

The Monumental Landscape: Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War
Capital and Battlefield Memorials and the Topography of National Remembrance

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Abstract

The Monumental Landscape: Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War Capital and Battlefield Memorials and the Topography of National Remembrance

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The extinguishment of the living memory of the Great War (1914-1918) does not herald the expiration of its cultural memory. Rather, the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian cultural memory of the Great War remains both resonant and renewed in the present. Its public persistence and perpetuation is physical and performative alike. Firstly, this is exemplified by the continued custodial care of Canada's, Newfoundland's, and Australia's national war memorials, domestically and abroad (former Western Front). Secondly, it is signalled by the perennial remembrance rituals enacted at these sites each Anzac (25 April, Australia), Memorial (1 July, Newfoundland), and Remembrance (11 November) Day. This thesis, which compares and contrasts the ongoing histories of Canada's, Newfoundland's, and Australia's national (capital and battlefield) Great War memorials, plumbs this phenomenon.

Chapter One charts the erection of battlefield memorials in France to the Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian 1914-1918 dead and missing. I argue that the Beaumont-Hamel (1925, Newfoundland), Vimy (1936, Canada), and Villers-Bretonneux (1938, Australia) memorials sanctified their sites, according to the criteria cultural geographer Kenneth Foote has established, becoming what he terms "fields of care."

Chapter Two chronicles the construction of three capital monuments: the St. John's National War Memorial (1924), the Ottawa National War Memorial (1939), and the Canberra Australian War Memorial (1941). Post-unveiling, all three of these national

memorials, I explain, have been subject to a process that Owen Dwyer characterizes as *symbolic accretion*, which results in the placement of add-ons (plaques and wreaths) to these structures, as well as context-specific enactments within their space (commemorative ceremonies and protests). These symbolic accretions (allied and antithetical) underscore how memorials and their spaces always attract the attachment (literal and figurative) of new, if never static, meanings.

In Chapter Three, I explore the pilgrimage and battlefield tourism histories of the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux memorial sites, providing extended accounts and analyses of the pilgrimages mounted to mark the unveiling (1936) and the rededication (2007) of the Vimy memorial.

In Chapter Four, I interrogate the process, politics, and potent symbolism surrounding the recent entombment of the remains of an Australian and Canadian Unknown Soldier of the Great War in Canberra (1993) and Ottawa (2000). The resultant tombs, I argue, function as allied accretions to the Australian War Memorial's Hall of Memory and the National War Memorial.

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Dedication

For my parents.

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List of Abbreviations

ABC: Australian Broadcasting Corporation
AIF: Australian Imperial Force
ANAVETS: Army, Navy, and Air Force Veterans in Canada Association
ANZAC: Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
AWM: Australian War Memorial
BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation
BEC: Battle Exploit Memorials Committee
BEF: British Expeditionary Force
BESL: British Empire Service League
CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBMC: Canadian Battlefield Memorials Commission
CEF: Canadian Expeditionary Force
CWGC: Commonwealth War Graves Commission
CWM: Canadian War Museum
FCAC: Federal Capital Advisory Committee
FDC: Federal District Commission
GWVA: Great War Veterans' Association
IWGC: Imperial War Graves Commission
LAC: Library and Archives Canada
NAA: National Archives of Australia
NCA: National Capital Authority
NCVA: National Council of Veteran Associations in Canada
NCC: National Capital Commission
NGC: National Gallery of Canada
NLA: National Library of Australia
OAWG: Office of Australian War Graves
PWGSC: Public Works and Government Services Canada
RSSILA: Returned Soldiers' and Sailors' Imperial League of Australia
RSL: Returned Services League
TUSWG: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier Working Group
VAC: Veterans Affairs Canada

Introduction

Description of Thesis Topic and Its Significance

This thesis constitutes a comprehensive and comparative account of the construction histories of capital and battlefield Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian national (1914-1918) memorials. It also probes the post-unveiling ceremonial function of these sites of remembrance as the loci, variously, for annual and War¹ anniversary observances and activity, including thanatourism. Thanatourism or dark tourism encompasses the visitation of sites directly or indirectly connected with death, be these actual places (“primary site”) of carnage or catastrophe like a World War One battlefield, or venues that commemorate killings and the killed (“secondary site”), such as a World War One memorial.² The public culture of Great or First World War remembrance has engendered a vast array of commemorative objects and spaces, of which the war memorial, in its monumental form, is the most prominent and ubiquitous. Historically, the focus of Great War memorial scholarship has been overwhelmingly centered upon Britain and France, and this is still largely the case. My thesis therefore fills a lacuna in the province of First World War memorial scholarship. I argue that the germaneness of a comparative study of monumental landscapes is, firstly, historically justified by Canada’s, Newfoundland’s, and Australia’s mutual status as dominions of the British Empire at the outset of the War, from which Australia and Canada both emerged with politically consolidated national identities as a result of their military achievements at the battles of Gallipoli (1915) and Vimy (1917), respectively.³ By contrast, the post-1916 national significance of Beaumont-Hamel in Newfoundland’s cultural memory of the War evolved in tandem with the island’s sovereignty status, which it forfeited in February 1934 (owing to the dominion’s imminent bankruptcy) in favour of governance by a

Commission of Government installed by and accountable to the British government.

Fifteen years later, Newfoundland entered into Confederation as Canada's tenth province.⁴ Robert J. Harding succinctly summarizes this shift in the battle's national meaning:

Before 1949, Beaumont Hamel was not identified as being Newfoundland's fatal national wound, and it was not recalled with regret or resentment. Between 1916 and 1925 Beaumont Hamel was depicted as a national triumph which should inspire Newfoundlanders to look confidently to their future....Today, it is recalled as the knockout blow which forced Newfoundland into national retirement.⁵

Secondly, the fittingness of the comparative nature of my thesis is borne out by the fact that Canada, Newfoundland, and Australia, as members of the British Empire, were bound by the Imperial War Graves Commission's (IWGC) policy prohibiting the repatriation of the imperial war dead. By contrast, the governments of France and the United States both ultimately permitted, if so desired by the next of kin, the domestic reburial of their fallen.⁶ [Briefly, the IWGC, established by Royal Charter in May 1917, was the body responsible for the construction and maintenance in perpetuity of the war cemeteries, as well as the individual commemoration of the war dead without a known grave.] In both instances, the imperial fallen, whether buried in an IWGC cemetery or missing, were commemorated by their names, which were engraved either upon a headstone or a memorial. In executing its mandate, the Commission observed three fundamental principles: 1) permanence (headstones and memorials), 2) uniformity (headstones), and 3) equality of treatment accorded to the dead, irrespective of their "military or civic rank."⁷ As an imperial (later Commonwealth) organization, the high commissioners of Canada, Newfoundland, and Australia each served as their government's representative upon the IWGC. In this capacity, they were both privy and

party to the IWGC's proceedings and plans at the highest level, which included, besides the burial of the dead, ensuring that the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian missing of the War were commemorated by name upon dedicated memorials (Chapter One).⁸

Thesis Chapters

At the core of my thesis, Chapters One through Four, I critically examine the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian commemoration of the First World War, *namely* (literally and figuratively), the remembrance of each nation's dead and missing combatants. Each monument case study is examined as the culmination of national commemorative activity, and, thereafter, as the perennial site of ceremonial commemoration, wherein the cultural memory of the War (as present-day process and practice) is continuously moulded, negotiated and, at times, contested in the discursive "space" that is forged at these monumental sites of ritualized remembrance. I couch my discussion of each commemorative enterprise upon the *state-centered* and *social-agency* models of war memory and commemoration. I do so advisedly, however; as discussed below, I am mindful of the weaknesses of each interpretive paradigm.⁹ As a preface, I provide a project history of every monument discussed. I conceive of all Great War monument-building projects as a four-step process, involving: (1) a campaign, (2) a competition and/or commission, (3) the monument's construction, and, lastly, (4) its unveiling and dedication (consecration). I address each of these steps at length, and I understand each to be highly politicized, even when they do not appear overtly so. These project histories introduce and frame the two kinds of critical readings of monuments, one *phenomenological* and the other *iconographic*, that I perform in each chapter. My

phenomenological reading considers the rituals, rhetoric, and participant demographic of monument unveiling ceremonies and, selectively, annual commemorative ceremonies, concentrating especially upon Anzac Day (25 April) as it has been observed at the Australian War Memorial since its opening (Chapter Two). My iconographic analysis of the textual and sculptural vocabularies of these monuments is one seen through the lexicon of ‘high diction’ that Paul Fussell identifies as having become bankrupt in the post-War period but which persists, in vestigial form, in the language of commemoration.¹⁰

Briefly, Chapter One considers the national memorialization of the Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian dead on the site of the former Western Front. Drawing upon Kenneth Foote’s five-point identification criteria for a *sanctified* site, which he defines in his book *Shadowed Ground: America’s Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*,¹¹ I conceive of the Beaumont-Hamel (Newfoundland 1925), Vimy (Canada 1936), and Villers-Bretonneux (Australia 1938) memorial sites as *fields of care* (see pages 10-12), by which Foote means “portions of the landscape that are set apart and tended with special attention.”¹²

Chapter Two carries forth this discussion by examining three very different monuments on home soil — the St. John’s National War Memorial (1924), Ottawa’s National War Memorial (1939), and Canberra’s Australian War Memorial (1941). These three capital memorials, unlike those erected at Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux, do not sanctify their sites in the strict sense that I outline above nor do their surrounding spaces qualify as fields of care because they are not, crucially, former landscapes of violence wherein occurred an event (battle) that was subsequently deemed

to be nationally and historically significant. However, each of these monuments, but especially the Australian War Memorial, I maintain, has emerged, in differing degrees and at different historical moments, as an object for the affixing, directly or proximally, of *official add-ons*. One such, since the mid-1960s, is Anzac Parade, a monument-lined boulevard leading to the Australian War Memorial that commemorates Australian and New Zealand war service and sacrifice in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.¹³ The eleven memorials that flank both sides of this “ceremonial avenue” physically and visually extend the commemorative precinct of the Australian War Memorial, which, as an enclosed space within an institutional setting, is not accessible at all times.¹⁴ In the early 1980s, the Australian War Memorial was also a symbolic rallying site for Anzac Day ceremony protests and disruptions staged by opponents to its observance and ostensible meanings.¹⁵ Such additions to memorials (whether actual, associative, or action-based in nature) either align with or prove antagonistic to existing commemorative meaning(s). According to Owen Dwyer’s conceptualization and coinage, this phenomenon can be profitably understood as a process of *symbolic accretion*, which Dwyer describes as the process of “the appending of commemorative elements on to already existing memorials.”¹⁶ Crucially, the process of symbolic accretion encompasses memorial add-ons that may be *allied* or *antithetical* to the original commemorative message of the monument. Discursively, allied accretions operate to complement and consolidate the prevailing pronouncements about a memorial’s purported meaning. In their antithetical incarnation, such accretions work to undermine or compromise the official value and meaning of the memorial.¹⁷

In Chapter Three, I argue that the sanctification of the Vimy and Villers-Bretonneux battlefields was instrumental in their selection as the sites of official interwar pilgrimages (Vimy 1936, and Villers-Bretonneux 1938) orchestrated to coincide with their respective unveilings. The most recent such high-profile pilgrimage occurred in April 2007 for the rededication, on the 90th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, of the newly restored Vimy memorial. The Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux memorial sites, however, were also visited before and after the major servicemen's organization-led and government-supported pilgrimages of the 1930s. This was done in the context of Great War battlefield tourism, a related cultural phenomenon equally addressed by this chapter.

Chapter Four examines the recent installation in Canberra (1993) and Ottawa (2000) of tombs of unknown soldiers. I argue that the creation of these two tombs, each of which is sited within their respective nation's principal war commemoration venue, powerfully combines the cults of commemoration and nationalism, as much as it sacralizes anew, as "allied accretions," (the phrase coined by Owen Dwyer) these sites.

Thus, in these four thesis chapters, I chart the topography of Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War remembrance, mapping two orders of monumental landscape: national and battlefield. This, however, is not a mere exercise in First World War monument cartography. Rather, it is an attempt to draw out the potent inter-monumental matrices of meaning (both spatial and material) that exist across these commemorative spaces. This thesis, in which art history, cultural history and geography converge in its multi-disciplinary approach, compares and critically examines Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War national memorials as sites of remembrance

integral to the continued cultivation and communication of the cultural memory of the First World War. In so doing, it seeks to expand and deepen the existing body of Great War memorial scholarship, which remains disproportionately skewed towards interrogating the First World War memorials erected by Great Britain and France.

Central to my thesis are two premises. First, the commemorative drive that impelled the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian campaigns to erect these countries' Great War national memorials served two complementary ends: (1) the political and social justification of the First World War's staggering human losses,¹⁸ and (2) communal bereavement.¹⁹ Second, I assert that, once erected, Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War national memorials functioned (and still function) to shape cultural memory about the First World War. They do so both as public sites of ceremonial remembrance and as emblems of such remembrance.

In support of this second premise I present in the various chapters two critical readings, one of them phenomenological and the other iconographic. My *phenomenological* reading considers how the perennial ceremonial activities enacted, historically and contemporarily, at these sites of remembrance elicit, foster, and concentrate particular aspects of the Great War in an official, performative, and situational process of meaning-making that promotes specific emotions, values, and ideologies such as honour, valour, and self-sacrifice. Discussion here primarily focuses upon the public institution, observance, and rhetoric of Anzac Day (Chapter Two), as well as upon the pilgrimage phenomenon associated with the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux national war memorials located on the former Western Front (Chapter Three). Specifically, I examine the reciprocal link between “performance as a

means of carrying out a cultural practice — such as memory — thoroughly”²⁰ (as geographers Nigel Thrift and John-David Dewsbury have described), and the material object(s), like the monument, around which that practice revolves. I argue that the persistence of the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian cultural memory of the Great War was and still is largely contingent upon this reciprocal relationship between monument and ceremony. As artist-critic Yishai Jusidman observes:

In order to assure the public survival of a memory, a memorial needs to be supported by a ritual which members of a community perform so as to “share” the memory. This “sharing” does not refer to sharing something that exists physically exemplifying a memory, as the moralizing virtual-reality bites of the holocaust museums in America demonstrate, but the other way around: The ritual “sharing” of a memory by a number of individuals makes a “public memory...”²¹

My *iconographic* reading of the imagery and inscriptions of these monuments, as performed in Chapters One, Two, and Four, typifying what literary historian Paul Fussell has characterized as the vocabulary of “‘high’ diction,”²² will further buttress this claim.

Corpus: Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Capital and Battlefield National Great War Memorials

In 1903, Alois Riegl, art historian and then Conservator General of Monuments in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, wrote an influential essay entitled “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin.” In this essay he devised a basic taxonomy of monuments, categorizing them as either *unintentional* or *intentional* in purpose.²³ The war memorial, as a species of monument, belongs to the latter category, which Riegl defined as “a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations.”²⁴ Nearly a century later, James E. Young, in his 1993 study of Holocaust memorials, *The*

Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning, lent greater specificity to the definition, whereby the term “memorial” encompasses the full array of commemorative manifestations: calendrical, educative, and spatial.²⁵ Young specifies that “Monuments... will refer here to a subset of memorials: the material objects, sculptures, and installations used to memorialize a person or thing.... I treat all memory-sites as memorials, the plastic objects within these sites as monuments.”²⁶

Although Young speaks only of Holocaust memorialization, his point that a memorial need not be monumental — but that a monument always remains a species of memorial — can be usefully applied to other commemorative contexts as well. Specifically, the memorialization of the Great War has engendered a vast ceremonial, material, and architectural culture of remembrance across all combatant nations. The war memorial, as monument, is the most conspicuous and commonly encountered form of First World War remembrance within the public sphere. City and town Great War memorials may be buildings themselves or parts thereof (stained-glass windows, wall-mounted plaques, or dedicated spaces such as wings or extensions). Or, as public monuments, they may be discrete objects surrounded by the built environment. The siting of these monuments, however, although never arbitrary, is not inherently site-specific (as is that of Great War battlefield memorials; Chapter One).

My reasons for conducting a monument-focused study are fourfold: (1) their public prominence, if not ubiquity; (2) their common but controlled access; (3) their art-historical interest; and, not least, (4) their ritual incorporation into annual, official ceremonies of war remembrance. Together, monumental landscapes constitute the topography of Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War national

remembrance as it is mapped in capital cities and in the former theatres of battle. Only the latter order, however, by virtue of its geographical indexical relation to the War, involves an actual sacralization of the monument site or, in the vocabulary of geographer Kenneth E. Foote, its *sanctification*.²⁷

Corpus: The Memorial Landscape and Battlefield Sanctification

Violent and tragic events always physically alter, sometimes beyond recognition, the sites of their occurrence. Such landscapes, whether ravaged by natural catastrophes, industrial disasters, warfare, or other kinds of human-inflicted violence, are subject to memorialization. However, as Foote observes, not all such sites are formally memorialized; some sites simply revert or are restored to their former state. In other cases, in which the stigma of shame or horror associated with a particular place is too potent to overcome — when the common psychological and physical aversion to that site is insurmountable — they are abandoned or destroyed, most likely out of fear of associative mental or moral contagion. However, all such sites, by virtue of their preservation, restoration, neglect, desertion, or destruction, bear witness to individual, group and societal needs for, and levels of interest in, interpreting the tragic and violent past.²⁸ According to Foote, “When ‘read’ carefully, these places also yield insight into how societies come to term with violence and tragedy.”²⁹ The sociocultural legacy of these places can be categorized according to their degrees of *sanctification*, *designation*, *rectification*, or *obliteration*.³⁰ In all instances the landscape may be altered significantly, albeit in very different ways. In Chapter One, I adopt Foote’s rubric of *fields of care*,

namely a sanctified site whose defining characteristics are delineated below, to couch my discussion of the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux memorial landscapes.

The *sanctification* of a site ensues whenever the tragic or violent event that befell it is perceived as evincing an affirmative, enduring meaning — for example, a heroic deed or great sacrifice — thus making it worthy of remembrance. Conventionally, a monument is erected to denote a site's sanctified status. Specifically, the process of sanctification transforms a hitherto unremarkable place into one that, in the parlance of geographers, is *sacred*. This marking out of a site, with few exceptions, includes either the erection or creation of some commemorative object, structure, or space, typically a monument or a memorial garden, park, or edifice that will be perpetually maintained or cultivated *in memoriam* of whomever or whatever its dedication speaks. Crucially, Foote adds, a site's sanctified status, that is, its sacredness, is contingent upon its public, ritual consecration as a place of commemoration. Sacredness, then, although it carries an undeniable religious undertone, here denotes a site of civic veneration and custody rather than one under the express care of a religious body. Fundamentally, a site is not sanctified unless it is ceremonially consecrated, wherein the site's historical importance is made clear and its commemorative value explained and justified. It is sanctification, above all, which points up how landscape and memory are inextricably bound.³¹

Five characteristics, Foote continues, allow for the ready identification of a sanctified site. According to Foote's criteria, the former battlefields of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux each qualify as a sanctified site. Firstly, such sites are clearly demarcated from the milieu that surrounds them, and all bear some marker indicating the specifics of what occurred there. Secondly, these sites are nearly always

immaculately kept for at least several years, if not decades, or even centuries. Thirdly, in sanctifying a site, a transfer of ownership usually occurs, whereby custody of the site shifts from private to public hands. Fourthly, these sites, once consecrated, invite ongoing ritualized commemorative activity, usually in the form of perennial memorial ceremonies or pilgrimages. Fifthly, once sanctified, a site frequently gathers layers of meaning that usually (but not always) bear some relational kinship to the original commemorative enterprise. Upon sanctification, then, a site may become the locus and focus of additional acts of commemoration. Together, these five defining characteristics of a sanctified site operate to qualify such a place as both sacred and, in Foote's words, a *field of care*.³²

A former site of battle, upon sanctification, is a prime example of a so-called *field of care*. Battlefields are typically sanctified when they not only emblemize the trials of nationhood but are themselves the sites of military engagements that are perceived to have moulded national identity. In this regard, the battlefields of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux each constitute a *field of care*, as I elucidate in Chapter One.

Thematic Orientation and Methodology: General

The broadest thematic orientation of my thesis is two-pronged: (1) the practice and politics of *public commemoration* as an operation of social remembering, and (2) the continuous moulding, mediation, and maintenance of *cultural memory* — textually, ritually, and materially— through commemorative ceremonies. Methodologically, I draw primarily upon philosopher Edward S. Casey and sociologist Paul Connerton to explore the enterprise of *public commemoration* as occurring through such mechanisms as

ceremonies, rituals, and texts. Through these performative and sanctioning agencies, the past(s) or person(s) being invoked, although unrecoverable, are reconstructed and made publicly meaningful according to the social and political exigencies of the present. Fundamentally, I understand public commemoration, after John R. Gillis, to be a politically and socially negotiated process that selectively mobilizes personal and group memories, resulting in commemorative expressions that, while seeming consensual, actually belie their often acrimonious and contested origins. My understanding of *cultural memory*, in turn, is drawn from the work of cultural scholars Mieke Bal, Andreas Huyssen, Jan Assmann, Marita Sturken, and Ann Rigney. These two phenomena — commemoration and cultural memory — are so central to this thesis that they merit extended examination in the following two subsections of my “Thematic Orientation and Methodology” discussion.

Thematic Orientation and Methodology: Commemoration

All commemorative enterprises are fundamentally socio-political in nature. As John Gillis asserts, they involve both navigating and negotiating between personal and collective memories. The commemorative process, Gillis adds, is also frequently fraught by contestations, disputes, and in some cases even annihilating force, although these effects are often belied by an end product which may seem to be the achievement of a group consensus about memory.³³ This crucial point is reiterated by William Kidd and Brian Murdoch who, in tracing the trajectory of commemorative practices in the twentieth century, the “memorial century,”³⁴ agree with Gillis: “What we call collective memory and the commemorative practices, spontaneous or longstanding and either way

strongly ritualistic, which give it expression, often purport to present as unifying and homogenous what was pluralist and fragmentary.”³⁵ Daniel Sherman, a leading historian of French First World War memorials, emphasizes the discursive dimension of commemoration, which he succinctly defines as “the *practice* of representation that enacts and gives social substance to the discourse of collective memory.”³⁶ The commemorative operation of monument-building, Sherman argues, mobilizes a variety of intersecting discourses and practices, notably local/national, commercial/artistic, high/low, and history/memory.³⁷ This notion that social remembering is a discursive practice is now widely held in the field of memory studies, although, as Alan Radley argues, its material dimension remains underexamined: something that my thesis directly addresses.³⁸ This is an important point made by Radley, for whom “remembering is something which occurs in a world of things, as well as words, and...artefacts play a central role in the memories of cultures and individuals.”³⁹ It is precisely this relationship between commemoration and cultural memory that is most fully elucidated by sociologist Paul Connerton and philosopher Edward S. Casey.

Connerton’s influential study, *How Societies Remember* (1989), examines the ways and means by which social memory is transmitted and fostered. The crux of his argument is that visions of the past, and recollected information about it, are disseminated and cultivated in mostly ritual performances.⁴⁰ Thus:

If there is such a thing as social memory, I shall argue, we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies; but commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative only in so far as they are performative; performativity cannot be thought without a concept of habit; and habit cannot be thought without a notion of bodily automatisms.⁴¹

For Connerton, then, social recollection occurs within two domains: *commemorative ceremonies* and *bodily practices*: concerns that I address in all my thesis chapters. The first bears directly upon an examination of the cultural memory of the First World War through the latter's persistent public remembrance in ceremonial and material form. At the heart of *commemorative ceremonies* lies ritual action. All rites are inherently formal in nature. They are usually characterized by stylization, convention, and repetition. Given their intentional stylization, rites are generally immune to sudden mutations, although they may undergo minor alterations, never exceeding, however, their always well-defined parameters. The repetitive character of all rites immediately suggests some order of continuity between past and present. In this light Connerton singles out one species of rite, the expressly retrospective and calendar-defined kind, for further discussion. His discussion is apposite here because, as he notes, Remembrance Day ceremonies exemplify rites of this type.⁴²

The Remembrance Day ceremony is exemplary because it recalls a specific event, the Armistice of 11 November 1918, and is also part and parcel of a (Western) roster of calendrically designated commemorations. A calendrical ceremonial such as this one may draw willing attendees, others who consider it burdensome but obligatory to attend, and simply casual, mildly interested spectators. In all cases, though, what distinguishes such commemorative ceremonies from the genus of rites as a whole is that each expressly invokes, rather than merely suggests, a sense of continuity between the past and the present. This effect, Connerton argues, is principally achieved by "ritually re-enacting a narrative of events held to have taken place at some past time, in a manner sufficiently elaborate to contain the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts

and utterances.”⁴³ Commemorative ceremonies thus belong to the order of ritual and, accordingly, exhibit an essential formalism and performativity. However, within the collective body of ritual, they stand apart by virtue of their direct invocation of prototypical occurrences or persons, be these historic or mythological. This is done according to a mode of articulation that Connerton designates the *rhetoric of re-enactment*.⁴⁴

The rhetoric of re-enactment itself is comprised of *calendrical*, *verbal*, and *gestural* repetitions. The *calendrical* repetition of a ritual re-enactment, such as occurs during the Remembrance and Anzac Day ceremonies, belongs to the temporal register of ritual time or, as Dorothy Noyes and Roger D. Abrahams put it, “calendar custom[s].”⁴⁵ For Connerton this register is “qualitatively identical;”⁴⁶ participants in this perennial ceremony “find themselves as it were in the same time: the same time that had been manifested in the festival of the previous year, or in that of a century, or five centuries earlier.... By its very nature, therefore, ritual time is indefinitely repeatable.”⁴⁷ Noyes and Abrahams similarly remark that the “eternal return of the festival,”⁴⁸ the hallmark of calendar custom, is by definition out of synch with quotidian time. *Verbal* repetition during ritual re-enactment functions as a mode of actualization, whereby participants, in repeating some original invocation or speech, restore to those words, in their *secondary* or *sacramental performativity*, the same effectual power they possessed during their moment of *primary performativity*.⁴⁹ This mode of rhetorical re-enactment is realized during Remembrance Day ceremonies in the codified recitation, in part or whole, of Laurence Binyon’s poem “For the Fallen,” with its promise that “At the going down of the sun and in the morning/ We will remember them.”⁵⁰ Similarly, during the Australian

War Memorial's Anzac Day national service, Charles Bean's *Requiem* is recited (Chapter Two). Likewise, rhetorical re-enactment through *gestural* repetition finds incorporation in these memorial services with the laying of commemorative wreaths. This gesture of wreath-laying lends a physical tangibility to the proceedings because, to apply Connerton's words about the Christian Mass, "the substance of the narrative is communicated in physical signs that contain it."⁵¹

Connerton's argument that commemorative ceremonies ritually re-enact something of prototypical significance by employing a triadic rhetoric of repetition largely finds its echo, despite terminological differences, in philosopher Edward S. Casey's similarly in-depth analysis of the mechanics and meaning of commemoration.

In *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (1987), Casey conceptualizes commemoration as a curious species of remembering. A defining characteristic of such remembering, at least in its public manifestations, is that it occurs in the company of others. Yet many attendees of commemorative events or ceremonies do not have any personal recollection of whatever is being commemoratively invoked. If this is inevitable, it also occasions the question whether commemoration can even be considered under the rubric of remembering, at least as the latter is conventionally understood.⁵²

Casey's approach to this problem harkens back to the oldest meaning of commemoration: a form of *intensified remembering*. In addition to this first meaning, two others, the eulogistic and liturgical, both longstanding, are also of critical importance. However, it is the sum of these meanings that grounds Casey's understanding of the structural and operational dimensions of commemoration — namely, that in commemorative activity, remembering intensifies when it occurs *through* the invocation

of some *text* and *in* the context of some *ritual*, the full affective force of both being realized only when performed in the company of those with whom commemoration occurs in some public ceremonial fashion.⁵³

Casey also proposes that, structurally, commemoration consists of so-called *commemorabilia* (mediating devices), and the *commemorandum* itself (that which is commemorated). Operatively, commemoration involves a *remembering through* the agency of given *commemorabilia*: principally — as noted in the preceding paragraph — ritual and text.⁵⁴

Ritual, for Casey, is fundamentally participatory, summoning its actors to engage in formally orchestrated action. That is to say, it is essentially *performative*, enacted in a series of physical gestures serving to anchor participants in their milieu by way of their bodily orientation and disposition, and thus enabling them to directly apprehend and interact with their fellows. For Casey, the ritual dimension of commemorative activity is characterized by four key aspects: (1) formal reflection or a moment given to reflection; (2) allusion to the occurrence or person to be commemorated, thereby heralding or endorsing the ritual to be enacted; (3) corporeal action; and (4) group enactment of the ritual.⁵⁵ The entombments of the Australian and Canadian Unknown Soldiers (Chapter Four), as well as the unveiling ceremonies of the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian capital and battlefield national memorials (Chapters One through Three), exemplify how these four qualities are an intrinsic part of the ritual component of commemorative activity, in this instance war remembrance. Specifically, these are illustrated by the observance of the Silence, a prescribed period of reflection, during these aforementioned ceremonies, the dedicatory speeches delivered, the wreaths laid before

memorials and tombs, and the participatory nature of the ceremonies themselves, the conventionalized programs of which incorporate standard hymns, prayers, and recitations that both enable and encourage collective ritual action and communion.

At the core of ritualized commemoration, however, lies the human agent and his/her situation in space; commemoration is above all an embodied and situated practice. The body is the principal agent and conveyor of the *commemorabilia* by which the commemorative act is instantiated and fully realized. The body conveys participants to and positions them within the designated ritual space wherein ceremonial observance is corporeally enacted. It also acts in textually based commemorative services, such as the recitation of a text. Still, even when a text, such as a war memorial inscription, is not recited, “the body is solicited,”⁵⁶ prompting spectators to perform their survey of the memorial so as to consider its message from multiple vantage points.⁵⁷

Operatively, though, it is *participation* that, in Casey’s words, constitutes the “functional essence”⁵⁸ of commemorative activity. Commemoration is not merely an act of homage paid to some honorific past, but the very process which creates the space and sustains the time for the *commemorandum*’s lastingness. From this formulation — namely, commemorative activity as a through-and-through participatory enterprise intended to sustain connectedness with the *commemorandum* by way of ritual, textual, or psychic engagement — emerge three points of consideration. Firstly, any commemorative activity cannot rely solely on representations, however effective, because these are necessarily individual in their appeal, if not their authorship. At bottom, the representational component of commemorative activity must permit mutability and greater profundity with the passage of time. Secondly, participatory action constitutes not

only a mental engagement but also a bodily and situational one. Thirdly, commemoration is inseparable from both body and place memories.⁵⁹ James E. Young has made a similar observation about the role of participatory action in ritualized remembering. Young notes that “At some point, it may even be the activity of remembering together that becomes the shared memory; once ritualized, remembering together becomes an event in itself that is to be shared and remembered.”⁶⁰

As previously noted, though, Casey argues that commemorative activity is both *corporeally* and *textually* mediated. Briefly, the latter’s discursive dimension is essential to mediating the fundamental quality of otherness that Casey identifies as inherent in any commemorative enterprise. Language, written or verbal, makes possible allusions to what is being commemorated, allows for and choreographs the communal participation of commemorators, and prescribes both the mood and program of the proceedings. *Remembering-through*, thus, requires some textual conduit. Commemorative texts, Casey notes, are recited, delivered, or posted in some appropriate public venue, and also demonstrate a spatiality or pseudo-spatiality in the Derridean sense of *espacement*, a point which is elaborated in my Chapter Four discussion of the eulogies delivered at the entombment of the Australian and Canadian Unknown Soldiers by, respectively, Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating (a copy of Keating’s eulogy for the Australian Unknown Soldier is mounted on an inside wall of the Villers-Bretonneux memorial) and Canadian Governor-General Adrienne Clarkson. Casey is thinking of marginalia, whether physical (as in the borders of epitaphs) or as part of a temporal sequence (as when emphatic breaks for contemplative effect are taken before and after the delivery of a eulogy or some other solemn text). This points out the essentially liminal aspect of

commemorative activity as a whole: the margins mark the very passage of that which is commemorated as either moving towards or having already gone beyond the pale of existence.⁶¹ Indeed, living memory of the Great War has been all but extinguished, but its cultural memory survives, in fact thrives. This phenomenon is largely contingent upon, as well as sustained and contained by, commemorative activity.

Meanwhile, the solemnity of commemorative activity issues from the seriousness it accords the past. Ceremonial observance, Casey writes, is what, at bottom, effects solemnization. In turn, four key qualities characterize such observance: *repetition*, *re-enactment*, *social sanction*, and *formality*. *Repetition* confirms that ceremonial observance is never a one-off affair. Specifically, the ceremony will have been previously enacted, or, if it is inaugural, presupposes future observance, with or without variation. This has been the case with the observance of Anzac, Memorial, and Remembrance Days since their inceptions. Furthermore, the ceremonial programs of 25 April, 1 July, and 11 November, respectively, were rapidly codified, and, hence, became endlessly repeatable. Repetition, too, typically marks the internal organization or program of the ceremony performed. Broadly, though, the ceremony itself constitutes a *re-enactment* of a past event; for example, the commemoration of the signing of the Armistice in 1918. This is a form of repetition Casey terms *re-actualization*. Thus, at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month the War's official termination is ceremonially re-actualized. In turn, *social sanctioning* of the ceremony is achieved by invoking tradition, yet remaining open to modifications in its observance in a continuous bid for contemporary relevance and resonance: a point I consider especially with regard to the yearly Anzac Day ceremonies (Chapter Two). Although entrenched in ceremony and

calendar, the Canadian and Australian official days of war remembrance have proven sufficiently malleable to admit historical developments, whereby, following the Second World War, Remembrance and Anzac Days no longer exclusively commemorated the Great War. Lastly, *formality*, whether verbal, gestural or situational, informs the appearance and conduct of the ceremony. As any spectator or participant in the 25 April, 1 July or 11 November proceedings will attest, these are solemn, highly orchestrated affairs.⁶² Connerton, it will be recalled, makes basically the same points under his rubric of the *rhetoric of re-enactment* (*calendrical*, *verbal*, and *gestural* repetitions).

Commemoration, as Casey profoundly elucidates, is a project of reconciliation with some ending. If it achieves this objective by not yielding to the absolute finitude or essential pastness of the past, it has done so only by a motion which conveys the past into the present and guarantees its future lastingness. Of course, this operation can only be realized when the past has assumed a “certain consistent selfsameness”⁶³ following the loss of those specifics that once staged its presentation. Commemorative activity attests to the selfsameness of the past in the present by virtue of textual, ritual, or psychic re-enactment but, by the same token, it permits, if not promises, its remembrance on into the future.⁶⁴

Connerton’s and Casey’s respective emphases on the performative and ritualized character of commemorative ceremonies furnish two important and useful insights into the process of social remembering. However, as Neil Jarman cautions, these insights must be tempered by attentiveness to the content and social dynamics of such ceremonies, and not merely their structure. Specifically, the meaning(s) conveyed and produced in commemorative ceremonies like those on Remembrance, Memorial, and

Anzac Day are neither as ossified nor as controllable as their formal programs invariably suggest.⁶⁵ Thus, as noted above, in Chapter Two of my thesis I examine the observance of Anzac Day at the Australian War Memorial as a scripted performance that is neither impermeable to change nor immune to attempts at disrupting or subverting its ostensible meaning.

Thematic Orientation and Methodology: Cultural Memory

Theorizations of the act of public commemoration constitute one of the two primary methodological bases of my thesis. The other is the theorization of cultural memory itself. Since the mid-1990s, the study of cultural memory has elicited much academic interest across disciplines, notably from scholars Mieke Bal, Andreas Huyssen, Jan Assmann, Marita Sturken, and Ann Rigney, each of whom has contributed important writings to this wide-ranging field of inquiry. In the previous section, I stressed the essential performativity of commemoration whereby the past is ceremonially re-enacted in the present. Likewise, a common and crucial premise shared by Bal, Huyssen, Assmann, Sturken, and Rigney is that cultural memory, although inextricably bound to the past, is always negotiated in the present.⁶⁶ All five, too, consider its operative dimensions. Bal emphasizes its *performative* aspect, Huyssen its quality of *recherche*, Assmann its *cultivated* character, Sturken its *processual, negotiated* dimension, and Rigney its *vicariousness*.⁶⁷ If the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian cultural memory of the Great War is perennially brokered and broadcast by commemorative practices, which are subject to contestation (Chapter Two), as well as thanatourism (Chapter Three), its articulation occurs within, and is aided by, a field of representations

and objects in which national war memorials claim physical, if not psychological, primacy (Chapters One, Two, and Four).

For Bal, cultural memory is not some vestigial trace or artifact of the past. Nor does it hover in a present, severed from the past. Rather, cultural memory works to forge ties between the past, the present, and, the future. Fundamentally, this linking between past and present constitutes the bedrock of cultural memory and is “the product of collective agency rather than the result of psychic or historical accident.”⁶⁸ Critically, for Bal, it is a phenomenon whose *presentness* and presence give rise to queries and concerns about individual and collective agency. Who are the constituents and constituencies performing acts of remembering? By extension, what is the worth ascribed to memory within the culture in which such remembering occurs?⁶⁹

For Huyssen, all human memory is intimately bound to a culture and to the means by which that culture frames and experiences its temporal being. The configurations memory assumes are therefore necessarily contingent and variable.⁷⁰ It follows that all representations, irrespective of kind and media, are grounded in memory. Memory is always anterior to representation and yet instead of conveying us to some genuine origin or serving as an assured conduit to the “real,” memory is premised on representation. Simply put, the past does not simply exist in memory like so much sediment. Instead it requires articulation in order to be realized as memory. A chasm will always separate that which is experienced, and its representational remembrance. This gap is neither unfortunate nor should it be unacknowledged, Huyssen remarks. He urges that it instead be comprehended as a catalyst for creative enterprises, cultural or artistic. Correspondingly, then, memory’s operative mode is less a recuperative exercise than one

of *recherche*. Its temporal horizon is the present and not the past, although all memory must hinge upon past experiences or occurrences.⁷¹

Jan Assmann also emphasizes the contemporary dimension of cultural memory. For him, cultural memory “comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image.”⁷² All public commemorative enterprises demonstrate this “cultivation” of texts, images, and rituals specific to particular societies and their self-images. The latter, in turn, are dependent upon institutionalized channels of communication and specialized communicators,⁷³ or what Casey deems *commemorabilia* and the “‘horizontal,’ participatory *communitas*.”⁷⁴

Marita Sturken, like the other theorists of cultural memory, asserts that it is a form of mediated engagement with the past in the present and not merely its summoning forth or invocation.⁷⁵ Her particular contribution to my discussion is that the production of cultural memory is also a highly *politicized* meaning-making enterprise, especially in relation to trauma. (See Chapters One, Two and Four, wherein I dissect the internal (committee) and external (governments and institutions) politics and policies that attend and affect the creation and construction of national war memorials.) Moreover, as a means of defining a culture, this politically invested process lays bare that culture’s fissures and embattled visions. Cultural memory thus constitutes a horizon of contestation in which various narratives compete for historical primacy. It involves both the mobilization and interplay of individuals in the manufacture of cultural meaning and manifests itself through various materialities and modes of representation or, in Sturken’s words, “technologies of memory... through which memories are shared, produced and

given meaning.”⁷⁶ One of these “technologies” is the war memorial. Although Sturken’s use of the term “cultural memory” has a specific context — the United States during the 1980s and 1990s, an era marked by the traumas of the Vietnam War and the advent of AIDS — her formulation of cultural memory as “a field of contested meanings” that “produce[s] concepts of the nation, particularly in events of trauma, where both the structures and the fractures of a culture are exposed,”⁷⁷ is broadly applicable to Western culture and its memory work as a whole. In Chapter Two of my thesis this manifests itself, for example, in the protests organized by second-wave feminists over the observance of Anzac Day (and, by extension, the (white) male nationalist cult of Anzac itself), which they denounced as condoning male violence perpetrated against women in war.

Lastly, my understanding of cultural memory draws from the work of comparative literature scholar Ann Rigney. In Rigney’s conceptualization, a social constructivist one, cultural memory “is the product of representations and not of direct experience, it is by definition a matter of *vicarious* recollection.”⁷⁸ Accordingly, its emergence is wholly born of and borne along by cultural — not psychological or socio-psychological processes — its chief conduits being “memorial practices” and “mnemonic technologies.”⁷⁹ Thus, while a population may share common experiences of an event, the cultural memory of these experiences remains the working product of both publicly channelled communications and the exchange of memories in their myriad, mediated articulations. Significantly, these articulations of memories, whatever the media, may enjoy second-hand currency amongst persons and parties that lack any genuine, experiential relation to the event at hand (as is invariably the case with war memorials as

time passes), although they may come to relate to or be associated with certain of these vicarious recollections. Fundamentally, the scarcity factor, in Foucault's sense,⁸⁰ influences the operations of cultural memory in five fashions. These are: "the selectivity of recall, the convergence of memories, the recursivity in remembrance, the recycling of models of remembrance and memory transfers."⁸¹ Certainly, the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian cultural memory of the Great War continues to be sustained by a multitude of commemorative means and media. Moreover, the forms, codes, and conventions of Great War remembrance, as these are epitomized by its commemorative days and memorials, have culturally endured as templates for the commemoration of subsequent conflicts. This "recycling of models of remembrance" is clearly evidenced by the way both Remembrance and Anzac Day ceremonies have incorporated all later wars into their commemorative purview. By the same token, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Ottawa) directly references or "recycles" the iconography of the Vimy memorial altar. Likewise, although contemporary in creation (like the Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier, Canberra), the Ottawa tomb's conceptual pedigree harkens back to, or is a legacy of, the commemoration of the Great War (Chapter Four).

Building upon Sturken and Rigney, I maintain that the war memorial is both the site of and the vehicle for the production and sharing of cultural memory. It is the focus and locus of an ongoing, if select, public discourse about historical narrative and nationhood, whether affirmative, denunciatory, or ambivalent in nature. Crucially, Sturken notes, cultural memory, as process and practice, is not inherently a form of therapy. Nor is it fixed or trustworthy. Instead, any genuineness it may seem to have resides in the particular kinds of investments that are made in manufacturing a culture's

values, and the material world that defines it. This process lends that culture a sense of continuity, rather than through any strict indexical relation to or evocation of some authentic past experience.⁸²

Literature Review: Australian and Canadian Great War Memorial Scholarship

Great War memorial scholarship has now broadened its geographical scope somewhat to encompass other allied combatant nations, although there is still a paucity of scholarly literature on both Australian and Canadian Great War memorials. A single book, Ken Inglis's *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (1998), and two monographs, Michael McKernan's *Here is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial, 1917-1990* (1991) and Bruce Scates's *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (2009), have issued from Australian university presses. Inglis, historian and Anzac scholar, observes that the 1916 anniversary of the disastrous but soon nationally mythic dawn 25 April 1915 Gallipoli peninsula landing of ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) troops, participants in a larger English and French-led campaign to secure the Ottoman-controlled Dardanelles, spurred a spate of Australian war memorial projects and actual unveilings. Precedent for honouring Australian war service, however, had already been set early in the War by the erection of so-named honour boards, modest but high-profile placards variously mounted in town halls, places of worship, clubs, schools, and businesses across Australia, all routinely noting and, as required, commemorating the voluntary military service of local men. Inglis further notes that the volume of public, official war memorial construction during the War itself is a phenomenon that separates Australian commemorative practice

apart from other allied combatant nations, including its nearest geographical ally, New Zealand, whose War experience was otherwise similar. Specifically, he attributes early commemoration of Australian war sacrifice *and* service to a single exception: Australia never introduced conscription. Thus, many of these local monuments were potent recruiting emblems; public proclamations of all who had not shirked their duty. Now inventoried, slightly over half of all Australian war memorials bear the names of those who served and survived alongside those of the fallen, a convention almost never observed in France and Italy, one very rarely observed in the United States, and altogether uncommon in Britain, Canada, and New Zealand. The inscriptions of Australian war memorials, in turn, run the gamut of high diction phrases, or less, often, cite biblical text. Above all, though, the Australian War Memorial, Canberra's museum and shrine to the Great War, conceived in 1917, opened in 1941, and recently receiving the remains of Australia's Unknown Soldier (1993), is the privileged site for the continued, daily enactment of the cult of Anzac or the nation's civil religion. According to Inglis, drawing on American sociologist Robert N. Bellah, the origins of a civil religion are two-pronged: a divinely chosen population (American Manifest Destiny) and a massive ordeal marked by loss and sacrifice but from which would emerge a nation reborn (American Civil War). In the Australian context, the Anzac legend satisfied both counts, bearing all the trappings for a viable civil religion. On the first count, until Gallipoli, Australia (a settler colony) could not furnish any fabled episode capable of emblemizing or at least approaching "divine national purpose." However, the acquittal of the AIF (Australian Imperial Force) at Gallipoli and subsequently in other Great War theatres of battle, as well as the legal protection of the name ANZAC from any

profanation, achieved this feat. On the second count, five factors, the first three shared by other combatant nations, coalesced to transform Australian participation in the Great War into the preeminent national ordeal of “death, sacrifice, and rebirth” required of a civil cult. These five consecrating factors were: massive military engagement at the moment of modern nationalism’s apogee; the mass death of a generation’s young men; the inadequacy of traditional Christianity to console many of the bereaved; a Dominion force proving its mettle on the battlefield, and the entirely voluntary constitution of the AIF. The last two were solely responsible for lending the cult its singular Australian identity.⁸³ My thesis, the Australian scope of which is restricted to national Great War memorials (Canberra and Villers-Bretonneux), similarly singles out the Australian War Memorial as the epicenter for the promotion and perpetuation of Australia’s cultural memory of the War, including the cult of Anzac, whose persistence and cultural purchase in large measure profits from and prospers by the high-profile Anzac Day services performed there each 25 April.

Bruce Scates is also the author of *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War* (2006), his study of Australian pilgrimages, private and public, by civilians and veterans to the old battle theatres of the Australian Imperial Force, beginning in the 1920s and extending to this day. Scates, like Bart Ziino, and David Lloyd, the authors, respectively, of *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (2007) and *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (1998), provides a summation of the unveiling ceremony of the Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, in 1938.⁸⁴ Lloyd’s account of the 1936 Vimy pilgrimage emphasizes its protocol

considerations, as well as its political dimension and divisions, whereas mine, which I couch within the broader context of thanatourism, focuses primarily upon its performative aspect as an occasion that afforded pilgrims opportunities to engage in remembrance and recreational activities alike.⁸⁵

In a related vein, detailed scholarly histories of Canada's 1914-1918 official war art program, its artists, and the resultant collection, including its display and disposition, number only two: Maria Tippett's *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (1984) and Laura Brandon's *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art* (2006). By contrast, Canadian Great War military history boasts a considerable body of literature, as well as a community of scholars, amongst whom Tim Cook is presently this field's most prominent and prolific standard-bearer.⁸⁶ Chapter Two of Brandon's book, "Sculpting a New Canada at Vimy," provides a condensed but fully contextualized history of the Vimy memorial's creation, as well as in-depth formal and iconographic analyses of its sculptures, designed by Walter Allward.⁸⁷ Iconographic analyses of Allward's sculptures constitute a component of this thesis, which, however, concentrates upon the complexities of the memorial's conception and its construction, and, in a completely novel way, considers the post-unveiling transformation of its grounds into a 'field of care.'

The University of British Columbia Press has published the only scholarly cultural history of Canadian Great War commemoration: Jonathan Vance's award-winning book *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (1997). Briefly, Vance conceives of the Canadian public memory of the Great War during the interwar period as a mythic construction: an admixture of historical fact, partial truths,

nostalgic desire, and wholesale fabrication variously disseminated through elite and popular literary and artistic media, the performing arts, commercial enterprise, and both commemorative action and culture. These were the modes and channels through which the myth of the First World War — a privileged if still multifarious and contestable account of the conflict — was communicated to Canadian society at large, becoming the common sociocultural property of all regardless of whether they had experienced the 1914-18 conflict or not. In this light, Vance claims, the circulating myth of the Canadian Great War experience simultaneously moulded and was moulded by Canadian society between the world wars. The myth's construction, however, Vance cautions, was not simply a top-down initiative to shore up the status quo but rather a resonating narrative that satisfied a variety of wants. Chief amongst these were: consolation of the bereaved, explanation, moral and civic instruction, personal inspiration, and entertainment. Commemorating the War was a means to render its memory useful and meaningful, for example, in promoting national unity and consciousness, although the process of social remembering was, of course, selective and not without contrariant or dissenting voices, albeit always in the minority. Canadian war memorials, Vance observes, are overwhelmingly patriotic, in Antoine Prost's usage of the term,⁸⁸ because their iconography and inscriptions pronounce value upon Canadian war service and, especially, sacrifice. The latter was invariably couched in the visual and textual rhetoric of heroic and noble death, often replete with resurrection motifs like the apotheosis of the fallen soldier borne heavenwards by an angel. Such resurrection imagery was also encoded in the program sequence of memorial unveilings and Remembrance Day ceremonies in the playing of the Last Post, the ritual observation of the Silence, and the

sounding of Reveille, recalling both trench routine and battlefield burials and a host of Christian associations.⁸⁹ This thesis equally considers the practice of Canadian (as well as Newfoundland and Australian) Great War commemoration to be discursive and ceremonial in nature, whilst underscoring the codified character of both the inaugural and the perennial remembrance ceremonies performed at Canada's, Newfoundland's, and Australia's capital and battlefield memorials.

Outside of academia, amateur historian Robert Shipley has written the sole book-length survey of Canadian war memorials: *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (1987). Shipley's survey is a general history of mostly Great War commemorative monuments. The author cites several reasons (none of which, he argues, should preempt war memorial study) why this topic has hitherto been neglected within Canadian scholarship, art-historical or otherwise. Chief amongst these are the following: these memorials, most erected in the 1920s and early 1930s, are of no great antiquity and so do not merit examination; scant archival material exists for their study, especially at the local level; their style is inherited rather than domestic, not to say frequently banal; and, lastly, their subject matter (war death) appears either taboo or unpalatably militaristic to many scholars. The campaign to erect a local war memorial, Shipley observes, was typically spearheaded by veterans' organizations or patriotically inclined community service groups such as the Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire. Much debate usually ensued whether a memorial should be strictly commemorative or perform, in addition, some utilitarian function; he observes that the former choice prevailed across the nation. The immediate function of these memorials, Shipley continues, was to offer the community of bereaved a site where they could publicly articulate their grief. By

virtue of their seeming permanence, however, memorials also served a didactic purpose, offering concrete civic lessons about war service and sacrifice for posterity. Although dedicated to the fallen, war memorials usually couched such human loss within the rhetoric of sorrowful community and, by extension, national pride about that sacrifice. Their iconography, as much as the Remembrance Day ceremony of which they are a perennial focus, is fundamentally Christian. Precisely, the very word cenotaph recalls Christ's vacated tomb whilst the ceremonial sounding of Reveille symbolically marks a kind of soldierly resurrection. War memorial statuary, too, draws upon the heritage of Christian art, notably in its use of ascension and martyr imagery.⁹⁰ Shipley's study of Canadian war memorials, the vast majority of which were erected to commemorate the First World War, is local in its context. However, his observation that the campaign to construct a war memorial was often characterized by conflict, controversy, or compromise before a design consensus was reached by the committee charged with its erection holds true, indeed is magnified, at the national level, as evidenced in my accounts of the creation of the St. John's and Ottawa National Memorials, the Australian War Memorial, and the battlefield memorials to the Canadian and Australian 1914-1918 dead and missing raised, respectively, at Vimy and Villers-Bretonneux. Likewise, his iconographic reading of these local First World War memorials, which stresses their overwhelmingly Christian symbolism, finds an echo in mine of the Vimy memorial, whose main sculptures, *Canada Bereft*, the *Spirit of Sacrifice*, and *Sacrifice*, are unambiguous in their allusions to the Virgin and martyrdom.

Veterans Affairs Canada, too, has periodically published descriptive booklets about domestic and overseas Canadian First World War memorials, of which *The*

National War Memorial (1982) and *The Canadian National Vimy Memorial* (1990) are representative titles. The national inventories of Australian and Canadian war memorials, the latter still underway, whilst contributing valuable statistical information, do not constitute critical cultural analyses.⁹¹

Literature Review: The “Turn to Memory” in Academic Discourse and the Intellectual Context of this Thesis

From the early 1980s onwards, the scholarly examination of memory’s history — and of historical memory’s articulation, mediation, and reproduction — has been a keystone of academic research across disciplines, especially within the humanities and social sciences.⁹² By the late 1980s, scholars were self-reflexively examining this omnipresent interest in memory and all things memorial, and the previous two subsections of this introductory chapter have surveyed some of the related literature under the guise of Methodology. One early and, in retrospect, influential measure-taking of and scholarly forum for this phenomenon occurred in the Spring 1989 special issue of the journal *Representations*: “Memory and Counter-Memory.”⁹³ In that issue’s introductory essay, co-authors Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn made several important observations related to “thinking about memory” today: memory has multiple histories, it is frequently keyed to loss and rupture, and its invocation, wherever and by whomever, is revelatory of present-day relations to a given past.⁹⁴ Accordingly, Davis and Starn bid scholars to query “by whom, where, in which context, against what”⁹⁵ memory is articulated.

In the new millennium, however, after a decade’s worth of publications and myriad conferences about memory, critiques have emerged about the terminological use,

abuse, vagaries, and over-extension of “memory” within academic discourse. In particular, Susannah Radstone and Kerwin Lee Klein have each expressed concern about memory’s catchword status and malleability in much current scholarly writing and research.

For Radstone the “turn to memory” in the 1980s, which she dissects in her texts “Working with Memory: An Introduction” (2000) and “Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory” (2005), is the latest in a succession of theoretical shifts that have occurred in academia since the onset of the 1960s.⁹⁶ This scholarly “turn” is, for Radstone, part and parcel of a broader cultural preoccupation with memory: one largely due to the advent of electronic culture and its attendant technologies. These have narrowed, if not dissolved, the temporal gap that hitherto divided an occurrence from its subsequent representation or media broadcast.⁹⁷ Radstone also notes that academic interest in memory has surged at a moment when the interpretive pendulum (or “scales of equivocation”, as she puts it) has shifted, such that “memory’s late modern associations with fantasy, subjectivity, invention, the present, representation and fabrication appear to outweigh its modern associations with history, community, tradition, the past, reflection and authenticity.”⁹⁸ She also remarks that memory studies have largely absorbed the lessons of psychoanalytic, semiotic, structuralist and post-structuralist interpretive practices as these have been carried out in the humanities and social sciences over the last four decades. For Radstone, what unites these diverse theoretical approaches as they have been applied to the study of memory is a rejection of reflectionism and essentialism; that is, of any notion of memory as simply the unmediated encryption of what has occurred.⁹⁹

In her article “Reconceiving Boundaries: The Limits of Memory,” Radstone again takes the measure of memory studies, proposing that the discipline should now give greater, more careful consideration to how personal memory is both mediated and articulated throughout the public realm. She draws variously on the writings of theorists Raymond Williams, Louis Althusser, and Stuart Hall to distinguish between memory and “the past,” and to differentiate memory-related narratives and acts from memory proper.¹⁰⁰ My thesis observes such a distinction, wherein public commemorative practices and the cultural memory of the Great War, both products of mediation and articulation, are never conflated with its living memory, which in any case has virtually expired now. That is to say, remembering and remembrance are not synonymous, neither are they mutually exclusive. They *are* period-specific, though, and this is attested by the experience of interwar battlefield tourists and pilgrims, many of whom, such as Great War veterans, in visiting the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux memorials, battlefield sites of remembrance, remembered and relived their war experiences (Chapter Three). Radstone argues that applying the concepts of mediation and articulation to personal memory analysis is an effective corrective against crudely deterministic or reflective notions of memory, as well as a safeguard against the fancy that a memory-inspired narrative simply reflects this complex faculty. Furthermore, deploying these two analytic concepts can highlight just how complicated the relationship is between texts and cultural practices, on the one hand, and the wider social matrix from whence their meaning emerges.¹⁰¹

Radstone is primarily concerned with mediations and articulations of personal memory. Articulations such as the memoir must not be construed literally. Instead,

“literature remains literature, and a memorial statue continues to be a statue.”¹⁰² Her observation bears directly upon this thesis, which posits that capital and battlefield Great War memorials, and the commemorative services conducted at their sites, constitute core components of the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian cultural memory of 1914-1918, as well as contribute towards its public persistence, but they are not literal repositories of personal war memories. This also means, Radstone continues, that personal memory must be differentiated from those memories that are held and circulated across a greater social expanse. She is here referring to modes of memory that contemporary academic writing has variously termed collective, public, social, or cultural.¹⁰³ This aspect of memory studies, she notes, is not yet fully theorized.¹⁰⁴ Nor is there agreement amongst scholars about the expansion of memory to encompass publicly situated or circulating articulations of the past. Likewise, there is no consensus about how, in some scholarly work,¹⁰⁵ such modes of memory are conceptualized strictly in terms of their materiality, sociocultural dimension, and performativity. However, Radstone’s critique specifically concerns the tendency within contemporary memory studies to “personalize” memory that is not strictly individual. (One example of this would be the application of clinical terms such as “traumatization” and “healing” to abstract entities like a nation or a culture — applications that effectively concretize what she argues is best understood as potently metaphorical.) Critically, this kind of literalness diverts scrutiny away from the modes and means by which events of the past are actually articulated and also away from how the meanings associated with these past events are manufactured, conveyed, and mediated in discourse.¹⁰⁶

Kerwin Lee Klein's critical take on the "memory industry,"¹⁰⁷ articulated in his 2000 article "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," parallels Radstone's criticisms, although his account is both wider in its scope and more trenchant. (Indeed, it is "self-consciously polemical,"¹⁰⁸ in Thomas Laqueur's assessment of Klein's important essay.) For Klein, like Radstone, the advent of memory studies occurred a quarter of a century ago. In his view, though, it was heralded by two seminal publications: Yosef Yerulshami's 1982 book *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, and Pierre Nora's 1984 introductory essay (entitled "Between Memory and History") to the multi-volume French anthology *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Certainly, the more influential of these two publications has been Nora's (translated into English and reprinted in the 1989 issue of *Representations* mentioned earlier).¹⁰⁹

Klein shares Radstone's critical unease about memory work that projects attributes of personal psychology onto the memory of social groups or onto abstractions like the nation. This, he notes, is a common pitfall of collective, public, social, or cultural memory studies. Scholars whose work falls under these rubrics recognize this potential pitfall, and many attempt to circumvent it by conceiving of non-personal memory as a series of practices or a set of materialities.¹¹⁰ Klein calls this the "new structural memory, a memory that threatens to become Memory with a capital M."¹¹¹ So conceived, memory becomes its own being: a kind of free-wheeling entity that can shuttle to and fro across temporal and cultural spans, liberating scholars to talk unhesitatingly of the memory of events long ago or the memories of a racial, ethnic, or religious group. This problematic anthropomorphization of memory has, as a result, occasioned the reckless couching of discussions of personal memory, group memory, and memory as material culture in the

same psychoanalytic vocabulary.¹¹² According to Klein, “The new ‘materialization’ of memory thus grounds the elevation of memory to the status of a historical agent.”¹¹³

Even James E. Young’s roundly acclaimed study of Holocaust memorials, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, is not spared Klein’s criticism. That Young’s otherwise impeccable scholarship upon the politics and practices of Holocaust commemoration should also accord agency to memory, demonstrates just how entrenched this conceit is within contemporary memory studies.¹¹⁴ Klein’s critique of the materialization of memory echoes Radstone’s counsel that personal memory, as it is creatively conveyed and conjured through such artistic productions as the memoir, remains just that: an articulation. Neither the memoir nor the memorial can literally possess memory, a human faculty.¹¹⁵ This is pertinent to my study of Great War memorials. Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian national memorials of the First World War belong to that war’s public material culture of remembrance but they are not, I emphasize, the literal materialization of its memory.

Literature Review: The Re-emergence of Public and Scholarly Interest in War Memory and Commemoration

In their introductory essay for the anthology *The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War*, cultural historians T. G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper give an account and analysis of the reemergence in the 1980s of public interest in war and its attendant practices of commemoration and memory construction, assigning four contributing factors to this recent cultural phenomenon.¹¹⁶

The first and most potently evidenced is the widespread and heightened public profile now accorded to the Holocaust internationally, but especially in Germany, Israel,

and the United States. The Holocaust's contemporary omnipresence derives from the boom in museum and memorial construction across nations, an ever-growing body of literature and film (documentary and fiction alike), global efforts to track down and prosecute Nazi war criminals, and ongoing campaigns to recover and return seized artifacts and property to Jewish victims and their heirs.¹¹⁷

A second factor is that numerous social communities, all of which have in some way known the wounding, traumatizing, and unjust effects of war, are mobilizing their members in campaigns to gain public acknowledgment of their experience and of their identification as "victims" or "survivors."¹¹⁸ Chief amongst their ranks are Holocaust survivors, combat veterans, and non-combatants whose lives have been altered by their war experience. The process of publicly recognizing the traumas sustained by war survivors has, in recent years, gained momentum and has become an imperative of sorts in the face of the accelerating demise of the First and Second World War generations. The case is especially acute for the Great War, as it is currently poised to pass beyond the horizon of living memory, metamorphosing into cultural memory. As of 2010 Canada had no surviving Great War veterans, the last one, John Babcock, having died in February of that year.¹¹⁹ In Britain, for example, recognition of the impending passing away of the First World War generation was earlier evidenced by the spate of televised documentaries produced in 1993 and 1998 coinciding with the marking of the seventy-fifth and eightieth anniversaries of the Armistice, as well as with a media-led campaign to reinstate the long-abandoned observance of the two-minute ritual silence on Armistice Day,¹²⁰ greater numbers of young people donning poppies, and the publication in the early and mid-1990s of both Pat Barker's *Regeneration* trilogy and Sebastian Faulk's

Birdsong. These critically and popularly acclaimed novels demonstrate the rich and nuanced creative response the First World War has elicited from its third generation, often in the pondering of issues of cultural memory and the intricate ties that bind past and present.¹²¹ This persistent cultural resonance of the First World War, one might add, is a phenomenon equally observable in France and Canada, which have both witnessed the recent creation of probing and highly original literary and cinematic explorations of the Great War and its legacy.¹²²

A third reason that Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper identify for the resurgence of interest about war memory and commemoration in the last thirty years is the growing roster and heightened commemorative pitch of anniversaries marking conflicts. This development, though, is part of a broader anniversaries explosion, driven and intensified by the news media. This explosion apprises and primes the public with regard to upcoming commemorations, in a bid to foster all manner of cultural enterprises. Commemorative events now receive extensive coverage in the news media and, to a growing degree, are even specifically mounted for that industry, although their present-day significance also garners examination and laudatory treatment in special-issue publications, investigative reports, and documentary programs which lend the cultural and political impact of war a human dimension by including witness accounts. As such, the commemoration of war effectively becomes a media spectacle, a phenomenon well illustrated by the press coverage and associated programming surrounding the 2007 rededication ceremony of the Vimy memorial (Chapter Three).¹²³

The fourth factor for this surge in awareness about, and attention paid to, war memory and associated memorial practices is the dual disintegration of the Soviet Union

and the neighboring Eastern bloc, signaling the Cold War's end and a repositioning of the global power dynamic. The 1990s ushered in a new global era after communism: one that violently bore witness to a savage swell in ethnic conflicts across the world. Indeed, as Phil Melling notes, the events of 1989 did not sound the death knell of history and, by extension, war's end, as Francis Fukuyama trumpeted,¹²⁴ but rather witnessed the opposite phenomenon of history's return and its related conjuring of cultural memories, disputes, and apprehensions once thought to be closed historical chapters.¹²⁵ In particular, the "new world order" forged in the wake of the Cold War did not make good on its promise to guarantee a stable climate for economic and political development in Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, as Melling adds, some spheres have since seen a pathologized embrace of war in the hands of such "ethnic ideologues"¹²⁶ as Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman. It is in this context that Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper note that with the language of "ethnic cleansing" having gained common currency and entered the public debate about genocide, there is now an attendant opportunity to acknowledge the very degree to which contemporary conflicts and strife often capitalize upon or are sustained by the memories of previously waged wars. Embedded within them are culturally manufactured notions of the Other.¹²⁷

Historian Patrick Finney, in his article "On Memory, Identity and War," locates scholarship on war memory and commemoration at the very core of the contemporary academic memory enterprise. Finney observes that although much of this work still concentrates upon the two world wars and especially upon the Holocaust, it continues to broaden its analytic scope by examining other conflicts.¹²⁸ Ashplant, Dawson and Roper concur with Finney, arguing that the study of war memory has received particular

attention in the United States. This is especially the case with regard to the Holocaust and the Vietnam War, and is increasingly a core feature of national historiography, primarily as practiced in Britain, France, Germany, and Australia. At the same time, there is a discernible shift in this field, heralded by J. M. Winter's influential 1995 study of European commemorative culture of the Great War, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, which privileges historical comparison across nations.¹²⁹ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper, however, express some trepidation about the “push for internationalization at the level of theory and method”¹³⁰ — a push corresponding to the global surge in academic research about war memory — precisely because the locally or nationally specific character of some work may be “abstracted, decontextualized and robbed of its potent connection to the cultural and political conflicts which have underpinned and inspired it.”¹³¹

Literature Review: Interpretive Paradigms of the Study of War Memory and Commemoration

Ritualized remembrance characterizes the national commemoration of the First World War in Canada, Newfoundland, and Australia. Perennial, performative, and place-specific — capital and battlefield memorials — the public practice of the War's official commemoration, then as now, is inherently political and, at times, has also been intensely politicized (Anzac Day, Chapter Two). Ashplant, Dawson and Roper have taken critical stock of the prevailing interpretive frameworks adopted by scholars engaged in the study of war memory and commemoration. Their own participation in this enterprise, and the analytical position they stake out, is geared towards revealing and articulating the power relations that inform war and its remembrance — particularly state-organized acts of

public commemoration, survivor testimonies, cultural memory, and war crimes tribunals. Ashplant, Dawson and Roper underscore “the *politics* of war memory and commemoration,”¹³² seeking to point up the contested meanings that arise within and across these spheres of action, and the various, if unequal, bids to claim and culturally foreground particular memories. What is required now, they propose, is a theoretical model that can accommodate and synthesize insights furnished by each of the three dominant paradigms they identify as currently being applied to the study of war-related memory and commemoration: the *state-centered*, the *social-agency*, and the *popular-memory* approaches. The *state-centered* model is characterized by its political bent, which considers war memory and commemoration as inextricably tied to ritual practices of national identity consolidation. On the other hand, the *social-agency* model underscores the psychological dimension of commemoration as a manifestation of mourning.¹³³ The *popular-memory* approach, which originated in the work conducted by the University of Birmingham’s Popular Memory Group, meanwhile, draws upon oral-history and life-story practices and techniques as primary research tools to interrogate the intersection of public articulations of the past with private memories about that same past, pointing up how this phenomenon is “a hegemonic process of ideological domination and resistance.”¹³⁴

Even though such a theoretical model has yet to be proposed, it is worth mentioning that Roger I. Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert have also examined the political and psychological dimensions of historical trauma remembrance in remarkably similar ways, which they do in their essay “Between Hope and Despair: The Pedagogical Encounter of Historical Remembrance,” although the authors ultimately

conceive of remembrance as a fundamentally pedagogical exercise. Certainly, the didactic purpose of historical trauma remembrance or, more prosaically, “learning the lessons of the past,”¹³⁵ is a commonplace, especially in school and museum programming, but Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert’s point is that such forms of remembrance are always already pedagogical, and not merely when they serve the educational mandates of institutions. Specifically, remembrance presupposes pedagogy because it is “implicated in the formation and regulation of meanings, feelings, perceptions, identifications, and the imaginative projection of human limits and possibilities. Indeed, to initiate a remembrance practice is to evoke a *remembrance/pedagogy*.”¹³⁶ Thus, in making remembrance coterminous with pedagogy, Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert posit all practices of remembrance as harboring told and untold expectations about what is proper to remember, how it is properly remembered, who remembers and for whom, and what lessons such remembering presumes to deliver. *Remembrance/pedagogy* projects thus constitute “political, pragmatic, and performative”¹³⁷ bids to marshal a public in creating, communicating, and fostering certain kinds of awareness of past (traumatic) events. Simon, Rosenberg, and Roper identify two paradigms of *remembrance/pedagogy* that dominate the framing and perpetuation of the social memories of history’s traumas: remembrance as a *strategic practice* and remembrance as a *difficult return*.¹³⁸ These two paradigms, respectively, are roughly analogous to the *state-sponsored* and *social-agency* models identified by Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper.

Remembrance as a *strategic practice* aims to construct, consolidate, and conserve social memory of past events. In this account social memories are constructed through an

array of texts, representations, material artifacts, and rituals whose associative value(s) also work(s) to elicit certain sentiments. Groups trade upon these associated sentiments and traffic in these “bounded sets of symbolizations”¹³⁹ as a means of grounding and communicating select accounts of past events, but they do so in light of present-day concerns and with a view of the future in mind. According to this formulation, remembrance as a *strategic practice* is launched to secure identification with and knowledge about a certain past in ways that will benefit particular sociopolitical interests at a given moment. Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert note that remembrance under this rubric has long been invoked to foster or shore up nationalist sentiment or cultivate ethnic or cultural belongingness. When such remembrance pertains to deliberate wholesale violence it has also launched calls for, and effected, judicial and other governmental action in the form of tribunals, committees of truth and reconciliation, apologies, reparations, and victim compensation. Here remembrance as a strategic practice becomes joined to and buoyed by the hope of a better future. But as Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert point out, the omnipresence of violence across the globe implies otherwise: cultivating the social memory of traumatic history seldom protects against the future eruption of such episodes. To wit, Canada’s National War Memorial was unveiled a few months before the outbreak of the Second World War; commemoration, irrespective of rhetoric, is utterly useless as an inoculation against belligerence. Yet, they remark, remembrance as a strategic practice is not an abandoned enterprise. Indeed, social memory’s ineffectuality to instruct and immunize against the repetition of past traumas only serves to heighten both the stakes of remembrance as a pedagogically invested strategic practice and the moral absolutism which attends it.¹⁴⁰

Remembrance as a *difficult return* also carries pedagogical investments, albeit of a different sort. Bound to this kind of remembrance is a personal reckoning with and learning about living with the absences and losses that attend a traumatic past. This is not a remedy for exorcising the ghosts of the past. Rather, it is an effort to confront, negotiate, and comprehend the implications of “what it might mean to live, not *in* the past but *in relation with* the past, acknowledging the claim the past has on the present.”¹⁴¹

Remembrance as a *difficult return* is thus skeptical that the traumatic past, with its legacy of social and psychic fissures, can ever fully and coherently be assimilated within the discourses of social memory. Remembrance as a *difficult return* — like remembrance as a *strategic practice* — claims a form of continuity between the living and the dead. Remembrance as a *strategic practice* makes this claim by compressing the particulars of the dead to suit present-day socio-political emblematic exigencies and economies.¹⁴²

Remembrance as a *difficult return* also involves some form of identification between the living and the dead, usually in the manner of a surrogate performance: one that risks plunging the survivor into the depths of melancholia. In both cases, however, the continuity stressed between the living and the dead often comes at the expense of acknowledging and maintaining terms of difference. In this regard, Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert espouse a paradigm of *remembrance/pedagogy* that makes “*discontinuity* as necessary to a learning from the past, a learning that resides in a relationality that respects differences while honoring continuity.”¹⁴³

In the context of contemporary war memory and commemoration scholarship, however, as Ashplant, Dawson and Roper’s critique notes, it is the *state-centered* and *social-agency* models (which parallel Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert’s remembrance as

strategic practice and *difficult return* paradigms) that hold sway in scholarly discourse. Much of the literature on the topic, they note, treats these two interpretive paradigms as mutually exclusive. To some degree this polarization can be explained along disciplinary lines, based upon whether scholars draw insights from schools of political science, sociology and international relations, or anthropology, culture and psychoanalysis.¹⁴⁴ By way of illustration, Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper compare defining works by Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson (both having clear relevance to my thesis's discussion of memory and the construction of national identities) with those of Jay Winter, describing them as proponents of, respectively, the "political" and "psychological" interpretive camps.¹⁴⁵

The Invention of Tradition, a vastly influential anthology published in 1983 and co-edited by Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, examines how the cultivation of certain traditions work to sustain, by formal and ritual means, politically motivated ties with a useable past. Hobsbawm, in his introduction to the anthology, provides this succinct formulation:

"Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.¹⁴⁶

At bottom, Hobsbawm argues, the study of "invented traditions" is important precisely because of these traditions' indexical relation to often problematic underlying issues within society, culture, and politics. This kind of investigation illuminates the uniquely human relationship that is forged with the past. Indeed, "invented tradition," whenever possible, avails itself of history to validate practices and shore up group solidarity. This

quality, Hobsbawm further notes, is of prime consideration and pertinence to scholars of the recent past, in which was incarnated the modern concept of the nation. And, as Hobsbawm notes, scholarly study of “invented traditions” invites interdisciplinarity, promoting dialogue and exchange between historians and their peers across the social sciences and humanities.¹⁴⁷ In the context of First World War studies, a key example of the importance of “invented traditions” is Adrian Gregory’s analysis of the ritual observance of two minutes’ silence on Armistice Day in Britain between 1919 and 1946.¹⁴⁸

Benedict Anderson’s equally original *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* was, like Hobsbawm’s and Ranger’s book, published in 1983. Anderson’s chief query was how an amorphous, abstract entity like the nation gained a hold in the public imagination. For him, modern nationalism, the advent of which he situates in the late eighteenth century,¹⁴⁹ is emblemized by cenotaphs and tombs of the Unknown Soldier: two types of memorials strongly identified with the First World War (even if the latter are created, as were Australia’s and Canada’s, decades after that War’s end, as I explain in Chapter Four). Anderson writes eloquently about such tombs:

No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers. The public ceremonial reverence accorded these monuments precisely *because* they are either deliberately empty or no one knows who lies inside them, has no true precedents in earlier times. To feel the force of this modernity one has only to imagine the general reaction to the busybody who ‘discovered’ the Unknown Soldier’s name or insisted on filling the cenotaph with some real bones. Sacrilege of a strange, contemporary kind! Yet void as these tombs are of identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls, they are nonetheless saturated with ghostly *national* imaginings.¹⁵⁰

The operative phrase here, of course, is “ghostly *national* imaginings,” wherein lies the crux of Anderson’s argument. Moreover, the nationalist imaginary, like its religious counterpart, is preoccupied with mortality and immortality, always symbolically conjuring up spectres of the past, converting “fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning.”¹⁵¹ This is so, as Jenny Edkins has recently argued in her book *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*, because the state, the West’s common species of political community, owes and continues to stake its existence upon an assumed capacity to conscript its citizenry into war service when its sovereign power is threatened. It therefore becomes incumbent upon the state to commemorate such deaths.¹⁵²

Correspondingly, Jay Winter, a distinguished cultural historian of the Great War, is a major proponent of the *social-agency* interpretative paradigm of war memory and commemoration identified by Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper. According to Winter, commemorative enterprises are driven foremost by mourning rather than political exigencies. In his key work of 1995, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, an analysis of European First World War commemorative culture, the sites of the book’s title simultaneously invoke Pierre Nora’s *lieux de mémoire* and emblemize the cultural legacy of the Great War: “the form and content of mourning for the dead of the Great War.”¹⁵³ Throughout his study, Winter endeavours to account for the marked persistence of the “traditional”¹⁵⁴ visual and textual languages of commemoration that overwhelmingly characterize the material culture of First World War remembrance in the interwar period. This phenomenon, in his estimation, is inextricable from the universal condition of mourning, which swept across Europe in the Great War’s aftermath, and for which the vocabulary of conventional iconography —

classic, romantic, or sacred in form — had greater consolatory force than would a modernist vocabulary.¹⁵⁵

Slightly later, Winter, in his co-authored (with Emmanuel Sivan) introduction to an anthology of writings exploring the remembrance of war in the last century, “Setting the Framework,” expounded on how the factors of “agency”, “activity”, and “creativity”¹⁵⁶ each coalesce in the operation of *collective remembrance*:

Collective remembrance is public recollection. It is the act of gathering bits and pieces of the past, and joining them together in public. The ‘public’ is the group that produces, expresses, and consumes it. What they create is not a cluster of individual memories; the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Collective memory is constructed through the action of groups and individuals in the light of day.¹⁵⁷

Winter and Sivan’s formulation is an important one, emphasizing the process-oriented nature of public war remembrance. Nevertheless, in 2006 Winter recast his earlier conceptualization of collective remembrance as *historical remembrance*, this time stressing its cultural component and nature as discourse:

Historical remembrance is a discursive field, extending from ritual to cultural work of many different kinds. It differs from family remembrance by its capacity to unite people who have no other bonds drawing them together. It is distinctive from liturgical remembrance in being freed from a preordained religious calendar and sanctified ritual forms. And yet historical remembrance has something of the familial and something of the sacred in it.¹⁵⁸

Furthermore, historical remembrance in practice, unlike its familial and liturgical incarnations, is always “informed by what professional historians and public historians write and broadcast.”¹⁵⁹ Over the last four decades, this writing and broadcasting has been intimately bound up with the explosion of interest in the study of memory. It is confounding, though, that Winter’s otherwise useful definition of historical remembrance should distance, if not divorce, this undeniably discursive and cultural practice from its

clearly evident calendrical and ritual character. This, at least in the context of First World War remembrance, is abundantly evidenced during the perennial observance of Anzac, Memorial, and Remembrance Days, as well as during Great War-related events such as battlefield pilgrimages: phenomena my thesis interrogates (Chapters Two and Three).

However, Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper believe the one-sidedness of both the *state-centered* and the *social-agency* approaches has unduly and regrettably polarized the field of war memory and commemoration. They argue instead that politics and mourning are inseparable.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, each paradigm on its own fails to adequately explain the complex interplay between personal memory, commemoration within civil society, and state-orchestrated acts of national remembrance. On the one hand, scholars of war memory who draw on Hobsbawm's top-down model of forging ties with a useable past are mindful that officially sponsored forms and practices of commemoration are selective in the recognition they accord to individual and group experiences. Yet they still risk overstating the cohesion of social elites and what is often presumed to be their ability to precipitate or galvanize a sense of shared identification amongst the broader population.¹⁶¹ Kirk Savage, in his book *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, has made a similar observation about monuments, noting that they do not "simply channel spontaneous popular sentiments, as the sponsors liked to claim in their standard rhetoric."¹⁶²

On the other hand, Ashplant, Dawson and Roper remark, both the *state-centered* and the *social-agency* approaches to war memory and commemoration undercut the importance of subjectivity by diminishing the intricacy of personal memory and the degree to which it is mediated by the circulation of culturally manufactured

representations within the spheres of civil society and the state. Thus, in the *state-centered* approach, what is left unaddressed is how public commemorative practices and forms attain their subjective appeal, while the *social-agency* model tends to homogenize subjectivity, assuming a collective psychic response to bereavement: one that crosses generational and national divides.¹⁶³

Although both interpretive paradigms go some way towards understanding the *politics* of war memory and commemoration, Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper concede that additional insights are offered by a third paradigm: the *popular-memory* approach. This approach is exemplified by oral historian Alistair Thomson in his influential 1994 study *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, which examines (white) Australia's foundational myth of a nation coming of age in the crucible of the First World War. Thomson's approach is two-pronged, examining the hegemony of the Anzac legend in defining and framing the national significance of the Australian combat experience, and how this hegemonic discourse did or did not resonate with Great War veterans. The interweaving of public and private memory rests at the core of his analysis. Both types of memory are understood as an ongoing process. Specifically, Thomson demonstrates that the private memories of Australian Great War veterans were continuously renegotiated in terms of the Anzac legend, itself neither static nor uncontested, as well as in terms of the veterans' own shifting sense of self as they advanced through life. For Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper, the *popular-memory* interpretive paradigm possesses two chief merits. Firstly, its public/private memory matrix reveals how subjective experience is moulded by and is understood in relation to culturally articulated narratives, national or otherwise. Secondly, the *popular-memory* approach also reveals, in contradiction of the *social-agency* model,

that articulations of mourning do not occur in a political vacuum but are firmly entrenched within and encoded by prevailing modes and codes of cultural narrative.¹⁶⁴ They, too, “may be mobilized on behalf of conflicting political positions.”¹⁶⁵

Literature Review: The Advent of Cultural History in First World War Scholarship

Until the late 1970s, Catherine Moriarty writes, the remembrance and study of the First World War in the United Kingdom was a project largely attended to by a few constituencies: military historians (mostly concerned with critical analyses of campaigns and strategies); political, economic, and literary scholars; veterans and legionnaires; collectors of artifacts and memorabilia; battlefield tourists; and children following their school curricula. However, in the last twenty-five years a shift has been registered towards investigations that have been geared to the “common experience”¹⁶⁶ of the conflict: one encompassing not only combatants but non-combatant war workers behind the lines or on the home front.¹⁶⁷ Increasingly, as Moriarty remarks, academic writing about the War has expanded its scope and, indeed, now focuses largely upon both the immediate effect (the social, psychological, economic, and cultural impacts of this conflict) and its legacy for a broad population demographic.

Moriarty addresses this shift by noting that, at nearly a century’s remove from the First World War, the project of remembering is no longer directly experiential, and has therefore become increasingly intricate. In this light, the First World War has broadly impacted, directly or indirectly, the personal and generational histories of the twentieth century. Accordingly, for Moriarty, this first global and industrialized war poses an especially engrossing and complex field of inquiry.¹⁶⁸

If literary scholar Paul Fussell's seminal 1975 study, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, inaugurated a new era of First World War scholarship, since the 1980s the gauntlet has largely been picked up by cultural historians such as J. M. Winter. For Winter, "The real test of Paul Fussell's line of argument is to place his evidence alongside poems, novels, plays, paintings, sculptures, and films that have informed our imaginings of war in this century."¹⁶⁹ Winter himself is one of the pre-eminent practitioners of this "new cultural history of the Great War,"¹⁷⁰ as he describes it. In his 1992 survey of Great War cultural histories published between 1986 and 1991, he describes this spate of scholarship as possibly generational, many of the scholars having either come of age during, or served in, the Second World War, or having undertaken their university studies during the Vietnam conflict. Collectively, this cadre of scholars, including Modris Eksteins, Samuel Hynes and George Mosse, the authors, respectively, of the books *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (1989), *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (1990), and *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (1990), has examined how this watershed event was articulated in the languages of both elite and popular culture.¹⁷¹ In 1998 Winter again surveyed recent publications,¹⁷² noting how cultural histories of the First World War had veered away from the social towards the cultural. This is a trajectory he describes as moving from "the history of defiance" to "the history of consent."¹⁷³

A decade after Winter's first survey of contemporary Great War academic writing, Pierre Purseigle and Jenny Macleod asserted in their introductory essay to the anthology *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World War Studies*, the authors' 2004 reflections on the state and trends of First World War scholarship at the beginning of the

new millennium, that interest in the sociocultural facets of the War continues unabated, constituting one of the discipline's most viable and compelling currents of inquiry.¹⁷⁴ Recent work stills falls under the rubric of "the new cultural history of the war" heralded by Winter and spearheaded some twenty-five years ago.¹⁷⁵ It is notable that the trailblazing interdisciplinarity of the cultural history approach has opened up and legitimized the latest field of First World War studies: material culture. Briefly, this still emerging field of inquiry harnesses anthropological and archaeological perspectives and applies them to the study of the War's materialities, the one ground of signification upon which, Nicholas Saunders argues in his introduction to the collection of writings entitled *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War*, all disciplines engaged in the study of this conflict intersect.¹⁷⁶ This is certainly true of First World War memorials, which elicit study in the disciplines of art history, cultural history, and, increasingly, material culture.¹⁷⁷

There has also been an upsurge in the significance and public prominence assigned to the Great War in the last decade or so, attributable broadly to both the contemporary fascination with commemoration across academia and, from without, growing solicitation of academics by the public, especially its media sectors and usually in the context of some controversy, to address the War's persistent topicality.

However, Purseigle and Macleod write, the burgeoning literature on the First World War itself correlates with an across-the-board, global growth in the scholarly community at large in recent decades: the result of increased access to the pursuit of higher studies. Possibly, too, recent anniversaries of the War, the latest being (when their account was written) the eightieth anniversary of the Armistice (1998), have precipitated

cyclical spikes of interest in the topic. Most persuasive, though, is David Cannadine's observation that a major shift in the practice of historical study has been its move away from a model of causality to one grounded in a quest of meaning.¹⁷⁸ This is history-writing as a meaning-making enterprise. This shift is a core factor in the increasing emphasis placed on cultural history in all domains of historical inquiry.¹⁷⁹

Purseigle and MacLeod both endorse the cultural history approach to First World War scholarship and champion the comparative method. The multi-national scope of the conflict fosters this approach: one seen as a means of overcoming the inherently eclectic nature of cultural history. Certainly, they acknowledge, embarking on a project of comparative Great War cultural histories poses particular challenges, not least the prospect of delving in depth and with understanding into multiple languages, cultures, and historiographic traditions. Language especially, beyond mere comprehension, presents a potential barrier precisely because scholars construct their historical investigations upon concepts and classifications embedded in a particular culture or a given domain of language, thereby giving rise to possible problems of translation. These in turn may signal a more profound historiographic issue. In certain instances, however, the difficulties may not be so acute.

This thesis, a comparative examination of the national Great War memorials erected domestically and overseas by Canada, Australia, and Newfoundland, former Dominions of the British Empire whose respective War experiences and histories to some extent paralleled one another but were not synonymous, is a case in point, the research of which was not hindered by obstacles of language, access to archival holdings (abundant), or widely divergent traditions of Great War scholarship and commemoration. As such, it

contributes to the corpus of Great War cultural histories. Purseigle and Macleod further note that cultural historians of the First World War must also consider, among other things, the relationships between personal and group dimensions of the War experience. In the domain of commemorative activity, for example, these often intersect, whether in the public campaign to erect a war memorial, or individual participation in a remembrance service.¹⁸⁰ This dynamic played out, sometimes contentiously, between the myriad individuals involved with, and the various committees struck to realize, the capital and battlefield national commemoration of Newfoundland's, Canada's, and Australia's Great War dead. As such, it serves as the narrative underpinning of Chapters One, Two, and Four, which dissect the campaigns waged to erect, followed by the actual construction, of national war memorials in St. John's, Ottawa, and Canberra and at the former battlefield sites of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux, as well as the creation of the Australian and Canadian Tombs of the Unknown Soldier.

Drawing from the domains of art history, cultural history, and cultural geography, this thesis brings together, for the first time, a multi-disciplinary approach to the examination of Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian capital and battlefield Great War memorials. Hitherto, such a comparative study has not been essayed, and in so doing it seeks to expand upon existing but individual analyses of these memorials, whose commonalities in conception, context, culture, and cartography (Western Front), encourage, rather than discourage, comparison. Collectively, these memorials constitute the titular monumental landscape of this thesis, some having been erected upon commemorative grounds themselves (the 'fields of care' that are the Beaumont-Hamel,

Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux memorial sites) but all operating as the grounds for national war commemoration, where the consolidating, co-opting and cultivating of the cultural memory of the First World War, then as now, occurs.

¹ Throughout this thesis, I refer to the Great War as the War, so as to distinguish the 1914-1918 conflict from all other wars.

² A. Craig Wight, "Philosophical and Methodological Praxes in Dark Tourism: Controversy, Contention and the Evolving Paradigm," *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 12.2 (April 2006): 120.

³ Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998) 233; Jeff Keshen, "The Great War Soldier as Nation Builder in Canada and Australia," *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers*, ed. Briton C. Busch (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) 3-4, 10-11, 20; and Peter H. Hoffenberg, "Landscape, Memory and the Australian War Experience, 1915-18," *Journal of Contemporary History* 36.1 (2001): 114. Laura Brandon, however, argues differently: "It was to be some years before national tragedy metamorphosed into national pride. Canadian achievements did eventually supplant Canadian losses in the popular memory." Laura Brandon, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art*, Beyond Boundaries Series No. 2 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006) xvii.

⁴ James Overton, "Economic Crisis and the End of Democracy: Politics in Newfoundland During the Great Depression," *Labour/Le Travail* 26 (Fall 1990, *Special Issue: Labour in Newfoundland*): 85; Mark W. Graesser, review of *Suspended State: Newfoundland before Canada*, by Gene Long, *Newfoundland Studies* 14.2 (1998, *Special Issue: Confederation*): 301; and Robert J Harding, "Glorious Tragedy: Newfoundland's Cultural Memory of the Attack at Beaumont Hamel, 1916-1925," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 21.1 (2006): 23-25.

⁵ Harding 25.

⁶ Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, translated from the French by Catherine Temerson (New York: Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002) 192-193; Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2007) 2-3; Lisa M. Budreau, "The Politics of Remembrance: The Gold Star Mothers' Pilgrimage and America's Fading Memory of the Great War," *The Journal of Military History* 72.2 (April 2008): 377; and Lisa M. Budreau, *Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919-1933* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010) 21.

⁷ Fabian Ware, *The Immortal Heritage: An Account of the Work and Policy of the Imperial War Graves Commission During Twenty Years, 1917-1937* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1937) 30.

⁸ Ware 25-27, 30-33, 74-75 (Appendix A); Rose E. Coombs, *Before Endeavours Fade: A Guide to the Battlefields of the First World War*, 12th edition (Old Harlow: Battle of Britain International Ltd (an After the Battle publication), May 2006) 6; and Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Who We Are," <http://www.cwgc.org/default.asp> (accessed 24/11/2010).

⁹ See pages 45-46 and 53-54.

¹⁰ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 25th anniversary edition (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 21-23.

¹¹ Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*, revised edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003) 8-9.

¹² Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 9-10.

¹³ Australian Government, National Capital Authority, "Anzac Parade,"

http://www.nationalcapital.gov.au/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=213&Itemid=202&showall=1 (accessed 11/21/2009).

¹⁴ Australian Government, National Capital Authority, "Anzac Parade,"

http://www.natcap.gov.au/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=213&Itemid=202 (accessed 2/11/2010). Eleven memorials are situated along Anzac Parade: the Australian Hellenic Memorial, the Australian Army National Memorial, the Australian National Korean War Memorial, the Australian

Vietnam Forces National Memorial, the Desert Mounted Corps Memorial, the New Zealand Memorial, the Rats of Tobruk Memorial, the Royal Australian Air Force Memorial, the Australian Service Nurses National Memorial, the Royal Australian Navy Memorial, and the Kemal Ataturk Memorial.

¹⁵ Australian War Memorial, *Annual Report of the Council for the year ended 30 June 1982 together with the Financial Statements and the Report of the Auditor-General* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1983) 43.

¹⁶ Owen J. Dwyer, "Symbolic Accretion and Commemoration," *Social & Cultural Geography* 5.3 (September 2004): 420.

¹⁷ Dwyer 421.

¹⁸ George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 6-7.

¹⁹ Ken Inglis, "World War One Memorials in Australia," *Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains* 167 (Juillet 1992): 51-58, Catherine Moriarty, "Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials," *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Martin Evans and Ken Lunn (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997) 125-142, Daniel Sherman, "Art, Commerce and the Production of Memory in France after World War I," *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. Jonathan R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 186-211, and Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 1, 5-7.

²⁰ Nigel Thrift and John-David Dewsbury, "Dead Geographies — And How to Make Them Live," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18.4 (August 2000, *Theme Issue: Spaces of Performance, Part D*): 420.

²¹ Yishai Jusidman, "Un-Ending Yad-Vashem: Some Notes Towards an Aesthetics of Monuments and Memorials," *Art Criticism* 12.1 (1997): 55.

²² Fussell 22.

²³ Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin," trans. Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, *Oppositions: A Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture* 25 (1982, *Special Issue: Monument/Memory*): 21, 23 and Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, introduction, *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, eds. Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) 1.

²⁴ Riegl 21.

²⁵ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 4.

²⁶ Young 4.

²⁷ Foote 7.

²⁸ Foote 3-5.

²⁹ Foote 5

³⁰ Foote 7.

³¹ Foote 8.

³² Foote 9.

³³ John R. Gillis, introduction [Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship], *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 5.

³⁴ William Kidd and Brian Murdoch, introduction, *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*, eds. William Kidd and Brian Murdoch (Aldershot, Hants and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004) 2.

³⁵ Kidd and Murdoch 7.

³⁶ Daniel J. Sherman, "Art, Commerce, and the Production of Memory in France After World War I," *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 186.

³⁷ Sherman 187.

³⁸ Alan Radley, "Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past," *Collective Remembering*, eds. David Middleton and Derek Edwards (London: Sage Publications, 1990) 46.

³⁹ Radley 57.

⁴⁰ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 1, 3-4.

⁴¹ Connerton 4-5.

⁴² Connerton 44-45.

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- ⁴³ Connerton 45.
- ⁴⁴ Connerton 61, 65.
- ⁴⁵ Dorothy Noyes and Roger D. Abrahams, "From Calendar Custom to National Memory: European Commonplaces," *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity*, eds. Dan Ben-Amos and Liliane Weissberg (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999) 79.
- ⁴⁶ Connerton 66.
- ⁴⁷ Connerton 66.
- ⁴⁸ Noyes and Abrahams 82.
- ⁴⁹ Connerton 68.
- ⁵⁰ Fussell 56. This stanza from Binyon's poem is formally known as the *Act of Remembrance*. See "A Guide to Commemorative Services" at http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=feature/vetweek/comm_guide (accessed 31/1/2011).
- ⁵¹ Connerton 70.
- ⁵² Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000) 216-217.
- ⁵³ Casey 217-218.
- ⁵⁴ Casey 218.
- ⁵⁵ Casey 221, 223.
- ⁵⁶ Casey 245.
- ⁵⁷ Casey 245.
- ⁵⁸ Casey 247.
- ⁵⁹ Casey 247, 251-254.
- ⁶⁰ Young 7.
- ⁶¹ Casey 232-233, 246-247.
- ⁶² Casey 223-225.
- ⁶³ Casey 256.
- ⁶⁴ Casey 256.
- ⁶⁵ Neil Jarman, "Commemorating 1916, Celebrating Difference: Parading and Painting in Belfast," *The Art of Forgetting*, eds. Adrian Forty and Susanne Kuchler (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999) 172.
- ⁶⁶ Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," translated by John Czaplicka, *New German Critique* 65 (Spring/Summer 1995): 132; Mieke Bal, "Introduction," *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1999) vii; Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995) 3; Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 1; and Ann Rigney, "Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory," *Journal of European Studies* 35.1 (March 2005): 14.
- ⁶⁷ Bal vii; Huyssen 3; Assmann 132; Sturken 1; and Rigney 15.
- ⁶⁸ Bal vii.
- ⁶⁹ Bal xv.
- ⁷⁰ Huyssen 2.
- ⁷¹ Huyssen 2-3.
- ⁷² Assmann 132.
- ⁷³ Assmann 131.
- ⁷⁴ Casey 218, 247.
- ⁷⁵ Sturken 259.
- ⁷⁶ Sturken 9.
- ⁷⁷ Sturken 2-3.
- ⁷⁸ Rigney 15.
- ⁷⁹ Rigney 16.
- ⁸⁰ Foucault remarked that the "scarcity of utterances," reflected in the fragmentary and partial nature that is the sphere of discourse, where, in the end, so very little can be communicated, explicates why utterances are not fully and forever transparent but rather constantly conveyed and conserved, imparted with value and, not least, subject to appropriation, as well as to repetition, reproduction, transformation and

replication, whether by way of copies, translations, commentaries, and an internalized expansion of meaning. Rigney 16.

⁸¹ Rigney 16.

⁸² Sturken 259.

⁸³ K. S. Inglis, assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2001) 106, 110-111, 114, 120, 180-183, 192-194, 334, 345, 458-461.

⁸⁴ David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998) 212-213; Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 143-144; and Ziino 185-186.

⁸⁵ Lloyd 202-207.

⁸⁶ Paul Gessell, "Mucking About in the Trenches of History," *Carleton Magazine* (Fall 2010): 36-37.

⁸⁷ Laura Brandon, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art*, Beyond Boundaries Series No. 2 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006) 7-14.

⁸⁸ See Vance, endnote 40, page 272. Antoine Prost, "Les Monuments aux morts: Culte républicain? Culte civique? Culte patriotique?," *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1, *La République*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1984) 202.

⁸⁹ Vance 3, 8-9, 28-29, 44-45, 49. In 1998 *Death So Noble* won the C. P. Stacey Award, the Dafoe Book Prize, and the Sir John A. Macdonald Prize. The University of Western Ontario, Department of History, "Jonathan F. W. Vance," <http://history.uwo.ca/faculty/> (accessed 4/11/2010).

⁹⁰ Robert Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987) 14-15, 16, 18-19, 56, 83, 85, 102-103, 111-113, 142-143, 155.

⁹¹ *The Australian National University Survey of War Memorials*, undertaken by Ken Inglis with assistance from Jan Brazier, records 1455 Great War memorials. Inglis 484-485. The *National Inventory of Canadian Military Memorials*, conducted under the auspices of the Directorate of History and Heritage and the Organization of Military Museum of Canada, Inc., is still underway. See <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/nic-inm/index-eng.asp> (accessed 08/12/2010).

⁹² Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000, *Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering*): 127; Susannah Radstone, "Working with Memory: An Introduction," *Memory and Methodology*, ed. Susannah Radstone (New York: Berg, 2000) 1-2; and Susannah Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," *History Workshop Journal* 59 (Spring 2005): 138.

⁹³ Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, "Introduction," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory*): 1-6. Eleven years later, the journal produced another special issue dedicated to the memory question, notably issues surrounding spatiality. See *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000, *Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering*).

⁹⁴ Davis and Starn 1-3.

⁹⁵ Davis and Starn 2.

⁹⁶ Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," 138 and Radstone, "Working with Memory: An Introduction," 9. Gabrielle M. Spiegel also invokes this term. See Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time," *History and Theory* 41 (May 2002): 149.

⁹⁷ Radstone, "Working with Memory: An Introduction," 7.

⁹⁸ Radstone, "Working with Memory: An Introduction," 9.

⁹⁹ Radstone, "Working with Memory: An Introduction," 9-10.

¹⁰⁰ Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," 134.

¹⁰¹ Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," 134-135.

¹⁰² Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," 136.

¹⁰³ The study of memory by anthropologists, cultural historians, and both political and social scientists usually falls under the rubrics of collective, cultural, or social memory. According to Constantina Papoulias, such scholars conceive of memory as a social practice, emphasizing its material rather than cognitive and psychological dimensions Papoulias herself, though, is critical of this "de-psychologisation of memory and its re-definition as a *social* process" because the term social memory effectively divests itself of the "'trouble' that psychic reality and desire may represent for an analysis of social formations." See Constantina Papoulias, "From the Agora to the Junkyard: Social Memory and Psychic Materialities,"

Regimes of Memory, eds. Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (London and New York: Routledge, 2003): 114-115.

¹⁰⁴ Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," 137. Alan Confino addresses this issue at length in his article "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review* 102.5 (December 1997): 1386-1403.

¹⁰⁵ Papoulias 114.

¹⁰⁶ Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," 137.

¹⁰⁷ Klein 127.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas W. Laqueur, "Introduction," *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000, *Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering*): 4.

¹⁰⁹ For discussions of Nora's contribution, see, for example, Peter Carrier, "Places, Politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Memory and Methodology*, ed. Susannah Radstone (New York: Berg, 2000) 37-57; and Michael Lambek and Paul Antze, introduction [Forecasting Memory], *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, eds. Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) xiii-xv.

¹¹⁰ Antze and Lambek conceive of memory as a discursive practice. Precisely, Lambek and Antze's examination of memory's discursive properties is three-pronged in its considerations. Firstly, they examine the ground or origins of memory discourses, how these discourses are manufactured and reproduced socially, and their traffic across the spheres of public and private life. Secondly, they examine memory's invocation in the context of identity-related discourses, notably politics, history, ethnicity, gender, therapy, autobiography, and justice. Thirdly, they examine the very articulation of memory as discursive; namely, its narrative and dialogic expressions and, by extension, how those forms of expression are related to corporeal and other modes of remembrance. Lambek and Antze xii, xv.

¹¹¹ Klein 135.

¹¹² Klein 135-136.

¹¹³ Klein 136.

¹¹⁴ Klein 135-136.

¹¹⁵ Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," 136.

¹¹⁶ T. G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, "The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics," *The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War*, eds. T. G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, Memory and Narrative Series (New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London: Transaction Publishers, by arrangement with Routledge, 2000) 3-5.

¹¹⁷ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 3.

¹¹⁸ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 3.

¹¹⁹ Daniel Leblanc, "Honouring his wishes, veteran's family refuses state funeral," *Globe and Mail* 20 Feb. 2010: A4; Tony Lofaro, "Ceremony to honour Babcock, First World War veterans," *Ottawa Citizen* 3 Mar. 2010: A5; "Vimy Ridge Day to honour all who served during First World War," *National Post* 3 Mar. 2010: A9; Gloria Galloway, "Thousands commemorate Vimy Ridge on both sides of the Atlantic," *Globe and Mail* 10 Apr. 2010: A3; and Bruce Deachman, "Passing the torch of remembrance: Canada's last First World War veteran honoured," *Ottawa Citizen* 10 Apr. 2010: A3.

¹²⁰ Specifically, this campaign was taken on by the *Sun* in response to a September 1995 British Legion initiative. For an in-depth discussion, see Tony Walter, "From Cathedral to Supermarket: Mourning, Silence and Solidarity," *The Sociological Review* 49.4 (November 2001): 503-507.

¹²¹ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 4.

¹²² In France, recent successful novels include Jean Rouaud's *Les champs d'honneur* (1990) and Sébastien Japrisot's *Un long dimanche de fiançailles* (1991 — It has since been adapted as a film). In film, notable titles are *La vie et rien d'autre* (1989) and *Capitaine Conan* (1996), both by Bertrand Tavernier, and *La Chambre des officiers* (2001) by François Dupeyron (cited in Purseigle and Macleod 6). The Canadian literary output has been even greater, for example: David Macfarlane's *The Danger Tree: Memory, War, and the Search for a Family's Past* (1991), Jane Urquhart's *The Stone Carvers* (2001), Mary Swan's *The Deep* (2002), Alan Cumyn's *The Sojourn* (2003), Frances Itani's *Deafening* (2003), and Joseph Boyden's *Three Day Road* (2005).

¹²³ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 4.

¹²⁴ Phil Melling, "War and Memory in the New World Order," *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Martin Evans and Ken Lunn (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997) 258.

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- ¹²⁵ Melling 258.
- ¹²⁶ Melling 259.
- ¹²⁷ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 5.
- ¹²⁸ Patrick Finney, "On Memory, Identity and War," *Rethinking History* 6.1 (2002): 5-6.
- ¹²⁹ Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 6.
- ¹³⁰ Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 6.
- ¹³¹ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 6.
- ¹³² Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper, preface, xi.
- ¹³³ Ashplant, Dawson and Roper xi-xii, 7.
- ¹³⁴ Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 13.
- ¹³⁵ Roger I. Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert, "Between Hope and Despair: The Pedagogical Encounter of Historical Remembrance," *Between Hope & Despair: Pedagogy and the Remembrance of Historical Trauma*, eds. Roger I. Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000) 2.
- ¹³⁶ Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 2.
- ¹³⁷ Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 2.
- ¹³⁸ Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert 3.
- ¹³⁹ Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 3.
- ¹⁴⁰ Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert 3-4.
- ¹⁴¹ Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 4.
- ¹⁴² Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert 5.
- ¹⁴³ Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 5.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 7.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 7.
- ¹⁴⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, introduction [Inventing Traditions], *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 1.
- ¹⁴⁷ Hobsbawm 12-14.
- ¹⁴⁸ See Adrian Gregory's *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Oxford and Providence, USA: Berg, 1994) 9.
- ¹⁴⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition, (New York: Verso, 1991) 12.
- ¹⁵⁰ Anderson 9.
- ¹⁵¹ Anderson 11.
- ¹⁵² Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 1, 6.
- ¹⁵³ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 7.
- ¹⁵⁴ Winter 8.
- ¹⁵⁵ Winter 5.
- ¹⁵⁶ Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, "Setting the Framework," *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 9.
- ¹⁵⁷ Winter and Sivan 6.
- ¹⁵⁸ Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006) 11.
- ¹⁵⁹ Jay Winter, "Historical Remembrance in the Twenty-First Century," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 617.1 (May 2008): 9.
- ¹⁶⁰ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 9.
- ¹⁶¹ Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 10.
- ¹⁶² Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) 6-7.
- ¹⁶³ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 11.
- ¹⁶⁴ Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 13-14.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 14.
- ¹⁶⁶ Catherine Moriarty, "Review Article: The Material Culture of Great War Remembrance," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34.4 (1999): 654.

¹⁶⁷ Moriarty 653-654.

¹⁶⁸ Moriarty 653-654.

¹⁶⁹ J. M. Winter, "Review: Catastrophe and Culture: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the First World War," *Journal of Modern History* 64.3 (September 1992): 532.

¹⁷⁰ Winter 532.

¹⁷¹ Winter 525.

¹⁷² Pierre Purseigle and Jenny Macleod, introduction [Perspectives in First World War Studies], *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World War Studies*, eds. Jenny Macleod and Pierre Purseigle (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004) 10.

¹⁷³ Cited in Purseigle and Macleod 10 in reference to J. M. Winter, "Recent Trends in the Historiography of Britain and the First World War: Cultural History, Comparative History, Public History," *Change and Inertia: Britain under the Impact of the Great War*, eds. Hartmut Berghoff and Robert von Friedeburg (Bodenheim, 1998) 88.

¹⁷⁴ Purseigle and Macleod 2.

¹⁷⁵ Purseigle and Macleod 2.

¹⁷⁶ Nicholas J. Saunders, introduction, *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War*, ed. Nicholas J. Saunders (London and New York: Routledge, 2004) 1-3.

¹⁷⁷ For example, *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War* contains two chapters on war memorials.

¹⁷⁸ David Cannadine, preface, *What is History Now?* ed. David Cannadine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2002) ix.

¹⁷⁹ Purseigle and Macleod 7, 10.

¹⁸⁰ Purseigle and Macleod 10-11, 17.

Chapter One

‘Fields of Care’ in France and the Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian Great War Memorials to the Missing at Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux

Cultural geographer Kenneth E. Foote observes that whenever shocking violence, whether accidental or intentional, natural or industrial in origin, is visited upon a site, the subsequently blighted landscape faces a quartet of potential human interventions: *sanctification, obliteration, designation, or rectification*.¹ Furthermore, he notes, the discourses that circulate about such sites tellingly illuminate how a society both seeks to wrest meaning from some devastating act or event and wrestles with its own morally fraught relationship to violence. For Foote, a past locus of violence is sanctified by the erection, in situ, of a memorial or monument, either architectural or horticultural in design, if what ensued there is construed as commendably heroic or suitably *sacrificial* in the service of some greater good and thus worthy of remembrance. Conversely, it is obliterated if its violent history induces deep societal shame, thus requiring its complete physical *erasure*. Less profoundly altering are the processes of site *designation* and *rectification*, the former a matter of appellation, formally ascribing significance to a place, and the latter a function of rehabilitative restoration, whereby the venue of one-time violence reverts to its original function and appearance.²

In this chapter, I draw upon Foote’s germane notion of site sanctification, in particular the special order he deems *fields of care*, as the conceptual frame upon which I hinge my discussion of the site-specific, emblematic value of the Newfoundland (Beaumont-Hamel), Canadian (Vimy), and Australian (Villers-Bretonneux) Memorials to the Missing in France (Fig. 1, 2, 3). Precisely, in Foote’s elaboration, the sanctification of a site is predicated upon its demarcation as *sacred*,³ according to the nomenclature of

geography, whereby such ground, neither the property nor the province of care of any religious body, is segregated from its immediate environs and, critically, is made the object of public ceremonial consecration. Indeed, a site's sanctification is contingent upon its ceremonial consecration, during which the officiant(s) of such ritual proceedings must clearly articulate the historical importance of this former place of violence and provide the commemorative rationale for remembrance.

A sanctified site emerges as a field of care if it satisfies five criteria: (1) physical demarcation from its encompassing environment, wherein the commemorative precinct signage situates the locus of the historical action memorialized; (2) customary long-term maintenance, often spanning generations; (3) reassignment of site guardianship and custodial care to a public body; (4) emergence as the locus of supplementary commemorative activity, particularly perennial remembrance observances and pilgrimages; and (5) on-site accretion of usually associated memorial structures.⁴

Following Foote's five criteria, I collectively classify the memorial sites of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux as fields of care.

Foote and fellow geographer and environmental studies scholar Maoz Azaryahu also provide the theoretical lens through which I view, from a *spatio-rhetorical* standpoint, the public presentation of these three memorial sites. They duly note how in the West the culture industry customarily promotes historical sites as concrete conduits to, as well as physical registers of, a given past. Staged thus, these places point up and point out that which is already latently there. Foote and Azaryahu, moreover, importantly underscore how historical sites, including former battle theatres, are, in fact, interpretively harnessed for the manufacture, as a cultural product, of their histories. To

this end, the on-the-ground cultural manufacture of the past necessarily deploys display mechanisms that forge an interpretive matrix for site visitors. These mechanisms, as mediating devices and optics, provide prismatic impressions of place as history. Herein reside the so-called *poetics of presentation* governing historical sites, namely, the means by which history, as a temporally structured narrative, is played out spatially. Thus Foote and Azaryahu concern themselves with the means and methods by which historical narratives are configured for their conveyance in and across space, generating in the process history as so many *spatial narratives*.

In practice this may merely entail the placement of a plaque bearing a simplified, synoptic account of an historical event at the point of its occurrence, or a constellation of site-specific installations. These can include signage, dedicatory panels, and structures, memorial and otherwise, arrayed to spatially plot an event's unfolding or signal its defining spatio-temporal dimensions. The actual process of and possibilities for configuring history as a spatial narrative, though, are inextricable from the event's originating circumstances. In other words, an historical event may constitute a discrete occurrence confined to a modest space, or a multi-faceted event spanning years in duration, as well as covering a great territorial expanse. The former scenario might proffer narrative prospects quite divergent from those suited to the latter.

In the case of Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy, two memorial sites wherein the physical register of the Great War remains written (owing to its purposeful preservation) prominently across the landscape, chronological (Beaumont-Hamel) and geographic (Vimy) strategies of spatial narrative predominate. Specifically, at Beaumont-Hamel, the warscape, as preserved, expressly privileges the battle impress of 1 July 1916 (Fig. 4),

whereas the Vimy site, although it, too, contains cemeteries,⁵ shell-and mine-pocked ground (Fig. 5, 6), and other 1914-1918 features, notably the much-visited Grange Tunnel (Fig. 7, 8, 9), is primarily presented as a sprawling conglomerate of memorial and war markers. Each of those markers is a locus for narrative, but is not beholden to a precise battle chronology. By contrast, at Villers-Bretonneux, where no vestigial traces of the Great War have been commemoratively preserved, a declamatory approach to spatial narrative is privileged, whereby the geographical spread of the events of April 1918 is handily captured from a single observation post, the memorial's tower, which affords sweeping views of the Somme landscape (Fig. 10).⁶ Despite their differing spatial-rhetorical presentations, the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux sites, each sanctified by the national memorial that was erected in its midst, persist to this day as fields of care.

1.0. Memorials and Naming

A key convention of Great War commemoration is the naming of the dead or the missing in combat, which I also interrogate in my examination of the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy and Villers-Bretonneux memorials, the respective commemorative registers of missing Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian First World War servicemen (the men whose names are engraved upon the memorials at Vimy and Villers-Bretonneux are those of soldiers killed in France and who have no known grave). Amongst all living beings, humankind is unique in its mental capacity to conceive of and envision its mortality. We are also singular in our persistent desire to envision the dead and accord them some form(s) of remembrance. Crucially, envisioning and remembering the dead both hinge

upon invoking — imaginatively, in speech, or in writing — the name(s) of the dead. Conversely, forgetting the name(s) of the deceased is tantamount to granting death the final say.⁷ A keystone of twentieth-century war commemoration is the permanent inscription somewhere, sometimes in multiple locations, of the names of fallen and missing soldiers. This practice, it is commonly held, only became widespread at the local, regional, and national levels in the face of the mass and unprecedented scale of human carnage that was the First World War.⁸

What were the precipitating factors for this historically unmatched commemorative will, amongst all combatant nations of the Great War, to create a vast memorial landscape of aesthetically standardized battlefield cemeteries and monuments memorializing all fallen and missing soldiers? The usual reasons are, as Thomas Laqueur reiterates them: the Western democratic sensibility; a symbolic leveling of social distinctions; and an attempt to make materially concrete the immense human toll of the War which, as a mere numerical death count, would otherwise remain an unfathomable abstraction.⁹ In this light, reading a name inscribed upon a Great War memorial offers a glimpse of, in Samuel Hynes's words, "the sad army of the dead that they stand for,"¹⁰ or, as Robert Pogue Harrison writes in his discussion of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, it "allow[s] their names to occupy space and suddenly the 'so many' undone by the war find a measure for their immoderate excess."¹¹

Laqueur argues that the premium placed on naming in commemorative practices of the First World War should also be understood, at the level of subjectivity, as symptomatic of the "modern anxiety of erasure or disintegration" and as a demonstration of the related claim that all persons are entitled to a biographical narrative or "life

story.”¹² Daniel Sherman observes that the inscription of names upon local French Great War memorials serve as substitutes for bodies. Like Laqueur, Sherman argues that names announce and locate an individual within existing social formations, in this instance, a patrilineal one. Conversely, he notes, to be divested of one’s name is to effectively fall out of history, hence the primacy of names in First World War commemorative enterprises.¹³ The relevance of this phenomenon to the methodological bases of my thesis — public commemoration and cultural memory, is obvious.

Death, meanwhile, Derrida has remarked, seems the decisive moment when a name is detached from the body it designates, its bearer no longer present to speak or hear their name. Yet this process of detachment, seemingly the prerogative of death alone, already occurs whenever a name appears apart from, or in lieu of, the body. This is so, Derrida remarks, when (for example) others deploy one’s name in their speech and writing about us, noting “the name begins during his life to get along without him, speaking and bearing his death each time it is pronounced.” Similarly, “a signature not only signs but speaks to us always of death.”¹⁴ Derrida’s insight about the name, I would argue, contributes, alongside the context-specific arguments of Laqueur and Sherman, to a fuller understanding of the commemorative practice of naming the dead on First World War memorials, such as occurs at Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux (Fig. 11, 12, 13). Names, in advance of and in death, always speak of mourning and they also constitute a body apart from the body, differentiating the “corpus from the corpse.”¹⁵

1.1. Thomas Nangle and the Commemoration of the Newfoundland War Dead: Graves Registration and Battle Exploit Memorials

The battlefield of Beaumont-Hamel could not, of course, be acquired by the Newfoundland government as a memorial site until the cessation of hostilities, an objective that intersected with the search for and registration of Newfoundland war graves and missing servicemen. In July of 1919 the Department of Militia, on the approval of the Newfoundland government, appointed the Reverend Captain Thomas Nangle to oversee the painstakingly grim and, in some instances, admittedly futile¹⁶ task of reconnoitering the former battle theatres of France and Flanders in search of the burial sites and lost bodies of Newfoundland soldiers, as well as the exhumation of solitary registered Newfoundland war graves for collection and consolidation in the various military cemeteries then under construction by the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC). Unregistered graves, once found and their geographical coordinates recorded, would likewise be later exhumed, with these soldiers' remains also re-interred in an IWGC cemetery.¹⁷ Nangle's appointment to the post of Director of Graves Registration and Enquiries, Newfoundland Contingent, for which he received the acting rank of Major, thus conferring upon him the necessary military authority¹⁸ to fully exercise this duty, was both far-sighted and felicitous, Nangle having served as the Newfoundland Regiment's chaplain from July 1916 onwards.¹⁹ As a wartime military chaplain he was intimately acquainted with the life, and especially the losses, of the Regiment, including the locations of many of its men's graves.²⁰ The deep mental impress of this necro-cartography of the Western Front would guide Nangle in his work, although the successful execution of this geographically sweeping mortuary operation,²¹ concentrated within the French and Belgian combat theatres and hospital sites, was contingent upon

the cooperation of the Director of Graves Registration and Enquiries, the War Office, the Imperial War Graves Commission and its French counterpart, the Commission Nationale des Sépultures Militaires.²²

This corpse-retrieval campaign²³ converged with another post-war imperative: the commemoration of the Newfoundland Regiment's war dead. Here, too, Nangle would assume a pivotal role. In July 1919 the Newfoundland government entrusted Nangle to conduct, on their behalf, negotiations with both the IWGC and the responsible French bodies for the purpose of erecting a war memorial at Beaumont-Hamel and other, unspecified, locales identified with notable combat actions.²⁴ As of September he also served as Newfoundland's representative upon the Battle Exploit Memorials Committee (BEC).²⁵

In Chapter Two, wherein I discuss domestic national memorials, I will demonstrate how in 1922 Nangle shrewdly traded upon his recently gained experience in the practice and politics of brokering the burying and memorializing of the Newfoundland war dead abroad by applying these very lessons in his dealings with the executive of the War Memorial Committee, the authority responsible for erecting the St. John's National War Memorial.²⁶ In the current chapter, therefore, I discuss Nangle's instrumental role in both the nomination and purchase of, on behalf of the Newfoundland government, the Beaumont-Hamel site as a memorial ground. My goal in so doing is to demonstrate how the Beaumont-Hamel site, once sanctified with a memorial, emerged as a field of care.

1.2. Beaumont-Hamel

Beaumont-Hamel, as a memorial site and cultural trope, dominates, then as now, Newfoundland's Great War commemorative discourse, as well as its official calendar of public war remembrance. The latter includes Memorial Day, the first of July. In 1918 the Newfoundland branch of the Great War Veterans' Association (GWVA) first observed what then was called Commemoration Day in St. John's. On Memorial Day 1919 the Newfoundland governor reiterated the fittingness of this date (the previous year he had been adamant that the inaugural GWVA 1 July commemorative service remain foremost a ceremony of remembrance by refraining from any untoward expressions of "rejoicing"²⁷), which now, in the post-War commemorative calendar, fell but a few days after the anniversary of the signing (28 June 1919) of the Peace Treaty,²⁸ despite "[W]hatever date may eventually be accepted as the best for commemorating the achievements of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment."²⁹ Although preeminent in the commemorative calendar, the status of 1 July was not secured immediately.³⁰ By 1924, however, Parliament legislated that Commemoration Day would always be observed on the first of July.³¹

It was, of course, on 1 July 1916, the first day of the Somme offensive, that the Newfoundland Regiment was nearly wholly felled in combat at Beaumont-Hamel. The Regiment, 801 men in full force, was compelled to make its advance, which it made alone, from St. John's Road, a support trench 169 metres from the front line, where its men were immediately exposed to the unrelenting arsenal of German gunfire. The Regiment's ill-fated engagement at Beaumont-Hamel, in which 752 of its men participated, lasted a mere half hour, but the resulting casualties were colossal: 710

officers and other ranks dead, injured, or missing.³² Almost immediately, this deadly ground of blasted forest was informally memorialized with the moniker St. John's Wood,³³ named for Newfoundland's capital city.

Three years later, in August 1919, Thomas Nangle made six battle theatre memorial site nominations for the Newfoundland government's consideration: Beaumont-Hamel (less a nomination than a confirmation of the suitability of the government's original selection of this site), Gueudecourt, Monchy, Marcoing, Keiberg Ridge, and Caribou Hill, Gallipoli.³⁴ He further noted that the Canadian government had allocated £100,000 for the erection of eight battlefield memorials, prompting his query whether the Newfoundland government had budgeted for the same purpose, and what percentage of such an allocation would be matched by publicly raised monies.³⁵ Captain Basil Gotto was preferentially invited to tender his proposal for a war memorial design. Gotto had been a staff officer at Hazeley Down Camp, in the vicinity of Winchester,³⁶ and the Royal Newfoundland Regiment became well acquainted with him during their 1918 posting there. He was also, significantly, the creator of the belligerently titled sculpture *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, first exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 1919.³⁷ Crucially, he had accompanied Nangle on his tour of the old war zones, where they jointly appraised prospective memorial locations and then chose the above-mentioned sites.³⁸ The sculptor's memorial design, comprising a single caribou, the Newfoundland and regimental emblem,³⁹ was strikingly novel, with the animal's head combatively raised in a "bellow of defiance...distinctive of the Regiment."⁴⁰ Moreover, unlike the national fauna iconography of wartime allies South Africa and Australia, which Gotto pronounced visually wanting in physical majesty, the emblematic,

even totemic, caribou of his memorial design was uncommonly arresting, as well as noble in bearing: “Newfoundland is singularly fortunate in its National Emblem. Neither the Springbok [South Africa] nor the Kangaroo [Australia] lend themselves to sculpture. The Caribou on the other hand is eminently applicable being of fair proportions and strangely dignified.”⁴¹ Gotto also spoke of assiduously avoiding any intimation of the “bombastic,”⁴² an attitude antithetical, he asserted, to the spirit of the Regiment, although the anthropomorphism of his caribou arguably admits an appealingly innocuous symbolic evocation of bellicosity palatably couched in animal form. Gotto’s design passed muster with the Colonial Secretary’s Department, which, on 6 January 1920, called for the caribou to be cast in bronze and erected upon a stone mound at Beaumont-Hamel, Gueudecourt, Marcoing (Masnières), Monchy-Le-Preux, and Kieberg Ridge (Courtrai). The site installation cost of each (identical) memorial was not to surpass £1,000.⁴³ Three months later, on Nangle’s advisement that the battlefield at Beaumont-Hamel should be bought, the Newfoundland government allocated \$15,000 for the acquisition of it and other memorial grounds.⁴⁴

Whether the Newfoundland government itself (as opposed to the British Colonial Secretary) would memorialize the missing men of its marine and army forces had not yet received formal consideration. Indeed, Nangle twice broached this topic. Initially, as outlined in his September 1919 “Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials,” he enumerated the available options for commemorating Newfoundland’s missing soldiers: (1) the placement in each cemetery of a monument inscribed with the names of the missing identified with that locality; (2) the installation, in the cemetery presumed nearest to where each missing man was killed, of a mural tablet bearing his

name; and (3) the excavation of false graves, each capped by a headstone identifying the (mock) burial plot as belonging to a particular missing man. To his credit Nangle considered the creation of “dummy graves”⁴⁵ an abominable fraud to perpetrate upon an unsuspecting bereaved public, and one that should never be entertained. He favoured the second rather than the first option, citing both its economy and greater sense of individualized commemoration, owing to the compartmentalization of each missing man’s name.⁴⁶ With the advent of the IWGC’s policy of allocating £5 pounds per missing sailor or soldier to defray the cost of erecting a memorial in their remembrance, Nangle’s query became specific. In a 7 October 1921 cablegram to Newfoundland’s prime minister, he asked outright whether the government intended to memorialize the Newfoundland missing in France, whose count was presently some five hundred men. As for the 205 Newfoundland sailors whose bodies were consigned to a marine grave, it was his understanding that the government’s commemoration of these lost lives would necessarily be a St. John’s undertaking.

Now, though, that fundraising plans were afoot for a Newfoundland National War Memorial in St. John’s, Nangle pondered whether the government would consolidate its efforts to memorialize the missing by erecting a single monument. If so, the National War Memorial fund could be significantly augmented by an estimated \$18,000 grant from the IWGC, pending the Commission’s approval of the national memorial venture. In fact, the IWGC had requested that Nangle report to them no later than 18 October regarding the development of this commemorative project. Given this deadline, Nangle suggested to the Memorial Committee that they should defer their consideration of the Newfoundland National Memorial’s design and architect until he could return to St. John’s and

personally participate in these discussions. For his part, he would inform the IWGC to await his report of the Newfoundland government's intentions to commemorate their missing soldiers and sailors.⁴⁷

1.3. Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park (Somme, Picardie), France

In the immediate post-war period, meanwhile, a series of processes, legal and contractual, resulted in the sanctification of the Beaumont-Hamel site as a preserved battlefield and memorial park. As of April 1921, some \$3,500 remained to be raised by the Ladies' Auxiliary Committee of the GWVA towards the site's purchase, estimated at \$10,000; the site was deemed by them a "sacred field."⁴⁸ Three months later, Nangle brokered the acquisition of the Beaumont-Hamel battlefield and its surroundings, a 16-hectare (40-acre) parcel of warscape.⁴⁹ This purchase, encompassing five French localities and necessitating his dealing with a staggering 250-plus property owners, was certainly a realty coup, albeit one that apparently skirted procedural protocol, the implications of which only garnered official concern during the 1930s.⁵⁰ In the final analysis, however, on 28 December 1938, the *Convention Concerning The Transfer to the French State of The Property in The Sites of British Monuments Commemorative of the War 1914-1918*, was ratified in Paris.⁵¹ This accorded the British, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and Newfoundland governments, as well as the Imperial War Graves Commission, "free of charge and in perpetuity the use and enjoyment of the immovable properties,"⁵² providing these tracts of land remained expressly and without exception employed as memorial grounds, for the care of which the IWGC was the assigned guarantor. In the case of the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park, Article 1 applied

to all of the commemorative features: the caribou memorial, the 29th and 51st Division monuments,⁵³ and the three IWGC cemeteries that were contained within its confines.⁵⁴

In 1922, Nangle solicited the aid of Dutch landscape architect Rudolph H. K. Cochius, the designer of Bowring Park (opened in 1914, this then fifty-acre park was gifted to the people of St John's by the Bowring Brothers firm in celebration of their century-long Newfoundland history of commercial operation),⁵⁵ to realize his commemorative vision of conserving, by way of its conversion to a memorial park, the battlescape of Beaumont-Hamel. Cochius accompanied Nangle on an inspection tour of the quintet (Caribou Hill, Gallipoli, although recommended as a memorial site, was not ultimately selected) of sites, somewhat jingoistically identified as the 'Trail of the Caribou,' selected for Newfoundland's battle exploit memorials. Cochius wholly endorsed the warscape preservation tack of Nangle's commemorative scheme for Beaumont-Hamel:

The Canadians, the South Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders are all doing great things in commemorating their Dead and their deeds, and are spending millions in doing so. We will not, however, stand one foot behind any of them and though their millions will only be thousands in this case, Beaumont-Hamel Park will not stand behind Vimy-Ridge Park or Delville-Wood (called the Devil's Wood by the South Africans). No colossal and very expensive Monument will crown the Beaumont-Hamel plateau, nevertheless it will be the impressiveness of the whole place that will make the Newfoundland Park at Beaumont-Hamel a place of pilgrimage, not only for Newfoundlanders and Anglo-Saxons but for the French and others as well, as it is the only place along the whole front where part of the battlefield is being preserved; everywhere else the fields have been leveled and are put under cultivation again.⁵⁶

In touring the old battlefield, Nangle and Cochius began at the site selected for the caribou memorial, from which vantage point they could survey the trajectory and, especially, the terminal line of the Newfoundland Regiment's battle advance six years previous. From here they proceeded, much like future visitors would, through the warren

of trenches and remnants of wire into No Man's Land, past the "re-erected"⁵⁷ Danger Tree (marking the treacherously exposed assembly point for the infantry during the 1 July 1916 offensive; today, a stand-in for this arboreal relic is rooted in a concrete-filled planter),⁵⁸ traversed the German front line, descended into 'Y' Ravine, and concluded their walkabout by inspecting Hawthorn Ridge (No.2), 'Y' Ravine, and Hunter's cemeteries. For Cochius this sweeping survey proved ample validation of Nangle's commemorative prerogative to preserve the former battlefield as a single earthen sepulchre. In Cochius's estimation, the core commemorative aspect and didactic value of the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park resided in its exploratory, experiential dimension, affording an affecting immersion in this relic-strewn warscape.⁵⁹ The park's bounds thus encompassed the entire British trench network occupied by the Newfoundland Regiment during the 1 July 1916 offensive, the terrain negotiated by them during their advance in battle, and the three cemeteries constructed by the IWGC. The emblematic arboreal layout of the park, meanwhile, entailed planting trees and bushes indigenous to Newfoundland (fortunately for the park's horticultural team, each of these species easily acclimated to northern France), of which approximately 5000 specimens, predominantly white spruce, with smatterings of birch, dogwood, and berry-bushes, were shipped from Newfoundland to complete this landscaping scheme; altogether some 35,000 trees were planted at the park.⁶⁰ But preserving the original condition of the battlefield was neither practicable nor, indeed, possible. Rather, Cochius employed certain strategic interventions for reasons of public accessibility, presentation, and protection, visitor and custodial amenities, and, not least, ground conservation. Alterations included the crucial reinforcement of both trenches and dug-outs to prevent collapses; the installation of a

ferro-concrete netting perimeter fence (stretching some five miles); the construction of a log cabin residence for the park's keeper; a motorway approach; and a fitting entrance.

This last component, Cochius explained, was of paramount importance, for it must signal to the visiting public that they are poised to enter a special and significant space.

Accordingly, his entrance design strove for a restrained dignity, which he realized with the construction of a low wall of local rusticated stone punctuated at varying intervals by clustered masses of granite, visually echoing the rough-hewn stone mound upon which the caribou memorial stood (Fig. 14). Once the visitor gained entrance to the park, they shortly encountered, head-on, the 29th Division Memorial (Fig. 15), two German field guns planted to either side (since removed), at which point the pathway diverged left and right. Continuing beyond this juncture, the main pathway, sloping downwards, circumscribed the giant pedestal-mound, soaring some fifty feet in height, of the caribou memorial (Fig. 16). Here the surrounding ground, replete with attention-drawing vestigial markers of the War, had been carefully excavated to minimize their disturbance whilst providing the necessary foundation soil for the construction of the mound, which was 'naturalized' to resemble a typical Newfoundland rock outcropping. A spiral path⁶¹ winds its way to the mound's summit (Fig. 17), affording the visitor a far-reaching panorama, calculated to encompass No Man's Land, the German trench system and strongholds, the neighbouring villages of Beaumont, Hébuterne, Miraumont, Grandcourt, Thiepval, and St. Pierre Divion, and weather permitting, those of Bapaume, Pozières, and Courcellette amongst others farther distant. The caribou memorial, meanwhile, was visible from nearly every area battlefield.

The total estimated cost of the park was \$48, 815, of which land acquisition amounted to \$25,000.⁶² 7 June 1925 marked the ceremonial inauguration of the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park and the unveiling of the caribou memorial by Earl Haig, who had been the Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) from December 1915 until the War's end.⁶³ As the unveiling ceremony's chief addressee, Haig was predictably lavish with praise for the loyal and courageous conduct of the Newfoundland Regiment at Beaumont-Hamel: ground whose "slopes where fell so many of your best and bravest are sacred to their memory."⁶⁴ He also professed faith in the instructive power of the memorial to impart a lesson in patriotism and imperial concord. Haig's remarks, if mostly platitudinous, were prescient, singling out Beaumont-Hamel as an eventual and enduring site of pilgrimage. After the sounding of the Last Post, preceded by the two minutes' Silence, the memorial's dedication was performed by the Vicar General of Amiens, followed by a closing address made by Marshal Fayolle, Chief of the French General Staff, the whole of the inaugural proceedings concluding with two rounds of wreath-laying.⁶⁵ Now officially open, the Beaumont-Hamel Park was superintended by a caretaker, although its management was administered by the Department of Home Affairs through the auspices of Newfoundland's London Trade Commissioner.⁶⁶ In 1951, the Department of Veterans Affairs assumed the administration and care of the park from the Department of National Defence, which had been its first custodian after Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949.⁶⁷

Between its June 1925 opening and May 1926, Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park attracted approximately 80,000 visitors, swiftly gaining a reputation as a premier point of interest along the Great War, especially Somme, battlefield circuit and even garnering a

fictional visit in F. Scott Fitzgerald's 1934 novel *Tender is the Night*.⁶⁸ In July 1926, three bronze tablets, a triptych inscribed with the names of the 814 men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, Royal Naval Reserve, and Mercantile Marine without a known grave, were installed at the base of the memorial.⁶⁹ Until the onset of the 1960s, however, no substantive warscape interventions were performed, nor were any commemorative additions introduced at the park.⁷⁰

Scholar-artist Paul Gough, in his keenly observed critical reading of the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park, persuasively proposes that three discursive dimensions — sacred, mnemonic, and, dramaturgical — define this space as it is presented to visitors. Discursively, he argues, the park is framed, physically and proscriptively, as hallowed ground evocative of the Somme offensive. Accordingly, its tour, as the slightly admonishing signage requests of visitors, should be conducted with respect, if not reverence (Fig. 18). The site's presentational gambit also seeks to theatricalize this war theatre, whereby select landscape features are reinforced to convey a specific spatio-temporal story — or, in Foote and Azaryahu's coinage, a chronological spatial narrative. This lattermost discourse is that which predominates at Beaumont-Hamel, whose various site installations, particularly the markers, the scripts recited by the VAC-sponsored student interpretive guides,⁷¹ and the comprehensive minute-by-minute account of the Newfoundland Regiment's movements on the morning of 1 July 1916, delivered in easily digestible diagrams and didactic panels on display at the Visitor/Interpretive Centre,⁷² (Fig. 19) all cue visitors to reflect upon the park's selectively shored-up battleground character: its indexical relationship to a single moment during the War. Reciprocally, the park's visitors, then as now a broad-based constituency drawn by the site's not

necessarily mutually exclusive attractions of on-site remembrance and recreation, performatively reconstitute the meaning(s) assigned to this space. The park's commemorative narrative, contingent upon the choice preservation and reinforcement of the 1 July 1916 Beaumont-Hamel warscape, is — as Gough rightly reminds us — inherently one-sided from the outset. That is to say, it willfully omits, alongside the physical erasure⁷³ and neglect of the site's war features that rest outside of or are peripheral to the Newfoundland-centric battle account presented, narratives of both the German military manoeuvres over this same ground and those of the Scottish forces engaged there towards the year's end.⁷⁴

In March 2000, the roving five-day First International Workshop on Conservation of Battlefield Terrain, orchestrated by Veterans Affairs Canada, was mounted at points across the Pas-de-Calais and Somme regions of France, two *départements* within the Western Front battlefield and memorial site circuit. The thirty attendees of this inaugural workshop, whose sessions were organized under the rubric of “Preserving Meaning and Emotion through Battlefield Terrain,” addressed the crucial, and sometimes conflicting, protection and presentation concerns surrounding the present and future preservation of battlefield landscapes.⁷⁵ Visits to both Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy, the “living laboratories”⁷⁶ of this workshop, furnished participants with the necessary immersive experience to appreciate the fragility of the warscapes and, by extension, the measures that must be implemented to preserve them as commemorative and cultural resources. To this end, the workshop's members prepared a draft version of the *Vimy Charter for Conservation of Battlefield Terrain*. Article 22 of this twenty-five-article draft document emphasizes that battlefield sites are, indeed, *fields of care*, along the lines of analysis

presented at the beginning of this chapter, and that their naming should reflect their status as such:

It is appropriate for the names given to battlefield sites to convey a sense of history, and promote visitor understanding and appropriate use. It is acknowledged that the term 'park' suggests a recreational focus that may conflict with the appropriate conservation and presentation of battlefield terrain.⁷⁷

As a result, the designation 'park' was removed from all signage at Beaumont-Hamel, whose grounds are now officially identified as the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial Site,⁷⁸ (Fig. 20) although a vestigial trace of its original 'park' conception survives in the wording of a dedicatory plaque (Fig. 21). All the same, as a bona fide field of care, the sanctified status of the Beaumont-Hamel memorial and site has never been in question.

1.4. The Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission and the Vimy Memorial

In 1919, Canada initiated its plans to raise eight battlefield memorials in France and Belgium. This commemorative initiative paralleled that of Newfoundland, which, as the preceding section explicated and examined, chose, also in 1919, five battlefield sites for commemoration and a single memorial type, the caribou, to be erected therein. Only the Beaumont-Hamel battlefield, however, was selected, owing to its emblematic value, for partial preservation as an historic warscape, as well its development as a memorial park. Likewise, it is only at the Vimy memorial site, much of which was also reforested, that portions of the battlescape and some prominent war features survive, both having been preserved because of their mutual commemorative and historic value. By contrast, the construction history of the Vimy memorial, unlike that of Beaumont-Hamel, as will

be seen, was both protracted and complicated; however, as a sanctified site, the Vimy memorial and park similarly emerged as a field of care.

Brigadier-General H. T. Hughes, just like Thomas Nangle, was selected to serve on the Battle Exploits Memorials Commission⁷⁹ as Canada's representative. Sometime after his appointment in February 1919, a meeting, chaired by Sir Arthur Currie, commander of the Canadian Corps, and attended by several high-ranking officers, was called to decide which Canadian battle exploits were deserving of formal memorialization. Eight battles were selected and Hughes was dispatched to France and Belgium to stake out their geographical positions. In the meantime, the scope and cost of this commemorative enterprise were further examined by an assembly of ministers, members of the Department of Militia, the Canadian high commissioner, and the Canadian House of Commons, where the project was put to vote, resulting in Parliament's appropriation of \$500,000 to cover this venture's initial expenses. In September 1919 Hughes was commanded to travel once more to France and Belgium to survey the eight chosen battlefield memorial locations and finalize their acquisition. This he did, completing his assignment in December. The three Belgian locations, St. Julien, Passchendaele, and Hill 62 (Sanctuary Wood), were freely offered by Belgium's government, whilst in France Hughes purchased the Vimy, Dury, Courcellette, and Caix sites from their individual owners. The mayor of Bourslon, the Comte de Francqueville, gifted to Canada the parcel of ground known as Bourslon Wood, the fifth of the Canadian memorial sites in France.⁸⁰ In April 1920 a resolution was passed in the House of Commons calling for the formation of a special committee on battlefield memorials to

consider what type of memorial might be raised upon the former combat theatres of “the late war to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops.”⁸¹

On 6 May 1920, the Special Committee on Battlefield Memorials submitted its first report. In his testimony General Currie expounded upon the eminent suitability of the selected sites and, with report contributor Percy Nobbs of the McGill School of Architecture, reviewed options for memorial designs. He recapitulated Vimy’s symbolic, strategic, and scenic significance. The Battle of Vimy Ridge, he testified, saw the first ever deployment of the entire Canadian Corps in a coordinated assault, resulting in the successful taking of an enemy stronghold, whereas previous attempts by French and British forces had resulted in failure. Specifically, at dawn on 9 April 1917, all four divisions of the Canadian Corps, led by General Sir Julian Byng, and ten divisions of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), launched their attack upon Vimy Ridge. This three-day attack, which was part of the larger Battle of Arras that ended on 17 May, was a costly victory for the Canadians, who, in capturing the Ridge, suffered 3,598 fatalities, for a total casualty toll of 10,602 men.⁸²

As for the siting of the memorial at Vimy, Currie was steadfast that it should be raised upon Hill 145, overlooking Lens. Contradicting subsequent developments, he did not advocate producing one showcase memorial and various serviceable monuments. This had been the Australian approach on the Western Front, whereby each of the five Australian Imperial Force (AIF) divisions had selected the battleground associated with its greatest combat engagement, and with an AIF memorial erected at Villers-Bretonneux. Currie stated that if the choice was for a single Canadian memorial in Belgium or France, “I do not think it [Vimy] was the most outstanding battle, or had the

greatest material or moral effect on the winning of the war....”⁸³ His preference was for eight memorials of the same character: not identical, but all — unlike the Australian practice — equally impressive. Currie’s call for a Vimy memorial that would consist chiefly of a combination shrine and information bureau, met with opposition. He was firm in his conviction, however, that, whatever kind of memorial was contemplated, each monument should furnish a structure, albeit not “a great outstanding shaft,” from which to survey the fields below and afar.⁸⁴

In the event, the Special Committee on Battlefield Memorials decided in May 1920 that eight memorials should be raised at the selected sites.⁸⁵ No decision was rendered as to the type(s) of memorials to be erected, although two scenarios were contemplated:

- (a) That all eight Memorials should be of the same general character, and erected at approximately the same cost;
- (b) That one of the eight, in a central position, should be of a more imposing design than the other seven.⁸⁶

Furthermore, the report recommended that an open competition, in which all Canadian architects, artists, designers, and sculptors were eligible to submit memorial designs, be held. Percy Nobbs had already drafted the conditions for such a competition, which was unanimously approved by the President of the Royal Canadian Institute of Architects and the presidents of the provincial architectural associations. Lastly, the Special Committee on Battlefield Memorials, although lacking the information to formulate a precise projection of the necessary funds, submitted an estimate of \$1,500,000. That estimate, however, would need to be larger if the decision was rendered to raise one memorial of considerably greater magnificence than the other seven.⁸⁷

Immediately on the heels of this report, the Minister of Militia and Defence recommended that, temporarily, and in order to expedite the preparatory work required to realize the battlefield memorials project, the funds granted by parliamentary appropriation be administered through the auspices of his department and, furthermore, that the posts of chief engineer and manager of landscape work (amongst other essential project positions) be assigned without delay, to be filled, he proposed, by Hughes and landscape architect Lt. Col. N. M. Ross, respectively. In August of that year (1920), the Minister called for the formation of a five-man commission to administer the whole of this memorials operation.⁸⁸

1.5. The Design Competitions for the Canadian Battlefield Memorials

At the first meeting of the newly constituted Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission (CBMC), held on 26 November 1920, its members examined the *Conditions of Open Preliminary Competition for the Selection of Designers for Eight (8) Canadian Battlefields Memorial Monuments in France and Belgium*. Three professional assessors, Professor C. H. Reilly (Royal Institute of British Architects), Paul P. Cret (Société Centrale des Architectes, Paris), and Frank Darling (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada) were appointed to adjudicate the preliminary competition and, circumstances permitting, the final as well; Nobbs was retained as the CBMC's architectural advisor. Two rounds of competition would be held, with closing dates of 15 March and 20 July 1921. The number of entrants would not be capped during the preliminary round, when competitors submitted architectural drawings of their memorial schemes; however, the elimination round, requiring competitors to submit plaster models of their designs, would

be restricted to between ten and twenty finalists. Entrants would be instructed to recall that, whilst the eight memorial sites presently bore the extreme ravages of war, each would eventually revert to its pre-war agrarian appearance “characterized by a spaciousness about halfway between that of rural England and our Prairie provinces.”⁸⁹ In consideration of these surrounds, landscaping was proposed for the eight memorial sites. Competitors were also advised that their memorial schemes should incorporate a plastic element, whether a single sculpture or sculptural grouping,⁹⁰ and, ideally, approach a height of one hundred feet. They would not, however, be required to submit plans for specific kinds of commemorative structure (for example, a memorial arch, column, tower, or obelisk), or be restricted in their choice of materials at least in the first stage of adjudication. Each memorial should bear distinguishing attributes vis-à-vis its base and the treatment of its surrounding environs, but all eight should be readily identifiable as belonging to the family of Canadian memorials on the Western Front. The execution of the winning memorial design(s) would be entrusted to the CBMC.⁹¹

A total of 970 copies of the brief were distributed to associations representing the architectural, artistic, and sculptural professions. The competition was also advertised in prominent provincial papers and selected veterans’ publications. Competitors’ questions, for which provision had been made, were addressed by Nobbs, whose responses were published in pamphlet form and posted to all persons implicated, as well as printed in one newspaper per province, save Quebec, where it appeared in both *The Gazette* and *La Presse*. One assessor, C. H. Reilly, conducted inspections of the eight memorial sites.⁹² Throughout the winter of 1921 Hughes and his staff were busily engaged in Belgium and France, where they took possession of the memorial sites, commenced the necessary

construction of access and contractors' roads, began memorial ground clearance, and established nurseries for eventual landscaping.⁹³

At the close of the preliminary competition, 160 designs had been received. A short list of seventeen proposals was drafted over a three-day period in April 1921.⁹⁴ The revised competition conditions required the finalists to consider additional design criteria when refining their first-round entries, including: adherence to a prescribed monument height of eighty to one hundred feet; the recommended inclusion of an observation post that might also include a battlefield map as a permanent fixture; a "bold"⁹⁵ handling of sculpture and architectural ornamentation; and the modest treatment of the memorial's surrounds, limiting, if not eliminating altogether, any additional commemorative installations such as museums or site facilities and amenities.⁹⁶

The design drawings of the seventeen finalists, each of whom was also the recipient of a \$500 stipend to offset costs, were published in 1921 in the journal *Construction*,⁹⁷ with an accompanying text by Nobbs. All seventeen models were received in Ottawa by the submission deadline of 5 September, after which they were put on display. The assessors convened on 6-10 September.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, Colonel H. C. Osborne, the honorary secretary of the CBMC and the secretary general of the Canadian Agency of the IWGC, delivered to the CBMC a synopsis of his recent discussion with Major-General Sir Fabian Ware, vice-chairman of the IWGC, about how the CBMC could commemorate the Canadian missing in Belgium and France: approximately 14,000 servicemen. Initially, the idea was entertained that commemoration of the empire's missing might occur within the cemeteries closest to their presumed place of death, or, as it was later suggested, in one or two cemeteries in every combat theatre (as designated by

the Battle Nomenclature Committee). On consideration, though, this means of commemorating the missing could not be performed with anything remotely approaching exactitude, at least with regard to the British units, if not the Canadians, and perhaps the Australians as well.⁹⁹ The sites of the eight battlefield memorials to be erected by the CBMC in France and Belgium did, however, encompass the whole of the territory in which the Canadian missing lost their lives. At bottom, these memorials were appropriately situated, as well as convenient structures, for the commemoration of the missing. Indeed, Colonel Osborne had been informally advised that the IWGC would cooperate with the CBMC should they choose to commemorate their missing upon these battlefield memorials, an offer that included the customary provision of £5 per missing individual to defray the cost of each memorial's erection.¹⁰⁰

In the interim, the CBMC examined the hitherto undisclosed contents of the assessors' final competition report, ranking the eight designs that had passed final muster, with Walter Seymour Allward and Frederick Chapman Clemesha clinching the first and second places. Acclaimed Toronto sculptor Allward already boasted a decade-plus history of prominent monument commissions when his war memorial design was awarded first place by the CBMC's panel of architectural assessors. A monument specialist, his oeuvre reflected his pre-eminence in this field: the South African War Memorial (Toronto, 1904-1910); the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument (Parliament Hill, 1907-1914); the Alexander Graham Bell Memorial (Brantford, 1908-1917); and the King Edward VII Memorial (Ottawa, 1912-1923, although only the figures of *Truth* and *Justice* were executed, both of which were later installed before the Supreme Court of Canada). After the War, Allward also received the design commissions for the Stratford,

Peterborough, and Brantford war memorials.¹⁰¹ Clemesha was a Regina architect who had also served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force, having enlisted in September 1915.¹⁰²

The assessors advocated, in light of the excellence of these two designs, serializing that of Clemesha in seven of the battlefield memorials, and erecting a single monument based upon Allward's exceptional concept, which they praised for its "very high appeal to the imagination"¹⁰³ and deemed "a design of such individuality and complexity that its character precludes it from the possibility of repetition."¹⁰⁴ Striking in scale, symmetry, and silhouette, Allward's multi-storey memorial design was characterized by its strong verticality and horizontality, and its abundance of sculpture. A visual and physical equilibrium existed between the memorial's vertical and horizontal components, the former characterized by its centered, twin pylons and the latter by its massive front and back walls. Perched atop the front wall there would stand a towering, sculpted female personification of a mourning nation, *Canada Bereft* (Fig. 22); at both ends of this wall, by the base of a stairwell, there would rest a tableau of so-named *Defenders*, sculptural groupings identified, respectively, as the *Breaking of the Sword* (Fig. 23) and the *Sympathy for the Helpless* (Fig. 24). Likewise, a pair of sculpted, reclining figures (mourners), the *Youth of Canada* (male, Fig. 25) and the *Reader of the Scroll* (female, Fig. 26), would flank the central staircase of the back wall. The memorial's remaining allegorical sculptures would be fixed to the pylons, as well as stand in the fissure between them, where the *Spirit of Sacrifice* (Fig. 27), torch in hand (an unambiguous reference to John McRae's poem "In Flanders Fields"), stood behind his spiritual brother *Sacrifice*, whose pose recalled that of a Christian martyr, both figures

prominently positioned to great dramatic effect and natural illumination.¹⁰⁵ Allward drafted this description of his memorial design:

At the base of the strong impregnable walls of defence are the Defenders, one group showing the Breaking of the Sword, the other the Sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless. Above these are the mouths of guns covered with olive and laurels. On the wall stands an heroic figure of Canada brooding over the graves of her valiant dead; below is suggested a grave with helmet, laurels etc. Behind her stand two pylons symbolizing the two forces — Canadian and French — while between, at the base of these is the Spirit of Sacrifice who, giving all, throws the torch to his Comrade. Looking up they see the figures of Peace, Justice, Truth and Knowledge etc., for which they fought chanting the hymn of peace. Around these figures are the shields of Britain, Canada and France. On the outside of the pylons is the Cross.¹⁰⁶

Clemesha's design was by virtue of its simplicity easily replicated. Allward's memorial design, however, demanded in the opinion of the assessors a site of modest elevation where it would be seen and experienced to maximum advantage. They recommended Hill 62, which commanded a view of the entire Ypres Salient, dismissing, ironically in retrospect, "a continuous lofty bluff or cliff like Vimy Ridge, where its delicacy of line would be lost in the mass of the ridge."¹⁰⁷ The CBMC agreed, noting both the centrality and accessibility of Hill 62, including a mile-long approach road, and the concentration of missing Canadian soldiers within the Ypres Salient. Allward's design, they suggested, was particularly suited to receive their inscribed names.¹⁰⁸ In Nobbs's estimation Allward's memorial would cost \$341,000, with the sculptor receiving \$12,000 per annum of a proposed five-year contract as remuneration for his sculpture modelling and superintendent duties. The seven-time serialization of Clemensha's design, on the other hand, would, per memorial, cost approximately two-thirds less, or \$125,000. Altogether, the tally for the eight memorials was a projected \$1,216,000, the benchmark sum the CBMC cited for appropriation in the following parliamentary session.¹⁰⁹

Although Hill 62 had emerged as the preferred location for Allward's memorial (it was so indicated in the five-year contract Allward signed with the CBMC on 27 April 1922¹¹⁰), dissenting views were aired.¹¹¹ True to his earlier recommendations, Sir Arthur Currie advocated locating the memorial at Vimy, although he was adamant that its siting there should not be publicly couched as emblemizing the Canadian Corps' most significant or decisive combat action during the War. At the same time, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King advised obtaining a sizable stretch of land upon Vimy Ridge, the acquisition of which would serve as a dedicated space honouring the wartime accomplishments of the Canadian fighting forces, provide commanding vistas of the former war zone, and preempt the erection of aesthetically incompatible structures in the vicinity of the memorial. In light of the prime minister's and the military command's preference for the placement of Allward's memorial at Vimy, the CBMC agreed that Hughes and Allward should survey the site and identify the choicest location for its erection.¹¹²

1.6. The Commemoration of the Canadian Missing

Next under consideration, and in conjunction with the Allward memorial, was the issue of commemorating the Canadian missing. To be sure, the Vimy site would be sanctified by the erection of this memorial, although its transformation into a field of care was contingent upon additional factors, including its future draw as a pilgrimage site. This, though, was almost assured if the memorial, as was contemplated, commemorated the Canadian missing. The CBMC had learned of the IWGC's intention to raise several monuments memorializing the British missing in the various combat sectors. The

IWGC's interests, as well as its sphere of political and cultural influence, of course, extended to the dominions, each of whom was given representation upon the Commission and, reciprocally, made financial contributions towards its operation. Literary scholar Thomas Richards's concept of the British "imperial archive" or the "fantasy of knowledge collected and united in the service of state and Empire"¹¹³ is a useful tool here to contextualize the monumental administrative efforts and projects of the IWGC. Moreover, it permits a better comprehension of the broader ideological, as opposed to strictly memorial, sensibility from which the IWGC's commemorative enterprises (war graves registration, cemetery construction and burial registries, and memorials to the missing) sprang. The notion of empire, Richards explains, is itself a partial, if sustaining, fictive construct. A nation's imperial ambitions and corresponding global stretch always fall short of the state's actual ability to administer and control its multitudinous territorial holdings. Hence British Victorian fiction is replete with narrative imaginings of an empire bound primarily by the bonds of (boundless) information rather than outright military might. British imperial symbolism, as it was circulated in the colonies, drew upon a reservoir of existing national emblems. At the colonial level, British institutional bodies, museological or otherwise, established their presence. Taken together, these extensions of national identity allowed British Victorians to fancifully conceive of their empire as a unified entity, irrespective of reality. To be sure there co-existed a broad cognizance that the empire was also largely a haphazard formation or "collective improvisation,"¹¹⁴ and that the Foreign Office, originally founded to direct European dealings, could not administer every aspect of imperial management. Indeed, no single British body ever did manage the empire; rather, in the absence of a formal imperial

bureaucracy, a kind of auxiliary civil service, drawn from the ranks of various social elites, assumed this gargantuan task. These civil servants were acutely aware that an enormous knowledge deficit about their colonies existed, spurring them to gather all manner of information: demographic, cartographic, scientific and the like. Indeed, this tireless amassing of facts and figures was something of a surrogate activity in the face of the sheer impossibility of maintaining anything but a semblance of the kind of civil structure and order that was entrenched within Britain.¹¹⁵ In this regard, the IWGC contributed to the vast imperial archive. Founded in May 1917 by Royal Charter, the IWGC was responsible for reconnoitering and recording the graves of the empire's Great War dead across all battle fronts, as well as creating a register of those imperial servicemen whose remains had not been located. After the War, the IWGC constructed permanent cemeteries for the 1914-1918 dead, as well as erected a number of memorials to commemorate the missing of the various combat sectors. The Commission's vast record-keeping enterprise was, besides its essential commemorative dimension, wholly emblematic of the bureaucratization that attended all facets of the War's waging and, by extension, the functioning of the empire itself.¹¹⁶ By the same token, the IWGC was acutely aware that its immense and ever-growing archive was (and still is¹¹⁷) the cornerstone of its operations, always guiding present and future projects, as well as an institution of tremendous popular attention and cultural importance.¹¹⁸

The general opinion within the CBMC was, given the impossibility of memorializing the Canadian missing in the vicinity of their mortal wounding, that a greater impact, not to say facility, would arise from their collective commemoration upon

the Vimy memorial. At the time, their numbers, certain to rise, were estimated at 18,570 servicemen.¹¹⁹

The matter was discussed in the autumn of 1922, when Brigadier-General H. T. Hughes, Colonel Osborne, and the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, the Canadian delegation, met in London with Sir Fabian Ware and other IWGC personnel. Hughes, Osborne, and Lemieux agreed that the Canadian missing ought to be commemorated upon the Vimy memorial. According to the IWGC's estimations, between £3.10.0 and £4 would be allocated by the IWGC to commemorate each missing man by name on IWGC memorials. Considering, however, that the Canadian government would be memorializing its missing servicemen, the CBMC and IWGC agreed that "an equitable [financial] adjustment should be made,"¹²⁰ whereby the Canadian government would not receive IWGC funding in excess of what the Commission itself would have expended to commemorate the Canadian missing.¹²¹ This decision was complicated by a formal announcement from the Australian government on 14 November 1922 proposing Australian involvement in the commemoration of its missing upon the Menin Arch, which was also dedicated to the British, Indian and South African missing of the Ypres Salient. Geographically speaking, this would, in all likelihood, encompass St. Julien, Passchendaele, Sanctuary Wood, and Maple Copse (Hill 62), each a battle locale bearing strong ties with Canada. The CBMC was thus faced with reconsidering the memorialization of its missing upon a single memorial at Vimy. The crux of the matter lay in the historical significance and scope of Canadian battle engagements in the Ypres Salient, which eclipsed Australian efforts. Moreover, from a symbolic standpoint, the Salient stood for the outset of the War with respect to the mobilization of Canadian

troops, who had arrived there in the spring of 1915 and, during April, fought at St. Julien with great distinction. CBMC opinion therefore leaned towards the inclusion of the names of the Canadian missing upon the Menin Arch.¹²²

However, on 15 November, Hughes, Osborne, and Lemieux proposed a two-pronged commemorative approach that would readily satisfy governmental demands: the Vimy memorial would record the names of all Canadian servicemen with no known graves whilst the names of the approximately 5000 men lost in the Ypres Salient would be recorded, a second time, upon the Menin Arch. This proposed duplication of several thousand names of missing Canadian servicemen across two memorials reflected how politically fraught both the process and public perception of the national memorialization of the war dead could be.¹²³

1.7. The Vimy Memorial Site (Pas-de-Calais, Nord-Pas-de-Calais), France

The preliminary process of acquiring additional land for the Vimy site had been initiated in the autumn of 1922 by Hughes, who, accompanied by Allward, chose for the memorial an area abutting, at its eastern edge, Hill 145. Hughes's intention was to broker a series of land purchases from local property owners, acquiring a sizable portion of the Ridge, later to be rededicated as a Canadian national park. This would be complex and protracted, for all distinguishing features of the Ridge had been destroyed in the War, plans of the area were not obtainable, and the location of many of the landowners could not be ascertained. Despite these difficulties, Hughes detected an opportunity, given that Vimy Ridge was located within a so-called *Zone Rouge*: war-ravaged territory that the French government had slated for reforestation. The Canadian authorities contemplated

that their French counterparts might prove amenable to formally bequeathing this ground for Canada's memorial use. Rodolphe Lemieux, Speaker of the House of Commons, conducted the delicate task of sounding out and seeding the idea amongst persons of influence.¹²⁴

This Lemieux did with great aplomb amidst his circle of French contacts in Lille, which numbered important deputies, a former minister, the president of the Council (M. Poincaré) and a Cabinet chief, as well as senators and other worthies. Through their offices, Lemieux was first favorably received by the Minister of the Liberated Regions and, during the final stage of negotiations, obtained the sympathetic ear of both the president of the Republic, Alexandre Millerand, and the president of the Council, Raymond Poincaré.¹²⁵ Lemieux's efforts resulted in the *Agreement between Canada and France Respecting the Cession to Canada of the Use of a Tract of Land on Vimy Ridge (Pas-de-Calais)*, signed on 5 December 1922. Article I of the Agreement formalized this gift of land, whereby "The French Government grants, freely and for all time, to the Government of Canada the free use of a parcel of 100 hectares located on Vimy Ridge in the Department of Pas-de-Calais."¹²⁶ The Canadian government resolved to develop this land as a park and raise a memorial, but should they fail to maintain both, the French government could reclaim this territory, save for the ground upon which the memorial would stand. The French government agreed to waive all taxes and duties normally applied to foreign ownership of French soil. This agreement became binding when the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate ratified its clauses five years later.¹²⁷ The 100-hectare grant of land would undoubtedly exceed the needs of the CBMC, and Osborne proposed that any unused portion become the possession of the French government.

The blanket identification of this site as a park was something of a misnomer, given that Vimy Ridge, a bleak and blighted warscape, was utterly devoid of vegetation, its ground scarred and pocked by shell holes and mine craters. The CBMC's intention was to reclaim and rework in an appropriate manner enough of the Ridge to serve as the memorial's backdrop, as well as an effective no-build perimeter, thereby preempting the future encroachment at the site of any unsuitable buildings. Some of this surrounding land would also be staked out for the contemplated park, although its grounds would primarily remain undeveloped, save for some modest reforestation, monument access routes, and circulation pathways. The IWGC, on account of the Canadian government overseeing the commemoration of several thousand of its missing men upon the Vimy memorial, would, having been divested of the practical and physical demands of this responsibility, make a sizable payment towards defraying the expenses.¹²⁸

Lieut.-Colonel M. N. Ross, the CBMC's landscape architect, wrote to Walter Allward in March 1923, providing his assessment of the memorial's siting and vistas. Regarding its sightlines, he observed, visitors gazing northeast would view a broad, heavily inhabited expanse of rural France crisscrossed by several vital railway lines. If they cast their gaze towards the northwest continuing southwest, the agrarian area in view was only sparsely peopled, although serviced by roads and rail. While no appreciable view of the memorial might be had by the residents there, the memorial could, significantly, be seen clearly from the Lorette Ridge (Fig. 28), a key node on the French (Catholic) pilgrimage trail.¹²⁹ The principal Arras-Cambrai road, though, offered but a faraway glimpse of Allward's monument.¹³⁰ And, as Ross informed Allward, "On the East side the effect to be secured is that the front wall of the Monument shall appear to

grow naturally out of the ground on each side”¹³¹ (indeed, the completed memorial does appear to emerge organically from the soil beneath it),¹³² whereas the western, or rear approach, should be free of any arboreal interference that would obstruct the view or mar the long vista stretching below the Ridge when looking east. As for the memorial’s immediate surrounds, Ross intended to minimize the pronounced impression of environmental “isolation and desolation”¹³³ by way of “quiet and restful”¹³⁴ landscaping effects, suggesting that this focal area of the Vimy site be converted to a rolling grass cover, upon which sheep would be pastured (Fig. 29), naturally controlling its growth as well as imparting a hint of animation and vitality. Conversely, he thought that leaving this area scarred by shell holes and choked with weeds was an error, although “such treatment can be reserved for more distant areas.”¹³⁵ There these potent reminders of the War could be comfortably consigned, to satisfy at a safe physical (if not necessarily emotional) remove the appetite for tangible traces of battle that would be probably shared by future curiosity- novelty-and nostalgia-seeking visitors. In the opinion of chief engineer Hughes, only the surrounds of the memorial, approximately 10 hectares, needed landscaping, with the remainder of the site, some 90 hectares, to be re-planted as a forest-park. This proposal for the preparation, then planting, of the site, for which he had received a cost figure of \$17,500 (250,000 francs) from the Paris Director of Reforestation, would entail its leveling, including the removal of natural and war detritus, the planting of 800,000 three-year-old Austrian black pine seedlings, and, lastly, the installation of perimeter fencing of some four miles. A year later, the CBMC formalized its arrangement with the French Department of Agriculture for the reforestation of 200 acres of the Vimy site with a “monoculture of Austrian pines.”¹³⁶ Ross and Hughes (in cooperation with the French

government) each achieved their respective (but not conflicting visions) for the Vimy site: the preservation of portions of the battlefield and some war features, and the regeneration of the war-ravaged landscape as a managed forest. The conservation of the Vimy warscape, as well as the management of its surrounding forest (which continues to this day), testifies to its conception as a field of care.¹³⁷

1.8. The Construction of the Vimy Memorial

In October 1924 Allward communicated to the chairman of the CBMC the results of his research concerning the best-suited (according to his prime considerations of aesthetics and durability) stone for use in the construction of the Vimy memorial. He concluded French stone, by and large, was not lasting, with the Pouillenay kind, quarried near Dijon, the most durable. He believed that brown Pouillenay, unlike Italian Sarevezza marble, which was “a trifle too white,”¹³⁸ was the most suitable stone for the memorial’s masonry.¹³⁹ In addition, Percy Nobbs convinced the CBMC that Italian marble was too expensive, unlikely to weather well under the harsh conditions experienced at the highly exposed Vimy site, and, echoing Allward, “too white,”¹⁴⁰ with an uncannily “ghostly appearance.”¹⁴¹ The Commission agreed to brown Pouillenay stone, provided the necessary quantities of the requisite quality could be procured.¹⁴²

Of the two tenders received by the CBMC for the erection of the Vimy memorial, those of Messrs. Duyvewaardt (Roulers, Belgium) and Jenkins (Torquay, England), that of Jenkins proved the less expensive, calculated at £73,172, a figure to be necessarily augmented by an estimated additional £20,000 for the execution of the memorial’s sculptural work. Messrs. H. T. Jenkins and Son Ltd. signed their contract on 1 April

1925.¹⁴³ Now began a difficult and protracted phase of the memorial's construction history. Jenkins was unable to provide the agreed-upon six-foot-deep blocks of intact, unblemished brown Pouillenay stone required for the memorial's multiple sculptures, as well as the single, unmarred thirteen-foot-deep block needed for the allegorical figure of Canada. Allward's search for a stone physically and aesthetically suited to the memorial's sculptures and structure therefore resumed, culminating nearly two years later.¹⁴⁴ It was not until February 1926 that Trau stone, a white limestone also known as Seget, quarried in the vicinity of Spalato (Split, Croatia) on the Dalmatian coast, had been effectively selected for the Vimy memorial by Allward and Jenkins, both of whom were now en route to perform an *in situ* examination of the quarry.¹⁴⁵ On 9 March Jenkins was granted authority to replace brown Pouillenay with Trau stone.¹⁴⁶ That month Osborne and Hughes visited Vimy and toured the site accompanied by the assistant engineer stationed there. Osborne, despite his first-hand involvement with the construction of the memorial, was duly "astonished at its impressive scale,"¹⁴⁷ as he would report in March with genuine awe, noting that, with construction of its concrete portions significantly underway, the memorial's immense massing was now appreciable.¹⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Allward's design for the memorial had elicited the curiosity and scrutiny of André Ventre, the *Architecte en chef des monuments historiques*, who had written to the sculptor asking him to expound upon the meaning of and his rationale for its unconventional design. Allward's response included this elaboration upon the memorial's symbolism (Fig. 30):

The long walls are intended to suggest a line of defence, and also to be in harmony with the long and clean cut of the Ridge.

The two pylons were an endeavor to create an outline against the sky[,] that would not be easily confused with towers or other landmarks, also, the pylons and walls suggest the upper part of a Cross. In the afternoon when a shaft of sunlight will break through the space between the pylons, and, illuminating part of the sculptures, [it] will suggest a cathedral effect.¹⁴⁹

However, the memorial's tremendous scale caused the Commission des Monuments Historiques considerable unease, the commission being concerned that the French population a century or more hence might draw "an unkind comparison"¹⁵⁰ between the scale of domestic versus foreign memorials to the 1914-1918 war dead. This point was aired before the seventh meeting of the Anglo-French Mixed Committee of the Ministère de la Guerre, the body responsible for reviewing proposals for Great War foreign monuments in France. Foreign governments, though not bound by law to submit proposals to the committee for its approval, did so voluntarily. However, it was, once more, the perplexing symbolism of Allward's design that most impressed itself upon the commission. M. Jean Verrier, the *archiviste paléographe chargé de l'Inspection Générale des Souvenirs et Vestiges de la Guerre au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts*, explained:

There is evidently a symbolical idea to which the sculptor has desired to give expression, but which escaped the immediate comprehension of the gentlemen of the Commission, and without rejecting the proposal, they have requested that the idea desired to be expressed in this Monument, should be explained to them. There are various figures which appear to be climbing up a kind of pylon. What do these figures symbolize [?].¹⁵¹

That the "symbolical idea" of Allward's design so clearly eluded the grasp of the members of the Commission des Monuments Historiques speaks plainly of the paradoxical hermeticism of allegory. Yet Allward's extensive use of allegory in his conception of the Vimy memorial, if opaque for some, also speaks of the sculptor's dual grappling with the very language and project of war commemoration itself. As Stephen J.

Greenblatt asserts, “one discovers that allegory arises in periods of loss, periods in which a once powerful theological, political, or familial authority is threatened with effacement.”¹⁵² Its emergence, Greenblatt continues, thus springs from this acutely felt void, or “the painful absence of that which it claims to recover.”¹⁵³ Barbara Johnson elucidates allegory’s essential and contradictory interplay between openness and concealment of meaning:

Allegory is speech that is other than open, public, direct. It is hidden, deviant, indirect — but also, I want to emphasize, public. It folds the public onto itself. It names the conflictuality of the public sphere and the necessity of negotiating those conflicts rhetorically.¹⁵⁴

As such, even Colonel Osborne of the CBMC apprehended that the memorial’s allegorical meaning was endlessly negotiable by the viewing public, remarking in 1928: “In looking at a great work of art everyone really supplies his own symbolism. It suggests one thing to one person and another to another.”¹⁵⁵ Osborne thought Allward’s description of the memorial (quoted on page 95) to be “good”¹⁵⁶ on the whole, even if he found the elaboration of the pylons’ symbolism “a little inadequate”¹⁵⁷ and mildly troubling, owing to his impression that only France and Great Britain were given prominence as Canada’s wartime allies. He acknowledged, though, that he understood Allward’s logic; the memorial was, after all, in France. For him, the pylons were less concrete national emblems than, esoterically speaking, “a gateway with the spirit of Sacrifice standing in it. Perhaps the gateway is the entrance to a fair country where prevail all the beautiful ideas expressed by the chanting figures above.”¹⁵⁸

In September 1926 Osborne, in his routine correspondence with Allward, casually broached the topic of the names of the missing to be commemorated upon the Vimy memorial. To be sure, these could not be engraved until the memorial’s walls were

actually erected; nonetheless, he felt that Allward might give some preliminary thought to their eventual configuration and location. Osborne mentioned that he would, if so desired, send Allward both a photograph of the Cloister (University of Toronto) and a blueprint of a section of its lettering,¹⁵⁹ knowing, as the sculptor had previously informed him, that Allward's "idea was to lay the names out on a somewhat similar plan, that is, so that the lettering would appear to form part of the texture of the wall and not be in ugly perpendicular columns."¹⁶⁰ Allward prefaced his response by noting the placement of the names posed a considerable design obstacle, for he had never conceived of his memorial as a receptacle for so immense a register of names. He advocated recording the names upon the floor stones of the memorial's upper terrace as the most suitable, perhaps even the sole means to accomplish their listing.

The memorial's upper terrace would furnish 7600 square feet of surface space for the inscription of the names. By contrast, if the names were engraved in a band between the buttresses of the rear and side walls, a mere 1150 square feet would be available to receive them, slightly less than if the face of the second wall, yielding 1199 square feet, were so employed. The inside of the terrace's parapet walls would, in turn, provide 800 square feet, albeit ill-suited for the inscription of names because these walls measured less than three feet in height. Collectively, these three surface areas, unappealingly spread apart, amounted to 3050 square feet, also inadequate for legible lettering, compared with more than double that space on the floor. Beyond ample square footage, Allward cited other compelling reasons, practical and formal, in favour of the floor stones. Firstly, each wall stone would be affixed to the memorial's underlying concrete structure using bronze cramps. Thus, should an error in order or orthography occur in the engraving of the

names, and these were probable, removing and repositioning the affected stone would prove exceedingly difficult, whereas a floor stone could simply be re-laid. Secondly, from a formal standpoint, whatever the pattern adopted for the distribution of the names across the floor stones, none would disrupt the aesthetic coherence, volumetric and planar, of the memorial's design, whereas if the names were engraved upon its wall surfaces their appearance might well undermine its visual flow. Sentiment, too, he argued, recommended the placement of the names upon the floor stones as the most metaphorically fitting location, for the missing were themselves lost to the earth of France, and visitors to the memorial, unless they be "poor in spirit," would summon feelings of "veneration" and "respect"¹⁶¹ for those without known graves as they navigated the field of names beneath their feet. Visitor foot traffic to the memorial would be minor, he added, unlike that experienced in cathedrals, wherein floor inscriptions, even in well-travelled corridors, had remained visible for centuries. However, the sculptor remarked that if the CBMC so wished, a pathway might be added to walk amidst, not across, the names. If, though, the CBMC did not select the floor stones for the placement of the names, he would like to defer his choosing an alternative location until the memorial's walls were raised, to better envision the impression produced. As for the memorial's vast front wall, he was decidedly unenthusiastic about its allocation for this purpose. Although it remained a last option, he was extremely wary of the possible visual effect, bemoaning that "[t]here might be a danger of having it look like a huge sign board, thus spoiling its strength."¹⁶²

Allward was relieved to learn from Osborne that the names of the missing numbered an estimated 11,500, rather than approximately 18,000, as he had previously

believed.¹⁶³ A year later, during an 8 November 1927 London conference, a concord was reached between Allward, Hughes, Lord Arthur Browne, and Lieut.-Colonels H. F. Robinson and E. H. Jarvis, the latter three representatives of the IWGC, regarding the appearance and spatial distribution of the names. Robinson noted that the IWGC would never accept Allward's suggested placement of the names on the memorial's terrace pavement; this was anathema to their commemorative sensibilities. Hughes added that the authorities in Ottawa were of identical conviction.¹⁶⁴

Allward, "in deference to the wishes of both the Commissions,"¹⁶⁵ did not pursue the issue beyond reminding those present that when he first conceived of the memorial it had been without knowledge of this commemorative feature. He also circulated two earlier architectural drawings from 1923 and 1924, now annotated to indicate his planned configuration of the names.¹⁶⁶ He was emphatic that the names should not be ordered in column form, the system adopted for the Menin Gate, as such an arrangement would undermine the aesthetic coherence of his design. Rather, he called for the engraving of the names and ranks to be ordered alphabetically and reading left to right across the memorial's walls. Lord Browne, however, reminded those present that citing the names with their corresponding military units carried much significance with the IWGC, whose other memorials bore this additional identifying detail.¹⁶⁷ Two days later, though, the IWGC authorized Allward's plan, without the inclusion of military units, pending Ottawa's approval.¹⁶⁸

Given the critical importance Allward attached to the spatial distribution of these names, a task "not only an artistic effort, but a mechanical one as well,"¹⁶⁹ he required from Osborne a complete and precise register of all those names beginning with the first

two alphabet letters, as well as the final number of names actually to be engraved upon the memorial. With such information in hand, he prepared a full-size sample section of wall to calculate the necessary distance between names for their essential legibility, gain the general impression effected, and, not least, determine the average number of names each surface area between the wall buttresses might receive to visual advantage. This mock-up was of critical importance, the sculptor reiterated, because the process of name-cutting was irreversible. Neither names nor stones would be removable afterwards.¹⁷⁰

Working cooperatively, the IWGC and the CBMC managed the lists of names, with Osborne noting to Allward that a difference of some one hundred existed between the totals tabled by the two commissions, although he ventured that the final figure would be closer to 11,400 names.¹⁷¹ Osborne had, though, previously remarked to Allward that only a small percentage of the Canadian bereaved would actually voyage to France to visit the memorial, and, indeed, nearly a whole decade had already passed since the Armistice. A significant proportion of the relatives of the missing, he hazarded, would die before witnessing its completion, although their descendents might well wish to travel there and locate the name(s) of a missing kinsman. He therefore queried whether Allward knew of any recent developments regarding a domestic “Back-to-France movement”¹⁷² modeled after the American Legation’s recent cemeteries and battlefields tour, which had boasted an impressive 20,000 or so participants and had been conducted in conjunction with its 19-24 September 1927 annual conference, held in Paris.¹⁷³ This movement was, in fact, periodically proposed by different camps, all of whom planned to time their voyages to France to overlap with the unveiling of the Vimy memorial. Osborne had already been contacted by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company regarding this

prospective venture, and asked Allward for his opinion about whether, if a publicity campaign was mounted in 1928, a pilgrimage might then occur the following year.¹⁷⁴

Pilgrimage or no, the task of preparing scale and full-size drawings of the lettering of the names of the missing was handed to Englishman Percy Smith, an eminent instructor, author, and practitioner of typography, as well as a noted etcher and painter.¹⁷⁵ The meticulous process of their actual engraving, meanwhile, achieved by sandblasting through a rubber template,¹⁷⁶ proved, of course, exceptionally time-consuming, although Hughes could report in October of 1930 that all the names spanning “A” to “R” had been engraved (Fig. 31).¹⁷⁷ As for other surface treatments of the memorial, there was agreement amongst Osborne, Allward, and Lieut.-General R. E. W. Turner that the principal inscriptions, prominent and bilingual, should be reserved for the north and south faces of the pylons, but as these were still incomplete the phrasing could be drafted at leisure. Meanwhile, another bilingual inscription, that commemorating the taking of Vimy Ridge by a united Canadian Corps, significant yet subordinate to the larger meaning of the memorial, would grace the inner side of the second front wall,¹⁷⁸ the English version reading: “The Canadian Corps, on April 9th, 1917, with Four Divisions in Line on a Front of Four Miles Attacked and Captured this Ridge.”¹⁷⁹ A Latin inscription, the sole one, was chosen for the memorial’s symbolic tomb, the focal point of its lengthy frontage and the object of the downwards, sorrowful gaze of the female personification of a mourning Canada commandingly positioned atop its front wall (Fig. 32).¹⁸⁰ It reads (translated): “In Memory of 60,000 Canadians Who in the Years 1914-1918 Serving in Arms Overseas of Their Own Free Will Gave Up Their Lives for Their Country.”¹⁸¹ This inscription, couched in the rhetoric of voluntary martial self-sacrifice for the nation,

replaced a previously proposed verse drawn from John Bunyan's 1678 book¹⁸² the *Pilgrim's Progress*: "So He Passed Over and All the Trumpets Sounded for Him on the Other Side."¹⁸³ The latter garnered the support of the CBMC but was denounced by Allward for its implied singularity, the bombast conjured by the blasting of trumpets, and the suggestion that "the men themselves — out of sheer weariness, would fain go quietly into the great rest."¹⁸⁴ Ultimately, the inscription's referral to the dead as men who of "their own free will gave up their lives," clearly alluding to the Passion narrative,¹⁸⁵ prevailed. The Passion is also strongly suggested by the empty sarcophagus itself, whilst the iconography of its lid, a soldier's helmet (a synecdoche for the fallen), sword, and laurel branch, conflates Classical, martial, and medieval emblems in an iconographic ensemble evocative of just battle and glory in death.

If initially no prefatory inscription had been contemplated to explain the import of listing the names of the Canadian missing, men not elsewhere memorialized, either for perceived want of space or as self-evident, it so happened that unused wall space, panel eighteen, remained free for this purpose after all the names had been engraved. The CBMC at its 15 July 1931 meeting approved the inscription:

Here Ends the Roll of 11285 Canadians Who Gave Their Lives in the Great War but the Site of Whose Grave is Unknown. The Whole Number of These is 18283. The Names Not Recorded Here are Engraved on the Memorial Arch to the Armies of the British Empire at the Menin Gate of Ypres (Fig. 33).¹⁸⁶

The names of the 6,998 Canadian missing of the Ypres Salient, which are not recorded upon the Vimy memorial,¹⁸⁷ are engraved upon the Menin Gate.¹⁸⁸

If this phase of the memorial's realization had progressed relatively smoothly and satisfactorily, the CBMC expressed its mounting concern that the completion of its other essential design components, Allward's sculptural groupings, was seriously stalled. They

were of the mind that a concerted effort by all parties, especially the contractor and the sculptor, both of whom, it was felt, had not been sufficiently aggressive, must be launched. A strict schedule and course of action was devised in the summer of 1931 to hasten the carving of the memorial's twenty statuary figures,¹⁸⁹ of which but one, the shrouded, grieving female embodiment of Canada, had been nearly finished.¹⁹⁰ Allward's preference had always been for his statuary, conceived in thematic and spatial concert, to be carved serially. This arrangement, however, was deemed inefficient and a different approach, one calling for simultaneous sculpting work to be undertaken, was put forth. This proposal generated much debate and dissent, but an understanding was eventually reached whereby Luigi Rigamonti, previously engaged under a one-off contract to carve the figure of Canada, would now be charged, in his new CBMC-salaried capacity as Master Carver, with managing the carving of the memorial's remaining statuary. Rigamonti would also appoint, subject to Allward's approval, the additional carvers and pointers needed to assist him in his work.¹⁹¹ A revised schedule setting out the sequence and dates for the completion of all outstanding carving was prepared by Allward and outlined in a letter to Osborne dated 16 June 1931.¹⁹² Allward expressed confidence that the implementation of this carefully coordinated carving schedule would coincide with the memorial's planned completion in 1934, all the more pressing in light of increasing popular sentiment over its lengthy construction, underscored by an equally pronounced sense of public expectation.¹⁹³

By the autumn of 1932, after months of earnest deliberation, multiple revisions, and vetting by a series of evaluators, the CBMC finally approved the wording of the memorial's main inscription, which now simply and solemnly intoned: "To the Valour of

Their Countrymen in the Great War and in Memory of Their Sixty Thousand Dead this Monument is Raised by the People of Canada.”(Fig. 34)¹⁹⁴ The CBMC also agreed to the chronological tabling of the Canadian Corps’s notable combat engagements between 1915 and the Armistice. Allward determined the spatial configuration of this list of battles on the memorial’s north and south pylons (Fig. 35, 36).¹⁹⁵ Lastly, the CBMC contemplated engraving upon the memorial, likewise later executed, a brief homage to the servicemen of France and Britain. This tribute, inspired by the IWGC’s Thiepval memorial to the missing of the Somme, which bears a comparable dedication (Fig. 37), reads: “Frères D’Armes Français et Britanniques [,] Le Canada Se Souvient!” (Fig. 38)¹⁹⁶ This homage was equally conceived as a gesture of political courtesy.¹⁹⁷ In December 1934, the sculptor sought his own discreet tribute, electing, with the approval of the CBMC, to engrave at the base of the memorial’s south pylon his signature and professions: Walter Allward, Sculptor and Architect (Fig. 39).¹⁹⁸

All this time, work upon the memorial’s sculptures continued apace. Heightened attention, too, was paid by the CBMC to the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Services League’s proposed mass pilgrimage by ex-servicemen and their families to the battlefields of France in the spring or summer of 1936. This pilgrimage, initially slated for 1930, had been deferred because of the depressed economy and, later, because of the memorial’s unfinished state. The Legion’s present Dominion President, Major J. S. Roper, a recent visitor to the Vimy site, had issued several public proclamations, notably not long ago in an issue of *Our Empire*, about the imminence of this pilgrimage. In light of the foreseeable arrival of a multitude of veterans and civilians in France, the CBMC concurred that whatever national ceremony might be conducted for the memorial’s

unveiling it ought to be coordinated with this commemorative convergence. The precise date of the memorial's inauguration remained, of course, subject to the executive approval of the Canadian government.¹⁹⁹

To this end, S. C. Mewburn, chairman of the CBMC, wrote to Prime Minister R. B. Bennett in November 1934, explaining that the memorial's sculptural elements would be fully realized, at latest, by year's end 1935. The memorial itself would require a final, cosmetic sandblasting treatment to eliminate the staining produced by its earlier encasement in a supporting wood armature, as well as to give its surface a smooth, unblemished finish. Thereafter, the CBMC would transfer custody of the memorial to the Canadian government within the first six months of 1936. The CBMC nominated 3 July, a Sunday, as a fitting date for the inauguration.²⁰⁰ The prime minister agreed in January, although he registered his general displeasure that the memorial could not be finished earlier than the beginning of 1936.²⁰¹ (A discussion of the memorial's unveiling, performed by the king,²⁰² will follow in Chapter Three, which deals with the broad theme of battlefield pilgrimages and tourism.)

After its unveiling, the memorial and its site was managed and maintained by a very modest staff — a caretaker, an assistant caretaker, a guard and, seasonally, two guides to direct visitors exploring the Grange Tunnel, which remained open during the summer months. These men were directly employed by the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission and reported to Major Simson, previously the commission's onsite engineer during the memorial's construction phase, and now a special attaché to the Canadian Legation in Paris, where he was serving as the Supervisor of Canadian memorials in France and Belgium.²⁰³ During the Nazi occupation of France the caretaker,

George Stubbs, was removed from his post by the German forces and interned at the St. Denis prisoner of war camp, although his son and one other worker remained at the site. The memorial remained undamaged during the war, despite accounts to the contrary.²⁰⁴ In the post-WWII period, responsibility for the custody and care of the Vimy memorial, one of eight Canadian First World War memorials in France and Belgium, was entrusted to the Minister of National Defence. In 1951, Veterans Affairs Canada (VAC) inherited this portfolio as part of its overseas battlefield memorials program.²⁰⁵

The Vimy memorial and its preserved warscape constitute a quintessential field of care. Specifically, VAC oversees all operations associated with the memorial, including: (1) the commemoration of both the Canadian Corps' successful taking of the Ridge in battle between 9-12 April 1917, and the Canadian 1914-1918 war dead; (2) the organization of remembrance ceremonies there; (3) the development, review, and implementation of site interpretation programs; and (4) the control and care of the memorial and its surrounding landscapes, a triad of warscape, woods, and visitor roaming areas. The remembrance ceremonies orchestrated by VAC and conducted at the Vimy memorial vary in their frequency, ranging from the annual to once every five years. Both the observance of Remembrance Day and the anniversary of the memorial's unveiling on 26 July occur annually. The anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, 9 April, is ceremonially marked twice every decade, at five-year intervals. The commemoration of the Battle's centenary in 2017 will surely be staged as a major Canadian national and media event. Although its commemorative character will remain intact, of course, I would argue that these ceremonial proceedings will undoubtedly take on a decidedly

'heritage' gloss; that is, as an occasion for historical reflection, as Canadian living memory of the Great War has already expired.

French veterans' organizations, meanwhile, also conduct commemorative ceremonies at the Vimy memorial. Lastly, the Vimy site also contains several, mostly related, commemorative features in the form of memorials and plaques, accretions that also inhere in the idea of a field of care. The oldest of these is the Moroccan Division memorial (Fig. 40), which commemorates the men and officers who fell in battle here on 9-11 May 1915; an application for its erection was made to Hughes, the chief engineer of the CBMC, by former officers of the Division in 1924.²⁰⁶ This memorial sits flush with the north side of the Vimy site's perimeter road, abutting the western edge of the park's pine forest. Associatively, if not aesthetically, it appears to belong with the Vimy memorial, although it does not in terms of VAC custodial purposes. Dispersed across the site are four mounted bronze plaques indicating France's free, and for all time, grant of this land to Canada (Fig. 41); the date of their installation has not been traced. By contrast, the Lions Club International Memorial, erected in 1967 and to which have since been appended two plaques, one in 1987, honouring the club's 70th anniversary, and the other in 1994 in recognition of Paul Raot, the individual who arranged the memorial's placement, is completely incongruous, if not exactly an antithetical accretion. VAC has not developed a policy governing the acceptance or removal of these insidious and inappropriate commemorative accretions. A particular offender, in this regard, is the Lion's Club Memorial and its dedicated maple grove, both of which are sited dead in the centre of the Vimy/Neuville St. Vaast viewing corridor, significantly detracting from this important vista. In 1997 Parks Canada (National Historic Sites) authored a "Conservation

and Presentation Plan for the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, Pas de Calais, France,” wherein the agency made two principal recommendations: (1) VAC should implement an operational policy for the site that contains strict suitability criteria vis à vis the form, content, and placement of any additional memorial, commemorative plaque, or planting(s) contemplated for its grounds and (2) that this policy be retroactively applied to existing but unsuitable or out of place memorial and arboreal accretions. This recommended operational policy has not (yet) been implemented, even though it has significant and positive implications for the Vimy site’s continued cultivation as a field of care.²⁰⁷

1.9. The Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux (Somme, Picardie), France

The third of this chapter’s ‘fields of care’ is that at Villers-Bretonneux, France. Although Villers-Bretonneux was chosen as the site for Australia’s national Great War memorial in Europe shortly after the War, a decision that was contemporaneous with the selection of the Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy sites, the memorial that was eventually erected there was not unveiled until 1938, the last of the Dominion 1914-1918 memorials to be realized. A spate of difficulties, practical, political, and financial, conspired to prolong this memorial’s realization, a project that was even briefly suspended by the Australian government, beyond the decade-plus taken to construct the Vimy memorial. Once unveiled, however, the memorial, like those at Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy, sanctified its site, which, too, is an explicit and implicit deathscape by virtue of its adjacent CWGC cemetery and as a former World War One battlefield, albeit one that has not been preserved. Similarly, the Villers-Bretonneux site also operates as a field of care,

if in a decidedly lower key than its counterparts at Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy. However, its cultural presence, but not its commemorative importance, is distinctly weaker, having been effectively eclipsed by that of Gallipoli.

In 1919 Villers-Bretonneux was selected, “after much deliberation”²⁰⁸ and an approving inspection tour by the Prime Minister, William Hughes,²⁰⁹ as the location for the Australian National Memorial.²¹⁰ The memorial’s specific site was chosen by General Sir Talbot Hobbs,²¹¹ accompanied by Hughes, early in 1921. Having determined the memorial’s locus, both men deliberated what form and features it should assume. Amongst their conclusions was the provision of a chamber commodious enough to house “all records of deeds of every Australian soldier,”²¹² a space to be further dignified by the installation, “as a *pièce de resistance*,”²¹³ of a sculpture symbolic and honorific of soldierly conduct. Advantage, they stated, must be taken of the panoramas afforded by the site, as these encompassed almost entirely the Somme battlefield upon which the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) attained some of its greatest combat feats.²¹⁴ For Hobbs, the memorial’s hill siting possessed tremendous “sentimental value,”²¹⁵ for it demarcated where the 14th Australian Infantry Brigade “stood their ground — under the most trying conditions”²¹⁶ on 24 April 1918, halting the German advance towards this critical summit long enough for the 13th and 15th Australian brigades to mobilize and mount a nocturnal counter-attack, which resulted in the Australian forces regaining control of Villers-Bretonneux (a vital gateway to Amiens) the next day.²¹⁷ These instructive views, they thought, would best be appreciated by visitors from some elevated observatory within the memorial. The design of the memorial and its sculptural components, as determined by public competition, would, of course, be Australian in authorship. It was also stipulated,

understandably if impractically, that the memorial utilize Australian materials, with its structural components, if not its sculptural elements, fashioned domestically prior to their transportation to France for on-site assembly. The estimated cost to realize this design might be as much as £250,000, although Hobbs and J. S. Murdoch, the Chief Commonwealth Architect, agreed that £100,000 appeared ample to erect a commendable national memorial.²¹⁸

At the third meeting of the War Memorials Committee,²¹⁹ whose largely military membership comprised Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Chauvel, Brigadier-Generals H. W. Grimwade and T. A. Blamey, as well as civilians J. M. J. Tait and J. S. Murdoch, the proposal for the Villers-Bretonneux memorial was well received, save for the inclusion of the suggested record chamber, which was deemed superfluous in the French context but ideally suited for a domestic national memorial.

A few months later the ten-acre Villers-Bretonneux site, adjoining the Villers-Bretonneux Military Cemetery (Fig. 42),²²⁰ which is situated along the Bray-Corbie road and contains mostly Australian graves, had been surveyed and its perimeter staked out with concrete posts. Access to the site, positioned atop a ridge, would be gained through the cemetery's central, ascending "Avenue of Honor." (Fig. 43)²²¹ At the outset of 1922, however, in a report on foreign Australian war memorials submitted to the Secretary for Defence, Lieutenant Seccombe of the Australian Graves Services observed that sentiment in London, and perhaps in Australia as well, was increasingly wary, given the economic and political climate, of initiating the construction of a costly national memorial without greater review.²²² The Official Secretary [at Australia House] in England, he noted, was thought²²³ to champion the wholesale jettisoning of the venture, a position that would, of

course, greatly undermine Australia's "prestige" within France and certainly not appease domestic "public feeling." In addition, the proposed site for the memorial, although "commanding," discouragingly lay outside of Villers-Bretonneux and above a low-traffic road, with few travellers likely inclined to take the pathway through the cemetery in order to reach the memorial. Moreover, despite its long-distance visibility, any glimpse caught of the memorial by the casual observer would obviously not communicate to them its Australian identity. Lastly, the pairing of the cemetery with the memorial, although not conceptually or physically incompatible, did evoke, at least to English commentators, two distinct commemorative objectives, "the one, reverence and remembrance of the dead; the other, pride in a national achievement." As an alternative, Seccombe proposed that the site be sold and that, as its replacement, the property of the Chateau Delacourt, conveniently and prominently located within Villers-Bretonneux, with both the railway station and the route to Amiens situated nearby, be purchased instead.²²⁴

The War Memorials Committee examined, then rejected, Seccombe's proposal in February 1922.²²⁵ At their tenth meeting, held in June, the Committee members resolved that the 18,000-plus missing Australian soldiers and sailors should be memorialized, for an expenditure of some £16,000, by name upon monuments of spare but suitable design erected in each Australian state capital, their names distributed across these memorials according to each serviceman's origin of enlistment; as opposed to their commemoration within cemeteries closest to their presumed place of death, which comparatively few Australians would ever visit.²²⁶

However, the possibility that the Australian missing in France and Belgium, numbering about 12,000, might also be commemorated in France was put to Cabinet's

attention early in 1924. Australia was party to the IWGC's project to raise memorials to the thousands of British and Dominion missing of the various war sectors, of which only one, the Menin Gate, had been initiated. It was now incumbent upon Australia to decide whether the Villers-Bretonneux memorial would commemorate the Australian missing in France and Belgium. On 8 May the Australian prime minister informed the high commissioner that the Villers-Bretonneux memorial would indeed commemorate the Australian missing in France and Belgium. However, as the Menin Gate was already under construction, the names of the Australian missing in the Ypres Salient would not be withdrawn from this memorial.²²⁷

1.10. The Design Competition for the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial

The Department of Defence draft for *The Architectural Competition for the Australian War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, France: Conditions Regulating Submission of Designs*, conformed entirely to the customs and conventions of such a design contest. Beyond the criterion of Australian citizenship, eligible entrants were also to belong to distinct, if related, classes: Australian architects or designers, irrespective of their residency, who enlisted for service in the Great War with the "sea or land forces of the Commonwealth of Australia,"²²⁸ or those whose children had done so. Unlike the Vimy memorial competition conditions, the full guidelines specified that from the outset the Villers-Bretonneux memorial was conceived with a combined commemorative purpose in mind: It was to be an "enduring material symbol of those ideals which were the bases of participation by Australia in the great [sic] War," and a record of the "names of those Australians who were known to fall or who were missing in war operations in

France and Belgium, but who have no known graves upon which a permanent monument can be erected.”²²⁹ A budget of £100,000 was contemplated to cover the construction costs, of which £10,000 would be reserved for such expenditures as the administration of the design competition, the clearance and preparation of the site, the creation of roads, and landscaping. The competition guidelines were published in October 1925, with the enlistment criteria for competitors modified to include any service with the forces of the British Empire.²³⁰ A domestic and international press release, the latter including the major daily newspapers of New Zealand and Great Britain, announced, on the first of December, the launching of the architectural competition for the Australian National War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux.²³¹

Thirty-three memorial designs were received for examination and ranking.²³² The three Australian adjudicators, Major-General Sir J. Talbot Hobbs (architect), George Sydney Jones (architect), and J. S. Murdoch (Chief Architect of the Commonwealth Government)²³³ noted in their 5 October 1926 report that the outcome was “very disappointing,”²³⁴ despite receipt of a number of designs of “a very high order”²³⁵ which regrettably were disqualified owing to their creators’ discounting of expense considerations. Conversely, a handful of designs that did not exceed the budgeted cost of the memorial were of such inferior quality that these, too, were eliminated. But three meritorious designs — numbers 8 (Lucas), 18 (Russell and Lightfoot), and 26 (Robertson) — fully honoured the conditions of the competition. These, ranked first, second, and third, respectively, were considered in the final round of adjudication, performed in London by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott of the Royal Institute of British Architects.²³⁶

On 7 March 1927, Scott submitted his report, awarding first place to design number 8, that of William Lucas, remarking that “it is original in form, and should produce in actual execution an impressive effect,”²³⁷ although its cruciform conception, if symbolically appropriate, would require opening the sides of the memorial, thus visually diluting its appearance of strength. Likewise, Scott considered the space allocated in Lucas’s design for the top row of engraved names of the missing, fifteen feet above ground, and the one and one-eighth-inch scale of their lettering, compounded, in places, by their poor illumination, to be notable design demerits.²³⁸ Otherwise, Scott thought Lucas’s memorial conception a “fine”²³⁹ one. Lucas, a somewhat belligerent personality, surely felt professional validation and vindication in having finally won a major Australian architectural competition (notwithstanding the weak field of entrants) in the twilight of his career. By this time, he had been a practicing architect for over four decades, alongside having served his profession in other capacities, including his appointments as the vice-president and president of the Natal Institute of Architects (South Africa) and as the editor of the journal published by the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects. In 1924, however, Lucas had gained considerable notoriety by sensationally accusing Philip Hudson and James Wardrup, the first-place finishers of the architectural competition for the design of Melbourne’s Shrine of Remembrance (the State’s Great War memorial), of having plagiarized their winning design. Lucas himself had placed second in this competition. Embittered and aggrieved by his runner-up status, he filed his spiteful but groundless charges, an action roundly denounced by the architectural profession and the press. This action immediately earned him his suspension from the Board of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects and, the following year,

their investigation of his “breach of professional etiquette,”²⁴⁰ of which he was found guilty and, as a consequence, expelled from the Board. Despite his considerable professional standing and long career, Lucas, who favoured classicism, remained a mostly undistinguished architect (his best-known building is the Pietermaritzburg [South Africa] post office) remembered most for his vindictive character and graceless acceptance of professional setbacks.²⁴¹

The memorial’s design was, of course, also of critical interest to the IWGC, which had advised Australia House (London) in January 1927 that Sir Edwin Lutyens would be designing Villers-Bretonneux Cemetery. The IWGC naturally wished to ensure that Lutyens’s conception of the cemetery would aesthetically harmonize with and physically relate to the memorial.²⁴²

A mere £2,500, including the cost of the competition, Lucas’s advance fee, and the site expenses, had been expended when the prime minister gave his verbal directive in November 1929 to suspend funding for the memorial, given both the economic climate (the international stock market crash had occurred the previous month) and the fact that “certain difficulties”²⁴³ had emerged regarding the drafting of an agreement with Lucas, who took exception with a number of its principal clauses.²⁴⁴ In July 1930, the IWGC, proclaiming “diffidence in the matter, as design and material [of the memorial] obviously one for Australia’s decision,”²⁴⁵ nevertheless suggested that it would still be feasible to raise a creditable memorial at significantly reduced cost, if local stone were employed. The Imperial War Graves Commission, for its part, would be pleased to partner with Major-General J. Talbot Hobbs (he had played a commanding role in the April 1918 recapture of Villers-Bretonneux, was an architect himself, having recently designed

Perth's war memorial and, of course, had served as one of the Australian adjudicators of the Villers-Bretonneux memorial design competition)²⁴⁶ and conceive of replacement design proposals. Should Australia approve of this action, a platform-type memorial, Hobbs's idea, for instance, could be erected for £30,000-40,000.²⁴⁷

In January 1931, Fabian Ware wrote High Commissioner Granville urging him, in light of the Australian government's suspension of plans for the memorial, to fully appreciate the "very difficult position"²⁴⁸ in which the IWGC had, as a consequence, been placed. As per the IWGC's mandate, the commission was charged with commemorating the missing servicemen of the British Empire. With the names of the Australian missing in Belgium having been engraved upon the Menin Gate, the Villers-Bretonneux memorial, according to the Australian government's wishes, was to receive the names of the Australian missing in France, but work had been halted. However, given that the engraving of names upon all of the Western Front memorials to the missing had now been accomplished, none of these could receive the names of the Australian missing not yet commemorated elsewhere. Bearing in mind Australia's desire these men be memorialized at Villers-Bretonneux, the IWGC was therefore willing to design and erect there a memorial upon which could be engraved the names.²⁴⁹ Such a memorial would be conceived so as to complement any kind of monument the Australian government might later erect and, should Australia take no action, would stand "quite dignified and effective"²⁵⁰ alone. The high commissioner, himself a member of the IWGC, brought Ware's proposal, which he favored and which could be executed for some £20,000, before the Australian authorities for their examination.²⁵¹

Four years would elapse before concrete action was taken by the government. At a Cabinet meeting held 20 February 1935, a memorandum prepared by the Minister of Defence, in which he outlined three possible scenarios to memorialize the estimated 11,000 Australian missing upon the Western Front still without commemoration, was submitted.²⁵² The three scenarios were as follows:

- (i) Abandon the proposal to erect a national memorial and authorise the Imperial War Graves Commission to erect at Villers-Bretonneux a MEMORIAL TO THE MISSING (11,000) ON THE WESTERN FRONT NOT AT PRESENT COMMEMORATED ELSEWHERE. Funds — approximately £20,000 — are at the disposal of the Imperial War Graves Commission for this purpose and no additional contribution would be required from the Australian government in respect of either construction or subsequent maintenance.
- (ii) Authorise the Imperial War Graves Commission to erect with European materials at Villers-Bretonneux a national memorial to commemorate also the whole of the missing (19,000 on the Western Front — Total cost not to exceed in English currency — £30,000.)]
- (iii) Authorise the Imperial War Graves Commission to erect with European materials at Villers-Bretonneux a national memorial of a slightly more imposing design than would be possible under (ii) to commemorate also the missing (11,000) on the Western Front not commemorated elsewhere. Tablets to be erected on the memorial indicating that an additional 8,000 Australian missing on the Western Front have been commemorated at Menin Gate, Fromelles and Arras. Total cost not to exceed in English currency £30,000.²⁵³

The adoption of design scenarios two or three, however, would require that the Australian government supply the IWGC with £10,000 of supplementary financing. Cabinet favoured proposal three, conceding, however, that a decision regarding its implementation be deferred until plans had been prepared and examined.²⁵⁴ In June 1935, M. L. Shepherd directed an Australia House official to notify the IWGC that the Australian government had severed its ties with Lucas and, as such, now called upon the Imperial War Graves Commission to draft its plans for the Villers-Bretonneux memorial (option # 3). The scheme was to be realized for no more than £30,000. Edwin Lutyens's

design was praised in a September Department of Defence memorandum as “eminently suitable,”²⁵⁵ but that in order for the memorial to include a look-out over the Somme a 75-foot observation tower would need to be added to Lutyens’s design. However, this would require design-specific savings elsewhere.²⁵⁶ Both Lutyens and the IWGC believed that one hundred feet was the minimum height required for a tower; otherwise the impression created would be “disappointing.”²⁵⁷ The memorial’s design, as per Lutyens’s suggested adaptations would cost approximately £35,000-40,000, whereas the allotted budget was £30,000. His revised design met with the approval of the IWGC, but in November Prime Minister Joseph Lyons informed the high commissioner he was against exceeding the approved budget. The IWGC accepted the government’s instruction that the memorial’s cost be kept within the budget, which, Lutyens counselled, was feasible. The prime minister pronounced the amended design “satisfactory”²⁵⁸ and the War Memorials Committee, in turn, at their 4 February 1936 meeting, called for the approval of Lutyens’s design for the Villers-Bretonneux memorial.²⁵⁹

1.11. The Construction of the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial

In March 1936, the Department of Defence instructed the high commissioner to inform the IWGC that Lutyens’s revised design had been approved and that construction could commence. Only three firms had submitted tenders for the construction; the legislated forty-hour work week in France, which dictated wages and hours, had clearly deterred others from competing. The lowest tender had been received from a British firm; however, in light of French labour law, which had to be observed, their quoted price

would amount to £4,000 above the £30,000 cap. Furthermore, they would be contractually bound to honour any rise in labour rates, increasing construction costs by perhaps an additional £2,000. The IWGC, for their part, counselled that the Australian government accept and absorb this probable £6,000 expense. The high commissioner, too, thought that the government should accede to the IWGC's request for this additional funding, if required, in light of the just-completed and magnificently unveiled Vimy memorial, where no expense had been spared; he cited a total expenditure of more than £250,000 on Vimy.²⁶⁰

The contracts for the memorial's work were finalized in November 1936, and were awarded to the Parisian firm of Messrs. Maple Ltd. for the construction work and to the British one of Messrs. Smith & Lander for the supply and carving of the Portland stone of the main wall, which would also bear the names of the missing. The memorial's foundations had already been laid by the Amiens firm of Messrs. Giloux. The memorial itself was oriented nearly due west, with the centre of its tower to be axially aligned with the avenue that bisected the cemetery, whilst its two terminal pavilions were to be set on axis with the cemetery's entrance structures (Fig. 44).²⁶¹ Portland stone would be employed for its façade, save for its back walls, where brick would be left exposed. Ashlar facing, however, would clad the tower, whose core was also composed of brick. Ornamentally, a carved, stylized rendition of the Rising Sun AIF badge would appear above the tower's entranceway. Capping this emblem, surmounting the keystone, would be a rendering of the Imperial Crown. Lastly, the memorial's principal inscription, in English and French, would be engraved at the tower's base, the two versions balancing one another on either side of its entranceway.²⁶²

A month later, the IWGC submitted for consideration its suggested phrasing for the memorial's principal inscription: "To the Glory of God and in Memory of the Australian Imperial Force in France and Flanders 1916-1918 and of 10,860 of Their Dead Who Have No Known Grave."²⁶³ The Commission also furnished a list of battles, dated 1916-1918 in which the AIF had participated. These battle locations, it observed, might be carved as a continuous frieze to surmount the name panels of the missing (Fig. 45). As for the names of the missing, this roster had been organized, following the precedent of the Menin Gate, according to military units and, within these, alphabetized by rank.²⁶⁴ In May, the Department of Defence noted that, on examination, the IWGC's proposed wording for the main inscription was "quite suitable."²⁶⁵ As the tower's frontispiece, the carved reproduction, rather than an exact replica, of the Rising Sun AIF badge, was deemed an "emblem... more than any other to be spiritually appropriate" in the context of the memorial's ornamentation. The suggested installation of a reference map of other Australian Western Front memorials, too, was considered an "excellent" proposition, as was the indicated organization for the names of the missing.²⁶⁶

By mid-July 1937 construction of the memorial was well underway, with the tower having been raised to six feet and the laying of the lower stone courses of both its so-called surround wall and the northern pavilion begun. A sizable shipment of Portland stone already engraved with the names of the missing had also been conveyed to the site and stored, to be affixed later to the memorial's wall frontage.²⁶⁷ The memorial's chosen facing stone was Liais de Brauvilliers, with quantities of Morley Javot employed for its "columns, caps, and bases."²⁶⁸ On the matter of identifying the number of missing servicemen, the IWGC observed that the catch-all phrase "eleven thousand" (rather than

the more precise 10,860) arguably bore a more “impressive”²⁶⁹ ring, further noting that the official tallies of the missing were routinely downgraded and, in all likelihood, would continue to be so as more bodies were recovered.²⁷⁰ Lutyens, for his part, thought the memorial would benefit from the inclusion of a list of battle engagements,²⁷¹ also submitting his idea for the reference map: a “circular tablet of fine ashlar,”²⁷² indicating the geographical positions of the five Australian divisional memorials and the four memorials to the missing.²⁷³ As for the Australian Coat of Arms, its shield would be engraved upon the keystone, above which would appear, subject to the advice and approval of the College of Heraldry, the Imperial Crown and associated regalia.²⁷⁴ The Garter, Gerald W. Wollaston (College of Arms, London), counselled the omission of the Crown,²⁷⁵ such that the IWGC was prepared to notify Lutyens of this amendment, pending approval to do so from the Australian authorities.²⁷⁶

As of October 1937 the carving of the panels bearing the names of the missing had been completed (Fig. 46).²⁷⁷ The next month, the circular stone AIF Western Front memorial reference map was installed in the entranceway of the tower stairwell (Fig. 47).²⁷⁸ Preparations were also underway to configure the layout and wording of the main inscription, which received its final approval from the Department of Defence on 9 March 1938: “To the Glory of God and in Memory of the Australian Imperial Force in France and Flanders 1916-1918 and of Eleven Thousand Who Fell in France and Have No Known Grave.”²⁷⁹ (Fig. 48) Three weeks later, the definitive list of battle names to be engraved upon the memorial was also confirmed.²⁸⁰

1.12. Preparations for and the Unveiling of the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial

In the summer of 1937 the Department of Defence sounded out the IWGC regarding potential dates for the unveiling of the memorial the next year.²⁸¹ The Commission recommended either 4 July or 8 August; the latter date was also favoured by the Department of Defence, which it subsequently approved for the memorial's unveiling, given its importance in Australia's Great War history, notably as the launching date of the Battle of Amiens, 1918.²⁸²

Meanwhile, the high commissioner reminded Prime Minister Lyons of the precedent set by the royal unveiling of the Vimy memorial,²⁸³ remarking that "the character and extent of our War effort would justify us in asking the present King to unveil the Australian Memorial."²⁸⁴ Lyons assented to the high commissioner's request.²⁸⁵ In February 1938 the Australian government was apprised of the king's decision to accept the invitation to unveil the Villers-Bretonneux memorial, which he would do on the occasion of his and the queen's scheduled four-day state visit to Paris, 28 June to 1 July.²⁸⁶ Further to this, the following month the Returned Sailors and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA) received notification that the government would provide Australian returned soldiers, either resident in Great Britain or visitors there during this period, with a subsidy to defray the cost of travel from England to Villers-Bretonneux, as well as a single night's hotel accommodation. The government also wished ex-servicemen of the AIF to constitute the Guard of Honour at the unveiling. The ministers of Commerce and Trade and Customs, as well as the Attorney-General, would serve as the government's representatives during the ceremony, now scheduled for 1 July. The high commissioner, too, would attend. Representing Australian returned

soldiers would be a delegate elected by the RSSILA whose travel costs would be assumed by the government,²⁸⁷ a contentious decision construed as discriminatory by the other ex-servicemen's groups, as well as by one Ellen Kinchington, who protested on behalf of mothers whose sons served and fell in the War.²⁸⁸

The unveiling ceremony's proceedings, including its broadcast to Australia and Empire via the BBC (with direct pick-up from the CBC) and, within France, by the national broadcasting station, had been finalized, as well as received the king's approval, when it was learned on 28 June that the queen's mother had died. Under these circumstances, the royal couple would defer their visit to France until 19 July, requiring the rescheduling of the memorial's unveiling, formerly to be held 1 July, until 22 July.²⁸⁹

King George VI unveiled the Villers-Bretonneux memorial the afternoon of 22 July, delivering the main address, his speech followed by the ceremonial addresses of the president of the French Republic and the Rt. Hon. Sir Earle Page, the Minister for Commerce. The memorial's dedication was performed by the Rev. George Green, former AIF chaplain to the 13th Infantry Brigade. After the sounding of the Last Post, came the observation of the one-minute Silence and the Réveill  [Reveille], with the Bishop of Amiens directing the recitation of the *de Profundis* and a prayer. The king, the president, and Page each laid a wreath before the memorial as the ceremony's concluding gesture. As a documentary record, the unveiling, which cost an estimated £7,673 (Expenditures incurred by the Canadian authorities for the Vimy memorial unveiling had amounted to \$66,000.),²⁹⁰ was filmed, under the direction of the Paris branch of 20th Century Fox Movietone News, and later screened for the king and queen at Balmoral, prior to its

dispatch to the Australian War Memorial for their collection. A special public screening of the film was conducted in Canberra on 24 May 1939.²⁹¹

Although the Villers-Bretonneux site neither has conspicuous²⁹² memorial accretions nor boasts a notable post-unveiling pilgrimage history, unlike the sites of Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy, it remains a characteristic field of care by virtue of its physical sequestration, routine maintenance, and assignment of a permanent custodian, the Office of Australian War Graves (OAWG) in the Department of Veterans' Affairs; this is the government body responsible for maintaining national memorials abroad, with — in the case of Villers-Bretonneux (a World War One memorial to the missing with an adjoining military cemetery) — the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. The OAWG also orchestrates, with the aid of the Australian Embassy in France, and the municipality of Villers-Bretonneux, the annual Anzac Day dawn service observed at the memorial. Presently, a three-year horticultural restoration of its adjacent cemetery²⁹³ is nearing completion in preparation for the commemorative ceremonies that will be presumably held at the memorial in 2018, the centenary of both the War's end and of notable Australian battle engagements in this locality.²⁹⁴

In the aftermath of the Great War, the battlefields of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux were sanctified (rather than designated, rectified, or obliterated, the other three possible site interventions and, by extension, symbolic investments, that can be brought to bear upon a former locus of extraordinary violence, as geographer Kenneth E. Foote has argued) by the erection therein of national memorials. These memorials commemorate the Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian war dead of 1914-1918 and

memorialize, respectively, all of the missing servicemen of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, Royal Naval Reserve, and Mercantile Marine (Beaumont-Hamel), as well as the men of the CEF (Vimy) and AIF (Villers-Bretonneux) who fell in France but who have no known grave. The Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux sites, moreover, irrespective of the vastly differing construction histories and aesthetics of their memorials, also qualify in spirit, if not letter, as fields of care, that special category of sanctified site, according to five qualifying conditions, Foote further identifies. To reiterate, these three sanctified sites constitute fields of care in the following ways: all are physically demarcated from their surrounding environment; each has been maintained since their respective opening to the public in 1925, 1936, and 1938; a government body, today Veterans Affairs Canada and the Australian Office of War Graves, is responsible for their stewardship; all continue to operate as venues for annual remembrance ceremonies, as well as have been battle anniversary pilgrimage destinations; and, lastly, the Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy memorial sites alike have attracted (overwhelmingly) allied memorial accretions. To be sure, the Villers-Bretonneux site evidences no on-site accretion of commemorative installations, sympathetic or not, to its memorial, although such add-ons always remain a possibility. Hence, I would argue, this lack does not preclude the site's conceptualization as a field of care, alongside those of Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy, a metaphor that is both apt and memorable for this triad of monumental landscapes.

¹ Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*, revised edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003) 7.

² Foote 7-8.

³ Foote 8.

⁴ Foote 8-9.

⁵ The Vimy Ridge site contains two cemeteries in which are interred Canadian soldiers: Givenchy Road Cemetery and Canadian Cemetery No.2. "Vimy Ridge National Historic Site of Canada, France: Commemorative Integrity Statement," October 2005, 8. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

⁶ Maoz Azaryahu and Kenneth E. Foote, "Historical Space as Narrative Medium: On the Configuration of Spatial Narratives of Time at Historical Sites," *GeoJournal* 73.3 (November 2008, *Special Issue: Collective Memory and the Politics of Urban Space*): 179-180, 183-184, 187.

⁷ Peter S. Hawkins, "Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt," *Thinking About Exhibitions*, eds. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) 133. This essay first appeared in *Critical Inquiry* 19.4 (Summer 1993): 752-779.

⁸ Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999) 67.

⁹ Thomas W. Laqueur, "Names, Bodies and the Anxiety of Erasure," *The Social and Political Body*, eds. Theodore R. Schatzki and Wolfgang Natter (New York: The Guilford Press, 1996) 129-130.

¹⁰ Samuel Hynes, "Personal Narratives and Commemoration," *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 206.

¹¹ Robert Pogue Harrison, "The Names of the Dead," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (Autumn 1997): 188.

¹² Laqueur 131 and 135.

¹³ Sherman 84 and 94.

¹⁴ Derrida quoted in Anne-Pascale Brault and Michael Naas, introduction [To Reckon with the Dead: Jacques Derrida's Politics of Mourning], *The Work of Mourning*, eds. Anne-Pascale Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003) 13-14.

¹⁵ Brault and Naas 14.

¹⁶ Nangle's mammoth war dead search and recovery field campaign would be much complicated by the often unrecognizable state of the former fighting sectors in which the Newfoundland Regiment experienced combat action, owing to later battle engagements waged at these same sites and their subsequent natural regrowth, phenomena effectively obliterating, or at least strongly blurring, identifying features of these devastated warscapes. By his own admission, Nangle was also less than optimistic that his reconnaissance efforts would yield identifiable bodies in certain sectors, citing Monchy, believing there "the task is hopeless and that very few identifications will be made," Gueudecourt, a locale in which "the prospect of identifying bodies is next to impossible," and, not least, Beaumont-Hamel, where "all the bodies have been collected into cemeteries and any that have not will never be found." Major T. Nangle, "Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials," 12 September 1919, 4-5, LAC, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle's Reports.

¹⁷ 21 July 1919 letter to the Principal Secretary, Imperial War Graves Commission, from the Minister of Militia and 24 July 1919 letter to Capt. T. Nangle from Lieut. Col., Chief Staff Officer, The Rooms, Provincial Archives, GN 19 B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Newfoundland Forestry Corps.

¹⁸ Nangle's assistant, Private Snow, a former stretcher bearer, was similarly promoted, receiving the acting rank of Sergeant. 21 July 1919 Department of Militia memorandum from the Minister of Militia [name illegible] to the Chief Staff Officer [name illegible], London, GN 19 B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Forestry Corps.

¹⁹ 16 July 1916 letter to [Governor] W. E. Davidson from [Archbishop] Roche; 21 July 1919 Department of Militia memorandum from the Minister of Militia [name illegible] to the Chief Staff Officer [name illegible], London and 27 August 1919 reply; 24 July 1919 letter to Capt. T. Nangle from Lieut. Col., Chief Staff Officer; 20 August 1919 letter to the Chief Staff Officer, London, from T. Nangle; and 2 January 1920 Department of Militia memorandum from the Minister of Militia to the Chief Staff Officer, Newfoundland Contingent, The Rooms, Provincial Archives, GN 19 B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Newfoundland Forestry Corps.

²⁰ 21 July 1919 letter to the Principal Secretary, Imperial War Graves Commission, from the Minister of Militia and 21 July 1919 letter to the Director of Graves Registration and Enquiries, War Office (Whitehall), from the Minister of Militia, The Rooms, Provincial Archives, GN 19 B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Newfoundland Forestry Corps.

²¹ Nangle's categorization of Newfoundland war graves and the geographical division of their various sectors were as follows: "I. United Kingdom; II. Gallipoli; III. France and Belgium, subdivided into:- (a)

Base Hospitals, (b) Ypres Sectors, (c) Armentières, (d) Arras, (e) Beaumont Hamel, (f) Somme, (g) Cambrai; IV. Prisoners of War; and V. Newfoundland.” Nangle, “Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials,” 12 September 1919, 2, LAC RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle’s Reports.

²² 21 July 1919 letter to the Principal Secretary, Imperial War Graves Commission, from the Minister of Militia; 21 July 1919 letter to the Director of Graves Registration and Enquiries, War Office [Whitehall], from the Minister of Militia; and 21 July 1919 letter to the Commission Nationale des Sépulture[s] Militaires from the Minister of Militia, The Rooms, Provincial Archives, GN B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Newfoundland Forestry Corps.

²³ 14 November 1919 letter to Chief Staff Officer, Pay and Record Office, Newfoundland Contingent, from the Minister of Militia and 2 January 1920 Department of Militia Memorandum to the Chief Staff Officer, Newfoundland Contingent, from the Minister of Militia, The Rooms, Provincial Archives, GN 19 B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Newfoundland Forestry Corps; and 2 January 1920 letter to Major T. Nangle from Lieut.-Col., Chief Staff Officer, LAC, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-A, Covering letters.

²⁴ 24 July 1919 letter to Capt. T. Nangle from Lieut. Col., Chief Staff Officer, GN 19 B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Newfoundland Forestry Corps; 9 August 1919 extract from telegram received from Synoptical, London, LAC, RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial; and Nangle, “Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials,” 12 September 1919, 8, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle’s Reports.

²⁵ The Battle Exploit Memorials Committee (BEC), founded in February 1919 by the War Office, was charged with vetting war memorial proposals submitted by any regiment, division, army, or Dominion seeking to commemorate its noteworthy battles. These proposals the BEC forwarded to the IWGC, which, in turn, petitioned the French and Belgian governments to deed the requested parcel of land for the war memorial’s erection. Nangle received his (belated) invitation to serve as Newfoundland’s representative upon the BEC in August. In his 12 September 1919 “Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battlefield Exploit Memorials,” Nangle remarks: “As regards Sites, all claims should be in by September 1st, but as Newfoundland was not represented on this Committee, although Major Timewell represented that it should have been, I have asked that the time may be extended in order to make our claims.” 9 August 1919 extract from telegram received from Synoptical, London, LAC, RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial; “Canadian Battlefields Memorials,” excerpt copied from the *Canadian Gazette* 8(9?)/10/19 [1919], 1; and Nangle, “Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials,” 12 September 1919, 8, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle’s Reports.

²⁶ P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting to Meet Rev. Lieut-Col. Nangle, February 3rd, 1922, and P. E. Outerbridge, 8 May 1922 [A meeting of the Executive of the Newfoundland War Memorial was held in the Board of Trade at 4 p.m. on this date.], The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, Box 3.

²⁷ “City Honours Heoric [sic] Dead, The Governor’s Address,” *Daily News* [St. John’s] 2 Jul. 1919: 4.

²⁸ “Versailles, Treaty of,” *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th edition, 10/1/2009, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/mercury.concordia.ca/ehost/detail?vid=4&hid=119&sid=3a3422ec-fddd-44f9-ab95-8516ba9337a3%40sessionmgr113&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3Qtbg12ZQ%3d%3d#db=a9h&AN=390385300#db=a9h&AN=39038530> (accessed 31/08/2010).

²⁹ “City Honours Heoric [sic] Dead, The Governor’s Address,” *Daily News* [St. John’s] 2 Jul. 1919: 4.

³⁰ “City Honours Heoric [sic] Dead,” *The Daily News* [St. John’s] 2 Jul. 1919: 4; “Memorial Day Fittingly Observed, Church Services” *Evening Telegram* [St. John’s] 2 Jul. 1919: 7; and G. J. Whitty, “Commemoration Day Ceremonies, July 3rd,” *Evening Telegram* [St. John’s] 2 Jul. 1921: 6.

³¹ “Wear a Forget-Me-Not on July 1st. Outward and Visible Sign of a Sentiment Signified,” *The Veteran* 4.2 (July 1924): 37.

³² The 29th Division, composed of the 86th, 87th, and 88th Brigades, learnt 27 June 1916 that they were to seize the German line at Beaumont-Hamel. The Newfoundland Regiment’s involvement in this offensive would entail, as part of the 88th Brigade, capturing the third line of the German trench system. This objective was, of course, predicated upon the successful capture of the first and second German trench lines by the 86th and 87th Brigades. Only then could the Newfoundland Regiment traverse the three-line British trench system, negotiate the difficult passage through openings in the four belts of wire strung along the frontline, navigate the perilous stretch of No Man’s Land, swarm the German first-line trench between Point 89 and slightly northward of Point 60, and, lastly, proceed towards Station Road, which lay behind

the German front line, to execute their objective. On 1 July, the morning of the attack, the Regiment gathered in two support trenches, St. John's Road and Clommel Avenue, waiting for their command, as the appointed tertiary wave of troops, to go over the top. The preceding two waves of infantrymen to advance towards the German line, namely, the 1st South Wales Borderers and 1st Inniskilling Fusiliers, followed by the King's Own Scottish Borderers and the Border Regiment, were rapidly felled by enemy fire. Originally, the Newfoundland Regiment, as did the Essex Regiment, received instruction to make their attack at 8:40 a.m., although this order was later canceled, generating considerable commotion in an already chaotic combat situation. Then, at 9:15 a.m., both the Newfoundland and Essex Regiments were issued their command to attack, although now their advance was greatly impeded by the physical obstacle presented by the dead and injured of the first two infantry waves, these men's wounded bodies and corpses thickly littering the communication trenches through which both attacking regiments were required to pass in reaching their assault position of the front-line trenches. Of the 801 Newfoundlanders who made the advance, only 68 other ranks would present themselves for roll call the following morning (the casualty count numbered 233 dead, 91 missing, and 386 wounded). Major A. Raley, "Beaumont Hamel," *The Veteran Magazine* 1.3 (September 1921): 33, 36-39, 43; Richard Cramm, "Beaumont Hamel July 1st, 1916. A Tragic but Glorious Attack by the Royal Newfoundland Regiment," *Evening Telegram* [St. John's] 8 Jun. 1925: 6; Parks Canada, National Historic Sites, "Conservation and Presentation Plan for the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Picardie, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada," June 17, 1997, 4.2-4.3, 4.5; Paul Gough, "Sites in the Imagination: The Beaumont Hamel Newfoundland Memorial on the Somme," *Cultural Geographies* 11.3 (July 2004): 241-242; and Parsons, "Newfoundland and the Great War," *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers*, ed. Briton C. Busch (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) 149-150. Cramm's and Gough's accounts differ slightly, with the former noting that the Newfoundland Regiment's original instructions were to wait close to Pursieux Road for the duration of the artillery bombardment, before advancing to capture the third German line, whereas Gough recounts that their orders were to pause at Station Road until the artillery ceased firing, then seize Puisieux trench. Likewise, both Cramm and Parson state the Regiment advanced as the third wave of infantrymen, as opposed to the second, in Gough's account.

³³ "In Honor Of Our Boys!" *Evening Telegram* [St. John's] 19 Jul. 1916: 5 and "St. John's Wood," *Evening Telegram* [St. John's] 20 Jul. 1916: 4.

³⁴ The Battle Exploit Memorials Committee's *Appendix No. 1 To Paper 21- List of Claims By Units* (page 3) also cites these five sites as claimed by the Newfoundland Contingent. In the table of comments submitted by the Historical Section, C.I.D., the body called to review the eligibility of each unit's site claim(s), it is observed that the Newfoundland Contingent's 4 November 1915 taking of Caribou Hill would not have ordinarily qualified as an exceptional battle action, save for that it marked the Regiment's inaugural bout of combat in the War. Specifically, the Historical Section writes: "This would not in itself seem to reach the required level, but it commemorates the fact that the Royal Newfoundland Regt. had their first experience of active service on the Gallipoli Peninsula, and the operation, though in itself a minor affair, was one of the few active operations carried out during the last few months at Suvla, and was quite successful." Battle Exploit Memorials Committee, *Appendix No. 2 To Paper 21- List of Claims Arranged By Battlefields*, 16, LAC, RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial.

³⁵ Extract from telegram received from Synoptical, London, 9 August 1919, LAC, RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial and Nangle, "Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials," 12 September 1919, 8-9, LAC, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle's Reports. The Report's listing of the eight Canadian memorial sites does not differ from that tabled in the Battle Exploit Memorials Committee's *Appendix No. 1 To Paper No. 21- List of Claims By Units* except for that the St. Julien memorial is identified with the first Canadian Division and the remaining seven memorials with the Canadian Corps.

³⁶ The Trinity Historical Society Archives, "The Royal Newfoundland Regiment," *The Battle of the Somme: A Generation Lost But Never Forgotten*, http://www.newfoundlandandthesomme.com/regiment/royal_newfoundland_regiment.htm (accessed 01/12/2010).

³⁷ Gotto first exhibited a bronze statuette of *The Fighting Newfoundlander* (study for a war memorial) at the 1919 Summer Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts. Two summers later he exhibited the bronze statue version of *The Fighting Newfoundlander* at the Royal Academy of Arts Exhibition. On 13 September 1922, an enlarged copy of Gotto's original 4-foot sculpture was unveiled in Bowring Park, a gift of Sir Edgar

Bowring who had been contemplating its installation there since 1920. 30 November [no year given but undoubtedly 1919] letter to Major Nangle from Basil Gotto, LAC, RG 38 volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial; 15 November 1920 letter to Ronald M. Phillips from Lieut.-Col., Chief Staff Officer, LAC, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-8-1-Grave Sites Nfld.; *Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-1970: A dictionary of artists and their work in the Summer Exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Arts*, vol. III, E-HAR (East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorkshire: EP Publishing Limited, 1978) 177; Parks Canada, National Historic Sites, "Conservation and Presentation Plan for the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial, Picardie, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada," June 17, 1997, 3.0-11; John Crowell, "The Fighting Newfoundlander," <http://www.ucs.mun.ca/~jcrowell/pages/newfoundland/fighting.html> (accessed 30/10/2008); and "The History," <http://www.nfld.com/nfld/tourism/bowring/history.htm> (accessed 30/10/2008).

³⁸ 30 November [no year given but undoubtedly 1919] letter to Major Nangle from Basil Gotto, LAC, RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial.

³⁹ The spatial disposition and orientation of the caribou sculpture at each of the five memorial sites is not haphazard, for it marks either the Regiment's then on-the-ground location or the directional bearing of its advance in battle. Heritage Conservation Program (RPS for Parks Canada), Draft, "Eleven First World War Memorials in Belgium and France: Statements of Cultural Significance, Conservation Goals & Information Gaps," January 8, 2002, 4. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

⁴⁰ 30 November [no year given but undoubtedly 1919] letter to Major Nangle from Basil Gotto, LAC RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial.

⁴¹ 30 November [no year given but undoubtedly 1919] letter to Major Nangle from Basil Gotto, LAC RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial.

⁴² 30 November [no year given but undoubtedly 1919] letter to Major Nangle from Basil Gotto, LAC RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-Battle Exploits-Memorial.

⁴³ 6 January 1920 Copy of Minute of Executive Council [Colonial Secretary's Department], The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), GN 2.14.99, box 10, Imperial War Graves Commission; and Heritage Conservation Program (RPS for Parks Canada), Draft, "Eleven First World War Memorials in Belgium and France: Statements of Cultural Significance, Conservation Goals & Information Gaps," January 8, 2002, 4. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

⁴⁴ 18 March 1920 letter to Lieut. Col. Rendell, Dept. of Militia, from Arthur Mews, Deputy Colonial Secretary and Arthur Mews, Certified Copy of Minutes of the Honourable Executive Council approved by His Excellency the Governor on the 25th March 1920, LAC, RG 38, volume 474, file M-19-8-2, Battle Exploits-Memorials-Purchase. Throughout this thesis, I cite the amount of money budgeted for and expended to erect each of the Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian Great War national memorials. These sums are variously expressed in pounds sterling and dollars, as stated in the original document.

⁴⁵ Nangle, "Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials," 12 September 1919, 7, LAC, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle's Reports.

⁴⁶ Nangle, "Preliminary Report On War Graves And Battle Exploit Memorials," 12 September 1919, 7, LAC, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle's Reports.

⁴⁷ 11 October 1921 letter to Lieut-Col. W. F. Rendell, Chief Staff Officer, Department of Militia, from Fred Sterling, Asst. Deputy Colonial Secretary and Translation Code Telegram received 7 October 1921 from Nangle, LAC, RG 38, volume 475, file M-19-8-1, Grave Sites Nfld.

⁴⁸ "The Ladies' Auxiliary Committee," *The Veteran Magazine* 1.2 (April 1921): 73-74.

⁴⁹ The April 1923 issue of *The Veteran Magazine*, however, reports that Nangle had bought nearly 83 acres of ground surrounding Beaumont Hamel. "Newfoundland's Fallen: Memorial Park at Beaumont Hamel," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.1 (April 1923): 17. The October 1923 issue, meanwhile, cites a slightly larger acreage of ground purchased for the Park: 84 acres. "Visit to Battlefields and Newfoundland War Memorials," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.3 (October 1923): 16.

⁵⁰ The issue of land purchase procedural irregularity first arose in 1933 when Sir Edgar Bowring seriously considered relinquishing ownership of the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park, excepting the caribou memorial and its immediate environs, as a government cost-saving measure during the Depression. This proposed economizing motion generated considerable anxiety with the London authorities, however, because the Beaumont-Hamel site, which Nangle apparently acquired independently of the Battle Exploits Commission, encompassed three IWGC cemeteries within its perimeter. Although maintenance proper of the cemeteries fell under the jurisdiction of the IWGC, two of these burial grounds, 'Y' Ravine and Hawthorne Ridge No. 2, also contained Newfoundland plots, and thus associatively constituted a

fundamental commemorative feature of the Park. In the event, Bowring abandoned the idea, presumably for its unseemliness, if not its political and popular repercussions. Five years later the French government enacted legislation, precipitated by the raft of legal complications accompanying foreign possession of realty in France, that secured French ownership of British and Dominion Great War memorials erected on its soil. Nangle, T. Lieut.-Colonel, "Newfoundland Memorial Park: Beaumont Hamel," *The Veteran* 5.3 (May 1926): 7-8; "The Newfoundland Memorials," with attachment of Extract from the Archives Register of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Maidenhead, Section 10 B: Battle Exploit Memorials [the author of "The Newfoundland Memorials" singles out CWGC register WG 857/4/3, "Battle Exploit Memorial-Newfoundland-Beaumont Hamel And Auchonvillers, 22 July 1921-12 Dec. 1935 for consultation.], document available at VAC Charlottetown; 4 August 1982 letter to John Walsh, Sub Regional Director (VS), Veterans Affairs Canada, from P. V. B. Grieve, Secretary-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Canadian Agency, on file at VAC Charlottetown; Gough 242; and Parks Canada, National Historic Sites, "Conservation and Presentation Plan for the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Picardie, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada," June 17, 1997, 2.0-17-2.0-19, 3.0-12-13.

⁵¹ *Convention Concerning The Transfer To The French State Of The Property In The Sites Of British Monuments Commemorative Of The War 1914-1918*, Paris, 28 December 1938, 3, 9. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

⁵² *Convention Concerning The Transfer To The French State Of The Property In The Sites Of British Monuments Commemorative Of The War 1914-1918*, Paris, 28 December 1938, 8. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

⁵³ In 1923 the 29th Division accepted the offer tendered by the Newfoundland Government to erect their memorial within the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park; a like invitation was also extended to the 51st (Highland) Division, who later responded in the affirmative. The 29th Division memorial, located at the 'Y' intersection (entranceway) of the pedestrian circuit that snakes around the caribou monument, is a rough-hewn triangular rock set atop a landscaped mound. Sometime after the Second World War, a bronze plaque emblazoned with a red triangle, the Division's emblem, and inscribed "29th Division, 1914-1918," was affixed to the memorial, although the red triangle was, apparently, part of its original design conception. Two memorials were also erected to commemorate the 51st Highland Division. One, a modest Celtic wooden cross set upon a concrete base rendered to simulate stone, bears the inscription "Erected in memory of the officers, NCO's and men of the 51st Highland Division who fell at the Highwood July 1916." This memorial, now situated within the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park, is believed to have been removed in 1958 from its original Highwood location. The other, unveiled by Marshal Foch on 28 September 1924, is the imposing 51st Highland Division Memorial, the unit that gained control of Beaumont-Hamel in November 1916. This memorial is both architectural and sculptural, whereby a series of stairs ascend to an enclosed platform, 'guarded' by bronze lions, upon which is set a rusticated granite cairn surmounted by a sculpted bronze Highlander.

Several commemorative plaques abound throughout the Park. Most prominent, as well as an original design feature of Cochius' plan, is the bronze plate, embedded within a cairn of rugged masonry blocks, upon which is reproduced John Oxenham's elegiac poem to the war dead, its opening line commanding all Park visitors to "Tread softly here! Go reverently and slow!" Strategically situated to the right of the Park's principal entrance, the high-flown, if slightly admonishing tone of this poem operates, whether successfully or not, as a primer in memorial site visitation decorum. Lest this poetic approach prove too subtle now, a present-day trilingual (English, French and German) sign makes its direct appeal for respectful visitor conduct: "The grounds upon which you are about to enter are sacred. Please help us maintain the dignity and tranquility of this Memorial by conducting yourself in a respectful manner. In honour of those many hundreds who lost their lives at Beaumont-Hamel, visitors are requested not to engage in activities such as hunting, cycling, picnicking, shouting, climbing the monuments, bringing pets, vehicles or chairs into the site." In July 1995, a plaque marking the 200th anniversary of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment was affixed to a large stone integrated amongst the landscaped mound of the caribou memorial. 180 degrees opposite, another stone-mounted plaque proclaims "In Honoured Memory of 'Ours.' First Newfoundland Regiment, From The Staff, Imperial Tobacco Co. (N.F.) Ltd," gifted in 1924. "Newfoundland's Fallen: Memorial Park at Beaumont Hamel," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.1 (April 1923): 17; "Imperial Tobacco Company's Tribute," *The Veteran* 4.1 (April 1924): 50, Parks Canada, National Historic Sites, "Conservation and Presentation Plan for the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Picardie, France,

for Veterans Affairs,” June 17, 1997, 2.0-12-2.0-16 and 3.0-20, and photographs of Oxenham poem and ‘conduct’ sign taken by Janis Bormanis, May 2007.

The Oxenham poem reads:

Tread softly here! Go reverently and slow!
Yea, let your soul go down upon its knees,
And with bowed head, and heart abased, strive hard
To grasp the future gain in this sore loss!
For not one foot of this dank sod but drank
Its surfeit of the blood of gallant men,
Who, for their faith, their hope,- for Life and Liberty,
Here made the sacrifice,- here gave their lives,
And gave right willingly- for you and me.
From this vast altar-pile the souls of men
Sped up to God in countless multitudes:
On this grim cratered ridge they gave their all,
And, giving, won
The Peace of Heaven and Immortality.
Our hearts go out to them in boundless gratitude:
If ours-then God’s; for His vast charity
All sees, all knows, all comprehends- save bounds.
He has repaid their sacrifice;- and we —?
God help us if we fail to pay our debt
In fullest full and all unstintingly!

⁵⁴ *Convention Concerning The Transfer To The French State Of The Property In The Sites Of British Monuments Commemorative Of The War 1914-1918*, Paris, 28 December 1938, 6. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

⁵⁵ The Bowring Park Foundation, “The History,” <http://www.nfld.com/nfld/tourism/bowring/history.htm> (accessed 28/03/2010).

⁵⁶ R. H. K. Cochius, “Marking the Trail of the Caribou,” *The Veteran* 4.1 (April 1924):18-19.

⁵⁷ R. H. K. Cochius, “Marking the Trail of the Caribou,” *The Veteran* 4.1 (April 1924): 19.

⁵⁸ Cochius, in his 1924 account of the development of the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park, notes that the Danger Tree has been “re-erected” where it once grew. His Park site plan also identifies its location in No Man’s Land. “Planting Plan for the Newfoundland War Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel (Somme),” *The Veteran Magazine* 3.2 (July 1923): 51, R. H. K. Cochius, “Marking the Trail of the Caribou,” *The Veteran* 4.1 (April 1924): 19. For present-day visitors, however, the emblematic Danger Tree, a key arboreal landmark and symbolic signpost within the preserved warscape, is described in the ‘script’ prepared for the site’s official VAC-sponsored student guides as “the skeleton of an isolated tree standing here (or near here) which resembled the tree which we now see.” In Paul Gough’s account, however, these potted “petrified remains” are of Danger Tree pedigree. Nigel Cave, “Beaumont-Hamel Bullet Points and Interpretive Structure,” Guides Information ‘Bricks’ for the Vimy Memorial and the Newfoundland Memorial, Beaumont-Hamel (July 2002 Revise, B-H Bulletpoints 1807.doc) 14 (document available at VAC Charlottetown) and Paul Gough, “Sites in the Imagination: The Beaumont Hamel Newfoundland Memorial on the Somme,” *Cultural Geographies* 11 (2004): 245.

⁵⁹ General Sir Horrace Smith-Dorrien, “The Best War Memorials,” *The Veteran* 5.2 (October 1925): 34; “Newfoundland’s Fallen: Memorial Park at Beaumont Hamel,” *The Veteran Magazine* 3.1 (April 1923): 17; and R. H. K. Cochius, “Marking the Trail of the Caribou,” *The Veteran* 4.1 (April 1924): 19-20.

⁶⁰ Nangle, “Newfoundland Memorial Park: Beaumont Hamel,” *The Veteran* 5.3 (May 1926): 8 and “Newfoundland’s Fallen: Memorial Park at Beaumont Hamel,” *The Veteran Magazine* 3.1 (April 1923): 17.

⁶¹ During the mid-1980s, poured concrete replaced the original granular walking surface of the spiral pathway; safety handrails and curbing were added as well. Heritage Conservation Program, Real Property Services for Canadian Heritage and Environment Canada, PWGSC, “Overall Site Plan for the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Picardie, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada,” July 1999, 2.4.8.

⁶² “Visit to Battlefields and Newfoundland War Memorials,” *The Veteran Magazine* 3.3 (October 1923): 16.

⁶³ Between December 1914 and December 1915, General Sir Douglas Haig led the First Army of the BEF, after which he was appointed its Commander-in-Chief, a post he held for the remainder of the War. Nick Lloyd, "'With Faith and Without Fear:' Sir Douglas Haig's Command of First Army During 1915," *The Journal of Military History* 71. 4 (October 2007): 1051-1053 and Daniel Todman, "'Sans peur et sans reproche:' The Retirement, Death, and Mourning of Sir Douglas Haig, 1918-1928," *The Journal of Military History* 67. 4 (October 2003): 1091-92.

A dedicatory plaque commemorates the occasion. It reads:

This Park embraces the ground over which the Newfoundlanders fought on the First of July 1916, and was purchased and constructed under the direction of Lt.-Col T. Nangle and R. H. K. Cochius, ESQ. Landscape Architect from funds subscribed by the government and women of Newfoundland and was opened by Field Marshal Earl Haig K. T., G. C. B., O. M. Late Commander In Chief of the British Expeditionary Force on June 7th 1925. Quoted from photo of plaque taken by Janis Bormanis, May 2007.

⁶⁴ Earl Haig quoted by High Commissioner, "Yesterday's Ceremony at Beaumont Hamel. Field Marshal Haig Dedicates the Park and Unveils the Memorial," *Evening Telegram* [St. John's] 8 Jun. 1925: 6.

⁶⁵ High Commissioner, "Yesterday's Ceremony at Beaumont Hamel. Field Marshal Haig Dedicates the Park and Unveils the Memorial," *The Evening Telegram* [St. John's] 8 Jun. 1925: 6 and Nangle, "Newfoundland Memorial Park: Beaumont Hamel," *The Veteran* 5.3 (May 1926): 8, 13.

⁶⁶ J. A. Winter, "A Visit to Newfoundland's War Memorials in France and Belgium," *The Veteran* 12.3 (December 1938): 12.

⁶⁷ 24 May 1968 letter to C. W. Carter from Roger J. Teillet, 2, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 656, Box 1, File 4.

⁶⁸ Nangle, "Newfoundland Memorial Park: Beaumont Hamel," *The Veteran* 5.3 (May 1926): 14; Paul Gough, "Sites in the Imagination: The Beaumont Hamel Newfoundland Memorial on the Somme," *Cultural Geographies* 11.3 (2004): 245 and 256 (endnote 60); and Judith Kitchen, "F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night*," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Literature*, ed. Jay Parini (Oxford University Press, 2004. Oxford Reference Online, Oxford University Press), <http://0-www.oxfordreference.com/mercury.concordia.ca/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t197.e0089> (accessed 27/08/2009).

⁶⁹ Parks Canada, National Historic Sites, "Conservation and Presentation Plan for the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Picardie, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada," June 17, 1997, 3.0-22. Separate pages of the VAC Beaumont-Hamel website conflictingly cite the figures of 814 and 820, respectively, as the tally of names appearing on the three bronze plaques, affixed to the base of the caribou memorial, that list the missing Newfoundland sailors and soldiers of the Great War. See VAC, "Beaumont-Hamel- Fast Facts," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=memorials/ww1mem/beaumont-hamel/bfacts> (accessed 05/09/2010) and "Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=memorials/ww1mem/beaumont-hamel> (accessed 09/05/2010).

⁷⁰ At the beginning of that decade, a series of 1916 trenches were excavated anew and rebuilt, a restoration effort predicated upon priorities that promoted the preservation of the battle lines inhabited and the combat zone navigated, stretching from St. John's Road to 'Y' Ravine, by the Newfoundland Regiment during their 1 July 1916 advance. To perform this operation of reclaiming the specific battle topography of that iconic combat day, the Canadian Department of Veterans Affairs consulted Captain George Hicks MC, who had participated in the advance as a platoon commander. Consequently, traces of the trajectory of subsequent battles fought at Beaumont-Hamel towards the end of 1916 and once more in 1918 were mostly lost at the expense of physically retaining and reinforcing the commemoratively privileged spatial narrative of 1 July 1916. "Extracts from Letter of George Hicks, M. C. & Bar, Grand Falls, Nfld, Apr. 2/62 to C. Sydney Frost in reply to the latter's Letter expressing good wishes upon Mr. Hick's retirement as Sergeant-at-Arms, and informing him of the steps being taken to have a Historian appointed to succeed the late Col. Jackson," LAC, MG 31, title: Q2-38376, vol. 1, series G19, file: 1961-63 and Gough 246-247.

⁷¹ "Newfoundland's War Effort: A Text Prepared for the Guides of Beaumont-Hamel National Historic Site," March 1998, 4-8 and 16-18 (document available at VAC Charlottetown) and Nigel Cave, "Beaumont-Hamel Bullet Points and Interpretive Structure," Guides Information 'Bricks' for the Vimy Memorial and the Newfoundland Memorial, Beaumont-Hamel (B-H Bulletpoints 1807.doc, July 2002 Revise): 1-18 (document available at VAC Charlottetown).

⁷² From 1996 to 1998, Veterans Affairs Canada, in conjunction with Parks Canada, National Historic Sites, and the Heritage Conservation Program branch of Public Works and Government Services Canada,

conducted the first of its comprehensive studies pertaining to the operation, programming, presentation, and conservation of Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial and Park. One outcome of this initial research and review process was the proposal, adopted, to construct a new Visitor and Interpretive Centre at the site, slated for opening in November 1999. See Public Works and Government Services Canada, Heritage Conservation Program, Real Property Services for Canadian Heritage and Environment Canada, "Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Picardie, France, Request for Proposal for the Design and Construction of a Visitor Centre and Interpretive Exhibits, Associated Sitework and Fit-up for Veterans Affairs Canada," July 1998, 1-2 (document available at VAC Charlottetown).

⁷³ In the course of the Park's making and its periodic re-development, lengths of the British reserve, communication, and support trenches have been cut through or been compacted with earth, notably in the vicinity of the site manager's quarters and parts of the pathway circuit, including the roundabout around the caribou cairn. Heritage Conservation Program, Real Property Services for Canadian Heritage and Environment Canada, PWGSC, "Overall Site Plan for the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Picardie, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada," July 1999, 2.3.1 and 2.3.7 (document available at VAC Charlottetown).

⁷⁴ Gough 248 and 250-251.

⁷⁵ Natalie Bull and David Panton, "Drafting the Vimy Charter for Conservation of Battlefield Terrain," *APT Bulletin (Association for Preservation Technology International)* 31.4 (2000, *Special Issue: Managing Cultural Landscapes*): 5, 8.

⁷⁶ Bull and Panton 5.

⁷⁷ *Vimy Charter for Conservation of Historic Battlefield Terrain*, Draft 3, September 30, 2000, reproduced in Natalie Bull and David Panton, "Drafting the Vimy Charter for Conservation of Battlefield Terrain," *APT Bulletin* 31.4 (2000): 10.

⁷⁸ Paul Gough, "'Contested Memories: Contested Site': Newfoundland and its Unique Heritage on the Western Front," *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 96. 393 (December 2007, *Special Issue: Commemoration and Remembrance in the Commonwealth*): 697. The authors' note appended to Article twenty-two of the *Vimy Charter for Conservation of Historic Battlefield Terrain* observes: "The term 'park' is now being consciously disassociated from the sites [Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy]." *Vimy Charter for Conservation of Historic Battlefield Terrain*, Draft 3, September 30, 2000, reproduced in Natalie Bull and David Panton, "Drafting the Vimy Charter for Conservation of Battlefield Terrain," *APT Bulletin (Association for Preservation Technology International)* 31.4 (2000, *Special Issue: Managing Cultural Landscapes*): 10.

⁷⁹ Appendix A, "Statement Read by the Chairman," of *Battlefields Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian Troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920* refers to the Battle Exploits Memorials Commission, which surely is none other than the Battle Exploit Memorials Committee (BEC).

⁸⁰ S. C. Mewburn, "Special Committee on Battlefields Memorials. First Report," May 6, 1920 and Appendix B, "Report Made by Brigadier-General H. T. Hughes, C.M.G., D.S.D [sic], April 22, 1920, *Battlefields Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian Troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto*, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920 (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1920) 5-6, 7-8, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20030088-028, call number 58A1 195.20.

⁸¹ W. B. Northrup (Clerk of the House), Attest., "Special Committee on Battlefields Memorials," Order of Reference. House of Commons, Ottawa, April 21, 1920, *Battlefield Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto*, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920 (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1920) CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20030088-028, call number 58A1 195.20.

⁸² Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, and Mike Bechthold, introduction; Gary Sheffield, "Vimy Ridge and the Battle of Arras: A British Perspective;" Mark Osborne Humphries, "'Old Wine in New Bottles:' A

Comparison of British and Canadian Preparations for the Battle of Arras;” Tim Cook, “The Gunners at Vimy: ‘We are Hammering Fritz to Pieces;’” and Andrew Godefroy, “The German Army at Vimy Ridge,” *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, eds. Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, and Mike Bechthold (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, in association with the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, 2007) 1, 5, 15-17, 23, 77, 79-80, 115-117, 119, and 229.

⁸³ Currie, Appendix C, “Evidence of General Sir Arthur Currie and Prof. Nobbs,” May 4, 1920, *Battlefield Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto*, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920 (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1920) 10, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20030088-028, call number 58A1 195.20.

⁸⁴ Currie, Appendix C, “Evidence of General Sir Arthur Currie and Prof. Nobbs,” May 4, 1920, *Battlefield Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto*, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920 (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1920) 11, 13, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 200030088-028, call number 58A1 195.20.

⁸⁵ Clause 2 of the First Report lists the precise location of the eight memorials: 1. St. Julien; 2. Passchendaele, Crest Farm; 3. Hill 62, Observatory Ridge; 4. Hill 145, Vimy; 5. Dury Cross Roads; 6. Bournon Wood; 7. Courcellette; 8. Hospital Wood, between Caix and La Quesnel. S. C. Mewburn, “Special Committee on Battlefields Memorials, First Report,” May 6, 1920, *Battlefield Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto*, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920 (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1920) 5, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20030088-028, call number 58A1 195.20.

⁸⁶ S. C. Mewburn, “Special Committee on Battlefields Memorials, First Report,” May 6, 1920, *Battlefield Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto*, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920 (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1920) 5, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20030088-028, call number 58A1 195.20.

⁸⁷ S. C. Mewburn, “Special Committee on Battlefields Memorials, First Report,” May 6, 1920; Appendix A, “Statement Read by the Chairman,” April 22, 1920; Appendix B, “Report Made by Brigadier-General H. T. Hughes, C.M.G., D.S.D [sic],” April 22, 1920; Appendix C, “Evidence of General Sir Arthur Currie and Prof. Nobbs,” May 4, 1920, *Battlefield Memorials. Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected in the Battlefields of the late War to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto*, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920 (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1920) 6-8, 13-18, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20030088-028, call number 58A1 195.20.

⁸⁸ Rodolphe Boudreau (Clerk of the Privy Council), P.C. 1161, Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, Approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 24th May, 1920, 1-3; G.G. Kezar (Ass. Clerk of the Privy Council), P.C. 2146, Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council Approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 2nd September, 1920; and Jacqueline Hucker, “‘Battle and Burial’: Recapturing the Cultural Meaning of Canada’s National Memorial on Vimy Ridge,” *The Public Historian* 31.1 (February 2009): 102.

⁸⁹ Conditions of Open Preliminary Competition for the Selection of Designers for Eight (8) Canadian Battlefields Memorial Monuments in France and Belgium, revised 20/11/20, 5, Agenda: First Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 26th Nov., 1920, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt.1.

⁹⁰ Interestingly, clause 25 of the draft conditions for the preliminary competition specifies that the requisite memorial sculptural figure or grouping be “emblematic of Canadian manhood, or some such ideal,” although, on review, this descriptor was crossed out. Conditions of Open Preliminary Competition for the Selection of Designers for Eight (8) Canadian Battlefields Memorial Monuments in France and Belgium,

revised 20/11/20, 6, Agenda: First Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 26th Nov., 1920, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

⁹¹ Conditions of Open Preliminary Competition for the Selection of Designers for Eight (8) Canadian Battlefields Memorial Monuments in France and Belgium, revised 20/11/20, 1-6 and Time Schedule for Competition, (3 (a)), Agenda: First Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 26th Nov., 1920, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

⁹² Report of the Chairman, 2, and attached list of newspapers marked (a), Agenda: Second Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt.1.

⁹³ Progress of Work in France and Belgium, 5, Agenda: Second Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

⁹⁴ 21 April 1921 letter to the Secretary of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission from Frank Darling, C. H. Reilly, and Paul Philippe Cret, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

⁹⁵ Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, Draft "B," Conditions of Final Competition for the selection of designs for Eight (8) Canadian Battlefields Memorial Monuments in France and Belgium, 21/4/21, 5, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

⁹⁶ Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, Draft "B," Conditions of Final Competition for the selection of designs for Eight (8) Canadian Battlefields Memorial Monuments in France and Belgium, 21/4/21, 1, 4-5, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt.1.

⁹⁷ Lane Borstad, endnote 58, "Walter Allward: Sculptor and Architect of the Vimy Ridge Memorial," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 33.1 (2008): 38.

⁹⁸ Report of the Chairman, Minutes of Proceedings at the 2nd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held at the Royal Victoria Museum, Ottawa, Ontario, on Thursday – April 21st, 1921, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt.1.

⁹⁹ Memorials to Canadian Missing – Co-operation with Imperial War Graves Commission, Minutes of Proceedings at the 2nd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held at the Royal Victoria Museum, Ottawa, Ontario, on Thursday – April 21st, 1921, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Memorials to Canadian Missing – Co-operation with Imperial War Graves Commission, Minutes of Proceedings at the 2nd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held at the Royal Victoria Museum, Ottawa, Ontario, on Thursday – April 21st, 1921, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt.1.

¹⁰¹ Borstad 24-27; Laura Brandon, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art*, Beyond Boundaries Series No. 2 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006) 7-8, 12; "The Battlefield Memorial which will be placed on Hill 62, the work of Walter S. Allward, the well known Toronto Sculptor," *Saturday Night* 2 Dec. 1920; Anne Anderson Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Great Sculptor," *National Pictorial* 1 Mar. 1922; and Anne Anderson Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Sculptor," *International Studio* LXXV (April 1922): 120-124; C. C. Hill, "Justification for Works of Art for Consideration as Gifts for the Collection of Later Canadian Paintings, Sculpture and Decorative Arts: Allward, Walter," document available at PWGSC (Gatineau); National Gallery of Canada, "Walter S. Allward Collection: Finding Aid," <http://bibcat.gallery.ca/search/t?SEARCH=walter+s.+allward+collection&searchscope=4> (accessed 18/08/2010); Directorate of History and Heritage, "Memorials Details Search Results: Peterborough, ON;" "Memorials Details Search Results: Stratford, On," <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/nic-inm/sm-rm/mdsr-rdr-eng.asp?PID=5511>; and <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/nic-inm/sm-rm/mdsr-rdr-eng.asp?PID=3080> (accessed 18/08/2010).

¹⁰² Library and Archives Canada, "Clemesha, Frederick Chapman," *Soldiers of the First World War-CEF*, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/cef/001042-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=105478&PHPSESSID=h6fi72424uje6uee11mjf6oir5 (accessed 30/08/2010) and VAC, *St. Julien Memorial*, <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=Memorials/ww1mem/stjulien> (accessed 30/08/2010).

¹⁰³ Assessors' Report, Minutes of Proceedings at the 3rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Railway Committee Room, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, on Tuesday – October 4th, 1921, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Assessors' Report, Minutes of Proceedings at the 3rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Railway Committee Room, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, on Tuesday – October 4th, 1921, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹⁰⁵ “Walter S. Allward, Sculptor and Architect of Vimy Memorial Honoured by R.A.I.C.,” *The Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* XIV.3 (March 1937): 36-37, 40-41, 43; Canadian Army Education Services-21 Army Group, *Canadian Army Memorial Service, Vimy Ridge, 9 April 1945* (Ghent: L. Vanmelle, [1945]), CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19940001-680, call number 58B 7 5; 5-15; Brandon 13-14; Borstad 32; and Dennis Duffy, “Complexity and Contradiction in Canadian Public Sculpture: The Case of Walter Allward,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38.2 (Summer 2008): 192.

¹⁰⁶ 6 December 1928 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen’s University Archives.

¹⁰⁷ Assessors’ Report, Minutes of Proceedings at the 3rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Railway Committee Room, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, on Tuesday – October 4th, 1921, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Assessors’ Report, Minutes of Proceedings at the 3rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Railway Committee Room, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, on Tuesday – October 4th, 1921, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Minutes of Proceedings at the 4th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Railway Committee Room, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, on October 25th, 1921 and Canadian Battlefields Memorial’s [sic] Commission [The amount placed in the Estimates for the ensuing Session of Parliament (Adjustment of War Claims Vote) to cover the Commission’s programme for the next fiscal year from April 1st, 1922 to March 31st, 1923 is \$500,000.], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt.1.

¹¹⁰ THIS INDENTURE made in duplicate this twenty-seventh day of April in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two BETWEEN Walter S. Allward, Sculptor, of the City of Toronto, hereinafter called “the Designer,” Of The First Part, AND His Majesty the King, represented herein by the Minister of Militia and Defence, acting on behalf of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, hereinafter called “the Commission,” Of The Second Part, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen’s University Archives. In addition to his yearly salary of \$12,000, Allward would also receive \$10,000 for the professional services he would render in executing his contract and \$2,500 to defray the cost of his relocation to Europe and subsequent return to Canada upon the memorial’s completion. See clause three of the above-mentioned Indenture.

¹¹¹ The Minutes of the CBMC merely mention that “contrary representations had been made.” Commemoration of Missing and Proposed Site for Allward Monument, Minutes of Proceedings at the 5th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, on Wednesday, April 26th, 1922, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1. Jacqueline Hucker’s article about the Vimy memorial names Peter Larkin, Canada’s High Commissioner in London, as one objector to the memorial’s proposed siting atop Hill 62. Jacqueline Hucker, “‘Battle and Burial’: Recapturing the Cultural Meaning of Canada’s national Memorial on Vimy Ridge,” *The Public Historian* 31.1 (February 2009): 96.

¹¹² Commemoration of Missing and Proposed Site for Allward Monument, Minutes of Proceedings at the 5th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, on Wednesday, April 26th, 1922, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹¹³ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London and New York: Verso, 1993) 6.

¹¹⁴ Richards 3.

¹¹⁵ Richards 1-5.

¹¹⁶ Commonwealth War Graves Commission, “Who We Are” and “History,”

<http://www.cwgc.org/content.asp?menuid=1&submenuid=4&id=4&menuname=History&menu=sub> (accessed 30/08/2010).

¹¹⁷ A 1993 Leverhulme Trust grant made possible, with the guidance of Cambridge University Great War scholar Jay Winter, the cataloguing and dissemination, via a computer database (CWGC headquarters, Maidenhead) and print copies, of the CWGC’s (formerly IWGC) “historical administrative papers,” key documents chronicling the conceptual and construction histories of its cemeteries and memorials, gargantuan projects that negotiated a minefield of intersecting, and interesting, aesthetic, political, and bureaucratic interests. Today, the CWGC website database permits visitors to search for Commonwealth casualties and cemeteries of the two world wars. Alex King, “The Archive of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission,” *History Workshop Journal* 47 (Spring 1999) 253-254, 259 and Commonwealth War

Graves Commission, "Search Our Records," http://www.cwgc.org/debt_of_honour.asp?menuid=14 (accessed 02/02/2010).

¹¹⁸ King 253-254.

¹¹⁹ Commemoration of Missing and Proposed Site for Allward Monument, Minutes of Proceedings at the 5th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, on Wednesday April 26th, 1922, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, C.B.C., pt. 1.

¹²⁰ H. C. Osborne, Commemoration of Canadian Missing, Report to the Chairman and Members of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 10.1.23 [10 January 1923], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt.1.

¹²¹ H.C. Osborne, Commemoration of Canadian Missing, Report to the Chairman and Members of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 10.1.23 [10 January 1923], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹²² H. C. Osborne, Commemoration of Canadian Missing, Report to the Chairman and Members of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 10.1.23 [10 January 1923], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹²³ H. C. Osborne, Commemoration of Canadian Missing, Report to the Chairman and Members of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 10.1.23 [10 January 1923], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹²⁴ 1 December 1922 Progress Report for the Chairman, Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, from the Chief Engineer, Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission and H. C. Osborne, Acquisition of Land on Vimy Ridge, Report to the Chairman and Members of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 10.1.23 [10 January 1923], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. pt. 1.

¹²⁵ H. C. Osborne, Acquisition of Land on Vimy Ridge, Report to the Chairman and Members of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, 10.1.23 [10 January 1923], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, File: C.B.C. pt.1.

¹²⁶ Canada, Treaty Series, 1922, Supplement No. 1, [copy] *Agreement Between Canada and France Respecting the Cession to Canada of the Use of a Tract of Land on Vimy Ridge (Pas-De-Calais), Signed at Paris, December 5, 1922*, trans. (Ottawa, 1944) 3. This document is available at VAC Charlottetown.

¹²⁷ This Agreement was first ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies, followed by the French Senate, according to a *procedure d'urgence*, on 31 May 1927. The next year, the Canadian House of Commons, on 9 February, and the Senate, on 28 February, passed resolutions approving this Agreement. Canada, Treaty Series, 1922, Supplement No.1, [copy] *Agreement Between Canada and France Respecting the Cession to Canada of the Use of a Tract of Land on Vimy Ridge (Pas-De-Calais), Signed at Paris, December 5, 1922*, trans. (Ottawa, 1944) 1, 3-4. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

¹²⁸ Canada, Treaty Series, 1922, Supplement No. 1, [copy] *Agreement Between Canada and France Respecting the Cession to Canada of the Use of a Tract of Land on Vimy Ridge (Pas-De-Calais), Signed at Paris, December 5, 1922*, Appendix III, Memorandum by Colonel H. C. Osborne, Secretary of the Canadian Battlefields Memorial Commission, Concerning the Acquisition of Land for a War Memorial on Vimy Ridge, Read in the Senate of Canada on March 9, 1923, 7-8. Document available at VAC Charlottetown.

¹²⁹ Later, it also became a key node on the Great War pilgrimage circuit. The massive 1914-1918 military cemetery and memorial complex there was conceived in 1919, although the site already contained a small 1915 war cemetery. That cemetery was then enlarged with the reburial of French war dead exhumed from 150 cemeteries in the Artois, Yser and other fronts, and which in 1924, by order of the president, would become France's largest Great War mortuary-memorial complex, wherein its 25-hectare burial ground were eventually interred 40,058 of its dead in individual graves and across seven ossuaries. "Chemins de mémoire: Notre-Dame de Lorette (62),"

<http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/page/afficheLieu.php?idLang=fr&idLieu=1229> (accessed 14/10/2009).

¹³⁰ 27 April 1923 Synopsis of preliminary proposals of Lieut.-Colonel M. N. Ross, Landscape Architect to the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, regarding treatment of the Commission's Reservations on Vimy Ridge, Vimy Monument Historic Structures Report Historical Documentation Database, Public Works and Government Services Canada (PWGSC), Gatineau.

¹³¹ 27 April 1923 Synopsis of preliminary proposals of Lieut.-Colonel M. N. Ross, Landscape Architect to the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, regarding treatment of the Commission's Reservations

on Vimy Ridge, Vimy Monument Historic Structures Report Historical Documentation Database, PWGSC, Gatineau.

¹³² Allward opted, in weighing possibilities for the grounding of the memorial, to excavate the soil in front of the memorial, rather than its raising, an action which would have necessitated the grading of both its side and rear walls, as well as inflated the expense of preparing the foundations. The excavation of this portion of ground, by contrast, although still a major undertaking, was simpler and less expensive, requiring approximately 65 000 cubic yards of chalk and clay to be taken away. 13 October 1924 letter to General Mewburn from Walter S. Allward, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives and Jacqueline Hucker, "'Battle and Burial': Recapturing the Cultural Meaning of Canada's National Memorial on Vimy Ridge," *The Public Historian* 31.1 (February 2009): 103.

¹³³ 27 April 1923 Synopsis of preliminary proposals of Lieut.-Colonel M. N. Ross, Landscape Architect to the Canadian Battlefield Memorials Commission, regarding treatment of the Commission's Reservations on Vimy Ridge, Vimy Monument Historic Structures Report Historical Documentation Database, PWGSC, Gatineau.

¹³⁴ 27 April 1923 Synopsis of preliminary proposals of Lieut.-Colonel M. N. Ross, Landscape Architect to the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, regarding treatment of the Commission's Reservations on Vimy Ridge, Vimy Monument Historic Structures Report Historical Documentation Database, PWGSC, Gatineau.

¹³⁵ 27 April 1923 Synopsis of preliminary proposals of Lieut.-Colonel M. N. Ross, Landscape Architect to the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, regarding treatment of the Commission's Reservations on Vimy Ridge, Vimy Monument Historic Structures Report Historical Documentation Database, PWGSC, Gatineau.

¹³⁶ Jacqueline Hucker, "'Battle and Burial': Recapturing the Cultural Meaning of Canada's National Memorial on Vimy Ridge," *The Public Historian* 31.1 (February 2009): 102.

¹³⁷ Report to Major General C. S [sic] Mewburn, Chairman, C.B.M. Commission, from Brig. General H. T. Hughes, 28 October 1923, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, File: C.B.C pt.1.; 1 December 1925 letter to Major General S. C. Mewburn from H. T. Hughes, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC vol. 2; and Hucker 102. A decade ago, VAC (Commemoration Division) commissioned Integrated Forestry [sic] Services Inc. to prepare a management plan for the Vimy forest. See: Integrated Forestry [sic] Services Inc., "Forest Management Plan for the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, Pas de Calais, France" prepared for the Commemoration Division, Veterans Affairs Canada, July 7, 2000.

¹³⁸ 13 October 1924 letter to General Mewburn from Walter S. Allward, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹³⁹ 13 October 1924 letter to General Mewburn from Walter S. Allward, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives and Minutes of Proceedings of the 12th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on November 24th, 1924, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC vol. 2.

¹⁴⁰ 26 November 1924 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁴¹ 11 January 1924 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁴² Minutes of Proceedings of the 12th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on November 24th, 1924, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC vol. 2. and 26 November 1924 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁴³ Minutes of Proceedings of the 12th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on November 24th, 1924 and Minutes of Proceedings of the 14th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields memorials Commission held in Ottawa, December 9th, 1925, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC vol. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Minutes of Proceedings of the 14th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, December 9th, 1925, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Minutes of Proceedings of the 15th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, May 18th, 1926, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 2; Lane Borstad, "Walter Allward: Sculptor and Architect of the Vimy Ridge Memorial," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 33.1 (2008): 34; and Jacqueline Hucker, "Vimy: A Monument for the Modern World," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 33.1 (2008): 44.

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- ¹⁴⁶ 9 March 1926 letter from the High Commissioner to Messrs. Jenkins & Son, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 2.
- ¹⁴⁷ 1 March 1926 letter to General Mewburn from H. C. Osborne, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 2.
- ¹⁴⁸ 1 March 1926 letter to General Mewburn from H. C. Osborne, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 2.
- ¹⁴⁹ 12 April 1926 letter to Monsieur André Ventre from Walter S. Allward, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁵⁰ M. Verrier, Minutes of the 7th Meeting of the Anglo-French Mixed Committee held in Paris at the Ministère de la Guerre on the 25th June 1926, 5, NAA (Canberra), A461, H370/1/15 Part 1.
- ¹⁵¹ M. Verrier, Minutes of the 7th Meeting of the Anglo-French Mixed Committee held in Paris at the Ministère de la Guerre on the 25th June 1926, 6, NAA (Canberra), A461, H370/1/15 Part 1.
- ¹⁵² Stephen J. Greenblatt, preface, *Allegory and Representation: Selected Papers from the English Institute, 1979-80*, ed. Stephen J. Greenblatt, New Series, no.5 (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1981) viii.
- ¹⁵³ Greenblatt viii.
- ¹⁵⁴ Barbara Johnson, *The Wake of Deconstruction*, The Bucknell Lectures in Literary Theory Vol. 11 (Oxford and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1994) 61.
- ¹⁵⁵ 6 December 1928 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁵⁶ 6 December 1928 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁵⁷ 6 December 1928 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁵⁸ 6 December 1928 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁵⁹ It is unclear whether or not Osborne's mention of the panel of names located in the Cloister, University of Toronto, refers to the arcaded Memorial Screen located at the base of the Soldiers' Tower, the University's four-storey Great War memorial conceived in 1919 and erected in 1924; its carillon and clock are 1927 additions to the structure. Soldiers' Tower Committee, "Soldiers' Tower Virtual Tour" and "The Soldiers' Tower at Ground Level," <http://alumni.utoronto.ca/s/731/index.aspx?sid=731&gid=9&pgid=822#ground> (accessed 02/02/2010).
- ¹⁶⁰ 2 September 1926 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁶¹ 27 September 1926 letter to Colonel Osborne from Walter S. Allward, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁶² 27 September 1926 letter to Colonel Osborne from Walter S. Alward, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁶³ 29 October 1926 letter to Colonel Osborne from Allward, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁶⁴ Memorandum, Canadian Memorial, Vimy Ridge, IWGC, London, 8. 11. 27 [8 November 1927], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC, vol. 2.
- ¹⁶⁵ 11 November 1927 letter to Colonel Osborne from [Allward. The letter is unsigned but it is clearly authored by Allward.], Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁶⁶ Allward's specifications for the placement of the names, as outlined in the memorandum, were as follows: "He pointed out that the names would be engraved on the Bays marked "B, starting from point "A" on the plan, & running to the corner marked "C;" from "C" to "D" and "E;" thence passing round the front of the Memorial and entering by the Great Staircase. The names would be engraved on the wall about 66 feet in length running from "F" to "G." This would be repeated round the other half of the Memorial in an exactly similar manner." Memorandum, Canadian Memorial, Vimy Ridge, IWGC, London, 8.11.27 [8 November 1927], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC, vol. 2.
- ¹⁶⁷ Memorandum, Canadian Memorial, Vimy Ridge, IWGC, London, 8.11.27 [8 November 1927], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC, vol. 2.
- ¹⁶⁸ 10 November 1927 letter to Allward from H. F. Robinson, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.
- ¹⁶⁹ 11 November 1927 letter to Colonel Osborne from [Allward. The letter is unsigned but it is clearly authored by Allward], Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁷⁰ 11 November 1927 letter to Colonel Osborne from [Allward. The letter is unsigned but it is clearly authored by Allward.], Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁷¹ 1 December 1927 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁷² 17 December 1927 letter to W.S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁷³ The following year, in August 1928, the British Legion organized its large-scale battlefields pilgrimage. Lisa M. Budreau, *Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919-1933* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010) 181-182, 188; Lisa M. Budreau, "The Politics of Remembrance: The Gold Star Mothers' Pilgrimage and America's Fading Memory of the Great War," *The Journal of Military History* 72 (April 2008): 397; and David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and Commemoration of the Great War in Britain* (New York and Oxford: Berg, 1998) 107-109.

¹⁷⁴ 17 December 1927 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁷⁵ 28 May 1928 letter to Percy Smith from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives; Minutes of Proceedings of the 18th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, June 6th, 1928, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 2; Obituary, "Mr. Percy Smith: Art of Letter Design," *The Times* [London] Monday, Nov 01, 1948: pg. 7, Issue 5127, col. E; and "Artist's Page: Percy Smith," CyberMuse,

http://cybermuseum.gallery.ca/cybermuseum/search/artist_e.jsp?iartistid=5125 (accessed 02/02/2010).

¹⁷⁶ Allward's personal preference was for hand-cut letters, which he considered more "artistic." 16 May 1928 letter to General Hughes from [Allward. Although the letter is unsigned, its authorship is certain.], Walter Allward Seymour fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁷⁷ Minutes of Proceedings of the 18th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa June 6th, 1928; Minutes of Proceedings of the 19th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on October 9th, 1929; 7 October 1930 letter to S. C. Mewburn from H. T. Hughes, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 2; and Minutes of Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on October 15th, 1930, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁷⁸ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on October 15th, 1930, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁷⁹ Minutes of Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on October 15th, 1930, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on October 15th, 1930, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁸¹ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on October 15th, 1930, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁸² Roger Pooley, "The Pilgrim's Progress and the line of allegory," *The Cambridge Companion to Bunyan*, ed. Anne Duncan-Page (Cambridge University Press, 2010) 80, *Cambridge Collections Online*, Cambridge University Press, 03 September 2010, DOI: 10.1017/CCOL9780521515269.007.

¹⁸³ 18 September 1929 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, document available at PWGSC, Gatineau and "The Eighth Stage," *Pilgrim's Progress*, 33, Christian Classics Ethereal Library, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/bunyan/pilgrim.v.x.html> (accessed 15/12/2009).

¹⁸⁴ 30 September 1929 letter to H. C. Osborne from W. S. Allward. This document is available at PWGSC, Gatineau. Back in 1927, Allward had drafted for the CBMC's consideration three potential inscriptions for the memorial's Tomb. These were: (1) "In memory of the men of Canada who died in France 1914-1918;" (2) "In honour of the Canadians who died in defence of France (This might or might not appeal to the French people.);" and (3) "In memory of those Canadians who died for Humanity. 1914-1918." The sculptor further explained: "Either of these would be true, not boastful, and would contain the note of sacrifice in harmony with the spirit of the Memorial." Certainly the memorial's iconography and inscriptions are devoid of any traces or promotion of belligerence. Rather, its textual and iconographic emphasis is squarely placed upon the commemoration of the dead, a nation of mourners, exemplified by the two, one male, one female, grieving, recumbent figures positioned at the rear of the memorial, flanking its flight of stairs, as well as the exaltation of loftier ideals such as sacrifice. 1 [?] May 1927 letter to Colonel Osborne from [unsigned but clearly authored by Allward], Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁸⁵ Jon Davies, *The Christian Warrior in the Twentieth Century* (Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 1995) 56,

http://books.google.ca/books?id=0WtiE33ASiQC&pg=PA55&lpg=PA55&dq=john+davies+war+memorial+s+christian+sacrifice&source=bl&ots=dzQE8WX-29&sig=kCC5jc_syWDta86VrIMixo2KA1k&hl=en&ei=vcsnS8ScGdHDI Ae6rfydDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CAoQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=&f=false (accessed 15/12/2009).

¹⁸⁶ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 21st Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa July 15th, 1931, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁸⁷ The CBMC, at its 19 January 1923 meeting, resolved that “there should be inscribed on the Vimy monument a statement giving the total of the Canadian Missing and recording the fact that those names not commemorated there were inscribed on the Arch at Menin Gate.” By year’s end, the Canadian government had informed the IWGC that it intended for the Canadian missing of the Ypres Salient to be commemorated upon the Menin Gate, whilst all other servicemen without known graves should be memorialized upon the Vimy memorial. The IWGC, for its part, passed this resolution at its 56th meeting: “The Commission having considered the desire expressed by the Government of the Dominion of Canada to commemorate the Canadian Missing, other than those to be commemorated on the Menin Gate, Ypres, on the Canadian Memorial on Vimy Ridge, RESOLVE [:] That the Commission being satisfied that these names are suitably recorded, there be paid to the Government of Canada such a sum of money per name so recorded as will be equal to the average cost per name incurred by the Commission in commemorating in France and Belgium the remainder of the members of His Majesty’s Naval and Military Forces who fell in the War and have no known grave.” Minutes and Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in the Speaker’s Library, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, January 19th, 1923 and Minutes of Proceedings of the 9th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on December 6th & 7th, 1923, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file C. B. C. pt.1.

¹⁸⁸ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 21st Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, July 15th, 1931, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Together, the memorial’s two sculptural tableaux — *The Breaking of the Sword* and *Canada’s Sympathy for the Helpless* — comprise seven figures. The pylons’ figures number ten: *Sacrifice*, arms outstretched like the crucified Christ or a martyr, and the *Spirit of Sacrifice*, a reference to the call to arms, “take up our quarrel with the foe: To you from failing hands we throw The torch; be yours to hold it high...” with which the third stanza of John McCrae’s famous poem, *In Flanders Fields*, belligerently begins, as well as two angels and personifications of *Justice, Honour, Faith, Peace, Truth, and Knowledge*. The memorial’s sculptural centerpiece is its commanding female embodiment of *Canada Bereft*. Lastly, two recumbent, mourning figures, the *Youth of Canada* (male) and the *Reader of the Scroll* (a female figure who appears to reflect gravely upon the long roster of the names of the missing) flank the stairs at the back of the memorial. “Walter S. Allward, Sculptor and Architect of Vimy Memorial,” *The Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* XIV.3 (March 1937): 36-37, 40-41, Canadian Army Education Services-21 Army Group, *Canadian Army Memorial Service, Vimy Ridge, 9 April 1945* (Ghent: L. Vanmelle, [1945]) 5-13, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19940001-680, call number 58B 7 5; Dennis Duffy, “Complexity and Contradiction in Canadian Public Sculpture: The Case of Walter Allward,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38.2 (Summer 2008): 192, Brandon 12-14; and John McCrae, “In Flanders Fields,” *Literature Online*, http://0-lion.chadwyck.com/mercury.concordia.ca/searchFulltext.do?id=Z200688660&divLevel=2&queryId=../session/1261585026_4898&trailId=12521D506CC&area=Poetry&forward=textsFT&warn=Yes&size=2Kb (accessed 23/12/2009).

¹⁹⁰ The most provocative, albeit speculative, interpretation of this figure is that Allward may have conceived of his *Canada Bereft* sculpture, the memorial’s isolated and dominant sculpture, as a modern-day Elektra. This notion was first broached by Jacqueline Hucker who observed that Allward’s sculpted mourning figure of Canada remarkably recalled the drawings made by Gordon Craig for a 1905 staging of Hugo von Hofmannsthal’s *Elektra*. Jill Scott has elaborated upon Hucker’s observation at length. Allward’s first sketch for the Vimy memorial, entitled *Rough Suggestion for the Canadian Memorial in France*, she notes, depicts a shrouded woman perched upon a ship’s bow that is seen navigating a channel between two massive walls; one wall is identified as symbolizing France. In Scott’s reading, the boat upon which this personification of Canada is a passenger is polyvalent in its symbolic meaning, variously conjuring images of a *Canada Bereft* voyaging to France, her sojourn there entailing traversing the river Styx; or the vessel

that conveys Agamemmon, the father of Elektra, to Greece following his successful battle exploit at Troy; or even the watercraft of Canada's colonial period. Regardless, in this first sketch, Allward's female embodiment of Canada stands "triumphant, proud — and mobile." Moreover, if Allward's figure of Canada in this initial drawing was conceived as Elektra-like, the sculptor's accompanying annotation to the image, "The failure of Germany in the wall of broken France," rings eerily prescient. Indeed, this sketch also portrays the French bearing their dead as they ascend stairs towards a monument from which Germany is perpetually denied admittance. Allward's completed figure of *Canada Bereft* for the Vimy memorial, however, differs from his earlier conception. This allegorical Canada-Elektra sculpture, a cloaked woman, her head covered by a cowl and bowed in mournful contemplation, is classically beautiful, even eroticized, her flowing robe both concealing and revealing her body, its drapery having seemingly casually slipped from one shoulder, partially exposing a breast. Both her countenance and stature speak of stoically borne but profound sorrow. She is now, of course, poised alone and atop the memorial's massive front wall, divested of her ship, stranded or shipwrecked, as it were. Her downwards gaze is fixed upon the sarcophagus below, a figure caught in thought, either, Scott suggests, "contemplating her own fall" or planted, one might imagine, "on an ocean shore." The latter reading, given the figure's detachment from the protective confines of the memorial's interior echoes Canada's distance, an ocean away from Europe, as well as a nation saddled with nearly unfathomable and unbearable war losses. The isolation and loneliness of *Canada Bereft*, a figure, it seems, consumed by inconsolable grief, despite her dignified bearing, Scott opines, "suggests a broken mother who will wait in vain for her son's remains." Indeed, the Vimy memorial is most affectingly a memorial to the missing. Jill Scott, "Vimy Ridge Memorial: Stone with a Story," *Queen's Quarterly* 114.4 (Winter 2007): 509-510, 512.

If Scott's analysis of Allward's *Canada Bereft* sculpture presupposes specialist knowledge about the sculptor's conception of the Vimy memorial and a deeper cultural literacy, Dennis Duffy's reading of this allegorical figure highlights its recognizably Christian references, allusions that, presumably, would not be lost upon the first generation of visitors to the memorial. The figure of *Canada Bereft*, apparently modeled after one Edna Moynihan, a former dancer, Duffy observes, is clearly cast as a Madonna figure mourning her dead son(s). The alignment of her sorrowful gaze with the Tomb below recalls the Pietà, albeit "decoupled." The limp bouquet of arum lilies she clutches in her right hand, however, is a curious iconographic departure on the part of Allward, he argues. Certainly, poppies or laurel would have been more conventional choices as horticultural attributes for a war memorial figure. Yet, these wilting lilies, Duffy conjectures, lend dual possible meanings to this allegorical figure, as they are common to both wedding and funeral floral arrangements, although their sad state aligns them more with the latter event. Similarly, although lilies are an Easter flower, and the taking of Vimy Ridge occurred on its occasion, their lack of vitality militates against any promise of resurrection. For Duffy, then, this personification of a mourning Canada can potentially assume a host of allegorical identities, begging whether "the Madonna of Vimy is the bereft bride? The downcast mother? The Eternal Woman? All of the above?" The sculpture of *Canada Bereft* thus invites, on the part of the viewer, further personalization as an emblem of Canadian bereaved mothers, daughters, sisters, widows, and wives, although it also broadly speaks, at least within a then familiar Christian framework, to all who were left bereft of their loved ones by the War. Dennis Duffy, "Complexity and Contradiction in Canadian Public Sculpture: The Case of Walter Allward," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38.2 (Summer 2008): 192.

¹⁹¹ Rigamonti was paid £650 for the carving he had performed upon the *Canada Bereft* sculpture under a previous contract he had signed 3 May 1930. That contract was annulled and a new one, dated 14 July 1931, was drawn up and signed by the carver. Under this new contract, Rigamonti was appointed the memorial's Master Carver, a salaried post he would hold for one year, earning £950 for his labours. 13 July 1931 letter to Luigi Rigamonti from G. Howard Ferguson, High Commissioner, and Memorandum of Agreement dated July fourteenth, 1931, between Luigi Rigamonti of 62, Acacia Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.S. hereinafter called the Master Carver, and His Majesty the King, represented by the Minister of National Defence of Canada, hereinafter referred to as the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission (C.B.M.C.), Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁹² 16 June 1931 letter to Colonel Osborne from [Allward. Although the letter is unsigned, it is clearly authored by Allward.], Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives.

¹⁹³ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 21st Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, July 15th, 1931, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁹⁴ The west faces of the pylons were selected for the English and French versions of the main inscription. Minutes of the Proceedings of the 22nd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa October 3rd, 1932 and Minutes of the Proceedings of the 23rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, November 15th, 1933, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁹⁵ The battle list is distributed between the two pylons. The south pylon carries these: 1915—Ypres—Gravenstafel—St. Julien—Frezenberg—Bellewaarde—Festubert—Givenchy—1916—St. Eloi—Mount Sorrel—Somme—Bazentin—Pozières—Flers-Courcelette—Thiepval—Ancre Heights—Ancre—1917—Arras—Vimy—La Coulotte—Arleux—Scarpe—Souchez River—Messines—Hill 70—Ypres—Pilckem—Langemarck—Menin Road-- Polygon Wood—Broodseinde—Poelcappelle—Passchendaele—Cambrai. The north pylon records battles of the War's last year: 1918—Somme—St. Quentin—Bapaume—Rosières—Arras—Moreuil Wood—Avre—Amiens—Damery—Albert—Scarpe—Drocourt-Queant—Hindenburg Line—Epehy—Canal Du Nord—St. Quentin Canal—Beaurevoir—Cambrai—Seille—Valenciennes—Sambre—Grande Honnelle—Mons. Minutes of the Proceedings of the 22nd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, October 3rd, 1932 and Minutes of the Proceedings of the 23rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa November 15th, 1933, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁹⁶ One of the Thiepval inscriptions reads: "Aux Armes Française et Britannique L'Empire Britannique Reconnaissant." Minutes of the Proceedings of the 22nd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, October 3rd, 1932 and Minutes of the Proceedings of the 23rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, November 15th, 1933, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁹⁷ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 22nd meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, October 3rd, 1932 and Minutes of the Proceedings of the 24th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, 25th February, 1935, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 24th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission Held in Ottawa, 25th February, 1935, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC, vol. 3; 1 April 1935 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne; 29 April 1935 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives; and author's visit to the Vimy memorial in May 2007.

¹⁹⁹ Minutes of Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on October 15th, 1930; Minutes of the Proceedings of the 22nd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, October 3rd, 1932; and Minutes of the Proceedings of the 23rd Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, November 15th, 1933, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

²⁰⁰ 20 November 1934 letter to Mr. Hennett [sic] from S. C. Mewburn and Minutes of the Proceedings of the 24th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, 25th February, 1935, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

²⁰¹ Bennett had expressed concern about the slow progress of the memorial's erection since his time as Leader of the Opposition in 1928. After gaining the office of prime minister, Bennett, accompanied by Simson and General Ware of the IWGC, toured the Vimy site and inspected the unfinished memorial in late 1930. Simson reported to Allward that "his attitude was critical," given that the IWGC erected its memorials in a year or eighteen months, acknowledging, however, that the supply of flawed sculpture blocks and a portion of the masonry stone had unduly delayed the advancement of work. Allward twice spoke with Bennett shortly following the prime minister's visit to Vimy, the second time in a meeting at the Mayfair hotel, London, also attended by the CBMC's solicitor, Biggar, when the three men reviewed the legal implications of Jenkins' contract. On its review, they agreed the contract did not contain a time limit specifying when the construction of the memorial's pylons must be completed, thus no legal action on this count could be pursued against the contractor. Bennett, for his part, recognized that the carving of the memorial's sculptures was necessarily slow work but remained "emphatic" about accelerating the slack pace of its masonry construction. A little later Bennett wrote Allward requesting from him a memorandum indicating what measures had been taken towards realizing the memorial's swift completion, tersely noting: "This work must be completed in 1932. That does not mean 1933 but in June or July of that year." 18 June 1928 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne; letter to W. S. Allward from D. C. Unwin Simson [undated but clearly dating from late, probably November, 1930]; 1 December 1930 letter to Captain

Simson from [unsigned but clearly from Allward]; 4 December 1930 letter to Colonel Osborne from [unsigned but clearly authored by Allward]; 23 March 1931 letter to W. S. Allward from H. C. Osborne, Walter Seymour Allward fonds, Queen's University Archives; and Copy, 5 January 1935 letter to S. C. Mewburn from R. B. Bennett, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

²⁰² L.[?] W. for Secretary, C. B. M.C, Department of National Defence, Estimates 1939-40, Memorandum re Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission and the whole of the work undertaken by it, 16.2.39 [16 February 1939], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C. B. C. vol. 4.

²⁰³ L.[?] W. for Secretary, C.B.M.C, Department of National Defence Estimates 1939-40, Memorandum re Canadian Battlefield Memorials Commission and the whole work undertaken by it, 16.2.39 [16 February 1939], LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: C.B.C. vol. 4.

²⁰⁴ "Vimy Memorial Intact Says Sir Fabian Ware," and "Postscript to Vimy," *The Legionary* vol. XVIII.9 (March 1943): 13, 32.

²⁰⁵ Parks Canada National Historic Sites, "Conservation and Presentation Plan for the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, Pas de Calais, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada," April 15, 1997, 1.0-1 and Veterans Affairs Canada, "First World War Memorials in Europe," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=Memorials/ww1mem> (accessed 23/08/2010).

²⁰⁶ Application of 'La Division Marocaine' for Permission to Erect Battlefield Memorial on Vimy Ridge, Minutes of Proceedings of the 11th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa on Friday, July 24th, 1924, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file C.B.C. pt 1.

²⁰⁷ Parks Canada National Historic Sites, "Conservation and Presentation Plan for the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, Pas de Calais, France, for Veterans Affairs Canada," April 15, 1997, 1.0-5, 2.0-12-2.0-13, 4.0-17, 5.0-1-5.0-2, 6.0-9-6.0-10 and "Vimy Ridge National Historic Site of Canada, France: Commemorative Integrity Statement," October 2005, 9, 11. The latter document is available at VAC Charlottetown.

²⁰⁸ 14 July 1919 letter to General Griffiths from [name illegible], Captain, A. I. F. Graves Registration Staff Officer, NAA (Melbourne), series MP 367/1, item 528/1/134.

²⁰⁹ From the outset, Hughes harboured definite ideas about the siting and design of the national memorial. These he had discussed during an April 1919 Paris conference attended by General Hobbs and a third party, Pearce, at which time the three men resolved, pending Cabinet's approval, this plan of action: "National Memorial to be erected Villers Bretonneux on site about ten acres, if so much can be obtained. Memorial to be worthy of our great soldiers, their sacrifice, heroism, endurance, decisive battles fought in neighbourhood, and through-out every theatre of great war, and of Australia, the country for which our dear boys fought and died. This memorial will stand through this and future generations as monument of Australian soldiers and of Australia. It must be worthy of both. It is to be designed by Australians in open competition, built wholly of Australian marble [,] trachytia, timber etc. It must be artistic, inspiring, enduring. It will cost say about £100,000. A Committee composed of Hobbs[,], Mackennal and one other will draft preliminary conditions for competitive designs and select one French architect, one British member of Institute of British Architects and one Australian architect, who will in their turn select one French artist [,] sculptor [,] architect to act as sole judge of designs." 30 April 1919 wire from Hughes excerpted in 8 July 1922 summary, "Proposed Australian National Memorial at Villers Bretonneux," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²¹⁰ 14 July 1919 letter to General Griffiths from [name illegible], Captain, A. I. F. Graves Registration Staff Officer, NAA (Melbourne), series MP 367/1, item 528/1/134.

²¹¹ At the outset of the War, Hobbs was appointed commander of the artillery, 1st Division of the A.I.F. From March 1916 onwards until the War's termination he was stationed in France, where Hobbs continued his leadership of the 1st Division artillery before serving as acting commander of the 1st Anzac Corps Artillery between October and December. Thereafter he led the 5th Division, gaining the rank of Major General as of 1 January 1917. Hobbs was instrumental in orchestrating the retaking of Villers-Bretonneux by Australian forces in April 1918. Immediately after the Armistice he was named successor to Monash as acting Lieutenant-General of the Australian Corps, although he gave up his post in May 1919. Hobbs, though, remained intimately involved in the commemoration of the five A.I.F. Divisions, including choosing the five divisional memorial sites, drafting designs for these, four of which were adopted, and organizing their construction. A. J. Hill, "Hobbs, Sir Joseph John Talbot (1864-1938)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography-Online Edition*, <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A090322b.htm> (accessed 13/02/2010).

²¹² 10 February 1921 report, "Australian National Memorial, Villers Bretonneux," to the Director-General of Works from J. S. Murdoch, Chief Architect, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G 1927/780.

²¹³ 10 February 1921 report, "Australian National Memorial, Villers Bretonneux," to the Director-General of Works from J.S. Murdoch, Chief Architect, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G 1927/780.

²¹⁴ 26 January 1922 letter to the Secretary, Department of Defence, from J. Talbot Hobbs, NAA (Melbourne), series MP367/1, item 528/1/292.

²¹⁵ 26 January 1922 letter to the Secretary, Department of Defence, from J. Talbot Hobbs, NAA (Melbourne), series MP367/1, item 528/1/292.

²¹⁶ 26 January 1922 letter to the Secretary, Department of Defence, from J. Talbot Hobbs, NAA (Melbourne), series MP 369/1, item 528/1/292.

²¹⁷ Press notice, "The Villers Bretonneux Memorial. Australia's Main Oversea Monument. Competition Opens Today," attached to 20 November 1925 letter to the Publicity Officer, Prime Minister's Department, from Trumble, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

Villers-Bretonneux was targeted for capture by the German army during its sweeping spring offensive of 1918, initiated 21 March, because the town was a vital gateway to Amiens, a strategically significant city not only for its convergence of railways, but also as the juncture where the British and French armies met on the Western Front and for its position as the final frontier separating the German forces from the Channel Port. The protection of Villers-Bretonneux was the responsibility of the British Eighth Division, commanded by Major General W. C. G Heneker, with the 15th A.I.F. Brigade, under the leadership of Harold 'Pompey' Elliott, stationed in reserve as a back-up force. Elliott had always felt that Heneker's defence preparations for Villers-Bretonneux would be inadequate and that his brigade would be summoned, in the predictable event of a German assault, to mount the counter-attack and then regain control of the town. Accordingly, Elliott devised a plan for this exact purpose.

Villers-Bretonneux was first unsuccessfully attacked by the Germans on 4 April. A second assault, though, was mounted by them in the very early morning of 24 April and this time the Eighth Division could not prevent the town's and its outlying area's occupation. Even though the British high command had ordered Villers-Bretonneux's swift recapture, Elliott was denied permission to implement his counter-attack plan, despite its approval and advocacy by Major General J. J. T. Hobbs, commander of the 5th A.I.F. Division. Rather, Henecker squandered valuable time, as the Germans solidified their stronghold within and around the town, devising several counter-attack scenarios that would instead employ his division. Towards the afternoon, however, a counter-attack strategy, virtually the same as Elliott's original proposal, did emerge: the 13th A.I.F. Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General T. W. Glasgow, would launch its assault south of the town, with Elliott's brigade doing the same from the north, the two brigades then converging, in a pincer formation, east of Villers-Bretonneux. Units from Heneker's division, in turn, would follow the two counter-attacking brigades in a sweep-up operation. This daring counter-attack, to be executed at night, also dangerously courted disaster, for the two brigades, that of Glasgow doubly disadvantaged because its men had already marched eight miles and they lacked familiarity with the territory they would now traverse, were to penetrate German-occupied ground, then assemble as a joint force, without the benefit of strong artillery cover. Despite experiencing some disorientation in the darkness and periodic enemy fire, the 15th Brigade prevailed and secured its position. On the other hand, the 13th Brigade encountered greater resistance from the Germans and thus were compelled to retreat, albeit securing a location south of the town's core; Heneker's division, meanwhile, could not perform their planned follow-up sweep of remaining German strongpoints. Still, by break of day 25 April, scores of Germans had been taken prisoner and the counter-attack was declared a distinct success, as well as a symbolically charged one, having coincided with Anzac Day. The recapture of Villers-Bretonneux was costly, though, resulting in 1200 Australian deaths and the near leveling of the town itself. Ross McMullin, "'Perhaps the greatest individual feat of the war': The battle of Villers-Bretonneux, 1918," *Wartime 2* (April 1998): 51-55 and Linda Wade, "'A memorial of the fine work they did for their country': The Victorian Education Department and the Villers Bretonneux School," *Flinders Journal of History & Politics (FJHP)* 24 (2007): 68-69.

²¹⁸ War Memorials Committee, Minutes of first meeting held on 24th January, 1921 and 10 February 1921 report, "Australian National War Memorial, Villers Bretonneux," to the Director-General of Works from J. S. Murdoch, Chief Architect, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G 1927/780.

²¹⁹ The War Memorials Committee, which met for the first time on 24 January 1921, appears to have operated within the Department of Defence, as well as in close cooperation with the Department of Works and Railways. War Memorials Committee, Minutes of the First Meeting held on 24th January, 1921; 10

February 1921 report, "Australian National War Memorial, Villers Bretonneux," to the Director-General of Works from J. S. Murdoch, Chief Architect; War Memorials Committee, Minutes of the third meeting held on 12 April 1921; War Memorials Committee, Agenda of Fourth Meeting to be held at Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, at 2.30 p.m. on Tuesday 27th September, 1921; and 26 February 1926 letter to J. S. Murdoch from the Secretary, War Memorials Committee NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780.

²²⁰ See http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=63701&mode=1 (accessed 15/02/2010).

²²¹ 26 January 1922 letter to the Secretary, Department of Defence, from J. Talbot Hobbs, NAA (Melbourne), series MP 367/1 item 528/1/292; and 23 May 1921 report, "Australian War Memorials," to the Official Secretary; 24 June 1921 Memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, Australian Graves Services, by M. L. Shepard; and 19 January 1922 report to the Secretary for Defence regarding Australian War Memorials abroad by C. P. Seccombe, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G1927/780.

²²² 19 January 1922 report to the Secretary for Defence regarding Australian War Memorials abroad by C. P. Seccombe and War Memorials Committee, Minutes of the seventh meeting held at Victoria Barracks, Melbourne on 1st February, 1922, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G1927/780.

²²³ Later, in a letter excerpted in the 25 September 1922 report to the Secretary, Department of Works & Railways, upon War Memorials, France, by [author's name illegible], NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G1927/780, the Official Secretary writes: "I do not know what the feeling at your end is with regard to proceeding with construction of the Corps Memorial on the land which we purchased at Villers-Bretonneux, but I feel strongly, and Sir Joseph Cook agrees with me, that the original project should be abandoned."

²²⁴ 19 January 1922 report to the Secretary for Defence regarding Australian War Memorials abroad by C. P. Seccombe, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G 1927/780.

²²⁵ War Memorials Committee, Minutes of the seventh meeting held at Victoria Barracks, Melbourne on 1st February, 1922, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G1927/780.

²²⁶ War Memorials Committee, Tenth meeting held at Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, on 20th June, 1922, NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G1927/780.

²²⁷ E. K. Bowden, brief, "For Cabinet Consideration: National Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux," NAA (Canberra), series A 106, item G1927/780 [A notation of 24/1 suggests the brief dates from January 1924]; Decypher of cablegram forwarded by the Prime Minister (Mr. Bruce) to Sir Fabian Ware, War Graves Commission, London, dated 3 May 1924; Decode of cablegram from the Prime Minister's Department to the High Commission's Office, 8 May 1924; 8 May 1924 letter to Mr. Bruce from Fabian Ware; Decypher of cablegram despatched by the Prime Minister (Mr. Bruce) to Sir Joseph Cook, London, dated 14 May 1924; and Decypher of cablegram sent by the Prime Minister (Mr. Bruce) to Sir Fabian Ware, London, dated 14 May 1924, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part I.

²²⁸ Draft, Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Defence, *Architectural Competition for the Australian War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, France: Conditions Regulating Submission of Designs*, 1, NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780.

²²⁹ Draft, Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Defence, *Architectural Competition for the Australian War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, France: Conditions Regulating Submission of Designs*, 2, NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780.

²³⁰ Draft, Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Defence, *Architectural Competition for the Australian War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, France: Conditions Regulating the Submission of Designs*, 2-4, NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780 and Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Defence, *National War Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France. Architectural Competition. Conditions Regulating Submission of Designs* (Melbourne: H. J. Green, Government Printer, October 1925) 3, AWM 93, 12/8/13.

²³¹ 20 November 1925 letter to the Publicity Officer, Prime Minister's Department, from Trumble, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²³² J. Talbot Hobbs, J. S. Murdoch, and G. Sydney Jones, 5 October 1926 Adjudicators' Report, "National War Memorial: Villers Bretonneux: France," NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780.

²³³ Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Defence, *National War Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France. Architectural Competition. Conditions Regulating Submission of Designs* (Melbourne: H. J. Green,

Government Printer, October 1925), 6, AWM 93, 12/8/13 and 23 December 1925 letter to George Sydney Jones from J. S. Murdoch, NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780.

²³⁴ J. Talbot Hobbs, J. S. Murdoch, and G. Sydney Jones, 5 October 1926 Adjudicators' Report, "National War Memorial: Villers Bretonneux: France," NAA (Canberra), series A106, G1927/780.

²³⁵ J. Talbot Hobbs, J. S. Murdoch, and G. Sydney Jones, 5 October 1926 Adjudicators' Report, "National War Memorial: Villers Bretonneux: France," NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780.

²³⁶ J. Talbot Hobbs, J. S. Murdoch, and G. Sydney Jones, 5 October 1926 Adjudicators' Report, "National War Memorial: Villers Bretonneux: France," and Synopsis, "The Villers Bretonneux Memorial. Australia's Main Oversea Monument [1927], NAA (Canberra), series A106, item G1927/780.

²³⁷ 7 March 1927 letter to M. L. Shepherd, Official Secretary, Australia House, from Giles Gilbert Scott containing his adjudicator's report, "Australian National War Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²³⁸ 7 March 1927 letter to M. L. Shepherd, Official Secretary, Australia House, from Giles Gilbert Scott containing his adjudicator's report, "Australian National War Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²³⁹ 7 March 1927 letter to M. L. Shepherd, Official Secretary, Australia House, from Giles Gilbert Scott containing his adjudicator's report, "Australia's National War Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²⁴⁰ Bruce Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 28.

²⁴¹ David Marr, "The Last Battle of the Somme," *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 Apr. 1997: Spectrum, 5, http://newsstore.fairfax.com.au/apps/viewDocument.ac?page=1&sy=nstore&kw=the+and+last+and+battle+and+of+and+the+and+somme+and+david+and+marr&pb=all_ffx&dt=selectRange&dr=entire&so=relevance&sf=text&sf=headline&rc=10&rm=200&sp=nrm&clsPage=1&docID=news970425_0165_6722

(accessed 18/08/2010); Scates 26, 28; and Katti Williams, "Sublime Ruins: William Lucas' Project for the Australian WWI War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, France," *Melbourne Art Journal* 11-12 (2008-2009, *Special Issue: Europe and Australia*): 65-67, 81.

²⁴² 17 March 1927 memorandum to the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from the Official Secretary, Australia House, London and 8 November 1927 letter to Trumble from H. F. Robinson, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²⁴³ 25 February 1932 letter to the Secretary from [unsigned, but letter bears Prime Minister letterhead], NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²⁴⁴ Villers Bretonneux Memorial 828/2/4; 19 May 1930 letter to the Secretary from T. Murdoch, Director of Works; and 25 February 1932 letter to the Secretary from [unsigned, but letter bears Prime Minister letterhead], NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1; and statement, "Villers Bretonneux Memorial," attached to 20 March 1936 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from M. L. Shepherd, Secretary, Department of Defence, NAA (Canberra), series A461, H370/1/15 Part 2.

²⁴⁵ 22 July 1930 decode of cablegram from High Commissioner's Office, London, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²⁴⁶ Williams 65 and David Marr, "The Last Battle of the Somme," *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 Apr. 1997,

http://newsstore.fairfax.com.au/apps/viewDocument.ac?page=1&sy=nstore&kw=the+and+last+and+battle+and+of+and+the+and+somme+and+david+and+marr&pb=all_ffx&dt=selectRange&dr=entire&so=relevance&sf=text&sf=headline&rc=10&rm=200&sp=nrm&clsPage=1&docID=news970425_0165_6722
(accessed 18/08/2008).

²⁴⁷ 22 July 1930 decode of cablegram from High Commissioner's Office, London, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²⁴⁸ 14 January 1931 letter to [High Commissioner] Granville from Fabian Ware, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1. Major-General Sir Granville de Laune Ryrie was appointed High Commissioner to London in 1927. See Australian War Memorial, "People Profiles: Major General Granville de Laune Ryrie, KCMG, CB," <http://www.awm.gov.au/people/298.asp> (accessed 03/11/2010)

²⁴⁹ 14 January 1931 letter to [High Commissioner] Granville from Fabian Ware, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

²⁵⁰ 14 January 1931 letter to [High Commissioner] Granville from Fabian Ware, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.

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- ²⁵¹ 15 January 1931 memorandum to the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from Trumble, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 1.
- ²⁵² 13 December 1934 Agenda No. 1285, Copy No. 15, "Villers Bretonneux: National Memorial" and For Cabinet, Agenda No. 1285, Copy No. 8, "Villers Bretonneux: National Memorial," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 part 2.
- ²⁵³ 13 December 1934 Agenda No. 1285, Copy No. 15, "Villers Bretonneux: National Memorial," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁵⁴ 13 December 1934 Agenda No. 1285, Copy No. 15, "Villers Bretonneux: National Memorial," and Extract from minutes of the meeting of the Cabinet held at Commonwealth Offices, Melbourne, on Wednesday 20th February, 1935, 10:30 a.m., 1285 Villers Bretonneux National Memorial, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁵⁵ 9 September 1935 memorandum for the Official Secretary in Great Britain (For Transmission through Prime Minister's Department) from Official Secretary, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁵⁶ 9 September 1935 memorandum for the Official Secretary in Great Britain (For Transmission through Prime Minister's Department) from Official Secretary, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁵⁷ 30 October 1935 decode of cablegram from the High Commissioner, London, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁵⁸ 10 December 1935 decode of cablegram to High Commissioner's Office, London, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁵⁹ For Cabinet, Agenda No. 1285, Copy No. 8, "Villers Bretonneux: National Memorial," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁶⁰ 12 March 1936 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from M. L. Shepherd and 4 September 1936 decode of cablegram, addressed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lyons, from the High Commissioner, London, signed Bruce, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁶¹ 6 November 1936 report, "Australian National Memorial. Villers-Bretonneux," by H. F. Robinson, Director of Works and 19 February 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from H. F. Robinson, Director of Works, IWGC, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 5.
- ²⁶² 24 February 1937 report, "Australian National Memorial Villers Bretonneux. Second Visit of London Committee-February 1937," by Murphy, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 5.
- ²⁶³ 18 March 1937 summary, "Villers Bretonneux Memorial-Inscriptions," NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 5.
- ²⁶⁴ 18 March 1937 summary, "Villers Bretonneux Memorial-Inscriptions," NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 part 5.
- ²⁶⁵ That is, unless the Commission thought it preferable to replace 1918 with 1919 as the War's terminal date, considering the AIF remained actively associated with the war zones well after the Armistice. However, in July 1937 approval was granted for the substance of the memorial's main inscription, with the IWGC to then confirm the adoption of either 1918 or 1919 as the War's terminal date. The following month, the Commission pronounced they were in favour of 1918, the dating convention they had adopted since the beginning of their memorial work. 24 May 1937 memorandum for the Official Secretary in Great Britain from M. L. Shepherd, Secretary, Department of Defence, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 5; 28 July 1937 letter to the Vice Chairman and Secretary, IWGC, from the Official Secretary and 10 August 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from Chettle, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁶⁶ 24 May 1937 memorandum for the Official Secretary in Great Britain from M. L. Shepherd, Secretary, Department of Defence, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 5.
- ²⁶⁷ 16 July 1937 report, "Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux. Progress Report, to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand," from H. F. Robinson, Director of Works, IWGC, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 5.
- ²⁶⁸ 18 August 1937 report, "Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux. Progress Report, for the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand," from H. F. Robinson, Director of Works, IWGC, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.

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- ²⁶⁹ 10 August 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from Chettle, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷⁰ Chettle noted: "It will be remembered that the actual figure of missing Australian soldiers has been materially reduced since the design of the Memorial was adopted and will without doubt be further reduced as further discoveries are made on former battlefields." 10 August 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from Chettle, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷¹ 10 August 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from Chettle, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷² 10 August 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from Chettle, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷³ 20 November 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Australia House, Strand, from H. F. Robinson, Director of Works, IWGC, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷⁴ 30 July 1937 letter to the Vice Chairman and Secretary, IWGC, from the Official Secretary and 10 August 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from Chettle, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷⁵ 9 September 1937 memorandum for the Air Liaison Officer from Duffy, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷⁶ 7 September 1937 letter to Lieut-Col. E. H. Jarvis, IWGC, from Gerald W. Wollaston, Garter; 8 September 1937 letter to Duffy from E. H. Jarvis; and 9 September 1937 memorandum for the Air Liaison Officer from Duffy, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷⁷ 4 October 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, Strand, from Murphy, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷⁸ 28 July 1937 letter to the Vice Chairman and Secretary, IWGC, from the Official Secretary; 17 August 1937 memorandum for the Secretary, Department of Defence, from Acting Official Secretary; and 20 November 1937 letter to the Official Secretary, Australia House, Strand, from H. F. Robinson, Director of Works, IWGC, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 6.
- ²⁷⁹ 9 March 1938 memorandum for the Official Secretary in Great Britain from F. G. Shedden, Secretary, Department of Defence, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 7.
- ²⁸⁰ 23 March 1938 cablegram received from the Prime Minister, Canberra, addressed to the High Commissioner, London, signed Lyons and 31 March 1938 letter to Duffy from Chettle, NAA (Canberra), series A2909, item AGS6/1/18 Part 7. The battles to be listed upon the Villers-Bretonneux memorial were: Somme 1916, 18; Pozières; Bapaume 1917; Arras 1917; Bullecourt; Messines 1917; Ypres 1917; Menin Road; Polygon Wood; Broodseinde; Poelcapelle; Passchendaele; Avre; Ancre 1918; Villers Bretonneux; Lys; Hazebrouk; Hamel; Marne 1918; Amiens; Albert 1918; Albert 1918 (Chuignes); Mont St. Quentin; Hindenburg Line; Epehy; St. Quentin Canal; and Beaurevoir.
- ²⁸¹ 3 August 1937 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from M. L. Shepherd, Secretary, Department of Defence, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁸² 3 August 1937 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from M. L. Shepherd, Secretary, Department of Defence and 25 August 1937 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from M. L. Shepherd, Secretary, Department of Defence, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2; and Australian War Memorial, "This Month in Australian Military History: August," <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/thismonth/aug.asp> (accessed 03/14/2010).
- ²⁸³ 16 November 1937 decode of cablegram from the High Commissioner, London, addressed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lyons, signed Bruce, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁸⁴ 16 November 1937 decode of cablegram from the High Commissioner, London, addressed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lyons, signed Bruce, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 part 2.
- ²⁸⁵ 18 November 1937 decode of cablegram to the High Commissioner, London, from Lyons, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 2.
- ²⁸⁶ Decypher of telegram received by His Excellency the Governor-General from the Private Secretary to the King dated London 7 February 1938. Received Canberra 8 February 1938, signed Harding and 9 February 1938 notice, "For Press," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 3.
- ²⁸⁷ 18 March 1938 notice, "For Press: Villers Bretonneux War Memorial," and 4 April 1938 notice, "For the Press," NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 3.

²⁸⁸ 14 March 1938 letter to the Prime Minister from Ellen Kinchington; 15 March 1938 letter to the Rt. Hon. J. A. Lyons from A. J. Chambers, President, Federated T. B. Sailors & Soldiers' Association of Australia; 19 March 1938 letter to the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister from A. F. McConnell, Hon. Secretary, Australian Blinded Soldiers' Association, Federal Executive; and 11 April 1938 letter to the Rt. Hon. J. A. Lyons from R. H. Coates, Honorary State Secretary, Diggers Association (Qld), NAA (Canberra), series A663 2001, item 0100/1/102 attachment B.

²⁸⁹ 20 June 1938 decode of cablegram, addressed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lyons, from the Rt. Hon. Sir Earle Page, signed Page; 22 June 1938 decode of cablegram from the High Commissioner's Office, London; 22 June 1938 decode of cablegram from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa; 28 June 1938 letter to Sir Gilbert Dyett, Federal President, The Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, from Y. S.? [initials unclear], NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 3.

²⁹⁰ Decode of cablegram dated 11 March 1938 from the High Commissioner, London, and addressed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lyons, NAA (Canberra), series A663, item 0100/1/102 attachment F.

²⁹¹ Commonwealth of Australia, *Order of Ceremonial at the Unveiling of the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial by His Majesty King George VI. In the Presence of Her Majesty the Queen and the President of the French Republic on Friday, July 22nd, 1938 at 1:30 p.m.* (London: Wightman & Co., Ltd) cover, 3,5,7, NAA (Canberra), series A663 2001, item 0100/1/102 Attachment C; 23 August 1938 letter to the Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept., from Grattan Gurmiss?, Editor, Fox Movietone News; 7 September 1938 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from Official Secretary; 9 September 1938 decode of cablegram from High Commissioner's Office, London; 11 January 1939 memorandum for the Secretary, Department of Commerce, from Secretary; 17 March 1939 memorandum for the Secretary, Department of the Treasury, from F. Strahan, Secretary; 7 April 1939 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from J. L. Treloar, Director, Australian War Memorial; 9 May 1939 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from J. L. Treloar, Director, Australian War Memorial; and 17 May 1939 memorandum for the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, from J. L. Treloar, Director Australian War Memorial, NAA (Canberra), series A461, item H370/1/15 Part 4.

²⁹² The Villers-Bretonneux memorial sustained heavy damage under battle fire during the Second World War. This damage was fully repaired, save for some minor pitting of the memorial's plain back wall, which was retained as historical evidence. A plaque installed in the memorial's stairwell entrance informs visitors of this feature: "This memorial was severely damaged during the battles of the 1939-1945 War. Restoration was completed in 1951 although superficial scars were allowed to remain for the purpose of historical interest."

²⁹³ See http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=63701&mode=1 (accessed 02/11/2010).

²⁹⁴ Australian Government, Department of Veterans' Affairs, "Office of Australian War Graves (OAWG)," http://www.dva.gov.au/commems_oawg/OAWG/Pages/index.aspx (accessed 09/02/2010); Australian Government, Department of Veterans' Affairs, OAWG Factsheet WG01, "What does the Office of Australian War Graves do?," http://www.dva.gov.au/commems_oawg/Pages/factsheets.aspx (accessed 09/02/2010); Australian Government, Department of Veterans' Affairs, "Villers-Bretonneux, France," http://www.dva.gov.au/COMMEMS_OAWG/COMMEMORATIONS/COMMEMORATIVE_EVENTS/A_NZAC_DAY/Pages/france2010.aspx (accessed 09/02/2010); and Australian Government, Department of Veterans' Affairs, "News & current projects," http://www.dva.gov.au/commems_oawg/OAWG/news/Pages/index.aspx (accessed 09/02/2010).

Chapter Two

Capital Commemoration and the Construction of National War Memorials in St. John's, Ottawa, and Canberra

The advent of the 1920s inaugurated a decade-long period of fervent local First World War memorialization in Canada, Newfoundland, and Australia alike. This was an expected post-war phenomenon in each nation because “the memory of war...,” as Susan Sontag reminds us, “like all memory, is mostly local.”¹ Yet the socially sweeping nature and vast geographic swath cut by this flurry of community-based commemorative activity across Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian soil were historically unprecedented. Indeed, throughout this first post-war decade and, infrequently, the early 1930s, Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian localities everywhere commemorated their communities’ participation in the 1914-1918 conflict, primarily by erecting memorials to the fallen, although other modes of memorialization, particularly utilitarian, such as memorial hospitals and halls,² won rare civic favour. Meanwhile, at the capital level, ambitious and invariably protracted war memorial schemes were initiated in St. John's, Ottawa, and Canberra by key military, government, and civilian stakeholders in the public commemoration of the Great War.

This chapter chronologically examines, from conception through completion, three capital Great War commemorative enterprises: the Newfoundland National War Memorial (St. John's, 1924), the National War Memorial (Ottawa, 1939), and the Australian War Memorial (Canberra, 1941). The construction histories of the St. John's and Ottawa memorials are comparatively brief and straightforward. To be sure, the realization of these two national war memorials was not without the complications and complexities common to such projects, including — at various points in the two cities —

the loss of the original designer (dismissal and death), design modifications, political wrangling at the prime ministerial or committee level, and site selection and improvement. The compounded effect of these factors was to delay each memorial's completion, modestly in the case of St. John's and considerably for Ottawa. By contrast, the Australian War Memorial boasts a long and complex creation process, owing to its final conception as a museum *and* national memorial commemorating two world wars. This was a departure from its founding vision as a record, and as a record repository, in remembrance of the service and sacrifice of the Great War Australian Imperial Force alone. Over two decades passed before the official opening of the Australian War Memorial during the Second World War, which is reflected in this chapter's comparatively detailed account of its creation and construction.

At bottom, though, discussion of these three capital war memorials primarily hinges upon two axes of critical interest: site and rite. Specifically, the capital war memorial is interrogated as the prime perennial locus of official ritualized commemorative activity, especially on the national day(s) of remembrance. In this regard, Australia's national day of war remembrance, Anzac Day (25 April), is singled out for discussion and analysis because its public observance domestically, as well as by the Australian expatriate community, carries a unique sociopolitical and pop-cultural charge well beyond the merely memorial. This makes Anzac Day wholly unlike Remembrance Day (November 11) as it is observed in Australia, Canada, and other former World War One combatant nations, or Memorial Day (July 1), marked officially in Newfoundland. By the same token, although each of these three memorials has, since their unveiling, been reinvested with new meanings by way of commemorative add-ons,

in-depth examination of this phenomenon is reserved for the Australian War Memorial because it is with reference to the Canberra monument that add-ons can be most tellingly examined. Commemorative add-ons to this (indeed, to any) memorial can be profitably understood as exemplifying a process geographer Owen Dwyer identifies as *symbolic accretion*, whose manifestations may be *allied* or *antithetical* in nature.³ Specifically, symbolic accretions may be permanent (plaques) or impermanent (wreaths), as well as performative, such as when a memorial's space is commandeered for an event or an action that either confirms or criticizes the venue's commemorative import. In providing a comprehensive post-inauguration history of the Australian War Memorial's ongoing and evolving ceremonial function, epitomized by its observance of Anzac Day, this chapter underscores how the meaning and symbolism of *all* memorials is mutable against an ever-changing horizon of social and cultural developments.

2.0. The Newfoundland Regiment and the Great War

The Newfoundland Great War dead were commemorated overseas, including at Beaumont-Hamel, as well as in St. John's. Although a small fighting force, the Newfoundland Regiment participated in many of the War's major campaigns, the first of which was Gallipoli. These men, formally attached to the 29th Division, disembarked on 20 September 1915 for active service at Suvla Bay (situated to the north of Anzac Cove in Turkey),⁴ their combat base until the evacuation of the peninsula some months later. The losses and casualties sustained by the Regiment during its four-month engagement here totaled forty-four dead and seventy wounded, the majority of deaths, however, attributable to disease, especially enteric dysentery. The Regiment then enjoyed a three-

month recuperative stint in Egypt until mid-March 1916, during which time their reduced numbers were bolstered by an influx of just-drafted men and the rejoining to their ranks of both the Gallipoli convalescent and the men of the transport corps, back from their recent deployment with the Western Frontier Force. The Regiment left Egypt for France on 14 March 1916, disembarking at Marseilles a week later en route to the Western Front, arriving at Louvencourt at the beginning of April. The Regiment's first frontline tour of duty, two raids on the German trenches, was conducted at Beaumont Hamel, later the site of their own iconic Great War engagement, on 1 July 1916, the inaugural day of the Battle of the Somme. For the remainder of hostilities they served in various French and Belgian battle sectors. At the War's end the regimental casualty count amounted to 1,304 men, or one-fifth of the 6,179 who had served.⁵

2.1. The War Memorial Committee of the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland, 1918-1920

Nearly half a year before the signing of the 1918 Armistice the task of commemorating Newfoundland's fallen in the Great War had already received formal consideration, with a governor-appointed commemoration committee resolving on 26 July 1918, in consultation with the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland (PAN), to erect a war memorial in St. John's.⁶ The Patriotic Association was founded in 1914 and was chaired by the governor himself, Sir Walter Davidson. Until late 1917 it orchestrated regimental affairs, including recruitment, stores, finances, transportation and accommodation, and medical treatment, until these responsibilities were assumed by the Department of Militia. It was aided by its auxiliary, the Women's Patriotic Association.⁷

At the Patriotic Association's 29 December 1919 meeting, a brief of the War Memorial Committee, the successor body to the governor-appointed commemoration committee, was read and much debated. The governor was of the opinion that the total expense of the war memorial should not exceed \$40,000-\$50,000. Others present expressed their predilection for a memorial comprising "something symbolic in Statuary,"⁸ citing the caribou memorial that was soon to be erected at five Great War battle sites significant to the Newfoundland Regiment. A model of this was presented to the PAN by Major T. Nangle. (See Chapter One for a full discussion of the overseas memorials, especially the caribou cairn erected at Beaumont-Hamel.) Lt. Col. Bernard apprised those gathered of the war memorial resolutions made by the Great War Veterans' Association (GWVA), whose members favoured the local installation of a caribou memorial, as well as the construction of a complex comprising both normal and technical schools and facilities for the GWVA. This meeting, marked by vigorous and opposing discussion over the nature (symbolic or utilitarian or both), of the war memorial, adjourned with the PAN agreeing that the resolutions put forth by the War Memorial Committee and the GWVA be reviewed jointly by those two bodies.⁹

The prolongation of the war memorial issue lay with the two competing proposals. As before, advocates and detractors of the schemes abounded. Sir William Lloyd, Newfoundland's prime minister in 1918 and 1919,¹⁰ for example, pronounced the caribou memorial eminently "fitting,"¹¹ whilst the secretary of the PAN declared such a vision "unsuitable."¹² Furthermore, the proposed site, Bannerman Park,¹³ was itself problematic, since this location could not accommodate the normal school, now approved by the government and for which \$100,000 had been earmarked. In the wake of these

discussions a resolution was passed, whereby authorization was granted to the War Memorial Committee to consult with the eminent British architect George Gilbert Scott regarding the preparation of plans.¹⁴ Scott's prospectus, including a sketch, passed muster with the GWVA in November 1920. At the committee's regular meeting three days later, attendees similarly approved Scott's prospectus but, in the absence of many members that evening, it was thought preferable to defer formally endorsing his memorial plan. It was then resolved that a one-month moratorium be observed before the plan was further considered but that, in the interim, it be published in the press, so that the public might be better apprised of the scheme. Mayor Gosling of St. John's, for his part, observed that the government, having already allocated \$100,000 for the construction of a normal school, could also finance a memorial school, whose cost would be absorbed over a number of years. Lloyd rejoined that the normal school was a government matter, but that he was confident that a concerted lobbying effort would yield governmental financial assistance for the Memorial School. Lloyd's resolution to this effect was unanimously acclaimed and a PAN delegation was elected to lobby the government.¹⁵

All was not smooth-sailing, however. The Patriotic Association of Newfoundland was instrumental in spearheading the national war memorial initiative. However, their efforts were perceived as ineffectual by P. E. Outerbridge, the vice-president and treasurer of Outerbridge and Daly Limited (Brokers and Manufacturers' Agents),¹⁶ who organized a public assembly on 9 June 1921, held at the Board of Trade and attended by an estimated 80-100 men and women, including the president of the GWVA, John G. Higgins. The purpose of the meeting was to broach how best to expedite the process of memorializing Newfoundland's war dead. Outerbridge called for the immediate

implementation of a three-month fundraising campaign which, he was confident, could easily generate \$10,000 by 1 September. Thereafter, should donations cease, this sum alone would permit the erection of a “simple but dignified Memorial.”¹⁷ Before this meeting’s close, eight resolutions were acclaimed, two of which, resolutions three and four, are of particular interest. Firstly, the memorial would commemorate all the Newfoundland fallen of the Great War, whether these men had served with the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, the Royal Naval Reserve, the Newfoundland Mercantile Marine, or allied regiments and navies. Secondly, the memorial would be erected in St. John’s.¹⁸

A War Memorial Sub-Committee on Design and Location was formed. A short list of sites was presented at the 9 August 1921 meeting of the executive committee. Bannerman Park was the majority choice.¹⁹ It was soon thereafter agreed that, upon determining the kind of memorial to be erected, an architect would be appointed to draft various designs.²⁰ However, the limited progress made thus far towards the war memorial’s realization prompted the Rev. Lieut.-Col. Nangle to propose a new tack before the executive committee’s 3 February 1922 assembly. At this meeting Prime Minister Richard Anderson Squires also informed those present that the PAN war memorial committee was now “defunct.”²¹ Squires’s government had been contacted by PAN regarding their “grandiose scheme for a Memorial School that would cost a Quarter of a Million dollars.”²² When, however, he had pressed the PAN’s lobbyists about their willingness to furnish the additional \$150,000 required (the government had budgeted only for \$100,000), they could not, and no further contact was pursued. Gosling, who had been the PAN’s chairman, did contact Outerbridge’s war memorial committee, proposing

the absorption of the PAN's former membership into that of Outerbridge's war memorial committee: a proposal that was outright refused.²³

Thomas Nangle, it will be recalled, had served as the wartime Catholic chaplain to the Newfoundland Regiment; post-war, he was engaged as the director of Graves Registration and Enquiries, Newfoundland Contingent, in which capacity he worked closely with the Imperial War Graves Commission, as well as other agencies. From 1919 to 1921 Nangle represented Newfoundland upon the Commission's National Battlefields Memorial Committee.²⁴ He lauded the efforts of Outerbridge's committee before pronouncing its fundraising strategies no longer tenable. As for the war memorial itself, Nangle was steadfast in his conviction that it be a memorial "purely and simply."²⁵ Most urgent, however, was the need to generate additional funds, with an eye to augmenting the existing \$15,000 to a handsome \$50,000. The executive committee was receptive to Nangle's proposal, undoubtedly persuaded by his proven commitment to the commemoration of the Newfoundland war dead overseas, including his involvement with the organization of their graves in France, an endeavour personally witnessed by Dr. J. Alex Robinson, which the latter briefly recounted with visible emotion.²⁶

Two months later, Nangle reported that \$48,002.34 had been raised for a memorial to be located in St. John's. Once all outstanding pledges had been honoured, the net total would exceed \$50,000. Now that the executive committee had guaranteed funds, it could proceed with the urgent matter of site selection. Although a committee had already been appointed to scout and assess locations, the question was put to the floor for consideration. Nangle seized this opportunity to exert a determining force in shaping the committee's war memorial vision, as well as expediting its realization. He noted that the

memorial's original completion deadline, July of that year (1922), obviously could not be met. Handily, he produced a ready-made resolution to address this situation:

WHEREAS the King's Beach is the Corner stone [sic] of the Overseas Empire, and
WHEREAS the King's Beach is the site that overlooked the embarkation of so many of those for whom the Monument will stand and also overlooked the return of the broken and maimed..., and
WHEREAS it is the only site approved by the general public,
BE IT RESOLVED THAT THIS EXECUTIVE OF THE NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL COMMITTEE DECIDE THAT THE NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL BE ERECTED ON THE KING'S BEACH.²⁷

The King's Beach is where explorer Sir Humphrey Gilbert reputedly landed in August 1583 and claimed Newfoundland for the Crown. This alleged landing site lies slightly westward of the Customs Examining Store and other waterfront developments.²⁸ The Hon. W. R. Warren expressed reservation about the site, and asked whether its present air of "delapidation [sic]"²⁹ could be rendered presentable by drawing modestly from the \$50,000 now held in trust. Nangle replied affirmatively, adding it was also his wish that City Council deny a construction permit for any structure slated to be built near King's Beach, should its aesthetic jar with that of the war memorial. This response satisfied Warren and, no further queries being aired, Nangle's resolution passed unanimously. Bannerman Park was thus removed from the picture.

Undoubtedly buoyed by his successful bid to commandeer the war memorial campaign, Nangle next proposed his concept (an allegorical one) for it. Specifically, he conceived of it as a "Leading [L]ight," both practical and symbolic; the memorial would operate as an illuminating device, safely guiding mariners to St. John's harbour, but the beacon would be discreetly incorporated within a sculptural ensemble. This grouping would comprise personifications of Newfoundland and Liberty, the latter figure receiving

the “torch of liberty” (where the beacon would be concealed) from the “failing hands” of the other. An inscription, “We throw to you the torch. Be Yours to hold it high,”³⁰ left no ambiguity about the ensemble’s commemorative import. Nangle acknowledged that the central conceit of his war memorial conception (surely obvious to the audience, too) was drawn directly from John MacRae’s popular war poem “In Flanders Fields.” The chairman thought the conception “a nice one.”³¹

Nangle subsequently obtained the permission of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries for his proposed ‘Leading Light’ war memorial, but its adoption was not absolute.³² Instead, design work would be performed in England during the winter of 1922-1923; for his part, Nangle recommended the architect W. H. Greene, who would waive his professional fee. Nangle was emphatic, however, that whatever the final artistic conception of the memorial, its aesthetic must be uniquely evocative of Newfoundland and its structure weatherproof. From Europe, where he would shortly be returning, he would administer the war memorial design solicitation process. When a design had been approved by the Newfoundland committee as well as by the Imperial War Graves Commission, its execution would be undertaken in England over the course of the winter, thus allowing the war memorial to be shipped over in the spring. Once erected, the memorial would be entrusted to the Newfoundland government’s care.³³

By September 1922 a British draftsman, overseen by Greene and working to his specifications, was preparing plans for the memorial’s base and its surrounds. Meanwhile, Nangle had preferentially permitted Basil Gotto, the sculptor who had designed the caribou memorial that would soon be installed at Newfoundland’s five battlefield memorial sites on the Western Front, to submit a design.³⁴ A month later

Nangle related how Greene's appointment, since terminated, had proven ill advised, the architect having persistently pursued his personal architectural vision for the memorial despite repeated criticisms that it was unsuitable. Greene had also accused Gotto of design theft. A disgruntled Greene then deluged a host of War Memorial Committee members with venomous letters, which Nangle was anxious should remain private, for fear of poisoning public sentiment about the memorial's management. Meanwhile, Nangle's energies were occupied with the war memorial's groundwork, for which he submitted two to-scale mud-and-matchstick models.³⁵

Conspicuous gaps exist in the archival record documenting this next phase of the memorial's creation; however, key facts are ascertainable, even if certain decision-making processes, as well as the precise unfolding of events, cannot be reconstructed, except indirectly. As of February 1923, plaster models of the five figures now comprising the war memorial had been modeled by the sculptors F. V. Blundstone and Gilbert Bayes, both members of the R.S.B.S.³⁶ Blundstone designed three of the memorial's figures: a torch-carrying and sword-wielding female personification of Liberty (Fig. 49),³⁷ a Royal Naval Reservist (Fig. 50), and a Soldier (Fig. 51). The memorial's Forester and Merchant Marine (Fig. 52) figures were the creations of Bayes. The casting in bronze of all five sculptures was performed by the Art Bronze Foundry, West Kensington.³⁸ Evidently Gotto forfeited his first-pick status as the war memorial's designer. It remains unclear what circumstances or events precipitated his removal from this, perhaps, casually appointed post. Regardless, the fallout was acrimonious, with Gotto having served Nangle, Whitty, and Rendell a writ for either breach of contract or damages for work executed and goods furnished.³⁹ By the same token, Englishman G. H. Kitchin replaced

Greene as the memorial's architect. The archive-preserved correspondence between Nangle and Kitchin is scant. These communications date from autumn 1924, but, importantly, there is no indication that their working relationship, whatever the precise duration, was anything but amicable.⁴⁰ Legal troubles aside, back in St. John's preparations for work upon the war memorial's site were initiated.⁴¹

On 6 March 1923, P. E. Outerbridge arranged a meeting with R. G. Rendell, chairman of the war memorial committee, at the Board of Trade, where a select party would be privately shown three finalist memorial models dispatched by Nangle. Two groups, Outerbridge's invitees and the Dominion Executive of the GWVA,⁴² ultimately inspected prospective models and blueprints for the war memorial's spatial disposition, including its circulation patterns and physical barriers. As for the granite samples provided for examination, the GWVA executive favoured employing locally quarried stone for the memorial's construction for reasons practical, sentimental, and economic. Ultimately, the war memorial's construction contract, totaling nearly 160 tons of granite, was given to the English firm of Messrs. Fenning & Co., Ltd., Hammersmith.⁴³

In the winter of 1924 Nangle conceived of his idea for the war memorial's dedicatory plaque. This, he explained to Blundstone, the sculptor to whom he was entrusting its design, should assume the appearance of a ribbon-bound laurel wreath. The ribbon should be emblazoned with the names of the four primary battle theatres in which the Newfoundland Regiment were engaged: Gallipoli, Egypt, France, and Belgium. As executed, the plaque, mounted beneath the feet of the Forester and Merchant Marine sculptures, conforms exactly to Nangle's specifications, albeit with additional emblematic embellishments (Fig. 53).⁴⁴

2.2. The Unveiling of the Newfoundland National War Memorial

On 20 August 1923, nearly an entire year in advance of the war memorial's official unveiling on 1 July next, Nangle formally invited Lord (Field Marshal) and Lady Haig to attend the 1924 unveiling ceremony and for the Field Marshal to perform the day's honour.⁴⁵ Haig, it will be recalled, was the commander-in-chief of the British Expeditionary Force; after the war, he was elected president of the British Legion (London and Edinburgh) and grand president of the British Empire Service League, gaining both presidencies in 1921.⁴⁶ In his formal invitation Nangle took pains to politely impress upon Haig the immense symbolic and practical value that would obtain from his ceremonial visit. He was thinking specifically of the ex-servicemen's association (although unnamed, Nangle must surely mean the GWVA) whose Newfoundland membership had stagnated at two thousand members. If Haig, a staunch advocate of the empire's veterans,⁴⁷ performed the unveiling, his doing so would confer public respect upon, as well as revitalize, the ranks of Newfoundland's moribund ex-servicemen's association. Two days later Nangle received notice that Field Marshal Haig had accepted his invitation.⁴⁸

With the Haigs' visit confirmed, Nangle next extended, first on behalf of Newfoundland veterans, then, again, formally, in the name of the government, an invitation to Rudyard Kipling to attend, as an official guest, the 1924 unveiling.⁴⁹ Kipling was certainly acquainted with Nangle's personal commitment to memorialize Newfoundland's participation in the Great War and honour its dead, having some two years earlier agreed to draft, at Nangle's request, the text for a memorial tablet that Nangle was having mounted in Amiens cathedral for their remembrance. Indeed, Nangle

had once more prevailed upon him to exercise his literary gift in commemorating Newfoundland's Great War participation by asking him to compose an inscription for the very war memorial whose unveiling ceremony he was urged to honour with his presence.⁵⁰ Nangle's bid was unsuccessful, however, with Kipling, albeit reluctantly, claiming an already overextended schedule.⁵¹ Invitations to the unveiling were also issued to Brig.-General A. F. Home and Captain Simson of the British Empire Service League, who would represent all British veterans, as well as to Lt. Col. J. Forbes-Robertson, Border Regiment.⁵²

A full six years in gestation, the Newfoundland national war memorial was finally unveiled by Field Marshall Haig on 1 July 1924, the eight anniversary of the near annihilation of the Newfoundland Regiment at Beaumont-Hamel. Along parallel lines, *The Veteran* reported in April that caribou memorials were already erected at the Gueudecourt (1922, Fig. 54) and Masnières (1923) sites; meanwhile, a caribou bronze had been crated and shipped to Courtrai, where it would be installed shortly.⁵³ Memorial site preparation, however, was still underway at both Monchy-le-Preux and Beaumont-Hamel, with the former of these two battlefields being "the only one which has not yet been tackled seriously."⁵⁴

A parade preceded the memorial's unveiling. Its military, civilian, and musician marching parties, the former representing various branches of the Newfoundland, imperial, colonial, and allied forces, congregated at the railway station, their departure point. The parade route — Water Street — was, *The Veteran* reported, thronged by "tens of thousands"⁵⁵ of spectators. En route to the memorial the parade participants briefly paused at the Court House, where, at ten o'clock sharp, Haig took the salute. The parade

then resumed, terminating at the memorial. There, the ceremony's presiding officials and invited dignitaries had already assembled to await the arrival of Haig and Governor Allardyce. The playing of the *Recessional* heralded their appearance, after which the chairman of the War Memorial Committee invited the governor to formally receive, for all Newfoundlanders, the National War Memorial. Allardyce, in accepting the memorial, delivered a brief address, which was followed by prayers. Following Haig's speech, unusual only in its statement that the Battle of Masnières exemplified the Regiment's gallantry, but otherwise extolling both the sacrifice and service of Newfoundland's sailors and soldiers during the Great War and expressing sympathy for the relatives of the fallen, the memorial was unveiled (Fig. 55). Haig was then joined by the governor and together they laid the first wreaths. Other wreath-layers, including Newfoundland's prime minister, St. John's mayor, naval representatives, and other organizations and citizens, followed.⁵⁶

Three flights of granite steps with iron railings ascend from Water Street to the monument in its platform: a semi-circular, partially walled terrace upon which is erected the memorial itself. Its height appears flush to the eye, with the two-storey buildings that line Duckworth Street its bustling backdrop (Fig. 56), but from which it is physically separated by ornamental metal fencing. This fencing, as well as the memorial's perimeter landscaping, both demarcates and segregates this monumental space from its competing urban surrounds, if not sounds. Surmounting the memorial's central granite pedestal, upon which is prominently engraved a cross, lending this stone shaft the uncanny (and probably deliberate) appearance of a massive tombstone, is the imperious female personification of Newfoundland/Liberty who in her left hand holds aloft a lit torch, and

in her right hand clenches a sword, albeit lowered non-aggressively. Beneath her, standing before the cross and side by side in symbolic unity of duty are the figures of a Merchant Marine, garbed in the traditional waterproof oilskin cap, jacket, slacks and rubber boots of the Newfoundland fisherman, warily scanning the horizon, and that of a strapping Forester who appears to take a moment's repose from his labours, his axe casually raised but resting against his right shoulder. Upon the pedestal's two sweeping side arms kneel, poised in perpetual battle readiness, (on the left-hand side) a Royal Naval Reservist, spyglass in hand, and (on the right-hand side) a fully armed Soldier. This sculptural tableau of four stalwart, roughly life-size figures of Newfoundland Great War servicemen blends verisimilitude of uniform with idealized physiognomies and a generic handsomeness of appearance. The inscription of the memorial's dedicatory plaque reads:

To the glory of God and in perpetual remembrance of one hundred & ninety-two men of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve, thirteen hundred men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, one hundred & seventeen men of the Newfoundland and Mercantile Marine, and all of those Newfoundlanders of other units of his Majesty's or Allied forces who gave their lives by sea and land for the defence of the British Empire in the Great War, 1914-1918. For enduring witness, also to the services of the men of the Island who during that War fought not without honour in the navies and armies of their Empire. This monument is erected by their fellow countrymen and was unveiled by Field Marshall Earl Haig, K.T., G.C.B., O.M, etc. First of July 1924.

Let them give glory unto the Lord and declare His praise in the islands. Isaiah 42.12

Three years after the unveiling, a general-interest pamphlet about the war memorial was drafted for publication.⁵⁷ A half century later, in 1977 and 1980, plaques honouring the service and sacrifice of Newfoundlanders in the Second World War and those of Canadians (Newfoundland having joined confederation in 1949), as well as

United Nations forces during the Korean War, were added to the memorial (Fig. 57, 58), each an allied form of symbolic accretion in Owen Dwyer's coinage. For stylistic cohesion, both of these plaques were modelled after that dedicated to the Newfoundland dead of 1914-1918.⁵⁸ The erection of the Newfoundland national war memorial at King's Beach was not arbitrary, for this was a site freighted with mutually reinforcing historical associations: the foundational and the martial. Thomas Nangle, in convincing the War Memorial Committee of the location's emblematic appropriateness, emphasized that it had served as both the embarkation and disembarkation points for Newfoundland's fighting forces in the Great War. The memorial's surrounding streetscape is, now as then, a heavily populated one, with an abundance of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. This high-traffic environment accords the memorial, which is situated between two major urban arteries, its necessary civic prominence. The memorial, of course, occupies its own space, signalling that its grounds, whilst public, are reserved for contemplation and commemorative activity and thus stand separated (but not removed) from the commerce and cars that lie just beyond its physical confines. Here, site and rite coalesce in ceremony, where, each Memorial and Remembrance Day, commemorative observances are held.

2.3. The National War Memorial, Ottawa

Between the world wars, Ottawa's national Great War commemorative landscape emerged, beginning with the parliamentary precinct and, later, with the erection of the National War Memorial (Fig. 59), the monumental lynchpin and the ceremonial locus, to this day, of Remembrance Day observances. If the realization of the Newfoundland

National War Memorial rests largely with the efforts and interventions of one individual, Thomas Nangle, so too does the National War Memorial, a commemorative project in which Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King staked tremendous personal and political interest, as part of his larger vision for the urban development of the nation's capital. Just as Nangle parlayed his authority as the appointed custodian of Newfoundland's fallen, including their commemoration, to exert a determining force upon the siting and the design of the St. John's memorial, King exercised his political muscle in ensuring that Ottawa's National War Memorial was installed in his chosen venue, Confederation Square, although its design was left to competition. Despite progress-halting situations like the premature demise of the memorial's designer and the Depression, the erection of the National War Memorial was relatively straightforward, and thus requires only a short account here.

In 1925 the government launched its competition for the design of the National War Memorial, for which a budget of \$100,000 had been allocated. The pool of eligible entrants was restricted to architects, artists and sculptors possessing citizenship from a country allied to Britain during the Great War or who were British subjects. The competition brief, *General Conditions for the Guidance of Architects, Artists and Sculptors in Preparing Competitive Designs for the Proposed National Commemorative War Monument for the Dominion of Canada in Ottawa, Canada*, was issued by the Minister of Public Works in February 1925. The brief renders clearly the intended message and purpose of this commemorative enterprise. It also acknowledges, however, the project's core problem: the complicating two-sidedness of the War's memorialization in monumental form, which must carefully negotiate between evocations of martial

valour, heroism, sacrifice, and victory without conjuring vainglorious militarism or delighting in the plight of the vanquished.⁵⁹ The brief is specific on these two counts, directing competition entrants to submit designs for a monument extolling “the spirit of heroism, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the spirit of all that is noble and great that was exemplified in the lives of those sacrificed in the Great War, and the services rendered by the men and women who went Overseas,” whilst aiming not to “glorify war or suggest the arrogance of a conqueror.” The brief reiterates that “While the spirit of victory is essential it should be expressed so as to not only immortalize Canada’s defenders, but convey a feeling of gratitude that out of this great conflict a new hope has sprung for future prosperity under peaceful conditions.”⁶⁰ The site cited as most appropriate for the National War Memorial was Connaught Place, an expanse surrounded by the Chateau Laurier, the main Post Office, and Central [train] Station. The privileging of this location was entirely the doing of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, who, a month prior to the release of the competition brief, had declared this his site preference.⁶¹

Indeed, the siting of the National War Memorial must also be seen as inextricably bound up with the capital’s urban revitalization as envisioned and effectively controlled by King, Canada’s prime minister for much of the interwar period.⁶² To this end, King, who first held the prime ministerial post from 1921 to 1930, assumed guidance over the activities of the Ottawa Improvement Committee, also appointing its latest chairman, Thomas Ahern. This body was reconfigured by King in 1927 as the Federal District Commission (FDC), which boasted a broader vision and a greater operating budget than the Ottawa Improvement Committee. Although King was an advocate of the federal district idea, the notion was perceived negatively in Quebec amidst apprehension over its

linguistic and cultural implications, and thus the FDC morphed into a parks administration body with offices in both Ottawa and Hull but without municipal powers and with little scope to affect urban planning.

With the strengthening of the economy during the latter half of the 1920s, King, in partnership with Ahern, devised a plan for the capital's urban revitalization: an impressive downtown plaza (an idea recalling the plan previously drafted by Chicago architect Edward Bennett in 1915 for the Federal Plan Commission Report) bounded by the Rideau Canal and both Elgin and Wellington Streets. When the Russell House Hotel, a Connaught Place fixture, was razed by fire towards the end of 1927, King first opportunistically quashed its proprietor's bid to raise another hotel there, followed by his expropriation of the whole city block upon which it had once sat. He then saw to wrangling a bill through Parliament that would amend both the Act governing the operations of the FDC and commit three million dollars for the redevelopment of Connaught Place into an impressive plaza, Confederation Square. The prime minister subsequently played the federal funding card to strong-arm City Council into acquiescence over his ambitious plaza vision, the Council conceding to move City Hall and broaden Elgin Street for this purpose. In a bid to imbue his Confederation Square project with the necessary sense of political urgency, King called for the installation there of the National War Memorial, whose commission had been awarded to the English sculptor Vernon March in January 1926.⁶³

March's winning entry, chosen from a total of 127 submissions (most of which were of Canadian origin, although a good number of entries were also received from Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States, as well as one from Trinidad), was

entitled *Canada's Great Response*. It originally comprised an ensemble of 17 figures, mounted upon a pedestal and representing the various branches of the armed services. These were depicted as passing through a colossal archway surmounted by personifications of Peace, laurel wreath in hand, and Freedom, carrying aloft a torch. March, accompanied by his brother Sydney, an architect, inspected Connaught Place in the spring of 1926, when they realized that the *Great Response* would benefit from enlargement, so that it would not appear unduly diminished in scale by sightline comparisons with the Chateau Laurier and Central Station, thus reducing its monumental majesty and affective impact. Their recommendations to widen the pedestal, raise the arch, and enlarge the sculpted figures received the government's consent. Well-intentioned, if misguided criticism, from some quarters took March to task for designing an exclusionary vision of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) because its seventeen figures did not stand for all the different Canadian units enlisted in service during the Great War. The charge was, of course, ridiculous to even contemplate, considering that a good 2600 units belonged to the CEF, but March politely countered that his monumental vision commemorating the servicemen and women of 1914-1918 was emblematic of the entire CEF, rather than a literal conception. Still, he accommodated his critics with the addition, in the spring of 1929, of another two figures. Once more his contract was rewritten and the monument's budget readjusted, having now escalated to \$200,000. The following July, March unexpectedly died; his death, however, did not derail the realization of the *Great Response*, although it did suspend its progress for a time. Fortunately, March, assisted by his six brothers and one sister, had finished nearly all of the clay models for the sculptures before his untimely demise at the age of 39.⁶⁴ The

Canadian government withheld payment for work still in progress until the March estate was settled. Accordingly, the casting of the sculptures by Sydney March did not occur until 1932.⁶⁵

King, meanwhile, had not won a second term in the 1930 election, and plans to commence construction of Confederation Square were held in abeyance. However, as a member of the Opposition, he exhorted Prime Minister R. B. Bennett to see that the city honour its commitment towards the realization of Confederation Square. As it happened, City Hall fortuitously burned down in 1931, forcing the municipal government to seek new lodgings. In the event, it was decided that the municipal government, after repeatedly nixing plans for its own installation in an edifice facing the square, would be relocated outside the downtown sector. This decision was propitious as far as it eased the path towards the realization of King's vision of Confederation Square, although the timing was not. The dire economic conditions wrought by the Depression necessarily suspended grand public works projects such as this. When King was re-elected prime minister in 1935 the economic climate was healthier and he could again contemplate pushing through his vision for Confederation Square.⁶⁶

Sydney March, on having learned in 1932 that the federal government had still not confirmed its action plan for Confederation Square, King's hold-out site for the National War Memorial, sought and received approval to exhibit the figures of the *Great Response*, mounted on a makeshift display apparatus, in Hyde Park. Public acclaim for the figures was positive, although one perceived miscalculation was brought to his notice: the dimensions of the archway (simulated Laurentian granite) were presumed insufficiently wide to permit passage of the 18-pounder field gun. The public, who

shortly learned that March would heighten and broaden the archway, so as to better showcase the memorial's sculptural tableau, attributed these modifications to this "joke."⁶⁷ In a 1937 interview with the *Globe and Mail*, though, Sydney March debunked this humorous story, for the field gun was "obviously unlimbered"⁶⁸ and, hence, already immobile or grounded. Beyond this conceptual conceit, in the battlefield, he added, the strength of many more men would need to be harnessed to draw forth an artillery piece of such weight. All the same, to satisfy his curiosity, measurements were taken: "We actually measured it after that outcry and found the cannon could get through the arch with two inches to spare."⁶⁹ In the event, March duly redrafted the plans for the archway, broadening its span, a modification that left visually disruptive spatial voids, marring the original aesthetic harmonization between the sculptural ensemble and its architectural frame. He remedied this displeasing optic with the addition of another three figures, increasing their number to twenty-two.⁷⁰

King, meanwhile, never relented in his efforts. The decisive turning point occurred in 1936, one year after he again assumed the office of prime minister, while being personally guided about the grounds of the 1936 Paris World's Fair by its principal architect, Jacques Gréber. The two developed an instant rapport, with King inviting Gréber to Ottawa to draft a number of plans for the capital's improvement. Gréber visited Ottawa in 1937 and immediately set to work. His proposal to relocate the National War Memorial slightly northward to Major's Hill Park on Nepean Point, citing the excessive traffic of the square, was rejected by King. Suitably chastened, Gréber returned to his hotel drafting board and produced a design, approved by King, which entailed the demolition of the Connaught Place Post Office, the latter to be rebuilt looking onto the

square. At long last, the construction of Confederation Square was a certainty, as was the installation of the National War Memorial there. Also in 1937, the March sculptures were shipped to Ottawa from England and the contract for the memorial's Quebec granite pedestal and archway granted to a Montreal firm in the last months of the year. By September 1938 the Memorial's pedestal and archway were ready to receive the twenty-two figures (Fig. 60, 61); the first to be mounted being the personifications of Peace and Freedom. The dedication of the National War Memorial, originally slated to occur on Remembrance Day 1938, the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, was subsequently deferred until 1939, the occasion of the royal visit, at which time King George VI was asked to perform its dedication.⁷¹

The dedication on 21 May 1939 was attended by some 100,000-plus spectators.⁷²

King, an inveterate diarist, privately confided in his journal's pages:

What is particularly interesting is that I had to do, at the outset, with the character of the memorial, its location, the competition by which the choice was made, with increase in its size, and have had everything to do of late with determining its approaches, surroundings etc. I had thought, at one time, that I might have occasion to prepare a speech to deliver myself, if when the time of the unveiling came, I should be in office. Little did I dream that the speech which I should write would be the one for the King himself to deliver. That, too, came as it were part of a plan.⁷³

King George VI, in dedicating the National War Memorial, spoke:

For the cause of peace and freedom 60,000 Canadians gave their lives, and a still larger number suffered impairment of body or mind. This sacrifice the national memorial holds in remembrance for our own and succeeding generations.

This memorial, however, does more than commemorate a great event in the past. It has a message for all generations and for all countries — the message which called forth Canada's response. Not by chance do the crowning figures of peace and freedom appear side by side. Peace and freedom cannot long be separated. It is well that we have, in one of the world's capitals, a visible reminder of so great a truth. Without freedom there can be no enduring peace, and without peace no enduring freedom.⁷⁴

Notwithstanding the dedication speech's requisite invocation of the heroic self-sacrifice of the Canadian servicemen and women of the Great War, its tenor was also distinctly future-oriented, inviting the assembled crowd to draw another moral lesson from their study of the *Great Response*: the inseparability of Peace and Freedom.⁷⁵ These remarks would shortly prove uncannily apt, if profoundly ironic, for but three months hence Canada was once more at war.

Both the Second World War and the Korean War are now commemorated on the National War Memorial; their respective dates, allied symbolic accretions, are rendered in bronze numerals (Fig. 62), which conform in style and size to those of the original 1914-1918 bronze numbers.⁷⁶ The codes and culture of First World War commemoration thus persist as the framing device, as well as the literal frame, for the commemoration of other wars and all wars (as occurs with the St. John's memorial). The May 2000 installation of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier before the National War Memorial (see Chapter Four) is the most complex attestation of this extraordinary persistence.

The monumental space surrounding the National War Memorial continues to be developed as a venue for the commemoration and celebration of Canada's military in ways that are not in evidence at the site of the Newfoundland memorial. On 5 November 2006, the Sunday preceding Remembrance Day, Governor-General Michaëlle Jean unveiled the Valiants Memorial, a sculptural installation honouring fourteen individuals, two women and twelve men whose lives span the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, for their commendable war service. The Valiants Foundation, an organization whose membership is primarily composed of military historians and veterans, with heritage architect Julian Smith and former Dominion Sculptor Eleanor Milne both representing

the cultural sector and providing their professional counsel, initiated plans for this eponymous memorial in 2003, as well as selected the fourteen individuals to be memorialized. The National Capital Commission then launched a national design competition, awarding Canadian sculptors John McEwen and Marlene Hilton Moore the commission to execute the figures for the Valiants Memorial. These ‘Valiants’, nine of whom are rendered as herms and five as full figures, represent four centuries of Canadian military history, spanning the French Regime (1534-1763) to the Second World War (1939-1945). Three individuals who served in the First World War are recognized: Matron Georgina Pope, RRC; General Sir Arthur Currie, GCMG, KCB, VD (Fig. 63); and Corporal Joseph Kaeble, VC and MM. Collectively, these individuals are valorized by an inscription drawn from Virgil’s *Aeneid*: “No day will ever erase you from the memory of time.”(Fig. 64) The sculptures, which are ordered chronologically, ring, at street level, the National War Memorial (Fig. 65). Significantly, they are positioned in a pedestrian space and at pedestrian eye level, rather than the monumental space of the Memorial itself. Thus, these fourteen sculptures occupy and are encountered in the quotidian realm, whereby they operate, amidst the flux and flow of daily city life, to heroicize and historicize Canadian military participation, which is symbolically posited and spatially plotted as instrumental to and inextricable from Canada’s transformation from colony to full-fledged nation.⁷⁷

2.4. The Australian War Museum as the Progenitor of the Australian War Memorial

Although the Australian War Memorial (Fig. 66) was opened only in 1941, its conception precedes both that of the St. John’s National War Memorial and Ottawa’s

National War Memorial. If originating as a museological enterprise, one initially modelled along the lines of London's Imperial War Museum,⁷⁸ this venture was also couched as one essentially memorial in character by those responsible for its realization administratively and in the field. From the outset, its hybrid nature as a museum and memorial (a nature obviously absent from the St. John's and Ottawa memorials) was enthusiastically embraced by all who were intimately involved with its development. Driven by this operative assumption, the officers of the Australian War Museum Committee, as this body was known during its developmental period (it became the Board of Management in 1925),⁷⁹ were indefatigable in their efforts, as were the scores of contributors to the Museum's collections. All were motivated by their conviction that the Australian War Museum would be duly designated the nation's war memorial proper. However, as late as year's end 1921, this conviction had not yet received any formal validation by the government.⁸⁰ Government recognition did follow shortly thereafter, however, and with it the emergence of a clear-cut institutional identity, although the Memorial's bricks-and-mortar presence was many years in the making, variously frustrated by design deficiencies, compromises, and the practical considerations of creating a cohesive and coherent memorial and museum complex. These problems are recounted below at length.

An Australian War Museum Committee brief makes explicit that the tacitly understood but officially undeclared status of the Museum as the nation's 1914-1918 memorial was a pressing concern for its membership. As the brief's author notes, a government proclamation signalling its formal recognition of the Australian War Museum as the nation's Great War memorial was sorely needed, the sooner the better, for

this reason: “Various appeals are on foot for what are inappropriately termed national memorials, and there is danger of assistance, financial and otherwise, being lost to local and piecemeal efforts.⁸¹ The committee brief concludes by acknowledging that even an announcement confirming the Museum as the nation’s war memorial would not immediately result in the final relocation of the Museum, which would be contingent first upon the completion of Canberra’s construction and the provision therein of a suitable building to permanently house the Museum’s collection. Crucially, though, on that occasion the Australian War Museum would necessarily assume a more germane public title, the *Temple of Honour*, for example, finding favour. This name was wholly in keeping with the committee’s July 1919 decision, on the recommendation of Charles Bean (official war correspondent and historian, as well as founder of the Memorial),⁸² that the Australian War Museum/Memorial be classical in its conceit and conception. Also in July, Bean had advocated that the collection be temporarily distributed to and warehoused in Sydney and Melbourne, where samplings of its holdings would be displayed, as well as put on tour to other exhibition venues across the States. Indeed, the committee had already agreed in March that a show of war photographs would be mounted at Melbourne’s Exhibition Building, which, however, was cancelled owing to the Spanish Flu pandemic (beyond the fact that public assemblies were now prohibited, the exhibition venue itself had been converted to a hospital). This show eventually opened on 20 August 1921 at the Melbourne Aquarium.⁸³

Bean’s allusively antique architectural vision, as such, ambitiously aspired towards a certain history-making of its own both in the creation of a memorial complex unprecedented in the annals of Australian architectural history and by way of the

hallowed history honoured therein. Bean's severe yet serene conception of the proposed national memorial's structure and surrounds was rearticulated in the Committee's brief:

...the building should stand on an eminence in the Federal Capital; that it should have gardens around it; that it should be in a pure Greek style of architecture with as much simplicity as possible (the idea being of such a monument as records Australia's Thermopylae), of white Australian marble or brilliant white stone on a wide platform of white stone; and set in heavy formal native trees of the nature of cypress. In front will be a memorial group of statuary with a simple inscription. On a frieze around the main hall should be engraved the names of the fallen appropriately arranged by towns or units.⁸⁴

So conceived, the actual realization of this provisionally named Temple of Honour would necessitate, according to a July 1919 estimate, an expenditure of some £200,000. The committee favoured generating this sum by public subscription, a fundraising initiative that would require Cabinet permission.

Two years later, in March 1921, the committee again considered its fundraising options, although now with a coterie of voices in favour of Parliament putting to vote the building's budgetary allowance. Although no committee consensus was reached regarding funding, there was agreement amongst its membership that the prime minister be next approached to consider various means of financing this commemorative enterprise.⁸⁵ Accordingly, the chairman of the Committee, A. Poynton, wrote Prime Minister Hughes on 29 November 1921, seeking to ascertain both the government's (presumed) willingness "to provide a permanent building in which to house the national war records in the Committee's custody, and that this building and its contents will be the national memorial to the naval and military forces."⁸⁶ Knowingly, Poynton noted that the "collection will certainly be of intense interest to the present and future generations of Australians and will for ever keep green the memory of our soldiers and sailors."⁸⁷

Arguing that “Under the general approval obtained during the war, the Australian navy and army and others were asked to contribute to the Museum on the understanding that it would be the National Memorial,”⁸⁸ the committee eventually succeeded in gaining Cabinet approval for the project on 15 March 1922. Senator Pearce thought the most expeditious means of submitting Cabinet’s decision for parliamentary deliberation next session would be for the treasurer, on the occasion of his budget announcement, to consider Parliament’s “passing of the Museum’s vote”⁸⁹ as tantamount to its acceptance of the Museum’s re-conception as the National War Memorial.

Pearce’s deftly played political intervention yielded him complete success some months later when it was publicly announced that he, as Minister for Home and Territories, would present before a 7 November Cabinet meeting the Federal Capital Advisory Committee’s (FCAC) Canberra siting criteria for the just-approved National War Memorial.⁹⁰ Shortly thereafter Cabinet selected the Mount Ainslie site for the Australian War Memorial, as it was now identified in the press (this institutional name change was made official in 1925 by the passing of the Australian War Memorial Act),⁹¹ and seconded the committee’s recommendation to declare an open design competition for the Memorial’s architectural realization.⁹²

2.5. The Australian War Memorial, 1924-1936

Initially, it appears that the unique nature of the Australian War Memorial as a memorial/museological complex was ambiguously articulated to the public, with at least one prominent sculptor, George E. Wade, labouring under the illusion that the Memorial now slated for construction in Canberra was fully sculptural rather than architectural in

conception. The career-minded Wade, having read in *The Times* of plans for the erection of a national war memorial in the Australian capital, ambitiously wrote the prime minister's secretary on 7 February 1924 to offer his sculpting expertise in realizing this high-profile commemorative scheme.⁹³

Wade's solicitation did spur an official response and, crucially, a correction:

It would appear from your letter, however, that you are under a misapprehension as to the nature of the edifice which is to be, not a piece of sculpture, but a memorial building for the purpose of housing records, relics, pictures, photographs and battlefield models so closely associated with the experience and achievements of the Royal Australian Navy and Australian Imperial Force. Although it is probable that the building, both inside and out, will be adorned with a certain amount of sculpture, that aspect is, at present [,] at any rate, a matter for the architects or others who submit designs.⁹⁴

Wade was instructed to bide his time until the Memorial's competition guidelines were released.⁹⁵

In August 1925 the government announced the architectural competition.

Compared to the Ottawa project, the eligibility criteria for aspiring competitors were restrictive: only entrants domiciled in Australia (British subjects) or the Australia-born living overseas were permitted to compete. The competition's entries, meanwhile, would be subject to two elimination rounds, with the first-round ranking of design submissions performed by a five-member Canberra panel composed of three architects and two laymen (including Bean) instructed with selecting ten finalists, and the second, elimination round assigned to a single adjudicator: Sir Reginald Blomfield of the Imperial War Graves Commission. Bean, although personally convinced Australians were eminently capable of designing a world-class war memorial, nevertheless, seems to have supported, or at least saw as a necessary, London's final selection, and thus validation, of the Memorial's design.⁹⁶

When the competition closed in April 1926, however, of the sixty-nine entries received, none, save one, could be realized without exceeding the inherently design-limiting budget of £250,000 set by a peacetime government keen on effecting economies. As the adjudication panel wryly noted: this stipulation would yield “a building of exceedingly simple character, and of smallest possible dimensions,”⁹⁷ a condition distinctly at odds with the inherent monumentality, physical and symbolic, of this commemorative project. In addition, competitors were clearly hampered by the guidelines’ specifications for stylistic simplicity and modesty of scale: design constraints anathema to the inherited architectural tradition of grandiose memorial buildings. Only the memorial plan of entrant number forty-one, as he was identified, could be executed for the designated sum, but did so at the expense of not satisfying other guideline-imposed design criteria. Commendable, however, was this design’s spatial economy, which resided in listing the names of the war dead, an estimated sixty-five thousand, upon cloister walls enclosing a garden court, thus accommodating this essential register of the war dead without sacrificing the all-important legibility or visibility of the names; other competitors, in having chosen the Hall of Memory as the locus for this nominal roll, necessarily did so at greater cost, owing to the optics and dimensions of the space. The Canberra adjudication panel concluded that no finalists could be declared. This stance slighted both Blomfield, who, as the chief adjudicator, felt he ought to have been made party to this recommendation, and angered competitors in Australia, some of whom formally objected. A concerned Bean convinced his fellow adjudicators to compromise with entries forty-one and fifty-two, although neither fully complied with the competition’s design conditions. (Number fifty-two, though above cost, ably combined

clarity of form with a sober stylistic treatment.) To Bean, a solution was eminently clear: collaboration between the creators of the two entries. The competitors, subsequently identified as John Crust and Emil Sodersteen, were amenable to Bean's January 1927 proposal. Their co-produced plan was submitted in September, receiving praise from all quarters, including Bean, the Australian War Memorial Board, the Federal Capital Commission, and even Canberra's urban designer Walter Burley Griffin, who, in a gesture of professional collegiality, lent his approval of both the building's plan and its relocation. Early in 1928 Cabinet submitted the Crust-Sodersteen plan by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works.⁹⁸

2.6. The Inauguration of the Australian War Memorial

In the interim before the actual commencement of construction, the Australian War Memorial was officially inaugurated on 25 April 1929. This occasion, purely ceremonial, was calculated to coincide appropriately with Anzac Day, thus conveniently and cost-consciously incorporating the day's usual commemorative observances with the unveiling of the Memorial's commemorative stone by the governor-general. This latter ceremonial overture was a carefully considered modification of the foundation stone-laying practice customary to such occasions: one that respected the custom of the Imperial War Graves Commission, because it "set the precedent for the Empire of not permitting the name of any living person to appear on memorials erected in honour of the sailors and soldiers of the Empire who fell in the Great War."⁹⁹ Instead, this commemorative stone would serve as the lapidary record of the Memorial's conceptual and built history, its various faces inscribed with the respective inception, inauguration,

and completion dates of the institution. Sentinel-like, the stone was to be prominently positioned before the Memorial's garden court, a peaceful, transitional space leading to the commemorative core of this complex: the Hall of Memory.

On inauguration day, the Museum's Board of Management confidently forecast the Memorial's completion in three years' time.¹⁰⁰ Yet such a projection, whether grounded in idealism or simply meant to appease a public growing impatient with the protracted state of the Memorial's development, could not account for political contingencies. Indeed, very soon thereafter, a Labor government, led by James Scullin, assumed power and, in the face of an economic depression, suspended the Memorial's erection until the government's fiscal situation improved. After what amounted to a three-year deferral, Scullin's political successor, Joseph Lyons, leader of the United Australia Party, launched construction on 1 June 1933, with completion slated for 1936.¹⁰¹ What the 1929 inauguration programme did correctly intimate, however, were the essentially Classical conceptual underpinnings of the Memorial's ceremonial and commemorative grammar — something underscored by the inclusion of two memorial passages: an excerpt from Pericles's celebrated funeral oration for the Athenian war dead of the Peloponnesian War, as recounted by Thucydides, and lines 4-8 of the third stanza, "The Dead," of Rupert Brooke's popular, eventually canonical, war poem "1914." The two texts articulated the Memorial's mandate as envisaged by its chief intellectual custodian, Bean. Pericles's ancient, elegiac words (powerfully resonant for Bean and boasting an impressive modern-day pedigree of appropriative oratorical usage, having been alluded to in Lincoln's Gettysburg address),¹⁰² solemnly intone:

They gave their lives. For that public gift they received a praise which never ages and a tomb most glorious — not so much the tomb in which they lie, but that in

which their fame survives, to be remembered for ever when occasion comes for word or deed.¹⁰³

Pericles's elegy was pitch-perfect for Bean's purposes, also appearing in excerpted form on memorial project letterhead for a time.¹⁰⁴ Bean admired both the oration's justly celebrated rhetorical splendour and its memorial and martial context. Precisely, Thucydides recounts in his history of the Peloponnesian War how, in the winter of the year marking the onset of hostilities, Athenians, observing the custom of their forebears, conducted a public funeral for their war dead. A retinue of mourners accompanied the procession to the cemetery grounds, where the female relatives of the dead were already assembled in lamentation. It was there, before this assembly of the bereaved, that Pericles delivered his oration.¹⁰⁵ It was equally important to Bean that Pericles's address, specific yet generic in content, was composed to serve the Athenian bereaved, not their war dead.¹⁰⁶ This of course paralleled the purpose of the Australian War Memorial. Furthermore, as Peter Londey remarks, the passage from Pericles's oration, with its emphasis upon voluntary martial sacrifice posthumously rewarded by eternal public gratitude and remembrance, was wholly fitting for an institution situated at great distance from both the Imperial War Graves Commission cemeteries in which lay tens of thousands Australian Great War dead, known and unknown, and where were situated the monuments dedicated to them.¹⁰⁷

In a broader sense, Pericles's funeral oration also jibed nicely with Bean's general predilection for ancient Athens as a political and cultural exemplar worthy of mining in his own pursuit to referentially frame and memorialize the Australian Great War experience. His model Athens was that which emerged in the aftermath of the Persian War (490-479 BC),¹⁰⁸ inaugurating a half century of vigorous growth, politically and

culturally, until its decline, precipitated by the ravages of the Peloponnesian War. During the Persian War, however, the Athenians, receiving minimal military support, had scored a significant victory at Marathon in 490 BC, thwarting the Persian forces. This was a storied engagement that the Athenians took care to commemorate, composing both dedicatory inscriptions and a memorial roster for the 192 men who fell in combat at Marathon. Moreover, in 490 BC Athens was still a young democracy (this transformation of its political system, formerly aristocratic, had been spearheaded a mere decade and a half earlier), but it boasted a vibrant citizenry who, buoyed by their city's political, civic, and cultural vitality, were primed for great achievements, prompting Bean and his contemporaries to also draw the irresistible parallel between the newly democratic ancient Athens and a fledgling Australian nation in 1915. Such a portrait of wartime Australia, of course, comes very close to national caricature, but Bean still found the parallel salutary, largely convincing himself that his fellow citizens demonstrated an Athenian-like sensibility best exemplified by their collective loyalty to and concern for the well-being of their nation, as well as in the premium they placed upon personal initiative.¹⁰⁹ In commemorating the Australian experience of 1914-1918, Bean would crucially couch his conception of the Memorial as "such a monument as records Australia's Thermopylae,"¹¹⁰ with the battle of Thermopylae (480 BC) serving, like Gallipoli, as a catchphrase for and parable of military heroism in the face of extreme adversity and insurmountable odds. The enduring emblematic value of Thermopylae rests in its sheer malleability, inviting all manner of parallels and lessons to be drawn, with, for example, Lord Byron conjuring the battle in verse as a rallying point for the Greek people

of his day.¹¹¹ Bean and others formally or casually read in the classics knew the battle of Thermopylae to be synonymous with steely soldierly self-sacrifice.

2.7. The Australian War Memorial, 1936-1938

In August 1936, Parliament approved additional funding for the Memorial,¹¹² allowing for construction to proceed with the Hall of Memory, cloisters, and garden court (the building's commemorative core, Fig. 67), as well as such cosmetic work as stone cladding for the structurally sound but aesthetically prosaic red brick of the building's exterior.¹¹³ Confusion, however, continued to reign publicly regarding the intended commemorative and ceremonial function of the Memorial, including, most unexpectedly, amongst the executive of the Federal Capital Territory Branch (Canberra) of the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA). Under this persistent public misapprehension, F. B. Dawkins, the Canberra RSSILA honorary secretary, wrote the prime minister's secretary on 12 August 1937, informing him that his executive had long entertained the prospect of erecting a local cenotaph, noting that Canberra held the dubious distinction as the sole capital city within the Commonwealth without such a commemorative public installation. Citing the modest membership of the Canberra RSSILA and, by extension, its limited financial resources, as justification for their not realizing a national capital cenotaph scheme themselves, Dawkins suggested his branch might, nevertheless, "submit a scheme to the Government which would not be too costly, but a lasting memorial to those who fell in the Great War 1914-1918."¹¹⁴ He received a response four days later informing him that the Minister of the Interior, T. Patterson, would instead meet for discussion with the branch executive's cenotaph lobbyists.¹¹⁵ The

Canberra RSSILA executive quickly and successfully sought official endorsement of their proposal by the RSSILA's federal president, Gilbert Dyett.¹¹⁶ It is confounding that Dyett, privy to the latest internal deliberations at the Memorial over the design of its Hall of Memory, should formally endorse the redundant scheme of the Canberra cenotaph.¹¹⁷ In any case, on 31 August 1937, the Minister of the Interior officially received the RSSILA cenotaph lobbyists H. Marshall-Wood, A. W. Cripps, and F. B. Dawkins.

Marshall-Wood proposed that a cenotaph, modeled after the Whitehall monument, albeit less imposing in its dimensions, be erected near Parliament House: a requisitely solemn environment. This cenotaph would serve as the appropriate locus for commemorative wreath-laying on the part of visiting dignitaries and delegations to the nation's capital, as the Australian War Memorial was not synonymous either in its symbolic signification or as a ceremonial site with a cenotaph. The minister rejoined that governmental funding was already allocated for the construction of the National War Memorial, now underway, which, upon its opening, would be the designated public site of assembly for Anzac and Armistice Day observances. He further noted that, save for Sydney's Martin Place, which boasted a cenotaph alongside its war memorial, the war memorials of all other state capitals were the default sites for commemorative ceremonies. The Australian War Memorial, when finished, would preclude the need for a capital cenotaph. The RSSILA, amongst others, had simply misconstrued the government's intentions, which, he elaborated for Marshall-Wood and his companions, were:

...the form the National War Memorial will take...will not be a War Museum only — it will incorporate a Hall of Memory, which will be developed as a shrine of remembrance, and will be approached through a garden courtyard and cloisters, on the walls of which will be recorded the names of those who fell

during the war. This part of the Memorial is about to be erected. The plans for the internal treatment of the Hall of Memory have not been completed but the intention is that, by the wise use of sculpture, of murals, and mosaics, and all the resources of modern art, it shall be developed as a beautiful shrine with some appropriate central feature — perhaps a recumbent soldier — besides which floral tributes may be placed by distinguished visitors, by relatives, and by others wishing to honour the fallen.¹¹⁸

Marshall-Wood replied that his Executive would be “reasonable,” knowing now that the Memorial, as described, was altogether unlike what they had previously envisaged, adding he was pleased with its thoughtful architectural and artistic integration of multiple memorial aspects.¹¹⁹

The Minister’s comments, however, knowingly downplayed the actual situation. Paterson was fully aware of the current internal division amongst the Memorial’s board of management with regard to the Hall of Memory and its appropriateness of scale as designed. Indeed, criticism had long been levelled against the modest dimensions of the Memorial itself, (Paterson had already persuaded Cabinet in June 1934 to allocate an additional £5000 in construction funding so that the height of the Memorial’s walls might be increased amidst widespread ministerial criticism that the structure was “a little squat”¹²⁰), which, for its critics, undoubtedly suggested the mundane rather than the magnificent. Sodersteen, in fielding such criticism, suggested increasing the vertical span of the Hall of Memory by an additional 65 feet. Sodersteen’s revised conception found key advocates in Bean and Dyett. Cabinet elected to appease both camps, allowing for the adjustment in the Hall’s height but otherwise calling for the preservation of the architectural integrity of the original design. Months of mostly unproductive deliberation ensued, exacerbated by the deteriorating architectural partnership, strained from the outset, of Sodersteen and Crust, until October, when Paterson chaired a meeting at which

a modest increase in the elevation of the Hall of Memory was approved. It was also decided that the dome would be copper (not terracotta, as first intended) and that two entrance-flanking pylons would lead back, by way of a roofed corridor, to the Memorial's courtyard. The architects complied but their already fragile partnership was nearing its breaking point, and Sodersteen subsequently resigned in December.¹²¹

2.8. The Opening of the Australian War Memorial

Despite the outbreak of the Second World War, construction of the Memorial was not suspended. The onslaught of hostilities did, however, precipitate a radical rethinking of its once clear-cut mandate. The Memorial had been conceived in 1917 to commemorate that war alone, but in February 1941, after much fraught discussion, the board of management conceded that “the view of history will be that the war now in progress is a continuation of the struggle which took place in 1914-1918. To extend the scope of the Memorial will therefore not only be logical but will add to its interest and will increase the number of Australian families which will have a direct interest in it.”¹²² By contrast, Ottawa's National War Memorial — exclusively a memorial — could be readily and simply updated to commemorate other wars, unlike a museum.

Most pressing, though, was the completion of the Memorial itself in time for its official opening by the governor-general on Armistice Day 1941.¹²³ Thereafter, the board of management began planning in earnest for the occasion, including the early decision in March to prepare a collections' guidebook in time for the opening.¹²⁴ With great haste, the first 500 copies of this comprehensive 108-page guidebook were dispatched by train

to the Memorial a mere three days before the opening ceremony. The venture proved a success, with 2276 copies sold by year's end.¹²⁵

The temper of the opening ceremony was, given the current war climate, planned to be “of a simple form but solemn in character,”¹²⁶ which, of course, was also consistent with an official day of war remembrance. Of particular interest and significance, however, is the dry account of the opening ceremony that the official programme provides, presumably in a preemptive bid to condition the expectations of guests who, in the absence of such preparatory information, might otherwise feel underwhelmed by the necessarily scaled-back nature of the proceedings.¹²⁷ To wit, the programme's introductory passage soberly reads:

The ceremony on this occasion will be confined to the opening of the collections to the public. The dedication of the War Memorial cannot take place until after the termination of hostilities, since, consequent on the extension of the scope of the Memorial to include the present war, it is not yet possible to complete the Roll of Honour and the Hall of Memory and to collect and display the records and relics of the Australian forces now serving.¹²⁸

A religious but non-ecumenical service (by Church decree, representatives of the Catholic faith could not formally participate in this multi-denominational service, although they could, and did, in the combined Remembrance Day/opening ceremony¹²⁹) preceded the customary 11 a.m. Remembrance Day rituals. Governor-General Lord Gowrie delivered the first of several speeches heard that morning by the assembled public and those listening to the national ABC broadcast of the ceremony. Following this round of formal addresses, officials laid their wreaths upon the Stone of Remembrance (Fig. 68), after which Lord Gowrie mounted the steps leading to the Memorial's principal entrance, unlatched the gates, and so signalled the opening of this commemorative

complex; the public entered some ten minutes later after the vice-regal party had made their exit.¹³⁰

2.9. ANZAC, or From Military Acronym to Cultural Trope

Linguists differentiate between two species of language abbreviation: *initialisms* and *acronyms*: the former are distinguished from the latter, itself phonologically spoken, by having each letter individually pronounced.¹³¹ The chronic usage of these abbreviations as dual means of effecting spoken and written economies is a hallmark of twentieth-century corporate communications, whether civilian or military. As such, it is a phenomenon of no mean interest to the cultural historian of this period. Precisely, this practice of verbal shortening has bequeathed a considerable, sometimes surprisingly potent, and, not least, ever-expanding vocabulary to the already rich reservoir of formal and informal English expression. The military can claim a sizable, if not arguably the greatest, portion of authorship of this linguistic bequest. This large corpus of abbreviated martial language, all etymologically traceable to this and the preceding century's wars and their respective logic and mechanisms of warfare, encompasses the realms of military bureaucracy and combatants alike. In varying degrees such language has permeated the deep fund of colloquial and literary parlance, albeit in ways that are both cross-national and nation-specific in their cultural significance and resonance.

Of specific interest here is the linguistic legacy of the Great War. Some thirty years ago Paul Fussell influentially and extensively mined prose and poetry for extant deposits of such bygone language, recovering vestigial traces mostly, if not surprisingly, in trench-originated vocabularies.¹³² The lexicon of 1914-1918 has thus tenaciously

survived into the present, a full nine decades removed from its eventuating circumstances, if only in fragmentary words and phrases (such as trench coat), which, although still possessing measures of conversational and cultural currency, are now frequently divorced from their original contexts of use. A notable exception, and the focus of the following discussion, is the Great War acronym ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps).

Although the coining of military initialisms and acronyms really only gained momentum during the Second World War, a conflict which witnessed a veritable burgeoning in their creation,¹³³ none that were generated then or since can boast of the same, indeed singular, malleability, sheer cultural force and profundity, as well as the legally protected¹³⁴ and nominally sacrosanct status that ANZAC holds within (white) Australia. (The New Zealand component of this pairing of nations-in-arms, except in official ceremonial contexts and discourse, “tends to be elided and half-forgotten,” Ann Curthoys observes.¹³⁵) How did a mere military acronym, first adopted for use in 1915 by Australian military administrators stationed in Egypt¹³⁶ in response to the wartime exigencies of communicating in *cable-ese* become a potent amalgam of place (Anzac Cove¹³⁷), a proper name (Anzacs), a national martial ethic, and legend? A process of popular and political alchemy performed this grammatical sleight of hand, whereby the acronym ANZAC became, in Graham Seal’s words, an iconic neologism.¹³⁸ *Anzac* is the paradoxically plural yet monolithic signifying pivot upon which the public commemoration of Australian wartime participation, especially its combat losses, has hinged since 25 April 1916, the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing. At bottom, Anzac is an enduring cultural trope and touchstone comprising powerful notions of the

martial, the masculine, and the mythic, which, however, has not been immune from contestation nor is it unchanging, always, as it were, subject to potentially conflicting, even contradictory, readings.

2.10. Anzac Day

Anzac Day is enshrined in the Australian commemorative calendar as *the* national public day of war remembrance. Remembrance Day, by contrast, while officially observed with all due ceremonial and rhetorical gravity customary to this day since the Armistice (Fig. 69), nevertheless lacks cultural resonance as a quintessentially Australian public exercise in remembrance.¹³⁹ Anzac Day, in contrast, is the subject of perennial, and at times polarizing, plumbing by media pundits, academics and polemicists, all of whom variously seek to popularize, politicize, problematize, and probe its social, political, and cultural import. The first Anzac Day (1916) was widely observed, formally and informally, on scales both minor and major, within Australia, across the Western (France) and Eastern (Egypt and the Middle East) fronts, and in London.¹⁴⁰ Full-blown contestation over the celebration, conduct, and, most markedly, the exclusions of Anzac Day, only erupted in the early 1980s, a phenomenon coincident with the growing empowerment, public profile, and political gains, real and symbolic, achieved by the various activists of the 1960s and 1970s. The 1981-1982 annual report of the Australian War Memorial, for example, observes with relief that Anzac Day 1982 was not marred by any untoward disturbances, unlike the previous year, when certain disruptive “events,” as they are obliquely referred to in the report, compromised the Memorial’s ceremonial proceedings.¹⁴¹ The most vehement forms of public protest against the observance of

Anzac Day throughout the 1980s, but especially during the first half of the decade, were those orchestrated by radical second-wave feminist fronts such as *Women Against Rape* and the *Anti-Anzac Day Collective*, a meta organization whose membership included *Women Against Rape* and *Women for Survival*. Amongst these 1980s second-wave feminist protest bodies, *Women Against Rape*, whose acronym, *WAR*, was, of course, a deliberate, delicious irony, held the highest national public profile, staging from 1981 onwards volatile Anzac Day protests at nearly all the state capital memorial services, although by 1985 such subversive interventions only occurred at the day's Melbourne and Sydney commemorative observances.¹⁴² *Women Against Rape* categorically disavowed Anzac Day as being synonymous with war-sanctioned male violence against women. Their reductionist rhetoric and radical tactics, though, seriously undermined the legitimacy of both their cause and claims and, not surprisingly, failed to endear the organization to Australians at large. Indeed, both *WAR* and the *Anti-Anzac Day Collective* were routinely vilified by the popular, and especially the conservative, press, by Anzac Day ceremony attendees themselves (who hurled their own invective and abuse), and by the Returned and Services League of Australia (RSL) command. All vociferously protested against these feminist organizations as profaners and interlopers of a de facto sacrosanct day of commemorative observances. Within the ranks of *WAR* itself, though, opinion was actually divided amongst members as to the legitimacy and efficacy of their most strident strategies, in particular the vandalization of war memorials and the targeting of ex-servicemen as rapists by association, even if they were not actual rapists themselves. From mid-decade, the organization's previous considerable public profile, albeit a resoundingly negative one, was much diminished, while their protest manoeuvres

had considerably softened, too. The feminist critique of Anzac, however, remained vigorous, if now mostly wary of militant measures that were apt to repel not attract public favour. The most sophisticated of such criticism issued once more, and continues to do so, from within academia, the original conceptual bedrock of incisive feminist analyses and accounts of Anzac.¹⁴³

From the mid-1980s onwards, scholarly scrutiny of the Anzac legend and legacy gained in momentum, as well as broadened its critical purview by extending across academic disciplines and ideological lines.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, in 1985, the Australian War Memorial, a popular, if always belated, barometer of shifting cultural sensibilities about Anzac Day recognized this paradigmatic shift in scholarship by sponsoring and publishing, for the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the Gallipoli landing, a commemorative book entitled *Anzac Day: Seventy Years On*. This venture, part remembrance record, part critical reflection, also notably signalled the AWM's full about-face as an institution that had suffered from chronic stagnation (cautious programming, lackluster galleries, acute understaffing, inadequate facilities and so forth) during the 1960s and the early 1970s. Instead, after a decade-long effort of internal administrative and professional revitalization, as well as physical refurbishment, it was willing to tentatively enter the fray of intellectual debates about the message, medium, and meaning of Anzac Day.¹⁴⁵

Primarily a photographic compendium (the AWM issued a public call for photographic submissions from professionals and amateurs alike) of that year's 25 April observances across Australia, this glossy tome, which might have otherwise been just a wistful exercise in nostalgia, was, in fact, injected with a good dose of intellectual

gravity, thoughtfully punctuated as it was by five commissioned two-page impressionistic but also incisively observed essays about commemorative events as they unfolded in the large urban centres of Sydney and Melbourne, the modestly populated town of Wynard, Tasmania, and the rural community of Dangarsleigh, New South Wales. These essays were authored by a quintet of carefully selected and respected commentators, including three academics (two men, one woman), a WWII veteran-poet/novelist/memoirist, and a Catholic priest. As such, the prevailing sensibility of this publication, billed as unique by the AWM, is one peculiarly poised between a coffee table book and a considered cultural critique.¹⁴⁶

Five years later, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Gallipoli landing, the AWM again canvassed a panel of Australians, ten in number this time and representing a broader range of professional appointments and personal histories, to offer their reflections about 'Anzac,' whose meaning, from the outset of this 1990 symposium, was prefatorily framed by its institutional sponsor as expressly multifarious not monolithic in character; or, as the AWM succinctly stated: "the word 'Anzac' has a variety of meanings. Anzac is a place, a military formation, a day, a soldier, a legend; for some, Anzac means more than all of these things."¹⁴⁷ As might be expected, a variety of responses were received from the symposium's invitees, numbering amongst them ex-servicemen (WWII AIF, Vietnam), scholars, a poet/novelist, and the last national president of the RSL.¹⁴⁸

Cultural historian Richard White remarks in his contributed response that Anzac Day rests indisputably at the heart of Australian commemorative culture, a memorial enterprise inextricably bound up with the project of national validation. Thus, for White,

acts of remembrance such as those enacted during 25 April observances doubly work to forge and embroider the narratives that impart to the nation, otherwise just an abstraction (Anderson's 'imagined community'), a tangible sense of cultural meaningfulness, coherence, and semblance of historical continuity. Such expressions of nationalism, as well as those that are not expressly commemorative in character, are inherently politically conservative. In a related vein, such conservatism also frequently permeates the politics of veterans' organizations, which gradually extend their original mandate as special-interest lobby groups to appoint themselves the moral gatekeepers and guardians of a culture of remembrance inseparable from the nation's socio-cultural signification. The RSL, in this regard, is somewhat remarkable as a lobbying body, given the considerable political power and influence it wields. It has been enormously successful in parlaying its public and political prominence into a virtual ownership of Anzac. That the RSL and Anzac alike should be so esteemed within Australian social and cultural consciousness, White argues, has much to do with the notion, pervasive until quite recently, that the nation's colonial past was wanting owing both to its brevity and the burden of its (penal) history. In the context of a newly federated Australia, however, Anzac was widely seen as eminently useable and potent Australian history and was deployed discursively to bolster the claims of nationalism. Thus the Great War looms large in the nationalist imaginary as a commemorative cult whose cultivation depends upon both a public material culture of remembrance and perennial memorializing observances.¹⁴⁹

In 2002, a state funeral was conducted in Hobart honouring 103-year-old Alec Campbell, the last documented Australian Anzac *and* participant, worldwide, in the Gallipoli campaign.¹⁵⁰ But although — as I have argued — Anzac was a loaded,

complex, and often contradictory cultural phenomenon that manifested itself in a multitude of ways in Australian cultural memory, its life is most assured by an altogether singular institution: the Australian War Memorial.

2.11. The Australian War Memorial and Anzac Day

In 1943, the Memorial's 25 April two-ceremony tradition of dawn and morning services was established. (That year the Canberra R.S.S.A.I.L.A. branch conducted its sunrise service, as well as an afternoon ceremony.) The next year witnessed yet another commemorative add-on or (performative) allied accretion to the ceremonial proceedings: the introduction of Bean's *Requiem*, his elegy to the Australian war dead and prayer for the nation and its allies.¹⁵¹ Originally invoking only the dead of the two world wars, the *Requiem* was subsequently revised to include and commemorate Australian participation in later conflicts.¹⁵² The original 1944 text, however, is worth citing at length, for it encapsulates and concretizes, much in the same way as Pericles's funeral oration does, the Memorial's institutionalization of Australian war commemoration, especially its foundational moment, the Gallipoli landing. Its annual recitation on Anzac Day is a prime illustration of what Paul Connerton designates as rhetorical re-enactment (its tripartite character consisting of calendrical, verbal, and gestural repetitions), which is a hallmark of commemorative ceremonies like this one. In analogous fashion, Edward S. Casey has argued that commemorative activity, as occurs during the ceremonial observance of 25 April at the AWM, is solemnized by repetition, re-enactment, social sanction, and formality.

The *Requiem* reads:

On this day, above all days, we recall those who did not return with us to receive the welcome of their nations; those who will sleep where we left them, amid the holly scrub in the valleys and on the ridges of Gallipoli, on the rocky, terraced hills of Palestine, in the lovely cemeteries of France, in the shimmering haze of the Libyan desert, of Bardia, Derna, Tobruk; amid the mountain passes and olive groves of Greece and Crete, the rugged, snow-caped hills of Syria, the rich jungle of Malaya, New Guinea and the Pacific Islands; amid loving friends in our Mother Country and in our own far north; and in many an unknown resting place in almost every land and every sea. We think of those of our women's services who gave their lives in our own and foreign lands, and particularly of those who proved, in so much more than name, the sisters of our fighting men.

We recall also those staunch friends who fought beside us on the first Anzac Day — our brothers from New Zealand who helped to create that name; the men of the Royal Navy, and of the 29th and other British divisions, the Indian mountain gunners and our brave French allies. We recall all those who have since fallen fighting shoulder to shoulder in both World Wars....

May they rest proudly in the knowledge of their achievement, and may we and our successors in that heritage prove worthy of their sacrifice.¹⁵³

Until the onset of the 1990s, the wording of the *Requiem* changed little, despite some abridgement. In 1991, however, a radically revised *Requiem* appeared.¹⁵⁴ This altogether different but not, of course, demilitarized text is decidedly more inclusive, enjoining Australians to contemplate the war-related sufferings, physical and mental, of those who served, whether so afflicted during or following their discharge from military duty, the grief of the bereaved, and, indeed, all who have endured the injurious effect of war. Furthermore, the text, in another departure from its previous incarnation, now emphasizes the “memory”¹⁵⁵ of the fallen, again echoing a larger pop-cultural trend, the institutional and societal ‘mnemonic turn’ of the 1990s. In 1999, the *Requiem* was altered once more, this time as an amalgam of the 1991 version and the 1972 updating of the original text.¹⁵⁶ The perennial recitation of the *Requiem*, paradoxically form-bound yet adaptable, has thus operated as a cultural register of the evolving meaning of Australian war commemoration, pointing up the recent premium placed upon memory in social, political,

and academic discourse. Likewise, the Anzac Day national ceremony programmes, simultaneously documentary and ephemeral, have since the millennium registered a key cultural shift regarding the day's observance: its increasing heritage character. This new heritage gloss, particularly as it pertains to the Great War, is evidenced in two ways by the programmes themselves. Firstly, there is the predominantly 1914-1918-related artwork/photography, overwhelmingly weighted towards Gallipoli, which adorned the covers of the programmes between 2001 and 2008,¹⁵⁷ replacing the plain typeface of all preceding issues. Secondly, introduced in 2004, there is the explanatory fact sheet *What is Anzac Day?*.¹⁵⁸ Such material acknowledges the demographic reality of present-day Australia, whose population is increasingly removed by a generation or more from the world wars or for whom these and later conflicts have no familial or cultural bearing. Conversely, the observance of Anzac Day at the Memorial, although still dictated by protocol, is no longer fraught by old wartime animosities or political reprehensibility on the part of a former ally, as exemplified by the periodic diplomatic controversies that dogged the day's Canberra observance during the 1950s and 1960s.

The first such diplomatic crisis arose on 13 January 1953 when the acting secretary for External Affairs, A. H. Tange, learned from the RSL state branch (Canberra) vice-president that his constituents were vehemently opposed to the Japanese ambassador, Haruhiko Nishi, participating in that year's ceremony,¹⁵⁹ so much so that it would precipitate a "breakaway movement"¹⁶⁰ within the local RSL, including a demand to stage an alternative ceremony without Japanese diplomatic representation. The ensuing conversation launched a procedural review of the Anzac Day ceremony by the Consular and Protocol division of External Affairs, focusing on the desirability of adopting the

“family”¹⁶¹ model of Anzac Day ceremonial orchestration. This was a procedural adaptation of the Canadian observance of Armistice Day, whereby Canadian agencies and representatives of the British Commonwealth nations alone comprised the official wreath-laying contingent, with the other members of the diplomatic corps permitted to lay wreaths only prior to or following the commemorative service. The adoption of a similar system, they argued, was both sensible, given the recent expansion of the diplomatic community in Canberra, which now included representatives of several former enemy nations, as well as fitting, considering Anzac Day’s special meaning within the British Commonwealth.¹⁶² Soon thereafter, the question of the Japanese ambassador’s presence at the 1953 Anzac Day ceremony was broached to the local president of the RSL, who remarked that the ambassador’s attendance in of itself was not objectionable but, should he proceed to lay a wreath, a “demonstration”¹⁶³ would surely ensue. Similarly, H. W. Piper, the state president (South Australia) of the Thirtyniners’ Association, wrote Prime Minister Menzies directly, strenuously opposing any motion to extend the official Anzac Day wreath-laying privilege to the Japanese diplomatic consul, protesting that “No diplomatic niceties can explain this invitation which, to those who on this day remember their dead friends, will seem extraordinarily insulting.”¹⁶⁴ The Minister for the Interior, Wilfred Kent Hughes,¹⁶⁵ was more measured in his assessment of this brewing diplomatic predicament, coolly observing, “Why the R.S.L. should take exception to the Japanese Ambassador now that the Peace Treaty has been signed is perhaps understandable but entirely illogical. No exception was taken last year to the German Ambassador, and I cannot think the Japanese atrocities ever reached the heights of Belsen as far as premeditated mass extermination was concerned.”¹⁶⁶ For Hughes, the

logic of historical grievance was emotional and capricious. He cited recent press accounts intimating that Turkish General Tahsin Yazici,¹⁶⁷ presently engaged in Korea, would be invited to participate in that year's Anzac Day ceremony, perhaps even the march: a once unthinkable scenario now openly countenanced, however, owing to Turkey's neutrality during the Second World War and its present status as an ally in the Korean conflict. What distinction could be drawn, Hughes pondered, in the exercise of moral politics, as they pertained to former belligerents, now that Japan, a signatory of the Peace Treaty, was furnishing military bases for Australian use in the present, so-called Third War in Korea, albeit not as members of the allied forces? Hughes recommended that the government persuade the RSL to reevaluate its stance; however, should they not reverse their position, then the adoption of the 'family' approach for the ceremonial proceedings was advised.¹⁶⁸ The latter was in fact implemented in time for Anzac Day 1953. The diplomatic community at large received this procedural change without objection, save for disappointment expressed by the French ambassador and the minister for Belgium.¹⁶⁹ In 1958, the Japanese diplomatic consul again inquired about laying a wreath during that year's 25 April ceremony but was advised by the Department of External Affairs that it "would certainly not take it amiss if he refrained."¹⁷⁰ Undoubtedly the Department had in mind the December 1957 state visit of the Japanese prime minister, Kishi Nobusuke, during which, as is customary for visiting dignitaries, he had laid a wreath upon the Memorial's Stone of Remembrance, a gesture which did not fail to generate public dissection and discomfiture. In February, the visiting German foreign minister had done the same, albeit without controversy. The RSL, for their part, publicly acquitted themselves with decorum and dignity, at least officially.¹⁷¹

In 1960, J. H. Scholten of the Prime Minister's Department, with whom the 1953 change of Anzac Day protocol (then under consideration for adoption on 11 November as well) rested uneasily, began sounding out the Consular and Protocol Officer for the Department of External Affairs, W. G. Landale, as to whether he would consider rescinding the 1953 ruling, which he had never considered to be "cricket."¹⁷² The prevailing sentiment within External Affairs, however, was that nothing would be gained by reinstating the original Anzac Day ceremonial protocol of inviting each and every diplomatic mission to lay a wreath during the ceremony.¹⁷³ Meanwhile, the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth presented another ceremonial predicament for the Department: whether to continue permitting the laying of a wreath by the South African Ambassador at the Memorial's Anzac and Remembrance Day services. This question was much debated in the ensuing years. Then, in 1969, another, albeit Anzac Day-specific, protocol change was aired, this time recommending that the wreath-laying by the heads of Commonwealth diplomatic missions, save for the New Zealand high commissioner, be dispensed with altogether. Instead, it was proposed, the New Zealand high commissioner and the Australian prime minister would jointly lay wreaths, symbolizing the military heritage that is ANZAC. According to F. T. Homer of the Head Consular and Protocol Branch, this tidy solution would foreclose charges of historically selective discrimination against allied nations in both world wars whilst tactfully also excluding South Africa from the official proceedings.¹⁷⁴ In 1972 the streamlining of the Commonwealth roster of official Anzac Day wreath-layers was implemented; since that year, only the New Zealand and British high commissioners have laid their wreaths during the commemorative service proper.¹⁷⁵ Controversy next plagued Anzac Day ceremonies at

the Memorial during the early 1980s, as previously discussed. These, disruptions, too, abated, succeeded by a two-decade period of settled ceremonial routine. Still, it is only since the millennium that the observance of 25 April at the Australian War Memorial has assumed a sufficiently safe historical distance and, concomitantly, gained its present preeminently heritage dimension: a dimension that strives with noteworthy success to bring present-day Australian society into harmony with the culturally very different Australia that conceived and constructed the Australian War Memorial.

2.12. The Australian War Memorial as a Capital Shrine

The Australian War Memorial is, literally and figuratively, a capital shrine to Anzac. Nestled against the foot of Mount Ainslie, its siting there simultaneously manages to minimize the monumentality of the Memorial yet, paradoxically, seen against this arboreal backdrop and greater vertical rise, also serves to set its monumental architectural silhouette in stark, bold relief. Spectacular natural setting notwithstanding, it's the potent signification of the Memorial's sightlines, real and symbolic, which leave an unmistakable and determining impress upon the commemorative and cultural optic of Canberra. Precisely, the Memorial marks the terminal point of Canberra's *Land Axis*, so named by Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahoney Griffin, the original authors of the Australian capital's urban development scheme.¹⁷⁶

Since the 1920s there has been a deliberate axial alignment of the AWM with, respectively, the Old and New Parliaments, Commonwealth Place, and Reconciliation Place (Fig. 70, 71, 72).¹⁷⁷ Although Lake Burley Griffin, an artificial expanse of water, does physically separate the Memorial from this string of notable political and inherently

politicized official spaces and structures (Fig. 73), this aquatic expanse was largely conceived for ornamental and recreational ends and affords all-round uninterrupted vistas, thus forming a visual bridge, not barrier, between elements of its symbolically freighted environs. The insistent spatial alignment or axially of its surrounding spaces, as much conceptual as optical, also invites, by virtue of their perceived visual and official fixedness, willful disruption by the ‘intrusive’ addition of the altogether unofficial but resolutely defiant Aboriginal Tent Embassy to this symbolic axis delineating both the Australian body politic and war remembrance.

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy,¹⁷⁸ originally a makeshift compound of tents and placards, was installed before the steps of the Old Parliament House (now the National Portrait Gallery) on 26 January 1972 — Australia (or Invasion) Day — to protest the government’s outright unwillingness to countenance the land claims of Australia’s indigenous people. Though always under threat of dismantlement, it has succeeded in staking, guerilla-style, both a territorial and symbolic claim upon this, the Australian capital’s foremost commemorative and political landscape.¹⁷⁹ And it is precisely landscape, as scholar Christopher Vernon has argued, which has always defined Canberra and been its “preeminent”¹⁸⁰ feature, as it were. The axial configuration of the capital’s official sites and spaces, including the AWM, is the work of its first appointed urban developers, the Griffins, as well as their successors.

Canberra’s official commemorative landscape continues to evolve, although its character and growth are carefully controlled by the National Capital Authority (NCA). In August 2002, this regulatory body issued its *Guidelines for Commemorative Works in the National Capital*. This benchmark document clearly delineates the permissible

grounds for local memorial projects, as well as prescribes their geographic and design parameters. The NCA is charged with administering and planning Canberra's "nationally significant" public spaces.¹⁸¹ In conceptualizing the capital, the NCA's *National Capital Plan* identifies key operative capacities unique to Canberra: the city as the seat and site of the Australian federal government, its status as the nation's administrative nucleus and institutional centre for the visual and performing arts, post-secondary education, research, and sports, and, not least, its role as "a symbol of Australian national life and a location for memorials and national events." This last function, if notoriously nebulous, "is one of the most important but also [one of the] most intangible roles that the city will be called on to play."¹⁸² In the new millennium, the NCA has placed a premium upon devising considered and original tacks towards capital commemoration, meaningfully engaging the senses and sensibilities of tomorrow's Australians. If the commemorative landscape of Canberra has long assumed a wholly militarized air, the NCA — like the evolving Anzac Day ceremonies discussed above — is now determined to strike a more balanced approach, albeit without dismissing or downplaying the importance of Australia's military heritage. Rather, the Authority proposes a more inclusive commemorative vision:

Important as our history of sacrifice, service and valour has been in the shaping of our nation, it is by no means the singular driving force; so many other individuals, groups, events and historical moments, drawn from a multiplicity of cultural areas, have had profound impact.¹⁸³

Of particular importance here is the NCA's focus on the emblematic value of capital commemorative projects that operate to both consolidate and convey (presumed) collectively held ideals. The work of commemoration, so conceived by the NCA, is thus primarily understood as an exercise in public cultural communication. Seen in this light,

the NCA predictably places a premium upon memorials to perform the public operation of commemoration. The NCA's faith in the power of memorials is unsurprising. Memorials, owing to their permanence and their public prominence, have long been invested with the capacity to convey a particular cultural message. To the NCA's credit, however, there is the knowing recognition that memorials are necessarily "historically located," that is, era-specific material manifestations of once (and perhaps still prevailing) officially sanctioned ideals and values. Moreover, the NCA acknowledges that Canberra's extant commemorative landscape is neither wholly reflective of nor harmonious with past or present governmental dictates, noting, however, that it duly "accepts the presence of these 'inconsistencies' as a part of the unique cultural tapestry of the National Capital."¹⁸⁴

Although tolerant, at least in print, of these so-called inconsistencies, the NCA's commemoration charter certainly does not espouse an 'anything goes' policy. The NCA's guidelines, in fact, work to carefully control the future development of Canberra's commemorative landscape; siting criteria, in this context, are rigorously applied. Specifically, the guidelines furnish a quartet of thematic site categorizations governing the placement of commemorative works within the capital's Central National Area.¹⁸⁵ Convention, in this instance, reigns. For example, the siting of "commemorative works honouring military and non-military sacrifice, service, valour and achievement,"¹⁸⁶ are all located beyond the north shore of Lake Burley Griffin, an area encompassing seven distinct districts, including Anzac Parade (Fig. 74) and the Australian War Memorial;¹⁸⁷ these latter two are reserved for, respectively, "Memorials that commemorate Australian Defence Force service in all wars or warlike operations," and "Commemoration related to

the service and sacrifice of Australians in war, in war-like operations, or in peace-keeping.”¹⁸⁸ Conversely, the region extending south from Lake Burley Griffin, encompassing the Parliamentary Precinct, is conceived as a decidedly non-military commemorative zone of nineteen sites expressly dedicated to valorizing Australian and non-Australian attainments and undertakings, as well as the nation’s global involvements.¹⁸⁹ Thus the NCA’s guidelines, whilst aiming for a cohesive, consistent, and complementary capital commemorative landscape, have simultaneously implemented a plan of commemorative site containment and dichotomization ultimately at odds with the Authority’s professed tolerance for the messy “inconsistencies” that already characterize Canberra’s existing “cultural tapestry,” privileging instead a conceptual and cartographic clarity of purpose and placement regarding the capital’s commemorative grounds.

Once unveiled, the St. John’s and Ottawa National War Memorials, as well as the Australian War Memorial, appeared (as do all memorials) to be the culminations of an aesthetic and commemorative consensus, belying the difficulties, deliberations, and debates that variously coloured and shaped their realization. This is particularly evident in the geography of the Australian War Memorial and in the annual ceremonies that take place there. In the decades since their unveiling, each of these capital memorials has been subject to allied symbolic accretions, whether in the form of affixed plaques or memorial installations, such as the Valiants Memorial in Ottawa. However, only the Australian War Memorial boasts a heightened profile and history, albeit periodic, as a site of protest and demonstration, a performative and ephemeral mode of antithetical symbolic accretion.

This chapter has documented the delays and the sometimes fraught design and construction processes that attended the creation of the St. John's, Ottawa, and Canberra national Great War memorials, reserving extended discussion for the Australian War Memorial because its long genesis and protracted building history arose from its dual rather than strictly memorial nature. Their sites and the rites of remembrance routinely enacted therein are the two critical axes upon which the commemorative import and impact of these memorials, physical and performative, hinge and are (re)negotiated. Each of these memorials was sited to forge associative links and symbolic sightlines with spaces and structures evocative either of nation-founding or of each nation's political foundation. The continuity of these phenomena, according to the optic produced, was preserved and purchased by war sacrifice, with the St. John's National War Memorial erected at King's Beach, and Ottawa's National War Memorial and the Australian War Memorial visually aligned, respectively, with the Canadian and Australian Parliaments.

Fundamentally, this chapter has mined the interrelationship that obtains between, as a matter of consolidating and communicating national war commemoration, these capital war memorials and the annual government and veterans' organization-sponsored rituals of remembrance. In so doing it has focused upon the observance of Anzac Day at the Australian War Memorial. Anzac Day, as it is ceremonially marked at the AWM, exemplifies, more explicitly than Canada's or Newfoundland's Memorial Days, how perennial, ritualized war remembrance, although tradition-bound and site-bound, remains sufficiently malleable, despite its codification, to admit cultural as well as protocol changes. At bottom, national war remembrance is as much a ritual as it is a situated

practice. Its chief locus, the national war memorial, is both the stage and the set piece for the yearly promotion, parsing and perpetuation of the national remembrance of war.

These domestic national war memorials have overseas counterparts at Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux, where national memorials to the Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian 1914-1918 dead and missing have been erected. Their commemorative and site specificity distinguishes them, although each, too, is the venue for the annual observance of national days of war remembrance, as well as battle anniversary commemorations. Furthermore, the performance of war remembrance takes on an additional dimension at Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux, which may therefore be analyzed as sites of battlefield tourism and pilgrimage: the focus of the following chapter.

¹ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003) 35.

² Canadian memorial hospitals can be found in Middleton (Nova Scotia), Twillingate (Newfoundland), Orillia, St. Thomas, and Perth (Ontario). Memorial halls were also erected, for example, in Carman (Manitoba) and Agassiz (British Columbia). Smiths Falls (Ontario) boasts a memorial arena, whilst a number of communities across the country constructed memorial libraries. Robert Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987) 87. In Australia, the hall, typically a centre dedicated for use by ex-servicemen, was the most frequently adopted type of practical memorial. K. S. Inglis, assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2001) 154.

³ Owen J. Dwyer, "Symbolic accretion and commemoration," *Social & Cultural Geography* 5.3 (September 2004): 420-422.

⁴ Peter Hart (Imperial War Museum), "Suvla: Introduction," 1, <http://www.iwm.org.uk/upload/package/2/gallipoli/suvlaopen.htm> (accessed 11/10/2010).

⁵ W. David Parsons, "Newfoundland and the Great War," *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers*, ed. Briton C. Busch (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) 149-150, and 154.

⁶ A. J. Harvey, and J. J. McKay, Annex II, *Report of the Committee nominated by His Excellency the Governor at the instance of the Patriotic Association to consider and report upon the question of how most fittingly the Dominion can give expression to its gratitude and respect for those who during the Great War served King and Empire with all that these stand for* (St. John's: Newfoundland Patriotic Association, July 28, 1918), The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

⁷ Parsons 154-155 and Chris Martin, "The Right Course, The Best Course, The Only Course: Voluntary Recruitment in the Newfoundland Regiment, 1914-1918," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 24.1 (Spring 2009): 55-56.

⁸ Patriotic Association of Newfoundland, Meeting, 29 December 1919, 1, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

⁹ Patriotic Association of Newfoundland, Meeting, 29 December 1919, 1-3, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

¹⁰ Claude Bélanger, "Lloyd, Sir William Frederick," *Newfoundland Biography (1497-2004)*, <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/nfldhistory/Newfoundland%20biographies%20K-P.htm> (accessed 10/12/2010) and "Lloyd, Right Hon, Sir William Frederick, K.C.M.G., D.C.L., K.C.," *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland 1930*, second edition, (St. John's: R. Hibbs, 1927) 55.

¹¹ Lloyd quoted in Minutes of a Meeting of the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland Held August 17th, 1920, 2, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, Box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

¹² Secretary quoted in Minutes of a Meeting of the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland Held August 17th, 1920, 1, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

¹³ Patriotic Association of Newfoundland, Meeting, 29 December 1919, 2, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

¹⁴ Minutes of a Meeting of the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland Held August 17th, 1920, 3 and Minutes of a Meeting of the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland Held November 9th, 1920, 1, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

¹⁵ Minutes of a Meeting of the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland Held November 9th, 1920, 1-4, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 632, box 1, file 1, Patriotic Assoc., 1918-1920.

¹⁶ "Outerbridge, Philip Edmund," *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland 1930*, second edition, (St. John's: R. Hibbs, 1927) 189.

¹⁷ Outerbridge paraphrased in Minutes of Meeting Called by P.E. Outerbridge in the Board of Trade, Thursday, June 9th, 1921 for the Purpose of Discussing a Public War Memorial, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

¹⁸ Minutes of a Meeting Called by P.E. Outerbridge in the Board of Trade, Thursday, June 9th, 1921 for the Purpose of Discussing a Public War Memorial, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

¹⁹ P. E. Outerbridge, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, Executive Meeting [War Memorial Committee] August 9, 1921, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²⁰ P. E. Outerbridge, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, Executive Meeting [War Memorial Committee], August 16, 1921 and P. E. Outerbridge, Secretary-Treasurer, A Meeting of the Executive, Committee on Design and Location and Committee on Outport Collections, September 12, 1921, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²¹ Squires quoted by P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting to meet Rev. Lieut-Col. Nangle, February 3rd, 1922, 3, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²² Squires quoted by P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting to meet Rev. Lieut-Col. Nangle, February 3rd, 1922, 3, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²³ At the 3 February 1922 meeting of the executive committee, its chairman, R. G. Rendell, acknowledged the receipt of a communication from W. G. Gosling, chairman of the PAN memorial committee, who advocated that the two bodies amalgamate. The secretary of the executive thereafter introduced a motion, seconded by W. H. Jackman, that Gosling's invitation be declined, observing that the PAN committee had proven absolutely ineffectual and, furthermore, any associative ties with it should not be remotely countenanced. Dr. Robinson, however, in the interest of civility, proposed an amendment to the secretary's motion, specifically, the issue to Gosling of a polite refusal, which he would couch as "this Committee feels it does not see its way clear towards taking action in the matter referred to." Robinson's amendment, after being voted upon, was adopted. Robinson quoted by P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting to meet Rev. Lieut-Col. Nangle, February 3rd, 1922, 4-5, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²⁴ Nangle was later appointed as the IWGC's Newfoundland Commissioner, in which capacity he served from 1923 to 1924. 16 July 1916 letter to W. E. Davidson from Roche; 21 July 1919 memorandum to the Chief Staff Officer from the Minister of Militia; 21 July 1919 letter to the Principal Secretary, Imperial War Graves Commission, from the Minister of Militia; 21 July 1919 letter to the Commission Nationale des Sépultures Militaires from the Minister of Militia; 21 July 1919 letter to the Director of Graves Registration & Enquiries, War Office, from the Minister of Militia; 24 July 1919 letter to Capt. T. Nangle from Lieut. Col., Chief Staff Officer; and 2 January 1920 memorandum to the Chief Staff Officer, Newfoundland Contingent, from the Minister of Militia, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), GN 19 B-1-1, Reel #3, Royal Nfld. Reg. and Newfoundland Forestry Corps. See also 2 January 1920 letter to Major T. Nangle from Lieut. Col., Chief Staff Officer, LAC, RG 38, vol. 475, file M-19-A, Covering letters.

In June 1918 Dr. E. F. S. Green was appointed to serve as the Newfoundland government's representative on the Imperial War Graves Commission. His tenure was short-lived, though, as he soon "retired in favour of Sir Edgar Bowring," the high commissioner for Newfoundland. Bowring's appointment in the spring of 1919 was a matter of custom, for the high commissioners of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa each held a seat on the IWGC. T. Nangle, 12 September 1919 "Preliminary Report on War Graves and Battle Exploit Memorials," 1, LAC, RG 38, vol. 475, file M-19-10, Grave Sites-Major Nangle's Reports; 9 November 1921 letter to the Colonial Secretary from Edgar R. Bowring, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), GN 2.14.282, box 20, War Graves and Memorials; 22 May 1918 letter to the Colonial Secretary from W. F. Rendell; 12 June 1918 letter to W. W. Halfyard from W. F. Rendell; Imperial War Graves Commission, *Report* (London: Winchester House, December 1918) n.p.; 6 March 1919 letter to W. W. Halfyard from Edgar Bowring, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), GN 2.14.284, Box 20; 24 November 1919 letter to the Colonial Secretary from Edgar R. Bowring, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), GN 2.14.286, Box 20. For a list of the IWGC's Newfoundland Commissioners (1917-1937), see Appendices A and E of Fabian Ware, *The Immortal Heritage: An Account of the Work and Policy of the Imperial War Graves Commission during twenty years, 1917-1937* (Cambridge, the University Press, 1937) 75, 81.

²⁵ Nangle paraphrased by P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting to Meet Rev. Lieut-Col. Nangle February 3rd, 1922, 2, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²⁶ P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting to Meet Rev. Lieut-Col. Nangle February 3rd, 1922, 1-3, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²⁷ Nangle quoted in P.E. Outerbridge, May 8, 1922, A Meeting of the Executive of the Newfoundland War Memorial, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

²⁸ 9 March 1923 letter to R. G. Rendell from [name illegible], City Clerk, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3; "Newfoundland's National War Memorial," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.4 (January 1924): 55; and H. W. LeMessurier, "The Landing of Sir Humphrey Gilbert," *The Veteran* 4.3 (October 1924): 33-34. On 22 October 1923, in lieu of a sod-turning ceremony, the governor, Sir William Allardyce, ritually detonated the fuse that commenced the blasting of the King's Beach rock bed in preparation for the National War Memorial's installation there. The governor, in his address to the crowd, explained: "The site selected for our National War Memorial, and by general consent it is regarded as a most appropriate one, is right in the centre of the township, adjacent to the Harbour, and close to one of the busiest thoroughfares." Allardyce quoted in "Newfoundland's National War Memorial," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.4 (January 1924): 55.

²⁹ W. R. Warren quoted in P. E. Outerbridge, May 8, 1922, A Meeting of the Executive of the Newfoundland War Memorial, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

³⁰ Nangle quoted in P. E. Outerbridge, May 8, 1922, A Meeting of the Executive of the Newfoundland War Memorial, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

³¹ Chairman (R. G. Rendell) paraphrased in P. E. Outerbridge, May 8, 1922, A Meeting of the Executive of the Newfoundland War Memorial, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

³² At the 17 June 1922 meeting of the executive committee, the following exchange between Lady Crosbie and Nangle ensued. Lady Crosbie inquired: "Is the idea of the 'Harbour Light' still to be utilized?" Nangle responded: "At the last meeting, the Chairman asked me to interview the Minister of Marine & Fisheries about getting permission for the leading light. This I have done and I have obtained his permission. The chief purpose of the discussion at present is the outline we should give to the artist to work upon. I think the Memorial should be absolutely distinctive of Newfoundland. The designs already submitted would suit [,] Calcutta, San Francisco or London but there is nothing distinctive of Newfoundland about them and many of them would be unsuitable for this climate." Crosbie and Nangle quoted by P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting-June 17, 1922, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

³³ P. E. Outerbridge, Executive Meeting-June 17, 1922, n.p., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.

³⁴ 7 September 1922 letter to R. G. Rendell from Nangle, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, Box 3.

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- ³⁵ 11 October 1922 letter to Colonel R. G. Rendell from T. Nangle, 1, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.
- ³⁶ 1 February 1923 letter to R. G. Rendell from T. Nangle and “The Newfoundland War Memorial,” 1, n.d., The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3. The April 1924 issue of *The Veteran* provides a pictorial spread of the Memorial’s bronze sculptures, as well as brief biographies of the two sculptors, Blundstone and Bayes. See “Coloured Supplement: Distinguished Visitors and War Memorial Bronzes,” *The Veteran* 4.1 (April 1924): 33, 36-38.
- ³⁷ Whitty, Dominion Secretary of the GWVA, however, refers to this female figure as a personification of Newfoundland. The two interpretive readings of this central symbolic figure suggest a conflation of Nangle’s original *Leading Light* conception for the war memorial, which called for the inclusion of the allegorical figures of both Liberty and Newfoundland. 12 February 1924 letter to R. G. Rendell from Whitty, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.
- ³⁸ 7 November 1923 letter to Col. Nangle from F. V. Blundstone; 11 February 1924 letter to Nangle from E. J. Parlanti; and 12 February 1924 letter to E. J. Parlanti from “JLM” for D. G. R. & E., Newfoundland Contingent, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War and Directorate of History and Heritage, “Memorial Details Search Results,” Memorial Number : 10006-005, http://www.forces.gc.ca/dhh/collections/memorials/engraph/display_e.asp?PID+383&cat=7 (accessed 01/08/2008).
- ³⁹ 13 February 1924 Cablegram-“Via Commercial” to CLT Rendell (and?) Bennett from Nangle, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.
- ⁴⁰ 31 October, 1924 letter to G. H. Kitchin from TN [Thomas Nangle] and 1 November 1924 letter to Nangle from G. H. Kitchin, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War.
- ⁴¹ 1 February 1923 letter to Colonel R. G. Rendell from T. Nangle, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, Box 3.
- ⁴² 5 March 1923 letter to Rendell from P. E. Outerbridge (The list of invitees included Captain Whitty, Dr. Robinson, Mrs. Bell, Lady Crosbie, Miss McKay, Mrs. Scully, and Mrs. Herbert Outerbridge.) and 16 March 1923 letter to Rendell from Whitty, 1, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.
- ⁴³ 24 April 1924 letter to Captain V. Gordon from “JL”; 30 October 1924 letter to Lieut. Colonel Nangle from J. C. B (?), Fenning & Co. Ltd.; 31 October 1924 letter to H. Leighton from TN [Thomas Nangle]; 31 October 1924 letter to W. Wilson from T.N. [Thomas Nangle], The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War; and 16 March 1923 letter to R. G. Rendell from Whitty, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, box 3.
- ⁴⁴ 29 February 1924 letter to Blundstone from TN [Thomas Nangle], The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War. The Newfoundland Regiment was honoured with the designation of Royal Newfoundland Regiment by the king in December 1917, the sole regiment in the British army to be so distinguished in the Great War. Parsons 152. The plaque Blundstone designed also features the engraved catch-term *Seven Seas*, characterizing Newfoundland’s widespread 1914-1918 naval engagements, as well as a miniature emblem of a caribou’s head.
- ⁴⁵ 22 August 1923 letter to Prime Minister W. R. Warren from T. Nangle, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War.
- ⁴⁶ John Kiszely, “Douglas Haig and Veterans,” *The RUSI Journal (Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies)* 155.1 (February-March 2010): 86, 89. When Haig unveiled the National War Memorial, he proclaimed: “I am here not only as your old leader in the field, but as the representative, as I can fairly claim to be, of your comrades of the Armies of the Empire.” Haig quoted in Lieut. H. S. Knight, “Unveiling of Newfoundland’s National War Memorial and the Haig Week Celebrations,” *The Veteran* 4.3 (October 1924): 53.
- ⁴⁷ Kiszely 89.
- ⁴⁸ Transcription of 20 August 1923 letter to Colonel Nangle from Haig, as cited in 22 August 1923 letter to Prime Minister W. R. Warren from T. Nangle, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War.
- ⁴⁹ 16 February 1924 letter to Rudyard Kipling from T. N. [Thomas Nangle] and 18 February 1924 letter to Rudyard Kipling from T. N. [Thomas Nangle], The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War.

⁵⁰ 16 February 1924 letter, Ref: 2017, to Rudyard Kipling from T. N. [Thomas Nangle], The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War.

⁵¹ Copy of Cable No. 225 sent to the Prime Minister on 18 February 1924 and 22 February 1924 cable to the Prime Minister from Nangle, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War.

⁵² 18 February 1924 letter to Brig.-General A. F. Home from T. N. [Thomas Nangle] and 20 March 1924 letter to Lt. Col. J. Forbes-Robertson from T. N. [Thomas Nangle], The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 592, box 1, Great War.

⁵³ "Visit to Battlefields and Newfoundland War Memorials," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.3 (October 1923): 17 and R. H. K. Cochius, "Marking the Trail of the Caribou," *The Veteran* 4.1 (April 1924): 23.

⁵⁴ Cochius 23.

⁵⁵ Knight 51.

⁵⁶ Knight 50-54.

⁵⁷ 14 September 1927 letter to Colonel R. G. Rendell from J. R. Bennett, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 79, Box 3.

⁵⁸ The World War Two commemorative plaque reads: To the glory of God and in perpetual remembrance of seven hundred and thirteen members of the Royal Navy, Royal Canadian Navy, Royal Artillery, Newfoundland Regiment, Canadian Army, Royal Air Force, Royal Canadian Air Force, other army units and two hundred and sixty six members of the Merchant Marine who gave their lives in the cause of freedom while serving in the forces of his Majesty King George the Sixth and all those Newfoundlanders who served in Allied units and who paid the supreme sacrifice during World War Two, this Memorial is erected by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador and by the Royal Canadian Legion and was unveiled in the silver jubilee of her most gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, November eleventh, 1977.

At the going down of the sun

And in the morning

We will remember them.

The Korean War commemorative plaque reads: To the glory of God and in perpetual remembrance of members of the Royal Canadian Navy, Royal Canadian Army, Royal Canadian Air Force, and other United Nations forces, who gave their lives in the cause of freedom and in the defence of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in the forces of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, and any other Canadians who paid the supreme sacrifice during the Korean conflict. This Memorial is erected by the Korean Veterans Association and was unveiled by the Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador in year 1980 A.D.

At the going down of the sun

And in the morning

We will remember them.

⁵⁹ David L. A. Gordon and Brian S. Osborne, "Constructing national identity in Canada's capital, 1900-2000: Confederation Square and the National War Memorial," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30.4 (October 2004): 626 and Jonathan F. Vance, "The Great Response: Canada's long struggle to honour the dead of the Great War," *The Beaver* 76.5 (October/November 1996): 28.

⁶⁰ Department of Public Works Canada, *General Conditions for the Guidance of Architects, Artists and Sculptors in Preparing Competitive Designs for the Proposed National Commemorative War Monument for the Dominion of Canada in Ottawa, Canada* (Ottawa, 12 February 1925) 4, 6, NGC, Archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, March, Vernon-Sydney (Ottawa Sculpture Series), box 5, file 1.

⁶¹ Gordon and Osborne 626 and Vance 29.

⁶² Public Works, "Estimates of Canada for the Fiscal Year ending 31st March, 1924. Miscellaneous. National Monument on Connaught Place" and "Delegation of the City of Ottawa which interviewed Members of the Government on Wednesday, March 24th, 1926 at 2:30 p.m. in House of C," 2-5, NGC, Archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, National War Memorial (Ottawa Sculpture Series), box 4, file 10.

⁶³ "Connaught Place (Confederation Square), Ottawa," 3-4, NGC, Archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, National War Memorial (Ottawa Sculpture Series), box 4, file 10; David L. A. Gordon, "Ottawa-Hull: Lumber Town to National Capital," *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, ed. David L. A. Gordon (New York and London: Routledge, 2006) 154-155; Gordon and Osborne 624, 626-628; and Vance 29.

⁶⁴ “Canadian War Memorial Being Shipped in Pieces for Rebuilding Here,” *Globe and Mail* 30 July 1937, NGC, Archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, March, Vernon-Sydney (Ottawa Sculpture Series), box 5, file 1 and Cybermuse, “Vernon March,” http://cybermuse.gallery.ca/cybermuse/search/artist_e.jsp?iartistid=3517 (accessed 12/10/2010).

⁶⁵ Gordon and Osborne 629, Gordon 154-155, and Vance 29-32.

⁶⁶ Gordon 155 and Gordon and Osborne 628-629.

⁶⁷ “Canadian War Memorial Being Shipped in Pieces for Rebuilding Here,” *Globe and Mail* 30 July 1937. *The Globe and Mail* article was republished in the July 1937 issue of *The Legionary* (Vol. XII, No. 12).

⁶⁸ “Canadian War Memorial Being Shipped in Pieces for Rebuilding Here,” *Globe and Mail* 30 July 1937.

⁶⁹ Sydney March quoted in “Canadian War Memorial Being Shipped in Pieces for Rebuilding Here,” *Globe and Mail* 30 July 1937.

⁷⁰ Gordon and Osborne 629, Gordon 155, and Vance 31-32.

⁷¹ Gordon 155-156, Gordon and Osborne 630, and Vance 32.

⁷² Gordon and Osborne 631 and Vance 28, 32.

⁷³ William Lyon Mackenzie King, Monday 27 February 1939 entry, page 4 (236), *The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King*, <http://king.collectionscanada.ca/EN/default.asp> (accessed 14/01/2008).

⁷⁴ King George VI, “The Speech of His Majesty King George VI, on the occasion of the Unveiling of the National War Memorial, Ottawa, May 21st, 1939,” *Speeches by the King and Queen during Their Majesties’ Visit to Canada 1939*, 16, NGC, Archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, March, Vernon-Sydney (Ottawa Sculpture Series), box 5, file 1.

⁷⁵ Gordon and Osborne 632-633 and Vance 32.

⁷⁶ The National War Memorial was rededicated on 29 May 1982. Jim Garner, “Memorial’s updating result of long debate,” *Citizen* 27 May 1982: 76, NGC, Archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, March, Vernon-Sydney (Ottawa Sculpture Series), box 5, file 1.

⁷⁷ National Capital Commission, “The Valiants Memorial,”

http://www.canadascapital.gc.ca/bins/ncc_web_content_page.asp?cid=16297-24563-24548-69225&lang=1 (accessed 20/09/2010); The Valiants Memorial, “Home” and “The Foundation,”

<http://www.valiants.ca/english.html> (accessed 20/09/2010); and Art History Department, Concordia University, “Eleanor Milne: The Making of an Artist in Canada,” <http://art-history.concordia.ca/projects.html> (accessed 20/09/2010).

A bronze plaque, entitled *The Valiants Memorial*, gives this explanation of the installation’s significance: “From its colonial beginnings in the sixteenth century to its emergence as a modern state in the first half of the twentieth century, Canada has passed through five major periods of war. Each has marked a decisive turning point in the country’s history. The Valiants Memorial commemorates fourteen men and women of remarkable courage, and honours all Canadians who have served their country in war.”

⁷⁸ T. Trumble, letter to the Secretary, Prime Minister’s Department, 14 May 1918, NAA (Canberra) series A458, item H370/7.

⁷⁹ Michael McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial, 1917-1990* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1991) 88-91.

⁸⁰ A. Poynton, letter to Prime Minister Hughes, 29 November 1921 and “The Australian War Museum as the National War Museum. Some notes for the information of members of the Committee when the future of the Museum is discussed with the Prime Minister,” 1-2, NAA (Canberra) series A1, item 1922/2775.

⁸¹ “The Australian War Museum as the National War Museum. Some notes for the information of members of the Committee when the future of the Museum is discussed with the Prime Minister,” 2, NAA (Canberra) series A1, item 1922/2775.

⁸² McKernan xi, 9, 30, 34; Australian War Memorial, “People Profiles: Charles Edwin Woodrow (C.E.W.) Bean,” <http://www.awm.gov.au/people/20388.asp> (accessed 12/10/2010), and Australian Dictionary of Biography-Online Edition, “Bean, Charles Edwin Woodrow (1879-1968),” <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070225b.htm> (accessed 12/10/2010).

⁸³ McKernan 64, 66, 68-69.

⁸⁴ “The Australian War Museum as the National War Museum. Some notes for the information of members of the Committee when the future of the Museum is discussed with the Prime Minister,” 3, NAA (Canberra) series A1, item 1922/2775.

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- ⁸⁵“The Australian War Museum as the National War Museum. Some notes for the information of members of the Committee when the future of the Museum is discussed with the Prime Minister,” 3-4, NAA (Canberra) series A1, item 1922/2775.
- ⁸⁶ A. Poynton, letter to Prime Minister Hughes, 29 November 1921, NAA (Canberra) series A1, item 1922/2775.
- ⁸⁷ A. Poynton, letter to Prime Minister Hughes, 29 November 1921, NAA (Canberra) series A1, item 1922/2775.
- ⁸⁸ “The Australian War Museum as the Australian National War Memorial,” 1-2, NAA (Canberra) series A458, item H370/6.
- ⁸⁹ Pearce, letter to Prime Minister Bruce, 9 April 1923, NAA (Canberra) series A458, item H370/6.
- ⁹⁰ “War Memorial at Canberra,” *Argus* [Melbourne] 26/10/23 [26 October 1923], NAA (Canberra) series A458, item C370/6.
- ⁹¹ K.S. Inglis, “A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial,” *War & Society* 3.2 (September 1985): 104 and McKernan 88, 90.
- ⁹² “War Memorial at Canberra,” *Argus* [Melbourne] 12/11/23 [12 November 1923] and *Age* [Melbourne] 12/11/23 [12 November 1923], NAA (Canberra) series A458, item C370/6.
- ⁹³ George E. Wade, letter to the Secretary of the Prime Minister, 7 February 1924, NAA (Canberra) series A458, item H370/6.
- ⁹⁴ Prime Minister’s Secretary, letter to George E. Wade, 16 April [1924], NAA (Canberra) series A458, item H370/6.
- ⁹⁵ Prime Minister’s Secretary, letter to George E. Wade, 16 April [1924], NAA (Canberra) series A458, item H370/6.
- ⁹⁶ Inglis 104 and McKernan 100-101.
- ⁹⁷ Inglis 107. The adjudicators’ pronouncement, as cited in McKernan, is slightly different, whereby they observed that the budget for the Memorial “left no opportunity to provide other than a building of exceedingly simple character, and of the smallest possible proportions.” McKernan 106.
- ⁹⁸ Inglis 104, 107, 109 and McKernan 97, 101, 106-110.
- ⁹⁹ *Inauguration of Australian War Memorial at Canberra, Programme, Anzac Day, 1929* (Melbourne: H. J. Green, Govt. Printer, [1929]), frontispiece.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Inauguration of Australian War Memorial at Canberra, Programme, Anzac Day, 1929* (Melbourne: H.J. Green, Govt. printer, [1929]) 7.
- ¹⁰¹ Inglis 109.
- ¹⁰² Simon Stow, “Pericles at Gettysburg and Ground Zero: Tragedy, Patriotism, and Public Mourning,” *American Political Science Review* 101.2 (May 2007): 201-204.
- ¹⁰³ Excerpt from Pericles’s funeral oration as cited in *Inauguration of Australian War Memorial at Canberra, Programme, Anzac Day, 1929* (Melbourne: H. J. Green, Govt. Printer, [1929]) 8.
- ¹⁰⁴ Anne-Marie Condé, “Capturing the Records of War: Collecting at the Mitchell Library and the Australian War Memorial,” *Australian Historical Studies* 37.125 (April 2005): 144.
- ¹⁰⁵ Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, edited in translation by Sir Richard Livingstone (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) Book II, section 34, 109-110, 115.
- ¹⁰⁶ Stow 196.
- ¹⁰⁷ Peter Londey, “A Possession for Ever: Charles Bean, the Ancient Greeks, and Military Commemoration in Australia,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53.3 (2007): 354.
- ¹⁰⁸ The British Museum, “Ancient Greece: War,” http://www.ancientgreece.co.uk/war/home_set.html (accessed 12/10/2010).
- ¹⁰⁹ Londey, “A Possession for Ever: Charles Bean, the Ancient Greeks, and Military Commemoration in Australia,” 353-354.
- ¹¹⁰ “The Australian War Museum as the National War Museum. Some notes for the information of members of the Committee when the future of the Museum is discussed with the Prime Minister,” 3, NAA (Canberra) series A1, item 1922/2775.
- ¹¹¹ Charles Freeman, “Thermopylae,” review of *Thermopylae: The Battle that Changed the World*, by Paul Cartledge, *History Today* 56.12 (December 2006): 65.
- ¹¹² The Minister for the Interior received Cabinet approval in 1935 for construction work to commence beyond that which had received authorization in 1933, or “in effect everything but the dome and the commemorative area;” however, a host of impediments, including the site excavation of rock far in excess

of what had been expected, uncooperative weather, a two-month cessation of building as plans were modified, and irregular supplies, given that orders could only be placed when building modifications had been authorized, frustrated and slowed the Memorial's builders, Melbourne's Simmie and Company. McKernan 148.

¹¹³ Inglis 114 and McKernan 148.

¹¹⁴ F. B. Dawkins, letter to Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 12 August 1937, NAA (Canberra) series A461, item H370/1/14.

¹¹⁵ Secretary, letter to the Honorary Secretary, Returned Sailors & Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, Canberra [F. B. Dawkins], 16 August 1937, NAA (Canberra) series A461, item H370/1/14.

¹¹⁶ Gilbert Dyett, letter to Prime Minister J. A. Lyons, 20 August 1937, NAA (Canberra) series A461, item H370/1/14.

¹¹⁷ McKernan 148.

¹¹⁸ "Brief Notes of Deputation Representing the Federal Capital Territory Branch R. S. & S. I. L. A Which Waited on the Minister for the Interior on 31st August, 1937," NAA (Canberra) series A461, item H370/1/14.

¹¹⁹ "Brief Notes of Deputation Representing the Federal Capital Territory Branch R. S. & S. I. L. A. Which Waited on the Minister of the Interior on 31st August, 1937," NAA (Canberra) series A461, item H370/1/14.

¹²⁰ McKernan 148.

¹²¹ McKernan 128, 148, 150, 152.

¹²² McKernan 167.

¹²³ McKernan 162, 167, 227-228 and 13 March 1941 letter to Sgt. T. Prothero from Acting Director T. H. Heyes, AWM 93, 2/5/25/2/ Part 1.

¹²⁴ 13 March 1941 letter to Sgt. T. Prothero from T. H. E. Heyes, AWM 93, 2/5/25/2 Part 1.

¹²⁵ McKernan 19-20.

¹²⁶ 9 September 1941 letter to the Secretary, Federal Church of Christ (Perth) from the Acting Director, AWM 93, 2/5/25/2 Part 1.

¹²⁷ *Official Opening of Australian War Memorial at Canberra* (Canberra: L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, [1941]), AWM 93, 2/5/25/2 Part 1. Note: Cover bears the annotation "Proof — Readers [sic] copy returned to printer for completion of order."

¹²⁸ *Official Opening of Australian War Memorial at Canberra, 11th November, 1941* (Canberra: L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, [1941]), AWM 93, 2/5/25/2 Part 1.

¹²⁹ McKernan 16.

¹³⁰ McKernan 2, 4, 6.

¹³¹ Heidi Harley, "Why is it *The CIA* but not **The NASA?* Acronyms, Initialisms, and Definite Descriptions," *American Speech* 79.4 (Winter 2004): 368.

¹³² Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 25th anniversary edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 189.

¹³³ Garland Cannon, "Abbreviations and Acronyms in English Word-Formation," *American Speech* 64.2 (Summer 1989): 101.

¹³⁴ Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press in association with the API Network and Curtin University of Technology, 2004) 157. The *War Precautions Act*, declared 20 October 1916, prohibited the usage of ANZAC or any such derivative, as the name, in whole or part, of a domicile, vessel, vehicle, or institutional body, non-profit or otherwise. Contravention of this Act was punishable with a six-month prison term or the payment of a one hundred pound fine. Five years later, under the *Protection of Word 'Anzac' Regulations, Statutory Rules 1921 No.2 as amended* (latest amendment is SR 1989 No. 419), the breadth of the law was extended to encompass proscriptions against the commercial, professional, or entertainment use of *Anzac* in the form of trademarks, designs, goods, company names and the like, as well as the naming or re-naming of streets, roads, and parks, unless *prior approval* was granted by the Minister. A notable exception to these proscriptions was the usage of *Anzac* in a commemorative/memorial context. The *Customs (Prohibited Imports) Regulations 1956, Regulation 4V, Importation of Anzac goods*, later afforded the *Anzac* moniker additional protection from perceived profanation. (Seal 157, <http://scaleplus.law.gov.au/cgi-bin/download.pl?/scale/data/pastreg/o/127>(accessed 07/01/2008),

<http://scaleplus.law.gov.au/html/pastereg/0/140/0/PR000280.htm> (accessed 07/01/2008), and

<http://www.dva.gov.au/commem/news/protection.htm> (accessed 07/01/2008).

¹³⁵ Ann Curthoys, "National narratives, war commemoration and racial exclusion in a settler society: The Australian case," *The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War*, eds. Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, Memory and Narrative Series (New Brunswick, USA and London: Transaction Publishers, by arrangement with Routledge, 2006) 129.

¹³⁶ C. E. W. Bean, *Anzac Day* (Sydney: John Sands Pty. Ltd, n.d.), AWM, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Verses and memorabilia, 1916-, 20/1/1; K. S. Inglis, "Anzac and the Australian Military Tradition," *Anzac Remembered: Selected Writings by K. S. Inglis*, ed. John Lack (Parkville, Victoria: Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1998) 125; and Fussell 181.

¹³⁷ It is here in the pre-dawn of 25 April 1915 that the Anzacs, assigned to the Dardanelles campaign as one of the five divisional members of the Allied Mediterranean Expeditionary Force (MEF), which also included the 1st Australian Division, the Royal Naval and 29th Division, and the French *Corps expéditionnaire d'Orient*, were directed to disembark, at a southwards-lying beach, coded Z, on the Aegean side of the peninsula, and scale the Cove's heights, a vertiginous row of ridges which, however, from their proposed landing site, would give way to pathways leading to the central Sari Bair ridge, their strategic objective. The focus of the offensive, led by the 29th Division and launched at beaches S, V, W, X, and Y, however, was concentrated at Cape Helles, the peninsular point. In fact, the Anzacs made their landing a mile north of the proposed disembarkation point. Their ascent from here was exceedingly difficult, and their progress halting and disorganized owing to the inevitable terrain-induced splintering of troop formations. The Anzacs came under Turkish counter-fire by mid-day, yet to reach their objective. Here, in a warren of ravines and gullies they bunkered down, waging combat until 4 May 1915, by which point the Anzac and Turkish forces (the 19th Division) had each sustained heavy losses, the former numbering almost 10,000 dead, and the latter 14,000. The Turkish divisional commander, Mustapha Kemal, ordered his last attack that day, realizing his adversary could not be forced from the heights seaward, and so commanded his men to entrench. On 19 May the sole armistice of the campaign was held, permitting both sides to retrieve their dead from No Man's Land for burial. Thereafter began months of trench warfare. In a bid to shatter this impasse, another landing was made at Suvla Bay on 6 August, during which an unsuccessful bid was also made to push through at Anzac. August also saw the Anzacs engage in a bitter battle at Lone Pine, launch an ineffectual attack at the neighbouring Nek intended to draw attention away from the central action, and the New Zealanders temporarily seize the position at Chunuk Bair. The fighting continued until the two-phase Allied evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula and its three theatres of war, Anzac, Cape Helles, and Suvla Bay, on 18-19 December 1915 (Anzac and Suvla Bay), and 8-9 January 1916 (Cape Helles). See John Keegan, *The First World War* (Toronto: Vintage Canada Edition, 2000) 240-243, 247-248 and Jenny Macleod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004) 2-3. Keegan's account differs slightly from Macleod's, chiefly in dating the Suvla Bay assault a day later and the evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula from 28 December 1915.

¹³⁸ Seal 156.

¹³⁹ Anzac Day is, of course, more narrowly nation-specific in its commemorative focus than is Remembrance Day, as well as occurring earlier in the calendar year, thus lending the observance of 11 November an unavoidable air of ceremonial redundancy. Or, as one bureaucrat observed in the mid-1950s: "The practice in Australia is to commemorate the dead of the two World Wars and the Korean War on Anzac Day rather than Remembrance Day. Anzac Day is, as you know, generally regarded as the more solemn of the two occasions and Remembrance Day tends increasingly, I believe, to be a duplication of it." 21 November 1955 memo to the Australian Minister, Rome, from F. H. Stuart, NAA (Canberra) series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁴⁰ Eric Andrews, "25 April 1916: First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 23 (October 1993): 13 and Seal 105.

¹⁴¹ Australian War Memorial, *Annual Report of the Council for the year ended 30 June 1982 together with Financial Statements and the Report of the Auditor-General* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1983) 43.

¹⁴² Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 466-467; Inglis, "Anzac and the Australian Military Tradition," 145; Jan Bassett, "Women and Anzac Day, Melbourne," *Anzac Day: Seventy Years On*, eds. Michael McKernan and Peter Stanley (Sydney: William Collins Pty. Ltd., 1986) 114-115; Peter Stanley, "Anzac Day, As it was

Reported,” *Anzac Day: Seventy Years On*, 16; and Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995) 200.

¹⁴³ Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 466-468 and Bassett 114-115.

¹⁴⁴ Thomson 195-196.

¹⁴⁵ Jenny Macleod, “The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day: 1965 and 1990 Compared,” *War & Society* 20.1 (May 2002): 158-159.

¹⁴⁶ Michael McKernan, introduction, *Anzac Day: Seventy Years On*, 9, 11.

¹⁴⁷ “Reflections: A symposium on the meanings of Anzac,” *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 16 (April 1990): 50.

¹⁴⁸ “Reflections: A symposium on the meanings of Anzac,” 50-57.

¹⁴⁹ Richard White, “Memories of Anzac,” *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 16 (April 1990): 57.

¹⁵⁰ John Shaw, “Alec Campbell, Last Anzac at Gallipoli, Dies at 103,” *New York Times* 20 May 2002,

<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9406E7D61438F933A15756C0A9649C8> (accessed

08/01/2008); Tony Stephens, “Last Anzac is dead,” *Sydney Morning Herald* 17 May 2002,

<http://www.smh.com.au/cgi-bin/common/printArticle.pl?path=/articles/2002/05/16/10215> (accessed

8/1/2008); and “Australia falls silent for Gallipoli hero,” *BBC News* 24 May 2002,

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/2004720.stm> (accessed 08/01/2008).

¹⁵¹ McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit*, 186.

¹⁵² Mention of “rugged Korea” was added in 1951, Vietnam in 1967, and Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, and Japan in 1972.

¹⁵³ “Requiem,” *Anzac Day Commemorative Service, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Tuesday, 25th April, 1944 at 11 a.m.* (Canberra: L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, [1944]), AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 1942-1945, 5/1/1.

¹⁵⁴ The 1991 *Requiem* reads: On this day, above all days, we remember those Australian men and women who died or suffered in the great tragedy of war.

On the morning of April 25th, 1915, Australian and New Zealand troops landed under fire at Gallipoli, and it was then and in the violent campaign which followed, that the Anzac tradition was forged.

Each year we pay homage not only to those original Anzacs, but to all who died or were disabled in their service to this country. They adorn our nation’s history. Their hope was for the freedom of mankind, and we remember with pride their courage, their compassion and their comradeship. They served on land and sea and in the air, in many diverse parts of the world.

Not only do we honour the memory of those Australians who have fallen in battle; we reflect on those who have mourned them, and on all who have been the victims of armed conflict.

On this day we remember with sympathy those Australians who have suffered as prisoners of war, and those who, because of war, have had their lives shortened or damaged.

We recall staunch friends and allies, and especially those of the first Anzac Day.

May we and our successors prove worthy of their sacrifice. “Requiem,” *Anzac Day Commemoration Ceremony, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 10:30 a.m. Thursday 25 April 1991* ([Canberra]:

[Australian War Memorial], [1991]), AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 1990-1999, 5/11/1.

¹⁵⁵ “Requiem,” *Anzac Day Commemoration Ceremony, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 10:30 a.m. Thursday 25 April 1991* ([Canberra]: [Australian War Memorial], [1991]), AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 1990-1999, 5/11/1.

¹⁵⁶ “Requiem,” *The Council of the Australian War Memorial in the presence of His Excellency Major General Michael Jeffrey AC, MC, Administrator of the Commonwealth of Australia and Mrs. Jeffrey has pleasure in welcoming you to the 84th observance of ANZAC Day, Sunday 25 April 1999* ([Canberra]:

[Australian War Memorial], [1999]), AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 1990-1999, 5/11/1 and “Requiem,”

Anzac Day Commemoration Ceremony, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Tuesday, 25 April 1972 at 10:30 a.m. ([Canberra]: [Australian War Memorial], [1972]), AWM, Published & Digitised Collections,

Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 1970-1974, 5/7/1.

The 1999 Requiem reads:

On the morning of 25 April 1915, Australian and New Zealand troops landed under fire at Gallipoli, and it was then and in the battles which followed that the ANZAC tradition was formed.

On this day, above all days, we remember all those who served our nation in times of war.

We remember with pride their courage, their compassion and their comradeship. We remember what they accomplished for Australia, and indeed for the freedom of mankind.

We honour those who died or were disabled in the tragedy of war. They adorn our nation's history.

We remember those who fell amidst the valleys and ridges of Gallipoli, on the terraced hills of Palestine, in France and Belgium, on the sands of the North African desert, amidst the mountains and olive groves of Greece, Crete and Syria, in the skies over Europe, in Singapore, in the jungles of Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and the Pacific Islands, in Korea and Vietnam, in the skies and seas in many parts of the world, and on our own soil and in our sea lanes.

We remember those who suffered as prisoners of war, and those who died in captivity.

We remember staunch friends and allies, especially those who fought alongside us on that first ANZAC Day in 1915.

Our servicemen and women have left us a splendid heritage. May we and our successors prove worthy of their sacrifice.

Note: It is possible that this amalgam of the 1972 and 1991 versions of the *Requiem* occurred in 1998, however, that program was not amongst the ordered archival documents posted to me by the AWM, nor were the 1943, 2002 and 2006 programs.

¹⁵⁷ The following artworks/photograph have been reproduced upon the covers of the Memorial's Anzac Day National Ceremony programs since 2001: *Anzac Day program, 1916* (2001); Louis McCubbin's 1928 *Tribute to ANZAC dead 1918* (2003); George Lambert's 1924 (detail) *The charge of the 3rd Light Horse Brigade at the Nek, 7 August 1915* (2004); Frank Crozier's *The beach at ANZAC* (2005); George Lambert's 1919 *Anzac, from Gaba Tepe* (2007); and the photo entitled *Lieutenant Rupert Downes MC, 29th Battalion, addresses the men of his platoon the morning of 8 August, 1918, the first day of the battle of Amiens* (2008), AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 2000- , 5/12/1. The 2007 and 2008 programs, as PDF files, were obtained from the Australian War Memorial's website. The 2010 program cover, however, is simple and generic in its iconography, boasting a single sprig of rosemary. See Australian War Memorial, "Anzac Day," http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac/AnzacDay_2010_Main_final.pdf (accessed 4/12/2010).

¹⁵⁸ "What is ANZAC Day?," ANZAC (Australian New Zealand Army Corps) Day 2004 ([Canberra]: [Australian War Memorial], [2004]), AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 2000- , 5/12/1. This essay also provides one-paragraph explanations of the following: catalfaque party, laying of wreaths and flowers, flags at half mast, the Ode, Last Post/Silence/Rouse, and the Unknown Australian soldier.

¹⁵⁹ 13 January 1953 "Note For Pacific And Protocol Sections (External Affairs)" from A. H. Tange and "Anzac Day boycott threatened," *Argus* [Melbourne] 12.2.53 [12 February 1953], NAA (Canberra) series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶⁰ 13 January 1953 "Note For Pacific And Protocol Sections (External Affairs)" from A. H. Tange, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶¹ 21 January 1953 note for the Secretary from Consular and Protocol, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶² 21 January 1953 note for the Secretary from Consular and Protocol; 27 January 1953 note for the Secretary from Consular and Protocol; and 12 February 1953 note for the Minister from Consular & Protocol, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶³ 16 February 1953 "Note For File," NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶⁴ 23 February 1953 letter to Prime Minister Menzies from H. W. Piper, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶⁵ McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit*, 200.

¹⁶⁶ 27 February 1953 letter to R. G. Casey from W. S. Kent Hughes, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶⁷ The Turkish force, numbering 5090 men and led by General Tahsin Yazici, embarked for Korea (they were conveyed by US battleships) in September 1950. Füsün Türkmen, "Turkey and the Korean War," *Turkish Studies* 3.2 (Autumn 2002): 172.

¹⁶⁸ 27 February 1953 letter to R. G. Casey from W. S. Kent Hughes, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁶⁹ The French ambassador lodged a formal protest. 13 October 1953 letter to the Prime Minister from F. J. McKenna and 25 November 1960 letter to W. G. Landale from J. H. Scholtens, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁷⁰ "Record of Conversation with Japanese Ambassador on 2nd April, 1958. Report prepared by J. M. McMillan," NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁷¹ 8 August 1966 Teleprinter addressed to Miss Sweetland from Sir John Bunting, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁷² 13 October 1953 letter to the Prime Minister from F. J. McKenna and 25 November 1960 letter to W. G. Landale from J. H. Scholtens, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁷³ 8 December 1960 memorandum (Anzac Day and Remembrance Day Ceremonies) to Landale from B. T. Kaye, NAA (Canberra), series 1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁷⁴ 5 March 1969 memorandum (Anzac Day Ceremony) to Dr. Cumes from F. T. Homer, NAA (Canberra), series A1838, item 1516/27.

¹⁷⁵ *Anzac Day Commemoration Ceremony, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Saturday, 25 April 1970 at 10:15 a.m.* ([Canberra]: [Australian War Memorial], [1970]); *Anzac Day Commemoration Ceremony, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Sunday, 25 April 1971 at 11:30 a.m.*; and *Anzac Day Commemoration Ceremony, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Tuesday, 25 April 1972 at 10:30 a.m.*, AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 1970-1974, 5/7/1. See also AWM, Published & Digitised Collections, Souvenirs 1, Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection, Services held at the Australian War Memorial 1975-1979, 5/8/1; 1980-1984, 5/9/1; 1985-1989, 5/10/1; 1990-1999, 5/11/1; 2000- , 5/12/1, and <http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac/program.asp> (accessed 31/1/2011).

¹⁷⁶ Christopher Vernon, "Canberra: Where Landscape is Pre-eminent," *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, ed. David L. A. Gordon (New York and London: Routledge, 2006) 133, 140.

¹⁷⁷ Commonwealth Place was designed by Durbach Block (Durbach Block Architects) and Sue Barnsley (Sue Barnsley Design), the winners of a 2000 open competition launched by the National Capital Authority. This lakeside complex and amphitheatre was inaugurated in February 2002 and comprises a café, gallery space, and the bureaus of Reconciliation Australia. Conceived as a "grassed-over parabolic U-form," Commonwealth Place is bisected by a central ramp that aligns with the Land Axis, providing a viewing corridor across Lake Burley Griffin to the Australian War Memorial. Catherine De Lorenzo, "Confronting Amnesia: Aboriginality and public space," *Visual Studies* 20.2 (October 2005): 113 and Christopher Vernon, "Axial Occupation," rev. of Commonwealth Place by Durbach Block and Sue Barnsley Design, *Architecture Australia* (September-October 2002), 2, <http://www.architecturemedia.com/aa/aaissue.php?issueid=200209&article=16&typeon=2> (accessed 10/12/2010).

Reconciliation Place rests perpendicular, or at cross-axis, to Commonwealth Place; their intersection is played out over a domed grass roof. Conceived by the architect Simon Kringas, Aboriginal Cultural Advisor Sharon Payne, Exhibition Design Consultant Alan Vogt, and architectural assistants Amy Leenders, Agi Calka, and Cath Elliot, the winning team of the 2001 NCA design competition, Reconciliation Place stretches between the National Library of Australia and the National Gallery of Australia. A constellation of "slivers," sculptural installations incorporating "word and image episodes in the reconciliation process," are arrayed across this expanse that connects these two cultural institutions. The pedestrian may choose any number of paths to navigate through this outcropping of slivers, some of which are oriented, in the manner of a critical visual dialogue, with buildings. Seventeen slivers have been installed at the site since its opening in July 2002. National Capital Authority, "Reconciliation Place," http://www.nationalcapital.gov.au/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=214&Itemid=203 (accessed 12/10/2010); Vernon, "Axial Occupation," 3; and De Lorenzo 116.

¹⁷⁸ Staked upon the lawn of the Old Parliament House, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy has boldly occupied this building's public frontage since 1972, albeit not uninterruptedly, only becoming a permanent fixture twenty years later. This always evolving compound, which is "an array of outlying gunyahs, a perpetual fire and clandestine plantings of eucalypts," is the provocative symbol and nerve centre of Aboriginal activism, political protest, and mobilization. Coral Dow, "Aboriginal Tent Embassy: Icon or Eyesore?" *Parliamentary Library [Australia], Chronology 3 1999-2000* (4 April 2000): 1-2,

<http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/chron/1999-2000/2000chr03.htm> (accessed 12/10/2010) and Vernon, "Axial Occupation," 3.

¹⁷⁹ Christopher Vernon, "The Aboriginal Tent Embassy," *Architecture Australia* (November/December 2002): 1, <http://www.archmedia.com.au/aa/aaissue.php?issueid=200211&article=7&typeon=1> (accessed 08/01/2008) and Christopher Vernon, "Axial Occupation," *Architecture Australia* (September/October 2002): 3, <http://www.archmedia.com.au/aa/aaissue.php?issueid=200209&article=16&typeon=2> (accessed 08/01/2008).

¹⁸⁰ Vernon, "Canberra: Where Landscape is Pre-eminent," 130 and Christopher Vernon, "The Culture of Nature: The Construction of Australia's National Capital," *Topic Magazine* 3 (Winter 2003, *Special Issue: Cities*): 2, <http://www.webdelso.com/Topic/extras/vernon.html> (accessed 08/01/2008).

¹⁸¹ National Capital Authority, *Guidelines for Commemorative Works in the National Capital* (Canberra: National Capital Authority, August 2002) 2, <http://downloads.nationalcapital.gov.au/corporate/publications/misc/CommemGuidelines.pdf> (accessed 31/1/2011).

¹⁸² National Capital Authority 3.

¹⁸³ National Capital Authority 4.

¹⁸⁴ National Capital Authority 5.

¹⁸⁵ Section 3.1 (Siting Classifications) of the *Guidelines for Commemorative Works in the National Capital* defines the four site categorizations as follows: "i. sites that honour military sacrifice, service and valour; ii. sites that honour non-military sacrifice, service and achievement; iii. sites that honour Australian achievement and endeavour; and iv. sites that honour non-Australian achievement and endeavour, and Australia's international commitments." National Capital Authority 9.

¹⁸⁶ National Capital Authority 9.

¹⁸⁷ There are five designated military-related commemorative sites recognizing Australian "sacrifice, service, and valour" (Anzac Parade, Australian War Memorial, Russell Precinct, Australian Defence Force Academy, and Royal Military College, Duntroon) and two commemorative sites reserved for "non-military sacrifice, service and achievement" (Kings Park and Section 5, Campbell, corner of Constitution Avenue and Anzac Park). National Capital Authority 12.

¹⁸⁸ National Capital Authority 13.

¹⁸⁹ National Capital Authority 14.

Chapter Three

Returning to the Western Front: Battlefield Tourism and Pilgrimages to the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux Memorials

In Chapter One, I posited that the Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux memorial sites were, adopting the concept and coinage of Kenneth Foote, *fields of care*. In large part their selection and subsequent development as memorial sites, wherein landmark(s) and landscape(s) are commemoratively conjoined, hinged upon their status as significant battlefields in Newfoundland, Canadian, and Australian Great War history. These former battlefields (and in the case of Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy, preserved warscapes) are a potent species of landscape, polyvalent in meaning and being: historical, cultural, and commemorative. The preamble to the *Vimy Charter for Conservation of Historic Battlefield Terrain*, drafted a decade ago, encapsulates well their physical and symbolic polyvalency, as engendered by a confluence of processes and purposes:

Battlefields are poignant landscapes where physical geography has been transformed into symbolic space through war, pilgrimage, memorialization and tourism, and by its ambiguity as a living tomb for the missing. The vivid, visceral imagery of battlefields, cemeteries and memorial monuments has impressed itself on historical consciousness and on our cultural memory of war.¹

All along the Front, the War damaged or destroyed the natural and built environment; the physical impact of this violence upon inhabited regions, beyond its horrendous human toll, was as much structural as it was cultural: an assault upon the architectural and artistic heritage of the occupied areas. Numerous heritage sites and structures, in the aftermath of an attack, suffered partial or complete ruination. These places and buildings, such as cathedrals, which often boasted a significant pre-War history as tourist attractions, were reduced to ruins. Paradoxically, however, war ruins,

the cities and towns laid to waste, as well as the former battlefields themselves, became tourist attractions. Indeed, the War's end witnessed the advent of a new (but actually old) phenomenon: battlefield and war tourism. This chapter examines the associated phenomena of battlefield tourism and pilgrimage, past and present, as they relate to the memorial sites of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux. In the larger context of this discussion, the metaphor of performance, as it applies to both memorial landscapes and the actions enacted therein by battlefield tourists and pilgrims, provides a useful framework for understanding the ritual interface that exists between the visiting, touring public and these places of remembering, remembrance, and ruination. The commemoration of the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War dead is a ritual, situated, and site-specific practice, as I have argued in Chapters One and Two, just as much as it heralds and occasions a return to the sites of the War itself, a phenomenon this chapter locates and examines within and through the rubric of thanatourism. A detailed discussion of the Vimy memorial's unveiling, performed by King Edward VIII on 26 July 1936,² will follow. An account of this unveiling, deferred in Chapter One, is inextricable from that of the historic Vimy Pilgrimage, the two events intimately related to and mutually reinforcing of one another.

In the post-Armistice reconfiguration and symbolic re-investment of these former battlefields as memorial sites, their encounter by tourists and pilgrims occurred in a theatre of experience altogether different than that previously lived by combatants and other wartime front-line workers. I refer here specifically to the performative. Geographers Owen J. Dwyer and Derek H. Alderman note that performance, employed metaphorically, highlights how memorial landscapes function as staging grounds or loci

of memory wherein a whole gamut of performances —“public dramas, rituals, historical re-enactments, marches and protests, pageants, civic ceremonies, and festivals”³ — are realized. These are, at bottom, what geographer Steven Hoelscher characterizes as cultural performances or “nonordinary, framed public events that require participation by a sizable group and that, as planned-for public occasions, invest their participants with meaning.”⁴

In reciprocal fashion, memorial landscapes are themselves created, as well as gain their significance, from the demonstrations of collective memories and choreographed corporeal performances enacted therein. Given that such landscapes, including the network of Great War commemorative sites under examination here, are integral to the so-called heritage tourism market, the presentation of these sites via performance extends beyond the scripted actions and narratives delivered by venue guides, as occurs at Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy,⁵ to encompass the daily, routine activities performed by site employees, be these custodial tasks or casually conversing with visitors regarding the place and its history. Dwyer and Alderman further underscore that the frequently underconsidered “practices and performances of tourists and their agency”⁶ — for example, photographs taken and postcards purchased — are equally instrumental and influential as actions forming and framing memorial landscapes and their associated meanings. Fundamentally, performance(s) operate(s) as a driving force towards reinforcing and reinvesting memorial landscapes with meaning that is continuous, changing, or contested.

Lastly, what Dwyer and Alderman call community performances (i.e. festivals and pageants) powerfully illustrate how such exercises privilege the performance of

given historical narratives at the expense and exclusion of others whilst ensuring, in the mounting of such “landscape spectacles,”⁷ that certain constituencies should and should not participate as performers.⁸ This point is well illuminated by the planning and proceedings of the 1936 Vimy pilgrimage organized by the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League on the occasion of the memorial’s unveiling. Although this pilgrimage, in which the ritual consecration of the site by King Edward VIII was witnessed by the thousands of assembled pilgrims, is a clear instance of an official “performance[s] of consensus,”⁹ much like a royal coronation, it cannot be overstated that ritualized performances always already contain the potential, if never realized, or at least never reported, for subversion and deviations. These are contingencies that those presiding over the proceedings may neither predict nor prepare for.¹⁰

As places and platforms for battlefield tourism and pilgrimage, the memorial sites of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and Villers-Bretonneux typify what cultural studies scholar Tim Edensor identifies as *enclavic* tourist space. Specifically, he asserts that tourism, as a species of performance, is subject, by degrees, to social and spatial strictures and enforcement. Meanwhile, the kind and character of tourist space frames and informs — albeit without determining — the nature of the tourist performance. Characteristically, an *enclavic* tourist space is one that is closely controlled, eases visitor mobility, and is replete with material markers mapping the space wherein performance can be arranged and enacted. Inversely, the *heterogeneous*¹¹ tourist space, where frontiers remain porous and vague and space is populated by a motley crew engaged in a variety of role performances, is traversed every which way. The whole of its scenography is never static, nor is it predictable. Although *enclavic* and *heterogeneous* tourist spaces are conveniently

generalized as polar opposites, it must be said that virtually no space is entirely impervious to infiltration and disruptions of whatever kind. This was illustrated by, for example, the 2009 conviction and fining of two French couples for producing a sexually explicit video, the third such case since 2008, in the shadow of the Vimy memorial.¹² The act, shocking some, did not surprise others, especially the regional authorities, given the site's considerable history as a venue for incidents of "exhibitionism and voyeurism."¹³ Efforts to sanctify and sanitize spaces are constantly countered by and come up against complicating ambiguous elements. Thus, the atmosphere of even a highly regulated tourist stage like the Vimy memorial site can be altered by the appearance of tourists observing other behavioural precepts.

Still, an enclavic tourist space is defined by its clear parameters and its centrally administered, regulated environment, where visitor observance of its rules and restrictions regarding appropriate conduct is both expected and enforced, albeit imperfectly. Management ensures that the site's presentation and amenities conform to particular measures and levels of appearance, atmosphere, and service. In addition their ongoing custodial care diminishes troublesome "underlying ambiguity and contradiction."¹⁴ Meanwhile, subtle forms of monitoring and security such as guides, guards, and surveillance cameras, otherwise known as soft control, are exercised to shape and contain tourist behaviour. Tourist conduct, though, is just as much shaped through the social and cultural internalization of, as well as daily habituation to, norms and codes that situate and specify acceptable comportment in a given environment, which, in the context of an enclavic space, most recognize and abide, willingly forsaking self-assertion to gain the comforts of a standardized, dependable, and smooth site experience.¹⁵

3.0. Thanatourism or Dark Tourism

The Vimy, Beaumont-Hamel, and Villers-Bretonneux sites are enclavic tourist spaces that have, both before and after the erection of their memorials, largely drawn a particular species of tourist: the dark or thanatourist. Scholars Malcolm Foley and John Lennon are credited with introducing the designation *dark tourism* to academic discourse in the late 1990s. To be sure, earlier scholars had examined death-associated tourism, albeit within the larger purview of heritage tourism.¹⁶ Foley and Lennon define dark tourism as “the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites.” This explanation they later qualified by adding that the phenomenon is also “an intimation of post-modernity.”¹⁷ On this last point, they elaborate by remarking that both interest in and the interpretation of death-related occurrences are very much contingent upon the power of global media to communicate these events in real time, as well as to realize their endless repetition. Moreover, Foley and Lennon maintain that the majority of dark tourism locations confront and counter notions about modernity’s innate qualities of “order, rationality, and progress.”¹⁸ Likewise, most of these venues have blurred the boundary between their pedagogic or politicized message and their commercialized presentation. As such, they discount sites whose draw rests upon events that did not occur within living memory and which do not muster any unease concerning the project of modernity.¹⁹ Thus, Foley and Lennon locate the origins of dark tourism in the twentieth century and as a cultural development mostly confined to the West, where it is primarily undertaken for reasons of “serendipity, the itinerary of tour companies or the merely curious who happen to be in the vicinity.”²⁰

However, some criticism has been levelled against Foley and Lennon's account of the phenomenon because of its overall disregard of the manifold tourist motivations for visiting dark sites. Those motivations may, for example, include framing the visit as an affirmative or positive experience. A. V. Seaton also addresses thanatourism, which he qualifies as "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death,"²¹ and as originating in the Middle Ages: it belongs to the *thanatopic* tradition (or the meditation upon death), which gained in momentum from the eighteenth century onwards.²² The motives, he continues, stretch across a "continuum of intensity"²³ in relation to the reasons for undertaking travel to a dark site, as well as to the degree to which the site's death attraction is generalized or is specific to the demise of (an) individual(s). Seaton identifies five categories of dark tourism, two of which are relevant in the context of my discussion of past and contemporary Great War battlefield tourism and pilgrimage. These are: visits to the sites of individual or group deaths, and visits to both the burial places of the dead and the memorials erected in their honour.²⁴

Edensor's categorizations of tourist modes of performances, namely the *disciplined collective* and the *improvised* kinds, in turn, are useful in examining the performative element of battlefield tourism and pilgrimage by thanatourists or (dark) tourists.²⁵ To be sure, the designation "thanatourist" postdates the lexicon of earlier generations of battlefield tourists and pilgrims, just as it rests outside the jargon of popular tourist discourse. Indeed, Frank Baldwin and Richard Sharpley conclude that "[m]any would be horrified to think that academia places them in the same category as, for example, those who travel to witness the sites of disasters or visitors to sites of

murder or execution, linked by a common thread of visiting places of death.”²⁶ This general popular reluctance or refusal to identify with the term, they explain, resides partly in the fact that war service grants individuals government-sanctioned license to kill, and partly in the ambiguous status of the combatants themselves (who may be killer and victim alike). Baldwin and Sharpley distinguish, as does Tony Walter in identical fashion,²⁷ between battlefield tourism and battlefield pilgrimage, defining the latter as “travel to and visitation of battlefield memorials for remembrance, the focus being on the spiritual value of visiting a grave.”²⁸ In contrast, the prime motivation for the former action is to comprehend both the battle and the reasons and rationales for its occurrence, which may equally constitute an act of remembrance by gaining a better comprehension of what those involved experienced in combat, as well as how they conducted themselves. Crucially, they point up that battlefield tourism and pilgrimage are frequently conflated, rather than separate, undertakings.

Although they are a largely grief-and genealogy-driven constituency, battlefield pilgrims are nevertheless not a homogenous group. Their ranks commonly include veterans, war widows and the immediate family of killed combatants, as well as second- or third-generation relatives of the war dead. Walter, in addition, identifies as “representative pilgrims”²⁹ those persons who join a battlefield pilgrimage at the behest of, and as personal stand-ins for, individuals who cannot attend themselves. Officials, he observes, often serve in this capacity, and he cites members of the British Royal Family who have long visited Imperial War Graves Commission (later Commonwealth) cemeteries as representative pilgrims. Veterans, for their part, may embark upon a battlefield pilgrimage to both retrace and exorcise their war experiences and to render

homage to those who fell in combat. Descendants of the war dead, even if two or three generations removed from the fallen, may also seek out the grave of their forebears to acknowledge, even mourn, their loss. Their journey may thus mingle sorrow with familial interest, identity, and often pride in their relative's participation in a significant historical event.³⁰ Meanwhile, the public ceremonial dimension of battlefield pilgrimages, greatly magnified on the occasion of significant anniversaries of battles, officially validates the pilgrim's presence, lending "visible evidence of the support of the nation's custodians of remembrance."³¹

Battlefield tourists, like their pilgrim counterparts, represent a mixed demographic. Their membership typically includes veterans who, in returning to these former war zones, may wish to better understand their combat experience within the context of a war's larger manoeuvres. Veterans, however, constitute a minority of battlefield tourists. Most of the latter are so-named leisure visitors: individuals such as living history enthusiasts, collectors, and preservationists. Notably, there are also schoolchildren and military personnel, whose battlefield visits are primarily pedagogical in purpose, involving *in situ* history or tactical lessons.³² Some battlefield tourists, meanwhile, may assume the identity of an "unintentional pilgrim" when immersed in this potentially poignant environment, finding that, momentarily, they "have connected with something very deep."³³

Battlefield tourists and pilgrims alike may participate in what Edensor identifies as disciplined collective tourist performances, which are "typical of religious and ceremonial rites performed at symbolic sites," where the actors — such as the 1936 Vimy pilgrims — assist "in the production of the spectacle;"³⁴ in this instance, the

spectacle was the pilgrimage itself, as well as its focal moment, the memorial's unveiling. Their actions, Edensor elaborates, are typically rehearsed, or at least guided, lending an en masse, competent air to the ceremonial proceedings. Indeed, both group identity and general conformity of dress and conduct were stressed by the leadership of the Legion-led 1936 Vimy pilgrimage. Thus, the pilgrims, all of whom also received, courtesy of the Canadian government, a complimentary souvenir pilgrimage passport, were instructed to wear, for the entirety of their journey, special-issue, colour-coded berets that distinguished ex-servicemen and women (in khaki berets) from their fellow travellers, the immediate relatives of those who served (blue berets). The Vimy pilgrimage medal or badge, meanwhile, would be fastened upon the right lapel, opposite the wearer's identification button. Former servicemen were encouraged to wear their war medals and decorations during ceremonial functions.³⁵ Lastly, he notes, participants in such spectacles also perform, individually or in groups, by posing for photographs. Their actions are thus encouraged by the inherent theatricality of the occasion and its venue, whilst photography itself is a ceremonial form of expression.

Some tourist performances, Edensor continues, reveal improvisation, but these still draw upon contextual cues and directives furnished by external sources, both of which are clearly delineated and disseminated within enclavic tourist spaces. Information obtained from guide books or tourism personnel, for example, may provide the parameters, or the general operating frame, in which such improvised actions might occur. That operating frame includes a number of activities broadly considered part and parcel of tourist performance, including arranging travel schedules to visit symbolic sites, photography, and souvenir purchases. The 1936 Vimy pilgrimage, too, provided ample

scope for improvising tourist performances, whereby the pilgrims chose to conduct cemetery visits or join arranged battlefield tours.³⁶ Thus, although improvising tourist performers may not always elect to engage in what Edensor calls collective rituals, a commemorative ceremony performed at a memorial site, they still do draw for reference upon a host of “scripts and stage directions.”³⁷ Typically, though, these reference materials, including the *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*,³⁸ only serve as general sources around which improvising tourist performers arrange their performances. Reference materials, though, remain but rudimentary guides that cannot account for or make sense of all unexpected situations. Hence, there is the necessity of on-the-spot tourist improvisation.³⁹

3.1. Great War Battlefield Tourism and Pilgrimages during the 1920s and 1930s

The Great War wrought destruction upon existing tourist sites, famously Reims Cathedral and the Cloth Hall, Ypres, as well as created new ones: war ruins and battlefields. In the War’s wake, battlefield tourism attracted both former combatants who desired to revisit and relive the places of their war service, as well as remember those who served with them. Civilians, too, ventured to these sites, whose access and entry had been strictly controlled during the years of conflict but which nevertheless existed in the realm of highly mediated accounts and images.⁴⁰

Michelin commenced publishing its tour guides to the Western Front in 1917, with the majority of its battle theatre titles issued in the year and a half following the Armistice. In late 1918 and early 1919 the London travel agency Pickfords, following Michelin’s suit, was preparing the launch, that spring, of their luxury and economy

battlefield tours of France. That August, Thomas Cook's⁴¹ company also entered the fold as a battlefield tour operator. In the War's immediate wake, travel to the war zones of the Western Front was physically challenging, owing to its devastated state. Travellers were required to navigate mud-choked and shell-pocked terrain that was strewn throughout with war detritus, greatly impeding passage.⁴² Indeed, such travel was downright perilous, given the vast quantity of live ordnance scattered everywhere.⁴³ Hence, entry was denied to a number of regions, whilst other areas required so-called white passes to gain admission, although photography in these areas was prohibited. Cultural historian Modris Eksteins suggests that people primarily bought the Michelin guides either as miniature histories of the War, as these titles contained comprehensive descriptions of significant battles, or as souvenirs. Still, a small number of intrepid travellers, men and women, many of whom were already in France and Belgium because they had served in the War or were engaged by relief agencies such as the Red Cross, ventured to the devastated areas and the battlefields. This environment they found both alien and abandoned, and the travel equal parts excitement and exhaustion.⁴⁴ If, Eksteins writes, Western Front war tourism was characterized at the beginning of the 1920s by the seeking of visceral and "vicarious experience,"⁴⁵ towards that decade's end the cemeteries, rather than its battlefields, had emerged as the principal tourist draws and foci. Great War tourism in the late 1920s was increasingly commemorative, instead of being curiosity-driven, although the two forces had always co-existed as motivating factors. In any case, the bereaved, officials, and royalty now all visited cemeteries and memorials in ever-growing numbers.⁴⁶ This shift, Eksteins notes, is attributable on the one hand to the gradual effacement, if not total erasure, of the physical damage wrought between 1914 and 1918,

as the processes of natural regeneration, land cultivation and rebuilding all worked to conceal the landscape's wreckage. On the other hand was the ongoing construction and completion of the war cemeteries and memorials, whereby with the softening of "the physical scars, the psychological wounds were covered by a carapace of piety."⁴⁷ This age of the battlefield pilgrimage, private and public,⁴⁸ reached its apogee in 1928-1929 on the occasion of the massive, nearly 15,000-strong, British Legion Pilgrimage that summer.⁴⁹

David W. Lloyd, in his study of Great War battlefield tourism and pilgrimage between the world wars, observes that in the course and practice of the War's remembrance and the commemoration of its dead "the sacred merged and was in tension with the profane."⁵⁰ This binary tension manifested itself as a component of battlefield tourism and pilgrimage, resulting in the moral dichotomization — noted earlier in this chapter — of tourists and pilgrims. This in itself reflected a wider anxiety about whether the presence of battlefield tourists at war-related sites and memorials profaned these sanctified spaces, as well as diminished or trivialized the grief of the bereaved and the sacrifices of the war dead. This dichotomy originated in, as well as perpetuated, the 1914-1918 socio-cultural construction of masculinity and femininity, as well as the separation of the battle and home fronts. However, as Lloyd explains, the reality in Britain was somewhat more complicated, with the phenomena of interwar battlefield tourism and pilgrimage simultaneously affirming and dissolving the wartime flux and intricacy of gender relations, as well as the experiential and emotional gulfs that lay between the lives of combatants and those of civilians. To be sure, the experiential divide of combat stood between all civilians and servicemen and, hence, was a source of friction. Nonetheless,

grief was not gender-specific. Nor were civilians, if not direct witnesses to combat casualties and deaths like those in war service, any less affected by the colossal scale of human injury and loss engendered by the War.⁵¹

In pilgrimage, the bereaved accompanied former servicemen to commemorate the dead, the two constituencies being “aligned against another indeterminate group described as ‘tourists.’”⁵² However, as Lloyd notes, even though the conduct, real or perceived, of tourists was often decried in the accounts and commentary surrounding visits to the battlefields during the 1920s and 1930s, only a small percentage of these visitors would have self-identified as tourists, with most recognizing they were traversing hallowed ground.⁵³ As other commentators note, the binary categorization of visitors to Great War sites as either tourists or pilgrims is inherently inflexible, yet it must be acknowledged that these dichotomized terms held definite currency and meaning during the 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁴ Still, as tourism scholar Caroline Winter has suggested, “Great War tourism may be more appropriately accommodated within the field of dark tourism or thanatourism.”⁵⁵ Just as, arguably, it may be considered more profitably from, as I have outlined earlier, a performative, rather than a moralizing perspective. Nevertheless, the terms *pilgrim* and *tourist* remain entrenched within the discourse surrounding post-1945 Great War tourism, with, for example, government-sponsored, battle anniversary-coordinated visits to Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy expressly couched as pilgrimages. These reductive designations, although problematic, therefore cannot be dispensed with summarily.

3.2. The 1936 Vimy Pilgrimage

In March 1934, Major J. S. Roper, the Dominion President of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League, in his keynote address delivered at the Legion's fifth Dominion Convention, announced that a committee had been struck to arrange the Vimy Pilgrimage, which was scheduled for 1936.⁵⁶ Colonel H. C. Osborne, who had maintained an intimate and long-running correspondence with the Legion's command, to whom he promised the enthusiastic support and the assistance of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission (CBMC), informed his fellow commissioners that the Legion preferred to postpone the unveiling ceremony until Sunday, 26 July, given cross-Atlantic shipping schedules and the Legion's wish that pilgrimage participants be accorded three "clear"⁵⁷ days while in France. The CBMC had no objections. It would also administer and execute the unveiling ceremony should the government prefer such an arrangement, citing, as precedent, the inauguration of the St. Julien memorial. Of course, as Mewburn, Chairman of the CBMC, had mentioned to the prime minister in November 1934, the protocol and arrangements for the ceremony's programme would entirely depend on the rank of the person invited to preside over and marshal its proceedings. Should this official prove to be royal, their presence would surely prompt the French president's attendance, with corresponding complexity of protocol.⁵⁸

At the outset of 1936 the Department of National Defence announced that the memorial would indeed be unveiled on 26 July and that the ceremony would cost some 135,000 francs.⁵⁹ In March, the Legion held its sixth Dominion Convention, at which time attendees learned that the pilgrimage could not accommodate more than 6,000

participants, owing to the limitations of local “lines of communications and of the billeting accommodation.”⁶⁰ The number of applications already received, the Legion’s President predictably ventured, would assure that the enterprise would be a successful one.⁶¹ Prospective participants, identified as “Canadian and Imperial Ex-Servicemen, Ex-Servicewomen and Immediate Relatives of Those Who Served,”⁶² were held to a standard of behaviour commensurate with the commemorative purpose of the pilgrimage. Thus, every signatory of the *Application for Participation in the Official Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields* agreed “to conduct myself during the entire trip in a proper manner, appropriate to such a pilgrimage.”⁶³ The form also permitted applicants to indicate which battlefields, in addition to Vimy, they were most interested in visiting,⁶⁴ as well as whether they desired to visit any cemetery in France. These travel provisions underscore how the Vimy pilgrims were cast as none other than thanatourists.

By June 1936, all crucial arrangements for the Vimy pilgrimage had been finalized. Briefly, the pilgrimage, adopting military practice, consisted of the advance and presidential parties, as well as five regular parties, each subdivided into eight to eleven companies numbering 120 to 135 pilgrims and overseen by a company leader.⁶⁵ Each of the five parties, in turn, was assigned to one of the five Cunard-White Star passenger liners that were commissioned to transport the 6200 pilgrims. These pilgrims included two delegates representing the Japanese chapter of the Canadian Legion, Saburo Shinobu and the ex-serviceman Bunshiro Furukawa,⁶⁶ along with the president of the Japanese Association and his wife. As Vimy pilgrims, this group had arranged to render homage to the fifty-four Japanese-Canadian combatants who had been killed, or who had died as a result of their battle wounds, in the Great War.⁶⁷ In the course of the pilgrimage, Shinobu,

Furokawa, and the Kagetau couple also visited a number of cemeteries, locating and photographing the graves of several of the twenty-seven Japanese-Canadian servicemen interred in France, where they also left floral tributes.⁶⁸ The five passenger liners set sail from Montreal on 16 and 17 July.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the travel agency of Thos. Cook & Son Limited obtained the contract for organizing the whole of the pilgrimage's ground transportation and billeting requirements.⁷⁰ On the morning of 25 July the five liners disembarked at either Antwerp or Le Havre in accordance with Belgium and France-specific touring itineraries that included the option, that afternoon, of cemetery or battlefield visits.⁷¹ As for the 200 or so ex-servicemen passengers who had been engaged in the Mons-area operations of 1918 immediately before the Armistice, a designated train conveyed them to Mons for a ceremony organized in their honour, and thence to Valenciennes to participate in a memorial service for Victoria Cross recipient Sergeant Hugh Cairns. The five pilgrimage parties, variously billeted overnight in Lille, Douai, and Arras, reconvened the next day at Vimy Ridge for the memorial's unveiling by King Edward VIII. The pilgrims were then invited to explore the memorial and the site's other key attractions: the Grange Tunnel and its preserved trenches. Thereafter they returned to their evening billets.

Additional battlefield tours, dedicated primarily to the Ypres and Somme regions, were scheduled for 27 July,⁷² terminating this leg of the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage concluded with a four-day London visit, 28-31 July.⁷³ The French government, for its part, had generously extended an invitation to all Vimy pilgrims to remain in France after the official conclusion of the pilgrimage on 31 July, as the nation's guests,⁷⁴ for a six-day tour, spanning 1-6 August and encompassing visits to: Versailles, the Chateaux St.

Germain, Malmaison, Amboise, Blois, and Rouen. *The Legionary* reported in July that 4850 pilgrims had accepted the French government's offer.⁷⁵

A series of busses transported the Vimy pilgrims to the memorial site on the morning of 26 July 1936, allowing ample time for them to explore its principal attractions, although they were not permitted to move around or upon the memorial until after the unveiling ceremony. At 12:45, 90 minutes prior to the ceremony's commencement, the pilgrims were signalled by sight (a green smoke bomb) and sound (a Klaxon horn) to proceed towards the parade ground. On the arrival of King Edward at 2:15, the unveiling ceremony proper commenced, beginning with his inspection of the Canadian Guard of Honour, which comprised crew members of the *HMCS Saguenay*, the destroyer that had accompanied the five liners on their trans-Atlantic voyage, and the 100-member Pilgrims' Guard of Honour. The king then mingled with the pilgrims for a half hour, making a point and good show of speaking to the first Silver Cross Mother, Mrs. C. S. Woods,⁷⁶ blind and amputee veterans, as well as French ex-servicemen. The reception of the President of the French Republic, Albert Lebrun, followed, after which both men advanced to the dais for the unveiling. The latter was thunderously heralded by ceremonial fly-bys conducted by two squadrons each of the Royal and French Air Forces. Thereafter, three religious leaders, representing the Church of England (Canada), the United Church of Canada, and the Roman Catholic faith, directed the unveiling's Christian service. Addresses were delivered by Canadians Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Justice, and Ian Mackenzie, the Minister of National Defence, whilst C. G. Power, the Minister of Pensions and National Health, read the communication of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King to the estimated crowd of 100,000 (Fig. 75). The entire

ceremony was broadcast for the benefit of the listening audiences in Canada, Europe and the United States.⁷⁷

In unveiling the Vimy memorial (Fig. 76), the king declared:

It is the inspired impression in stone, chiselled by a skilful Canadian hand, of Canada's salute to her fallen sons. It marks the scene of feats of arms which history will long remember and Canada can never forget. And the ground it covers is the gift of France to Canada.

All the world over there are battlefields the names of which are written indelibly on the pages of our troubled human story. It is one of the consolations which time brings that deeds of valour done on those battlefields long survive the quarrels which drove the opposing hosts to conflict.

Vimy will be one such name. Already the scars of war have well-nigh vanished from the fair landscape spread before us. Around us here today there is peace and the rebuilding of hope.

And so also, in dedicating this memorial to our fallen comrades, our thoughts turn rather to the splendour of their sacrifice, and to the consecration of our love for them, than to the cannonade which beat upon its ridge a score of years ago.⁷⁸

The ceremony continued with the customary sounding of the Last Post, the observance of the Two Minutes' Silence, and the playing of Reveille. The proceedings drew to a close with a speech made by the French president, and, at their conclusion, both the king and the president deposited wreaths before the memorial. After Edward VIII, the president, and the official parties had left the grounds, Archdeacon Scott and Reverend Sydney Lambert performed, hors programme, an additional commemorative gesture: Lambert scattered, at the foot of the memorial, the ashes of tokens of remembrance collected from Canadian Armistice Day ceremonies. Thereafter, the pilgrims were invited to lay wreaths and to tour the memorial.⁷⁹ Many of them would, in so doing, have enacted what Tim Edensor has called *reverential* and *romantic* gazes.⁸⁰ The reverential mode of gazing, whether adopted by lone visitors seeking spiritual communion or conducted en masse in the context of a pilgrimage or ritual, fixes "upon the divine, the sacred or the

commemorative.”⁸¹ In its romantic incarnation, this manner of beholding rests more with “the contemplation of an aesthetic(ised) object”⁸² such as the Vimy memorial. The enactor of a reverential gaze, Edensor qualifies, although optically concentrated upon something physical like the memorial, may primarily “view it as a symbol, a metaphor or metonym for a religion or community.”⁸³ The reverential gaze, as it has been trained upon Allward’s memorial by thousands of visitors for decades, thus focuses less upon its monumentality than upon its message, and upon the Canadian 1914-1918 war dead, surviving servicemen and women, and the bereaved.

Immediately after the unveiling, the touristic component of the pilgrimage, which was contained during the ceremony, segued into the commemorative. As pilgrims made personal memorial gestures, such as locating names upon the memorial, they also recorded, on film and in writing, their experiences of this historic occasion. Scholar Susan Stewart has written intriguingly about the paradoxical function and force of the souvenir. The souvenir, she observes, commands and directs one’s attention to the past. It is not, however, simply a de-contextualized object whose presence persists in the present. Instead it operates to “envelop the present within the past.”⁸⁴ Indeed, it is precisely the souvenir’s de-contextualization, its severance from its originating circumstance, which allows it to stand for a vestige of that circumstance whose reconstitution requires narrative or reverie. (The conventional repositories of souvenirs — attics or basements — signals their typically negligible material and monetary value.) As a mnemonic device, the souvenir, paradoxically, ultimately fails. Stewart concludes: “The souvenir is destined to be forgotten; its tragedy lies in the death of memory, the tragedy of all autobiography

and the simultaneous erasure of the autograph. And thus we come again to the powerful metaphor of the unmarked grave....”⁸⁵

Still, at Vimy, where the spectre of the unmarked grave, real and metaphorical, loomed large, a popular and novel attraction on the day of the unveiling was the establishment of a post office,⁸⁶ where pilgrims could mail the souvenir postcards of the memorial, issued as a set of ten by the French Postal Administration (Fig. 77). These postcards, available for purchase only between 25 and 27 July from the designated postal offices in Lille or, on the day of the unveiling, from the memorial site postal bureau, were commemoratively date-stamped “Vimy, France-Canadian Memorial,”⁸⁷ provided they were mailed at the participating postal offices or returned to the manager of any hotel housing the pilgrims.⁸⁸ Pilgrim Arnold du Toit Bottomley did exactly that following the unveiling ceremony, mailing to his daughter and himself commemorative postcards (Fig. 78).⁸⁹ A number of written reminiscences of the pilgrimage, some published, innumerable others found amidst archival collections, also abound, as pilgrims committed their thoughts and recollections of this journey to paper for personal remembrance, familial record, or posterity.⁹⁰ The Canadian Legion, for its part, announced in August 1936 that it would publish a souvenir volume, *The Epic of Vimy*. The book went to press in November. A deadline of 15 January 1937 was set for the receipt of orders for the book’s second edition, the stock of the first edition having been depleted in December.⁹¹

A bona fide success, the Vimy pilgrimage netted the Legion an \$18,453.21 profit, of which \$2,500 was released to the Canadian Corps Association, the veterans’ organization that had assisted the Legion’s Toronto Committee with its preparations for the pilgrimage.⁹² In light of this profitable outcome, a four-week reunion pilgrimage was

scheduled for the same period the next year, to include extended tours of the battlefields, a 25 July (Sunday) ceremony to be held at the Vimy memorial, and visits to Paris, Versailles, Malmaison, and London. Once more, Thos. Cook & Son Ltd. and the Canadian Pacific and Cunard-White Star companies were contracted, with the addition of Donaldson Atlantic Line, to handle all travel, transportation, and lodging arrangements. Pilgrims who were Canadian Legion members, along with their dependents, and immediate family members of the war dead also qualified for a saving of twenty percent on the cost of their trans-Atlantic crossing fare.⁹³ The 1937 Vimy reunion pilgrimage, however, was neither a remarkable nor a winning enterprise, with but a very small contingent of Canadians in attendance. The next year, the Legion nevertheless contemplated another large-scale pilgrimage two years hence: plans which never materialized because of the outbreak of the Second World War.⁹⁴

However, the 1936 Vimy pilgrimage was unique, given that it coincided with the memorial's unveiling. The much-delayed but long-anticipated completion of the memorial, dedicated to the nation's 1914-1918 dead and its missing servicemen in France, as well as its unveiling by the king, were key factors in generating the high level of interest about and subsequent participation in the Legion's pilgrimage. The Vimy pilgrims were, of course, acutely conscious that they were witnesses to an historic occasion, as well as participants in the culminating event of Canada's commemoration of the War. Indeed, as thanatourists they engaged in both disciplined collective and improvised remembrance-related performances throughout the course of the pilgrimage. With the unveiling of the Vimy memorial, the project of memorializing the nation's Great War losses and participation in monumental form was now completed. In this regard, the

ceremonial dimension of the 1937 Vimy pilgrimage could only have been perceived as an anti-climax, which undoubtedly contributed to the venture's overall failure. The onslaught of the Second World War quashed plans for the Legion's follow-up Vimy pilgrimage, the promise of which was apparently not renewed again in 1945, when the commemoration of the latest world war superseded that of the last, and would do so for the next two decades. Large-scale pilgrimages to the Vimy memorial resumed at this point, although these were now organized through the auspices of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

3.3. Government-Sponsored Pilgrimages to Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy after the Second World War

The 1960s marked the half-century point since the waging of the Great War battles at Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy Ridge, and Villers-Bretonneux. This decade of fifty-year battle anniversaries witnessed an associated resurgence of public interest in the First World War, which was precipitated by a number of converging factors. First, veterans, whose population was still considerable, had reached retirement age, prompting many to write their war memoirs, a number of which were published, although few attained the popularity of the 'classic' war novels and reminiscences issued in the late 1920s. Second, a good number of ex-servicemen's organizations continued to operate during this period, revitalized by the new leisure time now at the disposal of their members, although by decade's end the public presence and involvement during commemorative ceremonies of both these organizations and veterans, as a whole, had begun to dwindle in tandem with the ex-servicemen's advancing years and increasing infirmities. Third was the emergence of a new generation of Great War scholars, a phenomenon coincident with the opening of

military archives and part and parcel of the marked growth in the number of professional historians at this time: the result of heavy government investment by former combatant nations in university development and education, with an attendant rise in an evermore educated reading public keen to consume such histories. And fourth, both the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) aired its seminal 26-part television series *The Great War* in 1964, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) produced a considerably more modest 90-minute televised history of Canada's participation in the First World War, *And We Were Young*, which aired on Remembrance Day 1968 and which was punctuated by footage of its narrator, actor Raymond Massey, touring battle sites of the Western Front.⁹⁵ This was the popular and cultural background against which a number of Newfoundland and Canadian government-sponsored pilgrimages to the battlefields and memorials of the Great War were organized throughout the 1960s.

The first notable instance of these pilgrimages was arranged by the Department of Veterans Affairs at the behest of Myles Murray, the Newfoundland Provincial Secretary, to bring eight Royal Newfoundland Regiment survivors of 1 July 1916 to Beaumont-Hamel as attendees of the opening on 2 July 1961 (the Sunday nearest Memorial Day) of the Park's newly constructed Caretaker's House, followed by the dedication and the unveiling by Premier Joey Smallwood of a memorial plaque honouring the feats of the Regiment at Beaumont-Hamel. Following these ceremonies, a commemorative service was held at the caribou memorial, after which the pilgrimage party visited the battlefield. The previous evening, the Beaumont-Hamel survivors had toured the Memorial Park, revisiting their old combat ground, as well as No Man's Land and the German sector of the front line. Survivor Ken Goodyear recounted: "The trenches are practically as they

were in 1916, except for the fact that there are old rifles with the wood decayed from them, steel helmets rusted out, barbed wire posts in the ground, and old bombs lying around that we never had a chance to use.” One could also, he continued, readily situate the points where the different companies had made their advance during the attack, although he could only approximate the location where he himself had been wounded in battle. The Danger Tree, Goodyear noted, had since died, although “its foundation” was preserved, as a landmark, in concrete.⁹⁶ The ex-servicemen also attended, on the evening of 2 July, the Ceremony of the Perpetual Illumination, which inaugurated the floodlighting of the Vimy memorial at night.⁹⁷

In commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, the Department of Veterans Affairs organized two ceremonies, conducted at the Vimy memorial and the National War Memorial on 9 April 1967. Both were attended by surviving members of the battalions, as well as the auxiliary services that had been present at the Ridge fifty years ago. Just as with the 1936 pilgrimage, the Vimy survivor participants in the 1967 pilgrimage were issued a souvenir passport, whilst the Royal Canadian Legion provided participants of both the Ottawa and Vimy commemorative services with wreaths, each one distinguished by a ribbon identifying the Canadian Expeditionary Force unit of its bearer, to deposit before each memorial.⁹⁸

The following year, to mark the signing of the Armistice fifty years previously, the Department of Veterans Affairs orchestrated a pilgrimage to the battlefields, memorials, and cemeteries of the former Western Front. Ninety-seven Canadian Great War veterans participated. Highlights of this two-week pilgrimage, undertaken in November 1968, included visits to all thirteen Canadian Great War memorials, with

commemorative ceremonies conducted at each one, as well as a series of Remembrance Day services in Mons and Paris.⁹⁹

The Department of Veterans Affairs commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge in much the same way as they had the fiftieth. The April 1977 pilgrimage also included a contingent of twenty-four Vimy survivors, each of whom had been nominated to participate by the Canadian Legion and the National Council of Veterans Associations in Canada.¹⁰⁰ Eight Canadian and Newfoundland battlefield memorials,¹⁰¹ as well as the Menin Gate, were visited, with commemorative services observed at all of them. Pilgrimage participants were also given the opportunity to visit the graves of relatives or fellow combatants who were buried in a CWGC cemetery. A “major” commemorative service was performed at the Vimy memorial, the ceremonial focus of which was its Tomb, on the anniversary of the battle, 9 April.¹⁰²

The eightieth anniversary of the Armistice was the last time the Department of Veterans Affairs (now Veterans Affairs Canada) commemorated this historic event with a pilgrimage. The November 1998 pilgrimage to France and Belgium, whose official delegation included seventeen First World War veterans, incorporated ceremonies at a number of Canadian and Newfoundland memorials, 11 November services at Mons and Ypres (the latter a Belgian-British ceremony attended by Queen Elizabeth and the Belgian monarchs), cemetery visits, and, concluding the pilgrimage, the interment of Private John McArthur in Adanac Military Cemetery, McArthur’s remains having been found in July that year in the vicinity of Courcellette.¹⁰³

Unlike Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy, the Villers-Bretonneux site and memorial has never boasted a significant government-sponsored pilgrimage history.¹⁰⁴ In 2009,

however, just before Anzac Day, the Minister for Veterans' Affairs, Alan Griffin, announced that the Australian Government would, in the next four years, allocate \$10 million for the development of an "integrated Anzac trail of commemoration"¹⁰⁵ across the old Western Front in an effort to better "foster a deeper appreciation of what Australians achieved and endured in the main theatre of conflict of the First World War."¹⁰⁶ This government initiative, prompted by the approaching centenary of the Great War and the growing international attention that would be paid to the commemoration of 1914-1918 in its lead-up, would be realized in consultation and partnership with stakeholder French and Belgian levels of government and local communities. It is a first step towards redressing the general lack of government recognition accorded to Australian 1916-1918 wartime feats in France and Belgium (the AIF and its war dead are, of course, commemorated there), with the attendant objective of drawing greater numbers of (Australian) visitors to these battle and memorial sites. Preliminarily, the proposed Anzac Trail will connect seven sites: Villers-Bretonneux, Pozières, Bullecourt, Fromelles, Mont St. Quentin, Ypres, and Tyne Cot.¹⁰⁷ As delineated, it would seek to combine heritage and dark tourisms.

3.4. The 2007 Vimy Pilgrimage: Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Battle and Rededicating the Memorial

In March 2006 Veterans Affairs Canada (VAC) launched its new pilgrimage model for the commemoration of war anniversaries. In formulating the policy for the twenty-first century, during which it consulted with veterans' organizations,¹⁰⁸ VAC made the following resolutions, as well as re-affirmations: to observe the international imperative and responsibility of commemorating war service and death; to arrange

commemorative services and functions at overseas locations where Canada participated in a war; and, on these occasions, to be represented by a delegation composed of the Minister of Veterans Affairs, parliamentarians, veterans, representatives of veterans' organizations, and youth. This new pilgrimage model was first implemented on the occasions of the ninetieth battle anniversary pilgrimages to Beaumont-Hamel (2006),¹⁰⁹ and Vimy (2007), at which time Allward's memorial, newly restored,¹¹⁰ was rededicated. The lead-up to and the rededication of the Vimy memorial, broadcast live on CBC Television and Newsworld, received extensive Canadian (English) press coverage in print and online, as well as on television and the radio. The CBC also produced a four-hour series, *The Great War*, a combination documentary-drama, and as its complement, a one-hour World War One-themed reality TV special, *The Great War Experience*, airing the two programs over the course of the evenings of 8 and 9 April.¹¹¹

The 2007 Vimy pilgrimage was the most complex in scope that Veterans Affairs Canada ever orchestrated. Companion memorial events were held in Ottawa both prior to the embarkation of the VAC contingent for France on 5 April, as well as 9 April, the anniversary of the Battle, when a remembrance and wreath-laying ceremony, led by Governor-General Michaëlle Jean, was performed at the National War Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.¹¹² The night of 8 April, a Vimy vigil was also held at the National War Memorial. The names of the 3598 Canadians who fell in the Battle of Vimy Ridge (9-12 April 1917) were projected upon the Memorial from sundown to sunrise: an idea conceived by R. H. Thompson, a Toronto actor, and Ottawa lighting designer Martin Conboy. Both Veterans Affairs Canada and Public Works and Government Services Canada assisted in the vigil's realization.¹¹³ This act of projecting the names of the Vimy

dead upon the Memorial, although an ephemeral act of remembrance, points up how the name, as Sandra M. Gilbert has ruminated, simultaneously specifies and speaks of individuality, and, in the context of grief, the individuality of the death one mourns. To be sure, a name pronounces someone's existence and the "circumstantiality"¹¹⁴ of their being; however, that name can be wholly severed from them (Derrida's important insight) as well as circulate beyond the horizon of their day-to-day living and, ultimately, life.¹¹⁵ Hence, the naming of the war dead and missing upon memorials is a touchstone of Great War remembrance. By the same token, such commemorative naming, whether permanent (the Vimy memorial) or impermanent (the Vimy vigil), validates death in the service of the nation. Precisely, "*official naming*," as Pierre Bourdieu explains, is "a symbolic act of imposition which has on its side all the strength of the collective, of the consensus, of common sense, because it is performed by a delegated agent of the state, that is, the holder of the *monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence*."¹¹⁶ The Vimy vigil's projection component perfectly exemplified official naming on behalf of the state, whose claim upon, and exercise of, sanctioned violence was not explicitly stated. Rather, the monumental locus and focus of the projected names did so implicitly, whereby, as the practice of Polish artist Krzysztof Wodiczko¹¹⁷ has critically illustrated, memorials concretize, communicate, and celebrate state power. Since the 1980s, Wodiczko has projected subverting images upon monuments and memorials, a fleeting and fugitive form of visual intervention that seeks to undermine their authority as symbols of political will and persuasion.¹¹⁸

On the eve of the memorial's rededication, six Canadian soldiers were also killed in Afghanistan by the explosion of a roadside bomb. Inevitably, the announcement of

their deaths in the press the next day was made alongside the mention of the concurrent rededication of the Vimy memorial.¹¹⁹ Reportage aside, the *National Post*, in its editorial dedicated to the observance of the ninetieth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, acknowledged that these six deaths had no equivalence with the colossal death toll of Canadian servicemen in the First World War. However, from an ideological standpoint, Canadian troops serving in Afghanistan were engaged in a “just and important cause.”¹²⁰ By contrast, the editorial musings of Canada’s other, more liberal, national paper, the *Globe and Mail*, couched its weighing-in upon the significance of the Canadian victory at Vimy Ridge nine decades ago in terms of its legacy, a consolidated sense of nationhood, with the Canadian fatalities in Afghanistan the previous day framed as a continuation of the war sacrifice “that keeps Canada strong and free.”¹²¹ Prime Minister Harper’s public announcement of the six Canadian combat deaths in Afghanistan was incorporated, on the fly, into a speech he delivered in France on the occasion of an Easter dinner, attended by veterans and officials, organized to commemorate the ninety-year anniversary of the battle of Vimy Ridge. That speech, as drafted, already drew parallels between the difficulties and dangers Canadian servicemen of the Great War had confronted and those which soldiers now engaged in Afghanistan encountered, with the latter troops cast as the heirs of Vimy.¹²² Harper, however, refrained from invoking the deaths of the six soldiers in the address that he delivered during the rededication ceremony of the Vimy memorial, although both Queen Elizabeth and the French prime minister did so, positioning these fatalities within a history of Canadian war sacrifice stretching back across the twentieth century.¹²³ The prime minister’s silence on the subject was calculated, as he was undoubtedly mindful that the Afghanistan mission was divisive amongst Canadians,¹²⁴

two-thirds of whom, according to the findings of a recent national poll, pronounced that it would, ninety years hence, be perceived as but a “minor event in history,”¹²⁵ neither formative nor profile-raising for Canada, as was the capture of Vimy Ridge.

As for the pilgrimage itself, a host of commemorative ceremonies were conducted in France between 7 and 9 April. Chief amongst these was the religious service held for Private Herbert Peterson, whose remains were found near Avion in 2003,¹²⁶ at the Chapelle Saint Louis, Arras, on the morning of 7 April, followed by his re-interment in La Chaudière Military Cemetery, Vimy.¹²⁷ That evening a music-and-manoeuvres sunset ceremony was performed by the Canadian Forces contingent of the pilgrimage at the Vimy memorial. This martial-themed event, premised upon the military custom of mustering troops to their garrison for a night’s rest, was followed by a Lighting Presentation, a more serene and contemplative spectacle incorporating illumination, music, and narrative, and conceived to “explore the many levels of meaning of the Vimy monument”¹²⁸ as well as to foreground its aesthetic, cultural, and historic importance. The next day, Arras was the scene of the celebratory Freedom of the City parade, which saw the Canadian Forces contingent march through the town.¹²⁹ The focal point of the Vimy pilgrimage was, however, the rededication of the memorial by Queen Elizabeth on the afternoon of the ninetieth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge. The sole critical element that emerged in the press coverage of the events and ceremonies marking that anniversary was an attempt to ‘unpack’ the mythology surrounding Vimy, as well as forewarn against its glorification in light of Canada’s present involvement in Afghanistan.¹³⁰

As with the 1936 unveiling of the memorial, its rededication seventy-one years later, witnessed by an estimated crowd of 20,000-25,000, was performed by a British monarch. Attending the Queen, as platform guests, were Prince Philip, French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and their wives. The order of the ceremony was much the same, too, featuring the Queen's inspection of the troops, addresses delivered by the French and Canadian prime ministers, prayers, the sounding of the Last Post, the observance of the One-Minute Silence, the playing of the Rouse and the Lament, and the recitation, by two veterans, of the Act of Remembrance. The laying of wreaths was followed by the Commitment to Remember, proclaimed by 5000 Canadian youth. If remembrance of the war dead was couched as their inheritance and legacy, so too, in part, was Allward's memorial. The Queen, in rededicating it, pronounced:

Canada's commemorative monument here in Vimy bears witness to Canada's great strength and its dedication to freedom. It also bears witness to the profound solidarity that binds Canada and France. Finally, it demonstrates the valour, the courage, and the sacrifice of the brave Canadians that inspired a young country to become a magnificent nation. To those who have so recently lost their lives in Afghanistan, to Canada and to all who would serve the cause of freedom, I rededicate this magnificently restored memorial.¹³¹

The memorial rededicated, the ceremony drew to its close with a musical interlude, a ceremonial fly-by performed by the French Air Force, and a final round of blessings. Before the Queen, Prince Philip, and the two prime ministerial couples left the memorial grounds, they mingled, as had King Edward VIII seven decades earlier, amongst the assembled Canadian and French veterans and youth.¹³²

The memorial landscapes of Beaumont-Hamel, Vimy, and, to a much lesser extent, Villers-Bretonneux, as I have elucidated above, have, since their unveiling, served

as stages for both commemorative and touristic performances, whether disciplined, collective affairs or improvised. Such performances have been enacted there on the occasion of large and small-scale battlefield pilgrimages, government-sponsored and personal, or when these sites have been frequented by travellers upon the Western Front battlefield tourism circuit. Visitors to these enclavic tourist sites, whom I collectively identify as thanatourists, a more felicitous and nuanced designation than the dichotomized and implicitly judgmental terms of “pilgrim” and “tourist,” are principally performers. Thanatourists are participants in, as well as spectators of, the rituals of remembrance, public and private, majestic and modest, that are routinely performed in these memorial landscapes: theatres of history and memory, lived and vicarious. Their memorial dimension, the monuments and preserved war features therein (at Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy), render them poignant grounds of remembrance, wherein some visitors once also surely remembered their war experiences and losses. If living memory of the Great War has now been extinguished, the last Canadian veteran, John Babcock, having died in February 2010,¹³³ this has not eclipsed the familial, generational and cultural remembering that is both prompted and primed for within — that, indeed is the very principle of — these emotionally and experientially potent places.

¹ *Vimy Charter for Conservation of Historic Battlefield Terrain* (Draft 3, September 30, 2000) reproduced in Natalie Bull and David Pantou, “Drafting the Vimy Charter for Conservation of Battlefield Terrain,” *APT Bulletin (Association for Preservation Technology International)* 31.4 (2000, *Special Issue: Managing Cultural Landscapes*): 8.

² David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (New York and Oxford: Berg, 1998) 200.

³ Owen J. Dwyer and Derek H. Alderman, “Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors,” *GeoJournal* 73.3 (November 2008): 173.

⁴ Steven Hoelscher, “Making Place, Making Race: Performances of Whiteness in the Jim Crow South,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93.3 (September 2003): 661.

⁵ Heritage Conservation Program, “Canadian National Vimy Memorial: Briefing Package for Participants, International Workshop, Conservation of Battlefield Terrain, Arras, France, March 1, 2, 3, 2000,” 37 and Heritage Conservation Program, “Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial: Briefing Package for

Participants, International Workshop, Conservation of Battlefield Terrain, Arras, France, March 1, 2, 3, 2000,” 38.

⁶ Dwyer and Alderman 174.

⁷ Dwyer and Alderman 174.

⁸ Dwyer and Alderman 173-174.

⁹ Peter Burke, “Performing History: The Importance of Occasions,” *Rethinking History* 9.1 (March 2005): 39.

¹⁰ Burke 41-42.

¹¹ Tim Edensor, “Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 27.2 (2000): 327 and “Performing tourism, staging tourism: (Re)producing tourist space and practice,” *Tourist Studies* 1.1 (2001): 63.

¹² Randy Boswell, “Two couples fined for Vimy defilement: Filmed striptease at base of monument,” *Gazette* [Montreal] 9 April 2009: A8 (the same article, published under the title “Two couples convicted for Vimy striptease,” also ran that day in the *National Post*, section A2).

¹³ “French couple to pay \$1.58 for making pornographic video at war memorial,” *National Post* 24 July 2008: A3. Indeed, the Vimy memorial site has always been a venue for unsanctioned conduct, with the minutes of the CBMC reporting: “In October 1936 the High Commissioner advised of certain misbehaviour and possible depredations at Vimy.” Minutes of the Proceedings of the 25th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held on May 20th, 1937, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file: CBC vol. 3.

¹⁴ Edensor (2001) 63.

¹⁵ Edensor (2000) 328, 330-331 and Edensor (2001) 63-64.

¹⁶ Philip Stone and Richard Sharpley, “Consuming Dark Tourism: A Thanatological Perspective,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 35.2 (April 2008): 576.

¹⁷ Foley and Lennon cited in Stone and Sharpley 577.

¹⁸ Stone and Sharpley 578.

¹⁹ Stone and Sharpley 578 and A. Craig Wight, “Philosophical and methodological praxes in dark tourism: Controversy, contention and the evolving paradigm,” *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 12.2 (April 2006): 120.

²⁰ Foley and Lennon cited in Stone and Sharpley 578.

²¹ Seaton cited in Stone and Sharpley 578.

²² Stone and Sharpley 578 and Wight 120.

²³ Seaton cited in Stone and Sharpley 578.

²⁴ Stone and Sharpley 578 and A. V. Seaton, “War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26.1 (January 1999): 131. Seaton’s three other categories of dark tourism encompass: “travel to witness public enactments of death;” “travel to view the material evidence, or symbolic representations, of particular deaths, in locations unconnected with their occurrence; and “travel for re-enactments or simulation of death.” Seaton 131.

²⁵ Edensor (2000) 334-335 and Frank Baldwin and Richard Sharpley, “Battlefield Tourism: Bringing Organized Violence Back to Life,” *The Darker Side of Tourism: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, eds. Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone (Bristol and Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2009) 186-187.

²⁶ Baldwin and Sharpley 190.

²⁷ Tony Walter, “War Grave Pilgrimage,” *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*, eds. Ian Reader and Tony Walter (Hampshire and London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1993) 71. Walter writes: “Whatever subsidiary reasons they have for travelling, pilgrims have one purpose: to visit a particular grave or memorial.” Walter 71.

²⁸ Baldwin and Sharpley 191.

²⁹ Walter 71.

³⁰ Baldwin and Sharpley 192-194 and Walter 71-72.

³¹ Baldwin and Sharpley 194.

³² Baldwin and Sharpley 195-199 and Walter 72-74.

³³ Walter 72.

³⁴ Edensor and D. Chaney quoted in Edensor (2000) 334.

³⁵ Vimy Pilgrimage Headquarters, Bulletin, *Further Information on the Vimy Pilgrimage* (Ottawa: April 17th, 1936) no pagination, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1990166-005, call number 58A1 100.10; Vimy Pilgrimage Headquarters, Bulletin, *Final Information on the Vimy Pilgrimage* (Ottawa:

June 26th, 1936) no pagination, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1990166-005, 58A1 100.10; Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 18-20, 23-24, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5; *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 9, 13; Dominion of Canada, Souvenir Passport no. 1094 issued to Lieutenant-Colonel Rene de la Bruere Girouard and Katherine Mary Grant Girouard, 6 May 1936, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5, and Lloyd 203-204.

³⁶ Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 26-29, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5.

³⁷ Edensor (2000) 335.

³⁸ Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August, 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936), CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5.

³⁹ Edensor (2000) 335-336.

⁴⁰ Nicola Lambourne, "Production Versus Destruction: Art, World War I and art history," *Art History* 22.3 (September 1999): 350-351, Sue Malvern, "War Tourisms: 'Englishness,' Art, and the First World War," *Oxford Art Journal* 24.1 (2001): 50, and Mark Connelly, "The Ypres League and the Commemoration of the Ypres Salient, 1914-1940," *War in History* 16.1 (January 2009): 53.

⁴¹ In this chapter, variations upon the name of the travel firm Thomas Cook, its present-day iteration, occur. In each case, I have adopted the spelling used by the source I consult, be this a published or an archival one. <http://www.thomascook.com> (accessed 23/06/2010).

⁴² A year after the Armistice, Captain G. W. Boughton wrote an account of the devastated state of the Western Front war zones, as well as the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission, especially their search of the battlefields to recover and, if possible, identify the bodies of the missing. Captain G. W. Boughton, Conducting Officer for the O. M. F. C. in France and Belgium, "Brief Notes from the old Battle Fronts in France and Belgium by a Victoria Officer still there," November 11, 1919, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20030088-037, call number 58A1 195.23.

⁴³ The *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936* issued this warning: "Visitors to the Battlefields are warned against touching shells, hand grenades, loose wire and such like objects in the former war area." Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 26, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5.

⁴⁴ Modris Eksteins, "War, Memory, and the Modern: Pilgrimage and Tourism to the Western Front," *World War I and the Cultures of Modernity*, eds. Douglas Mackaman and Michael Mays (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000) 153-155 and Walter 67.

⁴⁵ Eksteins 157.

⁴⁶ Two well-known short stories, Katherine Mansfield's "The Fly" (1922) and Rudyard Kipling's "The Gardener" (1926), are contemporary literary reflections upon what Joanna Scutts, in her incisive reading of these two pieces, has deemed "postwar 'cemetery anxiety,'" in which the IWGC's carefully cultivated and constructed burial places, for all their pastoral placidity, are revealed to offer little solace to the bereaved, pointing up instead, as Scutts writes of Mansfield's protagonist, "the yawning gap between acceptable public remembrance and private, incommensurable grief." Joanna Scutts, "Battlefield Cemeteries, Pilgrimage, and Literature after the First World War: The Burial of the Dead," *ELT (English Literature in Transition)* 52.4 (2009): 407, 409-410, and 413.

In an early example, King George V went on pilgrimage to the battlefields of the Western Front in 1922. His tour was deliberately cast as a sober and modest event, which studiously, in solidarity with a mourning Great Britain, dispensed with the sartorial trappings and ceremony that normally accompanied his office. The king, so went the conceit, visited the cemeteries and battlefields of France and Flanders in the same spirit and guise as did, and would, the British bereaved. Scutts 402 and Walter 71. Scutts reports that the king was garbed in civilian dress, whilst Walter notes he donned the regular uniform of an officer.

⁴⁷ Eksteins 157.

⁴⁸ In July 1923, a pilgrimage led by Padre Thomas Nangle to the battlefields of France and Belgium, with visits to the war cemeteries and all of the Newfoundland memorials, the completion of which were

expected, was planned for September 1924. For the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Armistice, a pilgrimage, restricted to ex-servicemen of the Canadian Corps and billed as a *Furlough Party to the Battlefields of the Canadian Army in France and Belgium*, was proposed. In 1938, J. A. Winter, the Newfoundland Commissioner for Home Affairs and Education, embarked, in the company of the Trade Commissioner and with assistance provided by Lieut.-Colonel Oswald and Colonel Higginson of the Imperial War Graves Commission, upon a tour to visit all five of Newfoundland's Great War memorials. "Pilgrimage to France, Belgium and London, September, 1924," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.2 (July 1923): 49-50; T. Nangle, C. F., Lieut.-Col., letter to the editor, "Proposed Pilgrimage to the Battlefields of France and Flanders," *The Veteran Magazine* 3.3 (October 1923): 6-7; *1918-1928 Anniversary Furlough Party to the Battlefields of the Canadian Army in France and Belgium* ([Canada]: n.p., [1928]); and J. A. Winter, "A Visit to Newfoundland's War Memorials in France and Belgium," *The Veteran* 12.3 (December 1938): 12-13, 16, 98.

⁴⁹ Eksteins 156-157, Lloyd 35-37, Walter 71, and *The Story of an Epic Pilgrimage: A Souvenir of the Battlefields Pilgrimage of 1928*, eds. James Harter and L. J. D. Gavin ([London: The British Legion, 1928]).

⁵⁰ Lloyd 7.

⁵¹ Lloyd 7-8.

⁵² Lloyd 8.

⁵³ Lloyd 8, 40.

⁵⁴ Caroline Winter, "Tourism, Social Memory and the Great War," *Annals of Tourism Research* 36.4 (October 2009): 616.

⁵⁵ Winter 616.

⁵⁶ J. S. Roper, *Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League, Fifth Dominion Convention: Address of the Dominion President Major J. S. Roper, M. C., K. C., Ottawa, Canada, March 12th to 15th, 1934*, 48, LAC, MG 28 I298, vol. 75, file Dominion Covenants (5th) 1934. The Vimy Pilgrimage Committee's members were: Lt.-Colonel L. R. LaFleche, Brig.-General A. Ross, Colonel W. W. Foster, J. A. MacIsaac, and Lt.-Colonel F. J. Picking. J. S. Roper, *Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League, Fifth Dominion Convention: Address of the Dominion President Major J. S. Roper, M.C., K. C., Ottawa, Canada, March 12th to 15th, 1934*, 48, LAC, MG 28 I298, vol. 75, file Dominion Covenants (5th) 1934. As of 1936, the following were named the principal officers of the National Vimy Pilgrimage Committee: Lt.-General Sir Richard Turner (Chairman); Walter S. Woods (Vice-Chairman); Brig.-General Alex Ross (Hon.-Chairman); Ben W. Allen (Dominion Organiser); and Lt.-Colonel D. F. Macintyre (Chief Transport Officer). Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 17.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Proceedings of the 24th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, 25th February, 1935, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

⁵⁸ 20 November 1934 letter to Mr. Hennett [sic] from S. C. Mewburn and Minutes of the Proceedings of the 24th Meeting of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission held in Ottawa, 25th February, 1935, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file CBC, vol. 3.

⁵⁹ H. C. Osborne, Department of National Defence, "Estimates 1936-1937," Memorandum RE Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission and the Whole of the Work Undertaken By It, 15 January 1936 and "Expenditure-Vimy Unveiling Ceremonies," July 1936, LAC, RG 38, vol. 419, file C. B. C. vol. 4.

⁶⁰ Alex Ross, *Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League: Report of the Dominion President Brig.-General Alex Ross, K. C., C. M. G., D. S. O., V. D., A. D. C., Sixth Dominion Convention, March 23rd-25th, 1936, Vancouver, B. C.*, 17, LAC, MG 28 I298, vol. 75, file Dom. Covenants (6th) 1936.

⁶¹ Alex Ross, *Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League: Report of the Dominion President Brig.-General Alex Ross, K. C., C. M. G., D. S. O., V. D., A. D. C., Sixth Dominion Convention, March 23rd-25th, 1936, Vancouver, B. C.*, 17, LAC, MG 28 I298, vol. 75, file Dom. Covenants (6th) 1936.

⁶² Percy R. Arbuckle, *Application for Participation in the Official Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields for Canadian and Imperial Ex-Servicemen, Ex-Servicewomen and Immediate Relatives of Those Who Served*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1984007-023, call number 58A1 146.20.

⁶³ Percy R. Arbuckle, *Application for Participation in the Official Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields for Canadian and Imperial Ex-Servicemen, Ex-Servicewomen and Immediate Relatives of Those Who Served*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1984007-023, call number 58A1 146.20.

⁶⁴ Percy R. Arbuckle, *Application for Participation in the Official Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields for Canadian and Imperial Ex-Servicemen, Ex-Servicewomen and Immediate Relatives of Those Who Served*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1984007-023, call number 58A1 146.20.

⁶⁵ A sixteen-member advance party, led by Colonel W. W. Foster, the Legion's Dominion First Vice-President, and Lt.-Colonel D. E. Macintyre, the pilgrimage's Chief Transport Officer, would embark for London on 12 June, where, on their arrival, they would, together with the members of the London Coordination Conference, chaired by the Canadian High Commissioner, Vincent Massey, finalize the program details of the four-day London leg of the pilgrimage, which followed the memorial's unveiling. Foster, Macintyre and their staff would also, during June and July, confirm and conclude all other pilgrimage-specific activities and arrangements: billets, cemetery visits, and all ceremonies, including the unveiling, with the latter's details determined in consultation with the Canadian government. "The Vimy Pilgrimage," *The Legionary* XI.11 (June 1936): 10-11; Alex Ross, "Dominion President's Notes: A Monthly Survey. Vimy Pilgrimage," *The Legionary* XI.12 (July 1936): 21; and *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 10.

The presidential or Canadian Legion official party would precede the regular pilgrimage parties, arriving in London on 19 July. The presidential party, led by Brigadier-General Alex Ross, the Legion's Dominion President, was a modest-sized contingent of Canadian Legion and other ex-servicemen group members. In this capacity they would, between 19-25 July, "pay the respects of Canada's ex-Service men and women to His Majesty King Edward, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, and His Excellency the President of the French Republic, as well as make several "courtesy visits" to cities in Belgium and France that had shared special wartime bonds with the Canadian troops. In the span of these days, the official party would attend a multitude of commemorative, celebratory, and recreational functions, as well as visit the following capitals, cities, towns, and sites: Paris, Cambrai, Lille, Mons, Brussels, Arras, Notre Dame de Lorette, Mont. St. Eloi, and Valenciennes. "The Vimy Pilgrimage," *The Legionary* XI.11 (June 1936): 10; Alex Ross, "Dominion President's Notes: A Monthly Survey. An Outstanding Event," *The Legionary* XI.12 (July 1936): 21, and 14 July 1936, *Itinerary: Official Canadian Legion Party to France and Belgium*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, title: Girouard, accession 19830596-018, call number 58A1 22.4. All pilgrimage staff wore identifying color-and-letter-coded arm bands: party leader and assistant party leader (red band with party letter); staff clerk (yellow band with party letter); and the company leader (green band with party letter). The advance and presidential parties, meanwhile, wore, respectively, a khaki arm band (Legion crest) and a blue arm band (Legion crest). Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 19-20, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5 and *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 10.

⁶⁶ Library and Archives Canada, "Furukawa, Bunshiro," *Soldiers of the First World War-CEF*, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/cef/001042-110.01-e.php?PHPSESSID=u0vk3g69g4143c8t3e4745pd44&q1=Furukawa&q2=&q3=&interval=20> (accessed 04/21/2010).

⁶⁷ Of the 54 Japanese-Canadians killed in the Great War, 27 of these servicemen were buried in IWGC cemeteries. One serviceman, Usaku Shibuta, died of his war wounds on 26 January 1919 in a Nelson, British Columbia hospital. Shibuta was interred in the Nelson Memorial Park Cemetery, military plot B.4, G.13. LAC, "Shibuta, Usaku," *Soldiers of the First World War-CEF*, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/cef/001042-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=226619&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=02rpp2j45gt0ndmu529nqbnpj1 (accessed 22/09/2010); VAC, "In Memory of Private Usaku Shibuta," *The Canadian Virtual War Memorial*, <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/virtualmem/Detail&casualty=420593> (accessed 22/09/2010); and Saburo Shinobu, "The Vimy Ridge Pilgrimage," 1936, 34, LAC, microfilm reel C-12833, file: 16-3.

⁶⁸ Saburo Shinobu, "The Vimy Ridge Pilgrimage," 1936, 1-2, 8, 24, 26, 28-35, LAC, microfilm reel C-12833, file: 16-3.

⁶⁹ Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August, 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 15; CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5; and *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 9-10.

All told, pilgrimage participants counted 6200 Canadian “revenue passengers,” another 1365 Canadians resident in England who joined in, and both the pilgrimage staff and the presidential party, numbering 125 persons, for a collective count of 7690 pilgrims. That count rises to some 8000 pilgrimage participants with the inclusion of the Canadian government official party, British dignitaries, the Canadian naval Guard of Honour and two military bands, representatives of the Parisian chapter of the Canadian Legion, and a Brussels contingent of ex-servicemen. *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 9, 11.

The federal and provincial governments, as well as “leading industrial concerns” and businesses such as the Hudson Bay Company, accommodated, through special holiday provisions, any ex-Service employee who desired to participate in the Vimy pilgrimage. *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 13 and Lloyd 199-200.

Vimy Pilgrimage Headquarters, Bulletin, *Further Information on the Vimy Pilgrimage* (Ottawa: April 17th, 1936) no pagination, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1990166-005, call number 58A1 100.10 and Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 27, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5.

⁷⁰ Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 15, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, 58A1 22.5 and *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 11-12.

⁷¹ According to a 17 April 1936 Vimy pilgrimage bulletin issued by its organizers, some 1400 pilgrims had noted upon their application forms that they desired to visit a specific cemetery in Belgium or France. The pilgrimage organizers would accommodate the pilgrims’ requests to visit a certain cemetery, for a maximum duration of one hour, providing its location was “within reasonable limits.” The standard pilgrimage program, however, did include brief stops at “the more important cemeteries during the course of the drives.” Pilgrims, if they wished, could purchase a Vetcraft pilgrimage poppy wreath to place upon a grave(s). All of the pilgrims who had given advance notice to the pilgrimage organizers that they wished to visit specific cemeteries during the pilgrimage were, accordingly, assigned to the S. S. Montcalm, Antonia, and Duchess of Bedford liners. Vimy Pilgrimage Headquarters, Bulletin, *Further Information on the Vimy Pilgrimage* (Ottawa: April 17th, 1936) no pagination, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1990166-005, call number 58A1 100.10 and Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 29, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5. The souvenir volume of the pilgrimage, *The Epic of Vimy*, noted that, ultimately, more than 1500 pilgrims had inquired about war graves and cemeteries, information that, obtained from the Records Branch, the Department of National Defence, was conveyed to them by pilgrimage headquarters. *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 9.

On disembarking at Le Havre, the “M,” “O,” and “Y,” pilgrimage parties departed their port of call by special train for Lille. From Lille, these pilgrims, if they had not elected to visit a specific cemetery in the region, had the choice of taking one of two Ypres tours: (1) St. Eloi, Dickebusch, La Clytte, Reninghelst, Poperinghe, Vlamertinghe, Ypres, Menin Gate, Maple Avenue, Hill 62, Zonnebeke, Tyne Cot, Passchendaele, St. Julien, St. Jean, and Ypres; or (2) Ypres, Elverdinghe, Vlamertinghe, Poperinghe, Abeele, Steenwoorde, Hazebrouck, Nieppe, Bailleu, Armentières, Neuve Eglise, Kimmel, Dickebusch, and Ypres. Meanwhile, the “K,” and “L,” pilgrimage parties, who disembarked at Antwerp, would transfer from their port of call to special trains headed either to Albert or Arras. These pilgrims, unless they had chosen to visit a specific cemetery or belonged to the “Mons” pilgrims’ group, had the option of joining one of two area tours: (1) Arras, Dury, Cambrai, Bourlon Wood, and Courcellette; or (2) Arras, Mont St. Eloy, Camblain-l’Abbé, Estrée-Cauchy, Rebreuve, Ranchicourt, Houdain, Bruay, Bethune, Noeux-les-Mines, Bully Grenay, Aix Noullette and Souchez. Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August, 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 27, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5.

⁷² Pilgrims from the “M,” “O,” and “Y,” parties might choose from one of two tours: (1) Arras, Dury, Cambrai, Bourlon Wood, and Courcellette; or (2) Arras, Mont. St. Eloy, Camblain l’Abbé, Estrée Cauchy, Rebreuve, Ranchicourt, Houdain, Bruay, Bethune, Noeux-les-Mines, Bully Grenay, Aix Noullette, and

Souchez. Meanwhile, the “K,” and “L,” pilgrim parties were also presented with a choice of Ypres-concentrated tours: (1) St. Eloi, Dickebusch, La Clytte, Reninghelst, Poperinghe, Vlamertinghe, Ypres, Menin Gate, Maple Avenue, Hill 62, Zonnebeke, Tyne Cot, Passchendaele, St. Julien, St. Jean, and Ypres; or (2) Ypres, Elvirvinghe, Vlamertinghe, Poperinghe, Abeele, Steenwoorde, Hazebrouk, Nieppe, Bailleul, Armentières, Neuve Eglise, Kemmel, Dickebusch, and Ypres. These tours were, of course, the same as those offered 25 July, albeit for different pilgrim parties, thus allowing all pilgrims the opportunity to tour as many battlefields and war zones as possible over the course of these two days. Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936* (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 28, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5.

⁷³ Vimy Pilgrimage Committee, *Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields, July-August 1936*, ed. John Hundevad (Ottawa: The Veteran Limited, 1936) 28-29, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1982602-019, call number 58A1 22.5 and *Supplement to Pilgrimage Guide Book: Vimy and Battlefields Pilgrimage, July, 1936* (issued July 1936) 6-7, LAC, MG 28, series: I298, vol. 66, file 66-1 Pilgrimage to the battlefields, July 1936.

⁷⁴ This was a no-cost tour, courtesy of the French government. The sole expense incurred by the pilgrims would be for their London-Dover and Newhaven-London rail fares. Vimy Pilgrimage Headquarters, Bulletin, *Further Information on the Vimy Pilgrimage* (Ottawa: April 17th, 1936) no pagination, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 1990166-005, call number 58A1 100.10; Announcement, *Important Information on Canadian Legion Vimy and Battlefields Pilgrimage... Special Invitation to All Pilgrims from the Government of France*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19880001-001, call number 58 E3 4.8; and *Supplement to Pilgrimage Guide Book: Vimy and Battlefields Pilgrimage, July, 1936* (issued July 1936) 7-8, LAC, MG 28, vol. 66, Series I 298, file 66-1 Pilgrimage to the battlefields, July 1936.

⁷⁵ “The Vimy Pilgrimage” and [“The Vimy Pilgrimage”], editorial, *The Legionary* XI.11 (June 1936): 10-11, 17 and “The Vimy Pilgrimage,” *The Legionary* XI.12 (July 1936): 10.

⁷⁶ The Memorial Cross, as the medal was identified after its striking on 1 December 1919, although it is commonly known as the Silver Cross, was issued to wives and mothers of servicemen killed in action. However, as religious studies scholar Suzanne Evans notes, the wartime losses of mothers, rather than wives, has been, since the medal’s release, preeminent in the public’s imagination. C. S. Wood’s sons and stepsons numbered twelve, eleven of whom served in the Great War, and of which five lost their lives in combat, with another three later succumbing to their war injuries. Wood was also the mother chosen to lay a wreath upon the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior during the London leg of the Vimy pilgrimage. In the aftermath of the Great War, there were 58,500 recipients of the Silver Cross. Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007) 101-103, 105, 107; *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 79, 105, 107; David Pierce Beatty, *The Vimy Pilgrimage July 1936: From the Diary of Florence Murdock, Amherst, Nova Scotia* (Amherst, Nova Scotia: Acadian Printing, 1987) 19; and Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canadian Military Medals and Decorations-Memorial Crosses, <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/cmdp/mainmenu/group09> (accessed 04/21/2010).

⁷⁷ The broadcast of the unveiling ceremony was received by the Canadian Radio Commission for transmission domestically. The BBC, for its part, employed a bilingual announcer, so that its broadcast could be heard in English and French. Lastly, American listeners heard the broadcast courtesy of the Mutual and National Broadcasting Systems. Lloyd 203 and Beatty 33-34.

⁷⁸ *Canadians Visit to the Cenotaph and the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, July 1936 Souvenir Programme* (London: Victor, [1936]) no pagination, LAC, MG 28, series I298, vol. 66, file 66-2, Pilgrimage to the battlefields, July 1936 and “Canada’s Salute: Royal Homage,” *The Legionary* XII.1 (August 1936): 2.

⁷⁹ *Supplement to Pilgrimage Guide Book: Vimy and Battlefields Pilgrimage July, 1936* (Issued July, 1936) 3-5, LAC, MG 28, series I298, vol. 66, file 66-1, Pilgrimage to the battlefields, July 1936; *Unveiling of the Canadian National War Memorial on Vimy Ridge by His Majesty the King July 26th, 1936*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19900066-015, call number 58E3 3.3; *Canadians Visit to the Cenotaph and the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, July 1936 Souvenir Programme* (London: Victor, [1936]) no pagination, LAC, MG 28, series I298, vol. 66, file 66-2, Pilgrimage to the Battlefields, July

1936; "Canada's Salute: Royal Homage," *The Legionary* XII.1 (August 1936): 1-4; W. W. Murray, "The Vimy Pilgrimage," *Canadian Geographical Journal* XIII.8 (December 1936): 421-425, *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 63-99; and Beatty 31.

Several news publications, including *The Daily Telegraph*, *Our Empire*, and *The Illustrated London News*, issued special Vimy pilgrimage supplements immediately after the memorial's unveiling. See: *The Daily Telegraph*, "The King's Tribute to Canadian Valour on Vimy Ridge: Pictorial Supplement," July 27, 1936; *Our Empire*, "Vimy Pilgrimage Number," Vol. XII, no. 4, July 1936; and *The Illustrated London News*, "The Vimy Ridge War Memorial Unveiled," August 1, 1936, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accessions 19840007-014 and 19840007-023, call numbers 58A1 146-20 and 58A1 146.20.

⁸⁰ Tim Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) 127.

⁸¹ Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj*, 127.

⁸² Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj*, 127.

⁸³ Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj*, 127.

⁸⁴ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984) 151.

⁸⁵ Stewart 150-151.

⁸⁶ *The Epic of Vimy*, compiled and edited by W. W. Murray (Ottawa: The Legionary, 1936) 100.

⁸⁷ Notice issued by the Administration des Postes de France, "Unveiling of the Canadian Memorial at Vimy," Lille, July 25th, 1936, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19900166-019, call number 58A1 100.11.

⁸⁸ Notice issued by the Administration des Postes de France, "Unveiling of the Canadian Memorial at Vimy," Lille, July 25th, 1936, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19900166-019, call number 58A1 100.11.

⁸⁹ Arnold du Toit Bottomley, "Account of the Vimy Pilgrimage," 4-5, LAC, MG 30, series 137-140, file E137.

⁹⁰ As a sampling, see: David Pierce Beatty, *The Vimy Pilgrimage July 1936: From the Diary of Florence Murdock, Amherst, Nova Scotia* (Amherst, Nova Scotia: Acadian Printing, 1987); R. Warrior, "Impressions of the Vimy Pilgrimage," typescript (January 23, 1937), CWM, REF PAM D 665 C2 W37 1937; Arnold du Toit Bottomley, "Account of the Vimy Pilgrimage," LAC, MG 30, series 137-140, file E137; and L/Cpl. A. T. Kemp's short-hand notes on the Vimy Pilgrimage, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19900166-021, call number 58A1 100.12.

⁹¹ Order Form, "Vimy Pilgrimage Souvenir Book," *The Legionary* XII. 1 (August 1936): 30; ["The Epic of Vimy,"], editorial, *The Legionary* XII.4 (November 1936): 17; and Order Form, "The Epic of Vimy-Second Edition," *The Legionary* XII.5 (December 1936): 21.

⁹² "Vimy & Battlefields Pilgrimage Account: Balance Sheet as at January 9th, 1937," CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19830596-014, call number 58A1 22.3 and Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League, *Report of the Dominion President Brig.-General Alex Ross, K. C., C. M. G., D. S. O., V. D., A. D. C., Seventh Dominion Convention, January 31st-February 3rd, 1938, Fort William, Canada*, 31-32, LAC, MG 28, series I298, vol. 75, file: Dom. Covenants (7th) 1938.

⁹³ The 1937 Vimy reunion pilgrimage, organized by the Canadian Legion, was squarely aimed at "its own members and for those whose loved ones rest in 'Flanders Fields,'" although individuals who were not, like the above-mentioned, eligible for the discounted ocean-passage fare could still join as participants.

Moreover, unlike the 1936 pilgrimage, pilgrims would be lodged in hotels, not billets, and neither the Belgian nor the French governments were foreseen to receive these pilgrims with the same level of generosity as the previous year. "The Legion Pilgrimage, 1937," *The Legionary* XII.8 (March 1937): 14 and "The Vimy Reunion, *The Legionary* XII.10 (May 1937): 14.

⁹⁴ Lloyd 207.

⁹⁵ Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 15-18; Emma Hanna, "A small screen alternative to stone and bronze: The Great War series and British television," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 10 (February 2007): 91, 95; Dan Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005) 192-194, 196-197, 199-200; "And We Were Young: A Remembrance Day Special," LAC, MG 31, tile Q2-38376, series G19, vol. 5, file CBC script "And we were young;" and

Armistice Day Special article [title is obscured], *CBC Times* 21.20 (November 9-15, 1968): 2-3, LAC, MG 31, title Q2-38376, series G19, vol. 5, file CBC script "And we were young."

⁹⁶ H. K. Goodyear, "Report to the Canadian Legion, Grand Falls Branch, on my trip to Beaumont Hamel, France," 4, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 638, folder 1.

⁹⁷ "The Royal Newfoundland Regiment: Beaumont-Hamel," *The Thistle* (November 1961): 183-184, LAC, MG 31, title Q2-38376, vol. 1, series G19, file 1960-63 and H. K. Goodyear, "Report to the Canadian Legion, Grand Falls Branch, on my trip to Beaumont Hamel, France," 1, 3-7, The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), MG 638, folder 1.

⁹⁸ 10 February 1967 letter to the Commanding Officer, The Queen's York Rangers, from Paul Pelletier, 1-2; 28 February 1967 letter to W. E. Taylor from Malcolm Montgomery; 6 March 1967 letter to Lt.-Col. M. Montgomery from W. E. Taylor; 19 April 1967 letter to W. Taylor from W. Strojich for G. S. Way; 25 April 1967 letter to Roger Teillet from W. E. Taylor, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20020059-022, call number 58A1 204.12; and *The Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, 1917-1967: Order of Ceremony at the National War Memorial at Ottawa 9th April 1967 at 3:00 P. M.*, CWM library REF PAM D 680.C2 C2 C6 1967.

⁹⁹ *Program of Events Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the World War I Armistice: Ottawa and Overseas, November 1968*, CWM library REF PAM D 680 C2 P7 1968; Georges Côté, "Pilgrimage of World War I Veterans to the Battlefields and Burial Grounds on the 50th Anniversary of the Armistice 1918-1968," English trans. Georges Abel, typescript, 10 December 1970, 1-2, 5, 7, 9, 12-13, 15-32, 37, 40-43, and 47-51, CWM Library D 680.C2 C2 C613 1968; and Brig. J. L. Melville, "Overseas Events," *Reports of the Events, Ottawa and Overseas: November 1968: Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the World War I Armistice* (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs, January 1969) 1-15. CWM Library, REF PAM D 680 C2 R4 1968.

¹⁰⁰ Preferably, the nominated veterans would have participated in the Battle of Vimy Ridge from 9-14[sic] April 1917 or, if this criterion could not be met, had seen service in the Vimy sector from November 1916 to April 1917. The Canadian Legion and the National Council of Veterans Associations in Canada would nominate, respectively, eighteen and six veterans each. 24 January 1977 letter to J. E. A. J. Lamy from John C. Maydew, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19830286-001 ARCH, Vimy Ridge 60th, 1977 and *The Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge 1917-1977: Order of Ceremony at the Canadian National Memorial, Vimy-France 9th April 1977*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20020059-023, call number 58A1 204.13.

¹⁰¹ The eight memorials, besides that of Vimy, visited were: St. Julian, Passchendaele, Hill 62, Le Quesnel, Beaumont-Hamel, Courcellette, Bournon Wood, and Dury. E. C. Scott for B. B. Hart, "List of Wreaths for Vimy Pilgrimage," 17 February 1977, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19830286-001 ARCH., Vimy Ridge 60th, 1977.

¹⁰² E. C. Scott for B. B. Hart, "List of Wreaths for Vimy Pilgrimage," 17 February 1977 and form letter to Dear Sir from J. M. Ruttan, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19830286-001 ARCH., Vimy Ridge 60th, 1977. The survivors' contingent of the pilgrimage were instructed that "Dress for all occasions will be blazer and grey flannels and beret, or dark lounge suit," lending a uniformity of appearance to this typical example of what Edensor has called a disciplined collective mode of tourist performance. As with the 1967 Vimy pilgrimage, the 1917 battle survivors who attended the 1977 Vimy pilgrimage were likewise issued souvenir passports. Form letter to Dear Sir from J. M. Ruttan; "Pro Forma-60th Anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge: Survivors Contingent"; "60th Anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge: Administrative Instruction," CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19830286-001 ARCH, Vimy Ridge 60th, 1977; and 31 March 1977, "60th Anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge-9 Apr 77: Plan for the Commemorative Ceremony at the Canadian National Memorial, Vimy, France, 1100 hrs Sat 9 Apr 77," George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20020059-023, call number 58A1 204.13.

¹⁰³ Private John McArthur's remains (jawbone, arm, ribcage, vertebrae, and a foot) and his personal effects, as well as another set of remains (a pair of boots and some feet bones) located six metres away, were found 10 July 1998 near Courcellette. These were immediately identified as his, owing to the preservation of his name tag, which bore a legible service number: 101009. Private McArthur served with the 31st Battalion, Canadian Infantry, of the Alberta Regiment. The CWGC's records indicate his death occurred on 27 September 1916. As one of the (then) missing, his name was engraved upon the Vimy memorial. The CWGC recommended Private McArthur be re-interred in Adanac Military Cemetery, Plot I J38, as it was

the nearest one to where his remains were found. Moreover, Adanac Military Cemetery already contained the graves of four men from McArthur's regiment, all of whom were killed in action on the same day. M.S. Johnson, "Report on Discovery of Remains-Courcellette, 23 July 1998" [Commonwealth War Graves Commission, France Area, Beaurains]; 23 July 1998 Commonwealth War Graves Commission Casualty Details: Private John McArthur; 5 August 1998 letter to Steve Austin from Mike [Johnson], Commonwealth War Graves Commission, France Area, Beaurains; 8/10/98 email to JZARECKY from Dan Wheeldon, Subject: Burial-Private John McArthur, VAC Charlottetown, file 2570-98-1, volume 1, 80th Ann. of the End of the First World War-Planning; and CWGC, "Casualty Details," http://www.cwgc.org/search/casualty_details.aspx?casualty=1570821 (accessed 28/04/2010).

John Zarecky, "Briefing Note," 2 September 1998; "Tentative Schedule: Pilgrimage for the 80th Anniversary of the End of the First World War," 3 September 1998; "Media Advisory for Commemoration of End of First World War in Mons and Ypres, Belgium on November 11, 1998"; "Media Advisory: First World War Veterans Return to Battle Sites," 9 October 1998; "First World War Veterans-80th Anniversary Pilgrimage," VAC Charlottetown, file: 2570-98-1, volume 2, 80th Ann. of the End of the First World War-Planning; "80th Anniversary of the End of the First World War: Delegation Members," 29 October 1998, VAC Charlottetown, file: 2570-98-3, Volume 1, 80th Ann. of the End of the First World War-Official Delegation; Press Release, "First World War Veterans Depart for Armistice Ceremonies," 4 November 1998, VAC Charlottetown, File: 2570-98-7, 80th Ann. of the End of the First World War-Media.

¹⁰⁴ Small-scale pilgrimages to Villers-Bretonneux, initiated and arranged by Australian veterans, the RSL, and the military, were conducted between the 1950s and 1980s. On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the battle, a pilgrimage to Villers-Bretonneux, as well as other Australian and Allied Great War sites and memorials, was organized by the Regimental Council of the Royal Victoria Regiment and included, in its contingent of 70 participants, two Great War veterans. Allan Blankfield and Robin S. Corfield, *Never Forget Australia: Australia and Villers-Bretonneux 1918-1993* (Melbourne: The Villers-Bretonneux 75th Anniversary Pilgrimage Project Committee, 1993) 119, 123, 125, 129, 139, 169, 199.

¹⁰⁵ Alan Griffin, media release, "\$10 million for Anzac Trail on Western Front," Veterans' Affairs 24 April 2009, http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:w_tOf_s9HDMJ:minister.dva.gov.au/medi... (accessed 28/04/2010).

¹⁰⁶ Alan Griffin, media release, "\$10 million for Anzac Trail on Western Front," Veterans' Affairs 24 April 2009, http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:w_tOf_s9HDMJ:minister.dva.gov.au/medi... (accessed 28/04/2010).

¹⁰⁷ The Anzac Trail supplants the project planned by the Howard government to construct, for three times the cost, a First World War Australian interpretive centre close to the Villers-Bretonneux memorial. Mark Day, "Anzac War trail to be built in Somme in northern France," *The Australian*, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/anzac-war-trail-to-be-built-in-somme/story-e6frg8yo-1225702273381> (accessed 28/04/2010) and Alan Griffin, media release, "\$10 million for Anzac Trail on Western Front," Veterans' Affairs 24 April 2009, http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:w_tOf_s9HDMJ:minister.dva.gov.au/medi... (accessed 28/04/2010).

¹⁰⁸ In consulting with numerous veterans' organizations regarding their new pilgrimage model, VAC made these affirmations: (1) "Continue to mark significant anniversaries abroad;" (2) "Veterans must continue to participate and have a prominent role in educating youth and educators;" (3) "Provide more opportunities to educate youth in Canada's military history;" (4) "Involve Canadian Forces members and veterans;" (5) "Facilitate youth and educators' organizations to participate in remembrance activities abroad;" (6) "Further engage communities in Canada;" and (7) "Continue to work with veterans' organizations in the planning of events." Veterans Affairs Canada, "Consultation with Veterans' Organizations- Key Messages," New Pilgrimage Model, March 2006, 1, VAC Charlottetown, 90th Anniversary of the Battles of the Somme and Beaumont-Hamel, June 26-July 5, 2006, Vol. 1.

¹⁰⁹ No Great War veterans were able to participate in this pilgrimage. Second World War veterans, as well as Canadian Forces veterans, however, were both invited to join the VAC delegation, the latter group for the very first time in the Department's pilgrimage history. All told, the VAC delegation was to include six Canadian war veterans and six Canadian Forces veterans. Veterans Affairs Canada, "Commemoration of Anniversaries," New Pilgrimage Model, March 2006, 3; "Briefing Note for the Minister of Veterans Affairs," 4, attached to a 22 March 2006 memorandum for the Minister of Veterans Affairs from Jack Stagg; and "Guide for Selection of Veterans: 90th Anniversary of the Battles of the Somme and Beaumont-

Hamel,” VAC Charlottetown, 90th Anniversary of the Battles of the Somme and Beaumont-Hamel, June 26-July 5, 2006, Vol. 1.

¹¹⁰ The Canadian Battlefield Memorials Restoration Project, costing thirty million dollars, was launched in May 2001. All thirteen of Canada’s First World War memorials in France and Belgium would be restored under this initiative led by Veterans Affairs Canada in partnership with Public Works and Government Services Canada, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, and other bodies. Veterans Affairs Canada, “Backgrounder: Canadian Battlefield Memorials Project,” 1-2, VAC Charlottetown and Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canadian Battlefield Memorials Restoration Project: First World War Memorials,” <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=memorials/cbmr> (accessed 29/04/2010). For a full account of the restoration of the Vimy memorial, the most complex of this entire project, see; Julian Smith, “Restoring Vimy: The Challenges of Confronting Emerging Modernism,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 33.1 (2008): 49-56.

¹¹¹ CBC television and radio coverage of the rededication of the Vimy memorial, as well as other Vimy-related programming, was broadcast over the course of 6, 8 and 9 April 2007. The CBC’s *The Great War* series and its companion special, *The Great War Experience*, were rebroadcast the next weekend on the evenings of 14-15 April. Stephen Cole, “Birth of a Nation: Brian McKenna revisits Vimy and Passchendaele in The Great War,” *CBC Arts/TV*, April 5, 2007, <http://www.cbc.ca/arts/tv/birthofanation.html> (accessed 08/04/2007); CBC News In Depth, “Vimy Ridge Remembered: 90th Anniversary Special Coverage. Commemorating the Battle on Television,” April 9, 2007, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/vimy/tv.html> (accessed 10/06/2010); CBC News In Depth, “Vimy Ridge Remembered: 90th Anniversary Special Coverage. Commemorating the Battle on Radio,” March 30, 2007, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/vimy/radio.html> (accessed 10/06/2010); and Alex Strachan, “Fine Tuning: Today and Tomorrow,” *Gazette [Montreal]* 7 April 2007. Major Canadian newspapers such as the *Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, the *Gazette [Montreal]*, and the *Ottawa Citizen* all reported upon the rededication of the memorial, as well as published, preceding the event, numerous stories of interest relating to that occasion and the First World War. For the memorial’s rededication, see: Tony Atherton, “A nation’s pride restored,” *Ottawa Citizen* 10 Apr. 2007: A1, 4; Tony Atherton, “Our young people march again at Vimy, bearing memories, not arms,” *Gazette [Montreal]* 10 Apr. 2007: A1, 3 [This is a shortened version of the Atherton article that appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen* on this day.]; Alan Freeman and Doug Saunders, “Queen, French leader echo PM’s link to Vimy,” *Globe and Mail* 10 Apr. 2007: A1, 4; and Tony Atherton, “‘A Proud Nation’ is Honoured,” *National Post* 10 Apr. 2007: A4 [This Atherton article is identical to the one that ran on this day in the *Ottawa Citizen*.] For a sampling of Vimy-related coverage leading up to the memorial’s rededication, see: Murray Campbell, “Top honour now cast in Canada: Homegrown Victoria Cross to be presented for the first time at Vimy ceremony, sources say,” *Globe and Mail* 3 Mar. 2007: A1, 7; Katherine Harding, “DNA solves mystery of Vimy Ridge soldier: Family to bid farewell in France,” *Globe and Mail* 22 Mar. 2007: A1, 7; Christopher Hume, “Vimy’s Monumental Artist,” *Toronto Star* 1 Apr. 2007: A8-9; Mary Vallis, “It took DNA to identify Canadian private who died in 1917: Soldier will finally be laid to rest,” *National Post* 2 Apr. 2007: A3; Chris Wattie, “Teacher hopes to bring piece of history to Canada: Thousands of teens will travel to France as memorial unveiled,” *National Post* 2 Apr. 2007: A3; Brenda Branswell, “Canada’s most storied war victory to come alive for Quebec students,” *Gazette [Montreal]* 3 Apr. 2007: A1, 4; Richard Foot, “A memorial like no other,” *Ottawa Citizen* 3 Apr. 2007: A1-2; Richard Foot, “Requiem for a national treasure,” *Ottawa Citizen* 4 Apr. 2007: A6-7; Jill Mahoney, “A first-hand look at their ancestors’ fight,” *Globe and Mail* 5 Apr. 2007: A1, 5; Timothy Appleby, “Two surviving vets can’t attend: Trip to France for ceremonies too arduous for former Canadian soldiers,” *Globe and Mail* 7 Apr. 2007: A7; Tony Atherton, “Finding Vimy amid the hype,” *Ottawa Citizen* 7 Apr. 2007: B1-2; Chris Wattie, “Hell Crept Up,” *National Post* 7 Apr. 2007: A14-17; Michael Valpy, “The Making of a Myth,” *Globe and Mail* 7 Apr. 2007: F4; Michael Valpy, Setting Legend in Stone,” *Globe and Mail* 7 Apr. 2007: F5; Alan Freeman, “‘Our hearts ache for them,’ PM says,” *Globe and Mail* 9 Apr. 2007: A1, 7; and Doug Saunders, “Gas, guns and even corpses still lie in fields around Vimy,” *Globe and Mail* 9 Apr. 2007: A7.

¹¹² The commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge in Canada encompassed both Ottawa and regional functions. The Ottawa events, scheduled for 4-14 April, included cultural, commemorative, and conference proceedings. For example, on 5 April, the embarkation day of the VAC contingent for France, an unveiling ceremony of the Royal Canadian Mint’s commemorative Vimy coin, part of its National War Memorials series, was performed at the Canadian War Museum. The designated

first two recipients of the coin were Canada's two remaining First World War veterans, Dwight Wilson and John Babcock, although neither man would be in attendance at the unveiling ceremony. Other recipients of the coin, however, would be present that afternoon. They were: Scott Allward, grandson of Walter Seymour Allward, and Don White, an Alberta veteran, who would accept the coin for the family of Charlotte Wood, Canada's first Silver Cross mother and a participant in the 1936 Canadian Legion Vimy pilgrimage. The great-grandson of Charlotte Wood, David McCarthy, resident in England, would be joining the VAC pilgrimage contingent as the family's representative; however, at its conclusion, the Vimy coin issued to the Wood family, officials desiring that it remain in Canada, would be given to a family relative resident in Alberta.

Across Canada, the regional branches of VAC's *Canada Remembers* division contacted stakeholders and partners in its programming, as well as provincial government officials, with the offer and the encouragement to mount, in their communities and centres, commemorative functions.

A variety of pedagogic materials for public distribution were also produced, including a *Reflections of Vimy Journal* that included a set of six Vimy-related postcards. Presumably, these postcards, which reproduce archival wartime photographs (none of actual battle) and a contemporary photograph of the memorial, were primarily intended for the pilgrimage participants as souvenirs and spaces for ruminations. As part of the VAC website, a new "Vimy web feature" was introduced on 11 December [2006]. "Wreath Laying and Ceremony of Remembrance for the 90th Anniversary of the Battle for Vimy Ridge at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the National War Memorial;" 1-5; "Overview of Vimy in Canada," 1-2; 27 March 2007 draft, "Departure Event, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, Ontario, April 5, 2007," 1-2; Draft, "Notes for Remarks, The Honourable Greg Thompson, Minister of Veterans Affairs, at a Departure Reception for the Canadian Delegation Vimy 2007, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa ON, April 5, 2007," 3, VAC Charlottetown; and *Reflections of Vimy*, journal and postcard set (Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, represented by the Minister of Veterans Affairs, 2007).

¹¹³ Public Works and Government Services Canada, "PWGSC to commemorate 90th Anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge," 5 April 2007, <http://www.tpsgc-pwgsc.gc.ca/medias-media/af-fa/2007-04-05-eng.html> (accessed 09/13/2010); "Vimy ceremony 'etched in light' to honour dead. The National War Memorial will be the scene of a unique and emotional nighttime vigil starting at sunset on Easter Sunday," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 March 2007, <http://www.canada.com/ottawacitizen/news/story.html?id=2f885bb3-7fb1-4e9f-92b3-29022f3228d6&k=14939> (accessed 09/13/2010); VAC, "April 8, 2007-Ottawa Vigil," http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=feature/vimy90/regional/04_region_photo (accessed 09/13/2010); Katie Lewis, "Overnight Ottawa vigil honours veterans," *National Post* 9 Apr. 2007: A6; and Thulasi Srikanthan, "Bringing them home on a beam of light. Illuminated vigil shines on Canada's First World War dead," *Ottawa Citizen* 4 Nov. 2008: C1. In 2008, Thomson and Conboy mounted, with the aid and generous financial assistance of Veterans Affairs Canada, who contributed \$340,000, a coordinated, trans-Atlantic *Vigile 1914-1918 Vigil* to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the signing of the Armistice. Beginning at sundown 4 November, and each successive night until sunrise 11 November, the names of the 68,000 Canadian Great War dead were projected, at eight-second intervals, upon the National War Memorial, as well as Canada House, Trafalgar Square. The cities of Fredericton, Halifax, Toronto, Regina, and Edmonton also participated in this vigil, the expense of which, however, was defrayed by city and private sector funding. Peter O'Neil, "Queen to appear at London launch of Canadian war vigil," *Ottawa Citizen* 28 Oct. 2008: A3; Thulasi Srikanthan, "Unique vigil honours First World War fallen," *Ottawa Citizen* 18 Sept. 2008; and Thulasi Srikanthan, "Bringing them home on a beam of light. Illuminated vigil shines on Canada's First World War dead," *Ottawa Citizen* 4 Nov. 2008: C1 and C3; and *Vigile 1914-1918 Vigil*, "1914-1918 Vigil," <http://www.1914-1918.ca/vigil.aspx> (accessed 09/13/2010).

¹¹⁴ Sandra M. Gilbert, *Death's Door: Modern Dying and the Ways We Grieve* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006) 288.

¹¹⁵ Gilbert 287-288.

¹¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu quoted in Hanne M. de Bruin, "Naming a Theatre in Tamil Nadu," *Asian Theatre Journal* 17.1 (Spring 2000): 110.

¹¹⁷ Krzysztof Wodiczko is Professor Emeritus, Program in Art, Culture and Technology (ACT), at the Massachusetts Institute of technology (MIT). See: http://visualarts.mit.edu/people/faculty/faculty_wodiczko.html (accessed 1/2/2011).

¹¹⁸ Krzysztof Wodiczko, "Krzysztof Wodiczko/Public Projections," *October* 38 (Autumn 1986): 4, 6, 8, 10; Krzysztof Wodiczko, "Projections," *Perspecta* 26 (1990, *Special Issue: Theater, Theatricality, and*

Architecture): 273, 275-276, 281, 284; and Patricia C. Phillips, "Creating Democracy: A Dialogue with Krzysztof Wodiczko," *Art Journal* 62.4 (Winter 2003): 36-38. Wodiczko gives this explanation of his projections: "The aim of the memorial projection is not to 'bring life to' or 'enliven' the memorial nor support the happy, uncritical, bureaucratic 'socialization' of its site, but to reveal and expose to the public the contemporary deadly life of the memorial. The strategy of the memorial projection is to attack the memorial by surprise, using slide warfare, or to take part in and infiltrate the official cultural programs taking place on its site." Krzysztof Wodiczko, "Krzysztof Wodiczko/ Public Projections," *October* 38 (Autumn 1986): 10.

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Fowlie, "Roadside Bomb: Two are wounded as our troops suffer their worst day in Afghanistan," *Gazette* [Montreal] 9 Apr. 2007: A1-A2 (the same article appeared in the *National Post* that day under the title of "Bomb Kills 6 Canadians: One soldier also hurt in roadside explosion," section A1 and A8); Graeme Smith, "Ninety years after the Battle of Vimy Ridge, the army endures another grim Easter: Death of six Canadians shatters Afghan calm," *Globe and Mail* 9 Apr. 2007: A1, A6; and Rosie DiManno, "6 Canadians killed: Past, present collide in blood," *Toronto Star* 9 Apr. 2007: A1, A6.

¹²⁰ "From Vimy to Afghanistan," editorial, *National Post* 9 Apr. 2007: A10.

¹²¹ "Why it's important to reflect on Vimy Ridge," editorial, *Globe and Mail* 9 Apr. 2007: A12.

¹²² Allan Freeman, "'Our hearts ache for them,' PM says," *Globe and Mail* 9 Apr. 2007: A1, A7.

¹²³ Allan Freeman and Doug Saunders, "Queen, French leader echo PM's link to Vimy," *Globe and Mail* 10 Apr. 2007: A1, A4.

¹²⁴ Alan Freeman, "'Our hearts ache for them,' PM says," *Globe and Mail* 9 Apr. 2007: A1, A7 and Alan Freeman and Doug Saunders, "Queen, French leader echo PM's link to Vimy," *Globe and Mail* 10 Apr. 2007: A1, A4.

¹²⁵ Chris Lackner, "Afghan war will never achieve Vimy's status, Canadians say," *Ottawa Citizen* 7 Apr. 2007: A1-A2.

¹²⁶ Peterson's and a second Canadian soldier's remains were discovered in the course of the construction of a gas pipeline just south of Avion in 2003. His identity was finally established in 2006 by DNA testing performed at Lakehead University's Paleo-DNA laboratory, following a combined research effort, spearheaded by the Department of National Defence, which marshalled the investigative resources of anthropologists, genealogists, and military historians. Peterson's nephew, Herbert Peterson, provided the DNA sample that confirmed the familial link between him and the found remains. Katherine Harding, "Family to bid farewell in France," *Globe and Mail* 22 Mar. 2007: A1 and A7; Mary Vallis, "Soldier will finally be laid to rest," *National Post* 2 Apr. 2007: A3; and Frederic Lepinay, "Final tribute to a fallen soldier: Canadian killed in WWI only recently named," *Toronto Star* 8 Apr. 2007: A2. On 15 March 2011, the second soldier's remains, finally (10 January 2011) identified as those of Private Thomas Lawless, were reinterred in La Chaudière Military Cemetery. "WWI casualty buried in Vimy: Alberta Soldier," *National Post* 16 Mar. 2011: A13.

¹²⁷ The service for, and the interment of, Private Peterson was attended by his nephew, Herbert Arthur Peterson, and his niece, Doreen Bargholz, as well as her husband and nephew. Katherine Harding, "Family to bid farewell in France," *Globe and Mail* 22 March 2007: A1 and A7; Mary Vallis, "Soldier will finally be laid to rest," *National Post* 2 April 2007: A3; Bruce Champion-Smith, "Soldier's funeral among key events," *Toronto Star* 7 April 2007: A10; Randy Boswell, "Remains of three more soldiers discovered," *Ottawa Citizen* 7 April 2007: A10; Frederic Lepinay, "Final tribute to a fallen soldier: Canadian killed in WWI only recently named," *Toronto Star* 8 April 2007: A2; 4 April 2007 Draft, "Religious Service, Pte. Herbert Peterson, Chapelle Saint Louis, La Citadelle, Arras, France, April 07, 2007," 1-4; Biography, "Private Herbert Peterson, Canadian Infantry (Alberta Regiment), 49th Battalion;" and 7 April 2007, *News Release: Canadian First World War Soldier Buried with Full Military Honours*, VAC Charlottetown.

¹²⁸ 6 April 2007 Draft, "Vimy en lumières Lighting Presentation, Vimy Memorial, April 7, 2007," 2, VAC Charlottetown.

¹²⁹ 6 April 2007 Draft, "Sunset Ceremony, April 7, 2007, 1-3; 6 April 2007 Draft, "Vimy en lumières Lighting Presentation, Vimy Memorial, April 7, 2007," 1-4; and 26 March 2007 Draft, "Freedom of the City, Arras, France, April 8, 2007," 1-3, VAC Charlottetown.

¹³⁰ Lawrence Martin, "As a country at war, we're in the mood for Vimy," *Globe and Mail* 5 Apr. 2007: A17; Michael Byers, "Let's work to prevent another 'accidental war'," *Toronto Star* 9 Apr. 2007: A13; and Michael D. Wallace, "The enduring mythology of Vimy," *Toronto Star* 9 Apr. 2007: A13.

¹³¹ Excerpt of Queen's speech, delivered on 9 April 2007 at the rededication of the Vimy memorial, and reproduced in Tony Atherton, "'A Proud Nation' is Honoured: 20,000 witness Queen rededicate Vimy Memorial," *National Post* 10 April 2007: A4. The Afghanistan reference, journalists Alan Freeman and Doug Saunders observe, was a spontaneous insertion, as it was not included in the text of the Queen's speech given to the press. Alan Freeman and Doug Saunders, "Queen, French leader echo PM's link to Vimy," *Globe and Mail* 10 April 2007: A1 and A4; and Draft 2, "Notes for an Address, Her Majesty the Queen, Dedication of the Newly Restored Canadian National Vimy Memorial, Vimy, France, April 9, 2007," VAC Charlottetown.

¹³² Draft, "Commemoration Ceremony, 90th Anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge and the Dedication of the Restored Canadian National Vimy Memorial, Vimy France, April 9, 2007," 1-6, VAC Charlottetown; Tony Atherton, "'A Proud Nation' is Honoured: 20,000 witness Queen rededicate Vimy Memorial," *National Post* 10 April 2007: A4; and Alan Freeman and Doug Saunders, "Queen, French leader echo PM's link to Vimy," *Globe and Mail* 10 April 2007: A1 and A4.

¹³³ CBC News, "Canada's last WWI veteran dies: John Babcock's death at 109 marks 'end of an era,'" <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2010/02/18/war-veteran018.html> (accessed 09/14/2010).

Chapter Four

What Remains: Repatriating and Entombing the Australian and Canadian Unknown Soldiers of the Great War in Canberra and Ottawa

In this chapter, I revisit Owen Dwyer's concept of allied accretion, which I elucidated in the Introduction. I shall argue that this is exemplified by the recent transformation of two existing memorial sites, the Australian War Memorial's Hall of Memory and Ottawa's National War Memorial, into sepulchral spaces that simultaneously commemorate *and* concretize war losses in the service of nationhood. Specifically, in 1993 and 2000 the respective remains of an Australian and a Canadian unknown soldier of the Great War were repatriated and then entombed in each nation's capital, a process that equally encompassed the ritual and eulogistic 'nationalization' of these two long-dead 1914-1918 servicemen. Their anonymity, of course, is precisely what imparts to these Tombs of the Unknown Soldier, "saturated with ghostly *national* imaginings,"¹ in Benedict Anderson's memorable phrase, their potent symbolic power.

The power invested in these anonymous remains to symbolize both the individual² and collective First World War dead hinges conceptually upon their guarded secret identity. A mystery, by definition, demands its solution. However, in these instances it must not be solved. Indeed, its solving has been outright prohibited by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC).³ For to reveal the identity of these remains would be to completely collapse their *claiming* power upon the living: the captivating force to viscerally conjure up, capture in the mind, and physically confirm for the beholder the "separation of the dead from their very name and history"⁴ that characterizes this distinctly twentieth-century species of national war commemoration.⁵ So has argued Michael Naas in the context of the American Tomb of the Unknown

Soldier of the Vietnam War (Arlington National Cemetery).⁶ These tombs' claiming power upon populations engaged in war remembrance, Naas notes, resides in the anonymity of their contents, which must be safeguarded. Only then can "these bones without a proper name, remain — an unidentifiable spectre that haunts our collective mourning and, by resisting our knowledge and our narratives, makes it interminable."⁷

And so the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's proscription is doubly beholden to the law and logic of the *secret*, which philosopher Tzvetan Todorov has usefully defined: "If it had been named, it would no longer have existed, for it is precisely its existence which constitutes the secret. This secret is by definition inviolable, for it consists in its own existence."⁸ Hence, to name the remains within these tombs would be to annul their secret value, speculative and surrogate. The exceptional, essential, and enforced unknowability of these remains, to be sure, necessarily lies in stark contrast to the robust efforts otherwise made by the Canadian and Australian governments, with the endorsement of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, to identify and have reburied, in the appropriate war cemeteries, the remains of Great War soldiers wherever and whenever they are found.⁹ The most recent such effort, by way of example, is the Fromelles project.

The Fromelles project is a joint forensic, anthropological, and archaeological venture between the Australian Army and the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence¹⁰ to establish the identities of the 250 Australian and British soldiers¹¹ whose remains were discovered in May 2008 in German-dug (1916) mass graves at Pheasant Wood, Fromelles, France. To this end, an online register has been established for relatives of Australian Imperial Force (AIF) soldiers killed in the Battle of Fromelles: men whose

deaths were recorded as having occurred on 19 and 20 July 1916 but whose graves are unknown. Relatives of these soldiers are invited to submit their names as candidates for DNA testing. A separate such register has been created for the relatives of the British Fromelles dead without a known grave. On 6 November 2009 both the Australian and British administrators of this project released new “priority lists”¹² of servicemen whose remains may have been discovered at Pheasant Wood but for whom no descendants had yet come forth to register their names as potential candidates for DNA testing.¹³ Meanwhile, a new CWGC cemetery, the Fromelles (Pheasant Wood) Military Cemetery, was constructed for the re-interment, with full military honours, of these remains. It was officially dedicated by the Australian Governor-General, Quentin Bryce, and the Prince of Wales on 19 July 2010, the 94th anniversary of the battle.¹⁴

The re-interment of 249 sets of remains began on 30 January 2010, and continued through February. On 17 March, Greg Combet and Alan Griffin, the Australian Ministers for Defence Personnel and Veterans’ Affairs, together announced, after the Joint Identification Board had delivered the initial results of the DNA analyses, that 203 of the 250 sets of soldiers’ remains recovered at Pheasant Wood were certifiably Australian, with 75 of these men identifiable by name. As of 7 May, the identities of another 19 Australians from these sets of remains had been confirmed. Days before the cemetery’s inauguration, an exceptional Joint Identification Board was convened on 5 July to examine just-obtained DNA evidence, resulting in the positive identification of two more of the Australian soldiers, 96 of whom had now been reclaimed from their former anonymity. Additional identification boards will be held in the coming years, the next one occurring in March 2011, with the process terminating in 2014. On the occasion of

the cemetery's inauguration, the last set of remains, that of the 250th soldier, were re-interred as part of the commemorative proceedings. Thereafter, a private ceremony for the relatives of the identified soldiers was conducted to dedicate their graves.

Accordingly, the names of these just-identified soldiers will be removed from the relevant memorial to the missing, be this at VC Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial, Fromelles (where the memorial there records the 1299 AIF soldiers killed in the battle of Fromelles whose graves are unknown),¹⁵ or at Villers-Bretonneux National Memorial.¹⁶

4.0. The Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier, Canberra

Tombs of unknown soldiers operate and have their psychological and emotional effectiveness in a way utterly foreign to that of phenomena such as the Fromelles project. Fundamentally, it is the guarded anonymity of the remains they contain that imbues these sepulchres with their dual yet paradoxical signification as both the grave of someone's son and that of a national son. The capital entombment of a distinct, if unknowable, male body killed in war thus commemorates, as well as universalizes, a specific death, and, in so doing, symbolically casts the unknown soldier as a metonym for the (masculine) body politic. Whatever the historical specificity of the anonymous remains, their symbolic value as the embodiment of war sacrifice on behalf of the nation is constant, irrespective of additional, and always mutable, investments with contemporary meaning. Thus, when a Canberra tomb of the unknown soldier was first proposed in 1920, grief for the Great War dead was raw, and the domestic reburial of an anonymous Australian Imperial Force serviceman in the nation's capital would certainly have served as a surrogate gravesite for Australians mourning their war dead buried or missing abroad. In 1993, that grief was

surprisingly undiminished by the passage of seven decades, at least for the children of the fallen, and was clearly in evidence when an unknown Australian serviceman of the Great War was finally entombed in Canberra.¹⁷ These anonymous 1914-1918 soldier's remains, which, of course, were chosen for their historical association with Villers-Bretonneux and, hence, historicised, were nonetheless also symbolically situated within a continuum of Australian war sacrifice, whilst their entombment was couched as a culminating point in the nation's history of martial commemoration. Then as now, the affective quality of a tomb of an unknown Australian soldier, as well as its symbolic value as a fixture within the nation's commemorative culture and its imagination, were recognized by its proponents. The history of its eventual realization, too, reveals the politically fraught nature of this memorial enterprise.

On 9 November 1920, the virtual eve of the entombment of Britain's Unknown Warrior of the First World War in Westminster Abbey, the Australian press announced that the federal government would consider repatriating an unknown AIF soldier for reburial in Canberra. Hugh McIntosh, the president of the British Empire Service League, was the architect of this proposal, which had received the endorsement of Alderman William Brooks, president of the Federal Capital League. Both men desired that an unknown soldier be removed from his existing grave in the former battle theatres of 1914-1918 and be re-interred in Canberra, which, as yet, had no national memorial to its Great War dead. The Australian War Memorial (AWM) was only officially opened on Armistice Day 1941, a full two decades later. George Pearce, Minister of Defence, had brought this initiative to the attention of Prime Minister William Hughes, who agreed to put this proposal to Cabinet. Pearce wrote to the prime minister on 11 November, the

second anniversary of the Armistice and the day of the burial of the Unknown Warrior in London, declaring his approval of the “sentiment”¹⁸ to return the body of an anonymous AIF serviceman for re-interment in the capital. That soldier’s grave, he opined, should be adjacent to that of General Bridges. Bridges was a commander of the AIF. He had died aboard the hospital ship *Gascon* in May 1915 of the wounds he had sustained at Gallipoli, and subsequently became the sole Australian killed in the Great War whose body was exhumed (in this case from its wartime grave in Alexandria, Egypt) and repatriated to Australia (September 1915) for a state funeral. Bridges was thereafter interred, at the behest of his widow, on the property of the Royal Military College, Duntroon, where he had served as the College’s first commandant.¹⁹

The proposal to re-inter an anonymous Australian Great War soldier in Canberra was put on the Cabinet agenda, only to be removed shortly thereafter in January of 1921. Despite this, the prospect of a Canberra Tomb of the Unknown Soldier did not perish, and in fact was pursued in communications between the industrialist C. J. Lane and the prime minister. Lane, having been “deeply impressed”²⁰ by the concurrent London and Paris entombments of Unknown Soldiers, had written the Prince of Wales to “beg Your Royal Highness to use your influence in having similar functions in each of the States of the Commonwealth, or one at Canberra.”²¹ The prince’s private secretary replied that, whilst the prince concurred with Lane about the merit of conducting one or more burial ceremonies in Australia, he believed it was not within his purview to recommend such action be taken by the Australian government. A year later, Lane informed Prime Minister Hughes of his communication to the Prince of Wales. Hughes’s private secretary responded to Lane, informing him that the prime minister gave his assurances that the

motion to rebury domestically an anonymous Australian soldier of 1914-1918 would be reviewed.²²

Indeed, Hughes promised in January 1922 that the issue would be brought before Cabinet, whose ministers, it was reported, supported the motion, as well as the idea of a Canberra location for the burial. Opinion, however, was polarized amongst both the public and different branches of the Returned Sailors and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA). Similarly, the choice of a site for the burial — Canberra, Melbourne, or Sydney — proved fractious. A frequent refrain emanating from those camps that opposed the idea was that the Unknown Warrior entombed in Westminster Abbey embodied all of the empire's Great War dead, as well as personified its common sense of spirit and sacrifice. John Treloar, the director of the Australian War Museum, had echoed this sentiment during his attendance at the 1921 New South Wales congress of the RSSILA.

However, as Ken Inglis has observed, Treloar's objection to the creation of a Canberra Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was probably less motivated by imperialist sentiment than his genuine concern that the installation of such a sepulchre in the capital would rob his institution of its *raison d'être*. Treloar privately admitted as much in early January 1922: "The big danger in my opinion is that if the proposal to bury an unknown warrior at Canberra be considered apart from the future of the AWM it may become the basis of the Commonwealth memorial. That would be disastrous to the future of the AWM."²³ Indeed, a briefing note prepared for the Australian War Museum Committee and containing talking points to be raised with the prime minister regarding the institution's development as the National War Museum recommended "that it would be

most appropriate and would surround the Museum with a fitting atmosphere of sanctity if this unknown warrior were laid at rest in a stately tomb at the entrance to the building, or in the centre of the main hall.”²⁴ Ultimately, neither a positive nor a negative consensus could be reached about the need for such a tomb or its location, and the idea was dropped by the government.²⁵

The idea was subsequently raised again, also to little effect, in 1926 and 1938. After the Second World War it was reviewed a third time, and was duly debated in July 1946 by the various state branches of the RSSILA. All of these, save for the Australian Capital Territory, South Australia, and New South Wales branches, rejected the proposal, again because the existing imperial shrine to the dead of 1914-1918, Westminster Abbey’s Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, already commemorated the empire’s fallen and should continue to do so exclusively.²⁶ In February 1947, the Minister of the Interior, H. V. Johnson, wrote the federal president of the RSSILA, Eric Millhouse, to inform him that the AWM’s board of management had also debated this motion and found it wanting, albeit not because of imperialist sentiment but rather with the view that the installation within its own confines of a tomb of an “Australian Unknown Warrior”²⁷ from the First World War would not fulfill its mandate to commemorate equally the Australian servicemen killed in *both* world wars:

The plans for the Australian War Memorial provide for a central feature known as the Hall of Memory. The Hall has been built but the interior treatment was delayed by the war and will, it is estimated, take five years to complete. The Hall of Memory is being developed as a cenotaph, that is, as a sepulchral monument to those who are buried elsewhere, and not as a mausoleum. It therefore stands for all Australians who have lost their lives through the wars which the memorial commemorates. In the designs care has been exercised to ensure the recognition of all three Services-Navy, Army, and Air Force.²⁸

Millhouse was in complete agreement with this position on the proposed development of the Hall of Memory as a cenotaph rather than a tomb. These commemorative designs eventually populated the AWM's Hall of Memory. Ironically, however, the resultant effect was that the designs failed to contribute coherently and cohesively, as critics and the AWM's administration alike have acknowledged since the mid-1980s, to this space's intended memorializing and meditative atmosphere, which catalyzed the AWM to install a Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier within its walls forty-six years later. The Hall of Memory, previously an admired, albeit affectively dead space, has been since 1993 the final resting place for the remains of one of the AIF's World War One dead and, moreover, clearly articulates its original conception, fundamental character, and function as a memorial milieu.²⁹

Opened in May 1959, the Hall of Memory constitutes the AWM's core commemorative space. It lies at the northern terminus of a garden court whose centre contains the Pool of Reflection, illuminated by the Eternal Flame. The eastern and western sides of the courtyard are walled and two storeys in elevation, with the upper level arcaded. The Roll of Honour, bronze panels engraved with the names of the Australian servicemen and women killed in nineteenth and twentieth-century wars, an alphabetical roster ordered according to service unit, runs the length of the second-storey stone cloisters (Fig. 79), the western gallery commemorating the Australian dead of the Great War and earlier conflicts, and the eastern gallery memorializing those killed in the Second World War and later conflicts. The Hall of Memory's interior is a soaring, domed space eighty feet in height that is windowed on three of its sides, the fourth terminating in an apse, not unlike a church. These unmistakable echoes of ecclesiastical architecture are

an attempt to imbue the Hall with a sacrosanct character. The Hall also boasts an array of commemorative design elements in mosaic, stained glass, and sculpture. The iconographic programme, representing the Australian armed services of both world wars, lauds their service and marks their losses. The trio of stained glass windows, conceived and realized by Napier Waller, a Great War veteran, contains fifteen personifications, one per glass panel, five panels per window, of the “marked qualities”³⁰ of the First World War AIF — resourcefulness, candour, curiosity, independence, comradeship, ancestry, patriotism, chivalry, loyalty, coolness, control, audacity, endurance, decision, and devotion. Fourteen of these characteristics (further subdivided under the rubrics of personal, social, and fighting qualities) are understood to be embodied by servicemen, and one, devotion, by a nursing sister.

The surface of the Hall’s dome and its pendentives, some 13,694 square feet, are covered with mosaics also designed by Waller. The iconography of the dome’s cupola is not overtly Christian, although it does employ indigenous and cosmic symbolism to chart the apotheosis of the souls of the war dead. The latter are represented by winged sarcophagi, released from their earthly tombs, ascending to a spiritual solar realm. The pendentive mosaics celebrate the service branches of the Second World War AIF, its navy, army, air force, and women’s services, with larger-than-life, heroic portrayals of a sailor, a soldier, a flying officer, and a servicewoman. Raymond Ewer’s colossal, if conventional, bronze sculpture of a soldier originally occupied the Hall’s apse, until it was moved to the AWM’s sculpture garden after being replaced in 1993 by Janet Lawrence’s abstract and enigmatic four pillars, one each of marble, metal, wood, and glass (Fig. 80).³¹ These totemic allusions to the four classical elements of earth, air, fire,

and water are also evocative of the forces of creation, destruction, cleansing and change, if not life and the afterlife. Expansive rather than prescriptive in meaning, the four pillars, which echo in number and verticality the four mosaic figures, were installed in time for the entombment of the Unknown Australian Soldier in November 1993. They thematically harmonize especially well with the cosmology of Waller's cupola mosaic.³²

Although resplendent, the mosaic, stained glass, and sculptural memorial features never cohered synthetically to impart to the Hall of Memory its intended air of hallowedness. In 1985 Ken Inglis provided this pithy assessment of the Hall's failure to conjure the appropriate reverential atmosphere for its visitors:

The disparate elements that have come to occupy the Hall of Memory — stained-glass windows, mosaic devices, and the bronze warrior in his arched recess — do not collaborate to engender that mood of reverence, that sense of entering a sacred place, which [Charles] Bean [Great War AIF correspondent and official historian, as well as the founder of the AWM] long ago had hoped the structure would somehow inspire. Having lost its intended function as shrine for the Roll of Honour, the Hall baffled its makers and now baffles visitors. Chapel? Mausoleum? Gallery? If not any of these things, then what? People enter, stop, look up and around for advice about what to do or think or feel, and after a respectful interval they withdraw. Out in the forecourt an urge to recognize the sacred, aroused but unfulfilled, moves some of them to throw coins into the Pool of Reflection.³³

Bill Gammage, author of the *Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War*, similarly recognized that the Hall of Memory failed to elicit the desired effect in its visitors. He predicted that the interment of an unknown Australian soldier in this memorial venue, hitherto unmoving because it had “no appropriate focus or function,”³⁴ would transform the character of this monumental but emotionally moribund space into one that both fixed one's attention upon and made tangible the human loss engendered by war. Gammage, in his communications with Ken Inglis,³⁵ reflected that he had first broached the idea informally with the AWM's staff in late 1989, albeit “not with any

great conviction.”³⁶ Gammage mused about the prospect of such a Tomb in the Hall of Memory in an address he delivered at the 1990 AWM History Conference: “It will be interesting to see whether, after the last Anzac has joined his mates, that empty space at the centre of the Australian War Memorial’s Hall of Memory will be occupied by the democratic equivalent of Atatürk’s mausoleum [Ankara, completed in 1953],³⁷ the grave of an unknown soldier.”³⁸

Gammage’s pronouncement was certainly heard and absorbed by the AWM’s Ashley Ekins, a research officer in the Official History Unit, who when asked (as were other staff) to conceive of ideas to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Memorial’s operation, submitted his proposal to establish a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Hall of Memory. He argued that a tomb’s installation there “would give the commemorative area of the Memorial the soul which it has always lacked.”³⁹ The AWM’s director, Brendan Kelson, passed Ekins’s proposal to deputy director Michael McKernan, who endorsed the call to better articulate the “commemorative focus”⁴⁰ of the Hall of Memory. The latter, as we have seen, was widely acknowledged as lacking such a focus. McKernan, however, had reservations about the logistics and proprieties of the unknown soldier’s selection, as well as his entombment:

As one who has now had the privilege of inspecting Australian cemeteries in Gallipoli, France and Belgium, I would be horrified to think that these might be disturbed. There would be enormous problems in choosing conflict, location and in preserving anonymity. However, this is not an insuperable objection, just an important one....

Dearly as I would love to do it, I think it would be unwise to seek substantial changes in the Hall of Memory at this time [1991] in response to the observations of Professor Inglis and others.... If there is to be renewal in the Hall it will need to be handled thoughtfully and with full discussion amongst interest groups.⁴¹

Ekins presented his proposal at an August 1991 AWM meeting called to deliberate ideas for a “commemorative initiative”⁴² in conjunction with the Memorial’s half-century observances that year. However, no serious discussion ensued over its viability, and little was resolved, save for establishing a sub-committee to further examine proposals for the commemorative initiative.⁴³

Ekins was much chagrined, however, when Kelson publicly stated that the concept of installing a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier within the Hall of Memory had originated in his conversations with McKernan about developing plans and programming for the AWM’s fiftieth anniversary celebrations. Certainly the establishment of this Tomb, a project already inextricably bound up with the practice of (martial) national identity politics, was equally influenced by the apparently poisoned state of internal politics within the AWM. Moreover, according to Ekins and Inglis, the AWM’s motivations in advancing this memorial enterprise were as much entrepreneurial and self-serving as commemorative. Indeed, Kelson ultimately appears to have committed to the idea primarily as a sound business venture rather than because of any profound ideological reasons concerning the discourse and cultivation of war commemoration.⁴⁴ Ekins, for his part, remained anxious to re-assert the instrumentality, if only to Inglis, of his proposal:

The truth is that Kelson failed to acknowledge any potential in the proposal and McKernan, while expressing support for it, actually ensured that the idea was stillborn. It was not until about a year after my proposal that a casual conversation between myself and a retired former AWM senior curator resulted in the proposal being again brought to Kelson’s attention.⁴⁵

Evidently, though, Ekins’s proposal did retain the director’s attention and interest the second time he received it, for in January of 1993 a directing group, whose members included Kelson, McKernan, Richard Reid (AWM project manager), Paul MacPherson

(AWM senior advisor to the director), Inglis (professor, Australian National University), Air Vice Marshal Alan Heggen (director, Australian War Graves Commission), June Healy (national secretary of the Returned Services League of Australia), and a senior representative from the Defence Forces, was founded to realize the repatriation and reburial of a First World War unknown Australian soldier. To this end, communications with the Commonwealth War Graves Commission would be initiated. Three possible spatial scenarios were contemplated: (1) locate the tomb within the Hall's apse, requiring the removal of Raymond Ewer's bronze sculpture; (2) remove the sculpture from the apse, leaving the space vacant unless another piece were installed there, and position the tomb at the Hall's centre; and (3) retain the sculpture where it is, making the tomb the Hall's central fixture.⁴⁶

A memorandum from Kelson to D. Kennedy, director-general of the CWGC, explained the AWM's rationale in seeking to repatriate, then entomb one of its Great War soldiers within its Hall of Memory:

The Australian War Memorial was opened in 1941 to honour and commemorate the sacrifices of Australians in war.... But there has long been a perception, expressed not only by scholars but evident among many day to day visitors, that the Memorial lacks a symbolic focal point of significance.... We believe that the deep need to overcome this lack would be met by the installation, in our Hall of Memory at the Memorial, of a tomb of an unknown Australian soldier.⁴⁷

The tomb, as it was envisioned, would impart to the Hall of Memory, woefully deficient in commemorative focus, as opposed to features, a single, symbolic point of concentration that would also serve as a pilgrimage site. Moreover, as living memory of the world wars receded, the AWM feared that younger Australians would increasingly relate less to a commemorative installation such as the Roll of Honour, predicated upon

familiarity with the individuality of the fallen. Younger Australians would presumably better appreciate the colossal toll of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 if the commemoration was not merely symbolic but carried with it the frisson of the real, as conjured and captured by the visceral quality of a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: a “dramatic and arresting symbol of the devastating nature of twentieth century [sic] war.”⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the tomb, orchestrated as a prominent national event, would commemorate both the seventy-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, and broadcast to a domestic audience the AWM’s primary mission: commemoration. Finally, 11 November 1993 was the last major anniversary for which the attendance of Australian Great War veterans could be expected. Given these imperatives, the AWM sought the CWGC’s approval and assistance. Kelson, in concluding his appeal, emphasized that the AWM’s tomb proposal was wholly endorsed by the National Executive of the Returned Services League, warmly received by other service-related associations and the Australian Defence Force Chiefs, and, not least, had garnered the affirmation of Australia’s remaining First World War veterans.⁴⁹

The CWGC, at its 10 March 1993 meeting in London, approved the AWM’s proposal to repatriate a soldier for entombment:

The Commission welcomes the assurances given by the Australian government as to the way in which this should be carried out and particularly with respect to the preservation of anonymity of the soldier.
The Commission acknowledges the exceptional nature of such a request from a member government and recognises the desire in this case to honour the unknown soldier as a symbol of national sacrifice and remembrance.⁵⁰

Pursuant to their granting approval for this commemorative enterprise, McKernan would meet with David Kennedy, the Commission’s director-general, at the CWGC’s

headquarters to talk over the exhumation process of the unknown Australian soldier's remains, including the marking of the exhumed grave to acknowledge and commemorate the disinterment.⁵¹ Meanwhile, the directing group's assessment panel, composed of Kelson, McKernan, and M. Grace of the National Capital Planning Authority, were reviewing five architects' proposals for the tomb, ultimately choosing the design by the Sydney firm of Tonkin, Zulaikha, and Harford.⁵²

On 2 November 1993 the unknown soldier's remains were exhumed in private by the CWGC. They were then brought to the Australian National War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux for the handover ceremony, at which the Duke of Kent, the CWGC's president, nominally transferred custody of the remains to the Australian ambassador in France. The unknown soldier lay in state at Ypres for twenty-four hours, returning on 4 November to the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial for a day-long period of lying-in-state. A departure ceremony was held there on 5 November before the soldier was flown to Sydney from Paris aboard a Qantas jet, temporarily renamed the *Spirit of Remembrance*. On early morning arrival in Sydney on 7 November, a Royal Australian Air Force Hercules flew the body to RAAF Base Fairbairn, Canberra. After disembarkation, the black Tasmanian wood coffin was mounted upon a gun carriage and conveyed, under Australian Federal Police escort, to Old Parliament House. A four-day period of lying-in-state, with public visitation, followed in the King's Hall.⁵³

Although all due military honours had been conferred upon the unknown Australian soldier throughout the course of his repatriation to Australia, it was during his funeral, declared "an event of national importance"⁵⁴ by Prime Minister Paul Keating, and his entombment in the AWM's Hall of Memory, that the entire commemorative

'nationalization' process of his remains crystallized. A guard of honour composed of fourteen Great War veterans surrounded the coffin when it was removed from King's Hall the morning of 11 November. At 9:50 a.m. the funeral retinue left Old Parliament House along Anzac Parade towards the Australian War Memorial. The slow rhythm of its march was punctuated by the firing of 19 shots from mourning guns, and the pealing of the bells of St. John's Anglican Church. En route, the coffin, transported by a gun carriage, passed a guard of honour assembled from some five hundred-plus unit associations. An estimated 20,000 people thronged the sidelines. At the AWM the coffin was carried to the Stone of Remembrance, where it was received by the AWM's chairman of council, Dame Beryl Beaufort. The singing of the 23rd Psalm preceded the eulogy, an address that both memorialized and 'nationalized' the Unknown Australian Soldier. It was delivered by Prime Minister Keating, who served as the chief pallbearer.⁵⁵

In eulogizing any unknown soldier, his anonymity, of course, prevents the orator from addressing him by name. This is an exceptional, albeit necessary, departure from the conventions of the funeral oration, which, as Derrida explains, is predicated precisely upon a personal address to the dead:

In its classical form, the funeral oration had a good side, especially when it permitted one to call out directly to the dead, sometimes very informally [*tutoyer*]. This is of course a supplementary fiction, for it is always the dead in me, always the others standing around the coffin whom I call out to. But because of its caricatured excess, the overstatement of this rhetoric at least pointed out that we ought not to remain among ourselves. The interactions of the living must be interrupted, the veil must be torn toward the other, the other dead *in us* though other still, and the religious promises of an afterlife could indeed still grant this "as if."⁵⁶

The opening line of Prime Minister Keating's eulogy, "We do not know this Australian's name and we never will,"⁵⁷ acknowledged this anonymity that is both absolute and for

always. Thus, although no personal details could be ascribed, Keating rhetorically couched the soldier's personhood as being emblematic of all Australian Great War servicemen and fallen, as well as the dead of later twentieth-century wars; that is, as emblematic of national commemorative culture:

Yet he has always been among those whom we have honoured. We know that he was one of the 45,000 Australians who died on the Western Front. One of the 416,000 Australians who volunteered for service in the First World War. One of the 324,000 Australians who served overseas in that war and one of the 60,000 Australians who died on foreign soil. One of the 100,000 Australians who have died in wars this century. He is all of them. And he is one of us.⁵⁸

Keating's remarks here wholly embraced the potent symbolism of a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, which, as Marc Redfield observes, perfectly personifies the "formalized anonymity"⁵⁹ that is nationhood. Redfield further argues that this fiction is neither perfect nor unproblematic, for although the anonymity of these remains is symbolically conflated with the abstraction that is the nation, the remains are nonetheless gendered. Their entombment commemorates a male death occasioned by the belligerent actions of nations: "From the perspective of nationalism per se, only male citizens can die, and they can only die in war. All other kinds of loss or damage are to be sublated into this death, to the extent that national identity succeeds in trumping all other forms of identity."⁶⁰ To be sure, men and women comprise the bereaved and the mourning public. Yet, in this assembly of mourners, Redfield remarks, "the feminine position...is immutable, for all a woman will ever be able to do is mourn."⁶¹ And that mourning is implicitly cast as maternal. Joanne P. Sharp elaborates upon this point, noting that, "As the Unknown Soldier could potentially be any man who has laid down his life for his nation, the nation is embodied within each man and each man comes to embody the

nation”⁶² in metonymic fashion. By contrast, the incorporation of women within the national imaginary follows another tack: it is women’s procreative role, as well as their protection, that permeates the national imaginary.⁶³ Keating, for his part, mindful of late twentieth-century sensibilities and identity politics, sought to negotiate, or at least circumvent, the inherently gendered commemorative logic of nationalism that is epitomized by the Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier:

This Unknown Australian is not interred here to glorify war over peace; or to assert a soldier’s character above a civilian’s; or one race or one nation or one religion above another’s; or men above women; or the war in which he fought and died above any other war; or one generation above any other that has been or will come later.

The Unknown Soldier honours the memory of all those men and women who laid down their lives for Australia.⁶⁴

Keating’s eulogy was an exercise in commemorative nationalist rhetoric. Indeed, a transcript of his broadly acclaimed speech,⁶⁵ preserved behind a protective cover, is mounted in the entranceway of the stairwell leading to the tower of the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial, Australia’s national war memorial on the former Western Front. The preface to the transcript reminds visitors that “the Unknown Australian Soldier once rested within these walls surrounded by the inscribed names of nearly 11,000 of those he represents.”⁶⁶

After the eulogy was delivered at the 11 November 1993 ceremony, the Prayer of Remembrance was recited and the Silent Salute to the Nation given.⁶⁷ The funeral party proceeded to the Hall of Memory, where, following the Prayer of Committal, the coffin was lowered into the tomb and the Australian flag that had been draped across it was retrieved and handed for safekeeping to the chairman of the AWM’s Council. The coffin, dedicated in prayer, was doubly anointed with a single sprig of wattle, Australia’s

national flower,⁶⁸ deposited by Governor-General Bill Hayden, and soil collected from Pozières, which was sprinkled by Canberra's last Great War veteran, Bob Comb, one Anzac consecrating the grave of another. The entombment ceremony drew to its end with the pronouncement of the Ode, the sounding of the Last Post, the observance of the Two Minutes' Silence (coinciding with 11 o'clock), the playing of the Rouse,⁶⁹ and a round of flower-laying by the party of mourners. The Tomb remained opened until eight o'clock that evening, so that the public could pay their respects.⁷⁰

Devoid of ornament but enclosed by raised and slanting edging, the Tomb, a red marble slab, rests slightly sunken in the centre of the floor of the Hall of Memory (Fig. 81). It is thus impossible to ascertain its depth: precisely the ambiguous effect its architect, Peter Tonkin, sought. The sepulchre simultaneously appears to be all surface and bottomless; physically knowable yet unknowable, just like the anonymous remains contained therein. Its inscription, however, does not traffic in ambiguity: "An Unknown Australian Soldier Killed in the War of 1914-1918: He symbolises All Australians Who Have Died in War."⁷¹ The Hall of Memory, once nebulous in its function, and distracting in its competing memorial foci, now has a physical and ritual nucleus. Its tomb is the commemorative fixture that organizes the Hall's space.⁷²

A perfect convergence of political and practical factors in the early 1990s — a post-imperial sensibility, an urgency to commemorate Great War veterans before their collective dying out, an impulse which conveniently coincided with a major First World War anniversary, and, not least, the newfound institutional will of the AWM to finally remedy the long-acknowledged affective vacuity of its Hall of Memory — made possible the creation of Canberra's Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier seventy-three years

following its initial proposal. The tomb, an allied form of accretion that at long last invests the Hall of Memory with emotional poignancy and a central memorial focus, now successfully summons forth the sacrosanct character envisioned by its creators. Public criticism of this historic and precedent-setting commemorative enterprise (Canada and New Zealand followed Australia's suit and established their respective Tombs of the Unknown Soldier and Warrior in Ottawa and Wellington (Fig. 82) seven and eleven years later) was scant, and journalistic coverage, including the ABC's telecast of the funeral and the entombment, both voluminous and overwhelmingly affirmative.⁷³

4.1. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Ottawa

Seven years after the entombment of the Unknown Australian Soldier in the Hall of Memory, the same was done at Ottawa's National War Memorial with the entombment there of Canada's Unknown Soldier, but not because the latter commemorative space engendered confusion about its function or focus.⁷⁴ The National War Memorial, unlike the Hall of Memory, has, since its inauguration in 1939, served as the perennial ritual locus for government-led war remembrance ceremonies. Prior to its erection, the prospect of creating a tomb in the nation's capital was never seriously entertained, either in the immediate aftermath of the Great War or during the interwar period, although, intriguingly, Edwin Pye, in his brief November 1937 account for *The Legionary* magazine of the various Great War tombs of unknown soldiers in capital cities, does observe a popular misconception: that Canada's Unknown Soldier is entombed within the Memorial Chamber of the Parliament Buildings.⁷⁵ Another sixty-three years would pass, however, before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Fig. 83) was established in the

nation's capital as a complement, and not a commemorative corrective, to the National War Memorial.

Surprisingly, the impetus to do so was an unsolicited July 1996 proposal, "Rapatriement d'un soldat canadien inconnu," submitted to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien by its co-authors, Robert Bernier and Jean-Yves Bronze, the promoter and director, respectively, of this initiative.⁷⁶ Bernier and Bronze's repatriation proposal was couched as an enterprise that would serve to consolidate national unity precisely at a time, they argued, when it was weakened, as well as strengthen the cultural memory of Canada's participation in the two world wars for young and new Canadians alike.⁷⁷

In seeking to bring to fruition this commemorative project, their objectives were twofold: political and non-partisan. Politically, Bernier and Bronze argued, this project would create a potent symbol of national unity, noting that the political climate and circumstances were fructifere for its realization, given the likelihood of a federal election the following year, the possibility of a new round of constitutional talks (in the wake of the failures of both the Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accords), and the spectre of another Quebec referendum, the previous one having been just held in 1995. As for the venture's non-partisan objectives, these were mnemonic, military-boosting, and pedagogic; namely, the creation of Canada's premier site of national memory, the rehabilitation of the tarnished public image of the Canadian Armed Forces in the aftermath of recent incidents such as the Somalia Affair (Somali teenager Shidane Arone suffered torture, then death, in March 1993 at the hands of two soldiers belonging to the Canadian Airborne Regiment, the military unit that had then been deployed to Somalia "as part of UNITAF, the Unified Task Force sanctioned by the UN Security Council as a

Chapter 7 mission to keep the peace in Somalia”).⁷⁸ Bronze, for his part, wrote Ministers Paul Martin (Finance) and David Collenette (National Defence and Veterans Affairs) asking for their support. Bronze predictably emphasized the eightieth anniversaries in 1997 of both the Commonwealth War Graves Commission’s founding and the battles of Vimy and Passchendaele (Third Ypres), as well as the one hundred and thirtieth anniversary of Confederation, as reasons the government should cite to substantiate this repatriation request. To be left unsaid, or “non dévoilés,”⁷⁹ he advised, were the dual objectives of solidifying national unity and elevating the prestige of the Canadian military, noting that the former aim would certainly be construed by the CWGC as too political.⁸⁰

Daniel Wheeldon, the secretary-general of the Canadian Agency of the CWGC, had already received multiple letters from Bronze. In a 7 August letter to the Corporate Secretariat of Veterans Affairs Canada (VAC), he stated the Commission’s position and its policy:

You will be aware that after World War I the remains of an unknown British warrior were repatriated and placed in Westminster Abbey, representing the loss of all the Empire and symbolizing the Commonwealth brotherhood in times of adversity. Great care was taken at the time of choosing to ensure anonymity and the remains could indeed be those of a soldier of any of the Commonwealth forces; however [,] Canada may feel that, with the passage of time, this no longer fulfills Canada’s needs.⁸¹

Prime Minister Chrétien, meanwhile, had not dismissed Bernier and Bronze’s repatriation project. Rather, in September he sent their proposal to both Collenette and Lawrence MacAulay, Secretary of State (Veterans), recommending that MacAulay might “want to give it some consideration.”⁸² Bronze persisted in his letter-writing campaign, once more contacting the prime minister, MacAulay, and newly appointed Minister of National Defence and Veterans Affairs Douglas Young, early in November 1996, this

time to elaborate upon Phase II, logistics and fundraising, of the project. MacAulay, at the behest of Chrétien, informed Bernier that the repatriation proposal would be studied in light of VAC's concurrent re-evaluation of its policies as they concerned its commemoration program.⁸³

Independently, the Royal Canadian Legion had also been contemplating the creation of a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the nation's capital. The precipitating factor had been a visit by Duane Daly, the Legion's dominion secretary, to Canadian Boer War graves during the 26th Triennial Conference of the British Commonwealth Ex-Services League, held in South Africa from 26 February to 1 March 1996. Whilst touring these burial sites, accompanied by the Legion's dominion president and vice-president, Daly discussed with them the prospect of the tomb's installation in Ottawa. On returning to the capital, he presented the idea to the Legion's executive, all of whom were receptive to its implementation. The launching of such a memorial project at this time appeared propitious to the Legion, both as a means to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding in 2000-2001 and, by extension, to celebrate the millennium itself. Furthermore, the public, the Legion ventured, was ever more attuned to war remembrance, having already been primed by the series of prominent fiftieth-anniversary observances that had been held the previous year to commemorate the ending of the Second World War. On gaining the backing and confidence of the Legion's governing body to develop his Tomb proposal, Daly optimistically approached Marcel Beaudry, chairman of the National Capital Commission (NCC), to broach the possibility of installing a "major veterans' memorial"⁸⁴ in Ottawa.⁸⁵

Talks and negotiations ensued between the NCC and the Legion's Sub-Executive Committee over the course of 1996, with the NCC later presenting to the Legion a prospective memorial site situated near the intersection of Elgin Street and Laurier Avenue. That October, the NCC granted approval-in-principle for the Legion to pursue the project, also approving a \$500,000 contingency budget to do so. Shortly thereafter, however, the NCC informed the Legion that such a tomb was not, after all, congruous with its conception for a "major veterans' memorial," nor was it suitable for installation at the once-offered site. In the wake of this news, the Legion's Tomb Sub-Executive Committee elected at its 20 November meeting to pursue other avenues to realize their initiative.⁸⁶

Daly, having since learned of Bernier and Bronze's private sector proposal, contacted Bronze to be briefed about its extent and expense. In their initial conversation, Daly realized that the project, as conceived, costing \$1.5 to \$2 million, was considerably too complex and expensive for the Legion. The project's successful realization would necessitate collaboration with other stakeholder groups and, to this end, Daly arranged a meeting for 25 February 1997 with representatives from both the Army, Navy, and Air Force Veterans in Canada Association (ANAVETS) and the National Council of Veteran Associations in Canada (NCVA), as well as Del Carrothers of VAC and, as spokesmen for the Canadian Armed Forces: Major General Roméo Dallaire and Serge Bernier (Directorate of History and Heritage, National Defence).⁸⁷

Even more contributing factors came into play when, in a convergence of parallel plans and ideas, the Canadian War Museum (CWM) called its own meeting in October of 1997, to which was invited a representative from VAC's Commemoration Division, as

well as the executive director of the Legion, to discuss the Museum's proposal to mount a Boer War battlefield pilgrimage in 1999, the centennial of that war's outbreak. This anniversary presented an opportunity to repatriate an unknown Canadian Boer War soldier, whose remains could then be re-interred in a tomb of the unknown soldier. One outcome of that meeting was the Legion's decision to not back Bernier and Bronze's tomb initiative. Instead, their dominion secretary wrote VAC, ANAVETS, NCVA, and the CWM that the Legion was amenable to considering the Boer War proposal.⁸⁸

Daly, wishing to examine further the Museum's proposal, held a meeting (12 March 1998),⁸⁹ in preparation for which VAC began deliberating in earnest the implications, as well as possible drawbacks, of supporting such a scheme. Of particular concern were the potential criticisms that might be levelled against Veterans Affairs Canada for their participation in this project. The first of these was redundancy and anachronism, as the Peace Tower and Books of Remembrance already commemorated, implicitly and explicitly, all Canadian soldiers killed in twentieth-century wars. The establishment of the Tomb now might therefore be construed as an "an idea that is too late"⁹⁰ historically. Secondly, the criteria for selecting an unknown soldier might prove controversial amongst veterans and divisive within English and French Canada, diluting rather than cementing the vaunted (and idealized) national unity consolidation aspect promised by this enterprise. Indeed, this was the most contentious dimension of the project. To begin with, there were in fact no unknown Canadian soldiers from either the Boer or Korean wars.⁹¹ Accordingly, with the selection of an unknown Canadian soldier necessarily restricted to one who had been killed in either one of the world wars, the question of Newfoundland's separate participation in these wars arose, including the

scenario of selecting two sets of anonymous remains. In addition, despite historical precedent, the nomenclature of a tomb dedicated to an unknown soldier, which in name excludes the navy and air force, might prove problematic. Yet another problem was the fact that it was not improbable that someone might demand that DNA testing be performed upon the remains of the unknown soldier, resulting in the identification of his remains, and thus stripping the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier of its secret, its singular potency, and its symbolic logic.⁹²

These potential issues notwithstanding, on the occasion of the 12 March meeting, held at the CWM, Major General Dallaire vouched for the complete commitment of the Canadian Forces in realizing a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Crucially, Dallaire also argued that the soldier should be a serviceman who had been killed in the Battle of Vimy Ridge, given Vimy's huge symbolic association with Canada's coming of age on the international stage. All in attendance concurred. This emphasis upon battle-and blood-consecrated ground affirms Stephen Daniels's claim that the manufacture of a nation's identity is inextricably tied to storied sites. Daniels explains:

National identities are co-ordinated, often largely defined, by 'legends and landscapes,' by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient or promised home-lands with hallowed sites and scenery. The symbolic activation of time and space, often drawing on religious sentiment, gives shape to the 'imagined community' of the nation.⁹³

Daly then approached other government departments and agencies whose responsibilities bore directly upon this memorial project with the aim of striking a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier Working Group (TUSWG). Invitations to join the Group were extended to and accepted by Veterans Affairs Canada, the Department of National Defence, Public Works and Government Services Canada, the National Capital Commission, the Canadian War

Museum, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (Canadian Agency), ANAVETS, the NCVA, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. It met for the first time on 22 April 1998, altogether convening eleven times over the next two years.⁹⁴

The CWGC, before it agreed to the repatriation, sought and won guarantees as well as affirmations from the Canadian government. Among these were: (1) no additional repatriation requests would be made; (2) Canada appreciated the Commission's consideration of its wish that the remains of the unknown soldier be exhumed from a cemetery in the proximity of Vimy Ridge; (3) the exhumation would be conducted in private and without much publicity; and (4) Canada would neither attempt the identification of the unknown soldier nor provide any aid to others seeking to do so.⁹⁵ At the CWGC meeting held on 16 December 1998, Canada's request to repatriate one of its unknown First World War soldiers was deliberated, then granted. VAC, in accepting the authority of the CWGC to select and exhume the unknown soldier, was also fully cognizant that this measure would relieve VAC of the possession of documentation about his original circumstances of burial and his later exhumation: documentation that might have been sought through the Access to Information Act, to which, of course, the CWGC, as a British Commonwealth organization, was not beholden. (Such a request was in fact submitted in June 2000, mere days after the unknown Canadian soldier's entombment in Ottawa.)⁹⁶

From the outset the CWGC was firm that only the complete remains of an unknown Canadian soldier could be repatriated.⁹⁷ In the event, the CWGC selected Cabaret Rouge British Cemetery in Souchez (Fig. 84), owing to its elevated topography and well-draining soil, as well as the substantial number of plots it contained of unknown

Canadian soldiers buried in proximity to one another. On 16 May 2000, Jean-Pierre Nelson, the CWGC's France Area Exhumation Officer, disinterred the remains of a soldier from Grave 7, Row E, Plot 8. As had happened with the Australian exhumation several years earlier (Fig. 85), the CWGC's original grave marker was replaced by a headstone (engraved months earlier with the planned, not the actual, exhumation date and, in accordance with the Commission's translation convention regarding the inscription of non-English texts in France, with the omission of accent marks)⁹⁸ that reads (Fig. 86):

Ancienne Sepulture d'un Soldat Canadien Inconnu Mort au Cours de la Premiere Guerre Mondiale. Il a Ete Exhume le 25 Mai 2000 et Il Repose Maintenant au Monument Commemoratif de Guerre du Canada a Ottawa/The Former Grave of an Unknown Canadian Soldier of the First World War. His Remains Were Removed on 25 May 2000 and Now Lie Interred at the National War Memorial in Ottawa Canada.⁹⁹

Public Works and Government Services Canada (PWGSC), whose custodial powers include the care and maintenance of Ottawa's National War Memorial, was entrusted with the tomb's design and construction. At the first meeting of the TUSWG in April 1998, its members endorsed entombing the remains inside the granite base of the National War Memorial. Member Gerald Wharton, as well as staff of the Public Works Property Management sector, a stonemason and an engineer, deemed this idea unfeasible for two reasons. Firstly, it would necessitate coring into the granite-clad concrete base of the Memorial, no minor operation, to excavate a large enough space to accommodate the tomb. Secondly, the visual force of such an entombment would be meagre because it "would not have any drama or dynamic to it at all."¹⁰⁰ Wharton and the Public Works Property Management staff were agreed that the Tomb should be sited upon the upper steps abutting the base of the National War Memorial.

These two preliminary design ideas were circulated to architectural engineer Marc Monette (PWGSC project manager, Parliamentary Precinct Directorate). Monette, along with his consultants Greg Smallenburg (landscape architect) and Julian Smith (heritage architect), reviewed the proposals and concluded that neither design option, both of which sought the tomb's incorporation into the National War Memorial, was acceptable for reasons aesthetic, conceptual, and practical. Nor did they wish to emulate the examples of the Paris (the Arc de Triomphe) and Canberra tombs, which rest flush — or in the case of Canberra's Hall of Memory — nearly flush with the floor of the monumental spaces in which they are located. Rather, Monette, Smallenburg and Smith believed that the tomb should structurally and visually complement, but not supersede, the National War Memorial. Although the Memorial does contain a pseudo-crypt, this option was dismissed on the principle that it would conceal the tomb, which they thought must be physically accessible to the public and tactile in its qualities. Practically speaking, moreover, given Ottawa's winter climate, the tomb could not be installed level to the ground because doing so would conceal the sepulchre beneath a cover of snow. Nor could it detract from the Memorial's landmark status. By the same token the tomb, if scaled appropriately and positioned proximally to the Memorial, would, by virtue of its smaller size, invite closer inspection and, perhaps, prompt a parallel careful examination of the Memorial's sculptural grouping. Both memorials, although "two different entities,"¹⁰¹ would thus accent and enhance one another. Smith sketched his on-the-spot, basic conception for the tomb: above-ground yet not obstructing the Memorial when seen from its Elgin Street axis. Smallenburg, in his subsequent critique of the tomb's placement "over the steps at the front of the National War Memorial,"¹⁰² made plain that

its installation there would render the appearance of the sarcophagus two-dimensional against the backdrop of the Memorial's base, with the structures visually merging. This would result in a doubly detrimental optical effect. To correct these unfortunate illusions, he advocated relocating the tomb to the Memorial's upper terrace. Smallenburg's counsel about siting the tomb there received approval from the TUSWG on 20 January 1999.¹⁰³

That November nine Canadian artists, specialists in sculpture and monumental art, were invited to submit maquettes for the bronze work that would adorn the lid of the tomb's stone sarcophagus. Bronze was chosen because it would not crack when subjected to freezing temperatures (unlike soft sandstone, which was employed for the Vimy tomb/altar), as well as to complement the bronze figures and dates (of the twentieth-century wars) on the National War Memorial itself. The sculptural content for the sarcophagus's lid was stipulated: a replica of a Great War helmet, a sword, a maple branch, and laurel leaves (Fig. 87). Besides these allusions to the iconographic elements of the Vimy memorial tomb, there was the design criterion that the four outermost corners of the sarcophagus be secured with bronze anchoring pieces, the character of which would be left to the designer's discretion. This last design demand, although contributing to the aesthetics of the sarcophagus, was primarily conceived as a built-in measure to safeguard the structure's integrity and its sacralized character by subtly obstructing skateboarders from riding down the tomb's outer length.¹⁰⁴

Six of the invited artists submitted maquettes. These were judged on 8 December 1999 by the selection committee, whose membership comprised André Smith (Veterans Affairs Canada), Duane Daly, Gerald Wharton, Serge Bernier, Greg Smallenburg, Eleanor Milne (former dominion sculptor), Karen Nesbitt (National Capital Commission),

and Craig Johnson (an Ottawa-based conservator). The judges were unanimous in their choice, selecting British Columbia sculptor Mary-Ann Liu's submission. As for the mandatory bronze pieces to sheath the bottom-tier corners of the sarcophagus, Liu employed four replicas of the Cross of Valour. Wharton, however, had argued that the inclusion of this civilian and military decoration, introduced in 1972 and supplanting the Order of Canada's Medal of Courage, "awarded only for *acts of conspicuous courage in circumstances of extreme peril*,"¹⁰⁵ would be historically incongruous and possibly objectionable on those grounds by veterans. As a substitute he suggested employing the Memorial or Silver Cross (see Chapter Three, endnote 76) instead. This substitution was agreed to and the four bronze corner pieces of the sarcophagus, as executed, consist of three Memorial Crosses, each identical except for the different royal cyphers they bear, those of George V, George VI and Elizabeth II, the respective monarchs who have reigned since the Memorial Cross's introduction (Fig. 88). Anchoring the fourth corner was a representation of a poppy (Fig. 89), the conventional symbol of war remembrance and one with particularly close connections to Canada because of John McCrae's iconic 1915 poem, "In Flanders Fields." To visually harmonize with the National War Memorial, dark Caledonia granite, supplied by a Quebec quarry, was used for the sarcophagus. A simple, bilingual inscription, "Unknown Soldier/Soldat Inconnu," identifies the tomb (Fig. 90).¹⁰⁶

The repatriation, then entombment, of the Unknown Canadian Soldier was a three-phase, three-day event: (1) the 25 May 2000 handover ceremony of his remains, performed at the Vimy memorial, which released the Unknown Canadian Soldier from the custody of the CWGC into the care of the Canadian government; (2) the 72-hour

lying-in-state, replete with a round-the-clock military vigil and visitation in the Hall of Honour of the Centre Block of Parliament; and (3) the committal service on the afternoon of 28 May.

The eulogy¹⁰⁷ delivered by Governor-General Adrienne Clarkson, who served as a Chief Mourner,¹⁰⁸ was framed, as had been the one delivered by Paul Keating in Canberra in 1993, by her recognition of the impossibility of ever knowing the soldier's name, and by extension his familial ties:

Wars are as old as history. Over two thousand years ago, Herodotus wrote, "In peace, sons bury their fathers; in war, fathers bury their sons." Today, we are gathered together as one, to bury someone's son. The only certainty about him is that he was young.... We do not know whose son he was. We do not know his name.¹⁰⁹

In effect, these introductory lines from Clarkson's eulogy domesticate the death of the Unknown Soldier, twinning the familiar with the familial in a way that underscores how, as Marc Redfield reminds us, nationalism and the trope of family are thoroughly intertwined. By the same token Clarkson later made explicit Joanne P. Sharp's observation about the metonymic connection that exists between the anonymous serviceman and the (male) national body:

In honouring this unknown soldier today, through this funeral and this burial, we are embracing the fact of the anonymity and saying that because we do not know him and we do not know what he could have become, he has become more than one body, more than one grave. He is an ideal. He is a symbol of all sacrifice. He is every soldier in all our wars.¹¹⁰

Jennifer Delisle, in her critical reading of the eulogy, argues that it functions foremost as an exercise in cultural nostalgia. Indeed, at eight decades' remove from the Great War, could there be any true mourning for the dead of 1914-1918?

Whatever its incarnations and sources, nostalgia, Delisle explains, remains an emotion that may be marshalled in the service of rhetoric, as well as for a multitude of other motives. The invocation of nostalgia serves two primary rhetorical stances: to articulate personal grief and to express national commemorative sentiment. In the wake of war, the actions both of the bereaved and of the commemorators are steeped in nostalgia, an emotion whose manifestation may be experience-based or which may emerge from a sense of cultural or group belonging. Accordingly, Delisle differentiates between these two modes of nostalgic articulation, which she designates experiential and cultural. The designation “cultural,” she qualifies, “does not signify the cultural tropes that often characterize nostalgic remembering, but rather the phenomenon of a culture mobilized to remember a moment of public history *as a group*.”¹¹¹ Clarkson’s eulogy, she asserts, deftly dealt in cultural nostalgia. Certainly, the governor-general addressed the veterans in attendance, combatants who experienced war and its losses firsthand, and for whom remembrance, she reiterated, is imperative, however painful. Still, through and through, the governor-general threaded her speech with evocations of the First and Second World Wars: evocations gleaned from the vast reservoir of their historical, literary, poetic, artistic, and cinematic representations. In so doing, she plumbed the cultural memories of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, whose familiarity allows Canadians to figuratively recognize and relate to the Unknown Soldier by dint of the values and virtues of “selflessness, honour, courage and commitment”¹¹² he purportedly personified.

Clarkson nevertheless also recited a series of rhetorical questions about the possible life and attributes of the soldier: queries whose answers, if they could ever be known, are precisely the kind of biographical facts that punctuate “the corpus of

declarations in newspapers, on radio and television”¹¹³ that this last century, Derrida affirms, have supplanted the funeral oration. These speculative personal details, Delisle explains, serve a twofold nostalgic function: (1) to mimic the experiential nostalgia that is the province of the bereaved, eliciting vicarious nostalgic sentiment amongst the public who attended the entombment ceremony; and (2) to underscore, in paradoxical fashion, that the Unknown Soldier is eternally unknowable. In the latter case, Clarkson crafted an open-ended character profile for him that is common, not complex: “That which should be familiar — the deceased being eulogized — is unknowable.”¹¹⁴ War, in claiming both his life and his identity, has deeply disturbed the ordinary course and conventions of mourning. If nostalgia for the deceased is part and parcel of negotiating their death, in this instance it can only, Delisle concludes, be “aestheticized,”¹¹⁵ as Clarkson’s eulogy aptly demonstrated.¹¹⁶

After Clarkson’s eulogy there was an ecumenical service, followed by the ceremonial removal, folding, and presentation to Art Eggleton, the Minister of Defence, of the Canadian flag that had draped the casket. The casket was then lowered into the sarcophagus. It was consecrated, as well as ‘nationalized,’ when Brad Hall, the deputy secretary general of the CWGC (Canadian Agency) and the presidents of the Legion’s provincial Commands scattered soil obtained from the soldier’s original grave, as well as samples from each province and territory. As a final honorific gesture, Grand Chief Howard Anderson of the First Nations Veterans Association placed soil, tobacco, and a feather upon the lid: an action which was neither critical nor controversial, as the Legion’s Duane Daly had originally feared.¹¹⁷ Chief Anderson’s action had been added to the proceedings at the last minute, with authorization from a priest within the

Command Chaplain's Office of the Canadian Forces, thereby providing a prominent, previously absent, aboriginal presence to the ceremony. The committal service concluded with the playing of the Last Post, Rouse, and the Lament, the Two-Minute Silence, a fly-past of CF-18s aligned in the *missing man* configuration, and the recitation of the Common Prayer. Paul Métivier and Ernest Smith, the ceremony's World War One and Two witnesses, read the Act of Remembrance, the service's penultimate ritual before its anthemic conclusion, when *God Save the Queen* and *O Canada* were sung. A crowd estimated at 15,000-20,000 witnessed the funeral and entombment.¹¹⁸

CBC television broadcast live the Vimy handover ceremony, the arrival of the Unknown Soldier at Ottawa's airport, the first visitation during the lying-in-state, as well as the 28 May funeral procession and committal service. That same year, the CBC also released its video, hosted by Peter Mansbridge, of these events: *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*. Locally, CTV Newsworld provided live television coverage of the touchdown at Ottawa airport and, that evening, the Parliament Hill ceremonial proceedings. The Legion, meanwhile, had contracted Norflicks Productions Ltd. to produce a documentary of the tomb project, although this film appears to have come to naught. Canadian English-language print coverage of the entire repatriation and entombment process was both positive and extensive. A decade later the VAC website still posts a text and video archive of the entire event.¹¹⁹

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, together with the National War Memorial, constitutes a monumental space in the core of the nation's capital. Although monumental space is commonly characterized by its physical demarcation between exterior and interior, that is, its boundaries are framed in some way, this attribute alone does not

completely capture the ideological essence or socio-cultural effect of this species of space. Rather, for theorist Henri Lefebvre, the distinguishing feature of monumental space is not strictly physical but rather performative: “Such a space is determined by what may take place there, and consequently by what may not take place there (prescribed/proscribed, scene/obscene).”¹²⁰ Accordingly, monumental space is highly politicized, policed, and protected, and thus — ironically — invites its very profanation. Physically, monumental space that is empty, as is the case with sanctuaries, cathedral naves, or, in the context of this discussion, the National War Memorial plaza, may become filled. Conversely, Lefebvre observes, “full space may be inverted over an almost heterotopic void at the same location (for instance, vaults, cupolas)... with the fullness of swelling curves suspended in a dramatic emptiness,”¹²¹ as occurs in the AWM’s Hall of Memory with its Byzantine-style dome and vaulting system. Whether emptied or filled, monumental space is a potential or already primed stage for performance, where “[a]coustic, gestural, and ritual movements, elements grouped into vast ceremonial unities, breaches opening onto limitless perspectives, [and] chains of meaning” are effected.¹²² Precisely, these elements coalesce to profound effect and affect in monumental spaces. Affectively, Lefebvre argues, the corporeal becomes part and parcel of monumental space — becomes its property, so to speak — whereby bodies are made into symbols that are a constituent component of some politico-religious whole:

The component elements of such wholes are disposed according to a strict order for the purposes of the use of space: some at a first level, the level of affective, bodily, lived experience, the level of the spoken word; some at a second level, that of the perceived, of socio-political signification; and some at a third level, the level of the conceived, where the dissemination of the written word and of knowledge welds the members of society into a ‘consensus,’ and in doing so confers upon them the status of ‘subjects.’ Monumental space permits a continual back-and-forth between the private speech of ordinary conversations and the

public speech of discourses, lectures, sermons, rallying-cries, and all theatrical forms of utterance.¹²³

The monumental space that encompasses Ottawa's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is, of course, where the discourse of commemoration exists in daily dialogue and, at times, in diametric opposition to the quotidian actions, not all reverent, which are routinely enacted in its confines by city dwellers, commuters, and visitors alike. Unsurprisingly, it has been breached in ways both pedestrian and provocative. Unquestionably, the breach of this monumental space that elicited the most public opprobrium was the incident that occurred in 2006, when a trio of Canada Day celebrants urinated on the stone sarcophagus. The act was unthinking and certainly disrespectful but not a deliberate act of defilement. Significantly, no criminal charges were laid against the three culprits, two youths and a young man, when they all apologized for their alcohol-induced misbehaviour. However, for Michael Pilon, who captured the revellers on camera, their drunken misconduct was decidedly an act of desecration. Pilon, a retired Canadian Forces major, has in the time since become the tomb's self-appointed warden and watchman, photographing all the improprieties that he witnesses. He has proposed sectioning off the sarcophagus to better broadcast the hallowed status of this burial space because its plaque, which instructs beholders to "respect" the grave (Fig. 91), has, for him, proven inadequate.

The current government measure to deter inappropriate actions at the tomb, implemented in the wake of the unfortunate 2006 Canada Day occurrence, has been the daytime installation there, albeit only during the summer tourist season and on holiday weekends, of interpretive guides and two sentries from the Ceremonial Guard, injecting

an element of spectacle and overt surveillance that is not unexpected for a monumental space. Still, their presence speaks primarily of spectacle and stage management rather than outright security (compared to the 24-hour, year-round watch that occurs at the American Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery). This token measure of surveillance is tacit admission that, although this monumental space can be monitored and an attempt made to manage its meaning(s),¹²⁴ neither space nor meanings can be wholly controlled or contained. Nor can the potential for troublesome incursions and persons be simply screened from sight and site.¹²⁵

Distinct and common motivations characterized the creation of the Australian and Canadian tombs of the unknown soldier in 1993 and 2000. Uniquely, the rationale for installing the Canberra tomb within the AWM's Hall of Memory was framed as a reverential but remedial action, whereby the tomb's siting there finally imbued this monumental space with a sacrosanct atmosphere and provided this memorial venue with the clear-cut commemorative focus and ritual center it had always lacked. By contrast, Ottawa's National Memorial has always been perceived, as well as operated, as an unambiguous and successful locus for ritual war remembrance. Hence, the installation of the Tomb of the Canadian Unknown Soldier there was couched as a complementary or mutually enhancing memorial addition whose ritual function, a sepulchre upon which to lay tokens of remembrance, could be readily incorporated into the programs of the commemorative ceremonies already conducted in this monumental space. Spatial considerations aside, each tomb's creation also bore the stamp of the numerous domestic institution(s) that were instrumental in spearheading these commemorative initiatives, as

well as the policies of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, without whose authorization neither tomb would have ever been realized.

An admixture of reasons, profound and prosaic alike, prompted the AWM to repatriate an unknown soldier of the Great War for entombment in its Hall of Memory. The tomb's placement inside the Hall of Memory, the AWM argued, provided a permanent and poignant reminder of Australian war sacrifice: one that was accessible to Australians, unlike the war cemeteries and memorials abroad, and was acutely rather than abstractly, like the Roll of Honour, affecting. Nonetheless, the timing of the entombment, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Armistice, also cast this commemorative event as a final, national farewell to Australia's 1914-1918 veterans and dead. Within the AWM, however, there was acknowledgement that this tomb's creation was, in no small part, also a pragmatic venture because it would bolster attendance figures as a major memorial attraction at the Memorial. Although the idea for the Tomb of the Canadian Unknown Soldier arose, more or less simultaneously, in a number of quarters, it was ultimately realized as a Royal Canadian Legion project, with the assistance of numerous government departments, agencies, and the Canadian Forces. As in Australia, a certain horizon of urgency, as well as a sense of history-making and history-leaving, informed the creation of the Canadian tomb, which in prototype and actual mortal contents, harked back directly to the Great War (Vimy). Beyond its immediate commemorative function, this tomb, moreover, was also conceived as a symbolic means to enhance and consolidate national unity at a time when such cohesiveness was perceived as weakened by some individuals involved, at various stages, in the tomb's bringing into being. Despite the similarities and differences that attended their creation, both of these tombs hallow their

surrounding monumental spaces, as well as constitute allied accretions to the memorial(s) already contained therein.

It is not incidental that the unknown soldiers entombed in Canberra and Ottawa were both killed on the Western Front of the First World War, the historical event widely popularized as the conflict during which both Australia and Canada, each a dominion of the British Empire, attained their maturation as nations. Certainly, the Canadian government, represented by VAC, was emphatic that the CWGC, in exhuming the unknown soldier, do so from a cemetery in the environs of Vimy. The authorities at the Australian War Memorial, however, did not, as might have been initially expected, request that the unknown soldier be disinterred from a grave at Gallipoli but rather a cemetery in France or Belgium, the battle theatres where the majority of the AIF served and fell in combat. The CWGC exhumed the unknown Australian soldier from Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux (Fig. 92), undoubtedly because of its proximity to, and, hence, symbolic association with, the National War Memorial there.¹²⁶ The anonymous Great War soldiers' remains contained within these two capital tombs, both of which occupy each nation's core commemorative space, signal and symbolize that, as Gopal Balakrishnan observes, that "nations can legitimately execute the ultimate interpellation — the call to arms. As this is a total claim on the body of the (male) citizen it evokes,"¹²⁷ each tomb clearly concretizes, according to the martial conceit of nationalism, the corporeal cost of (male) citizenship, conflating national (be)longing and loss.

¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 1991) 9.

² The anonymity of the soldier's remains, of course, invites speculation about, or even the assignation of, as a kind of consolatory indulgence, his personal identity. See also: Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, trans. Catherine Temerson (New York: Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2002) 199.

³ The CWGC would not contemplate the repatriation of the remains of an unknown Canadian soldier for his entombment in Ottawa until the Canadian government guaranteed that it would honour all conditions set by the Commission with respect to the process and procedures involved in this one-time commemorative operation. Fred J. Mifflin, the Minister of Veterans Affairs Canada, in a 30 November 1998 letter to David Kennedy, the Secretary and Director-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Maidenhead, gave assurances on all procedural counts requested by the CWGC, including: “that Canada assures the Commission that anonymity will be preserved and that the Government of Canada will not seek to identify or assist in identifying the unknown soldier.” Copy, 30 November 1998 letter to Roy MacLaren, High Commissioner, Canadian High Commission, London, from Fred J. Mifflin and Copy, 30 November 1998 letter to David Kennedy, Secretary and Director-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Maidenhead, from Fred J. Mifflin, VAC (Ottawa), file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

The CWGC was alert to the likelihood of lobbying efforts or some motion(s) being put forth to attempt the identification of “any exhumed remains, particularly in view of the precedent in the United States,” hence their demand for assurance, duly given, from the Canadian government that “anonymity would be preserved.” 23 April 1999 letter to Roy MacLaren, Canadian High Commission, from David Kennedy, VAC (Ottawa), file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

Indeed, Dr. Mark Skinner, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, wrote Dan Wheeldon, the Secretary General, CWGC (Canadian Agency), to voice his opinion that a moral imperative existed, given the sophistication of DNA analysis and forensic osteology today, to identify the war dead, declaring: “In my opinion it would be unethical to disinter such remains without striving to determine identity. There may be surviving relatives who would wish the remains identified. As a nation we also bear such a responsibility.” Skinner’s request, in part, was motivated by his experience the previous year as an observer for Physicians for Human Rights, in which capacity he witnessed the exhumation of single and mass graves in Bosnia that dated from the 1992-95 Balkan war. He also inquired as to what data, military, biographical, and burial in nature, the CWGC kept on file concerning the graves of unknown soldiers interred in its cemeteries. 13 March 1999 letter to Dan Wheeldon, Secretary General, Canadian Agency of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, from Mark Skinner, Diplomate American Board Forensic Anthropology and Associate Professor, Physical Anthropology, Simon Fraser University, VAC (Ottawa), file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

Wheeldon, in his reply to Skinner, reiterated that the repatriation of the remains of an unknown Canadian soldier was permitted, as an exceptional case, on the condition, amongst others, that the Canadian government would ensure the anonymity of these remains, neither seeking nor enabling their identification, and thereby not undermining the integrity of the Commission, which rejects, wholesale, calls by all relatives of the war dead to have repatriated the remains of unknown combatants. For Skinner’s information, he stated: “In the present case the object is to choose a casualty where nothing is known and we will be doing this. While we respect your opinion that it would be desirable to attempt to identify the unknown soldier, it is an opinion that we do not share and the Canadian government has agreed to our condition about anonymity. You may therefore wish to approach them with your concerns.” 9 April 1999 letter to Dr. Mark Skinner from D. F. Wheeldon, Secretary-General, VAC (Ottawa), file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

⁴ Michael Naas, “History’s Remains: Of Memory, Mourning, and the Event,” *Research in Phenomenology* 33.1 (September 2003): 89.

⁵ For an account of the origins and the history of this twentieth-century form of war commemoration, see: K. S. Inglis, “Entombing Unknown Soldiers: From London and Paris to Baghdad,” *History & Memory* 5.2 (Fall/Winter 1993): 7-31.

⁶ The remains interred therein since 1984, previously known only as X-26, were subsequently exhumed in May 1998, following a request, spurred by the advent of mitochondrial DNA analysis, made by the parents and sibling of Michael Joseph Blassie to attempt their identification. DNA analysis, performed at the Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory, did confirm the identity of X-26 as being none other than Michael Joseph Blassie, a revelation his family had always entertained as likely, given that, as of 1982, there were only two Vietnam Unknowns in the custody of the Central Identification Laboratory, Hawaii. Blassie’s remains were re-interred in a St. Louis cemetery two months later, stripped, however, of the Medal of Honor posthumously bestowed on X-26, which could not, of course, now, according to the ceremonial and commemorative logic at work, remain conferred upon Blassie. Naas 89-92, 96 (endnote 12).

⁷ Naas 88-89.

⁸ Tzvetan Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, trans. Richard Howard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977) 175. Quoted in José Liste Noya, "Naming the Secret: Don DeLillo's *Libra*," *Contemporary Literature* 45.2 (Summer 2004): 242.

⁹ This, perhaps surprisingly, is not an infrequent occurrence, with three sets of remains, on average, located per annum. For example, in October 2003 two sets of remains were located during the course of construction-associated excavations (gas pipeline) conducted in the vicinity of Avion, France. Both sets of these remains were subsequently identified, the first being those of Canadian Private Herbert Peterson, previously recorded as missing in action and presumed killed following his participation in a 8-9 June 1917 night raid behind the German line around Vimy Ridge. Four years later his remains were re-interred at La Chaudière Military Cemetery as part of the ceremonies commemorating the 90th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge. Just prior to Private Peterson's re-interment, the remains of three other Canadian Great War servicemen were found near Hallu, a combat site associated with the larger Allied offensive known as the Battle of Amiens, waged between 8-11 August 1918, that signalled the beginning of the War's end, or the last 'One Hundred Days'. This set of three remains were to be examined by, amongst others, paleo-DNA specialist Carney Matheson of Lakehead University, then in France to attend the burial of Private Peterson, given that his laboratory had earlier identified Peterson's remains through DNA testing. In the summer of 2009, the Canadian National Department of Defence tendered a contract for a "mortuary service provider" to orchestrate and organize the removal and identification of the remains of Canadian servicemen, overwhelmingly of the First World War, still found in the former theatres of battle in Western Europe, especially northern France. The contract specifies employing forensic archaeologists and anthropologists, as well as genealogists, to perform the various investigations and analyses, including DNA testing, which might result in the positive identification of found remains. This initiative, and similar ones like it, a testament to the tremendous advances made in forensic science, has at least one cultural pundit, Ben Macintyre, heralding the ending of the era of the Unknown Soldier. Very recently (10 January 2011), the set of remains that had been discovered alongside those of Private Peterson were identified as belonging to Private Thomas Lawless. On 15 March 2011 his remains were re-interred in La Chaudière Military Cemetery. Katherine Harding, "DNA solves mystery of Vimy Ridge soldier: Family to bid farewell in France," *Globe and Mail* 22 Mar. 2007: A1, A7; Mary Vallis, "It took DNA to identify Canadian private who died in 1917: Soldier will finally be laid to rest," *National Post* 2 Apr. 2007: A3; Randy Boswell, "Remains of three more soldiers discovered," *Ottawa Citizen* 7 Apr. 2007: A10; Frederic Lepinay, "Final tribute to a fallen soldier: Canadian killed in WWI only recently named," *Toronto Star* 8 Apr. 2007: A2; Ben Macintyre, "Mourn not the passing of the unknown soldier," *Times Online* 7 May 2009, http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/ben_macintyre/article6236115.ece (accessed 11/19/2009); Tom Blackwell, "DNA Key to Naming Soldiers Where They Fell: Forensic Team Put on Federal Retainer," *National Post* 19 Jun. 2009: A1-2; and "WWI casualty buried in Vimy: Alberta Soldier," *National Post* 16 Mar. 2011: A13. Private Herbert Peterson's and Thomas Lawless's names are engraved upon the Vimy memorial. Veterans Affairs Canada, "Canadian Battlefield Memorials Restoration Project: Canadian National Vimy Memorial Stone Display," http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=memorials/cbmr/wall_stone_display (accessed 24/11/2009).

¹⁰ Specifically this venture was co-administered by the Australian Fromelles Project Group and the British Fromelles Project Group. The former group, comprising four army staff members, including a part-time Major General, reported to the Fromelles Management Board, whose representatives were drawn from the Australian Department of Defence, the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence, and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Membership in the latter group was drawn from the Joint Casualty and Compassionate Centre and the Service Personnel and Veterans' Agency. In August 2010, shortly after the dedication (19 July) of the Fromelles (Pheasant Wood) Military Cemetery, the Australian Fromelles Project Group was dissolved. The task of identifying the Fromelles dead continues, however, as 154 of the soldiers who are buried in Fromelles (Pheasant Wood) Military Cemetery remain nameless. The Australian component of this task is being administered through the auspices of the Unrecovered War Casualties Army Cell. Australian Army, "Background" and "UK MOD," http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/About_Us.asp (accessed 11/19/2009) and Australian Army, "Project Overview," <http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/> (accessed 23/03/2011). For an archaeological perspective upon the Fromelles Project, see: Tim Whitford and Tony Pollard, "For Duty Done: A WWI Military

Medallion Recovered from the Mass Grave at Fromelles, Northern France,” *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 5.1 (2009): 201-229.

¹¹ 191 AIF soldiers appeared on the Army’s original “Working List” of combatants whose remains were believed to have been found in the mass graves. Thus far, 73 AIF servicemen from that list have been identified. All told, there are 1333 AIF soldiers killed in the Battle of Fromelles whose graves have not been located; however, 1121 AIF combatants are interred in the area’s cemeteries as unknown soldiers, whilst 212 AIF soldiers remain unaccounted for. Australian Army, “Project Overview,” http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/The_Project.asp (accessed 24/11/2009) and Australian Army, “Project Overview,” http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/The_Project.asp (accessed 05/12/2010).

¹² Commonwealth War Graves Commission, “Casualty Lists,” http://www.cwgc.org/fromelles/?page=english/the-project/casualty_lists (accessed 26/11/2009).

¹³ Commonwealth War Graves Commission, “Fromelles 19-20 Jul 1916-Australian Casualty List With No Known Relatives,” and “Fromelles 19-20 Jul 1916-British Casualty List With No Known Relatives,” PDF files, http://www.cwgc/fromelles/?page=english/the-project/casualty_lists (accessed 26/11/2009).

¹⁴ Australian Army, “Project Overview,” http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/The_Project.asp (accessed 05/05/2010) and “Commemoration,” <http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/Commemoration.asp> (accessed 05/05/2010).

¹⁵ Australian Government, Department of Veterans’ Affairs, *A Guide to Australian Memorials on the Western Front, in France and Belgium, April 1916-November 1918* (Commonwealth of Australia, June 2005) 10 and Department of Veterans’ Affairs and Board of Studies NSW, *Australians on the Western Front 1914-1918*, “Fromelles, VC Corner Cemetery and Memorial,” <http://www.westernfront.gov.au/fromelles/fromelles.html> (accessed 24/11/2009). A small discrepancy exists, however, as the CWGC cites the figure of 1296 as being the number of names recorded upon the memorial. CWGC, “Cemetery Details: V.C. Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial, Fromelles,” http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=78900&mode=1 (accessed 24/11/2009).

¹⁶ The Australian Army, “Fromelles Home,” “Background,” “Limited Excavation,” “Archaeological Excavation,” “Identification,” “Cemetery Construction,” “Re-interment,” “Project Updates,” and “Commemoration,” http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/Fromelles_Home.asp (accessed 11/19/2009); Australian Government, Department of Defence, “Fromelles,” <http://www.defence.gov.au/fromelles/contactinquiry.cfm> (accessed 24/11/2009); 2 March 2010 Press Release, “Identification of Fromelles fallen begins,” <http://www.minister.defence.gov.au/gregCombettpl.cfm?CurrentId=10008> (accessed 05/03/2010); and 17 March 2010 Press Release, “First Fromelles soldiers identified,” <http://www.minister.defence.gov.au/gregCombettpl.cfm?CurrentId=10050> (accessed 05/05/2010); Australian Army, “First of 250 Soldiers Named,” “Further 19 Australian Soldiers Named,” “May 2010,” and “Identified Soldiers” <http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/> (accessed 05/05/2010); Australian Army, “Project Overview: Identification,” http://www.defence.gov.au/army/fromelles/The_Project.asp (accessed 27/06/2010); Commonwealth War Graves Commission, “Further Fromelles soldiers identified,” <http://www.cwgc.org/fromelles/?page=english/diary-events/views/news070710> (accessed 22/07/2010); Australian Army, “Final Soldier Laid to Rest,” <http://www.army.gov.au/fromelles/> (accessed 22/07/2010); Australian Government, Department of Defence, “Final Fromelles soldier laid to rest,” <http://www.minister.defence.gov.au/Griffintpl.cfm?CurrentId=10634> (accessed 22/07/2010); Commonwealth War Graves Commission, “New cemetery becomes final resting place for 250 soldiers in dedication led by HRH Prince of Wales,” <http://www.cwgc.org/fromelles/?page=english/diary-events/view/news190710> (accessed 22/07/2010); and Paul Malone, “Push to investigate WWI grave claim,” *Canberra Times* 13 Nov. 2006: Front page. See also: Commonwealth War Graves Commission, “Remembering/Fromelles,” <http://www.cwgc.org/fromelles/> (accessed 11/19/2009). The CWGC *Remembering Fromelles* website refers to multiple “burial pits” at Pheasant Wood whilst that of the Australian Army speaks of a “group burial site.”

¹⁷ K. S. Inglis, “The Rite Stuff,” *Anzac Remembered*, selected writings by K. S. Inglis, chosen and edited by John Lack with an introduction by Jay Winter (Parkville, Victoria: Department of History, The University of Melbourne, 1998) 223.

¹⁸ 11 November 1920 letter to the Prime Minister from G. F. Pearce, NAA (Canberra), series A 457, item D 536/1.

¹⁹ Bart Ziino, "Mourning and Commemoration in Australia: The Case of Sir W. T. Bridges and the Unknown Australian Soldier," *History Australia* 4.2 (2007): 40.1-40.4, 40.7.

²⁰ Lane quoting himself in a 30 November 1921 letter to Hon. W. M. Hughes from C. J. Lane, NAA (Canberra), series A 457, item D 536/1.

²¹ Lane quoting himself in a 30 November 1921 letter to Hon. W. M. Hughes from C. J. Lane, NAA (Canberra), series A 457, item D 536/1.

²² "Proposed Canberra Burial," *Melbourne Herald* 9 Nov. 1920; 11 November 1920 letter to the Prime Minister from G. F. Pearce; 17 November 1920 letter from the Private Secretary for the Prince of Wales to C. J. Lane; 30 November 1921 letter to Hon. W. M. Hughes from G. F. Pearce; 2 December 1921 letter to C. J. Lane from the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister; 20.12.21 [20 December 1921] note, "Suggested Burial of an Unknown Soldier at Canberra," Prime Minister's Office, NAA (Canberra), series A 457, item D 536/1; Bart Ziino, "Mourning and Commemoration in Australia: The Case of Sir W. T. Bridges and the Unknown Australian Soldier," *History Australia* 4.2 (2007): 40.1-40.5, 40.7; and Australian Dictionary of Biography, "Pearce, Sir George Foster (1870-1952)," <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A110182b.htm> (accessed 10/07/2010).

²³ Treloar quoted in K. S. Inglis, "The unknown Australian soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23.60 (1999, *Special Issue: War and Other Catastrophes*): 11 and endnote 15, 196.

²⁴ "The Australian War Museum as the National War Museum. Some notes for the information of members of the Committee when the future of the Museum is discussed with the Prime Minister," [1922], 2-3, AWM, record PR00944, box 71

²⁵ Untitled editorial, *Melbourne Argus* 12 Jan. 1922; "Australia's Unknown: Burial at Canberra Proposed," *Melbourne Argus* 12 Jan. 1922; "An Unknown Soldier: Proposed Australian Burial. League Officials Object to Canberra Site," *Melbourne Argus* 13 Jan. 1922; "Our Unknown Soldier," *Melbourne Herald* 13 Jan. 1922; "Australia's Unknown: Canberra Not favoured," *Melbourne Argus* 13 Jan. 1922; "Burial of Unknown Warrior: Objection to Canberra site," *Melbourne Herald* 14 Jan. 1922; "Australia's Unknown: Soldiers' Divergent Views," *Melbourne Argus* 17 Jan. 1922; 17 January 1922 letter to Sir from Mary Booth of the Centre for Soldiers' Wives and Mothers (letter is date-stamped 19 Jan 22, Prime Minister's Dept); 19 January 1922 letter to Sir from T. C. Inches, Secretary of the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia, Bairnsdale Sub-Branch; "The Unknown Warrior: Proposed Burial at Canberra," *Melbourne Herald* 20 Jan. 1922; 21 January 1922 telegram to the Hon. Massey Green, Minister of Defence, from the President Returned Soldiers League, NSW; 24 January 1922 letter to the Hon. G. H. Wise from the Secretary, Prime Minister's Office; 'Common Sense,' "Burial of Unknown Warrior: To the editor of the Argus," *Melbourne Argus* 24 Jan. 1922; 26 January 1922, "Burial of an Unknown Soldier in the Commonwealth," Prime Minister's Office; "Burial of Unknown Australian Soldier," *Melbourne Argus* 17 Mar. 1922, NAA (Canberra), series A 457, item D 536/1; 29 November 1921 letter to the Prime Minister from A. Poyhton; "A Call for Common-Sense," editorial, *Building* 11 February 1922: 51; *The Soldier* 10 December 1921: 25; "The Australian War Museum as the National War Museum. Some notes for the information of members of the Committee when the future of the Museum is discussed with the Prime Minister," [1922], 2-3, AWM, record PR00944, box 71; and K. S. Inglis, "The unknown Australian soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23.60 (1999, *Special Issue: War and Other Catastrophes*): 11.

²⁶ Excerpts of letters and a circular from the RSL Papers MS 6609 (NLA) 2332c: 3 July 1946 letter to J. C. Neagle, General Secretary, RSS&AILA, from Percy G. Hardy, Hon. Secretary, ACT Branch, RSS&AILA; 5 July 1946 letter to Hardy from Neagle; 8 July 1946 Federal Executive of the RSS&AILA Circular No. 326/46 by J. C. Neagle, General Secretary; 12 July 1946 letter to Neagle from J. F. Dowling, State Secretary, South Australian Branch, RSS&AILA; 18 July 1946 letter from J. R. Lewis, State Secretary, NSW Branch, RSS&AILA; 19 July 1946 letter from D. M. Benson, State Secretary, WA Branch, RSS&AILA; 22 July 1946 letter from E. E. von Bibra, State Secretary, Tasmanian State Branch, RSS&AILA; 25 July 1946 letter from G. J. Angell, State Secretary, Queensland Branch, RSS&AILA; undated letter from C. W. Joyce, Secretary, Victorian Branch, RSS&AILA; and 27 February 1947 letter to Eric Millhouse, Federal President, RSS&AILA, from H. V. Johnson, Minister of the Interior, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

²⁷ Excerpted letter from the RSL Papers MS 6609 (NLA) 2332c: 27 February 1947 letter to Eric Millhouse, Federal President, RSS&AILA, from H. V. Johnson, Minister of the Interior, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

²⁸ Excerpted letter from the RSL Papers MS 6609 (NLA) 2332c: 27 February 1947 letter to Eric Millhouse, Federal President, RSS&AILA, from H.V. Johnson, Minister of the Interior, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

²⁹ Excerpted letter from the RSL Papers MS 6609 (NLA) 2332c: 28 March 1947 letter to Senator H. V. Johnson from the General Secretary, RSS&AILA, AWM, record PR00944, box 71; K.S. Inglis, "The unknown Australian soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23.60 (1999, *Special Issue: War and Other Catastrophes*): 15; Michael McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial, 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1991) 219-220; and John Stevens, "Coming Home," *Australian Way* (August 1993): 96, AWM, record PR00944, box 71. Ken Inglis writes that in 1970 a Sydney contingent of advocates for the establishment of a tomb of the unknown Australian soldier within the AWM succeeded in convincing the New South Wales congress of the RSL, then its national congress, to pass a resolution in favour of this initiative. Some members of Parliament also supported the RSL's resolution, which they believed might actually be legislated because a bill amending the War Memorial Act was then on the books. The AWM's Board, however, rejected the concept as beyond late, almost macabre, and, not least, an installation that would diminish the draw of the Hall of Memory as the institution's principal commemorative space. In the event, the bill to amend the War Memorial Act was removed from Parliament's agenda and with it any potential government endorsement of the RSL's resolution. In 1971, at the RSL national congress, that resolution was withdrawn, despite objections from the New South Wales branch. K. S. Inglis, "The unknown Australian Soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23.60 (1999, *Special Issue: War and Other Catastrophes*): 13.

³⁰ *The Hall of Memory*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: Ruskin Press, 1984) no pagination.

³¹ Ken Inglis has recorded, in shorthand, his impressions of Peter Tonkin's and Janet Lawrence's preliminary design ideas for integrating the Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier within the Hall of Memory. Regarding Raymond Ewer's *Australian Serviceman*, he characterized this bronze sculpture as "Aggressive, confrontational, out of harmony with H of M [Hall of Memory], [and] not xsing [sic] [the] contemporary AWM view of itself." Evidently the AWM's administration thought the same, although they could not publicly couch the sculpture's removal from its niche within the Hall of Memory, where it had been a fixture since 1959, in such blunt terms. As of April 1994, the sculpture still sat in storage, for the AWM had not yet raised the \$30,000 it required in donor funding for both the sculpture's restoration and its relocation. Ken Inglis, personal notes regarding Peter Tonkin and Janet Lawrence, architect and installation artist, AWM, PR00944, box 71 and 20 April 1994 letter to Prof. K. S. Inglis from Brendan Kelson, Director, AWM, PR00944, box 70.

³² *The Hall of Memory*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: Ruskin Press, 1984) no pagination; K.S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War & Society* 3.2 (September 1985): 120-123; "Report of Directing Group Meeting: Unknown Soldier Project," 15 June 1993; Ken Inglis, personal notes regarding Peter Tonkin and Janet Lawrence, architect and installation artist, AWM, record PR00944, box 71; 20 April 1994 letter to Prof. K.S. Inglis from Brendan Kelson, Director, AWM, record PR00944, box 70; AWM, "Virtual Tour of the Memorial: Commemorative Area," <http://www.awm.gov.au/virtualtour/commemorative.htm> (accessed 09/01/2008); and AWM, "Roll of Honour Introduction," http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/roll_of_honour/introduction.asp (accessed 11/07/2010). For period and more recent accounts of the complicated history of the evolution of the Hall of Memory's commemorative design elements, see: *The Australian War Memorial: Canberra*, 9th ed. (Sydney: Halstead Press Pty Limited, March 1949); K. S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War & Society* 3.2 (September 1985): 113-123; and Michael McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial, 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1991) 208-220.

³³ K. S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War & Society* 3.2 (September 1985): 123 and McKernan xi, 30, 34.

³⁴ 3 September 1993 letter to Ken [Inglis] from Bill [Gammage], AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

³⁵ 30 August 1993 letter to Bill [Gammage] from [Ken Inglis] and 3 September 1993 letter to Ken [Inglis] from Bill [Gammage], AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

³⁶ 3 September 1993 letter to Ken [Inglis] from Bill [Gammage], AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

³⁷ Leda Glyptis, "Living up to the father: The national identity prescriptions of remembering Atatürk; His homes, his grave, his temple," *National Identities* 10.4 (December 2008): 362.

³⁸ Gammage quoted in Ashley Ekins, "Proposal for AWM 50th Anniversary Program," 6 June 1991, AWM, record PR00944, box 71 and K. S. Inglis, "The unknown Australian soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23.60 (1999, *Special Issue: War and Other Catastrophes*): 15. Gammage's 1990 AWM History conference address, "Anzac's influence on Turkey and Australia," was published in the number 18 issue, April 1991, of the *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*.

³⁹ Ashley Ekins, "Proposal for AWM 50th Anniversary Program," 6 June 1991, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴⁰ Michael McKernan's comments for the director regarding Ashley Ekins's proposal for a tomb of an unknown warrior at the Memorial, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴¹ Michael McKernan's comments for the director regarding Ashley Ekins's proposal for a tomb of an unknown warrior at the Memorial, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴² 30 July 1991 notice of meeting to Sir William Keys and Mr. Wright from Michael McKernan and notice of meeting to Misters Burness, Ekins, and Stanley from Michael McKernan, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴³ 23 August 1993 letter to K. S. Inglis from Ashley Ekins, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴⁴ Unknawm [sic]: conversation with Jay [Winter] 16 9 [1993]; 23 August 1993 letter to K. S. Inglis from Ashley Ekins, AWM, record PR00944, box 71; and K. S. Inglis, "The Unknown Australian Soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23.60 (1999, *Special Issue: War and Other Catastrophes*): 15.

⁴⁵ 23 August 1993 letter to K. S. Inglis from Ashley Ekins, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴⁶ Richard E. Reid, "Burial of 'unknown soldier' at Australian War Memorial and Appendix 1: "The interment of an 'unknown Australian soldier' of the first world war [sic] in the Australian War Memorial's Hall of Memory," 12 January 1993, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴⁷ "Proposal to create a tomb of an unknown Australian soldier at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia," copy of memorandum from the Director of the Australian War Memorial, Mr. B. Kelson, to the Director-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Mr. D. Kennedy- for discussion at the Commission's meeting in England, 10 March 1993, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴⁸ "Proposal to create a tomb of an unknown Australian soldier at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia," copy of memorandum from the Director of the Australian War Museum, Mr. B. Kelson, to the Director-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Mr. D. Kennedy- for discussion at the Commission's meeting in England, 10 March 1993, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁴⁹ "Proposal to create a tomb of an unknown Australian soldier at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia," copy of memorandum from the Director of the Australian War Memorial, Mr. B. Kelson, to the Director-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Mr. D. Kennedy- for discussion at the Commission's meeting in England, 10 March 1993, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁵⁰ CWGC resolution excerpted in "Report of Directing Group Meeting 24 March 1993: Unknown Australian Soldier Project," AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁵¹ The replacement headstone for Grave 13, Row M, and Plot III of Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux, reads: "The Remains of an Unknown Australian Soldier Lay in This Grave for 75 Years. On 2nd November 1993 They Were Exhumed and Now Rest in the Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra." The author visited Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux, in May 2007. See also, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Cemetery Details: Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux," http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=2701&mode=1 (accessed 08/01/2010).

⁵² Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier Directing Group Meeting: 24 March 1993: Agenda and "Report of Directing Group Meeting 24 March 1993: Unknown Australian Soldier Project," AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁵³ Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier Directing Group Meeting 27 July 1993, Agenda, with attachment: "The Unknown Australian Soldier-Final Journey From Exhumation in Europe to Australia (At 16/6);" "Report of Directing Group Meeting: Unknown Australian Soldier Project," 27 July 1993; "Report of Directing Group Meeting: Unknown Australian Soldier Project," 14 September 1993; "The Entombment of the Unknown Australian Soldier," *Despatches* (Commemorative Issue); "Final resting place chosen for unknown soldier," *The Canberra Times* 9/6/93; and Ian McPhedran, "Homecoming of a hero," *The Canberra Times* 12 Nov. 1993: front page, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁵⁴ Tony Wright, "PM declares soldier's burial a national event," *Sydney Morning Herald* 19 Oct. 1993:5, AWM, record PR00944, Box 71.

⁵⁵ Neil McPherson, "The Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier," *Vetaffairs* (September 1993): 6; Ian McPhedran, "'Anzac Parade' earns its name," *The Canberra Times* 10 Nov. 1993: 8; Geoffrey Barker, "Entombment pays homage to heroes," *The Age* 11 Nov. 1993: 17; Norman Abjorensen, "At rest, at last, and known only to God," *The Canberra Times* 12 Nov. 1993: 7; Ian McPhedran, "Homecoming of a hero," *The Canberra Times* 12 Nov. 1993: front page; AWM, *Funeral Service for the Unknown Australian Soldier*, 11 November 1993; and AWM, *Funeral Service and Entombment of the Unknown Australian Soldier*, 11 November 1993, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁵⁶ Jacques Derrida, *The Work of Mourning*, eds. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001) 51-52.

⁵⁷ Paul Keating, "Remembrance Day Speech, 11 November 1993," <http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/keating.asp> (accessed 06/05/10).

⁵⁸ Keating, "Remembrance Day Speech, 11 November 1993," <http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/keating.asp> (accessed 06/05/2010).

⁵⁹ Marc Redfield, "Imagi-Nation: The Imagined Community and the Aesthetics of Mourning," *Diacritics* 29.4 (Winter 1999, *Special Issue: Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson*): 69.

⁶⁰ Redfield 69.

⁶¹ Redfield 69.

⁶² Joanne P. Sharp, "Gendering Nationhood: A Feminist Engagement With National Identity," *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Duncan (New York and London: Routledge, 1996) 99.

⁶³ Redfield 69 and Sharp 99.

⁶⁴ Keating, "Remembrance Day Speech, 11 November 1993," <http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/keating.asp> (accessed 06/05/2010).

⁶⁵ The eulogy was ghostwritten for him by Don Watson. K. S. Inglis, "The Rite Stuff," *Anzac Remembered*, selected writings by K. S. Inglis, chosen and edited by John Lack with an introduction by Jay Winter (Parkville, Victoria: Department of History, The University of Melbourne, 1998) 223.

⁶⁶ "The Unknown Australian Soldier" is a text mounted in the stairwell leading to the tower of the Villers-Bretonneux memorial. It further notes that the Unknown Australian Soldier "rested twice" at the memorial before his remains were brought back to Australia. Specifically, after the exhumation of his remains from Adelaide Cemetery on 2 November 1993, these were conveyed to the memorial, where a handover ceremony occurred releasing the Unknown Soldier from the custody of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, represented on this occasion by the Duke of Kent, the Commission's president, into the care of the Australian ambassador. The next day, these remains, having lain in state for 24 hours at the Cloth Hall and the Menin Gate, were, one the last time, brought back to the Villers-Bretonneux memorial for a locally focused ceremony, not unlike a funeral visitation, permitting the community to bid farewell to one of the Australian Great War servicemen who had been interred in their locality for some seven decades. The remains rested at Villers-Bretonneux memorial until 5 November, after which they departed France for Australia. The author visited the Villers-Bretonneux memorial in May 2007.

⁶⁷ This curious ceremonial gesture, unique to this event, was devised at the behest of the governor-general who, self-servingly, did not wish to appear idle as the coffin was readied to enter the Hall of Memory. Inglis explains: "Before the coffin is lifted up the steps of the Memorial, through the forecourt and into the Hall of Memory, there occurs a strange piece of ritual inserted at the request of the Governor-General because he wanted something to do out here as well as beside the Tomb. 'The coffin' says the program, 'is halted before the Chief Mourner in a silent salute.' 'The Unknown Soldier gives his salute,' says Bruce Webster, 'and on behalf of us all the Governor-General salutes the Unknown Soldier'— by putting right hand on heart." K. S. Inglis, "The Rite Stuff," *Anzac Remembered*, selected writings by K. S. Inglis, chosen and edited by John Lack with an introduction by Jay Winter (Parkville, Victoria: Department of History, The University of Melbourne, 1998) 221-222 and 4 December 1993 letter to Bill from [Ken Inglis], AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁶⁸ The governor-general's laying of a single sprig of wattle upon the coffin was a high-profile means to reinforce the AWM's "Lay a single flower" campaign it had launched to encourage the public to perform a simple act of commemoration on 11 November: The 75th anniversary of the Armistice and the entombment day of the Unknown Australian Soldier. This act, uncomplicated and virtually costless, was conceived by the AWM to render ritual remembrance accessible to everyone: "We feel that this private and personal

gesture places commemoration within the reach of everyone, regardless of age or circumstances.” AWM, *Lay a single flower*, AWM, record PR00944, box 71.

⁶⁹ The *Reveille* and *Rouse* bugle calls are not one and the same, although either may follow the sounding of the *Last Post* and the observance of the *Silence*. The Queensland ANZAC Day Commemoration Committee explains: “On ANZAC Day, *Reveille* or *Rouse* breaks the silence that follows the playing of the *Last Post*, symbolising the awakening of the dead in the next and better world. (*Rouse* is the bugle call more commonly used in conjunction with the *Last Post* and to the layman is often incorrectly called *Reveille*. Although associated with the *Last Post*, *Reveille* is rarely used because of its length.” Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Qld), “Bugle Calls,” <http://www.anzacday.org.au/education/tff/bugle.html> (accessed 10/02/2011).

⁷⁰ Cameron Stewart, “Unknown soldier comes home to rest,” *The Weekend Australian* 6-7 November 1993: 4; AWM, *Funeral Service for the Unknown Australian Soldier*, 11 November 1993; AWM, *Funeral Service and Entombment of the Unknown Australian Soldier*, 11 November 1993; Ian McPhedran, “‘Anzac Parade’ earns its name,” *The Canberra Times* 10 Nov. 1993: 8; Ian McPhedran, “Homecoming of a hero,” *The Canberra Times* 12 Nov. 1993: front page; Rod Usher, “A Time and a Place to Mourn,” *Time* 22 November 1993: 53, AWM, record PR00944, box 71; Libby Robin, “Nationalising Nature: Wattle Days in Australia,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 26.73 (2002, *Special Issue: The Dog of War*): 25; and Australian Government, Australian National Botanic Gardens, “Golden Wattle,” <http://www.anbg.gov.au/emblems/aust.emblem.html> (accessed 07/30/2010).

⁷¹ AWM, “The Unknown Australian Soldier,” AWM, record PR00944, Box 71. The author visited the Hall of Memory in November 2006.

⁷² Ken Inglis, personal notes regarding Peter Tonkin and Janet Lawrence, architect and installation artist, AWM, record PR00944, box 71 and Peter Londey, “The Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier,” *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 23 (October 1993): 45.

⁷³ Ken Inglis, Papers3 Unknawm3 [sic], “The Unknown Soldier,” paper for Australian War Memorial History Conference, ‘1918 and Beyond,’ ADFA, 29 September 1993, 24-26; Neil McPherson, “The Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier,” *Vetaffairs* (September 1993): 6; P. J. Burn, “Others were warriors too,” *Canberra Times* 5/4/93; “Bishop accuses Keating of trading on death of fallen heroes,” *The Canberra Times* 20 Oct. 1993: 3; Martin Daly, “Australian warriors have words over semantics of soldiers,” *The Age* 21/10/93; Charles Miranda, “‘Unknown soldier’ tribute set in stone,” *The Canberra Times* 22 Oct. 1993: 13; Jennifer Sexton, “Unknown Soldier decision sparks ire,” 23/10/93; “Push for Hewson as soldier’s pallbearer,” *The Canberra Times* 24 Oct. 1993: 3; “Hewson to join list of pallbearers,” *The Canberra Times* ?/10/93; Matt O’Brien, “MPs should not be pallbearers,” *The Canberra Times* 27/10/93; “Should be borne by his mates,” *The Canberra Times* 27/10/93; Daniel Cotterill, “Sacrilege!” *The Canberra Times* 27/10/93; Alf Garland, “PM’s affront to ex-servicemen,” *The Canberra Times* 31/10/93; J. V. Kent, “Pallbearers,” *Sydney Morning Herald* 1/11/93; R. M. Dean, “Honouring all who died in war;” P. Mazengarb, “Servicemen are represented,” *The Canberra Times* 3/11/93; James Scott-Findlay, “Unseemly rush to be pallbearer,” *The Canberra Times* 3/11/93; Rev. Donald Dufty, “The Unknown Soldier belongs to us all,” November 1; Margaret Gillespie-Jones, “New arrivals, old soldiers and scorn,” *The Age* 5/11/93; Tony Wright, “Politics buries the unknown soldier,” *Sydney Morning Herald* 6/11/93; Richard Begbie, “Unknown Soldier may have the last laugh on baby-boomer Keating,” *The Canberra Times* 7/11/93; Naomi J. Knox, “Let’s end the squabbling,” *The Canberra Times* 10/11/93; Kim Duckmanton Meredith, “Many fallen not ‘warriors,’” *The Canberra Times* 10/11/93; Kevin G. Browne, “Top brass should step aside,” *The Canberra Times* 8/11/93; Cameron Stewart, “Unknown soldier misses out on French honour,” 11/11/93; Betty Ashton, “Burial party,” *The Age* 12/11/93; “In remembrance, the boys are home,” *The Age* 12/11/93; Bob Millington, “Wheeling home the gate takings,” *The Age* 15 Nov. 1993:2; Margaret Vawdon, “Sincerity for a soldier,” *The Age* 17/11/93; Geoffrey Blainey, “In God he trusted,” *The Age* 20/11/93; Brendan Frain, “The unknown speech,” *The Age* 22/11/93; P. K. Potter and family, “Unknown soldier telecast praised,” *The Age* 25/11/93, AWM, record, PR00944, box 71; and National War Memorial, “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior,” <http://www.nationalwarmemorial.govt.nz/tomb.html> (accessed 13/07/2010).

⁷⁴ Indeed, VAC’s Don Ives made this very observation in the “meditative aids” he wrote to guide departmental discussions of the possible reasons for, and implications of, repatriating an unknown soldier for entombment in Ottawa: “Publicly, it cannot be on behalf of national unity (for the reasons already given) and, as you are making plain in the explication of the full, rich, significance of the National War Memorial — there is no real deficit in Canadian commemoration which needs to be corrected.” 3 October 1996 email

to DWCARROT@NCR.VAC.ACC, CC: AEPUXLEY@VS.VAC.ACC, from DGIVES@NCR.VAC.ACC, Subject: NWM and other considerations, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning.

⁷⁵ Edwin Pye, "Shrine of the Nations: The Unknown Warrior," *The Legionary* XIII.4 (November 1937): 13. Pye enlisted for service in the CEF on 23 September 1914. LAC, "Soldiers of the First World War-CEF," http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/cef/001042-119.02-e.php?image_url=http://data2.archives.ca/cef/gpc014/591834a.gif&id_nbr=584585 (accessed 27/06/2010).

⁷⁶ Although Marc Monette does not name the "university professor out of Montreal" who pitched his proposal to establish a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to the Legion, this could be none other than the Robert Bernier who is a professor at the École nationale d'administration publique. Marc Monette, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Monette, 23 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 2; ENAP, "Robert Bernier: Informations Professionnelles," http://cerberus.enap.ca/enap/503/Corps_professoral.enap?view=fonction&indid=297 (accessed 27/06/2010); and Presses de l'Université du Québec, "Robert Bernier," <http://www.puq.ca/auteurs/robert-bernier-391.html> (accessed 27/06/2010).

⁷⁷ 16 juillet 1996 letter to Le Très Honorable Jean Chrétien, Premier Ministre du Canada, from Robert Bernier; 22 juillet 1996 letter to the Honorable David M. Collenette, Ministre de la Défense et des Anciens Combattants, from Jean-Yves Bronze; 22 juillet 1996 letter to the Honorable Paul Martin, Ministre des Finances, from Jean-Yves Bronze; 26 juillet 1996 letter to the Honorable David M. Collenette, Ministre de la Défense et des Anciens Combattants, from Jean-Yves Bronze; undated letter to Le Très Honorable Jean Chrétien, Premier Ministre du Canada, from Robert Bernier; and Robert Bernier and Jean-Yves Bronze, "Rapatriement d'un soldat canadien inconnu," Communication et développement Robert Bernier inc., 4, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning.

⁷⁸ David J. Bercuson, "Up from the Ashes: The Re-Professionalization of the Canadian Forces after the Somalia Affair," *Canadian Military Journal* 9.3 (2009): 31. See also: Grant Dawson, *'Here is Hell': Canada's Engagement in Somalia* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2007) 3-4; Sherene Razack, "From the 'Clean Snows of Petawawa': The Violence of Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia," *Cultural Anthropology* 15.1 (February 2000): 127; Rod Jensen, rev. of *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*, by Sherene Razack, *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 20.1 (2005): 225-226; and Janis Goldie, "Morals, process and political scandals: the discursive role of the Royal Commission in the Somalia Affair in Canada," PhD diss. Abstract, University of Calgary, 2009, *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law* 17.1 (2010): 157-158.

⁷⁹ "Projet: rapatriement d'un soldat canadien inconnu," text faxed to M. Charles Bergeron, Adjoint Spécial au Ministre de la Défense, from Jean-Yves Bronze on 23 July 1996 and Robert Bernier and Jean-Yves Bronze, "Rapatriement d'un soldat canadien inconnu," Communication et développement Robert Bernier inc., 13, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning.

⁸⁰ 22 juillet 1996 letter to the Honorable David M. Collenette, Ministre de la Défense et des Anciens Combattants, from Jean-Yves Bronze; "Projet: Rapatriement d'un soldat canadien inconnu," text faxed to M. Charles Bergeron, Adjoint Spécial au Ministre de la Défense, from Jean-Yves Bronze on 23 July 1996; 22 juillet 1996 letter to the Honorable Paul Martin, Ministre des Finances, from Jean-Yves Bronze; 26 juillet 1996 letter to the Honorable David M. Collenette, Ministre de la Défense et des Anciens Combattants, from Jean-Yves Bronze; Robert Bernier and Jean-Yves Bronze, "Rapatriement d'un soldat inconnu," Communication et développement Robert Bernier inc., 4, 9-11, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning; Gerald L. Gall, "Québec Referendum (1995), *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/PrinterFriendly.cfm?params=a1ARTA0010730> (accessed 10/08/2010); John Fox, Robert Anderson, and Joseph Dubonnet, "The polls and the 1995 Quebec referendum," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 24. 3 (Summer 1999): 411-412 ; Michael B. Stein, "Improving the Process of Constitutional Reform in Canada: Lessons from the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Constitutional Rounds," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30.2 (June 1997): 320, 327; and Christie Blatchford, "After Somalia, Forces prove 'open and transparent,'" *Globe and Mail* 3 Jan. 2009, <http://v1.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20090103.wblatch03/BNStory/CHRISTIE+BLATCFORD> (accessed 11/08/2010).

⁸¹ 7 August 1996 letter to Corporate Secretariat, Veterans Affairs Canada, from Daniel F. Wheeldon, Secretary-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Canadian Agency, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning.

⁸² 11 September 1996 letter to the Honourable Lawrence MacAulay from Jean Chrétien, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning.

⁸³ 11 September 1996 letter to the Honourable Lawrence MacAulay, Secretary of State (Veterans), from Jean Chrétien; 8 novembre 1996 letter to the Très Honorable Jean Chrétien from Jean-Yves Bronze; 8 novembre 1996 letter to the Honorable Lawrence MacAulay, Secrétaire d'Etat aux Anciens Combattants, from Jean-Yves Bronze; 8 novembre 1996 letter to the Honorable Doug Young, Ministre de la Défense et des Anciens Combattants, from Jean-Yves Bronze; 25 novembre 1996 letter to Jean-Yves Bronze from Samy Khalid, Adjoint spécial, Correspondence, Cabinet du Premier ministre; copy of 12 décembre 1996 letter to Robert Bernier from Lawrence MacAulay; and copy of 12 décembre 1996 letter to Jean-Yves Bronze from Lawrence MacAulay, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning.

⁸⁴ *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 2.

⁸⁵ *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 1-2; R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 2-4; Larry Doshen, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number 31D 5 Doshen, 30 June 2004, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 3; and Dan Black, "The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," *Legion Magazine* (September 1, 2000), <http://www.legionmagazine.com/en/index.php/2000/09/the-tomb-of-the-unknown-soldier> (accessed 06/05/2010).

⁸⁶ *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 2 and R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 4.

⁸⁷ *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 2 and R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 3-4.

⁸⁸ Al Puxley, "Briefing Note for the Minister of Veterans Affairs: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," 27 February 1998, 2, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin) and *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 3.

⁸⁹ Al Puxley, "Briefing Note for the Minister of Veterans Affairs: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," 27 February 1998, 2; 2 March 1998 memorandum to D. Wallace, Assistant Deputy Minister, Veterans Services from J. André Smith, A/Director General, Commemoration Division, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin); and *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 3.

⁹⁰ Al Puxley, "Briefing Note for the Minister of Veterans Affairs: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," 27 February 1998, 4, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

⁹¹ Internally, even before it was realized that there were no unknown Canadian soldiers killed in the Boer War, VAC was deeply concerned about the political fall-out and embarrassment that might ensue if they, from the vantage point of a post-colonial Canada, participated in the repatriation and entombment of an unknown soldier from an ideologically distant and problematic war, with Suzanne Michellod remarking that the Historical Section of Foreign Affairs and International Trade might well hold the "view that the celebration of our 'colonial' response to 'Cecil Rhodes' war' may garner some adverse comment." Meanwhile, an unsigned note, which was apparently authored by Don Ives (an attribution made by Michellod), is much blunter: "(1) May I suggest you meet the War Museum et al with the news that your 'primary responsibility [is] for all matters related to the commemoration of the war dead and the remembrance of the sacrifice and achievements of Canadian citizens-in-arms.' (2) Therefore, we will be the lead department developing the Memorandum to Cabinet, etc. I believe this approach would, at once, assert

the Minister's control and assure that this stupid initiative was not pursued....By the way, the 'bad idea' here has a lot to do with the fact that the South African was a bad idea which, in addition to killing 20,000 English, 25,000 Boers also killed some 14-20,000 blacks." 2/25/98 email to JASMITH from Suzanne Michellod, Subject: Briefing Note: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and [Don Ives], Note to: The Unknown Soldier, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

⁹² Al Puxley, "Briefing Note for the Minister of Veterans Affairs: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," 27 February 1998, 2-5, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

⁹³ Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 5.

⁹⁴ *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 3-18 and R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, transcribed by A. Fodor, 5-6.

⁹⁵ Copy, 30 November 1998 letter to the Honourable Roy MacLaren, High Commissioner, Canadian High Commission, from Fred J. Mifflin and Copy, 30 November 1998 letter to David Kennedy, Secretary and Director-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Maidenhead, from Fred J. Mifflin, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin).

⁹⁶ The author of the request, who remains unidentified, demanded: "all information about the human remains buried in Ottawa on 28 May 2000 as Canada's Unknown Soldier, including, but not limited to, the following; date and location of the original battlefield recovery of the body, description of any insignia and items of uniform found with the body, and forensic information gathered in our own era." 2000-06-08 [8 June 2000] memorandum to Rita Mackenzie from Thelma Parsons, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning. VAC itself was concerned that efforts might be initiated to seek, even attempt to force, the identification of the unknown soldier. In a 14 May 1999 (then) secret memorandum to Cabinet prepared by the Minister of Veterans Affairs, *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*, the *Background* (17, "Problems and Strategies") and *Considerations* sections (21-22, "Possible Negative Impacts") of this document address this issue, as well cite strategies to deflect attention from, defuse controversy about, and respond to any demands made to identify the unknown soldier: 17. Problem: The concept of an "unknown soldier" presents a mystery which individuals may try to solve, or purport to have solved. Public speculation on the identity could detract from the force and solemnity of this commemoration, or even lead to controversy associated with demands for DNA testing by "next-of-kin." Strategy: The Commonwealth War Graves Commission (not the Government of Canada) has authority over the remains. The Commission will exhume from a site where any possibility of identification is remote. Further, many veterans oppose subjecting the remains to DNA testing. With communication tools stressing the commemoration aspect and the fact that Canada is one of the few major countries without a tomb of "The Unknown Soldier," public attention will be directed away from issues of identity and the likelihood of any claim will be reduced. 21. There may be individuals who are convinced that the remains of the unknown soldier are those of a relative, and will demand DNA testing (particularly in view of the recent identification of the unknown soldier of the Vietnam War in the United States). This will be avoided by having the Commonwealth War Graves Commission proceed with their recovery task in secrecy, with no Canadian involvement. 22. Requests from next-of-kin that remains be returned to Canada have been denied as contrary to the policies of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Repatriation of the remains of the unknown soldier might now be cited as a precedent. The response is that this initiative is a symbolic gesture representing the return of all who died overseas, and does not alter the policy adopted during the war that the dead would lie where they fell. Minister of Veterans Affairs, Secret Memorandum to Cabinet, *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*, 14 May 1999, 7, 19, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin); Copy, 30 November 1998 letter to the Honourable Roy MacLaren, High Commissioner, Canadian High Commission, from Fred J. Mifflin; Copy, 30 November 1998 letter to David Kennedy, Secretary and Director-General, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, from Fred J. Mifflin; 23 April 1999 letter to His Excellency The Hon. Roy MacLaren, Canadian High Commission, from David Kennedy, Commonwealth War Graves Commission (Maidenhead); Minister of Veterans Affairs, Secret Memorandum to Cabinet, *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*, 14 May 1999, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, WWI General-Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Terry Tobin); 12 June 2000 memorandum to Rita Mackenzie from Don Ives, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning;

VAC, "Commonwealth War Graves Commission: Involvement with the Canadian Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/REMEMBERS/sub.cfm?source=Memorials/tomb/cwgc> (accessed 4/07/2010); and *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 9.

⁹⁷ R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 10.

⁹⁸ R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 10; Bradley N. Hall, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Hall, 22 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 5-6, 8; André Smith, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview control Number: 31D 5 Smith, 19 November 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by S. Johnston, 5-6; André M. Lévesque, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Levesque, 11 January 2005 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 7; 10 March 2000 letter to Roger Dalley, Deputy Director General, CWGC (Canadian Agency), from Bradley N. Hall, Deputy Secretary-General, CWGC (Canadian Agency); 21 March 2000 letter to Don Ives, Senior Advisor, Commemoration Division, Veterans Affairs Canada, from Bradley N. Hall, Deputy Secretary-General, CWGC (Canadian Agency); 22 March 2000 letter to Brad Hall, Deputy Secretary General, Canadian Agency, CWGC, from Don Ives, Senior Advisor, Commemoration Division, VAC, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning*; and VAC, "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Questions and Answers," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=memorials/tomb/thetomb/tombqanda> (accessed 05/05/2010).

⁹⁹ The author visited Cabaret Rouge British Cemetery in May 2007. See also VAC, "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; Questions and Answers," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=memorials/tomb/thetomb/tombqanda> (accessed 05/05/2010).

¹⁰⁰ Gerald S. Wharton, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program , Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Wharton, 29 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 3.

¹⁰¹ Marc Monette, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Monette, 23 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 5.

¹⁰² *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 8.

¹⁰³ Marc Monette, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Monette, 23 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 4; Gerald S. Wharton, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Wharton, 29 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 3-4; *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 6-9; and VAC, "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Designing and Constructing the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," <http://vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=Memorials/tomb/thetomb/tombconstruct> (accessed 14/07/2010).

¹⁰⁴ Marc Monette, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Monette, 23 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 8 and Gerald S. Wharton, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Wharton, 29 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Veterans Affairs Canada, "Modern Honours of Canada (1972)-Cross of Valour (CV)," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/cmdp/mainmenu/group02/cv> (accessed 02/07/2010).

¹⁰⁶ Marc Monette, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Monette, 23 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 6-9; Gerald S. Wharton, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number 31D 5 Wharton, 29 June 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 4-6; VAC, "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Designing and Constructing the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," <http://vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=Memorials/tomb/thetomb/tombconstruct> (accessed 14/07/2010); *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]), 29-30; Canadian Association of Professional Conservators, "List of Members," <http://capc-acrp.ca/alpha.asp> (accessed 11/08/2010); and Jennifer Iles, "In remembrance: The Flanders poppy," *Mortality* 13.3 (August 2008): 204.

¹⁰⁷ She indulges, as a rhetorical conceit, in greater fanciful, albeit in ways more attentive to contemporary rather than period parlance, speculation about the Unknown Soldier's possible personal and vocational details. See: Adrienne Clarkson, "Eulogy for Canada's Unknown Soldier, Ottawa, Ontario, Sunday, May 28, 2000," Governor General of Canada: Media, <http://archive.gg.ca/media/doc.asp?lang=e&DocID=1237> (accessed 17/05/2010).

¹⁰⁸ "Composition of the Funeral Procession," *Canadian Forces Personnel Newsletter* 6 (2000): 8, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20000044-007, call number 58B5 3.5.

¹⁰⁹ Adrienne Clarkson, "Eulogy for Canada's Unknown Soldier, Ottawa, Ontario, Sunday, May 28, 2000," Governor General of Canada: Media, <http://archive.gg.ca/media/doc.asp?lang=e&DocID=1237> (accessed 17/05/2010).

By the same token, an explanatory plaque, entitled "They Gave Their Youth..." one of several such bronze panels that have been mounted on the east and west-facing low-lying perimeter walls that surround the National War Memorial, duly emphasizes and expounds upon his (symbolically malleable) anonymity: "The *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* represents all Canadians who die for their country in all conflicts — past, present and future. The Unknown Soldier fought and died near Vimy Ridge during the First World War. His remains were originally laid to rest in a nameless grave in the Cabaret-Rouge [sic] cemetery in Souchez, France. His identity, his life and his hopes remain unknown." 11 December 2008 email from Janet McGowan (National Capital Commission) to Katrina Bormanis, Subject: Summer interpretive guides stationed before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and attachments "InterpPanelsEast.TheyGaveTheirYouth.doc" and "Interppanels.West.WeWillRemember.doc." The author has also visited this site on numerous occasions.

¹¹⁰ Adrienne Clarkson, "Eulogy for Canada's Unknown Soldier, Ottawa, Ontario, Sunday, May 28, 2000," Governor General of Canada: Media, <http://archive.gg.ca/media/doc.asp?lang=e&DocID=1237> (accessed 17/05/2010).

¹¹¹ Jennifer Delisle, "'For King and Country': Nostalgia, War, and Canada's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," *The Dalhousie Review* 85.1 (Spring 2005): 19.

¹¹² Adrienne Clarkson, "Eulogy for Canada's Unknown Soldier, Ottawa, Ontario, Sunday May 28, 2000," <http://archive.gg.ca/media/doc.asp?lang=e&DocID=1237> (accessed 17/05/2010).

¹¹³ Derrida, *The Work of Mourning*, 51.

¹¹⁴ Delisle 27.

¹¹⁵ Delisle 27.

¹¹⁶ Delisle 19-21, 26-27.

¹¹⁷ Daly explains:

The night before — the night before — the twenty-seventh of May, I got a call from the Command Chaplain of — one of the priests in the Command Chaplain's Office of the Canadian Forces — indicating that he had authorized an Indian, quote "an Indian," to put some soil in. I was very, very distressed because this had never been approved by our Working Group. It had never been part of our planning committee. We had had some bad experiences previously with some of the Indian organizations and how they conducted themselves at the National Remembrance Day ceremony. We would, for example — we would invite Aboriginal Veterans' Organizations to participate along with the other Veterans. But some of the Indian communities, when they saw Aboriginal Veterans participating in the National Remembrance Day ceremony, felt that they were also authorized to participate during the period that was reserved only for veterans. So we had occurrences at the National Remembrance Day ceremony where groups of Indians would come out with drums and whatever at a very solemn point that was reserved only for Aboriginal veterans.

So we were very concerned. What did this mean? Who was this Indian? I found out that evening that it was Chief Anderson from Saskatchewan, who is also a veteran and who is a Legionnaire. So I felt much better about it but still I hadn't approved, specifically, what he was to put in the coffin....

So at this very, very late moment I was quite concerned that we were losing control of that aspect.... So I found out that it was a piece of soil and some smoking tobacco that he wanted to include. So the next morning, first thing, I went and met Chief Anderson myself, took a look in his bag to see what was in there and was content that there would be no problem with this. R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by A. Fodor, 8-9.

¹¹⁸ Programme, *Interment Ceremony: Canada's Unknown Soldier, National War Memorial, 2:00 P.M., May 28, 2000*, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20000044-007, call number 58B 5 3.5; Canada, Department of National Defence, *Op Memoria* (2000) 15/16-16/16, CWM REF PAM D 680 C2 07 2000; "The Canadian Forces supports the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier ceremony," *Canadian Forces Personnel Newsletter* 6 (2000): 2, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 20000044-007, call number 58B5 3.5; *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc., [2001]) 104-106; VAC, "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Direct from Ottawa," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=Memorials/tomb/ottawadirect4> (accessed 14/07/2010); Jeff Sallot, "Unknown Soldier laid to rest," *Globe and Mail* 29 May 2000: A5; Richard Foot, "Unknown Soldier is Home Forever," *National Post* 29 May 2000: A1 and A4; Ron Corbett, "Canada's lost son 'lost no more,'" *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A1-2; Jeff Pappone, "'Symbol of all sacrifice' laid to rest," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A1-2; and Buzz Bourdon, "Ceremony rich with symbolism," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A4.

¹¹⁹ *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History* (produced for the Royal Canadian Legion by Vista Knowledge Services Inc, [2001]) 13-14,16-18; *Tomb of the unknown soldier: CBC Television News*, video recording, CBC, 2000, http://amicus.collectionscanada.gc.ca/aaweb-bin/aamain/itemdisp?sessionKey=999999999_142&l=0&d=2&v=0&lvl=1&itm=25755519 (accessed 07/07/2010); Norflicks Productions Ltd., "Productions," <http://www.norflicks.com/Library.htm> (accessed 07/08/2010); VAC, "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," <http://vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=Memorials/tomb/francedirect1> (accessed 07/08/2010); VAC, "About Canada Remembers," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/REMEMBERS/sub.cfm?source=canrem> (accessed 07/08/2010); and R. Duane Daly, interview with Bill Aikman, Canadian War Museum Oral History Program, Interview Control Number: 31D 5 Daly, 13 July 2004 in Ottawa, interview transcribed by a. Fodor, 13-14. For a sampling of the Canadian newspaper coverage of this event, see: Buzz Bourdon, "Tomb of Unknown Soldier brings closure for veteran," *Ottawa Citizen* 28 April 2000: A6; Buzz Bourdon, "Canada's Unknown Soldier exhumed from Vimy grave," *Ottawa Citizen* 19 May 2000: A1 and A7; Dave Brown, "Opinions differ on ceremony for Unknown Soldier," *Ottawa Citizen* 20 May 2000: C1 and C2; Jeff Sallot, "Canada honours its lost soldiers," *Globe and Mail* 20 May 2000: A3; Jack Granatstein, "A mute reproach from the tomb," *Globe and Mail* 20 May 2000: A15; Tom Spears, "Ottawa woman celebrates poetic justice," *Ottawa Citizen* 20 May 2000: C1 and C2; "The long journey home: Canada's Unknown Soldier returns to Ottawa for a state funeral this week," *Ottawa Citizen* 22 May 2000: D3; Buzz Bourdon, "Chaplain general to lead nation in state service for fallen soldier," *Ottawa Citizen* 23 May 2000: A3; Richard Foot, "Canadians are invited to pay their respects to 28,000 warriors who were never identified," *National Post* 23 May 2000: A8; Richard Foot, "Unknown Soldier coming home," *National Post* 23 May 2000: A8; David Bercuson, "Unknown Soldier's sacrifice not forgotten," *National Post* 25 May 2000: A18; Murray Campbell, "First World War hero finally laid to rest," *Globe and Mail* 25 May 2000: A1 and A3; Richard Foot, "Albertan soldier finally laid to rest 84 years after death: Remains found in January, ID intact," *National Post* 25 May 2000: A1 and A10; Richard Foot, "Hero's New Tomb Seen As Symbol Of Sacrifice," *National Post* 26 May 2000: A3; Roy MacGregor, "The soldier shall be known by us all," *National Post* 26 May 2000: A3; "For remembrance," *National Post* 26 May 2000: A19; Murray Campbell, "Mystery Canadian honoured," *Globe and Mail* 26 May 2000; Kate Jaimet, "Unknown Soldier is finally home," *Ottawa Citizen* 26 May 2000: A1 and A2; Bernita Harris, "There is a glory in war," as told to Buzz Bourdon, *Ottawa Citizen* 26 May 2000: A4; Ron Corbett, "We have all been on the same pilgrimage," *Ottawa Citizen* 26 May 2000: A5; Rod McDonald, "Our chance to know the Unknown Soldier," *Ottawa Citizen* 26 May 2000: F4; Pauline Gauthier, "Unknown Soldier, Soldat Inconnu," *Ottawa Citizen* 27 May 2000: A15; "Known unto God," *Ottawa Citizen* 27 May 2000: A14; Buzz Bourdon, "Thousands of Canadians pay respects to Unknown Soldier," *Ottawa Citizen* 27 May 2000: A3; Jeff Sallot, "Unknown Soldier laid to rest," *Globe and Mail* 29 May 2000: A5; Richard Foot, "Unknown Soldier is Home Forever," *National Post* 29 May 2000: A1 and A4; Ron Corbett, "Canada's lost son 'lost no more,'" *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A1 and A2; Jeff Pappone, "'Symbol of all sacrifice' laid to rest," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A1 and A2; Buzz Bourdon, "Grave becomes a focus for grief of many families," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A4; Buzz Bourdon, "Ceremony rich with symbolism," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A4; and John Robson, "A powerful salute to freedom," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 May 2000: A5.

¹²⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991) 224.

¹²¹ Lefebvre 224.

¹²² Lefebvre 224.

¹²³ Lefebvre 224.

¹²⁴ VAC, in its endeavour to preserve the hallowed nature of the National War Memorial and the Tomb of Unknown Soldier, has made the following policy recommendations regarding appropriate and endorsed use of this monumental space:

(6) The Department has, for many years, attempted to instill[sic] an appreciation for the site as *sacred* amongst the various federal organizations with an interest there. If possible, Departmental efforts in this regard should become even more adjuratory now that the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier has been installed. In view of that aim, the following principles may stand as governing legitimate, sanctioned use of the Memorial: (a) no assembly will be permitted on the plaza surrounding the Memorial and Tomb that does not pay tribute to **Canadian service and sacrifice in the cause of peace and freedom**, and (b) no assembly will be permitted on the plaza surrounding the Memorial and Tomb that, though paying tribute to Canadian service and sacrifice in the cause of peace and freedom, is principally directed at (or is conducted by an association constituted uniquely for the purpose of) political or social protest or to focus criticism on the policies of the Canadian government, and (c) the Department should seek to discourage any activity or installation of any kind, whether permanent or temporary, on the triangle on which the Memorial and the Tomb are located that is not in keeping with the solemn purposes to which these installations are dedicated. 1/4/04 email from Don Ives to Pauline Blanchard, Lynn Jackson, Suzanne Larue, Terry Tobin, and Catherine Tremblay, Subject: Policy Tomb/Memorial, attachment tombmemorialbkgrnd.001.wpd, "National War Memorial/Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," 3-4, VAC Ottawa, file 2570-00-1, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier-Planning..

¹²⁵ Tim Wieclawski, "War memorial gets guard," *Metro* [Ottawa] 28 June 2007:1; "Security ramped up for memorial," *24 hours* [Ottawa] 1.155 (28 June 2007): 5; Andrew Thomson, "War memorial security questioned: Predawn dispute unsettles visitor at 1914-1918 Vigil," *Ottawa Citizen* 11 Nov. 2008: C1-2; "War memorial still being desecrated: retired officer," *CBC News* 6 May 2010, <http://license.icopyright.net/user/viewFreeUse.act?fuid=ODM0MTE1OA%3D%3D> (accessed 12/05/2010); Jennifer Campbell, "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is not a park, former major says," *Ottawa Citizen* 7 May 2010: C1; National Defence, "Ceremonial Guard: Performances," <http://www.army.forces.gc.ca/land-terre/cg-gc/performances-representations-eng.asp> (accessed 03/06/2010); "Guards appear daily in Ottawa," <http://www.worldmilitarybands.com/guards-band-appear-daily-in-ottawa/> (accessed 03/06/2010); "Tomb of the Unknowns, Arlington National Cemetery," <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/tombfun.htm> (accessed 03/06/2010); and VAC, 21 June 2010 news release, "Guides and Sentries Return to National Memorial," <http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/general/sub.cfm?source=department/press/viewrelease&id=921> (accessed 21/06/2010).

¹²⁶ K. S. Inglis, "The Unknown Australian Soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23.60 (1999, *Special Issue: War and other Catastrophes*): 15 and Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Cemetery Details: Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux," http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=2701&mode=1 (accessed 02/08/2010).

¹²⁷ Gopal Balakrishnan, "The National Imagination," *New Left Review* 1.211 (May-June 1995): 65.

Conclusion

Recently, senator and retired general Roméo Dallaire, who, it will be recalled, spearheaded the suggestion to repatriate an unknown Canadian soldier from a Commonwealth War Graves Commission cemetery in the vicinity of Vimy Ridge for entombment in Ottawa,¹ has proposed that an enlarged replica of Allward's *Canada Bereft* be erected in Jacques Cartier Park (Gatineau) in 2017. Significantly, that year is both the centenary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge and the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Confederation, whilst the solitary figure of *Canada Bereft* is, arguably, the Vimy memorial's most iconic sculptural feature.² The memorial itself is of course site-specific, but its sculptural elements readily lend themselves to reproduction (primarily photographic)³ and, hence, to their re-inscription within another physical and viewing context. In Dallaire's proposed initiative, the replica of *Canada Bereft*, which would be two or three times larger than the original and which he advocates siting opposite Parliament Hill, on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River, would visually and emblematically conflate the commemoration of the nation's Great War losses with the celebration of its 150-year political continuity through conflict and peace.⁴ The symbolic logic and optics of this proposal are clear: war sacrifice and national survival and strength(ening), as embodied by Allward's mournful, maternal personification of Canada and the democratic seat of the nation's body politic, are necessarily, as well as historically, bound. That is to say, this commemorative venture would seek to posit a play of mutually reinforcing meanings (and, of course, possibly protested ones) between these sites and sights of monuments to the nation's founding and functioning, its forging (the

Battle of Vimy has long been popularized as the moment when Canada ‘came of age’) and, implicitly, its future (war sacrifice on behalf of the nation).

Whether or not Dallaire’s proposal is realized, replicas of the Vimy sculptures already exist for the public’s contemplation and consumption in the nation’s capital. Since its opening in 2005, the (new) Canadian War Museum’s Regeneration Hall has displayed seventeen of the half-size plaster maquettes of the allegorical figures. Beyond their indisputable merit as aesthetic objects, as well as their documentary value, their exhibition in this evocative space, in which a triangular floor-to-ceiling window affords a tightly focused view of Parliament’s Peace Tower whilst, upon its north wall, “shifting sun spots” spell out in Morse code ‘Lest We Forget’ in English and French,⁵ serves another purpose: the reiteration and reinforcement of the rhetoric of national war remembrance. Likewise, the original tombstone that marked the grave of the Unknown Canadian Soldier is exhibited or, rather, mounted as a single relic and object of remembrance and reverence in the Museum’s Hall of Remembrance (also referred to as the Memorial Hall). This is an austere and sober room for reflection, where, each Remembrance Day at 11:00, sunshine streams through the Hall’s single window, also axially aligned with the Peace Tower, bathing the headstone in a halo of light. The Museum’s allocation of a permanent exhibition venue for the Vimy sculpture maquettes, as well as the headstone that marked the first grave, in Cabaret Rouge British Cemetery, of the Unknown Canadian Soldier, each object a potent and nationally significant token of the material culture of First World War remembrance, contributes to the perpetuation (and further institutionalization) of Canadian cultural memory of the Great War.⁶

This thesis has examined how Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian First World War capital and battlefield national memorials operate as sites of remembrance integral to the constitution, cultivation, and, rarely, contestation of each former dominion's, then nation's (or province, when Newfoundland joined Confederation), cultural memory of 1914-1918. I have posited that the perpetuation of Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian cultural memory of the First World War is essentially performative, whether enacted through the perennial observance of official ritualized remembrance (Remembrance, Memorial, and Anzac Day) or in the context of battlefield tourism and pilgrimages. I have also demonstrated how that perpetuation of cultural memory is situated in such a way that the locus of its performance is the (national) war memorial, be this in Ottawa, St. John's or Canberra, or — overseas — at Vimy, Beaumont-Hamel, and Villers-Bretonneux (Chapters Two and One). These latter three national battlefield memorials to the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian Great War dead and missing, I argued in Chapter One, are not only sanctified sites, as defined by Kenneth E. Foote, but, furthermore, exemplify his concept of fields of care. They are equally, I explained in Chapter Three, longstanding sites of battlefield tourism and pilgrimage. The national war memorials in Ottawa and St. John's, as well as Canberra's Australian War Memorial, have also, I demonstrated in Chapter Two, over the course of decades, been subject to complementary commemorative add-ons or symbolic accretions of the "allied kind" (to employ Owen Dwyer's coinage). Likewise, Ottawa's National War Memorial and the Australian War Memorial's Hall of Memory have been recently re-sacralized decades after their unveilings by the entombment in each of these monumental spaces of one unknown soldier of the First World War. The Canadian and

Australian Tombs of the Unknown Soldier, both allied accretions to an extant memorial venue, I claimed in Chapter Four, personify the concrete but anonymous character of the imagined community that is the nation. That community, however, according to the national commemorative logic at work, cannot escape its inherent gendering, whereby the citizen memorialized is, of course, male, and whose citizenship, as it is symbolically construed, cost his life in war service for the nation.

All of these national war memorials constitute core components of the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian material culture of Great War remembrance, as well as their respective cultural memory of the First World War. Thus, although there is now no longer any actual remembering of the Great War, the legacy of its remembrance persists in monumental and ritual form. It continues to furnish, both as a consequence of its historical and national significance and not least its political and popular value as an invented tradition, the ceremonial calendar, observances, and venues for the commemoration of later twentieth-and twenty-first-century wars in which Canada, Newfoundland, and Australia have participated. Accordingly, the Ottawa, St. John's, and Canberra national war memorials are assured contemporary relevance as discursive and memorial spaces. By contrast, the Vimy, Beaumont-Hamel, and Villers-Bretonneux memorials, erected on the former Western Front, are necessarily specific to the commemoration of the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian First World War dead and missing.

To be sure, as bona fide fields of care, these overseas memorials and their sites (in the case of Vimy and Beaumont-Hamel, also preserved warscapes) still operate as both the loci for annual observances of 25 April, 1 July, and 11 November remembrance

ceremonies and battle-related anniversary services, pilgrimages, and tourism. Their historical specificity, however, paradoxically both ensures and militates against their enduring cultural and national interest as we approach the centenary of the First World War. To this end, Veterans Affairs Canada has recently recognized that its thirteen First World War memorials in France and Belgium, albeit with due emphasis accorded to the Vimy and Beaumont-Hamel sites, should be increasingly marketed to the Canadian and European travelling public as prime heritage tourism destinations, without diminishing their essential commemorative value. VAC's 2006 "Marketing Strategy for European Memorials" identifies the key target audiences: Canadian travellers, youth, and embassy employees (in England and France), as well the domestic and international tourist industry (travel agents and tour operators). This marketing strategy doubly courts prospective visitors and identifies the means by which it can do this courting: pedagogy, promotion, and partnerships. This 'heritage turn' in the public promotion of the Vimy and Beaumont-Hamel memorials, however, began with their designation as Canadian National Historic Sites in 1997.⁷ In this respect, VAC has been more proactive than its Australian counterpart in expressly branding its Great War memorials as heritage sites. However, in 2009 the Australian Minister for Veterans' Affairs, Alan Griffin, announced the government's plan for the creation of an Anzac Trail, which would connect and contextualize, in the manner of a specific touring circuit or heritage route, the memorial sites of Villers-Bretonneux, Pozières, Bullecourt, Fromelles, Mont St. Quentin, Ypres, and Tyne Cot.⁸

The planned development of a Canadian and Australian government-sponsored heritage tourism industry in conjunction with overseas memorial sites is not surprising.

Nor is it controversial, building as it does upon the legacy of thanatourists who have visited the battlefields and memorials of the old Western Front since the 1920s and 1930s; indeed, thanatourism — as I argued in Chapter Three — is itself a subset of heritage tourism.⁹ This is not a lamentable phenomenon. As David Lowenthal explains, “Dynamic heritage yields dubious history. But this is both natural and...harmless, if we bear in mind their utterly unlike aims: history to explain through critical inquiry, heritage to celebrate and congratulate.”¹⁰ The Canadian and Australian government-proposed promotion of visits to Vimy, Beaumont-Hamel, and Villers-Bretonneux, as well as to other Great War memorials in France and Belgium, under the rubric of heritage tourism is an initiative that is not fundamentally incompatible with the essential commemorative character of these sites, the integrity of which, as fields of care, is already subject to protection and preservation, if never guaranteed. At bottom, these fields of care will physically persist, of course, as monumental landscapes. Their meaning, though, in all its malleable permutations, is in no small part perpetuated (and, of course, potentially protested) through a gamut of visitor performances. Until now, such visitor performances have been overwhelmingly enacted within the narrow and niche contexts of battlefield tourism and pilgrimage. The current heritage marketing of these sites by the governments of Canada and Australia thereby seeks to augment their visitation, as well as broaden their visitor demographic, without which and whom these Great War battlefield memorials would, as a cultural presence and resource, either eventually perish or be consigned to the periphery of the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Australian imaginary.

¹ Dallaire also served as a member of the Vimy Monument Conservation Advisory Committee. Jennifer Campbell, “Bring a bit of Vimy to Ottawa: Ex-general,” *Ottawa Citizen* 12 Mar. 2010, <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/right/1489193/Bring+Vimy+Ottawa+general/2676634/story.html?id=2676634> (accessed 14/08/2010).

² Within the scholarly and popular literature, there is some minor variation in the titles ascribed to the most prominent and accessible (visually and physically) of the Vimy sculptures. For example, *Canada Bereft* is also known as *Canada Mourning (Her Fallen Sons)* and as *(Mother) Canada*. The pair of reclining figures that flank the memorial's stairs (rear) have been collectively identified as the *Mourners* or, individually, as the *Youth of Canada* and *The Reader of the Scroll*. Lastly, the two sculptural groupings that comprise the *Defenders* tableaux are variously recognized as *Youth Breaking the Sword of War* or *The Breaking of the Sword* and *Canada's Sympathy for the Helpless*, *The Sympathy of Canadians for the Helpless*, or *Sympathy for the Helpless*. Laura Brandon, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art*, Beyond Boundaries Series No.2 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006) 10, 13-14; Dennis Duffy, "Complexity and Contradiction in Canadian Public Sculpture: The Case of Walter Allward," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38.2 (Summer 2008): 192; "Walter S. Allward, Sculptor and Architect of Vimy Memorial Honoured by R.A.I.C.," *The Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* XIV.5 (March 1937): 36-37, 40-41; and Canadian Army Education Services-21 Army Group, *Canadian Army Memorial Service, Vimy Ridge, 9 April 1945* (Ghent: L. Vanmelle, [1945]) 6-9, 12-14, CWM, George Metcalf Archival Collection, accession 19940001-680, call number 58B 7 5.

³ Allward's plaster maquettes of the Vimy sculptures were returned to Canada in 1937. Laura Brandon notes that Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King appears to have been inclined towards their re-use as models from which bronze castings could be made. Such bronze replicas of the Vimy sculptures might then be erected in the nation's capital, as well as in a variety of appropriate provincial venues. This idea came to naught, however. Laura Brandon, "Making Memory: *Canvas of War* and the Vimy Sculptures," *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers*, ed. Briton C. Busch (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) 206.

⁴ Campbell, "Bring a bit of Vimy to Ottawa: Ex-general," *Ottawa Citizen* 12 Mar. 2010, <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/right/1489193/Bring+Vimy+Ottawa+general/2676634/story.html?id=2676634> (accessed 14/08/2010).

⁵ Raymond Moriyama, *In Search of a Soul: Designing and Realizing the New Canadian War Museum* (Toronto and Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006) 109.

⁶ Brandon, "Making Memory: *Canvas of War* and the Vimy Sculptures," 201, 212; Laura Brandon, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art*, 9, 66; Moriyama 73, 79, 82-83, 89, 103, 109; Canadian War Museum, "Memorial Hall" and "Regeneration Hall," <http://www.warmuseum.ca/cwm/exhibitions/permanent-exhibitions/memorial-hall> (accessed 27/08/2010).

For a history of the Vimy maquettes, including accounts of their long consignment to storage and their eventual restoration, initiated in 1999, see Brandon, "Making Memory: *Canvas of War* and the Vimy Sculptures," 206-208 and Brandon, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art*, 63-66.

⁷ Gene Cross, draft, "Marketing Strategy for European Memorials," Veterans Affairs Canada, September 2006, 6-11. This document is available at VAC Charlottetown.

⁸ Alan Griffin, 24 April 2009 media release, "\$10 Million for Anzac Trail on Western Front," http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:w_tOf_s9HDMJ:minister.dva.gov.au/media_releases/2009/apr/VA028.pdf+the+anzac+trail&hl=en&gl=ca&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEEShcLu0txC6h4Nj1RD2eFKZgu2JZppD6MFfqvpNAq9sXY1E2tN2Tz5NT4h_2ZhWEGc5h-Ub5KqnEXGdwxSpewTcJMH7wxs57BMenq77msOv17jnOLtK_3wEmSxbqaI5pX21b5Tes&sig=AHIEtbTVzinpCsYKuzcgUFcD2anRAyT0qg (accessed 27/08/2010).

⁹ Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd, "Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1.1 (2006): 7, 11.

¹⁰ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998; fifth printing 2006) 168.

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Figure 1. Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, Somme (Picardie), France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 2. Canadian National Vimy Memorial (back), Pas-de-Calais (Nord-Pas-de-Calais), France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 3. Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, Somme (Picardie), France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 4. Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, preserved trenches.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 5. Shell-holes, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 6. Mine crater, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 7. Sign, Grange Subway Visits, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 8. Grange Tunnel, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 9. Student guide, Grange Tunnel, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

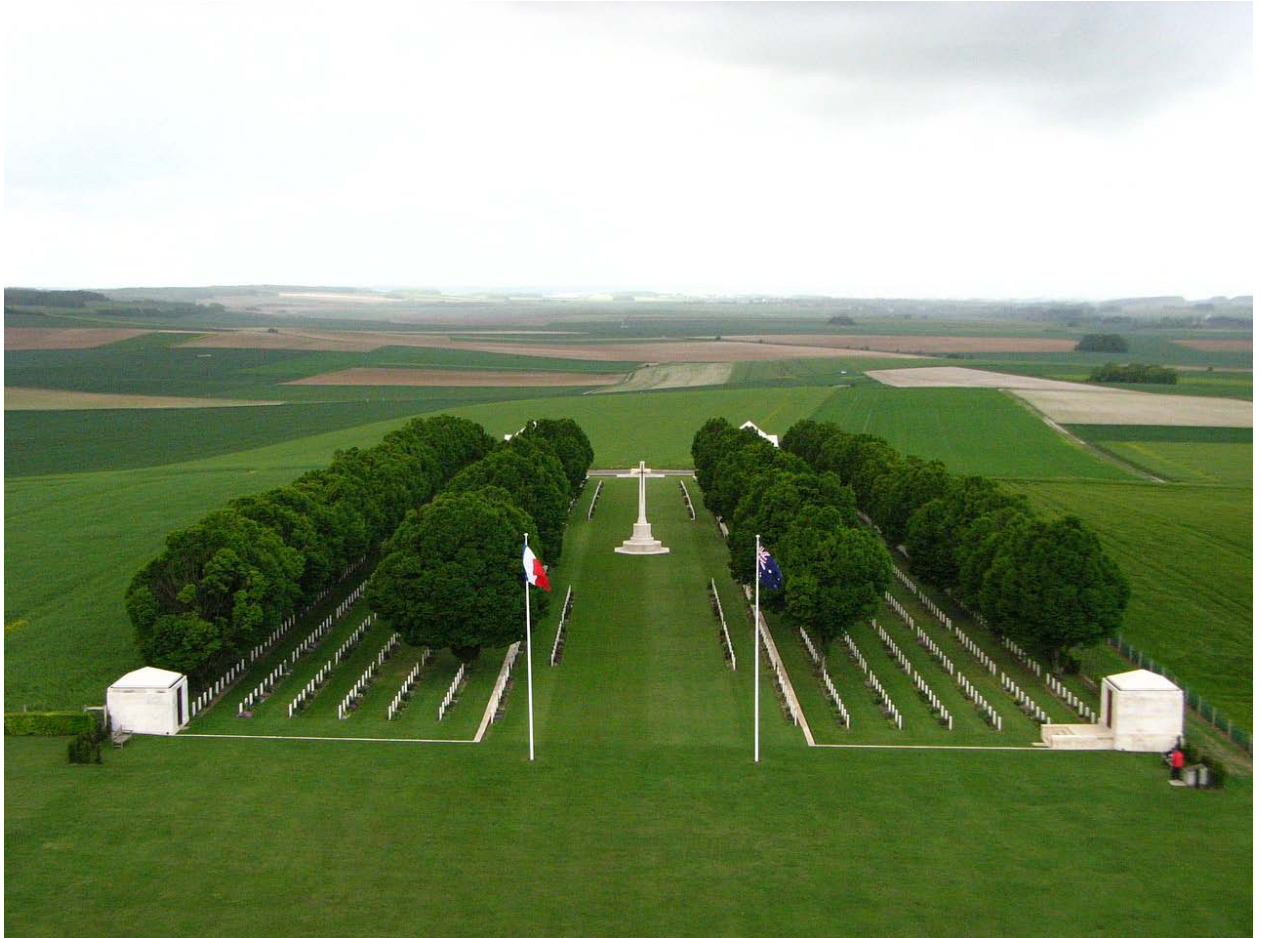


Figure 10. View of the Somme from the Australian National Memorial's observation tower, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

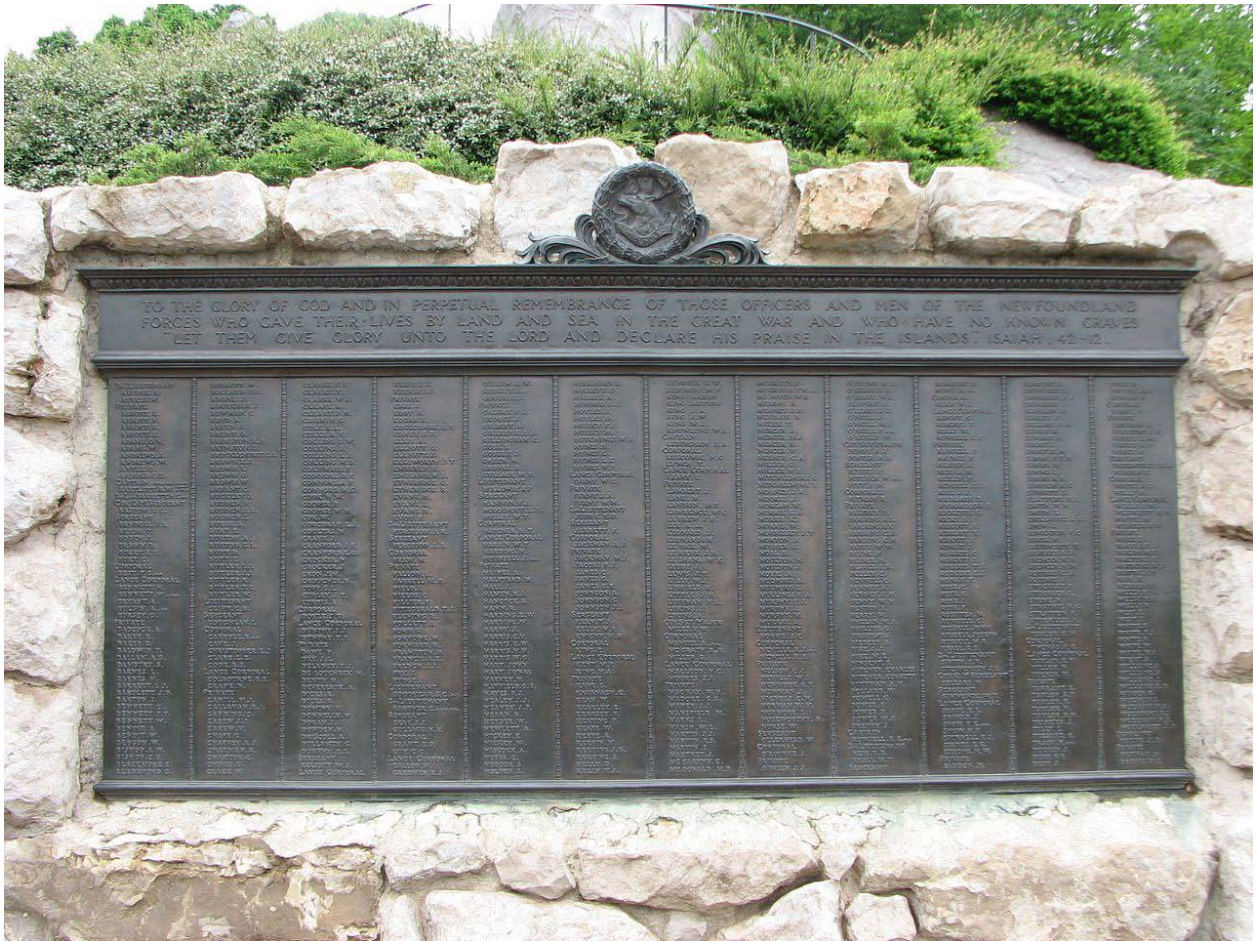


Figure 11. Bronze plaque engraved with the names of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, Royal Naval Reserve, and Mercantile Marine Missing of the Great War, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 12. Names of the Missing, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 13. Names of the Missing, Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 14. Entrance to the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 15. 29th Division Memorial, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 16. Caribou Cairn, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 17. Spiral path leading to the summit of the Caribou Cairn, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 18. Sign, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 19. Didactic panel, Visitors' Centre, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 20. Entrance sign, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 21. Dedicatory plaque, Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 22. *Canada Bereft*, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 23. *Breaking of the Sword*, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 24. *Sympathy for the Helpless*, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 25. *Youth of Canada*, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 26. *Reader of the Scroll*, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 27. *Spirit of Sacrifice* (background) and *Sacrifice* (foreground), Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 28. View of the Canadian National Vimy Memorial from Lorette Ridge, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 29. Sheep, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 30. Canadian National Vimy Memorial (front), France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

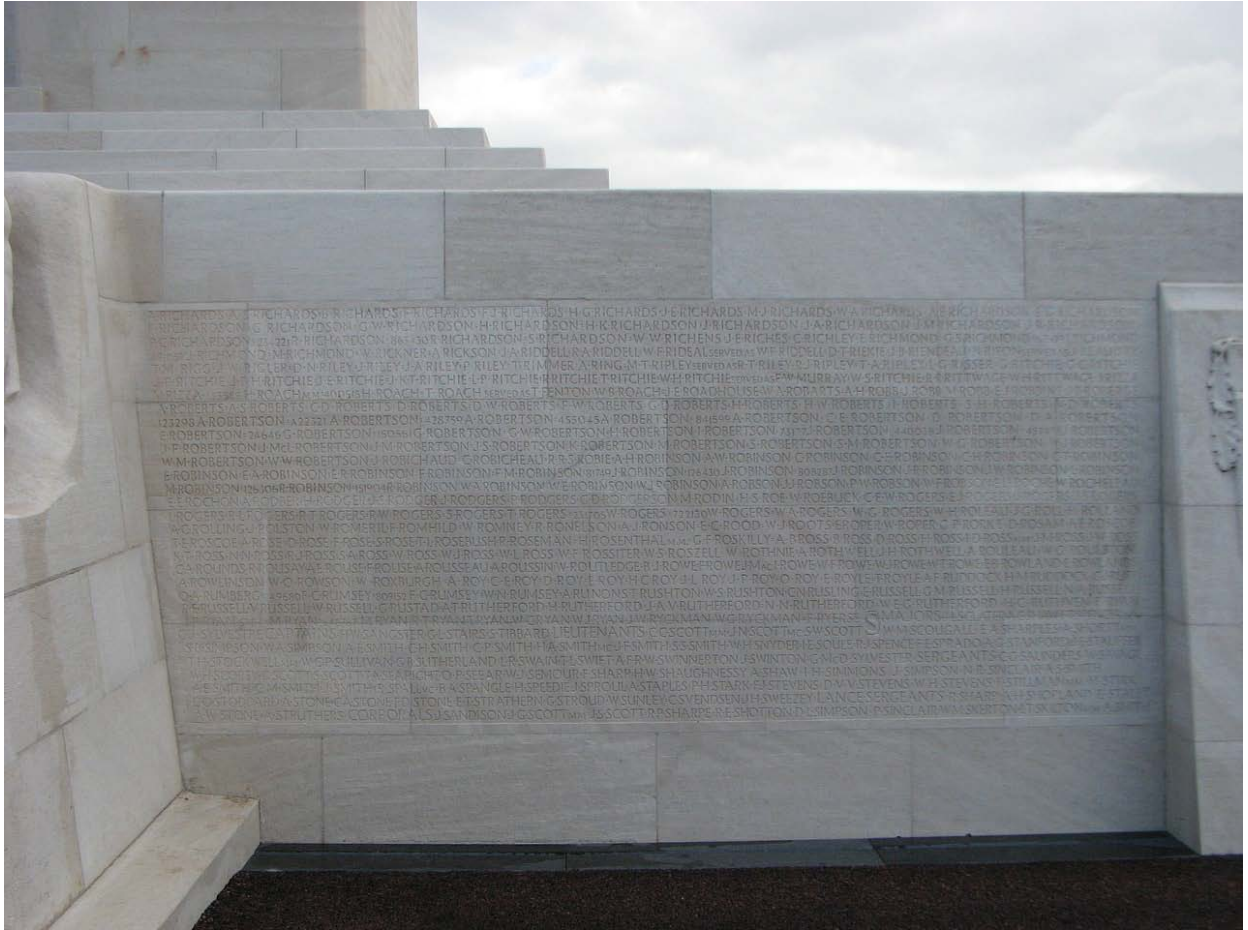


Figure 31. Names of the Missing, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 32. Tomb, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

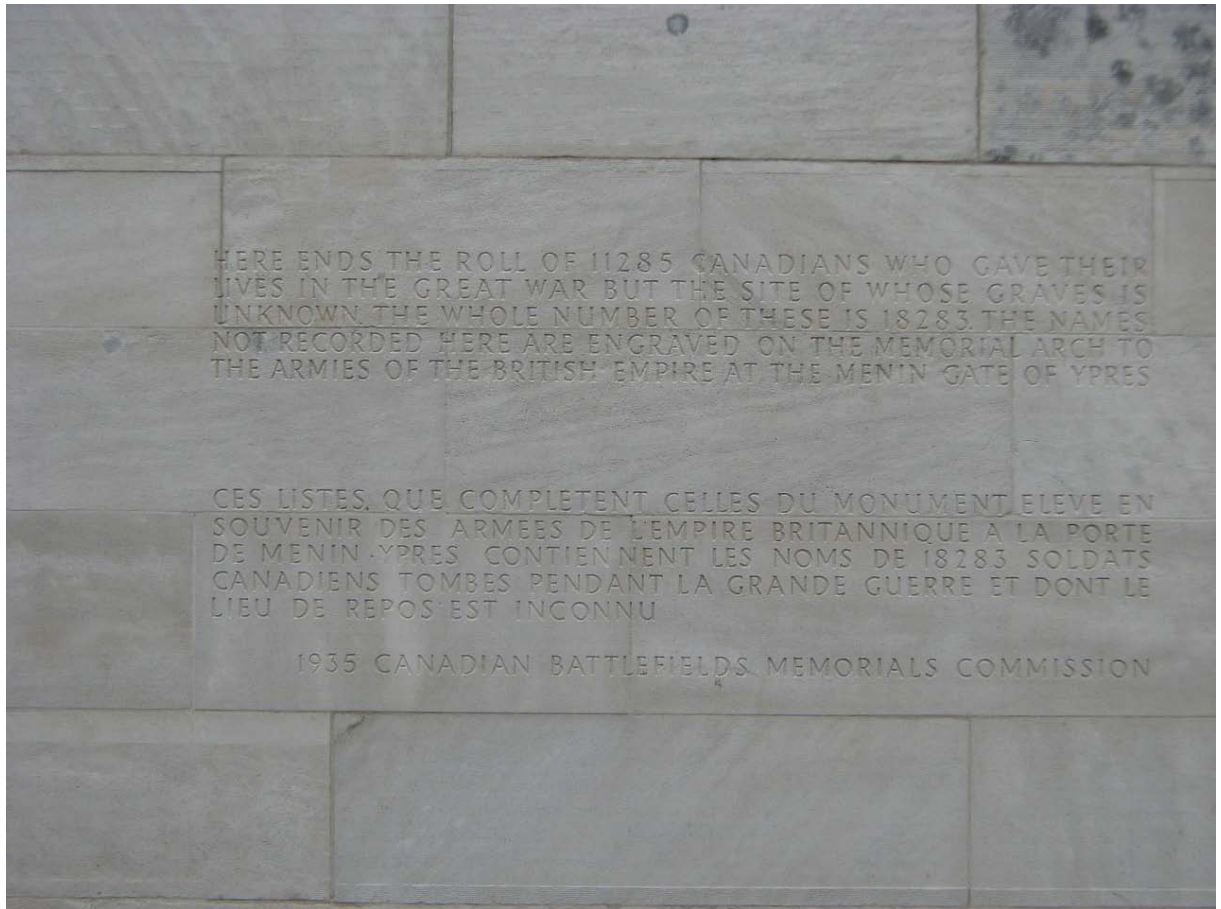


Figure 33. Inscription explaining the roll of the names of the Missing, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

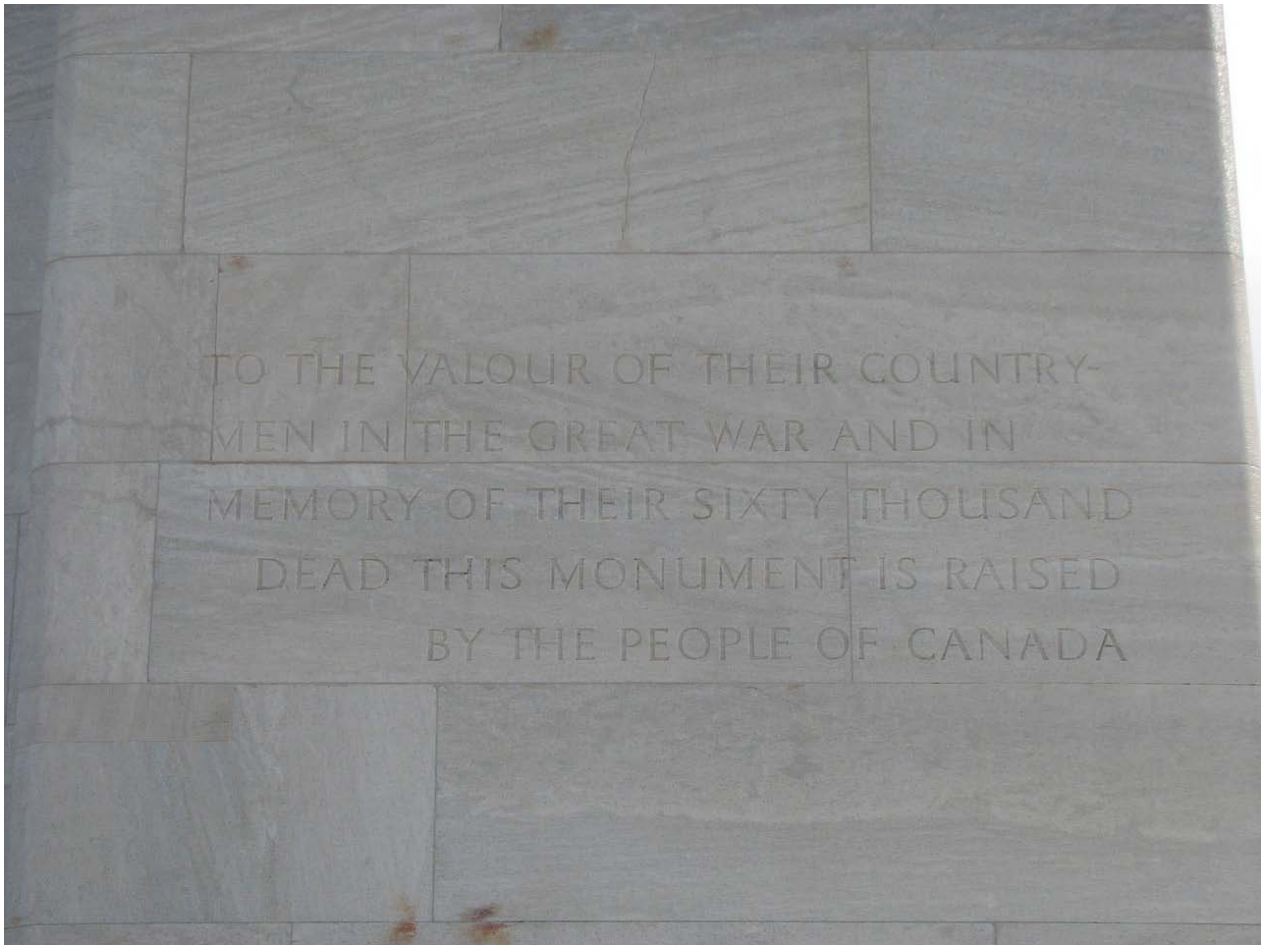


Figure 34. Main inscription, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

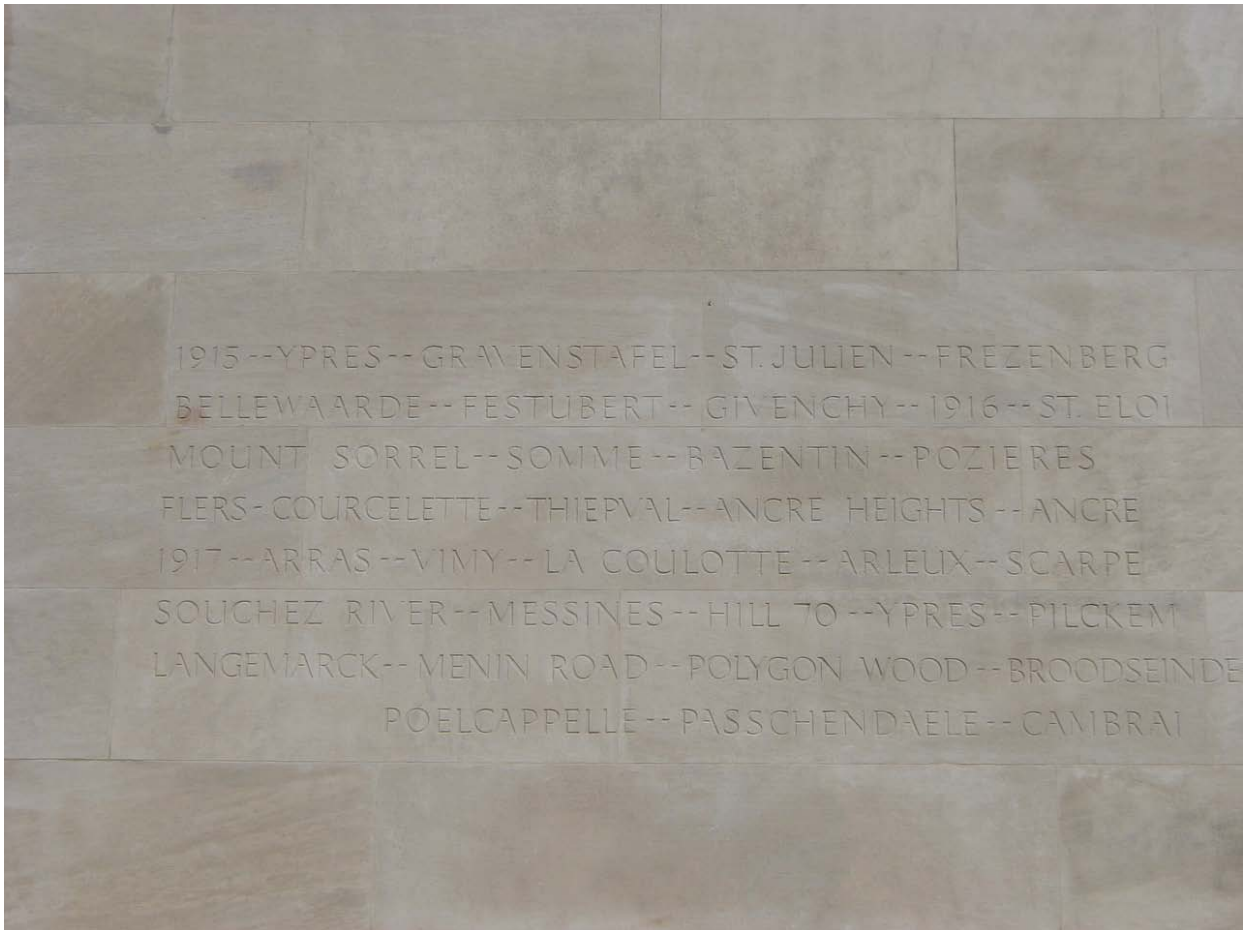


Figure 35. List of Battles, 1915-1917, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 36. List of Battles, 1918, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 37. Inscription, Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

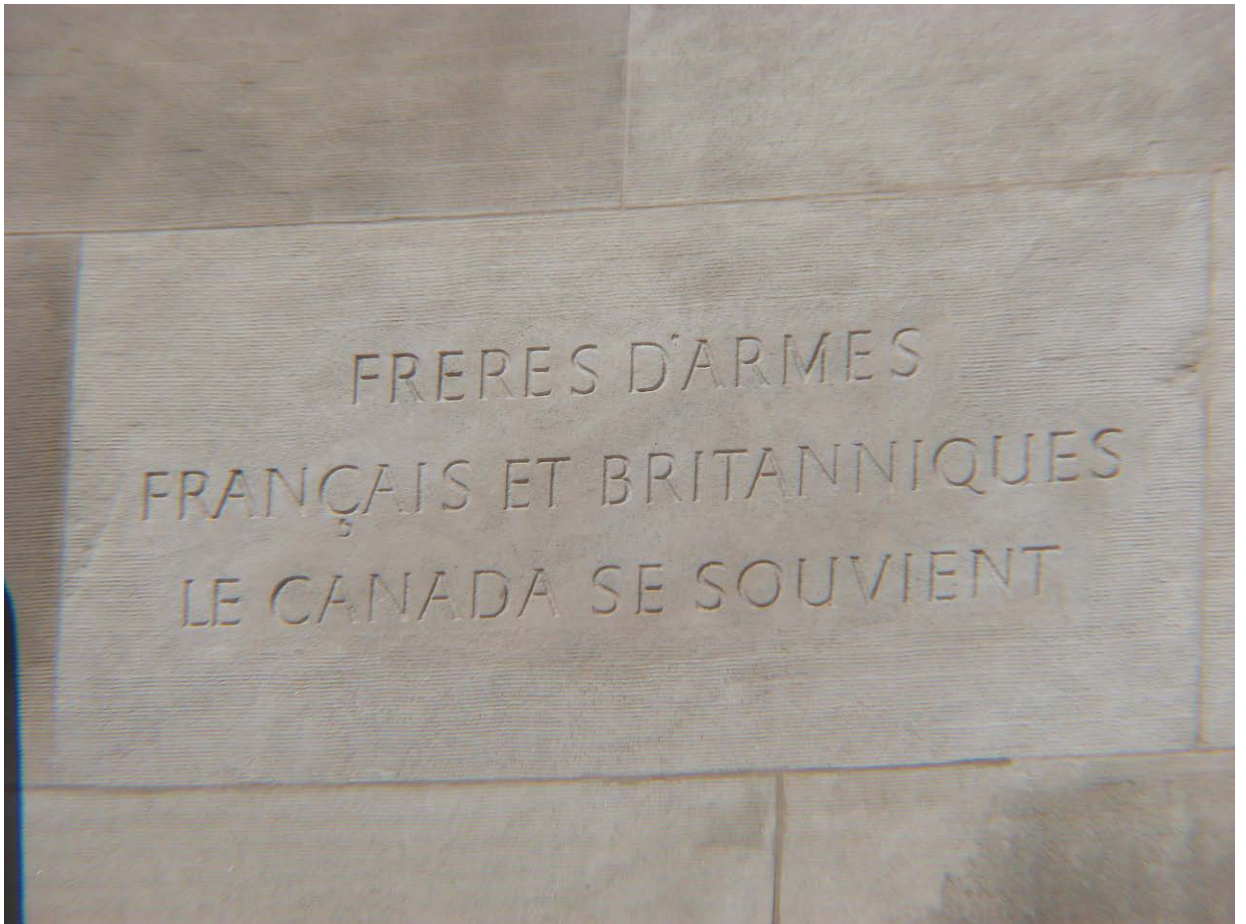


Figure 38. Inscription dedicated to France and Britain, Canada's Great War allies, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

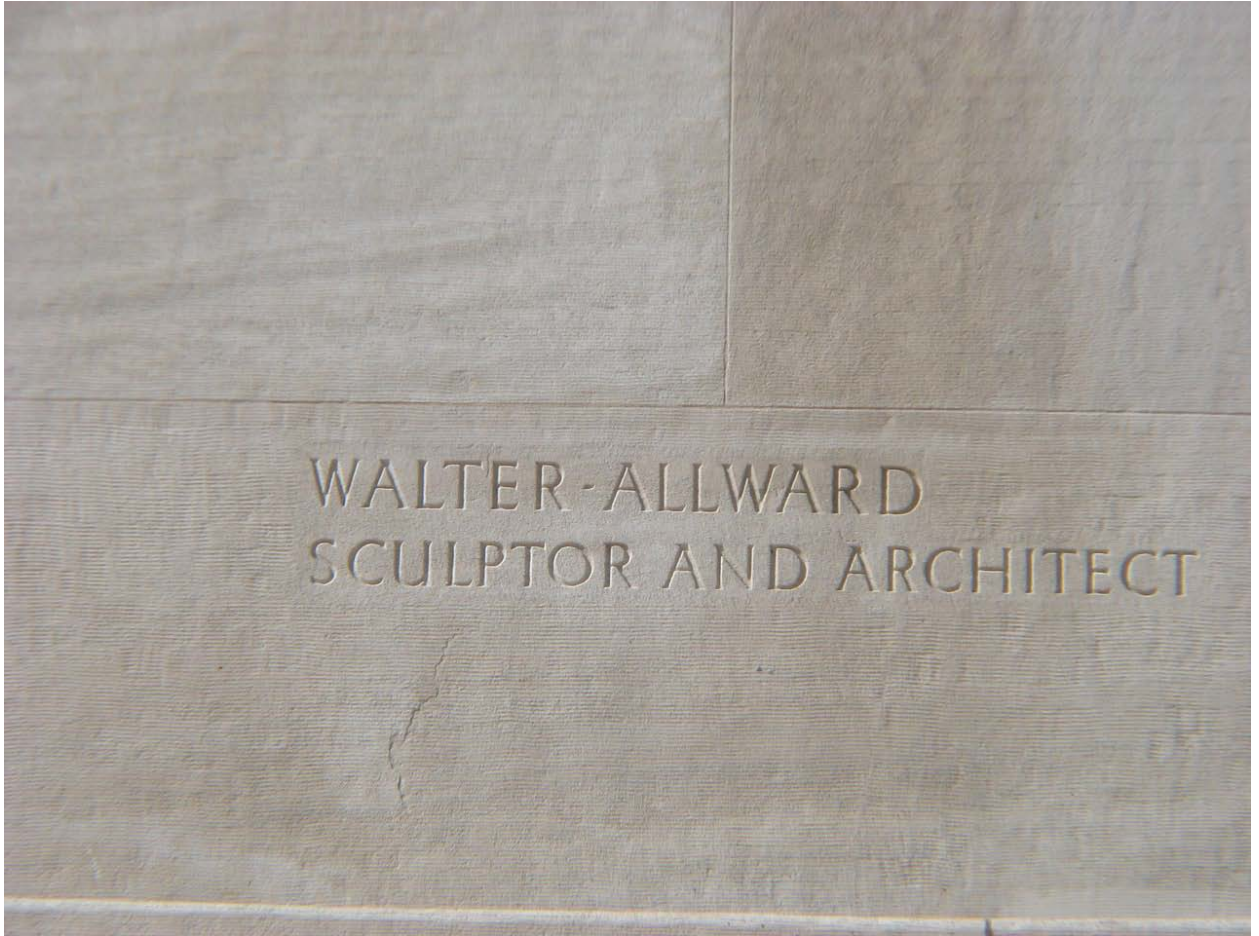


Figure 39. Signature of Walter Allward, Canadian National Vimy Memorial, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 40. Moroccan Division Memorial, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 41. Pedestal-mounted plaque commemorating France's free gift, in perpetuity, of the Vimy Ridge site to Canada, Vimy National Historic Site of Canada, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 42. Villers-Bretonneux Military Cemetery, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 43. 'Avenue of Honour,' Villers-Bretonneux Military Cemetery, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 44. Entrance Pavilion, Villers-Bretonneux Military Cemetery, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 45. List of Battles, Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 46. Names of the Missing, Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 47. Circular map of Australian Imperial Force Divisional Memorials and Memorials to the Missing upon the Western Front, Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 48. Main inscription, Australian National Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 49. *Liberty*, Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 50. *Royal Naval Reservist*, Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 51. *Soldier*, Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 52. *Forester and Merchant Marine*, Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 53. Dedicatory plaque, Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 54. Caribou memorial, Gueudecourt, Somme (Picardie), France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis

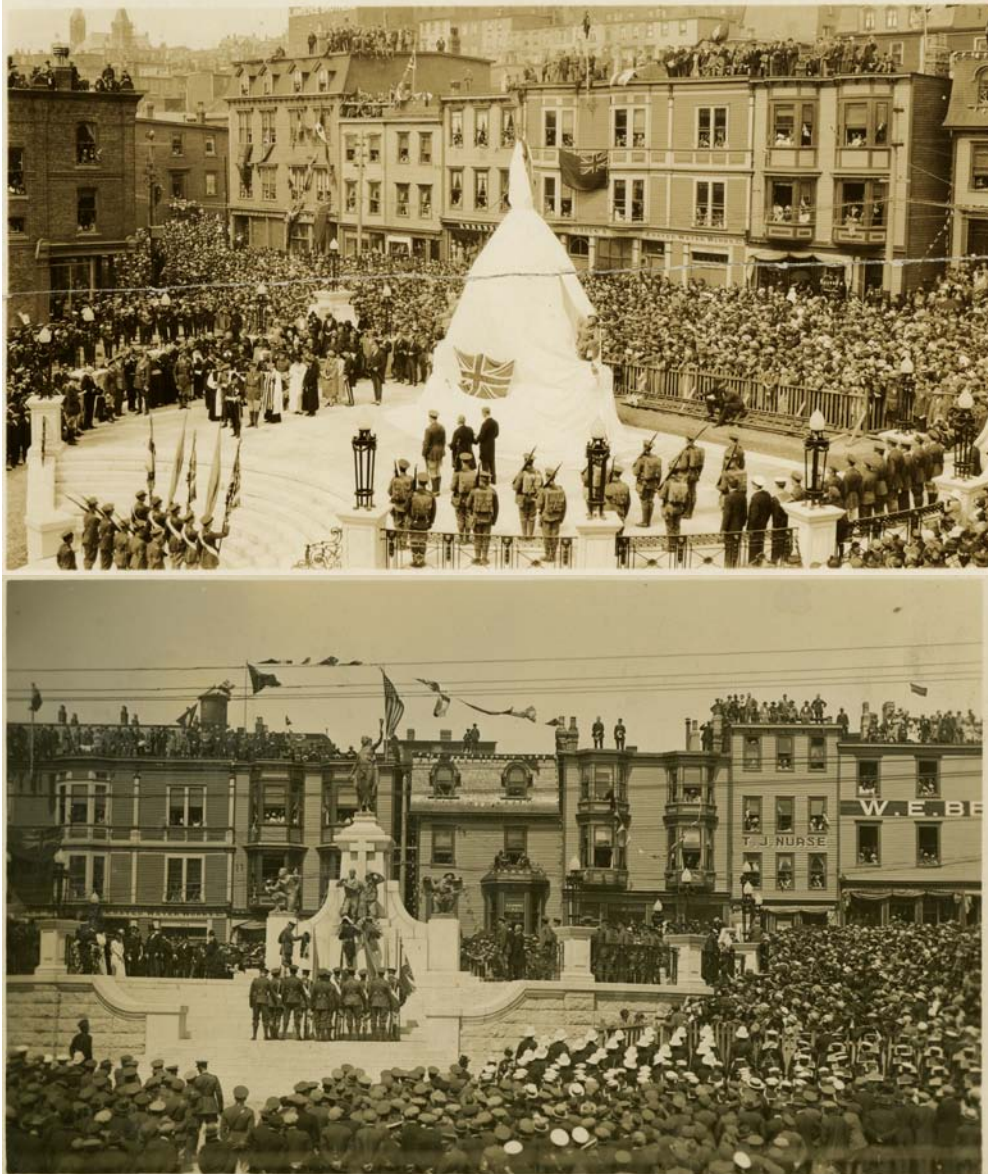


Figure 55. Unveiling of the Newfoundland National War Memorial, 1 July 1924, St. John's.

Images: The Rooms, Provincial Archives (Newfoundland and Labrador), A11-171 (top) and A48-31 (bottom).



Figure 56. Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's, street view.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis

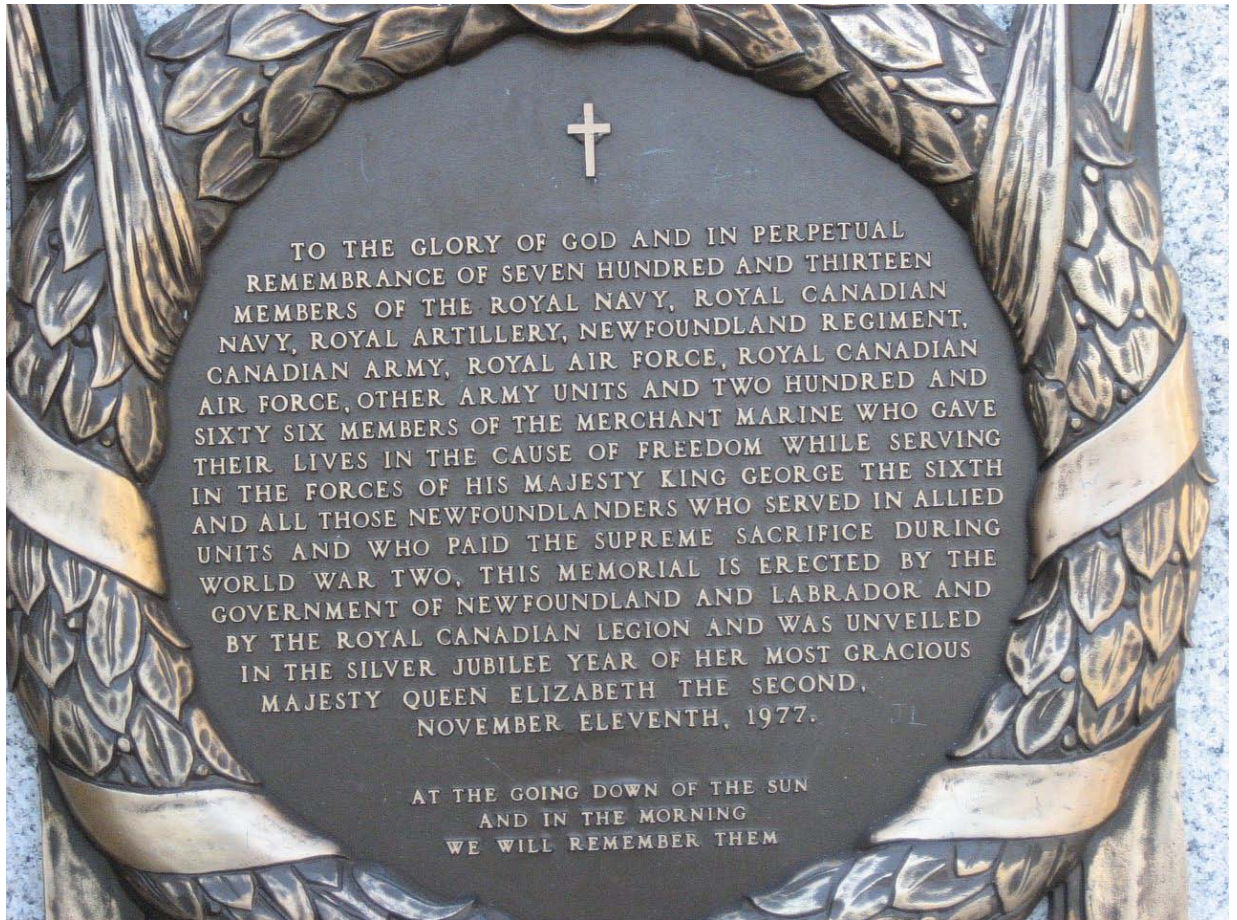


Figure 57. Plaque commemorating the Second World War, Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis

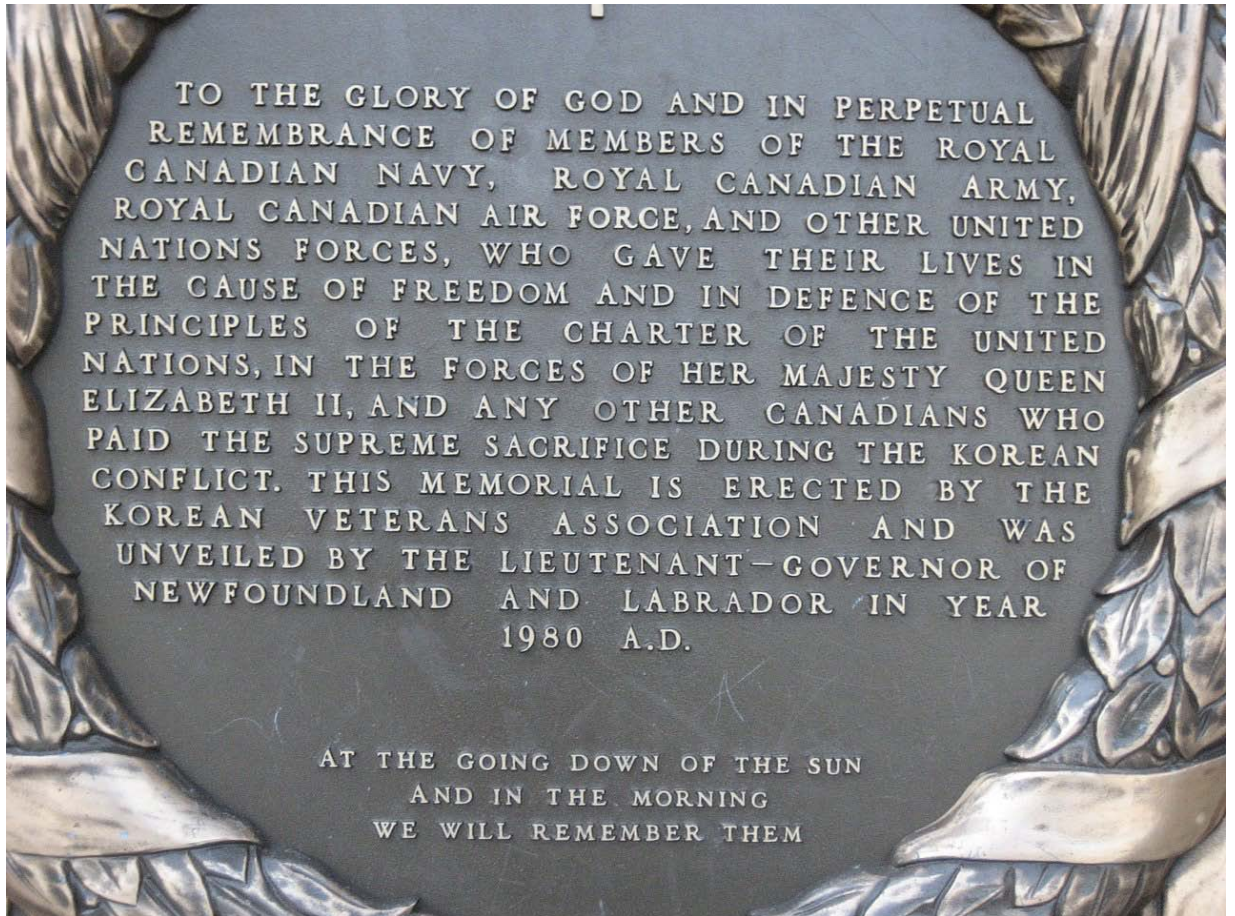


Figure 58. Plaque commemorating the Korean War, Newfoundland National War Memorial, St. John's.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 59. National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 60. National War Memorial (front), Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 61. National War Memorial (back), Ottawa.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 62. 1939-1945 and 1950-1953 bronze numerals, National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 63. *General Sir Arthur Currie* (centre), Valiants Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 64. Inscription, Valiants Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 65. Valiants Memorial, Ottawa, street view.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 66. Australian War Memorial (Mt. Ainslie, background; Anzac Parade, foreground), Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 67. Garden court, Cloisters, Pool of Reflection, and Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial commemorative area, Remembrance Day 2006, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 68. Stone of Remembrance, Australian War Memorial, Remembrance Day 2006, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 69. Remembrance Day ceremony 2006, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 70. View of the Australian Parliament Houses (old and new) from the Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis

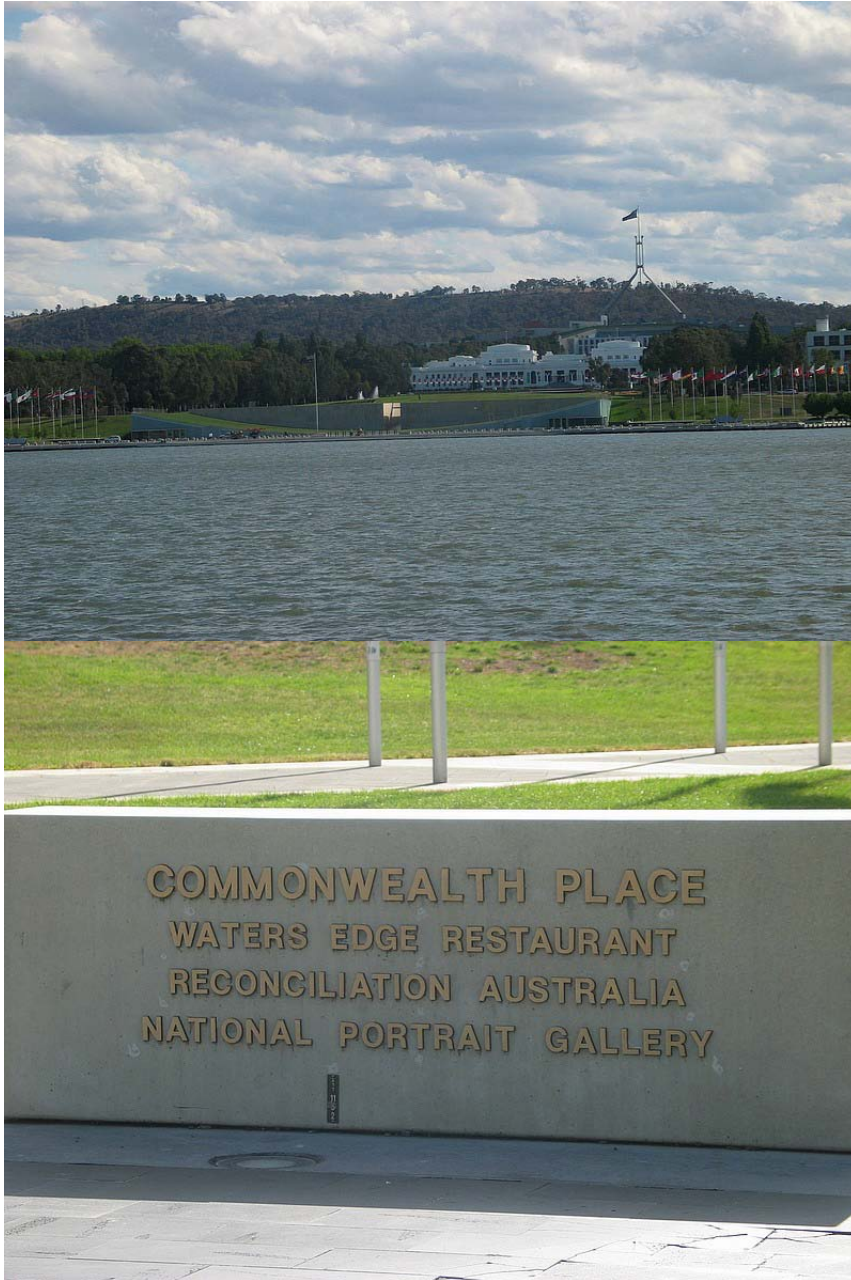


Figure 71. View from the Australian War Memorial across Lake Burley Griffin to Commonwealth Place and Sign, Commonwealth Place, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 72. Reconciliation Place, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 73. View from Commonwealth Place across Lake Burley Griffin to the Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 74. Remembrance Day 2006 march, Australian War Memorial grounds, with Anzac Parade as the backdrop.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



PA-183544

Figure 75. Vimy pilgrims assembled before the memorial to witness its unveiling on 26 July 1936.

Image: LAC, PA-183544



PA-148880

Figure 76. King Edward VIII unveiling the Vimy memorial (*Canada Bereft*) on 26 July 1936.

Image: LAC, PA-148880

POSTES FRANÇAISES

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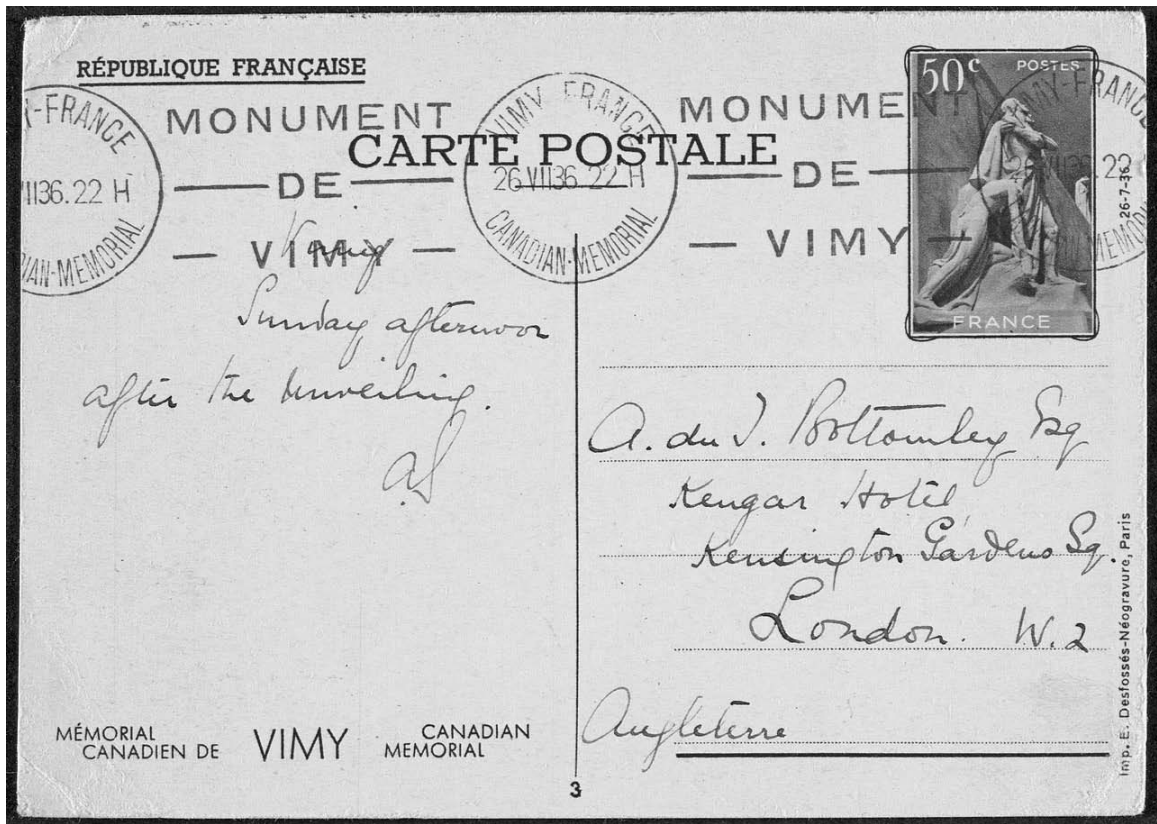
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Figure 77. Vimy Canadian Memorial souvenir postcard (set of ten) issued by the French Postal Administration, 1936.

Image: LAC, e006618661



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Figure 78. Vimy Canadian Memorial souvenir postcard mailed by Arnold du Toit Bottomley to himself following the unveiling of the Vimy memorial on 26 July 1936.

Image: LAC, e006618654_s1

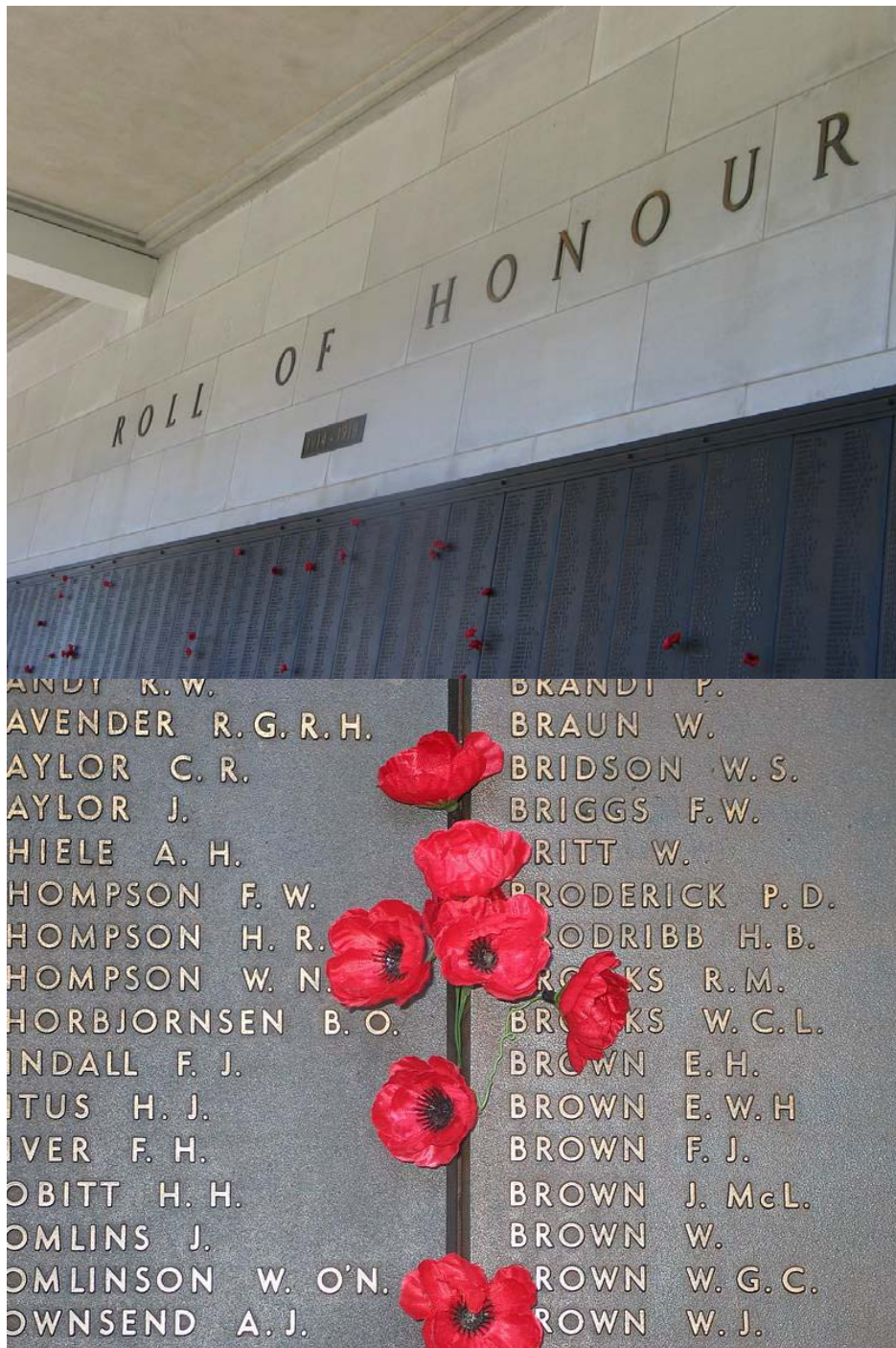


Figure 79. Roll of Honour, Remembrance Day 2006, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 80. *Four Pillars* (Janet Lawrence) and mosaics (Napier Waller), Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 81. Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier, Remembrance Day 2006, Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

Photo: Katrina Bormanis



Figure 82. Tomb of the Unknown New Zealand Warrior, National War Memorial, Wellington, New Zealand.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 83. Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 84. Cabaret Rouge British Cemetery, Souchez, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 85. Original grave of the Unknown Australian Soldier, Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 86. Original grave of the Unknown Canadian Soldier, Cabaret Rouge British Cemetery, Souchez, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 87. Sarcophagus lid, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 88. Memorial Cross bronze anchoring piece, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 89. Poppy bronze anchoring piece, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 90. Inscription, *The Unknown Soldier/Le Soldat Inconnu*, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 91. Plaque, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, National War Memorial, Ottawa.

Photo: Janis Bormanis



Figure 92. Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux, France.

Photo: Janis Bormanis