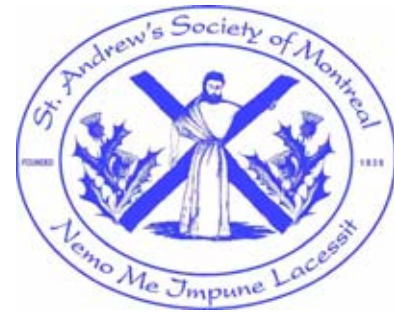


The JOURNAL

of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal



May, 2006



Photograph by Fred Jennings

The Black Watch (RHR) of Canada march east along Sherbrooke Street as part of their Church Parade on May 7th, 2006, continuing a 74 year tradition.

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PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Dear Friends,

Winter – and a nasty cold spell in late May – has finally left Montreal, so we are all looking forward to an enjoyable summer.

There are a number of activities up coming that will be of interest to our members, notably the Celtic Acadian Louisiana Festival, June 16 – 18, and of course the Montreal Highland Games on Sunday, August 6. The Society is one of the principal sponsors of the Highland Games and I encourage you to spend the day with your family at the many activities on offer. The massed Highland Pipe Bands are a stirring sight and sound! Information on both events are to be found elsewhere in this edition of the Journal.

The Activities Committee of the Society held a well attended Pot Luck Supper at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul on April 22. The guests were treated to a concert by Pipe Major Jordon Anderson and an impromptu Highland dance performance by Simone Diamond (daughter of council member Scot Diamond). Many congratulations to the organizing committee of this event.

The Scottish-Canadian community presence was more visible on the streets of Montreal on Sunday, May 7, when the Black Watch (RHR) of Canada, continuing a 74 year tradition, marched from its armory on Bleury Street to the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. In the days immediately preceding the march there was a great deal of administrative confusion on the part of municipal authorities, and it appeared that the planned route would be diverted to de Maisonneuve Blvd. Happily, on

the day itself, the civic authorities on site – the Montreal police escort – exercised good tactical judgment on the field, and authorized the march along the traditional route – the more colourful and historic Sherbrooke Street. It made the march past to an enthusiastic crowd on a sunny Sunday all the more splendid, as shown on our cover photograph.

It was my privilege to preside the annual meeting and new members' reception on May 8, 2006. For those who were unable to attend, the reports and financial statements, showing a healthy organization, are to be found in the Annual Report previously mailed to members. The event itself included refreshment and light food, kindly organized by Ethel Enkel, and for those members of Council who stayed until the end, a wee dram of vintage Glen Elgin single malt given by Lord Bruce on his visit last November as Guest of Honour at the Ball.

It is not too early to begin thinking about and planning our major fall activities: The Taste of Scotland Evening (October 20) and the St. Andrew's Ball (December 1). We are delighted that our Guests of Honour at this year's Ball will be Mr. & Mrs. Robert Ritchie. For some time, Rob Ritchie has been an honorary co-patron of the Ball, and as President of Canadian Pacific Railway, has led a large group of railway-related guests at the Ball for many years. We are very pleased that he and his wife Tanya have accepted this new role on the year of his retirement, after a very successful career, as President of the CPR.

I wish you all a relaxing, safe and healthy summer.

Respectfully,

Bruce McNiven

FLOWERS OF THE FOREST

We extend our sympathy to the family and friends of two members who passed away recently: Dr. Ross Ogilvie Hill, a life member since 1978 and Prof. James Smith, a life member since 1990 who served on the Education Committee from 1989 to 1997.

MEMBERSHIP

The Society is very pleased to welcome the following four members: Mr. Peter W.R. Hogan, Mr. Stephen Mitchell, Mr. Gary D.D. Morrison and Mr. George D. Tait

Ms. Chareen Dias, an annual member since 1994 has now become a life member as has Mr. James McDougall Wilson, an annual member since 2005.

ANNUAL MEETING

During the annual meeting all members of Council were re-elected by the members to serve for another year. The Committee of Management also remains unchanged except that Mr. Thomas Brady replaced Mr. Robert Campbell as Honorary Solicitor and Ms. Denise LaPointe replaced Mrs. Anne Barnes as Chair of the Welfare Committee.



Past President Alex Hutchison, award recipient Piper Josh Odermatt and Society President Bruce McNiven.

**THE 4th INTERNATIONAL
CELTIC – ACADIAN -
LOUISIANA FESTIVAL
JUNE 16-18, 2006**

Jigs, reels and airs await you at the fourth edition of the festival, which will take place in the Saint-Michel church, the municipal arena and at other locations in Vaudreuil-Dorion from the 16th to the 18th of June, 2006 with the best Celtic, Acadian and Louisiana bands.

This festival aims to provide Canadians from all walks of life with a unique opportunity to discover and share the culture and music of the founding peoples of Canada and to enable fruitful interactions between Canadians of all backgrounds.

Since its launch in 2002, the Celtic, Acadian, Louisiana Festival has distinguished itself as an important international musical event by presenting the best professional international bands and by acting as a springboard for the emerging ones

Celtic groups this year will include: Ashley MacIsaac, internationally renowned Cape-Breton fiddler; Paddy Keenan, king of the uilleann pipes; Tony McManus, top Celtic guitarist; Arisaig; Oro; Swift Years & Belfast Andy; Sine McKenna; Écosse, Le Chêne Vert; Landevan; Celtic Grace Irish dance group, Pipes and drums, and Highland dancers.

Acadian, Louisiana and Québécois groups will include: Jean-François Breau, accompanied by Pierre Robichaud and Kenneth Saulnier; Louisiana's Red Stick Ramblers; Roy Carrier and the night rockers; New Brunswick's Glamour Puss; Mackinaw folkloric dance group, Rapetipetam and the La Bistringue

jiggers, Réveillons, X-île, les langues fourchues, and Guy Donis.

All in all, 250 performers, musicians and dancers will come together to make this an amazing event. Please view this year's programme and the video clips from previous years by visiting: www.acadieenfete.ca or www.quebecceltic.ca.

Music and dance workshops, food sampling, documentaries on Louisiana, Gaelic singing and workshop and activities for the youngsters and the whole family will appeal to all tastes.



Tony MacManus, a renowned Scottish guitarist, will perform at the festival.

**THE MONTREAL HIGHLAND
GAMES.
SUNDAY, AUGUST 6th**

Over the past 29 years, the Montreal Highland Games have become one of the 'premier' events on the North American highland games circuit. This year's event will be overseen by the "Chieftain of the Day", Mike Boone of the Gazette. The 78th Fraser Highlanders will guarantee

an explosive start with their musket and cannon routine prior to the opening ceremonies.

The ten to twelve athletes that participate in the seven heavyweight events are the elite of their sport. It is truly thrilling to see them throwing the hammers, weights, sheaves and cabers.

The Montreal Games traditionally attract between 40 and 50 pipe bands, which makes this one of the largest pipe band competitions in North America. The sight and sound of these bands playing together at the opening and closing ceremonies will stir the blood of absolutely everyone in the park. This year, the LA Scots (one of only three grade I pipe bands in the US) will perform in the beer tent.

The grace and precision of the highland dancers is a beautiful thing to watch. Whether you are a knowledgeable expert or novice spectator, these dancers will impress everyone.

In addition to the competitive events, there are demonstrations of Scottish fiddle playing and Scottish Country Dancing.

Highland games are always a real family event, and the kiddies have not been forgotten. The kiddies' corner features inflated bounce rides, pony rides and other activities designed especially for them.

This year, the Society for Creative Anachronism, (who strive to recapture the ambiance of the Middle Ages) will demonstrate medieval battle techniques.

The Society is proud to be a financial supporter of the Montreal Highland Games and you are encouraged to attend.

FROM THE SOCIETY'S ARCHIVES - 1876

According to the Society's Forty-First Annual Report for the year November 1st, 1875 to November 1st, 1876, a great depression in trade during that period resulted in many mechanics and labourers being unemployed. Consequently, an unusually large number of persons in these categories had to obtain aid from the Society. Fortunately, thanks to the kindness of loyal and constant donors, food, clothing and blankets plus other necessities, amounting in value to approximately \$700.00, were received during the year, enabling the following items to be distributed to 129 families; in all 516 persons including those previously mentioned:

23 barrels Oatmeal, 2 barrels Flour, 1 barrel Cornmeal, 1 barrel Herring, 1 Barrel Split Peas, 1 barrel Pot Barley, 10 barrels Sugar (2,308 lbs.), 9 half-chests Tea, 3,779 loaves Bread, 406 lbs. Beef, 295 lbs. Butter, 25-gallons Syrup, 28 lbs. Currants, 48 lbs. Raisins, 1 bag Rice, 3 cases (222 lbs. each) Finnan Haddies, 5 barrels Soap, 22 pairs Boots, 155 cords Firewood. It is interesting to note that in many cases, not only in this particular year but also in others, that the barrels of oatmeal were donated as the result of curling matches and also in 1876 two barrels of oatmeal were donated by 'A Friend' and 'Another Friend' as the result of a game of Euchre.

Also mentioned in the Charitable Committee's Report is the fact that 156 persons were received into the St. Andrew's Home during the year; 6 of whom were sent to Liverpool, 3 to the United States, 6 to Glasgow; 13 to Ontario and 3 to Quebec. Thanks were given to H. & A. Allan for carrying passengers at reduced rates and also to Mr.

Harte (Glasgow Drug Hall) who had liberally given medicines, both to the outdoor poor and the residents of the Home, when required. Messrs. D. Morrice & Co. were also thanked for providing a liberal supply of ice, as usual, to the Home and the kindness of Mr. Hickson who had arranged for G. T. Railway to provide 150 cords of excellent wood at \$4.00 per cord was acknowledged. The Society also provided for 5 funerals in 1876.



The Society's portrait of Sir Walter Scott

\$291.00, the proceeds from an entertainment by Mr. David Kennedy - the well known Scottish vocalist, was generously donated by him to be shared between the St. Andrew's Society (\$141.00) and the Caledonian Society (\$150.00) who, in turn, kindly handed over their share to the St. Andrew's Society. Also during this period, two 'handsomely framed' oil paintings, one of Sir Walter Scott and the other of Robert Burns were donated to the Society by Andrew Wilson, Esq. who had purchased them while on a visit to Europe. These two very fine paintings, in exceptionally beautiful frames, are still in the Society's possession and were displayed at the McCord Museum during the Society's Sesquicentennial Year (1985).

1876 was also the year that the St. Andrews's Society of Montreal's annual St. Andrew's Day procession was discontinued. It was "moved by Jas. Stewart, seconded by F. J. Logie - that the annual procession on St. Andrew's Day be discontinued". Then "moved in amendment by J. C. Becket, seconded by John Fulton - that the Society march in procession to church as in former years". However, the amendment was lost by a vote of 5 to 8. "The main motion was then put to the meeting and carried by a majority of 9."

At the same meeting, there is mention of Mr. J. C. Watson reporting that he had been canvassing the Scotsmen of the city for subscriptions for the Society and that he had been very well received - "showing that the work of the Society was appreciated by the public". He further stated that "he had already collected \$450 and hoped in a few days to report further progress". On the other hand, a later motion, moved by Mr. E. McLennan, the incoming President - "that the annual subscription be raised from \$2.00 to \$4.00" is briefly stated as "Motion lost". By the following week, the amount raised had reached \$733.

Mary Johnston Cox
Historian

BOOK: THE SCOTS OF MONTREAL

This 156 page illustrated book, based on the McCord Museum exhibition, *The Scots: Dyed-in-the-Wool Montrealers*, was published with the generous assistance of the Society. Members may purchase their copy of the book directly from the Society for \$25. Discover just how rooted the Scottish thistle is in Montreal's soil.



SCOTS

CASTLE OF DREAMS

The following article first appeared in the February 1999 issue of the magazine SCOTS, which is published quarterly in February, May, August and November. SCOTS is available from selected news-stands and Scottish specialty shops, but most people receive the magazine by subscription, thereby becoming Members of The Scots Heritage Society (on the internet at www.scotsheritage.net). Susan Cromarty, FSA Scot, the Editor of SCOTS, has kindly given the Society permission to reprint articles that may be of interest to our membership in The Journal.

When Marigold MacRae looks down from her apartment in Eilean Donan Castle she sees the confluence of three of Scotland's most beautiful sea lochs, Loch Long, Loch Duich and Loch Alsh.

In 1719, the same view would have revealed three English men o' war, the frigates Worcester, Enterprise and Flamborough, each with their great guns trained upon the castle's grey stone ramparts. The MacRaes who had come out in support of the first Jacobite Rising in 1715 were using the castle to billet Spanish infantrymen sent from Catholic Spain to assist the cause of the Old Pretender. True to their clan motto, Fortitudine (strength) the MacRaes spurned the English demand for surrender. The frigates' relentless barrage continued until Eilean Donan which had stood since the 13th century, was reduced to little more than a smoking ruin. The castle remained a pile of rubble for more than 200 years until Lieutenant Colonel John MacRae Gilstrap, grandfather of Mrs. MacRae's late

husband, undertook its restoration at enormous personal cost. Today, Eilean Donan is owned by the Conchra Charitable Trust. Marigold MacRae, President of the Clan MacRae Society in Scotland is one of the Trustees who retains custody of the castle in the public interest. Bruce Stannard was honoured to be her guest.

Anyone fortunate enough to spend time in the company of the gracious Marigold MacRae is left to ponder how very different Scotland's cultural and political landscape might be if there had been more women like her at the head of the Highland clans instead of belligerent males. Mrs. MacRae combines great charm and dignity with intelligence and sensitivity. These are the kind of laurels which history does not often bestow upon Scotland's male chieftains who spent so much time at each other's throats.

Although there is now no formally recognised Chief of Clan MacRae, Mrs. MacRae is the President of the Clan MacRae Society in Scotland. Mrs. MacRae and her family live at Nairnside House, where they manage a 5,000 acre estate not far from Culloden Moor. When I arrived on a beautifully sunny but extremely cold winter's morning, the magnificent golden Beech-lined driveway leading to the house was alive with pheasants, the cock birds in their splendid plumage and the hens dull brown but plump and destined, I'm afraid, for the guns of hunters who were shortly due for the annual shoot on the estate. Red-breasted robins and tiny golden finches were pecking away the seed Mrs. MacRae thoughtfully leaves out for them. Over coffee in the warmth of the conservatory we spoke about Eilean Donan, the history of Clan MacRae and the international efforts she undertakes

in support of clan. "It is a very great privilege to be President of the Clan MacRae Society in Scotland," she said. "We are quite a small clan compared with some of the others but what we lack in numbers we more than make up for in the warmth of the relations we all enjoy as clansmen and women. It does involve the most powerful bond. It's like a great big family, really. And it's lovely seeing people who share the same interests in our history.

"It does mean a lot to me and I do very much appreciate how much our kinsmen and women in Australia, New Zealand, America and Canada, love coming to Scotland to explore their own cultural roots. They know they're welcome. That's the main thing. I quite often take people over the castle myself and it can be a deeply moving experience for many of our overseas visitors. In Scotland it is perhaps all too easy to become blasé about our cultural heritage. After all, we're surrounded with history here and perhaps we do tend to take it for granted. But when we get visitors from overseas, suddenly we're made to realise what a wonderful cultural inheritance we have. It's a great pleasure to be able to share that."

Mrs. MacRae points out that many thousands of MacRaes left Scotland and went to the four corners of the earth as emigrants in the 19th century. "And yet", she said, "even though many generations may have passed, the amazing thing is that the sense of kinship, the sense of home-coming for many people is very, very strong. In an age in which so many people seem to be focused entirely on the here-and-now, I think it's increasingly important to be aware of our past, and to take an interest and a pride in our forebears. I'm

particularly pleased to see the Scots abroad, and particularly the MacRaes, do seem to take a great pride in their clan tartans. I'm always astonished at the number of men in kilts when I go abroad."

Mrs. MacRae laughed when I confided that the sight of my Clan Mackenzie kilt had prompted the receptionist at Eilean Donan to insist upon my being given free admission. "Quite right, too," she said. "After all, it was a Mackenzie stronghold for a very long time."

The MacRaes were related to the Kintail branch of the great Clan Mackenzie. They were Chamberlains of Kintail for generations and from about 1520 were also Constables of Eilean Donan. The MacRaes served the Mackenzies well, fighting for them with such vigour and courage that they were known as the Mackenzies' "Shirts of Mail" - which may mean they formed the bodyguard of the larger clan. At the Battle of Sherrifmuir which was fought during the first Jacobite Rising of 1715, it is said that the MacRae men fighting alongside the Mackenzies fell almost to a man.

Mrs. MacRae says she is sure that when her husband's grandfather bought the ruins of Eilean Donan

in 1912, he never intended to do anything other than keep the island as it was a ruin. "But", she says, "thanks largely to the efforts of this wonderful man, Farquar MacRae, he decided to go ahead and restore it. Farquar MacRae was a highly skilled stone mason and he was employed initially only to clean the site up a bit. But when my husband's grandfather came home from the First World War he found that Farquar had gone much further than simply clearing up. He was all set to re-build. He claimed to have had a dream in which he said he saw, in the most vivid detail, exactly the way the castle originally looked. Fortunately, Colonel MacRae Gilstrap married a very rich lady, Ella Gilstrap and luckily, she was as enthusiastic as he was. So, with her money and their combined enthusiasm they rebuilt the castle over 12 years between 1920 and 1932.

"The extraordinary thing is that after the restoration was complete, the plans for the castle were discovered in the archives at Edinburgh Castle and, lo-and-behold, they were exactly as Farquar had dreamed them to be. That's why Eilean Donan is known as the Castle of Dreams. It really has given an immense amount of pleasure to a great many people. Of course, there were one or two

people back in the 1920s who grumbled in letters to the newspapers, complaining that the MacRaes were spoiling this picturesque old ruin. But all that's forgotten now and I think most people love what's been done. Throughout the world Eilean Donan is the one place people call to mind when they think of Scotland. In that superbly romantic setting, surrounded by all those wonderful tree-clad hills, it does seem to have a rare, dream-like quality. And that's what people remember. It's the quintessential Scottish castle. There's no doubt about that. I love it. It's so stark and yet so utterly beautiful. It has none of those funny little pepper-pot turrets that adorn so many Scottish castles. Eilean Donan is a fortress. It stands there brooding and defiant. And I suppose in that sense it is a bit of a metaphor for the Highlanders themselves. The whole country and certainly its people have been knocked about rather cruelly over the years. But they've got up again, rebuilt their lives, in some cases far away. Yes, they are a tough and resilient people. They've had to be. Which is why they were so wonderfully well equipped for all the trials of frontier life when they emigrated to Australia, New Zealand, America and Canada in the 19th century".



Eilean Donan castle, by Kyle of Lochalsh, is known as the Castle of Dreams.

INVENTION OF TRADITION: THE HIGHLAND TRADITION OF SCOTLAND

The following essay by Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre of Glanton) was originally published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge in 1983 as part The Invention of Tradition, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger. Express permission to reprint this essay was kindly granted to the Society by the Literary Estate of Lord Dacre of Glanton.

Today, whenever Scotchmen gather together to celebrate their national identity, they assert it openly by certain distinctive national apparatus. They wear the kilt, woven in a tartan whose colour and pattern indicates their 'clan'; and if they indulge in music, their instrument is the bagpipe. This apparatus, to which they ascribe great antiquity, is in fact largely modern. It was developed after, sometimes long after, the Union with England against which it is, in a sense, a protest. Before the Union, it did indeed exist in vestigial form; but that form was regarded by the large majority of Scotchmen as a sign of barbarism: the badge of roguish, idle, predatory, blackmailing Highlanders who were more of a nuisance than a threat to civilized, historic Scotland. And even in the Highlands, even in that vestigial form, it was relatively new: it was not the original, or the distinguishing badge of Highland society.

Indeed, the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition is a retrospective invention. Before the later years of the seventeenth century, the Highlanders of Scotland did not form a distinct people. They were

simply the overflow of Ireland. On that broken and inhospitable coast, in that archipelago of islands large and small, the sea unites rather than divides and from the late fifth century, when the Scots of Ulster landed in Argyll, until the mid-eighteenth century, when it was 'opened up' after the Jacobite revolts, the West of Scotland, cut off by mountains from the East, was always linked rather to Ireland than to the Saxon Lowlands. Racially and culturally, it was a colony of Ireland.

Even politically these two Celtic societies, of Ireland and the Western Highlands, merged into each other. The Scots of Dalriada retained, for a century, their foothold in Ulster. The Danes ruled equally over the Western Islands, the coasts of Ireland and the Isle of Man. And in the later Middle Ages the Macdonald Lords of the Isles were nearer and more effective rulers both in Western Scotland and in Northern Ireland than their nominal sovereigns, the kings of Scotland and England. Under their rule, the Hebridean culture was purely Irish. Their hereditary bards, physicians, harpers (for their musical instrument was the harp, not the pipes) came from Ireland.¹ Even after the destruction of that lordship, the Macdonalds continued to be a force in both countries. It was not till the mid-seventeenth century that the Plantation of Ulster under English authority, and the rise of the Campbells to hegemony in the Western Highlands, broke that potential political unity. But the cultural unity, though weakened, continued. In the eighteenth century, the Western Islands were still essentially an Irish overflow,

¹ See J. Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in Jennifer Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the 15th Century* (1977).

and the Gaelic language spoken there was regularly described, in the eighteenth century, as Irish.

Being a cultural dependency of Ireland under the 'foreign', and somewhat ineffective, rule of the Scottish crown, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were culturally depressed. Their literature, such as it was, was a crude echo of Irish literature. The bards of the Scottish chieftans came from Ireland or went thither to learn their trade. Indeed, we are told by an early eighteenth-century writer—an Irishman—that the Scottish bards were the rubbish of Ireland periodically cleared out of Ireland and deposited in that convenient dump.² Even under the oppressive rule of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Celtic Ireland remained, culturally, an historic nation while Celtic Scotland was, at best, its poor sister. It had—could have—no independent tradition.

The creation of an independent Highland tradition, and the imposition of that new tradition, with its outward badges, on the whole Scottish nation, was the work of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It occurred in three stages. First, there was the cultural revolt against Ireland: the usurpation of Irish culture and the re-writing of early Scottish history, culminating in the insolent claim that Scotland—Celtic Scotland—was the 'mother-nation' and Ireland the cultural dependency. Secondly, there was the artificial creation of new Highland traditions, presented as ancient, original and distinctive. Thirdly, there was the process by which these new traditions were offered to, and adopted by, historic Lowland Scotland: the Eastern

² *A Collection of Several Pieces by Mr. John Toland* (1726), i, pp. 25-9.

Scotland of the Picts, the Saxons and the Normans.

The first of these stages was achieved in the eighteenth century. The claim that the Celtic, Irish-speaking Highlanders of Scotland were not merely invaders from Ireland in the fifth century A.D., but had an ancient history in Scotland and were in fact the Caledonians who had resisted the Roman armies, was of course an old legend which had done good service in the past. It was effectively refuted in 1729 by the first and greatest of Scottish antiquaries, the Jacobite *émigré* priest, Thomas Innes. But it was reasserted in 1738 by David Malcolm³ and, more effectively, in the 1760s, by two writers of the same surname: James Macpherson, the ‘translator’ of Ossian, and the Rev. John Macpherson, minister of Sleat in the island of Skye. These two Macphersons, though unrelated, were known to each other—James Macpherson had stayed with the minister on his visit to Skye in search of ‘Ossian’ in 1760, and the minister’s son, afterwards Sir John Macpherson, governor general of India, would be his close friend and accomplice later—and they worked in concert. Between them, by two distinct acts of bold forgery, they created an indigenous literature for Celtic Scotland and, as a necessary support to it, a new history. Both this literature and this history, in so far as they had any connection with reality, had been stolen from the Irish.

The sheer effrontery of the Macphersons must excite admiration. James Macpherson picked up Irish ballads in Scotland, wrote an ‘epic’ in which he transferred the whole scenario

³ David Malcolm, *Dissertations on the Celtic Languages* (1738).

from Ireland to Scotland, and then dismissed the genuine ballads thus maltreated as debased modern compositions and the real Irish literature which they reflected as a mere reflection of them. The minister of Sleat then wrote a *Critical Dissertation* in which he provided the necessary context for ‘the Celtic Homer’ whom his namesake had ‘discovered’: he placed Irish-speaking Celts in Scotland four centuries before their historical arrival and explained away the genuine, native Irish literature as having been stolen, in the Dark Ages, by the unscrupulous Irish, from the innocent Scots. To complete the picture, James Macpherson himself, using the minister’s papers, wrote an ‘independent’ *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771) repeating the minister’s assertions. Of the success of the Macphersons no more need be said than that they seduced even the normally careful and critical Edward Gibbon, who acknowledged as his guides in early Scottish history those ‘two learned Highlanders’, James Macpherson and the Rev. John Macpherson, and thus perpetuated what has rightly been called ‘a chain of error in Scottish history’.⁴

It took a full century to clear Scottish history—if it has ever been cleared—of the distorting and interdependent fabrications of the two Macphersons.⁵ Meanwhile,

⁴ E. McGibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Everyman edn, ii, p. 496; M.V. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* (1927).

⁵ Thus—as was pointed out by the most learned scholar in the subject, Ludwig Stern, in his important essay ‘Die Ossianischen Heldenlieder’, translated in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xxii (1897-8)—the article on Macpherson in the *D.N.B.* ‘homologates the views of imperfectly informed apologists’ and the Albanogaelic

these two insolent pretenders had achieved a lasting triumph: they had put the Scottish Highlanders on the map. Previously despised alike by the Lowland Scots, as disorderly savages, and by the Irish as their unlettered poor kinsmen, they were now celebrated throughout Europe as a *Kulturvolk* which, when England and Ireland had been sunk in primitive barbarism, had produced an epic poet of exquisite refinement and sensibility, equal (said Madame de Staël), superior (said F.A. Wolf), to Homer. Nor was it only in literature that they had thus drawn the attention of Europe. For once the links with Ireland had been cut, and the Scottish Highlands had acquired—however fraudulently—an independent ancient culture, the way was open to signalize that independence by peculiar traditions. The tradition which was now established was a peculiarity of dress.

In 1805 Sir Walter Scott wrote, for publication in the *Edinburgh Review*, an essay on Macpherson’s Ossian. In it he showed, characteristically, sound scholarship and good sense. He decisively rejected the authenticity of the epic which the Scottish literary establishment in general, and the Highlanders in particular, continued to defend. But, in the same essay he remarked, parenthetically, that it was undeniable that the ancient Caledonian of the third century A.D. had worn ‘a tartan philibeg’. In so rational and critical an essay, this confident assertion is surprising. Never before—as far as I know—had such a claim been made. Even Macpherson had never suggested it: his Ossian had always

lexicographers have damaged their work by taking part of their material from Macpherson’s ‘faulty and un-gaelic Ossian’: i.e. the spurious Gaelic version of Ossian’s poems published in 1807.

been represented in a flowing robe, and his instrument, incidentally, had been not the bagpipe but the harp. But then Macpherson was himself a Highlander and he was a generation older than Scott. This, in such a matter, made a great difference.

When did the 'tartan philibeg', the modern kilt, come to be the costume of the Highlander? The facts are not really in doubt, especially since the publication of Mr. J. Telfer Dunbar's excellent work.⁶ Whereas tartan—that is, cloth woven in a geometrical pattern of colours—was known in Scotland in the sixteenth century (it seems to have come from Flanders and reached the Highlands through the Lowlands), the philibeg—name and thing—is unknown before the eighteenth century. So far from being a traditional Highland dress, it was invented by an Englishman after the Union of 1707; and the differentiated 'clan tartans' are an even later invention. They were designed as part of a pageant devised by Sir Walter Scott in honour of a Hanoverian king; and owe their present form to two other Englishmen.

Since the Scottish Highlanders were, in origin, merely Irishmen who had crossed from one island to another, it is natural to suppose that originally their dress was the same as that of the Irish. And indeed this is what we find. It is not till the sixteenth century that any writer records any peculiarities of the Highland dress, but all the accounts of that time are in substantial agreement. They show that the ordinary dress of the Highlanders was a long 'Irish' shirt (in Gaelic, *leine*) which the higher classes—as in Ireland—

dyed with saffron (*leine-croich*); a tunic or *failuin*; and a cloak or plaid which the higher classes had woven in many colours or stripes but which in general was of a russet or brown effect, as protective colouring in the heather. In addition, the Highlanders wore shoes with a single sole (the higher classes might wear buskins) and flat soft caps, generally blue. In battle, the leaders wore chain mail while the lower classes wore a padded linen shirt painted or daubed with pitch and covered with deer skins. Besides this normal dress, chieftains and great men who had contact with the more sophisticated inhabitants of the Lowlands might wear trews: a combination of breeches and stockings. Trews could only be worn out of doors in the Highlands by men who had attendants to protect or carry them: they were therefore a mark of social distinction. Both plaid and trews were probably of tartan.⁷

In the course of the seventeenth century—the century in which the link between the Highlands and Ireland was broken—the Highland costume was changed. The changes occurred irregularly over the century. First, the long shirt fell into disuse. In the islands it was replaced by the Lowland coat, waistcoat and breeches early in the century.⁸ On the other hand, a Scottish minister long afterwards recalled that the wild Highlanders in the Jacobite army which passed through his parish in 1715 wore

'neither plaid nor philibeg' but merely a home-made close-fitting coat of one colour, stretching below mid-leg, with a belt.⁹ This is the latest evidence, as far as I know, of the survival of the *leine* in Scotland.

Throughout the seventeenth century, Highland armies fought in the civil wars of Britain, and, whenever they are described, we find that the officers wore trews while the common soldiers had their legs and thighs bare. Both officers and men wore the plaid, the former as an upper garment, the latter covering the whole body, belted round the waist so that the lower part, below the belt, formed a kind of skirt. In this form, it was known as the *breacan* or 'belted plaid'. The essential fact is that, as yet, there was no mention of the kilt, as we know it. The alternative was the gentlemanly trews or the 'servile' belted plaid.¹⁰

The name 'kilt' first appears twenty years after the Union. Edward Burt, an English officer posted to Scotland as chief surveyor under General Wade, then wrote a series of letters, mainly from Inverness, describing the character and customs of the country. In these he gives a careful description of the 'quelt', which, he explains is not a distinct garment but simply a particular method of wearing the plaid, set in folds and girt round the waist to make of it a short petticoat that

⁷ These accounts came from John Major, *Historia Maioris Britanniae* (1521); James Leslie, *De Moribus et Gestis Scotorum* (1570); Lindsay of Pitscottie, *Chronicle* (1573); G. Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1583); Nicolay d'Arfeville, *La Navigation du Roy d'Ecosse* (1583). The evidence is set out in D.W. Stewart, *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans* (Edinburgh, 1893), Introduction.

⁸ M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703).

⁹ John Pinkerton, *Literary Correspondence* (1830), i, p. 230. The minister was the father of the philosopher Adam Ferguson.

¹⁰ This is shown by the evidence presented by Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 21. It is illustrated most graphically in the supporters of the arms of Skene of the Ilk—two Highlanders, one (a sword-bearing gentleman) wearing trews, the other in 'a servill habit', i.e. a belted plaid (*not* as Stewart supposes a kilt: on this see Dunbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5).

⁶ J. Telfer Dunbar, *History of the Highland Dress* (1962).

reaches half-way down the thigh, and the rest is brought over the shoulders and then fastened before...so that they make pretty near the appearance of the poor women in London when they bring their gowns over their heads to shelter them from the rain.

This petticoat, Burt adds, was normally worn, 'so very short that in a windy day, going up a hill, or stooping, the indecency of it is plainly discovered.' His description makes it clear that he is describing not the modern kilt but the belted plaid.

Burt was explicit about the Highland dress because already, in his time, it was the object of political controversy. After the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 the British parliament had considered banning it by law, as the Irish dress had been banned under Henry VIII: such a ban, it was thought, would help to break up the distinct Highland way of life and integrate the Highlanders into modern society. However, in the end the proposed law was not passed. The Highland dress, it was conceded, was convenient and necessary in a country where a traveller must 'skip over the rocks and bogs and lie all night in the hills'. It was also a necessity for the poor, for it was very cheap: 'a few shillings will buy this dress for an ordinary Highlander' who could never afford even the coarsest 'Lowland suit'.

It is ironical that if the Highland dress had been banned after 'the Fifteen' instead of after 'the Forty Five', the kilt, which is now regarded as one of the ancient traditions of Scotland, would probably never have come into existence. It came into existence a few years after Burt wrote, and very close to the area in which he wrote. Unknown in 1726, it

suddenly appeared a few years later; and by 1746 it was sufficiently well established to be explicitly named in the act of parliament which then forbade the Highland dress. Its inventor was an English Quaker from Lancashire, Thomas Rawlinson.

The Rawlinsons were a long-established family of Quaker iron-masters in Furness. By the early eighteenth century, in association with other prominent Quaker families—Fords, Crosfields, Backhouses—they controlled 'a wide meshwork of furnaces and forges' in Lancashire. But their supplies of charcoal had run low and they needed wood for fuel. Fortunately, after the suppression of the rebellion, the Highlands were being opened up, and the forests in the north could be exploited by the industry of the south. So in 1727 Thomas Rawlinson made an agreement with Ian MacDonell, chief of the MacDonells of Glengarry near Inverness, for a thirty-one year lease of a wooded area at Invergarry. There he built a furnace and smelted the iron-ore which he shipped specially from Lancashire. The enterprise was not an economic success: it was wound up after seven years; but during those seven years, Rawlinson came to know the area, established regular relations with the MacDonnells of Glengarry, and of course employed 'a throng of Highlanders' to fell the timber and work the furnace.¹¹

During his stay at Glengarry, Rawlinson became interested in the Highland costume but he also became aware of its inconvenience. The belted plaid

¹¹ On Rawlinson's Scottish venture see Alfred Fell, *The Early Iron Industry of Furness and District* (Ulverston, 1908), pp. 346ff.; Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry* (1950), pp. 95-102.

might be appropriate to the idle life of the Highlanders—for sleeping in the hills or lying hidden in the heather. It was also conveniently cheap, since all agreed to the fact that the lower class could not afford the expense of trousers or breeches. But for men who had to fell trees or tend furnaces it was 'a cumbrous, unwieldy habit.' Therefore, being 'a man of genius and quick parts', Rawlinson sent for the tailor of the regiment stationed at Inverness and, with him, set out 'to abridge the dress and make it handy and convenient for his workmen'. The result was the *felie beg*, philibeg, or 'small kilt', which was achieved by separating the skirt from the plaid and converting it into a distinct garment, with pleats already sewn. Rawlinson himself wore this new garment, and his example was followed by his associate, Ian MacDonell of Glengarry. After that, the clansmen, as always, obediently followed their chief, and the innovation, we are told, 'was found so handy and convenient that in the shortest space the use of it became frequent in all the Highland countries and in many of the Northern Lowland countries also.'

This account of the origin of the kilt was first given in 1768 by a Highland gentleman who had known Rawlinson personally. It was published in 1785 and excited no dissent.¹² It was confirmed by the two greatest authorities on Scottish customs then living,¹³ and by independent testimony, from the Glengarry family.¹⁴ It was not challenged for another forty years.

¹² The account is by Ivan Baillie of Abereachen, and it was published in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, March 1785 (vol. I, p. 235).

¹³ I refer to Sir John Sinclair and John Pinkerton. See below.

¹⁴ I refer to the evidence of the Sobieski Stuarts. See below p.36.

It has never been refuted. All the evidence that has since been accumulated is consistent with it. Pictorial evidence also comes to its aid, for the first person to be painted wearing a recognizable modern kilt, not a belted plaid, appears in a portrait of Alexander MacDonell of Glengarry, the son of the chief who was Rawlinson's friend. It is interesting to note that, in that portrait, the kilt is worn not by the chief but by his servant—thus emphasizing, once again, its 'servile' status.¹⁵ On all this evidence, the best modern authorities accept the story as true.¹⁶ We may thus conclude that the kilt is a purely modern costume, first designed, and first worn, by an English Quaker industrialist, and that it was bestowed by him on the Highlanders in order not to preserve their traditional way of life but to ease its transformation: to bring them out of the heather and into the factory.

But if this was the origin of the kilt, another question immediately forces itself on our mind. What tartan did the kilted Quaker wear? Was a distinctive 'sett' or pattern of colours devised for a Lancashire Rawlinson, or did he become an honorary member of the clan of MacDonnell? Were there, indeed, any such 'setts' in the eighteenth century? When did the differentiation of patterns by clans begin?

(to be continued)

**HUGH TREVOR-ROPER,
BARON DACRE OF
GLANTON**



Hugh Trevor-Roper, the son of a doctor, was born in Northumberland on 15th January, 1914. Educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford, he became a research fellow of Merton College in 1937. His first book, *Archbishop Laud*, was published three years later.

During the Second World War Trevor-Roper served in the Radio Security Service. Later he worked for the Secret Intelligence Service where he was involved on the project to penetrate the German Secret Service. Trevor-Roper later claimed that his boss, Kim Philby, undermined attempts by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris to negotiate with the British government.

In 1945 he was sent to Germany to find out if the claims being made by Joseph Stalin that Adolf Hitler was still alive. This involved him interviewing all the survivors of Hitler's staff. This material became the main source for his book, *The Last Days of Hitler* (1947). He also

produced *Hitler's Table Talk* (1953).

In 1957 Trevor-Roper became professor of Modern History at Oxford University. A post he was to hold for twenty-three years. A supporter of the Conservative Party, in 1959 Trevor-Roper led the campaign to get Harold Macmillan elected as Chancellor of Oxford University.

Other books by Trevor-Roper include *Historical Essays* (1957), *Hitler's War Directives* (1964), *Religion, The Rise of Christian Europe* (1965), *The Reformation and Social Change* (1967), *The Philby Affair* (1968) and he also edited *The Goebbels Diaries* (1978).

In 1980 Trevor-Roper became Master of Peterhouse College. He was also director of Times Newspapers (1974-1988) and in 1985 claimed that the Hitler Diaries serialized in the Sunday Times were authentic. Unfortunately for his reputation, the book was later discovered to be a forgery.

In retirement he published *Renaissance Essays* (1985), *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (1987), *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (1992).

Hugh Trevor-Roper, Baron Dacre of Glanton, died of cancer in an Oxford hospice on 26th January, 2003.

¹⁵ For the portrait see Dunbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70. It appears to have been painted about 1747.

¹⁶ Dunbar, *loc. cit.*

NEW FLAGS FLY ABOVE THE ST. ANDREW'S HOME

On Monday afternoon, May 15th, in the garden of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Homes, Cavendish Boulevard, there was a gathering of staff, residents, members of the Auxiliary and Board and members of the St. Andrew's Society for a very special event. The reason for the special event? The raising of a new St. Andrew's flag in the grounds of the Home.

Recently the Council of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal agreed to donate to St. Andrew's Homes a supply of St. Andrew's flags for each of the next five years. It was the first flag of this long term gift which was raised by Bruce Bolton, representing the Society, whilst piper, Jeff McCarthy, played well known Scottish tunes. Fortunately the weather was fine, in spite of the weather forecast of rain, and so many of the residents and other guests were able to be in the garden to witness the flag being raised.

Ann Maher, Executive Assistant, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Homes Foundation, gave a brief history of the Homes, founded by Presbyterians almost forty years ago. Ann spoke of how many of these Presbyterians were also members of the Society and she mentioned that the Rev. Patrick Maxham, a Presbyterian Minister and member of the Society, currently acts as Pastoral Animator. Rev. Maxham later wrote "In these rapidly changing times, it is quite reassuring to know long-standing friends have us in their eye and are generous in their attention to our needs... We are grateful to Ms. Moira Barclay-Fernie for her alert thoughtfulness and the St. Andrew's Society for their generosity."



Kulwant Sandhu, President Bruce McNiven, Past President Moira Barclay-Fernie, Piper Jeff McCarthy and Bruce Bolton at the St. Andrew's Home.

Bruce McNiven, President of the Society, said that members were proud to be connected with the home both historically and by sharing the name of St. Andrew. He was delighted to be able to attend this event and to present the St. Andrew's flag which was now flying fully unfurled due to a very stiff breeze!

Kulwant Sandhu, coordinator of Residence for the Home, thanked Bruce and the Society for this generous gift and invited those present to stay for refreshments which included a cake specially decorated for the occasion with a St. Andrew's Cross and thistles. The cake was cut by Winnifred Southmayd, a resident, and Moira Barclay-Fernie.

Those who might be interested in supporting the St. Andrew's Presbyterian Homes should contact Ann Maher, or Helen Dearlove, Auxiliary President at 489-8190. The Auxiliary's mission is to contribute to the needs of St. Andrew's Homes and to the welfare of the residents by organising weekly birthday parties, shopping expeditions and special events at other times of the year.

Moira Barclay-Fernie
Past President

PRIVATE RENTAL SPACES FOR HOUSEHOLDS AND BUSINESS STORAGE

Lock-It Storage Inc. has been providing a storage locker to the Society for many years. Their clean and secure facility is located five minutes from downtown just below Westmount, off the Glen at 4840 Acorn Street.

Mini storage is an inexpensive way to safely store personal and business items. They offer sizes as small as a closet or as big as a garage.

Should you be in need of an extra closet, we would encourage you to contact Lock-It Storage at 514 934 0386.

SOCIETY TIES

The Society ties are still available. The embroidered logo on the tie is a golden rampant lion on a cross. These navy blue ties are similar to the Society's previous ties, except that the logo is larger and they are made of silk. The price of these ties, including taxes and delivery, is only \$20. If you are interested in purchasing one of these ties, please contact the Society's office.

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