethnicization" of Canada, this terminology is misleading. Indeed, this was a time of heightened ethnic consciousness, when novel discourses of ethnicity, which began to emerge from social-scientific circles in the 1940s, provided alternative ways to self-identify outside the fixed, biological categories of race. Whereas definitions of Scottishness had long been informed by a racial discourse of British Anglo-Saxonism before the Second World War, such understandings of race and identity came to be seen as inappropriate by growing numbers of people. Angus MacInnis, a member of parliament descended from Scottish settlers in Prince Edward Island, encapsulated this shift when he criticized associations of Scottishness with Whiteness in the House of Commons in 1941, and suggested that such racial understandings of identity were similar to those of the Nazis.[115] Instead, as Matthew Fry Jacobson has succinctly put it, in the mid-twentieth century ethnicity represented "an outlook rather than a condition of birth; a cultural affiliation rather than a bloodline; a set of sensibilities and associational habits… subject to the forces of assimilation and change."[116] This new ethnic consciousness gave rise to what Celeste Ray has referred to as "Hyphenated Scots," whereby North Americans with a Scottish connection, even a distant one, could maintain a transatlantic connection with the *auld* country as Scottish-Canadians under an emerging civic nationalism.[117]

Through genealogical research, ethnic events, and heritage societies, Scottish-Canadians could foster a "transgenerational awareness" of their ancestry that was distinct from earlier racial discourses. An example of this was the revival of the Glengarry Highland Games in 1948, which had first been organized in the 1820s but had been

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[115] Michael E. Vance, "Scots in early twentieth-century British Columbia: class, race and gender" in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 96.

[116] Matthew Fry Jacobson, *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post–Civil Rights America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 32.

[117] Celeste Ray, "Transatlantic Scots and Ethnicity" in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 31.

discontinued shortly thereafter. While Celtic music did not have a prior institutional presence in Glengarry County, piping and drumming "became institutionalized into the very fabric of [its] society" after the revival of the games.[118] In 1967, the Glengarry School of Piping and Drumming was established and today the games are world-renowned as one of the premier international events for high quality piping. It is important to note that such instances of ethnic revival were often spurred by anxiety. In the case of Glengarry Highland Games, rural depopulation and economic recession brought about by urbanization had "fuelled cultural resistance to socio-economic change and created an identity crisis in the county."[119] While there were those without commercial objectives who supported reviving the games, it is clear that the potential for fostering a local tourism economy as an antidote to socio-economic decline was a deciding factor.[120]

Cultural anxiety, socio-economic decline and antimodernism as factors driving cultural revival have been explored at length in the foundational works of Ian McKay on the remaking of Nova Scotia's cultural identity in the mid-twentieth century. McKay examines the efforts of Angus L. Macdonald to develop Nova Scotia's tourist economy by remaking the province's cultural identity as essentially Scottish, despite the fact that less than a third of its population claimed Scottish origins. Similar to the experience of Glengarry County, this process of commodifying Scottishness in Nova Scotia – a programme of "tartanism" – manifested in several ways. Provincial funds were granted to A.W.R. Mackenzie's Gaelic College, founded in 1938, and key provincial tourist sites were redesignated with Scottish names.[121] Most ostentatious of all was the stationing, in 1951, of a government-sponsored bagpiper at Nova Scotia's border with New Brunswick to pipe tourists into the province, a

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[118] Courtney W. Mason, "The Glengarry Highland Games, 1948-2003: Problematizing the Role of Tourism, Scottish Cultural Institutions, and the Cultivation of Nostalgia in the Construction of Identities," *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, no. 35 (2007): 22.

[119] Mason, "The Glengarry Highland Games, 1948-2003," 15.

[120] Mason, "The Glengarry Highland Games, 1948-2003," 18.

[121] Michael Vance, "Powerful Pathos: The Triumph of Scottishness in Nova Scotia," in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 165.

tradition that continues to this day.[122] Once they entered Nova Scotia, tourists would find their stay "inescapably enhanced" by Scottish dances, Scottish games, Scottish tartans, Scottish memorials, and Scottish advertisements – all legacies of Macdonald's tartanism.[123]

Macdonald's tartanism not only brought new sources of revenue; it also gave Nova Scotians an alternative way to identify themselves during a time when "definitions of self and nation in imperial terms no longer sufficed."[124] It was as much a response to cultural anxieties as economic ones. According to McKay, the concept of "Innocence" was key to this response, which sought to reveal the true essence of Nova Scotia as residing in "pre-modern things and traditions that seemed outside the rapid flow of change." Innocence involved a new doctrine that the province was essentially Scottish, and through associated folklore, folksong, and folk crafts, asserted that rural Nova Scotians were essentially living in a folk society insulated from the disagreeable trappings of modernity.[125] Central in this process were cultural outputs such as the collected folklore of Helen Creighton, the handicrafts of Mary Black, and the writings of the Black Watch's own Will Bird, the "singlemost influential promoter of tourism-oriented romantic history" in Nova Scotia.[126]

But while an often-commercialized Scottish ethnicity thrived within Canadian civil society during this time, its survival within the military – as an extension of a state that was increasingly expected to be void of old imperial and ethnic associations – was less clear.

II

From a purely military strategic perspective, the 1950s and 1960s represent a period of renewed assurance for the Black Watch, during which the regiment embraced its new defence commitments under NATO. Though its strength had been reverted to a single militia battalion

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[122] McKay and Bates, *In the Province of History*, 291.
[123] McKay and Bates, *In the Province of History*, 315.
[124] McKay and Bates, *In the Province of History*, 255.
[125] Ian McKay, *Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 30.
[126] McKay and Bates, *In the Province of History*, 130.

immediately after the Second World War, this status quo did not last for long. In 1951, Lt. Guy Simonds, acting as Canada's newly-appointed Chief of the General Staff, organized the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade for NATO service in West Germany. The Black Watch contributed a rifle company to the Brigade's 1st Canadian Highland Battalion, and another to its 2nd Canadian Highland Battalion the following year for service in Korea. After the Korean Armistice Agreement had been signed, these battalions were respectively redesignated as the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the Black Watch, each with an authorized strength of around 900 men, with the regiment's militia unit becoming its 3rd Battalion. By the end of 1953, the Black Watch had regained its status as an Active Force regiment of the Canadian Army and continued to fulfill its NATO commitments in West Germany and later in Cyprus.

Despite this renewed strength, there was cause for concern within the regiment over the future of its Highland character and indeed the regimental system in general. As during the interwar period, it would have been apparent to the regiment's officers that another culture war was mounting alongside the Cold War, this time over the place of Highland regiments within an increasingly "Canadianized" military. These fears were not unjustified. As early as May 1951, the prospect of unifying the Canadian military was brought to light when a joint sub-committee of the Chiefs of Staff Committee recommended that " ... a system of Canadian unified commands for the direction of planning and operations" be pursued by the government.[127] The survival of distinct Canadian regimental identities within a unified Canadian military was uncertain, especially with anglosceptics such as Brooke Claxton at the Department of National Defence. What was certain, however, was that such nationalist efforts to create a unified structure of command represented a new cultural front, one on which the

[127] Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Armed Forces is 40 Years Old - Part Two," *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 3 (2009): 6.

Black Watch would have to fight for regimental distinction and the continuation of its Highland regimental traditions within the framework of a new Canadian civic nationalism.

Similar to how the regiment's officers had embraced their new defence commitments under NATO, it must be made clear that they were not opposed to an emerging civic nationalism for Canada – so long as it included space for the maintenance of the Highland connection within the military. Indeed, like other Canadian cities following the war, Montreal had become increasingly cosmopolitan, a fact that many Black Watch officers would have witnessed firsthand as a harbinger of Canada's multicultural future. This was observed by Maj. Egan Chambers, who had served with the regiment during the war and succeeded Claxton as the Member of Parliament for St. Lawrence–St. George in 1958.[128] In his maiden speech to the House of Commons, Chambers declared that "St. Lawrence–St. George is at the very heart of the city of Montreal, the metropolis of Canada. Its people include the various racial groups making up the Canadian nation."[129] Col. Paul Hutchison echoed Chambers's sentiments in commenting on what this increasing diversity meant for the Black Watch: "At the Bleury Street armoury… recruits of Scottish descent are naturally preferred but the ranks of the Highlanders are open to all, regardless of race, creed or colour."[130]

Rather than opposition to civic nationalism within the military, the Black Watch sought to preserve its distinctiveness through what might be most appropriately described as a strategy of negotiation. Like the instances of cultural revival in Glengarry County and Nova

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[128] "St. Lawrence - St. George," *Montreal Gazette*, March 28th, 1963; "Election Isn't Popularity Contest, 'Look To Future,' Chambers Urges," *Montreal Gazette*, April 4th, 1963. A good example of how much autonomy the Black Watch was afforded over its own affairs under the regimental system and another instance of military-civil society relations is the fact that Chambers was permitted to hold campaign rallies and meetings of the St. Lawrence–St. George Progressive Conservative Association at the Armoury. However, despite these efforts on the part of the regiment to support his cause—a likely reflection of a wider support for the incumbent Progressive Conservative government of John Diefenbaker and its policy of preserving the regimental system—Chambers would lose his re-election bid in 1962 to his young Liberal opponent, future prime minister John Turner. During his subsequent failed reelection campaign, on March 27th, 1963, the Black Watch continued to host campaign events at the Armoury, such as a meeting of the Ladies Conservative Association at which Chambers gave a speech. The following week, he addressed 400 businessmen at a 1$-a-head luncheon held at the Armoury.

[129] Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, May 10th, 1958, (Mr. Egan Chambers, PC). https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2401_01/284 (accessed April 19th, 2024).

[130] "Maritimes 'Adopt' Black Watch As Own," *Montreal Gazette*, May 23rd, 1962, p. 19.

Scotia, the efforts of the regiment to preserve the Scottish connection in the Canadian military during the postwar years were driven by anxiety. In a letter addressed to Gen. Sir Neil Ritchie, a former Colonel of the Scottish Black Watch and postwar émigré to Canada, from Maj.-Gen. Neil McMicking dated November 25th, 1958, this anxiety was expressed in no uncertain terms. In his letter, which was forwarded to Brig. Kenneth Blackader of the Canadian Black Watch, McMicking commented on rumblings that the government intended to implement a universal tartan that would be worn by all of Canada's Highland regiments:

> Personally, I agree with you 100% in opposing any tampering with Regimental Tartans. This suggestion that there should be one Tartan is no new one as it has come to light in recent years, largely on account of the interchange of personnel during the last war. Because of this, and because it was possible to build up good units in time of war it has been assumed, quite erroneously, in my view, that you can break down a Regimental tradition… The whole idea is quite monstrous to me and I would oppose it tooth and nail… Please quote me if you like in saying that I consider this proposition a thoroughly unsound one and that the more one sees of the World, the more one realises that such things as Regimental Tartans can contribute a great deal towards strengthening the ties of the Commonwealth.[131]

This exchange between colonial and parent regiments not only demonstrates the maintenance of imperial ties within a new Commonwealth context, but also emphasizes the great importance which members of the Black Watch placed on their regimental identity. Immediately following the redesignation of the 1st and 2nd Battalions in October of 1953, Blackader organized a small executive committee of the regiment's Advisory Board of which he was Chair, which included Lt.-Col. J.G. Bourne and Gen. Ritchie. The purpose of the committee, according to Blackader, was to "consider what steps can be taken at this time to further the indoctrination of the personnel of the new Battalions into the traditions and ways of the Black Watch" – in other words, to make them aware of what it meant to be *Highland* soldiers.[132]

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[131] Maj.-Gen. Neil McMicking to Gen. Sir Neil Ritchie, November 25th, 1958, BW-07, "K.G. Blackader Correspondence, 1939-1959," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[132] Brig. K.G. Blackader to the members of the Advisory Board of the Black Watch of Canada, October 29th, 1953, BW-07, "K.G. Blackader Correspondence, 1939-1959," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

Interestingly, Black Watch personnel were sought out as experts on matters concerning Scottish traditions within the Canadian military. For example, when the Nova Scotia Highlanders were formed in 1954 from an amalgamation of three older regiments, there was uncertainty about whether they should adopt the tartan of Clan Macdonald as their own regimental tartan. This was due to the fact that the Canadian Corps Headquarters had barred the 85th Battalion (Nova Scotia Highlanders) of the CEF from doing so in 1917, on the grounds that no British regiment had worn that tartan before. To settle the matter, Lt.-Gen. Guy Simonds solicited the help of the Black Watch in a request to Brig. Blackader, which was forwarded to Col. Paul Hutchison, the "Grand Old Historian of the Regiment." Col. Hutchison was able to prove otherwise in a carefully prepared memorandum on the history of the Highland regiments that was sent to Simonds. The Macdonald tartan was subsequently adopted by the Nova Scotia Highlanders upon recommendation by Simonds to the Minister of National Defence.

Alongside these internal activities, the Black Watch also maintained its connections with civil society. The relationship between the regiment and the *Gazette*, which had printed the official history of the 42nd Battalion, continued throughout the Second World War. As Col. Hutchison expressed in a letter to one of the paper's editors following the war's end, the *Gazette* had offered the regiment nothing but "constant support and cooperation all during [his] term of command."[133] One example of such cooperation was when Gen. Andrew McNaughton had been invited to the Armoury in 1944 as the guest of honour for that year's annual regimental dinner. Having received Canada's share of the blame for the disastrous Dieppe raid,[134] McNaughton's attendance elicited much criticism within the regiment, to say

[133] Col. P.P. Hutchison to C.H. Peters, December 12th, 1945, BW-07, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[134] See John Nelson Rickard, *Politics of Command: Lieutenant-General A.G.L. McNaughton and the Canadian Army, 1939–1943* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021).

nothing of the public's opinion.[135] To prevent public outcry, a scheme was devised by Col. Hutchison that would involve contacting the heads of local newspapers with the hopes of "prevent[ing] anything from appearing" in the press. To this end, Col. Hutchison approached Hugh Brewer of the *Montreal Star*, Maj. John Henry Molson spoke to John Bassett at the *Gazette*, and Lt.-Col. Sir H. Montagu Allan met with J.W. McConnell, the local newspaper baron.[136]

Though the Black Watch is of course a military institution, there were means by which civilians could also involve themselves in its activities more actively without having to enlist. For example, being designated as an honorary member of the regiment gave select individuals access to the Armoury and the ability to directly contribute funds to the regiment's activities. Not unlike many of the regiment's officers, honorary members were usually drawn from Montreal's anglophone business elite. John Bassett was such an individual and, according to a membership list from the 1950s, so were Donald Gordon, president of Canadian National Railways, James Muir, president of the Royal Bank of Canada, and James Wilson, president of the Shawinigan Water and Power Company, among others.[137] Through its Honorary Members' Mess, the 3rd Battalion collected significant funds from these men. According to one report from 1957, the Honorary Members' Mess had collected $820 that year from its 48 members.[138] It appears that $750 of this money was used to fund that year's regimental Christmas Tree Party.[139] This was a "pre-Yule" celebration for the children of Black Watch personnel hosted yearly at the armoury, which included

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[135] See BW-30, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence re: Annual Regimental Dinners" BWMA, Montreal, Quebec. Col. Hutchison, who had invited McNaughton to be that year's guest of honour, received many letters from members of the regiment expressing their displeasure over his decision.

[136] Col. P.P. Hutchison to Brig.-Gen. G.E. McCuaig, November 17th, 1944, BW-30, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence re: Annual Regimental Dinners," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[137] List of Honorary Members, n.d., "Documents re: Honorary Members' Mess," BW-14, BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[138] Annual Financial Report of the Honorary Members' Mess, 1957, BW-31, "Annual Meeting Documents," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[139] Cheque from Honorary Members' Mess for annual Regimental Christmas Tree Party, 1957, BW-29, "3rd Battalion Financials," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

performances by the Pipes and Drums of the 3rd Battalion, as well as movies and refreshments.[140]

As in earlier periods, interactions between the Black Watch and civil society were also maintained at an institutional level. After the war and following the redesignation of the regiment's three battalions, the 3rd Battalion acted in many ways as the cultural arm of the Black Watch while the 1st and 2nd Battalions were off on peacekeeping missions abroad. Through the 3rd Battalion, the Black Watch cooperated with various civil society institutions during the postwar years.

Perhaps the earliest example of such institutional interactions after the Second World War came in late 1952, when the regiment's sole militia battalion – the future 3rd Battalion – cooperated with the St. Andrew's Society to establish the Junior Pipe Band of the Black Watch. This was to be a civilian band comprised entirely of young pipers and drummers taught by members of the regiment. According to the arrangement, the Black Watch provided instructors and would make its armoury available as a space to hold classes, while the St. Andrew's Society supplied the drums and fronted the cost for maintaining the instruments. In its inaugural year, the Junior Pipe Band attracted 142 aspiring musicians aged 10 to 17 and "representing many racial origins," approximately 75% of whom wanted to be pipers, as was reported in the *Gazette*.[141] In that same article, Maj. J.S. Williamson credited Lt.-Col. W.E. McFarlane of the St. Andrew's Society as the prime mover behind the endeavour. It is also possible that the support received from the St. Andrew's Society for the Junior Pipe Band was supplemented by the money received from the Honorary Members' Mess. In its annual report for 1958, the Junior Pipe Band hinted at this when it made clear that it was thanks to the generosity of both the St. Andrew's Society *and* the 3rd Battalion that its sound financial

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[140] "With Gifts, Clowns, Even Bagpipes Pre-Yule Parties Held for Kiddies," *Montreal Gazette*, December 17th, 1961, p. 17.

[141] "Junior Would-be Pipers Thrill To Skirl of Black Watch Band," *Montreal Gazette*, November 24th, 1952, p. 17.

position had been secured that year. This allowed for ten pipers and two drummers to be instructed that year by a Lt. LaPointe at the Armoury. The Junior Pipe Band also participated in that year's St. Andrew's Ball, as they had in years prior, as well as more public events such as the annual Caledonia Society Games and the Montreal St. Patrick's Day Parade.[142]

The relative autonomy afforded by the regimental system allowed the 3rd Battalion to draw upon local sources of income to support the cultural activities of the regiment, including support it traditionally received from organizations such as the St. Andrew's Society. The idea was that members of the Junior Pipe Band would ultimately end up playing in the Pipes and Drums of the 3rd Battalion, which many did when they came of age. This allowed the regiment to shore up its demand for pipers and drummers in the postwar years, so that it could continue to participate in such events as Remembrance Day parades or the St. Andrew's Ball. These annual opportunities to engage with the public were critical for maintaining the Canadian Army's Highland connection in the mind of the public. Without the financial constraints of the Depression, and with its 3rd Battalion supported by wealthy members of civil society both through individual and institutional contributions, the Black Watch seized upon its position to increase its public presence in the postwar period.

In 1958 the Pipes and Drums of the 3rd Battalion participated in five "Campbell Concerts," as well as the Eaton's Santa Claus parade.[143] These were public spectacles that had their origins in the interwar period, and which thousands of Montrealers attended annually. The Campbell Concerts had been inaugurated in 1924 upon the death of local attorney Charles S. Campbell, who left a generous legacy in his will to fund free shows at outdoor venues throughout Montreal, such as Lafontaine Park, Jeanne-Mance Park and Jarry Park.[144] The first Eaton's Santa Claus parade was held the following year and became one of the

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[142] Financial report for the Black Watch of Canada Boys' Pipes & Drums Committee, 1958, BW-29, "3rd Bn. Annual Reports," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[143] Annual Report of the Band Committee of the 3rd Battalion, 1958, "3rd Bn. Annual Reports," BW-29, BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[144] "Campbell Concerts," *Montreal Gazette*, July 4th, 1953, p. 22.

largest Christmas parades in North America. The diversity of the crowd reflected the increasing cosmopolitanism of Montreal, and was a prime opportunity for the Black Watch to showcase its Highland traditions to all Canadians. As Steve Penfold has noted, "boundaries of language and identity fell before the wondrous onslaught of the parade."[145] The parade followed a four-mile route, starting at the corner of St. Joseph Boulevard and Des Erables Street, and zigzagged its way to Eaton's on University Street, and in 1951 was reported to have attracted a crowd of 500,000.[146] This audience was even larger when considering that the parade was also broadcast over the radio in both English and French for "shut-ins," for whom the sounds of the Pipes and Drums were perhaps very welcome. The Black Watch became a mainstay of the parade and – despite the participation of other local regiments such as the Royal Canadian Artillery, the Royal Montreal Regiment, and Les Fusiliers Mont Royal – was featured prominently in local newspaper advertisements put out by Eaton's.

This relationship with Eaton's was not the only cultural collaboration between the regiment and a local Montreal business during the postwar years. In December of 1945, Ogilvy's department store on Saint-Catherine Street – whose Black Watch tartan skirts and slacks were hailed in one advertisement as "rousing and Scotch as the skirling of the bagpipes and a bonny bargain" – decided to hire a piper to close its doors on Saturdays.[147] Having been founded in 1866 by a Scottish immigrant, this embrace of the store's heritage was the personal project of its owner, Brig.-Gen. James Aird Nesbitt, as part of an elaborate rebranding effort. Nesbitt's father, a prominent stockbroker, had purchased the store in 1927 with the hopes that his then 19-year-old son would quickly resell the business for a profit. However, the younger Nesbitt took a liking to the retail business and remained involved in its operation until his retirement in 1981.

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[145] Steve Penfold, *A Mile of Make-Believe: A History of the Eaton's Santa Claus Parade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 85.

[146] "500,000 Along Four Mile Route Expected to Thrill at Wonders," *Montreal Gazette*, November 23rd, 1951.

[147] "Ogilvy's Tartan Foursome," *Montreal Gazette*, October 23rd, 1945, p. 15.

Nesbitt had joined the Black Watch in 1939, and enjoyed a meteoric military career, having been promoted from private to brigadier-general by the war's end. During the war, he was transferred to the Cape Breton Highlanders in November of 1943 as one of several Black Watch officers assigned to that regiment, ultimately becoming its second-in-command, before being given command of the West Nova Scotia Regiment in 1945. Nesbitt also remained active in the military following the war. In 1951, he was appointed to command the reserve force's 9th Infantry Brigade, which included men from the Black Watch, Victoria Rifles, Royal Montreal Regiment, and Grenadier Guards.[148] From 1945 to 1953, various militia pipers of the Black Watch were hired out for the job until the store employed George Morgan, a young piper from Scotland.

In considering these diverse uses of culture, it is also important to keep in mind that the Black Watch also sought to govern the relationship between imagined Highland traditions in military cultures discussed in Chapter One, asserting its exclusive rights to certain traditions thereof. For example, in the 1960s, there was concern within the regiment over members of a civilian pipe band in British Columbia wearing the red hackle in their performances. These are red feathers or "hackles" worn by Black Watch soldiers in their Balmoral caps, a tradition first adopted by the original 42nd Regiment of Foot during the eighteenth century. Col. Paul Hutchison had received a complaint alerting him of this from one Mrs. Blackburn, whose family members had served in either the Black Watch of Canada or its parent regiment over four generations. Her complaint informed Col. Hutchison that:

> There is a Pipe and Drum Band… called the MacMillan, Bloedel & Powell River Pipe Band (and stationed in Powell River, B.C.) who wear our Red Hackle in their Balmorals. I resent this very much, because, unless that privilege was granted legally, I fail to see why they should be allowed to wear it, when it was an honour won by Our Regiment on the field of battle.[149]

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[148] "J.A. Nesbitt set fashion for Ogilvy's," *Montreal Gazette*, November 15th, 1985, p. 50.

[149] Flora Blackburn to Col. Paul P. Hutchison, October 21st, 1962, BW-07, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

Taking the matter into his own hands, Col. Hutchison thanked the woman for bringing the matter to the regiment's attention, stating that she was "quite right" that it was not appropriate, but that "unfortunately, it may be difficult to prevent a civilian organization of [that] kind from doing so."[150] He then wrote to the chairman of the pipe band on behalf of Colonel of the Regiment and Officer Commanding of the 3rd Battalion saying as much, enthusiastically providing him with a short history of the red hackle and its significance to the Black Watch to reinforce his point.[151] Though it is unclear if the issue was ever resolved, this exchange shows how seriously the regiment took such matters of tradition, as it sought to prevent the reduction of such symbols to mere objects for appropriation by civilians.

In the era of the Cold War, the scope of the regiment's military pageantry was expanded. The pageantry of the 3rd Battalion was indeed deployed to affirm the U.S.-Canada alliance. In 1956, the regiment's 3rd Battalion was dispatched to Philadelphia to participate in the city's celebrations marking the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. Philadelphia's mayor, Richardson Dilworth, extended the "freedom of the city" to the regiment's Lt.-Col. Ian Macdougall, reminding him that that freedom "included the privilege of recruiting in the city."[152] Furthermore, in a repeat of the 1932 dedication, members of the regiment once again travelled to Fort Ticonderoga in 1958 to mark the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Carillon. It was to be a grand event, attended by various dignitaries including the French and British ambassadors to the United States, as well as the current Marquis de Montcalm, whose ancestor had defeated Gen. James Abercrombie and taken the fort. The Pipes and Drums of the 3rd Battalion was dispatched as part of a ceremonial contingent under the direction of Pipe-Major W.J. Hannah and Drum-Major W. McKee, to play alongside the

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[150] Col. Paul P. Hutchison to Flora Blackburn, November 2nd, 1962, BW-07, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[151] Col. Paul P. Hutchison to Jack Clyne, November 2nd, 1962, BW-07, "P.P. Hutchison Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[152] Sgt. T.L. Ross, "Official U.S. Marine Corps Release," June 11th, 1956, SC-029, "Black Watch (RHR) of Canada Philadelphia Scrapbook," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

band of the Royal 22nd Regiment. The participation of both regiments was meant to symbolize the newfound alliance between old adversaries in the context of the Cold War. This was made clear in a bulletin of the Société Historique Franco-Américaine recounting the ceremony: "Dans un geste symbolique de fraternité, un officier du Black Watch et un du 22ème vinrent croiser les armes sur le sabre du marquis de Montcalm."[153]

Canada-U.S. relations were also on display at the first football game played between Canadian teams on American soil in September 1958 at Philadelphia's Municipal Stadium. The match was an official league game organized by the nascent Canadian Football League (CFL), which had been established earlier that year, and saw the Grey Cup champion Hamilton Tiger Cats take on the Ottawa Rough Riders. A special company of the 3rd Battalion, accompanied by the Pipes and Drums of the 2nd Battalion, was sent to parade at the half-time show alongside the 111th Infantry Regiment of Pennsylvania.[154]

The presence of the Black Watch at Philadelphia highlighted Canada's new joint defence commitments under NATO, a symbolic gesture that was recognized by the *Gazette*, which noted that the 111th Infantry Regiment

> was organized (in its first form) by Benjamin Franklin in 1747, before the American Revolution, and fought gallantly alongside The Black Watch in the French and Indian Wars of 1763. The War of the American Revolution placed the forces of the two nations on opposite sides. But yesterday's ceremonies at Philadelphia symbolized that they have long been on the one side again, in friendship and in goodwill.[155]

That an official game of a CFL would be held in the United States was a small but significant way in which Canada's place within an American-led "Free World" was made visible through mass culture. As Robert Edelman and Christopher Young have recently observed, with growing urban populations and the rise of television during the postwar years, sporting events

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[153] Société Historique Franco-Américaine, *Bulletin de la Société Historique Franco-Américaine: Bicentenaire Carillon 1758-1958* (Manchester, New Hampshire: Imprimerie Ballard Frères, 1959), 39.

[154] The Pipes and Drums of the 3rd Battalion perform outside Independence Hall during their 1956 trip to Philadelphia to mark the 250th birthday of Benjamin Franklin. SC-029, "Black Watch (RHR) of Canada Philadelphia Scrapbook," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[155] "'Canada Day' In Philadelphia," *Montreal Gazette*, September 15th, 1958, p. 8.

became important battlegrounds of a "cultural Cold War." Going beyond "the blinding quadrennial glare of the Olympics and the soccer World Cup," they have emphasized the importance of more quotidian sporting events and their relation to mass culture during the Cold War.[156] Whereas highly visible "mega-events" such as the Olympics allowed great powers to win cultural victories, more regular events such as the game between the Tiger Cats and Rough Riders had a greater impact on everyday life – shaping the unconscious assumptions of individuals.

The Pipes and Drums of the 3rd Battalion perform outside Independence Hall during their 1956 trip to Philadelphia to mark the 250th birthday of Benjamin Franklin.[157]

[156] Robert Edelman and Christopher Young, *The Whole World Was Watching: Sport in the Cold War* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2019), 20.

[157] Black Watch of Canada, "Black Watch (RHR) of Canada at Independence Hall," photograph, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 11th, 1956, SC-029, "Black Watch (RHR) of Canada Philadelphia Scrapbook," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

Events such as the CFL game in Philadelphia and the Ticonderoga anniversary allowed the 3rd Battalion to uphold the regiment's prominence as a Highland regiment. Its participation in the ceremony at Ticonderoga carried historical weight precisely because the Black Watch had retained its distinguishing Highland features from the eighteenth century, which were under threat within an evolving and increasingly modern and centralized Canadian military. This fact would certainly have not been lost on the regiment's officer class, who knew well that engagement and cooperation with civil society through such public events was absolutely vital in reinforcing regimental identity. Indeed, the participation of the Black Watch was heralded as "one of the most beautiful and moving parts of the program" by the president of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum in a letter to Lt.-Col. William A. Wood, then Commanding Officer of the 3rd Battalion.[158] It was also a great success in the promotion of military culture as well. As the museum's public relations officer expressed in a letter addressed to the whole of the 3rd Battalion, "On July 8, 1758 the Black Watch came to Fort Ticonderoga and covered themselves with glory. Two hundred years and five days later they returned to cover themselves with glory once again!"[159]

This kind of cooperation between military and civil society – between the 3rd Battalion and the Société Historique Franco-Américaine – to the end of organizing public spectacles was also taking place in Montreal during this time. That same year, the 3rd Battalion sponsored a performance by the Gaelic College's "Macdonald Hundred" at the Armoury as part of their fifth annual "Celtic Culture Tour," with stops in Saint John, Fredericton, Ottawa, Spencerville, and Boston. This was a junior pipe band comprised almost entirely of female Gaelic College students – save for one boy piper – trained under the direction of A.W.R. Mackenzie. Though having been formed earlier, the band had been

[158] John H.G. Pell to Lt.-Col. William A. Wood, July 14th, 1958, BW-30, "Correspondence re: Fort Ticonderoga Visit," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[159] Leon Michel to Lt.-Col. William A. Wood, Cpt. Alastair Pryde, and all the members of D Company, 3rd Battalion, July 15th, 1958, BW-30, "Correspondence re: Fort Ticonderoga Visit," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

substantially increased in size by Mackenzie in 1955 to provide 100 junior pipers for the opening of the Canso Causeway and had been hosted by the regiment once before in 1956 and would be again in 1960.[160] The group had formerly been known as the "Sydney Girls' Pipe Band," but had been renamed in honour of Angus L. Macdonald, a fitting change given the band's subsequent efforts to export tartanism across Canada and the United States.

The purpose of the Black Watch's involvement in the event was expressly to promote Highland cultural connection in Montreal. As one advertisement put out by the regiment stated, "the performance of Highland Music and Dancing is being sponsored by the 3rd Battalion of the Black Watch *to further Scottish culture* and to raise funds for the Regimental Welfare Fund." The advertisement was also sure to note that "the last performance by this group in Montreal was a complete sell-out."[161] According to the *Gazette*, that first concert had attracted an estimated crowd of one thousand spectators, spread across two balconies overlooking the drill floor and two-thirds of the drill floor itself.[162] The 1958 concert was a similar success. In a letter to Maj. J.F. MacFarlane, A.W.R. Mackenzie expressed that the Gaelic College was "very happy [that the Black Watch] received 'nothing but compliments on the excellent performance,'" and that "the tour from that point of view was most successful." Apart from these pleasantries, Mackenzie also raised matters of financial concern in his letter, revealing the importance of the 3rd Battalion's funding to the tour. He stressed to Maj. MacFarlane that the Gaelic College would "appreciate [his] promised cheque at a very early date as some heavy tour accounts [were] yet unpaid," with a $1,400 fee for renting a tour bus having caused tight budgeting.[163]

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[160] For more on how the Canso Causeway fit into Macdonald's project of tartanism, see Meaghan Beaton and Del Muise, "The Canso Causeway: Tartan Tourism, Industrial Development, and the Promise of Progress for Cape Breton," *Acadiensis* 37, no. 2 (2008): 39-69.

[161] "Highland Pipers and Dancers Appear Here April 9th," n.d., BW-34, "Correspondence re: Macdonald Hundred," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[162] "1,000 Crowd Armoury To Cheer 'MacDonald Hundred's' Gaelic Songs," *Montreal Gazette*, April 9th, 1956, p. 21.

[163] A.W.R. Mackenzie to Maj. J.F. MacFarlane, May 26th, 1958, BW-34, "Correspondence re: Macdonald Hundred," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

Members of the "Macdonald Hundred" of Nova Scotia's Gaelic College, who were hosted by the Black Watch at its armoury in 1956, 1958 and 1960 as part of their annual Celtic Culture Tours.[164]

The extent of the regiment's involvement in the Macdonald Hundred concerts it hosted went beyond offering a venue and financial support, it also included advertising, handling ticket sales, and printing programmes for the events. In addition to its own bulletins, the regiment put out advertisements in local newspapers.[165] One of these is particularly interesting for its targeting of women, placed in the *Gazette's* "For Women" section between an article about child care and a recipe for Savoy vegetable soup – a clear effort to capitalize on the Macdonald Hundred's gender composition.[166] Furthermore, tickets could be purchased at the Armoury for $1.50 per person, and were also mailed out by members of the regiment.

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[164] Abbass Studios, "MacDonald Hundred Pipe Band," photograph, Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, ca. 1950, 94-712-25227, Beaton Institute, Sydney, Nova Scotia.

[165] "Tonight, Gaelic Coll. Pipe Band," *Montreal Gazette*, April 7th, 1956, p. 4.

[166] "Young Pipers to Visit Montreal," *Montreal Gazette*, March 24th, 1956, p. 24.

This responsibility was shouldered by the regiment's public relations officer, who also had to ensure that cheques for tickets sent by prospective attendees through the mail were received and cashed.[167]

Though the Black Watch involved itself in a wide variety of cultural activities during the postwar years – from football games to high society balls – the common thread between most of its interactions with civil society was the presence of the pipes and drums. Through music, the regiment could assert the Scottish connection within the Canadian military in a way that resonated – quite literally – with the public. Though the Pipes and Drums of the 3rd Battalion predominated in this capacity, the bands of the 1st and 2nd Battalions were also involved in these efforts. An example of such cooperation between battalion bands came during Canada's centennial year celebrations. Apart from participating in that year's Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo, the regiment also set out to produce a vinyl record of pipe music to mark the occasion.

It was decided that the recording would be made at the Armoury over two days in February of 1966, and that 28 bandsmen from the 1st and 2nd Battalions would be flown from Camp Gagetown to Montreal to participate alongside the 3rd Battalion.[168] While this surprising use of resources towards the production of a vinyl record further illustrates the regiment's cultural capacities, it also shows that such capacities at times involved cooperation between different branches of the military. Of course, the production of the record also involved cooperation with civil society. The production company was London Records of Canada, a subsidiary of Decca Records which, much like other private enterprises such as the *Gazette* or Ogilvy's department store, already had ties to the regiment. In a letter to Lt.-Col. T.E. Price, Col. Hutchison expressed as much:

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[167] Maj. Ian Eisenhardt to whom it may concern, April 24th, 1960, BW-34, "Correspondence re: Macdonald Hundred," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[168] Col. Paul P. Hutchison to Lt.-Col. J.P.L. Taschereau, n.d., BW-05, "Pipe Band Recordings," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

> I am convinced that we can produce an excellent Centennial Recording, as part of our Regiment's contribution to the celebrations of that year. The very fact that all elements of the Regiment will be represented in it, greatly favours any efforts we can make to ensure its success… I might say that Decca of London's representative in Canada is Mr. Fraser Jamieson, who manages London Records of Canada… Jim Knox knows Fraser Jamieson very well indeed, and this has served to facilitate our planning.[169]

Col. James W. Knox was the regiment's incumbent Commanding Officer who, despite the many burdens of his position, involved himself in the production of the record. He made clear from the beginning that "the formal undertaking of [the] recording would be through his auspices," though Col. Hutchison was made responsible for handling the day-to-day arrangements. This involvement of Col. Knox is altogether more surprising considering that he would have been preoccupied with planning the upcoming deployment of the 2nd Battalion to Cyprus on a peacekeeping operation, which was to take place in March of 1966, further underlining the importance which the regiment placed on such cultural affairs.

As Meaghan Beaton has argued, Canada's centennial celebrations were marked by tensions between a Pearsonian desire to highlight the country's multiculturalism and provincial efforts to safeguard the privileged position of the established cultures. In Nova Scotia, the provincial government faced considerable internal pressure to organize a celebration that was entirely Scottish in character. However, part of the federal Centennial Commission's mandate was to ensure that Canada's many cultures were recognized, and to "help citizens gain a better knowledge of the true face of their country and to love it more." To this end, Ottawa bureaucrats encouraged programming that would instead showcase "the contributions to the growth and development of [the] country by peoples of several races and many nationalities."[170] In the end, it was decided that, alongside the Antigonish Highland Games, a provincially-organized folk festival would be held. However, as Beaton writes,

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[169] Col. Paul P. Hutchison to Lt.-Col. T.E. Price, n.d., BW-05, "Pipe Band Recordings," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[170] Meaghan Elizabeth Beaton, *The Centennial Cure: Commemoration, Identity, and Cultural Capital in Nova Scotia during Canada's 1967 Centennial Celebrations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 60.

there is little doubt that the celebrations were, more than anything else, "a celebration that demarcated the privileged position that Scottish heritage and culture enjoyed" in Nova Scotia.[171] Similarly, the efforts of the Black Watch to produce a vinyl record of pipe music can be viewed as another instance of subtle resistance to the Pearsonian ethos of the Centennial Commission.

Perhaps the grandest and most elaborate public engagement put on by the regiment in the postwar years were its own centennial celebrations in 1962. As Colonel-in-Chief of the Black Watch, the Queen Mother was invited to present new colours to all three battalions of the regiment in a ceremony held at Percival Molson Stadium. The occasion attracted a crowd of over 22,000 spectators – not including the many nurses, doctors and patients looking on from the windows of the neighbouring Royal Victoria Hospital and Montreal Neurological Institute – and involved an assembly of over 1,000 Black Watch soldiers and cadets donning their ceremonial uniforms, whose "bearing and smartness" was noted by the Queen Mother.[172] For those unable to attend in person, the ceremony was also broadcast on television and radio in both English and French by the CBC.[173] The celebrations were a fantastic success, so much so that the regiment even printed additional event programs afterward to meet demand from the public who wished to keep them as souvenirs.[174] A further 5,000 people turned out the following day to watch the Queen Mother attend services at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.[175]

Such an event of course required extensive planning, and though the visit of the Queen Mother concerned the whole of the Canadian government as an official state visit, this responsibility fell largely on her regiment. Throughout the Queen's long-held position as

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[171] Beaton, *The Centennial Cure*, 72-3.
[172] Bruce Garvey, "Queen Mother Enjoys Colorful Ceremony," *Montreal Gazette*, June 11th, 1962, p. 8.
[173] "Colors' Presentation Ceremony By Queen Mother On TV, Radio," *Montreal Gazette*, June 9th, 1962, p. 10.
[174] "Thank you Montreal," *Montreal Gazette*, June 11th, 1962, p. 30.
[175] "Wet Weather Fails to Dampen Montreal's Enthusiasm," *Montreal Gazette*, June 11th, 1962, p. 3.

Colonel-in-Chief of the Black Watch, successive commanding officers maintained close contact with Clarence House, and particularly the Queen Mother's long-time personal secretary, Sir Martin Gilliat. In May of 1961, Brig. Kenneth Blackader, in his capacity as commanding officer, sent a proposal to Gilliat for an official state visit to mark the regiment's centennial year. Upon confirmation from Clarence House, Blackader then wrote to Maj. Egan Chambers, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of National Defence, to inform him of the regiment's plans and its hope to have all three of its battalions participate in the celebrations.[176] Chambers sent a reply informing Blackader that the regiment would need to supply the minister with a report on the "feasibility, cost, etc., of moving the various troops required," which would then be sent to cabinet for final approval.[177]

III

While Blackader and other active officers were busy planning for the Queen Mother to visit the following summer, one of his predecessors as commanding officer was busily preparing to mark the occasion in another way. Col. Paul Hutchison had been writing histories of the Black Watch since at least the First World War, having produced manuscripts on the regiment's recruitment activities in the United States and the actions of its 73rd Battalion during that conflict.[178] Some of his historical writings had been published in the *Red Hackle*, the regimental magazine of the Black Watch of Scotland.[179] It was therefore entirely fitting that Hutchison set out, in the leadup to the celebrations, to write a centennial history of the regiment.

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[176] Brig. K.G. Blackader to Egan Chambers, May 10th, 1961, BW-07, "K.G. Blackader Correspondence, 1960-1963," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[177] Egan Chambers to Brig. K.G. Blackader, June 7th, 1961, BW-07, "K.G. Blackader Correspondence, 1960-1963," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[178] See Paul P. Hutchison, "Barnstorming Through the States," (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), typescript, BW-10, "Barnstorming Through the States," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec; *The 73rd Battalion Royal Highlanders of Canada, 1915-1917*.

[179] Paul P. Hutchison, "The Colours of The Black Watch (R.H.R.) of Canada," *The Red Hackle*, January 1938, BW-10, "Issues of Red Hackle," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

Unlike the histories produced during the interwar period, which mostly recount the experiences of the regiment's three battalions during the First World War through a romantic retelling, Hutchison's history is of wider scope. It goes beyond the narrow military focus of the earlier histories. Indicative of the cultural anxiety within the regiment about the maintenance of its distinctive identity and traditions, Hutchison places a particular emphasis on the Scottish connection for his readers. He begins by extending the history of the Black Watch in Canada back another hundred years prior to its founding. It was during the Capitulation of Montreal in 1760, he notes, at the hands of General Amherst's forces among which were the 42nd Regiment of Foot, that the streets of Montreal resounded for the first time with the Pipes and Drums of the Black Watch.[180] The first five chapters of his book are dedicated to tracing the Black Watch's development as a Highland regiment through the adoption of appropriate uniforms and nomenclature, surveyed in Chapter One of this thesis to contextualize the regiment's nineteenth-century origins and development.

Unlike the earlier histories of Topp and indeed his own history of the 73rd Battalion during the First World War, Hutchison's centennial history emphasizes the deep roots of the regiment's Highland connection. Apart from his emphasis on the established presence of the Black Watch in Montreal and its efforts to distinguish itself within a fledgling Canadian military, Hutchison makes clear the distinct, local significance of the regiment in the concluding pages of his book:

> Some there are, even of the highest rank, who scoff today at "tribal regiments." Those who have worn the Dark Tartan and the Red Hackle glory in the fact that The Black Watch of Canada and of Scotland is a "tribal regiment." It is one of its proudest boasts that it *is* a Family Regiment. Such has been its greatest strength for two and a half centuries of Scottish history and now for a full century of Canadian history. Down the years generation after generation of the same families join the family regiment to maintain its traditions and its gallant service to the Crown and the Commonwealth… The magnificent appearance, prevision and disciplined efficiency of The Black Watch of Canada, during the Presentation of Colours and other ceremonies in June of 1962, were viewed by a great concourse of the Regiment's

[180] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 4.

> veterans, perhaps, to start, with something of a critical, professional eye. From what they saw, they realized with very great pride that the Regiment today is living up to the highest standards of the past, that its future is as bright and glorious as it has ever been…. Every regimental veteran must then have said to himself with real emotion: "I, too, once served in The Black Watch. This is my tribal regiment. It starts a new century of service with the brightest of futures. May it continue to draw to its ranks equally fine soldiers as we today and saw in the past."[181]

Following the centennial celebrations, it would have appeared that the regiment had defended its position within a newly "Canadianized" military within the British Commonwealth. However, this status quo would soon be challenged.

The Queen Mother presiding over the centennial celebrations at Percival Molson Stadium in 1962.[182]

In 1969, under the direction of the Ministry of Defence, the 1st and 2nd Battalions were removed from the Order of Battle of the Canadian Armed Forces, significantly reducing

[181] Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 320.

[182] Michel Giroux, "Le dossier illustre la présentation des drapeaux par la reine mère Elizabeth au Black Watch," photograph, Montreal, Quebec, June 9th, 1962, 06M,P833,S5,D1962-0053), Fonds La Presse, Montreal, Quebec.

the strength of the regiment. The decision can be seen as both a legacy of the Pearson government's 1967 Robertson Report and, especially, the personal initiative of Pierre Trudeau. The Robertson Report was a foreign policy review prompted by the "rising uncertainty about Canada's place and role in the world'' and which identified Canada's primary national interest as the survival of its "federal and bicultural state."[183] According to the report, Canada's survival largely hinged on its relationship with Quebec. It is ironic, however, that such an outlook was followed by increasing centralization within the military. The challenges brought against "Canadianization" by the Black Watch must also be considered within this context as a reaction against top-down control enforced by Ottawa, which threatened the regiment's independence and local importance within the Square Mile.

Cultivating a harmonious relationship with Quebec became a central priority of the Trudeau government following its formation in 1968. As one of the "Three Wise Men" of Quebec, Trudeau was committed to solving the issue of Quebec's place in Canada according to his own intellectual vision of a bilingual Canadian nationalism. As Edna Keeble has noted, his unilateral decision to reduce Canada's NATO forces reflected a foreign policy shift along these lines of the Robertson Report and its vision of national sovereignty.[184] Furthermore, the homogenization and centralization of the military was also part in parcel of Trudeau's plan to bridge the gap between francophones and anglophones by appealing to an idealistic notion of Canadian nationalism represented by a unified and distinctly Canadian military; a policy typified by the disbandment of the 1st and 2nd Battalions. According to Joel Sokolsky, the unification of the Canadian Armed Forces in 1968 through the official adoption of bilingualism transformed the military into a national institution aligned with Trudeau's vision of Canada.[185]

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[183] Edna Keeble, "Rethinking the 1971 White Paper and Trudeau's Impact on Canadian Defense Policy," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 4 (1997): 552.

[184] Keeble, "Rethinking," 548-49.

[185] Joseph Jockel and Joel Sokolsky, *Canada and Collective Security: Odd Man Out* (New York: Praeger, 1986), 32.

This decision prompted Lt.-Col. John G. Bourne, who had succeeded Col. Knox as Commanding Officer, to write the prime minister expressing his discontent. In a letter dated September 15th, 1969, Bourne stressed that since 1953 the Black Watch had always met its NATO and United Nations commitments when sent on overseas duty without borrowing troops from other regiments and often supplying its own to other infantry units.[186] Notwithstanding Bourne's efforts, the decision took effect in 1970 and represented a major blow to the Black Watch as a distinctly Scottish regiment within the Canadian military. As recounted by Lt.-Col. Scott Morrison, the cable carrying word of the decision had begun with "*Lochaber No More*. My highland grief goes to you all." As the news was read aloud to the members of the 1st Battalion at Gagetown, "a few soft curses followed… and in the morning sunlight more than a few tears glistened on their cheeks."[187] The impact of the decision went far beyond the mere reduction in strength of the Black Watch. As noted by Lt.-Col. Hal Klepak, Commanding Officer from 1980 to 1983, the Black Watch has since had "less opportunity than ever before to contribute to the traditional Highland fact within the armed forces" since the loss of its two Regular Force battalions.[188]

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[186] Lt.-Col. John G. Bourne to Pierre Elliot Trudeau, September 15th, 1969, BW-07, "J.G. Bourne Correspondence," BWMA, Montreal, Quebec.

[187] Jarymowycz, *The History of The Black Watch*, 3:434.

[188] H.P. Klepak, "A Man's a Man because of That: The Scots in the Canadian Military Experience," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, eds. Peter E. Rider and Heather Ann McNabb (Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2006), 54.

CONCLUSION

Through a web of local, interprovincial, and international associations, from both public and private spheres, the Black Watch asserted its distinct identity as Highland regiment during a post-Second World War-era in which the survival of such historic distinctiveness within the Canadian military was uncertain. The sum of these efforts was an increased exposure among the Canadian public to the Highland traditions of the Black Watch. These efforts were an extension of the regiment's cultural activities during the interwar period, and built on many of the same Square Mile connections it had maintained with civil society then. Indeed, despite the disbandment of the 1st and 2nd Battalions, it can be said that the Black Watch was largely successful in its efforts, as it has retained its Highland distinctiveness to this day. The Black Watch continues to participate in annual events such as the St. Andrew's Ball, the regimental church parade, Montreal's Remembrance Day parade, and the St. Patrick's Day parade as a distinctly Highland regiment.

Nor have Black Watch personnel stopped engaging in cultural activities in cooperation with civil society either. In the leadup to Expo 67, the 78th Fraser Highlanders reenactment group was established under the auspices of the Montreal Military & Maritime Museum. This was a recreation of the original eighteenth-century regiment which had fought at the Plains of Abraham, and has since its inception put on regular performances outside the Pointe-à-Callière Museum in Old Montreal and previously at the Stewart Museum on St. Helen's Island during the summer months. It was Col. J. Ralph Harper of the Black Watch who was responsible for conducting the historical research necessary for organizing the reenactment group, and many pipers instructed through the Black Watch's Junior Pipe Band –

now the Black Watch School of Piping and Drumming – often go on to play with the Frasers.[189] One such piper is Lt.-Col. Bruce Bolton, Commanding Officer of the regiment from 2000 to 2005, who has been involved with the Fraser Highlanders throughout his long career with the Black Watch.

This involvement of the military in actively producing and promoting culture, on its own or in collaboration with civil society, merits further attention from historians, particularly in a Canadian context. In examining the cultural activities of the Black Watch, this thesis has limited itself to the study of a single Highland regiment in twentieth-century Canada. This focus has allowed for an extended investigation of the regiment's local context, which has yielded interesting findings concerning the relationship between military and civil society. The Square Mile milieu in which many of the regiment's officers were steeped not only informed their cultural activities but afforded them with greater opportunities for cultural engagement through established connections with civil society. Further scholarship is needed to determine the degree to which these activities are unique to the Black Watch of Canada outside of this local context. If such activities are indeed represented in regimental archives across Canada, it could fundamentally change the way we think about the military and bridge the gap between social and military history, opening the door to new and exciting scholarship.

[189] J. Ralph Harper, *78th Fighting Frasers in Canada: A Short History of the Old 78th Regiment or Fraser's Highlanders, 1757-1763* (Chomedey: Dev-Sco Publications, 1966). Several other Black Watch officers have also established themselves as military historians. See Klepak, "A Man's a Man because of That"; Ian M. McCulloch, *Highlander in the French-Indian War, 1756–67* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2008); David O'Keefe, "'Pushing Their Necks Out': Ultra, The Black Watch, and Command Relations, May-sur-Orne, Normandy, 5 August 1944," *Canadian Military History* 15, no. 1 (2006): 33-44.

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