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The Montreal Militia as A Social Institution Before World War I

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In the years before World War 1, the proliferation of military statues (especially after the South African War), the construction of large and well appointed armouries, the presence of uniformed men and military bands at social and ceremonial occasions, the prominence of military men in organized sports, and the appearance of weekly military columns in most large Canadian urban daily newspapers,¹ made the militia a visible and audible feature of Canadian urban life. For all the contemporary prominence of the militia it has been a social and cultural institution too long neglected by urban historians.

By signing a three year service contract to train 12 days a year, hundreds of young, single, male civilians joined one of Canada's three armed militia units. So popular were "the city corps," that many units maintained more officers and men than their establishment permitted, and drilled in excess of their required 12 for which pay was authorized. Officers and men were so supportive of their units that many turned over their training pay to assist with regimental expenses, field days, excursions and other costs.² Enthusiasm sometimes could not be accommodated by existing units and available openings. In September 1898, when the number of interested recruits outnumbered available places "several young men, principally bank and insurance clerks" met in the Montreal Drill Hall to discuss "arrangements respecting the formation of an independent volunteer company."³

Several factors account for the militia's popularity before World War 1. First, the scramble for Africa, the Spanish American War, the South African War and the subsequent European arms race, the popularity of social Darwinism, and the growth of combative sports all made the profession of arms an increasingly respectable pursuit. This respectability was reflected not only in the growth of military and para-military obligations, such as the Boys Brigades, Cadets, Scouts and Rifle

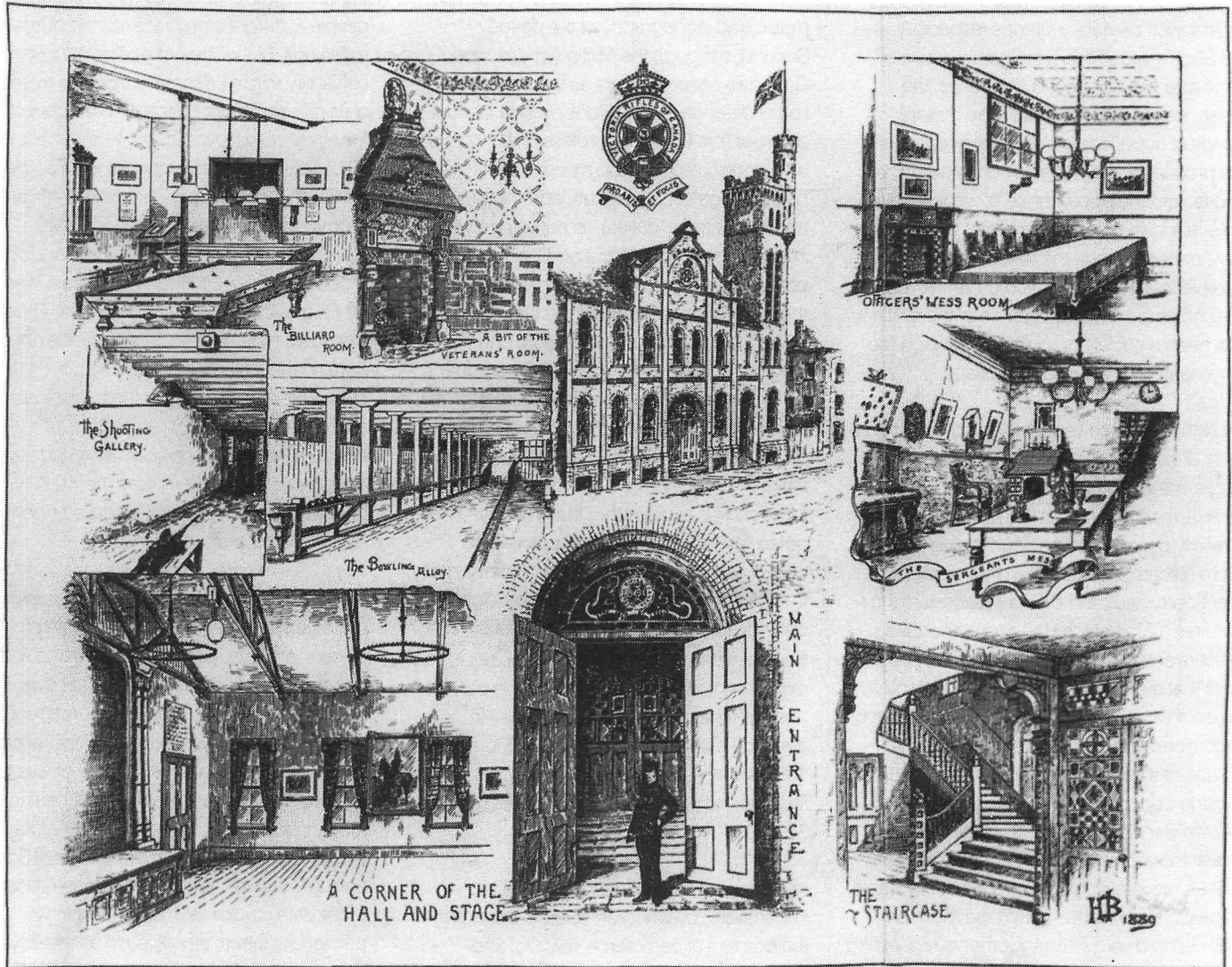
Associations, but in the literature, metaphor, music and iconography of the period. Second, although the Militia Act described Canada's citizen soldiers as the country's first line of defence against invasion and internal disorder (the 900 or so professional soldiers who constituted Canada's permanent militia being relegated to garrison, administrative and instructional duties), its duties rarely involved recourse to force and the hazards of conflict. Apart from intervention in support of the local civil power during the Orange riot of 1878, the Vaccination riot of 1885, and the Flag riot of 1900, or its even more infrequent external interventions, such as the North-West Rebellion, the Valleyfield cotton workers strike of 1900, and the Quebec city dockworkers strike of 1903, the Montreal militia's chief function was social rather than military.⁴ This is not to say that the city's militia served no useful military purpose. On the contrary, not only did the Montreal militia make a significant contribution to the North-West Rebellion, the South African War and World War I, but it experimented with the use of bicycle corps, and stretcher-bearer companies well in advance of the permanent militia. Moreover in 1891, Montreal's Victoria Rifles purchased the first Maxim gun in Canada at the cost of \$2,000.⁵

In a society captivated by 'nationalistic' imperialism, by Christian soldiers extending the borders of commerce, religion, and government, militia units were often at the centre of a network of patriotic, professional, fraternal, athletic, and business associations. Led by the influential and wealthy, the officer cadre of an active urban militia unit committed considerable time and financial resources. Consequently, officers were carefully selected for their influence and social standing, often through a process of ballot or election among the officers. The senior officers could exercise a veto over those considered acceptable, much as a private club. Those who could not afford the considerable cost of maintaining the expensive kit and social obligations were soon cut from social activities.⁶ Others among

the wealthy and influential who were unable to devote sufficient time to the myriad duties of a militia unit, but wished to participate in its social life, might become honorary members of its officers' mess. Of the 84 members of Montreal's 5th Royal Scots officers' mess in 1912, little more than a quarter were active militia officers. The rest were retired officers, prominent public men, and honorary members including Lord Strathcona, Lord Mount Stephen, Sir Hugh Montague Allen, Sir Hugh Graham, and Hugh Paton. These members of Montreal's business elite not only participated in the unit's social life, but contributed generously to the furnishing and maintenance of its facilities. Paton, for example, frequently donated as much as \$1,000 per year to the mess. The wealthy honorary members could be called upon to support various special funds.

Membership in the militia, conspicuously displayed by title and costume⁷ (which officers, anxious to exclude the 'wrong sort', insisted upon purchasing from their own pocket, rather than from public funds) entitled officers to public recognition and influence, which many translated into public offices, best represented by the sizeable parliamentary militia lobby. For example, Robert MacKay, the honorary Colonel of the 5th Royal Scots, and J.A. Ouimet, the Commanding Officer of Montreal's carabinieri, were prominent parliamentarians; others, such as the Royal Scots' Major J.C. McCorkell, Quebec's Provincial Secretary, sat in the Legislative Assembly. That the Militia or the Territorial Army in the United Kingdom served as a social club for officers is well established in the Canadian and British literature.⁸ What it held for the rank and file, however, is less apparent, but very important for an understanding of the world of young men in a turn-of-the-century city.

In Montreal, a city whose population grew from 115,000 in 1871 to 470,000 in 1911, prospective 'Saturday soldiers' had a wide choice of active militia units,⁹ the most



Henry Burnett's sketch of the interior of the Victoria Rifle's new armouries, which still stands on the North side of Cathcart Street between McGill College and University Streets, provides a graphic description of the Militia's various social activities. Courtesy, Victoria Rifles Reserve Association Scrapbook, Archives, McCord Museum.

prominent of which were the 5th Royal Scots (founded in 1862),¹⁰ the Victoria Rifles (1862),¹¹ the Carabinier Mont-Royal (1869),¹² the Prince of Wales Fusiliers (1870)¹³ and the Royal Canadian Hussars (1877).¹⁴ Perhaps the most striking characteristic of these five units was their ethno-religious, social, and transient character. In a city where French Canadians accounted for 54 percent and

Catholics for 73 percent of the population, the Carabiniers were almost exclusively francophone and Catholic; anglophone names amounted to no more than 2 percent of their numbers,¹⁵ and were probably the product of 'mixed' marriages. The was the case with the unit's commanding officer in 1904, Lieut-Colonel F.S. MacKay. The 5th Royal Scots were predominately Scots and

Presbyterian;¹⁶ whereas the ranks of the Prince of Wales Fusiliers were dominated by Irish Catholics.¹⁷ The Victoria Rifles and the Hussars had an abundance of English Protestants who were largely Anglican and Methodists. Many of the city-born volunteers in these units were graduates of the city's several parish or ethnic cadet corps, such as the St Patrick Cadets, the St Anne Cadets, the

Highland Cadets, the College St Louis Cadets, or the Zion (Jewish) Cadet corps.¹⁸ Some contemporary critics regarded "the introduction of distinctively Scottish, Irish, English or French Canadian regiments in the Canadian Militia as a national mistake", but others argued that it merely recognized a social reality, aided recruitment and esprit de corps, encouraged the pursuit of goals, and a commitment to loyalties which transcended ethno-religious difference.¹⁹

While ethno-religious differences make the five Montreal units distinctive, they actually had a similar social composition. All five units were particularly popular among clerks, skilled tradesmen, students, and out-of-town migrants between 18 and 24 years of age. For example, 70 percent of the 1,853 men who joined Montreal's Victoria Rifles between the years 1888 and 1906 were clerks; and 64 percent of their numbers were born outside the city of Montreal: about 23 percent in the United Kingdom, an additional seven percent outside of Canada, and the rest from other Canadian provinces.²⁰

Established during the volunteer craze which followed the outbreak of the American Civil War and subsequent Fenian Raids, from the membership of various local sporting clubs, such as the Beaver, the Montreal Hunt, Lacrosse and Snow Shoe clubs,²¹ the Montreal urban militia, unlike its rural counterpart, did not decline during the 1870s and 1880s, but continued to enjoy wide, generous public support, long after the military threat had vanished.²² The militia's appeal to an urban population lay largely in its facilities. Equipped with large, well appointed, centrally located armouries or drill halls, most units had made provisions for sport and recreation facilities. Facilities typically included several carpeted, comfortably furnished mess rooms (for privates, non-commissioned officers, and officers), lounges with euchre and whist tables, canteen, kitchens, bowling alley, skating rink, shooting gallery, bandroom, gymnasium (with punching bags

and boxing gloves), billiard room, banquet hall, lecture theatre, and reading room or library, well stocked with books, magazines and illustrated papers.

Militia units, therefore, could offer a wide range of activities. They held inter and intra-unit snow-shoe, curling, cricket, gymkhana, bowling and shooting competitions, organized band concerts, minstrel shows, theatre nights, smoking concerts, and an annual excursion to other Canadian and American cities, and occasionally even to Britain. They held lectures by distinguished visitors such as Winston Churchill, who entertained a large audience at the Victoria Rifle's armoury in December 1900 with an account of his experiences in the Boer War. They sponsored St John Ambulance courses and dance lessons.²³ In preparation for the annual St Andrew's Ball, the 5th Royal Scots promoted lessons on reels and the commanding officer felt it should be "an unwritten law that every young officer should qualify . . . as in any part of regimental training").²⁴ The busy social calendar included camp fires, smokers, banquets, balls, at-homes, and benefit concert for a worthy cause. Their field days attracted large crowds of admiring spectators. Civic authorities and private groups often called upon them to furnish a band or guard of honour.

The recreational and athletic functions of the Montreal militia continued to nurture interest in the urban militia. Membership in a unit opened the door to several other, more specialized, extra-curricular activities. For example, each unit possessed a Rifle Association, which sponsored meets with good prizes. The Victoria Rifles even had a Bicycle Corps. There were bowling clubs too, all run as semi-autonomous associations with a constitution, executive, budget and programme of its own. None was more popular, nor required more time, funds, or patience than the unit's band. The Carabinier's bugle and drum, the Fusiliers's

brass, fife and drum, the Victoria Rifle's brass, and the Royal Scots' pipe bands were in constant demand. Not only did they lead their respective units on parade during a growing number of military occasions, but they performed at patriotic anniversaries and events including the despatch and return of the various South African War contingents, the Quebec Tercentary, the reception of visiting dignitaries, or conventions such as the Geological Society of Canada, or a convention of Chambers of Commerce. Military bands appeared too for private events, such as the Montreal Hunt Steeple Chase, the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association's Caledonian Games, balls, marriages, and funerals. No event was more popular than the Carabinier's bugle and drum band's annual gala concert held in cooperation with the College Saint Louis's music department.



*V.R. Dramatic Club
Theatre Royal 22 Feb 1875
"Plot and Passion"
Margie's by Larrames - Mr E.L.A. Patterson*

The Militia's Drama Clubs (see "A Corner of the Hall and Stage" in Burnett's sketch) offered public entertainment, raised monies for regimental needs, or charitable organizations such as the Irish Protestant Benevolent Association. Courtesy, Victoria Rifles Reserve Association Scrapbook, Archives, McCord Museum.

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Built in the centre of town, close to their work place, living quarters or boarding houses, the well furnished armouries humming with social events offered clerks and young skilled workers from outside the city a number of benefits. Faced with a relative decline in pay and status, lack of mobility, and the fragmentation and regimentation of their work place,²⁵ Montreal clerks were especially

dollars per annum;²⁶ Their earnings were equivalent to a month's pay for a junior clerk. More frequent calls upon the better musicians for performances at smaller, more private occasions, made their membership in a militia band more profitable still. Similarly, the large number of unit, intra-city, provincial, national and the occasional international rifle competition, all with lucrative prizes, extended

those offered by the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, were increasingly beyond the means of low paid, young, white collar workers. Whereas an active annual membership in the M.A.A.A. cost 10 dollars in 1881, by 1907 it had risen to 15 dollars. Prospective members faced long waiting lists and an additional ten dollar entrance fee.²⁸ In contrast, membership in the militia was free.

During an era increasingly interested in gender differentiation, expressed by the rise of the women's movement and the cult of manliness,²⁹ the militia had an important social function as an exclusively male bastion. Unlike bushworkers and steelworkers, clerks were faced with an influx of women into what had been a lower middle class and male preserve. Clerks were especially vulnerable and sensitive to these changing gender relations which one author has described as a "crisis of masculinity."³⁰ The militia, with its emphasis on competitive, combative activities, not only provided supplementary income and a badge of respectability, but a clear affirmation of manliness. Edward Rotundo's claim that male "friendship played the largest role in a man's life after he left home and before he had established a career and a family of his own," may also account for the militia's popularity among the young single men of Montreal between the ages of 18 and 24. In Montreal, 75 percent of this age group were single, according to the 1891 census. In sum, at a time when the age at marriage was increasing, and the "distance between single men and women was growing,"³¹ the militia had a vital role in accommodating male clerks to a changing urban society.

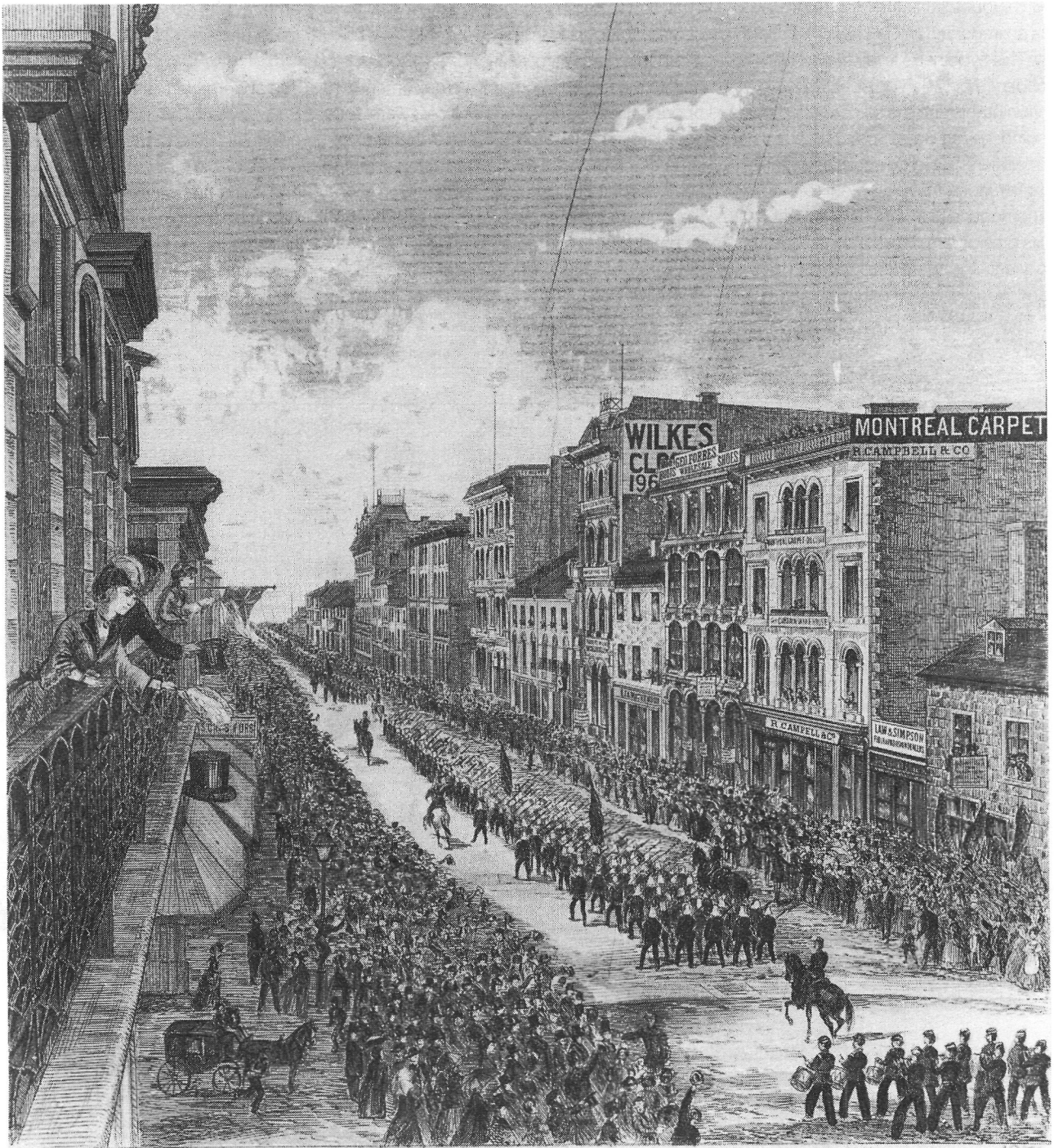


Band concerts, such as the one depicted by Henri Julien's line drawing, served a similar function and provided good public relations. Canadian Illustrated News, 18 September 1880. Courtesy Musée David M. Stewart.

drawn to the militia. Although their annual militia stipend, set at 50 cents a day for privates for 12 working days, was low, authorization of supplementary pay for special occasions considerably augmented their income. Bandsmen were particularly fortunate. In addition to their 12 working days pay, bandsmen who were paid two dollars per day earned on average an extra 25

opportunities for marksmen and prize hunters to add to their collection of "handsome cups" and cash prizes. For example, at the 5th Royal Scots' annual meet, some 425 dollars in prize money was usually up for grabs. Top individual prizes were as much as 10 dollars per competition.²⁷ All militiamen might benefit from the unit's sports and recreational facilities at a time when comparable facilities, such as

The Montreal militia also facilitated the social integration of migrants from outside the city. The large number of out-of-town men in the various units and the persistent recruitment of men from a particular locality, for example the 22 men from Jersey (only 32 Montrealers listed Jersey as their birthplace in the 1891 Census), or the 12 men from the small Quebec of Saint Andrews East, who joined



MONTREALERS MARCHING THROUGH MCGILL ST., MONTREAL, AFTER THE REVIEW ON LOGAN'S FARM, THE 22ND JULY.—FROM A SKETCH BY OUR ARTIST.—

This line drawing of the volunteers' march along McGill St. suggests the Militia's undisputed public popularity. Canadian Illustrated News, 22 July 1872, Courtesy, Musée David M. Stewart.

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the Victoria Rifles between the years 1888 and 1906,³² suggests that the Montreal militia served as an important link in chain migration to the city. This hypothesis is reinforced by correspondence between prospective Scottish immigrants and the officer commanding the 5th Royal Scots.³³ In a community differentiated by social and ethno-religious differences, the relative ethno-religious homogeneity of various Montreal militia units provided migrants a sense of community and surrogate family which helped bridge the distance between the

home and host community. A familiar institution to British immigrants,³⁴ the militia offered strangers to the city a suitable, affordable place to make friends and social contacts, as well as to improve employment opportunities. After all, a unit's officers were often large employers or closely related to large employers and a unit's non-commissioned officers were frequently well placed to recommend a promising applicant for employment or promotion and they often did so. Consequently migrants from one city to another brought letters from their militia

officers recommending the bearer for employment as well as membership in a militia unit.

The apparent preference of Grand Trunk Railway clerks, after the disbandment of their own militia units in 1881, for the Royal Scots (who took the Grand Trunk Railway's entire 23 man band on strength)³⁵ and the Canadian Pacific Railway's clerks (including the Railway's influential Chief Clerk) for the Victoria Rifles, fortifies the notion of the tie between the work place and the parade



MONTREAL:—MILITARY DRIVE OF THE OFFICERS OF THE "1st PRINCE OF WALES REGIMENT."

January 1876

Henri Julien's line drawing of the Prince of Wales' Officer's sleigh ride underscores the sporting, social character of the Militia units. Canadian Illustrated News, 1 January 1876, Courtesy, Musée David M. Stewart.

square. This subtle link between employment and recreation also may account for the popularity of Montreal Field Company of Canadian Engineers. Its armoury was located in Point St Charles, among telegraph and telephone men, railway clerks and mining engineers, whose civilian occupational skills were easily transferred to their branch of military service.³⁶

To the native born and migrant in search of social mobility or the confirmation of social status, the militia provided a badge of middle class respectability. Led and financed by the city's wealth and powerful, hierarchically organized, and committed to the support of the civil and social order, the militia was a very middle class institution. Its social activities and organized recreation reflected middle class values, needs and pretensions. During strikes or labour unrest, militiamen were called to support capital against labour. Membership in the militia, therefore, helped affirm lower middle class clerks' increasingly tenuous claim to middle class status.

Since about 80 percent of the men in Montreal's militia units were between the ages of 18 and 24 — those who were older or younger were usually men or boys in the band — the brevity of their contractual service initially suggests the militia's transient importance in the lives of its members. A man's association with a militia corps, however, did not cease with the termination of his service contract. Pressed to join the corps' reserve, many men welcomed the opportunity to retain their association with their militia friends, access to facilities, and participation in its activities, all without the obligation and inconvenience of regular service.

The Montreal militia, of course, commanded the support of a larger segment of the city's population than the relatively small body of young, enthusiastic, male volunteers. To pay for their bands, excursions, field days and well appointed facilities, the militia drew upon a network of generous patrons, volunteers, and

public supporters. Although each corps received small government grants, these were irregular, and always far short of the militia's perceived needs. To meet the deficit, all units possessed active reserve, and ladies' associations, which in cooperation with their patrons, raised large sums of money through teas, bazaars, minstrel shows, band concerts, and private solicitation. The Victoria Rifles' first bazaar raised 5,000 dollars in 1886;³⁷ and its second in 1890 raised 8,000 dollars to help construct a new armoury. Similarly the Montreal Hussars raised 260,000 dollars, the Royal Scots 110,000 dollars, and the Carabiniere 124,000 dollars to construct armouries. While these building funds benefited from considerable government assistance (the Carabinier's received 50,000 dollars of public funds),³⁸ and the generosity of wealthy patrons such as Mount Stephen and Strathcona, much of the money to construct, equip, and maintain separate armouries was procured through the work of active volunteers. Nevertheless officers, wealthy patrons, and honorary colonels, carefully chosen for their long purses, frequently were obliged to meet a unit's operating deficit or provide funds for special occasions. For example, in June 1910 the honorary colonel of the Carabiniere, the wealthy Montreal stockbroker and financier, J.D.R. Forget, treated his corps — 343 men of all ranks — to a three day excursion, combined with tactical exercises which he held on his summer estate at Murray Bay.³⁹ Similarly, the Hon. Robert McKay, the honorary colonel of the Royal Scots, paid for his corps' excursion to Kingston and regularly entertained the entire officer corps of his unit at the Mount Stephen Club.⁴⁰

The size and complexity of the urban militia's finances and their casual supervision made them a vulnerable prey to careless or corrupt administration. Consequently finances were a constant concern of conscientious senior officers. For example the failure of Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Finlayson, the commanding officer of the Prince of Wales Fusiliers, to untangle his corps' complicated finances and

account for "deficiencies of some \$6,556.87" led in 1908 to his resignation as well as those of his two senior majors, W.H. Laurie and W.G. Stuart. The Fusiliers had to disband in 1911, after repeated efforts to reorganize the unit failed.⁴¹

Before 1914, the militia played an important part in Montreal urban life. Membership in a militia unit provided both officers and men with a number of tangible rewards. Not only was the militia a social institution, but a socializing institution, one of a fascinating network of religious, occupational, recreational and fraternal associations, which facilitated the social adaptation of young, single males to middle class, Montreal urban life. Too often neglected by urban historians, a closer examination of the urban militia provides yet another dimension to our understanding of the urban past.

Notes

- ¹ "Military Happenings", in the Saturday edition of the *Montreal Star*, and "Military Matters," in the *Montreal Gazette*, often occupied an entire page.
- ² Canada, *Sessional Paper*, No. 13 (1891) 2.
- ³ The *Montreal Gazette*, 17 Sept. 1898.
- ⁴ Desmond Morton, "Aid to the Civil Power", *Canadian Historical Review*, (December, 1970).
- ⁵ McCord Museum Archives, *Victoria Rifles Calendar*, 31 Dec. 1903; *Montreal Star*, 30 July 1904.
- ⁶ The *Montreal Gazette*, 10 Sept. 1898, discussed Montreal senior officers' penchant for the use of their military title in civilian and private life.
- ⁷ Black Watch Museum Archives, Officers' mess file, 13 Dec. 1898 to 21 May 1912.
- ⁸ Desmond Morton, *Ministers and Generals* (Toronto, 1970); G. Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London, 1977).

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- ⁹ During this period there were other Montreal militia units, such as the 85th Battalion (le Regiment de Maisonneuve, 1880-1920), the Montreal Field Battery of Artillery, (*Les Chasseur Canadien*, 1862-72; 1901-), the Hochelega Light Infantry and others, which came and went.
- ¹⁰ Paul Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 1862-1962 (Montreal, 1987); E.J. Chambers, *The 5th Regiment Royal Scots of Canada Highlanders* (Montreal, 1904).
- ¹¹ Jeremy Elbourne, "The Victoria Rifles as a Social Institution" (unpublished Seminar paper, McGill University, 1985).
- ¹² J. Guy Gauvreau, *cent ans d'histoire d'un regiment canadien-français: Les Fusilier Mont-Royal 1869-1969* (Montreal, 1971); E.J. Chambers, *Histoire du 65ieme Regiment Carabiniere Mont-Royal* (Montreal, 1906); Benjamin Sulte, *Histoire de la milice canadienne-française, 1760-1897* (Montreal, 1897).
- ¹³ E.J. Chambers, *The Origin and Service of the Prince of Wales Regiment* (Montreal, 1897).
- ¹⁴ H. Steele, *The Long Ride: A Short History of the Duke of Yorks' Royal Hussars, The Royal Canadian Hussars* (Montreal, 1934).
- ¹⁵ National Archives of Canada (N.A.C.), R G 9, II F 6, 150, Pay Lists; *Montreal Star*, 9 July 1904.
- ¹⁶ A Scottish company of the Prince of Wales Rifles was transferred to the Royal Scots in 1863, Chambers, *The 5th Regiment Royal Scots*, 36.
- ¹⁷ This is inferred from a sample of the men from this unit who volunteered for service in South Africa, 1899-1902, N.A.C., R G 38, Attestation Papers, South African War.
- ¹⁸ *Montreal Star*, 16 July 1904; 27 May 1905.
- ¹⁹ Chambers, *The 5th Regiment Royal Scots*, 90.
- ²⁰ McCord Museum Archives, *Victoria Rifles Registers*, 1888-1906, cited in Elbourne, "The Victoria Rifles."
- ²¹ See E.K. Senior, *Roots of the Canadian Army: Montreal District* (Montreal, 1981).
- ²² O.A. Cooke, "Three Rural Militia Companies in Carleton County, Ontario 1863-1911" (unpublished paper, 21 pp)
- ²³ *Victoria Rifles Calendar*; *Montreal Star*, 16 July 1904; *Montreal Life*, 12 January 1900; McCord Museum Archives, *Victoria Rifles, Scrapbook*; *The Canadian Military Gazette*, 14 Jan. 1908, 11; and 11 Feb. 1908, 11.
- ²⁴ Black Watch Museum Archives, Officers' mess file, 1898-1912, Cantile to Norsworthy, 28 March 1913.
- ²⁵ David Grosvnor Coombs, "The Emergence of a White Collar Work force in Toronto, 1895-1911", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1978) 12, points out that 22 percent of Toronto's working population consisted of white collar workers by 1911.
- ²⁶ Black Watch Museum Archives, files entitled "Bands, engagements, etc. 1898-1912."
- ²⁷ Black Watch Museum Archives, file entitled "Rifle Association" and the Royal Scots Rifle Association Minute Book, 31 Annual Meeting of 5th Royal Rifles Association, 11, July 1908.
- ²⁸ N.A.C., M.G. 28, I 351, Montreal Amateur Athletic association, Minute Book: 1881 Constitution, Article VI, 6 December 1909.
- ²⁹ J.A. Managan and James Wolvin (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1880-1940* (Manchester, 1987).
- ³⁰ M.S. Kimmel, "The Crisis of Masculinity in Historical Perspective" in Harry Brod, ed., *The Making of Masculinities*, (Boston, 1987) quoted in Steven Maynard, "Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Constitution of Masculinity in Working Class History", *Labour/Le Travail*, No. 23 (Spring, 1989).
- ³¹ Edward Anthony Rotundo, "Manhood in America: The Northern Middle Class 1770-1920" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Brandeis University, 1982) 244, 336.
- ³² Elbourne, "The Victoria Rifles".
- ³³ Black Watch Museum Archives, file entitled "Band," Robert Hall to C.O. 5th Royal Scots, 1 April 1909; Thomas Hastings to Lt.-Col. Cantley, 27 January 1912.
- ³⁴ Anne Summers, "Militarism in Britain before the Great War", *History Workshop* (Autumn, 1976). See also, Ross McCormack, "Networks Among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900-1914," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* (November, 1984).
- ³⁵ Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 24.
- ³⁶ *Montreal Star*, 16 July 1904.
- ³⁷ *Victoria Rifles Calendar*, 5 Dec. 1903.
- ³⁸ Hutchison, *Canada's Black Watch*, 43; Gauvreau, *Cent Ans . . .*, 46.
- ³⁹ N.A.C., R.G. 24, Vol. 5875, H.Q. 7-67-5 Lieutenant-Col. to H.Q., 6 Feb. 1911.
- ⁴⁰ Black Watch Museum Archives, Officers mess file, Robert MacKay to Noseworthy, April 1912.
- ⁴¹ N.A.C., R.G. 24, Vol. 6405, H.Q., C 104, Inspector-General's Report, 1909-11, O.C. Quebec, Roy to Secretary of Militia Council, 21 Sept. 1910.