

## VIMY: A MONUMENT FOR THE MODERN WORLD

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More than 1,000 Commonwealth War Graves cemeteries mark the landscape of northern France. Created to bury the Allied dead of the First World War, these immaculate, silent, never-aging places are the enduring legacy of a war that has irrevocably marked this region. Within the cemetery compounds, tens of thousands of crosses and headstones are neatly lined up, as if on permanent parade. They are a constant reminder of the millions of young men whose lives were cruelly cut short by the Great War. But they record only half the tragedy because half of the Allied dead could never be identified. All that remains of those men are names engraved on the numerous memorials that punctuate the landscape. Other wars have passed without leaving their mark on the present, but in north-eastern France and southwestern Belgium the First World War is not permitted to be forgotten. There, “the hands of the sisters of Death and Night” are kept at bay by an army of gardeners and stonemasons who toil to hold in perpetual perfection these idealized places.<sup>1</sup>

The extraordinary beauty and orderliness of the First World War cemeteries and memorials were intended to comfort the bereaved by honouring the sacrifice of those who had died. By their sheer number, however, they also preserve the memory of that calamitous event and the loss left in its wake. As time passes, the unique character of this cultural landscape can be seen as an outward expression of the anxieties that beset the living in the melancholy post-war period. It speaks of a need to return order to the world and, simultaneously, to the certain knowledge



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FIG. 1. WALTER ALLWARD, VIMY MONUMENT, DESIGNED 1921, ERECTED 1925-36. THE MONUMENT IN 1936.

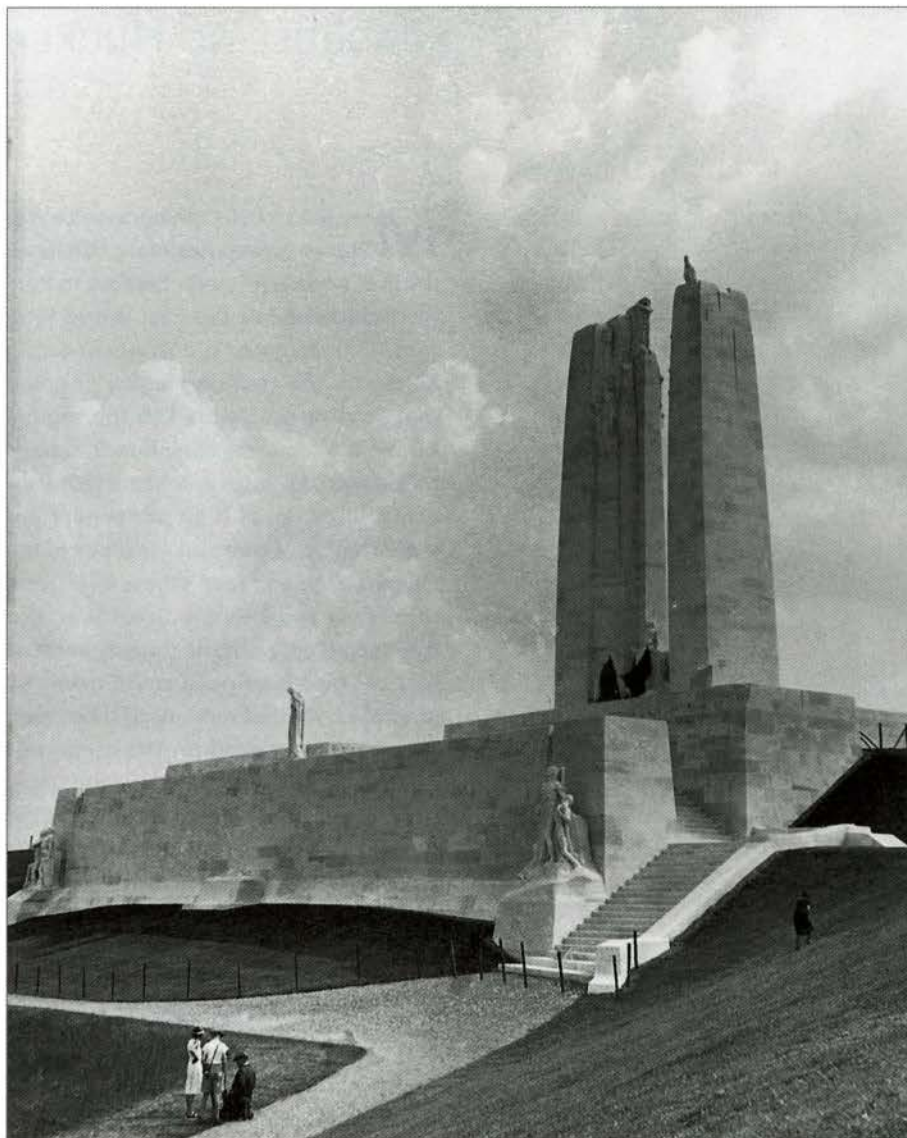


FIG. 2. WALTER ALLWARD, VIMY MONUMENT, 1936.

peace, and yet we labor to know what it is we hold on to.

The Vimy Monument is part of this world. Rising from the highest point of Vimy Ridge, it forms the centrepiece of a carefully preserved section of the western front, 14 kilometers north of the town of Arras in the Pas de Calais region of France (fig. 1). The 100-hectare site<sup>3</sup> was granted to Canada in perpetuity by France in 1922 to be preserved as a memorial park “to the memory of the Canadian soldiers who died on the field of honour in France during the war 1914-18”.<sup>4</sup> The memorial park is Canada’s principal monument in Europe to the country’s contribution and sacrifice in the First World War. The names of 11,285 Canadian servicemen who died in France and have no known grave are engraved across the monument’s outer walls (fig. 2, 4). There are also two cemeteries within the boundaries of the park; one contains the graves of 111 Canadian soldiers who died during the Canadian offensive to capture the ridge on April 9-12, 1917; the other is a collector cemetery containing the bodies of 2,965 Allied soldiers, including 695 Canadians, who died on the ridge between 1914 and 1918. The site also includes a significant length of the Canadian and German front lines and tunnel systems as they existed in April, 1917. With the dramatic drop of its northeast slope, the section of ridge within the park also provides clear evidence of why Vimy Ridge was so militarily significant during the First World War and why its capture is considered to be one of Canada’s greatest accomplishments of that conflict. The memorial park is, in fact, a capsule of the Western Front, preserving evidence of the war itself and its consequences, as well as Canada’s commemorative response. The park also provides a dramatic setting for ongoing ceremonies of remembrance. Although

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that one day all would be forgotten. Rudyard Kipling’s invocation, ‘Lest we forget’ was written for another conflict, but it came to serve as a clarion cry for the Great War and its aftermath.

We know that time engenders forgetfulness that can heal even the most terrible loss.<sup>2</sup> Yet, despite the passing of the First World War generation, the landscape of the Western Front retains its hold on the

present. Sometimes, a poignant personal message breaks free of its stone, and infuses the silence with sadness. At other times, the clear light of a late afternoon might reveal the outline of an old trench line cutting across a field, and a shadow falls across the present. And, always, the rusted remnants of war debris are breaking through to the surface, a reminder of the brutal nature of that struggle. It seems the First World War cannot rest in

most Canadians will never have the opportunity to visit the site, for many Vimy has come to possess iconic status.

The Vimy Monument was designed in 1921 by the Toronto sculptor Walter S. Allward, and constructed between 1925 and 1936. The idea to preserve part of the actual battle site originated with the Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King. Both the monument and what was to become a memorial park were new forms of commemoration. With the possible exception of the Battle of Gettysburg during the American Civil War, no earlier conflict had prompted an interest in locating the dead and honouring their memory, or in preserving an actual battle site.<sup>5</sup> The significance of these novel commemorative responses has been a topic of scholarly interest for the past 30 years, but little has been written on the special qualities of Canada's initiative. The present paper will argue that Allward's monument and its memorial park are, in fact, quintessential expressions of the post-First World War sensibilities of loss and obligation; emotions that resulted in a felt need to honour each and every deceased person in perpetuity. The paper will also examine the influence on Allward of the modern movement, as he sought to capture in his work the full dimensions of the Great War's impact.<sup>6</sup>

The Vimy project began with a traditional post-war exercise. Victorious in the recent conflict, representatives of Britain and her Allies met in London to agree on names for the battles that had been fought and to lay claim to battle sites. Canada sought and was awarded eight sites, three in Belgium and five in France.<sup>7</sup> Individual regiments also sought permission to erect their own monuments on the front, as they had done in past wars (two Canadian regiments, had already begun this operation). On this occasion, however,



FIG. 3. WALTER ALLWARD, VIMY MONUMENT, 1936.

the Dominion governments, noting that their armies had been made up largely of civilian soldiers, to whom regimental loyalty would mean less than in earlier eras, reasoned that battle sites should be reserved for monuments to all who had

fought in the war. Significantly, they also determined that such monuments should be funded by government.<sup>8</sup>

The following year, a Special Committee of the Canadian House of Commons

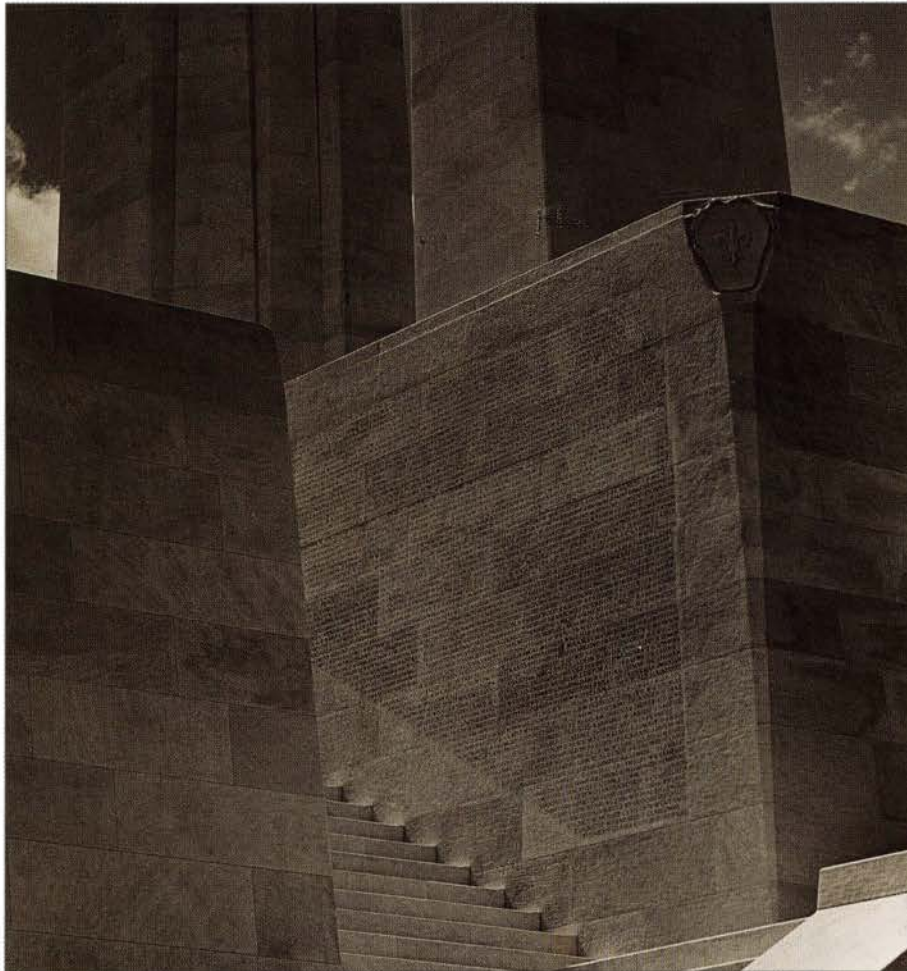


FIG. 4. WALTER ALLWARD, VIMY MONUMENT, 1936.

mandated to acquire land for the monuments, hold an architectural competition, and oversee construction. CBMC membership included senior level parliamentarians and military personnel, and it was chaired by the Minister of National Defence. The Commission invited Percy Nobbs, a professor of architecture at McGill University, to be the architectural advisor to the Commission. Nobbs's primary task was to help Commission members determine the nature of the monuments and to organize the design competition, which opened in December 1920. The results were made public in October 1921. Nobbs understood the importance of inviting the British and French to play a part in the competition, thereby minimizing the likelihood of unforeseen objections arising at a later stage. Accordingly, the CBMC established an international, three-person jury to evaluate the submissions. Members were: Charles Reilly, representing the Royal Institute of British Architects (London); Paul Cret, representing the Société Centrale des Architectes (Paris); and Frank Darling of Toronto, representing the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. All were prominent architects in their respective countries. In addition to being professor of architecture at Liverpool University, Reilly had been training students in design development for war memorials. For his part, French/American architect Paul Cret had been selected by the United States to design its national monument in Europe.

In deference to the guidelines, most entrants submitted designs for tall tower-like structures or mausoleums set off by classical terraces, steps and enclosures, adorned with plant material typical of the period. The assessors, however, selected two monuments, neither of which could be said to have been traditional. Walter Allward's entry was judged to be the clear winner. In their explanation for choosing

was established to determine how best to mark the sites. It recommended that each should be adorned with a permanent memorial and that a public competition be held to select the design of these monuments. The Committee initially favoured a conservative approach to design. Members assumed that the structures would take the form of a traditional victory monument and identified the Brock Monument on Queenston Heights as an appropriate model. This monument, which had been erected in 1859, consisted of a 180 foot-tall classical column surmounted by a statue of General Brock, the Canadian military hero of the War of

1812. Committee members were aware, however, that tastes were changing and sought assurances that nothing of an abstract, or 'cubist,' nature would be erected. Accordingly, the competition guidelines made reference to the arch, obelisk, column, tower, or mausoleum as appropriate design models. The guidelines left open, however, the possibility of other architectural forms. Tellingly, they emphasized that the monuments should be designed to last "for many centuries" and be very "durable".<sup>9</sup>

In September 1920, the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Committee (CBMC) was

his design, the assessors noted that it “made a very high appeal to the imagination”. They then recommended that the monument be erected on Hill 62, a low height of land that had been awarded to Canada to mark the country’s military contribution in the defense of Ypres from April to August 1916. In choosing Hill 62, the assessors voiced the opinion that Allward’s design was not suited to a “continuous and lofty bluff or cliff like Vimy Ridge, where its delicacy of line would be lost in the mass of the ridge”.<sup>10</sup> The choice of Allward’s design for the national monument was greeted with enthusiasm; however, the recommendation that it be erected on Hill 62 did not meet with the approval of certain military officers and other high ranking officials who believed that Vimy was the only appropriate site for Canada’s national memorial. The issue was resolved at a meeting of the CBMC held on 26 April, 1922, and attended by the Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, at which a decision was taken to erect Allward’s monument on Hill 145, the highest point on Vimy Ridge.

Allward’s design was, as Lane Borstad points out elsewhere in this same issue, unlike any previous Canadian war monument. It made no direct reference to war or victory but alluded rather to the consequences of war and the suffering of those who were left to grieve. Through reference to the cyclical myth of sacrifice and spiritual rebirth, it also offered solace to the living. Allward had conceived his creation as a large and powerful form that would function as a formidable presence in the sweeping landscape of northern France and a moving *mis en scène*, which he would later explain was to be understood as a “sermon against the futility of war”.<sup>11</sup> At either end of a long, heavy base, planned to rise out of the ground and give the impression of an impregnable bastion, stood two groups

of figures. These Allward identified as the ‘Defenders,’ one group representing the ‘Breaking of the Sword,’ and the other the ‘Sympathy of Canadians for the Helpless’. They represented the ideals for which Canadians had given their lives. Their sacrifice is depicted by the ‘Spirit of Sacrifice’ and the ‘Passing of the Torch,’ two figures at the centre of the monument, framed between soaring pylons. Having given his all, one figure passes the torch to his comrade. Straining up to the highest point on the columns they regard the figures of Truth, Faith, Justice, Charity, Knowledge and Peace, the virtues for which they fought, and who, in Allward’s words, chant the “Hymn of Peace” (fig. 3). At the foot of the main wall, an empty sarcophagus was placed directly on the battleground. On the wall above stood the tall shrouded figure of ‘Canada Bereft’. In deep contemplation, this heroic, unmoving figure would forever mourn her fallen sons.

Prior to the war, Walter Allward had enjoyed success as a designer of public monuments, working in an unremarkable late-nineteenth century style that was gradually breaking away from the Beaux-Arts manner with its reliance on hierarchical, pyramidal compositions. For the Vimy Memorial, Allward jettisoned this traditional approach, replacing it with a strong, architectural structure that was stripped of all decoration and relied for effect on simple lines and a weighty, formal abstraction.<sup>12</sup> The abstract qualities of the monument’s design are best illustrated by the paired pylons. They were an unusual feature, not found on any other First World War memorial, and they piqued the curiosity of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, whose task it was to review the designs of major war memorials planned for France. In his reply to a letter from the Commission, Allward noted

that the silhouette of the pylons “would not be easily confused with towers or other landmarks”. He added “because of the sympathy which existed between the French, and the Canadian soldiers ... I have taken the liberty of introducing the Fleur-de-lis on a corner of the second wall” (fig. 4). “In the afternoon”, he explained, “when a shaft of sunlight will break through the space between the pylons, and, illuminating part of the sculptures, will suggest a cathedral effect”.<sup>13</sup> The pylons also functioned as a theatrical backdrop for the figurative sculpture, its huge scale endowing the figures with inner strength and vitality. Upon its stage, they took part in a drama that was meant to be read in a primarily pictorial fashion, with a single frontal viewing point and an emphasis on visual rather than tactile effects. The classical figure style, which is both physically intense and psychologically powerful, reveals the influence of August Rodin’s physical expressiveness and also the calmer, symbolic style of the American sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, as illustrated in his grave memorial for the wife of the writer Henry Adams in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C.<sup>14</sup>

Allward’s interest in the new encompassed all aspects of the monument, including its structural design. Building the substructure was complicated by the infirmity of the chalky soil, whose friable nature had allowed the excavation of extensive trench systems and underground networks of tunnels and caverns during the war. Concerned about the state of the ground underfoot, Allward questioned the initial specifications for the monument and urged the CBMC to hire Oscar Faber to provide new plans for the monument’s structural design. Faber was a highly skilled young engineer who had recently designed the substructure for the Menin Gate at Ypres, the British



FIG. 5. PAUL NASH, *MONUMENT TO FALLEN CANADIANS ON VIMY RIDGE*, 1917.

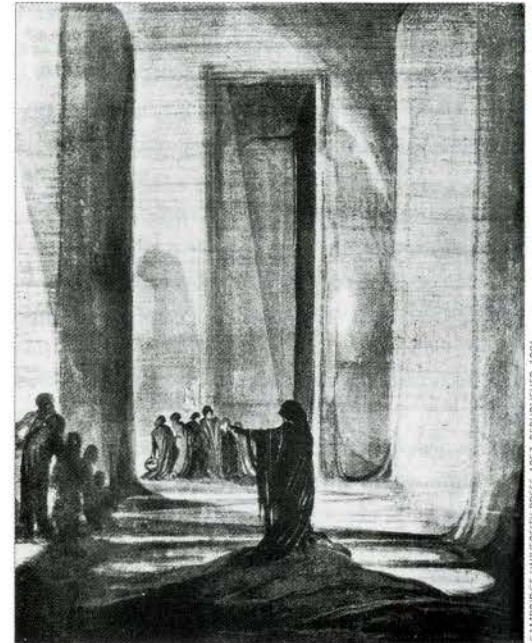


FIG. 6. EDWARD GORDON CRAIG, *DESIGN FOR ELEKTRA*, 1905. FROM EDWARD GORDON CRAIG, *INDEX TO THE STORY OF MY DAYS*.

Empire's monument to the missing in the Ypres Salient. For the Vimy Monument, Faber specified the use of cast-in-place, heavily reinforced concrete, to which the facing stone would be bonded. At Allward's insistence the joints between the stones were made as fine as possible so they would not detract from the appearance of the monument's long, continuous base walls.<sup>15</sup>

Acquiring the facing stone proved to be one of the greatest challenges confronting the CBMC. Allward had initially hoped to clad the monument in white marble. When Percy Nobbs suggested that this would be a mistake because the effect would be ghost-like, and marble was unlikely to weather well in northern France, Allward and the CBMC were obliged to seek an appropriate alternative. A search was undertaken for material that was warm and white, had a fine grain and was durable yet workable. Once again, Allward's exacting standards dictated the choice. For example, he

firmly maintained that the figure groups could not be carved from stone blocks less than six feet in depth and that the figure of Canada Bereft must be carved from a single flawless block 13 feet high. Acquiring blocks of that size was difficult in post-war Europe, but suitable stone was eventually found in a former Roman quarry, near Split in present day Croatia. Known as Seget, this was a white limestone with a fine grain and texture. Allward was delighted with the stone and saw immediately how it would enhance the beauty of his monument. He reveled in the knowledge that material from the same site had been used in the late third century for Diocletian's Palace in Split. This was evidence of the stone's durability; moreover, the stone's connection to the classical world would reinforce the transcendental values he was seeking for his monument. Allward was not alone in being impressed by the Seget stone. Once it arrived on the site in June 1927 and the monument finally began to take on its intended appearance, the Director

of Works for the Imperial War Graves Commission pronounced it the "finest piece of masonry in Europe". Edwin Lutyens, a principal Commission architect, concurred, observing that "he had never seen finer [stone] in his life".<sup>16</sup>

For Allward it was extremely important that the monument not simply sit on the crest of the ridge but be positioned in such a way that it appeared to grow out of the battle landscape. To achieve this effect, he chose to excavate the ground in front of the monument until the desired impression was achieved. Necessitating the removal of 65,000 tons of chalk and clay and made more difficult by the dangerous nature of the ground underfoot, this task took well over a year to accomplish.<sup>17</sup>

One of the sad ironies of the First World War's commemorative program was that no sooner had the monument been completed than the Second World War broke out. While the Canadian public

became concerned for the safety of the Vimy Monument during the war, in the decades after the conflict Canada's First World War monuments were largely seen as cultural relics from a different era and suffered neglect. In the 1970s, however, the pendulum began to swing back and scholars started to examine the nature and meaning of First World War commemoration and its aftermath. Particularly significant was Paul Fussell's groundbreaking 1975 study, *The Great War and Modern Memory*. A second important work was Samuel Hynes', *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*, published in 1991. Each scholar focused closely on the responses of writers, poets and painters who had lived through the war. They found that many had experienced an acute sense of a rupture in history, which in their work took the form of images of irony, fragmentation and ruin. Fussell and Hynes demonstrated that, if the war did not actually create the modern world, it fueled its development and shaped the character of our world.<sup>18</sup> The British historian, Jay Winter, examined popular response to the war. While endorsing much of Fussell and Hynes' general thesis, Winter pointed out that most post-war commemoration was "framed in traditional language of shared images and ideas derived from classical, romantic and Christian sources". This, he argued, was because only this shared language had the power to heal.<sup>19</sup>

Gavin Stamp, a contributor to this journal issue, was one of the first architectural historians to define the cultural significance of British and Commonwealth war memorials. He directed attention to the differences between the First World War memorials and earlier war monuments, which in the face of so much death and destruction had become outmoded and inadequate.<sup>20</sup> Stamp was also one of the first in recent times to highlight the new

commemorative approach adopted by the Imperial War Graves Commission, which was rigidly egalitarian, aimed at ensuring that no matter his role, each service person was honoured as a hero in a collectivity of heroism.

Writing in the 1990s, the American historian Thomas Laqueur reinforced Stamp's interpretation of the war cemeteries and monuments as significant cultural sites. Expanding upon the work of other scholars, including Fussell and Hynes, he also demonstrated that, while the cemeteries and monuments made use of traditional classical language, theirs was a remade classicism, expressing the modern sensibilities of loss and obligation, which demanded that somehow the past be kept present. Examples cited by Laqueur to make his point were the Cenotaph in London, the Monument to the Missing of the Somme at Thiepval, and the Trench of the Bayonets at Verdun. His assessment of these sites, however, could as readily apply to the Vimy Monument and its memorial park.

When asked in 1921, for an explanation of the monument's complex origins, Allward's reply was couched in dream imagery that revealed the same modern preoccupations that Fussell, Hynes and Laqueur had identified in the work of artists who had lived through the war. Allward stated "I have tried to show ... in this monument to Canada's fallen, what we owed them and will forever owe them."<sup>21</sup>

During the war, ghosts haunted the battlefields and the Western Front came to be seen as a sacred site sanctified by the blood spilled by the dead. The transcendental quality of the war landscape captured the imagination of artists, writers and poets, most notably the British painter, Paul Nash, who was

employed as a war artist by the Canadian War Memorials Fund and travelled to Vimy Ridge shortly after the battle. His drawing, *Monument to Fallen Canadians on Vimy Ridge*, depicts little more than broken trees, a wooden cross and trenches on the crest of the ridge (fig. 5). It expresses not so much the drama of war, as the transcendental quality of the battle field where so many had died. Under an expansive sky, the trees, the cross and the trenches are touched by a raking light, turning each into a symbol of the man-made horrors witnessed by the artist. The light itself takes on divine properties and holds out the promise of regeneration for nature and for mankind. Immediately after the war, Nash's drawings and paintings were displayed in the Canadian War Memorials Fund exhibition, held in Toronto in August 1919. There the modern and visionary character of his work attracted the attention of Canadian artists.

In a different setting, Prime Minister Mackenzie King showed a similar sensibility to the war-torn landscape. Suggesting that part of the Vimy Ridge be preserved, he recorded his reason in a diary entry:

I made a strong plea for conserving a tract of one or two square miles of Vimy ridge as consecrated hallowed ground around Allward's memorial to be erected. The real memorial being the ridge itself, one of earth's altars, on which Canadians sacrificed for the cause of humanity... This is Canada's altar on European soil.<sup>22</sup>

The Prime Minister's words echoed those used so memorably by President Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg address delivered at the dedication ceremony of the Solders' National Cemetery.<sup>23</sup> Like Gettysburg, Vimy would be preserved in the manner of a rural cemetery where Allward's monument would forever

mark the site of the battle and where the living might commune with the dead through nature.

If the concept of the battlefield as hallowed ground had become common currency during and after the First World War, neither Allward's dream nor King's response to Allward's monument were conceivable before the war. Between 1914 and 1918, Canada, a young country of fewer than eight million people, had lost 60,000 men in battle. Of that number, almost 18,000 were never identified and lay either in unmarked graves in the war cemeteries or lost forever in the devastated landscape of the Front. Recognizing the extent of the loss, both men understood the power of art and nature to comfort the bereaved. No doubt, the prime minister also recognized the power of symbols and myths to cement an awakened sense of Canadian nationalism experienced by the military victory on Vimy Ridge.

For Allward, situating the monument on such a landscape added further complexity to its meaning. Significantly, he chose not to place his structure within a precinct or garden, as was the case with the majority of war monuments, but directly on the unbounded battlefield, where its mythologized interpretation of the war would forever confront the real tragedy. Once the monument had been built, Allward turned the excavated area in front of the structure into a grassed space that he referred to as the amphitheatre, which fanned out from the monument's front wall for a distance of 270 feet. He retained the remnant battle landscape around the sides and back of the monument, thereby creating a direct and powerful emotional connection between the monument and the ridge. When the monument was unveiled on 26 July 1936 before 5,000 Canadian "pilgrims", the veterans stood in pride of place in the

amphitheatre, while family members watched from its sloping sides. Viewed in this light, Allward's monument may be understood as a modern retelling of a Greek drama. Rising from a site of so much destruction and loss of life, the monument's mythology harnesses the violent and irrational forces released by the war and offers the promise of a return to order and harmony.

A new-found fascination with Greek tragic drama had reemerged at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was attributable in large part to the popularization of Friedrich Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*, his famous analysis of the cultural meaning of ancient Greek tragedy, which was first published in 1872. Nietzsche believed that the harmony of Greek art was in fact a sublimated expression of the violence that permeated Greek society. The great achievement of Greek culture, he argued, was its ability to reconcile the conflicting sides of human nature through the invention of tragedy.<sup>24</sup> It was well understood that Nietzsche's observation was intended as a criticism of contemporary German society and its blind faith in science. When the results of the natural sciences were manifested in the technology of mass slaughter in the First World War, many saw Nietzsche's version of society as prophetic.<sup>25</sup> By that time, *Birth of Tragedy* had been introduced to the English-speaking world, and tragedy became the route to a new modern confrontation with the horrors of existence.<sup>26</sup>

The influence of the new understanding of Greek culture introduced by Nietzsche can be seen in a revolutionary production of Sophocles' *Elektra*, as an opera with music by Richard Strauss and libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Opening in Dresden in 1909, the highly original staging emphasized the instinctive, irrational, darker

side of early Greece. In its exploration of the unconscious world, it also revealed an acquaintance with psychoanalysis and knowledge of Sigmund Freud's seminal work, *The Interpretation of Dreams*.<sup>27</sup>

Edward Gordon Craig, the visionary British stage designer, had been asked to design the stage sets for *Elektra*. A strong admirer of *The Birth of Tragedy*, he sought to convey the deeper meaning of tragedy by harmonizing the rhythms, tone and colour of the scene so that the design elements might transcend reality and function as poetic symbols. As it happened, his designs were not adopted for the production, but their appearance in a number of publications contributed greatly to the spread of his influential ideas through Europe and North America (fig.6).<sup>28</sup> Similarities between the Vimy Monument and Craig's theatrical design for *Elektra* suggest that Allward was well acquainted with Craig's work and had understood the principles behind his innovations.<sup>29</sup> The basic elements of Craig's theatrical set designs – the flights of steps, tiered floor levels, the use of monochromatic architectural screens as backdrop – appear in adapted form on the Vimy Monument. There are also resemblances between the symbolic figures of Elektra and Canada Bereft, and in their relationship to their setting: each is made larger than other figures in the composition, is set against a tall architectural backdrop, and stands facing an infinite space.<sup>30</sup>

To a greater or lesser extent, the First World War cemeteries and the war memorials are all evidence of an effort to return harmony and beauty to a world shattered by a calamitous event. The Vimy Monument makes this need explicit. If the secret of tragedy lies in its ability to transmute pain into exaltation, so the beauty of the monument is enhanced by its retelling of the ancient myth of



sacrifice and spiritual rebirth in which the pain of loss is overlaid with the hope of new life. Such new life is evidenced at Vimy in a landscape whose changing but immanent nature serves to bring the events that happened 90 years ago into the present.

The powerful physical and metaphysical interplay between the Vimy Memorial and the former battle landscape is unique among First World War monuments. Walter Allward's creative recasting of traditional classical language and his marrying of the monument with the war landscape mark a break with his artistic past and were driven by the modern sensibilities of an obligation to honour the dead combined with a fear of forgetting the past. But although the past is past, and specific memory fades, the message of Vimy, like that of all art, transcends its time. Similarly, it is the unflinching display of the consequences of the Great War that gives the war cemeteries and monuments their haunting quality. We understand that we cannot hold onto the memory of the First World War forever, but the truth of its consequences as expressed by these memorials cannot be diminished by time.

## NOTES

1. Whitman, Walt, 1865-66, *Reconciliation*.
2. Laqueur, Thomas, "The Past's Past," *The London Review of Books*, vol. 18, no. 18 (9 September, 1996), p. 3.
3. An additional 17 hectares were acquired in the late 1920s, so the property actually measures approximately 117 hectares.
4. "Agreement between Canada and France for the cession to Canada of the free use of a parcel of land on Vimy ridge for the erection of a monument to the memory of the Canadian Soldiers who died on the field of honour in France in the course of the War 1914-1918", on file in the Legal Advisory Division, Foreign Affairs Canada.
5. Laqueur: 5. Following the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, 3,512 Union dead were reburied in a newly created rural cemetery named the Soldiers' National Cemetery at the edge of the battlefield. See: Wills, Garry, 1992, *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, New York, Simon & Schuster, p. 21-23. The battle site as we know it today was acquired in sections in successive decades.
6. I have discussed aspects of the circumstances surrounding the design and construction of the Vimy Monument in two articles. See my "'After the Agony in Stony Places': The Meaning and Significance of the Vimy Monument", in *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, Mike Bechthold eds., Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred University Press, 2007, p. 279-90.
7. The sites are: Saint-Julien, Hill 62 and Paschendaele in Belgium, and Courcellette, Vimy Ridge, Le Quesnel, Dury and Bourlon Wood in France.
8. "Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what memorials if any, should be erected in the battlefields of the late war to commemorate the gallantry of the Canadian troops; with statements and evidence attached thereto, Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1920", contained in Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, *Canadian Battlefield Memorials*, Ottawa. King's Printer, 1929, p. 76-84.
9. Library and Archives Canada, "Conditions of Competition in Design for Eight Memorial Monuments to be erected in France and Belgium" issued 20 December, 1920, vol. 335, Minutes of the Canadian Battlefields Memorial Commission (CBMC), RG25.
10. "Report of the Assessors to the chairman and members of the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission", 10 September 1921, CH, VS 1296-14, vol. 2, Veterans Affairs (hereafter VA).
11. "Canada's Wonderful Memorial to her Missing", *British Empire Service League*, 9, 1933.
12. Allward had begun to experiment with new compositions that did away with the pedestal model around 1909 with his design for the *Bell Telephone Memorial*, Brantford, Ontario. See: Mosquin, Alexandra, 2001, "Walter Seymour Allward," Submission Report, National Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 5, p. 4-7.
13. Queen's University Archives, Allward Fonds, Box 1, Vimy Correspondence. The letter to André Ventre is dated 12 April, 1926. The letter is quoted at greater length in Pierre du Prey's postscript to this issue.
14. Curtis, Penelope, 1999, *Sculpture, 1900-1945*, Oxford. Oxford University Press. In her introduction Curtis states that Rodin's innovations are key to understanding the development of sculpture in the first half of the twentieth century. For his part, Allward made a special journey to Europe before the war to see Rodin's work. An illustration of the Adams Memorial is found in Hamilton, George Heard, 1970, *19th and 20th Century Art*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall and New York: Harry N. Abrams, p. 151.
15. Paradoxically, it was Allward's desire for very narrow joints that contributed to the monument's deterioration.
16. S. C. Mewburn, Chairman, CBMC, to Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, 13 February 1932, VAC-CH, VS 1296-14 Vol. 3. By contrast, Prime Minister Richard B. Bennett complained, "it was crazy for Canada to have opened a quarry that had been closed by the Romans!" Bennett's remark was written in response to Mewburn's letter, a copy of which is contained in the same file.
17. As first designed, Allward's monument had a clear front and back. However, the decision to place the monument on the edge of the ridge meant that it would be approached from the back as well as the front. Allward, therefore, added a central flight of steps to the back of the monument. He flanked the steps with mourning figures that recalled the reclining sculptures of Day and Night, Dawn and Dusk in Michelangelo's Medici tomb chapel in Florence.
18. This sense of a break with the historical past is stated clearly by Thomas Mann in his forward to *The Magic Mountain*, a book he began before the war but was unable to complete until after the conflict. He wrote, "But let us not intentionally obscure a clear state of affairs: the extraordinary pastness of our story results from its having taken place before a certain turning point, on the far side of a rift that has cut deeply through our lives and consciousness... It took place back then, long ago, in the old days of the world before the Great War...". See: Mann, Thomas, 1996, *The Magic Mountain*, New York, Vintage International, p. xi.
19. Winter, Jay, 1995, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. See also, Winter, Jay and Antoine Prost, 2005, *The Great War in History: Debates and*

*Controversies, 1914 to the Present*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, which provides a very useful summation of the historiography of remembrance and the First World War.

20. Stamp, Gavin, 1977, introduction to the exhibition *Silent Cities* mounted at the Heinz Gallery of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, 9 November- 22 December, 1977, p. 3-19.
21. Queen's University Archives, Allward Fonds, Vimy Correspondence, Box 1. Allward's dream bears a close similarity with *J'Accuse*, Abel Gance's 1919, anti-war film. For a fuller version of Allward's quotation and its source see Lane Borstad's note 54 earlier in this same issue of the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*.
22. Library and Archives Canada, W.L.M. King Diaries, 26 April, 1922.
23. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address included the following powerful words: 'But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate - we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow - this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract'.
24. This interpretation of *The Birth of Tragedy* is taken from Edgar, Andrew and Peter Sedgwick, 2002, *Cultural Theory: The Key Thinkers*, London and New York, Routledge, p. 164-66.
25. Bowie, Andrew, 2003, *Introduction to German Philosophy: From Kant to Habermas*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p. 138.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
27. For an analysis of the significance of the 1909 production of *Elektra* to the modern movement see Watson, Peter, 2001, *A Terrible Beauty: The People and Ideas that Shaped the Modern Mind*, London, Phoenix Press, p. 54-55. Sigmund Freud's, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, was published in Vienna in 1900. While sales of the first print run were very slow, the third edition, which was published and translated into English in 1911 ensured its place in the field of psychology. The publication also opened up new avenues of exploration for artists.
28. For E. Gordon Craig's association with the Dresden production of *Elektra* and his contribution to the modern theatre see Bablet, Denis, 1981, *The Theatre of Edward Gordon Craig*, Daphne Woodward, trans., London, Eyre Methuen.
29. Following a conversation with the present writer, Michael Valpy discussed the visual similarity between E. Gordon Craig's "Elektra" and Allward's "Canada Bereft" in an article entitled "Setting Legend in Stone", published in the *Globe and Mail* on 7 April, 2007. Craig's influence on the development of Canadian theatre design can be traced to the 1920s and the Little Theatres established at McGill, Queen's and Hart House, Toronto. The first director of the Hart House Theatre, Roy Mitchell, began his career in Canada at the Arts and Letters Club, Toronto, of which Allward was a founding member. Craig's influence spread beyond the theatre. Many British artists with a visionary bent were inspired by him. They included Paul Nash who believed Craig was one of Britain's outstanding artists.
30. The Vimy Monument also bears a close resemblance to another of Craig's stage sets, *Hamlet*, his most influential theatrical production, which opened at the Moscow Art Theatre in December 1911. Allward was not the only post First World War monument designer to have been influenced by modern theatre design. Arturo Martini also set figures against an ambitious stage like setting for his war memorial at Vado Ligure. See: Curtis: 60.