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REDEFINING MILITARY MEMORIALS AND COMMEMORATION AND HOW THEY HAVE CHANGED SINCE THE 19TH CENTURY WITH A FOCUS ON ANGLO-AMERICAN PRACTICE

Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. by

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September 2013

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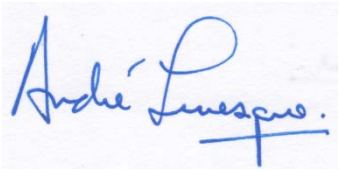

André Levesque

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of military memorials and commemoration with a focus on Anglo-American practice. The main question is: How has history defined military memorials and commemoration and how have they changed since the 19th century. In an effort to resolve this, the work examines both historic and contemporary forms of memorials and commemoration and establishes that remembrance in sites of collective memory has been influenced by politics, conflicts and religion.

Much has been written since the Great War about remembrance and memorialization; however, there is no common lexicon throughout the literature. In order to better explain and understand this complex subject, the work includes an up-to-date literature review and for the first time, terminologies are properly explained and defined. Particular attention is placed on recognizing important military legacies, being familiar with spiritual influences and identifying classic and new signs of remembrance.

The thesis contends that commemoration is composed of three key principles – recognition, respect and reflection – that are intractably linked to the fabric of memorials. It also argues that it is time for the study of memorials to come of age and proposes *Memorialogy* as an interdisciplinary field of study of memorials and associated commemorative practices. Moreover, a more modern, adaptive, General Classification System is presented as a means of identifying and re-defining memorials according to certain groups, types and forms. Lastly, this thesis examines how peacekeeping and peace support operations are being memorialized and how the American tragic events of 11 September 2001 and the war in Afghanistan have forever changed the nature of memorials and commemoration within Canada and elsewhere. This work goes beyond what has been studied and written about over the last century and provides a deeper level of analysis and a fresh approach to understanding the field of Memorialogy.

INTRODUCTION

Since prehistoric times, it has been human instinct to record their activities through pictographs and petroglyphs. While some of these date as far back as 12,000 years, some cultures continued to use them well into the 20th century. As civilizations emerged and developed, so did their military forces. Throughout history, there has been enormous attention paid to the recording and commemoration of military events and personages. For those who are interested in reading and researching past studies of military memorials and remembrance, they will find that their histories are sketchy and are often subjective, definitions and use of concepts and terminologies are wide and varied and often contradict each other. Such anomalies are expected within the field of history but it does not mean that they are easily accepted. The physical state as well as the stories behind those monuments, statues, testimonials, and tributes not only describe past military histories but also influence and shape how these actions and public figures continue to be commemorated during contemporary times.

The question that the thesis is seeking to answer is: **How has history defined military memorials and commemoration and how have they changed since the 19th century**. Several objectives have been developed to help answer this question. The **first objective** is to understand historic and contemporary forms of memorials and commemoration. In order to accomplish this, an apposite literature review will highlight a number of important authors and works over the last four centuries. Chapter 1 is largely about the history of commemoration in the English speaking world and commences by examining what British historians had written about since John Weaver's 1631 magnum opus that provided one of the earliest attempts to define the concepts of monuments and memorials. With the conclusion of the South African War and the First World War, the topic of memorials and monuments became popular again with authors such as Lawrence Weaver (1915) and Arnold Whittick (1935). As the result of the many who died during the Great War, there was an urgent need to look after its fallen. This is

where Major-General Fabian Ware, as well as architects Herbert Baker, Reginald Blomfield and Edwin Lutyens made an immense contribution to the creation and development of the Imperial War Graves Commission, later re-named the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. There is an extensive discussion on each of these men and their accomplishments as well as other published historians. This includes people such as Edwin Gibson and Kingley Ward,[1] Alan Borg,[2] Derek Boorman,[3] and Julie Summers.[4]

As former British colonies, Australia and New Zealand have a shared history of memorials and commemoration as many of their military leaders were either British or British-trained. Their relationship was further strengthened during the Great War with the creation of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) that fought at Gallipoli, Turkey. It will be shown that these two countries forged similar patterns of commemoration but were applied differently during each of the World Wars. At the end of the Second World War, the general population was overwhelmingly in favour of utilitarian memorials rather than monuments and cenotaphs. In the case of Ireland, most of its commemoration emanates from the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 and the Northern Ireland conflict. Professor Keith Jeffery leads the way in examining commemorations held and memorials erected in both Northern and Southern Ireland. In addition, a number of important government reports are discussed, including one by Jane Leonard in 1997 and Kenneth Bloomfield the following year. One of the most interesting findings is Tom Dunne's viewpoint of the erasing of Ireland's collective memory related to the '1798 Rising'. In terms of public memory, France has

[1] Gibson, Major T.A. Edwin, and Ward, G. Kingsley, *Courage Remembered: The Story Behind the Construction and Maintenance of the Commonwealth's Military Cemeteries and Memorials of the Wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1989.

[2] Borg, Alan, *War Memorials from Antiquity to the Present*. London: Leo Cooper, 1991.

[3] Boorman, Derek, *A Century of Remembrance – One Hundred Outstanding British War Memorials*. Barnsley, England: Pen & Sword Books Limited, 2005.

[4] Summers, Julie, *Remembered: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-2007*. London: Merrell Publishers Limited, 2007. Summers, Julie, *British and Commonwealth War Cemeteries*. Oxford: Shire Publications, 2010.

played a significant role since the conclusion of the Great War. Contributors include philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs who pioneered the concept of 'collective memory', and historians such as Pierre Nora – who created the concept of *lieu de mémoire* (place of memory), Henry Rousseau – who breaks down national memory into four 'vectors of memory', as well as Antoine Prost and Annette Becker who examine memorials and cemeteries that were raised for 'soldiers who died for France'.

The first Chapter will also illustrate how American and Canadian memorialization has taken different paths and outcomes. In the U.S., it was the American Civil War (1861-1865) that brought about a large anomaly in terms of concentration of military memorials at Gettysburg and at Arlington Cemetery. However, it is Washington's 'National Mall' that best demonstrates a spatial shift from decentralization to concentration of public monuments. American historians such as John Bodnar, Donald Reynolds, Erwin Panofsky and Judith Dupré cover a wide survey of memorials and historical landmarks that date from 1753 to 2004. Canada's memorialization of its overseas service began with the Nile Expedition of 1884-1885, followed by the South African War. It was four years after the 1918 erection of the first Great War memorial in Montréal (Québec) that Canada began to erect battlefield memorials in France and Belgium to honour and remembers the achievements and sacrifices of Canadians and Newfoundlanders. Of all of its overseas memorials, it is the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* unveiled in 1936 that best embodies the construction of memory for future generations. At home, it was not until the mid-1970s that the findings of Colonel Herbert Wood were published as the chief reference to Canada's overseas memorials. Since then, Robert Shipley led the way in 1987 by publishing an initial history of military memorials in Canada. The last part of this Chapter will make note of key concepts and sites of collective memory that have been developed since the 1940s and how they affect our memorial space and objects that are placed under our care. All of the literature that has been reviewed forms an excellent summary of the various themes and concepts written about memorials and commemoration.

The **second objective** is to propose *Memorialogy* as an interdisciplinary field of study that combines the study of memorials and associated commemorative practices and present a classification system that identifies and re-defines memorials according to certain groups, types, and forms. In order to accomplish this, one must be able to classify memorials according to themes, sentiments, purpose or shapes. For the very first time, a difference is made between types and forms of memorials and is fully explained within Chapter 2 entitled 'Creating a General Classification System'. To clarify, types of memorials include classic war memorials, ships, weapons, vehicles and aircraft, names trophies – as well as newly described 'operational memorials', 'commemorative memorials' and 'structural memorials'. Forms of memorials include the ancient trophy, panoply, cross, and eternal flame. However, over the last century, it included newer forms such as a Tomb of the Unknown, 'Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice', 'Lutyens' War Cross', the Memorial Cross, Remembrance Crosses, 'Lutyens' Stone of Remembrance', the concept of a cenotaph, the Poppy, the Easter Lily, and most recently, 'Rolling Memorials'. As well, while the literature speaks about 'living memorials', until now, no definition has ever been offered. 'Static memorials' – the opposite of living memorials – are also described for the very first time. As an aide memoire, 'types' of memorials relate to purpose or intent, while 'forms' of memorials relate to shape or appearance.

In order to more fully understand Memorialogy, it important to be acquainted with former military legacies and ancient forms of memorials and commemoration that emanate from ancient Egyptian empires and ancient Greece. In an attempt to help explain their relevance since the 19th century, Chapter 3 will examine key memorials such as the *Wellington Testimonial* in Dublin, the *Washington Monument* in the U.S., as well as notable columns and obelisks erected in Canada since its early roots. While some memorials are erected with open arms, there are others that are controversial from the outset. It will be shown that a community's and nation's desire to honour and commemorate a particular person or event can change over time – up to a point that the memory of that space can be reassigned.

Much has been written since the Great War about commemoration and how memorials are to be erected and why. Accordingly, Chapter 4 – Public Memory and Commemoration, places particular attention on remembrance in sites of collective memory that have been influenced by politics, conflicts and religion. Assorted examples derived from Russia, the U.S., England, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada will demonstrate the extent which political leaders have successfully utilized military memorials in order to convey strategic messages. The thesis recognizes the importance of being familiar with spiritual influences as religion has always had a tremendous influence on the shape and use of public memorials. We will examine how different faiths have approached memorials and commemoration – especially since the founding of the Imperial War Graves Commission in 1917. A comparison will also be made between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant faith on the use of military memorials in churches, chapels, and elsewhere since the late 19th century. Chapter 4 will also examine when and how people commemorate – specifically, what special days have been set aside by religious faiths and nations as well as what classic and new signs of remembrance are being used to honour its dead.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to one of the greatest contributions of this work as it contends that commemoration is composed of three elements (participants, observance of remembrance, and memorials as a venue) as well as three key principles – recognition, respect and reflection – that are intractably linked to the fabric of memorials. The chapter on 'recognition' will outline how honours and awards affect the development of military memorials and also explains the importance of state funerals as a primary form of 'commemorative recognition.' 'Respect' is often demonstrated through the use of symbols and insignia on headstones and memorials. We will observe that not all societies share the same traditional values and forms of memorials. As an example, indigenous tribes from North America, Australia, and New Zealand will be used to exhibit holistic approaches to memorialization. 'Reflection' as a principle of commemoration usually happens last and their memorials are often the most contentious and result in reconciliation for some

and repentence for others. Five themes will be used to illustrate the importance of reflection, including: pardons, internment camps and holocaust victims; 'firsts and lasts' memorials; the American Civil War; bombing during the Second World War; and animals in war.

The **third and final objective** is to briefly examine how 'modern' peacekeeping and peace support operations are being memorialized and how the American tragic events of 11 September 2001 and the war in Afghanistan have forever changed the nature of memorials and commemoration within Canada and elsewhere. Chapter 6 – The Forging of a new Identity – will highlight how commemoration has changed over the past decade, both in terms of new themes for commemoration but also new forms of commemoration.

The thesis will be placing focus on Anglo-American military memorials and commemoration and supporting examples will be drawn from Australia, France, Ireland, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This work goes beyond what has been studied and written about over the last century and provides a deeper level of analysis and a fresh approach to understanding memorials and commemoration. This study will not only tackle a lack of common understanding within the literature but will also present and clarify various concepts and lexicons related to remembrance and memorialization. It is from this exhaustive research that the proposed interdisciplinary field of *Memorialogy* is born. This new approach will provide an opportunity for ephemeral studies of the past to be joined into a research area that can find commonality within our communities and society in general. Let us begin with the chapter on the literature review.

CHAPTER 1 - LITERATURE REVIEW

British historians have led the way for nearly four centuries in terms of writings on memorials and commemoration. Among scores of books and articles that have been published by British authors, there are a few that are considered classical works. As the result of extensive travels, English poet and antiquarian John Weever (1576-1632) published in 1631, a year before his death, the massive folio volume *Ancient Funerall Monuments, of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Islands adjacent*.[5] This very old and rare book provided a valuable account of memorials and recorded inscriptions from funeral monuments around England, many of which have since been damaged, destroyed or obliterated. Most importantly, this manuscript provided one of the earliest attempts to define the concepts of monuments and memorials:

> A monument is a thing erected, made, or written, for a memorial of some remarkable action, fit to be transferred to future posterities. And thus generally taken, all religious foundations, all sumptuous and magnificent structures, cities, towns, towers, castles, pillars, pyramids, crosses, obelisks, amphitheatres, statues, and the like, as well as tombs and sepulchres, are called monuments. Now, above all rememberances, by which men have endeavored, even in despight of death, to give unto their fames eternity, for worthiness and continuance, books, or writings, have ever had the preeminence.[6]

In addition to the general definition provided above, Weever further describes funeral monuments as well as that of the ancient meaning of a muniment:

> Now to speak properly of a monument, … it is a receptacle or sepulchre, purposely made, erected, or built, to receive a dead corps, and to preserve the same from violation. … And indeed these funeral monuments, in foregoing ages, were very fittingly called muniments, in that they did defend and fence the corps of the defunct, which otherwise might have been pulled out of their

[5] The first edition was printed by T. Harper in 1631 and published by Sadler (871 pages). A second edition of *Ancient Funerall Monuments* appeared in 1661, following with a head of Weever; and a third was published in 1767, with some improvements by the Rev. William Tooke, F.R.S.

[6] Weever, John, A Discourse on Funeral Monuments, Chapter I, "Of Monuments in general," *Antient Funeral Monuments, of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Islands adjacent*. London: Printed by W. Tooke, 3rd Edition, 1767, p.i.

> graves by the savage brutishness of wild beasts: for, as then none were buried in towns or cities, but either in the fields, along the highway side … upon the top, or at the feet of mountains.[7]

During Europe's early modern period,[8] it was relatively uncommon for an individual or a family to have a gravestone or monument, as they were principally reserved for those of "virtue, wisdom and valor."[9] As part of his studies of death, Weever was determined "to collect such memorials of the deceased, as were remaining as yet undefaced; as also to revive the memories of eminent worthy persons entombed or interred, either in parish, or in abbey churches…"[10] In accordance with the views of the period, Weever argues two points on ceremonious observances. The first is that sepulchres should be made and personages should be carried to their burial place "according to the quality and degree of the person deceased, that by the tomb every one might be discerned of what rank he was, living".[11] Following traditions emanating from times of antiquity: noblemen, princes and kings held magnificent above-ground tombs or monuments; eminent gentlemen had their effigies or representation placed on a pedestal somewhat above the ground; persons of lesser gentry were interred with a flat gravestone; and those "persons of the rustic or plebeian fort" were interred "without any further rememberance of them, either by tomb, grave-stone, or epitaph."[12] His second point concerns the inequality of sexes at time of death. Although women are esteemed and

[7] Ibid, Chapter II, "Of funeral monuments, graves, tombs, or sepulchers. Of the antient custom of burials. Of epitaphs, and other funeral honors," p.vi.

[8] The early modern period or era is from the 16th to 18th century.

[9] Ibid, Chapter III, "Of sepulchres answerable to the degree of the person deceased. The different manner of bearing men and women to the grave. When both sexes began to be born alike," p.xi.

[10] Ibid, "The Author to the Reader," first page immediately following the dedication page.

[11] Ibid, Chapter III, p.xi.

[12] Ibid, Chapter III, p.xi.

are thought no less worthy of honour, he purports that women are not equal with men when carried to her grave.[13]

Weever's observations and comments on memorials are reflective of the 'process of individualism' that began in the late Middle Ages[14] and reached its height between 1550 and 1650.[15] These pinnacle years were considered an important period of transition towards the modern era with regard to practices and views on death and remembrance. New "political, social, and religious attitudes and ideas" brought about "profound and rapid changes" that transcended throughout the social hierarchy.[16] With the development of a rising middle class and an emerging bourgeoisie, it was only but natural for the lower classes of society to imitate the ceremonious observances of the rich and powerful upper class. In the opposite sense, those belonging to the dominant class were looking to curtail their escalating funeral expenses. This is well documented in Weever's book when he complains that too many monuments are erected and epitaphs are written for persons who are not of eminent rank and quality – to the point whereby "more honor is attributed to a rich tradesman, or griping usurer, than is given to the greatest potentate entombed in Westminster."[17] As well, the great pomp and excessive expenses at funerals concerned him and deemed them insupportable. For

[13] Ibid, Chapter III, p.xii. "Men and women, though of equal degree and quality, were borne in a different manner to their graves. Man was borne upon men's shoulders, to signify his dignity and superiority over his wife; and women at the arm's end, to signify, that, being inferior to man in her life-time, she should not be equaled with him at her death."

[14] Late Middle Ages is during the 14th and 15th centuries.

[15] Dr. María Isabel Romero Ruiz, "The Ritual of the Early Modern Death, 1550-1650." See: http://www.anmal.uma.es/numero17/Romero.htm Dr. Ruiz is a lecturer in social history and cultural studies at the University of Málaga, Spain.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Weever, John, op. cit., Chapter III, 1767, p.xi. Within the margin of this page, Weever makes reference to "Camden's Remaines" and the differnentiation of his rank on his tomb. This is appears to be the general practice at the time. See later section on 'inscriptions or an epitaph.'

example, the executor was typically charged a variable fee for a grave as well as for the possible incursion of a monument.[18]

Since John Weever's 1631 magnum opus, there were hundreds of monographs published over the next three centuries on a variety of family, social, political, military and religious monuments and memorials.[19] However, it was not until the early 20th century that the general study of memorials

[18] Sherlock, Peter, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008, p.178.

[19] Examples of some of the published monographs during the 19th century and early 20th century on memorials, monuments, churches, and famous landmarks and military heroes in England, France, and North America include: Grose, Francis, *Military Antiquities Respecting A History of the English Army from the Conquest to the Present Time*, Vol. I & II. London: T. Egerton, Whitehall; & G. Kearsley, 1801; Percy, Sholto, and Percy, Reuben, *London: Or, Interesting Memorials of Its Rise, Progress, & Present State, Volume 1*. London: T. Boys, 1824; Emmanuel, Comte de Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou Journal ou se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois*, Réimpression de 1823 et 1824, avec de nombreuses corrections de quelques additions, Tome Troisième. Paris: L'imprimerie de Lebègue, 1824; Millingen, James, *Ancient Unedited Monuments – Statues, Busts, Bas-Reliefs, and other Remains of Grecian Art, from Collection in various Countries, Illustrated and Explained*. London: 1826; Rafinesque, C.S., *The Ancient Monuments of North and South America*, Second Edition. Philadelphia: 1838; Curmer, Léon, Editor, *Tombeau de Napoléon 1er érigé dans le Dome des Invalides, par Pietro Ercole Visconti, Architecte de Sa Majesté l'Empereur*. Paris: Imprimerie de Paul Dupont, 1853; Gérard, Le Colonel, Secrétaire-général Archiviste de l'Hôtel, *Description de l'Hôtel Impérial des Invalides du Tombeau de Napoléon 1er et Char Funèbre de Sainte-Hélène*, 3rd Edition. Paris: Librairie Militaire de Biot, 1860; Gérard, Le Colonel, *Les Invalides – Grandes Éphémérides de l'Hôtel Impérial des Invalides Depuis sa Fondation Jusqu'à nos Jours – Description du Monument et du Tombeau de Napoléon 1er*. Paris: Henri Plon, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1862; Guizot, François, *Memoirs of A Minister of State, from the Year 1840*. London: Richard Bentley, 1864; Thomas Publications, *Soldiers' National Cemetery – Gettysburg*. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Thomas Publications, 1988. This is a reprint of the 1865 edition of the *Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery*, first published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1864 and again revised in 1867; Monument Society, *The Washington National Monument: Views of the Early Patriots Regarding It; Reasons Why It Should Remain on Its Present Site; Objects and Uses of Such Structures*. Washington: W.H. & O.H. Morrison, 1871; Fergusson, James, *Rude Stone Monuments in All Countries; Their Age and Uses*. London: William Clowes and Sons, 1872; Le Moine, James MacPherson, *Quebec, Past and Present – A History of Quebec 1608-1876*, in Two Parts. Québec: Augustin Coté & Co., 1876; Cox, John Charles, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*. London: Bemrose and Sons, 1879; De Genouillac, H. Gourdon, and Martin, Henri, de L'Académie Française, *Paris à Travers les Siècles: Histoire Nationale de Paris et des Parisiens depuis la Fondation de Lutèce jusqu'à nos Jours*, Troisième Partie. Paris, F. Roy, Éditeur, 1879; *The History of the County of Brant, Ontario, containing A History of the County; its Townships, Cities, Towns, Schools, Churches, etc.; General and Local Statistics; Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men; History of the Six Nation Indians and Captain Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea); History of the Dominion of Canada, Miscellaneous Matters, Etc., Etc., Etc.* Toronto: Warner, Beers & Co., 1883; Ke-Che-Ah-Gah-Me-Qua, *The Life of Captain Joseph Brant, (Thayendanegea) – An Account of his Re-interment at Mohawk, 1850. And the Corner Stone Ceremony in the Erection of the Brant Memorial*. Brantford, Ontario: Undated but published by Watt & Shenston on or after October 1886; Grimsey, Benjamin

became popular again with the commencement of the South African War and the First World War. As noted in *Memorials and Monuments, Old and New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries* published in 1915 by Lawrence Weaver (1876-1930),[20] architectural writer and civil servant: "the literature on the subject is very scanty, and there is no book in which any general survey of memorial design has been attempted."[21] Written during the Great War, it was a response to the 1911 publication of Colonel Sir James Gildea's pictorial record (*For Remembrance and Honour of those who lost their Lives in the South African War 1899-1902*) of the hundreds of memorials that had been erected in remembrance of those who died during the war in South Africa.[22]

Though Lawrence Weaver mentions endowments and scholarships as a form of memorial, his study is concentrated on two main areas. The first is buildings, churches, chapels, and everything inside them – including, adornments such as stained-glass windows, sepulchral monuments such as tombs and brasses, and an array of architectural and sculptural monuments. His second main interest is that of outdoor monuments that can be found in

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Page, *A Monograph on the Parish of St. Lawrence, Ipswich*. Ipswich, England: 1887-1888; Blacker, Rev. Beaver H., *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, Vol. IV*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, & Co., Limited, 1890; Routledge, Rev. Charles Francis, *The History of St. Martin's Church, Canterbury – A Monograph*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1891; Fauvelet de Bourrienne, Louis Antoine, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, Volume 7*, Edited by R.W. Phipps, Colonel, Late Royal Artillery, 1891; Vanderslice, John M., *Gettysburg – A History of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association with an account of the Battle giving Movements, Positions, and Losses of the Commands Engaged*. Philadelphia: The Memorial Association, 1897; Ditchfield, Rev. Peter Hampson, *Memorials of Old London, Volume 1*. London: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 1908; Weaver, Lawrence, *Memorials and Monuments, Old and New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries*. London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915; George Washington Memorial Association, *Active Interests: The George Washington Memorial, 1897*. Undated but published before 1923.

[20] Lawrence Walter William Weaver was later knighted (K.B.E.) for his organization of the 1924-1925 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, just outside London. This was considered the largest exhibition ever staged anywhere in the world and attracted approximately 26 million visitors.

[21] Weaver, Lawrence, *Memorials and Monuments, Old and New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries*. London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp.455-456.

[22] Colonel Sir James Gildea, K.C.V.O. (1838-1920) was a British Army Militia officer and philanthropist.

churchyards (such as slabs and crosses) as well as smaller and moderately sized military and civic memorials. Weaver's main complaint was that there was an "...exceeding poverty of memorial design in Great Britain" and noted that "in earlier days, when monuments were not only honourable memorials of the dead, but works of art which gave joy to the living, the finest skill of architects and sculptors, *working together*, went to their making."[23] Throughout the book, Weaver provides several examples of memorials – which to his opinion – have been erected by 'monumental masons' who "bring to their task neither educated taste nor the knowledge of good historical examples; they are often, moreover, incompetent in their craftsmanship."[24] His criticism of less attractive monuments and memorials is aimed primarily at the need for absorbing certain elements into the scheme of the design, the treatment of the architecture, as well as an overall lack of expression of feeling. While his arguments are accurate for the most part, some are more concerned with artistic style and taste. This book focused its attention on providing good examples of memorials and acted as a guide in the choice and design of memorials. Two such outstanding examples are military memorials dedicated to the South African War and how their design allowed for lists of battles and of those who fell in the war to become an "organic part of the architectural scheme."[25] One example is that of an 'independent memorial' dedicated to the Old Boys of Haileybury College designed in 1904 by Reginald Blomfield, R.A.,[26] whereby the war memorial consists of a an obelisk set on a sculptured pedestal which incorporate sixteen bronze plates inscribed with the sixteen chief battles of the war.[27] A second example is a 'roll of honour' located at Eton – and according to Weaver, "the finest public school

[23] Weaver, Lawrence, op. cit., 1915, pp.1-2.

[24] Ibid, pp.1-2.

[25] Ibid, p.174.

[26] Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942) was later responsible for the creation of the Cross of Sacrifice for the Imperial War Graves Commission.

[27] Ibid, p.372.

memorial put up after the South African War."[28] This composition has a bust of Queen Victoria and as its background includes long wooden panels on either side recording the names of the deceased – and in the front of it is a 'manuscript Roll of Honour.'[29] Weaver, like many other writers, deals with the architecture of memorials, but neglects to consider acts of remembrance that take place at the memorials.

One of the most influential exponents of memorials and commemoration is architectural historian and urban planner Arnold Whittick (1898-1986). Over a span of five decades and right up until his death, Whittick had written numerous books, articles and reviews. His first book published in 1935, entitled *Symbols for Designers – A Handbook on the Application of Symbols and Symbolism to Design*, provided a thorough treatment of iconography. As pointed out in the foreward by Sir Herbert Baker, at that time there were "many books on Heraldry and Christian Symbolism, but none, as far as I know, which deals so comprehensively both with the origin and meaning of symbols and their practical application through the arts of the ages."[30] In 1946, immediately after the Second World War, Whittick published *War Memorials* – a "timely and helpful" book that admirably studies the subject of war memorials,[31] "with an emphasis on aesthetic qualities."[32] Whittick believes that it is important to "ask what the people as a whole think about war memorials" and explores basic questions such as do they want them and what forms should they take. In considering

[28] Ibid, p.174.

[29] Nowadays just called a Roll of Honour. See Glossary.

[30] Whittick, Arnold, *Symbols for Designers – A Handbook on the Application of Symbols and Symbolism to Design*. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son Ltd., 1935, Foreword. Sir Herbert Baker, K.C.I.E, R.A., F.R.I.B.A. was a principal English architect who worked in South Africa and India. Following the Great War, he assisted in designing the Tyne Cot cemetery – the final resting-place of nearly 12,000 soldiers of the Commonwealth Forces, making it the largest Commonwealth cemetery of the two World Wars. There are 1,011 Canadians buried there.

[31] Whittick, Arnold, *War Memorials*. London: Country Life Limited, 1946. Page v of the preface by Admiral of the Fleet, The Right Honourable Alfred Ernle Montacute Chatfield, P.C., G.C.B., O.M., (1873-1967), president of the War Memorials Advisory Council.

[32] Ibid, p.viii.

the responses, quality of thought stimulated by reading or discussion is preferred to that of "widely held opinions which are often the result of superficial thinking."[33] The majority felt war memorials should be utilitarian – they did not want "any more stone monuments like crosses, obelisks, cenotaphs and similar types."[34] Unknown to Whittick, Australians and New Zealanders had similar responses during that time.[35] The author also discussed the desire to create permanent symbols at the national and local levels and what constitutes memorials for the military, institutions, businesses, schools, or individuals. Technical advice on materials, inscriptions and lettering are also offered. As noted in the preface by Lord Chatfield – while the author places much emphasis on the study of vast experiences of the past, he acknowledges that they are to be used as a guide and inspiration to "convey to posterity the true spirit of our own age" to future generations.[36] Moreover, the book calls attention to the creation of permanent war memorials "to honour and commemorate the fallen" as well as a "means of satisfying some of these public needs, to benefit those who have survived the dangers or war."[37]

While commemorating the fallen during times of war is an essential component of remembrance for both the dead and the living, Whittick discussed a variety of topics such as 'national' war memorials, battlefield and military memorials, as well as a memorial to an 'individual' that includes public monuments and small personal grave monuments. Unfortunately, his book left little room to consider other ideas and concepts related to other groups and types of memorials – including tangible and intangible forms.[38] With the conclusion of the Second World War so fresh in everyone's mind,

[33] Ibid, p.1.

[34] Ibid, p.1.

[35] Further explanations are provided in the 'Australia' and 'New Zealand' section of the Litterature Review.

[36] Ibid, pp.1-2.

[37] Ibid, pp.1-2.

[38] See section on 'Creating a General Classification System.'

there were many circumstances and outcomes concerning remembrance that would have never been considered before. While there were no arguments from the general populace that the focus of remembrance was to be placed on those who made the 'ultimate sacrifice,' the returning wounded, and their families, historians were generally silent and unaware of other groups of people who were equally affected by the war. As details of the various people affected, battles, displacements, and atrocities have become known over the last seven decades – so has the quest for new and different approaches to collective memorialization.[39] As a result, there have been hundreds if not thousands of post-1945 memorials that have been erected and dedicated to groups who had been formerly disadvantaged in terms of recognition and memorialization – including service women, civilians placed in internment camps, victims of the holocaust, 'coloured' troops and aboriginals who served with military forces, among others. It is worth noting that these memorials built and erected in honour of these 'disadvantaged' groups have seldom taken the classical architectural or sculptural forms and features described by Whittick but have instead adopted other more modern shapes and structures to represent their particular needs and feelings.

In his chapter dedicated to 'The National War Memorial,' Whittick states that "a national war memorial, if it successfully expresses the mood of a people, sets the theme for many city, town and village memorials" and that the forms they have taken in the past "are varied, but it is possible that few have presented completely the acceptable form."[40] Moreover, he feels that "a memorial, like any work of art, is dependent on the spirit of its age; if it is to have life it must be the creation of its age and must not be borrowed from the past."[41] When Whittick analyses a work of art, he considers "two fundamental aspects: as expression, and as a thing of beauty."[42] In the case of a

[39] See section on 'Concepts and Sites of Collective Memory.'

[40] Ibid, p.12.

[41] Ibid, p.12.

[42] Ibid, p.136.

monument, it "may be a work or architecture, a work of sculpture or a combination of both."[43] He professes that sculptural forms can be more expressive than symbolic forms such as an obelisk, cenotaph, cross or altar. Notwithstanding Whittick's comments, it should be noted that despite best attempts by a community or a nation, a memorial's form will never be acceptable to all but it is reasonable to assume that it expresses the mood of the majority. Contrary to Whittick, it is felt that there is nothing wrong from borrowing from the past. Remembrance is about making decisions on who are to be memorialized, for what reasons, and how it is to be achieved. While some particular symbols might be shed from the past for various social, religious or political reasons, there are others that may be kept as a means of bridging the past with the present.

Noting that nearly all the memorials described in his book emanate from Europe, the author did include a few American examples as well as a single 'Canadian.' The Lincoln and Jefferson memorials, located in Washington, D.C., were put forth as two of the best examples of how a memorial could express the "spirit of revival, or re-creation combined with remembrance."[44] However, he also argued that the use of classical architecture for these two monuments had been criticized as they were imitative and lacked vitality. In comparison, Whittick depicts the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* as "a conception almost entirely independent of traditional architectural styles" and "it is at least living memorial art, and it points the way to the future and to what might be achieved as expression in the second world war."[45] Although it is agreeable that originality and creativity is valuable in determining the architectural character and expressive forms of a memorial, they are not the only determinants that make a memorial unique or important. Other noteworthy elements can also include historical background, site selection, symbology, and most importantly – the desire from the

[43] Ibid, p.136.

[44] Ibid, p.8.

[45] Ibid, p.37.

community on what it is to represent, remember and commemorate. With respect to Whittick's comment about the Vimy memorial as "living memorial art" and pointing "the way to the future," little did he know that five decades after publishing his book, the Battle of Vimy and the memorial itself played a significant role in the selection and memorialization of Canada's Unknown Soldier during the millennium year.[46] The last chapter of the book is dedicated to the proposed establishment of an international university "dedicated to understanding between the peoples of the earth, and forming a United Nations Memorial" – a project which never came to fruition.[47]

At the outset of the Great War, three of the most eminent British architects of their day – Sir Herbert Baker (1862-1942), Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942), and Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) – were commissioned to design suitable cemeteries and memorials to the efforts of British Commonwealth soldiers. After being the leading architect in South Africa from 1892 to 1912, Baker went to work in India with Lutyens in 1912 and in the aftermath of the First World War turned his attention to commemorative projects in Belgium and France. While Baker published *Plas mawr,*[48] *Cecil Rhodes, by his Architect,*[49] and *Church House: Its Art and Symbolism,*[50] it was not until 1944 that he published his most important work: an autobiography – *Architecture & Personalities*[51] – two years before his death. Baker "believed in the importance of symbols and of associations rather than, as Lutyens did, in the power of abstract forms. But, like Lutyens,

[46] See section on 'Tomb of the Unknown.'

[47] Ibid, p.144.

[48] Baker, Arthur, and Baker, Herbert, *Plas Mawr, Conway, N. Wales.* London: A & H Baker, Farmer & Sons, 1888.

[49] Baker, Sir Hebert, *Cecil Rhodes by his Architect*. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

[50] Baker, Herbert, *The Church House Its Art and Symbolism with an Introduction on Its History and Aims*. Westminster: Corporation of the Church Hourse, 1940.

[51] Baker, Sir Hebert, *Architecture & Personalities*. UK: London Country Life Limited, 1944.

he attached great importance to craftsmanship and the harmonious use of fine materials."[52]

A prolific architect and author, Blomfield wrote a dozen books over a period of five decades[53] and covered extensive interests including, formal gardens in England, architectural drawing and histories, his own memoirs in 1932, along with one biography.[54] Perhaps Blomfield's most controversial book was that of *Modernismus*[55] whereby he vehementaly detested and despised cosmopolitanism and its new architecture. He believed that this modern movement is reactionary, transitionary and that it lacked substance. Blomfield was not alone in his traditional views of architecture and resistance to the 'modernismus' movement but was nonetheless part of the generation gap between classical romanticism and revolutionary modernism. From a commemorative viewpoint, Blomfield was given the privilege to design the "first collective memorial" along the former war front in France and

[52] *Country Life Magazine*, "Great British Architects: Sir Herbert Baker (1862-1946)," Sunday, 6 March 2011. See website: http://www.countrylife.co.uk/culture/architecture/article/518105/Great-British-Architects-Sir-Herbert-Baker-1862-1946-.html

[53] Known books published by Sir Reginald Blomfield: Blomfield, Sir Reginald, and Thomas, F. Inigo, *The Formal Garden in England*. London: Macmillan & Company, 1892; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1897; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Studies in Architecture*. London: Macmilland and Co., Limited, 1905; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *The Mistress Art*. London: Edward Arnold, 1908; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *A History of French Architecture from* 1494 to 1661 (from the Reign of Charles VIII till the Death of Mazarin), Volume I. London: G. Bell and Sons, Limited, 1911; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Architectural Drawing and Draughtsmen*. London: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1912; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *A History of French Architecture from 1661 to 1774* (from the Death of Mazarin till the Death of Louis XV) , Volume II. London: G. Bell and Sons, Limited, 1921; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *The Touchstone of Architecture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Memoirs of an Architect*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1932; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Modernismus*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1934; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Six Architects*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1935; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Three Hundred Years of French Architecture, 1494-1794*. London: A. Maclehose & Co., 1936; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Sebastien le Prestre de Vauban, 1633-1707*. London: Methuen & Company Limited, 1938; Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Richard Norman Shaw, Architect 1831-1912*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1940.

[54] Richard Norman Shaw, R.A., (1831-1912) – an influential British architect.

[55] Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Modernismus*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1934.

Belgium.[56] Unveiled on 24 July 1927 in Ieper,[57] the *Menin Gate Memorial* (Figure 45) is considered an important place of memory in Belgian Flanders as this triumphal arch was built for two purposes: to serve as a memorial to those who fought in the area known as the Ypres Salient and is the first of four memorials to the approximately 90,000 British and Commonwealth soldiers who have no known grave.[58] Blomfield's overall style of architecture is best described as military classicism.

According to British writer and architectural historian Gavin Stamp, Lutyens is "surely the greatest British architect of the twentieth (or of any other) century."[59] His early commissions of designing private country houses and churches grew into a number of major urban projects – moving from initial designs of 'Arts and Crafts' (or Craftsman) style to a more classical style during the early 1900s. In all, Lutyens contributed to more than 600 works[60] which included the creation of a great number of dedicatory monuments, memorials, and cemeteries. His output significantly affected the commemorative landscape across Europe, India, South Africa, and North America for generations to come. Two of his most important Great War landmarks include the *Cenotaph* in Whitehall, London, in 1919 (Figure 122) – the national memorial to the Fallen of the British Empire in the First World War – and the *Memorial to the Missing of the Somme* at Thiepval, France,

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[56] Geurst, Jeroen, *Cemeteries of the Great War by Sir Edwin Lutyens*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2010, p.182.

[57] Previously known as Ypres, Belgium, and now known by its Flemish name of Ieper. The Menin Gate Memorial was opened by Field Marshal Lord Plumer, G.C.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.B.E. (1857-1932) who commanded the British Second Army (1915-1917) and was Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of the Rhine (1918-1919).

[58] According to the C.W.G.C., the number of identified casualties for each of the four memorials are as follows: *The Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial* – 54,393; *Tyne Cot Memorial* – 34,935; *Messines Ridge (New Zealand) Memorial* – 827; and *Buttes New British Cemetery (New Zealand) Memorial, Polygon Wood* – 378. See website: www.cwgc.org

[59] Stamp, Gavin, *The Memorial to the Missing of the Somme*. London: Profile Books Ltd., 2007, p.10.

[60] Barker, Michael, *Sir Edwin Lutyens*. Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire, UK: Shire Publications Ltd., 2005, p.6. Michael Barker represents the Lutyens Trust and the fund-raising committee for the Franco-British visitor Centre at Thiepval.

opened in 1932 by the Prince of Wales – and is considered his greatest war memorial.[61] Lutyens also created the concept of a 'War Stone' that came to be known by the C.W.G.C. as 'the Stone of Remembrance' and is discussed more fully in the 'Creating a General Classification' section. In comparison to his peers, Lutyens did not write much – one article in 1913 on houses and gardens; *The Highway Development Survey* for the Ministry of Transport in 1937; and *A Plan for the City & County of Kingston upon Hull*, published in 1945 – a year after his death. Nonetheless, there are abundant publishing on Lutyens' life and his achievements and there is continued interest in his architecture of death and remembrance.

When examining a small selection of about forty books and articles published on Lutyens,[62] it appears that half have been published since 1990. For example, after studying and researching Lutyens for over twenty years, Tim Skelton and Gerald Gliddon published *Lutyens and the Great War* in 2008. This comprehensive illustrated book not only described some of his greatest accomplishments but also included for the first time lesser-known masterpieces – such as the war memorial at Spalding and the cemeteries at Monchy and Croisilles in France. Chapter Nine, "Meanwhile Abroad," described 'official' replicas that were erected outside the United Kingdom including, Bermuda, Hong Kong, India, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, and Zambia. This section also included a write-up on the gardens of the *Irish National War Memorial* in Dublin (Figure 39) and recorded a single memorial in Canada – the Cenotaph erected in London, Ontario, which was unveiled on 11 November 1934. The authors' analysis of Lutyens and his works – from his first war memorial (*Rand Regiments Memorial*, 1910) in Johannesburg to one of his last schemes at the Church of St Peter at Tyringham in 1940 – can be summarized as follows. While Lutyens completed design work for some

[61] Built between 1928 and 1932, the Thiepval memorial serves as an Anglo-French battle memorial commemorating the Somme 1916 offensive against the German defensive Front and includes the names of the 72,194 men missing on the battlefield.

[62] A small selection of 41 books and articles is listed on the website of The Lutyens Trust – established to "protect and promote the spirit and substance of the work of Sir Edwin Lutyens." See website: http://www.lutyenstrust.org.uk/bibliography/lutyensonly.htm

well-to-do clients – especially during his early years – these are considered marginal in terms of numbers (estimated at 13 percent of about 700 objects built around the world).[63] In comparison, about one quarter of his designs are accounted through his various memorials and cemeteries. His passion for designing and building memorials and cemeteries was derived from those who died during the Great War. He personally lost five nephews during the war, two of whom "died barely three months after Lutyens had been asked to visit the Western Front, an event that was to have profound effect upon him and was to influence the way in which his nephews and countless others … were to be commemorated."[64] Unfortunately, his quarrel with Baker in 1916 over a road gradient and the visibility of the Viceroy's House in New Delhi impinged on his professional life as it took the King himself to decide on the matter six years later. Even with a fine reputation for his architectural designs, his inability to swallow his dignity was perhaps his greatest downfall.

The most recent publishing on Lutyens' work is in 2010 entitled *Cemeteries of the Great War by Sir Edwin Lutyens* by Dutch architect Jeroen Geurst where he documented all 140 of his cemeteries located throughout the countryside of Flanders and northern France. Through photographs and drawings, the book reveals the level of sophistication and craftsmanship achieved by Lutyens and how he was able to meticulously blend church-like architecture and landscaping in an open-air setting. His quest for standardization of cemeteries – including the uniformity of headstones and buildings – is balanced with a variation in size and location of the various memorial and landscaping elements, including two religious symbols: the 'War Stone' and the 'Cross of Sacrifice.' By doing so, each cemetery is considered unique as it is reflective of the former battlefront and local surroundings. Geurst also provides excellent historical background on the principal and assistant architects that produced the designs for the cemeteries themselves, their shelters, storage buildings, and gateway buildings. The

[63] Skelton, Tim, and Gliddon, Gerald, *Lutyens and The Great War*. London: Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2008, p.10.

[64] Ibid, p.21.

author notes that in addition to dissimilar approaches to cemetery layouts, the "buildings display different renderings of the common style, which can be described as 'abstract classicism'."[65] While British architects during the early 20th century transitioned from the Arts and Craft movement to Classicism as the common style, the variations of this preferred style is a natural extension and admiration of traditional Classical Antiquity – and later, Italian and English Renaissance architecture.[66]

During the Great War, all three of these distinguished architects – Baker, Blomfield, and Lutyens – were engaged to design war cemeteries and memorials under the careful eye of Fabian Ware (1869-1949), the first director of the Imperial War Graves Commission (I.W.G.C.). Shortly after the outbreak of the war and being too old for active service, Ware offered his services with the British Red Cross and in September 1914 commanded a mobile unit at Lille, France, with their main aim to search out and care for the wounded. Their secondary function of collecting evidence about the British dead – noting the location of where they had been buried, the caring of their graves and maintaining their inscriptions – became more of interest and importance to Ware, especially as battles became more intense, the escalating rate at which men perished, and the places and state of their bodies would be found or unrecoverable. In 1915, after his unit was given official recognition by the War Office it was renamed the Graves Registration Commission and integrated into the British Army. Ware, as the leader of this new organization, accepted a commission at the rank of major and with his desire for honouring the dead and missing, he became the driving force behind the foundation of the I.W.G.C. in May 1917 with The Prince of Wales as its President, the Secretary of State for War its Chairman and Ware as Vice-Chairman – a post he held until his retirement in 1948.

[65] Geurst, Jeroen, op. cit., 2010, p.69.

[66] Lutyens was particularly influenced by Roman architect and engineer Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (c.80-70 BC - c. 15 BC), Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), and most of all, British architect Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) who built St. Paul's Cathedral and not by coincidence, the place where the ashes of Sir Lutyens are laid.

Renamed in 1960 as the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (C.W.G.C.), this non-profit organization is responsible for marking, recording and maintaining the graves, and places of commemoration for the 1.7 million men and women of the Commonwealth forces who died in the two World Wars.[67] The "fundamental principles" of the Commission are further explained in the section 'Public Memory and Commemoration, Spiritual Influences.' At the end of the Great War, its founder rose to become Major General Sir Fabian Ware, K.C.V.O., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G. and during the Second World War, he was appointed Director of Graves Registration and Enquiries at the War Office. Despite having memorial tablets dedicated to him in the Warrior's Chapel at Westminster Abbey and in Gloucester Cathedral, as well as a road named in his honour near the Bayeux Memorial, "his truest memorial was the Commission itself, the institution which he had inspired and nurtured. … he had done great service of the relatives of the dead; he had built the first 'living model' of Commonwealth co-operation, added something to the national heritage."[68] In terms of Ware's literary contribution, although he published books on education[69] and democracy and syndicalism,[70] it was not until 1937 that he published *The Immortal Heritage: An Account of the Work and Policy of the Imperial War Graves Commission during Twenty Years 1917-1937*.[71] This is Ware's official report that was presented at the 1937 Imperial Conference on what had been accomplished during its first twenty years. As this is his only published work related to the Commission – it is disappointing. His narrative of the work of the I.W.G.C. includes typical

[67] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, *Annual Report 2009-2010* (91st annual report), p.47. The dates of inclusion for First World War Commonwealth War Dead are 4 August 1914 to 31 August 1921. Total First World War dead were 1,115,597 (United Kingdon & Colonies 886,939; Undivided India 74,187; Canada 64,976; Australia 61,966; New Zealand 18, 052; South Africa 9,477). The total commemorated for both World Wars is 1,696,094.

[68] Longworth, Philip, *The Unending Vigil: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*. London: Leo Cooper, 1985, p.193.

[69] Such as: Ware, Fabian, *Educational Foundations of Trade and Industry*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901.

[70] Ware, Fabian, *The Worker and His Country*. London: Edward Arnold, 1912.

[71] This small-sized book includes an Introduction by Edmund Blunden, thirty-two photographs, and has a total of eighty-one pages.

updates[72] but says little or nothing of his dealings with his principal architects and the two central memorials (the Cross of Sacrifice and the Stone of Remembrance) that were created. The short history of the Commission does not give justice to all those who contributed to its success. Most of all, readers would have appreciated a personal account from the founder of the Commission. It would take another forty years before the Commission would publish a more detailed history.

There are a number of other books that explore the Commission's principles and contributions, particularly with regard to the planning, erection and maintenance of more than 2,500 war cemeteries and 200 memorials worldwide. It was as a result of fulfilling an immediate need that Sidney C. Hurst published *The Silent Cities* in 1929.[73] Its title is derived from the distinguished British novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) when he respectfully refers to the cemeteries of the Western Front as 'The Silent Cities.'[74] Considering the high number of deaths and widespread cemeteries, it was an everyday effort for staff from the I.W.G.C. to assist with the needs of parents, relatives and friends to pay their respects to the departed. As indicated in the Preface by Sir Fabian Ware, " this book meets a real demand." Accordingly, Hurst used this as an opportunity to produce a complete guide to all cemeteries and memorials that recorded over 40 British dead during the Great War. Through maps, photographs, and descriptive notes, the author took a snapshot of the 967 cemeteries and 22 memorials to the "Missing' that existed at that time.[75] Moreover, Ware suggests that the richer, "in this

[72] Such as incorporation and charter details, lists of commission and administrative members, summary of various committee meetings, finances, staff hiring and appointments and associated appendices listing the distribution of cemeteries, graves, and memorials.

[73] At time of printing in 1929, the author was working for the I.W.G.C. and in order to complete this guide-book he was given a leave for absence for several months.

[74] Hurst, Sidney C., *The Silent Cities: An Illustrated Guide to the War Cemeteries and Memorials to the 'Missing' in France and Flanders, 1914-1918*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1929, p.xi.

[75] At the end of the book, there is an alphabetical index for 2,485 cemeteries and among the 22 memorials to the 'Missing,' it includes the *Canadian National Memorial*, Vimy Ridge; and the *Newfoundland National Memorial*, Beaumont-Hamel.

fellowship of sacrifice," can purchase a copy of the book for those who are unable to afford it and hopes that:

> it will also get into the hands of many who have no association of kinship with these cemeteries and memorials, but for whom the claims of national brotherhood fall on ears not deaf to the sounds of a past fading into the distance or on hearts not yet unmoved by gratitude for a sacrifice on which their present rests secure.[76]

Even then, both Hurst and Ware understood the power and importance of having relatives, pilgrimages, and unknowns visiting the graves and memorials to the 'Missing' as they are an integral link to a renewal of remembrance over generations to come. As a reminder, Hurst's book was presented way ahead of any of the principal architects' own published works[77] and that due to its popularity, it was reprinted by Naval & Military Press in 1993.

Even though all four – Baker, Blomfield, Lutyens and Ware – published various works and had collected assorted autobiographical materials,[78] it was not until 1967 that the C.W.G.C. issued their own historical account of the "first organization charged with the care of all the dead of a nation in any war" and until 1965, "the only permanent institutional reflection of a common spirit in the Empire, of an equal partnership of nations."[79] First published in 1967 and revised and updated in 1985,[80] Philip Longworth's *The Unending Vigil: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*[81] remains the primary reference that traced its early origins and

[76] Hurst, Sidney C., op. cit., 1929, Preface by Sir Fabian Ware, p.ix.

[77] Including Bloomfield (own memoirs, 1932), Ware (The Immortal Heritage, 1937) and Baker (his autobiography – *Architecture & Personalities*, 1944).

[78] Most of these autobiographical materials were never published and were kept by their estate after death.

[79] Longworth, Philip, op. cit., 1985, p.28.

[80] *The Unending Vigil* was also reprinted and reformatted by Leo Cooper in 2003 and by Pen & Sword Military in 2010.

[81] Philip Longworth (1933-) was born in London, England, and was Professor at the Department of History, McGill University, Montréal, from 1984 to 2003.

concluded by describing evolving pressures during the 1980s – such as new French labour laws and the Canadian government's policy of bilingualism in respect of Canadian graves located in European cemeteries.

In 1989, Major Edwin Gibson, M.B.E., and G. Kingley Ward – with the consent of the C.W.G.C. – published their own version of the Commission's history. With the Introduction written by Canadian Victoria Cross recipient Major F.A. Tilston, V.C.,[82] *Courage Remembered* was developed as a guide for the various cemeteries and memorials as well as provided a wide range of facts and figures on individuals and battles. Rather than taking an analytical approach, the writers' insight is descriptive. Unfortunately, the lack of an index makes it difficult to find detailed information within the overall work.

To coincide with the 90th anniversary of the C.W.G.C., British writer and historian Julie Summers (1960-) published *Remembered* in 2007 with all sale royalties returning to the Commission. Designed as a coffee-table book, it provides a synopsis of the Commission's history. Approximately three quarters of the book is dedicated to showcasing some of its worldwide places of remembrance. The book provides an opportunity to update its historical roots – reacting to the aftermath of the dead and wounded left on the battlescene, answering correspondence from families on the whereabouts of their deceased loved-ones, and providing means of commemorating the fallen. Their challenge for the future is twofold. First, in order to ensure a perpetuity of remembrance for the dead and missing, Commission staff continue to repair, rebuild and reclaim existing and long-lost cemeteries. Second, as veterans from the First World War are all now deceased and those of the Second World War are quickly diminishing, this means that in order for the C.W.G.C. to remain pertinent[83] and continue to play a significant role in

[82] Major Frederick Albert Tilston, V.C., C.D., LL.D. (1906-1992), received his Victoria Cross as the result of action at The Hockwald, Germany, on 1 March 1945, while company commander with The Essex Scottish Regiment (renamed the Essex and Kent Regiment in 1963).

[83] If the C.W.G.C. did nothing but maintain their existing war graves and memorials, their relevance would remain to that of commemorating those who died during the First and Second World Wars. Moreover, once the immediate relatives and friends of the deceased would have themselves past away, there would be a lot fewer interested people to visit the soldiers'

commemoration they require an immediate rejuvenation of newer, younger, and engaged target audiences. It appropriately concluded by saying: "it is vital for the future of commemoration that each new generation feels that the work of the Commission is relevant to their today and their children's tomorrow."[84] The relevance of the Commission is being kept alive through community-based projects, educational initiatives and programs with schools, and the use of websites. The key is to enable linkages between military vestiges and communities of today. According to the C.W.G.C., the visitors' books at most of the British First World War cemeteries in France and Belgium are "crowded with recent entries," and "since the late 1990s, the 1914-1918 cemeteries have been more visited than ever before. The number of visitors continues to grow each year. The commission's website receives one million hits a month from people wishing to check information on relatives' graves. Great War enquiries outnumber Second World War by five to one."[85]

Lastly, in 2010, Summers also published a small book entitled *British and Commonwealth War Cemeteries*. While providing a good summary of the history of the C.W.G.C., its major contribution is an explanation of death and commemoration before and after the two World Wars. Summers correctly points out that respect for service personnel who died during a war is a relatively new phenomenon and that prior to the Crimean era, the public opinion of the Army "was low."[86] Typically, officers were accorded dignity in death and commemoration – with the most senior officers preserved until they were sent back for burial at home (e.g. Lord Nelson – see section on

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graves. For these graves and memorials to be continued to be visited and for the names of the soldiers and their sacrifices made to be remembered, the C.W.G.C. needs to expand across multiple and newer generations – as without them, the role and impact of the Commission is considerably diminished.

[84] Summers, Julie, *Remembered: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-2007*. London: Merrell Publishers Limited, 2007, p.45.

[85] Lichfield, John, *The Independent*, "Two Soldiers linked in Death by a Bizzare Coincidence," 8 November 2008, London. See: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/two-soldiers-linked-in-death-by-a-bizarre-coincidence-1001080.html

[86] Summers, Julie, *British and Commonwealth War Cemeteries*. Oxford: Shire Publications, 2010, p.7.

'Controversial Memorials – Selected Examples, State Funerals'). Soldiers on the other hand – for reasons of "expediency and hygiene rather than disrespect" – were quickly buried in mass graves.[87] The last pages of the book are dedicated to current activities of the C.W.G.C. whereby still to this day, remains from the Great War continue to be found and these men – both known and unknown – are buried with full military honours. It is worth noting in May 2009, the Commission undertook its largest operation since the Second World War, after project historian Peter Barton[88] confirmed communal graves dating back to 1916 at Fromelles, France, which contained the remains of 250 British and Australian soldiers. After being buried behind German lines for nearly a century, the remains of these soldiers were excavated and re-buried in a new, purpose-built, cemetery unveiled on 19 July 2010 – the 94th anniversary of the Battle of Fromelles.

Over the last three decades, Dr. Alan Borg (1942-) has been one of the most prominent historians who has taken a hands-on approach in promoting and supporting the study of public monuments and military memorials. With his background skills as teacher and museologist, he has advanced the study of the war memorial as a "distinctive art form with a history of its own."[89] During his spare time while Director General at London's Imperial War Museum, he researched and wrote in 1991: *War Memorials: from Antiquity to the Present*.[90] With over 200 black and white illustrations of various war memorials and artefacts derived from sites across mainly Western Europe as

[87] Ibid, p.7.

[88] Peter Barton (1955-) is a First World War British historian and co-secretary of the All-Party Parliamentary War Graves and Battlefields Heritage Group which "consists of Members from both Houses and exists to promote and support the protection, conservation and interpretation of war graves, war memorials and battlefield site." See website: http://www.wargravesheritage.org.uk/

[89] Borg, Alan, op. cit., 1991, inside book jacket.

[90] Dr. Alan Charles Nelson Borg, C.B.E., F.S.A., was trained as a historian and art historian. He is a specialist in medieval art, architecture and military history. After teaching in American universities, he began his museum career in the Royal Armouries of the Tower of London. After 13 years as Director General of the Imperial War Museum (1982-1995), he served as Director and Secretary of the Victoria and Albert Museum from 1995 to 2001. He is currently Librarian of the Venerable Order of St John and Chairman of the Foundling Museum.

well as Southern Europe, North Africa, Western and South-Central Asia, Borg provides a brief history of the symbols and forms that compose war memorials since ancient times of Egypt and Greece. Chapter 5, 'The Memorial Makers,' is of specific interest as Borg takes an art historian's approach to explaining a gradual transformation from classical memorial art to abstract and constructivist forms produced during the 1920s. Borg predominantly favours a traditional style and feels that unlike works of art, "it would have seemed inappropriate for memorial art to be experimental and equally inappropriate for it to be abstract."[91] His descriptive account re-introduces the age-old argument of 'form versus function' and also examines some of the best 20th and 21st century memorial artists, architects, sculptors and designers. Within his book, there are only two pictorial entries from North America – the first refers to Benjamin West's famous commemorative painting, *The Death of General Wolfe* (Figure 11), while the other relates to the Vietnam Wall in Washington, D.C. (Figure 133), as an example of a successful memorial from a recent conflict that has varied from the traditional.

Despite the high volume of British memorials' books published since the two World Wars, there are still a few that appear from time to time. With London being the United Kingdom's 'capital of monuments and memorials,' it is not surprising that several monographs have appeared over the last decade or so, including: Joe Blundell and Roger Hudson's *The Immortals: London's Finest Statues* in 1998; the 2002 edition of Margaret Baker's *Discovering London Statues and Monuments*; Alison Haslam's *London: Tales Behind the Statues* in 2004; and Rupert Hill's *Walking London's Statues and Monuments* in 2010. One of the most recent reviews of their nation's memorials is Derek Boorman's *A Century of Remembrance: One Hundred Outstanding British War Memorials*. Published in 2005, Boorman made an attempt to provide a cross-representation of 'outstanding' British war memorials to those who died in conflicts during the 20th century. As outlined in his introduction, the final selection was based on a number of factors, including: depict an array of

[91] Borg, Alan, op. cit., 1991, p.70.

different wars;[92] showcase different artists; portray various forms, types, categories, and purpose;[93] and geographical distribution. Even if the chronological order presented generally follows actual dates of unveiling or dedication, the author regrettably does not appear to have a good grasp of memorials classification as he freely interchanges the use of the words 'forms, types, categories, and purpose.'[94] As well, the author does not provide any criteria on how he decides for a memorial to be 'outstanding'and does not offer any details of a selection process that enabled him to narrow down from approximately 60,000 war memorials recorded with the *United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials*[95] to exactly one hundred. Despite the lacking of a formal analysis, the first memorial described is a South African War (1899-1902) memorial unveiled in Hull on 5 November 1904, and the last is the *Animals in War* memorial unveiled in London on 24 November 2004 (Figure 199). While the author correctly points out that most of the memorials within the United Kingdom were erected after the Great War, other smaller ones were raised for the Second World War and other subsequent conflicts. From the selected one hundred memorials chosen, only sixteen were unveiled since 1950. Moreover, from those sixteen, one questioned those 306 British and Commonwealth soldiers executed during the First World War for cowardice and desertion (*Shot at Dawn* unveiled in 2001), one honoured the British participation in the International Brigade, Spanish Civil War (1936-

[92] The book only covers memorials which commemorate 20th century wars and conflicts, including: the Boer War or South African War (1899-1902), the First World War (1914-1918), the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the Second World War (1939-1945), the Korean War (195-1953), the Falklands War (1982), the Gulf War (1990-1991), and the Northern Ireland conflict (1969-2007).

[93] Boorman, Derek, op. cit., 2005, pp.1-2.

[94] Ibid, pp.1-2. According to the author, *types* of memorials include "statues and stained glass windows to arches, obelisks and cenotaphs, and from chapels and cloisters to art galleries and gardens and even a carillon." He also defines *categories* "from individual to national memorials are represented and include memorials in schools, churches and places of work, and those representing communities and the armed services."

[95] The United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials is part of the Imperial War Museum in London and was established in 1989 in an effort to record memorials of the First World War and all other historic conflicts. This was a joint initiative between the Imperial War Museum and the Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England, now merged with English Heritage. See website: http://www.ukniwm.org.uk/

1939), and eleven were dedicated to people, units and events of the Second World War. These in effect only left three 'modern' memorials: two were dedicated to the Falklands War of 1982 and the last one was a generic memorial that highlighted *The Animals in War* – the world's largest memorial relating to animals' contribution in wartime.

Other than newspaper and magazine articles and inclusion on websites, so far, there are no known monographs, books, or academic studies published on British memorials recently erected for those who died in Iraq and Afghanistan as part of the post 2001 international campaign against terror.

New Zealand and Australia each have a principal essay that give reasons for the war memorials located throughout their respective landscapes. Written in 1990 by photographer Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, Chief Historian in New Zealand's Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs,[96] *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* is considered a pathbreaking book which continues to draw attention. This large softcover book describes the history and past attitudes to war and death as demonstrated through their photographic documentation. The book profiled 125 years of history which included New Zealand's "first genuine" war memorial erected in September 1865 up until the Atatürk monument at Tarakena Bay unveiled on ANZAC Day[97] 1990 (Figure 108). The authors maintain that "memorials were never an automatic or unthinking response to war. They were deliberately erected after much care and often controversy."[98] There are few memorials dedicated to the early New Zealand wars and with "changing historiography and racial feelings"[99] of the population over the past

[96] Now the Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

[97] A detailed explanation and significance of ANZAC Day is provided in a later section: Public Memory and Commemoration, Political Memorialization, Honouring a Formidable Adversary.

[98] Maclean, Chris, and Phillips, Jock, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*. Wellington, New Zealand: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, GP Books, 1990, backcover.

[99] Ibid, p.18.

150 years, memorials recently began to record old Maori battles and commemorate the dead of the early 19th century. Imperialist memorials of the South African War and the Great War were erected by both rural and urban communities in a variety of stone and bronze formats. These villages and towns encountered typical memorial issues related to site and form. While some war memorial committees advocated for raising the money first, others felt that they should decide beforehand what type of memorial and where it should be placed. Some communities were much divided on deciding if it should erect a war memorial for its own area or represent a larger district. For this reason, there were a number of 'citizens' memorials that were put up instead.

New Zealanders had changed their attitudes towards memorials and commemoration after the Second World War. The number of people attending ANZAC Day services had steadily declined since the 1920s and older military memorials became either neglected in their care and maintainance or irrelevant to younger generations. In April 1944, under the auspices of a conference of the Royal Society of Arts, a War Memorial Advisory Council was formed under the chairmanship of Lord Chatfield (1874-1967) to advise on the forms which memorials might take.[100] The results of a large survey was published in its bulletin in November 1944. The council was concerned that combatants and civilians alike who died during the Second World War should receive no less honour than those of the Great War and questioned the potential duplication of existing memorials. It also indicated that this may be an opportunity for war memorials to be brought to higher standards. Most importantly, the majority objected to the costly erection of stone or sculptural monuments and preferred utilitarian memorials – parks, gardens, community halls and centres, and the like – "which would be useful or give pleasure to those who outlive the war."[101] While not everyone was in agreement with this new vision, the 1946 New Zealand Labour

[100]The War Memorials Advisory Council was established on 27 April 1944 and was disbanded in 1948.

[101] Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946, p.1.

Government favoured such "living memorials." Considering that some Cabinet ministers as well as the prime minister had been imprisoned during the Great War for their opposition to conscription, there was "little appeal for them, but were merely reminders of a war which had pitted the workers of the world against each other in the interest of big industrialists."[102] Accordingly, a war memorial policy was developed by William E. Parry (1878–1952), minister of internal affairs, and in October 1946 he wrote to every local authority saying that "the Government feels that the type of memorial which best embodies this ideal is the community centre where the people can gather for social, educational, cultural and recreational purposes."[103] A crucial part of the war memorial's scheme was to provide a subsidy to a maximum of £50,000 and with having received more than 720 applications, the concept of community centres, halls, parks, sportsgrounds and swimming pools became very popular. At the end of the book, the authors point out recent trends: since the 1970s, wreaths were used extensively by protesters as a means of expressing their sentiments and since the 1980s, the number of young people attending ANZAC Day services has increased.

Australia's Professor Kenneth S. Inglis (1929-) – one of their most esteemed historians – has been interested in the study of war memorials since the age of thirty. In his early years of study, he questioned Christianity's role and authority as "custodian of essential truths about life and death" during these modern times.[104] He wondered if religious belief was being diverted into new areas and found himself turning his attention towards the commemoration of war. By studying local memorials, it helped him realize that each had its own history and hoped that "harmonies, conflicts and accommodations… once made legible, yield understandings of what people

[102] Maclean, Chris, and Phillips, Jock, op. cit., 1990, p.139.

[103] Ibid, p.140. 18. The authors cite the official circular on War Memorials, minister of internal affairs, 22 October 1946, IA 1, 174/1/2.

[104] Inglis, K.S., *Sacred Places – War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2005, p.8.

cared about and stood for."[105] Inglis fostered a nation-wide interest in cultural history and the study of death, memory and commemoration whereby "practitioners of a new approach to comparative history hope to win rewards from inspecting the monuments of various societies for similarities and differences."[106] It was not until 1983 that Dr. Inglis initiated a national survey of war memorials after which the inventory's data and information was utilized for his award-winning book published in 1998: *Sacred Places – War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*.[107]

Wanting to place the subject in an international context, Inglis studied what progress was being made elsewhere. For example, New Zealand's Jock Phillips and Chris Maclean developed a comparable data base "enabling a precise study of war memorials in two societies so close to each other and so similar in character that any differences are instructive."[108] During a 1990 visit from French historian Annette Becker in Canberra, he came to realize that there are language and cultural differences when speaking of a 'war memorial' and *monument aux morts* (monument to the dead). He also had an opportunity to examine British war memorials in the early 1990s when he met Catherine Moriarty[109] at the Imperial War Musuem as well as with Jay Winter in Cambridge. Participating in conferences in Russia and Germany as well as visiting memorials in the U.S. and Italy, gave him the opportunity to meet with other scholars, authors, and interpreters of monuments and ceremonies.

[105] Ibid, p.9.

[106] Ibid, p.7.

[107] The book has won many accolades, including: the New South Wales Premier's Prize for Australian History (1999); *The Age* Book of the Year (1999); *The Age* Book of the Year Non-Fiction Prize (1999); Fellowship of Australian Writers Literature Award (1998); Ernest Scott Prize for History (1999); and the *Centre for Australian Cultural Studies Award, Individual Prize* (1999).

[108] Inglis, K.S., op. cit., 2005, p.10.

[109] Catherine Moriarty was the national co-ordinator of the United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials at the Imperial War Museum between 1989 and 1996. She completed a D.Phil. at the University of Sussex in 1995 and has published extensively on commemoration and figurative sculpture after the First World War.

Inglis' book offers historical background on ancient memorials that affected the design of some of their own and unfolds a chronological and thematic history of Australia's war memorials. Colonial Australia had erected relatively few monuments during the 19th century. While its first possible war memorial was erected in 1850,[110] a few other monuments had been raised in memory of soldiers "who fell" as the result of a gold miners' rebellion in 1854. Some of the book's themes are similar to military histories arising from other dominions throughout the British Empire at the time – for example, a doubling of soldiers' memorialization in public places between 1900 and 1914 as the result of the South Africa War and the use of Great War monuments during their unveiling as a recruiting rally "to make the memorial speak to men not yet in uniform."[111] Although fewer Australians died during the Second World War, the country nonetheless had to deal with commemorating its new war dead. Questioning the 'greatness' of the 1914-1918 war, it found itself having to construct a "rhetoric of commemoration" for both their volunteers who served overseas as well as those 'Chockoes' who were conscripted to serve in the Citizen Military Forces.[112] When asked by the Gallup opinion Poll in 1944, 90 percent of the Australian population voted in favour of utilitarian or 'useful' memorials; only four percent were in favour of 'monuments, cenotaphs or shrines,' and the remainder were undecided. When polled again in 1946, 58 percent preferred to add to existing memorials and in the following year, twenty percent voted against "any sort of commemoration"

[110] Australia's first possible war memorial was erected in 1850 at Anglesea Barracks, Hobart (State of Tasmania). This stone pillar – raised by voluntary subscription from officers and men of the 99th Regiment of Foot – commemorates twenty four of their men who were killed on active service in the New Zealand Maori Wars of 1845-1846. The memorial's inscriptions corroborates to its uniqueness as "THIS IS THE ONLY MONUMENT IN AUSTRALIA ERECTED BY BRITISH TROOPS TO THE MEMORY OF COMRADES WHO FELL IN ACTION." To mark the centenary of this monument, the 99th Regiment (now The Wiltshire Regiment – Duke of Edinburgh's) placed a metal plaque below on 12 November 1950 which included a final line: "WE STILL REMEMBER THEM."

[111] Inglis, K.S., op. cit., 2005, p.119.

[112] 'Chockoes' is a term derived from 'chocolate soldiers'which mocked conscripts from the perspective of volunteers.

for the Second World War.[113] The voice of the Returned & Services League of Australia confirmed the desire for utilitarian memorials rather than traditional forms. Over time, some of these buildings lost their memorial character – "by dilapidation, destruction, mere familiarity" – and a number of communities reversed the trend by raising "obelisks, pillars, columns, and crosses of sacrifice."[114] Dr. Inglis also found that with the repatriation of the remains of a man of the First Australian Imperial Force on the 75th anniversary of Armistice Day 1918 and entombment of this Unknown Soldier in 1993 at the *Australian War Memorial* in Canberra (Figure 68), it unexpectedly helped invigorate commemoration within Australia. Also, it was not until 1997 that Governor-General Sir William Deane (1931-) issued a proclamation formally declaring 11 November to be Remembrance Day in Australia. He concludes with a chapter dedicated to 'remembrance' that includes the restoration of memorials as well as discussion on aboriginals and multiculturalism and their roles in public memory. *Sacred Places* is considered one of the finest renditions of an academic study translated into an everyday story of a country's memorials.

Ireland has tremendous archaeological and archival evidence describing the character of its culture and traditions since its first known settlement c. 8000 BC. Wars and conflicts have frequently emerged since the Viking invasions, the Norman and English involvement, and the movement to gain Irish independence since the 1880s. Although Irish Defence Forces traces their origins to 1913, it was not until 1922 that the new Irish Free State had the right to its own defence forces. During the Great War, there were approximately 35,000 Irish men[115] who gave up their lives and approximately

[113] Discussion on the Gallup Poll statistics (1944, 1946, and 1947) can be found in Inglis, K.S., op. cit., 2005, p.352.

[114] Ibid, pp.358-359.

[115] The Irish National War Memorial includes the following inscriptions: "TO THE MEMORY OF 49 400 IRISH MEN WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN THE GREAT WAR 1914-1918". However, Keith Jeffery cites in "The Great War in Modern Irish Memory," in T.G. Fraser and Keith Jeffery (Editors), *Men, Women and War*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press Ltd., 1993, Footnote 68, p.156, that the figure of 49,400 "is a considerable overestimate" and denotes that Kevin Myers suggested 35,000 as a "more appropriate" figure.

300,000 who served in all armies. Even though Ireland maintained a formal neutral stance during the Second World War, it was not until it joined the United Nations in 1955 that it began deploying soldiers overseas in peacekeeping missions. It first sent a few observers to Lebanon in 1958, followed by about 6,000 Irish soldiers who served in the Congo from 1960 until 1964. Ireland's military has many peacekeepers have died while serving their country – the last casualty was Sergeant Derek Mooney who died in Liberia on 27 November 2003.[116] It is worth noting that according to the official Irish War Memorials website, there are nearly 600 existing memorials dedicated to over 30 wars and conflicts that Irish men have participated in over the last four centuries.[117]

There is a wide range of writings that explicate the experience of the First World War and its subsequent commemoration. Professor Keith Jeffery – considered one of the most prominent historians on the topic of Ireland and the Great War[118] – has published a number of books and articles that examine commemorations held and memorials erected in both Northern and Southern Ireland in honour of their respective war dead. A pioneering work is his chapter on "The Great War in Modern Irish Memory" published in 1993 in *Men, Women and War*.[119] Jeffery is particularly interested on how sculpture

[116] According to the Irish United Nations Veterans Association, there are 87 Irish personnel who died while serving: Congo (27), Lebanon (45), Cyprus (9), UNTSO (2), Somalia (1), Sarajevo (1), East Timor (1), and Liberia (1). See website: http://www.iunva.com/main.htm

[117] See Irish War Memorials website: http://www.irishwarmemorials.ie
The key wars and conflicts listed include, among others: Nine Years War (1594-1603); Williamite or Jacobite War (1688-1690); British Army campaigns in India (1744-1932); American Indian Wars (c.1750-1890); Seven Years War (1756-1763); French & Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815); 1798 Rebellion; Rebellion of United Irishmen (1803); China Wars (1839-42 and 1857-62); 1848 Rebellion; Fenian Rising (1867); Afghanistan (1879-80); Campaigns in north and central Africa (19th century); Burma (1824-26, 1852-53, 1885-87); Maori Wars (1845-47 and 1860-66); the Crimean War (1854-1856); Anglo-Zulu War (1879); the Anglo-Boer Wars (1880-1881 and 1899-1902); East Africa (1898); the First and Second World Wars; the Palestinian Revolt (1936-1939); the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939); the Korean War (1950-1953); the Cypriot War of Independence (1955-1959); United Nations (1958 to present); and the Falklands War (1982).

[118] Professor Keith Jeffery has been Professor of British History at Queen's University, Belfast, since 2005.

[119] Also see: Jeffery, Keith, Chapter 4, "Commemoration: 'turning the 11th November into

interacts with the local community and asks "the question of *how* the war was (and is) remembered."[120] Acknowledging that public perceptions of how the war is to be commemorated are often conflicting, Jeffery accurately points out that when people consider erecting a war memorial, their immediate concern is the decision to erect a memorial that either has a "practical application or simply be a purely symbolic feature."[121] Although battlefield memorial crosses were erected in France, Flanders and Salonika,[122] the Irish government's main intent was to establish an appropriate war memorial in Dublin. As part of its early deliberations, it turned down a number of commemorative initiatives such as establishing a Great War 'Memorial Home' for current and ex-servicemen. However, it did go ahead in 1923 with the publishing of *Ireland's Memorial Records* that listed all of its war dead. The original idea of placing a memorial in the gardens of Merrion Square was also deemed to be inappropriate by the Irish government as it would give a false impression "that the origins of this State were connected with that park and the memorial in that park, were connected with the lives that were lost in the Great War ... That is not the position."[123] Moreover, in 1928, the Executive Council rejected a proposal to erect a monumental arch at the main gate of Phoenix Park. There were many reasons for not going forward with such ideas, including opposing views by veterans and the wider public, objections received from military authorities, the Anglo-Irish conflict, and competing nationalist and imperialist political factions. The following year, the Council had developed an inclination towards accepting practical memorials – with preferences that included an apprentice scheme, "a children's educational fund

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the 12th July' – Irish politics and the collective memory of the war", *Ireland and the Great War*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp.107-143. Within these 37 pages include a comprehensive study of Irish Great War memorials and commemoration.

[120] Jeffery, Keith in "The Great War in Modern Irish Memory," in T.G. Fraser and Keith Jeffery (Editors), *Men, Women and War*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press Ltd., 1993, p.144.
[121] Ibid, p.144.

[122] Salonika (today called Thessalonika), Greece.

[123] *Dáil Éireann Official Report*, xix, col. 400, 29 March 1927 cited in Fraser, T.G. and Jeffery, Keith, op. cit., 1993, Footnote 49, p.155.

and a veterans' home 'with grounds'. A memorial park came eighth out of twelve and a monument at the very bottom of the list. Yet by the end of 1929 the government had agreed in principle to a memorial park."[124] Designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, the works at Islandbridge for the *Irish National War Memorial* began in 1931 and was completed eight years later (Figures 39, 75). While it was planned for Éamon de Valera[125] to be present at the July 1939 ceremonial opening, the seriousness of an imminent war and the likelihood of conscription in Northern Ireland led to the indefinite postponement of a formal dedication.

The original idea to establish practical schemes were promoted throughout Ireland but had limited effects. The most popular utilitarian memorials were the construction of technical colleges or 'institutes' of various sorts but also included war memorial halls and an operating theatre for an infirmary. Proposals and preliminary undertakings were made for other projects such as public swimming baths and a hospital but were not successful due to disagreements on design, lack of public subscriptions, or competing interests for symbolic memorials such as monuments and statues. Notwithstanding the completion of practical schemes, Jeffery noted that many of these sites were also supplemented with symbolic monuments. In the Irish Free State, crosses – especially Celtic crosses – and abstract monuments were the most popular designs. In Northern Ireland, as Protestants are traditionally "unease with the cross as a religious symbol" they prefer figurative soldiers' memorials "in various stances from aggression to mourning".[126] The majority of inscriptions on Irish memorials reflect the incertitude about the purpose and realities of the war at the time. As found in Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions the most common inscriptions are generic and without any indication of the circumstances or *raison d'être* for their death. They are

[124] Fraser, T.G. and Jeffery, Keith, op. cit., 1993, pp.144-5.

[125] Éamon de Valera (1882-1975) was President of the Executive Council (Prime Minister) of the Irish Free State from March 1932 to February 1948. In December 1937, the title of his office changed to that of Taoiseach.

[126] Fraser, T.G. and Jeffery, Keith, op. cit., 1993, pp.147-8.

typically recorded as "'died' or 'laid down their lives' or 'made the supreme sacrifice'."[127] It is not surprising that the symbolism of war memorials clearly posed a quandary for veterans' organizations wishing to participate in commemorative ceremonies, particularly in annual November Remembrance services. This "reflected the particular Irish problem of reconciling service in the war with the new political dispensation."[128] With time, veterans' and religious struggles between British imperialists, Irish republicans, Catholics, and Protestants declined but were never eliminated: some ceremonies were conducted separately at different times during day at the same venue while others were celebrated jointly. For many, it was difficult "to draw a clear distinction 'between ex-Servicemen commemorating their dead comrades and the Imperialist faction which exploits the dead'."[129] Despite disparate loyalties and a general sense of uncomfortableness with the use of patriotic and Protestant symbolism during formal commemorations, "some people made commendable attempts to stress the common sacrifices made by virtually all-Ireland during the war".[130] Jeffery rightly concludes that "the sombre truth remains that the nationalist and unionist Irish casualties of the Great War became more divided in death than they had ever been in life."[131]

A memorial commemorating an historical personage or event can be used as a metaphor in helping explain rituals of remembrance. While a memorial's shadow could symbolize past practices, personal grief and respect for its dead, the memorial's façade might represent public bereavement,

[127] Ibid, pp.148. Professor Keith Jeffery also provides examples of memorials that were controversial in terms of selecting and approving what deemed to be appropriate inscriptions under challenging political circumstances. Additional information on the use of inscriptions and epitaphs can be found within the remainder of the Literature Review (Tom Dunne under the Irish portion and Eric McGeer under the Canadian portion) as well as in the 'Signs of Remembrance' Section, Chapter 4 – Public Memory and Commemoration.

[128] Ibid, p.149.

[129] As observed in 1934 by republican Frank Ryan. Cited in Fraser, T.G. and Jeffery, Keith, op. cit., 1993, p.150 and Footnote 75, p.156. Originally quoted in Cronin, Sean, *Frank Ryan: the Search for the Republic*. Dublin, Repsol Publishing, 1980, p.60.

[130] Fraser, T.G. and Jeffery, Keith, op. cit., 1993, p.153.

[131] Ibid, p.153.

political convictions, targets of opportunity and new hostilities. Controlling the memory of the dead is a struggle that is well explained in David Fitzpatrick's chapter on "Commemorating in the Irish Free State: a chronicle of embarrassment", in Ian McBride's *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* published in 2001.[132] Fitzpatrick's examination of the experience of official commemoration in southern Ireland between 1922 and 1939 illustrates how governments used and exploited commemoration for partisan purposes and "reconciling hostile factions through identification of some episode of common inspiration or shared suffering in the past."[133] His opening statement that "the functions of commemoration vary according to the relationship between the dead and their celebrants"[134] is key to understanding the purpose and mechanics of private and public ceremonies of mourning. While personal remembrance includes the use of traditional memorials and commemoration, public remembrance of the Irish dead is persistently divisive and confrontational within the community. A pattern has emerged whereby when "motive for public involvement is political advantage rather than personal regret", participation at funerals and ceremonies of mourning tends to detract from the true meaning of remembrance.[135] While large public commemoration ceremonies provide a heightened sense of expression, they "typically entail heavy expense for little lasting benefit, since the impact of the ceremony soon fades from public consciousness."[136] Fitzpatrick notes that since the 19th century, the Irish have mastered the 'anniversary procession' or 'demonstration' as a more cost-effective way of demonstrating their commemorative skills and talent. Using "existing stock of regalia, musical instruments, weapons, banners, flags, trinkets, choreographic expertise, set speeches, pseudo-historical narratives and other forms of commemorative

[132] Fitzpatrick, David, "Commemoration in the Irish Free State: a chronicle of embarrassment,' in Ian McBride (Editor), *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp.184-203.

[133] Ibid, p.186.

[134] Ibid, p.184.

[135] Ibid, p.184.

[136] Ibid, p.185.

capital", thousands of well-organized Orangemen, Blackmen and Apprentice Boys took part in elaborate commemorations held annually and in accordance to set protocols.[137] Later, after the Easter Rising and the first Battle of the Somme in 1916, this ceremonial commemorative expertise was extended to the mass production of souvenirs and medals as well as literary commemoration that included popular and religious histories and biographies. The commemorative ceremony played an important role – used as a teaching tool, it "taught participants about their place in a venerable political, religious or social tradition, an affiliation less transient and more difficult to escape than mere adherence to a contemporary movement."[138]

William T. Cosgrave[139] and Éamon de Valera, considered the two first Taoisigh of the Irish Free State, had limited success with using "official commemoration as a tool for reconciliation, since no event or hero seemed capable of incorporating all factions in common veneration."[140] Secular commemoration included violent struggles between the Irish and English, Catholics and Protestants, unionism and nationalism (or loyalism and republicanism),[141] as well as among other partisan sub-groups. For example, even though the 1922 constitution barred the establishment of the Catholic Church and that the state suppressed and limited Catholic commemoration, there were some prominent Catholic activities that took place during the 1920s and 1930s that involved ministers and officers of state. This included: the creation of postage stamps related to the Catholic Emancipation, the Eucharistic Congress and Father Mathew's temperence movement; the leaders' highly visible participation from both major parties celebrating the

[137] Ibid, p.185.

[138] Ibid, p.186.

[139] William T. Cosgrave (1880-1965) was President of the Executive Council (Prime Minister) of the Irish Free State from December 1922 to March 1932.

[140] Fitzpatrick, D. in Ian McBride, op. cit., 2001, p.187.

[141] In general, unionists or loyalists are supporters of the Crown that want to be united with Britain while nationalists or republicans want Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland to become a single nation.

said sesquimillennium of the birth of St Patrick; and "early attempts to harness the saint to the state".[142] The latter involved organizing military parades and planning a dance (that was cancelled) for over 1,300 guests at Dublin in which Cosgrave "instructed the wives of his ministers that 'costumes and dress of Irish material and workmanship [were] to be worn...'."[143] "Thereafter, state involvement in 'the national feast of Ireland' was mainly restricted to the display of flags on prisons and buildings controlled by the Board of Works, military ceremonies, presidential wireless broadcasts and the mailing of shamrocks to selected 'exiles'" that included "no less than 1,356 shamrocks to 42 addresses" in the U.S.[144]

Although Cosgrave and de Valera's official stand was indifference with respect to the holding of anniversary processions by loyalists and the presence of imperialist emblems and monuments on public buildings and lands, the use of these commemorative traditions and symbols became suppressed over time. Orangemen were not banned from walking in regalia on 12 July[145] but certainly took risks in causing potential disturbances or being attacked by republicans. "The police and occasionally the army offered some protection to the marchers" to help mitigate the situation but these efforts did not stop the turmoil.[146] In the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, processions continued up until 1931 when "unchecked disturbances erupted".[147] With the County Grand Lodge of Monaghan ceasing these processions, it appears that outside Donegal, there were no other 'Twelfths' held in the Free State. The only other opportunity to participate in such processions was for southern Lodge members to travel to Northern Ireland at their own expense. "The

[142] Fitzpatrick, D. in Ian McBride, op. cit., 2001, p.187.

[143] Ibid, pp.186-7.

[144] Ibid, p.188.

[145] Orangemen's Day – celebrated on 12 July – commemorates the 1690 Protestant victory over Roman Catholic forces in the Battle of the Boyne, Ireland, when King William III of Orange defeated former King James II.

[146] Fitzpatrick, D. in Ian McBride, op. cit., 2001, p.189.

[147] Ibid, p.189.

effect was to diminish both enthusiasm and recruitment in an institution deeply engrossed in public as well as private rituals of commemoration."[148] While trying to be impartial in the treatment of religious and political minority groups, Cosgrave and de Valera remained reluctant in curtailing loyalist commemoration and emblems. Perhaps the best example is pressure from militant republicans in 1938 demanding that the statue of Queen Victoria be removed from Leinster Lawn, Dublin, and replaced by another more suitable monument. The Government's reply was that it was not their policy "to remove public monuments or sculpture on public buildings solely for the reason that they are associated with the former British regime" and that "this course might be justified only if 'it could be clearly shown that removal would be of definite national advantage'."[149] It was just a matter of time after the Irish independence that the statue's presence was no longer tolerated as it was not in line with national feeling. The composite statue was finally dismantled in 1948 and Queen Victoria – its centre piece – was re-erected and presented in 1987 to the City of Sydney "in a spirit of goodwill"[150] and to mark the city's bicentennial anniversary.

Ireland's war experiences during the Great War have been comparable to other parts of the British Empire but have had their own peculiarities on how its communities (North and South) remembered and commemorated its war dead. While it is true that its British historical roots have helped develop a fractured sense of patriotism, it can also be said that Ireland has perhaps one of the most controversial and complex politicised memory of the war. This 'battle between unionism and nationalism' is well described in James Loughlin's "Mobilising the sacred dead: Ulster unionism, the Great War and the politics of remembrance" published in 2002.[151] The author examined

[148] Ibid, p.190.

[149] Ibid, p.190.

[150] Monument's front inscription, Queen Victoria Building, George & Druitt Streets, Sydney, Australia.

[151] Loughlin, James, "Mobilising the sacred dead: Ulster unionism, the Great War and the politics of remembrance," in Adrian Gregory and Senia Pašeta (Editors), *Ireland and the*

"how unionists employed their war experience as part of the struggle to maintain the union between Ulster and Britain in the post-war years and its place in the unionist mindset thereafter."[152] Although a war victory was achieved, the economic and human losses were disastrous and accordingly, it was "extremely difficult in the post-war years to establish a satisfactory rhetoric of commemoration for a conflict in which the costs could seem to have far outweighed the gains."[153] Loughlin notes that there were two "fundamentally incompatible" approaches to commemoration that emerged: "one framed in the traditional language of 'victory' and 'glory', and another, determined by the need to convey the reality of war, with both rhetorics occupying 'the same space'."[154] For most – either in Britain or in Ireland – the effects of personal loss were just as profound but what was distinctive in Ireland was the extent which the "historical myth, religio-ethnic identity, and the unresolved dilemma" of the constitutional future of the Ulster Protestant community "provided an interpretative framework within which the meaning of the war was defined."[155] Unlike Britain, Ireland was less concerned on the war's *raison d'être* but was more interested in framing its war experience according to its own political agendas. In particular, during the Irish War of Independence of 1919-21, the unionists and republican movements made significant efforts to marginalize each other and capitalize on their respective voices. The violent periods of the "Anglo-Irish struggle for Ulster unionism coincided with war commemorations, allowing unionists the opportunity to counterpoint any tendency of Westminster to 'betray' Ulster with a powerful reminder of the province's sacrifice in the British national interest, and, accordingly, the debt owed by Britain."[156] For example, the national Peace

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Great War – 'A war to unite us all'?. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2002, pp.133-154.

[152] Ibid, p.133.

[153] Ibid, p.136.

[154] Ibid, p.136.

[155] Ibid, p.136.

[156] Ibid, p.137.

celebrations held in London on 19 July 1919 were significant as they formed the basis of comparative commemorations. Not to be outdone by a march-past of 18,000 servicemen at Lutyens' temporary war memorial (see Figure 122)[157] and Glasgow activities that involved 10,000 soldiers, Belfast held their own festivities over a period of five days.[158] A statement was to be made when "36,000 men and women who had seen war service – exactly double the number involved in London – and a number that inescapably invoked the memory of the Ulster Division" marched past a cenotaph at City Hall that was similar to Lutyens' design.[159] Such war commemorations allowed Ulster unionists "simultaneously to share authentically in a profound British national experience *and* to address their own political concerns."[160] It is agreeable with Loughlin that these observances not only provided an opportunity to honour its war dead but also became acts of solidarity "in the face of political and constitutional difficulties still unresolved."[161]

It is acknowledged that following democratic principles, it is up to a civilian government to decide on if, when and how its nation is to engage into war. Their military force is the prime mechanism whereby it implements the will of the people but upon conclusion of such a war, it is inevitable that there will be winners and losers. In the case of civil wars, it becomes even more difficult to differentiate them. Even when winners have been acclaimed, there are always post-war misgivings and reservations on how its nation is to react: should it commemorate their victory, be embarrassed, or simply ignore its past. Anne Dolan, in her book *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923-2000* published in 2003, studies the memory of the Irish Civil War where "the dead, or rather their commemoration" is her prime

[157] See section on Cenotaph, Forms of Memorials, Chapter 2 – Creating a General Classification System.

[158] Ibid, p.141.

[159] Ibid, p.141.

[160] Ibid, p.141.

[161] Ibid, p.141.

concern.[162] Dolan calls attention to a historigraphical reticence to assess and compare the memory of the dead and "how the winners of a war no one wished to fight express whatever there is of pride, sorrow, bitterness, triumphalism, shame."[163] The author also advances that "winning a civil war presents a different problem of memory."[164] The validity of this statement is reflected in the way in which their dead are remembered and commemorated publicly and privately. Questions are posed on what have been their contributions, how and if they will be recognized and commemorated, and how is the burden of remembrance to be divided among the family and its nation. While it is true that it is the ultimate outcome of a war that determines who are the winners and losers, the stark reality is that there are neither winners nor losers when one considers the universality of death. A death is a death – no matter who they are and how it happened. It is only with time that grief, remembrance and memorialization can be fulfilled and its level of accomplishment and integration will depend on the pace and intensity for which they are applied.

The Free State erected monuments to both its dead and to victory "but just as it was expected to, it often chose to forget."[165] This conflict of memory is demonstrated throughout the landscape in the form of cenotaphs, statues and crosses. In July 1923, less than two months after the republicans ceased fighting, the Free State government appointed a 'commemoration committee' made up of various ministers, the military and local government. Responsible for the commemoration of the first anniversary of the deaths of the late President Arthur Griffith (1872-1922) and the late General Michael Collins (1890-1922) in "a fitting manner",[166] the committee had decided to erect a

[162] Dolan, Anne, *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.3.

[163] Ibid, p.3.

[164] Ibid, p.4.

[165] Ibid, p.5.

[166] Ibid, p.7.

temporary cenotaph at Leinster Lawn, Merrion Square, Dublin. Commonly referred to as the 'Cenotaph', this cement covered timber structure took the form of a large Celtic cross flanked by two panels that each included a plaster medallion of Griffith and Collins. Dolan noted that "for one observer its appearance of strength was to represent the courage of the men it commemorated, the solidity of the state, the resolve of its government and army" but Dolan also declared that "the monument was a sham."[167] The truth is probably somewhere in the middle as the unveiling of this monument is only one of many actions taken by the government "fourteen days before polling in the state's second general election."[168] While the cabinet attempted to be somewhat introspective on how it was to commemorate its dead, it became clear that its main occupation was to make decisions that would favour a positive electoral outcome. With only a month's time between when the commemoration committee was formed and the upcoming first anniversary of the deaths of Griffith and Collins,[169] it was foreseeable that if the memorialization was to take place, there was only enough time to erect a temporary monument. Accordingly – witnessed by more than 2,000 guests, military contingents and spontaneous onlookers – President Cosgrave unveiled the state's first monument on 13 August 1923. As part of its publicity strategy, the government ensured wide distribution of notices, photographs, slides and memorial booklets throughout newspapers, cinemas and the general populace – "they advertised triumph to ally and enemy alike, telling pageant and honour, selling the wares of a seemingly strong and established state."[170] Through this process of politicized commemoration, the monument's primary purpose was to heroize Griffith and Collins and it inadvertently played a secondary role of remembering all of its war dead. This blueprint for commemoration repeated itself four years later when Cosgrave paid tribute to

[167] Ibid, p.7.

[168] Ibid, p.8.

[169] The first anniversary of the deaths of Griffith and Collins were 12 August 1923 and 22 August 1923, respectively.

[170] Ibid, p.15.

the memory of Kevin O'Higgins on 21 August 1927 by adding a third medallion to the memorial.[171]

The cenotaph commemorating the three founding figures of Irish independence showed early signs of weathering and having reached advanced stages of dilapidation, it was finally dismantled in 1939. While the government had agreed to commission a more permanent memorial, it was not until 1950 that a 60-foot granite obelisk was installed in its stead. It appears that the government approved a wide range of funds towards the erection of memorials during the period 1927-1950. For example, the erection of this modern structure had a cost of £20,000 in comparison to the £50,000 sanctioned in 1929 for the *Irish National War Memorial* located at Islandbridge and a paltry sum of £833 8s. 4d. spent in 1927 for the original cenotaph. Unlike Lutyens' success story of promptly replacing his London temporary memorial with that of a permanent one in 1920, it took the Irish Free State more that two decades to build an enduring legacy to the memory of those who died during the Irish Civil War. This obelisk may symbolize the collective and conflicting memory of its war dead but in order for them to be remembered eternally, commemoration must play an integral part in keeping their memory alive.

Historians do not have sole custody of the wide topic of memory and commemoration. Historical geographer Nuala Johnson took on a different approach in her book *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*, published in 2003, when she examined "the articulation of remembrance in a society itself in political and cultural turmoil during and immediately after the war."[172] In line with observations made earlier by Jeffery and Loughlin, Johnson upholds that "the war did not represent in Ireland an opportunity for the divergent voices of Irish nationalism and

[171] Kevin O'Higgins (1892-1927), Vice-President of the Executive Council and Minister for Justice in the Irish Free State, was shot on 10 July 1927 by members of the IRA.

[172] Johnson, Nuala C., *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.12.

unionism to unite."[173] It is a dialogue between remembering and forgetting that make up the fabric and performance of social memory. Johnson notes that for instance, in the context of the Great War, "the desire to forget, erase and bury the memory of the war among veterans may have run contrary to the desire to remember, erect and exhume the memory of the war among non-combatants."[174] The author identified various corporeal and temporal "stages of reaction to the war, from the innocent optimism of new recruits volunteering in 1914, followed by periods of pessimism and depression surrounding long phases of stalemate, to the post-war grieving of veterans and bereaved families."[175] Even though Johnson expressed the obvious – that parades and ceremonies are "signifiers of remembrance" and that "public memorials are permanent markers of the war"[176] – she attempted to broaden the scope on the interrelationship between sites of collective memory and their historical interpretations. It is most agreeable with Johnson that war memorials "exist in tandem with a suite of other markers, which map the cultural and historical identity of cities, regions and nation-states."[177] Unequivocally, it is the memorial's physical qualities, meaning, historical roots and geographic location that help define the form and outcome of remembrance and commemoration attached to it. These are key factors that help shape how people and societies interpretate and respond to memorials and sites of collective memory.

As was experienced at the end of the Great War, conquering nations typically chose a combination of analogous and distinctive approaches to commemorating its war dead. While similarities in commemorative practices and memorials often emanated from greater historical surroundings, their unique applications were customarily derived from local sources and

[173] Ibid, p.12.

[174] Ibid, p.9.

[175] Ibid, p.13.

[176] Ibid, p.169.

[177] Ibid, p.80.

traditions. Johnson outlined common areas of dispute among families, serving soldiers and living veterans that could be found in Ireland as well as in other states. These included the use of religious or secular memorial designs, the constant conciliation between local and national interests, desperate calls for the repatriation of the war dead from foreign lands and acknowledging the continued effect of the war on all those left behind.[178] Even though there was some published criticism on Johnson's "limited knowledge of Irish history",[179] it did not affect her ability to properly examine the political "debate in Ireland about the choice and use of public space to establish a national war memorial."[180] The author presented three stances on how these deliberations took place.[181] The first was a repetition of what Fraser and Jeffrey earlier identified with respect to placing a memorial park proximate to parliamentary buildings and the associative negative connotations it would present. The second relates to exploring the use of an inner-city park as a site for commemorative purposes rather than for civic improvement. However, the most pragmatic stance was made by parliamentarians when they "questioned the overall value of expending so much money on a park while veterans were facing hardship and unemployment. Their concern centred on achieving a balance between the needs of the living veteran and society's debt to the dead."[182] Much of the debate surrounding the choice and use of public space to establish Ireland's national war memorial was divisive and inconclusive for most citizens. During the 1920's, this line of reasoning was disparate at the regional level as individual communities were more interested in planning their own public monuments and "landscapes of remembrance" throughout the

[178] Ibid, p.81.

[179] Mary Daly. Review of Johnson, Nuala C., *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*. H-Albion, H-Net Reviews. June, 2006. http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=11923 Professor Mary Daly is Principal, College of Arts and Celtic Studies, University College Dublin.

[180] Johnson, Nuala C., op. cit., 2003, p.83.

[181] Ibid, pp.93-94.

[182] Ibid, p.94.

towns and villages in the Irish Free State and in Northern Ireland.[183] While memorials continued to be erected on church grounds, others were placed on public and secular sites. This change of venue also helped pave the way to an iconographic transformation whereby commemorative monuments not only included the popular Celtic cross but also utilized other forms such as the pyramidal column, buildings and conceptual memorials expressed though "paintings, poetry, novels, diaries and autobiographies."[184]

As a cultural and historical geographer, Yvonne Whelan developed expertise in "exploring the relationships between landscape, memory and identity in modern Ireland."[185] In 2003, Dr. Whelan published *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, iconography and the politics of identity* as a study highlighting "the powerful role of landscape as a site of symbolic representation integral to the imaginative construction of national identity."[186] The author establishes that Dublin's contested iconography is not just a reflection of the city's imperial past but also represents the changing political landscape through the "naming, building, designing and memorialising" of the public space it occupies.[187] Whelan examined the configuration of Dublin's cultural landscape and the relations among its built environment and from this, concluded that the city's form and function reflect the surroundings at that time. Indirectly, Whelan acknowledges a regenerative process whereby a defined geographic area passes through a historical life-cycle. Following the initial settling and development of an area, further growth help shape it as an emerging cultural region. Up until the early 20th century, such was the case with Ireland. Similar to other dominions and colonies that existed as the time,

[183] Ibid, p.96.

[184] Ibid, p.111.

[185] University of Bristol, Directory of Experts, Details for Dr. Yvonne Whelan. Website: http://www.bris.ac.uk/media/experts/jsp/public_view/expertDetails?personKey=94wdZCvJvvlSNlOLisok3I7IKVKwxy

[186] Whelan, Yvonne, *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, iconography and the politics of identity*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003, p.2.

[187] Ibid, p.2.

Ireland was controlled and administered as a mere extension of the British Empire. This is why Dublin's cultural landscape characterizes an 18th century inheritance that memorialized the British monarchy and the military. While monumental statuaries such as King William III, Nelson's Pillar (Figure 93) and the Wellington Testimonial (Figure 89) "may have inspired loyalty and served to cultivate a sense of belonging to empire, drawing citizens into closer communion with the imperial projects, in Ireland they also served as tangible symbols around which demonstrations of resistance could be articulated."[188] As well, during the 18th and 19th centuries, Dublin's "street names became an important means of celebrating collective memory, cultivating group identity and of creating a sense of a shared past and an official version of history."[189] However, by the mid-19th century, with increasing political and national resistance, there was a gradual shift in how the nomenclature of the city was to be marked. This was done primarily by re-naming streets, bridges and quays. Naming legacies that were called after distinguished English and foreign characters and events were no longer to be perpetuated and were reclamed by nationalists. According to Whelan, the renaming in 1880 of the Carlisle Bridge (after the 5th Earl of Carlisle) to O'Connell Bridge (after Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic Irish national Member of Parliament) "heralded the arrival of a new naming era."[190] It is when a region attains this level of maturity that this stage can be described as self-determination or independence. As would be expected, Dublin re-invented itself after the Free State came into existence. This is when new governments have a good opportunity to forge a fresh national identity through the development and implementation of new architectural initiatives. A national memory can be invoked by not only its structural and building capacities but also through the power of public memorials that are located throughout the city and countryside. As a direct reaction to rejecting some or all of its historical roots, it is not unusual for historical artefacts and reminders of its past to be hidden

[188] Ibid, p.52.

[189] Ibid, p.95.

[190] Ibid, p.101.

away , destroyed or oblelirated. To summarize, the de-commemoration of the British cultural landscape within Dublin became an opportunity for Irish nationalists and local citizens alike to identify a host of new public heroes to gradually replace monumental imperialist symbols. With time, changing Irish politics, culture and society have re-shaped how, when and where the city's cultural lanscape is to be remembered and memorialized.

Considered one of the most comprehensive studies of the Great War commemoration in the north of Ireland is Catherine Switzer's *Unionists and Great War Commemoration in the north of Ireland, 1914-1939*, published in 2007. Placing a particular focus on the commemoration experience of the largely Protestant unionist community in Northern Ireland, it examines widespread commemoration across it six counties. Switzer notes that in comparison with Britain, Northern Ireland politics predominated the conduct of commemoration and that there was a multiplicity of other complex factors as well as different groups that contributed to the creation of a nationalist memory of the Great War. The author correctly "recognizes that commemoration encompasses two distinct stands of activity: the construction of memorials, physical and otherwise; and the performance of commemorative ceremonies and other activities."[191] "For unionists in the north of Ireland, the war effort was, in a number of ways, an extension of the struggle against Home Rule" and as "part of the process of inbuing the war experience with meaning" the collection of names of those who served with the armed forces was "crucial to memorialization on the home front."[192] There was much discussion and opinions within the communities on who and how they should be recognized and memorialized on these Rolls of Honours. Organizations, clubs, and regimental associations compiled names from the outset of the war and proudly displayed them on Rolls of Honour within buildings and newspapers. This tangible undertaking not only allowed them to show their patriotism but was also widely used to publicly recognize and remember those

[191] Switzer, Catherine, *Unionists and Great War Commemoration in the north of Ireland, 1914-1939*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007, p.4.

[192] Ibid, p.7.

who served. "Lists such as this were integral to the discourse that this was a just war, and that to participate in it was an act which ennobled the individual."[193] Considering that conscription was excluded in Northern Ireland, it meant that the lists were not just a record of service but brought special attention and honour to those men who voluntarily enlisted. Rolls of Honour were displayed or posted in a prominent and accessible place where it may be easily seen by passers-by. As a 'living memorial', the lists were continuously updated throughout the war and continued to provide a great sense of pride and inspiration to communities. Rolls of Honour often indicated – through the use of a symbol such as a star, sword or crown – those who had been killed or wounded.[194] This was "part of a process of re-affirming commitment in the precarious uncertainty of wartime, particularly, after the Easter Rising of 1916, in wartime Ireland. Loyalty, it might be contended, had more definite quality when it could be expressed in the specifics of names and numbers."[195]

As anticipated, Northern Ireland followed the same practice as the British Government of not being involved in the process of erecting local memorials. It was therefore up to local groups and organizations to assume responsibility to commemorate men within their area. Switzer expanded on Jeffery's initial findings on war memorials located in Northern Ireland. Utilizing newspapers other archival sources, the author was able to account for 62 public war memorials that existed in Northern Ireland in 1939.[196] The author established that eighteen percent of the memorials were utilitarian to include halls, clock towers, parks and institutes. Apparently, the first public war memorial in the north of Ireland was a memorial park that was established in Ballymena as early as April 1917 in memory of the local men. As for the

[193] Ibid, p.12.

[194] Ibid, p.21.

[195] Ibid, p.17.

[196] Ibid, p.58. Please note that details related to the number and forms of memorials that are identified in this section are derived from 'Table 2 – Monumental and Utilitarian Memorials in Northern Ireland in 1939' located on p.58 of this book.

remainder, they are commemorative memorials or as the author describes them, 'monumental memorials' that "served no practical purpose."[197] The author confirmed Jeffery's assertion that Protestants did not favour the use of Crosses as they only accounted for two out of the 51 commemorative memorials. By far, the most popular forms of war memorials was the statue (20 cases), the obelisk (13 cases), the commemorative plaque (6 cases), and the cenotaph (3 cases). As was the practice in Canada and in Australia, statues or figurative sculptures erected in Northern Ireland typically portrayed a rank and file soldier in a variety of active poses. While statues were the most wanted and admired, they were also the most expensive to design and fabricate, sculptors often resided outside the region and the bronze work of art had to be hauled in. When choosing obelisks, there were some practical advantages: they were fitting for those communities operating under a tight budget; they could be produced by local stone masons, thereby saving long-distance transportation costs; and provided ample surface space for inscribing lists of names.[198] In terms of memorial inscriptions themselves, they "offer little concensus" and "perhaps surprisingly, given the highly political meanings which were often taken from the war experience, most Northern Irish memorials do not assert that those named gave their lives for any political entity, be it Ulster, Ireland or the United Kingdom."[199] In summary, the "intertwining of unionism and commemoration" in Northern Ireland tended "to focus on the immediate locality rather than the broader region. The evidence therefore suggests that a hierarchy of loyalties existed amongst unionists in Northern Ireland. Superimposed on older and alternative place identities and uncertain of its future, the concept of Northern Ireland is virtually absent on war memorials, both public and otherwise."[200]

[197] Ibid, p.57.

[198] Ibid, p.75.

[199] Ibid, p.89.

[200] Ibid, p.153.

It was not until the late 1990s that two government reports attracted attention on how to address the topic of memorials and commemoration for those victims and casualties of the Northern Ireland conflict. As a report commissioned in 1995 by the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council and the Arts Council of Northern Ireland, Jane Leonard published in 1997, *Memorials to the Casualties of Conflict Northern Ireland, 1969 to 1997*. This 37-page document – developed as a backgrounder on options for a peace memorial – researched an array of case-studies on the commemoration of other conflicts. When examining civil wars, it made an important reference to the difference between the Irish Civil War (1922-1923) and the American Civil War (1861-1865): the latter "was a war between regions of a country rather than a conflict involving people living in the same towns and rural areas but divided by different ethnic, religious or political loyalties."[201] The American Civil War remains as the conflict that affected most its society and how their fallen were to be commemorated. Despite the proliferation of Civil War memorials erected throughout the American landscape, "there is no national memorial which jointly remembers both sides' losses."[202] However, as shown later in this thesis,[203] there are rare *local* examples of memorials that jointly commemorate such losses.[204] The commemoration of Irish casualties since the 1920s has equally been contentious and Ireland also has no national memorial dedicated to the 4,000 killed during the Irish Civil War (1922-1923). "The commemoration of the Irish Civil War differs from civil wars elsewhere in chiefly honouring the losers."[205] The only official memorials are those commemorating the commander of the Irish National Army, General Michael Collins (1890-1922).

[201] Leonard, Jane, *Memorials to the Casualties of Conflict Northern Ireland, 1969 to 1997*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, 1997, p.6.

[202] Ibid, p.6.

[203] See later section within the Thesis entitled 'The American Civil War – 1861-1865.'

[204] See Figure 189 – Crossville, Tennessee.

[205] Leonard, Jane, op. cit., 1997, p.7.

Republican memorials erected from the 1930s to the 1970s helped legitimize anti-Treaty fatalities of the Civil War but it was not until the 1980s that Irish casualties of different 20th century conflicts began to be commemorated jointly. Organized in 1981 by the Glencree Centre for Reconciliation, 'walks of remembrance' began to be held throughout the streets of Dublin whereby "wreaths of shamrocks were laid at points of historic importance to commemorate Irish men and women of all traditions."[206] The act of placing wreaths by relatives and descendants from the dead of the two world wars, those who died on both sides of the Civil War and those killed in the 1916 struggle for national independence helped pave the way for the Irish government's establishment in 1986 of a National Day of Commemoration.[207] This day honours "all those Irishmen and Irishwomen who died in past wars or on service with the United Nations."[208] The principal ceremony is held in the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, Dublin, and is usually attended by the President, the Taoiseach, representatives from the Defence Forces, diplomats, all churches and ex-service organizations, as well as next-of-kin of those who died in past wars. In 2011, in addition to this national ceremony, it was the first time that six other cities countrywide hosted similar commemorative events. I note that the Irish experience has shown that achieving historical ecumenism and unconditional reconciliation is not possible through the process of memorialization – in this case, the erection of a distinct memorial commemorating *all* of its war dead. However, this progressive development of commemorative assemblies within a constructive environment has given communities the opportunity of reflecting and understanding rather than memorializing single conflicts. This compromise allows for a civilized expression of a complicated collective memory.

[206] Mitchell, Caroline, Editor, *The First Ten Years*, "Divided in Life, They are Remembered in Death." Glencree, County Wicklow: Glencree Centre for Reconciliation, 1985, p.10. See website: http://www.glencree.ie/site/history.htm

[207] In the Republic of Ireland, The National Day of Commemoration is held on the Sunday closest to 11 July – the anniversary of the date of the Anglo-Irish Truce of 1921.

[208] Irish Government News Service, "National Day of Commemoration ceremony July 10th 2011," published on Thursday, 7 July 2011. See: http://www.merrionstreet.ie/index.php/2011/07/national-day-of-commemoration-ceremony-july-10th-2011/

On 18 July 1936, General Francisco Franco led a revolt against Spain's democratically elected republican government that lasted three years and established a fascist dictatorship that lasted until his death, 20 November 1975. When examining memorials and commemoration related to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), Leonard correctly points out that the defeated republican side was actively commemorated outside but not within Spain.[209] She notes for example that there were several Irish trade unions that commissioned plaques and banners dedicated to the 145 Irishmen who served with the International Brigades on the losing republican side.[210] As expected, the post-war Franco government was very active in erecting memorials to nationalist troops and dismantling the republican ones. Built between 1940 and 1958 outside Madrid, the *Valle de los Caídos* (the Valley of the Fallen) is the national memorial to the Spanish conflict and to this day remains divisive. Carved out of the mountain face, this memorial consists of one of the world's largest Catholic basilicas, a long vaulted crypt, a monumental cross,[211] and beneath the valley floor lie the remains of 40,000. Although it is supposed to commemorate the dead of both sides, very few casualties from the republican side were transferred to the site. Even if there are discrepancies in the number of republican prisoners who participated and died in the construction of the memorial, it continues to be a point of contention.[212] Within Spain, there have

[209] Including the memorial erected in 1985 on London's south-bank where the annual commemoration is held, there are 71 memorials to International Brigades volunteers that can be found throughout Britain (57) and Ireland (14). There are many others including one in erected in Canberra in 1993 as well as three such memorials in Canada: Winnipeg, Manitoba – 1989; Victoria, British Columbia – 2000; and Ottawa, Ontario – 2001.

[210] Leonard, Jane, op. cit., 1997, p.9. Separate research has shown that there were about 40,000 to 60,000 volunteers from over fifty different countries who fought as part of the International Brigades. The fatality rate was about 20 percent. There were also 1,546 Canadian volunteers who served, of which 721 never returned home.

[211] Constructed of granite stone and 152.4-metre-high, it is considered the tallest memorial cross in the world.

[212] In Leonard's report she states that "thousands of republican prisoners of war are said to have died in the construction of the monument" (Leonard, Jane, op. cit., 1997, p.9). However, in other sources, the workers are referred to as "political prisoners" and according to official Spanish records, from the 2,643 workers who participated during the eighteen-year construction period, only 243 of them were considered "convicts." See: Ródenas, Virginia, *ABC*, "La Fundación Francisco Franco no convocará más funerales el 20-N en el Valle de los

been a few but important memorials unveiled since the late 1980s. The first is a large *David and Goliath* bronze sculpture commissioned by the City of Barcelona and was dedicated in 1988 on the 50th anniversary of the volunteers' departure from Spain. According to its sculptor,[213] this is the first monument in Spain to honour the international volunteers who fought for the Republican cause. Leonard also identified an unusual memorial erected in the port city of Santander in 1995 as it was dedicated to the dead of both sides. As observed by the author, belated recognition of the defeated does not normally include attempts at inclusive commemoration.

Leonard's report briefly examined commemorations in post-communist Eastern Europe as well as recent urban peace sculptures. As long as the Communist regime was in place and in control – their Soviet statues and how their leaders and heroes were to be commemorated remained intact. All this changed as the result of a radical series of political changes occurring in the Eastern Block and a declining pro-Soviet influence in nearby Poland and Hungary during the late 1980s. With the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989, this formally marked the beginning of a major re-adjustment in commemorations within the Soviet Union and post-Communist Eastern Europe. Leonard observed that "the overthrow of several communist regimes throughout Eastern Europe either terminated or reduced public commemoration of these states' establishment."[214] During the early to mid-1990s, crowd protests resulted in the toppling, smashing, storing, melting, and removal of statues of Lenin, Stalin, leading generals, police chiefs, and other communist leaders and heroes in cities like Moscow, Leningrad and Budapest. In an effort to save some of these surviving historical monuments, the cities of Budapest (1993) and Moscow (1994) gathered and displayed them in a 'Park of Deposed Monuments.' Leonard also notes that "until these recent upheavals, the civil wars in Russia and Poland in the early 1920s were never

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Caídos," Madrid, 14 September 2009. http://www.abc.es/20090914/nacional-nacional/fundacion-francisco-franco-convocara-20090914.html

[213] American-born Roy Shifrin (1937-).

[214] Leonard, Jane, op. cit., 1997, p.10.

formally remembered. The Red Army's defeat of the White forces was merged into a commemoration of the revolution."[215] The outcome is that 'White commanders' finally began to be elevated and commemorated by their local communities.[216]

The use of weapons as an option for a military memorial is not new[217] but "in September 1994, the Republic of Ireland's Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dick Spring, suggested that any national peace memorial be fashioned from melted down weapons."[218] Leonard notes a few North American precedents including *Urban Peace Circle*, a large-scale bronze sculpture made by Seattle artist Gerard Tsutakawa (1947-) and unveiled in 1994 to commemorate the tragic deaths of six youths and promote a change from present street violence to a hopeful peaceful future. It was commissioned by an organization that raised funds from a gun buy-back program and all of the reclaimed guns are entombed in the concrete base of the sculpture. A second example is Québec artist and professor of visual arts Alex Magrini's (1951-) *Guns-For-Art* programme that he established in 1991 by collecting old and destroyed weapons and firearms and converting them into metal sculptures. One of his most moving pieces is the memorial statue made from more than 340 dismantled weapons[219] dedicated to the fourteen women killed by a gunman at Montréal's École Polytechnique in December 1989. A third model is a series of commemorative sculptures located in Birmingham, Alabama – one of the most racially segregated cities in the U.S. during the 1960s. Unveiled in 1993 – thirty years after civil rights marches – the three

[215] Ibid, p.10.

[216] For example, a statue was erected in 1994 in Krasnodar for Cossack-born Lavr Komilov (1870-1918) – a general in the Imperial Russian Army, and unveiled in Warsaw in 1995 is a statue of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski (1867-1935) who fought for Polish independence during the First World War and later became a head of the Polish state.

[217] See later Chapter on 'Creating a General Classification System,' section on 'Ships, Weapons, Vehicles, and Aircrafts.'

[218] Leonard, Jane, op. cit., 1997, p11.

[219] Including handguns, rifles, shotguns and knives collected by the Montréal police during a six day amnesty in December 1995.

memorials entitled *Fire Hosing of the Marchers*, *Children's March* and *Police Dog Attack* depict actual events. James Drake (1946-), the artist, used the aggressive pose of snarling leaping dogs to establish fear, panic and compassion from spectators.

After categorizing the location and forms of existing partisan memorials to those killed since 1969,[220] Leonard examined existing and proposed general memorials to the Northern Ireland conflict. Some of the peace memorials and commemorative projects, which were launched during the cease-fires, included various sculptures, museums and meeting places which included "practical memorials, aimed at promoting communications in the playgrounds of Northern Ireland,"[221] published casualty lists, and educational, cultural and environmental memorials. The report concluded by encouraging the public debate on commemoration and the need for continued wide consultation. It proposed the commissioning of an international design competition for a possible memorial to commemorate victims of the conflict and affirmed, "instead of a monument naively proclaiming the arrival of peace, such a memorial could convey a society's aspiration to restore peace while also honouring the dead."[222] When making comparisons with other countries,[223] the author stated that accomplishing such a project in Northern Ireland would be "far more complex and challenging" than the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.,[224] and noted, "despite their relative

[220] The Report categorized the location and forms of existing memorials into seven groups: (1) outdoor memorials; (2) memorials inside army barracks and police stations; (3) government buildings and the offices of political organizations; (4) churches; (5) cemeteries; (6) fraternal, musical and sporting memorials; and (7) educational memorials.

[221] Ibid, p.29.

[222] Ibid, p.32.

[223] Throughout the report memorials examples were provided from Bulgaria, Canada, Great Britain, Hungary, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Soviet Union, Spain, the United States, and Ukraine.

[224] Ibid, p.33.

political stability, Spain and the Republic of Ireland are still seeking healing methods of commemorating civil wars of over sixty years ago."[225]

In October 1997, in consultation with the Prime Minister, the British Government established a Commission "to look at possible ways to recognize the pain and suffering felt by victims of violence arising from the troubles of the last 30 years, including those who have died or been injured in the service of the community."[226] Sir Kenneth Bloomfield, K.C.B. (1931-) headed that Commission and was asked "to have particular regard to the possibility of establishing a new memorial reflecting both the sorrows of the past and hope for a stable future."[227] Six months later, in April 2008, Bloomfield produced *We Will Remember Them*, a report of the Northern Ireland Victims Commissioner to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland on the way forward. After conducting an extensive consultation exercise, the reaction from various stakeholders was mixed. While the views of a small minority "were notably antipathetic to any action by way of remembrance either now or in the foreseeable circumstances", some were more interested in the establishment of the truth and the bringing to justice of those responsible for various crimes and atrocities.[228] Others felt that "our society should close the book on those painful times, look for a more harmonious future and avoid the memorialisation of events which could only open old wounds and revive old divisions."[229] While some were in favour of a formal memorial, the Chair of the Commission argued that he was unable to support them, as some of the views "may have been based upon a false premise that formal memorialization is the only available form of 'recognition'." He remarked that it seemed odd and inappropriate to establish a central memorial to the dead while the end of

[225] Ibid, p.32.

[226] Bloomfield, Sir Kenneth, *We Will Remember Them*, a report of the Northern Ireland Victims Commissioner. Belfast: The Stationery Office Northern Ireland, April 1998, p.8.

[227] Ibid, p.8.

[228] Ibid, p.23.

[229] Ibid, p.23.

the conflict had not been officially marked. Bloomfield also correctly pointed out that a traumatic period within a community cannot be systematically eliminated from the collective consciousness. Instead, he promotes the need "to remember those who have suffered, to grieve at the side of this communal grave, to reflect upon the truth of what occurred and to move forward from there. Above all, we have to persuade our children how costly and counter-productive it would be to pursue the animosities of the past."[230] In order to keep their memory alive, there must be continued remembrance and reflection of those individuals and communities who have past before us. Nevertheless, the report took a "three strand approach" in addressing existing and possible forms of recognition: it considered practical forms of recognition of victims; explored the possibility of developing non-physical memorial schemes in honour of those who have suffered and died;[231] and looked at projects for physical memorials of various kinds.[232] It appears that the Northern Irish or British governments enacted few of the 20 recommendations made in the Bloomfield report – none of which are known to be related to memorials or commemoration.[233]

[230] Ibid, p.23.

[231] Some of the ideas for a non-physical type of memorial included a fund/trust/bursary, a scholarship, a commemorative medal, and a day of remembrance/public holiday.

[232] Within the report's appendices, there is an exhaustive list of suggestions for physical memorials, including the creation of a book of names, the placement of an eternal flame, the naming of public utilities and bridges, the concept of a memorial national park, the dedication of a forest or garden, the construction of a physical monument such as a statue or sculpture, and the erection of a national memorial building that would act as a "…living place of tribute, recollection and reconciliation."

[233] The following report recommendations are known to have been either fully or partially implemented: 8.1(e) a senior official was designated to take immediate responsibility for a better co-cordinated approach to the problems of victims within Government; (h) the issue of the treatment of prisoners and the manner in which families were to be informed of their early release could been better handled; (k) a Trauma Centre and the availability of residential phychiatric care for young people was partially implemented; (n) some progress was made to persuade and enable those with information about the 'dissappeared' to disclose it; and (p) an educational bursary fund was established to assist particular children and young people affected by the death or injury of a parent.

One of Ireland's most refreshing views of its collective memory is Professor Tom Dunne's[234] *Rebellions – Memoir, Memory and 1798*, first published in 2004 and with a second and extended edition in 2010. The discussion is centred on the government-sponsored bicentenary of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 – in particular, the 'Scullabogue Massacre.' This controversial event took place on 5 June 1798 in the townland of Scullabogue in southern County Wexford when Republican rebels – known as the United Irishmen – used a farm and an out-buildings as a staging area before the Battle of New Ross. As a means to prevent the dissemination of intelligence on rebel movements, suspected loyalists – over a hundred men, women, and children (mostly Protestant) – were held prisoner in a barn. After a heavy defeat, some of the rebel survivors withdrew to Scullabogue with news of atrocities committed by English soldiers. In an act – partially of revenge but also strategic – the rebels shot about a dozen individuals and set fire to the barn. What was particularly horrid is that people fleeing the fire were shot or piked, and thrown back into the flames to burn or suffocate to death. Five generations later, locals could find a number of memorials dedicated to the '1798 Rising' within the landscape of north Wexford but none could be found at Scullabogue. In an analysis published by Brian Cantwell, of 2,500 graveyards inscriptions in the county, he "records 'very few' references to the Rebellion."[235] As well, when researching the battle of New Ross, Dunne observed how sources "are remarkably thin and incomplete" and that the state archive "would fit comfortably into one of my mother's shoeboxes."[236] It was almost as if the facts of this event were deliberately hidden or erased from historical memory.

[234] Tom Dunne (1943-) is professor emeritus of history, and part-time lecturer in art history at University College Cork.

[235] Cantwell, B.J., "Persons Who Died in 1798," Parts 1 and 2, *The Past*, nos 17, 18, 1994-1995 cited in Dunne, Tom, *Rebellions – Memoir, Memory and 1798*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press Ltd., 2010, pp.269.

[236] Dunne, Tom, *Rebellions – Memoir, Memory and 1798*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press Ltd., 2010, pp.8-9.

The issue of commemoration resurfaced in 1988 when 'Comóradth '98' was created to manage the celebration of the bicentenary of the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Composed mainly of politicians, local government officials, and local historians, these committee members had tremendous influence on the planning, advertising, and conduct of activities over a period of ten years. Two historians in particular received significant appointments: Nicholas Furlong (1929-) who chaired the 'Historians and Librarians Advisory Committee,' and Kevin Whelan (1958-) who was named by Minister Seamus Brennan "as 'the consultant historian to the National Commemoration', that is to 'the Government's 1798 Commemoration Committee' which Brennan chaired. The proceedings, and even the composition of this committee, which had an initial budget of £250,000, and funded many national and local projects and events, are shrouded in secrecy."[237] According to Dunne, while "the most positive feature of Comóradth was the impetus it gave to the study of local history and the focus this provided for local pride and identity",[238] the most negative attributes were how politics and historians affected the commemoration and the over simplification of complex historical events.

In line with the 1998 government's 'Statement of the Bicentenary of the 1798 Rebellion',[239] "…Kevin Whelan's view that, in commemorating the Rebellion, 'we must relinquish our obsession … with pikes and deaths, murder, mayhem and martyrdom. We should instead stress the living

[237] Ibid, p.141.

[238] Ibid, p.116.

[239] Department of the Taoiseach, "Statement on the Bicentenary of the 1798 Rebellion," 1998. See website:
http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Government_Press_Office/Taoiseach's_Speeches_Archive_2006/Taoiseach's_Speeches_Archive_1998/Statement_on_the_Bicentenary_of_the_1798_Rebellion.html

Partial text: "We have consistently striven to apply the living principles of the United Irishmen - their pursuit of democracy, of pluralism, of non-sectarianism, their optimism about Ireland's economic potential - rather than focus exclusively on their ultimate defeat on the bloody battlefields of 1798. The United Irishmen have been much in our remembrance this year, as we seek to construct an Irish politics North and South free of illusion but not of generosity. I feel that the best possible commemoration of them would be the consolidation of a stable, inclusive settlement in the North."

principles of democracy and pluralism which the United Irishmen formulated'."[240] Considering – his mother's stories on the death of one his own ancestors during that bloody day, his admission that there is a lack of conclusive evidence supporting the realities of the historical event, and the government's desire to place less emphasis on the victims and details of the campaign and more on the enduring legacy of the rebellion and the pursuit of non-sectarian idealism – Dunne was unable to accept the flawed and conflicting political vision and moral choices being imposed on the local community. This led to a major public disagreement with the government and the publishing of his book that was very critical of the 'commemorationist' (or revisionist) history that dominated the bicentenary commemorations.

Dunne rightly analyzed that the politicians and historians sanitized a politically-correct portrayal of 1798 and that they learned little or nothing from previous commemorative experiences. While he felt marginalized for challenging the government's 1998 commemorations policy, he questioned the role of the 'consultant historian' in Comóradth '98 as it appears that "Seamus Brennan's contention that, 'rather than the government presenting an agenda to the historians, the historians presented an agenda to the government'."[241] Hence, Dunne perceived this as a cynical effort to deliberately repress the facts of the event at Scullabogue, and that generalized commemoration often, if not always, simplifies complex historical events. He also stated that "academic history all too often lacks empathy with the individual stories that both constitute and reflect communal memory. The nature and even existence of such memory is contested and problematic, not least because of politically inspired attempts to shape or manipulate it."[242] One example that illustrates this point is the Scullabogue memorial stone that was erected in the grounds of the Old Ross Church of Ireland church. While it was argued that the site

[240] Dunne, Tom, op. cit., 2010, p.6.

[241] Ibid, p.144.

[242] Ibid, p.3.

selection should have been more visible and less remote,[243] its inscription was just as divisive. Although it reads:

IN MEMORIAM

IN THIS PLACE THE PEOPLE OF WEXFORD
REMEMBER THE VICTIMS OF SCULLABOGUE BARN
INTERRED HERE AND AT TEMPLESHELIN
USED TO DETAIN SOME ONE HUNDRED
MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN
THE BARN WAS SET ON FIRE ON 5 JUNE 1798,
THE DAY OF THE BATTLE OF ROSS.
THE REMORSE OF THE UNITED IRISH
AT THIS OUTRAGE, A TRAGIC DEPARTURE
FROM THEIR IDEALS, IS SHARED
BY THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

IN IOTALINN DÉ GO DTUGRAR SINN

Dunne was challenged by Furlong "to write an alternate text 'in 73 words for incision on stone, wherein [I] might demonstrate the reasonableness of [my] own political agenda'".[244] His published response was: "In this place of Wexford remember the victims of the Scullabogue massacre, interred here and at Templesheelin. Over one hundred innocent men women and children, mainly from nearby Protestant communities, were shot, piked or burned to death in a barn by local rebel forces on 5th June 1798. 'The truth shall set you free.'"[245] Dunne's main message was the government's "refusal to face the reality of sectarian division in the past" and the establishment of "basic facts."[246] Though most historians are in agreement with having a theme of reconciliation, it is the approach that is being contested. Patrick Comerford, a priest in the Church of Ireland (Anglican), speaks about the healing of Scullabogue and Old Ross and provides a compromising attitude: "When communities refuse to be reconciled we all become heirs to the victims and

[243] Should have been placed at where the victims were burned and not where they were interred.

[244] Dunne, Tom, op. cit., 2010, p290.

[245] Ibid, p.290.

[246] Ibid, p.291.

heirs to the perpetrators. And the injunction must never be to "Forgive and Forget" but to "Remember and be Reconciled," to remember so that we may be reconciled."[247] Comerford's approach to commemoration reinforces Dunne's main points of: striving to obtain 'true facts' in order to determine an accurate reflection of history; reminding historians of their responsibilities when interpreting evidence related to official government commemorations; and emphasizing local participation when developing commemorative activities as it will encourage communities to better understand, remember, and reconcile their complicated past.

In terms of public memory, **France** has played a significant role since the conclusion of the First World War. Because of its complicated and diverse history, it has much to offer in terms of memorialization within its urban and rural morphologies. As noted by Hungarian social historian Zsolt K. Horváth (1972-), with the death of General Charles de Gaulle in 1970, it "…resulted in the destruction of the official memory of the Second World War and the Résistance and thus, more and more, the memory of the Vichy-period became the most important element of discourse."[248] However, this has caused an equal and opposite reaction – it has allowed for an intellectual review, reflection and reconstruction of its historical past, particularly as it applies to France's collective national heritage. Paris-born Pierre Nora (1931-) is one of France's most brilliant historians who helped redefine the concept of collective memory. Nora wanted to study France's '*mémoire nationale*' (national memory), and instead of making generalities he found it more exciting to study the emblems, the symbols, the anniversaries, the monuments and memorials, the commemorations, the museums, the archives, and all those places where 'national memory' is gathered, embodied, and expressed.[249]

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[247] Comerford, Patrick, "Reconciliation and Mission: The Irish Experience," 23 June 2009. Posted on his website: http://revpatrickcomerford.blogspot.com/2009_06_23_archive.html

[248] Horváth, Zsolt K., "On 'Lieu de Mémoire', 'Trauma' and their Relevancies in Hungary – Memory Research in a begriffsgeschichtliche Approach," *Kakanien Revisited*, 29/09/2004, p2. See: http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/theorie/ZKHorvath1.pdf

[249] Interview on the television show *Apostrophes*, which ran from 1975 to 1990, and was specifically aired on 7 December 1984. This particular one-hour show was dedicated to

Over a period of eight years (1984-1992) and with the support of some 130 scholars, Nora as its main editor published the monumental collective work entitled *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (places of memory). With the release of his first volume in 1984, Nora is dedicated to examining how material and idealic elements play a role in the shaping of a French collective identity – sometime influenced by concurrent and competing components of memory (such as the French flag, their national hymn, and the 14th of July). His original intention "was to demonstrate empirically the hidden connection between all true memorials – monuments to the dead, as in the Panthéon" and those tangible and intangible "objects" of memory.[250] In all, these six thousand pages spread over seven volumes remain a cultural reference among the community of historians. This historiographic work was translated into English and in German and selective portions were republished in the U.S. in two different forms: *Realms of Memory* (1996-1998) in three volumes[251] and *Rethinking France* in four volumes (1999-2010). [252] Meant to complement each other, the first set is an "approach to internal memory"; the other, "to exterior memory."[253] To outline the importance of this historic concept, the word *lieu de mémoire* marks its entrance in the 1993 edition of the *Grand Robert de la langue française* and has since become a classical term.

André Chastel, one of the contributing authors to Nora's *Rethinking France,* wrote an article on the notion of heritage and the role of the church and monarchy as creators of memories. Chastel reported that the French

"monuments of the Republic" and included many other historians including Pierre Goubert, Alain Decaux, and Max Gallo. Interview was published on the website *Jalons pour l'histoire du temps present*. See: http://www.ina.fr/fresques/jalons/notice/InaEdu04655/pierre-nora-presente-son-ouvrage--les-lieux-de-memoire-

[250] Nora, Pierre, *Rethinking France, Les Lieux de Mémoire – Volume I: The State*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001, p.XIX.

[251] *Realms of Memory* represents about one-third of the French work, forty-four articles out of 127 and is divided into three volumes: Volume I – Conflicts and Divisions (1996); Volume II – Traditions (1997); and Volume III – Symbols (1998).

[252] Rethinking France groups forty-five articles in four volumes by theme: Volume 1 – The State (2001); Volume 2 – Space (2006); Volume 3 – Legacies (2009); and Volume 4 – Histories and Memories (2010).

[253] Nora, Pierre, *Rethinking France,* Volume I, op. cit., 2001, p.XX.

expression "historic monument" first appeared in "Aubin-Louis Millin's leaflet for his collection of national antiquities" in 1790.[254] This is a parallel to Weever's (British) 17th century definition of a memorial that includes edifices. It was in 1830 that Guizot, the minister of the interior, endorsed the creation of the post of "inspector general of historic monuments."[255] Seven years later, in 1834, the *Commission des monuments historiques* was given "instructions to compile the list of structures warranting protection and intervention."[256]

Antoine Prost (1933-) is another French historian who made major contributions to developing the concept of 'places of memory.' After undertaking a classical formation, he completed his thesis in 1975 – *Les Anciens combattants et la société française (1914-1939).* Two years later, his dissertation dealing with veterans and the French society during the First World War was published in three volumes: history; sociology; and mentalities and ideologies. Though his first volume deals with the history of movements (relationships and rivalries between wounded veterans associations, the Army, the Church, political powers and State reform), his second is a sociological study – examining the structure and composition of associations with the majority of the members derived from the middle class and the importance of rural France. The third volume is the most controversial. After placing an advertisement in newspapers he researched veterans' individual memories. He concluded that when confronted with death, fraternity becomes more important than patriotism. His conclusion was controversial when he proposed it but is now commonly accepted. This finding comes through very clearly in the book and television miniseries

[254] Chastel, André, "The Notion of Patrimony," Chapter I, in Nora, Pierre, *Rethinking France, Les Lieux de Mémoire – Volume III: Legacies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009, p.19.

[255] Ibid, p.20.

[256] Ibid, p.20.

entitled "Band of Brothers."[257] Prost also studied war memorials and their symbolism but placed most of his analysis on the relationship with fascism and the search for republican oecumenism. Prost has written many books, articles and segments in support of the study of memorials and the commemoration of the war dead. For example, he was one of seventeen authors who contributed in Pierre Nora's *Realms of Memory, The Construction of the French Past – Volume III: Symbols* in 1992, where he describes the collective memories of the great battle of Verdun and explains "how events are transformed into symbols and how national memories are crystallized in historic sites."[258] As "the memory of a terrible and supremely deadly ordeal," Verdun was considered a 'pacific' battle as it is remembered as "neither a humiliating defeat nor an act of aggression."[259] The collective memory of Verdun and its nearly 300,000 dead has been active since 1916. Although there was a pause during the Second World War, its commemorative ceremonies "offer three distinct and complementary memories of the battle: the official, patriotic one; the veterans' mediative, memorial memory; and the historical memory that is imparted to tourists."[260] More recently in 2005, at 72 years of age Prost provided a brief history of First World War memorials erected in France whereby he presented a typology of these war memorials and described how 'grateful' French communities erected local war memorials in a defined 'sacred place.'[261] Prost's typology will be later described in the chapter on 'Creating a General Classification System.'

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[257] Historian and biographer Stephen E. Ambrose wrote in 1992 a book entitled *Band of Brothers*. In 2001, it became a television miniseries by the same title based on Ambrose's book of U.S. Army experiences during the Second World War.

[258] Prost, Antoine, "Verdun," in Nora, Pierre, *Realms of Memory, The Construction of the French Past – Volume III: Symbols*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. Revised and abridged translation of the original work in French published in French as *Les Lieux de Mèmoire*, Èditions Gallimard, 1992, p.377.

[259] Ibid, p.400.

[260] Ibid, p.394.

[261] Prost, Antoine, "Le sens de la guerre : les monuments aux morts de 1914-1918 en France," in Claisse, Stéphanie, and Lemoine, Thierry (Editors), *Comment (se) sortir de la grande guerre ? – Regards sur quelques pays « vainqueurs » : la Belgique, la France et la Grande-Bretagne*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 2005, pp.11-36.

One of the few French women authors that have been interested in the study of French war memorials is Professor Annette Becker (1953-) who specializes in studying cultural and religious components of the First World War. In 1988, she published her first book: *Les Monuments aux Morts - Mémoire de la Grande Guerre*.[262] This book addresses the role of men as combatants, the messages that memorials convey to the living, the recognition of civilians, women and families, and the passion emanating from the soldier, parents, religion and the cult of the homeland and 11 November. When writing about memorials, Becker concludes that it is due to its simplicity, low cost and the 'civic egalitarian willingness' that the stone stele is chosen for the majority of monuments. "It is with ancient forms – such as the obelisk, the pyramid, the pediment, and the basics of neo-classical styles – that they celebrate the sacrifice of their heroes."[263] Some of the common symbols and objects used include palms of victory, the 'gaelic' rooster, metal gates and enclosures, Cyprus trees, and monuments surrounded by chains fixed to shells.[264] The size, quality, and location of a local monument is entirely dependant on availability of funds. The amount collected – either through subscriptions or from a generous donor – will help the community decide if they are going to create an original work or purchase a sculpture from a catalogue. Becker also speaks about foreign memorials and cemeteries that were raised for 'soldiers who died for France' – both on French soil and far away lands. Those who came to the defence of the French empire and erected memorials in honour of their dead included countries such as Algeria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. However, it was the former 'Dominions' – Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa – who have erected monuments "equal to the height and weight of their sacrifice" and have placed

[262] The literal translation of the book's title is "The monuments to the dead – memories of the Great War."

[263] Becker, Annette, *Les Monuments aux Morts - Mémoire de la Grande Guerre*. Paris: Éditions Errance, 1988, p.10. Text translated by André Levesque.

[264] As France alone produced more than 300 million shells during the Great War.

much importance to these spaces located on foreign lands.[265] At the end of the book is a list of war memorials in France deemed to be the most interesting by the various *département*. While some of the local regions have not completed an inventory of their war memorials, readers are invited to share their knowledge in view of a future book.

In the **United States**, there is a plethora of books on monuments and memorials as well as remembrance and commemoration related to battles fought within North America since the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). Typically, these writings described permanent and temporary memorials erected in the memory of their deceased comrades in arms. Since the 1850s, when unveiling public memorials, it was a common practice to publish speeches and programs in the form of a small souvenir booklet and was often kept as a memento in their personal library.

With the conclusion of the American Civil War (1861-1865), it resulted in having the borough of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, becoming the place within the United States with the most military memorials ever erected. Americans have been infatuated with the Civil War for six generations and for that reason, is considered the most written about military topic in the United States. There have been thousands of books and memoirs written on the battles and consequences of the fierce fighting between the Northern Union and the Southern Confederacy – yet, there is less than a dozen notable books that concentrate on the memorials erected in honour of their respective dead and the perpetuation of the regiments they belonged. From a historical and memorials point of view, the pivotal reference book is Thomas A. Desjardin's *These Honored Dead – How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory* published in 2003. Desjardin (1964-) is a prominent Civil War historian who had been an archivist and historian for the National Park Service at Gettysburg.

[265] Ibid, p.133.

Acknowledging that Gettysburg is a historical anomaly in terms of concentration of military memorials for one single war, their nation's capital remains nevertheless the focal point for national military commemoration. Prior to the 1950s, the vast majority of Washington, D.C.'s memorials were erected in honour of former Presidents, revolutionary patriots and high-ranking military officials. The last major commissioned works were the *Lincoln Memorial* completed in 1922 and the *Jefferson Memorial* dedicated in 1943 – the latter occupied one of the last prominent sites left in the capital. The first military memorial erected after the Second World War was in 1954 with the unveiling of the *Marine Corps War Memorial* – commonly known as the 'Iwo Jima Memorial.' At that point, there was little written about the history of American national memorials. At the local community level, the seminal work done by cultural geographer Fred Kniffen during the mid 1960s on "necrogeography" or regionality of burial practices,[266] provided a gateway to rich historical and folkloric information. Kniffen's analysis complements the overall study of funeral monuments as defined by Weaver in 1631.

Things changed with the continuous development of *Arlington National Cemetery*[267] and the erection of the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* – 1982 (Figure 133), the *Vietnam Women's Memorial* – 1993, the *Korean War Veterans Memorial* – 1995, the *Women in Military Service for America Memorial* – 1997, and the *National World War II Memorial* – 2004 (Figure 8), among others. This proliferation of memorials is significant in two fold. First, this large increase in inventory of 20th century military memorials facilitated and encouraged millions of American veterans and their families to participate in acts of remembrance and commemoration. Second, this created a thirst for knowledge from the military community and the public on all memorials located within their nation's capital. Remarkably, there have been more than a dozen books and monographs published since the mid-1990s describing the

[266] Kniffen, Fred, "Necrogeography in the United States," *Geographical Review* 57/3, 1967, pp. 426-27.

[267] The first military service man interred in Arlington National Cemetery is Private William Henry Christman, 67th Penssylvania Infantry, 13 May 1864.

history and landscape of the military memorials listed above. Since the millennium year, many have also published for a children's audience.[268] Finally, in 2009, Kirk Savage (1958-) published *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* – a fresh perspective on the memorial shrines and history of the 'National Mall' as a "substantially completed work of civic art."[269] Savage argues that there was a dramatic shift from the 19th century concept of a decentralized landscape, or "ground" – heroic statues scattered across public grounds, streets and parks – to the 20th century ideal of "space," in which planners insisted "that monuments work as spatial ensembles rather than independent objects."[270] This "new psychology of memorial space" was derived by placing and repositioning public monuments into a concentrated area whereby they are transformed from mere ornaments and objects of reverence to an amplified space of experience.[271] Savage is accurate in his observation but it should be pointed out that this trend of regrouping memorials in a concentrated area is not limited to the U.S. For example, *Confederation Park* that is located in downtown Ottawa (Ontario) and created during the 1950s[272] became a gathering place for military memorials and sculptures that were either re-located as the result of roadway and bridge construction or was specifically chosen for its pedestrian park setting. Chosen for its prestigious central location, the *National Aboriginal Memorial* (Figure 167) was erected there in 2001, among many other older military memorials. While the Ottawa example is the product of a progressive assembly, a somewhat faster pace was underway post-1989 for the 'parks of deposed

[268] One recent example is: Burrows, Jennifer S., *Arlington National Cemetery*. Vero Beach, Florida: Rourke Publishing, 2010.

[269] Savage, Kirk, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2009, p.311.

[270] Ibid, p.19.

[271] Ibid, pp.11-22.

[272] After the relocation of the Ottawa Union Station and yards from downtown to the south edge of the city, the *Greber Plan* (1949) envisioned the creation of a large urban park surrounded by public buildings.

monuments' in Budapest (*Memento Park*) and Moscow ('Graveyard of Fallen Statues') that were earlier identified by Leonard.

German-born Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) is one of the most well-known and quoted authors for his studies of symbols and iconography.[273] From a memorials point of view, he published in 1964 *Tomb Sculpture* – a follow-up to a series of four public lectures delivered at The Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. Considered a classic for its contribution to international cultural and historic knowledge, it was the last book Panofsky published in his lifetime. This hugely illustrated volume investigates the theme and significance of funeral art and commemorative monuments as they have been applied to ancient Egypt, Greek, Roman, early Christian, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque cultural expressions. Widespread examples of sepulchral art for popes, kings, members of the *bourgeoisie*, and high ranking military officers are displayed on forms such as mausoleums, mortuary temples and chambers, wall tombs, memorial tablets, stelia, equestrian statues, funerary sculptures, and battle scenes shown on "biographical sarcophagi" reliefs, among others.

From the 1850s to the 1990s, most of the books and articles on American monuments and war memorials have been published as monographs on a particular soldier, battle, theme, or subject. This was so for three major reasons. First, other than a comparatively small number of national landmarks erected by the United States Government, the great majority of monuments and memorials have been regional or community-based. Second, it was not until after the establishment of the automobile and an associated national transportation system that people began to travel more extensively. Thirdly, with so many monuments and memorials unveiled within the United States since the 1980s, it has drastically altered the definition and forms of commemoration as they were then known.

[273] In 1914, at the age of 22, he received his Ph.D. and emigrated to the United States in 1931 to continue his academic career in art history.

In 1992, history Professor John E. Bodnar (1944-) published *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Bodnar examined from a national perspective many historical events and activities – ranging from pioneer celebrations, Civil War reenactments to the building of the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*. The author differentiates between the needs and values of ordinary citizens and the political goals of governments to promote national patriotism through public commemorations. For those planning national commemorations, there are opposing viewpoints. While centralized authorities want to "reinforce citizen loyalty to a nation-state and diminish attachments individuals may have held toward a region, a locale, or a communal group," [274] veterans covet their significant political force in shaping memory symbols, and highly influential ethnic groups "attempt to accommodate their interests in commemoration."[275] The author rightly concludes that public memory is dependent on political and social changes and that "new symbols will have to be constructed to accommodate these new formations, and old ones will be invested with new meaning."[276]

One of the most interesting and informative paperback to be read is *"Remove Not the Ancient Landmark": Public Monuments and Moral Values* that was published in 1996. The title of the book is based on a Biblical proverb that speaks about not moving your neighbour's boundary marker – usually a stone – which was set by your ancestors.[277] Written as a tribute to German art historian Rudolf Wittkower (1901-1971), Dr. Donald Martin Reynolds – one of the foremost authorities on sculpture in the United States – collected essays from 21 leading researchers who examined the roles and

[274] Bodnar, John, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992, p.243.

[275] Ibid, p.246.

[276] Ibid, p.253.

[277] The exact quote is derived from Chapter 22 of the Book of Proverbs, Old Testament (22:28): "Remove not the ancient landmark, which your fathers set up." There are many renderings of this proverb but this exact wording can be found in the *World English Bible*.

significance of monuments and how they have changed over the years. The discourses cover a wide variety of subjects including definitions, the psychology, value, forms, and conservation of public monuments. The article on "The Psychology of Public Monuments" by Murray Schane, M.D.,[278] provides a rare psychoanalytic view that presents two concepts of mind: an 'exogenic' view that is "formed by experience" and an 'endogenic' view that takes "experience into its own preexisting form."[279] He defines the "psychology" of monuments as "the mental representations of these objects by the self and by a society of selves."[280] "Monuments are built (psychologically) over the gulf between the intentional, identifying constituents of one self and the collectively cognizing and recognizing selves of others."[281] To expand on Schane's position, it is in a sense a form of self-actualization that is centred and re-shaped around a either a real or perceived loss. The acuteness and poignancy of monuments is dependent on what it intended to commemorate. Its original intent may have been to remember a particular person or event but can be interpreted and memorialized differently – according to our own associated memories. He best summarizes the function of monuments as "a permanent context for the idea of the self forever doubling back over ideas or examples or exemplifications about the self. In this way a monument, like a cultural idea (like a sphychotherapeutic idea of the self), shadows it origins and its destinations and its own definition."[282] Another book contributor, art historian James Beck (1930-2007), even

[278] A phsychiatrist formerly with the Creedmore Psychiatric Centre, New York, but now has his own practice in New York city.

[279] Schane, Murray, "The Psychology of Monuments," in Reynolds, Donald Martin (Editor), *"Remove Not the Ancient Landmark": Public Monuments and Moral Values.* London: Gordon & Breach Publishers, 1996, p.47.

[280] Ibid, p.48.

[281] Ibid, p.49.

[282] Ibid, p.49.

proposed a "Bill of Rights" for works of art.[283] The first of the 11 "rights" is listed as "all works of art have the inalienable right to live an honorable existence." The remaining "rights" addresses issues such as placement, protection, degradation, belonging to the society of the world, preservation and conservation, designation as "world-class masterpieces," reproduction, stewardship, and certified examination and maintenance or works of art. There are 63 black and white photographs of monuments throughout, however, they are unfortunately of poor quality.

The following year, in 1997, Professor Kenneth E. Foote[284] published a pioneering work entitled *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Focusing on public memory and commemoration, Foote took an interdisciplinary approach in studying how events of violence and tragedy have been interpreted, presented and recorded within the American landscape over a period of three centuries. He explored a wide-array of events, experiences and sites that reflected the "turmoil of America's economic, social, and political development" including wars, civil strife, labour and race riots, strikes, crimes, assassinations, massacres, mass murders, natural disasters, accidents, fires, explosions, among other adversities.[285] As a cultural geographer, Foote realized that "many acts of violence are not expunged from landscape but rather transformed into monuments and memorials."[286]

Foote noted that apart material on battlefields, there is an overall lack of writtings about the fate of sites of violence and tragedy. It was by studying these various sites that he observed the emergence of a pattern of changes that

[283] Beck, James, "A Bill of Right for Works of Art," in Reynolds, Donald Martin (Editor), *"Remove Not the Ancient Landmark": Public Monuments and Moral Values*. London: Gordon & Breach Publishers, 1996, pp.65-72.

[284] Kenneth E. Foote is Professor at the Department of Geography at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

[285] Foote, Kenneth E., *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2003, p.7.

[286] Ibid, p.3.

fell "along a continuum" that he divided into four categories or outcomes that "can result in major modifications of the landscape".[287] The first reaction is what he calls 'sanctification' – or the creation of a "sacred" place that is "set apart from its surroundings and dedicated to the memory of an event, person, or group. Sanctification almost always involves the construction of a durable marker, either some sort of monument or memorial or a garden, park, or building that is intended to be maintained in perpetuity."[288] Moreover, the employment of the term also requires the site to be "publicly consecrated or widely venerated" as well as involve a "ceremony that includes an explicit statement of the site's significance and an explanation of why the event should be remembered."[289] Sanctified sites are really considered 'tier 1' memorials or sites of collective memory. They are deemed to be 'the' most significant and popular at either a national, regional or local level. While Foote refers to the Gettysburg National Military Cemetery and the attendance of President Lincoln delivering his Gettysburg Address as a good example of sanctification, he also acknowledges that "few sites are consecrated with such eloquence".[290]

The second outcome is 'designation', or the marking of a site that is considered significant but somehow lacks the "heroic or sacrifical qualities associated with sanctified places."[291] While such sites may often include signs or markers, they are "rarely the focus of regular commemorative rituals" and are at times considered part of a "transitional phase in the history of a tragedy site."[292] The author remarked that with time and public financial support, designated sites can be brought to completion and receive proper consecration. He further observed that "many national shrines associated with the

[287] Ibid, p.3.

[288] Ibid, p.8.

[289] Ibid, p.8.

[290] Ibid, p.9.

[291] Ibid, p.18.

[292] Ibid, p.18.

Revolutionary and Civil Wars followed this path to sanctification."[293] The third and most common outcome is 'rectification' which "involves removing the signs of violence and tragedy and returning a site to use, implying no lasting positive or negative meaning."[294] As a temporary site of memory, it provides a venue that is typically associated with accidents such as fires, disasters, and cases of "senseless" violence such as "spontaneous riots at sports events or stray acts of terror that neither attain significance as ethical or heroic stuggles nor induce a strong sense of community loss."[295] Rectified sites may become a transitory craze but they also swiftly dissapear into their original state with little or no commemorative activity following the tragedy. The fourth and most extreme of the outcomes is 'obliteration' which "entails actively effacing all evidence of a tragedy to cover it up or remove it from view. Obliteration goes beyond rectification, for the site is not just cleansed but scoured. The site is not returned to use but more commonly removed from use."[296] Obliterated sites result from a desire to forget events that are "associated with notorious and disreputable characters – mobsters, assassins, and mass murderers. Instead of illustrating human character at its best, obliterated sites draw attention to the dark side of human nature and its capacity for evil."[297] The author observed that people would prefer to forget these stigmatized and vandalized places and as such, "most remain scarred indefinitely."[298]

In 2003, Foote produced a revised expanded edition of his book that included an 'afterword' chapter entitled "Recent Traumas, Changing Memories, Continuing Tensions". In this final section, the author brings forward some compelling thoughts on how these historical events are to be

[293] Ibid, p.20.

[294] Ibid, p.8.

[295] Ibid, p.24.

[296] Ibid, p.24.

[297] Ibid, p.25.

[298] Ibid, p.25.

memorialized. He noted for example the speed with which a new national memorial was erected after the Oklahoma City terrorist bombing in 1995 and how there were calls for the commemoration of the 11 September 2001 victims only days afters the attacks. On the issue of how memorialization is to proceed, Foote detected that "the most common conflicts arise between victims' families pushing for sanctification and property owners arguing for rectification."[299] When examining national and international traumas, he also rightly stated "that not all grief can be resolved; closure is a deceptive word because major tragedies can reverberate through society for generations."[300] While some may challenge the exactitude of Foote's four 'outcomes', it is difficult to contest the wide-ranging perspective that he has put forward to the contentious debate over violence and tragedy within the American landscape.

Most recently, in 2007, two original publications came into light outlining for the very first time a national perspective on American memorialization. Cultural historian Judith Dupré (1956-) took a holistic approach when she published *Monuments: America's History in Art and Memory*. This collection of black and white illustrations and narratives examines nearly forty classic and unconventional American memorials and historical landmarks which date from 1753 to 2004. This wide survey of monuments delineates some modern forms of commemoration, including temporary memorials that were placed in the aftermath of the tragic terrorism attacks of 11 September 2001. Approximately one quarter of the book is dedicated to purely military memorials.

The Mighty Fallen – Our Nation's Greatest War Memorials was the second influential book to be published in 2007. Co-authored by Greg Fitzgerald[301] and Larry Bond, this is so far the only known American book dedicated entirely to military memorials. Realized over a period of ten years,

[299] Ibid, p.342.

[300] Ibid, p.345.

[301] Greg Fitzgerald is a nationally known documentary photographer more commonly known by his brand-name of 'f-stop Fitzgerald.'

it describes hundreds of war memorials throughout the U.S. and Canada spanning over a period of 300 years. Approximately ten percent of the book is dedicated to Canadian memorials.[302] It is disappointing that the book provides little historical background and includes only but a handful of commemorative memorials – such as a few stained glass windows – as it deprives readers of the wide variety of memorials that exist throughout North America.[303]

Canada's first participation in an overseas war was in the Nile Expedition of 1884-1885 when it sent a volunteer contingent of four hundred 'Nile Voyageurs' to help the British navigate the Nile River. Fourteen years later, during the height of the British Empire, 7,000 Canadians volunteered to fight in the South African War when it broke out in 1899. There is only one known memorial erected in honour of the Canadian Voyageur Contingent – it is a historical plaque placed in 1966 by the Province of Ontario in Ottawa where "many from the Ottawa valley, were recruited to navigate the expedition through the river's long and treacherous cataracts."[304] In contrast, due to Canada's larger engagement in South Africa, the number of memorials is more considerable and is recorded at over one hundred.[305] At the conclusion of the First World War, nearly 620,000 Canadians served abroad, of which 66,655 gave their lives. With the erection of a memorial at Notre-

[302] The Canadian military memorials described are located in three of Canada's largest metropolitan cities: Ottawa and Toronto (Ontario), and Montréal (Québec) and include: John Graves Simcoe statue, Simcoe, Ontario; the Spanish Civil War memorial, the Canadian Phalanx, the Andrew Hamilton Gault statue, the Vimy Memorial plasters, the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument, the National War Memorial, the Korea Memorial, the Canadian Peacekeeping Memorial, and Canada's Unknown Soldier – all in Ottawa; "Nike's Gift" or the South African War memorial and the Canadian Airman's Memorial in Toronto; and "Winged Victory" or the Canadian Pacific Railroad statue, and a Second World War statue honouring thousands of Italian-Canadians who served – both in Montréal, Québec.

[303] See 'Memorialogy and Creating a General Classification System' section which describes the various types and forms of memorials.

[304] Ontario Heritage Trust, an Agency of the Government of Ontario, *A Guide to Provincial Plaques in Ontario*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario, 2006, p.165. The plaque is located at Kitchissippi Lookout, Island Park Drive, just west of the Champlain Bridge, Island Park Drive, Ottawa.

[305] According to the National Inventory of Canadian Military Memorials there are 104 registered military memorials related to the South African War. See Web: http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/nic-inm/index-eng.asp

Dame-de-Grâce (Montréal, Québec) in 1919, it claimed to be the very first Great War memorial erected within Canada (Figure 180). It was not until the spring of 1923 that Canada erected the monument of St. Julien (Belgium) as its first of thirteen battlefield memorials in France and Belgium to honour and remember the achievements and sacrifices of Canadians and Newfoundlanders during the First World War. In terms of Canadian memorials literature, the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission published in 1929 *Canadian Battlefields Memorial*s – a large soft-cover book "designed to assist in acquainting the public with the steps which have been taken by the Canadian Government to commemorate in France and in Belgium the exploits of Canadian troops in the Great War."[306] This was Canada's first book entirely dedicated to its national overseas war memorials as they existed at that time.

After eleven years and $1.5 million to build, the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* was unveiled in 1936 by King Edward VIII in the presence of 100,000 people, including 500 school children. With the Battle of Vimy Ridge which had become a symbol of Canada's coming-of-age as a nation, by extension the memorial erected on what is considered 'sacred ground' also embodied the construction of memory for future generations. The 1962 publishing of the *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914–1919* by Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson, C.D., from the Army Historical Section is considered a classic reference text for any student of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (C.E.F.) during the Great War but also acted as a catalyst for many other military books to be published during the following decade. In Nicholson's chapter dedicated to the Battle of Vimy Ridge, he comments on the importance of the Vimy memorial:

> Canada's most impressive tribute to her sons is on the Ridge itself. There, on Hill 145, in ground presented in 1922 by France to the people of Canada, is the greatest of Canada's European war memorials. Two majestic white pylons, representing Canada and France, soar high above the summit for which so many Allied

[306] The Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, *Canadian Battlefield Memorials*. Ottawa: F.A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1929, p.7.

> soldiers fought and died. Engraved on the walls of the base are the names of more than 10,000 Canadians who gave their lives in the First World War and who have no known grave. The main inscription on the Memorial reads: '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.'[307]

One of the many authors who mirrored Nicholson's views was Lieutenant Colonel D.E. MacIntyre[308] when he wrote *Canada at Vimy* in 1967. In addition to providing a history of the Vimy battle, he devoted several chapters on the 1936 Vimy pilgrimage and official unveiling of the memorial.

In the early to mid-1970s, the Department of Veterans Affairs published two booklets and one volume that became the first official publications recording Canadian military memorials other than those of the Great War. In 1973, the same Colonel Nicholson wrote *"We Will Remember..." – Overseas Memorials to Canada's War Dead*, a booklet of 110 pages that included: twelve Canadian battlefield memorials of the First World War, including The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior at Westminster Abbey; five of Newfoundland's battlefield memorials; and five memorials of the Second World War.

Immediately after the premiere showing of the motion picture "Fields of Sacrifice" on 23 October 1962,[309] it became apparent that "there was need for a more comprehensive work and it was decided that there should be a book."[310] Within the book *Silent Witness*, it acknowledged that not every cemetery could be described and in an effort to illustrate a suitable cross-section, it was decided to include: only those containing more than fifty

[307] Nicholson, Gerald W. L., Chapter VIII, "The Battle of Vimy Ridge, 9-14 April 1917," *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914–1919*. Ottawa, Ontario: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1962, p.267.

[308] Lieutenant Colonel Duncan Eberts MacIntyre, D.S.O, M.C., (1885-1974).

[309] Sponsored by the National Film Board and the Department of Veterans Affairs.

[310] Wood, Herbert Fairlie, and Swettenham, John, *Silent Witness*. Toronto: Hakkert, 1974, p.1.

Canadian graves; every Canadian and Newfoundland battlefield memorials; as well as the C.W.G.C. memorials that bear the names of Canada's missing dead. Furthermore, the last two segments of the book – 'Commemoration in Canada' and 'In the Service of Freedom and Peace' were considered the first authoritative account on some of Canada's oldest military cemeteries as well post Second World War cemeteries located in Europe, the Middle-East, the Mediterranean, and especially the UN Memorial Cemetery in Pusan, Korea. Colonel Herbert Fairlie Wood – the original author – began his research in April 1964 but after his sudden death in May 1967, Mr. John Alexander Swettenham along with a team of researchers, photographers, translators, and editors, took over this extensive project. For budgetary reasons the publishing of the book was delayed until 1974 – ten years after project start. The volume notes that this manuscript was made available to Colonel Nicholson when he was writing *"We Will Remember..."* and that though the Commonwealth War Graves Commission had produced many publications on various cemeteries and monuments, "there is no one publication devoted exclusively to those of particular interests to Canadians."[311] Though *Silent Witness* remains the chief reference to Canada's overseas memorials, it is in need of a major update. Unfortunately, the book includes neither a summary appendix of the various Canadian cemeteries and national memorials nor any site plan for major cemeteries that would have been helpful to readers. Within the last part of the book, it touches upon some of the earliest places of memory dedicated to the Korean War and peacekeeping missions as well commemoration as it was known in Canada in the mid 1960s. The book is more of a summary of the battles and their associated overseas cemeteries rather than an analytical piece.

The third of the last manuscripts published by Veterans Affairs Canada in the mid 1970s is *Memorials to Canada's War Dead* edited by Susan LeMaistre sometime during or after 1974. This bilingual format booklet of 135 pages listed a wider variety of memorials including eight in Canada,

[311] Ibid, p.1.

seventeen First World War in Europe, six Second World War in Europe, and four in Asia and Africa – for a total of 35 memorials.

Located in Ottawa, the National War Memorial (Figure 5) was originally built as a dedication to those who served in the Great War. It was not until 29 May 1982, or 46 years later, that it was rededicated to include those who served in the Second World War and the Korean conflict. This was done by adding the dates 1939-1945 and 1950-1953 in bronze numerals on each side of the memorial. To mark this important milestone, Veterans Affairs Canada published a booklet simply entitled *The National War Memorial*. It is interesting to note that this booklet was republished in 1993 with two small modifications. While the first included a short information update, the second was more significant as it involved the naming of the memorial. While the English name remained status quo, the French version was changed from 'Le Mémorial national de guerre' to 'Le Monument commemoratif de guerre du Canada.' It appears that their preference was to refer to it in French as as a monument rather than a memorial.

Though *Silent Witness* and *Memorials to Canada's War Dead* provided an early introduction to some military cemeteries and memorials found across Canada, there was still no authoritative book in existence that documented and studied those monuments that are commonly found in every town and city across Canada – that is, until the publishing of *To Mark Our Place – A History of Canadian War Memorials* by Robert Shipley in November 1987. [312] It was while Shipley grew up on a military base that he acquired an interest in art.[313] When he was in his late 20s he began to notice that all of the communities which he had visited included a war memorial – of which often included a statue of a soldier and was almost the only public art

[312] Interview with Dr. Robert Shipley, Assistant Professor and Chair, Heritage Resources Centre, School Planning, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario – 12 May 2009, by Telephone.

[313] His father was Captain Vernon Shipley who had joined the Canadian Army in 1939 and served until 1960 – his last posting was Paymaster at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston, Ontario.

object to be found. After completing a Bachelor of Arts in history and philosophy at the University of Western Ontario in 1971, the following year he enrolled in the Canadian Forces and spent the next four years in the Regular Force.[314] His career continued to vary as he became a freelance writer for newspapers and magazines from 1976 to 1978. In terms of memorials, the pivotal point was 1978 when he received a grant from the Canada Council for the Arts which allowed him to conduct the research for his book. With this combination of educational background, military service, professional writer, and a touch of curiosity, Robert Shipley had developed particular skills and life experiences that would allow him to write his first of many books to come.

Over the course of eighteen months Shipley completed a cross-country excursion which began in Eastern Canada and finished in the Western provinces. Travelling in a car, a tent and a portable stove, he photographed and researched memorials throughout urban and rural areas and had met many people along the way – in their homes, at community centres and Royal Canadian Legion halls. One of the reasons that Shipley decided to write *To Mark Our Place* was in view of the fact that he did not find any books in Canada or internationally on memorials. Hence, in two hundred pages, he "constructed a compelling narrative revealing the uniqueness of Canadian monuments, their connection to our historical past, their often extraordinary origins and their profound, yet unspoken, significance."[315] Pierre Berton, C.C., O.Ont (1920-2004) – one of Canada's most prolific authors and credited with popularizing Canadian history – agreed to Shipley's request to provide the book's 'Forward.' A university publisher had originally agreed to print the manuscript but changed its mind – Shipley feared that it was because he did not have sufficient academic credentials. His feelings were corroborated at time of publishing, in 1987, when other academics wrote to him complaining that as he was not an academic the book was not to be considered 'real'

[314] First in the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, then transferred to the Logistics Corps and lastly served at sea with the Navy.

[315] Shipley, Robert, *To Mark Our Place – A History of Canadian War Memorials*. Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987, inside front book cover.

history. Even with a circulation of about 5,000 copies, Shipley felt that "nothing came from it at the time" and was disappointed on the outcome. As an appendix to his book, Shipley was the first to produce a detailed list of cities, towns and villages by province and territory along with a brief description of 1,172 'Canadian war monuments' found across Canada. He acknowledged that his list did not include all of Canada's memorials but probably represented the majority. Little did he know that a decade later, the Directorate of History and Heritage from the Department of National Defence when creating the *National Inventory of Canadian Military Memorials* (NICMM) utilized Shipley's book as the main start point to create this permanent inventory. As of June 2013, the NICMM includes 6,696 memorials – or nearly six times the size of Shipley's original list – and continues to grow on a regular basis.[316] Without Shipley's original collection of data, analysis such as this thesis would not have been possible.

In an effort to research, analyze, record, and interpret the past, countless historians focused on military leaders and the wars themselves. However, over the last century, there has been a gradual rise in interest in cultural history – particularly after the events of the Great War. Today, one of Canada's most prolific and widely-read cultural historians is Jonathan F. Vance.[317] With the publication of his monograph *Death So Noble* in 1997, it has been considered a ground-breaking investigation of Canadian collective memories of the First World War. While most historians viewed the Great War as a "political and military event," Vance argued that the Canadian war experience was instead a "cultural and philosophical force."[318] Throughout the book, he employed the word *myth* "to refer simply to the particular conception of the Great War…" and "…because the word seems to capture the

[316] As a final note, Robert Shipley went on to complete a Master of Arts and Ph.D. in planning at the University of Waterloo, Ontario.

[317] Jonathan F. Vance, PH.D., (1963-) is professor and Canada Research Chair in Conflict and Culture at the department of History, The University of Western Ontario.

[318] Vance, Jonathan F., *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997, inside front book cover.

combination of invention, truth, and half-truth that characterizes Canada's memory of the war."[319] This historical writing draws on arts and culture in order to describe the accounts and analyze the effects of commemoration on both soldiers and Canadians as a whole as well as during and after the conflict. Separating mythical perceptions from actual experiences of the war, Vance utilizes a variety of Canadian war memorials as a means of helping explain cultural memories of the war and how they helped build a new sense of national identity. Through powerful symbols, designs and inscriptions, erected memorials depicted a variety of themes that were responding to the feelings and emotions of their communities – victory and triumph, sacrifice and heroism, resurrection and immortality, faith, civilization, humanity, bereavement, peace and tranquility, among others. While the memorials' messages are varied and disjointed, they remain nevertheless a physical testimony of how Canada commemorated its perceived memories of war. Vance also observed that "erecting a war memorial was only part of society's obligation to the memory of the war" and that to supplement the memorial, "society required an annual observance that could ensure that the lesions of the war remained at the forefront of the public's consciousness."[320] This point will be amplified in the following Chapter as memorials and observances are some of the elements that compose commemoration.

During the last decade, there have been a number of cemeteries' organizations across Canada who published the history of their respective places of memory. During the millennium year, two such publications were put out. First, early during the year 2000, the 'Last Post Fund' published *Lest We Forget* – a narrative of their non-profit organization that has been providing funeral and burial assistance to veterans since 1909. The book also outlines a history of burial and commemoration in the National Field of Honour in Pointe-Claire, Québec, as well as other fields of honour located throughout the country. Second, *Mount Pleasant Cemetery* published a

[319] Ibid, p.8.

[320] Ibid, p.211.

biographical-style guide that describes Toronto's well-established society, the inclusion of various ethnic and cultural groups, and briefly captures some of the military memorials on site as well as a number of local citizens who served with armed forces, including two of Canada's most highly decorated soldiers.[321]

Until 1976, Montréal, Québec, was Canada's largest metropolitan city and accordingly includes two major competing cemeteries – one Protestant and the other Catholic – that are located next to each other. Montréal's famous *Mount Royal Cemetery* was founded in 1852 and it was one year after its' 150th anniversary – in 2003 – that McGill-Queen's University Press published *Respectable Burial*: a comprehensive and beautifully illustrated volume that describes the evolution of a rural burying ground founded by Montréal's Protestant elite to an urban cemetery. Chapter 8, entitled "Military Graves," provides a detailed history of commemoration related to military graves and memorials within the cemetery and the surrounding area. The publication elucidates one of the cemetery's most prominent memorial and military personage: a monument in the form of a Cross of Sacrifice (Figure 74) which marks the grave of General Sir Arthur William Currie.[322]

In 2004, to help mark 150 years of burial and commemorations services to the community, *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery* published in French 3,000 copies of a fascinating evolving story written "in memory of our history." Owned and operated by the building council of Montréal's Notre-Dame parish since 1854, this necropolis – the largest cemetery in Canada and the third largest in North America – is a Canadian adaptation of the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris. The book speaks of their cemetery as places of memory with inestimable wealth that bears witness to a history that is often too easy to forget. While it recites its ideologies, symbols, and artistic forms,

[321] Captain George Fraser Kerr, V.C., M.C., M.M. (1895-1929) and Lieutenant-Colonel William George Barker, V.C., D.S.O., M.C. (1894-1930).

[322] General Sir Arthur William Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., V.D. (1875-1933) was the first Canadian-appointed commander of the Canadian Corps during the First World War. His memorial includes the epitateth "THEY SERVED TILL DEATH – WHY NOT WE."

the manuscript only provides sporadic mention of military memorials and personages.

The last known Canadian cemeteries' organization to publish their history is that of Ottawa's *Notre-Dame Cemetery* in 2009.[323] The cemetery includes a small veterans' section and a Cross of Sacrifice maintained by the C.W.G.C. as well as some military personages. By far, the only reknowned soldier is that of Corporal Filip Konowal, V.C. Konowal served with the 47th Battalion, C.E.F.[324] and is the only Ukrainian recipient of the Victoria Cross (Figure 161). As this place of memory was established by members of the French-Canadian Roman Catholic clergy, there is a continued deliberate absence of military memorials on site as the sentiment is that of a separation of church and the glorification of war.[325]

Over the last decade, there have been hundreds of books written on Canadian military history – most of which study a particular battle or war, a specific unit or corps, an individual soldier or a group of leaders. One of the few books that not only describes some of the major battles and soldiers' action but also includes significant coverage of military memorials and commemoration is Angus Brown and Richard Gimlett's *In The Footsteps of the Canadian Corps* published in 2006. Even if this is not considered an academic study, it nevertheless provides a good pictorial overview of the formation of the Canadian Corps and some of its major battles during the First World War. In addition to finding memorials' photos and descriptive texts throughout, the last section of the book entitled "Memory Then & Now" provides strong connections between 'objects of remembrance' and 'memory.'

[323] Ottawa's Notre-Dame Cemetery was established in 1872 in the east end of the city, it is the largest and most prominent Catholic cemetery in the national capital region. It holds more than 114,000 burials and is the final resting place of many notable Canadians.

[324] The Royal Westminster Regiment perpetuates the 47th Battalion, C.E.F., as in 1915 formed and trained it. The Royal Westminster Regiment is now a Reserve infantry regiment based in New Westminster, British Columbia, and traces its lineage back to 1863 when it was the first militia unit raised in that province.

[325] On the other hand, one will find ample examples of late 19th century/early 20th century civic funeral monuments dedicated to outstanding citizens, including mayors, poets, and and the like.

The authors note that "some of the earliest objects of remembrance remain the most readily obvious as one travels throughout northwest France and Belgium" and that "memory serves many purposes and takes many forms, constantly changing to suit the needs of successive generations."[326] It delightfully links European icons such as the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, the Menin Gate, and a number of final resting places including Cabaret-Rouge cemetery at Souchez, France – the place of origin of the remains of Canada's Unknown Soldier – with that of Canadian places of memory such as the National War Memorial, the Peace Tower of the Parliament Buildings and the newly built Canadian War Museum which opened in May 2005. Their final message is that there are many ways to accomplish the 'process of regeneration' and keeping alive the memory of our fallen – may it be visiting places of memory or going through the pages of a book.[327]

Old Canadian Cemeteries – Places of Memory by Jane Irwin explores Canada's historic cemeteries and provides some guidance on how to read some of these monuments. Published in 2007, this splendid and well laid out hardback portrays national landmarks and encompasses a number of military sites and memorials throughout. Among the book's eleven main sections, thirty pages are dedicated to "National Memory" and the commemoration of its war dead. Commencing with the Seven Years' War, it covers some of the military memorials related to the War of 1812, the Crimean War, the Northwest Rebellion, the First World War, the National War Memorial in Ottawa (Ontario), and the Canadian National Vimy Memorial in France. In addition, this section investigated a few 'non-military' memorials that too affected Canada's national memory: the Irish memorial on the island of Gross-Isle (Québec) which served as a quarantine station from 1832 to 1937 and includes more than 6,000 Irish immigrants who died of typhus, cholera and other pandemic diseases; the Inuit memorial in Hamilton (Ontario) which

[326] Brown, Angus, and Gimblett, Richard, *In the Footsteps of the Canadian Corps, Canada's First World War 1914-1918.* Ottawa: Magic Light Publishing, 2006, p.135.

[327] Ibid, p.158.

commemorates those who were infected and died of tuberculosis; and memorials dedicated to maritime disasters such as the sinking of the Titanic in 1912, the catastrophic Halifax munitions explosion of 1917, and the 229 people who died as the result of the 1998 Swiss Air crash near Peggy's Cove (Nova Scotia). Overall, this book provides a good appreciation of old cemeteries as places of memory. However, with most of the emphasis placed on military graves and memorials located within cemeteries and hallowed ground, little was written on memorials located outside this realm. While *all* of the military memorials presented were erected to commemorate people and events emanating from the Great War or beforehand ('old' places of memory), there exists a wide gap in terms of reporting on memorials that have been erected and commemorations that have come to pass since the Second World War ('new' places of memory).

There have been a few books published on the topic of epitaphs on headstones of the I.W.G.C. The first known book to have addressed and recorded thousands of Australian farewells was *We Will Remember Them: AIF Epitaphs of World War I* written by John Laffin[328] in 1995. Based on five years' research, Trefor Jones produced *On Fame's Eternal Camping Ground: A Study of First World War Epitaphs in the British Cemeteries of the Western Front* in 2007. His study presented more than 1,500 epitaphs that were collected in the cemeteries of Belgium and France.[329] The following year, Eric McGeer – a Canadian history and Latin teacher in Toronto, Ontario – published *Words of Valediction and Rembrance: Canadian Epitaphs of the Second World War*.[330] After a visit to Normandy beaches and battlefields in 1998, he developed a book that focused mainly on Canadian epitaphs from cemeteries he visited in northwest Europe and Italy. In his book, he admitted that there were many other cemeteries that include Canadian fallen in other

[328] John Laffin (1922-2000) is a former Second World War veteran and Australian military historian.

[329] A further description can be found in a later section entitled 'Signs of Remembrance.'

[330] While Eric McGeer acknowledges the existence of John Laffin's book, it appears that at time of printing he was not aware of Trefor Jones' book published in 2007.

distant lands but did not cover them as they were too far to reach and correctly realized that "it was neither practical nor desirable to list every inscription."[331] Nonetheless, he gathered several thousand examples of epitaphs chosen by parents, wives, and children that expressed how they felt at the time. Each chapter covers a particular cemetery and the author tried as much as possible to extract a theme or subject for discussion, including: the commemoration of Canadian soldiers and their juxtaposition with the ancestral landscape; the plight of the soldiers and the perseverance in their tasks; the central place of religion and the comforting of the faithfully departed; the overlooked contribution of Canadian airmen; family, liberty, and humanity; the French and ethnic attitudes towards the war; patriotism and the profession of allegiance to the British Empire, England, Canada, their province, city, Aboriginal tribe, and of course regiment. A different course would have been suggested in the completion of the book. Instead of having developed a survey, analysis and corresponding theme for individual cemeteries, a preferred and more interesting methodology would have been to take a thematic approach with examples taken from different sites. All the same, McGeer succeeded – as set out in his book – "to inspire Canadians travelling abroad to visit the war cemeteries where their forebears lie at rest and to look with renewed interest at the story that the monuments and epitaphs combine to tell."[332]

Published in 2010, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* is a collection of essays that the contributors "assert the significance of *place* as a site made meaningful by memory and commemorative practices" and "centre on how historical representations consolidated and legitimized political authority and the nation-state."[333] One of the key messages relates to how Canadians express themselves in terms of *lieux de mémoire*. Unlike

[331] McGeer, Eric, *Words of Valediction and Rembrance: Canadian Epitaphs of the Second World War*. St. Catherines, Ontario: Vanwell Publishing Limited, 2008, p.vi.

[332] Ibid, p.vii.

[333] Opp, James, and Walsh, John C., *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, pp.4-5.

Halbwach and Nora who took a spatial or temporal approach to defining sites of memory, Canadians reframed this static relationship to that of "more abstracted notions of nation and empire."[334] As suggested by Andreas Huyssen, "the form in which we think of the past is increasingly memory without borders rather than national history within borders."[335] This thesis suggests that this 'borderless' concept of memorials and commemoration is perhaps attributed to a nation's level of maturity and collective identity. The more ancient and culturally developed a nation is – the more pronounced its sense of history and its attachment to their symbols of remembrance. In the same light as Nora's notion of *lieux de mémoire*, the Canadian topographic version could be easily described as 'spaces of memory.'[336] In this situation, these three dimensional spaces of memory can include static memorials, commemoration, and integrated collective memories.

Over the last decade or so, there have not been many doctoral and masters theses completed in North America that touch the subject of memorials and remembrance. The known research themes are varied and include: nation building and monumentalization in Canada's Capital (John Roberts, 1998); African-Canadians enlisting in the C.E.F. during the First World War (Sean Flynn Foyn, 1999); institutional and collective memory in the Province of Québec during the First War (Mourad Djebabla, 2001-2002); a socio-political study of Canada's National War Memorial (Susan Phillips-Desroches, 2004); a study of selected Great War national memorials, pilgrimages and remembrance for Canada, Newfoundland, and Australia (Katrina Bormanis, 2010); and in the U.S., a historical study of funerary monuments and burying grounds of Early New England (Jason David LaFountain, 2004). However, it is also known that at the Department of History, Carleton University in Ottawa, there are currently one candidate in

[334] Ibid, p.4.

[335] Huyssen, Andreas, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsets and the Politics of Memory*. Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 2003, p.3 – cited in Opp, James, and Walsh, John C., *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, p.5.

[336] Or in French, '*espaces de mémoire.*'

the Public History Master of Arts program and two candidates in the Master of Arts program interested in the fields of memorials and commemoration. Emily MacDonald is conducting a historical analysis of the creation and reception of the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument; Malcom Ferguson's research topic is "The Spirit of the Nation": The Canadian National War Memorial of 1939; and Michel Legault's interest lie in commemorating Canada's Fallen Soldiers from Afghanistan.[337] In order to better understand the subject of commemoration, let us now examine how concepts and sites of collective memory have affected how we interact with the memorial space and objects that are placed under our care.

CONCEPTS AND SITES OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), French philosopher and sociologist, initially developed the concept of 'collective memory' (*la mémoire collective*) and became more recognized after many of his works were translated from French to English since the 1950s. In his writings, Halbwachs stressed that our conceptions of the past were mainly known "through symbol and ritualism as well as historiography and biography"[338] and that they "are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems, so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present."[339] While Halbwachs recognizes that human memory can only function within a collective context, he also contends that as a socially constructed notion, collective memory is always selective – it is individuals who remember, not groups or institutions.[340] Various groups of people – such as social classes, families, associations, corporations, armies, and trade unions

[337] See Department of History, Carleton University, Current Graduate Students, website: http://www2.carleton.ca/history/graduate/current-graduate-students/

[338] Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, pp.2-3. Edited and with and introduction by Lewis A. Coser. Translated from *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, published by Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1952; and from *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en tere sainte: Étude de mémoire collective*, published by Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1941.

[339] Ibid, p.34.

[340] Ibid, p.22.

– have constructed divergent and distinctive collected memories, which in turn give rise to different modes of behaviour when remembering or recreating the past.[341] Halbwachs describes a two-part process whereby people select their memories and that the objects chosen to represent reminiscences or accounts of significant past events will influence the ideas and actions of those who have done the selecting. To be sure, today as much as in the past, the collective 'military' memory of a nation is reflected and characterized by the make up and upkeep of its memorials. Objects such as war memorials or historical and commemorative anniversaries can evoke that collective context to help remember or recreate the past. As such, a war memorial not only provides a common venue for people to gather, cultivate, and exhibit a collective public memory but also has immense general influence on individual remembrance. Accordingly, 'public memory' is the result of intellectual memories transcending into a physical state and displayed in the public domain. That is why public memory is enshrined in our memorials.

Since Halbwachs' pioneering work, there are dozens of scholars who have further explored and expanded the significance and meaning of 'collective memory.' Since the late 1970s, a wide range of types and definitions of memory has evolved. While some examine individual and group entities, others investigate processes, including: autobiographical memory, collected versus collective memory, collective remembering, commemoration, communicative versus cultural memory, countermemory, dominant memory, experiential memory, flashbulb memory, generational memory, heritage memory, historical memory and consciousness, nostalgia, official memory, popular historymaking, postmemory, print memory, public memory, sociomental topography, traditions, transactive memory, vectors of memory, vernacular memory, among others.

From the lengthy list noted above, there is one concept that deserves further amplification. It was Henry Rousseau (1954-), another French historian, who created the concept of 'vectors of memory' (*vecteurs du*

[341] Ibid, p.22.

souvenir). Rousseau manifests that history and memory are two perceptions from the past that are clearly differentiated. He expresses that "memory is part of real-life experiences, in perpetual evolution, while history – that of historians – is a scholarly and abstract reconstruction, more inclined to delimit a constituent and durable knowledge."[342] He attempts to hierarchize demonstrations of memory by questioning transmission vectors from the past, in particular those that have played a determining role in the history of syndrome.[343] He proposes that 'national memory' (*la mémoire nationale*) – subscribed in common heritage – is shaped from the receipt of multiple signals. These signals, in the form of vectors of memory, continually evolve and that all those events and people who help deliver these messages (deliberate or unintentional – explicit or implicit) participate in defining collective memory. Rousseau describes a 'vector' as anything that is put forward for social purposes, in the voluntary reconstruction of an event.[344]

Rousseau further breaks down national memory into four different vectors of memory – each, depending on the time and space, may play a more important role than the other and is to a large extent dependent on the state of mind.[345] The first are 'official vectors' (*les vecteurs officiels*) which consist of monuments, commemorations and celebrations, organized on behalf of the nation, its regions, and communities. According to Rousseau, these official vectors provide an oecumenical and unitarian representation and compromise among the various forces present. The second are 'associative vectors' (*les vecteurs associatifs*) which include all those whose function is to organize and unify a 'partial memory' that is linked to specific real-life experiences. At times, the members of the military – serving and retired – unknowingly become guardians of an event frozen in time at ceremonies such as Remembrance Day and when celebrating regimental/unit anniversaries. The

[342] Rousso, Henry, *Le syndrome de Vichy, 1944-198...* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987, p.12. Liberal translation from French to English.

[343] Ibid, p.21.

[344] Ibid, p.233.

[345] Ibid, p.233-286.

third are 'cultural vectors' (*les vecteurs culturels*) whose message is most often implicit and is expressed spontaneously through literature, film and television. The fourth and last are 'scholarly vectors' (*les vecteurs savants*) which reconstruct and teach knowledge based on facts and evidence. It is through formal lectures and presentations, as well as the use of history books, scholastic manuals and educational programs that these vectors can significantly influence a national memory. Moreover, Rousseau considers scholastic manuals and educational programmes as modes of social transmission *par excellence*.

It was in the early 1960s that General de Gaulle recognized sites of collective memory as strongholds of events that helped shape the nation's memory. Expanding on Nora's original concept of *lieu de mémoire*, the Directorate of Memory, Heritage and Archives, in cooperation with the National Office for Veterans and Victims of War – both of the French Ministry of Defence[346] – established national sites of collective memory that are called *hauts lieux de mémoire* or 'high places of memory.' Developed over a long period of time, there are nine such places in France[347] and all possess two essential characteristics.[348] The first is that they embody national memory and are places whereby ceremonies are held and for some, celebrate a

[346] The *Ministère de la defense et des anciens combattants, Secrétariat general pour l'admininstration, Direction de la mémoire, du patrimoine et des archives* is located in Paris. The Directorate of Memory, Heritage and Archives is mainly responsible for developing policies relating to the memory of contemporary conflicts and the organization of national commemorations. The 'Memory mission' for the National Office for Veterans and Victims of War (*L'Office national des anciens combatants et victimes de guerre* [ONACVG]) is to preserve and transmit to French youth, the memory and republican values of their veterans. In 2010, the ONACVG became responsible for the management of all French Ministry of Defence's *lieux de mémoire*.

[347] Le Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation (Ile de la Cité à Paris); Le Mémorial des guerre d'Algérie et des combats du Maroc et de Tunisie (Quai Branly à Paris); Le monument aux victims des rafles du Vel' d'Hiv (Bir-Hakeim à Paris); Le Mémorial de la France combattante (Mont-Valérien à Suresnes); Le Mémorial de l'internement aux Milles (Bouches-du-Rhône); Le Mémorial du débarquement de Provence au Mont Faron (Var); Le Mémorial de l'internement de Gurs (Pyrénées-Atlantiques); Le Centre européen du resistant-déporté de Natzwiller-Struthof (Bas-Rhin); Le Mémorial de la prison de Montluc à Lyon (Rhône).

[348] Ministère de la defense et des anciens combattants, Secrétariat general pour l'admininstration, Direction de la mémoire, du patrimoine et des archives. *Les Hauts Lieux de Mémoire*. February 2011. See: http://www.defense.gouv.fr/memoire/memoire2/les-hauts-lieux-de-memoire

national day. The second is they are places of transmission, spaces for visitation and museums, and are in support of educational programs and activities. In a general sense, sites of collective memory – both national and local – are important contributors to the care and maintenance of a country's history and heritage. While many of these sites include physical entities such as buildings or monuments, others may be devoid of material objects and only consist of open space (e.g. dug trenches, bomb craters, and fields). One well-known example of a local site of collective memory that includes a variety of funeral monuments and memorials is the Père Lachaise Cemetery (discussed further on). Nonetheless, they are all considered memorials in remembrance of those people and events that have come before us.

War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century, edited by Professors Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan,[349] provide some additional insight on how war has been remembered collectively during the 20th century. Taking a 'social agency' approach – they address the behaviour of those groups and individuals who do the work of remembrance and the resulting traumatic collective memory of the past. One of the authors' initial observations is "that historians frequently talk at cross purposes or in complete ignorance of each other's position in this field."[350] For example, they disagree with Pierre Nora's point of view of collective memory: "Memory is constantly on our lips because it no longer exits."[351] Winter and Sivan believe that Nora takes a very narrow French view that "society has banished ritual" and that "*lieux de mémoire* are fundamentally vestiges, the ultimate embodiments of a commemorative consciousness that survives in a history, which having

[349] Jay Winter (1945-) is an American history professor specializing on the First World War and its impact on the 20th century and Emmanuel Sivan (1937-) is an Israeli professor specializing in Islamic history.

[350] Winter, Jay, and Sivan, Emmanuel (Editors), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.1.

[351] Nora, Pierre, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," *Realms of Memory, The Construction of the French Past – Volume I: Conflicts and Divisions*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, p.1.

renounced memory, cries out for it."[352] The historical transformation of memory has today expanded to incredible levels whereby everything from the past is often without reason, recorded, collected, exhibited and preserved. Winter and Sivan note that this is a second-order memory and that the French "observe the form and not the substance of memory"[353] or in Nora's words, "the trace negates the sacred but retains its aura."[354] Nora notes that *lieux de mémoire* help to replenish "our depleted fund of collective memory" and that "history offers profundity to an epoch devoid of it, true stories to an epoch devoid of real novels. Memory has been promoted to the center of history: thus do we mourn the loss of literature".[355] Winter and Sivan question Nora's cultural pessimistic position and wonder if the French intellectuals take themselves too seriously. Moreover, Winter and Sivan offer a more mundane explanation: since the end of the 20th century, the French government has placed heavy investments in the 'memory business' – such as museums, literature, genealogy, and pilgrimages – as "history sells: it is a popular and money-making trade because it locates family stories in bigger, more universal, narratives."[356] They contend that this growth industry is the reflection of the contemporary link between grandparents who were children after the Great War and their grandchildren. It is the linking of family stories, the relationship between individual and collective commemoration, and how we often seek to raise individual heroism and patriotism to the level of worthy universal role models. Despite Nora's ambiguities, it is agreeable with Winter and Sivan that this "popular kind of collective memory" is "vital", "palpitable" and "alive".[357]

[352] Ibid, p.6.

[353] Winter, Jay, and Sivan, Emmanuel, op. cit., 1999, p.2.

[354] Nora, Pierre, op. cit., 1996, p.9.

[355] Ibid, p.20.

[356] Winter, Jay, and Sivan, Emmanuel, op. cit., 1999, pp.2-3.

[357] Ibid, p.3.

Winter and Sivan take a different approach in studying and defining memories associated with war. While they interpret 'passive memory' as the "personal recollections of a silent individual", they define 'collective remembrance' as a "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."[358] In line with General Systems Theory, "what they create is not a cluster of individual memories; the whole is greater than the sum of the parts."[359] When people enter a common arena of remembrance, they bring with them memories that emanate from their broader personal and social experience. It is only when people – groups and individuals – come together to remember that collective memory takes shape. As argued by Maurice Halbwachs and cited by Winter and Sivan, "collective memory is the sound of voices once heard by groups of people, afterwards echoing in an individual who was or is part of that group."[360] Individual memories should be considered separate from political memorialization that include "political and socially sanctioned official versions of the past."[361] Winter and Sivan also prefer to use the term 'collective remembrance' in order to depart from those who define collective memory "as the property of dominant forces in the state, or of all survivors of war in the privacy of their lives, or as some facet of the mental furniture of a population – what the French like to call their *mentalités*." This shift of terminology is to avoid generalizations and "through the constant interrogation of actors and actions" to "separate 'collective memory' from a vague wave of associations which supposedly come over an entire population when a set of past events is mentioned."[362] It is through the process of commemoration that war memories can be recalled, enhanced, and transferred among the public, soldiers and victims of war. Winter and Sivan aptly recognize that collective

[358] Ibid, p.6.

[359] Ibid, p.6.

[360] Ibid, p.24.

[361] Ibid, p.6.

[362] Ibid, p.9.

memory has a 'shelf-life.' As long as people are making use of memorials and signs of remembrance as "memory aids", "then the process of remembrance is alive."[363] Like history, collective remembrance is transient – reflecting societal values and ideologies at a particular instant, but with time certain concepts, people, activities and related artefacts will dissapear to be replaced by contemporaries which will be deemed to be more relevant or important.

American historian George L. Mosse[364] had written extensively on the consequences and the collective memory of modern Revolutionary warfare and the First World War. As the result of massive losses, "mourning was general, and yet it was not to dominate the memory of the First World War as it might have done. Instead, a feeling of pride was often mixed in with the mourning, the feeling of having taken part and sacrificed in a noble cause."[365] Mosse acknowledges that despite some dissenters, the overwhelming majority were seeking "to obtain some justification for the sacrifice and loss. They were often torn between their memory of the horror of war and its glory: it had been a time when their lives had taken on new meaning as they performed the sacred task of defending the nation."[366] Mosse described this phenomenon that was largely exhibited in the defeated nations as the "Myth of the War Experience." The Myth "was designed to mask the war and to legitimize the war experience; it was meant to displace the reality of war. The memory of the war was refashioned into a sacred experience which provided the nation with a new depth of religious feeling, putting at its disposal ever-present saints and martyrs, places of worship, and a heritage to emulate."[367] Mosse points out that it was the committed volunteers who fought during the Revolutionary

[363] Ibid, p.16.

[364] George L. Mosse (1918-1999) was a German-born American social and cultural historian and one of the most influential historians of modern European history.

[365] Mosse, George L., *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1990, p.6.

[366] Ibid, p.6.

[367] Ibid, p.7.

wars[368] that played a significant role as "mythmakers" and helped established the first modern wars as the "birth" of the Myth[369] and the "ideal of personal and national regeneration which, so it was said, only war could provide."[370] In France for example, a transformation took place whereby the old armies composed of conscripts drawn from the margins of society were being quickly replaced by volunteer citizen-soldiers and a supporting educated middle-class that "no longer fought merely on behalf of a king, but for an ideal which encompassed the whole nation under the symbols of the Tricolor and the *Marseillaise*."[371] As part of the expansion of a new national consciousness, "death in war was being absorbed by Christianity or by the Revolution, both on behalf of the nation."[372] "The cult of the fallen" provided many symbols which were to shape and serve as a reminder "of the glory and challenge of war even in peacetime.[373] These include: imitating Roman models – transforming the death of a hero into an abstract concept; the use of ancient symbols such as the pyramid, pillars and cypresses; changes in cemetery design to incorporate shrines of national worship; for the first time, creating modest cemeteries exclusively for its war dead; erecting monuments and memorials commemorating the fallen, collectively and individually; and performing acts of commemoration. This enthusiam for change set the conditions for the French Revolution to have "pioneered the public use of myths and symbols as self-representations of the nation with which people could identify and which gave them a feeling of participation."[374] These symbols of remembrance were representative of this change in the perception of death from that of a Christian imagery to an "atmosphere of sentimentality

[368] The wars of the French Revolution (1792-1799) and the German Wars of Liberation against Napoléon (1813-1814).

[369] Ibid, p.10.

[370] Ibid, p.16.

[371] Ibid, p.18.

[372] Ibid, p.50.

[373] Ibid, p.35.

[374] Ibid, p.36.

but not pathos."[375] With the secularization of French cemeteries during the French Revolution, cemetery designs incorporated the "ideal of death as eternal sleep" that "persisted side by side with the traditional Christian view of mortality."[376] The conventional burial grounds that were found ajacent to churches and in cities were being replaced by cemeteries merging the Romantic and Enlightenment notions of repose, tranquility and happiness with landscape designs that exemplified a "new attitude toward nature."[377] The following section will briefly examine the Père Lachaise Cemetery, an example of a garden cemetery that became the norm at the time.

Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris – 1804

Since it opened its doors on 21 May 1804, and with over 70,000 plots, one million burials and more than two million visitors per year,[378] the Père Lachaise Cemetery is not only Paris' largest urban park but is also reputed to be the world's most-visited cemetery. Established by Napoléon I but named after Père François de La Chaise d'Aix (1624- 1709),[379] this cemetery, due to its universal character is considered one of the world's most prominent '*lieu de mémoire collective*' (site of collective memory). The concept of this cemetery was unique at the time: allowing not only the privileged but also the commoner to be buried within a landscaped setting of gardens, trees, vistas and scenes.

Amongst the thousands of cemetery structures located within Père Lachaise, there are about 30 public memorials which have been erected in dedication to various French military and civic causes since the late 20th century. However, there is one long-standing memorial that is dedicated to

[375] Ibid, p.40.

[376] Ibid, p.40.

[377] Ibid, p.40.

[378] See *Mairie de Paris* official website, *Cimetières intra muros – Père-Lachaise*: http://www.paris.fr/portail/Parcs/Portal.lut?page_id=1737

[379] The Jesuit father confessor of King Louis XIV who lived on a house rebuilt in 1682 on the site of the chapel.



Figure 1: ***MONUMENT DE SOUVENIR*** **(Monument of Memory) – 55th Division of the Père Lachaise Cemetery, 16 Rue du Repos in the 20th Arrondissement, Paris.**

neither a specific person, nor a particular event or activity, but rather – is solely committed to 'memory' (Figure 1). Located immediately adjacent to a large mausoleum honouring Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), prominent French statesman and historian, this 'broken column' monument[380] is one of a kind in recognizing a site of collective memory. With the inscription of 'MONUMENT DE SOUVENIR' (monument of memory), this unique, simple, yet effective form of constructive memorialization incorporates a collection of individual and communal memories into a single public space. This Parisian cemetery "is a prominent example of a carefully constructed '*lieu de mémoire*' which the French have used as a way of recalling and integrating their complicated

[380] It is accredited to Jeremy L. Cross, a famous New Hampshire Mason, that he first introduced the 'broken column' as a new Freemasonry symbol in his "true Masonic Chart" published in 1819, as illustrated by Amos Doolittle, an engraver, of Connecticut.

past."[381] The Père Lachaise Cemetery has been known for its focus on family traditions and communal memories and up until the mid to late19th century, it was the principal model emulated in cemeteries across Europe, Canada and the U.S. In essence, this cemetery is representional of all sites of collective memory. While some are older, larger, and include more famous people than others, they nevertheless constitute a collective assembly of individual memories and offer members of the world community an opportunity to honour and commemorate in a public place of remembrance. The transmission of vectors of memory sustained through on-site memorialization – both official and unofficial – provide a firm foundation for the establishment of the various elements that compose commemoration. This will be further amplified in Chapter 5 – Elements and Principles of Commemoration.

For centuries, historians, archeologists, anthropologists and paleontologists have studied and researched primeval vestiges such as ancient Egyptian empires, cults in Roman religious life, and the Mayan civilization. While these antiquated societies no longer exist, their legacies live on. Developed over centuries and millennia, they have brought about diverse remembrance practices and memorials concepts that continue to influence how we commemorate. Without a doubt, with the conclusion of the Great War, there was a huge surge of military memorials erected within the countries of the allied forces, particularly within Europe and Commonwealth countries. It was expected that the extent of memorials and remembrances for the Second World War and the Korean conflict was considerably less, as so was the number of casualties. However, it appears that there has been a rise in interest in commemoration since the 1980s – most likely because of a number of international events and activities which occurred since then.[382]

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[381] Kselman, Thomas, "The Dechristianisation of Death in Modern France," Part III, Section 9, p.146, in McLeod, Hugh, and Ustorf, Werner, Editors, *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.146.

[382] Some of these included the erection of Washington, D.C.'s *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (1982), the repatriation of an Unknown Soldier for Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (in 1993, 2000, and 2004, respectively), various agreements that led to the cessation of the conflict in Northern Ireland, the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States, as well as the subsequent fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In Canada, it has already been a quarter of a century since Shipley published *To Mark Our Place – A History of Canadian War Memorials* – Canada's first attempt in providing a national perspective on its military memorials. This thesis goes beyond the basics identified in this and other books published on the topic of memorials and commemoration and builds a deeper level of analysis that cannot be understood without studying and comparing at the international level. Like most western countries, Canada's forms and purpose of memorials and commemoration are derived or have been influenced from its modern war allies. Some of the key works – such as the study of war memorials by Whittick,[383] MacLean and Phillips,[384] Borg,[385] Leonard,[386] and Inglis[387] – provide idiosyncratic perspectives on the use of historical forms of memorials. Although these studies account for regional and national differences and provide a good foundation for understanding 20th century memorials, they often overlooked important aspects. First, for the most part, they failed to report and classify a wide range of types of memorials that existed at the time – concentrating mainly on stone memorials and bronze statues. And second, within the literature, there is a disconnected treatment of terminologies related to memorials and commemoration – often misued or misunderstood – and has yet to be modernized. The next chapter will examine these issues and will provide an up-to-date general classification of memorials that will keep in mind both historical forms and modern developments.

[383] Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946.

[384] Maclean, Chris, and Phillips, Jock, op. cit., 1990.

[385] Borg, Alan, op. cit., 1991.

[386] Leonard, Jane, op. cit., 1997.

[387] Inglis, K.S., op. cit., 2005.

CHAPTER 2 - CREATING A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

John Weaver's 1631 general definition of a memorial remains accurate to this day.[388] In post-Reformation England, funeral monuments portrayed how the society's upper levels wanted to be remembered: displaying exuberant messages of accomplishments and ensuring their perpetual memory. Weaver also had the foresight to include books and writings as part of those objects of remembrance to be "transferred to future posterities" – something that Napoléon Bonaparte recognized as an important legacy two centuries later. Starting in the mid-19th century, memorials were no longer restricted just for the well-to-do as artists began to represent the common soldier in some of the military memorials.[389] Later, with the establishment of the C.W.G.C., it acted as a catalyst for re-establishing the use of classical styles as well as developing new ones.

The terms 'monument' and 'memorial' are often used interchangeably and are not well defined within the literature. Even though they both commemorate people, groups, or events, there are subtle differences between them. When we refer to a 'monument,' it is assumed that it consists of a structure such as an obelisk, stele, arch, statue, or a sculptural group. One would also not be inclined to erect a 'memorial' in honour of an individual or event unless the person is deceased or the event has already taken place. Rather, if the person is alive, one would raise a 'monument' to celebrate their achievements or victory. In the end, they are all classified as 'memorials' and there are two **groups**: military and civic (Figure 2). Military memorials are those that commemorate military people or military events but can also include circumstances where civilians have directly contributed or affected military operations. By process of elimination, the remainder of memorials

[388] His definition is included at beginning of the Literature Review.

[389] Erected in 1860, the *Guards Crimea Memorial* in London to the memory of 2,162 officers, non-commisioned officers, and privates of the Brigade of Guards who died at Crimea (1854-1856) is considered the first time that the ordinary soldier had been commemorated by a monument.

are categorized as civic. Identifying two groups of memorials is certainly not enough to establish a classification system. However, the following sections will provide an array of definitions and clarifications on the subject of memorials. While the literature mentions terms such as war memorials, commemorative memorials, trophies, cairns, arches, and stained glass windows, there was little attempt to define and categorize them. References are made to 'themes' but none were proposed. The Great War brought about a categorization of memorials that reflected the 'sentiments' of that time. Also, the words 'forms' and 'types' of memorials were often used - except that they were never defined. For these reasons, the following sections will outline a general classification system for memorials that is based mainly on types and forms as these will stand the test of time and will allow for future expansion (Figure 2). As an aide memoire, 'types' of memorials relate to purpose or intent, while 'forms' of memorials relate to shape or appearance.

CLASSIFYING BY THEMES, SENTIMENTS, PURPOSE OR SHAPES

Considering the plethora of memorials erected since the 19th century, they can be classified by themes, sentiments expressed, purpose or shape. After carefully reviewing and analyzing the literature, memorials can be condensed into nine major interdisciplinary **themes** – ranging from people and occupations to disciplines and values (see Figure 3). They include: arts & literature; places, scenery & sports; explorers & adventurers; government & military; royalty and heads of state; justice & law; commerce & industry; religion, science & mathematics; and society & community. A memorial can often fit into several themes, but the key is to determine its primary purpose and assign it accordingly. However, authors rarely make use of themes in their research due to their complexity and infinite variations. A figure of 'history' is often found among monuments with statuary[390] as it is shown as part of the memorial's overall theme.

[390] For example, at *The Soldiers' National Monument*, National Military Cemetery, Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania.

CLASSIFICATION – ALL MEMORIALS

Groups	(A) **MILITARY** Memorials						(B) **CIVIC** Memorials
Types	(I) **War Memorials** (Declared wars/official conflicts in the presence of an armed enemy)	(II) **Operational Memorials** (Military service & operations conducted *not* in the presence of an armed enemy)	(III) **Commemorative Memorials** (people and/or events)	(IV) **Structural Memorials** (man-made)	(V) **Weapons, Vehicles, Ships, and Aircraft** (As Memorials)	(VI) **Geo-Memorials** (natural)	(VII) **Named Trophies and Awards** (as Memorials)	
Examples	● South African War, 1899-1902 ● First and Second World Wars ● Korean conflict ● Vietnam War ● Gulf War, 1996 ● Afghanistan War, 2001-2011	● Nile Expedition, 1872 (Egypt) ● North West Rebellion, 1885 (Canada) ● Bandstand, Royal Green Jackets, 1982 (London) ● Anchor, *HMCS Bonnaventure*, 1973 (Halifax)	● Tablets/Plaques ● Rolls of Honour ● Fountains ● Stained Glass Windows ● Pipe Organs and Screens ● Dedicated Paintings and Prints	● Tumulus ● Buildings/Rooms ● Murals ● Bridges ● Arches and Gates ● Parks ● Roads, Streets and Roadways ● Ice Carvings and Snow Sculptures	● Commissioning of Ships ● Guns (Cannons) ● Artillery pieces ● Machine guns ● Aircrafts, including planes and helicopters	● Mountains ● Lakes and Rivers	● Memorial Cups ● Swords of Remembrance	

FORMS – ALL MEMORIALS

	(A) **TANGIBLE Memorials**			(B) **INTANGIBLE Memorials**
	(I) Historic (Architectural and timeless forms - dating since early civilization)	**(II) Conceptual** (created since the 20th century)	**(III) Writings**	
Examples	● Pyramid and Cairn ● Obelisk and Stele ● Trophy and Panoply ● Monument and Statue ● Sarcophagus ● Column ● Arch and Gate ● Stained Glass Window	● Eternal Flame ● Unknown Soldier ● Stone of Remembrance ● Cross of Sacrifice ● Crosses of Remembrance ● Memorial Cross ● Poppy	● Book or manuscript	● Memorial Funds ● Endowments, Scholarships, Bursaries

Figure 2: Classification of Memorials: Groups, Types and Forms.

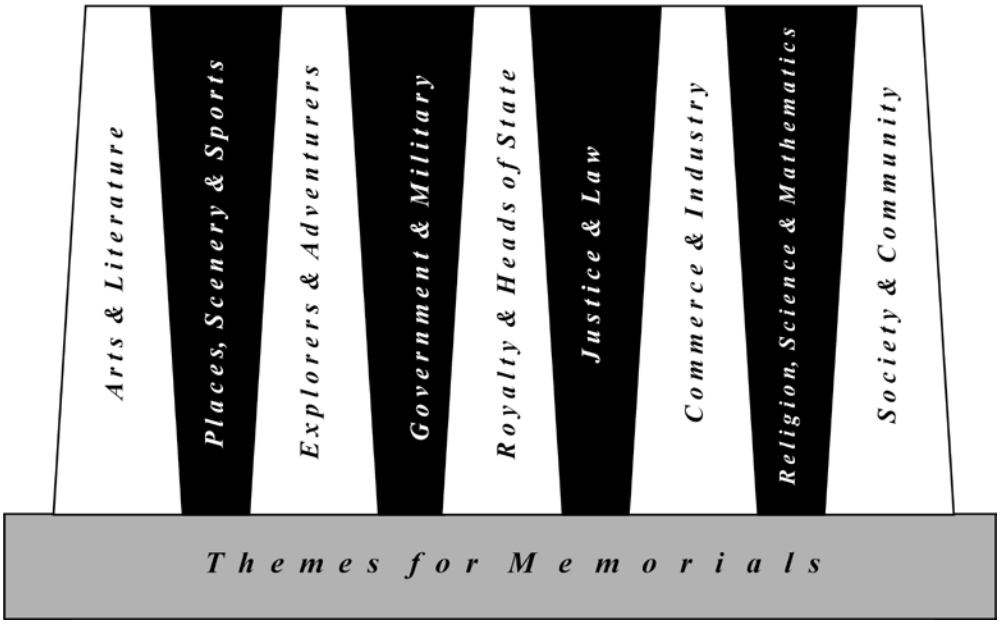

Figure 3: Nine major themes for Memorials.

Sentiments expressed or public feelings is another method of classifying memorials. In Whittick's classic 1947 study of *War Memorials*, he places them under four main headings:

> (A) the memorial which expresses mainly death, sorrow and mourning; (B) the memorial which expresses religious belief and takes the form of thanksgiving to God; (C) the memorial which expresses mainly triumph and victory; and (D) the memorial which expresses mainly the spirit of life, or re-creation and revival, the value to the living of that for which men fought and for which sacrifices was made. Here is also a sense of gratitude. This kind of expression is often associated with some form of religious feeling.[391]

Three decades later, Antoine Prost also established a classification based on emotional responses[392] and described four main types of memorials:

> Civic monuments, the most common and the most secular, and fully republican; patriotic-republican monuments, which often celebrate victory as well as sacrifice in a more or less overt fashion; funerary-patriotic monuments, which glorify sacrifice; and purely funerary monuments, which emphasize the depth of

[391] Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1947, p.6.

[392] Prost, Antoine, *Les anciens combattants et la société francaise : 1914-1939, Volume 3, Mentalits et ideologies.* Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1977, pp.41-52.

> grief without offering any justification for it and thus tend toward pacifism.[393]

In Alan Borg's 1991 study of war memorials, he notes that the classical tradition of hero portrayal was revived during the Boer War and the First World War and that the three traditional images employed are: "the hero in action, the hero in triumph, and the dying hero."[394] And according to art historian Erika Doss, today's fascination with erecting memorials across America is "shaped by the affective conditions of public life" and "the fevered pitch of public feelings such as grief, gratitude, fear, shame, and anger."[395] It appears that there has been a visible trend over the last century. The creation of independent countries and the diminishment of dictatorships and communism has brought about a shift from the memorialization of emperors, kings, and supreme leaders, in favour of sentimental and reactionary-type memorials. Even though memorials continue to be used as a sign of remembrance, recognition, or respect, less political interference has led to a greater display of grass-root sentiments and public feelings.

Thirdly, memorials can also be classified according to 'purpose' or 'intent' and are as such defined as **types** of memorials. The span of available types supports the the various functions required to commemorate and memorialize. Fourth and lastly – corresponding with Weaver's definition, a 'memorial' implies a wider meaning that can include both *tangible* and *intangible* **forms** of memorials (see Figure 2). Intangible memorials typically include scholarships, funds, and bursaries, established for the benefit of dependents of soldiers who served in a war.[396] Up until the First World War, the classification of monuments and memorials was relatively simple as the

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[393] Prost, Antoine, Chapter IX, "Monuments to the Dead," in Nora, Pierre, *Realms of Memory, The Construction of the French Past – Volume II: Traditions*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, p.318.

[394] Borg, Alan, op. cit., 1991, p.107.

[395] Doss, Erika, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010, p.2.

[396] For example, the *Brant War Memorial Scholarship* was established by the County of Brant (Ontario) in 1920. Scholarships were open to dependents or relatives of soldiers or nurses who served during the Great War.

majority followed traditional *historic tangible forms*[397] such as an obelisk, stele, arch, statue, or a sculptural group. After the Great War, new forms of memorials were created in order to not fit existing moulds. This included *conceptual forms* of memorials such as the eternal flame, the Cross of Sacrifice, the Stone of Remembrance, the Poppy, and tombs of the Unknown.

When considering any of the four broad classifications,[398] typically, there is a fundamental schism that comes about: choosing a classical or modernism approach to memorialization. This argument put forward by Baker and Lutyens is explained earlier within the literature review. Blomfield and Whittick are also not in support of cosmopolitain forms – preferring instead 'true' or classical forms of memorials. There was an element in truth when American historian Lewis Mumford proclaimed in 1938 that "the notion of a modern monument is a contradiction in terms"[399] as the moment after its unveiling, it becomes part of the past. As well, the old debate of 'form versus function' remains a strong determinant in helping establish the *raison d'être* of a memorial. Since the Second World War, the challenge has been that no one historian has been able to adequately explain or describe the various types and forms of existing memorials and none have published a classification that reflects the radically different shapes, scope, and compositions. The following sections will provide an up-to-date general classification system that present a modern typology with a preponderance on the types of memorials as well as recognize established and new forms of memorials. While there exists a wide range, the intent is not to provide an exhaustive list but to portray a fair representation of memorials that are located within our communities.

[397] For example, Whittick classifies both the public monument and the small personal grave monument into eight broad types: "(1) The Statue, (2) The Equestrian Statue, (3) The Sarcophagus, Tomb Slab, Altar and Recumbent Effigy, (4) The Portrait, (5) The Wall Tablet, (6) The Screen, Wall or Exedra, (7) The Headstone and (8) The Cross." See: Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946, p.67.

[398] Themes, sentiments, types, and forms.

[399] Lewis Mumford (1895-1990) cited in Inglis, K.S., op. cit., 2005, pp.352-353.

TYPES OF MEMORIALS

When describing a **type** of memorial, it relates to the purpose or intent of the memorial. The shape of the memorial is not relevant to determining its type. This section will characterize the following seven main types of military memorials: war memorials; operational memorials; commemorative memorials; structural memorials; ships, weapons, vehicles, and aircrafts; geo-memorials; and named trophies and awards.

War Memorials

Not all monuments, statues, plaques, and the like are considered war memorials. Despite whatever form the war memorial may take – classical or modern – there is an expectation that it is a place of memory where a monument of some kind is in place allowing for either collective or personal reflection. This could be to commemorate its dead and comrades-in-arms, to glorify its victors and crowning achievements, or to remember the sacrifices of an entire nation in order to achieve peace and security. War memorials are meant to symbolize all of its dead within a particular war or conflict. They often include the name of major battles or cities in which the fighting was done but their influence is that they recognize all war efforts. Veterans are particularly sensitive to those monuments that are classified as war memorials as they are a visible reminder of the wars of which they participated. Up until the Second World War, it was fairly straightforward to identify a war memorial. The standard process was for a country to 'declare war,' ship out soldiers to fight in designated theatres of operations, and erect memorials in home towns and communities in remembrance of those who fought in those wars. In 1950, with the UN declaring a 'conflict' (officially not a war) between the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), it made past naming practices obsolete. While war memorials continue to represent the outcome of *officially declared wars*, they can now also represent *conflicts that include the presence of an armed enemy*. War memorials can be erected to commemorate a nation's grief (Figures 4, 5, and 122) and to remember its Fallen at the regional and local

levels (Figures 47, 53, 77, 80, 109, 178, 180). Last but not least, these permanent markers are a reflection of the legacies that arose from wars and conflicts such as the South African War, the First and Second World Wars, the Korean conflict, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, and the Afghanistan War, among others.





Figures 4-5: War Memorials. Left – *National War Memorial* unveiled on 1 July 1924 for the Dominion of Newfoundland and later, in 1949, became the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Sculptors: F.V. Blundstone, Gilbert Bayes. – St. John's, Newfoundland. Right – *National War Memorial* unveiled 21 May 1939. Sculptor: Vernon March. – Ottawa, Ontario.





Figures 6-7: Operational Memorials. Left – The *Canadian Peacetime Sailors Memorial* consists of an aircraft carrier anchor from *HMCS Bonaventure* "DEDICATED TO THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO DIED WHILE SERVING WITH THE CANADIAN NAVY DURING PEACETIME". It was dedicated by Rear Admiral Robert Timbrell in 1973. – Point Pleasant Park, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Right – Memorial dedicated to "TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE BANDSMEN OF THE 1ST BATTALION THE ROYAL GREEN JACKETS WHO DIED AS THE RESULT OF A TERRORIST ATTACK HERE ON 20TH JULY 1982". Hyde Park, London.

Operational Memorials

Armed forces members are routinely called to serve their nation either within their own country or internationally. It can include operating in a headquarters environment, training, or deployed with organizations such as the UN or NATO. Their mission may range anywhere between peacekeeping, and counter insurgency operations, and due to their hazardous environment, there is an eminent possibility of death. Operational memorials are defined as those erected to commemorate deaths or events that are *not in the presence of an armed enemy* – in effect, disconnecting them from those monuments considered war memorials. While acknowledging the principle of universality – that deaths are all equal – soldiers, among themselves, nonetheless place enormous importance on those who were killed as a result of enemy action (versus service-related deaths).

A well-known Canadian example of commemorating those who died during peacetime is the anchor from Canada's last aircraft carrier placed on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean in Halifax, Nova Scotia (Figure 6). Adjacent to the main dedication tablet is a list of the deceased, including four who were overcome by fuel tanks fumes in 1969 on *HMCS Bonaventure*.[400] One of the most public examples of an operational memorial is a tablet erected at a bandstand in London commemorating the violent death of seven Bandsmen who died as the result of a terrorist attack by the Provisional IRA in 1982 (Figure 7).[401] The structure is not considered a war memorial as the deceased soldiers are more closely associated to victims of circumstances rather than their participation on active operations against an armed enemy.

[400] Canada has only had three aircraft carriers to ever serve in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Canadian Forces Maritime Command and all of them were acquired from the British Royal Navy since the end of the Second World War. Canada's third and last aircraft carrier was commissioned on 15 January 1957 and was also of the Majestic-class. Renamed *HMCS Bonaventure*, it was acquired from the British Royal Navy as the incomplete *HMS Powerful* and served Canada until her decommissioning on 3 July 1970. Also known as the *Bonnie*, it was broken up and scrapped in Taiwan in 1971.

[401] The tablet lists one Warrant Officer, one Sergeant, one Corporal and four Bandsmen who died at Hyde Park. This was the second bombing conducted during that day – the first involved another explosion (nail bomb) that killed four soldiers of the Blues & Royals at the Regent's Park. When troops march by the bandstand memorial, it is honoured by being saluted with an "eyes left."

Commemorative Memorials

Commemorative memorials are considered one of the most popular and varied type. While they commemorate people and events, they are purely decorative and have no intrinsic purpose other than to beautify. **Water memorials**, which include fountains and waterfalls, are a common site. Whittick remarked that a fountain "expresses life and revival and which provides opportunity in its design for sculptural representations expressing what is commemorated" and that the "placing and setting" of such fountains in Britain after the Great War was "generally unsatisfactory." [402] In 1986, the city of Canberra, Australia, erected a memorial fountain (see Figure 200) but failed to consider the impact of water availability during dry spells. The lesson learnt is that the erection of memorial fountains and water features should be carefully considered when located in areas that are subject to tight water restrictions. Other memorial forms would have suitably met desired local needs.[403] Considered perhaps America's most successful integration of a water feature within a memorial site is Washington D.C.'s *World War II Memorial* that was dedicated in 2004 (Figure 8). Calling for the "creation of a place of contemplation that consciously links present with past and future",[404] the classical memorial was constructed around a restored *Rainbow Pool* creating "a public forum that is distinct, memorable, evocative, and serene."[405]

[402] Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946, p.9.

[403] From a practical point of view, Australia's National Capital Authority issued an advisory in September 2007 noting that due to an upcoming dry summer, it had developed a new strategy to comply with tighter water restrictions. While they are obliged to manage and protect Australia's heritage places and protect significant tree planting in the parliamentary zone, it nonetheless had a significant impact as the water is now turned off during water restrictions.
Source: The National Capital Authority, "NCA Prepares for a Dry Summer," Media Centre, 2007 Media Releases, 7 September 2007. Retrieved on 17 January 2009 but no longer posted on the website.

[404] Brinkley, Douglas (Editor), *The World War II Memorial – A Grateful Nation Remembers*. Washington: Smithsonian Books, New Voyage Communications Inc., 2004, p.33.

[405] Ibid, p.3.







Figures 8-10: Top – Memorial Plaza and Rainbow Pool, *National World War II Memorial* dedicated by President George W. Bush on 29 May 2004. Architect: Friedrich St. Florian. – Washington D.C. Left – Memorial Window of General Wolfe erected in 1956, Church of St. Alfege, Greenwich, England. Right – Memorial Organ Screen in remembrance of 52 congregation members who died during the Great War – Anglican Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, St. John's, Newfoundland.



Figure 11: Benjamin West (1738-1820) painted five large oil on canvas versions of *The Death of General Wolfe*. The original 1770 version is located at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. This last version was completed in 1776 and retouched 1806 – Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario.

The art of **stained glass windows** can be found in British churches and monasteries as early as the 7th century. While styles and techniques have evolved, stained glass windows are still used in churches and other public venues. For the most part they are used for decorative and informative purposes – with emphasis on depicting religious subjects – but have also been employed as objects of remembrance. Lawrence Weaver considers "stained glass windows, on which the occasion of their giving may be recorded" as "adornments of existing buildings."[406] According to the Institute for Stained Glass in Canada, Canadian studios began as early as 1856 and were founded by European-trained artists in the provinces of Québec and Ontario.[407] Although there were some applications in the remembrance of military personages and events up until the early 20th century, it was not until the conclusion of both World Wars that the use of memorial windows became customary in Canada.[408] One of Canada's finest examples of a war memorial window that was commissioned during the Great War is illustrated in Figure 113. A modern application of the craft can be seen in Figure 9 where a window was erected to commemorate Major-General James Wolfe (1727-1759) – 'the victor of Quebec' – who went to school in Greenwich and is buried in the vaults beneath the church.[409]

A **pipe organ** or an **organ screen** as a military memorial is relatively common within a church. For example, as shown in Figure 10, an organ screen was erected "IN GRATEFUL AND HONOURED REMEMBRANCE" of members of a congregation who died on active service during the Great War. Warriors and battle scenes have long been recorded in **paintings** and **prints**. While many of these works of art are displayed in private collections and

[406] Weaver, Lawrence, op. cit., 1915, p.23.

[407] Institute for Stained Glass in Canada, Documenting Canada's 19th, 20th and 21st century stained glass heritage. See website: http://www.stainedglasscanada.ca/

[408] In Europe, a revival occurred mainly after the Second World War when communities wanted to replace or restore the thousands of church windows that were destroyed as the result of bombing.

[409] Additional information on the remembrance of General Wolfe can be found in Chapter 4 – Public Memory and Commemoration, Section on Spiritual Influences (see Figure 116).

public venues, few can be described as memorials. Only those works of art that have been dedicated in honour or remembrance of a person or an event should be regarded as a memorial. Canada's first "portable monument" arose from printed engravings copied from Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (Figure 11) first exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1771.[410] Considered "one of the most famous mementoes of the siege of Quebec ... [it] has inspired dozens of imitations and contributed to the romanticism that shrouds the 1759 operation."[411] Among them is James Woolcott's line engraving of 1776 that helped make West's painting "into a secular Passion scene, a Lamentation, an icon of the British Empire."[412] In 1916, the *Canadian War Memorials Fund* was established to commission paintings as a record of the war and this collection was "planned as a testimonial and tribute to the heroism and sacrifice of Canadian soldiers during the First World War."[413] At the request of Parliament, eight out of nearly 1,000 works, were delivered in 1921 to be temporarily displayed in the Centre Block. The Senate of Canada modified the walls of its chamber in order to incorporate these large paintings and have remained there since. Following a restoration, these war paintings were rededicated in 1998 to commemorate Canadian war efforts. A more recent example of a memorial painting is *Portraits of Honour* created by artist Dave Sopha who painted the faces of the157 Canadians[414] who died

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[410] Bentley, D.M.R., *Mnemographia Canadensis*, "Essay 1: Monumental Tensions: the Commemoration of British Political and Military Heroes in Canada. This is a collection of twelve essays are largely the result of "Matters of Memory," a graduate course designed and offered by the Department of English at the University of Western Ontario in 1996-1997. All of the essays can be found at the website:
http://www.canadianpoetry.ca/architexts/mnemographia_canadensis/index.htm
There is further discussion on the death of General Wolfe in the Chapter on 'Public Memory and Commemoration,' Section on 'Spiritual Influences.'

[411] Stacey, C.P., *Quebec, 1759: The Siege and the Battle*. Edited and revised by Donald E. Graves. Toronto: Robin Brass Studio Inc., 2002, p.14.

[412] Schama, Simon, *Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations*. New York: Vintage Books, 1991, p.32.

[413] Senate of Canada, *The War Paintings in the Senate Chamber*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2002.

[414] The 157 deaths includes one civilian: Mr. Glyn Berry, Director, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Deceased on 15 January 2006.

while serving in Afghanistan.[415] Begining in November 2011, this mural was exhibited around the country with the main goal of bringing Canadians together to "remember, honour and celebrate our Canadian Forces."[416]

The most commonly used commemorative memorial is the **tablet** or **plaque**. Their design and level of complexity are wide-ranging – anywhere from very simple and made of stone (Figure 182 – Les Invalides), to inside churches and made of brass (Figure 114 – St. Bartholomew), and are found in various shapes (Figure 82 – round; Figure 36 – shield). As shown in Figure 12, **Rolls of Honour** were especially popular after the Great War within local parishes and in public buildings. Taking the shape of a tablet or scroll, they typically listed the names of their fallen along with regimental information. Memorial buildings or structures that are specifically built as places of remembrance often include a roll of honour that covers an entire wall or facade. Such is the case with the **Hall of Memory** located at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra (Figure 13).[417] An open-air version of this is the **Wall of Remembrance** that is located in Meadowvale Cemetery, Ontario (Figure 14). Considered the largest outdoor memorial wall in Canada, it was erected to honour the 516 volunteers who died during the Korean War.

All of these commemorative memorials, in whatever shape and size and however extravagant they may be, are important components in helping honour and commemorate our military past.

[415] The first Canadian deaths during the war in Afghanistan occurred on 18 April 2002.

[416] *Portraits of Honour* website: http://www.portraitsofhonour.ca/

[417] The *Hall of Memory* was opened on 24 May 1959 by His Excellency Field Marshal Sir William Slim, Governor General of Australia. Following conservation and restoration it was reopened by Her Majesty the Queen on 27 March 2000.







Figures 12-14: Top – *Roll of Honour* "IN PROUD AND LOVING MEMORY OF THE MEN CONNECTED WITH THIS PARISH," St. Anne's Church, Cork, Ireland. Left – *Hall of Memory*, Australian War Memorial (1959), Canberra. Architects: Emil Sodersteen, John Crust. Right – *The Korea Veterans National Wall of Remembrance* (1997), Meadowvale Cemetery, Brampton, Ontario.

Structural Memorials

During times of ancient civilizations and empires, large cities were made up of palaces, temples, amphitheatres, aqueducts, roadways, and neighbouring burial grounds, among other entities. As the fabric of cities metamorphosed – so did the characterization of remembrance and commemoration. First came the dedication of archways and entrances for victorious generals and his soldiers to march through and be noticed, then followed by the naming of buildings and public venues that brought further public recognition. In Europe during the 19th century, places such as cemeteries were no longer used just for burying their dead but became recreational public places for people to gather, rest and play games. The

results are that some of the most ancient forms of structural memorials continue to be popular in their usage and that there is an ever increasing variety of structural memorials that are becoming available. The requisites to be considered a structural memorial is that the entity must be man-made, it must have a physical purpose for its existence, and it must have been dedicated in memory of a person, group, or particular event. This type of memorial can include utilitarian entities as well as those from a component of a city's infrastructure. Arnold Whittick correctly points out that the lasting endurance of purely utilitarian memorials is directly related to mindset and desired level of fulfillment: " if erected in the wrong spirit and with insufficient care, [it will] merely satisfy some temporary want, a want that may change and pass away; and with that change the reason for the memorial will also pass from mind."[418] The following section will examine a variety of structural memorials such as the tumulus, memorial arches and gates, buildings and rooms, carillon and bells, temporary structures, walkways, murals, gardens, and benches.

One of the oldest types of structural memorials is the **tumulus** – a place of burial built into a hillside or earthen mound. During the Classical period of Greek culture, there were many forms of markers that commemorated the dead, including elaborate tombs, cenotaphs, gravestones, stelia, and stone monuments. "After battles, the dead were usually buried on the spot, and were commemorated by a mound on which *stelai* with inscriptions were set up. If a General in war failed to provide for the burial of the slain, he was deemed guilty of a capital offence. Burial of the dead was not refused, even to an enemy, for an unburied body was an offence to man and to god."[419] In Weever's seminal work, he also provides some historical insight on the burial of the dead and the significance of the size of the mound:

[418] Cited by Lord Chatfield in Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946, p.v of the Preface.

[419] Curl, James Steven, *Death and Architecture – An Introduction to Funerary and Commemorative Buildings in the Western European Tradition, with Some Consideration of Their Settings* (Revised Edition). Great Britain: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002, p.25.

> … that the dead bodies of such as were slain in the field, and buried in the fields, were not laid in graves, but laying on the ground, were covered over with turfs, clods, or fods of earth: and, the more in reputation the persons had been, the greater and higher were the turfs raised over their bodies: and this some used to call byriging, some beorging, and some buriging of the dead, which we now call berying, or burying of the dead, which properly is a shrouding, or an hiding, of the dead body in the earth.[420]

The use of tumulus is familiar in Europe but less so in North America. Considered one the most well-known military examples in North America is that of the Tumulus of the Louisiana Division, Army of Tennessee, where General P.G.T. Beauregard is buried in the Metairie Cemetery (Figure 15).[421] This Creole of French descent has been credited with ordering the first shots of the American Civil War on 12 April 1861 on Fort Sumter, South Carolina.



Figure 15: Tumulus of the Benevolent Association of the Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division, where General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, Confederate States of America, is entombed with comrades. Cornerstone laid 31 March 1883 and completed in 1887. Sculptor: Achille Perelli. – Metarie Cemetary, New Orleans, Louisiana.

The topic of **Memorial arches** has been discussed extensively within the literature but unfortunately, the terminology used and the understanding of

[420] Weever, John, op. cit., Chapter II, 1767, p.vii.

[421] General Beauregard (1818-1893) was known to be a frequent visitor of that site when it used to be a horse track. The site was used as an army training camp for a short period of time and in 1872 was turn into a cemetery by its controversial founder Charles T. Howard.

their purpose is often conflicting and erroneous. To begin with, an arch that is used for constructive reasons (such as bridges, aqueducts, and gates) and that neither honours a person (or a group) nor commemorates an event is by definition considered a 'structural arch.' On the other hand, 'memorial arches' is a general category that includes all arches that have been formally dedicated in honour or in memory of a person (or group) or commemorates a significant event – either civil or military.

The arch was known to the Greeks but it was the Romans that employed it extensively between the 1st and 4th century. The greatest reward that a victorious general could receive was the *triumph* – an elaborate procession through the city of Rome to Jupiter's temple on the Capitoline hill whereby booty and spoils of war and chained captives would be prominently displayed along with marching soldiers rearing the parade. The triumphal arch provided a more permanent record to commemorate a great victory. An ancient example can be found on the triumphal *Arch of Constantine* in Rome (Figure 16) whereby the column bases are decorated with sculptured reliefs displaying captured barbarians and victorious Roman soldiers.[422] There are two key requirements that must be met in order for an arch to be classified as triumphal. First, the monumental structure must be dedicated in honour or in commemoration of a person, a unit, or event that is directly associated with the conduct of military affairs. Second, the size of the arch – that may contain multiple archways – must be large enough to allow for a military procession to go through its span.[423]

The use of triumphal arches was revived during the Renaissance and again in the early 19th century. Out of a total of 36 imperial arches built in

[422] Considered a traditional example, Rome's *Arch of Constantine* was erected mainly to commemorate emperor Constantine I's[422] military victory in 312 AD over Maxentius at the Battle of Milvian Bridge but also praise him in his civilian duties. Maxentius (c.279 AD-312 AD) is also known by his Latin name of *Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Augustus* and was a Roman emperor from 306 AD to 312 AD.

[423] To be true to its historical roots, the military procession would be marching as a formed contingent – not in single file.

Rome, only three have survived[424]and served as models and inspiration for a number of other works, including the *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile* in Paris.[425] Commonly known as the 'Arc de Triomphe,' it was commissioned in 1806 on the orders of emperor Napoléon I to honour his *Grande Armée* and to commemorate the conquests of France during his reign. It was not completed until 1836 under the reign of King Louis-Philippe. During his travels, Napoléon had seen and admired the triumphal arches built for victorious Roman emperors who marched through the arch with all their troops displaying captives and spoils of war after successful campaigns. Today, this military memorial is one of the most visited monuments of Paris as well as "…is the most illustrious symbol of French national history."[426] As a sign of respect after 11 November 1920 – the date that *La tombe du soldat inconnu* that was placed beneath the *Arc de Triomphe* – military parades and processions avoided going through the arch, choosing instead alternate routes around it. Until 1982, the *Arc de Triomphe* stood as the largest triumphal arch in existence.[427]

More modern applications of triumphal arches include the *Menin Gate* in Ypres (Figure 45) and the *Royal Military College of Canada Memorial Arch* located in Kingston, Ontario. In addition to being one of Canada's earliest triumphal arches, it is both a war memorial and a suitable gateway to the college.[428] In 1919, the Ex-Cadet Club of Canada decided to build a memorial arch in memory of those ex-cadets who had laid down their lives.

[424] The three remaining triumphal arches within Rome are the *Arch of Titus* (constructed in c. 82 AD), the *Arch of Septimium Severus* (dedicated in 203 AD), and the *Arch of Constantine* (dedicated in 315 AD).

[425] The *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile* stands at 49.5 metres in height, 45 metres wide and 22 meters deep.

[426] Official French Government website – Centre des monuments nationaux, Arc de Triomphe. See: http://arc-de-triomphe.monuments-nationaux.fr/en/

[427] The *Arch of Triumph in Pyongyang* was built in 1982 in the capital city of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (North Korea) to honour and glorify President Kim Il-Sung's role in the military resistance to Japan from 1925 to 1945. Inaugurated on the occasion of his 70th birthday, it was deliberately built to be slightly larger than the *Arc de Triomphe* at 60 meters high and 50 meters wide and remains the world's tallest triumphal arch.

[428] Up until 1979, all vehicular and pedestrian traffic went through the arch.

At a cost of about $70,000, the memorial arch was formally dedicated in June 1924. With a height of 46 feet and width of 42 feet, it is "arguably the most important architectural feature" of the Royal Military College.[429] This 'living memorial' continues to add the names of all cadets who have died on active service. Since the day of its dedication, there has been a tradition of cadets and ex-cadets marching through the arch on Remembrance Day and special parades.[430]

Contrary to popular belief, not all monumental arches are considered triumphal arches – looks can be deceiving. Such is the case with the *Arc de Triomf* located in Barcelona, Spain (Figure 17) as this Mudéjar-style arch was built exclusively as the gateway portal to the 1888 Universal Exhibition. Although it is branded and advertised as a triumphal arch – due to its massive size, its adornment of sculptures, and the inclusion of a decorative coat of arms – the local population generally agree that it does not represent the true meaning of a triumphal arch.[431] Hence, if the structure only meets one of the two requirements of a triumphal arch – by default – it is automatically classified as an 'honorific arch.' Not all memorial arches are erected in high traffic areas. Many of them are established in cemeteries either as a stand-alone memorial or a gateway portal. For example, located in Halifax's Old Burying Ground,[432] the *Welsford-Parker Monument* is a rare pre-Confederation war memorial that stands promimently at the entrance of the

[429] Gelley, Tom, "The Memorial Arch," *Royal Military College Review*, November 1924. His original article was reprinted by the RMC Club of Canada, Kingston Branch, 2007. See: http://www.rmcclubkingston.com/History%20Articles/RMC%20History_Memorial%20Arch.htm

[430] These include parades such as the Battle of Britain, church parades, a ceremony on the first Sunday of October of each year to honour ex-cadets who died while in service, and since 1980, all new officer-cadets arriving at the college as well as upon graduation from the college.

[431] In May 2009, the author of this work interviewed a dozen local inhabitants asking them if they knew why it was called a triumphal arch. The great majority were aware that it was built for the 1888 Universal Exhibition and confirmed that it should not have been called a 'triumphal' arch as it has nothing to do with military victories or famous military leaders.

[432] The *Old Burying Ground* was established as a common burial ground outside the stockade of the new fortified town of Halifax, Nova Scotia and was in use from 1749 to 1844.





Figures 16-17: Top – Triumphal Arch, *Arch of Constantine*, 315 AD, Rome. Right – Honorific Arch, *Arc de Triomf*, Barcelona. Built as the gateway portal to the 1888 Universal Exhibition. Architect: Josep Vilaseca i Casanovas.





Figures 18-19: Memorial Arches. Top - The *Welsford and Parker Monument* dedicated to Major Welsford and Captain Parker was unveiled on 17 July 1860. Sculptor: George Lang. – St. Paul's Cemetery, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Right – *Confederation Memorial Arch* re-dedicated on 9 June 1914 – Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.

cemetery (Figure 18). The city's first public monument was named after two Nova Scotians – Major Augustus Welsford and Captain William Parker – who perished while serving with the British Forces during the Crimean War.[433] Another 19th century example is the *Confederate Memorial Arch* that is located in Blandford Cemetery, Virginia (Figure 19). The arch marks the entrance to Memorial Hill where more than 20,000 Confederate soldiers were removed from their original battlefield grave and were re-interred at the cemetery in umarked graves.[434]

A reduced version of memorial arches is the **lychgate** and **memorial gate**. The traditional lychgate is "a roofed porch at the entrance to the cemetery, where the deceased is temporarily laid out as a component of the funeral ceremony."[435] The memorial gate is a modern successor to the lychgate – placing less emphasis on practical needs and more prominence on the remembrance of the dead. Due to their increasing similar designs and contemporary usage, they can be generalized as 'memorial gates.' In certain countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, memorial gates are often erected in honour of their war dead. This practice is not well established in Canada due to its winter conditions and the difficulty maintaining them. Nevertheless, the erection of memorial gates was particularly popular after the First World War and typically, they were erected by local communities at the entrance of their veterans' cemeteries, churches or adjacent to war memorial buildings. As illustrated in Figure 20, inside the gate is a small marble plaque with the following text:

IF YE BREAK FAITH WITH US WHO DIE,
WE SHALL NOT SLEEP, THOUGH POPPIES BLOW
IN FLANDERS FIELDS[436]

[433] They died in the battle at Redan in 1855 during the Siege of Sevastopol (1854-1855).

[434] The iron arch that was originally erected in 1884 was later replaced by a granite arch by the Ladies Memorial Association of Petersburg three decades later. Above the central archway's entablature are carved the words "OUR CONFEDERATE HEROES".

[435] Geurst, Jeroen, op. cit., 2010, p.69.

[436] The reference made to "poppies blow in flanders fields" is derived from John McCrae's 1915 poem 'In Flanders Fields.'





Figures 20-21: Left – Memorial Gate erected by Alice E. Anderson 'in Memory of those who died in the Great War' – *War Memorial Hall*, Eketahuna County, New Zealand. Right – The *British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Memorial Gates* received Royal dedication by Princess Elizabeth in October 1951 and were redicated on 4 July 2009 during the 60th anniversary of the BCATP. – Canadian Forces Base Trenton, Ontario (Photo: Canadian Armed Forces).





Figures 22-23: Left – The 'Victory Arch' at the main entrance of the *Waterloo Station* that was inaugurated by Queen Mary on 21 March 1922. Architect: Charles Whiffen. – London. Right – *Soldiers' Memorial Hall* opened by Brigadier General H.E. ' Pompey' Elliott in 1923. The Cenotaph's base and rock were in position for ANZAC Day 1982 – Yass, Australia.

Although the preponderance of memorial gates are erected in honour of people and particular battles or events, others commemorate past military plans or schemes. Such is the case with the *British Commonwealth Air Training Plan* (BCATP) *Memorial Gates* in Trenton, Ontario (Figure 21). The BCATP was established in 1940 under a consolidated plan to increase the

number of aircrew needed for the war against Nazi Germany.[437] As a memorial to the scheme, and those trained under it, Britain, Australia and New Zealand presented on 30 September 1949 a set of wrought iron gates – bearing the crests of the four BCATP countries – which represented the 'gates of freedom' the BCATP graduates defended. They were placed at Royal Canadian Air Force Station Trenton because it was the 'hub' of the scheme. After being refurbished, they were rededicated at a 60th anniversary ceremony.

The naming of **buildings** as memorials to individuals or events has been a long-standing tradition. For example, Waterloo Station – that opened in 1848 and is now Britain's busiest and largest railway terminus[438] – was named in honour of Nelson's win over the French at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 (Figure 22). Below its Victory or Memorial Arch are plaques bearing the names of the London and South Western Railway employees who died during the Great War. Flanking the entrance are two sculptural groups: one dedicated to Bellona – an ancient Roman goddess of war – and the other, to Peace, and surmounted on the roof by Britannia.

As said by Weaver in 1915, "there is no more perfect monument than a building which, by its usefulness, ministers to living needs, and by its beauty recalls those who served in their day and generation."[439] It is in this spirit that a great number of utilitarian buildings were named in honour of 'soldiers.' A typical example is the Yass District (Australia) *Soldiers' Memorial Hall* (Figure 23) that was "ERECTED BY A GRATEFUL PEOPLE TO PERPETUATE THE

[437] The Canadian government agreed to assume administration of the plan and created 58 schools across the country to train personnel from Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The scheme officially terminated on 31 March 1945 and during that time over 130,000 air crew were trained.

[438] In 1848, the site was originally called *Waterloo Bridge Station* as it was raised above marshy ground on a series of arches. In 1886, it officially became Waterloo Station. Between 1899 and 1922, extensive constructive work was carried out in stages with the new station opening in 1922.

[439] Weaver, Lawrence, op. cit., 1915, p.23.

MEMORY OF THOSE WHO SERVED IN THE GREAT WAR."[440] Designed as a war memorial and a public hall, it housed a cinema, ex-serviceman's club, literary institute and lecture room. Communities also named public buildings after their local heroes. For example, the *Milo Lemert Memorial Building* in Crossville, Tennessee, was re-dedicated in 1991 in memory of First Sergeant U.S. Army Milot Lemert (1890-1918) who received the Medal of Honor for his heroic action near Bellicourt, France, on 29 September 1918. He is credited for destroying three German machine gun nests on the Hinderburg Line and was killed while attempting to subdue a fourth one. A more recent example is the *Captain Nichola Goddard School* that was chosen to honour the Calgary (Alberta) soldier that was killed in 2006 during operations in Afghanistan.[441] She was the first female Canadian soldier killed in combat since the Second World War.

Portions of buildings – such as **wings**, **towers**, **halls** and **rooms** – can also be used for commemorative naming. For example, the tower building of the Deer Lodge Centre[442] in Winnipeg, Manitoba, was renamed the *John Osborn V.C. Tower* in honour of all the Second World War heroes. It was dedicated by his comrades on 19 December 1991, the 50th anniversary of his acts of heroism. Company Sergeant-Major Osborn (1899-1941) of The Winnipeg Grenadiers received the Victoria Cross posthumously when at Hong Kong, he led part of a company to capture Mount Butler at bayonet point and held it for three hours. Under attack, he threw himself over a grenade, killing him instantly and saved the lives of many others.[443] Civilians also make significant contributions in achieving peace. As the result of the 11 September

[440] The Foundation stone of the Yass District *Soldiers Memorial* was "laid Empire Day 1922 by His Excellency The Right Honorable Lord Forster, P.C., G.C.M.G." Lord Forster (1866-1936) was Governor General of Australia from October 1920 to October 1925.

[441] Schneider, Katie, "New Calgary school named after fallen soldier Nichola Goddard," *Calgary Sun*, 2 February 2012.

[442] The Deer Lodge Centre was established in 1916 as a military convalescent hospital for returning First World War soldiers and continues to provide personal care for modern-day veterans as well as a large population of community patients and residents.

[443] Osborn was the first Canadian during the Second World War to receive this decoration; it was the only Victoria Cross awarded for the Battle of Hong Kong; and at 42 years of age, he was the second oldest Victoria Cross recipient in the Second World War.

2001 attacks in the U.S. and the international campaign against terror that followed, there were a number of American public servants that were killed. It was not until January 2006 that Canada encountered the death of one of their own: Dr. Glyn Berry (1946-2006), while serving as Canada's Senior Political Director at the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan. Six months later, Canada dedicated the main conference room of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN to the memory of this Canadian diplomat and former chair of the working group of the special committee on Peacekeeping Operations in New York (Figure 24).[444]



Figures 24-25: Top – *The Glyn Berry Conference Room* – Main conference room of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN, New York. Dedicated by Ambassador Allan Rock, 14 June 2006 – the date which Berry would have turned 60. Bottom – Details of the mural *Canadian Armed Forces At The Ready* by artist Robin Burgess, 1997, on a side of a commercial building, Pembroke Street East. © Pembroke Heritage Murals – Pembroke, Ontario.

Since the 1990s, there has been a resurgence of heritage **murals** across Canada and has been particularly prevalent in smaller and rural communities. With the arrival of the millennium year, it triggered many cities and veterans

[444] For more information, see the website to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations: http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/prmny-mponu/mission/about-a_propos/staff-personnel/GlynBerry.aspx?lang=eng&view=d

groups to prominently display murals in honour of Canada's military. For example, the town of Pembroke (Ontario) – located near Canadian Forces Base Petawawa – includes a number murals honouring the military (Figure 25).

Columns and pillars are often used as memorials. However, depending on their purpose, they can either be considered a commemorative memorial or a structural memorial. Those that are free-standing – such as Figures 91-97 – are usually erected in the open air and have no physical purpose other than to commemorate. These are not considered structural memorials. Only those columns and pillars that are integral or form part of a building or configuration are considered structural memorials. The *Column of Heroes* at St. Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork (Ireland) is an example of how the façade of a supporting column can be transformed into a war memorial (Figure 26). This Great War memorial has inscribed the names of all those who died from the dioceses of Cork, Cloyne & Ross, so that "FUTURE GENERATIONS MAY BE REMINDED OF THEIR SACRIFICE AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENT."[445] Canada's premier example of a structural memorial column is located in the centre of Confederation Hall, Centre Block, Parliament Buildings. Carved into this massive stone column is a 1917 dedication of the building to "THE VALOUR OF THOSE CANADIANS WHO IN THE GREAT WAR FOUGHT FOR THE LIBERTIES OF CANADA, OF THE EMPIRE AND OF HUMANITY."[446]

Chapels are known to be intimate religious places of worship but they can also become important places of memory, both in garrison and in the field. One of Canada's most significant military chapels is the 'regimental memorial' of the Royal 22e Régiment located within the fortress of La Citadelle, Québec (Figure 27). Its walls include stained glass windows that

[445] Part of the text inscribed at the bottom of the memorial column.

[446] The complete column's inscription is: "1867 JULY 1917 ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA AS THE DOMINION OF CANADA THE PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE DEDICATE THIS BUILDING IN PROCESS OF RECONSTRUCTION AFTER DAMAGE BY FIRE AS A MEMORIAL OF THE DEED OF THEIR FOREFATHERS AND OF THE VALOUR OF THOSE CANADIANS WHO IN THE GREAT WAR FOUGHT FOR THE LIBERTIES OF CANADA, OF THE EMPIRE AND OF HUMANITY."

represent numerous French-speaking units that brought reinforcement to the regiment. This 'sacred place' also houses the remains of Major-General Georges P. Vanier (1888-1967) and of his wife Pauline (1898-1991),[447] as well as the ashes of Brigadier-General Paul Triquet, V.C., C.D. (1910-1980).[448] On 10 October 1964, Queen Elizabeth, as their Colonel-in-Chief, dedicated a Book of Remembrance that lists the names of their Fallen since 1914. Each morning, a soldier enters the memorial, turns a page from the manuscript and reads aloud the names. Also, carefully hanging from the ceiling are State and Regimental colours which have been permanently laid to rest.

From time to time, there are **temporary structures** that are built for a single purpose but later become permanent memorials. One rare surviving example is the Changi Chapel that was originally constructed in 1944 by Australian prisoners of war "IN THE MIDST OF EXTREME ADVERSITY" on Singapore Island (Figure 28).[449] Returned for preservation, the memorial chapel was dedicated to the 35,000 Australian men and women taken prisoner of war between 1899 to 1953.[450]

Bridges that connect across waterways or other impasses have long been popular memorials. For example, in Kaiparoro, New Zealand, "the decision to make the bridge both a road bridge and an ANZAC war memorial

[447] Major-General Vanier, P.C., D.S.O., M.C., C.D., was the commanding officer of the regiment from 1926 to 1928 and was the first French-Canadian Governor General since Confederation. He died while in office on 5 March 1967 and was buried at La Citadelle in May of the same year.

Both General and Mrs. Vanier were very religious within the Catholic faith and despite their social and economic status lived a simple life. After they died, at their request, all of their possessions were sold with proceeds given to charities. Their son, Jean Vanier, a Companion of the Order of Canada, has been involved during all of his adult life in helping those who are mentally handicapped and opened in Paris "l'Arche", and later expanded this to a number of other locations across the world. Both General Vanier and his wife Pauline have been nominated for beatification in the Roman Catholic Church.

[448] While a captain with the Royal 22e Régiment, Paul Triquet received a Victoria Cross for his actions during an attack on Casa Berardi, Italy, on 14 December 1943.

[449] On site dedication plaque.

[450] This period includes the following wars: South African War (Boer War), First and Second World Wars, and Korean War.





Figures 26-27: Left – *Heroes Column* in memory of those who died during the Great War – St. Fin Barre's Cathedral (Church of Ireland – Anglican/Episcopalian), Cork, Ireland. Right – The regimental chapel of the Royal 22e Régiment – La Citadelle, Québec.





Figures 28-29: Top – Originally constructed by prisoners of war as Our Lady of Christians Chapel at Changi Camp, Singapore Island, in 1944. It was returned to Australia and dedicated on 15 August 1988 as the *National Prisoner of War Memorial* located at the Royal Military College, Duntroon, Canberra, Australia. Bottom – The *ANZAC Memorial Bridge*, built across the River Makakahi, was opened on 1 December 1922 and rededicated on 9 April 2006. Designed by Alfred Falkner. – Kaiparoro, New Zealand.

lent the structure great symbolic as well as practical value for the district."[451] This concrete bridge was built by returned veterans and volunteers at a cost of £800, with half provided by the community (Figure 29). A second more modern example is a steel suspension bridge that crosses the North Saskatchewan River (Saskatchewan) that was dedicated on 6 June 2007 to the memory of Corporal Frederick George Topham, v.c. (1917-1974). A medical orderly with the 1st Canadian Parachute Battalion, Topham received the Victoria Cross for treating casualties under sustained enemy fire east of the Rhine in March 1945.

The **naming of roadways** after those who served their country provides a direct historical and cultural link to their communities. While there are thousands of examples throughout Canada, the most most distinguished roadway named after military heroes is a quiet residential street in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Originally named *Pine Road*, it was renamed *Valour Road* in 1925 to recognize three Victoria Cross recipients who lived on the same street.[452] This unusual occurrence is recorded on a specially designed commemorative lamp post[453] and the neighbourhood has distinctive street signage to designate this memorial roadway (Figure 30). Municipalities and local developers continue to support commemorative street naming programs. For example, in 2005, as part of the celebrations for the Year of the Veterans, the city of Ottawa (Ontario) launched an initiative to honour local veterans. This included *Brian Good Avenue* after Trooper Brian Good who was killed in 2009 by a roadside bomb in Afghanistan.[454]

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[451] On site information panel.

[452] They are: Corporal Leo Clarke, V.C.. (1892-1916); Company Sergeant-Major Frederick William Hall, V.C. (1885-1915); and Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Shankland, V.C., D.C.M. (1887-1968). Both Clarke and Hall received their Victoria Cross posthumously.

[453] The lampost is located at the intersection of Portage Avenue and Valour Road, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[454] The honourees since the beginning of the program include: *P.A. Métivier Drive* after Paul A. Métivier, one of the last surving Canadian veterans from the Great War (2005); *W. LeBoutillier Avenue* after Captain William LeBoutillier who saw action in Hong Kong in 1941 (2006); *Mancuso Court* after Private Francisco (Frank) Mancuso who served in the Mediterranean and Europe during the Second World War (2007); *Pain Avenue* after Frederick Richard Paine who served with the Royal Canadian Artillery during the Second World War



Figures 30-31: Left – Street signage utilized to commemorate *Valour Road* – Winnipeg, Manitoba. Right – Commemorative plaque for the *Blue Star Memorial Highway* – Virginia Welcome Centre, Winchester, Virginia, along Interstate 81.

It was not until the end of the Second World War that the idea of renaming local streets after veterans expanded to major highways. In 1944, the New Jersey State Council of Garden Clubs beautified a stretch of a four-lane highway that included the planting of dogwood trees as a "living memorial" to the servicemen and women from that state. The following year, at the annual convention of the American *National Garden Clubs, Inc*., it was agreed that a beautification program was preferable to building stone monuments and that the New Jersey program be expanded on a nationwide basis. Its name – the *Blue Star Memorial Program* – is taken from the blue star in the Service Flag.[455] A uniform highway marker was adopted (Figure 31) and continues to be used throughout the U.S. A familiar pattern emerged in Australia when Mrs. Margaret Davis, the founding president of the Garden

(2008); *Brian Good Avenue* after Brian Richard Good (2009); *Andre Audet Street* after Andre Audet who served as an Able Seaman and was wounded in the English Channel during the Second World War (2010); and *des Soldats-Riendeau Street* after Private Ferdinand Riendeau who fought in France during the Great War (2011).

[455] For a history of the Service Flag, see 'Public Memory and Commemoration' Chapter, 'Signs of Remembrance' Section.

Clubs of Australia, suggested the planting of trees as a lasting memorial to those who served during the Second World War. In April 1952, the Remembrance Driveway Committee was formed "to investigate planting avenues of trees and establishing groves and memorial parks along the Hume and Federal Highways between Sydney and Canberra."[456] With waning public interest and lack of available funds, the project was on hold during the 1970s and 1980s but was revived in the early 1990s with financial, planning and material assistance and now commemorates all who served. In 1995, as an extension to their highway memorial program, the committee initiated a Victoria Cross Rest Area Project to honour the memory of all Australians who were awarded the Victoria Cross since the Second World War (Figure 32).[457]

Canada's approach to memorialization along their highways has been different. Unlike the Americans and Australians, Canadian efforts are not based on beautification programs but concentrate on commemorative re-naming and distinct signage at the provincial and regional levels. While there was some provincial movement after the millennium year (e.g. Figure 33), the major drive for re-naming major highways in honour of veterans came after the government's declaration of 2005 as the 'Year of the Veteran' which also marked the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Notwithstanding dozens of known re-dedications, there is one that merits special attention. In 2007, steming from a columnist's idea, there is a stretch of Highway 401 between Trenton and Toronto (Ontario) that was given the additional name of *Highway of Heroes* as a tribute by Canadians to its Fallen. The route – marked with appropriate signage (Figure 34) – reflects the final journey taken between the arrival of the deceased from Afghanistan at the military air base and the offices of the Chief Coroner of Ontario. Police, fire,

[456] New South Wales Government, Transport, Roads & Maritime Services, "Remembrance Driveway Committee." See website: http://www.rta.nsw.gov.au/doingbusinesswithus/lgr/downloads/information/committees/remembrance_driveway_committee.html

[457] From 1995 to 2006, a total of 22 memorials (Victoria Cross Rest Areas) were completed. Four additional rest areas are planned for the future.



Figures 32-35: Top Left – *Richard Kelliher VC Memorial Park* completed in 2002 – Canberra, Australia. Top Right – *Veterans Memorial Highway* dedicated in November 2003 by the Honourable Pat Binns, Premier – Highway 20, Prince Edward Island. Bottom Left – *Highway of Heroes* – portion of Highway 401, Ontario. Bottom Right – *Brigadier Angle Walk* declared by Kelowna's City Council on 14 March 2005 to commemorate the service of Brigadier Harry H. Angle, D.S.O., E.D. – City Park, Kelowna, British Columbia.



Figure 36: *The Purple Heart Trail* – MacArthur Square, General Douglas MacArthur Memorial, Norfolk, Virginia.

emergency services, and local population line the highway and 50 overpasses saluting and waving flags as a grassroots show of solidarity and loss. It appears that there are some examples of lesser extent in the United Kingdom but none similar reported in the U.S.

In addition to roads and highways, there are other smaller **passageways** that have been dedicated as memorials. One example is the *Brigadier Angle Walk*, dedicated by the city of Kelowna (British Columbia) in 2005 to commemorate the service of Brigadier Harry H. Angle (Figure 35).[458] In January 1950, he came out of retirement from the Canadian Army to be appointed Chief Military Observer in Kashmir on the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) dealing with the border dispute. He – along with three others – was killed in an air crash in the mountains of the Punjab-Kashmir region on 17 July 1950. He was Canada's first UN peacekeeping fatality.[459] There are also **trails** named in honour of those who earned particular recognitions. For example, *The Purple Heart Trail* is an imaginary trail that originates in Mount Vernon, Virginia, and traverses across the U.S. (Figure 36). Established in 1992 by the Military Order of the Purple Heart,[460] it is a symbolic trail that commemorates and honours all men and women who have been wounded or killed in combat while serving the U.S. armed forces.

The concept of **parks** as memorials was well-established after the Second World War, both within military and civilian communities. For example at Canadian Forces Base Borden (Ontario), the *Major-General Worthington Memorial Park* was constructed during the 1960s in honour of the 'father' of the Canadian Armoured Corps (Figure 37). This place of quiet reflection is shaped around his grave and includes a collection of armoured

[458] His distinguished military career began in 1932 when he joined the British Columbia Dragoons and later served as their commanding officer during the Second World War in Italy and North West Europe.

[459] In addition to a marker and bronze plaque dedicating the memorial walkway, there is a local armoury named in his honour.

[460] General Douglas MacArthur renamed it the Purple Heart Medal on 22 February 1932 in honour of the 200th anniversary of George Washington's birth.

vehicles and artillery that dates back to the First World War.[461] Conversely, *Valour Park*, located within a high traffic area within Winnipeg (Manitoba), is better suited to accentuate local heroes and pride (Figures 38 and 30), rather than reflection.





Figures 37-38: Top – *Major General-Worthington Memorial Park* – Canadian Forces Base Borden, Ontario. Bottom – Steel plate memorial located at *Valour Park* – Intersection of *Valour Road* and Sargent Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Trees, **bushes**, and **gardens** can either be ancillary to existing parks or be dedicated as individual memorials. While it is understood that these trees and vegetation are derived from nature, their plantings and surroundings are man-made. It is for these reasons that they are considered structural memorials. The practice of dedicating trees as a historical marker or as a symbol of remembrance dates back to the Victorian era. For instance, at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston, Ontario, ex-cadets who died on

[461] Major-General Frederic Franklin Worthington, C.B., M.C., M.M., C.D. (1889-1967) served in the Canadian Machine Gun Corps near Vimy Ridge during the Great War, and after serving as an tank instructor in England during the Second World War, he became Commandant of the Canadian Armoured Fighting Vehicle School at Camp Borden in 1938. He is credited to having designed the prototype for the Sherman tank.

military service during the Great War are honoured by birch trees planted on their premises. Another case in point is a small grove dedicated in 1985 on the legislative grounds of the province of Manitoba "TO THE MEMORY OF ALL VICTIMS OF WAR."[462]

Memorial gardens are extremely versatile on their approach to memorialization. When Whittick refers to a garden, he thinks of it as a place of repose, with plenty of seats, "where people can be quiet and reflect in the centre of a town, with a sculptured memorial as the focal point."[463] He also affirms that:

> If it is a true memorial it should exist in its own right, and should not be merged and probably lost within a few years in a social service or some other utilitarian purpose. That is not to say that the memorial should not have some element of usefulness; but such an element should be entirely subordinate to the memorial. Its *raison d'être* is as a memorial.[464]

Whittick has a good argument about adhering to the original intent of a memorial, however, by extension, he is also saying that utilitarian memorials should not be considered 'true memorials.' While Whittick is a proponent of a memorial having a single focus, this tactic is not universally adopted by neither the artists who create them nor those who visit them. The major factors on how and if it can accommodate a single focus are its purpose, design, and size of the overall site. In the case of the *Irish National War Memorial* – Lutyen's last war memorial to be built – it is part of a 150-acre linear park that incorporates a *War Cross* (Figure 75), a *Stone of Remembrance*, obelisk fountains, a pair of flanking sunken rose gardens (Figure 39) and four pavilions or 'book rooms' that contain records of the dead.[465] While this place of memory allows for quiet reflection, its multi-

[462] Memorial dedicated on 6 August 1985, Legislative Grounds, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[463] Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946, p.5.

[464] Ibid, p.5.

[465] The *National Irish War Memorial* is managed by the National Parks and Monuments Service of the Office of Publics Works in co-operation with the Irish National War Memorial Management Committee. On the wall of remembrance is written "TO THE MEMORY OF 49 400

faceted design across the great central lawn facilitates reflection in various ways: passive when admiring the architectural and horticultural beauty of the site and active when able to lay a wreath or flowers at the Stone of Remembrance or War Cross. This phenomenon of multi-nodal reflection is also visible at Canada's *National Military Cemetery*. For the time being, the eight acre-site has two nodes. At the main entrance is the cemetery's 24 metric-ton monument[466] which marks this national focal point of honour and serves as an active place of remembrance. The second node is a Garden of Remembrance (Figure 40) that was strategically placed mid-point within the cemetery. Centered within the garden is a smaller memorial dedicated to the three armed services and contains benches for people to contemplate.

A third and last example of a memorial garden is the "Garden of Memories" located in Winnipeg, Manitoba (Figure 41). The project was created to commemorate the participation of the province of Manitoba in the BCATP and to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the formation of the Royal Canadian Air Force (1924-1999). As inferred in its name, the site is composed of a variety of memories – but unlike the two previous examples, the composition of this 'garden' is devoid of the usual flowers and plant materials. Rather, it includes a composition of various aircraft, flag poles, benches, sculptures, and tablets that serve as historical artefacts and memorials onto themselves. After review of the three garden examples, it can be deduced that it is possible that a memorial can been designed to focus memory on a single point but that for larger sites, reflection can incorporate competing roles and memories. They can also change over time, or be viewed differently, but the constant factor is providing space that allows for quiet reflection.

IRISH MEN WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN THE GREAT WAR 1914-1918." In addition to the dates of the First World War, the national memorial also includes the added inscriptions of "1939-1945."

[466] Dedicated "TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF CANADA'S ARMED FORCES WHO HAVE SERVED THEIR COUNTRY WITH DISTINCTION IN WAR AND PEACE."



Figure 39: Gardens of the *Irish National War Memorial* – Designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens. Works directed by T.J. Byrne and completed in 1938 – Islandbridge, Dublin, Ireland.

Figures 40-41: Right – Tri-Service Memorial and Garden of Remembrance – *National Military Cemetery*, Ottawa, Ontario. Bottom – Entrance gate to the *Garden of Memories* dedicated to the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1999 – Winnipeg, Manitoba.









Figures 42-43: Left – An Exedra commemorating General L.C. Shepherd Jr., a veteran of the two World Wars, Korea, and 20th Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. Sculptor: Felix de Weldon, 1984. – Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia. Right – In 1995, Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip unveiled the 12-ton *Peace* bell – the largest in the Southern Hemisphere – *National War Memorial Carillon*, Wellington, New Zealand.

Benches as places of rest and reflection were introduced by the ancient Greeks when they constructed public shelters and colonnades. These structures – known as *exedrae,* the Greek word for "out of a seat" – were recessed carved seats placed in public venues, private homes and gardens and were used as gathering spots, entertaining and seating guests.[467] The **exedra** was well suited for burial grounds as it helped define the burial plot and provided built-in seating for the mourners to converse while focusing on the tomb before them. Semicircular, rectangular, or straight in form, the exedra was most popular from the late 19th century until the 1920s. Figure 42 illustrates a modern military application of an exedra. Benches continue to be part of a park or rest area's basic infrastructure and have become a popular and simple means of commemoration. For example, the city of Pembroke (Ontario) dedicated a wooden bench along the *Millennium Boardwalk* in honour of the Freedom of the City that was granted on 29 June 2000 to the 1st Battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment and the Royal Canadian Dragoons. The key is that in order for a bench to be labeled a structural memorial, it must have been dedicated in memory of a person, group, or particular event.

Carillons and **bells** are not only considered musical instruments but are also used for commemorative purposes. During the Middle Ages, bells were used to broadcast a variety of religious, social, weather-related, and military events. A carillon consists of at least 23 cast bronze bells housed in structures such as church towers, belfries, and government buildings. After the Great War, many nations and communities commissioned a carillon as part of their commemorative efforts. Such was the case for Canada and New Zealand. In Canada, the *Peace Tower Carillon* was inaugurated in its capital city in 1927 to "commemorate the Armistice of 1918 and the sacrifice made by Canada during the First World War. The inauguration ceremony was a major event and also marked the first live coast-to-coast radio broadcast in

[467] Keister, Douglas, *Stories in Stone – A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography*. Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2004, p.36.

Canada."[468] In New Zealand, its *National War Memorial Carillon* building "was intended as a sister structure" to the *Peace Tower Carillon* in Ottawa.[469] Arriving in New Zealand in 1931, the original bells were private donations in memory of First World War casualties.[470] Each bell has a name and dedicated inscription and bears the names of people, military units, and specific battles. In 1995, the government donated four large bells to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War (Figure 43).[471] Nowadays, carillons are used for recitals and are tolled to mark major occasions such as state funerals and commemorative days, including Remembrance Day and ANZAC Day.

For those countries that are known to have very cold temperatures at certain times of the year, **ice carvings** (Figure 44)[472] and **snow sculptures** (Figure 45) are increasingly becoming popular as a means of erecting temporary memorials. Since 2007, Veterans Affairs Canada,[473] in partnership with veterans groups and local communities, has had tremendous success in erecting such memorials. A different military theme is chosen every year.

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[468] Parliament of Canada, The House of Commons Heritage Collection, "Carillon." See website: http://www.parl.gc.ca/About/House/Collections/carillon/history-e.htm
The Peace Tower Carillon is comprised of 53 bells. The inauguration took place at the *Tower of Victory and Peace*, Centre Block, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario, on 1 July 1927, the 60th anniversary of Confederation. Today, it is one of eleven carillons in Canada.

[469] Kelly, Michael, *Art Deco Heritage Trail*, 2nd Edition. Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 2005, p.11.

[470] The original 49 bells were also cast in Croyden, England, by Gillett & Johnston Ltd. The National War Memorial Carillon was dedicated on ANZAC Day, 1932. Substantially rebuilt and enlarged since 1984, the Carillon now has 74 bells and is the third largest in the world.

[471] The four large bass bells are *Peace* (Rangimarie), *Hope* (Tumanako), *Grace* (Aroha) and *Remembrance* (Whakamaharatanga). The inscription of the *Peace* bell is: TO THE GLORY OF GOD / THIS BELL IS DEDICATED / IN COMMEMORATION OF / THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY / OF THE END OF WORLD WAR TWO / AND / WITH THANKSGIVING TO / THE PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND / FOR THEIR SERVICE AND SACRIFICE / BY HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH THE SECOND / ANNO • DOMINI • 1995

[472] In the case of the actual *Menin Gate*, it is one of the most visited Great War memorial on the Western Front, and it is partly due to their Last Post Ceremony held continuously since 1 July 1928 (except during the period of May 1940 to September 1944) that this may well be the most long-standing 20th century "living memorial."

[473] Veterans Affairs Canada is the lead department within the Government of Canada responsible for the planning and implementation of commemorative activities for veterans of the Canadian Forces.




Figures 44-45: Left – Snow Sculpture replica of the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial*, Manitoba Provincial Legislature, February 2007 – Winnipeg, Manitoba (Photo: Roger Courrège). Right – Ice Carving replica of the *Menin Gate Memorial* unveiled in February 2008, as part of Winterlude, an annual winter festival of outdoor activities organized by the National Capital Commission – Confederation Park, Ottawa, Ontario.

Ships, Weapons, Vehicles, and Aircraft

During the conduct of warfare, sailors, soldiers and airmen require various modes of transportation, numerous pieces of equipment and a wide variety of weapons in order to train and accomplish their mission. After battles, victors often displayed trophies of war or incorporated them into their memorials – this included parts of ships, weapons, vehicles, and aircraft. Some of these inanimate objects have been transformed into living memorials commemorating certain military battles, heroes or emotions. The following section include examples of how some of these structures have become memorials onto themselves.

The **naming of ships** is one of the oldest forms of commemoration and serves a useful purpose of keeping national, military and naval history and heritage alive. The British naval convention for the naming of ships is considered one of the oldest and most varied.[474] With England being a

[474] Interview with Mr. Michael Whitby, Senior Naval Historian, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence – 5 August 2009, Ottawa, Ontario. The interview discussed past and existing practices and conventions within the Commonwealth and the United States.

monarchy, many have been named after members of the Royal family. A few were named in favour of politicians. For example, a series of ships carried the name *HMS Blake* in honour of Robert Blake (1598-1657), a former parliamentarian and later, a General at Sea who wrote the first book on tactics and discipline.[475] They often recognize former military leaders such as Rear Admiral Philip Broke (1776-1841) who fought during the War of 1812 (*HMS Broke*). Important military naval and land battles have also been featured: HMS *Trafalgar* for Lord Nelson's victory in 1805 and *HMS Agincourt* for Henry V's victory during the Hundred Years' War. Numerous ships were named after 'emotions' such as, *HMS Dreadnought*; *HMS Defiant*; *HMS Upholder*. From time to time, there are establishments and sites that are named in the same manner as a ship. For example, *HMS Quebec* was a combined training centre in Scotland during the Second World War.

In Canada, while non-military vessels such as ice breakers were often named after former prime ministers, the naming practice for military ships was to use geographic features – mainly cities and rivers found across the country. It was not until November 2010 that the Federal government changed its policy and announced that nine new "Hero Class" Canadian Coast Guard vessels in honour of fallen Canadian heroes would include two soldiers killed in Afghanistan and two Victoria Cross recipients from the First World War.[476]

The Canadian use of weapons as structural memorials really began as an attempt to collect lost memories from the Seven Years' War (Figure 46). Ten historic **guns** – remnants of the battle of 1759 – were collected by the late

[475] *The Laws of War and Ordinances of the Sea.*

[476] A Canadian Coast Guard Ship (CCGS) will be named after the following Canadian heroes: Corporal Joseph Kaeble, V.C. and Private James Peter Robertson, V.C. from the First World War; Captain Nichola Goddard, M.S.M. and Corporal Mark Robert McLaren , M.M.V., both killed in Afghanistan; Corporal Gordon Teather, C.V., and Constable J.L. François Carrière of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; Coast Guard Chief Officer Gregory Paul Peddle, S.C. and Seaman Martin Charles, M.B.; and Fisheries Officer Agapit LeBlanc.





Figures 46-47: Top – Memorial plaque located among ten 18th century guns dedicated in May 1913 to the Late Herbert Molesworth Price – Plains of Abrahams, Québec, Québec. Bottom – *Saint-Claude Cenotaph* inaugurated in July 1921 including First World War machine guns flanking the memorial. Sculptor: Nicolas Pirroton. – Saint-Claude, Manitoba.



Figure 48: CH-136 Kiowa Helicopter memorial dedicated on 13 June 1996 to the memory of Canadian Forces personnel killed in a Kiowa crash in 1977 in Newfoundland – Combat Training Centre, Gagetown, New Brunswick.

Herbert Molesworth Price[477] and were presented in 1913 to the National Battlefields Commission by his family, "AS A MEMORIAL TO THEIR FATHER'S INTEREST IN ALL MATTERS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF QUEBEC, AND IN THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL BATTLEFIELDS COMMISSION."[478] The Plains of Abraham in Québec also include guns that originated from the First Wold War

[477] Herbert Molesworth Price (1847-?) was a successful businessman within the forestry industry in Québec.

[478] On site dedication tablet, Plains of Abraham, Québec.

but are considered historical artefacts as they have not been dedicated. At the conclusion of the Great War, Canadian communities were eager to display **machine guns** and **artillery pieces** (captured or allied) in local parks as war trophies or incorporated them into local memorials. As shown in Figure 47, this phenomenon also permeated into remote rural communities such as Saint-Claude, Manitoba. As exemplified at the *Major General-Worthington Memorial Park* (Figure 37), the use of **vehicles** (tracked and wheeled) as memorials was particularly popular after the Second World War. After the 'Cold War,' there was renewed interest in using **aircraft** as memorials. For example, in Gagetown (New Brunswick), a Kiowa helicopter stands in memory of three military personnel killed in a Kiowa crash near Corner Brook, Newfoundland, almost two decades earlier (Figure 48). To this day, ships, weapons, vehicles, and aircraft, continue to be important and visible structural memorials.

Geo-memorials

With nearly ten million square kilometres in size, Canada is the world's second largest country that includes nearly 900,000 square kilometres of freshwater.[479] For this reason, it has been an important task for the Geographic Names Board of Canada (GNBC)[480] to apply its "commemorative naming" policy[481] to an extensive list of natural features found on land, in

[479] According to the *Atlas of Canada*, Canada has an estimated 31,752 lakes (larger than three square kilometres). See Natural Resources Canada, "The Atlas of Canada." Website: http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/learningresources/facts/lakes.html

[480] Canada has had a national committee which authorizes the names used on official federal maps of Canada since 1897. The original *Geographic Board of Canada* was succeeded in 1948 by the *Canadian Board on Geographic Names* and was reorganized in 1961 as the *Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names*. In March 2000, it became the *Geographic Names Board of Canada* under the auspices of Natural Resources Canada.

[481] "Commemorative naming refers to the naming of natural or cultural features after persons or events, as a way to honour or memorialize the person or event in question." Source: Natural Resources Canada, Geographical Names Board of Canada, "Commmemorative Naming Guidelines," dated 23 June 2006. See website: http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/earth-sciences/geography-boundary/geographical-name/related-organizations/geographical-names-board-of-canada/5816

waters, and at sea.[482] Geographic memorials – or geo-memorials – are *natural geographic features*, such as mountains, lakes, and rivers, that have been named to honour or memorialize a person or an event.[483]

Working with the GNMC, many Canadian provinces and territories after the Second World War named geographic features to commemorate its war dead. The policy initiated in 1947 of "using the names of decorated casualties for any unnamed geographical features for mapping and resource development purposes" was updated in 1955 to use all casualty names, regardless if they were decorated or not.[484] For example, in the province of Manitoba their *Commemorative Names Project* includes more than 4,200 lakes, rivers, creeks and other landscape features that have been named for fatal casualties from the Second World War, Korean War, UN peacekeepers, and most recently, Afghanistan.[485] Saskatchewan is another very active province promoting geo-memorials for its war dead.[486] Similar to the province of Manitoba, most of their named features are located in northern remote areas. Among the more than 3,900 geo-memorials named after Saskatchewan men and women who gave their lives since the Second World War is Sub-Lieutenant Ross MacRae Wilson (1920-1942) who served with the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve. Wilson was trained as a pilot with the

[482] These include the naming of natural features such as: conservations areas; rivers and river features, falls; lakes; springs; seas and sea features; undersea features; rapids; bays; beaches; shoals; islands; cliffs; mountains; valleys; plains; caves; craters; glaciers; forests; low vegetation; among others. For a detailed description, consult: Natural Resources Canada, "Geographical Feature Type." Website: http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/earth-sciences/geography-boundary/geographical-name/geographical-feature-type/5753

[483] All other physical features that are not natural but man-made are covered under the section 'Structural Memorials.'

[484] Holm, Gerald F,, and Buchner, Anthony P. (Editors), *A Place of Honour – Manitoba's War Dead Commemorated in its Geography*, Second Edition. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Manitoba Geographical Names Program, 2005, p.i.

[485] Government of Manitoba, Geomatic and Remote Sensing, "Manitoba Geographic Names Program." Website: http://www.gov.mb.ca/conservation/geomatics/geo_names/index.html

[486] In the province of Saskatchewan, the responsibility to administer the *GeoMemorial Commemorative Naming Program* is the Heritage Conservation Branch of the Ministry of Tourism, Parks, Culture and Sports.

Royal Navy's Fleet Air Arm[487] and was killed in a night flying accident on the Isle of Arran off the west coast of Scotland. His home-province named *Wilson Lake* in his honour (Figure 49).[488] In 2006, the province of Saskatchewan expanded their program to also include police officers and emergency responders, and Saskatchewan people of prominence, including residents who made important contributions.[489]



Figure 49: Commemorative plaque mounted on the shore of *Wilson Lake*, Saskatchewan, in memory of Sub-Lieutenant Ross MacRae Wilson by his son Ross M. Wilson on 10 September 2002 (Photo: R.M. Wilson).

Named Trophies and Awards

Naming trophies and awards to honour military people and events is an extension of utilitarian memorials that were developed post First World War. One of Canada's most interesting trophies is the *Memorial Cup* that has been

[487] Wilson was among the 150 volunteers "who were selected from Naval Divisions across Canada for training by the Royal Navy." He went overseas with John Robarts (1917-1982), a future Premier of Ontario, and Robert Hampton "Hammy" Gray (1917-1945), the only Canadian naval recipient of the Victoria Cross and the last Canadian awarded the decoration (although posthumously) during the Second World War. See: Marshall, David G., *Stained Glass Name – A Dedication of Remembrance*. Regina, Saskatchewan: First Presbyterian Church, 2002, pp.82-84.

[488] *Wilson Lake* is located 25 kilometres west of Flin Flon and west of Ceighton and can be found at 54º47´ 102º04´. See: Barry, Bill, *Geographic Names of Saskatchewan*. Regina, Saskatchewan: People Places Saskatchewan Ltd., 2005, p.478.

[489] Government of Saskatchewan, Ministry of Tourism, Parks, Culture and Sports, Heritage Conservation Branch, "Geo-Memorial Commemorative Naming." See website: http://www.tpcs.gov.sk.ca/geomemorial

presented annually since 1919 as an award for the national champions of junior hockey in Canada. Proposed and donated by Captain James T. Sutherland,[490] it was created as a memorial to remember players who died during the Great War. In 2010, the Memorial Cup was rededicated "to the memory of all fallen Canadian Military Personnel."[491] Another type is **swords of remembrance** that are often awarded to students in military colleges. For example, as part of graduating ceremonies at the Royal Military College of Canada, *The Captain Matthew Dawe Memorial Sword* and *The Captain Nichola Goddard Memorial Sword* are awarded to the most deserving third year Combat Arms Officer Cadet and Artillery Officer Cadet, respectively.[492]

FORMS OF MEMORIALS

While 'types' of memorials relate to a purpose or intent, 'forms' of memorials relate to shape or appearance. The key difference is 'types' of memorials are more closely associated with a basic function (e.g. to commemorate, to beautify, utilitarian) while 'forms'are more concerned with looks and have typically been created from concepts, symbols and designs. *Intangible forms* were discussed earlier in this chapter but essentially consist of memorials that take the identity of a fund, endowment, scholarship or bursary. *Tangible forms* of memorials are pre-dominant within a community's landscape. Historic forms listed in Figure 2 are representative of timeless and classical architecture dating back to early civilization. With the conclusion of the Great War, there was some weariness of erecting standardized war memorials and statues. Hence, there was a desire to create new forms of memorials – this time, placing emphasis on developing innovative concepts – either new or derived from ancient roots. The following section will examine

[490] Captain James Thomas Sutherland (1870-1955) is often referred to as the "Father of Hockey" in Canada. He served with the Canadian Army during the First World War and was a driving force in creating the International Hockey Hall of Fame in 1943.

[491] Memorial Cup, "Rededication of the Memorial Cup Opens 92nd Edition of National Championship," Brandon, Manitoba. The rededication was done at Canadian Forces Base Shilo, Manitoba. See website: http://mastercardmemorialcup.ca/article/rededication-of-the-memorial-cup-opens-92nd-edition-of-national-championship/89701

[492] Both were killed in action while serving in Afghanistan. Captain Dawe on 4 July 2007 and Captain Goddard on 7 May 2006.

the historic trophy and panoply as well as a number *conceptual forms* that have been created since the 20th century, including the eternal flame, a tomb of the unknown, a variety of crosses, the Stone of Remembrance, the cenotaph, the poppy, the Irish lily, and most recently, 'rolling' memorials.

Trophy and Panoply

In ancient Greece or Rome, the weapons and other spoils of a defeated enemy were set up as a memorial of victory, originally on the battlefield and later, atop a stone foundation in public venues. Typically, soldiers hung captured arms, armour and standards in an orderly fashion on a tree-trunk and branches or on a large stake – to resemble the figure of a warrior. This is the ancient definition of a *trophy*. In the case of naval trophies, ships or its remnants were laid out on the beach to display the conquest. With time, the definition for trophy evolved to include an 'arrangement' or representation of weapons, arms and equipment – either in a lithographic or sculpted form.

When trophies are used as an architectural ornament on arsenals, barracks, funerary monuments and memorials, it is called a *military decoration*. When arranged decoratively in a heap, in schemes of military decoration, it is called a *panoply*. As expressed by Whittick, "from the Middle Ages to the present day accoutrements of military life are the most conspicuous in professional symbolism; because, doubtless, the profession of arms, incurring the risk of life for a cause, involves character and considerations of death more than any other profession."[493]

As exemplified in Figure 50, a panoply was often portrayed as a decorative element within old military manuscripts, maps and lithographs. In this instance, the panoply displayed a generic arrangement of helmet, armour, sword, pike, axe, gun, trumpet, drum, flags, shields, and crossbow – all of which were employed by the English forces during medieval times. Figure 51 is a traditional 19th century example of sculpted panoply honouring the

[493] Whittick, Arnold, 1935, op. cit., p.158.

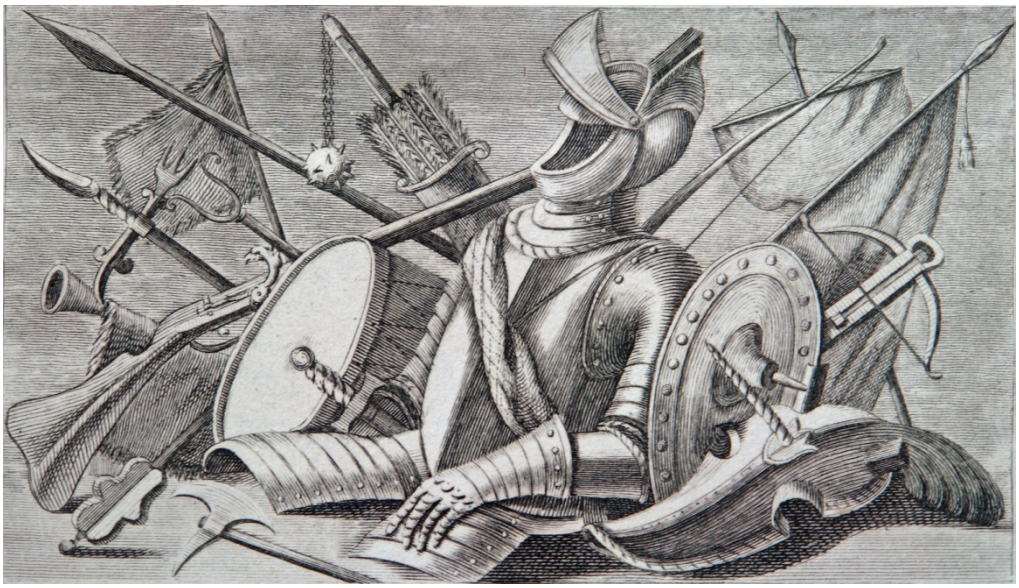

Figure 50: Panoply illustrating a representation from the Medieval English Army – Frontpage Bookplate from Francis Grose, *Military Antiquities Respecting A History of the English Army from the Conquest to the Present Time*, Vol. I, 1801.



Figure 51: Panoply commemorating the Siege of the American-French Alliance at Yorktown on 19 October 1781 – *Monument to Alliance and Victory*, Yorktown, Virgina. President Chester Arthur was present on 18 October 1881 for the cornerstone laying ceremony and the memorial was completed three years later in 1884. Artists: R. M. Hunt, J.Q.A. Ward, Henry Van Brunt, and Oskar J.W. Hansen.

American-French alliance victory against the British at the Siege of Yorktown – considered the last major battle which assured the American Independence. The perfectly balanced composition includes a helmet, breast plate, flags, rifles with fixed bayonets, cross swords, cannon, drum, and laurels leaves placed at both extremities signifying victory.





Figures 52-53: Left – Naval Trophy located on the Base of *Nelson's Pillar*, 1808 – Place Jacques-Cartier, Montréal, Québec. Right – Panopoly dedicated 'TO THE BRAVE OF 1760' and erected by the St. John the Baptist Society of Quebec in 1860. Architect: Charles Baillargé. – *Monument des Braves*, Québec, Québec.



Figure 54: 'THAYENDANEGEA' Aboriginal Panoply, *Joseph Brant Memorial Statue* dedicated on 13 October 1886 and sculpted by Percy Wood of London, England – Victoria Park, Brantford, Ontario.

With the erection of Canada's first public military memorial in 1808 as a tribute to Lord Nelson and his victory at Trafalgar (Figure 91), the column's base included a naval military decoration: a large laurel wreath as the centre piece with guns on each side and at its pinnacle, cross anchors, a looking glass and an astrolabe (Figure 52). Unlike most dedicated to military commanders,

a rare example of a panoply dedicated 'to the brave' soldiers of opposing forces is located at the *Monument des Braves* in Québec (Figure 95). The panoply illustrated in Figure 53 depicts emblems relating to a land battle: helmet, flags, lances, rifle with bayonet, sword, and artillery with canon balls – all encircled as part of a wreath composed of laurel leaves. However, Canada's most unique and aboriginal style of panoply can be found on the memorial dedicated to Captain Joseph Brant who fought alongside the British against the Americans during the War of 1812 (Figure 163). Brant, who was also a Mohawk chief, was known in his native tongue as 'Thayendanegea' – which mean "two pieces of wood bound together." The panoply at the rear of the memorial (Figure 54) exhibits representations of the six tribes or nations that went into battle with Brant, including: traditional snow shoes, a bow and arrows, a knife, tomahawk, calumet, war club, animal horns, and inscribed across a tanned animal pelt is the single word 'Thayendanegea'. In summary, trophies, military decorations and panoplies encapsulate a particular moment in time and continue to be important objects of memorialization.

Eternal Flame

It was the Greeks who had the original idea of having an eternal flame burning in the hearth of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. The belief was that the flame represented life and peace so long as the flame burned. This notion was later adopted by the Romans at the Temple of Vesta, where vestal virgins were given enormous honour and privilege but also had the great responsibility of guarding and keeping the sacred fire burning (Figure 55).

It appears that the application of an eternal flame – or sometimes called a perpetual flame – remained dormant since the Vestal Virgins' fire was extinguished in the fourth century and up until the 1920s. The idea of an eternal flame for the French Unknown Soldier originated from Gabriel Boissy (1879-1949). In 1923, two years after entombing their Unknown Soldier, there were concerns on how to appropriately commemorate their future anniversary of the Armistice. Boissy, a journalist, proposed that a 'flame of

remembrance'[494] be placed over the Unknown Soldier – a fire that would serve as a permanent reminder to the memory of the '*poilu*' (Figure 66).[495] It was considered the first eternal flame to have been lit in Western and Eastern Europe since the Roman Empire.

Most are unaware that the Europeans were not the very first to have lit an eternal flame. That distinction most likely belongs to the *Japanese Canadian War Memorial* that was erected in Vancouver (British Columbia) on 9 April 1920, the third anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge. The 39-foot column was intended to perpetuate the memory of those Japanese Canadians who died and served during the Great War.[496] Occidental in its general design, it includes at its peak a Japanese marble lantern that was lit at the time of unveiling "in memory of those in France and Flanders Fields, forever guiding us into a more noble purpose, will proudly say that while such men as these live, freedom and liberty shall never perish from the earth."[497] The flame remained lit until the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor[498] and was re-lit for a second time on 2 August 1985 – in the presence of Sergeant Masumi Mitsui, M.M. (1887-1987), the last surviving Japanese Canadian who fought during the Great War.

The United States has many notable eternal flames. Important from a military and commemorative point of view is a monument with an eternal flame that was first proposed in 1909 by a Pennsylvania Commission. Although it was planned to have it completed for the 50th anniversary of the

[494] The original French text is "*La Flamme du Souvenir*."

[495] The flame was lit on 11 November 1923 in the presence of 300,000 people and has never been extinguished since (even during the occupation from 1940 to 1945). The flame is 're-lit' every evening at 6:30 p.m. in accordance to a program established and coordinated by veterans associations.

[496] Fifty-four Japanese Canadians died and 142 served during the Great War.

[497] Address of Alderman J.J. McRae at the dedication ceremony of the Japanese Canadian War Memorial, 9 April 1920, Stanley Park, Vancouver, British Columbia. *The Vancouver Daily Province*, "Unveil Shaft to Japanese Soldiers," 9 April 1920, reprinted in "Nikkei Images," National Nikkei Museum and Heritage Centre Newsletter, Autumn 2005, Vol. 10, No. 3, p.4.

[498] The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor occurred 7 December 1941.

Battle of Gettysburg in 1913, it was not until 1938 that President Roosevelt dedicated the *Eternal Light Peace Memorial* during its 75th anniversary (Figure 56). "Conceived as a reaction against the growing violence in Europe,"[499] about 1,800 Union and Confederate veterans[500] attended the ceremonies "brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here in united loyalty to a united cause which the unfolding years have made it easier to see."[501] The monument was rededicated in 1988 on the 125th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg. Two decades later, on 31 March 1963, President John F. Kennedy drove from Camp David, Maryland, to tour the Gettysburg Battlefield, including the eternal flame. Eight months later, President Kennedy was assassinated.[502] Two days after his death, Jacqueline Kennedy had requested an eternal flame for her husband's grave at Arlington National Cemetery (Figure 57). Mrs. Kennedy had relayed to Jack Valenti from the White House that the idea for the flame was inspired by her visit to Gettysburg.[503] Today, the burial plot of President Kennedy and family remains the most visited site at Arlington.[504] Washington, D.C., includes a second eternal flame – this time, to commemorate civilians who died during a war. The eternal flame at the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* was erected in 1993 in memory of the millions of Jews and members of minority groups killed by the Nazis from 1938 to 1945 (Figure 58). Beneath the flame " LIES EARTH GATHERED FROM DEATH CAMPS, CONCENTRATION CAMPS, SITES OF MASS EXECUTION, AND GHETTOS IN NAZI-OCCUPIED EUROPE, AND FROM

[499] Desjardin, Thomas A., *These Honored Dead – How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory*. Cambridge, Massachusets: Da Capo Press, 2003, p.107

[500] The youngest veteran was said to be 88 years old and the oldest claimed to be 112 years old. A total of about 250,000 people attended the ceremonies.

[501] "Speech of the President," Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 3 July 1938, p.3. The speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt can be found at the following website: http://www.gettysburgdaily.com/files/speechofthepresident.pdf

[502] President Kennedy was assassinated on 22 November 1963 in Dallas, Texas.

[503] Jack Valenti (1921-2007) was an aide to President Lyndon B. Johnson and was ordered to look after the funeral arrangements for President John F. Kennedy.

[504] The official website of Arlington National Cemetery: http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/VisitorInformation/MonumentMemorials/JFK.aspx

CEMETERIES OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS WHO FOUGHT AND DIED TO DEFEAT NAZI-GERMANY."[505]



Figures 55-58: Various applications of an Eternal Flame. Top Left – The *Forum of Rome* which includes vestiges from the Temple of Vesta – Rome, Italy. Top Right – *Eternal Light Peace Memorial* dedicated by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt during the Observance of the 75th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, 3 July 1938. Architect: Paul Philippe Cret. – Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania. Bottom Left – The Grave Site of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917-1963), his wife Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy (1929-1994), and two of their children – Arlington Cemetery, Washington D.C. Bottom Right – Eternal Flame at the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* inaugurated 22 April 1993 – Washington, D.C.

Not all eternal flames are of a national stature. In Canada, many have been erected in small towns such as Pembroke, Ontario. As seen in Figure 59, eternal flames are located at the rear of the original war memorial honouring the memory of the men who gave up their lives in the Great War and are flanking an Honour Roll dedicated to those who died during the Second World

[505] Engraved inscription on the face of the Eternal Flame memorial.

War and Korea. Here, the eternal flames appear to provide a 'night light' for those who are sleeping in eternity and complements well the epitaph depicted on the main war memorial:

"ALL'S WELL FOR OVER THERE
AMONG HIS PEERS A HAPPY
WARRIOR SLEEPS"

Since the end of the Korean War, there have been innovative and modern applications of an eternal flame. While the core idea remains the same, modern designs as well as local cultural considerations are incorporated into the memorial. One example is the *Alberta Police and Peace Officers'Memorial* that was inaugurated in 2006. This eternal flame memorial entitled *PILLAR OF STRENGTH*, was assembled as five separate columns uniting and forming a single pillar (Figure 61). At the head of each column includes a short phrase, including: "This Memorial honours the fallen. We honour their courage and commitment. These officers served with great dedication. We will always remember them. They made a difference in their communities." On the second step for each of the pillars, the following corresponding words are embedded in brass letters: "TO REMEMBER – TO RESPECT – TO LOVE – TO RECOGNIZE – TO HONOUR". Despite that members of the Military Police are part of the Canadian Forces, they are often considered part of the larger police force community, especially when it involves the death of a comrade. For this reason, the name of Corporal Randy Payne[506] is included as one of approximately one hundred names listed onto the memorial (Figure 62).[507] Considered perhaps as Canada's most modern application of an eternal flame is the electric wall example located at the regimental chapel of the Royal 22e Régiment at La Citadelle, Québec (Figure 60).

[506] Corporal Randy Payne from Canadian Forces Base/Area Support Unit Wainwright died on 22 August 2006.

[507] The earliest recorded service-related death is that of Sub Constable John Nash from the North-West Mounted Police (11 March 1876). It also appears that Constable Christine Diotte from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (died 12 March 2002) is so far the only women police officer who paid the ultimate price within the Province of Alberta.









Figures 59-62: Various Canadian examples of an Eternal Flame. Top Left – Eternal Flames flanking the original Great War Memorial and an Honour Roll for those who died during the Second World War and Korea. Sculptor: Alfred Howell. – Pembroke, Ontario. Top Right – Wall electric Eternal Flame located within the regimental chapel of the Royal 22e Régiment – La Citadelle, Québec. Bottom – The *Alberta Police and Peace Officers' Memorial* was dedicated on 18 July 2006 by the Honourable Norman L. Kwong, C.M., A.O.E., Lieutenant Governor of Alberta and The Honourable Harvey Cenaiko, M.L.A., Solicitor General and Minister of Public Security – Province of Alberta Legislative Grounds, Edmonton.

Tomb of the Unknown

A tomb for unknowns is not new but its meaning has changed over time. During ancient civilizations, it was customary that only high level commanders and proven heroes were to be recognized with a suitable memorial or gravestone. For common soldiers, they were buried on the spot – where they died on the field of battle – or were carried away to a designated place of burial among their comrades-in-arms. Antecedent to a modern cemetery, the overall site might have been denoted with bolders or markers – but the soldiers' identity would have vanished through time. For millennia, this was the original sense of a tomb of the unknown.

In North America, it was the American Civil War that brought about a widespread need and desire to identify and bury its military dead. With the erection of the *Hazen Brigade Monument* in 1863 (Figure 183), it became one of America's oldest military memorials. As the intensity of war increased, so did the number of casualties and pressure from families to recognize and commemorate its dead. Three years later, in 1866, a *Civil War Unknowns Monument* was erected near Arlington House, Virginia – a vault that contained the remains of over 2,000 soldiers that were found scattered across the battlefields or in the trenches (Figure 63). This was the cemetery's first memorial "to be dedicated to soldiers who had died in battle, and who later could not be identified."[508] Later, in 1905, the remains of fourteen unknown U.S. soldiers and sailors from the War of 1812 were discovered during excavation work near the Washington Navy Yard. A reinterment took place at Arlington that same year but it was not until 1976 that a memorial was put in place "SYMBOLIC OF ALL WHO MADE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE IN THAT WAR".[509] These two examples point to a shift from acknowledging the presence of unidentified remains to beginning to recognize other unknowns who have contributed to the war.

[508] The official website of Arlington National Cemetery: http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/VisitorInformation/MonumentMemorials/CivilWar.aspx

[509] Partial text inscribed on the memorial that can be found at Plot: Section 1, Lot 299, Grid N-33.5, Arlington National Cemetery.





Figures 63-64: Left – The *Civil War Unknowns Monument* was dedicated in September 1866 and stands atop a vault containing the unidentified remains of 2,111 soldiers (Confederate and Union) gathered from the fields of Bull Run and the route to the Rappahannock – Arlington National Cemetery. Right – *AUX HEROS MORTS INCONNUS POUR LA FRANCE* ('To the heroes who died unknown for France'). The work was commissioned in 1913 but was not completed by the sculptor, Louis-Henri Bouchard (1875-1960), until 1920 – Le Panthéon, Paris.

A year before the Great War, the French government had commissioned a military memorial to be included in *Le Panthéon* – considered France's national site of memory. This place is a meeting point between realized experiences (such as war and grief) and expectations of government (the country's reconstruction and lesson for future generations).[510] After the Great War, there was a desire to create projects that allowed the entire nation to honour its dead. Accordingly, the artist's original design of 1914 was modified[511] to include a figure of a *poilu* and was created as a national war memorial 'to the unknown heroes, to the ignored martyrs who died for France'

[510] Centre des Monuments Nationaux, Enseignants, Panthéon, "La mémoire de la Grande Guerre au Panthéon." Website: http://action-educative.monuments-nationaux.fr/fr/accueil/bdd/monument/42/atelier/596

[511] To include the allegories of Memory and Glory, sleeping corpses of unknown heroes, the figure of a *poilu*, and on its sides bas-reliefs symbolizing the sacrifice of parents and appreciation from children. See: Macé de Lépinay, François, *Peintures et sculptures du Panthéon*. Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites / Éditions du patrimoine, 1997, pp.54-55.

(Figure 64).[512] In this third instance, the concept of a tomb of the unknown is more comparable to that of a cenotaph or 'empty tomb.'

The idea to have an "Unknown Warrior" for Britain and a "*Soldat inconnu*" for France seem to have developed independently in 1916 but it was not until 1920 that plans became formalized. In Britain, it was only three months after a chaplain at the Front[513] wrote to the Dean of Westminster[514] that his proposal became a realization: an unknown soldier was to be buried at Westminster Abbey "AMONG THE KINGS" (Figure 65).[515] In France, while the government had decided in 1919 that his final resting place would be in the Panthéon, plans hastily changed on 2 November 1920. It was determined that the selected remains of an unknown soldier would be first rendered honours at the Panthéon and then buried on the same day under the Arc de Triomphe (Figure 66). They were both buried on the same day: 11 November 1920. In 1921, other allied nations followed suit and brought home to rest their respective unknown soldiers in Arlington National Cemetery (Figure 67), the National Monument to Victor Emmanuell II in Rome (Italy), and at the pedestal of the Congress Column in Brussels (Belgium). The burial of and memorialization of these unknown soldiers was a heartfelt gesture to recognize self-sacrifice, demonstrated valour, attained victory, and commitment to peace. But most of all, these unknown soldiers were now going to symbolize all those who fell during the First World War and were to serve as reminders to all of the human cost of war.

[512] The text shown was translated by André M. Levesque. The complete French text inscribed onto the memorial is: "*AUX HÉROS INCONNUS, AUX MARTYRS IGNORÉS MORTS POUR LA FRANCE*".

[513] Reverand David Railton (1884-1955) was an army chaplain on the Western Front.

[514] Right Reverend Herbert Ryle, K.C.V.O., D.D. (1856-1925) was Dean of Westminster from 1911 to 1925.

[515] Part of the main inscription on the stone of the British Unknown Warrior.







Figures 65-67: Left – British *Unknown Warrior*, Westminster Abbey, London. Photo: Permission from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. Top Right – The Eternal Flame at the Tomb of the French Unknown Soldier was first lit on 11 November 1923, Arc de Triomphe, Paris. Bottom Right – *Tomb of the Unknowns* – Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia.





Figures 68-69: Left – *Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier*. He was interred in the Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial, on 11 November 1993. Artists: Peter Tonkin, Janet Laurence. – Canberra, Australia. Right – *The Tomb of The Unknown Warrior*. He was laid to rest at the National War Memorial on 11 November 2004. Designer: Professor Kingsley Baird. – Wellington, New Zealand.

With the gradual decline of the British Empire after the Second World War and the formalization of the Commonwealth of Nations[516] during the 1960s, this was a means for former colonies to re-assert themselves as independent nations without severing their ties with Britain. As part of this 'race for independence,' there was debate amongst some countries that the *Unknown Warrior* interred at Westminster Abbey no longer represented their values and traditions and that they should perhaps consider repatriating 'one of their own' – as technically, the (British) Unknown Warrior symbolized hundreds of thousands of Empire dead. Since the 1990s, there were three Commonwealth countries that repatriated their own unknown soldier – each taking special care in developing commemorative ceremonies and a monumental grave that would reflect their nation's historical past but also consider how their future fallen will be remembered. In 1993, the Australians were first to repatriate their 'digger'. In order to mark the 75th anniversary of the end of the Great War, an unknown Australian soldier was recovered from Adelaide Cemetery in France and interred in their capital city (Figure 68). The creation of this place of memory served as a catalyst and an inspiration to other countries to negotiate similar arrangements with the C.W.G.C.

While the idea to create a similar tomb for Canada dates back to the First World War, concrete action did not take place until 1996 when Jean-Yves Bronze and Dr. Robert Bernier[517] sent a letter to the prime minister of Canada soliciting his support for this initiative. In a subsequent letter to the Department of National Defence, Bronze statement could have applied to any country:

> The tomb of the Canadian Unknown Soldier will become a national site of memory to Canada's contribution during times of war. Half of the Canadian population no longer has any memory links with Canada's history and its important

[516] Formerly known as the British Commonwealth.

[517] Both were part of a small communications and public relations firm known as CDRB (Communication et développement Robert Bernier inc.). CDRB is located in Kirkland, Québec, and specializes in conducting market studies, opinion polls, and communications planning. Dr. Robert Bernier was the company president and J.-Y. Bronze was a project director within that firm.

> participation in the two large world conflicts during this century. Here is a magnificent consciousness-raising project to a determining page of our history. The repatriation project of a Canadian unknown soldier constitutes a powerful symbol of national unity. It demands of itself a memory of Canadians, of sacrifices consented by previous generations to affirm Canadian unity.[518]

In 1998, the proposal was confirmed as a millennium project of the Royal Canadian Legion and of the government of Canada. It was decided that the soldier was to come from the Vimy Ridge area – due to its strong association with the 'birth of the Canadian nation' and that it was the first time in the Great War that all four Canadian divisions fought as a united force. In May 2000, an unidentified body was chosen from Cabaret Rouge British War Cemetery and was interred at the foot of the National War Memorial in Ottawa. One of the most important aspect of the project was the design of the sarcophagus. As part the terms of reference for a national competition, it stated that its design was to be based on the altar of the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* (Figures 70-71).[519] Four years later, New Zealand repatriated their own unknown warrior from France – this time, a soldier who was killed in 1916 during the Battle of the Somme. Strongly reflecting the unique cultural identity of its land and people, the design of the *Tomb of the Unknown Warrior* is inspired by the stars of Southern Cross guiding the Warrior home. Black granite and inlaid marble crosses represent the night sky and the Warrior's companions who fell in battle. Imparting a sense of timelessness, the classical tomb was set into the steps of the National War Memorial (Figure 69). Today, there are more than forty countries that have entombed an

[518] Cover facsimile and letter (in French) dated 26 July 1996 from Jean-Yves Bronze, Project Director, Communication et développement Robert Bernier inc., to Serge G. Bernier, Director of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence, p.1. The text shown was translated by André M. Levesque.

[519] The competition's terms of reference indicated that the sarcophagus was to consist of the following four elements: "(1) a sword: the traditional symbol of warrior. Also found on the Crosses of Sacrifice in most of the Commonwealth War Grave Commission cemeteries around the world; (2) a steel helmet of the pattern worn by Canadian troops in World War I: this same pattern was worn by Canadians in WWII and in Korea; (3) A branch of maple leaves: symbolic of Canada; (4) A branch of laurel leaves: symbolic of both victory and death." See Public Works and Government Services Canada, *Honouring Canada's Unknown Soldier – PWGSC's Role in Creating a National Memorial*. Ottawa: Undated, p.10.



Figure 70-71: Top – Vimy Altar with wreaths and flowers during the formal exchange ceremony of the Canadian Unknown Soldier from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission to the Government of Canada, May 2000, *Canadian National Vimy Memorial*. Sculptor and architect: Walter Seymour Allward. Bottom – details of the sarcophagus of the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* that was unveiled at the National War Memorial on 28 May 2000. Sculptor: Mary-Ann Liu from Mission, British Columbia. – Ottawa, Ontario.

unknown soldier. Clearly, the original concept of burying unknown soldiers into a massive grave has progressed to selecting a single unknown warrior to represent all of their fallen. This affinity for a tomb to become "a place of great sacredness and hallowedness"[520] is somewhat comparable to a shrine of a saint. For most countries, they consider their unknown soldier as their pre-eminent ageless memorial.

Cross

The Cross – the most common symbol of Christianity – has been used extensively all over the world. For example, wooden crosses were used typically as initial grave markers for soldiers who died in battle but have also been used as stand-alone memorials (Figure 140). As shown in Figures 72-73, simple stone crosses were popular in military cemeteries as well as integrated into larger memorials. With the arrival of the Great War, it also brought about other forms of the Cross that were employed as symbols of war

[520] *Tomb of the Unknown Warrior*, November 2004, p.12. Commemorative booklet prepared by the government of New Zealand after the repatriation of the Unknown Warrior.

commemoration. The following sections will examine some of the main ones, including the Cross of Sacrifice, the War Cross, the Memorial Cross and Remembrance Crosses.

Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice

The *Cross of Sacrifice* was designed by Reginald Blomfield – one of the principal architects of the I.W.G.C. As one of the two central memorials located in all of the Commission's cemeteries, it was first designed in 1917 and by 1927, a thousand Crosses were put in place across the world.[521] In an effort to making it as "abstract and impersonal" as he could, a bronze sword was affixed to the face of a Latin cross "thus emphasizing both the military character of the cemetery and the religious affiliation of the majority of the dead."[522] In order to adapt to different sizes of cemeteries, Blomfield reproduced his Cross in four proportional sizes[523] and are normally featured in cemeteries with forty or more burials. There are several Crosses of Sacrifice across Canada (e.g. Halifax, Montréal, Ottawa, and Winnipeg) and one in the U.S. at Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia (Figure 74).

Lutyens' War Cross

In addition to designing cemeteries for the I.W.G.C., Edwin Lutyens designed 52 war memorials in the U.K. as well as elsewhere. Among them, Lutyens created a *War Cross* – "chosen to be chaste and simple in character, dignified in appearance, while its proportions were beautiful and perfect, and of great artistic merit."[524] There are at least 15 extant war memorials that

[521] Longworth, Philip, op. cit., 1985, p.125.

[522] Ibid, p.36.

[523] At 14, 18, 20 and 24 feet.

[524] Skelton, Tim, and Gliddon, Gerald, op. cit., 2008, p.80.



Figures 72-73: Left – Memorial Cross and Tablet marking the burial place of about 50 unidentified French soldiers killed in 1781 at Yorktown for American independence – French Cemetery, Williamsburg, Virginia. Right – Monument originally erected at Vimy Ridge, France, in 1917 by the 44th Battalion, C.E.F. and re-located to *Vimy Ridge Memorial Park* in 1926 – Winnipeg, Manitoba.



Figures 74-75: Left – *The Canadian Cross of Sacrifice* dedicated on Armistice Day 1927 in honour of Americans who served in the Canadian Forces. Designer: Sir Reginald Bloomfield. – Arlington National Cemetery, Washington, D.C. Right – *War Cross* at the *Irish National War Memorial*, Dublin, Ireland, completed in 1939. Designer: Sir Edwin Lutyens.

include Lutyens' War Cross,[525] including an early one at Sandhurst (Kent) that is considered to be the "most elaborate setting" of all his War Crosses[526] as well as his very last one erected at the Irish National War Memorial that is locally referred to as the 'Great Cross of Sacrifice' (Figure 75).

Memorial Cross

In 1919, King George V, on the advice of the government of Canada, created the *Memorial Cross* as a "memento of personal loss and sacrifice" on the part of widows and mothers of military personnel who died during the Great War. The Cross bore the cipher of reigning monarch and was originally worn around the neck from a purple ribbon; it was later modified to be worn as a broach. Reinstituted for the Second World War and again for the Korean conflict, the regulations undertook a major change during the war in Afghanistan so that, effective 2001, all those who died as a result of service are eligible for the Cross.[527] From a commemorations and memorials perspective, this emblem is well recognized and utilized. For example, a large model is located in the Parliament Building's Memorial Chapel (Figure 76). Also seen by thousands are the bronze corner pieces of the sarcophagus of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier that display replicas of the Memorial Cross.[528] At the commencement of the Second World War, New Zealand struck their

[525] Abinger Common (Surrey), c.1920; Miserden (Gloucestershire), 1920; Sandhurst (Kent), c.1920 ; Ashwell (Hertfordshire), 1921; Exeter, 1921; Hartburn (Northumberland), 1921; King's Somborne (Hampshire), 1921; Leeds – Leeds Rifles, 1921; Rugby (Warwickshire), 1921; Stockgridge (Hampshire), 1921; Busbridge (Surrey), 1922; Holy Island (Northumberland), 1922; Wargrave (Bershire), 1922; York – City, 1925; Dublin (Ireland), 1939.

[526] Skelton, Tim, and Gliddon, Gerald, op. cit., 2008, p.176.

[527] The criteria also placed the responsibility on the military member to select up to three recipients of their choice.

[528] Mounted on the footings at the four corners of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier are bronze castings of three Memorial Crosses (with the monogram of King George V, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth II) and a poppy to represent the dead of future conflicts.





Figures 76-77: Left – *Memorial Cross* created in 1919 bearing the cipher of King George V (GRI) – Located in the Memorial Chapel in the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ontario. Right – Plot for *Remembrance Crosses* – Soldiers' Memorial dedicated in 1926 and after the Second World War, it was renamed The Bungedore and District War Memorial – Bungedore District, Australia.





Figures 78-79: Lutyens' *Stone of Remembrance* – Top – Stone was unveiled on 2 November 1960, Field of Honour, Brookside Cemetery, Winnipeg, Manitoba. This is the only Stone of Remembrance located in Canada. – Bottom – Marble Stone positioned at the foot of the steps leading to the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia.

own version of a memorial cross[529] and in 2009, the United Kingdom created the *Elizabeth Cross* – a commemorative emblem that resembles the Canadian and New Zealand design and is retroactive to those killed after the Second World War.

Remembrance Crosses

Originally, as a means of actively participating in the remembrance of all those who died during the Great War, small wooden crosses – each personalized with hand written names or messages – were made to be planted in designated plots within their community. Separate plots were put aside for various groups – such as regiments and veterans associations – and when adjoined, they form a 'Field of Remembrance.' A well-established tradition within many Commonwealth countries, these *Remembrance Crosses* are planted during important periods of remembrance.[530] The longest and largest running annual Field of Remembrance has been held at Westminster Abbey and has been organized by The Royal British Legion since 1928.[531] Other plots and fields are created by veterans groups, such as in rural Bungedore District, Australia (Figure 77). Veterans, families, and members of the public continue to plant these wooden crosses with a red poppy in its centre, but there now exists wooden 'tokens of remembrance' in a variety of shapes for different religions and no religious identification.

[529] The New Zealand Memorial Cross has been awarded to the families of personnel serving in the New Zealand Armed Forces since the late 1940s.

[530] Such as Remembrance Sunday and Armistice Day in Britain, Remembrance Day in Canada or ANZAC Day in Australia and New Zealand.

[531] The Poppy Factory in Richmond, Surrey, have been making poppies since 1922. In 2011, the factory became operated by the Royal British Legion. While the Poppy Factory may have been the original lead for organizing an annual Field of Remembrance event at Westminster Abbey, the Royal British Legion has always been considered the nation's custodian of Remembrance. In November 2011, the annual Field of Remembrance at Westminster Abbey provided about 250 plots.

Lutyens' Stone of Remembrance

It was after his visit of the wartime cemeteries in France in 1917 that Lutyens began to provide his initial thoughts to Fabian Ware on how to commemorate the dead. Lutyens placed much importance on the planting and gardening in permanent war cemeteries and recommended "that each cemetery have one large, non-denominational monument."[532] At first he considered "a solid ball of bronze" as a permanent monument[533] but eventually proposed " 'a great fair stone of fine proportions, 12 feet in length, lying raised upon three steps' and bearing in indelible lettering 'some fine thought or words of sacred dedication'."[534] In 1917, Lutyens provided to Ware forty potential alternate names for his 'great stone.'[535] Contrary to Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice that was designed to represent the faith of the majority, Lutyens' abstract design that resembled an altar was intended to appeal to all denominations and of none. Unable to agree on a joint theme, Sir Frederic Kenyon[536] put forth a compromise that would include both a Cross of Sacrifice and a *Stone of Remembrance* in all cemeteries. The Stone's inscription selected by Rudyard Kipling[537] – "THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE" – was taken from the Book

[532] In a Memorandum on the Graveyards of the Battlefields that Lutyens wrote in August 1917. Cited in Arts Council of Great Britain, *Lutyens: The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)*. London: The Hillingdon Press, 1981, p.150.

[533] Ibid, p.150. In a letter that Lutyens wrote to his wife on 12 July 1917.

[534] Longworth, Philip, op. cit., 1985, p.36.

[535] In a letter to Ware date 27 July 1917, Lutyens wrote down a "stoneology" that included the following: 'Altar'; The Stone; The War Stone; The Great Stone; The Great War Stone; The Dedication Stone; The Achievement Stone; The Commemoration Stone; The Foundation Stone; The White Stone; The Stone in France; The Stone of France; The King's Stone; The King Emperor's Stone; Our Stone; The Command Stone; The Stone of Prayer; The Stone of Praise; The Stone of Appeal; The Stone of Reverance; England's Stone; The Stone of Britain; The Battle Stone; The Stone of Peace; The Stone of Pity; the Waiting Stone; The Stone of Sleep; The Stone of Attendance; The Stone of Righteousness; The Stone of Right; The Stone of Might; The Watching Stone; The Stone of Victory; The Stone of Fame; The Famous Stone; The Stone Prostrate; The Stone of Thought; The Memorial Stone; and The Image Stone. The handwritten letter is reproduced in: Skelton, Tim, and Gliddon, Gerald, op. cit., 2008, p.25.

[536] Sir Frederic Kenyon (1863-1952) is the director of the British Museum and appointed advisor to the I.W.G.C.

[537] Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) was one of the most popular British writers in the late 19th century and early 20th century and received the 1907 Nobel Prize for Literature. Partly in

of Ecclesiasticus. This combination approved by the Commission became the central memorials in all of its war cemeteries.[538] In 1937, Ware reports that 560 Stones of Remembrance had been erected so far in France and Belgium.[539] Although they continued to be constructed during and after the Second World War – including Canada's own Brookside Cemetery (Figure 78) – some can also be found outside war cemeteries (e.g. Australian War Memorial – Figure 79).

Cenotaph

The concept of a cenotaph – a monument erected to the dead who are buried elsewhere – can be traced back to ancient Greece and Rome but it was Lutyens that revived its use on a massive scale. Earlier inspired by Gertrude Jekyll's garden at Munstead Wood – where a large stone slab seat had been dubbed the 'cenotaph of Sigismunda' – Lutyens' first opportunity to design a cenotaph was when he was commissioned to design a war memorial in Southampton. Instead of placing a statue of victory on top of the memorial – as he had done in Johannesburg – his design incorporated a stone sarcophagus on top on a high plinth. This changed the purpose of the memorial: no longer celebrating victory or eternal life, but dedicated to death.[540] While Lutyens was undertaking the Southampton project, he was also asked by the British government to create a temporary non-denominational structure to be erected for the Peace Celebrations held in London on 19 July 1919.[541] This pylon,

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response to his son John who died at the Battle of Loos in 1915, Kiplying accepted, as literary advisor to the I.W.G.C., to advise on inscriptions.

[538] Unlike Blomfield, Lutyens did not want to variate the size of his Stone and in order to not overwhelm the setting, it is only used in cemeteries with more than 1,000 burials.

[539] Ware, Fabian, *The Immortal Heritage: An Account of the Work and Policy of the Imperial War Graves Commission during Twenty Years 1917-1937*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1937, p.56.

[540] Geurst, Jeroen, op. cit., 2010, p.69.

[541] David Lloyd George, the British prime minister at the time, had proposed that a 'catafalque' be built – similar to one intended for the Arc de Triomphe in Paris for a corresponding Allied victory parade to be held on 14 July 1919. Lutyens was invited to meet the prime minister and suggested a design based on a cenotaph. After having received approvals, Lutyens had less than two weeks' time to complete the project.

made of wood and plaster, was taken down in January 1920. After the great success it received, the government decided to construct a permanent replica in Portland stone. Lutyens made considerable refinements to the memorial, including the use of entasis.[542] It was unveiled on 11 November 1920 by King George V (Figure 122) as part of a larger procession repatriating the British Unknown Warrior. The monumental simplicity and wide acceptance of his design brought Lutyens immense popularity but also set the tone of what people expected of a cenotaph. His design was heavily replicated across Commonwealth countries during the 1920s. In Canada, there are about 80 memorials that have been classified as a cenotaph. One of its oldest inspired from Lutyens' original design is located at the front steps of Old City Hall in Toronto, Ontario (Figure 80). An exact replica of the Whitehall Cenotaph stands in London, Ontario, and was unveiled on 11 November 1934. Lutyens legacy is that his cenotaphs now commemorate all of the "Glorious Dead" and remain the standard within many communities.

Poppy

As described in a later chapter,[543] the poppy was originally designed as an active symbol of remembrance to be worn or used during commemorations. Commencing in the 1990s, the poppy began to be incorporated into memorials. One of the first examples is a twin-sculpture of Australian Sir Edward 'Weary' Dunlop who served as medical doctor during the Second World War.[544] As it was known that Dunlop wore a poppy daily, the sculptor enhanced this feature by having the poppy on his lapel painted bright red (Figure 81). During the millennium year, Canada included a poppy on one of the four corners of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The importance of this poppy is that it represents the future and all those who are about to make the

[542] *Entasis* is the application of a convex curve to an upright surface – such as a column or spire – for aesthetic purposes. In this case, Lutyens' calculations for the design was based on measurements of the Parthenon.

[543] Chapter on 'Public Memory and Commemoration', section on 'Signs of Remembrance.'

[544] Two bronze cast of the same sculpture was made in 1995. One was placed at Melbourne and the other at Canberra.



Figure 80: Cenotaph – Old City Hall, Toronto, Ontario. The commemorative stone was laid on 24 July 1925 by Field Marshal The Earl Haig, Commander in Chief of the British Forces from 1915 to the end of The Great War, and Thomas Foster, 40th Mayor of Toronto from 1925-1927. It was officially unveiled on 11 November 1925. Designers: W.M. Ferguson and T.C. Pomphrey.





Figures 81-82: Left – Sculpture by Artist Peter Corlett of Sir Edward 'Weary' Dunlop (1907-1993) commemorating all Australian doctors and other medical staff who served Australian prisoners of war in the Asia/Pacific region between 1939-45 – Unveiled in 1995 on the grounds of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. Right – Poppy memorial commemorating the "World's First Coloured Circulation Coin," November 2004 – Vimy Ridge Memorial Park, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

ultimate sacrifice. Four years later, Canada had the distinction of producing the "World's First Coloured Circulation Coin" that included a red poppy. A dedicated memorial in Winnipeg, Manitoba, re-emphasized that the poppy coin was "struck to honour the service and sacrifice of Canada's soldiers – those fallen, returned, retired and active" (Figure 82). In these examples, the use of the poppy transcended over time. Instead of singularly representing the past, the flower of remembrance has also included the present, and embraced what has yet to come.

Easter Lily

The Easter Lily is unofficially considered the Irish equivalent to the poppy that is worn on Remembrance Sunday in England or on Remembrance Day in Canada. Its roots are derived from the 1916 Easter Rising and an Easter Lily badge – introduced in 1926 – and had been popularly worn at republican commemorations. Over the years, different versions of the badge was produced.[545] With a recent rise in interest in commemorating the Easter Rising, republicans are encouraging people to wear an Easter Lily to "honour Ireland's patriot dead."[546] The emblem of the Easter Lily is also represented on memorials as a sign of remembrance – for example, the *Irish Republican Army Volunteers Executed Memorial* located in Cork, Ireland (Figure 83).[547]

[545] There are three known versions of the Easter Lily badge that was worn for commemorations: a self-adhesive backing version; a traditional paper and pin version; and a metal version.

[546] *An Phoblacht*, header of the electronic version of their newspaper, "Easter Rising Commemorations 2012: Honour Ireland's patriot dead – wear an Easter Lily. Attend your local Easter commemoration", 2 April 2012 Edition. See website: http://www.anphoblacht.com/contents/1419

An Phoblacht is a republican journal that was relaunched in 1970 from its former name – *The Republic*, that first appeared in 1906.

[547] The memorial marks the location of the buried remains of the thirteen volunteers of the Irish Republican Army that were executed by British firing squads in 1921. The site was then a part of the Exercise Yard of the former Cork County jail.







Figures 83-85: Top – Details of the *Irish Republican Army Volunteers Executed Memorial* – University College Cork, Cork, Ireland. Below the badge of the Irish Volunteers is a sprig of Oak Leaves on the left and a sprig of Easter Lily on the right. Designers: Messrs. J.A. O'Connell and Sons.

Middle –*Canadian Heroes Car* in tribute of Trooper Jack "Boots" Bouthillier (1988-2009). Car Owner: Lise Charron. Photo taken on 3 December 2011 at the official opening of Wreaths Across Canada – National Military Cemetery, Ottawa.

Bottom – The *United States Aircraft Carrier Memorial* was dedicated on 17 February 1993 and lists the names of all 165 carriers – Old Navy's 'Fleet Landing,' San Diego, California.

Rolling Memorials

Considered perhaps North America's fastest growing form of commemoration is the 'rolling memorial.' These memorials consist of cars, trucks, semi-trailers, and motorcycles that are especially marked or painted to honour people or commemorate specific events. One of the first rolling memorials appears to be attributed to Max Loffgrenof in 1995 when after three years of work, he transformed a 1955 Chevrolet into a *POW MIA Tribute*

Car.[548] The dragster car is adorned with the names of the 3,578 Americans who are still unaccounted for in Vietnam from 1952 to 1975.[549] In 2003, John and Amy Holmgren[550] had a similar idea and turned their tractor-trailer into a tribute to those who died in the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks. The tractor unit and semi-trailer is decorated with murals and airbrushed portraits of first responders, a panoramic view of New York with the twin towers, and the names of the nearly 3,000 people who died. The truck is appropriately nicknamed and marked at the rear of the trailer as 'The Rolling Memorial'. These two early examples served as inspiration to others. Parents also wanted to commemorate their sons and daughters who fought and died in wars. For example, Karla Comfort purchased in 2006 a Hummer and had it air brushed with the image of her son, Corporal John M. Homason, and nine other Marines as "a way to pay homage to her hero and his fellow comrades who fell on Iraq's urban battlefield."[551] A similar reaction happened in Canada when in 2009, philanthropist Chris Ecklund of Hamilton, Ontario, created the *Canadian Heroes Initiative*.[552] With an aim to create awareness and support of Canadian fallen soldiers and their families, the organization developed a commemorative design meant to wrap the body of their memorial vehicles. In July 2010, they unveiled their first NASCAR race car as well as 'Canadian Heroes Car.' Since then, they have produced a series of other cars and motorcycles that are either generic or personalized to commemorate a particular fallen. For example, a car was specially designed in honour of Trooper Jack Bouthillier who died in Afghanistan (Figure 84). Vehicle

[548] POW MIA means prisoner of war and missing in action.

[549] Max Loffgren served in the American Division in Vietnam from 1969-1970 and now lives in Fairfield, California. He created the organization Never Forgotten Inc. Their official website is: http://www.neverforgotteninc.org/

[550] John and Amy Holmgren are owner-operators as well as drivers of Rosepath Transportation in Shafer, Minnesota. They were inspired to create the rolling memorial after hearing Darryl Worley's 2003 country hit song, "Have You Forgotten?".

[551] "Rolling Tribute to the Fallen Marines of Fallujah," an interview with Karla Comfort, mother of one of ten Marines killed by an IED blast in Fallujah, Iraq in December 2005. Camp Pendleton, California, 2 March 2006. See website: http://www.ramgraphics.com/article-fallujah.html

[552] The official website for the *Canadian Heroes Initiative* can be found at: http://www.canadianheroes.com

owners and volunteers associated with rolling memorials are eager to be part of local and national events that help remember and commemorate their fallen heroes.

LIVING AND STATIC MEMORIALS

Similar to volcanoes that can be described as either in an active or dormant stage, memorials can also be portrayed as either *living* or *static*. There are plenty of books and literature that speak about 'living' memorials but they are silent on defining them. A static memorial is typically one that is erected and commemorated for a single purpose and is no longer used. For example, if a memorial is erected in honour of the South African War and there are no other names added to the memorial or there are no longer any ceremonies held on site, then the memorial is considered 'static' (Figure 118). In the case of *Wolfe's Monument* in London (Figure 116), its status changed to reflect generational values and expectations. While it may have been one of the first contemporary applications of a living memorial – over time – the level of commemoration shown on site slowly faded away. This does not discount the historical importance of the memorial but rather, it acknowledges a reducement or cessation of commemorative activity. On the other hand, a living memorial can be reflected in a number of ways. For example, a local cenotaph that continues to add the names of their fallen would be considered a living memorial. In the case of the *U.S. Carrier Memorial* (Figure 85), as long as the monument continues to list the names of all newly commissioned aircraft carriers, it continues to be a living memorial. Many museums – such as the *Holocaust Memorial and Museum* in Washington, D.C. – have also transformed themselves into living memorials as remembrance is a major part of the experience. A rejunevated memorial allows for a continued commemoration of the past, the present and the future. Renewal and education are key elements of living memorials.

CHAPTER 3 - RECOGNIZING MILITARY LEGACIES

For more than five millennia, communities throughout the world have long honored their dead according to local customs and traditions. While some have conducted time-honored ceremonies, others have held special rituals and practices, all in admiration and tribute of the dearly departed, including: members of royalty, religious figures, statesmen, business and civic leaders, heroes, high ranking military officials, and of course the not so well known citizens and populace at large. Those communities and individuals who were able to afford it, wanted to leave behind a legacy for others to witness for time immemorial. This legacy was usually in the form of some type of public memorial. As a means of introduction to the wide field of memorials and commemoration, this section will first discuss Pericles' Funeral Oration that was made more than two millennia ago and will then observe the relevance of memorials and commemoration since the 19th century. It will be shown that historic forms of memorials such as the obelisk, the pyramid, the column and pylon played an important role in commemorating French and English Canada since the Napoleonic and Victoria eras.

PERICLES' FUNERAL ORATION – 431 BC

From a memorial and commemorative point of view, *Pericles' Funeral Oration* is considered the epitome in terms of ancient testimonial accounts of the treatment of dead soldiers and how they are to be remembered after war – in this case, shortly after the war broke out between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. The historical success of this classical chronicle is dependent on three important personages. The first and most important persona is Pericles (c. 495- 429 BC), son of Xanthippus – a military leader in the Persian Wars – and Agariste. It was in 431 BC that the brilliant and charismatic Pericles delivered the official funeral oration to commemorate those troops who had just fallen. It was an established custom that "after the bodies have been laid in the earth, a man chosen by the state, of approved wisdom and eminent reputation, pronounces over them an appropriate panegyric; after

which all retire."[553] Pericles, a great supporter of democracy, and himself a leader of Athens during the Peloponnesian War, was chosen to pronounce the eulogium. "When the proper time arrived, he advanced from the sepulchre to an elevated platform in order to be heard by as many of the crowd as possible…"[554]

The second person who played a critical role in describing the impact of Pericles' Funeral Oration is the historian who recorded this famous address to the relatives and friends of the deceased. Thucyclides (c. 460-399 BC) is one of the most well known and respected amateur historians in ancient history. Utilizing first hand information acquired from his pre-exile days as an Athenian commander, over a period of three decades he interviewed people on both sides and recorded their speeches in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* – a seminal masterpiece completed in 431 BC. Unlike his predecessor, Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484-c. 425 BC) who is regarded as the 'Father of History' in Western culture, he was less interested in the systematic collection of background materials and narratives and concentrated more on laying out the facts as he observed them, chronologically or analistically.

Lastly, from a language perspective and importance of providing extensive distribution of the works originally written in Greek is the translator. After more than two millennia, Thucyclides' work was translated by British scholar Richard Crawley (1840-1893) and is considered his career's *pièce de résistance* which at that time was to be included in 'Everyman's Library.'[555] One of the most famous passages that described the remembrance and commemoration of the dead is as follows:

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[553] Crawley, Richard, translated by, *Thucydides – History of the Peloponnesian War*, "Book II, Chapter 6, Beginning of the Poloponnesian War – First Invasion of Attica – Funeral Oration of Pericles." Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 2004, p.81. This is an unabridged republication of the edition originally published by J.M. Dent & Sons, London, and E.P. Dutton & Co., New York in 1910.

[554] Ibid, p.82.

[555] As noted in Crawley's introduction dated 1876, he began translating Thucyclides' work when he was still a schoolboy and completed the remaining six of eight books during the course of the year 1873.

> 'So died these men as became Athenians. … For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulchre, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration. For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart. These take as your model and, judging happiness to be the fruit of freedom and freedom of valour, never decline the dangers of war.'[556]

A skilled military leader and statesman, Pericles delivered a powerful speech that has endured the test of time. He had not anticipated the sudden fame and popularity obtained among the surviving warriors and the families of the deceased. In just a few words, he was able to describe the great contributions of those who served their country and helped forge the concept and importance of citizenship. An act to immortalize and memorialize those who paid the ultimate sacrifice, it also served as an incentive and encouragement for soldiers to become heroes during times of war and provided a heartfelt appreciation of the victories achieved. Pericles' rhetoric – or his power to persuade – is often compared with other famous modern speeches such as the address by U.S. president Abraham Lincoln at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery on 19 November 1863 and the presidential inaugural address by president John F. Kennedy on 20 January 1961.[557]

RELEVANCE SINCE THE 19TH CENTURY

Although the use of Egyptian-styled memorials has diminished over the last two centuries, they continue to be widely admired by the public at large – particularly in funerary and commemorative architecture. Egyptian forms offered the obelisk (Figure 86), the pyramid (Figure 87), the column and

[556] Ibid, pp.85-86.

[557] It was during this speech that he pronounced those famous words: "And so my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country."

the pylon as basic structural types and have been well adapted to memorials applications since the 19th century. The pylon was especially suitable for entrance gates and portals and was often employed in military cemeteries and memorials. For example, the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* designed by Canadian monumental sculptor and architect Walter Seymour Allward (1876-1955) – and unveiled in Vimy, France, on 26 July 1936 – included two massive pylon towers 27 metres[558] above the base of the memorial (Figure 88). Containing powerful symbolism, "the two pylons represent Canada and France – two nations beset by war and united to fight for a common goal – peace and freedom for the Allied nations", while for others, they " may seem like twin sentinels, silently guarding a peaceful world ... or may be seen as a gateway to a better world where peace prevails." [559] When one looks up at the pylons, you will see at the highest points the statue of *Justice* on one and the statue of *Peace* on the other.

The use of pyramids was particularly popular with American business people who wanted to be remembered as long and as well as the ancient pharaohs. A foremost example is that of the *Brunswig mausoleum* located in Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans – also known as the 'city of the dead' (Figure 87).[560] Described as "splendor and romantic nostalgia",[561] this pyramid structure was designed by Thomas Sully in 1893 for Lucien Napoleon Brunswig (1854-1943) – founder of a giant pharmaceutical company – after the death of his 9 year-old son in April 1892 and his wife Annie who died a month later. Brunswig chose the design from a tomb in the

[558] Or 88.6 feet.

[559] Veterans Affairs Canada website, *Design and Construction of the Vimy Ridge Memorial*. See http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=memorials/ww1mem/vimy/Vmemory

[560] Metairie Cemetery, established in 1872, is considered one of New Orleans' most prominent landmarks – in great part because of the thousands of memorials and monuments it contains commemorating generations of families which come from a multiplicity of cultures and ideals.

[561] McDowell, Peggy, "Influences on 19th-Century Funerary Architecture", *New Orleans Architecture*, Volume III: The Cemeteries. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Company, Inc., 2002, p.97.




Figures 86-87: Left – *The Luxor Obelisk* or *'L'aiguille de Cléopâtre,'* once marked the entrance to the Luxor Temple founded in 1400 BC; later moved in 1836 to Place de la Concorde, Paris, France. Right – *The Brunswig Mausoleum*, 1893 – Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans, Louisiana. The avenue on which it is located has also been referred to as 'Millionaires' Row' circle around the Army of Northern Virginia mausoleum.



Figure 88: The *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* illustrated in the Book of Remembrance, Volume II (Photo: Veterans Affairs Canada).

Cimitero Monumentale in Milan, Italy.[562] The revival of pyramidal structures over the last two centuries into public buildings and funerary architecture also stimulated the erection of thousands of memorials cairns. As shown in Figure 153, a cairn is a simplified and poorman's version of an Egyptian pyramid or Mayan temple. Whereas the pyramid may be the preferred shape 'for the rich,' the cairn is the most popular form of memorial as it is the easiest to construct and accordingly, it is one of the most frequently put up by veterans groups and local communities.

Another simple design is the form of the obelisk. As illustrated in Figure 86, the ancient Egyptians had cut them from a single block of stone. The size of these ancient monoliths was only limited by the availability of a quarry able to provide the required stone and their ability to transport and erect the final product. Carved out of the bedrock, the obelisk was a reflection of the pharaoh's life and had deep religious significance. Moreover, its shape was derived from a natural phenomena inspired by the setting of the sun in the sky and the divine creation of the earth. For many historians, this is the classical definition of an obelisk. Europeans and North Americans valued and appreciated this form of memorial and the designers of the 19th century coveted monumental architecture. With a craving and passion for larger-sized memorials, they evolved in terms of their makeup and resulted in the creation of some of the most significant testimonials in Europe and North America. While ancient obelisks were often monumental and monolithic, modern obelisks erected since the mid 19th century (e.g. Figure 90) are made of individual stones and often have interior spaces – some built large enough to incorporate stairs or elevators for people to reach the memorial's summit. Found throughout European and North American cemeteries and public parks, these commemorative tributes were known to not only illustrate beauty in its simplest architectural form but also became associated with timelessness and

[562] *Cimitero Monumentale* (Monumental Cemetery) was founded in 1866, it is considered the preeminent repository of great Italian cemetery sculpture. A good English description of the cemetery can be found in Berresford, Sandra, *Italian Memorial Sculpture 1820-1940: A Legacy of Love*. London: Frances Lincoln Limited, 2004, pp.79-86.

memorialization. In its modern form, the obelisk often symbolizes eternal life, fertility, and regeneration.

Another form of memorial that dates from antiquity is the column. Often used to celebrate great events and individuals, they were known in ancient Greece, and were particularly popular in Rome, "for the statue could be raised above those of lesser men."[563] Although the obelisk and the memorial column "are related visually, columns differ from obelisks in their manufacture and in their meaning."[564] Unlike an obelisk, a column does not hold divine associations but rather, is "an expression of man's mastery over his environment."[565] It is worth noting that columns can take various shapes – cylindrical (Figures 91-95) or pyramidal (Figures 89, 96-97, 109) – but are usually built up of separate pieces. Let us examine a few of these modern columns and obelisks that have had tremendous impact.

The Wellington Testimonial – 1817-1861

As its name implies, the *Wellington Testimonial* was built as a "testimonial to the services of" Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (1769-1852). As he was born at 24 Upper Merrion Street, Dublin, "the Irish claiming the illustrious warrior as peculiarly their own, were foremost in paying that just tribute to his high renown, to which by his achievements he was entitled."[566] The original intent was to erect this 'pyramidal granite column' in Merrion Square but this was withdrawn after opposition from the local residents. It was instead placed on a well-chosen site in Phoenix Park – Europe's largest enclosed city park – where a salute battery formerly stood.

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[563] Curl, James Steven, op. cit., 2002, p.346. James Stevens Curl (1937-) is Emeritus Professor of architectural history at The Queen's University of Belfast and De Montfort University in Leicester.

[564] Borg, Alan, *War Memorials from Antiquity to the Present*. London: Leo Cooper, 1991, p.5.

[565] Ibid, p.5.

[566] Wright, Rev. G.N., *Life and Campaigns of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K.G.*, Vol. IV. London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1841, pp.78-79.

With a height of 63 meters,[567] this structure is also considered the largest obelisk in Europe (Figure 89) and the second tallest in the world after the Washington Monument. Designed by the architect Sir Robert Smirke, R.A. (1780-1867) to perpetuate the glories of Wellington, it took 43 years to complete under the patronage of nineteen Lords Lieutenant of Ireland.[568] The original design included a statue of Wellesley but this was not completed due to lack of funds. Cast from cannon taken in battle, the four bronze sculptures were executed by Irish artists – the frontpiece includes the memorial's inscriptions with green patina first in Latin and then in English while the other three include pictorial representations of his career. The bas-reliefs depict 'Civil and Religious Liberty' by John Hogan, 'Waterloo' by Thomas Farrell and the 'Indian Wars' by Joseph R. Kirk, R.H.A. Despite the presence of heavy graffiti, the marble dedication panel indicates that "The inscriptions were written in honour of his brother Richard Marquis Wellesley."[569] In addition to this 'testimonial,' The Duke of Wellington was memorialized throughout the world with abundant monuments, statues, and buildings in his name. There are as well many geo-memorials such as Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, and Wellington Street, Ottawa, Ontario.

[567] Or 206 feet.

[568] Within a few weeks of a private subscription opened in the city of Dublin, a munificent contribution of sixteen thousand pounds was collected. Notwithstanding this considerable sum, a shortage of funds resulted in the removal of scaffolding exactly three years later. The names of two Lords Lieutenant of Ireland are inscribed on the marble dedication panel: The Earl Whitworth (1752-1825) under whom the project begun in 1817 and The Earl of Carlisle (1802-1864) who saw project completion and had opened to the public on 18 June 1861.

Although unfounded, a local legend suggests that after a fund-raising dinner which was held in the vault under the pillar in 1820, a drunken butler had been accidently left behind while the room was being sealed.

[569] The inscriptions are: ASIA AND EUROPE, SAVED BY THEE, PROCLAIM / INVINCIBLE IN WAR THY DEATHLESS NAME, / NOW ROUND THY BROW THE CIVIC OAK WE TWINE / THAT EVERY EARTHLY GLORY MAY BE THINE

Richard Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley (1760-1842) was an Irish politician, colonial administrator and appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1821 as well as in September 1833 and most importantly is elder brother of the Duke of Wellington.



Figures 89-90: Left – The foundation stone to the *Wellington Testimonial* was laid on 18 June 1818, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo and was opened to the public on 18 June 1861. Architect: Sir Robert Smirke. – Phoenix Park, Dublin, Ireland. Right – The *Washington Monument.* Cornerstone-laying ceremony, 4 July 1848 and official dedication, 21 February 1885. Architect: Robert Mills. – Washington, D.C.

The Washington Monument – 1848-1885

The *Washington Monument* is considered one of the United States oldest, largest, and certainly the most written about memorial (Figure 90). Originally built as a tribute to George Washington (1732-1799) – the commander of the Continental Army in the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) and served as the first President of the United States of America (1789-1797) – the Washington Monument is one of America's pre-eminent national memorials and remains a powerful symbol of their country's rich and diversified history. In an effort to honour Washington and provide a lasting tribute, the Continental Congress, at the close of the Revolution – on 9 August 1783 – resolved unanimously "That an equestrian statue of General Washington be erected at the same place where the residence of Congress hall be established."[570] The statue was never erected as public debate and political and economic instability prevented any progress from being made. After Washington's death in 1799, there was hope from the government to move his

[570] Monument Society, *The Washington National Monument: Views of the Early Patriots Regarding It; Reasons Why It Should Remain on Its Present Site; Objects and Uses of Such Structures.* Washington: W.H. & O.H. Morrison, 1871, p.11.

body from his home in Virginia to a vault built under the Capital building but this was not to be – Washington specified in his Will that he wished to be buried on his beloved Mount Vernon estate and that a new tomb should be constructed to replace the original burial vault, which was deteriorating. His heirs honoured his wish with a new brick tomb completed in 1831 and Washington's body was moved there along with the remains of his wife, Martha, and other family members. This effectively eradicated any further possibilities of including the 'father of our country' in any future memorial. The nation had to be satisfied in honouring his memory and accomplishments – not the physical being.

In 1833, a year after the hundredth anniversary of Washington's birth, a group of citizens – led by the U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall – formed an organization known as the *Washington National Monument Society*. With their aim to build a suitable monument, the society raised start up funds during its first three years and in 1836 held a design competition that was open to American artists and builders. Robert Mills (1781-1855) from South Carolina was chosen as the architect. However, due to his elaborate design – consisting of a large circular building resembling an ancient Greek temple surrounded by a colonnade with a 183-metre[571] obelisk rising from the centre – and an estimated cost of $1,250,000, the monument was reduced to a classical Egyptian form that would be 170 metres[572] tall and unadorned. On 31 January 1848, Congress passed a resolution giving the National Monument Society 30 acres of land, near the Potomac river, directly west of the Capital, and south of the President's mansion. By then, the Society had raised $87,000 and it has asked the government for $200,000 to help complete the monument. The structure's cornerstone was officially laid on 4 July 1848 by President James K. Polk and "brought out a sense of patriotism and community spirit among the people of the area."[573] The land

[571] Or 600-feet.

[572] Or 555 feet.

[573] Doherty, Craig A., Doherty, Katherine M., *Building America: Washington Monument*. Woodbridge, Connecticut: Blackbirch Press, Inc., 1995, p.14.

transfer was executed on 12 April 1849 but Congress did not, however, at that time grant any money to fund the monument's construction. Even after Mills' death in 1855, the construction of the monument was beleaguered with lack of funds, the objections of a reactionary political group referred to as the 'Know-Nothings,' and the intervention of the American Civil War (1861-1865).

Composed primarily of white marble blocks from Maryland and Massachusetts, underlain by Maryland blue gneiss and Maine granite, the monument was completed nearly four decades later, 6 December 1884, at a total cost of $1,187,710. Formally dedicated by President Chester A. Arthur during the cold day of 21 February 1885, the Washington Monument was officially opened to the public on 9 October 1888 and was the world's tallest structure until 1889, when the Eiffel Tower was finished in Paris. Over the years, the effects of weathering and usage by visitors required on-site renovations during 1934, 1964, and the 1990s to restore it to its former glory. The restoration project cost more than $9.4 million[574] and was completed during the millennium year. To this day, it remains the world's tallest 'obelisk.'

Columns and Obelisks in Canada since 1808

Although permanent European settlements were established in what is now Canada during the early 17th century, it was not until two centuries later that the former colonies decided to erect a column as its very first public 'military' memorial.[575] Since then, the predominant form of military

[574] Nine times the original construction cost.

[575] Until the beginning of the 19th century, only a few major public monuments were erected in Canada – all of which were dedicated to monarchs. The very first was installed during the French regime when Jean Bochard de Champigny (b. after 1645-1720), Intendant of New France, dedicated in 1686 a bronze bust of Louis XIV at Place Royale in Old Québec. The bust remained in place until 1700 when Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, Marquis de Denonville (1637-1710) – governor general of New France – had it removed. A copy of the original bust sculpted by Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) was installed in 1931, removed again in 1944, and reinstalled in 1948. The other 19th century civic monument is a British one that was erected at the initiative of a group of citizens. While Joseph Wilton's (1722 – 1803) marble bust of George III was sent to Montréal in 1766, it was not until 7 October 1773 that it was officially unveiled at Montréal's Places d'Armes and became its city's first monument to be erected. It was defaced in 1775 and disappeared soon after, during

memorials within Canada has remained to be columns and pillars.[576] A few important examples of both 'circular' and 'pyramidal' columns used by the British and French military in Canada will be presented. Observations will be made in the later part of this section on the use of 'modern' obelisks throughout Canada.

With the resounding British victory against the French and Spanish at Trafalgar on 21 October 1805 also came about the death of Lord Nelson – its inspirational leader and unconventional hero.[577] Widespread private and public commemoration of Horatio Nelson commenced as soon as the news reached Britain and elsewhere in early November 1805. While there are more than thirty monuments and statues dedicated to his memory worldwide,[578] the very first was a memorial arch erected in five hours by more than 200 men from the Sea Fencibles,[579] assisted by eight masons, on 10 November 1805.[580] The memorial was erected upon the summit of the hill in the demesne of Castletownshend, County Cork, Ireland, and commanded a glorious view. While these memorials are typically inscribed with Nelson's name or display

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the American occupation of Montréal (13 November 1775-16 June 1776). It was only found several years later at the bottom of a well in the Place d'Armes.

[576] The words 'column' and 'pillar' are interchangeable.

[577] See also related later section on Nelson's State Funeral.

[578] Some of the most notable memorials include: 1805 – first monuments erected in County Cork, Ireland (memorial arch), and Taynuilt, Scotland (inscribed standing stone); 1806 – a large obelisk in Glasgow; 1808 – Montréal Doric column with statue; 1809 – a bronze statue in Birmingham; a Doric column with statue in Dublin; a Tuscan column with anchors and rope swag and an urn reposing on top at Hereford Castle Green; 1813 – Liverpool bronze monument erected; 1818 – neoclassical monument at St. Paul's Cathedral; 1819 – column in Nelson's native Norfolk (Great Yarmouth); 1843 – Trafalgar Square column and statue completed; 2005 – Marking the Battle of Trafalgar's bicentenary, canons were added at the base of the column at Hereford. The last known new memorial was erected by the Government of Gibraltar on the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar and unveiled by the Chief Minister, The Hon. Peter R. Caruana, Q.C., on 28 October 2005.

[579] The Sea Fencibles are a British maritime volunteer reserve force. Captain Joshua Rowley Watson (1772-1818) was an Officer Commanding a division of the Sea Fencibles off the southern coast of Ireland from 1804-06 and also travelled extensively throughout the American eastern landscape during 1816-17.

[580] *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, "The First Monument erected to the Memory of Lord Nelson; being an account of an arch built to his memory at Castletownsend," 1897, pp.229.

his personage, the rationale for their makeup are diverse. Akin to bygone military heroes, memorials were erected to commemorate his death, recognize his professional accomplishments, honour his birth town, and memorialize places where he spent a great deal of time.

Atypical memorials to Nelson that have been overlooked and undervalued are those honouring friendships and from thankful citizens and merchants. These types of *lieux de mémoire* are usually classified as 'commemorative' memorials when they could also have been described as 'cultural' or 'economic' memorials. While examining the reputation and concept of Nelson as a historical figure, it has been noted that "what Nelson symbolized had far greater importance to cultural memory than the details of the execution of the rebels at Naples or Nelson's own death."[581] For example, Alexander Davison (1750-1829) erected an obelisk on his beloved Swarland estate, Northumberland (England), in 1807, to memorialize their friendship. After moving from London to Canada with his brother, Davidson became a successful merchant and ship owner and after having first met Nelson in Québec in 1782, they remained life-long friends. Davidson flourished as a government contractor – providing supplies such as uniforms, weapons and transport – and later, Nelson appointed him as his prize agent for the Nile Fleet to dispose of enemy ships and cargoes seized during the Napoleonic Wars. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Davidson included the following inscription on the east side of the obelisk's base:

NOT TO COMMEMORATE THE PUBLIC VIRTUES
AND HEROIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF
NELSON,
WHICH IS THE DUTY OF ENGLAND;
BUT TO THE MEMORY OF PRIVATE FRIENDSHIP,
THIS ERECTION IS DEDICATED BY
ALEXANDER DAVISON,
SWARLAND HALL

This particular epitaph transcends the traditional approach to remembrance. By highlighting Nelson's persona, the obelisk captures not only the 'historic'

[581] Ward, Brigid, *"England Expects…" And All That: The Visual Memory of Horatio, Lord Nelson*. Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Art and Art History, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 2008, p.97.

Nelson that is expected on a memorial but also records the enduring friendship they had over a period of 23 years as well as implicitly recognizes the profound economic influence that Nelson had on his friends, associates and coalition powers.

Memorials from thankful citizens and merchants have often been misconstrued. Only a handful of historians have more fully understood the cultural and economic significance of his memorials. For example, the first public memorial dedicated to Nelson outside the British Isles is a **circular column** in Montréal, Québec, in 1808. The news of Nelson's naval victory and his death at Trafalgar arrived at Montréal, late in December 1805. While the city's elite had gathered at the Exchange Coffee House, Samuel Gerrard[582] – the principal host of the assembly ball – received the papers brought from New York and began to read aloud from Admiral Collingwood`s dispatch of the battle of Trafalgar.

> Under the excitement, and on the spur of the moment, Mr. Gerard (sic) outlined the plan of erecting a monument in the city, the cost to be defrayed by popular subscription. The response was spontaneous, and the guests, including the ladies, pressed forward to set down their names and within half an hour more than enough funds were subscribed. A committee was appointed, and in the following Spring the work was begun and successfully carried out.[583]

It is worth noting that "one of those who contributed towards the fund of thirteen hundred pounds was a British army colonel named Isaac Brock"[584] – an officer who would also later be recognized with his own posthumous memorial. A Committee of five was chosen among the subscribers,[585] and

[582] Samuel Gerrard (1767-1857), an Irish immigrant, held major shares in the North West Company and later became the second president of the Bank of Montreal.

[583] *The New York Times*, "Montreal's Nelson – The Monument Being Restored After Ninety Years' Exposure," 10 September 1900. From The Montreal (Québec) Gazette.

[584] Shipley, Robert, *To Mark Our Place – A History of Canadian War Memorials.* Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987, p.24.

[585] The five members of the Committee were: the Hon. Sir John Johnston, Knight and Baronet (1642-1830), superintendant-general and inspector-general of Indian affairs in British North America; the Hon. James Monk (1745-1826), chief justice of His Majesty's Court of King's

these members, in conjunction with three other collaborators who were then in London,[586] immediately carried out the plan. While in the British capital, the trio hired English architect Robert Mitchell who modeled this 'monumental pillar'[587] on the classic Doric order. The statue of Nelson which surmounts the pillar as well as the ornaments[588] that characterize the principal events in his professional life are made of artificial stone (a ceramic material) invented by Coade & Sealy of London. Joseph Panzetta, the firm's sculptor at the time, modeled the eight-foot statue in the likeness and "attitude he stood at the moment he received the fatal shot."[589] The statue and ornaments were transported to Canada on the North West Company packet ship *Eweretta*[590] – considered the most important vessel in the port of Montréal in those days – and arrived about the first of June 1808.[591] The receipt of the coadestone

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bench for the district of Montreal; John Richardson (c.1755-1831), distinguished merchant, and in 1817, chairman of the committee that prepared the articles of the association of the Bank of Montreal, and later, member of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Province; John Ogilvie (c.1769-1819), merchant and agent of the North West Company; and Louis Chaboillez (1766-1813), representing Montreal East in the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada from 1804 to 1808.

[586] The three Committee members who were in London at that time included the Scottish explorer Sir Alexander Mackenzie (1764-1820) and two other prominent Montreal merchants, John Gillespie and Thomas Forsyth, while on business for the North West Company.

[587] As inscribed on a lead plate deposited in the first cut stone at the east corner of the base of the foundation stone which was laid on 17 August 1809.

[588] Also referred to as panels or decorative elements.

[589] Creig, William, *Hochelaga Depicta: The Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal*. Montréal: Campbell & Becket, Place D'Armes, 1839, p.154.

[590] It is known that the name of John Richardson's second daughter was 'Eweretta' – she was married to Alexder Auldjo and died in 1808. Considering Mr. Richardson's association with the North West Company, it is most likely that the name of the ship was christened after that of his second daughter.

[591] White, Colin, *The Nelson Encyclopedia*. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2002, p.177. C. White indicates 1808 as the year which the statue and ornaments are shipped to Canada.

On 5 February 1881, *The Montreal Daily Star* published an article entitled "Montreal in 1816 – Reminiscences of Mr. J.H. Dorwin." Jedediah Hubbell Dorwin (1792-1883) recounted his memoirs of the city of Montréal during its early days, including a section that was dedicated to "The port and shipping of Montreal the River, and the way the ships came and went." Mr. Dorwin confirms that the vessel 'Eweretta' completed an annual company run which arrived in Montréal about the first of June and returned for London about the end of October. The 1881 article was re-published on the internet by Glenn F. Cartwright in 2003 and he commented that "the article was particularly insightful at the time, and perhaps even

statue that year was deemed so important that the following partial inscription is included within the large circular laurel wreath located on the front panel (see Figure 52): "This Monumental Column was erected by the Inhabitants of Montreal, In the year 1808." After been granted a piece of ground at the upper end of the New Market-place (Figure 91), as a site for the intended column, the foundation stone was laid on 17 August 1809. Made of local quality gray compact limestone, the column rises fifty feet in height[592] and at its summit, the admiral stands with his back to the waves. The magnificence of Nelson's Column was admired soon after it was erected. This is reflected in a 'travel book' for Lower Canada that was published in 1820.[593]

While it would have been appropriate for this memorial dedicated to a service member to be positioned in a military setting (e.g. Place d'Armes), the local population thought otherwise and deliberately chose to place it within the centre of the commercial capital of Canada at that time. There are two major reasons for the memorial's placement in a civic setting. Montréal-born René Chartrand – a distinguished Canadian military historian – best described the geostrategic and commercial importance of the British and the Royal Navy during that time.[594] First, while it is true that the majority of the people who contributed to its public subscription were of British descent, the Catholic

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more so now, and caused a total sell out of the newspaper and a second printing." See: http://www.education.mcgill.ca/profs/cartwright/rawdon/mtlin1816.htm

[592] The height of Nelson's column is estimated at 68.5 feet: the base or pedestal is approximately 10.5 feet from the ground, the circular shaft or column rises 50 feet in height, and the statue is 8 feet high.

[593] "This beautiful memento (I recollect nothing superior to it in England, where, to be sure, they are not remarkable for public monuments any more than ourselves) stands upon an elevated pedestal, upon the front of which is a suitable inscription, in which is not forgotten the hero's last order, "England expects every man to do his duty." ... This monument is injudisciously placed in the common Market-place, instead of the Place d'Armes, or the parade upon the boulevards..."
Sansom, Joseph, *Travels in Lower Canada with the Author's Recollection of the Soil, and Aspect; the Morals, Habits, and Religious Institutions, of That Country*. London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1820, p.74

[594] Chartrand, René, "Le Canada et Trafalgar: les implications géostratégiques et commerciales," Unpublished paper presented at the XXXI Congress of the International Commission of Military History, Madrid, Spain, 21-28 August 2005. In honour of the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar, the theme for the 2005 ICMH Congress was: "Terrestrial and Naval Power at the Age of Trafalgar."

Church was also a major benefactor as it was with the support of the colonial British government that the French population was free to exercise their religious and language rights. Also, many of the French-Canadian population were appalled at the aftermath of the French Revolution and felt that the values of the new French empire as well as their political views were becoming divergent from that of Canada. This reinforces the social importance of the memorial – reflecting the respective values and aspirations of both English and French communities.

Chartrand's second point is that a British naval superiority was absolutely essential for the survival and prosperity of British North America. With Halifax having become one of the largest overseas Royal Navy bases since the middle of the 18th century, it played an important role in the protection of its fisheries and commercial ships coming and going from the British colonies during the period of hostilities against the French and Spanish. Moreover, British North America possessed immense reserves of a product that was of strategic importance for the economy, communications and military power of Great Britain: wood. With more than 1,000 Royal Navy ships and about 25,000 British merchant marine vessels of all kinds found throughout the world, it required unlimited access to wood, particularly for their masts. During the the 1790s, access to masts became problematic because of an interruption of their regular supply from the Baltic Sea region, a disappointment of the poor quality of those provided from Massachusetts, and the ongoing revolutionary and empire wars. This meant that the British admiralty and private shipowners turned to North American as their primary source for wood. It is known that about 1810, wood represented at least 75% of all Canadian exports. The timber trade displaced the fur trade as the main economic activity and the business community, especially at Montréal, developed to become an important financial centre. As exemplified by the membership of the Committee responsible for the erection of Nelson's column, this was the beginning of the creation of today's large banks and financial institutions in Canada. Nelson's column in Montréal not only celebrates and memorializes the victory of the British Empire over the values

of the French Revolution, but also acts as a visible reminder of the social and economic impact that military personages and events can have on nations and communities.[595]

Canada's second military memorial[596] is also a circular column and was built to honour Major-General Sir Isaac Brock (1769-1812) who died while defending Upper Canada against the U.S. during the War of 1812. A later section of this work, entitled 'Celebrating Reconciliation between Nations,' summarizes the background behind this by-product of the Napoleonic Wars. Isaac Brock had contributed in 1805 to Nelson's memorial column in Montréal as they had previously served together. In 1801, as the senior lieutenant-colonel in command of the 49th Regiment of Foot, his regiment was dispatched to provide assault troops among the ships of Vice-Admiral Nelson's squadron which attacked the Danish craft moored off Copenhagen.[597] His regiment was ordered to Canada in 1802 and he continued his military career there, ultimately rising to the rank of major-general in June 1811. Due to the absence of the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, Brock headed both the military and civil authority for the final year of his life – a time of uncertainty for the future of Canada. Like Nelson, Brock would emerge as one of Britain's most skilled and tragic figures.

Brock's military actions in the War of 1812, especially his victories at Fort Mackinac[598] and Detroit, earned him belated honours and the sobriquet 'The Hero of Upper Canada.' Mortally wounded in the Battle of Queenstown on 13 October 1812, he was "revered and lamented by the people who he

[595] The city of Liverpool, England, is another example whereby a monument to Nelson was erected for economic reasons. A bronze monument was unveiled at Exchange Flags Square in October 1813. The monument was the city's first major public sculpture and "to Liverpool merchants the defeat of the French meant that they could once again trade internationally in peace." See: http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/exhibitions/nelsonmonument/

[596] This is also considered the first military memorial for the Province of Upper Canada (which existed from 1791 to 1841) and generally comprised present-day Southern Ontario.

[597] University of Toronto/Université Laval, entry on Sir Isaac Brock, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, 1801-1820 (Volume V). See: http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=36410

[598] Then known as Fort Michilimackinac.

governed, and deplored by the sovereign to whose service his life had been devoted."[599] Records reveal that Brock's legacy to Upper Canada as a civil and military leader "may have been more ideaological than military."[600] His personal leadership and heroism on that fateful day inspired the inhabitants to have confidence in themselves and helped galvanize an immediate attachment to the existing Loyalist authority where it did not exist before. In essence, "Brock proved to be the perfect candidate for a hero around whom Canadians could rally"[601] and was used to stimulate the process of nation building and a new sense of Canadian nationalism.

On 16 October, three days after the battle, Brock as well as Lieutenant-Colonel John McDonell – his provincial aide-de camp – were initially buried at the bastion of Fort George, Niagara. It was not until March 1815 that the Legislature of Upper Canada – knowing that the people of the province "reverenced Brock's memory and wanted to express their tribute with a lasting, public testimonial" – passed an act to erect a monument on the Heights of Queenston near the spot where he fell.[602] The government first approved a sum of £500 and a year later granted a further sum of £1,000 to complete the construction of the monument. Although work was started in the spring of 1823, the foundation stone was laid on 1 June 1824. It was on the 12th anniversary of his death – 13 October 1824 – that a solemn funeral procession took place from Fort George to Queenston Heights[603] to 'permanently' deposit the mortal remains of Brock and McDonell into a vault constructed within the base of the pillar. On this beautiful day, it was reported that a large assembly had gathered around the monument, which included 2,400 troops and some 8,000 civilians. The memorial itself was a Tuscan column of Queenston

[599] Part of the text inscribed on the memorial tablet placed at the base of the second memorial column, Brock's Monument.

[600] Shipley, Robert, op.cit., 1987, p.27.

[601] Ibid, p.27.

[602] Wilson, W.R., Historical Narratives of Early Canada, "Remember Brock, Part 3," 2007. See: http://www.uppercanadahistory.ca/brock/brock11.html

[603] A distance of nearly eleven kilometers which took about three hours.



Figures 91-92: Columns and Pillars – British Examples. Left – *Nelson's Pillar*. Architect Robert Mitchell designed the statue – Montréal, Québec. Antique steel plate engraving published by George Virtue, 1840, London; Drawn by W.H. Bartlett and engraved by E.J. Roberts (Author's Collection). Erected in 1808. Right – General Brock's original monument was erected in 1824 but was destroyed in 1840 by an explosion of gunpowder by a rebel of 1837. Shown is the Second Monument erected in 1853. Architect: William Thomas. – Queenston Heights, Ontario.



Figure 93: *Post Office and Nelson's Pillar, Dublin*. Hand coloured line engraving by U. Cook and published, circa 1845, by John Mason (Author's Collection). The Duke of Richmond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, laid the foundation stone for Nelson's Pillar on 15 February 1808. The pillar was located on Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street). Architect: Francis Johnston.

limestone with a height from base to summit of 31.1 metres[604] and within the centre shaft containing a spiral stair case. The site on the rocky escarpment high above the Niagara River was deliberately chosen for its visibility.

Unexpectedly, on Good Friday, 17 April 1840, the memorial was shattered by an explosion of gunpowder placed at its base by Benjamin Lett, an Irish Canadian rebel sympathetic to William Lyon Mackenzie – a radical reformist advocating for a republican government. Lett's intent had "been to strike a blow against those who were pro-British or in favour of an independent Canadian state" but found that "his actions had the opposite effect from the one he had intended … almost universal indignation was expressed across the province."[605] As the result of a call from Sir George Arthur, the lieutenant governor at the time, an assembly of approximately eight to ten thousand people gathered at Queenston on 30 July 1840. It was decided that a second – more elaborate – monument was to be erected on the same site. An architectural design competition was held and thirty-five submissions were received. The selected design submitted by Thomas Young (c.1805-1860)[606] was an Egyptian-style obelisk that was reminiscent of the *Wolfe and Montcalm Monument* erected at Québec in 1828 (Figure 96). Under the chairmanship of Sir Allan Napier MacNab (1798-1862), a committee of sixteen members was formed to fund-raise and erect the new monument. By 1852, the voluntary contributions chiefly from the "Militia and Indian Warriors"[607] of the province only reached £5,700,[608] and by that time, the commissioners also had second thoughts about the design as it was announced a national monument to General George Washington was to take the form of

[604] Or 135 feet.

[605] Shipley, Robert, op.cit., 1987, p.29.

[606] British-born Thomas Young studied architecture in London and was known to have settled in Toronto by 1834.

[607] Part of a text inscribed on a brass tablet located inside the base of the second memorial column, Brock's Monument.

[608] Wilson, W.R., Historical Narratives of Early Canada, "Remember Brock, Part 4," 2007. See: http://www.uppercanadahistory.ca/brock/brock12.html

an obelisk (Figure 90). Considering that Brock had fallen fighting the 'Yankees,' the obelisk design was abandoned and a new competition was held. This time, William Thomas (c.1799-1860)[609] – another Toronto-architect – made a proposal similar to one he had already made for the Nelson monument in London and it was unanimously chosen by the full committee on 2 August 1852.

The foundation stone of the new monument was laid on the 41st anniversary of Brock's death, 13 October 1853, and the remains were again reinterred, with due solemnity. Despite all the committee's effort to raise the required funds without the assistance of the government, the total cost of the second monument had escalated to more than £12,000 and therefore required the aid of a grant from the Legislature in order to have the project completed in August 1857. [610] With the monument's total hight of 56 metres[611] (Figure 90), 'The Committee for the Erection of the Brock Monument' bolstered that "there is only one column, either ancient or modern, in Europe, that exceeds the entire height of the proposed Brock Monument, which is that erected in London by Sir Christopher Wren, in commemoration of the great fire in 1666."[612] This final winning combination of "Architecture with Sculpture"[613] resulted in a number of significant outcomes. For nearly two centuries, a memorial column has stood at Queenston Heights principally to honour the heroism and memory of General Brock. The column also became a symbol

[609] William Thomas was an Anglo-Canadian architect who had his own practive at Royal Leamington Spa and emigrated to Toronto in 1843.

[610] Vance, Jonathan F., *The Brock Monument: Biography of a Column*, University of Waterloo. See: http://yourlocalheritage.ca/Report.php?ListType=Documents&ID=2765

[611] The monument's total height is 185 feet (56 metres) and includes a fluted column (which is of the Roman Composite Order) of 95 feet (29 metres) as well as a raised 'Statue of the Hero,' executed in stone, 16 feet (4.9 metres) high.

[612] Cited in *The Brock Monument* but originally appeared in Canadian Journal, September 1852. Broadsheet printed by Hugh Scobie, King Street, East, Toronto, 1853. See Archives of Ontario, Reference Code F 1151, box MU 296. http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/on-line-exhibits/1812/big/big_099_brock_monument.aspx

Also, when comparing heights between *Nelson's Column* at Trafalgar Square and *Brock's Monument*, the latter is 14 feet higher.

[613] Ibid, *The Brock Monument*, 1853.

for commemorating the War of 1812 as well as a constant reminder of its deep-rooted ties with Britain and the Empire. Although "Brock's death at Queenston has become one of the most memorialized in Canadian history,"[614] perhaps his greatest legacy was that he inspired "the inhabitants of a fledgling colony to have confidence in their leaders, confidence in themselves and confidence in their emerging sense of nationhood."[615]

As exemplified at Queenston Heights, the destruction of a memorial as the result of a socio-economic uprising is not new. While local support was strong in the rebuilding of *Brock's Monument*, this was not the case with *Nelson's Pillar* in Dublin. It was in fact the extreme opposite: a local desire for total eradication of memory. While James Vance, the Lord Mayor of Dublin at the time, is credited with the idea of honouring Lord Nelson in 1805, it was not until three years later, in 1808, that the Duke of Richmond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, laid "the first stone of a triumphant Pillar."[616] Placed prominently in its city centre near Dublin's General Post Office, it was for some a popular landmark and gathering place, while for others a detested symbol of British imperialism (Figure 93). Despite several attempts from the local government to either move it or remove it, the status quo remained as it was deemed to be too difficult and expensive. This became a moot point when in the early hours of 8 March 1966, the upper half of the pillar was bombed by the IRA to mark the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Easter Uprising. Irreparably damaged, the structure was deemed to be unsafe and was demolished. Just as the memorial was erected as the result of a heavy political

[614] Information panel located inside Brock's Monument.

[615] Gauthier, Alain, *The War of 1812 Website*, 1997. See: http://www.warof1812.ca/brock.htm

[616] The 'first stone' or foundation stone consisted of a cut granite block with a rectangular cavity in its upper surface and within this cavity included a brass plate that included the following partial inscription: "The first stone of a triumphant Pillar was laid by his Grace Charles Duke of Richmond and Lennox". The full inscription can be found in: Warburton, J., Whitelaw, J., and Walsh, Robert, *History of The City of Dublin, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, Vol. II (of II). London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1818, p.1101.

The memorial – which included a granite column and a Portland stone statue of Nelson – had a total height of 134 feet (40.8 metres) and at the time was considered the tallest Doric column in the world.

act, so was its destruction. When Nelson's Pillar was removed as a relic of Ireland's colonial past, "memory of that space was reassigned."[617] A little more than three decades later, in 1998, it was announced that the "Monument of Light" – the winning entry to an international competition was to commemorate the millennium. Finally built in December 2002, the Nelson memory was replaced with a €5m 120-metre[618] stainless steel spire that was to be the centerpiece of a streetscape redevelopment plan. Officially renamed the *Spire of Dublin*, it is considered the world's tallest sculpture and is based on the traditional form of obelisk. Today, the monumental sculpture "represents a vehicle for expressing a new kind of national and urban narrative, and for the economic revalorisation of the North side of the river" and "it is actively being promoted as the expression of the symbolic identity of the city."[619] This reassignment of that space – from honouring the heroics of Nelson, to marking the anniversary of the 1916 Easter Uprising, to commemorating the arrival of a new millennium – will always be known as the spot where Nelson's column stood. While one can easily eradicate a physical entity, it is nearly impossible to completely erase historical memories.

The Brock Monument at Queenston Heights, as well as *Nelson's Pillar* located at Montréal and at Dublin are great examples of circular columns erected by the British but they were not alone in the use of them. Two notable French examples are the *Colonne de la Grande Armée* in Paris (Figure 94) and the *Monument des Braves* in Québec (Figure 95). *Place Vendôme* – the site that includes the *Colonne de la Grande Armée* – was established by the Sun-King as a representation of absolute monarchy but it quickly became a symbolic place for volatile events: a revolution, *coups d'État*, and a return to

[617] Ward, Brigid, op.cit., 2008, p.22.

[618] Or 393 feet.

[619] Corcoran, Mary P., "The Spectacle of the Spire: re-inventing Dublin's O'Connell Street," Department of Sociology, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland, p.3. Undated but published sometime after 25 January 2003. Paper can be found at: http://eprints.nuim.ie/1215/1/MCTheSpire.pdf

Royalist power. Emulating the *Trajan Column* in Rome (113 AD),[620] the *Colonne de la Grande Armée* or commonly known as the 'Colonne Vendôme'[621] was erected in 1810 at the same emplacement as that of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV that was destroyed in 1792 during the French Revolution. The inscription engraved on the abacus[622] of the capital best describes its purpose: "Monument erected to the glory of Napoléon the Great's *grande armée*, begun on 25 August 1806 and completed 15 August 1810."[623] While the column remained an important French national symbol thoughout the 19th century, each successive government wanted to impose its own mark. Accordingly, in sync with prevailing politics, parts or entire portions of the original column or statue of Napoléon was either replaced, removed, restored, torn down, or re-built over a period of six decades.[624] The column was finally re-erected and restored in 1875 and apart from adding illumination, has remained unchanged since then.

The *Monument des Braves* at Québec is a circular column that has a fascinating history with Napoleonic linkages. After the major battle encountered at Québec in September 1759 between British General James

[620] The *Trajan Column* commemorates the victory of Roman emperor Trajan (53-117 AD) in the Dacian Wars and became a model which has served as an inspiration to numerous commemorative memorials. After his death, Trajan's ashes as well as his wife, Plotina, were laid to rest in a sepulcher within the base of the column in golden urns (but no longer lie there).

[621] The column's official name has changed a number of times: first the 'Austerlitz Column,' then the 'Victory Column,' and finally the *Colonne de la Grande Armée* – but it is best known as 'Colonne Vendôme.'

[622] In architecture, an 'abacus' is defined as: "a slab that forms the uppermost section or division of the capital of a column." See: Morris, Christopher G., *Academic Press Dictionary of Science and Technology*. San Diego: Academic Press, Inc., 1992, p.2.

[623] The original text is inscribed in French: "MONUMENT ÉLEVÉ À LA GLOIRE DE LA GRANDE ARMÉE PAR NAPOLÉON LE GRAND; COMMENCÉ LE XXV AOUT MDCCCVI, TERMINÉ LE XV AOUT XDCCCX, SOUS LA DIRECTION DE D. V. DENON, DIRECTEUR GENERAL. MM. J. B. LEPÈRE ET L. GONDOIN, ARCHITECTS." See: De Genouillac, H. Gourdon, and Martin, Henri, de L'Académie Française, *Paris à Travers les Siècles: Histoire Nationale de Paris et des Parisiens depuis la Fondation de Lutèce jusqu'à nos Jours*, Troisième Partie. Paris, F. Roy, Éditeur, 1879, p.15.

[624] The granite column is wrapped with a frieze of 425 bas-relief bronze plates made out of artillery pieces taken from the Austrians and Russians and depicts the major events of the 1805 campaign – from the camp in Boulogne at the bottom of the column, the victory at the battle of Austertlitz, and the return of the emperor and his guard in 1806 at the very top.

Wolfe and French Lieutenant-General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, there was one final attempt by the French to retake Québec. In the Spring of 1760, under the command of the Duc de Lévis, nearly 7,000 men marched from Montréal to Québec to attack British Colonel James Murray's almost 4,000 men.[625] This second battle of the Plains, better known as the Battle of Sainte-Foy, was "the last victory by the French and the *Canadien* during the Seven Years' War."[626] On that faithful day, 28 April 1760, a total of 452 men were killed during the engagement that "had been a bloodier fight than Wolfe's."[627] It was not until 1852 that remains belonging to French and English soldiers were discovered in the nearby ruins of the '*le Moulin de Dumont*.'[628] In March 1854, the *Société Saint-Jean Baptiste de Québec* committed them to organize a solemn ceremony to transfer the remains and launched a public subscription for the erection of a memorial. Three months later, as part of an elaborate civic, religious and military translation ceremony, a casket containing the remains of the combatants of 1760 was lowered into a grave on the battlefield, where the memorial was later erected. With a reported crowd of 10,000 people, and considering that the population of Québec was only 42,000 at the time, the impact of this funeral procession on the community is thought to be comparable with that of Napoléon in 1840 and Wellington in 1852.[629] It is worth noting that the cornerstone ceremony was postponed until 18 July 1855 so that officers and crew from the French corvette *La*

[625] Stacey, C.P., op.cit., 2002, p.175.

[626] Groulx, Patrice, "La commemoration de la bataille de Sainte-Foy. Du discours de la loyauté à la 'fusion des races'," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Vol. 55, No.1, 2001, p.45. In this historical context, the French word 'Canadien' does not means citizens of Canada, but rather, it refers to the population that is of French-Canadian descent.

[627] Stacey, C.P., op.cit., 2002, p.178. The breakdown of those killed is 259 for Murray and 193 for Lévis.

[628] The site of the battle included a mill belonging to a Mister Dumont.

[629] See later section on State Funerals.




Figures 94-95: Columns and Pillars – French Examples. Left – *Colonne de la Grande Armée* – Place Vendôme, Paris. First erected in 1810 by Napoléon in honour of *la grande armée*, last toppled in 1871, and was fully restored in December 1875 to its 44 metres height with a copy of the original statue of Napoléon dressed as Caesar. Sculptor of column's ribbon: Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret. Right – *Monument des Braves* – Des Braves Park, Québec, Québec. Its cornerstone was laid on 18 July 1855 and the unveiling finally took place on 19 October 1863. Architect: Charles Baillargé.




Figures 96-97: Left – *Wolfe and Montcalm Monument.* Its foundation stone was laid on 15 November 1827 and unveiled 8 September 1828. Designer: Captain John Crawford Young. – Governor's Garden, Dufferin Terrace, Québec, Québec. Right – Battle of Lundy's Lane 'Soldier's Memorial' erected by the Canadian Parliament and Lundy's Lane Historical Society and unveiled on 25 July 1895 – Drummond Hill Cemetery, Ferry Street, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Capricieuse could attend.[630] The memorial was built in stages as funds became available and was at last unveiled in 1863 (Figure 95). Charles Baillargé (1826-1906), a local architect, followed a well-established tradition that came from British and French neoclassicism when he chose a column for his commemorative monument. This ancient and 'neutral' form of memorial also allowed the French and the English to observe their respective faiths – not having to make choices between Catholic or Protestant symbols of remembrance.

As was typical at the time, the column was manufactured in France but assembled on site. The fluted cast-iron column measuring 22 metres[631] in height rests on a plinth that includes the soldiers' remains and at its' summit is a statue, gift from Prince Jérôme-Napoléon Bonaparte (1822-1891), Emperor Napoléon I's nephew.[632] Notwithstanding the heavy influence from the *Canadiens* and the French, the *Société Saint-Jean Baptiste de Québec* made huge efforts to smoothen the harshness of the Conquest and "perhaps to avoid controversy" they "diplomatically called it the *Monument Des Braves*, a name that denoted the gallant and worthy on both sides."[633] Until then, all of the Canadian military memorials were erected principally to honour military commanders who fought and died in battle: Nelson, Brock, Wolfe, and Montcalm.[634] This is the first military memorial erected in Canada that honours military leaders from both sides as well as their 'brave' soldiers who died in battle (Figure 95). The fact that their remains were assembled and laid

[630] On a trade mission to Québec, *La Capricieuse* entered the port of Québec on 13 July 1855 and commanding the vessel is *Commandant* Paul-Henry de Belvèze. This was the first French naval vessel to visit Canada since 1760.

[631] Or 75 feet.

[632] His full name is Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, Prince Français. He is commonly known as Prince Napoléon and to distinguish himself from others, he often signed Jérôme-Napoléon. Nicknamed "Plon-Plon," he married Princess Marie Clotilde of Savoy, daughter of Victor Emmanuel II of Italy.

[633] Shipley, Robert, op.cit., 1987, p.36.

[634] As far as known, only three military memorials were erected in Canada prior to 1855: 1808 – Nelson's Pillar, Montréal; 1824 – Brock's Monument, Queenston Heights; and 1827 – Wolfe and Montcalm Monument.

to rest collectively within the same *lieu de mémoire*, the memorial served as an inspiration to remember *all* of the fallen – French and English – and stood as a model to be replicated across Canada up until the First World War. After the Seven Years' War, this memorial became an important symbol of reconciliation and peace.

While circular columns have played a key early role in Canada's history of memorials, **pyramidal columns** have been of great consequence to military commemoration then and now. Two notable examples are the *Wolfe and Montcalm Monument* in Québec (Figure 96), and the *Battle of Lundy's Lane Memorial* in Niagara Falls (Figure 97).[635] One is located in former Lower Canada and the other in Upper Canada.[636]

With the deaths of Generals Wolfe and Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, there was much pressure on the British government to erect a memorial to these two national heroes – one British and one French – who died for the future of their respective country. *The Quebec Mercury* reported in August 1827 that the Governor in Chief of Upper and Lower Canada[637] was proposing a monument honouring Wolfe and Montcalm.[638] At time of publishing, the Provinces of Canada already had two military memorials erected: the first was *Nelson's Pillar* (1808) in Montréal, Lower Canada, and

[635] As most modern obelisks as well as columns are for the most part built up of separate pieces, there is often a 'grey area' when identifying a particular memorial as an obelisk or a column. The predominant element of the memorial (either its function, shape or composition) should determine the definitive form. While acknowledging that a 'true obelisk' hold divine associations and is monolithic, there are other memorials make take the predominant form of an 'obelisk' but have neither divine associations nor are they monolithic in structure. The *Washington Monument* is such an example. In the cases of the *Wolfe and Montcalm Monument* and the *Battle of Lundy's Lane Memorial*, the literature refers them as both an obelisk and column but in the end, they are to be classified as pyramidal columns.

[636] Lower Canada refers to the Province of Lower Canada that comprised the Southern portion of the present-day Province of Québec, while Upper Canada refers to the Province of Upper Canada that covered present-day Southern Ontario. Lower and Upper Canada existed from December 1791 to February 1841.

[637] George Ramsey, 9th Earl of Dalhousie (1770-1838).

[638] *The Quebec Mercury*, Saturday, "Proposed Tribute to the Memory of Wolfe and Montcalm," 25 August 1827, Volume XXIII, Number 69, p.417. This was an English language weekly newspaper published in Québec from 1805 to 1863 which generally represented the economic and political interests of the English merchants.

the second was *General Brock's Monument* (1824) at Queenston Heights, Upper Canada – both of these memorials consisted of a column.

Québec's oldest public monument was designed by Captain John Crawford Young (1788-1859) of the 79th Highlanders Regiment while aide-de-camp to Lord Dalhousie in Québec from October 1826 to June 1827. The memorial's foundation stone was laid in November 1827 – three months after the design was put on public view – and it was befitting that Lord Dalhousie, its main contributor, officially unveiled it one year later (Figure 96). Although he lived in Canada for twelve years, he left for England the same day of the unveiling and Sir James Kempt, his successor, was sworn into office the following day. As outlined in Catharine Traill's *Backwoods of Canada* (1836), this represented a reconciliatory monument: "Lord Dalhousie, with equal good feeling and good taste, has united the names of the rival heroes Wolfe and Montcalm in the dedication of the pillar – a liberality of feeling that cannot but prove gratifying to the Canadian French, while it robs the British warrior of none of his glory."[639] Eschewed in favour of Latin inscriptions, the tribute to the generals translates to "Courage gave them a common death, History a common fame, Posterity a common monument."[640]

Lundy's Lane, often called the "Gettysburg of Canada," is considered the fiercest and bloodiest military action of the War of 1812 and the bloodiest fought on what is now Canadian soil.[641] The battle took place on 25 July 1814 at Drummond Hill – near what is today Niagara Falls, Ontario – and it involved about 5,000 American, British

[639] Traill, Catharine Parr Strickland, *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America*. London: Charles Knight & Co., 1836, pp.26-27.

[640] Wilson, William R. (d. 2013), Historical Narratives of Early Canada, 'Character and Chance at Grips with Destiny'. See website: http://www.uppercanadahistory.ca/wm/wm9.html

[641] Graves, Donald E., *Where Right and Glory Lead! The Battle of Lundy's Lane, 1814*. Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1997, pp.ix-x.
The War of 1812 is more fully described in a succeeding section of this thesis entitled 'Celebrating Reconciliation between Nations.'

and Canadian soldiers led by General Sir Gordon Drummond on the British side and General Jacob Brown on the American side.[642] A strategic victory for the British, this close-range battle was a symbolic victory for Canadian troops and for Canada who for the last time suffered a major foreign invasion. Lundy's Lane remains one of the most ferocious fights and vicious battles in terms of loss of life ever fought in Canada – except "what many Canadians often conveniently overlook …" is the fact that "… there were Canadians on *both* sides at Lundy's Lane."[643]

The Lundy's Lane Historical Society – the oldest historical society in the Province of Ontario – was organized in 1887 and completed important work across the Niagara frontier: it erected a number of battlefield memorials, published and promoted historical literature, and preserved a widespread collection of war relics and antiquities. The following year, on 7 March 1888, The Honourable Dr. John Ferguson[644] – after reciting the circumstances of the engagement in which the British lost 870 killed and wounded, and the Americans 930 – presented a petition to the Canadian Parliament asking a grant of money toward the memorial fund.[645] In 1893, the historical society began subscription to erect on the site of the battlefield a memorial in Drummond Hill Cemetery – the highest point in Niagara Falls. With the provision of a substantial grant from the Canadian government, it was on the 81st annual observance of the anniversary of the Battle of Lundy's Lane that a

[642] Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond (1772-1854) was commander of the British troops in Upper Canada. Major-General Jacob Jenning Brown (1775-1828) commanded the Left Division of the US Army of the North.
[643] Ibid, p.x.

[644] The Honourable Dr. John Ferguson (1839-1896) was a Conservative Member of Parliament for Welland, Ontario, from 1882 to 1891 and representative of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society.

[645] "It is 73 years since that memorable battle, July 25, 1814, and in all those years no care has been bestowed on the burial trenches to preserve them from destruction, and no public memorial to mark the place or to honor or perpetuate the memories of those regulars, Indian warriors, and volunteers who fell there in defense of kindred and country and this key to Western Ontario save the erection of a very few headstones by friends of individuals among the gallant dead." *New York Times*, "In Memory of Lundy's Lane," Wednesday, 8 March 1888, p.5.

memorial known as the 'Soldier's Monument' was formally unveiled (Figure 97).[646] As part of the inaugural ceremonies, William Kirby[647] composed and read a poem to mark the unveiling of this memorial. The sonnet recounts the victory of Drummond's forces over the Americans and the last four lines are devoted to the Lundy's Lane monument.[648] Laid in the vault within the foundation of the monument are the remains of 22 British soldiers which "…were unearthed at different times in various parts of the battlefield, and were re-interred on each occasion, with imposing military ceremonies."[649] During the 19th century a series of five viewing towers was constructed on site to look over and provide tours of the battlefield.

As part of the centennial anniversary of the Battle of Lundy's Lane, on 25 July 1914 – at two o'clock sharp, the procession – composed of Canadian and American military contingents, veterans associations, chiefs of Six Nations, historical and patriotic societies, and citizens – moved from the local armoury to the memorial.[650] Approximately 15,000 people attended, listened to speeches made by His Honour Sir John M. Gibson, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and Colonel the Honourable Sam Hughes, Minister of Militia and Defence, and decorated the memorial and graves with wreaths. In 1938, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada installed on the memorial three commemorative tablets listing the regiments and names of those who were killed in battle. This memorial is a genuine testament of a century of

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[646] On the front of the memorial's granite shaft is engraved: ERECTED BY THE / CANADIAN PARLIAMENT / IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY / GAINED BY THE / BRITISH & CANADIAN FORCES / ON THIS FIELD ON THE / 25TH DAY OF JULY 1814 / AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE / OF THE BRAVE MEN / WHO DIED ON THAT DAY / FIGHTING FOR THE UNITY / OF THE EMPIRE. / – / 1895

[647] William Kirby (1817-1906) was a well known Canadian novelist in his day and also an important figure in the preservation of historic sites movement.

[648] Kirby, William, *Lundy's Lane, 25th July, 1814 – Memento of the unveiling of the Monument, 25th July, 1895*. The last four lines of the sonnet are: This Pillar fair, of sculptured stone, will show / Forever, in the light of glory, how / England and Canada stood fast that night / At Lundy's Lane, and conquered for the right.

[649] Geary, Robert W., *Historical Sketches – A Memorial of the 100th Anniversary of the War of 1812-14*. Niagara Falls, Ontario: The Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1912, p.11.

[650] *Programme – Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Lundy's Lane*, 25 July 1914, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

peace that preceded and followed its 1914 unveilment. This granite obelisk is a visible reminder of Canada's military history and heritage that continues to be used as an important venue for remembrance and celebrating peace. Noting that just a few metres away from the Lundy's Lane memorial is the final resting place of Laura Secord, heroine of the War of 1812, only but reinforces the need to recognize those civilians who also make significant contributions to war efforts.

According to the Canadian Department of National Defence's Directorate of History and Heritage, their data base indicates that 233 out of a possible 6,456 memorials listed on their website are described as **obelisks**.[651] Although this only accounts for nearly four percent of their memorials' inventory, some of these obelisks form part of Canada's earliest and most important military memorials.

While some of the oldest forms of memorials have been employed to commemorate personages and events since the Napoleonic and Victoria eras, it is clear that these forms have been used extensively up until after the First World War. For example, there have been great many obelisks, pyramids, columns and pylons erected on Canadian soil since Nelson's Pillar at Montréal in 1808 to the Canadian National Vimy Memorial at Vimy in 1936. Many of these 'newer' memorials have been maintained and preserved over the last two centuries but some have also become important recognizable symbols in their own right. These are the stepping-stones that help characterize public memory, remembrance and commemoration. The following chapter will explore some of the main concepts and elements that compose public memory and commemoration, including: political memorialization, the impact of religion as well as the observance and signs of remembrance.

[651] *National Inventory of Canadian Military Memorials*, Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage – as of 2 July 2011. See website: http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/nic-inm/index-eng.asp

CHAPTER 4 - PUBLIC MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION

In order to comprehend the meaning and significance of public memory and commemoration, it is necessary to study and understand our historical past. The fabric of our cities remains as corporeal proof of past legacies transcribed and situated in a variety of public surroundings. Despite our public vestige, our minds hold private thoughts that also recollect certain memories and experiences. It is only by recording and preserving notable memories that those future generations will be able to appreciate and commemorate them in an appropriate manner. The Honourable Joseph Howe[652] once said: "A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country, by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past."[653] It is also refreshing to observe that the importance of monuments and places of memory continue to play an important role during the 21st century. In a 2008 speech on the occasion of the presentation of the (Canadian) Governor General's Medals in Architecture, it was said by Michaëlle Jean that the works of the architects "tell us that spaces, buildings and monuments must be the echoes of their time, be ahead of it, even, with their daring and visionary design, all while maintaining a positive relationship with the past. … It is your responsibility to listen to social needs in terms of housing, recreational and cultural spaces, and places of memory, which are increasingly striking in our communities."[654]

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[652] The Honourable Joseph Howe (1804-1873) was a newspaperman, political leader and is often considered as one of the Fathers of Canadian Confederation.

[653] This quote was part of an address delivered in Framingham, Massachusetts, on Thursday, 31 August 1871. Although Joseph Howe was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the Howe family had earlier roots in Massachusetts and he was known to have family gatherings in Framingham. This quote is used widely within literature and speeches; however, it is unfortunate that the word 'muniments' is often incorrectly transcribed as the word 'monument.'

[654] Her Excellency the Right Honourable Michaëlle Jean, C.C., C.M.M., C.O.M., C.D., (1957-), Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada. Speech on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Governor General's Medals in Architecture, Rideau Hall, Thursday, 16 October 2008. See: http://www.gg.ca/media/doc.asp?lang=e&DocID=5523

The reality is that it is impossible to record and commemorate everything and that our record of the past will always be incomplete. As well, new monuments and places of memory give us ground to reflect on what we hold to be of value.

With the arrival of the 19th century, luminaries from across Europe, Russia and North America made significant changes to their respective social, political and economic landscapes. These leaders were usually well educated but most of all – had a good understanding of public memory and commemoration and how together, they could be used to their advantage. While historians have for a long time examined this field of study at the national and continental level, it has not been until the conclusion of the two World Wars that the forms and effects of memorialization at the global level were more fully developed, explored and understood. The following sections will provide 'successful' examples of political, technological, and adversarial memorialization over the last two centuries. With increasing globalization, there is also an urgent need to be more aware and responsive to spiritual influences on memorials and commemoration. A brief history of how remembrance has been observed within the Western tradition will be provided. The last portion of this chapter will be dedicated to the many military traditions that have developed with respect to memorials and the commemoration of the dead since the 19th century.

POLITICAL MEMORIALIZATION

As history has shown repeatedly, monuments, statues and memorials have often been utilized by military, religious and civic leaders as a tool enabling them to achieve a political desired end. Some of the literature have alluded to this physical demonstration as "political monumentization"[655], "statue mania" or "memorial mania"[656] – with emphasis on the root word

[655] A general study of political monuments of the late 19th and 20th centuries can be found in: Michalski, Sergiusz, *Public Monuments – Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1998.

[656] Doss, Erika, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*, "Chapter 1 – Statue Mania to Memorial Mania", Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010, pp.17-60.

'monument', 'statue' or 'memorial'. However, with the diversified types and forms of monuments, statues and plaques that have evolved over the last five millennia and particularly after the Second World War, the use of the word 'memorial' would be more appropriate as it covers more widely, both ancient and more modern forms of remembrance and commemoration. Hence, the process by which memorials are employed to make a political statement, obtain political support, or realize political gain can be aptly described as 'political memorialization.' Within the following segment, there are assorted examples derived from Russia, the U.S., England, Ireland and Canada which demonstrate the extent which political leaders have successfully utilized military memorials in order to convey strategic messages.

The Bronze Horsemen Monument to Peter the Great – 1782

The fate of Russia changed when German Sophie, Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst married in 1745, Peter Fyodorovich, Grand Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, grandson of Peter the Great and heir to the throne. Sadly, the enmity between the couple culminated in her *coup d'état* in June 1762 and the suspicious death of her husband, Emperor Peter III, one month later. At her coronation, she was proclaimed Empress Catherine II. "Unable to claim consanguity with the ruling house of the Romanovs, the new empress sought to establish a legitimizing ideological link to that dynasty's most illustrious representative, Peter the Great."[657] Unlike her husband, she was known to have vision, confidence, and ambition to be an 'enlightened' monarch. Catherine II's legacy was interdependent on her ability to bridge Russia's historical past with that of her own desires and accomplishments.

In terms of political memorialization, Peter the Great wanted to commission a large monument to himself in his own lifetime. At the invitation of the tsar, Rastrelli[658] produced detailed sketches and studio models

[657] Schenker, Alexander M., *The Bronze Horseman: Falconet's Monument to Peter the Great*. London: Yale University Press, 2003, p.72. It is worth noting that this book is considered the most comprehensive study of Falconet's Monument to Peter the Great.

[658] Florentine sculptor Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1675-1744).

but with the death of the tsar in 1725, the plans were never realized. After the death of Rastrelli, his assistant as well as his son completed a cast in 1747; however, with Elizabeth's loss of enthusiasm, funding was not sufficient to include a pedestal and the statue became forgotten. "After proclaiming that she [Catherine II] would refuse any monument built to glorify her, she exploited the myth of Peter the Great to legitimize her reign, and returned to an abandoned former project for an equestrian statue Rastrelli was commissioned to design."[659] Although the Senate reminded the empress of Rastrelli's mothballed statue – thereby saving a great deal of money – she declared it unworthy and wanted an entirely new monument. This was to be one of her most brilliant decisions.

In 1764, Catherine commissioned the famous French sculptor Etienne-Maurice Falconet (1716-1791) to complete this masterpiece. Catherine "wanted a monument that would impress with the scale of Peter the Great's vision and at the same time bear the stamp of her efforts to further that vision."[660] Falconet's original design was to make the horse in the *pose bondissante* and to place it at the elevated end of a natural stone runway. Instead, a large monolith was used as a plinth for the sculpture. Finally, after twelve years of labour, the sculpture was inaugurated with great pomp and circumstance by the Empress on 7 August 1782 – the centennial anniversary of Tsar Peter's coronation. This was an historic event as it was the "dedication of the first monument ever to be erected in Russia and a joint tribute to the only monarchs in modern Russian history who were deemed worthy of the epithet 'Great.'"[661] In addition to the superb bronze statue and the impressive pedestal cliff, this sculpture arguably also includes "the most

[659] Bondil, Nathalie (Editor), " "Gluttony" in the Fine Arts: Did Catherine II have Taste?," *Catherine the Great, Art for Empire: Masterpieces from the State Hermitage Museum, Russia*. Catalogue for two Exhibition Venues: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1 October 2005 to 1 January 2006 and The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2 February to 7 May 2006, p.173.

[660] Schenker, Alexander M., op. cit., 2003, p.73.

[661] Ibid, p.248.

ingenious monument inscription ever designed."[662] A sublime coda was written in bronze lettering across the faces of the pedestal: "To Peter the First, Catherine the Second, 1782" – with Latin facing the west and Russian facing the east (Figure 98). By engaging the local population, its nation, and Europe at that time, in developing, constructing, and celebrating what is considered Russia's first modern national memorial – Catherine achieved not only the just tribute to her famous predecessor but also her memorialiazation that she mutely desired.

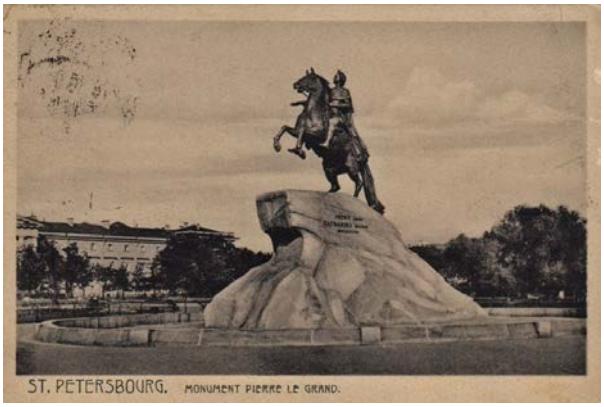



Figure 98-99: Left – Post Card dated 1 November 1909 from Saint Petersburg to Madame J. Charles in Paris illustrating the Peter the Great Monument. Sculptor: Etienne-Maurice Falconet. – Saint Petersburg, Russia (Author's Collection).

Right – Statue of Major General Andrew Jackson. Dedicated on 8 January 1853 on the 38th anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. Sculptor: Clark Mills. – Lafayette Square in front of the White House, Washington, D.C.

Mills' Equestrian Statues of Andrew Jackson – 1852-1880

American military memorials have had considerable impact on how its nation views its past history as well as how it wants to commemorate it. While some date back to early Revolutionary years and later, its Civil War period, there is one particular military memorial that helped develop a national icon as well as displayed a mechanical feat within North America. In 1852, Clark Mills (1810-1883) became the first American sculptor to overcome the challenge of casting a rider on a rearing horse. Self-taught in art by studying

[662] Ibid, p.138.

European prints of such sculptures, it is amazing that he had never seen his subject nor an equestrian statue until he was commissioned to celebrate the triumph and accomplishments of Major General Andrew Jackson (1767-1845), the national hero of the Battle of New Orleans who had become the seventh president of the U.S. from 1829 to 1837.[663] Located in a prestigious site directly across the White House – the sculpture was dedicated in 1853 in front of at least 20,000 people, including President Franklin Pierce and his entire Cabinet.[664] Commemorating the general's victory in what is considered the final major battle of the War of 1812, Jackson is depicted reviewing his troops, his *chapeau* raised high in salute, and his horse rearing as if to charge (Figure 99). It is a common belief that the stance of the horse's legs represents the outcome of the rider during battle. [665] After Mills sold his first casting to the federal government in 1853, its success and sensation rivaled other existing well-known European equestrian statues at that time.[666]

Celebrating Reconciliation between Nations

Memorials of various forms can not only be erected to honour or commemorate but can also be used as a means for reconciliation and forms part of normal post-conflict diplomacy between nations. As an outgrowth of the greater war in Europe (1792-1815) against France, the War of 1812 proved

[663] Major General Jackson was considered at that time to be 'the most distinguished citizen of the country.'

[664] Page two of an eight page book located in The Library of Congress (no cover page). The first two pages are described as *The Inauguration of Mills's Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson, at Washington, January 8, 1853 – From the "Union" of January 9, 1853*. Pages three to eight are described as *Oration of the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, on the Inauguration of the Jackson Statue, January 8, 1853*.

[665] If the horse is rampant (rearing up on the hind legs), the rider died in battle. If the horse has one front leg up, the rider was wounded in battle or died of wounds sustained in battle. If all four hooves are on the ground, the rider died of causes other than combat. Although it is known that some Civil War memorials located in Gettysburg follow this unofficial practice, it is not generally applied within the Gettysburg National Military Park or elsewhere. If this tenet had been applied, Mills' statue would have represented General Jackson as having died in battle – which of course is untrue.

[666] By popular demand he repeated his work and in 1855, he sold a second casting to Micaela Almonester from New Orleans. A third and final casting was sold to the Tennessee Historical Society and was erected in 1880 as part of Nashville's centennial celebration.

to be a conflict between the U.S. and Britain which required resolution.[667] Despite that the dividing line between Canada and the U.S. has remained the 'world's longest undefended border,' the fact remains that these nations were once at war with each other.[668] The North American theatre of war was vast and battles were fought at sea on the Atlantic coast and on land in Lower and Upper Canada as well as the American West. Although the majority of historians consider the outcome of this war as 'stalemate,' it had the effect of uniting the respective populations. While the memorialization of their respective dead[669] has been underway during the last two centuries, the theme of public reconciliation between the two nations has risen in the first decade of the 21st century.

There are some notable memorials derived from the 1814 Niagara Campaign – the longest and bloodiest campaign of the war – which demonstrate the desire to respect, reunite, and reconciliate: the memorial cairn erected for the 1814 Battle of Chippawa and a memorial wall dedicated to the Battle of Lundy's Lane. In contrast, a recent memorial was unveiled in Toronto to the War of 1812 that made headlines and incited public debate. The battle of Chippawa – fought on 5 July 1814 involved 5,000 American, British and Canadian soldiers and their allied aboriginal warriors and is considered a major and important event in the history of the U.S. Army.[670]

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[667] There were many reasons for this war which lasted from 1812 to 1815, including: the impressment of seaman from American ships; trade tensions from the British not wishing to allow the Americans to trade with France; and the most contentious and argued – U.S. expansionism into Canada.

[668] Technically speaking – at that time, the Americans were at war against the British Empire as the 'Dominion of Canada' as a nation did not come about until 1 July 1867.

[669] According to official reports, British losses included 8,600 killed, wounded or missing, while the Americans suffered a total of about 11,300 casualties. Source: Taylor, R., Summary of the End of the War of 1812, *The War of 1812* Website: http://warof1812.ca/summary.html

There is also an estimated 17,000 Americans who died from disease. Source: Hickey, Donald R., *The War of 1812: The Forgotten Conflict*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1990, pp.302-3.

[670] This was the first time in the War of 1812 that American regulars defeated British regulars in an engagement fought on open ground and it also marked the end of a long and painful series of defeats suffered by the U.S. Army during that war and many historians believe that Chippawa, not Valley Forge, marks the true birthplace of the professional American army.

The fatal casualties from the action, totaling 200 from both sides, were buried by Brown's troops on the farmland battlefield the following day and remained unmarked until 1923 when the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada[671] placed a small stone slab near, but not on the battlefield.[672] The Chippawa battlefield continues to be improved under the overriding principle of 'doing no harm' and the guiding principle that the site in its entirety constitutes a war grave and that there will be no attempt to identify or dis-inter the remains from it.

The culmination of The Niagara Parks Commission's major restoration efforts during the period 1995-2001 resulted in the erection of a second battlefield memorial. This time, a large memorial cairn constructed of dolomite limestone donated by Fort Niagara has become the focal point of the battlefield (Figure 100).[673] This cairn, erected "in memory of all those who fought on this ground, many of whom are buried nearby, and to commemorate the peace that has prevailed between Canada and the United States since that time",[674] reflected the genuine sentiments of the time as the unveiling of this memorial was barely one month after the aftermath of the tragic events of 11 September 2001. In addition to the customary remembrance of the military soldiers and units involved in a battle, a special effort was made to commemorate "the warriors of the First Nations allied with Britain and the First Nations allied with the United States" who fought at Chippawa by having one of

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Source: Interview with Donald E. Graves, Historian, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence – 21 August 2009, Ottawa, Ontario. Mr. Graves is an international recognized expert on the War of 1812 and has written five books on that conflict.

[671] The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada was created by the federal government in 1919 and is now called the Advisory Board for Historic Site Preservation.

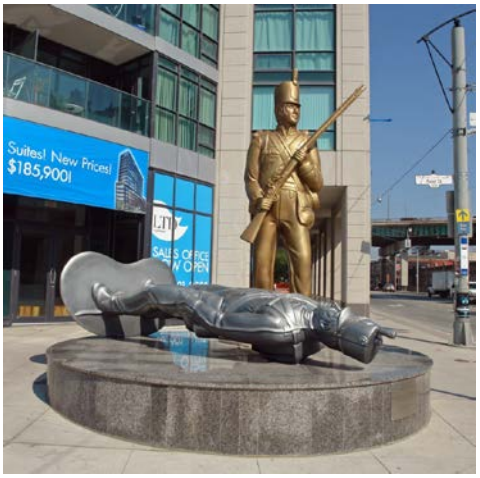
[672] The unveiling and dedication ceremonies of the first *Chippawa Battlefield Monument* took place on Saturday, 13 October 1923, under the auspices of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, in co-operation with the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire of Chippawa and Niagara Falls, the Queen Victoria Park Commission and the citizens of Niagara Falls and Chippawa – at the request of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Ottawa. Further historical details on the burial of the dead on the battlefield as well as the original plaque for the Battle of Chippawa can be found in Graves, Donald E., "Epilogue, - The Fate of the Battlefield, 1814-1993," *Red Coats & Grey Jackets: The Battle of Chippawa, 5 July 1814*. Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1994, pp.157-161.

[673] Fort Niagara (Youngstown, New York) is another important site in the War of 1812.

[674] One of four memorial plaques placed on the cairn.







Figures 100-102: Top – The Chippawa Memorial Cairn erected and dedicated on 12 October 2001 by The Niagara Parks Commission, Brian E. Merrett, Chairman. – Chippawa Battlefield Park, Town of Chippawa, Ontario. (Photo: The Niagara Parks Commission.)

Middle – *Lundy's Lane Battlefield Commemorative Wall* celebrating the City of Niagara Falls Centennial and the 190th Anniversary of the Battle of Lundy Lane, fought on 25 July 1814. The Wall was showcased on 25 July 2004 by His Worship Mayor R.T. Salci and Members of the Municipal Council, City of Niagara Falls, in partnership with the Lundy's Lane Business Improvement Area. – Drummond Hill Cemetery, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Bottom – *Monument to the War of 1812*, Douglas Coupland, artist. Comissioned by Malibu Investments and unveiled by Deputy Mayor Joe Pantalone and Rony Hirsch on 3 November 2008 – 600 Fleet Street at intersection of Lake Shore Boulevard, Toronto, Ontario.

the four commemorative plaques dedicated to their memory. For the aboriginal peoples of both Canada and the U.S. who fought at Chippawa, "it was also a sad day not only because of their heavy casualties but because, in many cases, it was a civil war that saw members of the same family pitted against each other."[675] In 2011, the theme of 'celebrating 200 years of peace' is replicated on the

[675] Talk by Donald E. Graves at the dedication of the Chippawa Battlefield Memorial, 12 October 2001.

Canada-U.S. joint official 1812 bicentennial website.[676] Lastly, an annual memorial service is held at the battlefield site on 5 July to commemorate the fallen of all the nations involved in this pivotal battle.

The *Lundy's Lane Battlefield Commemorative Wall* in Nigara Falls, Ontario, is another example of commemoration and reconciliation in favour of the War of 1812. The memorial wall depicts four scenes from the Battle of Lundy's Lane, including an officer on horseback with an Aboriginal (Figure 101).[677] The creators had made a conscious decision to illustrate generic locations and characters not identified to any particular person so that they would not have 'endless debates' about including specific scenes and people.[678] An adjoining commemorative plaque reinforces their historical past and makes a concerted effort in celebrating reconciliation between two nations that were at war: "These limestone panels were created to pay tribute to those who lost their lives in the battle. Let us remember and honour those that have come before us and celebrate the peace that now exists between the two nations."

With the forthcoming bi-centennial anniversary of the War of 1812, it invigorated one developer to commission a war memorial "gently" reminding local citizens and all Canadians that "without Fort York, there would have been no Canada."[679] Referred to by the artist as "compelling", this four-metre high monument is comprised of two "giant toy soldiers" – one standing and one fallen – "pay tribute to Toronto's history in this artwork"[680] (Figure 102). The standing soldier painted in gold represents a member of the Royal

[676] *The Official War of 1812 Bicentennial Website*, http://www.visit1812.com/

[677] The three other scenes include: a British and American soldier fighting; soldiers kneeling and firing behing a fence; and members of the Royal Artillery loading and firing a gun.

[678] Email correspondence with Mr. Kevin Windsor, Member of the *Lundy's Lane Battlefield Commemorative Wall* Selection Committee, 13-14 August 2009.

[679] Fort York is the settlement of modern Toronto, Ontario. Original press release issued by Malibu Investments, the condominium developer, 27 October 2008, Toronto. See: http://www.reuters.com/article/pressRelease/idUS112641+27-Oct-2008+MW20081027

[680] Part of the text inscribed on the monument's plaque.

Newfoundland Regiment while the other painted in silver depicts an American soldier of the 16th U.S. Infantry Regiment taken from a scene from 27 April 1813 when American troops overran Fort York. The battle of York is generally considered to be one of the first American victories on land during the War of 1812. In addition to being a war memorial, Mr. Coupland denoted that "it's also an incitement for people to remember what's going on in the present as well as the past."[681] The erection of this public sculpture is provocative and confrontational and among historians, it is considered a reflective revisionist approach to reporting on current perceptions of events of a war that occurred two centuries ago.

One example of a memorial used as a means of reconciliation between the U.S. and Great Britain is that of a bronze statue of George Washington which stands in front of London's National Gallery that was presented by the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1921 (Figure 103).[682] The statue contains a careful balance of elements characterizing his life as a soldier, statesman, and private citizen.[683] With the death of Washington in 1799 and with the U.S. participation during the First World War in 1917-1918, the collective memory of these two countries had time to pacify and the state of Virginia noted an opportunity to mend fences with a former enemy, to help restore peace and co-operation among these two countries, and of course to praise America's 'first citizen.' The gift was presented by a Virginia delegation and was accepted by Earl Curzon of Kedleston, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Professor Henry Louis Smith, the head of the American delegation, said in his presentation address that: "Virginia's plea and that of the English-speaking nations of the world, so recently united in war, should unite again for the more

[681] Interview by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, published on the Web on Tuesday, 4 November 2008: http://www.cbc.ca/arts/artdesign/story/2008/11/03/coupland-statue.html

[682] This statue is an authentic reproduction of French artist Jean-Antoine Houdon's original 1796 marble statue that was commissioned by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia "as a monument of affection and gratitude."

[683] Washington, wearing his Revolutionary uniform, is carrying a walking cane with his right hand and is standing beside a plowshare – the agricultural foundation of the nation; while his left hand is comfortably resting on a makeshift pillar of fasces – a Roman emblem of authority – consisting of thirteen bound staves representing the thirteen states of the union against which his sword and riding cloak are hanging over it.

complex task of peace, and in the closest and most unselfish co-operation enter at once upon a joint program of world leadership and reconstruction."[684] Undeniably, this bronze statue was an unsolicited gift that helped mark peace among two rival nations who became allies during times of war which so far, has proved to stand the test of time.



Figures 103-104: Left – Bronze Statue of George Washington presented "to the People of Great Britain and Ireland" by the Commonwealth of Virginia and unveiled on 30 June 1921 – Trafalgar Square, east of the entrance portico to The National Gallery, London. Right – Original Bronze Statue of *The Death of Cúchulainn* by Irish sculptor Oliver Sheppard, R.H.A. – General Post Office, O'Connell Street, Dublin, Ireland.

The Legend of Cúchulainn and Sheppard's Statue – 1935

Heroes, real or perceived, can have tremendous influence and impact on a society for generations to come. Such is the case with Ireland's legend of Cúchulainn,[685] "who to this day personifies the quintessential Irish hero."[686]

[684] *New York Times*, "Envoy Harvey Absent and His View Spurned At Washington Statue Unveiling in London," Friday, 1 July 1921, p.1.

[685] Pronounced "Coo-Hullin" or "Coo-Cullin" and has various spelling used.

[686] Marsh, Richard, *The Legends & Lands of Ireland*. New York: Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 2006, p.16.

The stories of Cúchulainn are part myth, legend, and folklore.[687] Although there are several variations of the stories behind the collective memory of Cúchulainn, the most popular version of this ancient Gaelic hero originates from the Ulster cycle.[688] He is most remembered for his heroism during his final moments at time of death when mortally wounded by a spear.[689] Cúchulainn's short-lived fame and illustriousness is often compared to the Greek heroes Homer and Achilles but his influence is most remarkable on the people of Ireland. Although there is a wide variety of literature, music, and other cultural references to this 'hero' that have appeared since the early 20th century – there is one particular image of Cúchulainn that is forever engrained. This image is none other than Oliver Sheppard's bronze statue of the dying Cúchulainn that now stands in the hall of the General Post Office in Dublin as a permanent and public memorial "to the participants of the 1916 Rising" – the Irish fight for independence from the British (Figure 104).

Although this statue is now considered an important historical Irish artefact and relic, its origins are unpretentious. In 1911-12, Oliver Sheppard (1865-1941) – a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy (R.H.A.) [690] – made this bronze statue of Cúchulainn without having any specific buyer. Although the original work in plaster was exhibited at the R.H.A. in 1914, it was not until 1935 that this statue was purchased by the State at the request of Éamon de Valera. The image of Cúchulainn appeals to both Irish nationalists and Ulster

[687] In trying to establish a time frame for the stories of Cúchulainn, it appears to be that most historians agree that the historical setting is in the 1st century BC.

[688] They deal with "the exploits of King Conchobor and the champions of the Red Branch, chief of whom is Cúchulainn, the Hound of Ulster." Source: Kinsella, Thomas, *The Táin: From the Irish Epic Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Oxford: University Press, 1969, p.ix.

[689] A victor to the end, Cúchulainn did not want to meet his enemy warriors on the battlefield lying down. In an effort to remain standing, he tied himself to a pillar-stone with his breast-belt with a sword in his hand and a buckler on his arm. With this rebellious stance, it enabled him to strike fear into his enemies even after death. They feared of going close to him, for they thought he might still be alive. It was not until a raven settled on his shoulder that his enemies believed he was actually dead. Then Lugaid came and severed his head, but as he does so, the sword fell from Cúchulainn's hand and struck off Lugaid's right hand. This was to be Cúchulainn's final feat.

[690] The Royal Hibernian Academy (R.H.A.) is an institution in Ireland that was founded in 1823 that is involved in promoting visual arts. It is interesting to note that the R.H.A. was originally located in Academy House on Abbey Street, Dublin, but this was destroyed by fire in 1916 during the Easter Rising.

unionist. While Irish nationalists see him as an important symbol of Celtic heroism, unionists see him as an Ulsterman defending the province from enemies in the south. Following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, there was a heavy appetite to shed its colonial past and create a monumental landscape that was reflective of their ancient Celtic history and heritage as well as the new ideology and aspirations of the Irish people. One of the most visible means of evoking a new image of 'Independent Ireland' was to change its topography – streets were re-named , public monuments were erected for new heroes, and older imperial symbols and memorials were destroyed.[691] De Valera understood the significance of Cúchulainn to both nationalists and unionists, however,

> …the lack of consensus on state identity in the south inhibited it from creating monuments with a strong ideological context. … It was only when the Free State was firmly established in the 1930s that it felt sufficiently confident to set *The Death of Cuchulainn* in the GPO. It would have been inconceivable to have installed a statue of any major political figure in such a contested state after a civil war.[692]

What began as a work of public art for a quarter of a century, it concluded as a public memorial serving as a political statement. *The Death of Cuchulainn* was one of the first public memorials erected to commemorate those who were killed in the 1916 Rising. The government's intent was to unveil the statue in 1936, during the 20th anniversary of the Rising – but that was cut short by a year. As part of large civil ceremonial and military parade, thousands witnessed de Valera unveil the memorial at the stroke of noon, 21 April 1935. De Valera carefully chose the General Post Office as the site of the memorial – this was the hallowed ground where Patrick H. Pearse proclaimed that the Irish Republic was a "sovereign and indefeasible" state on Easter Monday 1916 and it was "from this building he commanded the forces

[691] Whelan, Yvonne, "Symbolising the State – the iconography of O'Connell Street and environs after Independence (1922)," *Irish Geography*, Volume 34(2), 2001, pp.135-156.

[692] Turpin, John, "Official sculpture in post-revolutionary Ireland, north and south, in the 1920s and 1930s," *Sculpture Journal*, Volume XIII, 2005, p.47.

that asserted in arms Ireland's right to freedom."[693] During his address, de Valera commented on the memorial itself: "A beautiful piece of sculpture, the creation of Irish genius, symbolizing the dauntless courage and abiding constancy of our people, will commemorate it modestly, indeed, but fittingly."[694]

As was expected, controversy emerged immediately after its unveiling. While militant republicans staged protests during that same afternoon, some of the leaders of the Rising felt that the memorial was somewhat premature as what they had fought for had not yet been achieved.[695] Veterans also had some criticism on the suitability of the subject. There was a certain ambiguity in choosing Cúchulainn as the centre-piece for Celtic revivalists. As Pearse and Sheppard were friends, they shared similar patriotic and religious beliefs which were conveyed through the statue's stance: the pose of Cúchulainn is often compared to the *Pietà* theme in Christian art – a depiction of the Virgin Mary supporting the body of Jesus Christ that appeared as early as the 14th century in Germany. This parallelism appears to have been a deliberate attempt to fuse Christian ideals with radical nationalism. Notwithstanding, this memorial from an early start was deemed to be most suitable as "the noble personality of Cúchulainn forms a true type of Gaelic nationality, full as it is of youthful life and vigour and hope."[696] This sculpture had become the best known and most artistic of all memorials dedicated to the 1916 Rising and "once in place in the public hall of the GPO the Cúchulainn monument

[693] On-site commemorative plaques, General Post Office.

[694] *The Irish Times*, 22 April 1935, p.8.

[695] Whelan, Yvonne, op. cit., pp.140-141.

[696] Patrick Pearse thanking the speaker of a lecture entitled "Cúchulainn and the Red Branch Cycle" which was held on 22 February 1898 at a meeting of the New Ireland Literary Society. Cited in O'Leary, Philip, Chapter 4, "The Greatest of the Things Our Ancestors Did – Modernizations and Adaptations of Early Irish Literature," *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881-1921: Ideology and Innovation*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994, p.250.

became an important site of national memory in a manner almost akin to a national war memorial."[697]

The Death of Cúchulainn has had a continuing impact since its 1935 unveilling. Four years later, the statue was displayed at the 1939 international trade fair in New York and its image has been frequently reproduced in small versions of the work, and transferred to official and unofficial items such as coin, stamp, post card, clothing, accessories, and souvenirs.[698] In June 2002, the Office of Public Works commissioned a second cast sculpture[699] to be exhibited for public buildings located throughout Ireland – is "the same as the original in all respects."[700]

Commemorating Unique Friendships

At times, public memorials are erected to demonstrate friendship or celebrate a co-operative relationship. The continued existence of such memorials are customarily dependent on the resilience of the comradeship. One recent example of a 'friendship memorial' is *The New Zealand Memorial* located in Australia's capital city. In 1995, New Zealand accepted an invitation from the Australian government to build a memorial to commemorate the "unique friendship"[701] between these two countries. Located on Canberra's prestigious ceremonial avenue – ANZAC Parade – the memorial takes the form of two bronze arches, each representing the handles

[697] Whelan, Yvonne, op. cit., p.141.

[698] In 1966, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising, a special 10 Shilling coin featured on its reverse Sheppard's bronze statue of *Cúchulainn* and P.H. Pearse on its obverse. To commemorate the 75th anniversary, a stamp displaying the sculpture and the '1916 Proclamation' was printed in 1991.

[699] The second statue of *The Death of Cúchulainn* which was cast in bronze at Griffith College, Dublin, by Kilmainham Art Foundry Ltd. Source: Email correspondence with Willie Malone, Kilmainham Art Foundry Ltd., 28 February 2008.

[700] Email correspondence with Denis McCarthy, Dublin Castle, 14 March 2008. The size of the memorial statue is 100 centimetres wide by 200 centimetres high (39.4 inches by 78.8 inches).

[701] Dedication plaque on road corner, ANZAC parade.

of a flax 'basket'.[702] Based on the Māori proverb "each of us at a handle of the basket",[703] the handles "express the shared effort needed to achieve common goals in both peace and war, and to acknowledge the courage and sacrifice of the servicemen and women of both countries who fought shoulder to shoulder on foreign soil."[704] The memorial straddles both sides of ANZAC Parade with one handle representing Australia (Figure 105), and the other New Zealand. Although from afar the structures may appear to be similar, they are individually designed to emphasize each country's respective indigenous motifs.[705] As a means of highlighting the birthplace of the ANZAC tradition, soil from Gallipoli (Turkey) is buried in the centre of each paved area. This friendship memorial expresses a wide sense of remembrance – that of a "shared history, values and memories, and our common endeavours and sacrifices, in peace and in war."[706] In this case, the incorporation of national and cultural visual elements into the memorial played an important role in exhibiting a collective memory while at the same time maintaining independent identities for both Australia and New Zealand.

Memorials honouring 'unique friendships' are not limited to countries. Although less recurrent, there are some memorials dedicated to personal friends or fellowships. Perhaps considered North America's best known example is the *Friend to Friend Masonic Memorial* that is located adjacent to the Gettysburg National Cemetery (Figure 106). With its history and tradition dating back to antiquity, Freemasonary is regarded as the world's oldest and largest Fraternity.[707] The American Civil War was particularly divisive – it

[702] The Māori word for 'basket' is *kete*.

[703] The Māori proverb is "*Mau tena kiwai o te kete, maku tenai*".

[704] Dedication plaque on road corner, ANZAC parade.

[705] Aboriginal and Māori.

[706] Speech by The Right Honourable Helen Clark, M.P., Prime Minister of New Zealand at the dedication of the New Zealand Memorial, ANZAC Parade, Canberra, Australia, 24 April 2001. See: http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/dedication+new+zealand+memorial+anzac+parade+Canberra

[707] With its singular purpose to "make good men better," it is neither a forum nor a place for worship but is based on the belief in one God. As member of this Fraternity, they are referred



Figure 105: ***The New Zealand Memorial*** **is a gift from the People of New Zealand to the People of Australia to mark the centenary of Australian Federation and was unveiled by the Right Honourable Helen Clark, M.P., Prime Minister of New Zealand and the Honourable John Howard, M.P., Prime Minister of Australia on 24 April 2001. Shown here is the Western (Australian) side of the memorial. Artist: Kingsley Baird. – ANZAC Parade, Canberra.**



Figure 106: ***Friend to Friend Masonic Memorial*** **depicts Union Captain Henry Harrison Bingham rendering aid to the fallen Confederate Brigadier General Lewis Addison Armistead. Both officers were members of the Masonic Order. Sculpted by Ron Tunison of Cairo, New York and dedicated on 21 August 1993 by Edward H. Fowler, Jr., Right Worshipful Grand Master. Sculptor: Ron Tunison. – Gettysburg National Cemetery Annex, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.**

pitted one community against another, brought about hostility among organizations and societies, and separated families having to choose between joining the United States of America (U.S.A.) or 'Union' in the Northern States or the Confederate States of America (C.S.A.) or 'Confederates' in the Southern States. As Freemasons are omnipresent, it was a common

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to as "Brother." Some of the most famous Freemasons within the United States included Presidents George Washington, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman, General Douglas MacArthur, Astronaut Edwin E. (Buzz) Aldrin, and Confederate General Lewis Armistead and Union Captain Henry Bingham depicted in the '*Friend to Friend*' memorial.

occurrence for them to be engaged in military actions against each other. For example, it was known that prior to the Civil War , Union Winfield Scott Hancock and Confederate Lewis Addison Armistead were both career soldiers who had served and fought side by side in the U.S. Army as well as were personal friends and Freemasons. Destined to meet on 3 July 1863 – the last day of the Battle of Gettysburg – Armistead, as part of 'Pickett's Charge' – the high tide of the C.S.A. (Figure 187), was to penetrate Hancock's line by conducting an assault on Cemetery Hill in the center of the Union Army. Leading his men during that charge, Armistead was shot twice, mortally wounded, and as he went down he gave a Masonic sign asking for assistance and reportedly asked to see and talk with his friend General Hancock but was told that he was also wounded.[708]

Honouring a Formidable Adversary

For Australians and New Zealanders, 25 April or ANZAC Day is considered one of the most important spiritual and solemn days of the year as this day marks the anniversary of the first major military action fought by the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps – 25 April 1915 in Gallipoli. Although established in 1916, ANZAC Day has been a common feature since the 1920s to commemorate the 60,000 Australians and 18,000 New Zealanders killed in war and also honours returned servicemen and women. Certainly not without controversies, there have been a wide range of veterans' gatherings, commemoration events and ceremonies held in cities and towns throughout Australia and New Zealand, in Turkey, as well as in countries whose soldiers participated in the campaign.[709]

[708] The *Friend to Friend* memorial depicts the actual incident whereby wounded Union Captain Bingham – a Mason and staff assistant to Hancock – came to the aid of Confederate Brother Armistead. A close up of the statue shows Armistead placing his personal possessions, including the classic Masonic square and compass watch fob, in the hand of Bingham with instructions to deliver them to his friend Hancock so that they would be sent to his family. Although Bingham took Armistead off the field to a hospital, Armistead died two days later. Officially, the memorial is dedicated "to the Freemasons of the Union and Confederacy.

[709] Including Britain, Canada, the Cook Islands, France, India, Niue, Samoa and Thailand. Similar commemorations are also held in other countries such as China, Egypt, Germany, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Korea , and the U.S. North

One of the most active places of memory on ANZAC Day is the capital city of New Zealand, whereby numerous dawn and civic ceremonies are held during that day.[710] Commencing at 10:30 a.m. at the *National War Memorial* is an outdoor 'National Commemorative Service' and 'National Wreath-laying Ceremony' which then moves into the *Hall of Memories* at 11:10 a.m. Inside the Hall there are two columns commemorating the unique friendships New Zealand formed with members of the Commonwealth who fought during the two World Wars (Figure 107).[711] The last major ANZAC Day commemorations for Wellington is held at 2 p.m. at the *Atatürk Memorial Park and Monument* (Figure 108). The significance of Mustaffa Kamal or Atatürk[712] is that he was the commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces around Chunuk Bair which included ANZAC Cove. Considered one – if not – the most controversial modern sites of memory within New Zealand, this marble crescent memorial was built as the result of open-minded dialogue and compassionate agreements made between the governments of Australia, New Zealand, and Turkey. It all began in 1984, when the Turkish government agreed to the Australian government's request to officially rename the 600-metre long landing site known as 'Ari Burnu' to 'ANZAC Cove' "in memory

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America's only unit to fight in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915-1916 was the Royal Newfoundland Regiment that was then part of the 'Dominion of Newfoundland.'

[710] Typically, the day starts with an early 'Dawn Ceremony of Remembrance' at the *Wellington cenotaph* (also known as the *Citizens' War Memorial*) at 5:45 a.m. organized by the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association and which attracts about 3,000 people. At the *National War Memorial* on Buckle Street, a tri-service Catafalque Guard from the New Zealand Defence Force mounts a dawn to dusk vigil at the *Tomb of the Unknown Warrior* from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. (Figure 69). At 9:45 a.m., a 'Citizen's Service of Commemoration' is held at the St. Paul's Cathedral, followed by a wreath-laying ceremony at the *Wellington cenotaph* at 10:20 a.m., whereby wreaths are laid on behalf of the city of Wellington, the government, various military organizations, schools and foreign associations.

[711] Each column bears a sculpted and painted coat of arms (shield) linked by stylized branches to the 'Tree of the Commonwealth' for each of the Commonwealth countries, including the arms of the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and the Dominion of Newfoundland who later joined Canada as one of its provinces in 1949. The Canadian arms depict green maple leaves (as it was thought to represent youth) as proclaimed by King George V on 21 November 1921.

[712] Following subsequent commands, he returned to Turkey at the end of the war. He was then successful in a series of uprising and campaigns that led to the dissolution of the old Turkish state and the stablishment of a modern secular state. As the result of this, he was given the title *Atatürk* or 'father of the Turks'and is revered as a national hero.





Figures 107-108: Top – The *Hall of Memories* was completed in April 1964. Flanking the steps to the Sanctuary are two columns – with a Latin cross at each of its summit – commemorating unique friendships formed. – *National War Memorial*, Wellington, New Zealand.

Bottom – *Atatürk Memorial Park and Monument* – Tarakena Bay, Wellington, New Zealand. The memorial park was dedicated by His Excellency Mr. Vahit Halefoglu, Minister of Foreigh Affairs, Republic of Turkey on 29 April 1985. The monument was unveiled by His Excellency Mr. Lutfullah Kayalar, Minister of Agriculture, Republic of Turkey on 26 April 1990, 75 years after Gallipoli.

of the Australian and New Zealand troops who died there. … The Turks also built a large monument to all who had died in the Gallipoli campaign. In return the governments of Australia and New Zealand agreed to build monuments to Atatürk in Canberra and Wellington."[713] The site of Tarakena Bay is of particular importance to the Turkish government as it was chosen for its resemblance to Gallipoli. Considering that ANZACs had landed at Gallipoli as aggressors and their request to honour Australians and New Zealanders in a foreign land, it was a "colossal gesture of forgiveness"[714] from the Turkish government that allowed for a sincere reconciliation, the memorialization of soldiers on both sides, and the recognition of Gallipoli as an important site of collective memory which led to the forging of independent national identities. The *Atatürk Memorial Park and Monument* is considered

[713] *The Evening Post*, 21 April 1988, Wellington, New Zealand, cited in Maclean, Chris, and Phillips, Jock, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials.* Wellington, New Zealand: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, GP Books, 1990, pp.166.

[714] Conversation between the authors Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips and Jim D'Ath, New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 28 March 1989, cited in *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, p.167.

"the first memorial to be built as a act of atonement for our [New Zealand] invasion of another country. For this reason alone the Ataturk monument is of major significance."[715]

SPIRITUAL INFLUENCES

Military forces and religion have had a tremendous influence on the shape and use of public memorials. Although there is an extensive list of religions and spiritual traditions,[716] each religious faith has different approaches and customs to how people, places and events are to be memorialized. Their common denominator is that they all value and respect their respective places of collective memory. These 'official vectors' do not necessarily consist of monuments and commemorations but are typically made up of physical infrastructures such as churches and cathedrals, temples and mosques, shrines and sacred places, as well as topographic features such as holy mountains, rivers, lakes and streams.

For millions who have served in the armed forces, their particular religion or denomination is sometimes associated in helping recognize and commemorate them. While for some faiths, expressions of condolence, sympathy and respect are publicly displayed, others discourage such fervance for recognition. For example, according to Islamic funeral rites, the deceased is given a simple burial and is treated with utmost respect. While some of the more wealthy use caskets, the majority of Muslins are buried in their shroud on their right side, facing Mecca. Large stones may be placed over the grave but "it is discouraged for people to erect tombstones, elaborate markers, or put flowers or other momentos. Rather, one should humbly remember Allah and His mercy, and pray for the deceased."[717] Nevertheless, it is becoming more

[715] Maclean, Chris, and Phillips, Jock, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, p.167.

[716] The major groups include Abrahamic, Indian, Persian, East Asian, African diasporic and Indigenous traditional. The three largest religions are Christianity (2 billion), Islam (1.2 billion) and Hinduism (800 million).

[717] Akhter, Shamin, *Faith and Philosophy of Islam.* Delhi, India: Kalpaz Publications, 2009, p.226.

common for families of Islamic faith to erect headstones, gravestones and grave markers. It is worth noting that although their temples and mosques are erected as a place to worship Allah, they are devoid of any references in praise of anyone.

While Muslims are adamant on having ground burials, the Hindu prefer cremation. Unlike the Islamic tradition, in Hinduism, the body of the deceased may be adorned with jewels and when being transported to the cremation ground, the body is almost covered with flowers. At the completion of the cremation, the chief mourner[718] collects the mortal remains and places them in an urn. In order to facilitate the migration of the dead person's soul or spirit to the 'abode of the ancestors,' the final stage is to immerse the ashes in a river, followed by days of post-cremation observances. For those who die far away from home, in a war, or when the body cannot be retrieved, similar funeral rites are performed – just as if the body had been present.

In the case of Christians, the cross[719] has been their predominant symbol as it is intended to represent the death of Jesus of Nazareth when he was crucified on the True Cross at c. AD 30.[720] Just as there are many forms of Christian crosses, there are just as many variations on how they bury their dead. While the deceased is typically buried in consecrated ground, it was not until 1963 that Pope Paul VI lifted the ban on cremation after considering the prevailing social, economic and environmental conditions. Moreover, it was not until 1997 that the Vatican updated norms on funeral rites that allowed for the cremated remains to be present at a funeral mass. Even if a person is cremated, the ashes must not be stored at home on display or scattered in the wind, land or sea (as this is based on a pagan ritual) but must be entombed at a cemetery, crypt or mausoleum. From all the major divisions of Christianity, Eastern Orthodox churches still forbid the practice of cremation.

[718] Usually the eldest son.

[719] Also known as the Latin cross or *crux ordinaria*.

[720] Christianity is divided into four or five major divisions, including the Eastern Orthodox churches, the Oriental Orthodox churches, Protestantism, the Roman Catholic Church, and Anglicanism – sometimes considered separately or as part of Protestantism.

Soon after it was established, the C.W.G.C. tackled the question of religion and how it was to commemorate of all of its war dead – including those of Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, South African and the United Kingdom. Three years later, in 1920, the Commission established four fundamental principles that continue to guide their work:

> that each of the dead should be commemorated individually by name either on a headstone over the grave or by an inscription on a memorial if the grave was unidentified; that the headstones and memorials should be permanent; that the headstones should be uniform; and that there should be no distinction made on account of military or civil rank, race or creed. The theme of common sacrifice and equal honour in death was reflected in the non-sectarian design of the headstones used throughout the world...[721]

Although a temporary wooden cross was erected at each grave, it was to be replaced with its own permanent headstone. Despite public opposition, including a petition in 1919 with more than 8,000 names, a decision was taken to not allow a cross as an alternative to the headstone. However, as means of negotiating a way ahead, Blomfield designed a *Cross of Sacrifice* which became the common monument representing the faith of the majority. In larger cemeteries, a second permanent memorial became Lutyen's *Stone of Remembrance* representing "those of all faiths and of none."[722] In their attempt in making the headstone 'regimental in character,' yet sensitive to faiths other than Christianity, it made allowances to include space for a religious emblem. Accordingly, Jews inscribed the star of David on the headstone – instead of a cross. Unfortunately, "the treatment of Hindu and Muslim graves posed a greater problem. India Office advisers drew attention to Muslim disapproval of exhumation and Hindu preference for cremation. They also wanted distinctive grave markings and temples for each

[721] Booklet – Commonwealth War Graves Commission, *Canada and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*, undated, p.2.

[722] The cross, the War Cross, Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice, Remembrance Crosses and Luyten's Stone of Remembrance are more fully explained in a later section entitled 'Groups and Types' of memorials.

denomination."[723] While the Commission considered the possibility of including a mosque and temple to serve as central monuments to all Indians who had died in France and Belgium, Sikhs and Gurkas also demanded separate monuments. The final outcome was to erect a single memorial to the Indians who fell in France with inscriptions appropriate to the three main creeds as well as to include appropriate markings on their headstones. Through hard earned experience, the Commission came to understand and appreciate respect for different creeds and for over nine decades, continues to be part of their central policy. Other elements of the C.W.G.C. headstone will be discussed in a later section, entitled 'Signs of Remembrance.'

Considering the many wars and conflicts that have transpired since the South African War (1899-1902), and the establishment of the C.W.G.C. in 1917, there have been millions of memorials erected throughout the world. However, when comparing the amount of memorials with the various religions and spiritual traditions, it appears that those of Christian faith are most active in terms of memorializing their war dead. Even among the major divisions of Christianity, there are wide differences among its denominations. It is generally accepted that the two major varieties of Western Christianity are Roman Catholics and Protestants.[724]

Up until the First World War, Catholic and Protestant memorials recognizing and honouring their valiant warriors and national heroes most often reflected their dedication and respect to either their faith, their sovereign, or their country. While some memorials emphasize a religious theme (eg. Figure 120 – *Winged Victory*), others demonstrate strong links to the 'Great Empire' (eg. Figure 118 – Boer War) or to their communities (Figure 95 – *Monument aux braves*). One simple – yet compelling – memorial that includes all three of these compositional elements is a granite column located in rural Gundaroo, Australia, originally raised for those who died or served

[723] Longworth, Philip, *The Unending Vigil: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*. London: Leo Cooper, 1985, p.37.

[724] A term which is often used to denote all non-Roman Catholics.

overseas during the First World War (Figure 109). Written in large letters are the distinctive words: " FOR GOD • FOR KING AND • COUNTRY". Indeed, the erection of such public (religious) memorials have become more rarer as the number of people attending church declined significantly since the end of the Second World War as well as the realization of separating matters of state from church. Accordingly, local churches and parishes are now less involved with the commemoration of their war dead, but as a matter of principle, religious leaders are still often requested to take part in dedication and re-dedication of 'war memorials' and to help remember those soldiers of all faiths who have served or died.



Figure 109: Memorial column originally dedicated for 'Gundaroo Boys' who served during the Great War but was later re-dedicated to include those who served in the Boer War, overseas and in the Militia/Home Forces during both World Wars, and post-1945 conflicts including Korea, Vietnam, Timor, Rwanda, Iraq, Afghanistan and the Malay Peninsula.

For thousands of years, military units have had coats of arms, badges, crests, standards, pennants, flags and colours, among other objects and symbols, as a means of identification and recognition. Through time, many of these items become memorials onto themselves in remembrance of those who died or served with that unit. As a method of safekeeping their regimental history within their local communities, many units chose **places of worship** as a venue for remembrance which allowed them to publicly display their memorials.

Other than for saints and notable religious personages, the Roman Catholic faith has never been a large proponent for memorializing the military

within their places of worship. In Canada, up until the late 19th century, Catholic churches did erect memorials in memory of some of their most elite parishioners, including former prime ministers, high ranking officials, and members of their immediate family. Following ancient customs, when church crypts did not exist, some were buried below wooden floor boards or within walls with a memorial tablet nearby indicating that their remains are reposing nearby. Such was the case with Lieutenant-General Louis-Joseph Marquis de Montcalm – commander of the French forces – when gravely wounded on 13 September 1759 in the Plains of Abraham. While Montcalm most likely died in the home of French surgeon-major André Arnoux (1720-1760),[725] a chaplain from the nearby *Chapelle des Ursulines* probably delivered his last rites. Known to be religious and a practicing Catholic, his mortal remains were entombed the very night in a crater caused by the explosion of an English bomb within the church.[726] Figures 110-111 illustrate this rare example of 'military' memorials placed in a Roman Catholic church, which includes Montcalm's Latin epitaph, composed in 1761, by the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*[727] at the instance of Louis Antoine, Comte de Bougainville (1729-1811) – one of Montcalm's officers – and with the "King's consent" was approved that same year by William Pitt the Elder (1708-1778).[728] Prepared by Mr. Felix Morgan, Québec's well-known sculptor, the white Parian marble epitaph fixed on a polished block of Irish

[725] Parkman, Francis, Chapter XXVIII, "Fall of Quebec," *Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. II*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1884, p.441.

[726] As a concluding note to the burial of the Marquis de Montcalm, on 11 October 2001, in a formal military ceremony, he was re-buried in the *Hôpital-Général de Québec Cemetery* among his troops and more than a thousand Canadian, French and British combatants who died in the Seven Years War (1756-1763). Although the Marquis was moved, the memorial tablets remained in situ within the chapel.

[727] This is a French learned society devoted to the humanities, founded in February 1663 as one of the five academies of the *Institut de France*. According to its charter, the Academy "is primarily concerned with the study of the monuments, the documents, the languages, and the cultures of the civilizations of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the classical period, as well as those of non-European civilizations." See official website: http://www.aibl.fr/index.html

[728] Letter from M. de Bougainville to Mr. Pitt and well as Mr. Pitt's answer on 10 April 1761, London. See: Dodsley, Robert and James (Publisher), *The Annual Register or a view of the History, Politicks and Literature of of the Year 1762*. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-mall, 1763, p.266.

black marble was inaugurated after a religious ceremony at the *Chapelle des Ursulines* on 14 September 1859 – the centenary of the death of Montcalm.[729]





Figures 110-112: Top – Memorial tablets in honour of Lieutenant-General Louis-Joseph Marquis de Montcalm (1712-1759). The upper one is written entirely in Latin and includes his personal coat of arms at the bottom while the two other lower ones are in French.

Right – The memorials are located on the right side wall nearest the front of the Chapel's main altar. – *Chapelle des Ursulines*, Québec, Québec.

Bottom – Typical memorial tablet erected inside a Roman Catholic Church – Our Lady of Lourdes Parish, Pembroke, Ontario.



Since the late 19th century, nearly all of the memorials erected on Roman Catholic property have been dedicated to former priests, bishops, and archbishops that have served within their community. One typical example is

[729] Ryerson, The Reverend Egerton, D.D. (Editor), V. Papers on Colonial Subjects, "2. The Centenary of the Death of Montcalm," *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, Vol. XII – For the Year 1859, No.9, September 1859. Toronto: Printed by Lovell and Gibson, 1859, p.137.

the single memorial tablet placed in 1990 by the parishioners at the rear of their church in memory of their founding pastor (Figure 112).[730] Even today, Catholics seldom commemorate inside their places of worship members of their community, including its war dead.

People of the Anglican faith have a different approach on how they recognize their clergy members, community leaders, and congregation members and they are the most prolific in terms of military memorials. This is immediately apparent once we step inside their parish churches, particularly those which were built prior to the First or Second World War. One such example can be found in Canada's capital along the gated wall surrounding Rideau Hall, the official residence of the Governor General of Canada. St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church in Ottawa has a rich history of memorials and commemoration since its parish was established in October 1866.[731] Over the years, the parish was able to embellish and decorate the church as a place for praying, celebrating and remembrance. Among the gifts and offerings displayed, it includes a wide array of military memorials (Figures 113-114). Although these types of memorials are representative of most Anglican churches, some are of national and international significance.

One of the church's oldest memorials is an attractive Victorian **window** located in the south wall that was erected in 1886 to the memory of William B. Osgood – killed on 2 May 1885 at the Battle of Cut Knife Creek during the North-West Rebellion in Saskatchewan. At the turn of the 20th century, the parish dedicated two memorials to "three brave volunteers in the service of the British Empire who fell on the field of battle"[732] on 27 February

[730] Monsignor J.F. Harrington – the founding pastor of Our Lady of Lourdes church in Pembroke, Ontario – served faithfully for more than for 27 years.
[731] A more complete history of St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church, Ottawa (Ontario), can be found on their parish website: www.barts.ca

[732] The full text inscribed onto the brass memorial tablet erected on the south wall of the church is: "In Loving Memory of Cuthbert T. Thomas, Sergt. Governor Generals' Foot Guards, died 27th Feb. 1900 Aged 27 – Fred J. Living, Sergt. 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles, died 27th Feb. 1900 Aged 22 – Wm. S. Brady, Sergt. 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles, died 27th Feb. 1900 Aged 26 – All of "D" Company, Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry – Formerly Members of this Church – Three brave Canadian Volunteers in the service of the British

1900 at Paardeburg during the South African War. An unusual brass eagle **lectern** and a brass memorial tablet are dedicated to these former members of this church.





Figures 113-114: Memorials at St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church, Ottawa, Ontario. Top – War memorial window, retired State and Regimental Colours, and memorial lectern.

Bottom – Memorial tablets in honour of various members of the parish and heraldic shields of Canada's Governors General.

In the east wall is the church's chief glory – a historically significant and out of the ordinary **war memorial window** that was commissioned by the Duke of Connaught[733] in 1916 "to the Glory of God and in affectionate memory of the members of his staff who fell in the Great War, 1914-1918. May their names live for evermore."[734] Although it was not surprising that some of the Governor General's household staff fell during the war, it was the

Empire who fell on the field of battle at Paardeburg South Africa on the 27th February 1900 – Requiescant In Pace – "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a Crown of life"."

[733] His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, was Governor General of Canada from 1911 to 1916.

[734] The following complete text is inscribed on the sarcophagus portion of the tomb depicted on the window: "This window was erected by Arthur, Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada, to the Glory of God and in affectionate memory of the members of his staff who fell in the Great War, 1914-1918. May their names live for evermore."

news of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel F.D. Farquhar[735] that sent a shockwave through Government House as he was the Duke's Aide-de-Camp and a personal friend.[736] This large 'Warrior Saints' window – designed and executed by the Irish artist, Wilhelmina Geddes (1887-1955) – centres around a "slain warrior being granted a hero's welcome in heaven."[737] The core of the iconography is a warrior escorted by a number of saints and angels,[738] along with several characters derived from the legend of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table – a play on the benefactor's name: Arthur. After joining the Irish arts and craft guild *An Túr Gloine* (Tower of Glass) in 1911, this stained glass work, often referred to as the *Connaught Window*, or by the artist as the *Ottawa Window*, was "An Túr's and Geddes's first really prestigious international commission, [and] received favourable notice by critics like Roger Fry and Herbert Read."[739] Upon completion in the workshop in Ireland, the window – en route to Canada – was shown in both Dublin and London to wide acclaim[740] and later, was the object of a pilgrimage from Boston to Ottawa by the renowned American stained-glass designer and painter Charles J. Connick in 1924.[741] The memorial window

[735] Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Douglas Farquhar, D.S.O., Mentioned in Despatches, of the Coldstream Guards had been chosen as the commander of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry and died in action at age 40 on 21 March 1915 in Voormezeele, behind the trenches at St-Eloi. He is buried at in Voormezeele Enclosure N$^{o.}$3 at Plot III, Row A6. This cemetery designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens was begun by the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry in February 1915. Out of the 1,611 Commonwealth servicemen buried there, 100 are Canadians.

[736] Although ten men from the Duke's personal staff were ultimately killed during the war, it was Farquhar's death that was most likely the catalyst for the commissioning of this memorial window.

[737] Thornburn, Geoffrey, "Iconography of the War Memorial Window at St. Bartholomew's Church, Ottawa," Undated.

[738] Such as Saint Michael (the patron of soldiers), Saint George (patron saint of England), Joan of Arc (patroness of France), and King Louis IX (also known as St. Louis of France).

[739] Cited from Footnote no. 24 in McLeod, Ellen Easton, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild*. Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University Press, 1999, p.68.

[740] Thornburn, Geoffrey, "Iconography of the War Memorial Window at St. Bartholomew's Church, Ottawa," Undated.

[741] Cited from the history of St. Bartholomew's Anglican Parish and Church, Ottawa (Ontario), which can be found on their website: www.barts.ca. The website incorrectly states

was officially unveiled in 1919 by Edward, Prince of Wales.[742] According to Dr. Brown, who completed a detailed study of this memorial in the 1990s, St. Bartholomew's Church "now housed the most expressive tribute to human heroism and sacrifice that Ottawa, perhaps even Canada, had seen."[743] Although this is the only window in North America that was produced by Geddes, the Ottawa Window had a "lasting and dramatic effect upon what could be accepted in stained glass windows in Canada" and helped open "aesthetic doors" for other trained artists."[744]

St. Bartholomew's Church also contains other military memorials, including: a 19th century **organ** that was dedicated as a Second World War Memorial;[745] a **ciborium** in memory of Sergeant Merton, an orderly at Rideau Hall; and many other **plaques** dedicated to various parish and regimental family members who were involved with the military since Confederation – the most recent of which is a tablet to Lady Patricia Ramsay[746] dedicated by the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry in 1982.

One tradition that goes back to the earliest days of human civilization is the use of **flags**, **colours**, **standards**, and **ensigns**. The precursor to modern

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the pilgrimage date as 1824 – this is not possible as the commission for the window was not finalized until May 1917.

[742] Later King Edward VIII who reigned from January 1936 to December 1936. He abdicated as king in order to mary divorced American socialite Wallis Simpson in June 1937.

[743] Brown, Shirley Ann, "Wilhelmina Geddes' Ottawa Window," *Irish Arts Review*, 1994, Volume 10, p.181.

[744] Ibid, p.188. This single act of patronage from the Duke of Connaught unknowingly played a leadership role in enhancing and re-establishing this ancient art and craft across Canada, particularly in Ottawa, Montréal, and Toronto, during the 1920s and 30s. The most notable example at the national level is that of the memorial windows by Frank S.J. Hollister (of Toronto) and Gladys W. Allen installed in 1928 in the Peace Tower Chapel of the Canadian Houses of Parliament.

[745] Located on the west wall behind a wood screen, the organ was originally built with mechanical action in 1894 by the pioneer Montréal firm of Samuel R. Warren. It was rebuilt in 1955 with electro – pneumatic action as a Second World War memorial.

[746] Lady Patricia Ramsey (1886-1974) was the former Princess Patricia of Connaught. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry – a Canadian Regular Force infantry regiment – was named in her honour in 1914.

'flags' utilized by military forces are *vexilloids* – a term coined in 1958 by Dr. Whitney Smith (1940-) – defined as "an object which functions as a flag but differs from it in some respect, usually appearance" and "are characteristic of traditional societies and often consist of a staff with an emblem, such as a carved animal, at the top."[747] The chief symbol or ornament of the vexilloid varied and might have also included the tail of a tiger, a ribbon, a metal vane, signs of the zodiac, a feather or other material. Roman vexilloids performed political, religious and military functions and were observed in lavish parades with soldiers in battle dress and armour.

> The eagle standards were honoured as 'sacred' objects, symbolizing Rome's devine mission, and flags and regalia captured from vanquished peoples were parades as proof of Roman conquest. In this process, the vexilloids became associated with notions of honour and divinity, attributes indirectly transferred to the Empire as an extension of Rome.[748]

The use of Roman vexilloids, which are often called 'military standards' is well illustrated on the *Arch of Constantine* (Figure 115). Vexilloids have been sanctioned by military forces over two millennia and although flags did not come into general use until medieval times their attributes continued to be recorded well into the 19th century. As inscribed in an old illustrated history of the English Army:

> Flags, banners, pencils, and other ensignes, are of great antiquity; their use was, in large armies, to distinguish the troops of different nations or provinces; and in smaller bodies, those of different leaders, and even particular persons, in order that the prince and commander in chief might be able to discriminate the behaviour of each corps or person; they also served to direct broken battalions or squadrons where to rally, and pointed out the station of the king, or those of the different great officers, each of whom had his particular guidon or banner, by which means they might be found at all times, and the commander in chief enabled from time to time

[747] Smith, Whitney, *Flags Through the Ages and Across the World*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, p.30.

[748] Elgenius, Gabriella, Chapter 2, "The Origin of European National Flags," in *Flag, Nation and Symbolism in Europe and America*, Edited by Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, and Jenkins, Richard. Oxon, England: Routledge, 2007, p.16.

to send such orders as he might find necessary to his different generals.[749]

As flags derive from the use of staffs, military standards, or vexilloids, most commonly used to lead men into battle – 'modern' day *colours* stem from that same ancient lineage. Through time, these were decorated with contemporary symbols and became adorned with silk – providing soldiers a shared sense of pride, honour and collective belonging. Since the 17th century, it has been the custom for infantry units to be presented a stand of colours, each with their own particular badges and devices. While the 'First Colour' or also known as the 'King's or Queen's Colour' or 'State Colour' represents loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign and Head of State, the 'Second Colour' or now known as the 'Regimental Colour' represents loyalty and sacrifice to the Regiment. When a regiment is formed, it is customary for a stand of colours (which includes a State Colour and a Regimental Colour) to be consecrated by a member of the clergy (usually the regimental padre) and formally presented by a high ranking official such as the Sovereign, the Governor General, etc.

The death of Major-General James Wolfe (1727-1759)[750] – 'the victor of Quebec' – brought about a deep sense of mourning across Britain but over the next few decades also helped revolutionize the treatment of military memorials. The very first public memorial that was erected in favour of this 'national hero' is *Wolfe's Monument* in Westminster Abbey (Figure 116). After prime minister William Pitt the Elder called for a national monument, a design competition was held in 1760 — but required another twelve years to complete it. This enshrined memorial includes powerful and timeless symbols that link heroic death in the presence of an armed enemy with that of afterlife

[749] Grose, Francis, *Military Antiquities Respecting A History of the English Army from the Conquest to the Present Time*, Chapter V – Of Flags, Colours, Standards and Ensigns, Vol. II (of II). London: T. Egerton, Whitehall; & G. Kearsley, 1801, p.51

[750] Major-General James Wolfe was entombed on 20 November 1759 in the family vault located in St. Alfege – the parish church of Greenwich, Church of England – and there has been a church on the same site since the 11th century where Alfege was martyred. When originally built, the entrance to the vault comprised of an iron gate but was later removed and sometime during the early 20th century was permanently walled up with brick.

remembrance. During the Great War, Canadian battalions deposited approximately a dozen state and regimental colours on *Wolfe's Monument* in the care of the Dean and Chapter before joining the fighting in France. They remained there until the Armistice and were returned at the end of the war. "As a perpetual reminder of Canada's help to the mother country during the Great War,"[751] there was a special service for the presentation of colours on 30 June 1922 by Canadian High Commissioner Peter C. Larkin,[752] in commemoration of the fact that colours lay here during the war.[753] After the service, two colours were returned and placed on Wolfe's memorial as a permament reminder of Canada's contribution in the Great War.[754] Even more than sixteen decades after his death, the laying of these two colours on the memorial not only perpetuates his heroic actions but also reinforces the important allegiance and commitment between that of a soldier, their fallen comrades and its regiment. In essence, *Wolfe's Monument* became one of the first contemporary applications of a 'living memorial.'

Up until the 19th century, bringing colours into battle was an integral part of military life, and to this day – although in a more ceremonial format – it is an honour and a privilege for any person to carry or escort the colours on parade. After many years of usage, the condition of these colours will have deteriorated to a point that they will have to be retired and laid up with stately ceremony so that they can be replaced with another stand of colours. Such is the case for hundreds of stands of colours which have been presented, paraded, and laid up throughout Canada. These colours are considered memorials onto themselves and serve as visible reminders of all those who died and suffered and the battles that were fought in order to achieve peace. For example, at St.

[751] Official website for Westminster Abbey, under the section 'History.' See: http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/people/james-wolfe

[752] The Honourable Peter Charles Larkin, P.C., (1855-1930) became High Commissioner to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on 10 February 1922 with presentation of credentials on 1 March 1922.

[753] Interview and notes provided by Dr. Tony Trowles, Librarian, Westminster Abbey Library, London, August 2006.

[754] To this day, the two colours remain on the monument but are now very rotted. It is just a question of time before they are removed from the memorial.

Bartholomew's Church, the Governor General's Foot Guards had laid up their Fifth Stand of Colours in 1972 and their Sixth Stand of Colours in 1984 (see Figure 113).[755]

With the arrival of the new millennium, there is a continued desire to display colours when serving the memorial and commemorative needs of the military community. The modern trend however is to have them laid-up in a secular setting that nevertheless retains a spiritual atmosphere – all without having to denote any particular faith. A recent example of this is the *Hall of Colours* that was created as part of a larger memorial centre at Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa (Figure 117). Laid-up in a consecrated room, colours from the Canadian Forces enfold a memorial stained glass window donated by the Canadian Military Chaplains' Association – entitled *Hope in a Broken World* – and highlight a stately black granite plinth on which a casket or urn can be placed as part of a visitation, service or ceremony to celebrate a life.

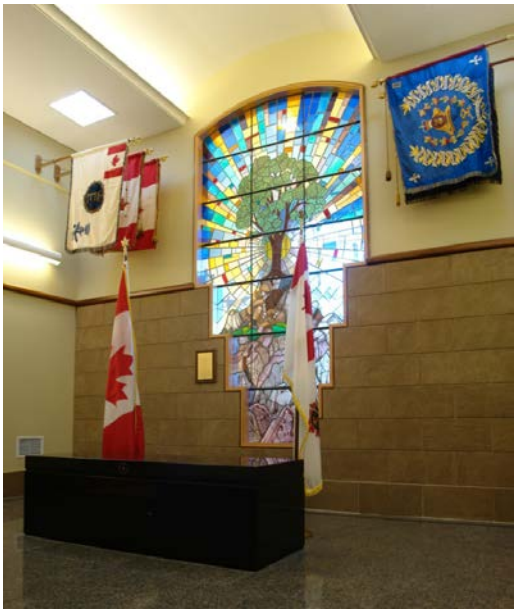
Flags, colours, guidons and the like continue to be represented on military memorials. As shown in Figure 118, they often pose as a powerful emblem demonstrating signs of victory and triumph, a rallied and unified force, as well as regimental and national identity. Although it was in the Nile Expedition of 1884 that Canada first took part in a war overseas, it was not until 1899 that it sent a contingent to fight in a foreign war. In all, 7,368 soldiers and 12 nursing sisters from Canada served overseas in the South African or Boer War (1899-1902). As casualties mounted[756] – the call to memorialize their sacrifice went out. Hamilton MacCarthy – one of Canada's

[755] The year 1972 was the Regiment's centennial year, as well as the adoption of this church as the new regimental chapel. See: Foster, Captain Robert M., *Steady the Buttons Two by Two – Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*. Ottawa: Governor General's Foot Guards Foundation, 1999, pp.329-332. Since 1872, the Regiment has so far received eight Stand of Colours. The Fifth Stand of Colours was presented in 1959 by Governor General Vincent Massey and the Sixth Stand was presented in 1972 by Governor General Roland Michener.

[756] Veterans Affairs Canada, *The Books of Remembrance, South Africa & The Nile*. According to the Book of Remembrance "written in honoured & enduring memory the names of Canadian soldiers who gave their lives in the South African War 1899-1902," there are 267 names originally listed, plus another 14 placed in Addendum, at a total of 281 names. See website: http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/books/safrica




Figures 115-116: Left – Sculptured relief of victorious Roman soldiers carrying vexilloids – Column Base, *Arch of Constantine*, dedicated in 315 A.D., Via Triumphalis, Rome, Italy. Right – *Wolfe's Monument* was sculpted by Joseph Wilton, R.A., and was erected in the North Ambulatory of Westminster Abbey (London) in 1772 at a cost of £3,000. Photographed in 1917 showing various State and Regimental Colours deposited by Canadian battalions at the base of the Monument. Photo: Permission from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.




Figures 117-118: Left – *Hall of Colours* established in 2008 which includes a Queen's Colour from the Canadian Forces Maritime Command and Queen's and Regimental Colours from the Royal Canadian Regiment and the Royal 22e Régiment – Memorial Centre, Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, Ontario. Right – Boer War Monument designed in 1902 by Hamilton Thomas Carleton Plantagenet MacCarthy, R.C.A. (1846-1939) and dedicated by Governor General Earl Grey in the presence of about 20,000 people on 15 August 1905 to the memory of eleven "sons of Quebec who gave their lives in South Africa while fighting for the Empire" between 1899-1902. – Québec, Québec.

finest Edwardian sculptors – answered that call and by 1904, became the most prolific Canadian sculptor of Boer War memorials.[757] It was from the location of this particular Boer War memorial in Québec that the first Canadian contingent – known as the 'valiant 1,000' – assembled and marched off to the port on 30 October 1899 before boarding their ship, *SS Sardinian*.[758] During the Edwardian period, Canadians remained very strong on their alliance and membership within the 'Great Empire.' That patriotic sentiment is well described on one of its' tablets erected on the memorial.[759] Although this statue is not placed in a 'religious' memorial setting, the flag's prominent position along with the presence of a roll of honour accentuates the spirit of all those who gave up their lives as well as help grace this public site as an important place of memory.

THE OBSERVANCE OF REMEMBRANCE

One of the three elements of commemoration is for some form of observance of remembrance to take place. The *raison d'être*, the setting and the moment chosen to observe remembrance generally conforms to political, religious and economic realities of the time as well as the character of the collective memory in place. Probably its oldest application is remembrance of the dead. As denoted in the previous chapter, ancient Roman religion was less a spiritual experience than a pagan mixture of fragmented beliefs that included the memorialization of their gods and the worship of its dead ancestors.

[757] Hamilton MacCarthy is known to have erected Boer War memorials in: Halifax, N.S. (1901); Québec (1902); Ottawa, Ontario (1902); Brantford, Ontario (1903); Canning, N.S. (1903); and Charlottetown, P.E.I. (1904).

[758] Reshitnyk, Mike, "Empire, South Africa Campaign too old to Remember," *Quebec Heritage News*, September-October 2005, Volume 3, Number 6, Published by the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network, Lennoxville, Québec, p.6.

[759] NOT BY THE POWER OF / COMMERCE, ART OR PEN, / SHALL OUR GREAT EMPIRE / STAND; NOR HAS IT STOOD; / BUT BY THE NOBLE DEEDS / OF NOBLE MEN, HEROIC / LIVES AND HEROES' / OUTPOURED BLOOD.

The Western tradition of praying for the dead dates back to a Jewish practice[760] when Judas Maccabeus[761] ordered sacrifices to be offered in the Temple for the souls of his soldiers killed in battle so that their sins might be forgiven. Catholics in France and around the world celebrate two related holidays – *la Toussaint* (All Saints' Day) and *le Jour des morts* (All Souls' Day). All Saints' Day is a holy day of obligation, in honour of all the saints recognized by the Roman Catholic Church fixed to 1 November AD 835. On the other hand, All Souls' Day is an annual recognized day to commemorate departed family members and friends. The custom of setting apart a special day for general intercession was established by French Benedictine St. Odilo of Cluny (c. 962-c. 1048) in AD 998. This liturgical celebration was soon adopted across France and later in Rome, during the 14th century. This Catholic tradition typically consists of the parish inviting the bereaved families who participated in the funeral of a loved one during the course of the year to participate in a celebration of prayers for the dead. The names of the deceased are read during the universal prayer and the list of those to be remembered is placed near the altar on which the sacrifice of the mass is offered.

Among Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Catholic Christians, the commemoration of the dead are held on Soul Saturdays since Jesus lay Tomb on Holy Saturday. With the arrival of the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, All Souls' Day was fused with All Saints' Day in the Anglican Church. All Souls' Day was set as a day of intercession for all the souls in purgatory to be released into heaven. Essentially, by prayer and the sacrifice of mass, it allows the dead to realize posthumous sanctification and moral perfection before entering into heaven. While the observance of All Souls' Day was restored in 1980 as a Lesser Festival by the Anglican Church called "Commemoration of the Faithful Departed," continental Protestants have tenaciously maintained this tradition. Conventionally, All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day, have been a time for attending church services, for visiting

[760] Identified in 2 Maccabees 12:42-46.

[761] Judas Maccabeus (d. 160 BC) was acclaimed as one of the greatest warriors in Jewish history.

cemeteries with offerings of flowers and wreaths, lighting candles, and tidying and decorating of graves of relatives.

Similar observances occur elsewhere. As All Souls' Day has various pagan origins, many celebrate either during the day or night by eating, drinking, singing and dancing in the cemetery or by having family and friends spend time praying around home-built altars. Indigenous celebrations of the Day of the Dead also include the leaving of food and gifts at ancestors' graves. This can be readily seen during Mexican and Latin American celebrations of *El Día de los Muertos* as well in Asia and Oceania.

In Germany, the commemoration and the celebration of the dead has been particularly volatile within the last two centuries. Although Catholics had been following the traditional All Souls' Day as noted above, it was the return of the Protestants' Memorial Sunday in October or November that lead to the development of the collective remembrance of the war dead. With the wars against Napoléon between 1813 and 1815 which had been sanctioned by the churches as a "holy war against the power of evil," in 1816 the Prussian King Wilhelm III "provided regulations for church celebration of a remembrance Sunday." [762] With the establishment of Memorial Sunday, it "gave mourning and commemoration a prominent public place and provided an occasion for urgently needed collections for the widows and children of fallen and invalid soldiers."[763] While the post-war period promoted a connection between the fallen and victorious battles, the long period of peace between 1871 and 1914 brought about secularized commemoration - with veterans' associations taking control. From a memorialization point of view, "the German middle class, which was nationalistic and faithful to the emperor, expressed its national unity and identity tangibly through elaborate national monuments, national places of commemoration, and Bismarck and Emperor

[762] Karin Hausen, "The 'Day of National Mourning in Germany,'" in *Between Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997, p. 132.

[763] Ibid, p.132.

Wilhelm towers."[764] But above all it was the First World War that fundamentally changed national mourning in Germany. With more than two out of thirteen million German soldiers who did not return from war, it felt that the responsibility for mourning and remembrance of its dead was not an individual responsibility but rather, a collective task considered to be a national duty.[765] Following Germany's defeat in the First World War, the nation was more concerned with grieving and remembering its dead rather than glorifying them. It was during its founding year, in 1919, that the German War Graves Commission[766] proposed a 'people's mourning day.'[767] Although it was first held in 1922 and was changed by the Nazis during the period 1934-1945 to a 'heroes' memorial day,'[768] it reverted to its original form begining in 1948 and four years later it was broadened to commemorate all those who died in armed conflicts as well as victims of violent oppression.[769]

The effects of the Great War also transformed how Commonwealth countries were to remember its dead. For those countries who contributed to the Allied victory, the memorialization of a national identity was shared by a variety of individuals and groups. While governments were placing their primary efforts overseas by erecting battlefield memorials, others gave attention to the repercussions of the war on the homefront. Comrades-in-arms, local citizens, institutions and employers responded on an unparalled level to the enormity of the war by raising memorials in remembrance of fallen family members, friends, employees, and students. Memorials were raised for a variety of reasons, including: acknowledging and recording those who served at home and abroad; an expression of grief, sorrow, and remembrance for

[764] Ibid, p.132.

[765] Ibid, p.128.

[766] *Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge* in German.

[767] *Volkstrauertag* in German.

[768] *Heldengedenktag* in German.

[769] It was not until 1952 that it was made an official holiday that is celebrated on the third Sunday of November.

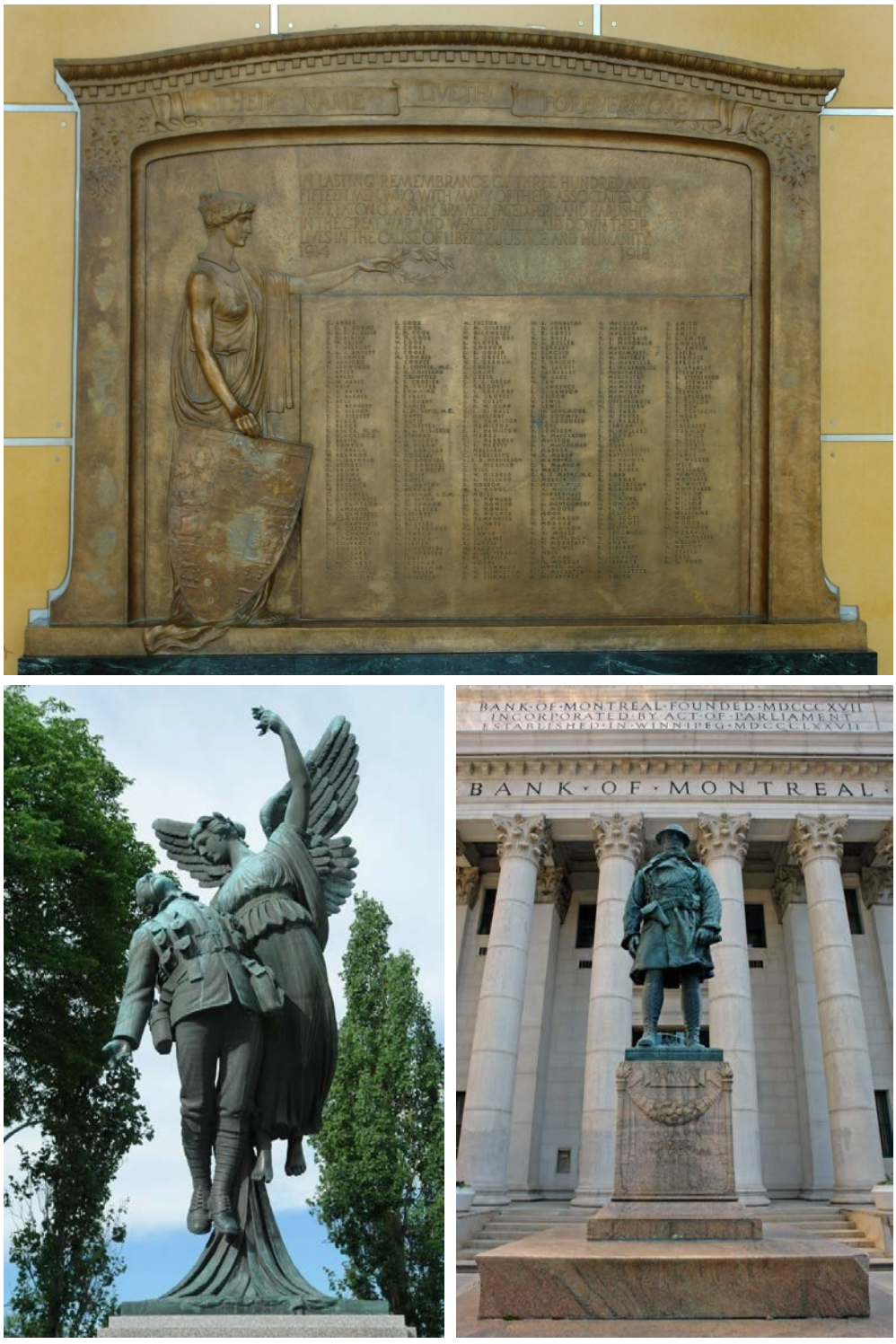
those who died; and a demonstration of gratitude for the contribution to the overall cause. Public remembrance by companies was important as it provided a permanent legacy to the survivors and a testament of their support to future generations. The city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, exemplifies Canadian communities at the time. For instance, T. Eaton Co. Limited – Canada's largest department store retailer at the time[770] – dedicated two sets of memorial tablets in "LASTING" and "PROUD REMEMBRANCE" of the 578 Eaton staff who died during both World Wars (Figure 119).[771] Similarly, Canadian Pacific Railway[772] had commissioned 23 memorial tablets and three statues to commemorate the efforts of their 1,116 employees who fought and died during the Great War. The *Winged Victory* statues of an angel carrying a soldier to heaven were placed at their train stations located in Montréal, Winnipeg (Figure 120), and Vancouver.[773] A third Winnipeg example is the Bank of Montreal which erected in 1922 a statue of a *Canadian Officer* at the front of their western headquarters along the main roadway (Figure 121). The level of quality and placement of such institutional memorials were directly proportional to their size and economic well being. While these memorials were erected for altruistic reasons, it would have been disastrous to not have

[770] This retail business was founded in 1969 in Toronto, Ontario, by Timothy Eaton, but closed in 1999 due to an economic downturn.

[771] The inscriptions on the first tablet include: "THEIR NAME LIVETH FOREVER MORE. IN LASTING REMEMBRANCE OF THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN MEN WHO WITH MANY OF THEIR ASSOCIATES OF THE T. EATON COMPANY BRAVELY FACED PERIL AND HARDHIP IN THE GREAT WAR AND WHO FINALLY LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES IN THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND HUMILITY. 1914-1918" The inscriptions on the second table include: "THEY WERE FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH. IN PROUD REMEMBRANCE OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE MEMBERS OF THE EATON STAFF WHO MADE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE IN WORLD WAR II, HAVING GONE FORTH VALIANTLY TO FIGHT FOR THE SURVIVAL OF FREEDOM. THEIR NAMES ARE HERE INSCRIBED THAT ALL MAY READ WHO PASS THIS WAY. 1939-1945" The first set of tablets was located in the company's flagstore in Winnipeg and was relocated in the MTC centre after the closing of the store. The second set of tablets that was originally located in Toronto, Ontario, was donated to the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa as part of their permanent collection.

[772] Incorporated in 1881, the Canadian Pacific Railway was Canada's first transcontinental railway and is now a public company with 15,000 employees.

[773] The inscriptions on the plinth of the *Winged Victory* statues include: "TO COMMEMORATE THOSE IN THE SERVICE OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY WHO, AT THE CALL OF KING AND COUNTRY, LEFT ALL THAT WAS DEAR TO THEM, ENDURED HARDSHIP, FACED DANGER AND FINALLY PASSED OUT OF SIGHT OF MEN BY THE PATH OF DUTY AND SELF SACRIFICE, GIVING UP THEIR OWN LIVES THAT OTHERS MIGHT LIVE IN FREEDOM. LET THOSE WHO COME AFTER SEE TO IT THAT THEIR NAMES BE NOT FORGOTTEN."



Figures 119-121: Company memorials located in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Top – Bronze commemorative tablet in remembrance of employees of The T. Eaton Co. Limited who died during the Great War, MTS Centre. Left – Sculpted by Coeur de Lion MacCarthy(1881-1979), *Winged Victory* is one of three memorial statues commissioned by the Canadian Pacific Railway company. Originally erected in 1922 at Union Station, its final destination was the Deer Lodge Centre, a former veterans' hospital, in 2003. Right – First World War stone shaft and *Canadian Officer* statue completed in 1920 by American portrait sculptor James Earle Fraser (1876-1953) and erected in 1922 by the Bank of Montreal, intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street.

acknowledged the participation of their members – as to have said nothing would have given a message that they did not care or support them or their cause.

Aside from the erection of memorials to mourn its fallen, Britain also set the stage for commemorating the end of the Great War. With the signing of the Armistice[774] at five o'clock during the morning of 11 November 1918, hostilities were to cease on all fronts at what is now referred to as "the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month." Armistice Day became a declared official day of commemoration in remembrance of all those who were killed in military service during the war. As argued by British historian David Cannadine (1950-), "the Armistice day ritual, far from being a piece of consensual ceremonial, cynically imposed on a divided and war-weary nation by a cabinet afraid of unrest and revolution, was more of a requiem demanded of the politicians by the public. It was not so much a matter of patriotism as "a display of bereavement"."[775] Hence, many of the Allied nations adopted Armistice Day as a means to fill this public need to pay tribute to their dead.

As soldiers returned home to their communities, the issue of observing the anniversary of the Armistice became more pressing. For Canadians, it was in April 1919 that Isaac Pedlow[776] initiated a debate in the House of Commons for the second Monday of November to be set aside as a "perpetual memorial of the victorious conclusion of the recent war." Further debate called for the Monday in the week of 11 November to be recognized as Armistice Day as well as that of Thanksgiving Day. Two years later, the government at the time

[774] The term "armistice" originates from the latin name "arma", signifying 'arms' and of the latin verb "sistere": to cease, in otherwords, it is a cease-fire.

[775] Cannadine, David, "War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain" in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death,* Ed. Joachim Whaley. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981, p.219.

[776] Isaac Ellis Pedlow (1861-1954) was a Liberal Member of Parliament for Renfew South, Ontario, from 1917 to 1921.

passed legislation[777] formally establishing "Armistice Day" as a legal holiday. From 1921 to 1931, Canada observed both Armistice and Thanksgiving Day on the same date annually.[778] However, in the late1920s, prominent citizens, the Royal Canadian Legion, and a wide-range of trade, social, and patriotic societies began a public campaign to have Armistice Day fixed on 11 November and to have Thanksgiving Day moved on a weekend. Ironically, it was as the result of opposition from pacifist groups wanting to end Armistice Day – because it "perpetuated militarism" – that helped galvanize national support for amending the *Armistice Day Act*.[779] The anomoly was corrected in March 1931 in time for this commemorative day to be only observed on 11 November but also brought along an important name change from 'Armistice Day' to 'Remembrance Day.' This helped to accomplish two things. First, as pleaded by the majority of the citizenry, the focus was shifted from celebrating a victory and cessation of war to recognizing and remembering the fallen and heroism achieved. This more comprehensive approach to commemoration encouraged people to look at the overall meaning of war – not just at the time of signing the armistice. And second, it allowed people to gather and grieve on a day that was more meaningful than before. This was particularly poignant for the families of the fallen who did not have a known grave. In essence, the national or local cenotaph often acted as a substitute grave that provided an opportunity to complete their mourning process. In France and in Belgium, Armistice Day[780] continues to be observed on 11 November. In the U.S., with the exception of a period of six years during the 1970s,[781] Armistice Day has always been observed on 11 November. In 1954, the name was changed to 'Veterans Day' but continued to be marked on the same day.

[777] *The Armistice Day Act, 1921*.

[778] On the Monday in the week that the 11th of November fell.

[779] Vance, Jonathan F., 1997, op. cit., p.214.

[780] Known in French as "le jour de l'Armistice".

[781] In 1971, Veterans Day was moved to the fourth Monday of October – but in 1978, it was reinstated to its original date of 11 November.

In Great Britain, the Second World War brought about some changes on how it was to commemorate its dead. Commencing in 1939, the practice of holding two minutes of silence on Armistice Day was moved to the second Sunday of November for operational reasons and became known as Remembrance Sunday.[782] Although Great Britain considered a separate day of commemoration for that war, it realized that little would be achieved. In line with the C.W.G.C. theme of "common sacrifice and equal honour in death",[783] the National Service of Remembrance held annually at London's *Cenotaph* broadened to commemorate their dead from both World Wars. In 1980, the criteria for commemoration was "widened once again to extend the remembrance to all who have suffered and died in conflict in the service of their country and all those who mourn them."[784] Since then, the Western Front Association,[785] has also been organizing a separate annual Remembrance ceremony held at *The Cenotaph* on 11 November which has become increasingly popular.

As a public reaction against the Vietnam War and overall uninterest, attendance at remembrance ceremonies throughout the U.S. and the Commonwealth plummeted during the 1960s and 70s but re-surged once again upon approaching the millennium year. In Canada, typical of other nations, there were a variey of factors that contributed to this growth in observance of remembrance, including: an aging World Wars veterans population; a renewed interest in teaching military history in schools; the realization of

[782] This shift of date was done so not to interfere with wartime production should 11 November fall on a weekday.

[783] Booklet – Commonwealth War Graves Commission, *Canada and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*, undated, p.2.

[784] Official website of *The Royal British Legion*, Remembrance, The Nation Remembers, National Service of Remembrance at the Cenotaph. See: http://www.britishlegion.org.uk/remembrance/the-nation-remembers/remembrance-sunday

[785] The Western Front Association is a not-for-profit organization established in 1980 with an object "to educate the public in this history of the Great War with particular reference to the Western Front." See official website: http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/

notable projects and milestones;[786] and the commencement of the Afghanistan war in 2001. In the latter case, people made a difference between supporting the war efforts versus supporting the soldiers carrying out their duty.

With its first four soldiers killed[787] and eight others seriously wounded on 18 April 2002 as the result of a 'friendly fire' incident in Afghanistan, Canada's observance of their fallen during the international 'Campaign Against Terrorism' was atypical of past war experiences. First, there was initial shock but ten days later, the nation paid tribute at an unprecedented memorial service held in Edmonton, Alberta, with the *Skyreach Center* filled to capacity with an estimated 16,000 people. Since then, the members of the Canadian public have continue to honour its fallen at similar tribute ceremonies but however in much smaller venues. Over the next decade, the number of fatalities rose to a total of 158 Canadian Armed Forces' personnel and four Canadian civilians.[788] While many of the military personnel have an opportunity to take part in commemorative ceremonies, both in Afghanistan and at Canadian Forces Bases throughout Canada, there are thousands of military personnel and civilian members of the defence team who work at National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ) in Ottawa who wanted to be involved in local remembrance. Although a special website was created by the Department of National Defence (DND) to "honour those who have given their lives serving Canada and helping the people of Afghanistan"[789] this form of remembrance does not allow for active commemoration. Various means of

[786] Such as the marking of major Second World War anniversaries (e.g. D-Day, V-J Day); the creation of national inventories of Canadian military memorials located in Canada and overseas (1998); the repatriation of Canada's Unknown Soldier in 2000; the establishment of a National Military Cemetery in Canada (2001); the designation of 3 September as Merchant Navy Veterans Day, effective 2003; Veterans Affairs Canada declaring 2005 as the Year of the Veteran and creating a memorials' restoration program; and the passing of the last Canadian veteran from the First World War in 2010.

[787] Private Nathan Smith, Private Richard Green, Corporal Ainsworth Dyer, and Sergeant Marc D. Léger were all members of the 3rd Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (Edmonton, Alberta).

[788] As of 31 March 2012. The four civilians killed include one senior civil servant from the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, two Canadian aid workers and a Canadian journalist.

[789] See http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/news-nouvelles/fallen-disparus/index-eng.asp

paying respect were considered and on 6 July 2007, two days after six soldiers were killed in Panjway district by a roadside Improvised Explosive Device,[790] the Commandant of the Canadian Forces Support Unit Ottawa sent an email to all recipients in the National Capital Region (NCR) advising everyone of the new protocol for paying respect to fallen soldiers at NDHQ.[791] "In addition of half-masting flags and when circumstances warrant, all DND personnel in the NCR will be invited to observe a minute of silence to pay respect to CF members who courageously sacrificed their lives for the cause of peace and freedom."[792] Accordingly, on 9 July, it was the first time in its history that the names of the fallen were announced through a public announcement system in all of the core buildings occupied by DND. While all deaths related to military service are appropriately honoured, the military leadership nonetheless chose to concentrate on more fully recognizing those killed in action while deployed on operations.

SIGNS OF REMEMBRANCE

Over the last two millenia, many military traditions have been developed with respect to memorials and the commemoration of the dead. At the conclusion of major wars held during the late 19th and early 20th century,[793] the process of memorialization changed forever. Considering heavy casualties incurred, impact on society, and competing and changing cultural and religious values – there was a significant re-adjustment to be made on how and what signs of remembrance were to be used. While some

[790] The six soldiers are: Private Lane William Thomas Watkins, Corporal Cole D. Bartsch, Master Corporal Colin Stuart Francis Bason, Captain Matthew Johnathan Dawe, Corporal Jordan Anderson, and Captain Jefferson Clifford Francis. They are the 62nd to 67th Canadian Fallen in Afghanistan.

[791] Email dated 6 July 2007, 11:35 a.m., from Colonel J.G.Y. Rochette, Commandant of the Canadian Forces Support Unit Ottawa, National Defence Headquarters, to all Department of National Defence personnel in the National Capital Region, "Minute of silence to pay tribute to fallen soldiers/Minute de silence pour honorer les soldats tombés."

[792] Ibid.

[793] Particularly the American Civil War, the South African War, and the First World War.

old customs arose, new ones were established and became standardized.[794] The aim of this Section is to demonstrate the broad range of signs of remembrance available today. All of these 'actions' are meant to respect and honour some of our nation's most important as well as lesser known heroes and service personnel. While many of these newer signs of remembrance are somewhat covered within the social media, this is the first time that an entire gamut has been published in a single and up-to-date manuscript.

One of the oldest signs of remembrance is the placing of **inscriptions** or an **epitaph** on a gravestone or memorial. A Western tradition that can be traced back to the 7th century B.C., "Greeks began inscribing tombs with prose epitaphs that briefly identified the deceased for posterity.[795] Because of space limitations and the time and expense involved in inscribing a monument, epitaphs tended to be brief."[796] In England, the role of funerary monuments notably changed during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[797] In John Weever's seminal work of 1631, he describes the effects of holding church burials and the purpose of an epitaph:

> This order of burial being thus begun here in England, it likewise followed, that gravestones were made, and tombs erected, with inscriptions engraven upon them, to continue the rememberance of the parties deceased, to succeeding ages; and these were called epitaphs. Now, an epitaph is a superscription, either in verse or prose; or an astrict pithy diagram, written, carved, or engraven, upon the tomb, grave, or sepulchre of the defunct, briefly declaring (and that sometimes with a kind of commiseration) the name, the age, the deserts, the dignities, the state, the praises both of body and mind, the good or bad fortunes in life, and the manner and time of the death of the person therein interred.[798]

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[794] Mainly through the auspices of the I.W.G.C. during their works during both World Wars.

[795] While Egyptians began the tradition of placing a person's name on a gravestone, it was the Greeks that expanded this to include epitaphs.

[796] Scodel, Joshua, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1991, p.2.

[797] One of the reasons for this change originated during the 8th century, when Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. A.D. 760) obtained a papal dispensation from the ancient practice of burying the dead outside limits and instead mandated church yard burials.

[798] Weever, John, op. cit., 1767, p.ix.

As noted by William Camden,[799] an important historical authority at the time: "But among all Funerall honors, Epitaphs have alwayes been most respective, for in them love was shewed to the deceased, memorie was continued to posteritie, friends were comforted, and the Reader put in mind of humane frailtie."[800] Just as the ancient Egyptians, the writing of texts onto tombs are an essential part of keeping the deceased's name alive and ensuring their immortality.

Up until the beginning of the First World War, it was not uncommon for families of high social status to request the exhumation and repatriation of their beloved deceased. In order to cease the "anomalies and inequalities in respect to graves" and following the principle of equality established by the I.W.G.C., permanent memorials "which can do so much to mark social differences between men were banned by the Army in May 1916."[801] Moreover, as a means for all to receive an "equal tribute of gratitude and affection," it was decided by the Commission that all would be honoured with a common memorial.[802] While keeping general uniformity, each Portland headstone would allow for some variety, including: a regimental badge, name, rank, regiment, date of death, and "a short inscription supplied by the next of kin, though this should be subject to censorship since 'it is clearly undesirable to allow free scope for the effusions of the mortuary mason, the sentimental versifier, or the crank'."[803] Hence, three lines – and a maximum of 66 characters – was reserved at the foot of the headstone for a personal

[799] William Camden (1551-1623) was an English antiquarian, historian, educator, and Clarenceux, King of Arms, who also produced a catalogue of the epitaphs at Westminster Abbey.

[800] Camden, William, *Remaines Concerning Britaine*. London: Printed by A.I. for Symon Waterson, Fourth Impression, reviewed, corrected, and increased, 1629, p.308. The work was originally published in 1605 as *Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine* and had many later versions. The last version was published in 1674 and was reprinted as such in 1870.

[801] Longworth, Philip, op. cit., 1985, pp.13-14.

[802] Ibid, p.33.

[803] Ibid, p.34.

inscription or epitaph.[804] The broad themes used in the epitaphs can be categorized as "grief, Christian faith, pride, patriotism, duty, sacrifice and heroism."[805] In a 2007 study, it is estimated that about 45 percent of all 'named' First World War graves "have an epitaph chosen by the families, and the percentage is considerably higher for officers (whose families by and large were more likely to be traceable, and better able to afford the cost) than for other ranks."[806]

After the Second World War, historian Arnold Whittick made a number of observations concerning memorial inscriptions and what makes a good epigraphist. In order to place strong emphasis on significant and important words, he encourages conciseness, simplicity, the elimination of redundancies and non-essentials, and genuine sentiment:

> The only way to make a fitting inscription is to think hard of what those you commemorate meant to you, what they have done for you, and of how you can continue most effectually the life for which they died. It should be the deeply thought, individual expression of a nation, regiment, town, or parish, school or business firm, and it is far better that it be strange and unusual provided it is a sincere individual expression, than that it should be a collection of stock phrases, which have characterised so many of the inscriptions on war memorials of the past.[807]

The placement of inscriptions and epitaphs on battlefield memorials and other monuments continue to play an important role. Nonethless, with nearly 1.7 million Commonwealth war dead being commemorated since the Great War, it is the Commission's standardized headstone that has the widest coverage in

[804] The inscribing cost was passed on directly to the next-of-kin once the construction of the cemetery was underway. While some families paid the cost, most were not able to afford it, and others were never charged. There were two exceptions to this policy: whereas Canada decided to cover all costs, New Zealand became the only country within the Commonwealth to remove its right from its citizens to include an inscription. In the end, the Commission declared that the reimbursement from the various contributing countries was voluntary.

[805] Jones, Trefor G., *On Fame's Eternal Camping Ground: A Study of First World War Epitaphs in the British Cemeteries of the Western Front*. Pinner, Middlesex (Greater London): T.G. Jones, 2007, p.12.

[806] Ibid, p.11.

[807] Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946, p.123.

the use of inscriptions.[808] Through a period of four centuries, the use of the epitaph on memorials progressed from that of an indicator of social distinction to that of a historical snapshot of the soldier and his surrounding conditions at time of death as well as a reflection of the values of the living left behind. As desired by the Commission, everyone – from private to general – is allowed an epitaph on their military headstone.

The placing of a **wreath** or a **spray of flowers** at tombs and memorials is another tradition that dates back to Greco-Roman times but became immensely popular after the First World War. A laurel wreath often symbolizes the arts, education and government and also embodies victory and achievement (see Figure 148). For these reasons, laurel wreaths have traditionally been worn on the heads of kings, Olympic athletes, and triumphal soldiers, among others. More recently, during the 18th and 19th centuries, it was customary for wreaths, flags, and other funeral accoutrements used during burials at *Le Panthéon national* or at *Les Invalides* in Paris to be kept as mementos and displayed at the base of the memorial or inside the burial chamber. Perhaps the most significant public wreath laying ceremonies held during the 20th century were at *The Cenotaph* in Whitehall, London. After the the erection of a temporary cenotaph designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens in July 1919, the 'Peace Day Parade' celebrations were so successful with the memorial covered with flowers and wreaths that the British Cabinet decided to put up a permanent structure the following year. Unveiled by King George V on 11 November 1920, this Portland stone version was designated Britain's national war memorial (Figure 122). As symbols of victory and mourning, wreaths and flowers are considered temporary memorials as they "gradually succumb to the weather or vandalism, until they are eventually removed and the memorials stand alone again."[809]

[808] According to the *2010-2011 Annual Report* of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, the total Commonwealth war dead being commemorated in 1,696,855.

[809] Maclean, Chris, and Phillips, Jock, op. cit., 1990, p.165.

The largest wreath-laying program in America was inadvertently started in 1992 by Morril Worcester, owner of Worcester Wreath Company of Harrington, Maine. Finding himself with a surplus of wreaths nearing the end of the holiday season and remembering his boyhood experience at Arlington National Cemetery, he made arrangements for these wreaths to be placed in one of the older and less visited section of the cemetery. With his desire to remember and honour American fallen heroes and with help from other individuals, veterans groups and organizations, this annual tribute continued to slowly spread across the U.S. In 2007, this annual Christmas wreath ceremony in Arlington formed 'Wreaths Across America' – a non-profit organization that continued to expand their efforts across the country and had a mission to remember, honour, and teach. In recognition of this national initiative, the U.S. Congress unanimously decreed the second Saturday of December of 2008 and 2009 as 'Wreaths Across America Day.' In 2010, with the help of more than 160,000 volunteers and 900 fundraising groups, over 220,000 memorial wreaths were placed on the headstones of veterans at more than 545 locations, including beyond the Continental U.S. (Figure 123).[810] In recent years, a *HART Ceremony*[811] has been organized to recognize the service and sacrifice of veterans between the allied nations.[812]

After having seen photos of Arlington Christmas wreaths posted on the internet, there were two Canadians – unknown to each other and living far-apart – that had decided to replicate the American program in Canada. In 2007, Craig McPhee[813] established his own 'Wreaths Across Canada' (W.A.C.)

[810] In September 2011, Wreaths Across America opened a 1,800-square-foot museum in Columbia Falls (Maine) to showcase hundreds of items and military memorabilia that have been donated over the last two decades.

[811] HART is a mnemonic for 'Honoring Allies and Remembering Together'.

[812] The two main HART ceremonies are held on the Ferry Point Bridge between Calais (Maine) and St. Stephen (New Brunswick), and the Ambassador Bridge between Detroit (Michigan) and Windsor (Ontario).

[813] Warrant Officer Craig A. McPhee, C.D. (Retired) is a veteran from the Canadian Forces (who served from 1956-1982) living in Ottawa, Ontario. The Honourary Chairman of Wreaths Across Canada is General Rick Hillier, C.M.M., M.S.C., C.D., former Canadian Forces' Chief of the Defence Staff.





Figures 122-123: Left – Postcard of *The Cenotaph On Armistice Day, 11th November 1920*. Designer: Sir Edwin Lutyens. – London, England (Author's Collection). Right – Memorial Wreaths, December 2010 – Section A, National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, Honolulu, Island of Oahu, State of Hawaii.

organization that is widely supported by veterans' organizations and the Government of Canada.[814] Their vision was to hold an annual commemoration ceremony at every military cemetery across Canada on the first Sunday of December.[815] D. Wayne Evans[816] began a similar program for the province of Newfoundland and Labrador and was first to lay some 800 wreaths on veterans' graves in December 2009.[817] Two years later, this sign of remembrance became a new Canadian tradition when on 4 December 2011,

[814] Wreaths Across Canada is a registered, charitable, non-profit organization comprised mainly of volunteer veterans and has the full support of the Canadian Forces, Veterans Affairs Canada, the Royal Canadian Legion, the Navy, Army and Air Force veterans' associations in Canada, as well as other veterans' organizations. For more details and information on 'Wreaths Across Canada,' see their official website: http://www.wreathsacrosscanada.ca/

[815] On the national scene, there are over 225,000 veterans buried across Canada.

[816] D. Wayne Evans is the son of Fred Evans, a gunner who served during the Second World War and lives in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. In addition to the Arlington experience, he felt the need to do something important to honour his deceased father and his comrades.

[817] About 800 wreaths were placed on veterans' graves in the Field of Honour at Mount Pleasant Cemetery in St. John's on 12 December 2009. In 2011, Evans' program grew to more than 1,200 wreaths resting in other cemeteries throughout the cities of St. John's and Mount Pearl. Mount Pearl is the second largest city in the province and is one of twelve other communities that compose the St. John's metropolitan area.

General Walter Natynczyk officially launched in Ottawa the efforts of W.A.C. and said: "today is a day to offer respect, dignity, and appreciation to all those brave men and women who have served our great country; it's a sombre day for all of us who have come to remember and honour their service. They gave their lives for the freedoms that we enjoy today."[818] Shortly after, the crowd of 1,500 including youth, veterans, families and friends were invited to place a balsam wreath on the graves of 2,710 veterans at the National Military Cemetery – where they remained for a period of two weeks. While it is most likely for people to think about acts of memory during times of war, these two wreath examples suggest that practices of memory need to be periodically renewed and modernized according to local requirements.

One of the most recognized "symbol of collective reminiscence" is the red **Poppy**.[819] While soldiers during the Napoleonic wars were familiar with *Papaver rhoeas* blossoming over the graves of their fallen, the poppy was popularized by John McCrae – the Canadian medical officer and poet who composed one of the most memorable literary works during the Great War. His reference to "poppies blow" in his 1915 poem 'In Flanders Fields' acted as a catalyst and was inspirational in the adoption of the poppy as an international symbol of remembrance (see Figure 142). Shortly after the war, two women[820] promoted a version of this flower in memory of the war dead and as a means of raising funds to support destitute children in war-torn arreas of Europe. At their insistence, the National American Legion in 1920 adopted the 'Memorial Poppy' at its Cleveland convention. On 5 July 1921, the Great

[818] General Walter Natynczyk, C.M.M., C.D., (1958-) was appointed the Chief of the Defence Staff of Her Majesty's Canadian Forces on 6 June 2008. The quote is part of his speech given on the grounds of the National Military Cemetery (Beechwood Cemetery), Ottawa, Ontario, on Sunday, 4 December 2011.

[819] The Royal Canadian Legion, "The Poppy Campaign." A short history of the Poppy can be found at their website: http://www.legion.ca/Poppy/campaign_e.cfm

[820] In 1918, American professor Moina Michael – inspired by McCrae's poem – worked tirelessly to getting the Poppy emblem adopted as a national American memorial symbol. Two years later, in 1920, Madame Anna E. Guérin of France met Miss Michael at the YMCA at Columbia University. Shortly after, Michael convinced the National American Legion, while Guérin convinced the British Legion, the Great War Veterans Association of Canada, and the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association to adopt the Poppy for their respective Legions. Australia passed a similar resolution in 1921.

War Veterans' Association in Canada[821] also accepted the poppy as its "Flower of Remembrance."[822] Four months later, on 11 November, the British Legion embraced this funding idea and created their own 'Poppy Day Appeal' for poor and disabled veterans. In addition to wearing it on a lapel or collar, the poppy is often displayed at headstones and places of remembrance such as: surrounding the *British Unknown Warrior* (Figure 65), along the *Hall of Memory* at the Australian War Memorial (Figure 68), the Canadian *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* (Figure 124), and New Zealand's *Tomb of the Unknown Warrior* (Figure 69).[823] In the case of the Canadian example, this tradition of placing this 'memorial flower'on the tomb was made as a spontaneous mark of respect that began immediately after the Unknown Soldier was laid to rest in 2001. Canadians also make use of their national **flag** as a sign of remembrance during their national day (Figure 125).

Ancient Egyptians believed that in order for the dead to survive in the afterlife it required nourishment. Accordingly, the living left offerings of food and drink at the tomb of their ancestors to sustain a person's life-force (ka). Despite this religious treatment of the dead, there are 20th century examples of people leaving **food** behind as a personal sign of remembrance. Such is the case with the grave of American Civil War General "Stonewall" Jackson (Figure 126). While it was known that Jackson enjoyed eating a variety of fruits and vegetables for health reasons, it was alleged that he was particularly fond of eating lemons. Notwithstanding this myth – for nearly 150 years, visitors have been leaving lemons at the foot of his gravesite as a tribute to the 'Immortal Southern Hero.'

Considered one of the oldest American military signs of remembrance is the use of **memorial grave markers**. Usually made of bronze, these

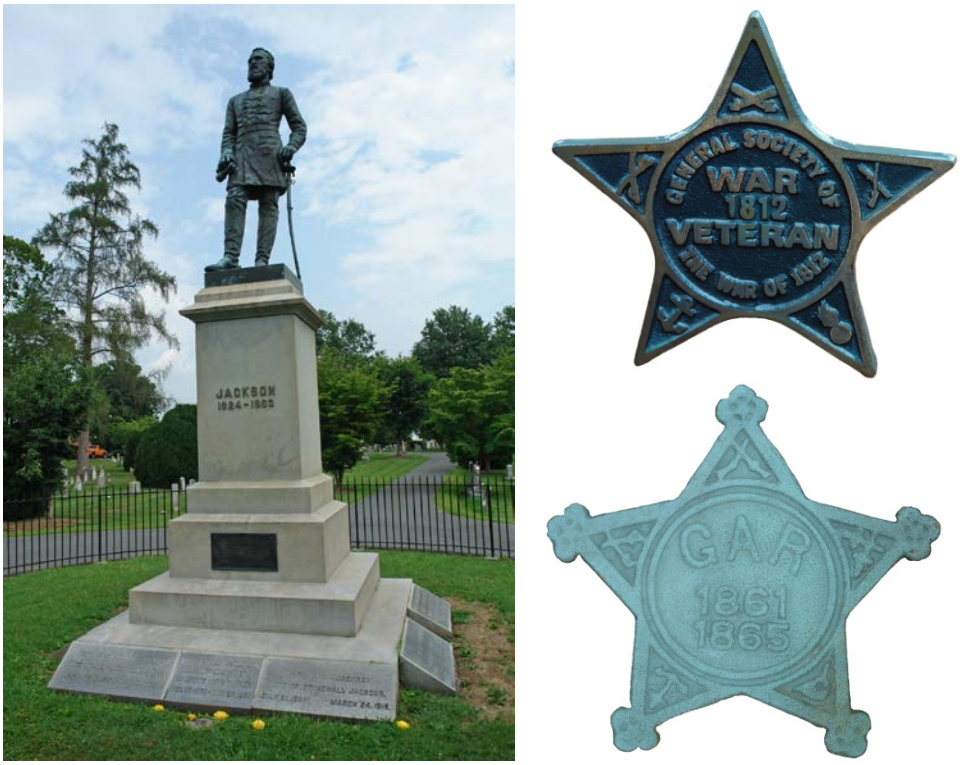
[821] The predecessor of the The Royal Canadian Legion.

[822] The Royal Canadian Legion, "The Poppy Campaign," op. cit.

[823] Since 2004, New Zealanders have been invited to place a poppy on the Tomb of the Unkown Warrior at the conclusion of National Commemorative Services held at the National War Memorial marking ANZAC Day (25 April) and the Signing of the Armistice (11 November).



Figures 124-125: People placing symbols of Remembrance on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Artist: Mary-Ann Liu. – National War Memorial, Ottawa, Ontario. Left – Popies placed immediately after the National Remembrance Day Ceremony, 11 November 2006. Right – Canadian Flags left during Canada Day, 1 July 2008.



Figures 126-128: Left – Lemons placed at the foot of the grave of Confederate Lieutenant General Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson (1824-1863), Stonewall Jackson Memorial Cemetery, Lexington, Virginia. – 'Memorial Grave Markers': Top Right – At the Tomb of General Andrew Jackson (1767-1845) and 7th President of the United States commemorating him as a Veteran of the War of 1812, The Hermitage, Tennessee. Bottom Right – At the Headstone of Richard H. Munroe, Company 'B', 32nd United States Colored Troops (1844-1919) being commemorated by the Grand Army of the Republic for his service during the American Civil War, Lincoln Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

markers commemorate military veterans and the wars they participated in and are designed to hold a flag on its reverse side. The idea of creating these markers originated from various fraternal organizations[824] and was carried on by veterans' organizations since the two World Wars. Used continuously since the Revolutionary War (1775-1783),[825] there are now more than twenty versions in existance[826] that can be potentially found on the grave of a veteran – from generals (Figure 127)[827] to privates (Figure 128).[828]

Another sign of remembrance was the old Greek and Latin custom of inserting a **coin** in the mouth of a dead person as their way to pay for their passage to the next world. A further possible application to the rite of "Charôn's obol"[829] is the placement of coins on their eyes in order to keep them closed. It has been proposed that these coins replaced offerings of food as sustenance for the dead in the Roman tradition.[830] Coins have also been used in the past as a form of votive offering. According to European tradition, some regarded springs and wells as sacred places where water housed deities and had healing powers. While some coins would be left as gifts of

[824] Such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the General Society of the War of 1812, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

[825] The original Revolutionary veterans' marker consisted of a protrait of the Concord Minuteman statue and 13 stars representing the colonies with the letters 'A', 'S', 'R' and the year '1775' inscribed on each of the arm of the Maltese Cross surrounded by a wreath. 'ASR' stood for American Society Revolution.

[826] American memorial grave markers have been made for veterans of: Revolutionary War (A.S.R.) 1775; War of 1776; War of 1812; Mexican War 1846-1848; Indian Wars; Union G.A.R. 1861-1865; Confederate 1861-1865; United Spanish War Veterans 1896-1902; World War I 1917-1918; World War II 1941-1945; Peace Time; Vitenam Veterans; Korean War; Veteran (Fraternity, Charity, Loyalty); Gulf War; Iraq War; War Veteran; Afghanistan War; Patriotic American; Purple Heart recipients, and others.

[827] Symbols used on the memorial grave marker for the *War of 1812* include: clockwise from the top – cross cannons, cross rifles, flaming grenade, naval anchor, cross swords.

[828] Symbols used on the memorial grave marker for the *Grand Army of the Republic 1861-1865* include: clockwise from the top – cross rifles, cross cannons, horn, naval anchor, cross swords.

[829] According to Greek mythology, Charôn (or Kharon) is the ferryman of the dead who demanded an obolus (coin) to ferry dead souls across the rivers of the lower world. Those unable to pay would remain as wandering ghosts haunting the upper world.

[830] Stevens Susan T., "Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice," *Phoenix*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Autumn 1991), pp.220.

appreciation, others would be dropped in hope of being granted a wish from the guardians or dwellers. Today, coins are widely used in places of remembrance such as veterans' headstones (Figure 129), animals in war[831] (Figure 130) and dropped into reflective pools (Figure 131) and memorial fountains.



Figures 129-131: Coins used for commemorative purposes. Top Left – Coins being placed on the headstone of Major Audie L. Murphy, U.S. Army (1924-1971), America's most decorated combat soldier of the Second World War and a popular movie actor – Arlington Cemetery, Washington D.C. Top Right – Coins left on 'Traveller,' General Robert E. Lee's war horse, Washington and Lee University, Virginia. Bottom – A boy tossing a coin towards the Eternal Flame of the Reflective Pool. Designer of the eternal flame: architectural firm Denton, Corker and Marshall. – Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia.

An extension of placing a coin is the laying of a **stone** or **pebble** on a grave. This Jewish tradition began as writing a prayer for the deceased on a small piece of paper and being weighted down with a stone. With time, the

[831] Confederate General Robert E. Lee's "only companion" *Traveller* remained together until Lee's death in 1870 as they are buried a few feet apart at the campus Chapel at Washington & Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

paper disintegrated leaving only the stone behind. Other cultures have adopted similar traditions. The most common one is leaving behind a stone, pebble or "piece of the old sod" of where the deceased came from.

Books of Remembrance became important instruments of commemoration during the 20th century. With the conclusion of the South African War and the First World War, they were popular with communities, veterans' organizations, religious groups and governments in formally recording the names of all those who fought in wars and died.[832] Canada's first Book of Remembrance was the result of a proposal by Colonel A.F. Duguid,[833] when it was realized that there was not enough space to engrave the names of all of its 66,000 Great War dead on the walls of the Memorial Chamber.[834] This Book of Remembrance, completed in 1942, rests within a raised altar with praying angels at each corner of the casket (Figure 132). Six similar Books repose within the Chamber.[835] As a sign of perpetual remembrance, the pages of the Books of Remembrance are turned every morning[836] in order to allow for each page in each Book to be displayed at least once during the year.

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[832] The criteria and extent of the information recorded is dependent on the owner of the Book of Remembrance.

[833] Colonel Archer Fortescue Duguid, D.S.O., (1887-1976) was Director of the [Canadian] Army Historical Section, General Staff.

[834] The Memorial Chamber is located on the second level of the Peace Tower, Centre Block of the Houses of Parliament. The Peace Tower or The Tower of Victory and Peace as it was originally known, was designed by Jean-Omer Marchand (1873-1936) – "acknowledged as the most nationally prominent French-Canadian architect of his time" – and Toronto-based architect John A. Pearson (1867-1940). Source: Gersovitz, Julia, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, "Jean-Omer Marchand." See: http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0009735

[835] The seven Books of Remembrance that lie in the Memorial Chamber are: (1) First World War Book of Remembrance completed in 1942; (2) Second World War Book of Remembrance placed on Remembrance Day 1957; (3) Newfoundland installed in 1973; (4) The Korean War dedicated on Remembrance Day 1962; (5) South African War / Nile Expedition dedicated on 31 May 1962; (6) The Merchant Navy dedicated in 1993; and (7) unveiled in 2005, The Seventh Book, "In the Service of Canada" begins with the date of 1 October 1947.

[836] The pages are turned every morning at eleven o'clock, according to perpetual calendars.

Rubbing is a centuries-old process originally used for making copies of inscriptions from family and military headstones.[837] With the 1982 dedication of the controversial *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* in Washington, D.C., this rejuvenated the use of rubbings and expanded its application to memorials as well (Figure 133). Since then, school teachers have often encouraged their students when researching names on military memorials to make rubbings as part of their assignment. It has now become popular for visitors to use them as a personal memento and historical keepsake of their affiliation with the deceased's name displayed on the panels of 'The Wall.'







Figures 132-134: Top Left – Unveiled by the Prince of Wales on 3 August 1927, the Altar is a gift from the British Government upon which rests the *First World War Book of Remembrance* – Memorial Chamber in the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ontario. Top Right – Young Woman making a Rubbing on the Wall of Names of the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, dedicated in 1982. Architect: Maya Lin. – Bacon Drive and Constitution Avenue, Washington D.C. Bottom – Plaques and Mementos displayed in the *Trophy Room* located immediately adjacent to The Tomb of the Unknowns – Arlington Cemetery, Washington D.C.

[837] A 'rubbing' is done by laying paper over a gravestone or memorial and gently rubbing the flat side of a crayon, chalk, charcoal pencil or special waxes over the paper until it produces a clear view of the images or letters.

With more than four million visitors a year at Arlington Cemetery,[838] there have been thousands of **offerings and gifts** made to their Unknown Soldiers as well to fellow comrad in arms. These have included plaques, medals, trophies, weapons, coins, clothing, and objects of every kind that had some significance to either the recipient or from the donor. With so many souvenirs and mementos and so little room to display them all in Arlington's Trophy Room (Figure 134), an inventory system was put in place so that with the inclusion of a simple bar code, they could be put away or displayed at a moment's notice. Accordingly, all those plaques and mementos relating to a particular country, military unit or theme can be easily retrieved and displayed in time for those planned official visits. Other modern applications include offerings and gifts left at people's gravestones, military memorials and places of remembrance.

Memorials that are built to maximize on-site interaction and accessibility will likely lead to their **touching**. When a sculpture is designed to be examined at "eye level," there is a natural tendency for visitors to interconnect. In the case of the *Pocahontus* statue located in Jamestown, Virginia (Figure 165), both of her hands are visibly shinny from all those who were looking for an intimate closeness with her personage. Children had a similar reaction with the *Simpson and his Donkey* sculpture when they rubbed the donkey's nose smooth.[839] As demonstrated on the *Colonel Patrick H. O'Rorke Monument*[840] (Figure 135), people also put into practice the old superstition of rubbing for luck.

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[838] Official Website of Arlington National Cemetery: http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/VisitorInformation/Default.aspx

[839] After enlisting in the Australian Imperial Force, John Simpson Kirkpatrick (1892-1915) served at Gallipoli in 1915 as a stretcher bearer. It is claimed that over a period of 24 days under continual shell and sniper fire, he used a donkey named "Murphy" to evacuate 300 wounded men down to the beach on ANZAC Cove from the firing line on the ridges above. In 1988, Peter Corlett sculpted *Simpson and his Donkey, 1915*, and was erected at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia.

[840] Irish-born Patrick O'Rorke (1837-1863) emigrated to the U.S. as a child and later became a colonel in the Union Army during the American Civil War. He was commanding the 140th New York Infantry, 3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 5th Corps, when he was killed at the Battle of Gettysburg on 2 July 1863.

Doves are especially valued as a symbol of peace on memorials and during commemorative ceremonies. They are also known to represent purity, fidelity and hope. One of Canada's earliest application of this bird on a memorial is *The Dove of Peace, 1918* that was sculpted in 1927.[841] Held between the lion's paws is a shield that illustrates a dove perched on a crown and the date 1918. Modern peacekeeping veterans' associations have an affinity for portraying doves on their memorials. As illustrated in St. John's *Peacekeepers' Memorial Statue* (Figure 206), the "soldier fully armed, prepared to do what he has to do, … is offering the hand of peace with the white dove."[842] Moreover, the ancient tradition of using white "doves" [843] for release in ceremonies was re-established with the return of the modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. Since then, they have been used in other public venues as a form of recognition and spiritual symbolism. This included the release of 65 white doves – one for every 10,000 Canadians who served during the First World War – during the *"End of an Era" National Commemorative Ceremony* held on Vimy Ridge Day 2010, following the passing of Mr. John Babcock, Canada's last known Canadian First World War veteran (Figure 136).[844] As a daily reminder, doves are also featured on the

[841] *The Dove of Peace, 1918*, is one of two stone (tyndall limestone) lions flanking the entrance archway to the Peace Tower's Memorial Chamber on Parliament Hill. The artist is John A. Pearson; the modeler is Charles Adamson; and the sculptor/stone carver is Cléophas Soucy. See: The House of Commons, Heritage Collection, website: http://www.parl.gc.ca/About/House/Collections/heritage_spaces/memorial/stone/42351-e.htm

[842] Quoted by Gary Best, president of the Newfoundland and Labrador chapter of the Canadian Peacekeeping Veterans Association and creator of the Peacekeeper's Memorial Statue in: Greer-Hulme, Sergeant Katherine, "Memorial Pays Homage to NL Peacekeepers," For This Week, *The Post Gazette*, Canadian Forces Base Gagetown, Saturday, 24 July 2010, p.1.

[843] Nearly all birds released in ceremonies are actually white homing pigeons as they have a highly developed homing instinct to return to their home loft while ring neck doves do not.

[844] The *"End of an Era" National Commemorative Ceremony* honouring all of Canada's First World War service men and women was held on Vimy Ridge Day, 9 April 2010, at the National War Memorial, Ottawa, Ontario. This memorial service marked the "End of an Era" following the passing of Mr. John "Jack" Babcock – Canada's last known Canadian First World War veteran – on 18 February 2010.




Figures 135-136: Left – Dr. Alan Gropman from the National Defense University (Fort McNair, D.C.) and Group Captain Brian Walsh from the Australian Defence Force 'Rubbing for Luck' on the *Colonel Patrick H. O'Rorke Monument* – Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania. Right – Release of Doves, "End of an Era" National Commemorative Ceremony, Vimy Ridge Day, 9 April 2010 – National War Memorial, Ottawa, Ontario.




Figures 137-138: Left – *United States Service flag* flown at the front of a home showing that one of their immediate family is serving in the U.S. Armed Forces. – Ottawa, Ontario. Right – U.S. *Prisoner of War – Missing in Action flag* – Crossville, Tennessee.

reverse of the Canadian $10 bank note as one of the elements symbolizing peace and commemoration.[845]

While unit colours are considered memorials onto themselves, **flags** also play an important role during commemorative activities. Without question, a country's national flag is first in the order of precedence but it can also be complemented with veterans' and other commemorative flags. For

[845] Since 2004, the reverse of the Canadian $10 bank note also features the first verse of John McCrae's poem, "In Flanders Fields," and its French adaptation, *Au champ d'honneur*, by Jean Pariseau, a wreath of poppies, and a banner inscribed "N'OUBLIONS JAMAIS – LEST WE FORGET." On the right of the doves is a peacekeeper in front of a globe (with the words "AU SERVICE DE LA PAIX – IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE"), a cenotaph with a mounted vigil, and a veteran with children watching over.

example, in addition to the Canadian flag and provincial flags, the Royal Canadian Legion adopted *Legion colours* at its founding convention in 1927 to be carried at appropriate ceremonial functions. The American Legion endorsed a similar policy that includes the carrying of an *American Legion flag*.

There are two other commemorative flags that are part of American tradition. First, the history of the *United States Service flag*[846] dates back to 1917 when an American army captain[847] wanted to honour his two sons who were serving during the First World War. Later in 1926, the *American War Mothers* organization[848] was successful in having their "War Mothers Flag" raised for the first time over the U.S. Capitol.[849] Both the 1917 design and the 1926 version formed the elements of what became the official and current Service flag that consist of a white rectangular field with a red border and one or more blue stars in the centre: each star represents a service member on active duty during times of war or hostilities (Figure 137). If a service member is killed or dies in service, the blue star is superimposed by a gold star.[850] The Service flag or a Service banner can be displayed at the place of residence by members of the family or by an organization to honour its serving members. In 2010, the tradition of a service banner was extended by president Barack Obama by creating a *Silver Star Service flag* and *banner* to

[846] Also called the Blue Star Flag and was earlier referred to as a "War Mother's" flag.

[847] United States Army Captain Robert L. Queisser of the Fifth Ohio Infantry.

[848] The *American War Mothers* organization was founded in 1917.

[849] It was on Armistice Day (now known as Veterans Day), 11 November 1926, that a "War Mothers Flag" was first flown at the U.S. Capital and continues to be hoisted on that day. This flag also has a white field with a red border but includes a Blue Star at the top with the number 4,695,039 immediately below it to represent those who served during the First World War as well as a Gold Star with the number 60,672 for those who died in that war. Across the centre of the flag is the text "United States Service Flag".

[850] The official policy outlining the use of the Service flag can be found in "Chapter 10, Appurtenances," of the Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy), *Manual of Military Decorations & Awards (DoD 1348.33-M)*, September 1996.

Historically, some of the 'home-made' Service flags that date back to the First World War often had a red star (instead of a gold star) to indicate that the family member died in the service of their country.

recognize those Armed Forces members and veterans who were wounded or became ill in combat and designated 1 May as 'Silver Star Service Banner Day.'[851] It should be noted that there is an unofficial Canadian version of the 'Blue Star' banner that stems from the First World War – the only difference being that the blue star war replaced with a blue maple leaf. The notion was privately re-launched during the war in Afghanistan but had limited effect. The second special American flag that is highly esteemed is the *Prisoner of War – Missing in Action flag* (Figure 138). As a means of commemorating those who were prisoners of war or missing in action, the U.S. government approved in 1990 for the creation of a "POW–MIA" black flag that could be flown alone or secondary to their national flag. The creation of this flag was as the result of resolving the possible fates of Americans still prisoner, missing or unaccounted for in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War.




Figures 139-140: Left – Bronze statue of 'Stonewall' Jackson commissioned and erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and sculpted by Moses Ezekiel (1844-1917). Cast in Rome in 1909, it was dedicated on 27 September 1910 and was relocated for a final time in July 1976. – Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia. Right – The original Vimy Ridge memorial located within La Citadelle, Québec.

Saluting areas are an important element of any young soldier undertaking initial training as well as throughout their military career. Salutes are not only used as a form of discipline and respect but are also employed as a way of remembering their past military history and heritage. The memorialization of military heroes is a long-standing tradition at the Virginia

[851] This was an initiative of the Silver *Star Families of America*, founded in 2004.

Military Institute that was founded in 1839. For example, there is an 1909 statue of Lieutenant General 'Stonewall' Jackson that stands outside the principal entrance into the cadet barracks (Figure 139). Each time first year cadets exit the barracks through the archway, they are required to honour the memory of this former graduate, instructor, and Civil War hero, by saluting the statue.[852]

During the Great War, it was fairly common for temporary battlefield memorials to be erected and dedicated on site and many were later repatriated to Canada after the war. Once arrived, they became permanent fixtures within their communities to help perpetuate the memory of their dead and stood as a constant reminder of sacrifices made during times of war. These along with other 'relics' – such as war trophies and other souvenirs collected along the way – were highly prized. There was a particular affinity for crosses (either burial markers or actual memorials) that were originally erected on the battlefield. Among the soldiers, there were none more sacred that those emanating from the Battle of Vimy Ridge and within the larger Battle of Arras, France. These 'Vimy crosses' were treated with reverence and were often saluted as a mark of utmost respect. One of the best known examples is the temporary memorial that was put up on Vimy Ridge in April 1917 for those Canadians who lost their lives (Figure 140).[853] As one of the regiment's most treasured symbols, the Royal 22e Régiment moved this original memorial within the confines of its garrison and fortification at La Citadelle (Québec) during the Fall of 1924.[854] Most of the regiments that possess such 'Vimy crosses' have a custom that when walking in front of the 'Vimy cross,' every soldier on duty must salute it as a sign of respect for the fallen.

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[852] Virginia Military Institute, "Stonewall Jackson and VMI." Website: http://www.vmi.edu/content.aspx?id=13243 Its sculptor, Moses Jacob Ezekiel (1844-1917), was the first Jewish cadet to attend the Virginia Military Institute and was a highly decorated Confederate veteran of the American Civil War.

[853] The forerunner to the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* that was unveiled in 1936 (Figure 87).

[854] The text of the of memorial reads: "TO THE MEMORY OF THE OFFICERS N.C.O.^{S} AND MEN OF THE 2ND CANADIAN DIVISION AND OF THE 13TH INFANTRY BRIGADE WHO FELL IN THE CAPTURE OF THE VIMY RIDGE ON APRIL 9TH 1917".

One interesting naval tradition for saluting a monument comes from Australia when in June 2007, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) announced that "all Australian and foreign naval vessels proceeding into Sydney Harbour will render ceremonial honours to the HMAS *Sydney* I Memorial Mast that is located at Bradley's Head."[855] After being built in England in 1913, the Light Cruiser was put into service of the RAN until its decommissioning in 1928.[856] The mast was removed prior to being broken up and was erected in its present location in 1934. The ceremonial – that "consist of bringing the ship's company on the upperdecks to attention, and then 'piping' the Mast" – "will represent a mark of respect and recognition of the Australian officers, sailors and ships lost at sea and in combat."[857]

There are many other monuments and areas designated as memorials that are worthy of a salute. For example, there is a CANLOAN[858] memorial cairn located at Canadian Forces Base Gagetown that includes a posted sign indicating it is a 'SALUTING AREA'. At Canadian Forces Base Borden the *Medical memorial* as well as *Worthington Memorial Park* (Figure 37) are designated as an 'ATTENTION AREA'. Those who pass by Ottawa's *National War Memorial* are also required to salute it. In Canada, while there exists a national protocol for the use and display of flags, there is no national policy in

[855] Austalian Government, Department of Defence, *Media Release Ministerial and Executive Coordination and Communication 180/07*, "Tribute to HMAS *Sydney* I Mast Naval Monument," 26 June 2007. Website: http://www.defence.gov.au/media/DepartmentalTpl.cfm?CurrentId=6808

[856] Following the outbreak of the First World War, the ship operated in New Guinea and Pacific waters and in October 1914, it formed part of the first ANZAC convoy sailing for Egypt. During that convoy, it was involved in a battle near the Cocos Island group that resulted in the death of four of Sydney's sailors. For the remainder of the war, it continued to be engaged in watching neutral ports in the Americas and conducted North Sea patrols. The ship was broken up in 1929.

[857] Austalian Government, Department of Defence, op. cit., 26 June 2007.

[858] CANLOAN was a scheme devised whereby Canadian infantry officers could volunteer to serve with regiments of the British army during the Second World War. The CANLOAN monument was erected in front of the Infantry School – Gagetown Combat Training Centre, New Brunswick.

place that relate to saluting areas. It is up to individual organizations[859] to develop their own internal commemoration policies.

National signs of remembrance also include the production and circulation of **stamps** and **coins** to commemorate and celebrate people, events, and memorials related to the military. Since the creation of the first 'modern' postage stamp by the British in 1840 there have been hundreds of designs created throughout the world to observe military anniversary dates linked to the birth of honoured heroes, the ending of wars and conflicts, the founding of regiments, among others. In comparison to those listed above, only a small number of stamps have been created to commemorate its war dead, sites of memory, and military memorials.

Although Canada began issuing stamps in 1851, it was not until 1908 that it included a military theme: a seven-cent stamp for *Montcalm & Wolfe* that was part of a series celebrating the 1908 Québec Tercentenary. Canada's first stamp commemorating its war dead was the *Memorial Chamber* that was issued in 1938 as part of the Pictorials Issue. The following year, as one of the set of Royal Visit stamps, the *War Memorial* was issued to honour the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to Canada and the unveiling of the *National War Memorial* on 21 May 1939 in Ottawa – representing the "great response" of the men and women of Canada during the Great War (Figure 5). While there were many stamps issued during the Second World War encouraging the sale of war bonds, patriotism, and the active participation of the navy, army, and air force – it was not until 1968 that Canada began to more fully acknowledge the topic of memorials and remembrance. As part of the government's efforts to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the First World War Armistice, it issued two stamps: one portrays the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* located on Vimy Ridge, France (Figure 141);[860] the

[859] Such as the Canadian Forces, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and other para-military and civilian organizations.

[860] It is unfortunate that Canada waited five decades to recognize the Canadian efforts at Vimy as well as the national memorial that is on site as France issued its own stamp on 26 July 1936, the date of the unveiling of the *MONUMENT CANADIEN* at Vimy. The most appropriate





Figures 141-142: Stamps issued on 15 October 1968 by Canada Post commemorating the 50th anniversary of the First World War Armistice. Left – Fifteen Cent Stamp entitled *Armistice, 1918-1968* which portrays the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* in France. Right – Five Cent Stamp named *John McCrae, 1872-1918, In Flanders Fields* commemorating Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae, author of the Poem "In Flanders Fields."



Figure 143: The reverse of the sixth commemorative coin of the America the Beautiful® Quarters program is the Gettysburg National Military Park (established in 1895) and is depicted by the *72nd Pennsylvania Infantry Monument.* Dedicated on 4 July 1891, the memorial is located on the battle line of the Union Army at Cemetery Ridge. Image: © United States Mint America the Beautiful® Quarters.

other memorializes John McCrae's poem "In Flanders Field" as well as commemorates the 50th anniversary of his death (Figure 142).

Ireland, the U.S., and Canada, have issued respective coins that celebrate national sites of memory and memorials. On 12 April 1966, a ten shilling coin was produced for the 50th anniversary of the Irish Easter Rising.

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remembrance of this occasion would have been to issue a joint-commemorative stamp by France *and* Canada. With the repatriation of Canada's Unknown Soldier from Vimy to Ottawa on 28 May 2000, it was another lost opportunity for Canada Post to mark this historic moment and national place of memory. With their policy of only issuing stamps after an event in multiples of 50 years or so, it will be a long time until he is properly recognized. The same could be said with the inauguration of Canada's *Peacekeeping Monument* (Figure 201) in 2006.

This is the only coin in Ireland's modern history not to feature a harp on its obverse , but instead depicts a bust of Patrick Pearse[861] (1879-1916) – the leader of the 1916 Easter Rising. The coin's reverse includes the memorial statue of *The Death of Cúchulainn* by Irish sculptor Oliver Sheppard (Figure 104).[862]

The U.S. currency system began as early as 1792 and over the last two centuries, it has minted coins that included a variety of people, remembrance, and sites of national importance, such as: the *Lincoln Memorial*; feature portraits of all deceased U.S. Presidents; and a dime that first appeared in 1946 that includes on its reverse a torch signifying Liberty, an olive branch signifying Peace, and an oak branch signifying Strength and Independence. The U.S. Mint also has a commemorative coin program that, in 2011, included Medal of Honor coins as well as a national medal in tribute of the nearly 3,000 people who were killed in terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001.

One of the Mint's most recent successes has been the *America the Beautiful Quarters* program that "will honor the national park or other national site in each host jurisdiction deemed most appropriate in terms of natural or historic significance."[863] While each coin features on its obverse a portrait of George Washington, the program will issue a total of 56 different reverse designs between 2010 to 2021. Bearing in mind that there are several military sites selected for the numismatic program, the *Gettysburg National Military Park* was selected to represent the State of Pennsylvania's new quarter in 2011. Gettysburg was established as a park to commemorate the importance of the American Civil War[864] and coincidentally, 2011 marks its 150th anniversary. In all, four design submissions were considered by the review

[861] Or Padráig Pearse.

[862] Although the currency was unpopular with the public at the time, this commemorative coin is now very sought after by collectors.

[863] *America's Beautiful National Parks Quarter Dollar Coin Act of 2008*.
See: http://www.usmint.gov/mint_programs/atb/?action=siteDesignCriteria

[864] See later section under 'Reflection' chapter.

committee.[865] In the end, option one was selected as its final design (see Figure 143). The point here is that even when military, historical, and numismatic experts are asked to make a final selection of a particular site or memorial that is deemed most appropriate or has the most historic significance, even they face an immense challenge in choosing which sacrifices and glories are to be honoured and remembered.

While Canada began to strike its first domestically produced coin in 1908, it was not until 1943 to 1945 that it manufactured its first military-theme coin. Intended to stimulate the war effort, Canada produced a five-cent piece displaying the patriotic 'V' for Victory made famous by Churchill and a burning torch – and engraved in Morse code on the rim is the message "We win when we work willingly." In 2005, a representation of the original 1943 'Victory nickel' was re-introduced in honour of the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. In 2004, the Royal Canadian Mint (R.C.M.) formally established an ongoing commemorative coin campaign to honour the memory of Canada's Fallen, veterans, and troops, with the release of the world's first coloured coin in circulation that includes a stylized red poppy – Canada's flower of remembrance. Many other Canadian military commemorative coins were produced between 2004-2012[866] and in comparison to other countries, it appears that the R.C.M. is a leader in remembrance and commemoration within the field of numismatics.

[865] Although the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury makes the final design selection., the formal review committee consists of the Citizen's Coinage Advisory Committee (CCAC) and the United States Commission of Fine Arts (CFA). Design proposals were developed in consultation with representatives of the Gettysburg National Military Park. The first candidate design is the *72nd Pennsylvania Infantry Monument*; the second image shows a canon in front of *The Eternal Light Peace Memorial* (see Figure 56); the third is the *The Soldiers' National Monument* (see Figure 186); and the fourth depicts visitors reading the Gettysburg Address at the Lincoln Speech Memorial. The CCAC recommended option one, and the CFA recommended the third option, stating it was the simplest design making it the most legible on the coin.

[866] For example: *The National War Memorial* (1994); *Peacekeeping* (1995) that features an image of the *Peacekeeping Monument* in Ottawa; the Year of the Veteran (2005); the 90th anniversary of the end of the First World War depicting three sentries at the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* (2008); the 100th anniversary of the Canadian navy (2010); the Highway of Heroes in 2011; and the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812.

While some signs of remembrance are more formal and public – like the placing of official wreaths, the turning of pages from a book of remembrance and the releasing of doves, there are others that are more personal – such as the laying of a poppy or a coin on a memorial, placing a commemorative stamp on a letter, or making a rubbing from a headstone. These signs of remembrance are part of everyday life within a community and are often used to bridge the past with the present. Today, there are more opportunities than ever to fully recognize past accomplishments and those who have made them possible. The commemoration of historical figures and events does not only include the past but must also take into account ongoing military activities and operations that will inevitably become part of what will be remembered. In the next Chapter, let us examine what are the elements and priciples that constitute commemoration. It is by studying the make-up of commemoration that we will better understand and appreciate the desires and expectations for remembrance in years past and present.

CHAPTER 5 - ELEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF COMMEMORATION

Despite the fact that authors often use the word ‘commemoration’ within the literature, rare are explanations of what constitutes commemoration. This chapter will present a fresh and streamlined approach in defining and rationalizing what composes commemoration. The first part will outline the three interrelated elements that compose commemoration and the second part will explain that commemoration is based on three main principles. After understanding these principles, everytime that one examines or appreciates a memorial or monument, they will be able to easily categorize the physical and mental tribute according to one of the ‘Three ‘R’s’ of Commemoration’.

Elements that Compose Commemoration

Public memory and commemoration is part of a historical process that is the result of a major conflict, activity, or event that has affected, directly or indirectly, an individual or group of people. The results of the said conflict, activity or event can either have positive or negative influences. The significance of public memory within an institution or a nation is directly proportional to the intensity of the influences on hand. Unequivocally, public memory is a mental activity on the part of the population – it requires no physical interaction as it is a mental assessment of how their lives have been influenced and changed forever. Commemoration, on the other hand, begins as soon as a decision is taken on how to react to such influences. In order for an act of commemoration to occur in the purest sense, three elements must be ubiquitous: the physical presence of people participating in the act; an appropriate venue, such as memorials, cemeteries, and the like; and thirdly, some form of observance of remembrance must take place (Figure 144). If only two of three elements are present, then it is not normally possible for an act of commemoration to have taken place. It is essential that all three elements be omnipresent.

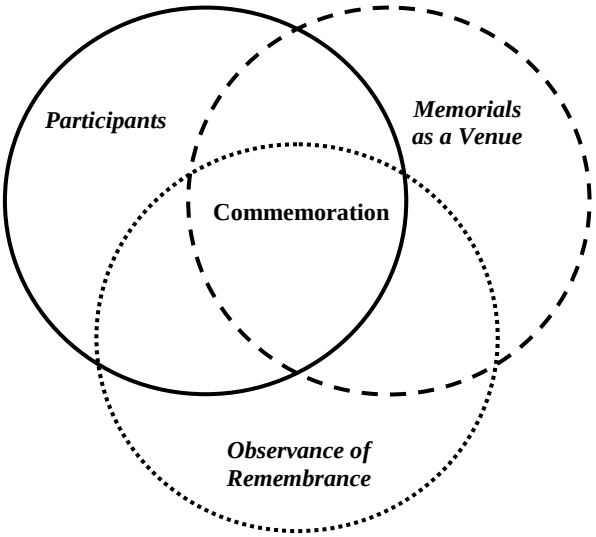


Figure 144: The Three interrelated Elements that compose Commemoration – Participants, Venue, and Remembrance.

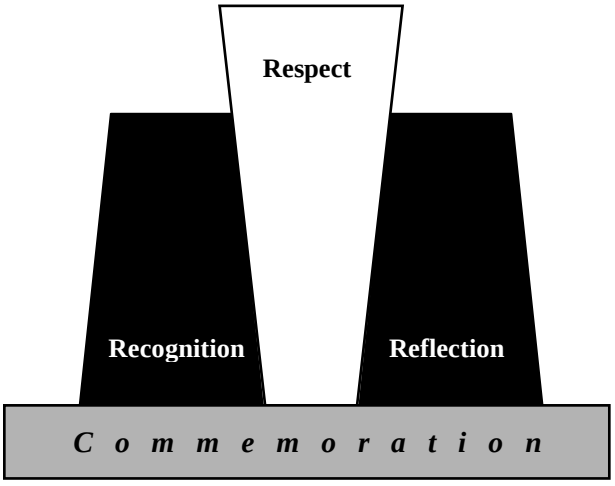


Figure 145: The Three 'R's' of Commemoration – Recognition, Respect, and Reflection.

The Principles or the Three 'R's' of Commemoration

Commemoration is a central aspect of a sometimes-lengthy validation process, whereby public memory[867] relies on commemoration as the main structure to help remember, record and communicate to others the certitudes of the time. In order to express and articulate public memory, there is a requirement for a transfer of thoughts from that of a mental state to a physical form. Although commemoration tends to represent a particular segment of time, the intended original messages are known to change throughout time and often adapt to changing new conditions and environments – present, immediate past and the future. Over time, the fabric of commemoration

[867] Or collective remembrance as stated by Winter and Sivan.

consists of three key principles that form a solid intertwined base: recognition, respect and reflection. In essence, these three **principles** form the **Three 'R's' of Commemoration** (Figure 145).

Commemoration is initiated by activating public memory that is taken to a higher and physical level. Hence, there is a transformation from a mental state to that of a physical state, whereby there are material applications. A simple example of physiographic transformation is a group of people attending a movie or theatre play. The participants are the audience and the venue is the theatre whereby there is a physical joining of mind and matter at a single place. The same is applicable at a Remembrance Day ceremony whereby the individual memories of soldiers are joined at a place where they can hold a physical and public act of commemoration. In this case, it is typical for such a group to gather, using a memorial as a centre piece. In order to complete the process of commemoration, there must be a meeting of the mind with that of a physical act. This is why memorials play such an important role in the act of commemoration. Thus, memorials and commemoration are intractably linked and are perceived as inseparable. Memorials are a physical legacy left behind after death for others to see and understand – which in turn, helps perpetuate commemoration for generations to come.

RECOGNITION

One of the first signs that indicate that commemoration is well underway is '**recognition**.' In this context, the word refers to the 'act of recognizing.' This means that in order to receive recognition, there is a requirement for an acknowledgement or act to take place that would bring attention or favorable notice on the individual or group concerned. Recognition can be as simple as giving verbal praise in front of their peers and those assembled. When done in writing, one could send a letter of thanks to a supervisor identifying particular group members for having provided outstanding service. However, for soldiers and units engaged in war, the expectations for recognition are commensurate with the conditions placed before them as well as the level of success achieved. The first part of this

chapter will examine how honours and awards affect the development of military memorials and the second part explains the importance of state funerals as a primary form of 'commorative recognition.'

Honours and Awards

The Roman military had developed a complex hierarchy of military honours and recognition. Polybius (c. 208-126 BC) in his famous historical work *The Histories* – which describes the rise of Rome to the destruction of Carthage and the domination of Greece by Rome – has several references to honours and recognition in the Roman army and devoted one entire chapter which include the following partial text:

> They also have an admirable method of encouraging the young soldiers to face danger. After a battle in which some of them have distinguished themselves, the general calls an assembly of the troops, and bringing forward those whom he considers to have displayed conspicuous valour, first of all speaks in laudatory terms of the courageous deeds of each and of anything else in their previous conduct which deserves commendations and afterwards distributes the following awards.[868]

Roman awards were ranging from crowns, victory titles and imperial parades for generals and senior commanders to mark major victories, to part of the spoils of war and and military decorations for the warriors. Decorations included *torcs* (open-ended twisted metal necklaces or bracelets), *armillae* (gold armbands), and *phalerae* – which consist of round, crescent, or triangular shaped metal discs bestowed for valour and distinguished conduct in battle. These disks – often bearing the emperor's image and some of which were highly decorated in silver or gold – were highly prized and many were inscribed with the name of the recipient. Soldiers wore them on their breastplate and units mounted them on their vexilloids (Figure 115) during military parades. Romans also often displayed military decorations on their memorials and gravestones as they played a significant role in one's status.

[868] Polybius, *The Histories*, Greek texts with English translation by W.R. Paton in Six Volumes, 1922 thru 1927. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Volume III, Book VI, Chapter 39, p.357, of the Loeb Classical Library, first printed 1923, reprinted 1979.

Phalarae are considered the antecedent to modern military medals and this Roman tradition was resurrected during the early modern period. The tradition generally followed since the mid-19th century has been to depict who the medal is from on the *obverse* (typically an effigy of the Head of State), what the medal is for on the *reverse* (a particular campaign) and who the medal is for (the medal is often engraved with the name of the recipient).

Up until the mid-17th century, campaign and victory medals were only presented to senior military officers. It was not until the ride of the Long Parliament and Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) that medals struck in gold (for officers) and silver (for men) and sums of money were given as rewards and encouragement. The first medals were awarded for good service against the royalist fleet in the summer of 1649 followed by the issue of a smaller commemorative medal to all 11,000 men who participated in defeating the Scottish royalist forces at the Battle of Dunbar in September 1650. This modern practice was further expanded with the *Waterloo Medal* for those 36,269 soldiers of the British army who took part in one of three battles held in June 1815. Issued in 1816-17, it is considered the first campaign medal awarded by the British Government to all soldiers – irrespective of rank. It is also recognized as the first medal "on which the recipient's name was mechanically impressed round the edge by a specially adapted coinage machine."[869]

The earliest decoration awarded in the United States was the *Fidelity Medallion* created by an act of the Continental Congress in 1780 for three soldiers from the New York State Militia for having participated in the capture of Major John André who had helped organize the defection of Major General Benedict Arnold (1741-1801). Moreover, the *Badge of Military Merit* was created two years later as the first military award of the United States armed forces and was intended for soldiers who exhibited "not only instances of unusual gallantry, but also of extraordinary fidelity and essential service in any

[869] Gordon, Major L. L., *British Battles and Medals*, 7th Edition revised by John Hayward, Diana Birch and Richard Bishop. London: Spink & Son Ltd., 2006, p.178.

way shall meet with a due reward."[870] This cloth badge fell into disuse after the Revolutionary War but on 22 February 1932 in honour of the bicentennial anniversary of George Washington's birth, General Douglas MacArthur restored it as the *Purple Heart* (Figures 146 and 36) – the official successor to the Badge of Military Merit.



Figures 146-147: Left – The *Purple Heart* is awarded to United States armed forces members who have been wounded or killed on or after 5 April 1917. Right – The *Canada General Service Medal (1866-1870)* was authorized in January 1899, 29 years after the last event it commemorated. (Photos: Department of National Defence.)

The first Commonwealth medal struck for Canadian actions was the *Canada General Service Medal (1866-1870)* awarded to all members of the Imperial Units and Canadian Militia "who were employed in repelling the Fenian raids on the Canadian Frontier in 1866 and 1870, or were engaged in the Red River expedition 1870."[871] Created by Sir Thomas Brock, K.C.B., R.A. (1847-1922), the obverse of the medal displays a diademed and veiled effigy of Queen Victoria (Figure 147) and the reverse shows the Canadian Red Ensign within a wreath of maple leaves, surmounted by the word CANADA.[872]

Of all the military and political leaders since the last two centuries, Napoléon Bonaparte (1769-1821) best understood the significance of medals

[870] Washington, George, "The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799," General Orders, Wednesday, 7 August 1782, in The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor. See website: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw240544))

[871] The Canadian General Service Medal was granted by A.O. 32./Jan. 1899. The full text is replicated in Tyen, John R., *Canada General Service Medal Roll 1866-70*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Bunker to Bunker Books, 1998, p.1.

[872] There were a total of 16,668 medals awarded – of these 15,300 were granted to Canadian units. Only eleven (four British and seven Canadian) were awarded all three possible bars.

and recognition and how they motivate troops to go 'above and beyond the call of duty.' After his defeat at the Battle of Waterloo and a failed attempt to escape to the United States, Napoléon surrendered to the Captain of the British man-of-war Bellerophon at Rochefort on 15 July 1815 until he was transferred to HMS Northumberland for passage en route to the volcanic island of Saint Helena. It was to Bellerophon's Captain Maitland that he said, "a soldier will fight long and hard for a bit of colored ribbon." Guarded by 600 canons, 7 ships and 300 men, Napoléon spent six years during his second and final exile. He realized that only death would release him from his captivity and that his everlasting legacy was to be the writing of his memoirs. Emmanuel, comte de Las Cases (1766-1842) – one of the ex-emperor's companions - took down copious notes and published them in 1823 as the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*. Soon after, the book made him prosperous and it became one of the greatest French literary successes of its era. This collection of Napoléon's memories is a permanent and tangible form of recognition of his lifetime achievements and is in line with Henry Rousseau's use of history books as 'scholarly vectors' as well as John Weaver's notion of books as memorials.

On Wednesday, 1 May 1816, during Napoléon's third day of reclusion on the island of Saint Helena, Las Cases quoted Napoléon saying: "I have excited every kind of emulation, recompensed every kind of merit, and extended the limits of glory!" [873] These words refer to Napoléon's idea of establishing the *Légion d'honneur* (Legion of Honour) on 19 May 1802 – not as an order of chivalry but for recognition of merit open to civilians and military and to all ranks and profession. "It consecrated the principle of the equality of all in the eyes of national gratitude, and the fitness of every citizen to earn for himself a splendid reputation by the brilliancy of his merit and the

[873] Emmanuel, Comte de Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou Journal ou se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois*, Réimpression de 1823 et 1824, avec de nombreuses corrections de quelques additions, Tome Troisième. Paris: L'imprimerie de Lebègue, 1824, p.276. Napoléon's original words in French were: "J'ai excité toutes les émulations, récompensé tous les mérites, et reculé les limites de la gloire !"

services he might have rendered his country."[874] As late as 1853, the French political powers had resolved that the creation of the Legion of Honour was one of the ten most important acts of the Emperor's reign and that these acts were to be illustrated as a series of bas-reliefs in the circular gallery surrounding Napoléon's crypt.[875]

In Figure 148, Napoléon, crowned with laurels, is dressed in a classical style wearing an antique peplum and is standing between two stelia stacked with wreaths and displaying the insignia and the motto of the Order – "*Honneur et Patrie*" (Honour and Homeland). Above his shoulders are inscribed his famous exerpt as recorded by Las Cases. Centered within the composition, the Emperor is awarding laurel wreaths to six allegorical figures representing "to his right the arts, studies, and fame – and to his left, science, military valour, and music."[876] This particular bas-relief and the complex of buildings it is located in are important for a number of reasons. First, this bas-relief is a rare example of a post-Napoleonic era memorial dedicated entirely to 'recognition' – it commemorates the person who created a national honours system, the insignia used to express merit, and all those deserving formal gratitude. It is worth noting that it was in the nearby chapel of *Les Invalides* that the Emperor, on 15 July 1804, conferred the very first insignia of the Legion of Honour. Lastly, since the movement of Napoléon's remains in 1861 to the most prominent location under the dome at Les Invalides and becoming a burial site for some of his family as well as military senior officers and heroes, it has become a renowned site of collective memory. Over the last

[874] Montgomery, Alexander, "Napoleon's Tomb," *The Illustrated Magazine of Art containing the Selections from Various Departments* , Volume II. New York: Alexander Montgomery, 1853, p.231.

[875] The titles to the ten historical bas-reliefs which retrace Napoléon's career are: The Institution of the Legion of Honour; Public Works; Encouragement of Commerce and Industry; Establishment of the Cour des Comptes; Foundation of the University; the Concordat; Promulgation of the Civil Code; Foundation of the Council of State; Organization of Public Administration; and Pacification of Civil Troubles.

[876] Musée de l'Armée, Département Moderne, Fiche Objet, Action Pédagogique, *Le haut-relief de la Légion d'honneur*, 2009. Translated from a French text, the allegorical figures represent "…à sa droite les arts, l'étude, et la renommée; à sa gauche la science, la valeur militaire et la musique." See: http://www.invalides.org/pages/dp/parcours%20napoleon/fo-legion-honneur.pdf

three centuries, modern honours systems have developed to recognize outstanding achievements, gallantry in combat, bravery and service to their country.



Figure 148: Bas-relief of *The Institution of the Legion of Honour* sculpted in white marble between 1846 and 1853 by Pierre-Charles Simart (1806-1857) – Napoléon's Tomb, Église du dome, Hôtel national des Invalides, Paris.

One of the finest memorial examples illustrating the importance of medals as a means of recognition are the two *Army Memorial Windows* that were installed by serving and former members of the New Zealand Army to commemorate those who served in the New Zealand Army at home and abroad since the founding of their country. Although the designs incorporate insignia of Army corps, regiments and contributing ex-service organizations, the lower panels of the memorial windows are reserved to provide a pictorial display of mainly British Commonwealth orders, decorations and medals awarded to New Zealand Army service personnel during the period 1869 to 1962. While the first memorial window concentrates on honours awarded for distinguished military service (Figure 149),[877] the second shows typical

[877] Top Row (L-R): Victoria Cross; George Cross; The Most Honourable Order of the Bath; The Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George; The Most Excellent Order of the British Empire; Distinguished Service Order; Royal Red Cross. Bottom Row (L-R): Military Cross; Distinguished Conduct Medal; George Medal; Military Medal; New Zealand Medal (1869); Queen's South Africa Medal (1899-1902); King's South Africa Medal (1901-1902).

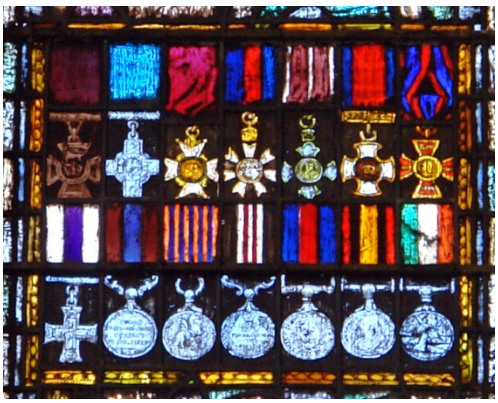
campaign medals that 'diggers' would have been eligible during the two World Wars and Korea (Figure 150).[878]

While there are many military memorials that are focused on those honours recognizing acts of valour in the presence of the enemy, there are few dedicated to decorations for bravery distinguishing those military personnel who risked their lives in actions which are *not* in the face of enemy. One rare example is the *Wall of Valour* (Figure 151) that is located in Halifax's Admiralty Garden, whereby it "RECOGNIZES BRAVERY DECORATIONS AWARDED TO MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN NAVY AND THE NAVAL RESERVES." Constructed in 2008, this memorial lists all those members of the Canadian navy who have been recognized for bravery since 1972 – the year which Canadian decorations for bravery were created by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. As of November 2009, the memorial included the names of three sailors who were bestowed the Cross of Valour,[879] ten for the Star of Courage and nineteen for the Medal of Bravery. A 'Book of Valour' is held nearby at the Maritime Command Museum.

In contrast to the New Zealand *Army Memorial Window*, there are other memorials that concern themselves with medals but are mainly focused on the recipients who have been awarded them. In the U.S., there is an official national memorial that is dedicated exclusively to those who have been recipients of its country's highest national honour: the *Medal of Honor*. In June 1998, a New York Times reporter attended the annual meeting of the Congressional Medal of Honor Society in Saratoga Springs, New York, and subsequently published an article on its members and the courageous acts that

[878] Top Row (L-R): 1914-1915 Star; British War Medal 1914-1920; Victory Medal (1914-1918); 1939-1945 Star; Africa Star (1940-1943); Pacific Star (1941-1945); Italy Star (1943-1945). Bottom Row (L-R): France and Germany Star (1944-1945); Defence Medal (1945); War Medal 1939-1945; New Zealand War Service Medal (1946); Korea Medal (1950-1953); United Nations Service Medal for Korea (1950-1953); General Service Medal 1918-1962.

[879] The Cross of Valour – "for acts of the most conspicuous courage in circumstances of extreme peril" – was awarded to: Chief Warrant Officer Vaino Olavi Partanen, C.V., C.D., (Posthumous); Private Amédéo Garrammone, C.V.; and Sergeant Lewis John Stringer, C.V., C.D. (posthumous). The Cross of Valour is the equivalent to the Victoria Cross for actions not in the face of the enemy.





Figures 149-150: Details from the New Zealand *Army Memorial Windows* – The Wellington Cathedral of St. Paul (Anglican), Wellington, New Zealand.



Figure 151: *Wall of Valour* recognizing Bravery Decorations awarded to members of the Canadian navy – Admiralty Garden, c. 1814, Canadian Forces Base Halifax, Nova Scotia.



Figure 152: *National Medal of Honor Memorial* presented to the Citizens of the United States and unveiled on 28 May 1999 by IPALCO Enterprises, Inc. Architectural landscape artists were Eric Fulford and Ann Reed of ROAMworks – White River State Park, Indianapolis, Indiana.

earned them their nation's highest award for military valour.[880] John and Caroline Hodowal from Indianapolis, Indiana, read the article and "they were so moved by the story that they began thinking of ways to bring broader recognition to these extraordinary individuals."[881] John Hodowal is also chairman of IPALCO Enterprises, Inc., a holding company for the electrical utility that serves Indianapolis, and while the married couple and company officials conducted research they determined that no memorial had ever been erected in honour of over 3,400 recipients who had received the Medal of Honor.[882] Consequently, IPALCO was determined to build them a national memorial that would provide lasting and tangible recognition. Site preparation commenced in November 1998 and construction began in January 1999. Five months later and at a total construction cost of $2.5 million, the memorial was dedicated on Friday, 28 May 1999 – the last Memorial Day weekend of the 20th century (Figure 152).[883]

The one-acre memorial consists of a group of 27 curved glass panels set in concrete bases. The panels – each between seven and ten feet tall – are arranged into 15 walls, every one representing an armed conflict in which a Medal of Honor was awarded.[884] Etched into the blue-green glass are the recipient's name, rank, branch of service and place of heroic deed. The memorial also includes an interactive touch-screen monitor for visitors to learn more about the medal, the Congressional Medal of Honor Society, and each

[880] *Home of the Heroes* website, National Medal of Honor Memorial Sites. See: http://www.homeofheroes.com/a_homepage/community/displays/national_sites/ipalco.html

[881] op. cit.

[882] From the first award of the Medal of Honor made 25 May 1863 to Private Jacob Parrott to the last award made 17 September 2009 to Sergeant First Class Jared C. Monti, there have been 3,448 recipients. See Official website for the Congressional Medal of Honor Society: http://www.cmohs.org/

[883] As the sponsor felt that the presence of veterans was an important element of the project, it paid to bring as many of the surviving Medal of Honor recipients for the dedication ceremony. With 96 out of possible 160 surviving recipients along with their families, 15,000 observers on site, and an estimated 10 million television spectators worldwide – the memorial was unveiled with great sense of respect, pride and recognition.

[884] The walls are divided in four broad categories: Civil War, 1861-1865; Western Expansion, 1866-1911; A Nation in Crisis, 1912-1958; and An Uneasy Peace, 1959-Present.

recipient. Each day at dusk, on-site lighting and sound systems provide illumination to correspond with the playing of recorded stories, many of which are narrated by surviving recipients. Steps, benches and a grassy area provide seating for visitors.[885]

Altruistic and patriotic in its thoughts and actions, the private sponsor erected a commemorative plaque on the inaugural day declaring that this memorial, including its perpetual care, is presented "to the citizens of the United States of America in honor of all who served their country and to the precious few who received this nation's highest award for valor" and "we fervently pray there will need be no more recipients." Considering the history of the site,[886] acknowledging that the memorial was already built with public and veterans' endorsement and that perpetual care is being provided, it is not surprising that five months later – on 5 November 1999 – the Congressional Medal of Honor Society, by unanimous vote, designated the memorial at White River State Park as the *National Medal of Honor Memorial*. This is a good example of individuals wanting to commit an act of remembrance at a personal level, involving others of similar mind, and elevating the accomplishment to that of a national level with little if no involvement from levels of government.

While the American private sector was busy constructing and erecting several Medal of Honor memorials across the country, the U.S. Government had just commenced the process for designating a number of official sites to honor recipients of the Medal of Honor. Signed by the President exactly five months after the unveiling of the National Medal of Honor Memorial in

[885] It is worth noting that the Memorial received a 2001 Merit Award from the American Society of Landscape Architects.

[886] The memorial site is adjacent to Military Park – a military camp used for the recruitment and training of troops during the Civil War and in 1822, held the city's first recorded Fourth of July celebration.

Indianapolis, the *National Medal of Honor Memorial Act* officially recognized three sites as 'National Medal of Honor sites.'[887]

Although 81 Victoria Crosses were awarded to members of the Canadian military between 1899 to 1945, there are more than 25 other 'Canadian' men who received the decoration while serving in British military units or were associated with Canada either through emigration or while on service in Canada.[888] Among them were five recipients who were born prior Canada's Confederation,[889] including Lieutenant Alexander Dunn for his actions at the Charge of the Light Brigade in 1854 (see Figure 160) and Able Seamen William Hall – the only Canadian to have been conferred the decoration of the Victoria Cross with a 'naval' blue ribbon instead of red for army personnel.[890]

William Hall (c.1829-1904) is also the "First Nova Scotian and the First Man of Colour to win the Empire's highest award "For Valour"."[891] Hall, as Captain of the Foretop of H.M.S. *Shannon*, as well as his Gunnery Officer were recognized "for their gallant conduct at a 24-Pounder Gun, brought up to the angle of the Shah Nujjuff, at Lucknow, on the 16th of

[887] The three sites are: (1) the memorial which was then under construction at the 'Riverside National Cemetery', Riverside, California; (2) the memorial at White River State Park in Indianapolis, Indiana; and (3) the 'Congressional Medal of Honor Museum' at Patriots Point in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, situated on the decommissioned aircraft carrier U.S.S. Yorktown.

After being initially reported at the 106th Congress by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs on 30 September 1999, it was passed/agreed to in the House of Representatives on 5 October 1999 and in the Senate by unanimous consent on 20 October 1999. The *National Medal of Honor Memorial Act*, H.R. 1663 (Public Law 106-83, 113 Stat. 1293-1294) was presented to and signed by the President on 28 October 1999.

[888] Department of National Defence, *Pro Valore: Canada's Victoria Cross*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2008, p.7.

[889] The Canadian Confederation was the process by which three British colonies (Province of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) formed the federal Dominion of Canada on 1 July 1867. The five recipients, listed by date of birth are: William Hall (c.1829-1904); Herbert Taylor Reade (1828-1897); Alexander Roberts Dunn (1833-1868); Campbell Mellis Douglas (1840-1909); and Raymond Harvey Lodge de Montmorency (5 February 1867-1900).

[890] Since 1856, army recipients have received their Victoria Cross with a red (crimson) ribbon, while naval recipients, until 1918, received their decoration mounted with a dark blue ribbon.

[891] Dedication tablet located at the front of his memorial cairn, Hantsport, Nova Scotia.

November, 1857", during the Indian Rebellion of 1857.[892] Other than the formal parade during which he received his decoration at Queenstown Harbour,[893] Ireland, in 1859, he remained largely unnoticed until four decades later. His final public recognition was in October 1901 when he was presented to Prince George, Duke of Cornwall and York (later George V) while in Halifax during a visit to Canada. Hall died three years later and was buried without honours in an unmarked grave at Lockhartville, Nova Scotia. In 1937, the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Services League[894] launched a local campaign to have him recognized and eight years later, his remains were re-interred in the grounds of the Hantsport Baptist Church. A memorial cairn was erected in 1947 to mark his last resting place (Figure 153). While Hall received little acknowledgment during his lifetime , his memory continues to be perpetuated.[895] Most recently, on 1 February 2010, as part of the kick-off for Black History Month, Canada Post issued a commemorative stamp in his tribute and in October of that same year, the government of Canada recognized him as a 'person of national historic significance.' As is often the case, the receipt of one significant award acts as a catalyst that brings about further recognition. In Hall's case, although delayed, he received prolific recognition in both tangible and intangible forms and he serves as a model of what someone can accomplish, regardless of race, religion or creed.

[892] *The London Gazette*, Tuesday, 1 February 1859, p.414. See: http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/22225/pages/414

[893] This seaport town was originally referred to as *Cove* ("The Cove of Cork"), renamed *Queenstown* in 1849, and reinstated to original name in 1922 – however, utilizing the Gaelic spelling of *Cobh*.

[894] The Canadian Legion of the British Empire Services League (BESL) incorporated in 1926 and in 1960 became The Royal Canadian Legion.

[895] This includes the re-naming of a local Legion branch in his honour; a gymnasium and memorial plaque in Cornwallis, (Nova Scotia); the DaCosta-Hall Educational Program for Black students in Montréal (Québec); and the annual gun run of the International Tattoo in Halifax (Nova Scotia).





Figure 153: The *William Hall, V.C., Memorial* cairn was erected in 1947 by the Hantsport Branch of the Royal Canadian Legion – Front of the Hantsport Baptist Church, Hantsport, Nova Scotia. The memorial includes a descriptive tablet and a Victoria Cross replica and was refurbished during the summer of 1994, as a Hantsport centennial project.

Figure 154: *Per Ardua ad Astra*, also known as the 'Canadian Airmen's Memorial' or 'Gumby goes to Heaven', was dedicated by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on 29 September 1984. Sculptor: Oscar Nemon. – University Avenue and Dundas Street, Toronto, Ontario.

Per Ardua ad Astra – 'Through Adversity to the Stars' – is the motto of the Royal Canadian Air Force[896] and is also the official name of a memorial erected in Canada's largest metropolitain city "IN MEMORY OF OUR CANADIAN AIRMEN WHO FOUGHT IN THE SKIES TO PRESERVE FREEDOM AND ORDER IN THIS WORLD" (Figure 154). Inscribed on the black marble base are the names of the

[896] The Royal Canadian Air Force existed from 1924 until 1968. In 1968, it was amalgamated as part of the unification of the Canadian Armed Forces. In August 2011, Air Command was renamed Royal Canadian Air Force.

seven R.C.A.F. members who were awarded the (British) Victoria Cross.[897] This Modernist style figurative composition, prominently located on Toronto's main ceremonial boulevard, is considered "…one of the most controversial pieces of art this century" and was rated by the Canadian and Contemporary Art Departments of the Art Gallery of Ontario as the sixth of the top "ten controversial moments in Canadian art." [898] This monument[899] is the last major piece created by Croatian-born Oscar Nemon (1906-1985). This bronze memorial – featuring a tall,[900] stylized human figure whose hands reach the sky toward a soaring bird – was unveiled in 1984 by Queen Elizabeth II.[901]

Controversy began the moment it was installed – the reaction from the public, the art community and the media was swift and unkind. While some claimed and protested that the Jackman Foundation was politically motivated and imposing its own interests, others criticized that the public sculpture was installed without consulting the art community. The reality was that many did not understand the iconography of the sculpture and as a result it was described by many names, including: "hideous," "vapid," "ghastly," "mediocre sculptural doodad," "conspicuously ugly/trite," "childish appearance," among many others. Even the sculptor had something to say. Unbeknownst to Nemon, his statue was placed on top of a plinth against his express wishes and was reported to have said that the completed work looked like "a tulip in a box." However, the most damage was done shortly after it was installed – vandals spray-painted the words "Gumby goes to Heaven" on the plinth and the sculpture is still disparagingly called by that name ever

[897] Although the Victoria Cross was instituted in 1856, it was made retroactive to 1854. Since then, it has been awarded to 93 Canadians.

[898] Kearney, Mark, and Ray, Randy, "Art and Acrimony – Ten Controversial Moments in Canadian Art," *The Great Canadian Book of Lists – Greatest, Sexiest, Strangest, Best, Worst, Highest, Lowest, Largest.* Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 1999, p.53.

[899] Donated to the local municipality by Canadian politician, successful entrepreneur and philanthropist, Henry R. ('Harry') Jackman (1900-1979) and the Jackman Foundation.

[900] 14.6-metre-high (48 feet).

[901] The unveiling was conducted during Her Majesty's fourteenth official visit to Canada which included participation at a number of events celebrating the Bicentennial of Ontario. The year 1984 was also five years after Harry Jackman, its benefactor, had passed away.

since. To summarize the majority's opinion on the Canadian airmen's memorial, one critic best described it: "as art it's just ridiculous, but as a war memorial it's insulting."[902]

Other conventional examples of Victoria Cross memorials include a community park and a junior high school in Winnipeg (Manitoba) as well as a memorial "Valiants" bust in Ottawa (Ontario) dedicated to Pilot Officer Andrew Charles Mynarski, V.C.[903] There are many other comparable memorials, parks and sites that are dedicated to those members of the military who were bestowed their respective country's most prestigious honours, including *Victoria Cross Park* in Campbell – a suburb of Canberra, Australia. Within this park, one can also find the *Victoria Cross Memorial* which consists of two curved stone walls standing on a flagstone base inlaid with a bronze Victoria Cross and with a path between the two walls. Both the park and the memorial commemorate the 96 Australians who have been awarded the Victoria Cross. In the spirit of keeping their military history alive, the memorial was dedicated on 24 July 2000 – exactly one hundred years after the event which led to the first award of the Victoria Cross to an Australian.[904]

Sailors, soldiers, airmen and airwomen are ordinarily unaware of when or if they will perform acts of valour, bravery or merit as realizing them are dependent on spontaneous conditions and circumstances imposed upon them. While respective communities and nations yearn in memorializing their heroes, the architects of these enduring memorials make an effort in demonstrating that medals form an integral part of remembrance and commemoration. Memorials that include insignia and themes of honours and awards are generally local applications of recognition. The other – more

[902] "Hideous Public Art – Two Curmudgeons Stroll Down University Avenue" posted on Tuesday, 15 September 2009 on website by Edward Michael George. See: http://edwardmichaelgeorge.blogspot.com/2009/09/hideous-public-art-two-curmudgeons.html

[903] Winnipeg-born "Andy" Mynarski (1916-1944) gave his life attempting to help rescue a trapped crew member in the aftermath of D-Day attacks in northern France.

[904] The first Australian recipient of the Victoria Cross was Lieutenant Neville Reginald Howse, a medical officer serving with a mounted infantry brigade at Vredefort, South Africa, where on 24 July 1900 (during the Boer War) he rescued a wounded man under heavy fire. During his outstanding military career, he later rose to to Major General Sir Neville House, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

interactive – means of public recognition is the conduct of *state funerals* that are selected 'for the few' and are organized at the national level. Let us examine how state funerals have evolved since the Roman era and how they apply during modern times.

State Funerals

A state funeral is a time-honoured tradition which dates back to the ancient time period to honour important people of national significance at the public cost. Following established customs, public funeral ceremonies were conducted for those who were held in high esteem by their fellow citizens/countrymen – typically, civic and military leaders and soldiers who died in battle. One of the earliest and most detailed accounts of a state funeral is described in Pericles' Funeral Oration when in the winter of 431 BC the Athenians gave a funeral at the public cost to those who had first fallen in this war.[905] Initially, these public funeral ceremonies were simple and unpretentious but later, during the Medieval-Renaissance and the Baroque time periods, they were usually reserved for the Sovereign as head of state, the current or past Queen Consort, and few others in extraordinary circumstances. With time, the rules of protocol observed became increasingly strict and intricate and the demand for resources to conduct them also escalated. One example is the funeral for Queen Elizabeth I of England, whereby her casket was carried downriver at night – from the suburban Richmond Palace to the Palace of Whitehall in London – on a barge lit with torches. On procession to Westminster Abbey on 28 April 1603, her funeral cortège was composed of a hearse drawn by four horses draped with black velvet and was accompanied by mourners bearing the heraldic banners of her ancestors' coats of arms marshalled with the arms of their wives. One of the few 'non-royal' individuals who were accorded a state funeral at that time was physicist and mathematician, Sir Isaac Newton in 1727.

When military elements – such as a guard of honour, gun salute, and musical salute – are incorporated within a state funeral, they are referred to as

[905] See earlier section on Pericles' Funeral Oration.

'military honours'.[906] Today, Canadian military funerals are organized by Her Majesty's Canadian Armed Forces and are offered to all active military personnel, subject to the wishes of the family. The extent of military honours accorded is directly related to the rank and appointment the member holds at time of death.[907] As head of the Canadian Forces, the Chief of the Defence Staff may also authorize military funerals for retired Armed Forces members.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, there was a considerable rise in the number of non-royals who received a state funeral in the **United Kingdom**. Between 1806 and 1979, there were twelve state funerals held – six for high ranking members of the military and the Unknown Warrior, four former prime ministers, and two others.[908] By nature, state funerals are large-scaled ceremonies that provide the general public an opportunity to participate in the funeral and in the mourning process. Even if the state offers such a tribute, it is always subject to the consent and wishes of the deceased and his/her family. There are two instances whereby the honour was offered and

[906] The term is more fully defined under 'Glossary.' It is important to note that the mere presence of military elements within a state funeral does not constitute as awarding 'military honours'. Common sense prevails. For example, the military may provide a band to provide sombre music during the procession of a state funeral for a civilian. In this case, the military music is provided for reasons of practicality – not because the member deserved or was entitled to military honours. See the example of Thomas D'Arcy McGee that is described later in this section.

[907] According to Chapter 13 (Military Honours and Gun Salutes), Section 2 (Gun Salutes), Annex A (Table of Honours and Salutes Accorded to Important Personnages) of the Department of National Defence's publication, *The Honours, Flags and Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*, the type of salute, the strength of the guard, the selection for a musical salute, the number of rounds fired, and the use of colours or flags in military honour ceremonies (including military funerals) depends on the status of the deceased (e.g., the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada is entitled to a Royal Salute, a guard of honour of 100 personnel, a 21 gun salute, and the carrying of both Colours and their dipping during the Royal or State Salute; a Lieutenant-General is entitled to a General Salute, a guard of honour of 50 personnel, a 15 gun salute, and carrying only the Regimental Colour which shall only let fly during the salute (not dipped or lowered); while for a Colonel to Major, they are only entitled to receive compliments from a ceremonial quarter guard with a General Salute or appropriate music to be played).

[908] Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson, 1st Viscount Nelson (1806); former prime minister, William Pitt the Younger (1806); Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (1852); former prime minister, Henry Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1865); naturalist, Charles Darwin (1882); former prime minister William Gladstone (1898); Field Marshal Frederick Sleigh Roberts, 1st Earl Roberts (1914); The Unknown Warrior (1920); Field Marshal Douglas Haig, 1st Earl Haig (1928); Irish barrister, judge and politician, Baron Edward Henry Carson (1935); former prime minister, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (1965); Admiral of the Fleet Louis Mountbatten, 1st Earl Mountbatten of Burma (1979).

refused. In 1881, upon the death of twice prime minister Benjamin Disraeli, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield, he was offered one but had left instructions in his will not to accept.[909] Three decades later, in 1910, Florence Nightingale – the renowned nurse nicknamed 'The Lady with the Lamp' – was also offered a state funeral and burial in Westminster Abbey, but her family chose a private ceremony instead.

Considering that half of the state funerals were held for members of the military, they are expected to include a great deal of pomp and ceremony, certain religious overtones and distinctive elements of military tradition. In an 1805 poster commemorating the Battle of Trafalgar, it was being called "the most decisive and glorious naval victory that has ever been obtained." Lord Nelson – the commander in chief of the British fleet – was killed on 21 October 1805 at the height of the battle on board his flagship *HMS Victory*. His place was assured as one of the United Kingdom's greatest naval heroes. The usual practice was to bury at sea but the officers recognized that the country would wish to honour Nelson's remains. On the day of the battle, his hair was cut off and his body was undressed except a shirt and in an effort to preserve his body, he was placed in a 180 gallons cask filled with brandy. After *HMS Victory* was towed into Gibraltar for repairs, she set off for a five week passage to Portsmouth followed by another two weeks to the Nore, a naval anchorage at the mouth of the River Thames. The state funeral of Lord Nelson was from 5-9 January 1806 and huge crowds attended the ceremonies

[909] Although protocol prevented Queen Victoria from attending the funeral of her 'dear great friend,' she visited his grave at Hughenden four days after the burial and "placed with her own hands a wreath of white camellias on the coffin, which lay in the still open vault in the churchyard." See: Lee, Sidney, "Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India 1819-1901." Article published in 1901 and was placed on the web by Dr. Marjorie Bloy on "A Web of English History." See: http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/people/vic-6.htm

Queen Victoria also directed that a public monument to his memory be placed in Westminster Abbey and the following year she erected a white marble memorial tablet by R.C. Belt which contained a low-relief portrait of the earl – with a personal inscription ('To the dear and honoured memory of Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield, this memorial is placed by his grateful and affectionate sovereign and friend Victoria R.I. ("Kings love him that speaketh right." – Proverbs xvi. 13.) February 27th, 1882.'). Both gestures were unprecedented for a sovereign showing attachment to a prime minister.

in Greenwich, on the River Thames, in the streets of London, and in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Upon reaching Greenwich, Nelson's wooden coffin – made from timber from the French battleship *L'Orient*, which had been salvaged during his victory at the Battle of the Nile in 1798 – was brought to the Painted Hall at the Greenwich Hospital and lay in state between 5 and 7 January 1806. As was the custom at that time, the coffin was surrounded with shields and trophies, including captured French and Spanish flags. On 8 January there was a 'Grand River Procession' upriver from Greenwich to London, which consisted of Nelson's funeral barge – originally made for King Charles II – as well as a large flotilla that was assembled. After passing through London, the procession arrived at Whitehall where the coffin was unloaded and taken into the Admiralty, where it lay overnight. The following day, 9 January, the coffin was placed on an ornate funeral carriage that resembled *HMS Victory* which carried Nelson to St Paul's Cathedral. From eight o'clock the route was lined with 30,000 troops and took the funeral procession three and a half hours to reach St Paul's. Among the mourners were the Admiral of the Fleet Sir Peter Parker – the chief mourner, seven royal dukes, sixteen earls and 40 seamen. All admirals who were in England were invited – 19 declined and 36 attended. It was getting dark as it reached its final destination. Nelson's body was placed on a platform directly beneath its great dome where thousands of curious spectators and admirers gathered for a simple funeral service and witnessed the final farewell. At half-past five his gold-encrusted coffin was lowered into the crypt twenty feet below, into an Italian marble sarcophagus which was originally carved for Thomas Cardinal Wolsey but had been confiscated by Henry VIII after the cardinal fell from favour, and had ever since been at Windsor (Figure 155).[910] Nelson's tomb is now surrounded by the graves of many other naval officers, including his close friend and second in command at Trafalgar, Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood. Today, the

[910] Coleman, Terry, *The Nelson Touch – The Life and Legend of Horatio Nelson*, Chapter 26, State Funeral and Empty Chariot. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2002, p.333.

Cathedral holds an annual special 'Sea Service' on the Sunday closest to Trafalgar Day when wreaths are laid at Nelson's tomb.

Nelson's state funeral had set a high standard, particularly for those who served in the military. It was nearly five decades until a state funeral was accorded to another high ranking military officer – this time to honour Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington who had remained Commander-in-Chief of the British Army until his death. It is said that his state funeral held on 18 November 1852 was "the first large-scale service of its kind to take place" under the dome of St Paul's Cathedral.[911] In order to accommodate seating for 13,000 people, the building was closed for nearly six weeks. Wellington's tomb is also located in the Cathedral's crypt and his sarcophagus of Cornish porphyry was not finished for another five years.[912] It is worth noting that Wellington's twelve-ton funeral carriage made of bronze cast from melted down French cannons captured at Waterloo, together with model horses, was re-erected in the Cathedral's crypt in 1861 and remained on view in the Crypt of St Paul's until 1981 when it was moved to Stratfield Saye House – the home of the Dukes of Wellington since 1817 – on permanent loan.

In the history of public commemoration in the United Kingdom, the most celebrated state funeral for a 'commoner' was for war-time prime minister, The Right Honourable Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill (1874-1965). Before embarking into the political scene for nearly five decades, Churchill had an army career and saw action in India, the Sudan, the Second Boer War, and the First World War. Churchill received numerous honours and awards throughout his career as a soldier, statesman and author.[913] After he had suffered a severe stroke in June 1953, when he was 78,

[911] St Paul's Cathedral official website. See: http://www.stpauls.co.uk/Cathedral-History/Timeline-1400-Years-of-History/1852-The-Duke-of-Wellingtons-Funeral

[912] Its inscriptions are simple: at the front 'ARTHUR DUKE OF WELLINGTON' and at the back 'BORN • MAY I MDCCLXIX •' and 'DIED • SEP^{T} XIV MDCCCLII •'.

[913] He was first offered a peerage by King George VI at the end of the Second World War (an Earldom) and then again by Queen Elizabeth II on his retirement as prime minister for a second time (an elevation to the Dukedom of London and the only non-royal offered a Dukedom since 1874) – but on both occasions had declined. At that time, if Winston

while at 10 Downing Street – the official residence and office of the prime minister – Queen Elizabeth II instructed her senior civil servants in November 1953 to arrange a public funeral for Sir Winston Churchill "on a scale befitting his position in history – commensurate, perhaps, with that of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington in 1852. The arrangements for the Duke's funeral were entrusted to the Earl Marshal of the day; The Queen hopes that this precedent will be followed."[914]

In accordance with The Queen's wish, the Earl Marshal became responsible over a period of twelve years for the confidential planning and coordinating of Churchill's funeral arrangements – affectionately codenamed 'Operation Hope Not'. It was not until 1957 that solid plans were drawn up after the then prime minister Macmillan[915] expressed some anxiety over the issue and in the following year, 21 March 1958, the first draft of the master paper on 'Procedure on the Death of Sir Winston Churchill' was produced. This document included meticulous details such as: who is to be informed upon his death; the Earl Marshal's requirement "of not less than seven clear days to complete his preparations," and "whether it would be practicable to hold the funeral on a Saturday, in order to reduce traffic difficulties." Over the years, planning became more elaborate, contingencies became more detailed, and more people became involved. The plans for the funeral (including ceremonial and order of service) were revised a number of times before the final version of 2 November 1964 – which was the one in force when Sir Winston Churchill died on 24 January 1965. Because of all the advanced preparations, at 8 p.m. – twelve hours after Churchill's death – a tribute by the

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Churchill had accepted a peerage, his son Randolph would not have been able to sit in the House of Commons. It was perhaps partially due to the fact that a peerage was respectfully turned down by Churchill that 'Queen and Country' wanted to suitably recognize him.

[914] A Letter classified Personal and Top Secret, dated 5 November 1953, from The Queen's Private Secretary, Sir Alan Lascelles, to the Cabinet Secretary, The Right Honourable Sir Norman Brook, G.C.B. The National Archives, Catalogue reference: CAB 21/5978. See: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/news/stories/cab_21_5978_a.htm

[915] The Right Honourable Harold Macmillan was prime minister from January 1957 to October 1963. At the end of his lifetime he became The Right Honourable The Earl of Stockton, O.M., P.C. (1894-1986).

then prime minister Wilson[916] was broadcast on British Broadcasting Corporation and independent television which revealed the funeral arrangements:

> Parliament will tomorrow pay its united tribute to a great Parliamentarian and a great statesman. Her Majesty The Queen has expressed the will of the nation in her wish that Sir Winston be accorded a State funeral. The service in St. Paul's Cathedral where lie the heroes of an earlier war for Britain's survival, the Lying-in-State in Westminster Hall, the ancient heart of the Palace of Westminster, will provide the fitting surroundings for the honour we as a nation pay to his memory. But the deepest tributes, the deepest gratitude to him, will be in our own hearts and minds.[917]

In total, 113 countries were invited to send one representative to the funeral, with the exception of France, Russia and the United States, who were allowed to invite an additional two. Churchill's state funeral was considered the largest assemblage of heads of state in the world until the funeral of Pope John Paul II in Rome on 8 April 2005. Despite the cold January weather, over 320,000 members of the public had filed past his coffin as it lay in State. Even more people spilled onto the streets to witness the horse drawn gun carriage that proceeded from Westminster Hall to St Paul's Cathedral. After the funeral service, the casket was taken along the River Thames and then onto Waterloo station. As the Port of London authority launch *Havengore* left Tower Pier, the Royal Artillery fired a 19-gun salute, the Royal Air Force conducted a 'fly past' of sixteen fighters and the London's dockers lowered their cranes one by one as the launch sailed past. A funeral train – Bulleid Pacific steam locomotive No. 34051 'Winston Churchill' – carried the coffin and the family mourners to his final resting place at Blenheim Place.

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[916] The Right Honourable Harold Wilson was twice prime minister (October 1964 to June 1970 and March 1974 to April 1976). In 1983, he became The Right Honourable The Lord Wilson of Rievault, K.G., O.B.E., F.R.S., P.C.

[917] Transcript of Harold Wilson's television tribute, 24 January 1965, 8 p.m. The National Archives, Catalogue reference: PREM 13/1374. See: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/news/stories/prem_13_1374_b.htm

The most illustrious state funeral held in **France** was for Napoléon Bonaparte in 1840. After six years of being detained by the British on the rock island of Saint Helena, Napoléon died at the Longwood estate on 5 May 1821 at the age of 51. After lying in state on the 6th and 7th of May, Napoléon's body was embalmed on the 8th and was buried in uniform on the 9th according to his wishes – at a favourite retreat spot in the nearby Sane valley.[918] Three thousand men escorted him out of Longwood. His first tomb was simple, devoid of any monument or inscription. His grave was covered with flat stones which were removed from the kitchen-floor of his house, and surrounded by a high iron railing.

All this changed when on 20 March 1840, Charles, comte de Rémusat (1797-1875), minister of the interior, made a government announcement in the Chamber of Deputies that King Louis-Philippe had charged Prince de Joinville (1818-1900) to set out to Saint Helena to collect the mortal remains of the emperor. Moreover, "a solemn ceremony, a great religious and military pomp, will inaugurate the tomb that must keep it forever. … Napoléon should not receive an ordinary burial of kings; he must continue to reign and command in the place where soldiers of the homeland will rest, and where they who are called to defend it will always go to be inspired."[919] In June 1840, the French government set aside 1,000,000 francs for the translation of the remains of Napoléon to *Les Invalides* and for the construction of his tomb. In October 1840, Joinville's expedition reached Saint Helena to receive the body from the

[918] For some unknown reason, the French name to the Sane valley is *Vallée du Fermain*. Napoléon had asked General Bertrand that if he had to die on this island, he asked to be buried at this spot under the willows near a stream. It should also be noted that according to Napoléon's last will and testament completed at Longwood on 15 April 1821, he had requested that his ashes repose on the banks of the river Seine, in the middle of the French people that he loved so much. With 19 years already past since his death, it was decided not to action his request but to grant him a funeral and final resting place that is more befitting.

[919] Gérard, Le Colonel, *Les Invalides – Grandes Éphémérides de l'Hôtel Impérial des Invalides Depuis sa Fondation Jusqu'à nos Jours – Description du Monument et du Tombeau de Napoléon 1er*. Paris: Henri Plon, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1862, pp.261-262. This text was translated by André M. Levesque. The original French text is: "Une cérémonie solennelle, une grande pompe religieuse et militaire, inaugurera le tombeau qui doit la garder à jamais. … il ne faut pas à Napoléon la sépulture ordinaire des rois; il faut qu'il règne et commande encore dans l'enceinte où vont se reposer les soldats de la patrie, et où iront toujours s'inspirer ceux qui seront appelés à la défendre."

British authorities. After having completed an exhumation, the frigate 'Belle-Poule'departed for the French port of Cherbourg – arriving on 30 November to the sound of canon fire from all of the surrounding vessels and an enthusiastic crowd to receive them. This was to be the first of numerous elaborate public ceremonies held along the way, culminating on 15 December 1840 when the king personally received the imperial remains at *Les Invalides*.[920] As expressed by François Guizot (1787-1874), the new minister of foreign affairs, "we had determined, with the full sanction of the King, to invest this ceremony with the greatest possible solemnity, and to afford unfettered freedom to popular manifestations."[921] With great pomp and ceremony, the body of the emperor was carried inside *l'église du Dôme* for a two hour funeral service. It is estimated that about one million people witnessed the entry of Napoléon's remains.

The procession of the funeral cortège and the accompanying obsequies of Napoléon provided those present a short-lived opportunity to mourn his death but also recognized and celebrated his life and accomplishments. These are the fundamentals of a state funeral. However, the more permanent form and legacy of 'commemorative recognition' is the site and composition of his final resting place. In order to gain much-needed public support, the government had to wrestle with a number of political factions.[922] By concentrating on Napoléon the soldier – not the political leader – it facilitated the government to detach any possibility of having his descendants to re-

[920] At the French port of Cherbourg, the coffin was transferred to the steam ship 'Normandy' and transported to Le Havre and then onward to Paris. Upon arrival at Courbevoie, a suburb of Paris, the body stayed overnight along the banks of the Seine. After resting briefly under the Arc de Triomphe (see section on Triumphal Arches), the casket was then taken over the Champs Elysées, across the Seine, to the esplanade of Les Invalides. Thirty-six sailors from La Belle-Poule carried the imperial corpse through the park in front of l'église du Dôme, to the entrance.

[921] Guizot, François, *Memoirs of A Minister of State, from the Year 1840*. London: Richard Bentley, 1864, p.17.

[922] "The Legitimists denied that Napoleon was a legitimate sovereign with a right to sleep at Saint-Denis like a Bourbon or a Valois. The Orleanists were wounded by the hopes they saw inspired in the Bonapartists by this declaration. The Republicans resented the honor done to the man whom they held up as the greatest of all despots." Tarbell, Ida M., *A Short Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*. New York: S.S. McClure, Limited, 1895, p.232.

establish a royal ascension. It was for this reason that the site of *Les Invalides* was chosen. While one part was built by Louis XIV for soldiers invalided from the army, another included a large church under the generic name of *Saint-Louis des Invalides*.[923] By not choosing the church of St. Denis where all the former kings are deposed, it emphasized due recognition but without providing any political support to the Bourbon monarchy. On the arrival of the remains of Napoléon, Guizot described them as "as great memory and a grand spectacle; nothing more appeared, and the friends of liberty and peace were justified in believing that the imperial system was buried definitively in the coffin of the Emperor."[924]

For eight days after the funeral, the church remained open for the public to view his casket and in Febrary 1841, the emperor was transferred to the *Chapelle Saint-Jérôme* and remained there until moved to his final resting place. After a public competition, architect Ludovico Visconti (1791-1853) was commissioned in 1842 to construct the tomb of Napoléon (Figure 156). Responsible for designing the memory and legend of Napoléon, Visconti was "remarkably astute in dealing with the enormously complex politics and the changes in government during the period the tomb was under construction."[925] Finally, on 2 April 1861, the emperor's remains were deposed in five inner coffins,[926] all enclosed in the sarcophagus made of porphyry[927] – the purple coloured quartzite stone traditionally reserved for royalty. As none was found

[923] The church of the *Saint-Louis des Invalides* included *l'église du Dôme* (church of the dome) or *église royale* (royal church), and *l'église Saint-Louis* (Saint-Louis church) or *l'église des Soldats* (Soldiers' Church). After the erection of Napoléon's monumental tomb in the 1840s and the installation of large glass plates in the 1870s it materialized the physical separation of the two churches.

[924] Guizot, François, op. cit., 1864, p.22.

[925] Driskel, Michael Paul, *As Befits a Legend: Building a Tomb for Napoléon, 1840-1861*. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1993, p.xiv.

[926] The five inner coffins were made of tin, mahogany, two in lead, and ebony. A sixth one, made of oak, was used for his return in 1840 but was not kept.

[927] The term is derived from Greek meaning 'purple.'





Figures 155-156: Left – Carved and Gilded Viscount's Crown and Funeral Cushion traditionally surmounted on the Coffin of Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson, 1st Viscount Nelson, K.B. – St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Right – Napoléon Bonaparte's Sarcophagus was completed in 1861. Architect: Ludovico Visconti. – *Les Invalides*, Paris.



Figure 157: The *Lincoln Tomb* was originally dedicated in 1874 and after major reconstruction it was rededicated by President Herbert Hoover in 1931. Designed by Larkin Goldsmith Mead. A red granite cenotaph marking his burial place is flanked by the Presidential flag and state flags. – Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.



Figure 158: Funeral Procession of the late Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 13 April 1868 – Montréal, Québec. Photo: James Inglis, Library and Archives Canada.

in France in sufficient quantity, it was supplied by the Russian emperor Nicolas I (1796-1855) from a quarry located in Northern Russia.[928] The sarcophagus, modeled on the ancient Roman tomb of Scipio,[929] was placed in the centre of the open circular crypt beneath the dome. De Rémusat's insight was veritable: Napoléon did not receive an ordinary burial of kings – his state funeral and place of burial corresponded to that of an emperor. To this day, presidents and citizens, as well as generals and soldiers, continue to visit his tomb to either reminisce the historical past or get inspired by the achievements made by one man.

In the **United States**, state funerals are administered by the Military District of Washington. Ceremonial units such as the 3rd U.S. Infantry Regiment[930] provide funeral services that have evolved as customs but have also incorporated military traditions from the past.[931] In line with other nations, today's American funeral protocol is steep in planning, elaborately prescribed and carried out meticulously. But this was not always the case. The earliest general mournings proclaimed in America were on the deaths of Benjamin Franklin in 1790 and president George Washington in 1799.[932] A quarter-century later, another national observance was held to commemorate the deaths of presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who died within

[928] The quarry that provided the purple porphyry (crimson quartzite) for Napoléon's sarcophagus is still in use. The owners of the quarry are 'JSC Kvarcit,' and are located in Karelia, Northern Russia on the shore of Onega Lake. See website: http://kvarcit.org/en/history.html

[929] Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (died c. 280 BC) was one of the two elected Roman consuls in 298 BC and was a member of the noble Roman family of Scipiones. His sarcophagus was part of a common family tomb in Rome between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD. After its last re-discovery in 1782, his sarcophagus, which resembled an altar, was eventually moved to the *Museo Pio-Clementino* at the Vatican in 1912.

[930] The 3rd U.S. Infantry Regiment, known as 'The Old Guard,' is the oldest regiment in the active Army, which was originally organized in 1784 as the First American Regiment. It is the Army's official ceremonial unit and escort to the president, and also provides security for Washington, D.C., in time of national emergency or civil disturbance. Ceremonial support include the maintenance of the vigil at the Tomb of the Unknowns and the provision of military funeral escorts at Arlington National Cemetery.

[931] The latter include examples such as the firing of volleys over a grave, the use of a caisson to carry a casket, and a riderless horse in mourning caparison during a funeral procession.

[932] See section on 'The Washington Monument – 1848-1885.'

hours of each other on 4 July 1826. Although the death of these important personages profoundly affected their local communities and the twenty-four states that existed at that time, communications and travel related to the commemoration of the departed was slow. While these presidents received dignified and often simple funeral ceremonies, they are not considered as having received a 'state funeral.'

According to American protocol rules and subject to the family's wishes, the customary main elements of a state funeral include a "repose" in their home state and at the Washington National Cathedral,[933] a funeral procession, "lying in state" at the U.S. Capitol, a national funeral service in Washington, D.C., and a private funeral service and interment. While their definition of a state funeral[934] is typical of other countries, they have applied a very narrow use of the term 'lying in state' and have introduced, to the chagrin of traditionalists, the terms 'lying in repose' and 'lying in honor.' For most, lying in state simply means that it is the custom of placing on view the remains of an important person in a ceremonial manner to allow the public at large to pay their respects to the deceased. "No law, written rule, or regulation specifies who may lie in state" at the federal level.[935] However, after having completed the Rotunda of the United States Capitol in 1824, it was determined that this was the most suitable place for their eminent citizens to lay in state. Hence, according to federal state funeral regulations, 'lying in state' exclusively refers to when the remains lie in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol. The term 'lying in repose' is also associated with a state funeral but only applies when "the remains lie in one or more selected places for public

[933] The formal name of the Washington National Cathedral is the Cathedral Church of St. Peter and St. Paul.

[934] According to the Joint Force Headquarters National Capital Region/Military District of Washington: "A state funeral is a national tribute to an important personage of a country, most notably, its head of state. The United States conducts state funerals on behalf of all persons who hold, or have held, the office of president, to include a president-elect and other persons designated by the president." See website: http://www.mdw.army.mil/statefcetradition.htm

[935] *Architect of the Capitol*, a U.S. federal agency responsible for the facilities maintenance and operation of the historic Capital Building and 17.4 million square feet of other important buildings. See website: http://www.aoc.gov/cc/capitol/catafalque.cfm

viewing (e.g. church, presidential library or museum)"[936] – meaning anywhere else but the Capital Rotunda. Moreover, when someone is 'lying in honor,' it means that instead of having military vigil sentries (or 'guard of honor') over the casket, the sentries are civilian-derived – usually from the U.S. Capitol Police or community-based organizations.

In conformity with their definition of 'lying in state,' the first American to be honoured with this national tribute is politician Henry Clay on 1 July 1852 and so far, there have been thirty people that have lain in the Capital Rotunda.[937] Out of all of them, it was Abraham Lincoln's demise that greatly influenced how its nation's most distinguished citizens were to be commemorated upon their death. After his assassination in Washington, D.C., he died the following day on 15 April 1865. "Due to increased communications technology, word spread across the country by telegraph and train allowing the country to mourn the loss of its president together"; this essentially marked "the first time the nation mourned as one."[938] There were many other 'firsts' related to his state funeral. For example, Lincoln was the first U.S. president to be embalmed and it could be said that his death "triggered the beginning of modern day funeral service."[939] As part of the preparations for his lying in state from 19 to 21 April, a catafalque was hastily constructed to support his casket. This raised bier of rough pine boards and covered with black cloth has since been used for all those who have 'lain in state' in the Capital Rotunda. As well, Lincoln's state funeral has often been

[936] Joint Force Headquarters National Capital Region/Military District of Washington, "State Funeral Ceremonial Traditions." See website: http://www.mdw.army.mil/statefcetradition.htm

[937] The list of people that have been lain 'in state' or "in honor' at the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol include presidents, statesmen, unknown soldiers, senior military officers, police officers and a civil rights pioneer. The official government list can be found at the website of the *Architect of the Capitol*, "Lying in State": http://www.aoc.gov/cc/capitol/lain_in_state.cfm

[938] Joint Force Headquarters National Capital Region/Military District of Washington, "The Evolution of State Funerals." See website: http://www.mdw.army.mil/evolutionofsf.htm

[939] Goglin Funeral Homes & Legacy Crematory, "History on Display," South Dakota. Official website: http://goglinfh.com/WhatsNewDisplay.aspx?ID=8

used as model for others to emulate. After his widow[940] decided to return her husband's remains to Springfield (Illinois) for burial, Lincoln's casket was transported on a funeral train that passed 444 communities in seven states. This was the first time that a funeral train cortège was used for the national commemoration of a president's death and is known as "The Greatest Funeral in the History of the United States."[941] Shortly after arrival at the Oak Ridge Cemetery, Lincoln's body was initially placed in a temporary vault and it was not until 1871 that he was moved to a partially completed tomb.[942] Due to threats and an attempted theft of his body, his casket was dug up and frequently moved to different places within the Tomb. As a means of keeping a memento of the deceased, visitors at that time had a bad habit of chipping away at the original white marble sarcophagus which was placed outside the Tomb during reconstruction. To rectify the situation, his remains now rest in a permanent concrete vault three metres[943] below the floor of the burial chamber and a replacement cenotaph marks his gravesite (Figure 157). It is worth noting that in 1832 Lincoln had been a member of a company of Illinois militia and served nearly three months. One of the nine statuettes obtained for the interior of his Tomb is a replica of *Lincoln the Soldier* by sculptor Leonard

[940] Mary Ann (née Todd) Lincoln (1818-1882) was First Lady of the United States from March 1861 to April 1865. Upon her death, she was interred alongside her husband within the *Lincoln Tomb*.

[941] *Lincoln Highway National Museum & Archives – The Lincoln Funeral Train*. The website describe the twenty days (15 April to 4 May 1865) that comprised the Lincoln Funeral Train Route. See: http://www.lincoln-highway-museum.org/WHMC/WHMC-LFTR-01.html

Until the death of President John F. Kennedy in 1963, Lincoln was said to have the distinction of having the largest funeral throughout the world with an estimated one million people who viewed his body during a period of twenty days.

[942] The bodies of president Lincoln and his pre-deceased sons Edward (1846-1850) and William (1850-1862) were held in a temporary vault from December 1865 until September 1871, and then moved to the partially completed tomb.

[943] Or 10 feet. His coffin was encased in 4,000 pounds of concrete.

Crunelle (1872-1944).[944] Out of 190 known Lincoln statues located in the U.S., this is the only one of him in a military uniform.[945]

Canada's first state funeral was conducted in circumstances similar to that of Lincoln when on 7 April 1868, The Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868) upon returning home from a late-night session in the House of Commons,[946] was shot and killed as he entered the door to his rooming house in Ottawa (Ontario).[947] Known as "the most powerful political orator of his era … he used his eloquence to support the new Canadian Confederation – promoting religious freedom, minority rights and national unity under the British Crown."[948] Although unproven, it was generally believed that his assassination was part of a Fenian conspiracy.[949]

[944] The original statue of *Lincoln the Soldier* was erected by the State of Illinois in 1930 at the site of the blockhouse known as Fort Dixon (Dixon, Illinois). Stationed here as an elected Captain of volunteers, it depicts how he might have looked as a soldier in the Black Hawk War of 1832.

[945] Percoco, James A, *Summers with Lincoln – Looking for the Man in the Monuments*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2008. Appendix 2, State-by-State Breakdown of Lincoln Sculptures, p.260.

[946] Thomas D'Arcy McGee sat in the House of Commons representing the voters of Montreal West in the first Parliament following Conferation (1867). Born in Ireland, he was an avid supporter of the Irish rebellion of 1848 and the American annexation of Canada. After working in the U.S. as a journalist, he moved to Montréal in 1857 where he continued to defend the interests of the immigrant Irish and began a new career in Canadian politics. It was then that he changed his attitude by endorsing a federal union of the two Provinces of Canada and openly opposed Irish Republicanism and the Fenian movement plan to invade British America.

[947] McGee's death was initially compared to president Lincoln who was assassinated almost exactly three years earlier. After the assassination of U.S. president John F. Kennedy in 1963, D'Arcy McGee was often referred to as "Canada's JFK."

[948] *Canadian Museum of Civilization*, Face to Face, Thomas D'arcy McGee, Journalist and politician, 1825-1868. See website: http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/biography/biographi228e.shtml

[949] Shortly after McGee's death, evidence quickly accumulated against Patrick J. Whelan. Although he plead innocent to the end, Whelan was found guilty and was hanged on 11 February 1869 with an audience of 5,000 people. This was the last public hanging of Canada. Many believe that he was probably wrongly convicted for this crime.

Prior to 1867, the country had encountered a number of high profile funerals with large crowds.[950] However, the death of McGee helped drastically change "how the people mobilized their collective values"[951] and the degree by which public rituals and commemorations were to be held within Canada. As a brand new nation, it was at a height of shaping a fresh political, social and economic future. The death of this statesman was contentious as meetings continued to be held in various parts of the country, "condemning the atrocious murder of Mr. McGee, and sympathizing with his bereaved family."[952] There was swift underpinning support from more than twenty communities throughout Canada – all wanting to participate in his funeral arrangements and his memorialization. The processions helped strengthen citizen loyalty, devotion to duty, and solidarity on a national scale that never existed before. Accorded a large public funeral by the Canadian government, it was split between the city where he sat in office and the constituency he represented. While government officials were involved with the development of the official funeral programme, there were countless other unofficial but organized commemorative activities that begun within an hour of his death in Ottawa and well past his burial in his family vault in Montréal's Catholic *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery*.

Unlike any other major funeral ceremonies held in Canada prior to Confederation, McGee was memorialized "in a pageant of unparalled solemnity and magnificence."[953] After high-level funeral rituals held in Ottawa, his body was carried in a special train to Montréal for culminating tributes. Upon arrival, his coffin was escorted to his residence where it lay in

[950] As outlined in an earlier section entitled 'Columns and Obelisks in Canada,' there were more than 10,000 people gathered at General Brock's funeral procession of 1824 and thirty years later, about the same number witnessed the commemoration and burial in Québec of the 'combatants of 1760.'

[951] Goheen, Peter G., *Cheminements 1997 – Histoire Mythique et Paysage Symbolique/Mythic History and Symbolic Landscape. Actes du projet d'échange Laval-Queen's octobre 1995, octobre 1996, rencontres de Québec et de Kingston*, "Honoring 'One of the Great Forces of the Dominion': The Canadian Public Mourns McGee," p.9.

[952] *The New York Times*, "Thomas D'Arcy McGee – Funeral Services at Ottawa – Thirty Thousand People in Procession," 14 April 1868.

[953] Goheen, Peter G., op. cit., 1997, p.11.

state for three days followed by a heavily orchestrated funeral procession (Figure 158) and competing obsequies in francophone and anglophone Catholic churches.[954] The custom-built horse-drawn funeral car was part of a cortège that included an estimated 10,000 people who marched through the streets[955] and crowded with 60,000 to 100,000 spectators.[956] With over 70 institutions and groups represented among the marchers, it was considered "extraordinary for its variety and inclusiveness."[957] Considering that McGee was a civilian, it was also highly unsual that troops from 23 units, including members from Ottawa and Québec, were invited to participate in the funeral.[958] While he did not receive 'military honours', the volunteer presence of the military was in recognition and high-regard of McGee's contributions to the shaping of his country.

Since 1868, the government of Canada has offered, organized and administered over thirty state funerals for governors general, prime ministers, and sitting members of the Ministry.[959] The prime minister, on behalf of the government, can also accord the honour to other outstanding Canadians. Typically, a Canadian state funeral includes a 'lying-in-state', procession, funeral service, committal, post-committal reception and half-masting of flags. As every state funeral is distinct, some elements may be omitted or altered in accordance with predetermined wishes of the deceased, as well as those of the family and the government. For more than 140 years, it was implicit that a

[954] French parish of Notre-Dame and English parish of St. Patrick.

[955] *Morning Chronicle*, "Funeral of The Hon. T. D. McGee," Halifax, Nova Scotia. Vol. V, No. 95, Wednesday, 22 April 1868, p.2.

[956] The number of people in attendance mourning his loss was considerable as at the time, the population of the city of Montréal was only 100,000.

[957] Goheen, Peter G., op. cit., 1997, p.18.

[958] Ibid, p.16. In particular, troops "guarded the route of the procession, fired salutes and provided suitable music for the processionists."

[959] This includes seven governors general (1940-2009); fifteen prime ministers (1891-2000); ten ministers (1930 to 1980); and other outstanding Canadians. For a detailed list of past state funerals, see Government of Canada website, "State Funerals in Canada": http://www.commemoration.gc.ca/index-eng.cfm
The Department of Canadian Heritage is the lead government agency responsible for coordinating state funerals and the lying-in-state portion of national commemorative services.

laying-in-state was to be held within the precinct of the Parliament Buildings.[960] With the death of former governor general Roméo LeBlanc[961] on 24 June 2009, it became Canada's first state funeral to be held entirely outside the National Capital Region.[962] As LeBlanc's casket was placed for public viewing at the Memramcook Institute, the government of Canada had now adopted the American term 'lying-in-repose'.[963]

In addition to state funerals and military funerals, there are other demonstrations of national mourning that include the receiving the honour of lying-in-state and a national commemoration ceremony. There are only two Canadian soldiers who received the honour of lying-in-state. The first was for Canada's Unknown Soldier who was repatriated from a cemetery near the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial*, France, to Ottawa where his remains lay in state for three days in Parliament's *Hall of Honour*. He was permanently entombed at the foot of the *National War Memorial* on 28 May 2000.[964] The second was as the result of a request made by the military to the prime minister[965] in favour of Sergeant Ernest A. "Smokey" Smith – Canada's last

[960] For example, the lying-in-state of former governor general The Right Honourable Ramon John Hnatyshyn (1934-2002) was held in the Senate Chamber of the Parliament Buildings; that of former prime minister The Right Honourable Pierre Elliot Trudeau (1919-2000) was held in the Hall of Honour of the Parliament Buildings; and that of former governor general The Right Honourable Jules Léger (1913-1980) was held in room 211 of Parliament's East Block. Room 211 was the working office of governors general from Confederation until 1940, when Léger took it over as an assistant to the then prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

[961] The Right Honourable Roméo LeBlanc, P.C., C.C., C.M.M., O.N.B., C.D. (1927-2009).

[962] It is worth noting that Provinces also have the right to conduct respective state funerals. However, in this case, we are speaking strickly of national state funerals.

[963] On 2 July 2009 and on the morning of 3 July, the late Roméo LeBlanc was lying-in-repose at the Memramcook Institute (formerly the *Collège de Saint-Joseph* founded in 1864, the *Université de Saint-Joseph* in 1868, and the *Université de Moncton* in 1965), Village of Memramcook, New Brunswick. The State Funeral was held at the neighbouring *Église Saint-Thomas* on 3 July at 11 a.m.

[964] The full skeleton remains of the Unknown Soldier were exhumed in Cabaret-Rouge British Cemetery in Souchez, France, on the morning of 16 May 2000 by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. After a ceremony at the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial*, his remains were flown on a Canadian Forces aircraft arriving in Ottawa on 25 May.

[965] Chief of the Defence Staff General Rick Hillier, C.M.M., M.S.C., C.D. (1955-), made the request directly to Prime Minister The Right Honourable Paul Martin, P.C. (1938-).

surviving Victoria Cross recipient who died on 3 August 2005.[966] Finally, when deemed appropriate, receiving the honour of a national commemoration ceremony could include a religious or memorial service and the half-masting of flags. A recent example is the passing of Her Majesty Elizabeth the Queen Mother in 2002 when a commemorative ceremony was held in Canada and the state funeral was held in the United Kingdom.

In summary, 'recognition' is the first of three key principles that form the Three 'R's' of Commemoration and plays an important role in celebrating achievements and honouring those who were held in high esteem. Although the Roman military made ample use of a complex honours and awards system, it was during the 18th century that recognition began to form a central part of memorialization and commemoration. It is through the receiving of honours and awards and the reflection of these accolades inscribed, sculpted and wrought onto memorials and places of memory, that they confirm the importance of recognition during the process of commemoration. As well, governments have other means of recognizing and memorializing outstanding citizens and soldiers, including state funerals, military funerals, lying-in-state, lying-in-repose, lying-in-honour, and national commemoration ceremonies. Memorials and acts of remembrance are useful tools for demonstrating commemoration. When using them, there is an underlying expectation to make use of appropriate symbols, forms, customs, and traditions, that best illustrate the degree of recognition to be warranted to the designated person, organization, or event. These are the threads that bind recognition as an integral part of commemoration.

[966] Sergeant Ernest Alvia "Smokey" Smith, V.C., C.M., O.B.C., C.D. (1914-2005) was awarded the Victoria Cross for his action in Italy on the night of 21-22 October 1944 when he put an enemy tank out of action, killed four Germans with his Tommy gun and held his position until the enemy finally gave up and withdrew in disorder.

Smith's ashes were transported from Vancouver – his place of death – to Ottawa for a lying-in-state in the foyer of the House of Commons on 9 August 2005. A lying-in-repose was held at Vancouver's Seaforth Armoury (home of his unit, The Seaforth Highlanders of Canada) on 12 August, with an elaborate military funeral the following day.

RESPECT

'**Respect**' is the second principle of commemoration. It begins from the moment a member joins military service and continues well beyond a warrior's death. Respect is a logical extension of recognition. While recognition is more likely to be in a physical form, respect is intangible and is more concerned with an attitude of admiration or a feeling of friendship and esteem. In accordance with Henry Rousseau's concept of vectors of memory, this is most associated with his 'official' and 'associative' vectors.

The wearing of a uniform and holding rank commands respect from their subordinates, peers, and superiors – "mutual respect is a vital part of military courtesy."[967] However, the most sought-after respect is from their comrades-in-arms that is earned as the result of valiant action in the presence of an armed enemy. As a sign of respect and admiration, members of a unit or organization often erect a memorial in honour of those who distinguished themselves above others. Typically, statues, monuments, and buildings are dedicated to high ranking officers as well as those of the 'rank and file' who have achieved heroic fame.[968] Moreover, history has shown that the majority of such 'heroic' memorials are put up long after the military conflict or the death of the person in question.[969]

For those living – and from a morale point of view – the level of respect shown when handling casualties is particularly important. Over the last centuries, there are many recorded examples of military commanders suspending battles or holding 'cease fires' in order for each other's side to

[967] Department of the Army, *Field Manual No. 7-21.13 – The Soldier's Guide*, Chapter 4, "Customs, Courtesies, and Traditions." Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 15 October 2003, p.4-2.

[968] For example, Sir Arthur Harris (Figure 194) and Corporal Francis Pegahmagabow (Figure 169), respectively.

[969] It is worth clarifying that this type of memorial is designed for commemoration and do not include headstones or makeshift grave markers to mark the location of its dead on the battle site.

collect its war dead.[970] One of the quotations which best encapsulates 19th century value of caring for its dead is attributed to British Prime Minister Gladstone, who purportedly said in 1871: "Show me the manner in which a nation cares for its dead, and I will measure with mathematical exactness the tender mercies of its people, their respect for the laws of the land and their loyalty to high ideals."[971] The professional soldier will endeavour to properly handle and bury the dead, as one day the soldier may be in the reverse situation. Since the 20th century, a reversed rifle with fixed bayonet thrusted into the battlefield soil with a helmet on top has been used as a universal marker showing the location of a dead soldier. This image of remembrance is recurrently represented on memorials, war art and during commemorative ceremonies (see Figure 159).

For those who particularly distinguished themselves during their military career, the principles of 'respect' and 'recognition' are perpetuated even after their death. While soldiers typically receive campaign *medals* for completion of duty in a theatre of operation, individuals may receive *orders* and *decorations* that are representative of certain acts of valour, bravery or meritorious service carried out during their performance of duty. The order of precedence within a nation's honours system determines the level of importance. Naturally, the uppermost awards express the highest form of respect, admiration and gratitude from the contributor. The recipients of the

[970] For example, during the U.S. Civil War's *Second Battle of Fredericksburg* fought on 3-4 May 1863, it was noted that a Union detachment asked for a truce so that it could collect some of its wounded and dead. On site, a Confederate colonel granted them permission without advising his superior officer. Also, during the Great War on 24-25 December 1914, unofficial cease fires were held along the Western Front to allow for unarmed German and British soldiers to collect their dead from the 'no-man's land.' Similarly, an eight hour cease fire was held on 25 April 1915 in Gallipoli to collect their wounded and dead when 12,500 ANZACs were up against 42,000 Turkish troops.

[971] Attributed to The Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) and is cited (unverified) in "Successful Cemetery Advertising," *The American Cemetery*, March 1938, p. 13. *American Cemetery* is an independent trade magazine for the cemetery industry since 1929.

Victoria Cross from certain Commonwealth nations,[972] the *Medal of Honor* in the U.S., or the *Légion d'honneur* or *Médaille militaire* in France, will have most certainly earned utmost respect from military personnel as well as their respective nations.

The insignia for each of these honours are powerful symbols that are manifested and reflected onto grave markers, battlefield memorials, permanent headstones and monuments erected in their honour. In addition, within the Commonwealth, orders and decorations often have post-nominals associated with them. During the late 19th century, it had become prevalent for post-nominals to be inscribed on memorials and headstones. For example, in the case of Colonel Alexander Roberts Dunn (1833-1868), 'Canada's' first Victoria Cross recipient,[973] his grave's headstone denotes him as "AR DUNN V.C." The only symbols present are that of a now broken small cross superimposed on the headstone and the outline of a cross on the grave's footstone (Figure 160). With the conclusion of the First and Second World Wars, the use of the insignia of a country's highest award for valour had become a common feature on military headstones (see Figures 161-162). In 1993, Canada created their own version of the Victoria Cross but it was not until 2008 that the new insignia was manufactured, as it was felt that it should be made in Canada and because of its significance, "the decoration should reflect the past, the present and the future of the country."[974] Today, the

[972] Notably the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia (the Victoria Cross for Australia was instituted in 1991), and New Zealand (the Victoria Cross for New Zealand was instituted in 1999).

[973] 'Canada's' first Victoria Cross recipient was Alexander Roberts Dunn, born in York (later Toronto), Upper Canada, in 1833. After completing his education he joined the British Army in 1852, and the following year was commissioned as a lieutenant. He saw action during the Crimean War, and it was as the result of his actions at Balaclava in "The Charge of the Light Brigade" – 25 October 1854 – that he earned the Victoria Cross. He was killed by an apparent accidental discharge of a gun during a hunting expedition on 25 January 1868 and buried in a small cemetery in Senafe, amongst the rugged hills of Abyssinia (now Eritrea).

[974] Department of National Defence, *Pro Valore: Canada's Victoria Cross*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2008, p.24. It should be noted that Canada's Victoria Cross is nearly identical to the original award with the exception of the inscription (from English "FOR VALOUR" to Latin 'PRO VALORE") as well as the addition of fleurs-de-lis to the insignia's scroll.



Figures 159-160: Left – Details of a bronze bas-relief depicting the location of soldiers' grave with reversed rifles and helmets resting on top – *World War II Memorial*, Washington, D.C. Right – Grave of Colonel A.R. Robert Dunn, V.C., in Senafe, Abyssinia (now Eritrea). His grave had been neglected for many years but was refurbished in 2001 by troops of Canadian Task Force East Africa who had set up at nearby *Camp Colonel Dunn*. (Photo: Department of National Defence)



Figures 161-162: Headstones inscribed with the Insignia of a country's highest Valour award. Left – Corporal Filip Konowal, V.C. (1886-1959), showing the insignia of the (British) Victoria Cross – Notre Dame Cemetery, Ottawa, Ontario. Right – Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, Jr., showing the insignia of the U.S. Navy Medal of Honor – Arlington Cemetery, Washington D.C.

Canadian Armed Forces have modernized this tradition by not only allowing the insignia of the Victoria Cross but also the Cross of Valour – Canada's highest level for civilian bravery – to be inscribed on the headstone of the recipient.

In 1926, U.S. naval Commander Richard E. Byrd received the Medal of Honor for his exploration of the North Pole during that same year.[975] Among the many special privileges and benefits that are conferred on its Medal of Honor recipients include eligibility for interment at Arlington National Cemetery and in 1976,[976] all recipients' headstones had lettering and insignia highlighted with gold leafing (Figure 162). Steeped in tradition – not regulation – members of the uniformed services are allowed and encouraged to salute recipients wearing the medal. This selfless act is done as a matter of respect and courtesy regardless of rank or status – especially since the beginning of the Second World War only about forty percent of recipients were alive to receive their medal.

Aboriginal History of Commemoration

Respect as a principle of commemoration means different things to diverse societies. When Europeans established themselves throughout Canada and the U.S., they brought along with them their values and forms of memorials and commemoration that existed at the time. Since the instalment of Canada's first public monument in 1686,[977] there have been thousands of other memorials that have been erected over the last three centuries on the achievements of Europeans as well as prominent 'white settlers' who proved themselves in their newly adopted country. This was the conventional mode

[975] Medal of Honor citations: Byrd – "For distinguishing himself conspicuously by courage and intrepidity at the risk of his life, in demonstrating that it is possible for aircraft to travel in continuous flight from a now inhabited portion of the earth over the North Pole and return." Bennett – "For distinguishing himself conspicuously by courage and intrepidity at the risk of his life as a member of the Byrd Arctic Expedition and thus contributing largely to the success of the first heavier-than-air flight to the North Pole and return."

[976] Amidst the bicentennial celebration of the United States.

[977] A more detailed historical account can be found in the footnotes of the Chapter entitled "Recognizing Military Legacies," under the section "Columns and Obelisks in Canada Since 1808."

to respect and memorialize who and what they cared about. Although the European mindset was concentrated on recognizing individuals and specific events, the local indigenous population[978] thought little about it.

Up until the late 19th century, there was a relative 'non-existence' of aboriginal memorials as their approach to commemoration was holistic. Unlike Europeans, Aboriginal peoples are societies that emphasize the organic or functional relation between parts of the whole. Their respect is not placed on recognizing individual achievements but rather, "they are likely to pay tribute to intangibles like the character of their relationship to the land and its animals."[979] Like many other indigenous peoples, they communicated information about their beliefs and significant events in native oral tradition while Europeans preserved them in written documents. The problem is that unless they are recorded in a physical way and if the civilization is decimated and eliminated, there are no records in existence.

Early settlers during the late 18th century were aware of many examples of animal and human petroforms and petroglyphs left by Aboriginal peoples and Native Americans but more often encountered great mounds and earthworks.[980] During that time, antiquarians "argued among themselves as to whether the earthworks had indeed been built by indigenous Native American peoples, or a 'lost race'."[981] While some were later proven to be built more than several thousand years ago, the origins of others remained unsure. As a

[978] Due to the wide geographic and tribal fabric of the indigenous population in Canada, native people have been referred to by many historical names that have evolved over time. Collectively, *Inuit* (a native people indigenous to Arctic and sub-Artic regions), *Métis* (peoples of mixed native-French/European ancestry), and *First Nations* (a term coined in the 1980s that replaced the meaning of a registered "Indian band") constitute *Aboriginal peoples* in Canada or *first peoples*. Although the word *Indian* is still a legal term for First Nations people, it is now considered a derogatory word. In Australia, they are mostly referred to as Australian Aborigines, Australian Aboriginals, Aboriginal Australians, or simply Aborigines. The indigenous people of New Zealand are the Māori people. In the United States, they are commonly referred to as Native Americans.

[979] Mr. David Neufeld, a historian with Parks Canada in the Yukon Territory, cited in: Lawson, Catherine, "Commemorating First Nations 'a powerful cultural tool'," *The Ottawa Citizen*, Sunday, 29 January 2006, p.A14.

[980] Sometimes refered to by archaeologists as 'effigy mounds.'

[981] Devereux, Paul, *Earth Mysteries*. London: Judy Piatkus (Publishers) Ltd., 1999, p.11.

means to show respect to its dead, some local indigenous tribes placed human bones in small burial mounds that are considered sacred places. Today, these "receptacles for the dead"[982] are ancient Indian burial grounds that are often – but not always – investigated, interpreted and preserved.

Memorialization in North America

As witnessed by European explorers in the 15th century, "war was central to the way of life" in Aboriginal societies.[983] As noted by a Jesuit missionary during the 18th century, "the only way to attract respect and public veneration among the Illinois is, as among the other Savages, to acquire a reputation as a skilful hunter, and particularly as a good warrior … it is what they call being a true man."[984] Fratricidal wars and those against European settlers involved the survival of the fittest, complicated politics and alliance-building. Military alliances between Europeans and Aboriginal peoples were quickly developed but had to be maintained. For example, it is known that upon arrival in New France, Samuel de Champlain befriended local *Montagnais*[985] who helped him fight against the Iroquois in 1609. Up until the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Aboriginal warriors were mainly in support of the French during the rivalries against England. With the fall of New France and the establishment of a new British regime, "Aboriginal communities were forced into a series of wars" in order to protect "their freedom, their lands and their survival."[986] They were first dragged to assist the British in their offensive efforts during the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), and later during the War of 1812. Nonetheless, the Aboriginal warriors had by then established a half-century of history of fighting on the

[982] Personal journal of The Reverend Elias Cornelius entitled "Tour in Virgina, Tennessee, &c." published in Sansom, Joseph, *Travels in Lower Canada with the Author's Recollection of the Soil, and Aspect; the Morals, Habits, and Religious Institutions, of That Country*. London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1820, p.111.

[983] Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, et al., *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2009, p.4.

[984] Ibid, p.5.

[985] The word *Montagnais* means 'mountain people' in French.

[986] Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, op. cit., 2009, p.59.

side of Great Britain. From 1815 until the end of the 19th century, Aboriginal peoples had volunteered periodically to support the Crown in response to particular causes and rebellions within Canada as well as imperial overseas operations.[987] As illustrated in the following sections, the values and forms of memorials and commemoration were different for European soldiers and Aboriginal warriors. While the British and the French had erected memorials to their respective military heroes between 1808 and 1855,[988] there were no such plans to recognize deserving Aboriginal warriors.

It was in response to an invitation from the Six Nations Indians[989] that Lord Dufferin, Governor General of Canada,[990] visited their Council House in August 1874.[991] On this occasion, the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations submitted to him an address – for onward transmission to the Duke of Connaught[992] – expressing an anxious desire to "establish a fitting monument" in honour and "perpetuating the memory of their great chief, Captain Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea)."[993] Thayendanegea (1742-1807) was the "Principal

[987] Such as Canadian Voyageurs in the Nile Expedtion (1884-1885) and the South African War (1899-1902).

[988] 1808: *Nelson's Pillar* – Montréal, Québec; 1824: *General Brock's Monument* – Queenston Heights, Ontario; 1827: *Wolfe and Montcalm Monument* – Québec, Québec; and 1855: *Monument des Braves* – Québec, Québec.

[989] The Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy are composed of the following tribes: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. Their full name is Six Nations of the Grand River and is the largest First Nation in Canada.

[990] Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple Blackwood (1826-1902) was Canada's third Governor General. The Earl of Dufferin served from 1872 to 1878.

[991] *Six Years' Summary of the Proceedings of the New England Company, for the Civilization and Conversion of Indians, Blacks, and Pagans in the Dominion of Canada and the West Indies, 1873-1878*. London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1879, p.14.
The Council of the Six Nations Indians is located on the Tuscarora Reserve, just outside Brantford, Ontario.

[992] His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn (1850-1942) had completed some of his military service in Canada during 1869-1870. In October 1869, he was given the rare title of *Honorary Chief of the Confederacy* by the Six Nations Indians. The Duke later served as Canada's tenth Governor General from 1911 to 1916.

[993] *The History of the County of Brant, Ontario, containing A History of the County; its Townships, Cities, Towns, Schools, Churches, etc.; General and Local Statistics; Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men; History of the Six Nation Indians and Captain Joseph*

Chief and Warrior of The Six Nations Indians"[994] who led aboriginal forces in New York and Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War and was highly regarded for his diplomatic and linguistic abilities. In April 1876, the city of Brantford – named in his honour – united their efforts and formed a large memorial committee[995] that was charged to raise the required funds. The following year, the Six Nations Indians and the city of Brantford had each voted $5,000 [996] toward the memorial but that was not enough to cover an estimated initial cost of $25,000.[997] Considering the poor response and in the midst of a serious recession, the project was only revived after the economy improved and a new memorial association was organized and met in March 1883. During this mass public meeting,

> it was noted that Canadian cities lagged far behind their American counterparts in erecting public monuments to their heroes. Such monuments, it was argued, instilled 'noble and higher inspirations of patriotism.' Advocates looked upon the monument not merely as a tribute to 'the worth of the man,' but as an investment that 'would pay, and pay well.' If erected, the monument would be the first commemorating a Native anywhere in North America and was thus certain to attract widespread notice.[998]

Brant (Thayendanegea); History of the Dominion of Canada, Miscellaneous Matters, Etc., Etc., Etc. Toronto: Warner, Beers & Co., 1883, pp.141-142.

The idea for establishing a memorial in honour of Thayendanegea originated with the Six Nations hereditary chiefs in 1874.

[994] Part of the inscriptions written on the slab of his granite tomb (second burial in 1850) located on the side of St. Paul's Her Majesty's Royal Chapel of the Mohawks, Brantford, Ontario. Established in 1785, it is the oldest Protestant church in Ontario.

[995] The Executive Committee was chaired by The Honorable David Christie, Speaker of the Senate of Canada and both the Earl of Dufferin and the Duke of Connaught had consented to be patrons of the fund.

[996] This was a considerable sum in a time when workers would be fortunate to earn "75¢ for a 10-12 hour work day in a six-day work week." Ten thousand dollars equates to over 13,000 work days during that time. Source: Mohawk Reporter, *The Six Nations Columns of George Beaver*, 1997, cited on the website of the Grand River Branch, United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada: http://www.grandriveruel.ca/Grand_River_Brant_Monument.htm

[997] The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numastic Journal*, "The Brant Monument," Volume VIII, No.2, October 1879. Montréal: English & Somerville, p.95.

[998] Knowles, Norman, "Chapter 6 – 'Object Lessons': Loyalist Monuments and the Creation of Usable Pasts", *The Ontario Loyalist Tradition & the Creation of Usuable Pasts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997, p.121.

After endorsing the project, an international design competition was held in July 1883 which resulted in receiving proposals and models from seven artists. Among them was an "exquisitely beautiful design" from C.E. Zollicoffer[999] as well as a more modest but winning design by British Sculptor Percy Wood. After having successfully collected the required $17,000, a contract was awarded in May 1884 and on 13 October 1886, the *Joseph Brant Memorial Statue* (Figure 163) was formally unveiled by J.B. Robinson, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario. Considered "the first ever erected to the memory of an Indian in Canada"[1000] as well as "one of the finest bronze monuments on the North American continent,"[1001] the heroic bronze of Thayendanegea is flanked by life sized figures, depicting chiefs of the Six Nations.[1002] Finally after twelve years of efforts, and as recorded by the accomplished author Ke-Che-Ah-Gah-Me-Qua,[1003] "this monument would be a worthy mark of the respect and love attaching to the memory of the dead chief and would show to the world that the Six Nations Indians desired to perpetuate the memory of the noble Capt. Brant."[1004] The erection of this Aboriginal memorial was significant throughout the North American continent in that it helped pave the way for a change in values on how Aboriginal

[999] *The History of the County of Brant, Ontario*, op. cit., 1883, p144.
Also, Charles Edwin Zollicoffer was an accomplished artist who had worked extensively on the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

[1000] Ke-Che-Ah-Gah-Me-Qua, *The Life of Captain Joseph Brant, (Thayendanegea) – An Account of his Re-interment at Mohawk, 1850. And the Corner Stone Ceremony in the Erection of the Brant Memorial*. Brantford, Ontario: Undated but published by Watt & Shenston on or after October 1886, p.39.

[1001] A 20 page booklet entitled *Brantford*, pp.4-8. Produced by The Women's Section of the Brant War Memorial Association for the purpose of raising funds for the Brant War Memorial and compiled by Miss E.T. Raymond. Undated but printed sometime on or after 1924.

[1002] To recognize the importance of the work, the British government donated thirteen bronze canons to be melted and used in the casting of the statues. Some of these guns – over a hundred years old – were in use during the Crimean War.

There is an interesting indirect historical link with *Nelson's Column* in Trafalgar Square in that the stone for the Brant memorial came from the same quarry (Penryn, Cornwall, England). Source: Philip, Tim, "Celebrating the Monuments of Brantford," *The Peterborough Examiner*, Brantford, Ontario, Article # 791592, Undated but most likely 2007.

[1003] Elizabeth Field (1804-1890) was born at Lambeth (now part of London, England) who married Peter Jones, an Ojibwa Indian preacher from Canada, in 1833. She was given the Ojibwa name of Ke-Che-Ah-Gah-Me-Qua.

[1004] Ke-Che-Ah-Gah-Me-Qua, op. cit., on or after October 1886, p.36.

peoples were to be respected and remembered through the process of memorialization. As noted by Dr. Norman Knowles, historical monuments such as this one "proved especially popular, since they provided a sense of rootedness and tradition at a time when urban growth and change raised serious questions about future community stability."[1005]

Unlike other countries,[1006] there is no centralized national inventory of military memorials in the United States. Though there exists a hodge podge of federal and state lists of historic sites and monuments, they are typically classified according to themes, personages, or time periods. For these reasons, it is complicated to delineate an accurate history of military memorials erected in honour of Native Americans. Nonetheless, one of the earliest-known memorials that allude to Native American warriors is the *Monument to the 42nd New York Infantry (Tammany Regiment)* erected in 1891 at the Gettysburg National Military Park (Figure 164). As the single memorial among 1,300 erected at Gettysburg that includes an Indian warrior, it is considered one of the most distinct on the entire battlefield. Standing at 31 feet in height, and at at cost of $8,500, this is the most expensive bronze sculpture on any 'regimental' monument in the Park.[1007] Prominently located along Cemetery Ridge, the monument depicts Chief Tammany (c.1628-1698)[1008] of the Delaware Indian tribe standing in front of a teepee surmounted on an elaborate granite base. During the American Revolutionary War, General George Washington supported Tammany celebrations that eventually spread throughout America. For colonists arriving from Europe, Tammany

[1005] Knowles, Norman, op. cit., 1997, p.121. Dr. Norman Knowles (1963-) is a history professor at St. Mary's University College, Calgary, Alberta.

[1006] Such as the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Ireland.

[1007] See later Chapter on *Reflection*, "The American Civil War – 1861-1865."

[1008] His name is also sometimes spelt 'Tamanend,' 'Tammamend,' among others. Tammany was a chief of the three clans (Wolf, Turtle, and Turkey) that made up the Lenni-Lenape nation who lived along the Delaware River. He was the trusted spokesman of his village when he served as one of the signers of the deed when William Penn purchased land from them in 1683 and played a prominent role in the establishment of peaceful relations with the English settlers who established Pennsylvania.





Figures 163-164: Left – *Joseph Brant Memorial Statue.* Corner stone laid on 11 August 1886, dedicated on 13 October 1886 and rededicated on 16 September 2000. Sculptor: Percy Wood. – Victoria Park, Brantford, Ontario. Right – *Monument to the 42nd New York Infantry (Tammany Regiment)* erected 24 September 1891. Sculpted by John J. Boyle (1851-1917). – Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania.





Figures 165-166: Left – Life-size statue of Pocahontas by William Ordway Partridge (1861-1930). Cast in bronze in 1906 and installed in 1922 – Jamestown, Virginia. Right – A free-standing Memorial Pole: '*World's Tallest Totem Pole*' at 127 feet, 7 inches. Officially dedicated on 2 July 1956 with a tablet erected in memory of the British Columbia Indians who gave their lives in the two World Wars – Beacon Hill Park, Victoria, British Columbia.

became a popular symbol that provided them with a distinct 'American' identity that remained for nearly two centuries. As this regiment was "raised and organized … under the patronage of the Tammany Society"[1009] – it affectionately took on its nickname and the men were known as "the Braves." Although this memorial appears to have met the 'fitting and artistic' requirements of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association at the time of erection, there were others that felt that the design was inappropriate. As articulated by John M. Vanderslice (1846-1915),[1010] "this monument is subject to criticism, as in the far future it may lead to misconception as to Indians participating in the battle."[1011] While it is true that Tammany's effigy was used primarily as a means of association with a military unit, the composure of the statue was nevertheless presented in a respective manner that reflects well on the regiment as well as the warrior's Indian heritage. With the passing away of the last surviving Civil War veterans (Union and Confederate) in the late 1950s, a recent renewed interest in American history and remembrance, and more than three million people having visited Gettysburg as a historic destination in 2008,[1012] it may well be that old symbols of America will become new again for generations to come.

[1009] Taken from a large bronze tablet included on the monument's pedestal. The full text reads: "THIS REGIMENT WAS RAISED AND ORGANIZED BY COLONEL WILLIAM D. KENNEDY UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY AND OF THE UNION DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK CITY."

The Society of Tammany was organized in 1789 in opposition to the Federalist Party and became identified with New York city's Democratic Party. Although it began modestly as a patriotic and social club, it became a benevolent body that was substantially altered in the 1820s to appeal especially to the poor, ethnic and religious minorities. The height of its corrupt political power was in the late 19th and early 20th century; the Society began to decline in the 1930s, and ceased to exist during the 1960s.

[1010] A Civil War Medal of Honor recipient and later, a long-serving member of the executive committee for the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Commission.

[1011] Vanderslice, John M., *Gettysburg – A History of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association with an account of the Battle giving Movements, Positions, and Losses of the Commands Engaged*. Philadelphia: The Memorial Association, 1897, p.281.

[1012] Gettysburg Convention & Visitors Bureau, News Release, 22 April 2009. See website: http://www.gettysburg.travel/media/news_detail.asp?news_id=197

One of the most popular stories in America is the 1607 account of Pocahontas (c.1595-1617) and Captain John Smith[1013] when Pocahontas plead for Smith's life when her father Chief Powhatan[1014] allegedly wanted him put to death. In 1613, Pocahontas was captured by the English and confined at Jamestown, where she converted to Christianity and was given the name Rebecca. In the following year, she married the colonist John Rolfe (1614-1622) which helped bring an end to the First Anglo-Powhatan War. As an example of a civilized 'savage,' she became something of a celebrity and traveled to London in 1616. As the Rolfes set sail for home, Pocahontas died en route at the age of about 22 at Gravesend, England. Pocahontas – as an icon of the 'good Indian' – was widely popular in America and England during the Victorian era. Her image was most often fantasized and idealized within the arts and literature and she was not portrayed in a lifestyle of North Carolina Algonquian Indian women at the time. In 1906, William Ordway Partridge was commissioned[1015] to complete a statue of Pocahontus to be featured in an international exposition[1016] that was part of the tercentennial anniversary celebrations of Jamestown (Figure 165).[1017] Unfortunately, the sculptor had also taken a romantic view of her and for some unknown reason he depicted Pocahontus in Indian plains clothing. In reality, the Powhatan people wore little clothing and Indian women made clothing from hides and furs that was often decorated with fringe, bones, teeth or painted designs. Women also painted their faces and tattooed their bodies. The challenge is that permanent memorials such as this statue only but reinforces an inaccurate

[1013] Captain John Smith (1580-1631) became instrumental in the establishment and survival of the British colony at Jamestown, Virginia. He also had a successful voyage to the Maine and Massachusetts Bay areas in 1614, which he named New England.

[1014] Powhatan was the paramount chief of Tsenacomoco – an alliance of six core groups of Indians that occupied the Tidewater mainly on the bank of the James River, Virginia.

[1015] By the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

[1016] *The New York Times*, "Art Features of the Jamestown Exposition – A Statue of Pocahontas by Wm. Ordway Partridge," 2 December 1906.
The "New York at the Jamestown Exposition" was held in Norfolk, Virginia, from 26 April to 1 December 1907.

[1017] The bronze was finally dedicated in 1922 when it was installed on Jamestown island and was only moved to its present location in 1931.

reflection of the Powhatan people and immortalizes a false memory of the historical past.[1018]

From the late 19th century and up until 1951, Canada banned the cultural practice of 'potlaching' which also included the carving of totem poles.[1019] Soon after, during the 1950s and 1960s, there was a renewed interest in totem poles restoration programs in coastal British Columbia by the Canadian government, museums and Native artists, as they all realized that tourism, Canadian nationalism and art were intricately linked. As such, a number of totem poles were erected in the city of Victoria, British Columbia, and elsewhere under various sponsorships. For example (Figure 166), through a public subscription raised through a local daily newspaper, the '*World's Tallest Totem Pole*' carved by Chief Mungo Martin, David Martin, and Henry Hunt[1020] was 'dedicated' in 1956 by the city mayor and provincial minister of education.[1021] The totem pole follows the Kwakwaka'wakw carving tradition, using minimum paint, deep cuts with traditional tools. "The ancestral figures … are associated with the Gee-eksem clan of the Kwa-Kiutl tribe of coast Indians from Fort Rupert … [the] bottom figure is Gee-eksem, legendary "First Man" of the tribe, said to have been created at Gold Beach at the north end of Vancouver Island."[1022] In addition to the two large plaques found adjacent to the memorial pole, there was also a small tablet mounted directly

[1018] On 5 October 1958, a replica of the Pocahontas statue in Jamestown was presented by the Governor of Virginia as a gift to the British people. Dedicated as a memorial in her honour, it is located at St. George's Church in Gravesend, Kent, England, where she died. The actual resting place of Pocahontas in the town is unknown. Unlike the Jamestown version that allows for visitors to interact more closely with the figure, the Gravesend statue has been placed on a plinth with her name and year of birth and death inscribed onto it.

[1019] Potlaching involved a ceremonial re-distribution and reciprocity of wealth among the Native people of the Northwest Coast. The geographical region of the Native people of the Northwest Coast is generally accepted to begin from the southern parts of Alaska, extends along the Canadian west coast of British Columbia and goes down as far as the northern parts of the state of Oregon.

[1020] Chief Mungo Martin (1879-1962) or 'Nakapenkem' was a prolific and recognized master carver in Northwest Coast style art, specifically that of the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples. His son, David Martin (d.1959), and his brother-in-law, Henry Hunt (b.1923-), were also carvers.

[1021] Although the text of the dedication plaque saids that it was 'dedicated,' this is not the appropriate word as usually, it means that it is dedicated to honour a specific person or mark a particular event or cause – of which neither have been recorded on the plaque.

[1022] On site dedication plaque.

onto the carving by the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society[1023] which said "IN MEMORY OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA INDIANS WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN THE WORLD WARS 1914 • 1918 - 1939 • 1945". With these few words, this public work of art became a respected military memorial for the Northwest Native people and the local community. This is a great example of how local Native skills, history, and heritage can be applied to memorials and commemoration.

Notwithstanding the erection of typical memorials across Canada honouring the contributions of local Aboriginal veterans, it was not until 1996 that recognition on a national scale began to take place. Governor General Roméo LeBlanc's proclamation on 21 June 1996 of the first *National Aboriginal Day*[1024] as well an official announcement four months later of the creation of a *National Aboriginal Veterans Monument* by the government and the National Aboriginal Veterans Association[1025] helped pave the way to establishing a long-term commemoration plan. Five years later, on 21 June 2001, Governor General Adrienne Clarkson[1026] uneveiled the national memorial (Figure 167) and during her address noted:

> For, as much as this Monument commemorates specific battles and campaigns, it also honours the eternal spiritual elements that are so essential to the culture of Aboriginal peoples. For it has been erected by Aboriginal peoples themselves. Its message of respect and honour will travel in the four directions and be heard by all

[1023] As a model of social reform through arts, the *British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society* was formally established in 1951. It changed its name to the British Columbia Indian Arts Society in 1973.

[1024] June 21st – the date of the summer solstice – was selected for Canada's *National Aboriginal Day* due to its cultural significance to many Aboriginal groups as a time to celebrate their unique heritage, diverse cultures, and outstanding achievements.

[1025] The creation of the *National Aboriginal Veterans Monument* was officially announced on 4 November 1996, during Remembrance Week, by then-Indian Affairs minister Ron Irwin and National Aboriginal Veterans Association (NAVA) president Sam Sinclair. NAVA president Claude Petit joined Irwin and Sinclair at the sod-turning ceremony in Ottawa on 8 May 1997.

[1026] The Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson (1939-) was the 26th Governor General of Canada, from 1999 to 2005.







Figures 167-169: Left – *National Aboriginal Memorial* unveiled on 21 June 2001. Sculpted by Noel Lloyd Pinay of the Peepeekisis First Nation in Saskatchewan. – Confederation Park, Ottawa, Ontario. Top Right – Upright monument erected on 3 June 2007 – Sergeant Tommy Prince, M.M., Veteran's Park, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Bottom Right – Memorial cairn dedicated to Corporal Francis Pegahmagabow, M.M. (1889-1952). Uneveiled on 6 June 2006 by The Honorable James Bartelman, O.Ont., Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, and in the presence of Pegahmagabow's daughter Marie Anderson and grandson Merle Pegahmagabow – Canadian Forces Base Borden, Ontario. Photo: Sergeant Peter Moon, Canadian Rangers.





Figures 170-171: Left – Memorial dedicated by the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn First Nation – Golden Lake, Ontario. Right – Sacred Space of the Beechwood National Memorial Centre. Unveiled by Govovernor General Michaëlle Jean on 6 April 2008. – Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa.

> who listen. It is a message of remembrance; it is a Calling Home.[1027]

Since then, an annual Ceremony of Remembrance has been held there and the Commander of the Army – as the Canadian Forces' Champion for Aboriginal Peoples – is specially invited to attend. The memorial is dedicated to all the Aboriginal people who have served Canada since the First World War. Using traditional symbols, the artist brought "the essential Aboriginal value of harmony with nature to the forefront. All animals, plants, and humans exist in an interrelated circle of life and death under the auspices of the Creator. The spirits of living things must be honoured and respected."[1028]

This message of respect and honour has since been extended to other Aboriginal memorials. For example, it was not until 2006 at the initiative of Lieutenant-Colonel Keith Lawrenson, C.D. and Sergeant Peter Moon, M.M.M., C.D.,[1029] from the Canadian Rangers that a memorial cairn (Figure 169) was finally erected in Borden (Ontario) and "dedicated to the memory" of Corporal Francis Pegahmagabow, M.M. (1889-1952), "a hero of the First World War and Canada's most decorated Aboriginal soldier"[1030] as well as "a great role

[1027] Address by Her Excellency the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada at the unveiling ceremony of the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument, Ottawa, Ontario, 21 June 2001. See Governor General's website: http://archive.gg.ca/media/doc.asp?lang=e&DocID=454

[1028] National Capital Commission in collaboration with the Virtual Museum of Canada and TEACH Magazine. *Curricula for Grades: 6 to 9, Canada's Capital Treasures*. "Lession Seven: National Aboriginal Veterans Monument." Undated but either on or after 2007.

[1029] Commanding officer and public affairs officer, respectively, of the 3rd Ranger Patrol Group, Canadian Rangers, Canadian Forces Base Borden, Ontario.

[1030] Dedication tablet erected on the face of the memorial cairn. Pegahmagabow is an Ojibway that was born into the Caribou clan at what is now Shawanaga First Nation on Georgian Bay. After volunteering for overseas service with the Canadian Expeditionary Force (C.E.F.), he served as a scout and skilled sniper with the 1st Battalion C.E.F. in France. He was awarded the Military Medal (M.M.) and two bars for his actions during the battles at Ypres, Festubert, Givenchy, Passchendaele and Scarpe between June 1916 and August 1918. He is one of only 38 Canadians who received the M.M. three times during the First World War.

The designation of "Canada's most decorated Aboriginal soldier" is also claimed by Sergeant Tommy Price, M.M. As shown in Figure 168, a monument dedicated to Prince includes the exact wording. The words "most decorated" should be avoided as they are ambiguous in their usage. While it is correct that Pegahmagabow was recognized with three valour awards (M.M. and two bars) while Price was 'only' recognized twice (M.M. and a U.S. *Silver Star*), the total number of medals received by Pegahmagabow was four (or six awards including the two bars) while Price was a total of twelve. The battle of the "most decorated"

model for all Canadians."[1031] In order to respect and honour Pegahmagabow's heritage and ancestral roots, the cairn was made using river rocks from his home on Parry Island.[1032] There is a second Aboriginal hero that Canadians are more familiar with: Sergeant Tommy Prince, M.M. (1915-1977) from Winnipeg, Manitoba.[1033] While there are already plaques, a mural, school, park, and street named after him in his home town and his former Brokenhead Reserve, there is a small monument that was erected in 2007 in his old neighbourhood by veterans groups, family members, and private citizens (Figure 168).[1034] In addition to a polished image of Tommy Price, the monument includes important aboriginal symbols (an eagle, a bear, and a dream catcher) and was unsuccessful in integrating a set of miniature medals into the memorial itself. Unfortunately, shortly after their installation, the miniatures were stolen and have not been replaced since. The point is that when designing memorials, attractive items such as these should be avoided if at all possible as not everyone respects the sanctity of the artefacts in place.

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then becomes a moot point as one cannot necessarily compare the type of award (valour, bravery, merit) versus number received – quality/quantity.

[1031] The Honorable James K. Bartelman, O.Ont., (1939-) Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, cited in *The Parry Sound Beacon Star*, "First Nations soldier "Highly decorated"," Saturday, 10 June 2006, Parry Sound, Ontario, p.3.

It is worth noting that Bartleman is himself a First Nations member and in 2002 became Ontario's first Aboriginal lieutenant governor (27th lieutenant governor of Ontario from 2002 to 2007).

[1032] Francis Pegahmagabow was chief of the Parry Island Band from 1921 to 1925, and a band councillor from 1933 to 1936. It is now known as the Wasauksing (Parry Island) First Nation (Band No. 136) community.

[1033] Thomas George Prince is a descendent of Chief Peguis of the Saulteaux, who played a prominent role in the early history of the Red River Settlement, Manitoba. Prior to volunteering to serve during the Second World War, he had supported his family as a hunter, trapper, and farm labourer. He initially served in the Royal Canadian Engineers, 1st Canadian Parachute Battalion and the 1st Canadian Special Service Battalion – part of the "Devil's Brigade." During this period he was awarded the M.M. as well as the United States *Silver Star* for gallantry in Italy and in France. After demobilization, he re-enlisted in 1950 with the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry to serve during the Korean War.

[1034] The monument was originally erected on 22 September 2002 by the *Sgt. Tommy Prince, MM, Memorial Fund Committee*, including: Ronald R.J. Mackey, C.D., Thomas Albert Prince, Jr., Thomas Edward Prince, and Walter Sanderson. It was rededicated and repositioned on 3 June 2007 at the end of Battery Street/intersection of Selkirk Avenue during the unveiling of the *SGT. TOMMY PRINCE, MM VETERANS PARK* that is located immediately adjacent.

Other than those written in English and French – the official bilingual languages of Canada – rare are those Aboriginal communities which endeavour to retain some of their native languages onto their public memorials. Once such example is that of the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn First Nation located in the village of Golden Lake, Ontario, (Figure 170).[1035] This simple yet effective memorial is the centre piece of a landscaped foliage. Immediately adjacent are two benches made of large natural stones allowing visitors to sit and contemplate. This large size boulder includes the following text in English and Algonquin:

IN HONOUR OF THE
ALGONQUIN PEOPLE WHO SERVED
CANADA IN WAR AND PEACE

MNADAADENIMIK ALGONKUIN
ANISHINAABEC GAAIZHAA
AD CENADA WII MIIGAAZOWAAD
MIINWAA BEKAATOOWAAD

At the bottom of this memorial, one can find a single sculptured eagle feather – a symbol that has important significance to all First Nations peoples across Canada. For warriors, an eagle feather could only be earned if they had done a brave act as it was a symbol of character and true worth. As spiritual symbols, eagle feathers are considered sacred and are often used in ceremonies and ceremonial dress. Still today, it is an honour to be recognized and receive an eagle feather. This is why it is most appropriate that a single eagle feather was chosen to be displayed on this memorial.[1036]

The use of boulders and rocks for commemorative purposes is not only limited to Aboriginal peoples. As part of a major expansion plan of Ottawa's

[1035] This village is located approximately two hours' drive North West of Ottawa, Ontario. The memorial is situated at the front of the *Omàmiwinini Pimàdjwowin* ('The Alqonquin Way') *Cultural Centre*, Golden Lake, Ontario.

[1036] Interview with Chief Kirby Whiteduck, Chief of Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn First Nation, Pikwàkanagàn, Golden Lake, Ontario – 9 July 2012, by Telephone. Chief Whiteduck holds a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Anthropology from York University. In 2002, he authored *Algonquin Traditional Culture* that details the traditional culture of the Algonquins of the Kitchissippi Valley at the early period of European contact.

Beechwood Cemetery in 2008, a new 1,300-square-metre memorial centre[1037] was constructed to host funeral ceremonies mainly for fallen soldiers and police officers. This is particularly poignant as 25 combat casualties[1038] out of the 158 Canadian Forces members who have died serving in Afghanistan (2002-2011) are interred at the *National Military Cemetery*.[1039] Within the building complex is a large non-denominational 'Sacred Space' that features a large rock (Figure 171). "This rock in the very centre, immovable, here forever, was placed in the cemetery at the moment of creation … it is a reminder that in the midst of our fragile and, often too short, human lives there is a presence and reality that is so far beyond us."[1040]

Aboriginal Memorials in Australia and New Zealand

When comparing the use of Aboriginal memorials in Canada and the U.S. with those of Australia and New Zealand, one will find that they have similar patterns but have been perhaps more successful in integrating Native cultural elements into their memorials and commemoration. The absence of any Australian Aborigines memorials up until the late 19th century was well noted by Professor K.S. Inglis: "Since pillars and inscriptions were not in their culture, Aborigines raised no legible monuments to either their own traditional civil wars or their resistance against invaders. It is more remarkable, since Europeans do build monuments, that the newcomers so seldom commemorated conflicts between black and white."[1041] During the South African War (1899-1902), 'black' soldiers were only to be used as a last resource. Again, even with the few that fought with the South African Constabulary, "they were honoured on none of their new country's

[1037] Believed to be the first of its kind in the world.

[1038] The last Afghanistan combat casualty that was buried at the *National Military Cemetery* was in March 2009.

[1039] It is worth noting that the *National Military Cemetery* as well as the *Royal Canadian Mounted Police Cemetery* are both located within the auspices of *Beechwood Cemetery*.

[1040] Padre Gerry Peddle, vice-chair of the Beechwood Cemetery Foundation cited in Wieclawski, Tim, *Metro Ottawa*, " 'Sacred space' honours fallen," 7 April 2008.

[1041] Inglis, K.S., op. cit., 2005, p21.

memorials."[1042] It was not until after the end of conscription in 1916 that 'half-castes' were officially allowed to join the Australian Imperial Force, "provided that the examining medical authorities are satisfied that one of the parents is of European descent."[1043] The names of Aboriginal soldiers who 'sacrificed their all' only then began to be recorded on tablets, rolls of honour, soldiers' memorials and war memorials erected since the Great War.[1044]

After the Australian War Memorial was opened in Canberra on 11 November 1941, commemorating the sacrifice of all Australians who have died in war, there was the presence of a single 'gargoyle' which faces the Pool of Reflection (Figure 172). Located in an inconspicuous place, it quietly acknowledges the overall lack of monumental or ceremonial recognition of Aborigines throughout the war memorial. It seems as if the sculpture was placed as an afterthought – as if to render an apology for not having considered them in their master plan for remembrance. When memorial staff were asked about it, the response was that it was best to leave the memorial situation 'as is' and to place recognition at this national site on an even plate. While no one questions the universality that "all deaths are equal" – there was nonetheless a lost opportunity in incorporating Aboriginal elements early on into the memorial without compromising a collective commemoration.

As a means to offset previously denied recognition, honour, and respect that 'white diggers' would have received in the past, private citizens erected a small commemorative plaque located behind the Australian War Memorial that says "REMEMBERING THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WHO SERVED IN THE AUSTRALIAN FORCES" (Figure 174). The location was carefully selected as it was placed into the bushland along a walking trail where Aborigines would have felt more at ease. Since 1998, as part of ANZAC Day activities,

[1042] Ibid, p.48.

[1043] Ibid, p.188.

[1044] For many Aborigines, they had acquired a British name. Therefore, when examining the names on a memorial, unless the reader has knowledge of local family names, it would be impossible for a stranger to determine if the person was Aboriginal. It is estimated that about 500 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people joined the First World War and that about 5,000 served during the Second World War.

there has been an 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commemorative Ceremony' held at the Aboriginal Memorial plaque on the side of Mount Ainslie immediately following the Dawn Service hosted at the Australian War Memorial. [1045] For many of the Indigenous veterans – this rare memorial and less formal ceremony – is considered a small victory towards reconciliating past history.

In comparison to Australia, New Zealand has had better success in recognizing the participation of their Aborigines onto their memorials and since the 1990s have increasingly incorporated many Māori traditions into their military, ceremonial and commemorative activities. In addition to what we consider standard memorials that are part of everyday military life, there are two specific memorials that have particular significance and importance to New Zealand Aboriginal military members. The first is the *Tears on Greenstone Memorial Wall* that is located within the National Army Museum.[1046] The second is *The New Zealand Army National Marae* and is more commonly referred to as the Army Marae.

Tears on Greenstone or 'Roimata Pounamu' is a national memorial located inside the National Army Museum which commemorates all 30,000 New Zealanders who have made the ultimate sacrifice and also functions as a 'living memorial' to those who have served and are still serving, and to the battles fought by New Zealanders (Figure 173). A veil of water cascades down from what is considered the largest jade (nephrite) structure in the Southern Hemisphere and is a unique interpretation of the New Zealand Roll of Honour. Greenstone is sacred to the Māori and regarded by them as a treasure, or 'Taonga.' The greenstone thus represents the people of the land and the water connotes tears of endless mourning shed for their sacrifice, and renewed life. The wall features an audio-visual system which continuously

[1045] The Dawn Service at the Australian War Memorial normally commences at 5:30 a.m. and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commemorative Ceremony on the side of Mount Ainslie commences at about 6:30 a.m.

[1046] When the museum was opened in October 1978 it was named the *Queen Elizabeth II New Zealand Army Memorial Museum*. As of 3 February 2009, the name and re-brand of the building was changed to the *National Army Museum*.

recites the names of the fallen combined with special songs ('Waiata') and prayers ('Karakia') as well as a national memorial book that displays one page per day. Although it is primarily used as a place of remembrance, it is also a place where life begins for new Army recruits and cadets that are sworn into the Army.



Figures 172-174: Top Left – Gargoyl of an Australian Aboriginal – Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. Top Right – *Tears on Greenstone Memorial Wall – National Army Museum*, Waiouru, New Zealand. Bottom – *Aboriginal Memorial plaque* commemorating Indigenous 'Diggers.' – Mount Ainslie Walking Trail located behind the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia.

A *marae* "is the sacred meeting place of the Maori people and usually comprises a sacred courtyard, a carved and embellished sacred meeting house (symbolically representing an ancestor figure), a dining hall and kitchen, and ablutions."[1047] *The New Zealand Army National Marae* in the language of the Māori is called 'Rongomaraeroa o Ngā Hau e Whā,' meaning Rongomaraeroa [of the Peoples] of the Four Winds and is symbolic of being a meeting place for all peoples from everywhere. The Army Marae recognizes the cultural impact of a force that is more than twenty percent Māori[1048] and is a place that all members of the New Zealand Army pass through at some stage of service and serves as a place to promote cross-cultural understanding by the combination and acknowledgement of all cultures.[1049] Traditionally the focal and social point of Māori community, this facility is a place for teaching, learning, celebrating and mourning and is where all Army recruits are taught both Māori cultural elements and ceremonial duties, but also much of the military heritage they are to follow. In essence, the Army Marae is considered a 'living memorial' for all those members of the New Zealand defence force – past, present, and future.

On first entering the Marae, which is laid out as a Māori fort, a strict protocol is followed. The individual is first called through the gate – itself carved to commemorate individuals and aspects of Army culture. They are then taken to a simple rock which is the 'stone of remembrance' (Figure 175). It is customary to pause here and reflect and important guests often lay a wreath at this point. The party are then welcomed on to the Marae by mutual speeches and songs, before being taken into the meeting house. The latter is a 'body' with its head, ribs, spine and all surfaces are decorated with

[1047] Website for Major General Brian Matauru Poananga (1924-1995) who in 1978 became the first New Zealander of Māori descent to be appointed chief of the general staff. http://www.vcoy67.org.nz/poananga.htm

[1048] The New Zealand Army is believed to be New Zealand's largest single employer of Māori, with 1,070, or more than 20 percent of all personnel. See: Our Warriors of the land, sea and air. Kōkiri – Kōkiri 09 2008. http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/in-print/kokiri/kokiri-09-2008/our-warriors-of-the-land-sea-and-air-/

[1049] Official New Zealand Army website – http://www.army.mil.nz/culture-and-history/nz-army-culture/marae.htm

photographs, panels, sculptures, castings, and stained glass windows to commemorate the tribes and soldiers of the Army (Figure 176). As a sign of continued friendship, the last part of the visit to the Marae involves having tea in one of the adjacent rooms.



Figures 175-176: Top – 'Stone of Remembrance' and the Meeting House which was opened by Chief of General Staff, Major General P.M. Reid, C.B.E., on 21 October 1995. Bottom – Carvings and Embellishments inside the Meeting House. – *The New Zealand Army National Marae*, Waiouru, New Zealand.

These types of memorials are a transition away from European-based memorial concepts towards one that more heavily reflects the specific cultural features of New Zealand. Many of the Imperial monuments from the First World War are of a common theme and structure, with those of other Allied forces. For example, those located in Christchurch and in Wellington are traditional composite statues on a marble pedestal. The only difference between their Australian, Canadian, and British counterparts is the headdress of the soldier figures.[1050] The embracing of Māori cultural elements into their memorials and ceremonial, allows the New Zealanders to promote cross-cultural understanding, as well as establishing a unique and indigenous approach to memorialization. This approach, or style of memorialization, not only facilitates a more cross culturally acceptable type of monument within the country, but also has been untilized in some international monuments erected to commemorate New Zealand's participation in conflicts. For example, this is reflected in the New Zealand memorial on ANZAC parade in Canberra (see Figure 105) which represents the handles of a Māori basket.

In summary, 'respect' as a principle of commemoration can be achieved in a number of ways. Receiving honours and awards and their display on the uniform and memorials are a noticeable and traditional way. For societies that are native to their countries, the values and concepts of respect are different from their 'white' counterparts. In one country, it was not until the First World War that the name of Aboriginal peoples began to be recorded onto European-styled memorials. After the Second World War, Aboriginals integrated some of their own symbols and significance in their memorials and commemorations and have since used them as a powerful cultural tool. It is only by consulting and compromising that all soldiers – irrespective of race, religion, or creed – can be memorialized and commemorated with due respect, honour and integrity.

[1050] In New Zealand, soldiers wore a 'lemon squeezer' hat; Australians adopted a slouch hat or 'digger' hat but officially refered to by the Army as a hat khaki fur felt; troops from Canada and other countries in the British Empire wore either a cloth cap or a steel helmet usually refered to as a 'tin hat' or a 'Brodie helmet.'

REFLECTION

'**Reflection**' is the third principle of commemoration and usually happens last. Reflection often results in reconciliation for some and repentance for others. But certainly, it includes remembrance. It is through reflection and remembrance that there is a pursuit for reconciliation. Over the last century, Canadians have reflected on some difficult historical moments which resulted for certain groups official apologies, financial compensation, and the erection of memorials as a means of educating the populace so that "nothing similar ever happens to any other Canadian ethnic, religious or racial minority."[1051]

It is well known that as people get older, memories become shorter and accordingly, for veterans, their degree of reflection also intensifies. As this occurs, there is a further desire for recognition and respect. For example, during hard economic times, it was not uncommon for soldiers to sell their medals for quick cash. When veterans reach old age or face imminent death, they or their families often obtain the replacement of medals as well as collect a variety of historical artefacts related to their military service. For the dead, "commemoration also happened on a much more intimate level, through the preservation in households of possessions, photographs, personal signatures … That is why it mattered so much to parents to retrieve the kit of their sons after notification of their deaths."[1052] For both, the living and the dead, this allows for a physical and mental reconciliation to take place. At times, the greater community feels that earlier-provided recognition to individuals and units is not commensurate with endured sacrifices. As a result, families, the public, and nations often install commemorative plaques, plant trees and erect monuments as an ancillary means to honour past legacies. When reflecting on the closing of the final chapter of a particular war or conflict, there have been

[1051] Guly, Christopher, "Eighth internment memorial unveiled in Manitoba," The Ukrainian Weekly, Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., Vol. LXV, No. 48, Sunday, 30 November 1997, p.14.

[1052] Winter, Jay, Chapter 2, " Communities in Mourning," *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.51.

a number of memorials erected in honour of its last surviving soldier (e.g. Figures 181-182). "It was with such purpose that many of the famous war memorials of the past were built, ... 'to those who enter it, stirs reverence and remembrance and induces reflection'."[1053]

Generally speaking, memorials that are erected soon after the event tend to be more authentic in terms of reflecting the viewpoint at that instance. Memorials that are raised much later are less inclined to be judged by the standards of the time and against contemporary events. Moreover, earlier decisions and renditions of the event are often second-guessed – particularly when the original outcome of events is nowadays considered horrendous or appalling. Reflective-types of memorials remain controversial as they often portray selected memories and experiences or honour those who participated in contentious military operations. Reflection often leads to action – choices to act differently based on learning by reflection on past events.

This chapter will examine a multiplicity of memorials and commemoration that are primarily reflective in nature. Five themes will be used to illustrate the importance of reflection. It will be shown that memorials involved with pardons, internment camps and holocaust victims are generally initiated by special-interest groups. "Firsts and lasts' memorials with respect to soldiers, memorials, honours, and surviving veterans are often used as 'markers' recording a particular time and place. The American Civil War is extremely important as it has caused to create one of the greatest number of memorials and historical research for a single war. Reflective remembrance of bombing during the Second World War remains a current and contentious issue. Lastly, today's modern society has become much more sensitive and responsive to the use of animals in war and how they are memorialized.

Pardons, Internment Camps and Holocaust Victims

Reflection is a central feature for those soldiers and family members associated with pardons during the First World War, those placed in

[1053] Cited by Chatfield in the Preface. Whittick, Arnold, op. cit., 1946, p.vi.

internment camps, as well as holocaust victims during the Second World War. A controversial example of reflective commemoration and memorialization is military executions during the First World War concerning British and Imperial troops for cowardice, desertion and murder. For the family of the deceased, it felt shame. For the public, it was not until the late 1980s that the British Public Record Office released the details of the prosecution proceedings and sentences. Since the beginning of the 21st century, a movement known as the "Shot at Dawn campaign" was underway in Britain, Australia, Canada, Ireland and New Zealand to reconcile the past with the present. While the New Zealand government had granted posthumous pardons in September 2000 to their five executed soldiers, the British government resisted early appeals for a "Millennium Pardon" and was unlilely to change its position in the *status quo*. However, following a ten-year campaign by the relatives of Private Harry Farr, one of the British soldiers executed, the British government reconsidered and the Secretary of State for Defence Des Browne announced in August 2006 that all 306 soldiers would be pardoned.[1054] Canada's way ahead was distinct. While it did not provide any pardons, the Canadian government offered a formal apology. In December 2001, the Minister of Veterans Affairs rose in the House of Commons and read the names of the Canadian soldiers into the Parliamentary record and announced that these fallen would be added into the First World War Book of Remembrance.[1055]

[1054] ABC Radio National and Local Radio, *PM* with Mark Colvin. "World War I 'deserters' to be pardoned", Wednesday, 16 August 2006. See: http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2006/s1716722.htm

[1055] "These 23 soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force occupy an unusual position in our military history. They were lawfully executed for military offences such as desertion and, in one case, cowardice. We can revisit the past but we cannot recreate it. We cannot relive those awful years of a nation at peril in total war, and the culture of that time is subsequently too distant for us to comprehend fully. We can, however, do something in the present, in a solemn way, aware now, better than before, that people may lose control of their emotions, have a breakdown for reasons over which they have little control. For some it would have been known today perhaps as post-traumatic stress disorder. To give these 23 soldiers a dignity that is their due and to provide a closure for their families… While they came from different regions of Canada, they all volunteered to serve their country in its citizen-army, and that service and the hardships they endured prior to their offences will be recorded and unremembered no more. … We remember those who have been largely forgotten. For over 80 years, they have laid side by side with their fallen comrades in the cemeteries of France and Belgium. I am announcing today in the Chamber that the names of these 23 volunteers will be

The only known memorial dedicated to the 306 British and Commonwealth soldiers is the *Shot at Dawn* memorial located at the National Memorial Arboretum at Alrewas, Staffordshire (England). Funded mainly by individual donations, this sculpture was created by Andy DeComyn and unveiled on 1 June 2001 by Mrs. Gertrude Harris, the daughter of Private Harry Farr. This sculpture consists of a large concrete figure of a blindfolded young man in uniform, with his hands tied behind his back and an aiming-disc hanging from his neck. Facing the centre piece are six conifers representing the firing party and at the rear are 306 wooden stakes bearing the names and details of those shot at dawn during the First World War. It is worth noting that "those guilty of crimes such as murder" were not commemorated.[1056]

Another example of 'reflective remembrance' is the effect of national internment operations in Canada at the outset of the First and Second World Wars which involved Ukrainian, Japanese, Chinese and Italian Canadians. While the Canadian Government had made a number of formal and fractional apologies to the various survivors, interest groups were generally not satisfied with the level of recognition received. One interest group that has been particularly active is the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and their supporters who erected approximately two dozen memorial plaques in memory of 5,000 Ukrainian Canadians who were interned at government camps and work sites as "aliens of enemy nationality" during Canada's first national internment operations which carried on from 1914 to 1920. The first trilingual (English, French and Ukrainian) plaque was erected on 4 August 1994 – the 80th anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War – and in

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entered into *The First World War Book of Remembrance* along with those of their colleagues. Adding the names of these citizen soldiers to the pages of this sacred book, which lies in the Memorial Chamber not far from here, will be a fair and just testament to their service, their sacrifice and our gratitude forevermore. Lest we forget."

*House of Commons Debates, Official Report (Hansard), Volume 137, Number 129, 1st Session, 37th Parliamen*t. Speech by The Honourable Ronald J. Duhamel, Minister of Veterans Affairs, regarding First World War military executions delivered in the House of Commons, Tuesday, 11 December 2001. See *Hansard*: http://canadaonline.about.com/od/hansardhouse/Hansard_House_of_Commons_Debates.htm

[1056] Boorman, Derek, op. cit., 2005, p.225.

the memory of those who interned at Fort Henry (Kingston, Ontario), Canada's first permanent camp, from 1914 to 1917.

While many "potentially disloyal" Ukrainian Canadians were interned across Canada, there were countless others who served overseas as steadfast warriors. Among them is Corporal Filip Konowal (1888-1959) who served near Lens, France, with the 47th Battalion of the C.E.F. and "alone killed at least sixteen of the enemy, and during the two days' actual fighting carried on continuously his good work until severely wounded."[1057] For his exceptional valour, King George V personally conferred the Victoria Cross on him in London on 15 October 1917 and during the presentation stated "Your exploit is one of the most daring and heroic in the history of my army. For this, accept my thanks."[1058] Even though he is the only Ukrainian recipient of the Victoria Cross (see Figure 161), it was not until the mid 1990s that Ukrainian Canadian veterans and business associations began to commemorate him by erecting memorials in Ottawa and Toronto (Ontario), New Westminster (British Columbia), as well as in Konowal's place of birth at Kutkivtsi (Ukraine) in 2001.

During the Second World War, approximately 22,000 Japanese Canadians and "persons of Japanese racial origin" were relocated to one of ten internment camps mainly located in the interior regions of British Columbia. While most camps were demolished after the war's end, one which was built in 1942 was partially preserved and later reconstructed. Located in New Denver, British Columbia, the *Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre* became Canada's only interpretative centre dedicated to the history of these displaced citizens. In 1983, the National Association of Japanese Canadians organized a major campaign for redress which lead to Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney (1939-) giving a formal government apology and providing a

[1057] Part of the citation published in the *London Gazette*, 23 November 1917, Supplement No. 30400, p.12329. http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/30400/supplements/12329

[1058] *The Toronto Star*, "Village Honours our Valiant Soldier – Victoria Cross Winner in WWI never learned Ukrainian wife, child survived Stalin's purges," Saturday, 13 October 2007. http://www.thestar.com/article/266461#article

compensation package of $21,000 to each surviving internee, five years later. Most notably, in 2007, the Memorial Centre was designated as a National Historic Site of Canada and has since become "a treasured place of remembrance and community identity for today's Japanese Canadians."[1059]

Announced in June 2006 by Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper (1959-) and formally launched in May by the government, the Community Historical Recognition Program funds community commemorative and educational projects related to Canadian historical wartime measures and immigration restrictions. One of the projects funded under this program included the research and installation of a commemorative wall in Ottawa (Ontario) to "increase the knowledge and understanding of the impact of the internment during the Second World War on the Italian community and of their contributions to building a strong Canada during the Post War period, and contribute to the healing and reconciliation amongst internee descendants."[1060] Unveiled in October 2011, the memorial honours six local people of Italian origin who "died in the line of duty" fighting with Canadian forces overseas as well as five out of an estimated 630 people who were sent to internment camps in Petawawa (Ontario) and Gagetown (New Brunswick).[1061] Understanding that education is key to keeping their history and memory alive, the community also created an associated booklet and website.

Perhaps considered the most controversial of post Second World War reflective memorialization is the matter of 'Holocaust' victims and survivors. It is generally accepted by historians that between 1933 and 1945, the German Nazi regime and their collaborators in occupied Europe systematically persecuted and killed approximately six million Jews, including 1.5 million

[1059] Parks Canada website, Asian Heritage Portal, Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre National Historic Site of Canada. http://www.pc.gc.ca/culture/ppa-ahp/itm1-/page03_e.asp

[1060] Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Projects Funded to Date Under the Community Historical Recognition Program, Italian-Canadian Projects, Update of 9 August 2011. See website: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/programs/community-projects.asp

[1061] Thompson, Carolyn, *The Ottawa Citizen*, " 'Enemy Aliens' Unveil Memorial," 24 October 2011, pp.B1, B6.

children.[1062] While the majority of the Jewish deaths occurred in Nazi death and concentration camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Sobibor, and Treblinka between 1942-45, there were millions of other victims in Europe who perished because of their ethnicity, political beliefs, sexual orientation, or physical and mental disability. For many, the Holocaust stands as one of the greatest crimes against humanity and accordingly, hundreds of memorials were erected and many sites of collective memory were preserved throughout greater Europe. This also included memorials dedicated to members of other minority groups such as the *Homomonument* unveiled in 1987 in Amsterdam (Netherlands) – the only national monument built to remember all those homosexual war victims.[1063] Also, during the annual national remembrance of all Dutch war victims, an evening ceremony is held whereby gays and lesbians are remembered with a nation-wide two-minutes of silence and the placing of flowers. In terms of international commemoration, it took a little more than five decades for establishing an official 'Holocaust Memorial Day' when former German president Roman Herzog (1934-) established it in 1996 as a "day of remembrance for the victims of National Socialism."[1064]

After the Second World War, many of the Jewish survivors and their families took refuge and emigrated to the U.S. and Canada. Since the 1990s, there have been a number of Holocaust museums established across North America, including the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* inaugurated in 1993 at Washington D.C. (Figure 58) and the *Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre and Museum* which opened in 2003.[1065] Among the many Holocaust memorials erected in the U.S., *The New Orleans Holocaust Memorial* erected in New Orleans (Louisiana) in 2003, provides a

[1062] This period of "persecution and annihilation" of Jews has come to be known as the Holocaust, derived from the Greek word *holokauston* – a sacrifice by fire.

[1063] Designed by Karin Daan, the structural memorial consists of three pink granite triangles, together forming steps leading to the water at the Prinsengracht. The pink triangle is a direct reference to the pink triangle that homosexuals were forced to wear in Nazi camps.

[1064] The exact memorial date coincided with the liberation of the largest concentration camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau on 27 January 1945.

[1065] Interestingly, the city of Montréal (Québec) is known to have the third largest Holocaust survivor population in the world.

simple epitaph on how they are to be remembered: "We best honor the memory of the victims of the Holocaust by steadfast vigilance against racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice." Within Canada, the city of Winnipeg (Manitoba) has been in the forefront for commemoration, particularly as it relates to human rights. It is believed that the first Canadian outdoor public Holocaust memorial was dedicated on 16 September 1990 by the Winnipeg Jewish Community for the survivor families in Manitoba. The last known Holocaust memorial to be erected on Canadian soil is located in Edmonton, Alberta (Figure 177). This sculpture rests on a hexagonal pedestal adorned with a Star of David and on each facet are texts and quotes from various well known individuals, including that of Albert Einstein (1879-1955) – a physicist and refugee from Nazi Germany and Nobel Peace Prize recipient. Within these texts, a heavy emphasis is placed on the need for remembrance, especially for all those victims who have no known graves to be remembered by. The following passage summarizes it well:

THERE ARE NO CEMETERIES WHERE WE CAN BOW OUR HEADS FOR THEM,
NO GRAVES WHERE WE CAN SAY KADDISH.
THE EARTH IS HEAVY WITH THEIR ASHES,
OUR BEINGS PERVADED BY THEIR MEMORY.



Figure 177: *Holocaust Memorial* inaugurated in 2003 – Province of Alberta Legislative Grounds, Edmonton, Alberta.

Firsts and Lasts

There are many historical accounts of someone who fired the 'first' shot in battle, who fell first, who first entered the fort, etc. and the same applies for the 'last.' It is often the interpretation of verbal stories, diaries, and print publications that influence what people believe are 'firsts' and 'lasts.' As will be shown, some of these are not necessarily built on facts, but rather on sketchy witnesses, missing information or inaccurate calculations. While these moments in history are often recorded in official war diaries and other testimonials, they are not usually exhibited onto memorials and markers until much after the conduct of war or conflict. It is due to the lateness of their erection that these are considered 'reflective-type' of memorials. The initial part of this section will be dedicated to 'firsts' memorials with the later part dedicated to 'lasts.'

First British Officer to Fall – 6 August 1914

The *Swanley War Memorial* is reminiscent of early 20th century romantic patrioticism and is a testimony of a unique historical event (Figure 178).[1066] Among the tablets listing the one hundred and ten men[1067] who died during the Great War is a small plaque noting the first British officer to fall in the Great War:

AMONG THE NAMES RECORDED HERE IS THAT
OF STAFF PAYMASTER JOSEPH T. GEDGE. THE FIRST
BRITISH OFFICER TO FALL IN THE GREAT WAR.
KILLED ON H.M.S. AMPHION AUGUST 6 1914

[1066] Swanley is a small town located on the south-eastern outskirts of London, England. A district memorial was unveiled in March 1922 "TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN GRATEFUL MEMORY OF THE MEN OF SWANLEY WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES IN THE GREAT WAR 1914-1918". Considered one of the most outstanding memorials in Kent, it was designed by the London sculptor Louis Frederick Roslyn (1878-1934) – one of Britain's most prolific sculptors of war memorials. In 2007, the memorial was placed on the national heritage list for England as it is classified "nationally important and of special interest" and is "an eloquent witness to the impact of tragic world events on this relatively small Kentish town." The listing can be found on the English Heritage website: http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1392300

[1067] The memorial originally listed 110 names for the dead of the Great War. Later, a secondary tablet was added in the memory of the 28 men of the Swanley parish who died on active service during the Second World War.

Staff Paymaster Gedge (1878-1914) was killed when his ship was sunk by a mine in the North Sea.[1068] Gedge was also commemorated by other means – his name, along with the names of about 140 men from his ship, are recorded on the *Plymouth Naval Memorial* that was unveiled by Prince George in July 1924.[1069] Four years later, in June 1929, the Paymaster Captain confirmed in a letter to Gedge's father that the name of his "gallant Son" will be "commemorated by a Medal, to be granted annually to selected Accountant Officer" for professional merit.[1070] This recognition was particularly touching for the Gedge family as they had three sons killed during the war.[1071] The methods of recording Joseph Gedge's death was reflective of the time. The names of officers were often recorded on memorials separately from those of the 'ratings' or 'other ranks.' Today, while it may be mentioned in a book or article, it would not be socially acceptable to have a tablet or memorial to singularly point out the death of the first officer or the first serviceman or women. What has changed over the last century is that while 'firsts' and 'lasts' facts may remain the same, their presentation and recording onto memorials have now inadvertently adopted the principle of equality that was earlier established by the C.W.G.C. The outcome is that today a memorial may record a 'first' or 'last' – it is just that it would not differentiate if the deceased was an officer or an 'other rank.'

[1068] See following section on remembrance in Mons.

[1069] Gedge's name is located on the first (south side) panel of the Plymouth Naval Memorial "IN HONOUR OF THE NAVY AND TO THE ABIDING MEMORY OF THOSE RANKS AND RATINGS OF THIS PORT WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES IN THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE AND HAVE NO OTHER GRAVE THAN THE SEA." This memorial includes the names of over 23,000 men and women, including some 7,000 who died during the Great War.

[1070] Letter dated 27 June 1929, from Paymaster Captain, Chairman of the Accountant Officers' Dining Club Committee to Gedge's father, The Reverand Edmund Gedge. See website: University of Oxford, The First World War Poetry, Digital Archive, Inauguration of the Gedge Medal, http://www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/gwa/item/3659

[1071] Staff Paymaster Joseph Theodore Gedge died on 6 August 1914 on H.M.S. AMPHION. Lieutenant Peter Gedge was killed in action on 13 October 1915 near Hulloch, Loos (France). The Reverend Basil Johnson Gedge died of wounds in Greece on 25 April 1917. Their names are listed on the Swanley War Memorial as: 'B. GEDGE', 'J. GEDGE', and 'P. GEDGE'.

Remembrance at Mons, Belgium – First World War

The French-speaking town of Mons, Belgium, has been the site of many battles throughout the First World War and it was within this area that the British Expeditionary Force fought at the very beginning and the very end of the war. Due to the superior size of German forces, neither the small Belgian army nor the British were able to stop the German advance. Initial casualties were heavy on both sides[1072] and the town remained under German occupation for more than four years. The Canadian victory and valour at Mons was noted by the city fathers and have done much to remember the earlier fighting as well as the final days leading to the liberation of the city on Armistice day by the Third Canadian Division. Over the next three decades, memorials and commemorations were plentiful and included, for example: the "presentation of two Canadian eighteen-pounder guns, said to be the guns that fired the last shots of the Great War"; a memorial roll of honour to the 85 officers and men of the Canadian Corps who were killed in the liberation of the city; in 1927, the unveiling of an eight-foot bronze plaque presented by the Canadian Battlefield Memorial Commission indicating that "here was fired the last shot of the Great War"[1073]; the creation of the Mons War Museum in 1930; a ceremony in 1935 at which "earth was taken from the graves of every British and Canadian soldier and placed at the foot of the belfry in Mons"; and the inscription of 'Mons' as the last battle inscribed in the Vimy memorial.[1074]

About three miles to the north-east of Mons, at the village of Casteau, are two memorials commemorating the first and last shots of the Great War. Erected in 1939 – just before the start of the Second World War – stands a

[1072] Sharpe, Robert J., The Last Day, The Last Hour – The Currie Libel Trial. Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2009, p.4. Five thousand Germans were killed, wounded and missing and the British sustained 1,500 casualties, including 763 fatalities.

[1073] Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Burstall, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (1870-1945), General Officer Commanding of the Second Canadian Division, unveiled the plaque on 12 June 1927 at the entrance of Mons City Hall. The plaque reads: "MONS WAS RECAPTURED BY THE CANADIAN CORPS ON 11TH NOVEMBER 1918: AFTER FIFTY MONTHS OF GERMAN OCCUPATION, FREEDOM WAS RESTORED TO THE CITY: HERE WAS FIRED THE LAST SHOT OF THE GREAT WAR."

[1074] Sharpe, Robert J., The Last Day, The Last Hour – The Currie Libel Trial. Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2009, pp.7-8.

short block pillar commemorating the first shot fired by Corporal E. Thomas and the the first mounted attack against the Germans by Captain C.B. Hornby.[1075] While this memorial marks the approximate spot where the first shot was fired, across the road is a wall-mounted plaque dedicated "TO THE MEMORY OF OUR 116TH BATTALION COMRADES" and records the "very point" where the outpost of the 116th Canadian Infantry Battalion stopped upon the cease-fire on 11 November 1918. Considered a historical anomaly, it is pure coincidence that the 'first and last shots' of the Great War occurred in such close vicinity.

The last major memorial relating to the commemoration of the first and last battles of the Great War was unveiled in 1952 by Field Marshal the Earl Alexander of Tunis (1891-1969) who had just completed his term as Governor General of Canada.[1076] Lord Alexander was the ideal presiding officer for this ceremony as he had fought at Mons in 1914 as a lieutenant and when the Great War ended he was in temporary command of a brigade. His distinguished career continued throughout the Second World War and "was considered Britain's greatest military commander since the Duke of Wellington."[1077] The *Mons Monument* was originally located in the *parc du Château*[1078] in the centre of Mons but in 1986 was placed opposite the Irish memorial at La Bascule, near Mons.[1079] This memorial dedicated to the two Battles of Mons

[1075] The pillar's full inscriptions are: "THIS TABLET IS ERECTED TO COMMEMORATE THE ACTION OF / 'C' SQUADRON 4TH ROYAL IRISH DRAGOON GUARDS ON / 22ND AUGUST 1914 / WHEN CORPORAL E. THOMAS FIRED THE FIRST SHOT FOR THE / BRITISH EXPEDITIONARY FORCE AND CAPTAIN C.B. HORNBY / LED THE FIRST MOUNTED ATTACK AGAINST THE GERMANS".

[1076] His Excellency Field Marshal the Right Honourable the Viscount Alexander of Tunis was Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in and over Canada from 1 October 1947 to 28 February 1952. After completing his term as Governor General, he returned to England and at the request of Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill he served as minister of defence from 1952 to 1954. He was created 1st Earl Alexander of Tunis and Baron Rideau of Ottawa, and of Castle Derg, county Tyrone on 14 March 1952.

[1077] Official website of the Governor General of Canada, Former Governors General. See: http://archive.gg.ca/gg/fgg/bios/01/alexander_e.asp

[1078] The Castle park was created in 1869 on the site of the former count's castle.

[1079] La Bascule is located south-east of Mons and is a distance of approximately 50 kilometers. The Irish memorial consists of a Celtic cross dedicated to the men of the Royal Irish Regiment (18th Foot) who fell during the Great War. It was inaugurated on 11 November 1923 by Field

is composed of two Roman Tuscan columns with suitable pedestal and entablature along with a large upright at its front that bears suitable inscription.[1080] Encased in the monument is earth taken from the ground near the 1935 memorial.[1081] The fact that British and Canadian regiments chose to erect this Great War memorial seven years after the conclusion of the Second World War is a testament to the importance they placed on the remembrance of these events.

While there are memorials marking and commemorating the 'first' shot, mounted attack, battle, and British *officer* to fall – there is no known memorial dedicated to the first *soldier* who fell during the Great War. As the first land battles were fought at Mons, it is not unexpected that Private John Parr (1898-1914) from the 4th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, is considered to be the first British Empire soldier to fall during the Great War. On 21 August 1914, Parr was a reconnaissance scout conducting patrol near the village of Oburg, five kilometers north-east of Mons. It is believed that he and another cyclist encountered a patrol from the German First Army and Parr remained behind to delay them while his comrade returned to report. Parr was killed in the ensuing rifle fire and was not listed as missing in action until months later. With his body left behind and no 'identification tags' at the time, it was not until after the war that his death was confirmed by a soldier who had been on the same mission. Due to the sinking of H.M.S. *Amphion* fifteen days earlier than Parr's death, some historians have correctly pointed out that the assertion

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Marshal J.D.P. French, 1st Earl of Ypres (1852-1925), an Anglo-Irish officer who served as the first Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force from August 1914 to December 1915. The bronze plaque reads: "TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND TO THE MEMORY OF THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE THE ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT (18TH FOOT) WHO FELL DURING THE GREAT WAR 1914-1918 – NEAR THIS SPOT THE 2ND BATTALION COMMENCED OPERATIONS ON 23RD AUGUST 1914 AND FINISHED ON 11TH NOVEMBER 1918, AFTER BEING DECIMATED ON FOUR OCCASIONS."

[1080] "HERE THE FORCES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE / FOUGHT THEIR FIRST AND LAST BATTLES / IN THE 1914-1918 WAR. / ON THE 23RD AND 24TH AUGUST, 1914, THE BRITISH / EXPEDITIONARY FORCE COMMANDED BY SIR JOHN FRENCH / WITH SUPREME COURAGE HELD THE ADVANCE OF OVERWHELMINGLY / SUPERIOR GERMAN FORCES. / ON ARMISTICE DAY, 1918, AFTER SIXTY HOURS OF HEAVY FIGHTING, / CANADIAN DIVISIONS ENTERED MONS. / BRITISH AND CANADIAN REGIMENTS HAVE / ERECTED THIS TABLET TO THE GLORY OF GOD / AND TO COMMEMORATE THESE EVENTS."

[1081] Sharpe, Robert J., op. cit., 2009, p.8.

that Parr is to be regarded as the first British Empire casualty of the First World War is inaccurate. That entitlement belongs to the 140 or so British sailors that were killed on H.M.S. *Amphion* – some mere 35.5 hours after the British declaration of war.[1082] The lesson here is that at times, a statement of fact is made at the micro level and should have been compared within a wider historical context – in this case, not just within the army but to also include other arms (e.g. navy) and theatres of operation.

Private Parr was buried at the St. Symphorien Military Cemetery located two kilometres east of Mons which has the distinction of also containing the grave of Private George Price (1892-1917), the last casualty of the First World War.[1083] Price was part of a Canadian advance[1084] to take the small village of Havré. He was shot by an enemy sniper while trying to clear a house along the side of the Canal du Centre just minutes before the Armistice ceasefire that ended the war. Price is known as the last Canadian and British Empire casualty of the war on the Western Front and the last soldier killed of more than nine million battlefield dead of the First World War. Though his demise was immediately documented, it was not until 1968, the 50th anniversary of his death, that reflective remembrance took place in the form of a memorial tablet near the spot where he was killed.[1085] In 1991, the

[1082] The British Foreign Office officially stated that Great Britain declared war against Germany at 7 p.m. on 4 August 1914. At approximately 6:30 a.m., 6 August 1914, H.M.S. *Amphion* struck a mine in the Thames Estuary that had been previously laid by the German steam ferry *Königin Luise*. Therefore, the first casualties of the British forces and Empire occurred merely 35.5 hours after the British declaration of war.

[1083] Private Price was originally buried in Havre Old Communal Cemetery and at the Armistice his remains were transferred to the St. Symphorien Military Cemetery.

[1084] Private Price belonged to 'A' Company, 28th (North West) Infantry Battalion, 6th Brigade, 2nd Division, Canadian Expeditionary Force. As part of several reorganizations, the regiment became the South Saskatchewan Regiment in 1920 and the 1st Battalion of this regiment located in Regina was renamed the Regina Rifles in 1924. The Royal Regina Rifles perpetuate the 28th (North West) Infantry Battalion.

[1085] The tablet's inscription is: "TO THE MEMORY OF / 256265 PRIVATE / GEORGE LAWRENCE PRICE / 28TH NORTH WEST BATTALION / 6TH CANADIAN INFANTRY BRIGADE / 2ND CANADIAN DIVISION / KILLED IN ACTION / NEAR THIS SPOT AT 10:58 HOURS / NOVEMBER 11TH 1918 / THE LAST CANADIAN SOLDIER TO DIE / ON THE WESTERN FRONT / IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR / ERECTED BY HIS COMRADES / NOVEMBER 11TH 1968".
The tablet was originally placed onto a wall of a house near the location of his death in Ville-sur-Haine. As the canal was later widened and the old road bridge replaced, the house

town erected a new footbridge and on November 11th of that year officially named it in his honour. Ninety years after the war ended his popular memory refuses to die when his name, along with the names of about 65,000 other Canadians killed in the Great War, were projected on a screen at the entrance of the provincial Legislative Building, Regina (Saskatchewan).[1086]

Amid the 2,500 war cemeteries maintained worldwide by the C.W.G.C., the St. Symphorien Military Cemetery is considered unique as it includes a number of other Great War 'firsts and lasts.' This includes Lieutenant Maurice Dease (1889-1914) who is recognized as the first person to be decorated with the Victoria Cross (as well as posthumously), and Private George Ellison (1878-1918) who is acknowledged as the last *British soldier* to be killed. As this cemetery commemorates the German and Commonwealth dead from the Battle of Mons,[1087] it also contains the grave of August Naimaier who is known as the first (German) Iron Cross recipient of the First World War.[1088] For most of these 'firsts and lasts,' there are no memorials specifically dedicated to them – their individual headstone is the memorial that records that they were once a part of history.

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was demolished and the tablet was temporarily displayed at the Hôtel de Ville. Its last emplacement is on a specially-built brick pillar where the house originally stood.

[1086] Price's name was projected on a screen at dawn, Tuesday, 11 November 2008. In honour of all Canadians killed in the Great War, their names were projected at the entrance of the provincial Legislative Building (Regina, Saskatchewan) during the course of Remembrance Week 2008.

[1087] The St. Symphorien Military Cemetery, created by the Germans in 1914, contains the graves of 229 Commonwealth servicemen as well as 284 German soldiers – each have their respective headstones and memorials located within their own areas.

[1088] Phillips, Sergeant Brad, *The Maple Leaf*, "Treasure trove for military history buffs in Belgium, 19 September 2007, Vol. 10, No. 27, p.10. This article states that "Lieutenant Maurice James Dease of the 4th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, is buried within a stone's throw of the first German recipient of the Iron Cross." There is only one source that specifically identifies the Iron Cross recipient as August Naimaier. It is shown as a reprint of an article that originally appeared in *The Ottawa Citizen* on Wednesday, 11 November 1998. See web site: http://communities.canada.com/SHAREIT/blogs/news/archive/2010/04/09/vimy-ridge-remembered.aspx

Earliest Great War Memorial in Canada – 1919

Typical of many other cities, towns and villages, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce – a suburb of Montréal (Québec) – began planning a local war memorial soon after the cease-fire of the Great War. Cognizant of an upcoming visit to Montréal by The Prince of Wales,[1089] the community used this opportunity as a catalyst to lay the cenotaph's cornerstone in six months' time and to unveil its cenotaph in less than one year (Figure 180). It is claimed to be the first public memorial erected in Canada commemorating the Great War. The memorial's simple inscription – "honour to those who fell in the field of honour"[1090] – allowed reflected remembrance to be acted upon very quickly as it did not require any research or confirmation of those who paid the ultimate sacrifice. This 'race' for recognition is often well-intended but does not necessarily meet the long-term needs of the community – that is, receiving early public acknowledgement of their memorialization efforts, but losing out on the level of quality and detail that would have been appreciated by future generations.

First George Cross awarded to a Country – 1942

As outlined in the chapter on 'Recognition', during the Roman empire, it was part of their honours system to recognize not only people for their great deads and accomplishments but also units and organizations for their collective efforts. This practice was later expanded by the British since the Second World War to include recognition for countries during times of war or conflict. For example, instituted in 1940 by King George VI, the *George Cross* is the United Kingdom's highest award for gallentry not in the presence of the enemy. This decoration has only been awarded twice on a collective basis – with the very first presented to the 'Island Fortress' of Malta in 1942 in

[1089] Edward, Prince of Wales, from 1911–1936 (1894-1972); later King Edward VIII, from January to December 1936; later after abdicating, The Duke of Windsor.

[1090] The text inscribed on the cenotaph is only in French: "HONNEUR / A CEUX QUI SONT TOMBE / AU / CHAMP D'HONNEUR". The French text was translated by André M. Levesque.

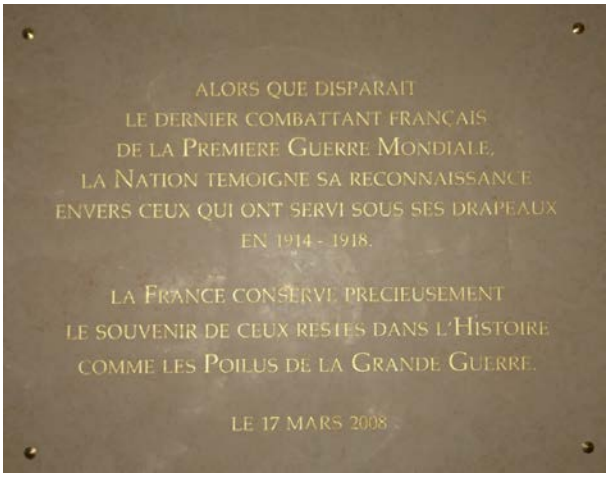






Figures 178-180: Memorials dedicated to 'Firsts.' Left – *Swanley War Memorial* (unveiled 1922) recording the First British officer to fall in the Great War. Sculptor: Louis Frederick Roslyn. – Swanley, England. Top Right – Plaque commemorating the First George Cross awarded to a country – Grand Chancellery, Valetta, Malta. Bottom Right – *Monument aux braves de Notre-Dame-de-Grâce.* Cornerstone laid on 24 May 1919 by the lieutenant governor of Québec, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, and the Cenotaph was unveiled by The Prince of Wales on 30 October 1919 – Notre-Dame-de-Grâce Park, Montréal, Québec.





Figures 181-182: Memorials dedicated to 'Lasts.' Left – *A MEMORIAL TO SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE CONFEDERACY* recognizing the last surviving confederate veteran who died in 1959. Sculptor: Donald DeLue. – Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania. Right – Memorial Tablet commemorating the passing of the last French Veteran from the First World War, 17 March 2008 – Les Invalides, Paris.

recognition of the islanders' fortitude displayed during devastating enemy bombardments.[1091] Although the normal process is to publish the recipient's name along with the citation in the *London Gazette*, King George VI decided instead to send along with the medal a handwritten letter "to honour her brave people..." and "…to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history." In Valetta,[1092] its capital city, there is a unique memorial tablet replicating the King's letter in its entirety (Figure 179). It is a befitting display of the first[1093] military memorial within the British Commonwealth proclaiming a national honour to a nation rather to a person. This type of memorial acts as a permanent historical marker and plays an important visible role in unifying all those who suffered or contributed to the cause.

The Last Surviving Veteran

The idea of commemorating the 'last surviving' veteran of a particular war or campaign is as old as war itself. 'Reflective commemoration' is a subtle approach to perpetuating remembrance of those who have come before us. As years go by, individual and collective memories of war slowly fade away but for many, there is an intrinsic human desire to officially close a past historical event and pass on to newer generations records of their accounts and sacrifices endured. One of the simplest ways to publicly acknowledge remaining veterans is to conduct an 'act of remembrance.' For example, it could include reading aloud a meaningful poem or sharing a personal story, the placing of a wreath or the dedication of a memorial. However, reflective commemoration for the 'very last' surviving veteran often has a special historical significance. As outlined below, they deserve distinctive forms of memorialization.

[1091] The second collective award of the George Cross was in 1999 to the Royal Ulster Constabulary to honour the courage and dedication of police officers and their families in Northern Ireland.

[1092] Located on the facade of the wall entering the Grand Chancellery to the Order of St. John.

[1093] A George Cross memorial is also located at the Memorial Garden located at Belfast, Northern Ireland. See website of the Royal Ulster Constabulatory George Cross Foundation: http://www.rucgcfoundation.org/index.htm

One popular method by which governments officially recognize war veterans is by economic means. In North America, the evolvement of granting annuities and the development of public pension systems for those who served their country is traced back to over three centuries. In New France, there has been a long history of high-ranking military officers and soldiers, French and English, receiving land grants and or pensions for services rendered. In the case of the U.S., its government granted annuities to war veterans of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), and later in 1862, Congress passed legislation to provide pensions as gratuities to Union soldiers disabled in the American Civil War (1861-1865). "This program grew to include widows and orphans, and the definition of disability was liberalized over the years. During its peak years in the mid-1890s, the Civil War pension program functioned much like a social insurance program and consumed 43 percent of federal expenditures."[1094] This historic pattern has been repeated many times for those who served and survived a number of other wars and other lesser conflicts. For a government, determining the exactitude of beneficiaries enables them to forecast and distribute these economic benefits. However, this also allows for the identification of those last surviving veterans and facilitates its ability to recognize and honour those who become the vestige of past legacies.

Perhaps Canada's best-recorded example of a 'last surviving' veteran during the early 19th century is that of Sergeant James Thompson (1733-1830) – Canada's last veteran of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. He "is acknowledged then as the last known surviving veteran—British, French, native or American—of that brief, but crucial clash on the morning of Sept. 13, 1759.[1095] A former member of the 78th Regiment of Foot,[1096] he was

[1094] *Medicine Encyclopedia*, Aging Health – Volume 3: History Pensions – Pension History: United States. Web: http://medicine.jrank.org/pages/1307/Pensions-History-Pension-history-United-States.html

[1095] Black, Peter, *Legion Magazine*, "The Last Veteran of the Plains of Abraham." Ottawa: 30 September 2009. Also published on the website of the Royal Canadian Legion: http://www.legionmagazine.com/en/index.php/2009/09/the-last-veteran-of-the-plains-of-abraham/

responsible for transporting his regiment's wounded down the cliff and into boats to a field hospital located across the river. When the war ended in 1763 and until 1825, Thompson oversaw the construction and repairs to military and government buildings, fortifications and defensive works. "Towards the end of his life Thompson became celebrated for his wealth of memories"[1097] and in 1827 he was invited by Lord Dalhousie to help lay the foundation stone of the *Wolfe and Montcalm Monument* (Figure 96). During the ceremony, Dalhousie addressed the gathered crowd including the 95 year-old veteran: "Mr. Thompson, we honour you here as the companion in arms, and a venerable living witness of the fall of Wolfe: do us also the favour to bear witness on this occasion by the Mallet in your hand."[1098] Sergeant Thompson's participation at this commemorative event not only honoured all the Battle's fallen but as the 'last veteran' he also left his own mark to be recorded within the annals of history.

Since the mid-20th century, there have been occasions whereby a permanent memorial was erected to honour the valour of all those who have passed away and to witness the disappearance of a 'last veteran.' A first example is a bronze and pink granite sculpture entitled *A MEMORIAL TO SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE CONFEDERACY* that was unveiled on 25 August 1965 at the Gettysburg National Military Park (Figure 181). As the American Civil War centennial drew to a close in 1961, a movement was underway to erect a single monument honouring all members who fought for the Confederacy.[1099] Gettysburg was chosen as the site as it was deemed to be the

[1096] A British regiment otherwise known as the 78th Fraser's Highlanders, which had been raised to fight in North America.

[1097] Rioux, Christian, University of Toronto/Université Laval, entry on James Thompson, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, 1821-1835 (Volume VI). See: http://www.biographi.ca/EN/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=3168

[1098] Black, Peter, op. cit., 2009.

[1099] Listed on the pedestal are the names of the fourteen states that contributed men to the Confederacy: *Maryland*, *Missouri*, Tennessee, Virginia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Texas, Arkanzas, North Carolina, *Kentucky*. The three states shown in italics were considered 'Border States' that contributed but were not considered part of the Confederacy. Inscribed on the memorial's base are the words:

greatest battle of the war and the symbolic "High Water Mark" of the Confederacy. The statue represents a charging colour bearer, urging his comrades to follow. At the rear face of the pedestal is inscribed the name of Walter Washington Williams – a forage master with a Texas regiment – "WHO WAS RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AS THE LAST SURVIVING CONFEDERATE VETERAN DIED 1959 AT THE AGE OF 117 YEARS". Controversy surrounds his selection – some question the validity of his status as the 'last veteran' and feel that another veteran who died during the same year deserves that honour.[1100]

In the case of Gettysburg's Confederate memorial, it included the actual name of their last surviving veteran. With the passing of France's 'last French combatant' from the First World War, a different approach was taken in memorializing Italian-born Lazare Ponticelli (1897-2008) – the last 'poilu'[1101] officially recognized by the French government. His military service began in August 1914 when he lied about his age to join the French Foreign Legion and later, he was active with the French Resistance during the Second World War. It was known that he attended every November 11th ceremony at the *monument aux morts*[1102] since the end of the First World War and up until 2007. After having often refused, he finally accepted in January 2008 the government's offer of a state funeral – with the conditions that it be "without fanfare, nor a large procession" and that a mass be held at Les Invalides "in homage to all his comrades who died in this horror of the war

★ HEROIC DEFENDER OF THEIR COUNTRY ★ THEIR FAME SHALL BE AN ECHO AND A LIGHT UNTO ETERNITY ★

[1100] Walter Washington Williams died on 9 December 1959 at the age of 117 years, one month and five days. However, others – including National Park Service officials – believe that John B. Salling of 'D' Company, 25th Virginia Infantry, is most likely the last Confederate veteran to die. Salling died 16 March 1959 at the age of 112 years, 10 months and one day.

[1101] 'Poilu' is a term of endearment for French First World War infantrymen, meaning 'hairy one.' The Napoleonic term alludes to the infantryman's typically rustic, agricultural background and when beards and bushy moustaches were often worn.

[1102] The French term "monument aux morts" means literally the "monument to the dead." However, it normally refers to the local war memorial.

and whom France had promised never to forget."[1103] Ponticelli died on 12 March 2008, aged 110[1104] and five days later, he was honoured with a national day of remembrance. After the unveiling of a memorial tablet by president Nicolas Sarkozy at the church *Saint-Louis des Invalides* (Figure 182), Ponticelli's coffin rested on site for a funeral mass and full military honours. The stone tablet's inscriptions and simplicity reflected the last veteran's wishes.[1105] During the service, president Sarkozy "called on the youth of France to keep the 8.5 million fallen French of the Great War in their memories, and called the remembering of history a 'human duty'."[1106]

Amplifying on Dunne's views of the Irish Scullabogue memorial and how it simplifies complex historical events, the same could said for commemorative memorials that place particular emphasis on historical 'firsts' and 'lasts'. By doing so, it tends to minimize all of the actions that had taken place in between the war – almost as if nothing happened. Of course, we know that this is not true but for those who read the inscriptions and know little or nothing about that war, that is the impression that you are left with. Another way to recognize those 'last surviving veterans' is to include them as part of commemorative activities and ceremonies. At their time of death, they can be recognized through reflective commemoration such as the conduct of state funerals and the erection of unique memorials for their heroic deeds or for representing a vestige of times gone by.

[1103] *Web in France Magazine*, "Last French WWI soldier dies at 110, ending era in France and Europe," 17 March 2008. Published on website: http://www.webinfrance.com/last-french-wwi-soldier-dies-110-ending-era-in-france-europe-318.html

[1104] At the time of his death, he was considered the oldest man living in France.

[1105] The memorial tablet includes the following inscriptions (translated by André M. Levesque): WITH THE PASSING OF / THE LAST FRENCH COMBATANT / FROM THE FIRST WORLD WAR, / THE NATION WITNESSES ITS RECOGNITION / TOWARDS THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED UNDER ITS FLAGS / IN 1914-1918. // FRANCE PRECIOUSLY PRESERVES / THE MEMORY OF THOSE LEFT IN HISTORY / LIKE THE POILUS OF THE GREAT WAR.// 17 MARCH 2008

[1106] *Web in France Magazine*, op. cit., 2008.

The American Civil War – 1861-1865

United States military personnel have participated in wars and conflicts for over two centuries. During the period between the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783 and 2006, the number of fatalities during principal wars and combat actions[1107] among American military personnel has been estimated at a total of 1.2 million.[1108] Moreover, during the period between the War of 1812 and the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991), approximately 42 million American men and women in uniform have served among nine major wars and conflicts.[1109] What is most startling is that during the period between 1775 and 1991, "...it was the Civil War that produced the most American fatalities, when Union statistics and Confederate estimates are taken into account."[1110] The U.S. Department of Defense's official records state that over 2.2 million served in the Union Forces and the total number of deaths is nearly 365,000.[1111] Another 282,000 received non-mortal wounds. Although there are no authoritative statistics for the Confederate Forces, the estimated number who served range from 600,000 to 1.5 million. According to the final report of the Provost Marshal General, 1863-1866, there were nearly 134,000

[1107] Including active duty military deaths.

[1108] This estimate has been derived from various tables compiled by sources at the U.S. Department of Defense. War casualty statistics and lists of war dead are prepared for members and committees of Congress and are published by Fischer, Hannah, Klarman, Kim, and Oboroceanu, Mari-Jana, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, *American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics*, Updated 29 June 2007.

[1109] In the Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, *American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics*, Updated 29 June 2007, no official statistics are provided for those who served during the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783. Lists and statistics are provided for the following principal wars in which the U.S. participated: War of 1812 (1812-1815); Mexican War (1846-1848); Civil War (1861-1865); Spanish-American War; World War I (1917-1918); World War II (1941-1946); Korean War (1950-1953); Vietnam Conflict (1964-1973); and Persian Gulf War (1990-1991).

[1110] Fischer, Hannah, Klarman, Kim, and Oboroceanu, Mari-Jana, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, *American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics*, Updated 29 June 2007, p.CRS-1.

[1111] 140,000 battle deaths and 224,00 other deaths. Source: Department of Defence, " Principal Wars in which the United States Participated – U.S. Personnel Serving and Casualties (1775-1991)," Undated. See website: https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/dcas/pages/report_principal_wars.xhtml

Confederate deaths[1112] based on incomplete returns as well as an estimated 26,000 to 31,000 Confederate personnel who died in Union prisons.[1113] Unknown to most, about 50,000 Canadians went into battle for the North and 10,000 fought for the South during the American Civil War.[1114] To summarize the war, its main *raison d'être* was an effort from those of the North wanting to abolish slavery, while those of the South were not in favour of it as the black slaves from Africa were considered an important component of their economic well-being, particularly for those working in the South's plantation fields. The history of what is often referred to as the 'bloodiest war in the western hemisphere' began with a cannon assault on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on 12 April 1861. According to author and publisher Don Bracken, there were 384 major battles, approximately 10,200 conflicts spread out over five theatres of operations,[1115] and about 624,000 men who lost their lives that helped shape the American Civil War.[1116]

Although the American Revolutionary War played a critical role in helping unite the original fourteen settlements to found a new country, the American Civil War was a divisive war that would pit fellow Americans from the North against those of the South. In terms of remembering their fallen, America's first monument of the Revolution is also their country's oldest war memorial and public monument: a pyramidal column erected on 4 July 1799 by the inhabitants of Lexington to the memory of the Minutemen "Who fell on this field, the first Victims to the Sword of British Tyranny & Oppression".[1117]

[1112] 75,000 battle deaths and 59,000 other deaths. Ibid, Historical Background and Notes, Paragraph E.

[1113] Ibid.

[1114] Abel, Allen, "Ghosts of the Civil War – 150 Years Later, History Haunts Them Still," *The Ottawa Citizen* (for Postmedia News), Sunday, 10 April 2011, p.A5.

[1115] The five theatres of operations are generally known as the: Main Eastern Theatre; Main Western Theatre; Lower Seaboard Theatre and Gulf Approach; Trans-Mississippi Theatre; and the Pacific Coast Theatre.

[1116] Bracken, Don, *Times of the Civil War*. Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2005, p.629.

[1117] The first skirmish with Great Britain during the American Revolutionary War was at the Battle of Lexington (Massachusetts) on 19 April 1775 where local colonists faced British

Since then, there has been hundreds of memorials and monuments erected throughout the U.S. honouring those who fought in the Revolutionary War[1118] but are pale in numbers in comparison with those of the Civil War. This deeply entrenched civil war instigated the creation of thousands of memorials and had a much more profound and long-term influence on how it was to commemorate its dead. For example, the *Hazen Brigade Monument* (Figure 183) – considered the oldest surviving monument of the Civil War – is still regarded as one of the country's most significant and touching war memorials.



Figure 183: The *Hazen Brigade Monument* was erected in 1863 by members of Colonel William B. Hazen's brigade (U.S.A.) in memory of the unit's forty-five casualties in the Battle of Stones River, 31 December 1862. – Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Although Arlington National Cemetery includes some civil war graves, monuments, and memorials that date back to 1866,[1119] the mecca for civil war enthusiasts is located at the Gettysburg National Military Park where "more

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Regulars. The remains of the eight fallen were moved in 1835 from their common grave in the Old Burying Ground and reinterred within the railing in front of the monument.

Part ot the memorial's inscriptions include: "This Monument is erected / By the inhabitants of Lexington, / Under the patronage, & at the expence, of / The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, / To the memory of their Fellow Citizens, / Ensign Robert Munroe, Messrs. Jonas Parker, / Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington Junr. / Isaac Muzzy, Caleb Harrington and John Brown / Of Lexington, & Asahel Porter of Woburn, / Who fell on this field, the first Victims to the / Sword of British Tyranny & Oppression, / On the morning of the ever memorable / Nineteenth of April, An. Dom. 1775."

[1118] One of the best websites that record U.S. Revolutionary war memorials is located on www.waymarking.com One of website's categories is entitled "U.S. Revolutionary War Memorials" and as of 4 July 2012, it had 223 records identified under this category. The website can be found at: http://www.waymarking.com/cat/details.aspx?f=1&guid=a68f3667-029b-4644-afff-34110a193b4e

[1119] Including the *Civil War Unknown Monument*. See section on 'Tomb of the Unknown'.

than 1,320 markers and monuments stand today as silent sentinels watching over the Gettysburg battlefield."[1120] As one of the most studied and visited sites of memory, the Gettysburg battlefield includes an "elaborate system" of "monuments, memorials, and markers spread out over the landscape" and is as such "the world's largest collection of outdoor sculpture".[1121] As a way of maintaining historical accuracy, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association[1122] considered paramount the exact placement of markers and monuments. These include: tablets that describe the actions of artillery batteries; markers that indicate the positions of brigades, divisions, corps, and headquarters; the commemoration of state volunteer regiments by surviving members (Figure 184) and state legislatures (regimental and state monuments); the placing of monuments where comrades were killed or mortally wounded (Figure 185); a memorial dedicated to the "high water mark" of the Confederacy in the Civil War – or the "furthest point that any Confederate soldier reached"[1123] (Figure 187); and the *Soldiers' National Monument* in the Gettysburg National Cemetery standing as a national monument to sorrow and marking the spot where Lincoln delivered the Gettysburg Address (Figure 186).[1124] While Gettysburg's "height of the monument-placing frenzy" was during the late 1880s and early 1890s,[1125] the

[1120] Gettysburg National Military Park and Eastern National Park & Monument Association, *The Location of the Monuments, Markers, and Tablets on Gettysburg Battlefield*. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Thomas Publications, 1993, p.ii.

[1121] Desjardin, Thomas A., op. cit., 2003, p.153.

[1122] This organization was chartered in 1864 by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to preserve portions of the battlefield as a memorial to the Union Army and had exclusive authority to situate and approve the artistic character of all Gettysburg monuments (Union and Confederate). Their land holdings were transfered to the Federal government in 1895 and the administration of the park was assigned to the Department of the Interior, National Park Service in 1933.

[1123] Desjardin, Thomas A., op. cit., 2003, p.175.

[1124] "IT IS RATHER FOR US TO BE HERE DEDICATED TO THE GREAT TASK REMAINING BEFORE US – THAT FROM THESE HONOURED DEAD WE TAKE INCREASED DEVOTION TO THAT CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY GAVE THE LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION – THAT WE HERE HIGHLY RESOLVE THAT THESE DEAD SHALL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN THAT THIS NATION, UNDER GOD, SHALL A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM – AND THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH" – LINCOLN. NOVEMBER 19TH 1863.

[1125] Desjardin, Thomas A., op. cit., 2003, p.176.







Figures 184-186: Memorials located at the Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania. Top Left – The *Minnesota Urn* was the first memorial placed at Gettysburg, in 1867, and was the first of three regimental monuments erected in honour of the First Minnesota Infantry. Top Right – This monument to Brigadier General Strong Vincent (1837-1863) marks the spot where he was mortally wounded. Erected in 1878, it is the first monument placed on the battlefield, outside the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Bottom Centre – *The Soldiers' National Monument* is the focal point of the cemetery and was dedicated on 1 July 1868 by President Abraham Lincoln. Two of the monument's five allegorical figures include War (left, front) and History (right, front). Designed by J. G. Batterson and carved by sculptor Randolph Rogers.



Figure 187: The *High Water Mark of the Rebellion* Memorial is flanked by two 12-pounder Napoleons, each with a stand of cannon balls. It was erected in 1892 by the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association "in recognition of the patriotism and gallantry displayed by their respective troops who met or assisted to repulse Longstreet's Assault". Designer: John B. Bachelder.

Southerners' efforts on "erecting monuments venerating the common soldier" was in the period from 1865 until the early 1890s.[1126] This Southern memorial movement – sometimes referred to as the "Confederate tradition" or the "Southern tradition" – "arose to preserve memories of the war."[1127] However, the majority of the civil war monuments dedicated throughout the U.S. was concentrated between 1885 and 1915.[1128]

On the whole, it appears that fundrasing for the erection of memorials at Gettysburg was not a major concern but this was not reflective of the rest of country as "the economic and political turmoil in the immediate postwar years prevented most communities from recognizing their veterans with a monument."[1129] After the American Revolution, women's memorial committees played an important role in honoring volunteers and keeping the memory alive of their fallen. Such memorialization efforts continued after the Civil War and white southern women were particularly active in promoting remembrance. For example, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC)[1130] wanted to commemorate its dead by raising public funds for the erection of memorials. Instead of erecting them in cemeteries – where few visit and only on special days such as 'Memorial Day' – these memorials were erected in high traffic areas in order to provide maximum visibility (Figure 188).[1131] As part of the culture of the 'Lost Cause of the Confederacy', it was important to recognize those white southern women "who supported those

[1126] Martinez, J. Michael, Richardson, William D., and McNinch-Su, Ron (Editors), *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*. Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000, p.138.

[1127] Ibid., p.138.

[1128] Losson, Christopher, "Civil War Monuments," The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, Version 2.0. Website: http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=935

[1129] Ibid.

[1130] A patriotic organization organized in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1894 for female lineal descendants of soldiers who served in the Confederate forces. See official website: http://www.hqudc.org/

[1131] Interview with Park Ranger James B. Lewis, National Park Service, Stones River National Battlefield – 6 May 2008, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

volunteers and mourned the dead."[1132] This interest in remembrance of Confederate women is manifested throughout southern monuments by praising them for ministering to wounded soldiers and celebrating their steadfast patriotism.[1133] Moreover, "Confederate soldiers monuments with inscriptions recognizing women were more than three times as numerous as the parallel Union monuments."[1134] In 1895, a year after its founding, UDC launched a campaign "to place a monument to Confederate women on the grounds of every state capitol in the South".[1135] In 1909, a joint veterans' committee[1136] chose a design by Belle Kinney[1137] to be the common form of commemoration in former Confederate states. Only the states of Mississippi and Tennessee (Figure 190) used that design. There were strong arguments from women that "a more useful form of commemoration" – such as an endowment for a retirement home or a scholarship fund – would be more appropriate.[1138] However, General C. Irvine Walker,[1139] "the veteran leading the campaign, expressed regret that such proposals would be too expensive, but the veterans clearly preferred a monument to a utilitarian memorial of the same cost."[1140]

[1132] Brown, Thomas J., *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, The Bedford Series in History and Culture, 2004, p.58.

[1133] Ibid., p.58.

[1134] Ibid., p.59.

[1135] Ibid., p.69.

[1136] The Confederate Women's Monuments Committee consisted of the United Confederate Veterans and the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

[1137] Belle Marshall Kinney (1890-1959), born in Tennessee, was the daughter of a Confederate veteran.

[1138] Brown, Thomas J., op. cit., 2004, p.69.

[1139] C. Irvine Walker (1842-1927) is a former Confederate lieutenant general and commander of the United Confederate Veterans.

[1140] Brown, Thomas J., op. cit., 2004, p.69.





Figures 188-189: Left – Memorial dedicated "TO THE MEMORY OF THE CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS WHO FELL IN THE ASSAULT ON FORT SAUNDERS" on 29 November 1863. Erected by Knoxville Chapter No. 89, United Daughters of the Confederacy on 29 November 1914 – Knoxville, Tennessee. Right – Cumberland County Civil War Memorial dedicated on 28 May 2001 – Crossville, Tennessee.





Figures 190-191: Bottow Left – The *Tennessee Monument to the Women of the Confederacy*, dedicated on 10 October 1926. Bronze statue sculpted by Belle Kinney and erected by the State of Tennessee "TO COMMEMORATE THE HEROIC DEVOTION AND SELF-SACRIFICE OF THE WOMEN OF TENNESSEE DURING THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES". – War Memorial Plaza, Nashville, Tennessee. Top Right – *The Gettysburg Civil War Women's Memorial* sculpted by Ron Tunison and dedicated on 16 November 2002 – Evergreen Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pensylvania.

In the end, seven of the eleven former Confederate states erected monuments to their women.[1141] While there was no similar "regional effort" in the Northern states to honour the sacrifices of their women as a group, there were many monuments erected "to individual women who played vital roles in the Civil War" by citizens, veterans groups, commissions, and towns.[1142] For example, the *Mother Bickerdyke Monument* unveiled in 1906 at Galesburg, Illinois, is an early memorial dedicated to a volunteer nurse who became chief of nursing under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant.[1143] Another is the *Clara Barton Monument* that was erected at the Andersonville National Cemetery[1144] under the direction of the Woman's Relief Corps. It was dedicated on Memorial Day, 30 May 1915, in honour of this Civil War nurse and founder of the American Red Cross.[1145] A more recent addition is *The Gettysburg Civil War Women's Memorial* that was dedicated in 2002 (Figure 191). A larger than life-size bronze of Elizabeth Thorn (1832-1907) was chosen to represent all women who served in various capacities during the Civil War. Thorn was six months pregnant when she buried over 90 soldiers following the battle of Gettysburg.

In the centre of downtown Crossville, Tennessee, there is the *Cumberland County Honor Roll* that lists all those who died within the county and includes names from the American Revolution, the First and Second World Wars, the Korean War and the Vietnam War. However, adjacent to this main war memorial is a separate memorial that was recently erected "in honor of those of Cumberland County who served in the Civil War" between 1861-

[1141] South Carolina (1912), Arkanzas (1913) North Carolina (1914), Florida (1915), Mississippi (1917), Maryland (1918), and Tennessee (1926).

[1142] Frank, Lisa Tendrich, Editor, *Women in the American Civil War*, Volume 1. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2008, p.394.

[1143] Mary Ann Ball Bickerdyke (1817-1901) was known affectionately by the Union soldiers as 'Mother' Bickerdyke.

[1144] Andersonville National Cemetery, Andersonville National Historic Site, near Americus, Georgia.

[1145] Clarissa 'Clara' Barton (1821-1912), who became known as the "Angel of the Battlefield", founded the American Red Cross in 1881 and led the organization until 1904.

1865 (Figure 189).[1146] Unlike the main war memorial, this secondary one does not list those who died but those who served. In all, Tennessee sent 186,652 men to the Confederate States Army (C.S.A.) and 31,092 to the United States Army (U.S.A.).[1147] Despite that the overall state contribution to the Confederacy was six times that of the Union, it appears that there was a balanced representation within Cumberland County of those who served on either of the opposing forces: 99 names listed with the C.S.A. and 93 with the U.S.A. It is interesting to note that there is one person, Monroe Stephens, who appears on both sides of the memorial as he initially joined one Army – changed his mind – and later joined the other.[1148] It is somewhat remarkable that it was Confederate veterans groups that were mainly responsible for erecting this joint forces memorial.[1149] This is a rare example of public reconciliation that allows members of the local community to commemorate all those who served on opposing forces at a single venue.

For Americans, the Civil War also brought about the creation of a national day of remembrance. Regardless if soldiers died while serving on the Union side or the Confederate side, their respective leaders and governments had the responsibility to appropriately remember and recognize the sacrifices of their fallen. In the South, it is Nora Davidson who is credited as the "Originator of Memorial Day (June 9 1866) which was inspiration of the National Decoration Day" (Figure 192).[1150] Davidson was active in the first

[1146] Although Tennessee was the last state to secede on 8 June 1861, it was the first to be readmitted to the Union on 24 July 1866.

[1147] Cromie, Alice, *A Tour Guide to the Civil War*, 3rd Edition. Nashville, Tennessee: Rutledge Hill Press, Inc., 1990, p.54.

[1148] Interview with Robert A. Boring, Treasurer, Military Memorial Museum of Upper Cumberland – 9 May 2008, Crossville, Tennessee.

[1149] According to the commemorative plaque affixed, the memorial was erected by the Sgt William A. Hamby Camp 1750, Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans Ladies Auxiliary. William Hamby is shown as one of the 99 Confederates listed on the memorial.

[1150] Inscriptions on the grave of Nora Fontaine Maury Davidson (1836-1929), Blandford Cemetery, Virginia.





Figures 192-193: Left – Grave of (Confederate) Nora Fontaine Maury Davidson (1836-1929). – Blanchford Cemetery, Virginia. Right – Commemorative tablet designating an annual 'Memorial Day' in the United States – Trophy Room, Arlington Cemetery, Washington D.C.

Confederate hospital of Petersburg in 1862 and was a charter member of the Ladies' Memorial Association[1151] in 1866 and of Petersburg chapter UDC in 1894. As Principal of Confederate School for 45 years, Davidson and her school children often went to Blandford Cemetery to decorate the graves of soldiers with flowers and miniature Confederate flags, including that of her brother Charles who died in 1863 while serving with the U.S. Horse Artillery.[1152] It is said that Mary Logan, the wife of Union General John A. Logan, witnessed this act of commemoration while visiting the cemetery. She was so moved that after reporting it to her husband, in 1868, Logan – as Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic – officially designated 30 May as 'Decoration Day' "for the purpose of strewing with

[1151] Whose objectives were the burial of Confederate soldiers and raising memorials in their honour. Also see Figure 19.

[1152] Charles Davidson (?-1863) was a member of Battery K, 1st U.S. Artillery, Second Brigade, Horse Artillery, lead by its Battery commander, Captain William Montrose Graham, Jr., USA.

flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion".[1153] The first 'national'commemoration took place at Arlington National Cemetery on 30 May 1868 (Figure 193). Although Logan was hopeful that it would be observed anually and nationwide, it was not until 1890 that it was recognized by all of the Northern states and it was not until after the First World War that the South began to acknowledge the day. Decoration Day gradually changed its name to Memorial Day, but it was not until 1971 that the date officially changed from 30 May to the last Monday in May.[1154] Notwithstanding this national holiday, a 'Confederate Memorial Day' is also officially observed in nine Southern states as a day for honouring the Confederate war dead.[1155] With the passing of 12 April 2011, it began a four-year national observance of the 150th anniversary of the Civil War. This is an opportunity for American citizens and visitors alike to commit and expand their knowledge of the Civil War, to help preserve and protect Civil War sites, and to commemorate all of its Civil War dead (Union and Confederate).

Bombing during the Second World War

Allied Force bombing at the end of the Second World War has had tremendous impact on how the events and their leaders were to be remembered over the next seventy years. Three examples will be provided on how reflective commemoration has been applied, including: the commemoration of Bomber Command at London; an exposition on Bomber

[1153] Headquarters Grand Army of the Republic, General Orders No. 11, Washington, D.C., 5 May 1868. The entire text can be found at: http://www.usmemorialday.org/order11.html

[1154] Public Law 90-363, 90th Congress of the U.S.A. at the Second Session, Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, 15 January 1968. Memorial Day was declared a legal public holiday to be held on the last Monday of May and took effect on 1 January 1971. http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2004/winter/images/uniform-monday-holiday-law.jpg

[1155] Confederate Memorial Day is a state holiday in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia on the fourth Monday in April. In Mississippi it is observed on the last Monday in April. In South Carolina and North Carolina it falls on 10 May (marking the anniversaries of the death of Confederate General Thomas J. 'Stonewall' Jackson in 1863 and the capture of Confederate President Jefferson Davis in 1865). In Louisiana and Tennessee, it is on 3 June (the birthday of Jefferson Davis in 1808). In Tennessee, it is also known as Confederate Decoration Day. In Texas, it is on 19 January and its offical holiday is named 'Confederate Heroes Day'.

Command at the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa; and the *Enola Gay* exhibit at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, Washington, D.C.

From 1940 until D-Day in 1944, the RAF Bomber Command undertook a campaign strategy that consisted of conducting long-range precision bombing raids at night to mitigate the risk of being shot down. With primitive navigation equipment on board and the difficulty to locate small targets in darkness, these had little effect on the German homeland. In support of a decision taken by the Air Ministry in 1941 to adopt a new stategy of 'area bombing', the new commander-in-chief of Bomber Command, Air Marshall Sir Arthur Harris,[1156] implemented the task of widespread bombing over Germany. In addition to disrupting industrial production and to undermine the German people's morale, the critical factor was to force the enemy to change from fighting offensively to defending their own homeland. This approach was seen as preferable to the trench warfare that was endured during the First World War. While there was increasing damage on the cities of Germany, it was arguable as to its effect on the German war effort. There was particular heavy criticism on the February 1945 bombing of Dresden and the fact that about 25,000 civilians were killed and were accepted as part of collateral damage. Although senior Allied officials initially distanced themselves from the attacks, official investigations came to the conclusion that the raid was justified based on the intelligence available. With Hitler having to "divert nearly one million men and 55,000 artillery guns" to defend themselves against Allied bombing,[1157] it was deemed by Allied countries that Bomber Command's campaign achieved the intended effect. Nonetheless, the debate over the contribution of bombing continues and it is considered as one of the more controversial actions of the Second World War.

It took more than five decades to officially recognize the collective war efforts of Bomber Command. Although there have been thousands of

[1156] Marshal of The Royal Air Force, Sir Arthur Harris, Bt., G.C.B., O.B.E., A.F.C. (1892-1984), Commander-in-Chief, Bomber Command, Royal Air Force, 1942-1945.

[1157] See RAF Bomber Command website: www.rafbombercommand.com

memorials erected and dedicated to recognize the Allied efforts during the Second World War,[1158] there was little support from the public for erecting a separate memorial in favour of Bomber Command. It was not until 1992 – eight years after Harris' death – that a memorial statue was erected at the central church of the Royal Air Force in London (Figure 194). This decision to commemorate Harris and the "brave crews" of Bomber Command ignited a major controversy and was quickly denounced by mayors of bombed German cities. Despite the presence of Queen Elizabeth, The Queen Mother, and hundreds of veterans, the ceremony was disrupted. That night, the statue was defaced with red paint and for fear of being further damaged, it was kept under constant guard for a period of months. The memorial continues to be vandalised.

During the year 2005, a number of international memorials were dedicated to the cause of aerial warfare. The first was the unveiling of *Bomber Command* on the grounds of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, in July 2005,[1159] followed by the *Battle of Britain London Monument* unveiled on 18 September 2005 by The Prince of Wales "in the presence of survivors of THE FEW".[1160] This was the first time that the names all those who served in RAF Fighter Command in the Battle of Britain were inscribed on a monument.[1161] While the 'Bomber Harris' statue was also dedicated to the

[1158] This includes *The Air Forces Memorial* at Runnymede, located approximately 32 kilometres west of central London. Erected and maintained by the C.W.G.C., it was unveiled in 1953. It commemorates all members of the Allied Air Forces who died during the Second World War and records the names of the 20, 456 airmen who have no known grave.

[1159] *Bomber Command* is a stainless steel, glass and granite Royal Australian Air Force memorial by artist Neil Dawson, unveiled by the Hon. De Anne Kelley, M.P., Minister for Veterans Affairs, 23 July 2005 – Grounds of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. The 16.5 metre memorial column integrates key elements of the experience of those who served: a searchlight reaching to the sky, the types of aircrafts flown, and the air and ground crew who flew or maintained them.

[1160] The complete text of the dedication plaque is: "This Monument was unveiled / BY HRH THE PRINCE OF WALES / on Sunday 18 September 2005 / in the presence of survivors of / THE FEW".

[1161] According to the plaques surrounding the *Battle of Britain London Monument*, "of the 2936 pilots and aircrew who fought in RAF Fighter Command in the Battle of Britain, 544 lost their lives and a further 795 did not live to see the final victory in 1945. One in six were from countries outside the United Kingdom".

aircrews, the many relatives of the 55,573 airmen who died as well as the surviving veterans of Bomber Command did not feel that their bravery and sacrifice was appropriately recognized.[1162] As noted by Lord Ashcroft (1946-), "the losses of Bomber Command were greater than those of any other service – accounting for ten per cent of all British fatalities – yet, perversely, its members are the only Second World War servicemen not to have been publicly honoured by their country."[1163] Wounds were re-opened after planners at Westminster City Council approved in May 2010 a proposed Bomber Command memorial to be built in Green Park, central London. Although officially in Britain in September of that same year to open an exhibition on the bombing of London, Dresden, and Coventry, during the war, Dresden Mayor Helma Orosz was under pressure from fellow German politicians to "use the strongest diplomatic language possible to express our strong concerns" and get the planned memorial scrapped.[1164] Following a major fundraising appeal, the foundation stone was laid in May 2011. "Designed to be reflective and remind us of the human cost of war,"[1165] the memorial was officially dedicated and unveiled by Queen Elizabeth II on 28 June 2012. For many such as Lord Ashcroft, this was the day that a 67-year wrong was finally righted.

[1162] The average age of the Bomber Command crews was 22 and the youngest were 18. They also suffered an extremely high casualty rate: three out of every five airmen became casualties, with 55,573 killed out of a total of 125,000 aircrew (a 44.4% death rate), 8,403 wounded and 9,838 captured as prisoners of war.

[1163] Ashcroft, Lord, "A Sense of Pride and Justice over the War Memorial that Rights a 67-year Wrong", *Mail Online*, Associated Newspapers Ltd., 23 June 2012. See website: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2163629/Bomber-Command-Memorial-Lord-Ashcroft-Green-Park-war-monument-London.html

Michael Anthony Ashcroft, Baron Ashcroft, of Chichester, K.C.M.G., is an international businessman, philanthropist and politician. Lord Ashcroft also made a donation of £1 million to the £6.7 memorial appeal.

[1164] Hall, Allan, "Dresden Mayor 'to lobby against building of Bomber Command memorial'", *The Telegraph*, 6 September 2010. See website: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/raf-bomber-command/7985917/Dresden-mayor-to-lobby-against-building-of-Bomber-Command-memorial.html

[1165] Official website of the Bomber Command Memorial Appeal, Frequently Asked Questions. See: http://www.bombercommand.com/faq



Figures 194-195: Left – Statue unveiled by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother on 31 May 1992. It is dedicated "IN MEMORY OF A GREAT COMMANDER AND OF THE BRAVE CREWS OF BOMBER COMMAND, MORE THAN 55,000 OF WHOM LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM. THE NATION OWES THEM ALL AN IMMENSE DEBT." Sculptor: Faith Winter. – St. Clement Danes Church, London. Right – The *Enola Gay*, a B-29 built by Martin Co., dropped the first atomic weapon used in combat on Hiroshima, Japan, 6 August 1945 – permanently displayed at the National Air and Space Museum's Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center near Washington Dulles International Airport.



Figure 196: Original main panel to "An Enduring Controversy" Exposition on Strategic Bombing and Bomber Command at the Canadian War Museum, 2006-2007 – Ottawa, Ontario.

During the winter of 2006-2007, the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa included an exhibition on the strategic bombing campaign against Germany during the Second World War entitled "An Enduring Controversy" (Figure 196). The eighty-five words along with detailed photographs of the destruction, including civilian deaths, shown on the main panel caused veritable wars over commemorations and remembrance, pitting museologists, historians, and veterans against each other over a period of two years.[1166] Many were of the opinion that it accurately presented the issue and that the panel was forthright about the questionable efficacy and implicit immorality of aerial bombing. However, veterans' organizations[1167] protested that the selected text and photographs were not put into proper context, pointed out that there was no mention of the veterans' role and the signficance of the campaign, and that veterans felt it portrayed them as war criminals. In an attempt to diffuse the situation, the museum asked a panel of four known historians to review the exhibit and make recommendations. Two supported the original wording and defended the museum's obligation to articulate the

[1166] The following are the original and revised main panel texts for the Bomber Command display at the Canadian War Museum during the winter of 2006-2007.

Original – Main title: "Strategic Bombing: An enduring Controversy". Secondary Title: "Mass bomber raids against Germany resulted in vast destruction and heavy loss of life." Main text: "The value and morality of the strategic bomber offensive against Germany remains bitterly contested. Bomber Command's aim was to crush civilian morale and force Germany to surrender by destroying its cities and industrial installations. Although Bomber Command and American attacks left 600,000 Germans dead, and more than five million homeless, the raids resulted in only small reductions in German war production until late in the war."

Revised – Main title: "The Bombing Campaign". Secondary Title: "The strategic bombing campaign against Germany, an important part of the Allied effort that achieved victory, remains a source of controversy today." Main text: "Strategic bombing enjoyed wide public and political support as a symbol of Allied resolve and a response to German aggression. In its first years, the air offensive achieved few of its objectives and suffered heavy losses. Advances in technology and tactics, combined with Allied successes on other fronts, led to improved results. By war's end, Allied bombers had razed portions of every major city in Germany and damaged many other targets, including oil facilities and transportation networks. The attacks blunted Germany's economic and military potential, and drew scarce resources into air defence, damage repair, and the protection of critical industries. / Allied aircrew conducted this grueling offensive with great courage against heavy odds. It required vast material and industrial efforts and claimed over 80,000 Allied lives, including more than 10,000 Canadians. While the campaign contributed greatly to enemy war weariness, German society did not collapse despite 600,000 dead and more than 5 million left homeless. Industrial output fell substantially, but not until late in the war. The effectiveness and the morality of bombing heavily-populated areas in war continue to be debated."

[1167] Including the Royal Canadian Legion, The War Amps, and air force veterans' organization eminating from Canada and overseas.

controversy, while the other two "admitted the fact of the controversy but found the exhibit tendentious and hurtful to the veterans."[1168] One also indicated that there could have been a better choice of photographs. During this same time period, Canadian parliamentarians within the House of Commons and the 'Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence' got involved due to the many official complaints received through their offices and within the media. During the testimony, the subcommittee heard from museum officials and other independent historical and curatorial experts and concluded with a recommended way ahead: "We feel they have the duty to review the detailed presentation of the display panel in question and that they will want to consider alternative ways of presenting an equally historically accurate version of its material, in a manner that eliminates the sense of insult felt by aircrew veterans and removes potential for further misinterpretation by the public."[1169] Perhaps this 'misterpretation' would have been avoided if the war museum "would have then consulted with veterans' groups, and other stakeholders, to ensure that the message was in context and took into account the times."[1170] In the end, the War Museum's Director left his post and Mark O'Neil, his replacement, was able to build "a happy consensus" between the museum and the veterans organizations that helped create a new wording "that is designed

[1168] Bothwell, Robert; Hansen, Randall; MacMillan, Margaret, "Controversy, Commemoration, and Capitulation: the Canadian War Museum and Bomber Command", *Queen's Quarterly*, 22 September 2008. See website: http://business.highbeam.com/988/article-1G1-189811888/controversy-commemoration-and-capitulation-canadian

[1169] Senate of Canada, Interim Report of the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence, *An Enduring Controversy: The Strategic Bombing Campaign Display in the Canadian War Museum*, Chair – The Honourable Joseph A. Day, June 2007. See website: http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/391/defe/rep/rep16jun07-e.htm

[1170] Comment made by Clive M. Law, Service Publications, 29 August 2007, 09:31 a.m., "Controversy regarding Bomber Command exhibit at Canadian War Museum" on a public website forum located at Network54. See: http://www.network54.com/Forum/28173/thread/1188394102/controversy+regarding+Bomber+command+exhibit+at+Canadian+War+Museum

to allow veterans of Bomber Command to see themselves as war heroes rather than "war criminals"."[1171]

It was unfortunate that the Canadian War Museum did not learn from a comparable exhibition that was held at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum from June 1995 to May 1998. The *Enola Gay* exhibition,[1172] coinciding with the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, told the story of the role of the aircraft used to drop the first atomic bomb in combat to secure Japanese surrender.[1173] Named after Enola Gay Tibbets – the mother of the pilot, then-Colonel Paul Tibbets – on the eve of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, it became the most famous of nearly 4,000 B-29s produced during the Second World War. Fifty years later, when draft scripts were being circulated for the exhibit, it "unleashed a firestorm of protest. Numerous critics cited a lack of balance, believing the exhibit to disparge U.S. strategic bombing of Japan without putting the B-29 campaign into proper perspective or properly addressing the question of why the atomic bombs were used." [1174] U.S. veterans' groups were particularly vocal in saying that the exhibit placed too much emphasis on the Japanese casualties inflicted by the nuclear bomb, rather than the role of the bombing campaign to cease the war with Japan. In the end, "Smithsonian officials decided to reduce the exhibit to the *Enola Gay* alone – the aircraft, the crew, and the Hiroshima mission of August 6, 1945."[1175] The exhibit, arranged around components of the

[1171] CanWest News Service, "War Museum produces new wording for controversial text", CanWest MediaWorks Publications Inc., 11 October 2007. See website: http://www.canada.com/topics/news/national/story.html?id=a03924f2-379c-4103-83ca-97c3d078f40d&k=5570&p=1

[1172] The exhibition's official name was: "The Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Cold War".

[1173] The exhibition also included interviews of the crew before and after the mission, summarized the history and development of the Boeing B-29 fleet, and outlined the restoration efforts conducted by specialists until permanently displayed at the National Air and Space Museum's Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Centre in December 2003.

[1174] Polmar, Norman, *The Enola Gay: The B-29 That Dropped the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima*. Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, Inc., 2004, p.61.

[1175] Ibid., p.61.

aircraft,[1176] was seen by more than 3,200 visitors on its first day, and 97,000 within a month.[1177] At the closing of the exhibition, the aircraft was completely restored and moved as a permanent display at the Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center in December 2003 (Figure 195). Due to the huge debate around the *Enola Gay*, the accompanying signage is limited to the same succinct technical data as is provided for the other museum aircraft.

These three examples of reflective commemoration associated with bombing during the Second World War is a classic confrontation between history and collective memory. There are a few lessons to be learned from this. First, in order to transcend the politics of the moment, there is a need to dissassociate reflection on historical policies decided by governments from reflection made on remembrance and commemoration. Second, as part of partisan politics and ideological culture wars, there is always pressure from special interest groups to adopt a particular version of events. While some historians – such as Halbwach and Nora – feel that such coercions will lead to the loss of historical memories, it does not provide any assurance that the 'facts' presented are balanced or take into account the context and times. As illustrated at the Canadian War Museum, there are "alternative ways of presenting an equally historically accurate version of its material"; this is particularly important when they are presented by a government in a public place. As demonstrated with the *Enola Gay* exhibition, when stakeholders are unable to negotiate a "happy consensus", then the entity is left to only present skeleton information in order to avoid any further controversy. In the case of Bomber Command, it appears that official commemoration did not take place until seven decades later. What became clear is that veterans who implemented controversial government policy decisions often faced social stigmatism and were denied timely recognition and opportunities to publicly remember and commemorate.

[1176] Included two engines, the vertical stabilizer, an aileron, propellers, and the forward fuselage that contains the bomb bay.

[1177] Polmar, Norman, op. cit., 2004, p.61.

Animals in War

Memorials dedicated to animals in war tend to be reflective in nature as they are typically erected much later after the death of these animals or their cause. In Canada, the first memorial that is exclusively dedicated in honour of animals in war is located in the Parliament Buildings' Memorial Chamber. As part of trench warfare during the Great War, soldiers constructed elaborate trenches and dugout systems in order to further advance towards enemy lines. Beasts of burden were used to complete this hard and laborious task. With the arrival of gas warfare in 1916, combatants eventually had access to a gas helmet made of cloth and treated with chemicals to protect themselves. Unable to take refuge, it was the animals that suffered the most. With this in mind, Toronto-based architect John A. Pearson (1867-1940) designed a tympanum that represents the animals that served during the Great War: reindeer, pack mules, carrier pigeons, horses, dogs, canaries, and mice (Figure 197). The Indiana limestone wall sculpture was completed in 1927 by its sculptor, Cléophas Soucy (1879-1950),[1178] and included the inscription "THE TUNNELERS' FRIENDS – THE HUMBLE BEASTS THAT SERVED AND DIED." This sculpture is significant as it reflected how people felt about animals at that time and is quite possibly the first animals in a war memorial dedicated during the 20th century.[1179]

One of the most unusual war memorials erected after the Great War was in 1936, in Lille, France, where a large monument entitled *AU PIGEON VOYAGEUR* was officially dedicated to the 20,000 carrier pigeons who were

[1178] Cléophas Soucy was a stone carver at the Parliament Buildings from 1919 to 1950. He was also Canada's first Dominion Sculptor from 1936 to 1950.

[1179] While there are animals (canaries used in tunnelling safety checks, carrier pigeons, dogs, elephants, horses, and a mule) depicted on a frieze located on the walls of the Shrine inside The Scottish National War Memorial, they are part a unified sculptural low relief bronze composition that has the theme of the separate contributions of the Great War and the individual sacrifices it entailed. The Scottish National War Memorial was opened on 14 July 1927 by The Prince Of Wales, later King Edward VIII. Unlike the *The Tunnellers' Friends* that was also sculpted in 1927, this frieze it is not considered a dedicated 'animals in war' memorial.

killed on the battlefield[1180] from Yser to Verdun as well as to the thirteen French soldiers who were shot by German authorities after disobeying orders to kill their birds.[1181] Carrier pigeons played an important role of messenger during the Great War and several of these pigeons were paid a tribute to the value of their work. For example, it was reported at Verdun in August 1916 that "only the carrier pigeons … work regularly and in all circumstances, and in spite of bombardments, dust, smoke, and fog deliver within a relatively short time details of the situation of the forces engaged."[1182]

As demonstrated with the Camel Corps, after the Great War, the use of animals in war was severely reduced. Today, the employment of animals in war is more of an exception than the rule as modes of transportantion have considerably evolved since the Second World War. Nonetheless, there are still times that local animals such as horses and donkeys are more efficient and economical in completing assigned tasks. Moreover, the use of animals that carry out specialty tasks – such as dogs – has remained steady. There are a few memorials specifically dedicated to war dogs. A model example is the Doberman Pinscher memorial entitled *Always Faithful* that was unveiled on Liberation Day, 21 July 1994, in Guam "IN THEIR MEMORY AND ON BEHALF ON THE SURVIVING MEN OF THE 2ND AND 3RD MARINE WAR DOG PLATOONS, MANY OF WHOM OWE THEIR LIVES TO THE BRAVERY AND SACRIFICE OF THESE GALLANT ANIMALS."[1183] The U.S. Marine Corps began using dogs as early as 1935, and during the Second World War there were 1,047 dogs enlisted during the war,

[1180] Most of the carrier pigeons died in their cages on the ground from the effects of gas or bombardment.

[1181] The monument, erected by *La Fédération nationale des sociétés colombophiles de France*, is located at the entrance of the *bois de Boulogne* and the Lille zoo. It was official unveiled on 23 April 1936 by French Army General Maurice Gamelin (1872-1958) and was renovated in 2008. Its sculptor is Alexandre Descatoire (1874-1949) and its architect is Jacques Alleman (1882-1945). Although "AU PIGEON VOYAGEUR" (to the carrier pigeons) is clearly inscribed at the base of the monument, the dedication is recorded as "AUX COLOMBOPHILES MORTS POUR LA FRANCE FUSILLES PAR L'ENNEMI POUR AVOIR DETENU DES PIGEONS VOYAGEURS" (to the pigeon-fanciers who died for France shot by the enemy for having held carrier pigeons).

[1182] *The Glasgow Herald*, "War Memorial to Pigeons – Monument at Lille," Glasgow, Scotland, Monday, 13 April 1936, p.3.

[1183] Inscription on the memorial.

with 465 serving in combat, of which 25 died during service in the Pacific.[1184] The names of all 25 dogs are listed on the memorial and its incriptions indicate that they served as sentries, messengers and scouts, explored caves, and detected mines and booby traps. A Dobernan Pinscher was selected to represent all of the dogs that served in the U.S. Marine Corps during the Second World War as approximately three-quarters of all dogs used during combat came from that breed.[1185] An exact replica of the Guam memorial was donated in 1998 by Dr. Maurice Acree to the University of Tennessee College of Veterinary Medicine "as a tribute to the unique bond between dogs and humans."[1186]

One other breed of war dogs that served during the Second World War is a Newfoundland dog named 'Gander'. He was the mascot of the Royal Rifles of Canada who went along with them to Hong Kong to defend the island against Japanese attacks. In August 2000, Gander became the first animal in 50 years to be awarded the Dickin Medal – recognized as the animals' Victoria Cross – for his exploits during the Battle of Lye Mun on Hong Kong Island in December 1941.[1187] "In a final act of bravery the war dog was killed in action gathering a grenade."[1188] When the Hong Kong Veterans Commemorative Association built a memorial wall in 2009 to recognize and commemorate the sacrifice made by the 1,975 members of 'C'

[1184] Prince, Dana, The University of Tennessee, War Dog Memorial, 2008. See website: http://www.vet.utk.edu/wardog/background.shtml

[1185] Ibid. The remainder of the 25 percent of all dogs used were mostly German Shepherds and Labrador Retrievers and occasionally, Collies.

[1186] Dedication bronze plaque found adjacent to the *War Dog Memorial*, University of Tennessee College of Veterinary Medicine, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1187] The Dickin Medal consists of a bronze medallion bearing the words "For Gallentry" and "We Also Serve." It was created during the Second World War by Maria Dickin, C.B.E., founder of the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals (P.D.S.A.) to acknowledge "outstanding acts of bravery displayed by animals serving with the Armed Forces or Civil Defence units in any theatre of war, worldwide." See website: http://www.pdsa.org.uk/about-us/animal-bravery-awards/pdsa-dickin-medal

[1188] Partial text from the medal's citation. The complete citation can be found at the P.D.S.A. website: http://www.pdsa.org.uk/about-us/animal-bravery-awards/dickin-medal-dogs







Figures 197-199: Top – *The Tunnellers' Friends*, 1927, represents the animals that served during the Great War. The artist was John A. Pearson (1867-1940) and the sculptor/stone carver was Cléophas Soucy (1879-1950). – Tympanum, Memorial Chamber, Peace Tower, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario. Middle – *The Defence of Hong Kong* memorial wall was erected by the Hong Kong Veterans Commemorative Association and dedicated on 15 August 2009 – Ottawa, Ontario. Bottom – *The Animals in War Memorial* was designed/sculpted by David Backhouse and was unveiled on 24 November 2004 by HRH The Princess Royal (Princess Anne) – London.

Force in the Battle of Hong Kong, the survivors insisted that Gander's name be included among them (Figure 198).[1189] There are two observations to be made from this 'Gander' example. First, the organization responsible for managing the Dickin Medal reflected after fifty years of not having awarded the medallion and decided that recognition and commemoration of such brave animals in war remains a worthwhile endeavour. Second, this is the only known memorial that includes the specific name of an animal alongside names of the Fallen and those who have served. It is remarkable that the surviving veterans felt so strongly – 68 years after receiving their marching orders – to inscribe their mascot's name on this marble monument.

Considered the most significant memorial devoted to the cause is *The Animals in War Memorial* unveiled in London, in 2004 (Figure 199). This £2 million "monument is dedicated to all the animals that served and died alongside British and Allied forces in wars and campaigns throughout time."[1190] The memorial's principal elements include a dominant wall constructed in 'Portland stone' symbolizing the war experience as well as two cast bronze mules approaching the wall's gap. Beyond the wall is a bronze horse and dog "bearing witness to the loss of their comrades and representing hope for the future."[1191] Images of the many different animals used in 20th century conflicts are depicted throughout the memorial, including: bullocks, camels, canaries, cats, dogs, donkeys, elephants, horses, mules, oxen, pigeons, and rams. As the world's largest memorial dedicated to animals in war, it has become the 'standard' for others to emulate.

Mr. Lloyd Swick, a veteran of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, got the idea of creating a similar dedication in Ottawa after reading about the London unveiling. Although the capital city aready has *The*

[1189] On the memorial, 'Gander' is listed under The Royal Rifles of Canada between the names of Maurice Gammack and Kenneth H. Gates and is shown as a battle death (†): * GAMMACK, MAURICE † * GANDER † * GATES, KENNETH H. *

[1190] This is the main inscription at the front of the memorial. A second, smaller inscription simply reads: "They had no choice."

[1191] Animals in War Memorial Fund, The Monument. See website: http://www.animalsinwar.org.uk/index.cfm?asset_id=1374

Tunnellers' Friends animal memorial (Figure 197), it was felt by the National Capital Commission that the project seems to be worthwhile. The nonagenarian organized an 'Animals in War Dedication Committee' that proposed to erect a bronze and granite monument "to honour war animals and their heroic contribution to the war effort."[1192] The site selection is complete[1193] and with notable support from the public, sponsors, and the Federal government, the organization is getting close to raising the required $160,000.[1194] Well-known for her love of animals and a strong advocate for animal welfare, Mrs. Laureen Harper – wife of current Prime Minister Stephen Harper – accepted in April 2012 to be the Committee's Honourary Patron. The dedication unveiling was tentatively scheduled for October 2012.[1195] In turn, Mr. Swick's ongoing efforts served as inspiration to an 11 year-old boy in Bass River, Nova Scotia. After completing a heritage school project and contacting members of the Cobequid Veterans Memorial Park, he was encouraged to collect funds to have a "great memorial tribute" turned into reality.[1196] Within about a year, he raised $22,000. The monument – which he called *Forgotten Heroes* – consists of a stele with engraved names and a stone dog. Erected "IN MEMORY OF ALL ANIMALS AND HANDLERS WHO SERVED IN OUR MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES",[1197] it was officially unveiled on Canada Day (1 July), 2012, and is now part of international memorials dedicated to animals in war.

[1192] Facebook, Animals in War Monument Project. See website: http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112156925496903&v=info

[1193] The monument will be placed in Confederation Park, just steps from the South African War memorial.

[1194] Berthiaume, Lee, *The Ottawa Citizen*, "Animal War Memorial in Peril – Veterans Affairs denies $40,000 Funding Request," 6 October 2011. As of October 2011, only $6,500 out of the required $105,000 had been raised. As of June 2012, $102,000 out of a revised projected total of $160,000 has been raised.

[1195] The *Animals in War* memorial was officially unveiled on 3 November 2012, Confederation Park, Ottawa, Ontario.

[1196] "To whom it may concern" letter from Noah Tremblay, dated 16 May 2011. The letter was published on the website of the Nova Scotia Royal Canadian Legion and can be found at: http://www.ns.legion.ca/paper%20work%20for%20forH-1.pdf

[1197] Part of the monument's inscriptions.

To summarize this Chapter, 'reflection' is an important principle of commemoration that is tied-in with the tardy erection of memorials or those that help invoke reminiscence or memories of the past. Remembrance and reconcilation are recurring themes throughout reflective memorials. 'Firsts and lasts' markers and memorials not only provide tangible records of the beginning or end of wars and events but also help viewers to reflect and contemplate the significance imposed before them. As demonstrated in memorials dedicated to pardons, internment camps, holocaust victims, the American Civil War, as well as bombing during the Second World War, many remain controversial. It is as a result of having wrestled with such confrontations that respective leaders have independently developed suitable forms of remembrance. Animals in war memorials are considered less contentious but have nonetheless been powerful visible testaments of the contribution from beasts of burden and the like. If anything, reflective memorials and commemoration help underline the importance of history and act as tools for those who want to understand the past in order to be better prepared for the future.

CHAPTER 6 - THE FORGING OF A NEW IDENTITY

Other than the sporadic publishing of monographs on peacekeeping and peace support operations memorials erected post-Second World War, there is no single written account of their history – until now. As identified by Gough, there are few memorials that "celebrate peace in it own right. British memorial sculpture implied that 'Peace' was the consequence of Victory,' and not an ideal worth promoting as a separate or distinct entity."[1198] It will be shown that 'peacekeeping' monuments are different from traditional war memorials that had been designed and used in the past. Since the late 1980s, a subtle shift was made from providing closure to wars and a physical manifestation of collective mourning of its dead to that of remembering and building on its historical past and going forward into the future. As well, this Chapter will introduce how the tragic events of 11 September 2001 have, in a major way, influenced how commemoration is being conducted throughout the community as a whole. This forms a significant change in that the military no longer possesses the unique responsibility for commemorating its dead and wounded.

MEMORIALS SINCE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

The United Nations (UN) has been involved in peacekeeping activities since the signing of its Charter on 24 October 1945. Since that founding year, members of the Canadian Forces have participated in about 266 operations,[1199]

[1198] Gough, Paul, "Peacekeeping, Peace, Memory Reflections on the Peacekeeping Monument in Ottawa, *Canadian Military History*, Volume 11, Number 3, Summer 2002, p.67.

[1199] As of 1 January 2012, Canadian Forces Operations by region (exluding Domestic Operations in Canada) include: Africa – 44; Asia – 43; Central America – 50; Europe – 66; Middle East – 22; North America – 13; and South American – 8. The official list of Canadian Forces operations, including peace support operations, is reviewed and managed by the Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, which is responsible for receiving and holding of all war diaries arising from Canadian Forces' units during combat operations. The complete list can be accessed at: http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/od-bdo/index-eng.asp

including peace support operations,[1200] outside Canada. According to the United Nations' Department of Peacekeeping Operations, there has been a total of 2,977 fatalities, including 121 Canadians since 1948.[1201] In terms of commemorating and memorializing those 'peacekeepers,' there was little or no activity until the dedication of the *Beirut Peacekeepers Memorial* at the Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune in Jacksonville, North Carolina, on 22 October 1988. The memorial pays homage primarily to the 241 U.S. Marines, sailors, and soldiers who died as the result of a bomb explosion that destroyed the 1st Battalion, 8th Marines headquarters on 23 October 1983, in Beirut, Lebanon.[1202] The Americans served as part of a peacekeeping force in the conflict between warring Muslim and Christian factions. This terrorist attack was considered the deadliest day the Marine Corps encountered since the Battle of Iwo Jima during the Second World War. The idea of this permanent memorial originated from the city of Jacksonville's Beautification and Appearance Commission and also included the planting of a memorial tree to commemorate each of the Fallen.[1203] The memorial consists of a bronze statue and a memorial wall that includes the words 'THEY CAME IN PEACE' that originates from a sign and wreath that was placed on site soon

[1200] The Canadian Forces' reference B-GG-005-004/AF-000 defines peace support operations as "broken into five categories: preventative diplomacy, peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding." See: http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/od-bdo/glossary-glossair-eng.asp

[1201] United Nations' Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Peacekeeping Fatalities by Year" from 1948 to 31 January 2012. See: http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/fatalities.shtml

The 121 Canadian deaths are recorded as: MINUSTAH – 9; MONUC – 1; ONUC – 3; UNAMIR – 1; UNDOF – 4; UNEF 53; UNFICYP – 28; UNMIH – 1; UNMIK – 1; UNMOGIP -1; UNOHCI -2; UNOSOM – 1; UNPREDEP -1; UNPROFOR – 11; UNTAC – 1; and UNTSO – 2.

Canada's first peacekeeping mission was not until 1947 when it provided two officers to the United Nations Commission on Korea (UNCOK) from 25 July 1950 to 7 October 1950. Their primary mission was to assist in the unification of Korea and the removal of barriers caused by the division of Korea and to observe the withdrawal of occupying forces and to report on any developments that might lead to military conflict.

[1202] The American headquarters building was destroyed by a non-Lebanese, terrorist-driven truck, laden with compressed gas-enhanced explosives. On that same day, France lost 58 troops in a separate blast in their compound area.

[1203] The memorial includes the names of those who first died in Beirut, those who died of injuries subsequently, as well as three Marine pilots who were killed in Grenada – for a total of 273 names.

after the recovery operations. There are other memorials associated with this incident, including the dedication of a 'Beirut Memorial Room' in January 2011 at Jacksonville's United Services Organization. While it is recognized that the *Beirut Peacekeepers Memorial* is considered the world's first large-scale peacekeeping memorial, there were two other decisions made during the mid-1980s relating to the UN that triggered the propagation of peacekeeping remembrance across the world. The following paragraphs will briefly describe these decisions and their outcomes over the next two decades.

As part of an effort to link itself with its 40th anniversary, the UN General Assembly declared 1986 to be the 'International Year of Peace' as "not only a celebration or commemoration, but an opportunity to reflect and act creatively and systematically in fulfilling the purposes of the United Nations."[1204] The second pivotal event was the announcement of the awarding of '1988 Nobel Peace Prize' to the UN Peacekeeping Forces for having voluntarily taken on a "demanding and hazardous service in the cause of peace" and for their contributing efforts "in a particularly appropriate way towards the realization of the goals of the United Nations."[1205] The later is particularly significant as this was the first time in the Norwegian Nobel Committee's history that the Peace Prize was awarded "to an organization which, at least in part, consists of military forces."[1206]

The first known peacekeping 'memorial' that was put up after the declaration of 1986 as the International Year of Peace was the creation of *Peace Park* in Canberra, Australia, during that same year (Figure 200). Four years later, Australia's Governor General inaugurated a memorial fountain that was dedicated "TO ALL PEACEMAKERS" and "all who visit here are invited to

[1204] United Nations, General Assembly, 49th Plenary Meeting, Resolution A/RES/40/3, International Year of Peace, 24 October 1985. See website: http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/40/a40r003.htm

[1205] The Norwegian Nobel Committee, "The Nobel Peace Prize 1988," Press Release, United Nations Peacekeeping Forces, Oslo, Norway, 29 September 1988. See website: http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1988/press.html

[1206] The Norwegian Nobel Committee, "Award Ceremony Speech," Presentation by Egil Aarvik, Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, 1988. See website: http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1988/presentation-speech.html



Figure 200: ***Peace Park and Memorial Fountain*** **located adjacent to the National Library or Archives. The park was built in 1986 and the memorial was unveiled by His Excellency the Honourable Bill Hayden, AC, Governor General of Australia on 24 October 1990 – Canberra, Australia.**





Figures 201-202: Left – The three main figures of the Canadian ***Peacekeeping Monument*** **unveiled on 8 October 1992 by His Excellency The Right Honourable Raymond Hnatyshyn, Governor General of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. Artist for sculptures: Jack Harman. – The** ***Canadian Peacekeeping Service Medal*** **was created in 1999 and is awarded to all Canadians for 30 days' service on peacekeeping or observer missions approved by the Canadian Government since 1947.**



Figure 203: ***United Nations Peacekeepers Memorial*** **unveiled by Secretary General Kofi Annan on UN Day, 24 October 2003 – North Gardens, United Nations Headquarters, New York. Designed by the architectural firm Arquitectonica International.**

commit themselves to peace and the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction."[1207] Prior to the announcement of the 1988 Nobel Peace Price, Canada's military had been working on a plan to commemorate peacekeepers by erecting a statue at National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa.[1208] After the announcement, their project plans shifted from developing a local initiative to that of creating a national symbol. In 1989, the Canadian Forces appointed Colonel John Gardam as project director for Canada's *Peacekeeping Monument* and launched a national competition the following year. As part of the competition guidelines, the interdepartmental committee called for:

> a tribute to the living, not a memorial to the dead. The intent of the Monument is to recognize and celebrate through artistic, inspirational and tangible form Canada's past and present peacekeeping role in the world. In that sense it will represent a fundamental Canadian value: no missionary zeal to impose our way of life on others but an acceptance of the responsibility to assist them in determining their own futures by ensuring a non-violent climate in which to do so. The Monument will appeal to those who seek a literal message and to those who are receptive to a more symbolic statement.[1209]

From a soldier's point of view, Colonel Gardam also received simple direction from General John de Chastelaine, the Chief of the Defence Staff: "it must be easy to identify, it should need no explanation of what it represents, and peacekeepers must accept it."[1210] A large site was selected along the prestigious Confederation Boulevard and adjacent to the National Gallery of Canada and the U.S. Embassy. It was in November 1990 that *Reconciliation* was announced as the winning design which consisted of a sculpture "formed of two converging granite walls separated by concrete and steel debris,

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[1207] Inscriptions on the memorial fountain.

[1208] Gardam, John, "Chapter 26 – The Peacekeeping Monument," *Canadians in War and Peacekeeping*. Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 2000, p.225.

[1209] National Capital Commission and Department of National Defence, *Competition Guidelines*, 1990, cited in Gough, Paul, "Peacekeeping, Peace, Memory Reflections on the Peacekeeping Monument in Ottawa, *Canadian Military History*, Volume 11, Number 3, Summer 2002, p.65.

[1210] Gardam, John, op.cit., 2000, p.226.

showing the chaos of war. Three cast bronze figures, representing members of Canada's peacekeeping force, stand at the elevated point where the granite walls meet."[1211] The construction of this $2.8 million joint-venture with the National Capital Commission began in the fall of 1991 and was unveiled the following year by the Governor General of Canada (Figure 201).[1212]

The project committee made a sound decision to go against a strong public opinion to engrave the names of those peacekeepers who died in service as they are already commemorated in Canada's *Seventh Book of Remembrance*.[1213] Instead, the military compromised by having Kipling's familiar words – *Their Name Liveth for Evermore* – engraved on the low walls of the Sacred Grove of twelve oak trees. On the topic of inscriptions, it is however disagreeable with the committee's choice to inscribe the names of all peacekeeping missions on the 'mission wall' for two reasons. The first is a technical one. As the monument is periodically updated, there is criticism that some of the missions listed are not considered genuine 'peacekeeping,' but rather, include other aspects of peace support operations. The dilemma is that those who wear the UN 'blue beret' have a proprietary attitude in wanting to keep the original intent of the monument intact, while other veterans are more open to inclusiveness and amend its mandate to reflect changing operational requirements.[1214] Also, with time, the wall will run out of space and it is not apparent how its current design would accommodate future needs. The second reason for not listing missions on the monument is a principled one as it treats

[1211] National Capital Commission, and Department of National Defence, *Creating A National Symbol: The Peacekeeping Monument Competition*. Ottawa: Published by the National Capital Commission, 1991, p10.

Specifically, the three figures of the *Peacekeeping Monument* include a standing United Nations Peacekeeping Observer holding a set of binoculars, a kneeling women signaler communicating on a radio, and a watching peacekeeper wearing his full webbing with his rifle slung on his shoulder.

[1212] An annual ceremony is held at Ottawa's Peacekeeping Monument on or the Saturday closest to 24 October.

[1213] Canada's Seventh Book of Remembrance, entitled *In the Service of Peace*, includes the names of those who died as the result of service since 1947.

[1214] From peacekeeping to peacemaking to peace enforcement to counter-insurgency (COIN) operations.

peacekeeping veterans different from remaining veterans. This issue is particularly sensitive as the National War Memorial's inscriptions only include three sets of dates: 1914-1918, 1939-1945, and 1950-1953.[1215] Since the conclusion of Canada's combat role in Afghanistan in 2011, there has been much pressure from veterans and serving soldiers to include the dates and operational names from Afghanistan and other wars and conflicts onto the National War Memorial. As a means to accommodate all future wars and conflicts, one of the options discussed within the military community is to include the words "In the Service of Peace."

In 1993, David Collonette, the Minister of National Defence at the time, asked Colonel Gardam to be the official guide at the Monument. The Department of Foreign Affairs then began using it as a place of choice for official visitors to receive a tour, have their national anthem played, and place a special bouquet in the centre mortar. While not intended, it gave the appearance that it was more politically correct to honour the 'peacemakers' rather than utilizing the 'standard' National War Memorial venue. However, after the repatriation of the Unknown Soldier and his entombment at the foot of the National War Memorial in 2001, most of the official visitors preferred to lay a wreath at this 'new' *lieu de mémoire*. The Peacekeeping Monument continues to serve as a focal point for the peacekeeping community by holding their annual UN Day and Peacekeeping Day parades. It has also served as a backdrop for presentations of the *Canadian Peacekeeping Service Medal* (Figure 202) – which features the monument's three Peacekeeper figures.

On the international scene, it was not until 2003 that the UN finally erected peacekeeping memorials that they could call their own. Funded by money from the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to them, Secretary General Kofi Annan unveiled the *United Nations Peacekeepers Memorial* at their New York Headquarters commemorating both military and civilian staff (Figure 203). Placed within a space designed for reflection, " its centrepiece is a wall of crystal glass with the phrase "Remember here those who gave their lives for

[1215] To represent the First and Second World War, and the Korean War.

peace" inscribed in the UN's six official languages - Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Spanish and Russian. The memorial includes 191 stepping stones – one for each Member State – and a fountain."[1216] A second UN memorial was unveiled that same day in Geneva, Switzerland, by Sergei Ordzhonikidze, Director General of the UN's Geneva office, before more than 400 people in Ariana Park. A year later on 18 October 2004, Antonio Maria Costa, Director-General of the UN office at Vienna dedicated their Memorial Plaza in honour of their "comrades in peace" who died in the performance of their duty.

The Canadian War Museum in Ottawa currently possess nine memorial stones that were carved overseas to remember twenty-five fallen comrades who served in Canadian peacekeeping missions in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo between 1992 and 2004.[1217] For obvious reasons, such overseas memorials are rarely left behind at the mercy of the local population and are usually repatriated back to Canada. Also, beginning in the mid-1990s, there was a movement afoot by the *Canadian Association of Veterans in United Nations Peacekeeping* to keep their memories alive by having various provinces declare an official 'peacekeeping day' as well as erecting various parks and memorials. One of the most active provinces in terms of military commemoration is the Province of Manitoba whereby its Premier proclaimed on 9 August 2000 that from here onward, that day was reserved to recognize the efforts of their peacekeepers.[1218] The ninth of August has been the date preferred by Canadian veterans to commemorate peacekeeping as it was on 9 August 1974 that a Canadian Forces Buffalo was shot down by surface to air missiles while making a supply flight from Ismaïlia, Egypt to Damascus, Syria. With nine Canadians killed – it marked the worst single-day loss in

[1216] UN News Centre, "UN Day observances include memorials to fallen colleagues," 24 October 2003. See website: http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=8674&Cr=UN&Cr1=Day

[1217] Including the United Nations Protection Force – UNPROFOR; NATO Implementation Force – IFOR; NATO Stabilization Force – SFOR; NATO Kosovo Force – KFOR.

[1218] Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Ministerial Statements, Peacekeeping Day, Statement by The Hon. Gary Doer (Premier), Wednesday, 9 August 2000. See website: http://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/1st-37th/vol_075/h075.html



Figure 204: *Peacekeeping Memorial* dedicated by the Canadian Association of Veterans in United Nations Peacekeeping on 9 August 2004 in remembrance of Peacekeepers who "made the ultimate sacrifice while serving their coutry" since the signing of the UN Charter, 24 October 1945 – Memorial Boulevard, Winnipeg, Manitoba.



Figure 205: Peacekeepers' commemorative plaque added to the city's War Memorial – Fredericton, New Brunswick.



Figure 206: *Peacekeepers' Memorial Statue* unveiled on 9 August 2006, National Peacekeepers' Day. Artist: Gerry Squires. – Veterans Square, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Canadian peacekeeping history.[1219] Accordingly, the *Peacekeeping Memorial* located in their capital city of Winnipeg is perhaps the very first local or provincial peacekeeping testimonial that was put up (Figure 204). The memorial consists of three stone pillars "representing the strength" of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Royal Canadian Mounted Police and "each pillar is engraved with a single word: past, present and future, to signify the service and sacrifice of Canadian peacekeepers."[1220] On top of each of these pillars are important symbols relating to peacekeeping, namely: the three figures found on the *Peacekeeping Monument* in Ottawa (the past); the logo of the United Nations (the present); and the Royal Crown and Cypher of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second incorporated into a maple leaf and surrounded by laurel leaves (the future). As shown in Figure 205, there were other symbols and insignia – such as NATO and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police – that began to appear on existing memorials. The notion of peacekeeping is well supported at the local level throughout Canada. For example, a life-size statue of a soldier standing with his hands outstretched releasing a dove (Figure 206) was erected in 2006, in St. John's, Newfoundland.

Within the Republic of Ireland, it was on 29 May 2005 that Minister Willie O'Dea, T.D., unveiled a *Memorial to Irish Soldiers* in St. Mary's Garden of Remembrance in Thurles. The memorial is dedicated to those 85 Irish soldiers who have died while serving abroad on peacekeeping missions.[1221] The commemoration date coincides with the International Day of UN Peacekeepers.[1222] In Australia, there are plans to erect on 14 September 2012 a memorial in Canberra to "commemorate and celebrate Australian peacekeeping past, present and future" and will include "the

[1219] Other provinces have followed suit, including Nova Scotia, Alberta, British Columbia, and New Brunswick.

[1220] Province of Manitoba, *News Release*, "Manitoba Honours Canadian Peacekeepers," Winnipeg, Manitoba, 6 August 2004. See: http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/press/top/2004/08/2004-08-06-01.html

[1221] The 27 feet by 7 feet memorial consists of five granite plaques and has engraved the numbers, ranks, names, date of death and mission of the 85 soldiers.

[1222] The UN General Assembly designated 29 May as the International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers in 2002.

development of complex multi-dimensional and integrated missions with multi-national military, police and civilian components."[1223] The Australian proposal is reflective of the changing values of peacekeeping and a shift in its missions' composition from comprising exclusively military personnel to including increasing number of civilians and polices forces. As well, the day chosen to commemorate 'peacekeeping day' is selected according to respective national peacekeeping histories.[1224]

REMEMBRANCE SINCE 11 SEPTEMBER 2001

While peacekeeping memorials and commemoration was a major theme since the mid 1980s and over a period of twenty years, the culture of commemorations drastically changed as the result of the tragic events of 11 September 2001. On that day, early in the morning, hijackers took control of four commercial airliners to conduct terrorist attacks on U.S. soil. Within a period of one hour, two planes were intentionally crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York city, one into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, and the fourth into a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania after passengers acted in response to this attack. In all, nearly 3,000 people died, including 26 Canadians. The response by the U.S. government and the international community was swift by launching the War on Terror and invading Afghanistan (October 2001-present) and Iraq (March 2003-December 2011) to depose the Taliban, an Islamist militant and political group that operate in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The social and economic impact of '9/11' and the subsequent anti-terrorism actions – both domestic and overseas – was unlike anything ever seen before. These audacious acts of terrorism were for most Americans

[1223] Website on the *Australian Peacekeeping Memorial Project.* http://www.peacekeepingmemorial.org.au/objectives.php
The date of 14 September was chosen to reflect Australia's peacekeeping and peacemaking involvement that commenced in Indonesia on 14 September 1947, with four Australian military officers being the world's first peacekeepers by deploying to the UN Good Offices Commission in Dutch East Indies (Indonesia).

[1224] E.g., 29 May or 24 October for the UN; 9 August in Canada; and 23 October in some parts of the U.S.

unbelievable as it was never thought that such cataclysmic events would happen on their own soil. Unlike commemorative complacent and reflective practices from previous wars, and the "memory boom" during the last quarter of the 20th century of the acknowledgement and memorialization of past human cruelty and atrocity,[1225] the events of 9/11 seemed to challenge the status quo. The term itself, 9/11, not only became a representation of the various places of memory where the attacks took place but also created a historical 'time stamp' collective memory of where people were and what they were doing during the precise time of the attacks. "The commemoration of 9/11, and 9/11's culture of commemoration, has both history and a future. The event has been and will be made to mark a new epoch, and as such it is already generating a mythology and a set of practices of its own."[1226] Within hours of the attacks, temporary memorials were put up in parks, on street corners, and firehouses in New York city. Shortly after, a similar pattern occurred throughout American cities and elsewhere, such as the Embassy of the U.S. in Ottawa, Canada. This flourishing memorialization throughout the U.S. is part of a trend that is described by Professor Erika Doss at the University of Notre Dame as "*memorial mania*: an obsession with issues and memory and history and an urgent desire to express and claim those issues in visibly public contexts" and "today's numbers of memorials represent heightened anxieties about who and what should be remembered in America."[1227]

Unquestionably, 9/11 changed the spectrum of commemoration within the U.S. and Canada. Similar to the peacekeeping experience, commemoration is no longer restricted to only members of the armed forces but also include civilians as well – notably recognizing the firefighters and police officers who attempted to rescue people from the burning buildings on the morning of 9/11. Perhaps one of the best and simplest examples of this

[1225] Simpson, David, *9/11 – The Culture of Commemoration*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006, p.3.

[1226] Ibid, p.16.

[1227] Doss, Erika, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010, p.2.

transformation from commemorating exclusively the military to that of others serving the greater community is a place of remembrance that is located near Great Bend, Pennsylvania (Figure 207). Placed in the centre of this *Memorial Rest Area* is a stele dedicated in memory of those "citizen soldiers" who served in Iraq[1228] and surrounding the area are memorial markers recognizing those who died while on operation. There are also three memorial benches on site; while two of them are dedicated to the military, the third would have probably not been considered prior to 9/11:

> IN MEMORY OF ALL PROFESSIONALS AND VOLUNTEER AMBULANCE–FIRE–POLICE AND SECURITY PERSONNEL WHO HAVE SACRIFICED ALL IN THE SERVICE TO THEIR COMMUNITIES

Canadian citizens also wanted to participate in commemorative activities related to 9/11 and some of the local communities were involved as early as a few days after. For example, one of the earliest dedicated memorials was the planting of a red oak tree "in memory of all those affected by the American tragedy and events of Tuesday September 11, 2001" by the citizens of the city of Brantford, Ontario, on Friday, 14 September 2001.[1229] Flanking Canada's *National Military Cemetery* in Ottawa is a memorial Stone that lists all those Canadians who died during that tragic event (Figure 208). The prime minister of Canada and high level officials have often visited this place of memory to pay their respects on the anniversary date. After the 9/11 event, remnant pieces of the World Trade Center became relics that were well sought-after, especially by those who were part of the rescue and clean-up operations. Sometime before April 2006, the Ontario Provincial Police was presented an *Iron Cross Memorial* that was cut from one of the steel girder remains of the World Trade Center by an officer of the Port Authority Police Department of New York and New Jersey (Figure 209). As a sign of respect

[1228] The memorial text reads: This memorial is dedicated in memory of the Citizen Soldiers Bravo Company First Battalion One Hundred and Ninth Mechanized Infantry while serving in Operation Iraqi Freedom. Their sacrifice is the greatest reflection upon themselves, their families, The Pennsylvania National Guard and the United States of America. "They will always be remembered as heroes."

[1229] Brass tablet situated at the foot of the memorial tree – Victoria Park, intersection of Darling and Markets Streets, Brantford, Ontario.







Figures 207-209: Top Left – *Memorial Rest Area* – Pennsylvania Welcome Centre located near Great Bend, Pennsylvania, along Interstate 81. Bottom Left – Memorial Stone and tablet in remembrance of the 26 Canadians lost during 11 September 2001 attacks – National Military Cemetery (Beechwood Cemetery), Ottawa, Ontario. Right – *Iron Cross Memorial* emanating from the World Trade Center given by Mr. Steven Lucas and Miss Jennifer E. Smuck on behalf of the Port Authority Police Department of New York and New Jersey– Lincoln M. Alexander Building, Headquarters to the Ontario Provincial Police, Orillia, Ontario.



Figure 210: Display and Tribute of "The Thin Blue Line" – Winnipeg Police Museum, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

and honour, the cross was placed in front of the main Honour Roll of the Ontario Provincial Police "who gave their lives in the Service of the People of Ontario." The seeking of recognition amongst the community of emergency services[1230] for their service, heroism, and their Fallen has been judicious since 2001 and for some, would like to be compared with members of the armed forces (Figure 210). It can be best summed up in a permanent display by the Winnipeg Police Museum:

> IN TRIBUTE AND MEMORY
> TO THE FALLEN OFFICERS OF
> "THE THIN BLUE LINE"
>
> Whether they wore blue, scarlet or khaki
> they died in the defence of your freedom as bravely
> as any man who died in the battlefield.
>
> Their families lost loved ones only because
> they chose to serve and protect you the public.
>
> Many other officers have been seriously injured
> or crippled in the line of duty and while their
> names do not appear here, they will forever pay
> the price of having served in that "Thin Blue Line".

The participation of Canadian troops in combat operations in Afghanistan has provided the general public an opportunity to reflect on how the Fallen are to be commemorated. Although there are numerous public facilities, parks, and streets, named after politicians, there is a feeling within the community that more of these structural memorials should be named for heroes. The feelings of many can be summarized in a letter sent from a local citizen to the editor of a major city newspaper:

> Public assets and facilities should be named after people who have paid the ultimate sacrifice in serving the citizens of our community, province and nation. … Plaques and monuments (with vivid details depicting exactly what happened to them in action, where, when, and noting their survivors and activities they enjoyed most in life) should be prominent at every location. In this manner, we will truly be

[1230] Comprised of police, fire and emergency medical services.

> acknowledging that we will never forget them or what they did for all of us. There would be some comfort to family members in knowing that a park … is named after their son or daughter. Their legacy and story will be brought forward to future youth and citizens as they utilize these public assets. These people are our heroes and their stories must be told and remembered.[1231]

Recognition of the families and their Fallen had been taken for granted for a long time. With the commencement of the campaign against terror in Afghanistan in 2001 and with so many dead and wounded returned home, it changed how they were to be remembered and commemorated. For example, in September and October 2007, General Rick Hillier, Chief of the Defence Staff for the Canadian Forces at the time, sent a letter to the Premier of each of the ten Canadian Provinces and three Territories asking them for their support in "ensuring that none of them are forgotten."

> As their Chief of the Defence Staff, I am extremely proud of what our soldiers, sailors, airmen and airwomen have accomplished since the beginning of our operations in Afghanistan. For the families of our fallen, it has been difficult for them to cope with the loss of a spouse, a sibling, or a friend. One of the key messages that has been repeated to me by members of the families is that they wish that the memories of their loved ones, and of what they have accomplished, be kept alive and be publicly recognized. After seeing and experiencing many of these repatriation and interment ceremonies across the country, I wonder if we have done enough to keep their memory alive and to recognize our deserving heroes.[1232]

[1231] Letter from Mr. Tom Donnelly, from Greely (Ontario), to the Editor of *The Ottawa Citizen*, Ottawa, Ontario, Friday, 16 November 2007, p.A15.

[1232] Letter from General Rick Hillier, C.M.M., M.S.C., C.D., Chief of the Defence Staff to The Honourable Danny Williams, Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, dated 17 September 2007. In October 2007, other similar letters were sent to: The Honourable Ed Stelmach, Premier of Alberta; The Honourable Gordon Campbell, Premier of British Columbia; The Honourable Gary Doer, Premier of Manitoba; The Honourable Shawn Graham, Premier of New Brunswick; The Honourable Joe Handley, Premier of the Northwest Territories; The Honourable Rodney Macdonald, Premier of Nova Scotia; The Honourable Paul Okalik, Premier of Nunavut; The Honourable Dalton McGuinty, Premier of Ontario; The Honourable Robert W.J. Ghiz, Premier of Prince Edward Island; L'honorable Jean Charest, Premier ministre du Québec; The Honourable Lorne Calvert, Premier of Saskatchewan; and The Honourable Dennis Fentie, Premier of Yukon.

One of the most well-known recognition programs within the military community is *Red Friday*. Dubbed 'the Red Friday Ladies,' Lisa Miller and Karen Boire spearheaded a grassroots movement in Canada that began as a Red Friday Rally in September 2006 on Parliament Hill, Ottawa. Their idea was simple: wear red on Fridays to show support for the troops and families of the Canadian military. Their first event drew thousands of supporters wearing read and has since spread throughout military bases and cities across the country. There have been other 'support our troops' programs initiated by local communities. For example, there is a 'yellow ribbon campaign' whereby this ribbon is either worn or displayed as a decal as a further sign of support and respect. As shown in Figures 211-212, some provincial and local governments have gone so far as incorporating the yellow ribbon into their landscaping or public buildings.



Figures 211-212: Left – *Support Our Troops 2008* Rock and Flower Bed – Front Lawn to the Manitoba Provincial Legislative, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Right – Yellow Ribbon surrounding City Hall Building – Pembroke, Ontario.

In summary, much has changed since the 1980s on whom and how people are to be remembered and commemorated. Inasmuch as the UN has been in existence since 1945, it was not until a major attack on American and French soldiers in Beirut that led to the creation of the first peacekeeping memorial in 1988. While Australia and Canada took on a lead role in erecting

peacekeeping memorials, it was not until 2003 that the UN began to erect their own peacekeeping memorials. As operational requirements demanded a shift from peacekeeping to peace support operations, so did the nature of commemorations that began to recognize civilians. As part of commemorative efforts, the UN and individual countries also selected respective days to remember the memory and sacrifices of peacekeepers. This paradigm shift continued to evolve after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 – in essence, mobilizing local groups into a public sense of urgency when commemorating its casualties and remembering the survivors. This in turn lead to a more inclusive interpretation of who is to be commemorated. Armed forces continue to take the lead role with respect to recognition and commemoration but local communities now also better appreciate contributions made by members of emergency services. One of the major changes is the community's level of support to the Fallen and their families which transcended through grass root programs and events.

CONCLUSION

For those countries that possess armed forces which have fought in wars and conflicts, military memorials and commemoration are integral to the fabric of a community. We have shown how history has defined military memorials and commemoration and how they have changed since the 19th century.

Over the last four centuries, historians have made tremendous individual efforts in advancing the study of memorials and commmemoration but as a group, they have generally been unsuccessful in taking a wider approach – preferring to keeping within their own area of expertise and taking few risks in making futurist predictions. One of the most challenging aspects of this study was to tackle the lack of a common understanding within the literature. This includes the use of concepts and lexicons that are either misunderstood, misused, or not yet created in order to reflect major changes that have occurred since the 1980s. For example, the words 'memorial' and 'monument' are often used interchangeably, without knowing the subtle differences; few understand the distinction between the purpose and structure of an 'obelisk' with that of a 'pyramidal column'; or the word 'living memorial' that is used liberally, without any care or explanation. Another common misbelief is that just because a memorial is connected to the military, it becomes a war memorial.

Since John Weaver's 1631 magnum opus, there were hundreds of monographs published over the next three centuries on a variety of family, social, political, military and religious monuments and memorials, but it was not until the two World Wars that authors such as Lawrence Weaver (1915) and Arnold Whittick (1935) began to present their findings on the history of memorials and their recommendations on design and selection. The leaders and architects behind the creation and development of the Imperial War Graves Commission (1917) brought about new ways of how to handle the burial of its massive dead and how the fallen were to be commemorated. This

included the creation of battlefield cemeteries and the erection of new symbols of remembrance – a Cross of Sacrifice and a Stone of Remembrance – as central memorials across the British Empire and the Commonwealth. Moreover, initial studies on memorials located within respective countries did not occur until four decades after the Second World War: France in 1984, Canada in 1987, New Zealand in 1990, Ireland and the U.S. during the 1990s, and Australia in 2005. Accordingly, a most up-to-date and thorough literature review is provided within Chapter 1 and forms a solid foundation for understanding some of the key concepts and developments related to memorials and commemoration.

Due to the existing extensive literature and the magnitude of the number and variety of memorials erected since the South African War, it has been a difficult task to summarize and simplify a memorials classification. This step is essential in order to build inventories and make comparative analyses. After careful research, one can determine that a memorial can be classified by themes, sentiments, purpose or shapes. On the whole, existing academic classifications are based on sentiments expressed or emotional responses. Popular approaches deal mainly with the physical characteristics of the most common types of memorials, such as statues, columns and sculptures. This thesis seeks to bridge these, and proposes an eleven-point model[1233] which covers other types of memorials, like geo-memorials, which have not been brought into formal studies thus far. While there are some studies completed on utilitarian memorials such as buildings and recreational facilities, there is a scarcity of research completed on other memorial shapes and purpose. What became clear is that the current method of reviewing, analysing, and classifying memorials is not in line with new and growing trends. Under these conditions, a flexible classification system was devised whereby one can differentiate between groups, types, and forms of memorials; maintain historic and classic terminologies; and allow for the introduction of

[1233] The ten-point model – applied to military memorials – includes: war memorials; operational memorials; commemorative memorials; stuctural memorials; weapons, vehicles, ships, and aircraft; geo-memorials; named trophies and awards; tangible memorials – historic; tangible memorials – conceptual; tangible memorials – writings; and intangible memorials. This model can also be applied to civic memorials.

new memorial concepts – such as 'rolling memorials'. As an aide memoire, 'groups' are either military or civic memorials, 'types' of memorials relate to purpose or intent, while 'forms' of memorials relate to shape or appearance. Chapter 2 – 'Creating a General Classification System' – lists and describes for the first time, an overall representation of tangible and intangible forms of memorials that are located within our communities. While this classification system was developed primarily for the application of military memorials, it can be easily adapted for civic memorials. Found at the end of this work is a summary table that identifies the main forms of memorials along with the core periods to which they are most associated with. As well, a contemporary glossary of terms is offered to help clarifiy and expand past and current vocabulary related to memorials and commemoration.

This thesis has provided a progressive account of the role and significance of memorials and commemoration since ancient times and has demonstrated that there is an important linkage between these two topics. As historians study our past, geographers study the earth, and architects study building design and construction, then *memorialogists* can be defined as those who study memorials and associated commemorative practices. Therefore, the study of memorials and associated commemorative practices can be appropriately called *memorialogy*. Memorialogy is an interdisciplinary field of study that incorporates for example, Weever's 1631 broad definition of memorials, Kniffen's 1967 application of necrogeography, Nora's 1993 notion of *lieu de mémoire*, and all concepts and applications of commemoration since ancient times. While some academics and professionals may feel that there is not really a need to create such a universal field of study, the phenomenon has been ongoing for centuries with studies and writings emanating from the disciplines of history, arts, geography, psychology, architecture, urban planning, archeology, public administration, among others. This is an opportunity for ephemeral studies of the past to be joined into a research area that can find commonality in countless places within our communities and society in general. The founding of this new field is based on a pluristic community approach to memorialization and commemoration. The

classification system developed in this work brings together the various disciplinary approaches, creating a common basis for this new approach.

As illustrated in Chapter 3, recognizing military legacies is one of the best ways to study and understand local customs and traditions. Early forms of memorials that originate from ancient Egyptian empires and ancient Greece provide vast examples of remembrance and commemoration. Their relevance continued well into the 19th century and was exemplied in instances such as the *Wellington Testimonial* (1818), the *Washington Monument* (1848), and a variety of columns and obelisks in Canada since 1808. The later include important *lieux de mémoire* that were well supported by the local population, such as: *Nelson's Pillar* (1808) at Montréal; a monument erected to General Brock (1824 and 1853) at Queenston Heights, Ontario; the *Wolfe and Montcalm Monument* (1828) and the *Monument des Braves* at Québec (1863); and the Battle of Lundy's Lane 'Soldier Memorial' (1895) at Niagara Falls, Ontario. However, *Nelson's Pillar* that was formerly at Dublin demonstrates the extreme opposite: a local desire for total eradication of memory. The meaning of this is that if the public is not interested in continuing to honour or commemorate a particular person or an event, the memory of that space can be reassigned.

It is impossible to record and commemorate everything. As outlined in Chapter 4 – 'Public Memory and Commemoration', it was shown that luminaries and leaders from across Europe, Russia and North America carefully chose who or what they wanted to memorialize. For example, Catherine II's *Bronze Horsemen Monument* to Peter the Great (1782) was remarkably successful in achieving the desired political effect and her memorialization as well. Other good examples are the statues of George Washington in London (1921) and Cúchulainn in Dublin (1935) that help embody their respective nation's heroes. From a technological point of view, Clark Mills' equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson (1852) fêted the triumph of this Major General but also made the artist immediately renowned. A variety of stakeholders – including developers, fraternal organizations, cities, parks

commissions, and countries – have been actively involved in using memorials to honour or commemorate but have also used them as a means for demonstrating friendship, reconciliation and post-conflict diplomacy. This phenomemon was observed at places like the *Hall of Memories* at the New Zealand National War Memorial (1964), the *Atatürk Memorial Park and Monument* in Wellington (1990), the Gettysburg National Cemetery with the *Friend to Friend Masonic Memorial* (1993), and the *New Zealand Memorial* (2001) at the ANZAC parade, Canberra. In Canada, it also included controversial war memorials regarding fighting at Fort York and the battle of Chippawa during the War of 1812. In all of these cases, a political statement was being made either at the local, regional or national level and are a physical record of their beliefs and values at time of erection.

Religion has always had a tremendous influence on the shape and use of public memorials. Although there are many approaches on how to commemorate and memorialize military personnel who come from different faiths, the common denominator is that they all value and respect their respective places of collective memory. For example, we have seen that after the late 19th century, nearly all of the memorials erected on Roman Catholic property have been dedicated to former clergy. Also, since its foundation in 1917, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission has made painstaking efforts in trying to accommodate all of the religious faith when caring for the graves and memorials of almost 1.7 million Commonwealth servicemen and women who died in the two World Wars. While the Great War was used as a rallying point to gain political, economic, or religious gains, memorials were often used to display a community's mind-set. Within the Protestant faith, the distinctive words " FOR GOD • FOR KING AND • COUNTRY" slowly disappeared from the face of memorials but the fervent commemoration of its parish members continued on through tablets, memorial windows, organs, ciboriums, and the like. Flags, colours, standards, and ensigns are of great antiquity but persist to be present in churches such as Westminster Abbey in London and St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church in Ottawa. Without a doubt, spiritual influences are an essential part of the memorialization process.

Remembrance can be observed by many ways. While Christians have recognized various religious days to commemorate the dead (such as All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day), nations and governments have also set aside days to mourn its fallen, including Armistice Day, Remembrance Day, Remembrance Sunday, Memorial Day, Peacekeeping Day, among others. There is also a broad range of signs of remembrance available today. These encompass a wide spectrum, including: incorporating inscriptions or an epitaph; placing a wreath or a spray of flowers; wearing a red poppy; leaving food, coins and gifts behind; using memorial grave markers; creating a book of remembrance; rubbing, touching, and saluting memorials; releasing doves; displaying flags; and using commemorative stamps and coins. As we have seen, these signs of remembrance are part of everyday life within a community and are often used to bridge the past with the present.

Concepts and sites of collective memory have greatly affected how we interact with the memorial space and objects that are placed under our care. It is French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs that is credited with having initially developed the concept of 'collective memory' during the 1940s. He contends that as a socially constructed notion, collective memory is always selective and that it is individuals who remember, not groups or institutions. Since then, his pioneering work has been vastly expanded – particularly since the 1970s – with studies examining new concepts and processes. For example, Henry Rousseau breaks down national memory into four 'vectors of memory', including: 'official vectors' which consist of monuments, commemorations and celebrations; 'associative vectors' that are linked to specific real-life experiences; 'cultural vectors' that are expressed through literature, film and television; and 'scholarly vector' that reconstruct and teach knowledge based on facts and evidence. Pierre Nora also studied France's national memory and created his own concept of *lieu de mémoire* (place of memory) that became a classical term within the literature and in everyday use. Over a period of eight years (1984-1992), he edited and published a monumental collective work entitled *Les Lieux de Mémoire*. His work was translated into English and German and selective portions were

republished as seven volumes divided into two sets: one being an "approach to internal memory" while the other is dedicated "to exterior memory."

Professors Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan provide some additional insight on how war has been remembered collectively during the 20th century. One of their initial observations correctly points out "that historians frequently talk at cross purposes or in complete ignorance of each other's position in this field." They also contend that the French government has placed heavy investments in the 'memory business' – such as museums and pilgrimages – as "history sells" and that this "popular kind of collective memory" is "vital", "palpitable" and "alive". Winter and Sivan prefer to use the term 'collective remembrance' in order to avoid generalizations and to separate collective memory from a vague wave of associations which "come over an entire population". George L. Mosse took a different approach when he studied the consequences and the collective memory of modern Revolutionary warfare and the First World War. First, he described a phenomenon that was largely exhibited in the defeated nations as the "Myth of the War Experience" whereby the majority were seeking "to obtain some justification for the sacrifice and loss" and the Myth "was designed to mask the war and to legitimize the war experience; it was meant to displace the reality of war." Moss also notes that it was the committed volunteers who fought during the Revolutionary wars that played a significant role as "mythmakers" and that it was this entusiasm for change that set the conditions for the French Revolution to have "pioneered the public use of myths and symbols" that included: the use of ancient forms such as the pyramid and pillars; changes in cemetery design to incorporate shrines of national worship; creating cemeteries for its war dead; erecting memorials to commemorate the fallen, collectively and individually; and performing acts of commemoration. To be sure, the collective memory of a nation is reflected and characterized by the make up and upkeep of its memorials. Of all the '*lieux de mémoire collective*' (sites of This collective memory), the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris was up until the mid to late 19th century, the principal model emulated in cemeteries across, Europe, Canada and the U.S.

Notwithstanding all of the work done by Halbwachs, Rousseau, Nora, Winter , Sivan, Mosse and other scholars, there remain considerable gaps in the study of collective memory. This thesis has made a substantive contribution to the concept of collective memory. First, a language barrier always exists as authors typically publish their original findings in their mother tongue. In this regard, a number of concepts and ideas put forth by Annette Becker, Colonel Gérard, le Musée de l'Armée in Paris, Pierre Nora, Henry Rousseau, as well as texts from numerous commemorative plaques located in Paris and in Québec have now been exposed to the English language. Second, this work addressed within a single platform some of the key positions and lexicons outlined by historians specializing in collective memory. And thirdly, the field of memorialogy is offered as a realistic and dynamic approach to include both symbols of memory (physical space) with acts of memory (mental space) at a single venue.

As characterized in Chapter 5, one of the greatest contributions of this work is the efforts to establish the three interrelated elements that compose commemoration (participants, venue and remembrance) as well as the three key principles that form the fabric of commemoration (recognition, respect and reflection) – which are known simply as the 'Three 'R's' of Commemoration'. 'Recognition' – the first principle of commemoration – outlines how honours and awards affect the development of military memorials as well as how state funerals are used as a primary form of 'commemorative recognition.' These are typically the first signs of commemoration as for soldiers engaged in war, the expectations for visible and timely recognition are high. In both cases – for memorials and state funerals – there have been incredible changes on how recognition has been used since the 19th century. Although customs and traditions have transformed, their meaning and purpose have remained relatively the same.

'Respect' as the second principle of commemoration is an intangible form that is more concerned with an attitude of admiration or a feeling of friendship and esteem. This expression of gratitude is less obvious on

memorials and commemoration but is nonetheless present. One of the best ways to demonstrate this is through the insignia of a nation's highest valour award that is inscribed onto grave markers, battlefield memorials and permanent headstones dedicated to our fallen. As shown through an aboriginal history of commemoration, respect means different things to diverse societies. While it is true that up until the late 19th century, there was a relative 'non-existence' of aboriginal memorials in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the U.S., the respective aboriginal communities increasingly began to emulate European traditions by erecting memorials but incorporated cultural elements of their own – including the spiritual eagle feather and the use of sacred greenstone.

Considered perhaps the most complex and controversial of the three principles of commemoration is 'reflection'. Usually happening last, reflection often results in reconciliation for some and repentence for others. But certainly, it includes remembrance. The notion of reflection is tied-in with the tardy erection of memorials and belated commemoration or those that help invoke reminiscence or memories of the past. We have examined a multiplicity of reflective memorials and commemoration: contentious memorials and sites of memory related to pardons, internment camps and holocaust victims; 'firsts and lasts' markers and memorials that commemorate historical events or last surviving veterans; the divisive American Civil War that contributed to "the world's largest collection of outdoor sculpture" at Gettysburg and the creation of a national day of remembrance; bombing during the Second World War that exhibited a classic confrontation between history and collective memory; and the recent desire to erect animals in war memorials as powerful testaments of the contribution from beasts of burden and the like.

The last chapter – ' The Forging of a New Identity' – is key to understanding the major changes that have taken place in memorials and commemoration since the creation of the U.N. in 1945. There are many articles and monographs written on individual peacekeeping/peace support

operations memorials and monuments, but until now, there was no comprehensive review and analysis of them. Our research has shown that while there were many peacekeeping deaths since 1948, it was not until the 1980s that memorialization began to take place. A terrorist attack in Beirut, Lebanon, along with the 40th anniversary of the U.N. were the main events that triggered the memorialization of peacekeeping and their fallen in Canberra (Australia), Ottawa (Ontario), U.N. Headquarters (New York), and elsewhere. The other major catalyst was the results of the tragic events of 11 September 2001 where thousands of people died, including personnel from emergency services that were on site. The outcome was that recognition – through memorials and commemoration – was no longer under the sole perrogative of the military but was also to recognize civilians that put their lives at risk within their own country.

In terms of potential future research within the field of memorialogy, there is an abundance of opportunities. For example, further research can be done on the various types and forms of memorials by reviewing and analysing existing memorials inventories. A thesis could be dedicated entirely on the topic of recognizing military legacies since the 19th century, particularly within North America. Also, there is much literature on the topic of public memory and collective memory. This is a very complex subject that can be examined in more detail, particularly as it applies to the psychology of memorialization. Another topic is the aboriginal history of commemoration as there are hundreds of tribes located throughout North America and Oceania – all of which have distinct customs and traditions. While there has been much interest in studying memorials dedicated to internment camps and holocaust victims erected across Europe, there is nothing written on those located with Canada and the U.S. In terms of the American Civil war, there are thousands of books on the history of their many battles, but there are relatively few that encompass their military memorials. The same can be said on studies concerning the memorialization of women in North America. The last area that merits study is the internet and the publishing of websites related to memorialogy. The internet has become a powerful tool that is used as a means

of communicating information, as well as for social media. Considering that many countries, governments, historical organizations and other stakeholders use the internet, it is a source which needs to be considered but also corroborated. With thousands of memorials located worldwide, there is a steady number of articles and books published in print and posted on the internet that report or discuss memorials and commemoration. These represent the interest of the community in what they wish to represent, remember or commemorate. It is the community's duty and responsibility – and especially the youth – to keep the torch of remembrance alive to preserve the memories of those people and events that are most dear to them. It is through commemoration and remembrance that legacies left behind can be appreciated for future generations to come.

CHRONOLOGY OF MILITARY MEMORIALS (315-2012)

The following is a chronology of noteworthy memorials identified througouth this work and elsewhere.

LEGEND:

Date – C = corner stone laid D = dedicated E = erected
F = foundation stone laid M = moved on site O = opening
P = presentation U = unveiling W = works commenced
Italics = proper name of memorial

Date	***Country – Memorial's Name (Original date) – City***
315 D	*Arch of Constantine* – Rome
1686 E	Bronze bust of Louis XIV – Place Royale, Old Québec 1st civic memorial erected in Québec and in Canada
1772 E	*Wolfe's Monument* – Westminster Abbey, London
7 Oct. **1773** U	Marble bust of George III – Place d'Armes, Montréal 2nd civic memorial erected in Québec and 1st in Montréal
9 August **1792** U	Monument to Peter the Great – Moscow
4 July **1799** D	*The Revolutionary Monument* – The oldest war memorial in the U.S. – Lexington, MA
21 May **1804** O	*Père Lachaise Cemetery* – Paris
10 Nov. **1805** E	1st memorial (an arch) erected to the memory of Lord Nelson – Castletownshend, County Cork
15 Feb. **1808** C	*Nelson's Pillar* – Dublin
1808-1809	*Nelson's Pillar* – Montréal 1st military memorial erected in Québec and in Canada
1810 E	*Colonne de Vendôme* – Paris
18 June **1818** F	*Wellington Testimonial* – Dublin
18 Oct. **1824** U	*General Brock's Monument* – Queenston Heights, ON Original column which included his mortal remains
15 Nov. **1827** U	*Wolfe and Montcalm Monument* – Québec, QC
1833 M	'L'aiguille de Cléopâtre'(1400 BC) – Paris
4 July **1848** C	*Washington Monument* – Washington, D.C.
8 January **1853** U	Equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson – Washington, D.C.
18 July **1855** C	*Monument des Braves* – Québec, QC
1857 W	*Wellington's Monument* – St. Paul's Cathedral, London
14 Sept. **1859 D**	Memorial tablets in honour of Lieutenant-General Louis-Joseph Marquis de Montcalm – *Chapelle des Ursulines*, Québec, QC
17 July **1860 U**	The *Welsford and Parker Monument* – Halifax, NS

1863 E — *Hazen Brigade Monument* considered the oldest surviving monument of the American Civil War – Murfreesboro, TN

Sept. **1866** D — *Civil War Unknowns Monument* – Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D.C.

1878 M — 'The London Needle' (1500 BC) – London

18 Oct. **1881** C — *Monument to Alliance and Victory* – Yorktown, VA

31 March **1883** C — Tumulus, Army of Tennessee – New Orleans, LA

13 October **1886** D — *Joseph Brant Memorial Statue* – Brantford, ON

1886 E — *Volunteer Monument* – Winnipeg, MB

1888 O — *Arc de Triomf* – Barcelona

4 July **1891** U — *72nd Pennsylvania Infantry Monument* – Gettysburg National Military Park, PA

24 Sept. **1891** E — Monument to the 42nd New York Infantry (Tammany Regiment) – Gettysburg National Military Park, PA

25 July **1895** U — Battle of Lundy's Lane memorial – Niagara Falls, ON

May **1913** P — Molesworth Price 18th c. gun collection – Québec, QC

9 June **1914** D — *Confederation Memorial Arch* – Petersburgh, VA

30 Oct. **1919** U — *Monument aux braves de Notre-Dame-de-Grâce* claimed as the earliest Great War memorial in Canada – Montréal

1919 U — *Connaught Window* – St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church, Ottawa, ON

1920 O — Memorial 'AUX HEROS MORTS INCONNUS POUR LA FRANCE' – Le Panthéon, Paris

9 Aril **1920** U — The *Japanese Canadian War Memorial* is the first Eternal Flame known to be lit for a memorial since the Roman Empire – Vancouver, BC

30 June **1921** U — Statue of George Washington – London

11 Nov. **1921** D — *Unknown Warrior* – Westminster Abbey, London

11 Nov. **1921** D — *La tombe du soldat inconnu* – Arc de Triomphe, Paris

24 Aug. **1921** U — The *Nursing Sisters' Memorial* – Parliament Hill, Ottawa

21 March **1922** O — The 'Victory Arch, *Waterloo Station* – London

March **1922** U — *Swanley War Memorial* recording the First British Officer to fall in the Great War – Swanley

27 April **1922** D — *Ulysses S. Grant Memorial* – Washington, D.C.

1 Dec. **1922** O — *ANZAC Memorial Bridge* – Kaiparoro, NZ

Spring **1923** — Canada erected the monument of St. Julien, the first of 13 battlefield memorials in France and Belgium

11 Nov. **1923** D — *The Cenotaph* – London

11 Nov. **1923** U — Eternal Flame at the Tomb of the French Unknown Soldier – Arc de Triomphe, Paris

9 Sept. **1925** D — *New York State Auxiliary Monument* – Gettysburg, PA

1 July **1924** U — *National War Memorial* – St. John's, NL

7 June **1925** U — *Newfoundland Memorial Park* – Beaumont Hamel, France

24 July **1925** C — Cenotaph, Old City Hall – Toronto, ON

1927 O — *The Tunnellers' Friends* – Peace Tower, Ottawa

11 Nov. **1927** D — *The Canadian Cross of Sacrifice* – Washington, D.C.

11 Nov. **1928** D — City's main cenotaph – Winnipeg, MB

25 April **1929** C — *Wellington Cenotaph* – Wellington

21 April **1935** U — *The Death of Cúchulainn* – Dublin

26 July **1936** U — *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* – Vimy

3 July **1938** D — *Eternal Light Peace Memorial* – Gettysburg, PA

21 May **1939** U — *National War Memorial* – Ottawa

15 April **1942** P — *George Cross* presentation to the 'Island Fortress' of Malta

October **1951** D — The *British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Memorial Gates* – Trenton, ON

2 Nov.**1960** U — Lutyens' *Stone of Remembrance* – Winnipeg, MB

1964 D — *Le Mémorial* – La Citadelle de Québec, QC

19 April **1968** U — *Desert Mounted Corps Memorial* – Canberra

1973 D — The *Canadian Peacetime Sailors Memorial* – Halifax, NS

13 Nov. **1982** D — The *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* – Washington, D.C.

29 Sept. **1984** D — *Canadian Airmen's Monument* – Toronto, ON

29 April **1985** D — *Attatürk Memorial Park* – Wellington

6 August **1985** D — To the Memory of all Victims of War – Winnipeg, MB

1986 O — *Peace Park* – Canberra

28 April **1987** U — National Day of Mourning memorial – Ottawa

1988 D — Simpson, Henderson and the Donkey – Canberra

22 Oct. **1988** U — *Beirut Peacekeepers Memorial* considered the world's first large-scale peacekeeping memorial – Jacksonville, NC

20 April **1990** U — Henderson – National War Memorial, Wellington

31 May **1992** U — Statue of Sir Arthur Harris, Bomber Command – St. Clement Danes Church, London

8 Oct. **2006** U — Canadian *Peacekeeping Monument* – Ottawa

17 February **1993** D — The *U.S. Aircraft Carrier Memorial* – San Diego, CA

22 Apr. **1993** D — Eternal Flame at the *U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum* – Washington, D.C.

11 Nov. **1993** D — *Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier* – Canberra

21 July **1994** U — War dog memorial *Always Faithful* - Guam

21 October **1995** O — 'Stone of Rememberance' – Waiouru

1996 E — The *Civil War Horse* – Middleburg, VA

28 May **1999** U — *National Medal of Honor Memorial* – Indianapolis, IN

28 May **2000** U — *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* – Ottawa

24 April **2001** U — *The New Zealand Memorial* – Canberra

21 June **2001** U — *National Aboriginal Memorial* – Ottawa

12 October **2001** U — Chippawa memorial cairn – Chippawa, ON

14 Jan. **2002** U  *9/11 Memorial Monument* – Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa

24 October **2003** U  *United Nations Peacekeepers Memorial* – New York, NY

29 May **2004** U  *National World War II Memorial* – Washington, D.C.

25 July **2004** U  *Lundy's Lane Battlefield Commemorative Wall* – Niagara Falls, ON

9 August **2004** D  Peacekeeping memorial – Winnipeg, MB

11 Nov. **2004** D  *The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior* – Wellington

24 Nov. **2004** U  *The Animals in War Memorial* – London

1 Sept. **2005** D  Statue of Lt. Col. J. Macleod, RCMP – Fort Calgary, AB

28 Oct. **2005** U  Statue of Lord Nelson, 200th Anniversary – Gibraltar

14 June **2006** D  *The Glyn Berry Conference Room* – New York

18 July **2006** D  The *Alberta Police and Peace Officers' Memorial* – Edmonton, AB

9 August **2006** U  *Peacekeepers' Memorial Statue* – St. John's, NL

5 Nov. **2006** U  *The Valiants Memorial* – Ottawa

2 Feb. **2007** U  Snow sculpture of the *Canadian National Vimy Memorial* – Winnipeg, MB

3 June **2007** E  Sgt. Tommy Prince memorial – Winnipeg, MB

2008 O  *Wall of Valour* – C.F.B. Halifax, NS

2008 O  *Hall of Colours* – Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa

17 March **2008** U  *State Funeral of the last 'Poilu'* – Les Invalides, Paris

3 Nov. **2008** U  *Monument to the War of 1812* – Toronto, ON

23 Oct. **2011** U  *Memorial Wall* – Internment of Italian Canadians – Ottawa

4 Dec. **2011** O  Wreaths Across Canada – Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa

28 June **2012** U  *Bomber Command Memorial* – Green Park, London

1 July **2012** U  *Forgotten Heroes* war memorial to the animals – Bass River, NS

3 Nov. **2012** U  *Animals in War* memorial – Ottawa, ON

GLOSSARY

Arch: in architecture, a curved structure consisting of pieces so arranged as to be supported by their natural pressure. Romans employed the arch for constructive reasons (e.g. bridge, doorway), never for decoration. In the case of memorials, the arch is often used as a gateway portal or as an entrance to a cemetery, garden, park or memorial site (Figures 16-19, 22).

Altar: a raised place or structure where sacrifices are offered and religious rites performed.

Armistice: the term originates from the latin name *arma*, signifying 'arms' and of the latin verb *sistere*: to cease; in otherwords, it is a cease-fire.

Bas-relief: a sculpture in low relief (Figures 101, 148, 159, 172).

Battlefield memorial: a memorial erected – normally by a military force – within a defined theatre operations (domestic or overseas) to commemorate deceased military personnel and units/formations who participated in combat against an armed enemy. Battlefield memorials tend to be erected on (or closeby) the spot where the battle took place and are usually put up during the overall period of engagement or soon after the war (Figures 73, 140). Also see Overseas memorial.

Book of Remembrance: a Roll of Honour in a book form that is often illuminated (Figures 27, 132). See Roll of Honour.

Bust: a sculpture of a person's head, shoulders and chest.

Cairn: a pile of stones or bricks, usually cemented together, roughly in the shape of a pyramid (Figures 100, 153).

Cenotaph: is an 'empty tomb' or an overarching term that includes all memorials which remember those (a person or a group of people) who have died, but who are not entombed within the memorial (Figures 80, 122).

Cavetto Cornice: the characterictic cornice of most Egyptian buildings, consisting of a large cavetto (round concave molding) – plain or decorated with upright stylized leaf forms (Figure 87).

Casket: a 'casket' was originally a box for jewelry. The term is also extended for those glass-top cases that include a Book of Remembrance (Figure 132). Also see Coffin.

Coffin: for most, the words 'coffin' and 'casket' are interchangeable. It is a funerary box used to bury the dead. However, within the North American funeral industry, the distinction between a coffin and a casket is that a coffin

has a tapered hexagonal or octagonal (diamond) shape and a casket is rectangular shaped. Also see Casket.

Column: a tall vertical structure, usually made of stone, brick, concrete, or other material used as a support for a building or as an ornament. It can be used as a memorial when standing alone, or to support or decorate other parts of a memorial. Columns can take various shapes: e.g. circular (Figures 61, 91-95) or pyramidal (Figures 89, 96-97, 109). The word 'column' is synonymous with the word 'pillar.'

Commemoration: an application of remembrance that normally requires the physical presence of a person, an appropriate venue – such as a memorial or cemetery – and some form of observance to take place. If someone has been 'commemorated', it means that a particular memorial has been created in their memory or that the name of the person to be remembered is included somewhere on a memorial (e.g. a memorial for the missing, Roll of Honour).

Cornerstone: see Foundation Stone.

Cornice: also known as the 'cap', 'cap mold', 'surbase' or top part of a pedestal. See Pedestal.

Cross: a common symbol of Christianity that is widely used as a temporary or permanent grave marker (Figure 72), inscribed onto a headstone (Figures 161-162), integrated into a larger memorial (Figure 73), or can serve as a memorial on its own (Figures 74-75,140).

Cross of Sacrifice (Blomfield's): a memorial cross design created in 1917 by Reginald Blomfield that includes a bronze sword affixed to the face of a Latin cross. It is one of the two central memorials in all of the cemeteries of the C.W.G.C. (Figure 74).

Dexter side: the viewer's left.

Die: also known as the 'dado' or middle part of a pedestal. See Pedestal.

Diorama: a full-size replica or scale model of a scene containing three-dimensional objects.

Display: an exhibition of various items, such as medals, badges, insignia, photographs, etc. (Figure 210).

Earthworks: a ground formation that can be created by nature or man-made that usually consist of low mounds shaped into human or animal effigies, or geometric forms.

Eternal flame: a flame kept burning in remembrance of a deceased person or to commemorate a particular event. The flame is typically an actual flame but can also include a flame illuminated by electricity (Figures 56-61).

First Stone: see Foundation Stone.

Footstone: a memorial stone set at the foot of a grave (Figure 160). Also see Headstone and Gravestone.

Form: 'form' of memorials relate to shape or appearance. They include tangible forms such as a pyramid, cairn, obelisk, stele, column, arch, stained glass window, eternal flame, unknown soldier, stone of remembrance, cross of sacrifice, and book of remembrance. They also include intangible memorials such as endowments and scholarships (Figure 2). Also see Type.

Foundation Stone: sometimes referred to as the 'first stone.' It is a large block of stone laid at at the base or near the bottom of a new building or memorial during a formal ceremony. When the stone forms part of a corner or angle in a wall, it is called a 'cornerstone'. The foundation stone usually includes inscriptions recording the event and since the early 19th century, sometimes contains a cavity into which is placed a time capsule and other period artefacts.

Geo-memorial: geographic memorials – or geo-memorials – are natural geographic features, such as mountains, lakes, and rivers, that have been named to honour or memorialize a person or an event (Figure 49).

Gravestone: a generic term for a stone placed over a grave as a marker. The word 'gravestone' is synonymous with the word 'tombstone'.

Headstone: a memorial stone set at the head of a grave that is typically inscribed with the name of the deceased (Figures 129, 161-162). Also see Footstone, Gravestone and Inscription.

Iconography: the analytic study of the identification, description, and the interpretation of images and symbolic representations.

Inscription: A headstone from the C.W.G.C. includes both a military inscription (typically – service number, rank, name, honours, unit, date of death, age) and a short personal inscription (a maximum of 66 characters) (Figure 161).

Laurel: an emblem signifying 'victory' (Figures 51-52, 148).

Manuscript Roll of Honour: a Roll of Honour that has the appearance of a manuscript. The list of names is either calligraphied, hand painted on wooden panels or sculpted in stone and is often illuminated or decorated with mosaic tiles (Figure 12). Also see Book of Remembrance.

Memorial: an object of remembrance (such as a statue, building, stained glass window, book or mountain) or an intangible form of remembrance (such as an endowment or scholarship) that is created or erected in memory of one or more individuals or to commemorate a significant event (Figure 2). The

terms ‘memorial’ and ‘monument’ are often used interchangeably. Also see Monument.

Memorialogy: the study of memorials and associated commemorative practices.

Military honours: when co-ordinating the provision of military honours to distinguished personages in the military or as a courtesy, to dignitaries or high-ranking representatives in foreign armed forces, it may include all or some of the following: a guard of honour, gun salute, and musical salute.

Monolith: a large single block of stone (Figure 86).

Monument: while the terms ‘monument’ and ‘memorial’ are often used interchangeably, there are subtle differences between them. When we refer to a ‘monument,’ it is assumed that it consists of a structure such as an obelisk, stele, arch, statue, or a sculptural group. One would also not be inclined to erect a ‘memorial’ in honour of an individual or event unless the person is deceased or the event has already taken place. Rather, if the person is alive, one would raise a ‘monument’ to celebrate their achievements or victory. Also see Memorial.

Monumental architecture: refers to large man-made structures of stone or earth that are generally used as public buildings or spaces, such as pyramids, tombs, mounds, plazas, temples and standing stones.

Mural: a large-scale painting or other work of art executed directly on a wall. Heritage murals are usually located outside a building (Figure 25).

Oak branch: signifies ‘strength’ and ‘independence’.

Obelisk: a tall, narrow, four-sided, tapering shaft which its apex is usually pyramid-shaped and is typically made of stone or cement. True obelisks are normally capped with a pyramidion (Figure 86). Also see Pyramidion.

Olive branch: an emblem signifying ‘peace.’

Overseas memorial: a memorial erected overseas in a theatre of operation by the military or private citizens which general purpose is to commemorate a person, a unit/formation, or an event deemed of importance or worthiness. Also see Battlefield memorial.

Pedestal: an architectural support or base for a column, obelisk, statue, etc. A pedestal can be square, octagonal, or circular and is divided into three parts, from bottom to top: the plinth, the die, and the cornice (Figures 86, 91-95, 97, 109, 118, 163-164, 178). Also see Cornice, Die, Plinth.

Perpetual flame: ‘Perpetual flame’ is synonymous with ‘Eternal flame.’ See Eternal flame.

Petroform: an outline formed using small rocks and boulders laid on or pressed into the ground.

Petroglyph: (also called rock engraving) is a pictograph that is incised, picked, carved or abraded onto a rock surface.

Pictograph: (also called pictogram/pictogramme) is an ideograph (or ideogram) or an image that represents an idea or concept through its pictorial resemblance to a physical object that is drawn or painted on a rock face.

Pillar: the word 'pillar' is synonymous with the word 'column.' See Column.

Plaque: also known as a 'memorial plaque', a 'commemorative plaque', a 'memorial tablet', or a 'commemorative tablet'. An ornamental flat marker – usually made of metal or stone – that includes an inscription or an ideograph. It is typically fastened to a wall (Figures 14, 111-112, 114, 119, 179), monument (Figures 4, 42, 178, 205), or stone/rock (Figures 174-175, 208); it may be laid on the ground (Figure 57); or can act as a memorial on its own (Figure 31). Also see Pictograph.

Plinth: also known as the 'foot', base or bottom part of a pedestal. See Pedestal.

Pylon: is the Greek term for a monumental gateway in the form of a pair of tapering towers flanking the entrance to an ancient Egyptian temple. The pylon form was popular again in Classical Revival and Egyptian Revival architecture as a way of marking an entrance or approach (Figure 88).

Pyramid: a monumental quadrilateral structure with smooth or stepped sloping sides meeting at an apex, used as a funerary memorial (Figure 87). Also see Cairn.

Pyramidion: a cap with a pointed top that was placed on top of an obelisk. It is sometimes sheated with copper or another metal which caught and reflected the rays of the sun (Figure 86).

Quadrigae: plural of quadriga. In ancient Rome and Greece, a car or chariot drawn by four horses abreast and were considered emblems of triumph.

Rolling memorial: Consist of cars, trucks, semi-trailers, and motorcycles that are especially marked or painted to honour people or commemorate specific events (Figure 84).

Roll of Honour: a memorial list of those who should be remembered. Used extensively since the late 19th century to commemorate those who have died in war or as a result of service for their country. At minimum, it records the names of the people and may also include other information such as their rank, date and place of death and name of unit/formation. A Roll of Honour may

also record those who served during a war or conflict (see Roll of Service). The list may be displayed on a sheet, assembled as a manuscript (also see Book of Remembrance), or inscribed onto commemorative tablets and monuments (Figures 12-14). After the 11 September 2001 attacks in the U.S., Rolls of Honour also became popular with police and emergency services organizations.

Roll of Service: a list of those who served during a war or conflict that is normally displayed in a public place.

Sarcophagus: plural, sarcophagi. A stone coffin located above ground that often includes inscriptions or ornate carvings. It is often displayed as a funerary monument indoors (Figure 157) or outdoors (Figure 124).

Shaft (or stone shaft): a square column of stone or cement, often crowned by a statue or other sculpture (Figures 40, 121, 135, 143).

Sculpture: objects or forms created from various types of material, including stone (Figure 186), metal (Figures 38, 85, 105, 177, 187), resin (Figure 102), or glass (Figure 152, 203).

Sinister Side: the viewer's right.

Slab (or stone slab): a piece or 'chunk' of stone, usually rough or ragged in appearance except for the face which a plaque or an inscription appears (Figure 188).

Spolia: the constructive or deconstructive re-use of materials and decorative sculpture from earlier buildings in newer monuments and memorials (Figure 16).

State funeral: upon consent of the family of the deceased, a large-scaled public funeral ceremony held to honour important people of national significance at the public's cost. A modern state funeral includes a lying-in-state**,** procession, funeral service, committal and half-masting.

Statue: a representation of a person (Figures 59, 91-94, 118, 120-121), allegorical personage (Figures 4-5, 95), or animal (Figure 18, 98-99, 167) – typically sculpted, moulded or cast in materials such as stone (Figure 15), coadestone (Figure 91), metal (Figures 120-121, 154, 206), concrete, or resin (Figure 102).

Stele: plural, Stelae, Stelia, Stelai, and Anglicised plural Steles. A stone or wooden upright slab or tablet, generally taller than it is wide, in the shape of a headstone and not square like a shaft. Originally used for inscribing (carved, engraved or painted) historical accounts and for funerary purposes (Figures 186, 207). They were also erected as territorial or boundary markers.

Stone of Remembrance (Lutyens'): an abstract design created in 1917 by Edwin Lutyens resembling an altar intended to appeal to all denominations and of none. The Stone always include the inscription "THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE" that was selected by Rudyard Kipling and is one of the two central memorials in all of the cemeteries of the C.W.G.C. (Figures 78-79).

Tablet: 'Tablet' is synonymous with 'Plaque'. See Plaque.

Talisman: an small obelisk that was carried with them or buried with them as a means of good luck.

Tombstone: See Gravestone.

Torch: signifies 'liberty' (Figure 4).

Triumphal: very large or gigantic. The word is most often associated with 'triumphal arches' (Figure 16) or 'triumphal columns.'

Types: 'type' of memorials relate to purpose or intent. They include the following types: war memorials; operational memorials; commemorative memorials; structural memorials; weapons, vehicles, ships, and aircraft; geo-memorials; and named trophies and awards (Figure 2). Also see Form.

Vexilloid: a long decorated staff, rod or spear which functions as a flag but is normally topped with an ornament or emblem and is used by military forces as a means of identification or for assembly (Figure 115).

War Cross (Luyens'): a simple cross design created by Edwin Lutyens that was inspired from the Latin cross. The War Cross was used primarily as a war memorial erected during the 1920s at local communities within the U.K. and elsewhere (Figure 75).

Weapon: an instrument or device used in combat, such as a cannon (Figures 46, 52-53), gun (Figure 50), machine gun (Figure 47), rifle, sword (Figure 51), and a tomahawk (Figure 54).

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Mr. Michael **Whitby**, Senior Naval Historian, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence – 5 August 2009, Ottawa, Ontario.

Chief Kirby **Whiteduck**, Chief of Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn First Nation, Pikwàkanagàn, Golden Lake, Ontario – 9 July 2012, by Telephone.

Mr. Ross M. **Wilson** – 13 March 2012, Ottawa, Ontario.

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