Town, Nation, and Empire:

The Memory and Commemoration of the First World War

in St. Marys, Ontario, 1918-1939

by Mark D.W. Azzano

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Abstract

St. Marys, a small town in southwestern Ontario, was like many other communities in the British Empire in its experiences remembering and commemorating the losses of the First World War. Analysis of the town's memorial sites, the names on its cenotaph, and speeches at Armistice/Remembrance Day ceremonies unveil commonalities in St. Marys' experience in remembering the conflict within Canada, Newfoundland, Britain, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand during the postwar period. The intimacy and disruption of the war is evident in the examples of those men whose names found their way onto the memorial despite having only briefly lived in St. Marys, or having never lived there at all. This demonstrates the impact of the war on ordinary Canadians. It also reveals jurisdictions seeking a newfound national identity within an imperial context, while local communities dealt with loss, sacrifice, and even a renewed duty to Empire.

In Memory of Rita Azzano

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Introduction

The First World War was a transformative event for the British Empire and its dominions. The conflict's effects were felt in almost every Canadian family. Every community experienced loss: out of a population of eight million, 620,000 served, 66,000 were killed, and 172,000 wounded.[1] As a result, members of the public took it upon themselves to memorialise the conflict that took so much from so many. In one of the largest cultural movements of the twentieth century, every corner of the British Empire created national memorials, and communities built civic memorials dedicated to their populations' sacrifices. Scholarship on this phenomenon has become a growing field in the social and cultural history of the First World War.

This thesis will place St. Marys in the broader context of memorialisation within the British Empire following the First World War. It will demonstrate that St. Marys' memorialisation and cultural memory of the conflict during the interwar period was representative of both national and imperial trends while also exhibiting its own unique distinctions. It contributes to the Canadian historiography of the war by examining how smaller communities memorialised and interpreted the significant impact of the events of 1914-1918, a local perspective that tends to be overshadowed by national or regional studies. Although some advances have been made in addressing the wartime experiences of smaller communities, further study is required in order to reveal and analyze the experiences of these local communities, which underwent an unprecedented loss and disruption as a direct result of the First World War.

[1] Tim Cook, "Battles of the Imagined Past: Canada's Great War and Memory," *The Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (2014), 418.

History of St. Marys

A brief history of the town of St. Marys will provide baseline context for this thesis. St. Marys is an incorporated single-tier municipality in the heart of Southwestern Ontario, on the banks of the Thames River and Trout Creek.[2] In 2016, it boasted a population of roughly 7200.[3] St. Marys' origins lie in the colonisation of the Huron Tract, a one-million-acre area of frontier sold to the Canada Company in 1827. In 1839, surveyor John McDonald laid out the lots and concessions for Blanshard Township, now part of the Township of Perth South. The confluence of the Thames River and Trout Creek was identified as a promising site for settlement. This brought land buyers to the area, most notably James Ingersoll, who purchased acreage in what would become the downtown core. In 1843, Ingersoll built the first grist mill in St. Marys, sparking the growth of industry and attracting further settlement.[4]

The town's earliest residents were mostly of English, Scottish, and Irish origin. They cleared land, built log shanties, and either farmed or milled on the local rivers. By 1854, St. Marys had a large enough population to become a village with a council separate from that of Blanshard Township and Perth County. The Village of St. Marys was incorporated by a special Act of Parliament that came into effect on 1 January 1855.[5] The village prospered early on, due to its mill

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[2] The origin of the town's name currently has no broadly accepted consensus. L.W. Wilson and L.R. Pfaff maintain in *Early St. Marys* (St. Marys: Stonetown Books Inc., 1981) that popular tradition points to Mary Jones, the wife of the Commissioner of the Canada Company. In 1845, Jones allegedly proposed a ten-pound donation to build a schoolhouse under the condition that the settlement be named "St. Marys" after her. However, two things are certain regarding the town's name: there is no apostrophe, and there is no religious connection.

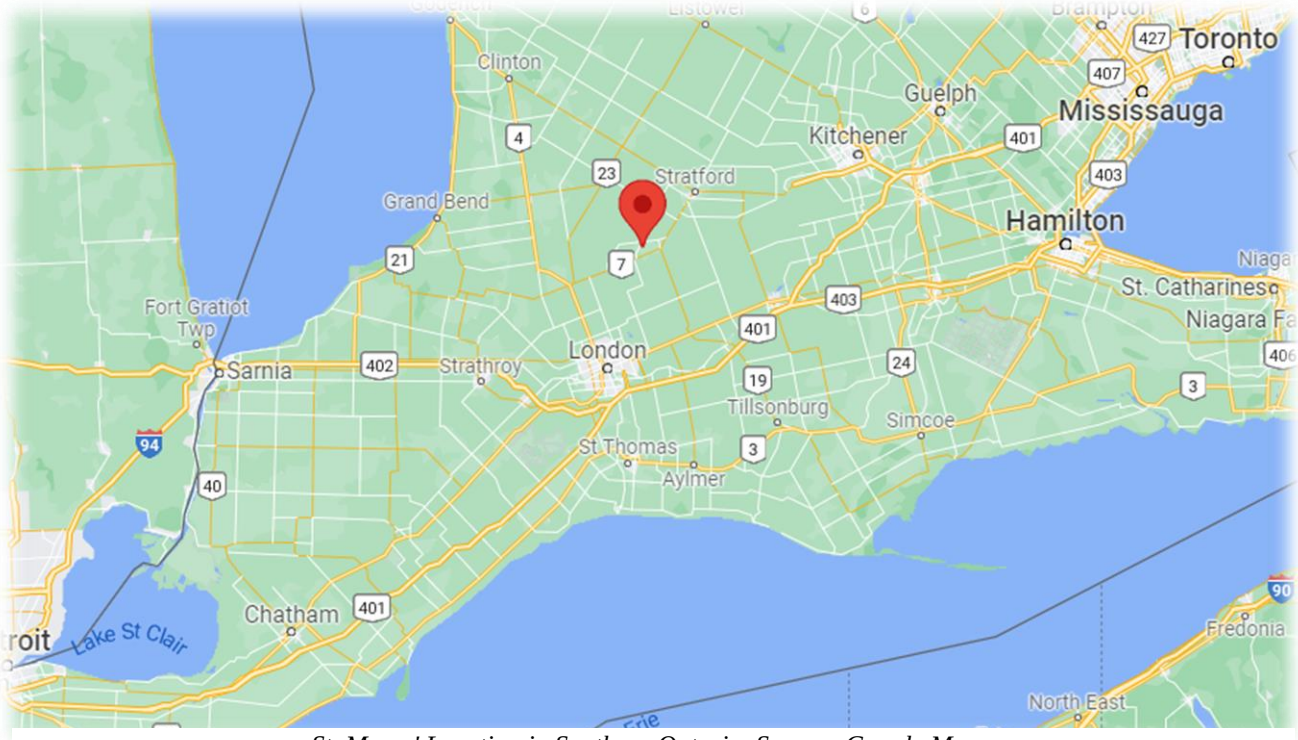
[3] Statistics Canada. St. Marys, Town, Ontario Census Profile, 2016 Census, "Population and dwellings," accessed at https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=3531016&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&SearchText=St.%20Marys&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1&type=0.

[4] W. Stafford Johnston and Hugh J.M. Johnston, *History of Perth County to 1967* (Stratford: County of Perth, 1967), 77. L.W. Wilson and L.R. Pfaff. *Early St. Marys*, 1, 3.

[5] Johnston and Johnston, *Perth County*, 77.

industry, two lines of the Grand Trunk Railway, and rich surrounding farmland. St. Marys officially became a town on 1 January 1864, with a population of about 3000.[6]

The early twentieth century brought forward a significant economic boost to the community. The St. Marys Cement Company, which opened in November 1912, quickly became an important part of the town's development as it brought in both economic growth and migrant workers. The abundance of limestone in the town's quarries and as building material in many of its historical buildings earned St. Marys the nickname "The Stonetown." By 1911, the town boasted a population of 3,338 and was a small hub for markets, quarrying, milling, and tradesmen.[7] The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 saw thousands of Perth County residents enlist, and eventually sixty-five men would be named on the town's cenotaph.



St. Marys' Location in Southern Ontario. Source: Google Maps.

[6] Johnston and Johnston, *Perth County*, Appendix B, 442. This is an estimate given the town's population of 2,728 in 1861 and 3,120 in 1871.
[7] Ibid.

St. Marys locations discussed in this thesis. Source: Google Maps.

Although St. Marys is a small community, its experiences following the First World War were part of a broader Canadian and global context. A cultural movement emerged out of the tragedy and destruction of the world's first truly modern and global conflict, one that memorialized those who fought and died. These commemorative sites were constructed in towns, churches, and public spaces on an unprecedented scale, since every corner of the nations involved had been affected in some form.

Despite its small population, St. Marys, Ontario has multiple commemorations to the First World War. In the current historiography, smaller Canadian communities are often ignored by historians likely for lack of accessible source material and broader public, personal, and academic interest in their plights. However, this does not take away from the relevance of these communities in the larger context of interwar Canada. Each community within the country built its own

memorials, held Armistice Day and Remembrance Day ceremonies, and created its own public interpretation of the war and its effects. The present study focusses on three prominent commemorative sites within the town: the cenotaph, a stained-glass panel, and a now-gone captured German field gun. It highlights what Sarah Victoria Turner describes as "conflict between the top-down, officially sanctioned methods of memorialization… and the more difficult to control – and also difficult to research – responses of individuals who interacted with such memorials and inscriptional texts."[8]

Historiography of the First World War in Canada

In order to properly contextualise the historiographical contributions to this thesis, this chapter will present an analysis of scholarly works so far. In this context it will be presented from three perspectives that are relevant to the thesis. First, a general outline of the scholarly work done on historical memory of the First World War, including its definitions, benefits, and drawbacks to historians, and understanding the growth in this field over the past few decades. Second, the historiography of the conflict in a Canadian context, including the significant debates, how and why these debates have changed, and what still needs to be addressed by scholars. Third, to contextualize the final chapter of the thesis, the same questions will be addressed within the context of Great Britain,Australia, New Zealand. Ireland, and Newfoundland. This allows for a broader understanding of the memory of the First World War throughout the Commonwealth and will draw comparisons among these countries.

[8] Sarah Victoria Tuner, "The poetics of permanence? Inscriptions, memory and memorials of the First World War in Britain," *Sculpture Journal* 24, no. 1 (2015), 73.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, a new era of scholarship of the Canadian memory of the First World War emerged. This was one of revision, attempting to explain the collective narrative of the conflict and reassess some of the fundamental understandings of the war and its memory. In this period, scholars broadened their perspectives to analyses of iconography and symbolism, emotional interpretations of grief, and a stronger emphasis on homefront perspectives both during and after the war. One of the main themes present in these works is the use of collective memory to fill the needs of individuals and society alike.

An important contribution to this scholarship is Jonathan F. Vance's *Death So Noble*, which argues that the memory of the war is appealing to those in the years following the conflict because it fills a need. This need can be consolatory, explanatory, inspirational, or entertaining.[9] Consolation for families of the dead was the most important role of memory for society. The First World War had required a large sacrifice from Canadians both on the battlefront and on the homefront; thus it was important for those who survived to justify the economic, political, social, and cultural effects of the war. Jay Winter argues in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* that, like Canadians, Europeans shared an intense bereavement, which crossed national and political boundaries after the war.[10] Occasions like Armistice Day, which began on 11 November 1919, "did not commemorate actualities of war, or even the deaths of soldiers in battle."[11] Instead, they commemorated social constructions of the war narrative, affirming the myth of the just war and the noble cause. This historically narrow narrative of the war created a mythologized version of events and experiences, in which soldiers were heroes akin to Christ in defence of Christianity,

[9] Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 9.
[10] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 227.
[11] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 216.

humanity, and Western civilisation.[12] Since the dead fell in the name of saving the country, the nation gains a higher level of existence due to the sacrifices of its citizen soldiers.[13]

Despite revisions to the established Canadian understandings of the war, whether the narrative stood up to critical inquiry was irrelevant since "the belief that their loss had meaning and purpose enabled them to cope with grief."[14] This creates issues from an historical perspective, as it creates conflict between the subjective emotional memory of the war and the striving for an accurate and objective retelling of the events of 1914 to 1918. How do historians address the fact that, generally speaking, the public created its own version of events that is rooted in justification for the strikingly high number of casualties? Works that contradicted the narrative of the just war were ignored by those who felt it disparaged the sacrifice of their loved ones. This led to artwork seen in Canada's "Book of Remembrance," for example. Located in the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, the 1915 section of the book features "an elaborate tableau of St. George slaying the Dragon set within an acanthus leaf garland," signifying heroic sacrifice.[15] Depicting Canadian soldiers as saints fighting dragons helped perpetuate public thought that Canada was born on the battlefields of France. The concept of nation-building and coming of age became ever stronger.

The myth and memory of the First World War in Canada often fails to capture the experiences of French Canadians, Indigenous peoples, and immigrants during the war. Quebeckers were—sometimes violently—opposed to the war and conscription, Indigenous and African

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[12] George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1990), 6.
[13] Jonathan F. Vance, "Remembering Armageddon," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, ed. David MacKenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 411.
[14] Vance, "Remembering Armageddon", 416. This point stems from arguments made by Jay Winter and George Mosse previously.
[15] Alan R. Young, "'We Throw the Torch': Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 14. Young also notes that St. George and the dragon imagery was a centuries-old motif and was used extensively featuring the Germans as the slain dragon in war propaganda.

Canadians were rejected by military recruiters based on skin colour and heritage, and immigrants were detained on fears of domestic terrorism. The narrative of the war is dominated by white, Anglo-Canadians, which is not representative of the vast cultural breadth of the Canadian experience, but rather of the dominant majority. But even within that majority--and we must acknowledge that St. Marys was also overwhelmingly white and British--there are differences of interpretation and experience.

In the focus on individual communities' experiences in the First World War, notable works include those of Russell Johnston and Michael Ripmeester on St. Catherines, Ontario; Desmond Morton on Peel County; Jonathan F. Vance on East Flamborough Township; Robert Rutherdale on Lethbridge, Alberta, Guelph, Ontario, and Trois-Rivières, Quebec; and Terry Copp and Alexander Maavara on Montreal.[16] Additionally, there have been works on the cities of Toronto, Regina, and Winnipeg done by Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, James M. Pitsula, and Jim Blanchard, respectively.[17] This is where this thesis intends to contribute the study of wartime Canadian communities. At the outbreak of the war, St. Marys boasted a population of around 3,000, yet the same significant historical debates took place there as in other communities: the conscription crisis, class issues between town and rural residents, debates over means of commemoration, and the historical memory that was created by townspeople and local government officials. Understanding the experiences of often-overlooked small communities in Canada reveals the intimate and

[16] Russell Johnston and Michael Ripmeester, "Awake anon the tales of valour: the career of a war memorial in St. Catharines, Ontario," *The Canadian Geographer* 53, no. 4 (2009): 404-426; Desmond Morton, "What Did Peel County Do in the Great War?" *History and Social Science Teacher* 23, no. 1 (Fall 1987): 25-30; Jonathan F. Vance, *A Township at War* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2018); Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Terry Copp and Alexander Maavara, *Montreal at War, 1914-1918*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021).

[17] Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); James M. Pitsula, *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008); Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg's Great War: A City Comes of Age* (Winnipeg, Manitoba Canada: University of Manitoba Press, 2010).

disruptive effect of the war on ordinary Canadians, and allow us to understand their experiences in a deeper way within the broader scope of the First World War. It also highlights the uniformity of post-war commemoration, as Canadians across the country were concerned about the same issues, polarized by the same debates, and often came to the same conclusions about how the war dead should be remembered.

The most recent histories of the memory of the First World War in Canada were written around the centennial anniversaries of the war, beginning in 2014. At this time, historians refocussed on the war in preparation for centenary commemorations and their potential increase in public interest. As a result, considerable scholarship was generated to satisfy this perceived need. This area of historiography focusses on analysing the main themes of thought previously established around the First World War in Canada, along with an attempt to re-evaluate long-held public beliefs critically and objectively.

Mark Osborne Humphries's "Between Commemoration and History: The Historiography of the Canadian Corps and Military Overseas" presents an historiographical background to Canada's memory of the war. Scholarship of the 1960s focussed on the unifying effects of the conflict embodied by the accomplishments of the Canadian Corps, which developed the overseas narrative largely independent of events at home.[18] Humphries argues that works in the 1980s-90s focus on Canadian operational history and the effectiveness of commanders, which created inherently nationalistic narratives. However, it is problematic because previous scholarship minimized the significance of divisions defined by race, class, gender, and region.[19] Finally,

[18] Mark Osborne Humphries, "Between Commemoration and History: The Historiography of the Canadian Corps and Military Overseas," *The Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (2014), 390.
[19] Humphries, "Between Commemoration and History," 387.

Humphries calls for historians to cross lines between military and socio-cultural history and understand the war as a "transformative event on a personal and national level."[20]

The argument that the nation-building narrative ignores social divisions and conflict within Canada is echoed in Tim Cook's "Battles of the Imagined Past: Canada's Great War and Memory." Cook maintains that the war had a corrosive effect on domestic relationships within the dominion, including pressures on farms and factories due to high number of Canadians out of the workforce, the Conscription Crisis in 1917, opposition to the war in Quebec, and propaganda and censorship perpetuated by the Canadian government.[21] Cook also offers a new narrative: the war as an "absent event."[22] This revolves around the "million missing males, aged eighteen to forty-five, who never enlisted for wartime service."[23] They were unwilling to leave their communities, jobs, and families, or were critically needed to grow food, manufacture munitions, work the mines, and operate the railway system.[24] "In order to remember those who enlisted," Cook maintains, "we must understand why at least double refused to serve."[25]

Christopher Moore takes a more critical approach to Canadian literature and public opinion on the war's effects. He asserts that "Canada, not having had a debate in 1914 about entering the war, is unlikely to have one in 2014 about how a self-governing country could allow its foreign and military policy to have been made so uncritically."[26] Additionally, war is presented "as a natural phenomenon, something Canadians endured rather than as something to be solved,

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[20] Humphries, "Between Commemoration and History," 396.
[21] Cook, "Battles of the Imagined Past," 419.
[22] Ibid, 420.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid, 421.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Christopher Moore, "1914 in 2014: What We Commemorate When We Commemorate the First World War," *The Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (2014), 429.

explained, or relieved by the actions of the protagonists."[27] Moore pushes for serious reassessment of the war to provoke critical thought into its true benefits for Canadian society, and calls for a counter-narrative that forces re-examination of the belief that from the war came Canadian nationhood.[28]

In its treatment of the memory of the First World War and subsequent commemoration, it is important for this thesis to draw comparisons between Canada and other nations in the British Empire, and in particular their interpretations and memorialisation of the conflict. Not only was Canada still a dominion of Britain at the time, but a notable portion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) was British born. Much like Canada, early narratives of the war in Britain were dominated by media and high-ranking officials in a top-down approach. As David Reynolds notes in "Britain, the Two World Wars, and the Problem of Narrative," publications from Sir John French and Sir Douglas Haig in the *London Gazette* "intended to form a continuous official public narrative of the war."[29] The reports were "reprinted by the press and proved fundamental as instant histories of events and their meaning, around which interpretations and rebuttals became encrusted."[30]

The memory and subsequent commemoration of the First World War in Australia is a deeply complicated issue also rooted in mythology and nation building. For this reason, Canada and Australia are often compared in their respective contributions to the conflict, created narratives thereafter, and memorialisation of the First World War. Australia's nation-building myth stems

[27] Moore, "1914 in 2014," 429.
[28] Ibid, 431.
[29] David Reynolds, "Britain, the Two World Wars, and the Problem of Narrative," *The Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2017), 199.
[30] Reynolds, "The Problem of Narrative," 199.

from the Gallipoli Campaign, in which Anzac[31] and other Allied troops launched an amphibious assault against the Ottomans on 25 April 1915. The Anzacs were evacuated from the Turkish peninsula in December 1915.[32] It can be compared to Canadian engagements at the Second Battle of Ypres as well as Vimy Ridge, which saw a dominion army's trial by fire resulting in high casualties. One notable difference, however, is that Vimy Ridge was a tactical success for the Canadian Corps, while the Gallipoli Campaign was a failure for the broader Allied effort in which the Anzacs participated. To be sure, Alistair Thomson claims in *Anzac Memories* that this myth is not unfounded. He determines that "just under forty per cent of Australian males between eighteen and forty-four enlisted, and of the 331,814 who had served overseas or were undergoing training by November 1918," that "about sixty-five per cent were casualties (the highest rate in the British army) and 56,639 had died."[33]

This creates issues in memorialisation, as argued by Joan Beaumont in "Commemoration in Australia: A memory orgy?" She maintains that "Australian commemoration tends to be parochial, focused on 'telling the Australian story'rather than that of the wider war."[34] Additionally, the popularity of Anzac Day's centenary anniversary in 2015 brought out the commodification of war. The Australian War Memorial shop offered an array of commodities,

[31] Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.
[32] Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2013), 42.
[33] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 31. On reassessment of the Gallipoli myth, see also Jenny Macleod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
[34] Joan Beaumont, "Commemoration in Australia: A memory orgy?" *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (2015). Also see Chandrika Kaul, "Gallipoli, Media and Commemorations During 2015: Select perspectives," *Media History* 24, no. 1 (2018): 115-141, and John Stephens, "'Remembering the Wars': documenting memorials and war commemoration in Western Australia," *The Journal of Architecture* 15, no. 5 (2010): 637-650.

including beer holders and shot glasses, showing that forms of commemoration in the modern day can take a variety of forms.[35]

The National Commission on the Commemoration of the Anzac Centenary noted in 2012 that Australia's military history was "something of a double-edged sword" and might also prove "a potential area of divisiveness."[36] Furthermore, Australia sees a greater national recognition of the significant role of Indigenous servicemen and women in the war.[37] However, the patriotic symbolism still used by Australian propaganda returns to Gallipoli as "defending the values that we hold dear."[38] Despite this, Thomson calls for history that must be critical in order to counter myth-making. As he notes, "many recent military histories have confirmed that Australian military success (or failure) has little to with national character and natural talent, and much to do with training, leadership, logistics and support."[39]

Ken Inglis's *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* has emerged as one of the most influential works regarding Australia's memory and commemoration of the First World War. Inglis notes that prior to 1980, war memorials had almost no significant scholarly literature done on them.[40] Inglis developed the fundamentals of understanding the crucial social role the memorials played, maintaining that "local circumstances put their imprint on a common movement of commemoration."[41] Furthermore, as seen across Canada, Britain, and many other nations involved in the war, "people in every city, suburb, town and township improvised their

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[35] Beaumont, "Commemoration in Australia."
[36] Ibid.
[37] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 316.
[38] Beaumont, "Commemoration in Australia."
[39] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 321.
[40] K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 7.
[41] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 128.

own variations, negotiated their own communal understandings of the meaning of the war in appropriate monument and ceremony."[42] This also meant that federal government involvement in memorialisation was minimal; the creation and funding of community memorial sites was done from the bottom-up. Women also gained an increased societal role, as they were often assigned the job of fundraising for donations.[43]

In the United Kingdom, the historiography of the First World War went through generational changes much like its Canadian and Australian counterparts. In the years following the end of the conflict, high level works from political and military leaders during the war dominated the scholarship. These contrasted the harsher realities of trench warfare brought up by operational histories and personal writings from ex-servicemen. After the Second World War, a shift in cultural ideals led to further criticism of the First World War, influencing major reassessments in academia at the end of the twentieth century and into the 2010s.

The first era of works on the First World War in the United Kingdom is dominated by what Jay Winter classifies as "The Great War Generation."[44] These works were primary accounts of the war years that emerged during the interwar period, and included the writings of politicians like David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. According to Winter, these works "informed many of the debates that emerged in later First World War historiography."[45] While biased, Lloyd George and Churchill's memoirs were presented through a top-down military and political lens. Thematically, these writings sought to affirm the conflict as inevitable, in addition to

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[42] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 128.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Jay Winter, "Historiography 1918-Today," *1914-1918-Online, International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. 11 November 2014.
[45] Winter, "Historiography 1918-Today."

justifying the decisions made by the British government during the war. The latter point was influenced by the results of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, which ended the conflict and assigned blame and reparations wholly on Germany.

While less significant in public memory than politicians' works, memoirs from veterans of the First World War provided another perspective. For example, works by J.C. Dunn and Sidney Rogerson detailed firsthand accounts of trench warfare including its boredom, horror, and the camaraderie that developed between servicemen.[46] Through servicemen's accounts, the British public were given a look into the effect of attrition warfare on individuals, who struggled with loss and sought meaning in the years after the Armistice. However, Jay Winter contests that "while [these works] provide a vivid insight into the ways that the war was understood in the decades after it finished, they have been over-used in studies trying to reconstruct events and mentalities during the conflict itself."[47] This further demonstrates the need for understanding bias, especially in primary accounts of the war.

Academic studies and public memory shifted in the 1960s and 70s. This was spurred by anti-war and pacifist movements that emerged as a result of the Vietnam War. Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* is one of the most notable works on the memory of the First World War. Predominantly a literary analysis, Fussell considers the cultural nuances of memory and how they prevail as cultural after-effects of the conflict rather than symbols of memory. This is evident in his list of aspects of British society that were forged as a direct result of the war and maintained into the mid-1970s. Cultural effects such as pub closing times, laws regarding the

[46] Captain J.C. Dunn, *The War the Infantry Knew, 1914-1919: A Chronicle Of Service In France And Belgium* (London: King, 1938); Sidney Rogerson, *Twelve Days on the Somme: A Memoir of the Trenches, 1916* (London: Arthur Barker Ltd., 1933).
[47] Winter, "Historiography 1918-Today."

control of aliens, Daylight Savings Time, cigarette-smoking, wristwatches, and paper money have since become staples in British—and Western—culture.[48] The war as an ironic action is the crux of Fussell's argument: he states that "every war is ironic because every war is worse than imagined," directly evoking 1914 notions of adventure, heroism, and a quick war.[49] Innocence was lost during the First World War, and in a statement very clearly stemming from the period's anti-war sentiments, society in the mid-1970s was "far now from such innocence, instructed in cynicism and draft-dodging by the virtually continuous war since 1936."[50]

In parallel to Canadian historiography, the end of the twentieth century saw renewed scholarship in the UK focussed on a reassessment of the First World War, its origins, and its effects on society. This era of historiography also saw a boost around the centenary anniversary of the beginning of the conflict. One previously held narrative was that after the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, war was a foregone conclusion. However, historiographical developments have altered this view. Heather Jones maintains that the "question of the war's inevitability currently falls heavily on the side of the argument that war *was* avoidable in 1914 and that its immediate outbreak following the July Crisis largely came as a surprise."[51] In *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, Christopher Clark argues that Franz Ferdinand's assassination in Sarajevo was akin to the September 11, 2001 attacks in

[48] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 315.
[49] Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 7.
[50] Ibid, 19.
[51] Heather Jones, "As the Centenary Approaches: The Regeneration of First World War Historiography," *The Historical Journal* 56, no. 3 (2013), 860. Jones also notes Michael Neiberg, *Dance of the Furies: Europe and the outbreak of World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

the United States in terms of international shock and its effect on the global political landscape.[52] As a result, the following July Crisis was a tumultuous time for Europe's leaders.

The reassessment of events such as the July Crisis also led to revisiting postwar military and public opinion on leaders, like Sir Douglas Haig, who commanded the British Expeditionary Force throughout the war. Gary Sheffield's biography of Haig portrays the general as unfairly treated by historians, as a war of attrition was his only option as the conflict raged on.[53] It also paints the war as necessary given Germany's actions, a common theme of previous narratives on the First World War. However, Jones argues that "the fervour of the Haig debate has overshadowed the fact that we still know surprisingly little about many of the other key Allied military figures, for example [Field Marshal William] Birdwood or [Field Marshal Julian] Byng."[54] This statement is important, as historians living decades after the war can only make determinations based on available information, which by its nature has inherent flaws and biases.

As seen in the British, Canadian, and Australian historiographies, there are distinct eras of scholarship in the century following the First World War. All three countries covered here experienced similar historiographical developments: early justification for the war, followed by significant reassessment at the turn of the twenty-first century, and renewed interest as the conflict reached the centenary in 2014. However, the British public did not struggle with the nation-building narratives of its former colonies. Instead, the geographical, political, and military proximity of Great Britain to the Western Front resulted in public memory created around the opinions of leaders more than the experiences of servicemen or academics immediately following

[52] Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).
[53] Gary Sheffield, *The Chief: Douglas Haig and the British Army* (London: Aurum Press, 2011).
[54] Jones, "As the Centenary Approaches," 864.

the war. Despite this, heavy revisions to decades-old narratives brought forth an academic renewal that shifted the cultural memory of the First World War.[55]

This thesis will place St. Marys, Ontario within the broader context of First World War memorialisation within the British Empire. This will be done in three chapters. The first chapter of this thesis focusses on the memorial movement in St. Marys. Immediately following the Armistice, the town's council began deliberations on the form, function, and location of the town's memorial site. This involved discussions over the style of monument, whether it should take a utilitarian or a strictly commemorative function, and the appropriate location within the town. These debates were closely followed by local newspapers, which reported on proceedings while making speculations on their results.

Chapter two analyses the men listed on the town's cenotaph. Out of the sixty-five names inscribed on the memorial, sixty-four are traceable. Biographical information from personnel records, census data, and the works of a local historian facilitate placing the men on St. Marys' cenotaph within the context of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. This chapter also seeks to explain why certain names were included on the memorial despite their seemingly tenuous connection to the town itself.

Finally, the third chapter discusses First World War memorialisation within the various domains of the British Empire. This includes England, Scotland, Wales, Newfoundland, and Australia, as well as Ireland. The analysis is done through three avenues: the form, location, and interpretation of memorials in each jurisdiction. It aims to show that St. Marys was part of a broader social movement while also featuring distinct characteristics, in particular an attachment

[55] See also Daniel Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2011).

to Empire. St. Marys was in line with other communities in its desire to commemorate the war, and like these other communities the town's interpretation of the significance of its memorial evolved throughout the interwar period in illuminating ways.

Chapter 1:
"Our Fallen Heroes": First World War Memorials in St. Marys, Ontario

The end of the First World War on 11 November 1918 marked a turning point in the meaning and interpretation of the conflict. Shifts in public perception, whether subtle or significant, occurred for many people as the wartime environment transitioned into peacetime. The role of memory in society became important as it allowed civilians and veterans alike to create their own interpretations and meanings of the war based on both personal and societal need. This subject has been analysed by historians for over a century, with many arguing that the constructed memory of the war was appealing to the public because it filled a purpose. In the interwar period, 1919 to 1939, the memory of the war and its subsequent commemoration became embedded in society primarily in the form of Armistice Day ceremonies and war memorials.

Jonathan F. Vance argues that society developed a "Just War thesis" during the immediate aftermath of the war, which viewed the conflict as necessary for preservation of the West and the avoidance of "barbaric" German domination.[56] Consolation for the families of the dead was the most important role of memory for society. The First World War had required a large sacrifice from Canadians both in manpower and work on the homefront; thus, it was important for those who survived to rationalize the economic, political, societal, and cultural impacts of the war. Through memorials, Canadian towns and cities attempted to permanently commemorate the dead, and through these actions communities looked to future generations' interpretations of the war's impacts.

[56] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 26.

This is all true of the town of St. Marys, Ontario. Situated in the heart of Southwestern Ontario on the banks of the Thames River and Trout Creek, it had a population of around 3400 when the First World War broke out.[57] In Canadian historical scholarship, there are relatively few dedicated studies of smaller communities such as St. Marys. These have been explored in studies by Russell Johnston and Michael Ripmeester,[58] Desmond Morton,[59] Robert Rutherdale,[60] and Jonathan F. Vance.[61] However, St. Marys—like countless other small communities—is rarely written about and largely unexplored in the area of the First World War's memory and commemoration. After the war, each community within the country built its own memorials, held Armistice Day and Remembrance Day ceremonies, and created its own public interpretation of the war and its effects.

This chapter serves to analyse the development and meaning of different sites of memory within St. Marys, and the groups that played major roles in the debates over their significance. Most predominant of the town's memorials is the cenotaph located downtown, directly east of Town Hall facing south towards Queen Street, but commemoration also took other forms in St. Marys. The Anglican Church contains a large stained-glass window and roll of honour and, until the 1940s, downtown St. Marys also displayed a captured German field gun. Debates among community groups, veterans, politicians, and prominent citizens sprang up over various aspects of the memorials' development, such as appropriate forms, funding, imagery, and location. These

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[57] Johnston and Johnston, *History of Perth County*, 442.
[58] Russell Johnston and Michael Ripmeester. "Awake anon the tales of valour: the career of a war memorial in St. Catharines, Ontario" *The Canadian Geographer* 53, no. 4 (2009): 404-426.
[59] Desmond Morton, "What Did Peel County Do in the Great War?" *History and Social Science Teacher* 23, no. 1 (Fall 1987): 25-30.
[60] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).
[61] Jonathan F. Vance, *A Township at War* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2018).

often became heated and personal between councillors and citizens alike. Ultimately, it was up to Town Council to weigh opinions from various committees and referendum results in order to create the most appropriate commemorative site in the public eye.

On Sunday, 6 October 1918, the town of St. Marys celebrated the news that Germany had bid for peace to end the war that had raged on for over four years. The response was strong, emotional, and immediate. The town bell rang, "[b]onfires kindled, rockets exploded, and crowds vented their delight in various ways."[62] By five o'clock in the afternoon there was a parade of cars moving through downtown towards the Opera House. The Maxwell Maple Leaf band played outside the editor of the *Journal*'s house as a sign of appreciation for the news.[63] During the evening celebrations, the *Journal* noted a speech given by Captain Reverend McGillivray of St. Thomas, Ontario. Before reading from the now-famous poem "In Flanders Fields," he gave a message to Germany: "Hands up and arms down and we'll talk to you bunch of burglars."[64] To rousing cheers, he concluded by asking "Shall we compromise. [sic] No; Shall we shake hands? No—we will onward till we win or fall, we shall keep the faith for which our boys died."[65] Other speeches, along with the general tone of the evening, maintained that an early peace was undesirable and that only complete victory would be satisfactory.

These sentiments were revived to a greater degree just over a month later when fighting officially ended on the Western Front. When the news of the Armistice reached St. Marys in the early hours of 11 November 1918, its residents celebrated much like the rest of Canada. Bells rang

[62] "Sunday in St. Marys," 10 October 1918, *Journal*, 1.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

and whistles were blown across town. The mayor declared a public holiday, closing schools and businesses, and "all felt that a great weight had been lifted from them."[66] As hundreds of farmers came to town from their rural homes, a parade began through the downtown, with banners on vehicles reading "Our Fallen Heroes."[67] Remembering the dead was present in the minds of the jubilant partygoers, and so was celebrating the defeat of Germany. A float with effigies of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the Crown Prince, and Paul von Hindenburg was burned in front of the Opera House on Water Street to cheers and patriotic songs played by the Maxwell Band.[68] The nearby city of Stratford's newspaper, *The Stratford Daily Herald*, was of the utmost importance in the region on this day. According to the *Daily Herald*, it was one of the first in Western Ontario to carry the news, which was not reported in Toronto or London until later in the day. In Stratford and St. Marys, reports reached the area just before five in the morning.[69]

Despite St. Marys citizens' initial reactions to the news of the end of the war, the conversation quickly turned to appropriate commemoration, and thus began the postwar trajectories of memory and commemoration of the conflict. Speculation over where to erect a memorial in St. Marys was evident as early as 21 November, with some suggesting near the public elementary school, and others the entrance of the cemetery. The *St. Marys Journal* maintained that "[n]o doubt Memorial tablets will be placed in the Collegiate [Institute] for members of the

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[66] *St. Marys Argus*, "The Peace Celebration," *St. Marys Argus*, Nov. 14, 1918.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid. The Maxwell Band represented a local business that sold farm implements and hardware.
[69] *Stratford Daily Herald*, "Eager Crowns Buy Herald Extras Bringing the First News Signing Armistice," Nov. 11, 1918. However, Ian Miller states that wire services flashed news of the armistice to Torontonians by 2:30 a.m. on 11 November. See Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 190. The timing of the printing of various newspaper reports undoubtedly varied from community to community.

Collegiate body who donned the khaki, or at least those who have fallen."[70] Unfortunately the only recognition these men have is a small plaque in the main foyer, dedicated to Lieutenant W.J. Wright, principal of St. Marys Collegiate Institute, who was killed near Lens, France in August 1917.

Prior to the end of the First World War, commemoration was already taking shape in St. Marys in the form of public groups and celebrations. The McConnell Club was one such group. Originally named the St. Marys Girl's Club, it was an informal club that was founded in the spring of 1914 to cater dances organized on a fortnightly basis by local bachelors. During the war, the group teamed up with the Women's Patriotic League, raising money through dances, euchre parties, and catering banquets. They also knitted socks, shirts, and pyjamas for soldiers overseas.[71]

The club itself also had a commemorative element. It was named for William John McConnell, the first "St. Marys boy" to be killed in action during the war, on 10 September 1916.[72] McConnell evidently was popular with the young women of the town, who wanted to maintain his legacy. Although remembered as the town's first casualty, he was born in Port Elgin, grew up in Kincardine, and had only moved to St. Marys in 1913 before enlisting on 17 September 1915.[73] He worked as an apprentice at a local barber shop and was part of the 1913 championship lacrosse team, the St. Marys Alerts.[74] The first reference to the McConnell Club under that name appears in March 1917, six months after McConnell's death when it was reported that the Club had raised

[70] *St. Marys Journal*, "What Will St. Marys Do?" Nov. 21, 1918. The Collegiate Institute was the local high school in the North Ward of St. Marys. It became an elementary school in 1954, was renamed Arthur Meighen Public School in 1984, closed in 2011, and was subsequently demolished.
[71] St. Marys Museum Archives (SMMA), McConnell Club Collection, A1008.3, Richard Holt Speaking Notes 2002.
[72] Richard Holt, *The Fallen: From World War I and World War II memorials in St. Marys and Blanshard* (St. Marys, Ontario: Thames Label & Litho, 2014), 43.
[73] Holt, *The Fallen*, 43.
[74] Ibid.

sixty dollars at a patriotic dance, forty-five of which was given to the Women's Patriotic League.[75] McConnell's sister had also visited St. Marys in 1917 and expressed her pleasure that her brother was so highly thought of.[76]

The most influential group in the memorial debate was the local chapter of the Great War Veterans' Association (GWVA). In St. Marys, it was formed on 10 November 1918, just one day before the armistice was signed.[77] While initial membership was not substantial, by the summer of 1919 it had grown to seventy-five members.[78] Its president was Captain Reverend Charles Keith Masters. Masters served in France as chaplain with the 58th Battalion and returned to Canada in November 1916 after complications from a gunshot wound to the hand ended his war.[79] Upon his return, he accepted an offer to be rector of St. James' Anglican Church in St. Marys, where he held his first service on Sunday, 7 October 1917. Masters was awarded the Military Cross in 1920 for his actions at Courcelette during the Battle of the Somme.[80]

Masters expected a large number of donations to the memorial project. In a letter to the *Journal* in February 1919, he noted Owen Sound's plan to spend around $100,000 for its memorial, and that London, Ontario had set a goal of $150,000.[81] Still, London boasted a population of over 50,000 at this time, making it over ten times larger than St. Marys. Nearby Fullarton Township had gold, silver, and bronze medals struck for their soldiers, and Mitchell, in addition to a

[75] SMMA, McConnell Club Collection, A1008.3, Richard Holt Speaking Notes 2002.
[76] Ibid.
[77] "Local Branch Formed of War Veterans Assn.," *St. Marys Argus*, 5 December 1918, 3.
[78] "G.W.V.A. Meeting," *St. Marys Journal*, 7 August 1919, 5.
[79] Mary Ainslie Smith, *From Living and Chosen Stones: The History of the St. James Anglican Church, St. Marys 1851-2001*, (St. Marys, Ontario: Thames Label & Litho, 2002), 54.
[80] Smith, *St. James Anglican Church*, 54.
[81] "The Soldiers' Memorial," *St. Marys Journal*, 20 February 1919, 4.

memorial, wanted to present each soldier with a $10 gold piece.[82] Though communities' gestures differed, it is important that each community wanted to convey "simply that the dead should have mattered, that they should be remembered and therefore, in a sense, that they should not have died at all."[83]

There also appeared to be fears that soldiers' and veterans' sacrifices might be forgotten unless the town created a permanent memorial. An anonymous letter to the *Journal* on 6 March 1919 echoes the feeling of many others in stating that no longer was any "welcome home" being extended to returned soldiers.[84] "A year or two ago," the letter notes, "St. Marys woke up to the fact that the boys were returning and a few receptions were given; but they soon died out."[85]

After hearing multiple recommendations on appropriate forms of commemoration, St. Marys' Town Council turned to two groups for advice: the memorial committee and the Board of Trade. The memorial committee was a grassroots group that consisted of veterans, town councillors, and other prominent citizens.[86] They were in favour of funding both a veterans' club house and a monument. In order to make this vision reality, they launched a fundraising drive to cover the expenses that were estimated to be $30,000.[87] This was a large sum to ask of the public. Most memorials across Canada, Britain, and Australia were being funded through community donations; however, the site in St. Marys would ultimately be financed predominantly through municipal grants. The committee was attempting to collect an average of about $7.50 from each

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[82] "The Soldiers' Memorial," *St. Marys Journal*, 20 February 1919, 4.
[83] J. Bartlett and K. M. Ellis, "Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, no. 2 (April 1999), 242.
[84] **"**Our Returned Soldiers," 6 March 1919, *Journal*, 1.
[85] Ibid.
[86] "The Soldiers' Memorial," *St. Marys Journal*, 20 March 1919, 1-2.
[87] "Memorial Committee Met Monday Evening," *St. Marys Argus*, 15 May 1919, 1.

citizen, which was a large sum given the postwar economic depression. The community was supportive: the memorial projects gained backing from the McConnell Club, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, and the Help-a-Bit Club.[88] In summer 1919, the Board of Trade gave the recommendation to fund $8000 for a monument and $6500 for a club house.[89] Based on this, council moved to submit a bylaw referendum to get the public to ultimately decide which course of action should be taken.

On 8 November 1919, almost a year after the Armistice, St. Marys held a vote to approve financing for two by-laws: $6,000 to erect a soldiers' monument, and $5,000 for a veterans' club house.[90] Despite the apparent public support for commemoration, only the motion for the monument carried by a vote of 218 to 134.[91] It was far from unanimous, as thirty-eight percent voted against the building of a town monument.

The strong vote opposed to the financing of the monument suggests various interpretations. Those who were opposed to the monument perhaps could not have justified spending such a large amount on a cenotaph as there were more important affairs to deal with. Canada was in a recession when the war broke out in 1914, and when veterans returned, communities called for the raising of Victory Loans to assist with the returning sick, wounded, and unemployed. They could have also been among those who voted instead for a clubhouse, as that motion was defeated by a smaller margin of fifty-four votes.[92] This had a considerable effect on the future deliberations for Armistice

[88] "Memorial Committee Met Monday Evening," *St. Marys Argus*, 15 May 1919, 1.
[89] "Memorial Question," *St. Marys Journal*, 24 July 1919, 1.
[90] *Listowel Banner*, "To Erect Monument," Nov. 13, 1919.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

Day celebrations held at the memorial in St. Marys. The result of the referendum also created immediate rifts between supporters of a monument and those who wanted a club house.

As the lengthy discussions over the appropriate form and location of the town's commemoration came to an end, Council and the public were left with another question: Whose names should appear on the cenotaph? The GWVA requested that the names of fallen soldiers should be displayed alphabetically regardless of rank. This was also an empire-wide trend to democratize the war dead. This is, in part, why all soldiers, regardless of rank, were buried together in the same cemeteries in France and Flanders.

Honour rolls were published in newspapers both during and after the war. The most notable of these was one that appeared in the *Journal* on 12 September 1918 that was primarily compiled by Dr. J.R. Stanley. It asked readers, relatives, friends, and others to submit names, which highlights the grassroots nature of the project.[93] Though Council noted difficulty in "procur[ing] a list that would satisfy the demands and opinions of everybody," they published the final list of names on 24 March 1919.

Unfortunately, minutes from the various committees associated with the development of the list of names eventually inscribed on the monument either do not exist or have been lost in the century following their proceedings. The question of why certain men were included will likely never be wholly answered. However, Richard Holt's 2014 work *The Fallen: From World War I and World War II memorials in St. Marys and Blanshard* offers detailed biographies for almost every name listed on the St. Marys cenotaph.[94] This enables researchers to understand these men's

[93] "The Response of St. Marys and Vicinity To 'The Call of the Empire'," *Journal*, 12 September 1918, 2.
[94] Holt, *The Fallen*.

associations with St Marys: some had seemingly little connection with the town itself outside of residing there briefly at some point in time.[95]

Now that the appropriate form of commemoration had been decided by various groups and townsfolk, the debate over the memorial's location began in council. Original suggestions for the location of the monument were downtown, at the Central School, at the Collegiate Institute, or at the cemetery. Veterans themselves were generally in favour of a central location in town for visibility.[96] One proposal from council was a traffic island at the intersection of Queen and Church Streets, the busiest and most central roads in St. Marys.[97] It was proposed to be named "St. Julien Square" after the battle during the larger Ypres campaign which saw Canadians heavily involved from the outset of their arrival in France. However, this proposition was shot down quickly: "the committee's selection of a site is one of the most ridiculous places in town," argued Councillor Wilson, "Why, you couldn't get by the monument with a load of hay if it was placed out there on the road. I would sooner not see it up at all than place it there."[98]

This was the beginning of an acrimonious debate between councillors during the fall and winter of 1919-1920. The *Argus* noted a particularly "warm session" in council, which quickly became heated and personal between councillors. F.G. Sanderson criticized Councillor Mathieson's apparent change of opinion on the possible location of the monument, though both men's original stance is unclear in newspaper reports. Sanderson maintained that his own strong feelings were based on "those who sacrificed their lives on the fields of France and Flanders."[99]

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[95] This will be explored at length in Chapter 2.
[96] "Soldiers' Monument – Where to Put it?" *St. Marys Journal*, 7 October 1920, 1.
[97] "The Soldiers' Monument," *St. Marys Journal*, 30 September 1920, 8.
[98] "Site for Monument Causes Warm Session," *St. Marys Argus*, 7 October 1920, 1.
[99] *St. Marys Argus*, 7 October 1920, 4.

Sanderson allegedly was on the verge of leaving, only to remain at the request of other councillors.[100] It is clear that the sacrifice of the men from St. Marys was deeply emotional to citizens and politicians alike.

In December 1920, council chose the grounds of the Central School for the monument's location, despite its distance from the centre of town.[101] But in January 1921, the GWVA passed a recommendation to purchase a lot directly east of the Town Hall to be used instead of the Central School.[102] This created issues within the town. Veterans were opposed to the planned site, but their newly proposed site beside Town Hall had cost around $1400 when it was last sold.[103]

The problem was solved in a seemingly *deus ex machina* fashion by former mayor William Weir. Weir was a prominent citizen who had close ties to veterans in the GWVA. In 1920, he personally hosted dinner at his house at Cadzow Park for over eighty returned soldiers.[104] In January 1921 he appeared before Council and offered to donate the lot on the condition that it be used for the memorial site.[105] Council immediately accepted the offer. The *Journal-Argus* was skeptical, however, asking "Are there any strings to it? When did he acquire the property or does he own it at all?"[106] These questions were answered by the end of March, when the journal revealed that Weir had purchased the property for the purpose of beginning preliminary measures to create

[100] *St. Marys Argus*, 7 October 1920, 4.
[101] "Town Council," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 9 December 1920, 2.
[102] "Local Veterans Busy," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 13 January 1921, 1.
[103] "Hayes Bros., St. Marys," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 21 October 1921, 2.
[104] "The G.W.V.A. Entertained," *St. Marys Journal*, 15 July 1920, 8.
[105] "The Grounds for a Park Donated to St. Marys," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 20 January 1921, 7.
[106] "Wm. Weir's Proposition," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 27 January 1921, 1.

the memorial park.[107] One man had single-handedly put to bed one of the fiercest local debates in recent memory.

Town Council called for bids for the construction of the cenotaph in the fall of 1920 and subsequently awarded the contract of $6000 to the Hayes Brothers, a local firm.[108] Hayes Bros. were experienced in this line of work: they had constructed similar monuments for the nearby communities of Drumbo, Kintore, Nairn, and Rannoch. Council also decided on the design of the monument, which would be a stone pedestal with a bronze statue of a soldier on top.[109] This was influenced by the GWVA, which posted drawings in the window of the *Journal* for citizens to view and offer any comments and suggestions. The contract for the Hayes Bros. was only meant for the granite base. According to Robert Shipley, the bronze soldier on top was designed and created by F.G. Tickell and Sons in Toronto.[110]

Construction of the St. Marys cenotaph was completed in March 1921 and the memorial was erected two months later in May. William Weir, who single-handedly facilitated its permanent location and was touted as "the best-known man in St. Marys," died that same week.[111] After originally considering a July date, the memorial's official unveiling was selected to be on 7 November. This would be St. Marys' first proper Armistice Day celebration, nearly three years after the conclusion of the fighting. In the two years prior, the town hosted banquets of appreciation for returned veterans under the auspices of the GWVA. The events focussed on the living rather than the dead, "thankfulness for victory," and reasserting that "us [sic] a people, are worthy of the

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[107] "The Town Council," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 24 March 1921, 1.
[108] "Hayes Bros. St. Marys," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 21 October 1921, 2.
[109] "Town Council," *Journal-Argus*, 9 December 1920, 2.
[110] Robert Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: N.C. Press Ltd., 1987), 90.
[111] "William Weir Dead," *Journal-Argus*, 26 May 1921, 2.

ideals for which we have been fighting."[112] Additionally, businesses across town were closed for two minutes at 11 am, the first instance of a tradition that exists to this day.

A man sitting on a bench in front of the St. Marys cenotaph.
Source: St. Marys Museum Archives.

The *Journal-Argus* reported that "citizens generally are much pleased with its appearance," but also conceded that "opinions may differ as to the form the monument should take."[113] The official unveiling of the cenotaph on 7 November -- a Monday afternoon -- was predicted to be "one of the biggest days in the history of St. Marys."[114] This only further highlights the importance of this memorial and why debates were so hostile between factions. The service was well attended

[112] "Veterans' Big Banquet," *Journal*, 20 November 1919, 1.
[113] "The Soldiers' Memorial," *Journal-Argus*, 26 May 1921, 1.
[114] "The Soldiers' Memorial," *Journal-Argus*, 3 November 1921, 1.

and began with Mayor N.L. Brandon uncovering the memorial to the tune of "O Canada" played by the Maxwell Band.[115] Rev. Capt. Masters gave the dedication, and the Roll of Honor was read. "The Last Post" was played before attendees adjourned to the Methodist Church, showing how pervasive religion was socially and in remembrance.[116] It is likely that other denominations did their own services as well. At the church, hymns were sung, prayers and speeches given, and the service concluded with "God Save the King" as Canada was still a Dominion of Great Britain at the time.[117]

The war memorial in St. Marys appeared to be at the forefront of public concern immediately after the war. The meaning of this site was constructed through its creation and imagery. The St. Marys monument features a stoic British soldier standing at attention, facing forward atop a single pillar. The image of the citizen-soldier conforms to the idea of the war that downplayed the role of machines and as a result celebrates the human individual.[118] All four sides feature inscriptions of the names of the local fallen and, unlike other nearby communities, was not amended to include the dead of the Second World War or the Korean War. The addition of individual names served a greater purpose than to acknowledge a man who gave his life. In small communities, it presents the names of the families in mourning. As Jay Winter states in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, such memorials create highly personal individual meaning, to "help individual people… to accept the brutal facts of death and war."[119] It was also a focal point for community mourning. Since bodies of the war dead were not sent home, they serve as a tangible

[115] "St. Marys Honours Her Soldier Dead," *Journal-Argus*, 10 November 1921, 1.
[116] SMMA, WWI Collection, Order of Service for Memorial Unveiling, 1921.
[117] Ibid. "God Save the Queen" is still sung during some Remembrance Day services in Canada.
[118] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 142.
[119] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 94.

gravesite in the dead's community. This allows the bereaved to have a place to mourn and remember their loved ones.

The Monument's placement is important. It shows that the memorials were meant to be seen and not forgotten, and their central location was one of utmost importance. In St. Marys, the cenotaph was directly beside the Town Hall on the northwest corner of Queen and James Street in the heart of downtown, where the first celebrations were held after the Armistice. Its imagery was equally important. As Vance argues in *Death So Noble*, the mass-marketed cenotaph design served two distinct purposes. First, it situated a "sense of loss [communities] shared with the whole nation."[120] This allows St. Marys to see itself as a part of a larger effort to both win the war and commemorate its effects. Second, the base model still allows for strokes of individuality and distinctiveness. Location, names, and inscriptions allow uniqueness for a particular community.[121] The ways in which these aspects were agreed upon varied widely based on the community, as explored in Chapter 3, which places St. Marys within the broader context of similar processes and debates in other communities of the British Empire.

Another form of public commemoration evident in St. Marys is a stained-glass window in St. James Anglican Church, though the exact timeframe and reasoning behind its creation remains unclear. The window's development was likely the initiative of Reverend Charles Keith Masters, who was vocal in the aforementioned memorial debates. A veteran himself, he was strongly in favour of supporting the GWVA and cultivating the celebration of the town's returned veterans. Additionally, the Ministerial Association was undoubtedly pro-war and pro-conscription. During

[120] Vance, "Remembering Armageddon," 410.
[121] Ibid.

the war, the Anglican Church hosted meetings and rallies supporting the war effort as well as a rally for Robert Borden's 1917 federal campaign for re-election. Churches were also noted for their role in social recruiting and pressuring young men to enlist.[122]

The stained glass features a quotation from a longer text in the book of Ephesians chapter 6, verses 11-12:

> Put on the full armor of God, so that you can take your stand against the devil's schemes. For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms.[123]

Stained Glass in St. James Anglican Church, St. Marys. Photo from author's personal collection.

[122] For more this aspect of recruitment, see Paul Maroney, "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914-17," *Canadian Historical Review* 77:1 (March 1996): 62-98.
[123] Eph 6:11-12 (New International Version). Accessed from https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Ephesians+6&version=NIV.

The interpretation of this quote in the context of the First World War is certainly evident. British soldiers were protecting Christianity, or at least, their version of the faith. By defeating the "powers of this dark world" they solidified themselves as true keepers of the word of God and their own conviction.

In commemoration, fallen soldiers were often depicted as akin to Jesus Christ. In the Christian faith, Jesus died for the sins of humanity. Soldiers sacrificed their lives as well, thus drawing a distinct parallel. Jonathan Vance asserts that "the soldier's suffering represented Christ's; the sacrifice of the infantryman became one with the sacrifice of the lamb of God in atoning for the sins of the world."[124] It was not only the solder who was found in Christ. Based on his humble roots, many civilians could find their own interpretation and meaning in the respect of sacrifice. All had sacrificed over the four years of war, whether it be by rationing, buying victory loans, or experiencing injury or loss. All members of society had sacrificed just as Christ did, thus they achieved redemption through their atonement.[125]

St. Marys also displayed a captured German 7.7cm field gun. It was positioned between the Public Library and Town Hall, pointing west across Church Street. The St. Marys Museum states that it was "given as a commemoration of St. Marys' contribution to the war." Officially, it was "property of the Government of Canada and distributed by the Dominion Archivist, Sir Arthur Doughty. It stood between the Library and Town Hall until the early 1940s, when it was taken

[124] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 40.

[125] It is noteworthy that European nations, even Germany and Austria-Hungary, used Christian iconography in their memorials to the First World War. European society fell back on a familiar language of loss, which included Christianity and medievalism. For more on this, see Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance, and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

down and the metal was repurposed for the war effort."[126] While it was a unique feature in Perth County, this was not an uncommon sight in Canada by any means. After the war, hundreds of communities yearned for a trophy of Canada's victory. Jennifer Wellington asserts in *Exhibiting the War* that initially, these displays "acted both as propaganda and recruitment tools, and as sites where community groups searched for an 'authentic' connection to the experience of war."[127]

Vance explains that public displays of captured German weapons were not to show that machines had taken over warfare. In fact, they had the opposite intention. They sought to remind townspeople "that [modern weapons] were no match for Canada's citizen-soldiers."[128] This was emulated by the cenotaph depicting the single soldier appearing just around the corner. However, despite Vance's assertion, it is likely that physical access to a weapon of war allowed townsfolk a better understanding of the nature and true power of modern weaponry.

[126] "Public Library." RN8_73, Reg Near Postcards. R. Lorne Eedy Archives, St. Marys Museum, St. Marys, Ontario. Accessed from Picture St. Marys at http://images.ourontario.ca/stmarys/3427190/data?n=2.
[127] Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums, and Memory in Britain, Canada, and Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 5.
[128] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 147.

Two women posed with the German field gun, 1932. Photo courtesy of Mary Smith.

The fact that the deliberations surrounding the cenotaph were reported in detail in the local papers shows how pervasive the interest and desire to establish a commemorative site was. Councillors debated, citizens voted, and money was put forth in order to solidify plans based on the desires of particular groups. The stained glass shows not only the influence of Reverend Masters, but also religion's pervasive social significance. The comparisons of soldiers to Christ became a common sentiment in war memorialisation because of the familiarity and social presence of religion in Western society in the early twentieth century. Finally, the captured field gun displayed around the corner from the cenotaph shows the new, modern machines that were no match for Canada's "citizen soldiers." The memorialisation of the First World War in St. Marys is

a worthwhile study into the broader context of a small Canadian community, and shows how deeply citizens sought to rationalize the deep-seated impacts of the conflict.

Chapter 2:
The Names on the St. Marys Cenotaph

After the intense debates surrounding the design and construction of the St. Marys war memorial, the question of who should be named on it remained. From 1914 to 1918, the *Journal-Argus* printed rolls of honour on a weekly basis as well as soldiers' letters and updates on the war. After the conflict, the same newspaper asked the public to submit the names of those who died that should be listed on the cenotaph, and likely forwarded these submissions to Town Council. In the end, sixty-five names were etched into the granite of the St. Marys cenotaph above the inscription "In Memory of Our Fallen Heroes." Unfortunately for present researchers, the exact process of the Council's decision on which names should be included on the memorial is unknown.

This chapter will seek to understand the reasoning behind why certain names were included on the cenotaph through an analysis of the available archival, published, and circumstantial evidence. The basis for this analysis stems from individual service records held by Library and Archives Canada, evidence from the 1911 Canadian census, Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) records, and Richard Holt's book *The Fallen: From World War I and World War II memorials in St. Marys and Blanshard*, which provides a biographical sketch of each man commemorated on the cenotaph.[129] Holt's work was the first of its kind in St. Marys and provides the context surrounding each man's childhood, service, family, and final resting place.[130] His

[129] Holt, *The Fallen*. The information compiled in this chapter comes from Holt's work and an analysis of Service Record Data (Appendix A) and the 1911 Census (Appendix B). Census data is included only for those living in St. Marys in 1911, not the surrounding areas.

[130] In a brief postscript to the First World war section of his book, Holt cites his sources as "family memories, service records, local newspapers, CWGC records, cemetery headstones, assessment rolls and genealogical websites." However, he does not cite these sources within the text, nor does he provide a bibliography of the exact records he consulted.

assertions can be compared to the primary sources from the war. However, Holt fails to answer the question of why the names of men that were not born in St. Marys or who had not lived in the town for long were included on the cenotaph.

It is important to understand how the men on the St. Marys' memorial fit into the greater population of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Circumstances of death, religious affiliation, and occupation reveal several correlations between the men listed on the St. Marys monument and the broader CEF population, while further analysis reveals probable rationale for including the names of men with little relationship to the town itself. Three factors significantly influenced the inclusion of the names of soldiers only loosely related to the town: occupation, religion, and social connections. These men were often included based on their relationships with their coworkers, the insistence of Rev. Masters at the St. James Anglican Church, and through the small social circles of a rural town. This allows the men on the St. Marys cenotaph to be placed within a national context statistically, while providing evidence for why they were listed on the town's memorial.

It is worth noting that there are two errors in the names on the St. Marys cenotaph: Harvey Martin and Joseph Taylor. In a 1995 supplement to the cenotaph, *St. Marys Remembers: Fallen Heroes from Our Community who made the Ultimate Sacrifice*, Holt determines that "Harvey" was a spelling mistake and should be Harry Martin, who he claims was born in nearby Kintore and had a mother living in Science Hill, just north of St. Marys.[131] While Holt correctly assumed the proper name, the other biographical information he provides in the supplement is false. According to his service record, Harry Ernest Arthur Martin (727072) was born in Harrow, Middlesex

[131] Richard Holt, *St. Marys Remembers: Fallen Heroes from Our Community who made the Ultimate Sacrifice* (St. Marys, ON: St. Marys Journal Argus, 1995).

County, England on 24 November 1897.[132] He lived in St. Marys and worked as a painter when he enlisted on 11 November 1915 into the 110th (Perth) Battalion. However, less than a year into his service, Martin was deemed medically unfit to serve and was discharged on 9 October 1916 at Camp Borden.[133] He evidently moved back to St. Marys and died of influenza on 12 October 1918 after being ill "only a few days."[134] Martin's parents, who were living in St. Marys, were likely responsible for his name being included, unfortunately with the typo. To date, no effort has been made to correct it.

The second, Joseph Taylor, is much more of a mystery. In the 1995 supplement, Holt determines that the inscription refers to Sergeant Joseph Taylor, born in Bolton, Lancashire, England in 1887.[135] He lived in Halifax and attested with the 25th Battalion on 13 March 1915. After a gunshot wound, he was evacuated and demobilized to a hospital in Montreal, where he died of influenza on 6 October 1918.[136] He was buried in Montreal and survived by his wife and daughter in Halifax. However, his father allegedly lived in St. Marys at the time. Although this is presumably why Taylor's name was put on the St. Marys cenotaph, he had never been to the town himself or gone any farther west than Montreal during his life.

Because of this revelation, Holt revises his research in *The Fallen*, which was published nearly twenty years after *St. Marys Remembers*. He retracts the note about Taylor's father, citing that census data now made available refutes his previous claim that the father had lived in St. Marys. Therefore, the name "Joseph Taylor" on the St. Marys cenotaph remains a mystery.

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[132] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 5982-4, Item 201720.
[133] LAC, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 5982-4, Item 201720.
[134] *St. Marys Argus*, 17 October 1918, 8.
[135] Holt, *St. Marys Remembers*, 41.
[136] Ibid.

Following up on Holt's suggestion of other soldiers in the CEF such as Edward Joseph Taylor and Thomas Joseph Taylor have led to the same dead ends he experienced in his research. There is also the possibility that Taylor was a British soldier, as were a few others on the St. Marys cenotaph. These were men who either had previous service or returned home to fight for local regiments. A search for "Joseph Taylor" in the National Archives' Digitized First World War Service Records returns 668 results as his name is all researchers have to work with.[137] With such a common name it would require deeper analysis of each record to find him, an endeavour that is outside the scope of this thesis. For now, Joseph Taylor is unknown. The error in transcribing these names brings the overall total of traceable names included on the St. Marys cenotaph from sixty-five to sixty-four.

According to Desmond Morton in *When Your Number's Up*, the overall strength of the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War was 619,636 with a peak strength of 388,000.[138] This thesis will use the numbers provided by Morton's demographic analysis in comparing the servicemen listed on the St. Marys cenotaph to Canada and the CEF.

While the exact number of St. Marys men who served during the First World War is unknown, over four thousand men from Perth County enlisted, 2500 of whom would serve overseas.[139] This means that nine percent of the county's residents saw military service, higher than the national average of seven percent throughout the course of the war. It is unlikely this

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[137] The National Archives, Digitised First World War Records, Accessed at http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/first-world-war/centenary-digitised-records/.
[138] Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), 277. This figure comes from G.W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), 546.
[139] Johnston and Johnston, *History of Perth County*, 380.

number includes St. Marys residents, given the municipality's incorporated status. However, it is the closest possible baseline of enlistment data.

Therefore, it is impossible to know exactly how many men from St. Marys enlisted. Although those who were born in St. Marys could potentially be identified based on their service records, this would not account for people born elsewhere who moved to St. Marys and resided there long enough to be considered residents. The local battalion was the 110th (Perth) "Overseas" Battalion, which was authorized over a year into the war on 22 December 1915. According to the Canadian Forces report on regiment lineages, "the 110th embarked for Great Britain on 31 October 1916 [and on] 2 January 1917, its personnel were absorbed by the 8th Reserve Battalion to provide reinforcements for the Canadian Corps in the field."[140] The 110th Battalion was disbanded on 17 July 1917, less than eight months after its formation. No Canadian ever fought in combat as a member of the 110th. Furthermore, men from St. Marys who enlisted prior to the battalion's raising would have had to attest at another location, usually an urban centre like Stratford, London, Guelph, or Toronto. Some recent immigrants, as well as those who previously served in the British military, travelled back to Britain to enlist.

This recruiting and battalion organisation was also experienced in the UK after the heavy losses experienced in the first two years of the war. It was in part due to the difference in regimental administration compared to the Napoleonic Wars or the Boer War. As Nick Mansfield notes, after 1916, conscripts were used to reinforce battalions and moved more freely between units. This not only disrupted the recruiters' promises of keeping friends together, but also saw men like the

[140] Canadian Forces Publication A-DH-267-000/AF-003, *Insignia and Lineages of the Canadian Forces. Volume 3: Combat Arms Regiments*, The Perth Regiment, http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/his/ol-lo/vol-tom-3/par2/pr-eng.asp.

author's great uncle, who was killed while serving in the Berkshire regiment, a county he had never visited.[141]

By 1914, Ontario was roughly 47 percent rural.[142] This apparent divide between town and country was present in the response to the war. Farmers were slow to enlist if they did at all. When Robert Borden's Military Service Act came into effect, 98 percent of rural residents in Canada applied for exemption. As a result, enlistment rates were generally lower in provinces with large rural populations. In addition to the reluctance of farmers to enlist, the military provided an alternative to the urban jobs that had disappeared during the pre-war depression. This led to higher enlistment rates in urban areas as it guaranteed steady pay, medical benefits, and a pension. Between 1871 and 1914 the Canadian Census defined an "urban place" as any incorporated community, regardless of size. As it was one of only two incorporated centres in Perth County, this definition included St. Marys despite its small population of 3,388 in 1911.[143]

Circumstances of Death

Circumstances of death is the first area of analysis of the men on the St. Marys cenotaph. Out of the sixty-four men, 37, or 57.8 percent, are listed as Killed in Action (KIA); 13, or 20.3 percent, died of wounds; and 4, or 6.3 percent, died of influenza. The total number of deaths in the CEF were calculated in 1921 by Sir Andrew MacPhail, Professor of the History of Medicine at McGill University. MacPhail was commissioned to write the history of the Medical Services during the war, which would become part of A. Fortescue Duguid's *Official History of the*

[141] Nick Mansfield, "Class Conflict and Village War Memorials, 1914–24," *Rural History* 6, no. 1 (1995), 70.
[142] Chris Sharpe, "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918," *Canadian Military History* 24, no.1 (2015), 28.
[143] Sharpe, "Enlistment in the CEF," 29. Johnston and Johnston, *Perth County*, 442.

Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919.[144] MacPhail discovered that "the total number of deaths from all causes was 56,638 of which 51,678 were due to battle casualties, and 4,960 to disease and other causes."[145] Therefore, out of the 418,052 troops that made it overseas, 12.4 percent died of battle casualties, and 12 percent of disease and other causes.[146]

Benefitting from the numbers compiled by MacPhail, G.W.L Nicholson provided further detail regarding circumstances of death in his official history. This presents a clearer picture of the reality of the war deaths. Out of his total of 59,544 deaths from all causes among CEF personnel, 34,925 were KIA, 12,260 died of wounds, and 7,796 died of diseases, accidents, or other circumstances.[147] This creates percentages of 58.7 percent KIA, 20.6 percent died of wounds, and 13.1 percent died of disease or accidents.

Nicholson's calculations are almost exactly aligned with the circumstances of death of those listed on the St. Marys cenotaph. The percentages of those KIA and died of wounds on the St. Marys cenotaph is 59.3 percent and 20.3 percent, respectively. The discrepancy of "died of disease or injury" is clear, as the category takes in multiple causes of death. Therefore, the percentages among the men listed on the town's cenotaph are in line with the percentages for the CEF as a whole.

A notable aspect of the circumstances of death for those on the St. Marys cenotaph is the four cases of influenza: Cleeson John Dickinson (2263643), Harry Ernest Arthur Martin (727072), Archibald Skinner (340967), and William Woods (3131221). MacPhail notes that influenza was

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[144] Andrew MacPhail, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919: The Medical Services* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1925).
[145] MacPhail, *The Medical Services*, 247.
[146] Ibid. These percentages take MacPhail's conservative range. He lists them as "135.47 per 1,000 troops; for battle casualties 123.60; and for disease 11.86 per 1,000 troops."
[147] Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force*, 548.

the most prevalent and the most fatal of infectious diseases among the ranks of the CEF. In total, there were 45,960 cases, of which 776 ended in death.[148] These cases can likely be attributed to the Spanish Influenza pandemic that would claim over 50 million lives, making it deadlier than the First World War. All four cases found on the St. Marys cenotaph presented in October and November of 1918, during the height of the second wave of the pandemic beginning in August 1918 that caused the majority of deaths.[149] Its lethality is startling in these cases. The three men who served overseas reported to hospitals with influenza and were classified as "dangerously ill," before succumbing to the disease within a week. Dickinson and Skinner were merely twenty years of age, and Woods was twenty-one. Additionally, Harry Martin, who died of influenza on the homefront, was aged twenty. As Mark Humphries describes, this was the scariest characteristic of the virus, which "killed those members of society who normally survive the flu with few complications: young, otherwise healthy adults between the ages of 18 and 40."[150]

Additionally, two other deaths stand out from the rest of those on the St. Marys cenotaph. The first is George Henry Wiltshire (727134), who was born in Surrey, England, on 6 March 1878.[151] He immigrated to Canada in 1904, worked as a farm labourer, and had previously served for about nine months as a volunteer in the South African War. Wiltshire enlisted in the 110th (Perth) Battalion in St. Marys on 25 November 1915 and was quartered in Stratford where he started his basic training. During Christmas 1915, he was given leave to visit friends in St. Marys. On 28 December 1915, he did not return from leave and was officially designated absent without

[148] MacPhail, *The Medical Services*, 271.
[149] Mark Osborne Humphries, "Paths of Infection: The First World War and the Origins of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic," *War in History* 21, no. 1 (January 2014), 56.
[150] Humphries, "Paths of Infection," 59.
[151] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 10487-40, Item 319150.

leave (AWOL).[152] According to Holt, Wiltshire was seen at the Grand Trunk Railway Station near Queen Street at 6 a.m. on 6 January 1916. Later that afternoon John Irvine, the powerhouse engineer, found him lying dead on the ground at the foot of the third pier from the south end of the Trout Creek Viaduct.[153] It was later determined that George had a wound over the right eye, two broken legs, and likely died of hypothermia.

In addition to being listed on the brass plaque in the Anglican Church, Wiltshire was commemorated on the cenotaph and buried in the St. Marys Cemetery. Despite his circumstances of death, his grave is considered a war grave and is periodically inspected by the Canadian Agency of the CWGC. Wiltshire was apparently well-liked around town. Holt notes that the "Great War Veterans Association, during their deliberations concerning appropriate memorials, briefly considered erecting a cross at the foot of the railway pier where he died."[154] It is evident that Wiltshire's intentions to serve his country outweighed the reality of the end of his life. Having never left southern Perth County for most of his life, his peers felt he should be placed on the town's memorial alongside those who died overseas.

The other accidental death listed on the St. Marys cenotaph is that of Noble John Johnston (152681).[155] Johnston was born in St. Marys and enlisted in the Royal Flying Corps as a Cadet on 14 November 1917. After training in Long Branch, Etobicoke, Ontario, he moved to Leaside Aerodrome in the east end of Toronto. On 12 May 1918, he crashed his aircraft and was sent to

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[152] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 10487-40, Item 319150.
[153] "Killed at St. Marys," *St. Marys Journal*, 13 January 1916.
[154] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 10487-40, Item 319150.
[155] Holt, 35. Johnston's Personnel Record is not currently available online, as he enlisted and died prior to the establishment of the Royal Air Force (RAF) on 1 April 1918. According to S.F. Wise in *Canadian Airmen and the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Dept. of National Defence, 1980), there is an "absence of a comprehensive body of personnel records for Canadians" in the British flying services. Further research into Johnston's records held in the UK may unveil further biographical information.

Toronto General Hospital, where he died from his injuries.[156] Johnston is buried in the St. Marys Cemetery. Ultimately, the fact that Wiltshire and Johnston never made it overseas did not matter. Their service, tragic deaths, and local burials qualified them to be listed among the fallen on the St. Marys cenotaph.

Place of Birth

The next notable aspect of the men commemorated on the St. Marys cenotaph is their place of birth. In this regard, St. Marys is relatively representative of the CEF in terms of soldiers' places of birth: prominently Canadian with a significant English population. One reason for this is that at the outset of the First World War, English Canadians took a "colonially-minded position that Canada was legally and morally at war because of her place in the British empire," spurring those born overseas to return and defend their homeland.[157] This mindset may have also been present in Canadian-born men with English ancestry. Those with families that recently immigrated to Canada could have seen England as an ancestral or cultural homeland worth fighting for.[158]

The demographic makeup of the CEF was calculated by C.P. Sharpe in "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force: A Regional Analysis." According to Sharpe, the predominant nationality of CEF members was Canadian, with 54.4 percent being born in Canada. This was followed by England at 25.3 percent, Scotland at 7.7 percent, Ireland at 3.1 percent, and other nationalities at 3.9 percent.[159] The men on the St. Marys cenotaph share a broadly similar

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[156] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Casualty Details, Noble J. Johnston, https://www.cwgc.org/find-records/find-war-dead/casualty-details/2756290/noble-j-johnston/. Johnston's death was also reported in a local newspaper: "Another Soldier Boy," *St. Marys Journal*, 16 May 1918.
[157] R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," *The Canadian Historical Review* 61, no. 2 (June 1980), 142-43.
[158] For more on CEF recruitment see Richard Holt, Tim Cook, and J. L Granatstein, *Filling the Ranks: Manpower in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).
[159] Sharpe, "Enlistment in the CEF," Table 9: Composition of the CEF by Place of Birth, 23.

breakdown, although with some minor differences from the CEF population as a whole. For example, the percentage of English-born is over seven percent higher on the St. Marys cenotaph, whereas the relative percentages of Irish-born and Scottish-born men listed on the cenotaph are reversed from their respective percentages in the CEF population. Of the sixty-four identifiable men on the St. Marys cenotaph, forty are Canadian by birth, sixteen are English, four are Irish, two are Scottish, and two are from other nations.[160] This translates to sixty-three percent Canadian, twenty-five percent English, six percent Irish, three percent Scottish, and three percent from other nations, respectively. As a result, these statistics circumstantially support the belief that the war was fought predominantly by English-born Canadians in defence of empire.[161]

According to the 1911 Census, 77 percent of Canadian residents were born in Canada.[162] There is also a discrepancy with the percentage of Canadian-born members of the entire CEF, as noted above. First, the census tallies all residents of Canada regardless of gender and age, while historians' calculations for the CEF only account for men who either enlisted or were of military age, between ages eighteen and forty-five. Second, the rate of volunteers in rural areas of Canada was significantly lower, as seen in Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia. Both had voluntary enlistment rates of 23.2 and 19.3 percent, respectively, of their age-eligible male population.[163] Even at the introduction of the Military Service Act (MSA) in 1917, farmers were exempted, as they were viewed as workers in an essential industry to keep the country fed while the rest of the economy

[160] The other two nations are Jamaica (British West Indies) and France.
[161] For the purposes of this thesis, "English-born" refers to men born in England.
[162] Morton, *When Your Number's Up,* 278.
[163] Sharpe, "Enlistment in the CEF," Table 2: Enlistment Rates by Province, 16. Quebec also had a voluntary enlistment rate of only 19.9 percent; however, this can also be attributed to English vs. French Canadian opinions on the war effort rather than a strict urban/rural divide.

was geared towards the war.[164] Agriculture was likewise devoted to the war, not only to feed the Canadian population, but also populations in Allied nations.

On the St. Marys cenotaph 34.3 percent, just over one third, were born in the British Isles. In addition to the idea of empire that motivated British-born Canadians to enlist, there were also economic factors that helped fill the ranks of the CEF. In *A Peculiar Kind of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World War*, Desmond Morton notes that many "had gone west to seek their fortune," but hadn't found it because of the economic depression of the pre-war years. "As in most wars, enlistment offered an escape from hunger and disappointment."[165] In 1914, Canada was in the midst of an economic recession, which was a motivating factor for enlistment in the working class regardless of birthplace.

This competes with the narrative of serving the British Empire in Canada, and specifically in Ontario. However, Adam Crerar notes in "Ontario and the Great War" that "Ontarians' identification with Britain and the empire was considerably less partial and ambivalent than their associations with urban life."[166] He also notes that in the 1911 Census, only one quarter of Ontario residents were not of Scottish, English, Irish, or Welsh descent.[167] As will be seen in Chapter 3, townsfolk generally sought closer ties to the Empire in the decades following the war. St. Marys generally rejected the notion of Canadian nationalism, shown in Armistice/Remembrance Day speeches that called for closer ties with Britain and Union Jacks hung in every classroom as a

[164] Sharpe, 12.
[165] Desmond Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 21.
[166] Adam Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, ed. David MacKenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 245.
[167] Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 246.

reminder.[168] The town's citizens valued their effort in defence of the Empire as a source of meaning out of an otherwise futile conflict that left so many dead.

Scholarship has not yet analysed enlistment in the CEF by age group, nor conducted an age-based study of servicemen. What does currently exist examines underage enlistees, the Military Service Act (MSA), and total numbers of military-aged Canadians of various national and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, there are few bases for comparing the men on the St. Marys cenotaph to the CEF as a whole in terms of their ages. In any case, it is of note that the average age of enlistment of those listed in St. Marys is 24, two years younger than the average age of the entire CEF at enlistment.[169] Despite the lower average age of enlistment, the St. Marys cenotaph features one man who enlisted underage. Additionally, one man listed in St. Marys was conscripted under the terms of the MSA.

The underage enlistee in question on the St. Marys cenotaph is Colin Lauchlin Cameron (334115). Born in September 1899, Cameron attested in London, Ontario on 6 January 1917 at the age of seventeen.[170] In "He was determined to go: Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," Tim Cook gives a brief statistical analysis of underage enlistees. He notes that **"**the Commonwealth War Graves Commission has a total of 1,412 identified Great War Canadian adolescents under the age of nineteen in its care. Of these, 1,027 were eighteen years old, 296 were seventeen, 75 were sixteen, and 14 of the dead were aged fifteen."[171] Cook further

[168] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*. "The Heroic Dead." Nov. 12, 1925. *St. Marys Journal-Argus*. "On Armistice Day." Nov. 13, 1924.
[169] Canadian War Museum, "In Uniform - Tommy Canuck: The Infantry Soldier," last modified 16 October 2017, https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/people/in-uniform/tommy-canuck-the-infantry-soldier/.
[170] LAC, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 1402-11, Item 82813.
[171] Tim Cook, "He was determined to go: Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (May 2008), 71. Statistics from the CWGC were compiled by Richard Holt.

extrapolates that the total number of underage enlistees likely was over 20,000. He determines this based on casualty records that report 16,300, or one in twenty-six, of enlistees in the CEF were underage. Cook then combines this with the number of soldiers who reached eighteen prior to their death.[172] As a result, Cook's estimate of 20,000 is 3.22 percent of the total CEF population of 619,636. In comparison, one underage soldier out of sixty-three listed in St. Marys makes up 1.6 percent of the population on the cenotaph. Therefore, the percentage of underage enlistees in the CEF is almost precisely double the percentage of the men on St. Marys' memorial.

The conscripted man listed on the St. Marys cenotaph is William Woods (3131221).[173] According to his personnel file, Woods underwent a medical examination under the MSA on 26 October 1917 in Stratford, Ontario, and a few months later was called into service on 28 March 1918. However, Woods seemingly opposed going to war. He was listed as "Illegally Absent" from 28 March to 20 May 1918 and struck off of the CEF's ranks as a deserter. Just over one month later, on 28 June, he was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to one years' imprisonment. Woods must have struck a deal with the courts and the military, because instead of facing prison time he was released from civil custody to go overseas into active service. On 22 October 1918 he was reported as "Dangerously Ill," and succumbed to influenza the next day.[174]

The Military Service Act became law on 29 August 1917 as the result of an overseas visit to the frontlines by Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden earlier that spring.[175] Its intent was to raise additional forces to replace those who were killed or wounded, as Canada's recruitment efforts stagnated by mid-1916. The results of the MSA were compiled by G.W.L. Nicholson in his official

[172] Cook, "He was determined to go," 72.
[173] LAC, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 10566-28, Item 321910.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Granatstein, "Conscription in the Great War," 67.

history of the CEF in 1962. According to Nicholson, out of the 401,882 men of military age, only 179,993, or 44.8 percent, were eligible.[176] The other 55.2 percent were granted exemptions based on criteria like agricultural labour or medical grounds. By 11 November 1918, 129,569 conscripts had reported for military service, but only 24,132 of them were officially taken on strength by the CEF in France.[177]

Since William Woods was released from custody into the military, he would fall under the "Reported for Military Service" category and become one of the 24,132 who were taken on strength overseas. Conscripted servicemen made up about 4 percent of the CEF's total strength of 619,636.[178] In comparison, the lone confirmed conscript on the St. Marys cenotaph makes up 1.6 percent of its population, less than half of the CEF's percentage. This disparity is likely due to the high numbers of agricultural labourers around St. Marys, as they were exempt from the MSA until 19 April 1918.[179]

Occupation

The next area of assessment of the men on the St. Marys cenotaph is their occupation. Morton notes the stereotype that Canadians were viewed as "robust free-spirited pioneers," given the dominion's frontier origins.[180] However, this did not reflect reality. Farmers, hunters, fishermen, and lumbermen accounted for 22.4 percent of the CEF, while 36.4 percent had industrial occupations. In fact, the total number of white-collar workers in the CEF outnumbered

[176] G.W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), Appendix "E", 551.
[177] Nicholson, *CEF*, Appendix "E", 551.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Granatstein, "Conscription in the Great War," 68.
[180] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 278.

farmers 126,387 to 123,060, respectively.[181] However, such percentages and relative numbers were not reflected in the population of St. Marys, a town dominated by general labour, tradesmen, and the expanse of nearby farmland.

The 1911 Census indicated a total of 2,358,519 males in the Canadian workforce, which was dominated by agriculture, various trades, and service industries.[182] A similar trend is seen in the men listed on the St. Marys cenotaph. The two largest groups are agricultural workers and clerks.[183] On the St. Marys cenotaph, each of these groups reflects the occupation of 14.3 percent of the men, or 28.6 percent combined. Compared to the national average of 38.7 percent, the number of agricultural workers listed in St. Marys is much lower than the number based on the census data. This is likely for two reasons: the aforementioned lower enlistment rate of farmers, and the fact that while St. Marys has historically been strongly tied to its neighbouring townships, memorials outside of town were built in order to commemorate the fallen from nearby townships. For example, another cenotaph was built in nearby Rannoch, only four kilometres from the one in St. Marys. It is dedicated to the fallen of Blanshard Township, which comprised the rural area surrounding St. Marys.[184] Rannoch's memorial is likely to have a much higher percentage of farmers due to its rural location and the lack of incorporated settlements within the township's borders.[185]

[181] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 278..
[182] LAC, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, RG31, Statistics Canada, Item 6071114.
[183] "Agricultural workers" includes farmers, farm labourers, and ranchers.
[184] Blanshard Township became a part of the Township of Perth South in 1998.
[185] This point is a hypothesis based on the social and geographical nature of southern Perth County. While this section of the thesis only considers those listed on the cenotaph in St. Marys, a study of the men on the Rannoch cenotaph is needed to fully recognise their social and occupational context.

In comparison to agricultural workers, the percentage of clerical, finance, and education jobs among the men listed on the St. Marys cenotaph are all slightly above their respective national averages. Nine clerks make up 14.3 percent, three bankers account for 4.8 percent, and one schoolteacher for 1.6 percent of the population of men on the cenotaph. Compared to their respective national averages of 8.9, 4.6, and 0.5 percent in 1911, the numbers in St. Marys are reflective of the rest of Canada, but not as much in the percentage of clerks.[186] The high percentage of clerks highlights the market-based economy of a small town. This includes stores that sell the products of nearby farms and local mills, as well as specialty shops like cobblers and tailors. Apart from the smaller number of farmers and the larger percentage of clerks, the men listed on St. Marys' cenotaph are indeed reflective of the patterns of employment among Canadian men in the early twentieth century.

As seen in the aforementioned labour statistics, St. Marys was a predominantly working-class town. When the 1911 census was taken, only eleven of the sixty-four men were living in St. Marys. Based on the census data, their fathers worked as labourers or tradesmen such as teamsters and plasterers. Most of their mothers did not work, which was not uncommon in the early twentieth century. Out of the two women who did, one was a housekeeper and the other a labourer. None had any agriculture-based employment, as that would likely have been reserved for those living outside of town in the rural townships.[187] This was also reflected in the level of education of the men on its cenotaph. Out of the sixty-four traceable names on the town's memorial, only four were commissioned officers. Based on their pre-war professions and occupations (civil engineer,

[186] LAC, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, RG31, Statistics Canada, Item 6071114.
[187] Data is from the 1911 census and compiled in Appendix B. LAC, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, RG31, Statistics Canada, Item 6071114.

accountant, schoolteacher, and steam engineer), these men had more advanced levels of education and training.[188]

A notable example of one's occupation gaining them a space on the St. Marys cenotaph is that of Stanley George Saunders Walpole (453147). He was born in Stratford-on-Avon, England on 12 August 1896 and immigrated to Canada with his parents who settled in Toronto. Walpole came to St. Marys shortly before the war broke out in 1914 and worked as a gardener for a local family. Walpole evidently returned to Toronto sometime in 1915, was recruited by a local militia unit, and formally attested on 29 June 1915 in the 58th Canadian Infantry Battalion. He had spent less than a year of his life in St. Marys. After training, Walpole reached the front lines in March 1916. During a barrage of artillery, he was killed by an enemy shell while standing in Lovers Walk Trench in Sanctuary Wood.[189]

Additionally, John Arthur Murton Shore (880806) was included on the cenotaph evidently due to working in St. Marys for a short period of time. Shore was born at Port Rowan, Ontario, on 29 December 1894 and briefly worked as a bank clerk in St. Marys. He enlisted in London, Ontario in the 186th (Kent) Canadian Infantry Battalion on 19 June 1916 and sailed to England on 28 March 1917 as a sergeant. On 25 August 1917, he reverted to private at his own request in order to go to France and was immediately sent to the front lines near Lens. Shore was killed by shrapnel on 11 November 1917 and was survived by family in Ilderton, Ontario, not St. Marys. Although it

[188] The officers on the St. Marys Cenotaph are Eric Montague Abendana, Everett Alexander Langford, Theodore Robert Matthew, and William Jonathan Wright.
[189] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 10050-31, Item 297198. Holt, *The Fallen*, 77.

is not certain exactly how long he lived in St. Marys due to the ten-year gap between census data, his brief time as a local bank clerk seemingly earned him a spot on the town's memorial.[190]

Religious Affiliation

Religion is a significant factor which allowed those with little connection to the town of St. Marys to be listed on its cenotaph. While every man on the town's memorial was Christian, a comparison of their specific denominations is noteworthy. In terms of being memorialised within the town, the local Anglican parish, St. James, was influential in its congregation's recognition. Out of the sixty-four names on the St. Marys cenotaph, twenty-five attested as Anglican. Seventeen of these men are also commemorated on a brass plate in St. James Anglican Church, the rest presumably had no affiliation with the St. James congregation.

The large proportion of servicemen in the CEF were listed as Anglican when they attested for service. This occurred for two reasons. First, the number of British-born enlistees and Canada's British colonial roots dictated more Anglicans than any other denomination. Second, men who did not declare a religious denomination on their attestation papers were automatically identified as Anglican by recruiters.[191] In his MA thesis, Ian D. Baird determines that "the Anglican Church represented just over 14% of the Canadian population in 1914… [and] the proportion of the CEF that claimed Anglican affiliation never fell below 41% (i.e. 254,000 out of 619,636)."[192] Comparatively, known Anglicans make up a disproportionate 39 percent of those listed in St. Marys, over double the national level. Additionally, the percentage of Anglicans on the St. Marys

[190] LAC, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 8877-32, Item 227428.
[191] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 279.
[192] Ian D. Baird, "For God and Empire: War Sermons and Voluntary Enlistment Among New Brunswick's Anglicans in the Great War, 1914 through 1917," (MA Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 2018).

cenotaph fell just below the rate of the CEF, making the town's war dead an apt representation of the primary denomination of Canada's fighting force in the First World War.

While these statistics may seem to support the notion of an Anglican-dominated force returning to defend England, it is important to remember that those who are listed on the St. Marys cenotaph are both dead and commemorated. As a result, it is likely impossible to know the exact number of enlistees from the small town. As mentioned previously many of these men, especially those from the Anglican Church, were only loosely affiliated with the town itself. Thus, any conclusions drawn from the apparent denominational affiliation of the men listed on the St. Marys cenotaph must be accepted as tentative.

The number of Presbyterians listed on the St. Marys cenotaph is of note, due to its high percentage compared to the rest of the stated religious affiliations. At twenty-one men, or 32.8 percent, Presbyterians more than double the third largest denomination, Methodists, with eight members, or 12.5 percent. According to the 1911 Census, Presbyterians outnumbered Anglicans in Canada with 1,115,324 members, making up 15.5 percent of the total population.[193]

The number of Presbyterians listed on the St. Marys cenotaph is over double the national average based on the 1911 Census. Throughout the war, the Presbyterian Church continuously supported the war as a just and righteous cause. Michelle Fowler notes in "'Death is not the Worst Thing': The Presbyterian Press in Canada, 1913-1919," that Presbyterian publications "believed in the need to defend Christian values such as liberty and the need to fight evil, be it in the form of German atrocities, German militarism or German nationalism."[194] Their stance was further

[193] *5th Census of Canada, vol. II* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, King's Printer, 1913). As cited in Michelle Fowler, "'Death is not the Worst Thing': The Presbyterian Press in Canada, 1913-1919," *War & Society* 25, no 2, 31.
[194] Fowler, "Death is not the Worst Thing," 31.

supported by the concept of immortality and sacrifice in order to reconcile one's faith. The number of Presbyterians on the St. Marys cenotaph shows that many more answered the call for sacrifice that was so prevalent in their church's press and congregations.

Despite tenuous connections to St. Marys, religion was a factor in the memorialisation of several men in the town after the war. The first of these men is Eric Montague Abendana, who was born in Port Antonio, Jamaica on 10 July 1892. Educated initially in Jamaica, he came to Canada in 1910 and studied chemistry at St. Andrew's College at the University of Toronto. He served for eight months with a local militia cavalry unit, the Corps of Guides. According to Holt, Abendana was hired by the St. Marys Cement Company in 1914 to work as a chemist and attended St. James Anglican Church.[195] On 17 November 1915, Abendana left the St. Marys Cement Company and was commissioned in the 7th Field Company, Canadian Engineers, a London militia unit. He died of pleurisy on 16 October 1918.[196]

Another case from the Anglican Church's parish is Frank William Berry, born in West Ham, Essex, UK in 1884.[197] He served in the British Army with a Scottish unit, the Royal Scots Fusiliers until 1912 when he immigrated to Canada. Holt argues that he came to St. Marys "possibly to join his brother, James, who was living on Thomas Street."[198] However, Berry's grave registration from the CWGC lists his brother as living in Brantford, Ontario.[199] Almost as soon as Britain declared war on 4 August 1914, Berry returned overseas and reported to the Royal Scots

[195] Holt, *The Fallen*, 2. Holt does not indicate where he obtained this information.
[196] LAC, CEF, RG 150, Volume 14-14, Item 376.
[197] Holt, 6. Berry's service record in the BEF cannot be accessed through the Public Record Office in the UK. Therefore, Holt is the only source of this information currently available.
[198] Holt, *The Fallen*, 6.
[199] "Frank Berry," Casualty Details, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Index No. M.R.29, Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial Part XIII (U.K.), https://www.cwgc.org/find-records/find-war-dead/casualty-details/927598/frank-berry/.

Fusiliers at Ayr on 15 September 1914. He was despatched to the 1st Battalion before serving in France with the 3rd (British) Division. Berry was reported missing around Ypres on 11 November 1914 and his body was never recovered. He lived less than two years in St. Marys and his brother, James, had moved to Brantford, Ontario by 1921.[200] Berry is also commemorated on the Menin Gate Memorial in Belgium and the Scottish War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle.[201] Berry's inclusion on the Menin Gate is because he had no known gravesite in Flanders. His name being included on the Scottish National War Memorial is due to his military service with the Royal Scots Fusiliers as well as his family connections, with three sisters allegedly still living in Scotland after the war.[202]

Frederick James Todd (727707) is another man with little association to St. Marys. He was born in Downie Township on 25 August 1871. He enlisted at Stratford in the 110th (Perth) Battalion on 24 March 1916 at the age of 45. In October 1916 he transferred to the 234th Battalion in Toronto and was promoted to sergeant. On arrival in England, Todd was transferred to the 12th Reserve Battalion on 30 April 1917, and in July he reverted to the rank of private. He died on 30 August 1918 after being wounded by a German artillery barrage. Todd worked as a travelling labourer and only briefly resided in St. Marys. It is unknown exactly how long he spent there, but it is evident that he attended the Anglican Church based on his name being commemorated on the

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[200] LAC, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921*, Ontario, Brant (67), Brantford East (8), Family 36, Page 3, Line 35, RG31 Statistics Canada, Item 1334203.

[201] For more information on the Menin Gate Memorial, see Commonwealth War Graves Commission, *Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial*, https://www.cwgc.org/find/find-cemeteries-and-memorials/91800/ypres-memorial as well as John Stephens, "'The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration" *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 1 (2009): 7-26. The Scottish National War Memorial is discussed further in Chapter 3.

[202] Holt provides no names of Berry's sisters, nor any indication of where this information was sourced. As a result, it currently cannot be corroborated.

church's brass plaque. As a result, he is commemorated in St. James as well as the St. Marys cenotaph.[203]

At most, these men spent less than two years of their lives in St. Marys, yet their apparent affiliation with the town's Anglican Church combined with the influence of Rev. Masters earned them spaces on a brass plaque inside the church's hall as well as on the St. Marys cenotaph. Masters's zeal during the memorial debates highlighted the influence of religion in memorialisation.[204] Despite their loose connections to the town, these men were determined to be worthy of everlasting memory within St. Marys, seemingly to no objection from council nor other townsfolk outside the church's congregation. If there were dissenting voices, their objections have not stood the test of time to be available today. This illustrates the effectiveness of the construction of popular memory, one that cemented these men as St. Marys' fallen heroes regardless of their brief affiliation with the town.

Social Connections

Social connections are another factor that allowed men to be listed on the St. Marys war memorial. This aspect of the town's decision on who to commemorate cannot be overlooked. In 1911, St. Marys had a population of around 3400 people in which social life was dominated by local newspapers and gossip among townsfolk.[205] As such, men that had only briefly resided in the town could have made a significant impact on the lives of those around them. Their line of work, engaging in a large social circle, being public figures, or having family still residing in the

[203] LAC, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 9714-4, Item 277273. Holt, 74.
[204] This was explored in further detail in the first chapter.
[205] Johnston and Johnston, *History of Perth County*, 442.

area could all be contributing factors to this phenomenon. Five men on the cenotaph fall into this category.

The first name on the cenotaph due to his social affiliations is Horace Brewer (859).[206] Born in Pattiswick, Braintree, Essex, England, he served in the British military starting in 1906. He was one of the first to land in France on 9 September 1914 as part of the 1st Cavalry Brigade with the 1st Cavalry Division. Holt asserts that "in the middle of [the war's] chaos, Lance-Corporal Brewer vanished. He was subsequently declared missing and presumed dead."[207] He was survived by his parents, Thomas and Florence Brewer of St. Marys.[208] Having never lived in St. Marys, his family would have submitted his name for the roll of honour. Because of his family connection, he was named on the town's cenotaph.

Another man who had social connections in St. Marys was George Christian Bolster (727511), born in Tarbert, County Kerry, Ireland on 23 December 1891.[209] He immigrated to Canada in 1910 and worked in Huron County and Blanshard Township as a farmhand. Bolster enlisted in the 110th Battalion on 10 February 1916. He was killed by an enemy shell on 26 August 1918 during the Battle of Arras and is buried at Feuchy Chapel British Cemetery in Monchy-le-Preux.[210] After landing in Canada, he worked as a Farm Labourer in Usborne Township in Huron County.[211] By the time he enlisted in the CEF he had lived in St. Marys less than a year, working in town beginning in 1915. Despite this, Bolster must have made some local connections through

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[206] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, *Find War Dead*, "Brewer, Horace," accessed at https://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/1577817/brewer,-horace/. Holt, *The Fallen*, 11.
[207] Ibid.
[208] CWGC, "Brewer, Horace." None of the Brewer family appear on Canadian censuses in 1911 or 1921, but Horace's parents are listed as St. Marys residents on the CWGC Grave Register.
[209] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 859-47.
[210] LAC, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Volume 31829_B016720, Page 485.
[211] LAC, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, RG31, Statistics Canada, Item 6071114.

his work throughout the area surrounding St. Marys, which played a part in his name being included on the town's cenotaph. This could be due in part to St. Marys' role as a market town for local farmers. These farmers would travel into town to sell their crops and access the Grand Trunk Railway allowed them to export goods to larger urban centres.[212]

Another man that briefly lived in St. Marys was a banker named Kenneth Marshall Grant (91031), who was born in Guelph on 10 March 1894.[213] According to Holt, Grant was hired as a clerk for the Guelph branch of the Royal Bank of Canada in 1911 and after some time transferred to the St. Marys branch on Queen Street.[214] A year after the war broke out, Grant volunteered in London, Ontario to join the artillery on 6 October 1915. Holt also notes that "his fellow employees at the Royal Bank gave him a formal send-off, and presented him with an engraved watch." [215] Evidently, he was well regarded by his coworkers. However, Holt's source for this information is not cited and must be accepted cautiously.

Grant was killed on 30 October 1916. Information at Library and Archives Canada on his "Circumstances of Death" reports that "Whilst having supper in his dugout about 5.30 o'clock on the afternoon of October 30th, 1916, at the gun positions near Martinpuich, south-east of Courcelette, he was instantly killed together with a comrade when an enemy H.E. (high explosive) Shell completely wrecked the dugout."[216] Based on Holt's anecdote noted above, it appears that Grant was well-liked by his coworkers. Additionally, his job as a bank clerk would have put him

[212] Robert C. Lee, "Romancing the Rails," *Huron Historical Notes* XLI (2017), 3.
[213] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 3734-61.
[214] Holt, *The Fallen*, 29.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Library and Archives Canada, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, RG150, 1992-93/314, 185.

in direct contact with many locals during his time in St. Marys. Both of these factors evidently justified the inclusion of his name on the town's memorial regardless of how briefly he lived there.

David Henry Radcliffe (802864) was born near Granton on the 12th Concession of Blanshard Township on 8 October 1878.[217] A clerk, he was working for his brother-in-law at Lucan when he enrolled. Holt mentions that he was active socially as a member of the Loyal Orange Lodge and the Granton Presbyterian Church and Choir. Radcliffe enlisted at Lucan in C Company of the 135th (Middlesex) Canadian Infantry Battalion on 27 January 1916. On 27 September 1918, in the initial stages of the attack on Cambrai, he was killed by an enemy shell. His surviving family lived in Granton and Lucan, but his brothers, Samuel and William, were both born in St. Marys.[218]

It is interesting to note that Radcliffe is also commemorated on the Rannoch cenotaph just outside of St. Marys.[219] This memorial commemorates those fallen from Blanshard Township while Granton and Lucan, where Radcliffe lived, are in Biddulph Township of Middlesex County. Therefore, it is unknown exactly why he was listed on either cenotaph, seemingly having little connection to either Rannoch or St. Marys apart from the latter being the place of his brothers' birth. It is theorised that members of his local Orange Lodge or church had a connection to St. Marys and thought it fitting that he should be included. However, this is speculation without any available evidence.[220]

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[217] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 8063-12. Holt, *The Fallen*, 54.
[218] Ibid.
[219] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 8063-12. Holt, *The Fallen*, 54.
[220] Holt notes Radcliffe as a member of the Loyal Orange Lodge, but provides no source for this information. Holt, *The Fallen*, 54.

The final man with only a social attachment to St. Marys is Sheldon Uffelman (751361), born in Waterloo, Ontario, on 4 August 1894.[221] A bank clerk by trade, he worked briefly in a St. Marys bank before joining the CEF on 10 January 1916 in Waterloo. This was a similar circumstance to that of Kenneth Grant. Uffelman was killed on 6 November 1917 near Passchendaele.[222] He was survived by his parents, Jacob and Eliza Uffelman of Waterloo. Holt notes that "Uffelman is commemorated on the Waterloo War Memorial and on two bronze plaques at the Waterloo Public Library and the Waterloo Methodist Church. There is also a memorial stone near his parents' grave in the Mount Hope Cemetery."[223] Like Grant, his time at a bank in St. Marys would have influenced coworkers or people he knew to request inclusion of his name on the local memorial. It is uncertain exactly how long he lived in St. Marys; but as seen throughout this chapter one did not necessarily have to live in St. Marys for a significant period of time in order to be commemorated on the town's cenotaph.

Analysing the men on the St. Marys cenotaph brings forth a better understanding of their place in the larger body of the CEF. Ultimately, the men inscribed on the town's memorial collectively represent the broader demographics of Canada's fighting force in terms of their birthplace, occupation, and religion. Men born in the British Isles, Anglicans, and most labourers statistically are paralleled in both St. Marys and in the greater population of Canada's fighting force. There are also differences when comparing the men on the St. Marys cenotaph with the overall population of the CEF. The most notable difference is the much lower percentage of farmers and agricultural workers in St. Marys as opposed to the rest of Canada, in spite of its rural

[221] LAC, Personnel Records of the First World War, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 9867-6.
[222] Ibid. The volume containing Uffelman's Circumstances of Death did not survive.
[223] Holt, *The Fallen*, 75.

setting in Southwestern Ontario. This is likely due to the existence of memorials outside of town for those in the surrounding rural townships. As an incorporated municipality, St. Marys was socially and politically separate from its surrounding area to greater degrees than smaller hamlets that dot the landscape.

While several men seemingly have weak connections to the town, their inclusion on St. Marys' cenotaph can be explained through their social connections as well as the townsfolks' need to commemorate all those who died in service regardless of circumstance. Some never made it overseas, while one name is an error and another remains a mystery. Ultimately, the war dead's lives, experiences, and circumstances of death were inconsequential. In St. Marys, their intent to serve their country and their death in uniform granted them the eternal title of "Heroes."

Chapter 3:
The Location, Function, and Interpretation of Memorial Sites in the British Empire

A memorial site can serve several functions depending on the observer's interpretation. Such interpretations can be influenced through images, iconography, and inscriptions that describe the intended message of the memorial. At no other time in the British Empire's history was a memorial movement so pervasive as it was in the aftermath of the First World War. Jay Winter describes this cultural phenomenon as a "universal preoccupation," a need to "bring the dead home [or] put the dead to rest, symbolically or physically."[224] The scale of the conflict was unprecedented, as was the geographical distance from the battlefields for the dominions of Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand. For many, thousands of men had simply vanished from their lives and efforts were made in order to provide an identifiable resting place for the dead.[225]

In discussing the broader interpretation of the meanings of war memorials, literary sources, newspapers, and the memorials themselves, while valuable sources, tend to focus on the national scale or significance of commemoration. As a result, local ceremonies or monuments "have only been considered when they reflected on a national community or identity."[226] Therefore, such studies only offer an "account of the ideas and identities that surrounded ordinary men and women" in the aftermath of the First World War.[227] This includes the ways in which the public were seemingly told to remember the conflict, rather than the narratives built by their own individual

[224] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 28.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Lawson, "Free-Masonry of Sorrow," 91.
[227] Ibid.

memories and identities. This highlights a discrepancy between national and local memorials in their intentions. National memorial often sought to affirm national narratives, whereas local ones pay tribute to the community's fallen. However, these are not mutually exclusive. The meaning of memorial sites was deeply personal to individuals affected by the conflict.

Across the British Empire, the First World War was a turning point in the development of commemorative sites and memorialisation. This chapter seeks to compare St. Marys, Ontario to other commemorative sites in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland. This analysis will present itself through three main themes: the form and function of memorial sites; the intended meaning of memorials; and the interpretation of war memorials after their construction. Finally, this chapter will place St. Marys in a wider imperial context, highlighting the ubiquitous nature of the war memorial movement while noting the differences in St. Marys' memorialisation in comparison to the rest of the British Empire. While countries within the British Isles pursued their own identities apart from England; Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland each asserted a newfound national identity ushered in by the conflict. However, the people of St. Marys placed a notable emphasis on Empire, which nuances the "nation-building" narrative on a local scale.

According to Ken Inglis, memorialisation had a long history in Britain prior to the First World War. Inglis notes that "during and after the Napoleonic wars, both sides had put up monuments to national victory and to the commanders supposed to have achieved it." [228] They were represented in sites like Trafalgar Square, Nelson's Column, and the Arc de Triomphe. As the nineteenth century went on, more honour was given to ordinary men as opposed to the officers

[228] K.S. Inglis, "The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 4 (October 1992), 587.

of upper-class background. In the United Kingdom, the names of private soldiers began to appear below those of their officers on monuments in cathedrals and public places honouring those fallen in imperial wars around the turn of the twentieth century. These were regimental memorials, identifying a man with his comrades.

The South African War of 1899-1902 marked a change in the process of commemoration. This change emerged due to army reforms late in the nineteenth century intended to enhance the regional character of regiments and the presence in South Africa of men from volunteer units. When part-time volunteers fought and died alongside regulars, "it seemed fitting that the memorials to both sorts of soldier should recognize them all as citizens."[229] This sentiment clearly influenced memorials built after the end of the First World War, as they predominantly focussed on community sacrifice as well as individual achievement. Winter argues that the of listing names is a recognition of each soldier's individuality as well as their citizenship. The aggregation of all those names indicates community sacrifice as well, but marking the death of every single person is equally about the individual.[230]

Memorial Form and Function

The First World War memorials of the British Empire generally enjoy a centralised or otherwise highly visible location. Many are also placed in churches or other places of worship, highlighting the religious importance of memorialisation in the early twentieth century. In the United Kingdom, a study of memorial form and location by Jane Furlong, Lorraine Knight, and

[229] Inglis, "The Homecoming," 587.
[230] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 94. For more on the memory and commemoration of the South African War, see Peter Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

Simon Slocombe of the Imperial War Museum (IWM) analyzes war memorials in Britain by utilizing the UK National Inventory of War Memorials (UKNIWM).[231] The authors maintain that these memorials were the grassroots initiatives of communities and parishes, and were financed through fundraisers, donations, and small municipal grants.[232] By 1920, over five-thousand memorials had been erected in Britain, outlining the rapid integration of commemoration in the year following the Armistice.[233] Through this study, one can see where Britons deemed commemoration appropriate. Out of the 29,863 First World War memorials in Britain,[234] 58 percent are in a place of worship; 12 percent are in a private or public building; 6 percent are at a crossroads or roadside; 3 percent are in park gardens; and 2 percent sit in a village green or market square. The remaining 19 percent exist in "other locations."[235]

The location of memorials was not radically different across the British Empire. Towns and cities wanted somewhere prominent and accessible. The most popular choices in Australia were central parks and intersections, followed by the grounds of public schools.[236] While many communities already featured South African war memorials in these places, they were not numerous or substantial enough to influence change after the sheer scale of First World War commemoration. While 58 percent of Britain's memorials are located in a place of worship, Australia believed in the idea of "common ground," where a memorial would stand on "civic grounds, as the men who served came from all the churches, and some from no church at all.[237]

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[231] Jane Furlong, Lorraine Knight, and Simon Slocombe, "'They shall grow not old': An analysis of trends in memorialisation based on information held by the UK national inventory of war memorials," *Cultural Trends* 12, no. 45 (January 2002): 1-42.
[232] Furlong et al, "They shall not grow old," 28.
[233] Ibid, 29.
[234] Ibid, 27, Table 1.4.
[235] Ibid, 16, Figure 1.6.
[236] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 135.
[237] Ibid, 136.

This is in part due to the fact that a church's memorial was understood to be representative of that denomination, not the community itself.

However, given the nature of the conflict between 1914 and 1918, the location of memorials was not restricted to soldiers' home communities. The Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC), which would later become the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) in 1960, constructed war cemeteries and memorials near the battlefields in Belgium and France where soldiers fell. No bodies were to be sent home. They were only to be buried at or near the front in France and Flanders. Beginning its work in 1917 to identify and commemorate all fallen British soldiers in the First World War, the CWGC now maintains the resting places of over 1.7 million deceased Commonwealth military service members in 153 countries.[238] Originally, the IGWC attempted to convey a "great army and united Empire," which at the time contrasted with Canada's, Australia's, New Zealand's, and Newfoundland's apparent inclination towards nationhood rather than Empire.[239] Though these graveyards and memorial sites were predominantly located in France and Belgium, they were deliberately constructed as British through their form and organization, surrounding gardens (which mimicked the idealistic middle-class garden that represented the cliché of rural Britishness), and the inscriptions on gravestones and monuments (ie: by Rudyard Kipling). As such, the IWGC's attempts at unification through memorialisation glossed over the ethnic, racial, and religious diversity within the Empire.

Memorial sites were created in the form of open, natural spaces in Britain as well. In the rural southwest of England, proposed memorials included "preservation of, and access to, hilltops, sea-cliffs, woodland, meadows, recreation grounds, playing fields, common land and

[238] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "About Us," About Us, 2019, https://www.cwgc.org/about-us.
[239] Tom Lawson, "'The Free-Masonry of Sorrow'", *History & Memory* 20, no. 1, (Spring/Summer 2008), 103.

footpaths."[240] These were to be quiet and tranquil places similar to the cemeteries across France and Belgium, but with the notion that they were away from battlefields and the still-visible destruction from the war. This points to the need for forgetting the carnage and finding peace with the incredible loss experienced by Britons, where remembering service, sacrifice, and loss could take place in a familiar, accessible, and tranquil setting.[241]

Canada also has its own Military Memorials Database that was developed by Veterans Affairs Canada for public use. [242] At the time of writing, there are over 7900 memorials posted on the site. However, this is not an academic source comparable to the work of Furlong et al. Veterans Affairs gives the disclaimer that the "images and information found on this site have been provided by contributors. It is neither a national heritage site, nor does it provide a complete listing of military memorials located in Canada."[243] Therefore, the information from these unvetted contributors should used with caution. To understand the exact locations of Canada's war memorials requires a much deeper study into the database to note placement and importance. Generally speaking, Canadian communities, like Australian communities, favoured a central location in order to gain high visibility. This highlights the apparent importance of these sites to the communities as they attempted to make their memorial an architectural feature and a site of memory for the town.

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[240] Keith Grieves and Jenifer White, "Useful War Memorials, Landscape Preservation and Public Access to the English Countryside: Fitting Tributes to the Fallen of the Great War," *Garden History* 42, no. 1 (Autumn 2014), 19.
[241] Grieves and White, "Useful War Memorials," 19. See also Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (The Legacy of the Great War), (New York: Berg. 1998).
[242] Veterans Affairs, Canadian Military Memorials Database, 21 October 2021, https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/memorials/national-inventory-canadian-memorials.
[243] Ibid.

Alan Livingstone MacLeod, an amateur historian, has created a quantitative study of war memorials in Canada that departs from academic analyses of the iconography and manufacturers of Canada's memorials.[244] MacLeod's inventory examines the type or style of memorials as opposed to their location. Unfortunately, as this work is a popular history, he provides few sources for his findings and no references. Therefore, his findings must be taken with caution. Despite this concern, and because there is a discernable lack of scholarship on this subject, all available literature must be consulted in order to create a larger picture. At the time of writing, no quantitative data on Canadian memorial sites exists in an accessible form.

Communities throughout the British Empire sought to determine the best form of memorial that highlights their intended memory of the war. In Australia, generally one representative committee was established by a community to determine the type of memorial and the size of region it should serve. The amalgamation of some communities into a single memorial was seen in East and West Maitland in New South Wales (NSW) as well as Erina, which also honours men from Matcham, Terrigal, and Wamberal.[245] The idea of amalgamating separate towns' memorials into one was not entirely popular, as places like Burra, South Australia, and Wolumla, NSW went their separate ways as opposed to joining nearby communities in their process.[246] The same instance occurred in Stratford, Ontario, Canada, where a memorial originally stood at the junction of Erie and Ontario Streets, where the old boundary lines of the townships of North Easthope, South Easthope, Downie, and Ellice met.[247] Like its Australian counterparts, Stratford's memorial

[244] Alan Livingstone Macleod, *Remembered in Bronze and Stone: Canada's Great War Memorial Sanctuary* (Vancouver: Heritage House Publishing, 2016).
[245] Macleod, *Canada's Great War Memorial Sanctuary*, 129. Erina is located north of Sydney.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Stratford-Perth Archives, "Stratford War Memorial."

sought to conjoin the memory and commemoration of a significant portion of the surrounding county.

Australia also experienced tensions and debates over their memorial locations, much like those seen in St. Marys. “Hot words in council” and “squabbling” between parties was not uncommon.[248] There were arguments that the centrality of proposed commemorative sites would be too noisy, and that the turmoil from livestock, traffic, and the cracking of whips would disrupt the solemnity of the site. Although central locations were preferred, as time went on civic planning changed the effectiveness of these locations into an obstacle. In 1920, Australia had less than one motor vehicle to every fifty people, and as a result “few makers foresaw that the sites they had chosen would become traffic hazards.”[249] St. Marys avoided this issue as the proposal for a traffic circle around a central memorial was quickly shot down in council.[250]

Across the Tasman Sea, residents of Auckland, New Zealand also engaged in heavy debate over their intended memorialisation of the First World War. The development and subsequent “appropriation” of Auckland’s War Memorial Museum and other New Zealand war memorials shows groups competing to form the nation’s popular memory of the war. Scott Worthy argues in “Communities of Remembrance: Making Auckland's War Memorial Museum” that since its creation, the museum had been “the subject of intense controversy” based on the tensions between the interaction of the memorial and museological aspects of the building.[251] This was exemplified in 1929 when the museum nearly opened without its cenotaph due to insufficient funds, resulting

[248] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 136.
[249] Ibid, 137.
[250] See Chapter 1.
[251] Scott Worthy, “Communities of Remembrance: Making Auckland's War Memorial Museum,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 4 (2004), 599.

in attacks from the Returned Soldiers' Association (RSA) and the *New Zealand Herald*. The protest led city council to push through the memorial's construction, but highlighted class issues between citizens and government officials brought forth by the interpretation of the war's memory.

Ireland experienced some of these issues as well. Some of the earliest proposed sites for the National War Memorial in Dublin were parks such as College Green, St. Stephen's Green, and Phoenix Park.[252] This was in an attempt to have both a commemorative site and one that could still be of some utilitarian purpose to the populace going forward. These were shot down for practical and financial reasons: placing the monument in Phoenix Park, for example, would have cost £45,000 and positioned the memorial "where only a few people would see it."[253] However, the intense military and political climate in Dublin delayed progress for over a decade after the war.[254] Local circumstances were constantly and erratically changing, as recent events influenced memorialisation in the 1920s. As Nuala C. Johnson notes in *Ireland, The Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*, "there was a rebellion on Irish soil during the war, a war of independence in the years immediately after the armistice, partition of the island in 1921, and a subsequent war in the Irish Free State."[255] The Board of Works, which oversaw the feasibility and

[252] Keith Jefferey, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 116.
[253] Jefferey, *Ireland and the Great War*, 118.
[254] The delay in the unveiling of the National War Memorial is partly rooted in the political and military instability of Ireland during and immediately following the First World War. The Anglo-Irish War (1919-21) resulted in the Irish Free State and its separation from Britain. However, this is an extremely complex political issue beyond the scope of this thesis. See Ivan Gibbons, *The British Labour Party and the Establishment of the Irish Free State, 1918–1924* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[255] Nuala C. Johnson, *Ireland, The Great War and the Geography of Remembrance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 13. See David Fitzpatrick *Politics and Irish Life, 1913-1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998) as well as Thomas Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland: World War I and Partition* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998) for further analysis of Irish identity politics from the late-nineteenth century to the end of the First World War that is outside the scope of this thesis.

organization of the memorial site, ultimately landed on a 150-acre site at Islandbridge in December 1929.

The first general meeting for a permanent memorial in Dublin occurred on 17 July 1919 led by Lord John French, who was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1918 by British Prime Minister David Lloyd George.[256] The proposal was a Great War Memorial Home: a hostel for soldiers and sailors passing through the capital that was intended to be seen as a "symbol of unity" uniting north and south, Catholic and Protestant.[257] Military authorities disapproved of a club where ex-servicemen who were not under military control would mix with soldiers still in active service.[258] This, along with the changing political climate, quickly squashed the proposal. Other ideas soon arose: a cenotaph, arch, gate, or fountain; a memorial hall; and clubs or charities for ex-servicemen.[259] It was also key that the memorial had to be made of Irish material by Irish hands.

Though it did not lie in a predominant location of the city centre, Islandbridge was determined to be "the nearest site that is considered politically expedient, and the protection of which can be reasonably assured."[260] According to Nuala C. Johnson, however, the "de-centred" location three miles outside Dublin has a "de-centring effect on the significance of the war" while the physical space symbolises the rampant political unease of the time.[261] Additionally, Keith Jefferey notes in *Ireland and the Great War* that the site selection still maintained a utilitarian purpose. Not only would the large park be of public use, but it was also creating jobs from its

[256] Johnson, *Geography of Remembrance*, 84.
[257] Macleod, "Britishness and Commemoration," 659.
[258] Johnson, *Geography of Remembrance*, 85.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Johnson, *Geography of Remembrance*, 111.

construction that would go to unemployed ex-servicemen in need.[262] This aspect was welcome in the early 1930s, when the brunt of the Great Depression was beginning to be felt globally, highlighting the need for a stable income for the working class.

Construction of Ireland's National War Memorial began in 1931 at the cost of £167,000, £50,000 of which came from the government in the form of the 1931 Unemployment Relief Act.[263] The large, natural space features a "Stone of Remembrance" in the centre flanked by four pavilions. The stone is identical to the ones used by the Imperial War Graves Commission battlefield cemeteries while the pavilions hold copies of *Ireland's Memorial Records*.[264] A cross is also featured on the site, named the "Cross of Sacrifice," which pays homage to both the Christian faith and the idea that solders' sacrifices are held akin to the sacrifices of Jesus Christ.[265] The space as a natural site gives the experience of remembrance, highlighted by the centrality of the gravestone and the addition of the *Memorial Records*. The large acreage outside the urban centre also adds a quietness for contemplation and bereavement. Unlike other monuments, particularly in England where British Imperial sentiment is prominently displayed, there is little to suggest any form of celebration or glorifying the First World War as a conflict. It insinuates that on a national level, Ireland sought to distance itself from the British Empire while also further suggesting that the men lost in the war were noble and fought for their honour.

The memorial was set to be unveiled on 30 July 1939. However, the political climate once again delayed proceedings. In April 1939, Germany invaded Czechoslovakia, and Britain announced that it would reintroduce conscription that would likely extend to include the Irish.

[262] Jefferey, *Ireland and the Great War*, 119.
[263] Ibid, 121.
[264] Ibid, 119.
[265] The "Cross of Sacrifice" is also present in the majority of Commonwealth cemeteries.

There was fear that unveiling a monument "might evoke hostility and give rise to misunderstanding" given recent developments.[266] The dedication of the memorial was postponed indefinitely. Despite this, Armistice Day ceremonies were still held in the park by the British Legion throughout the war and in the decades after. Through the second half of the twentieth century, especially the 1970s, the park fell into disrepair until work began to restore it in 1985, and a semi-formal opening was conducted in 1988. It was not until 1994 that the first ever government-led commemorative ceremony was held at the Irish National War Memorial, where it was deemed completed.[267]

Originally, the function of British memorial sites was rooted in the social and economic class of fallen soldiers' families. Prior to the early twentieth century, officers were favoured in Victorian Era memorials that appeared in churches. These were often paid for by officers and their families, who would have come from wealthy backgrounds.[268] As a result, these memorials were closely tied to churches due to the gentry often favouring "substantial sculptures" as opposed to functional objects.[269] Financial backing frequently came from a single wealthy benefactor, supplemented with small donations from families of the parish and those who lost a loved one. The involvement of local residents in various aspects of creating a commemorative site adds to the community-oriented aspect of the memorials' construction.

In Cambridge, England commemorative efforts partly consolidated relations between the University and surrounding community, briefly curbing the traditional "town and gown" class conflicts. After three months of meetings and consultations, three proposals were put forward on

[266] Jefferey, *Ireland and the Great War*, 123.
[267] Macleod, "Britishness and Commemoration," 663.
[268] Mansfield, "Class Conflict,"75.
[269] Ibid, 76.

26 April 1919: a utility, a memorial to the dead, and a celebration of victory. Of all the utilitarian proposals, the one to attract most support was that the memorial fund should be applied to improving Addenbrooke's Hospital.[270] After deliberations, the committee tasked with creating the memorial determined that the people wanted to "serve the living, honour the dead [and] celebrate the victory."[271] Over £4000 was donated to fund the proposed memorial, but the movement found little success in poorer rural counties and the Isle of Ely.[272] Most communities in the county had built their own memorials and did not want to contribute to a central one that was not entirely representative of their experience.

Churches had an undoubtably large role in memorialisation, as Anglican ministers in England saw churches as the spiritual heart of a village, and therefore the appropriate place for a war memorial.[273] This was also reflected in comparisons of the citizen soldier to Jesus Christ, as explained in chapter one. Some were also concerned that a public monument would be vandalised by "boys scribbling filth," which is also a display of classism within a rural town as it poses the assumption that working class boys were inherently disrespectful. [274] Instead, people like the church warden of Brompton in Yorkshire asserted that a "memorial inside [a church] should last for all time."[275] This led to conflict in some villages, like Streatham in Cambridgeshire, where the Reverend wanted a church location and vetoed an alternative site intended to be a compromise. This led to a "heated meeting to protest against the erection of the village war memorial in the

[270] Inglis, "The Homecoming," 589.
[271] Ibid, 590.
[272] Ibid, 589.
[273] Mansfield, "Class Conflict," 79.
[274] York City Archive, Correspondence of Walter Brierley, Acc. 107, Letters of 3/2/19, and 13/2/19 to Brierley. As cited in Mansfield, 79.
[275] Ibid.

cemetery."[276] The War Memorial Committee, likely filled with veterans, wanted a more central location as opposed to a religious one. The dispute was ultimately won by the War Memorial Committee. The memorial's unveiling in 1921 required another cleric to officiate the ceremony, as the local one refused to participate.

Britain also experienced class issues in its memory of the war. After memorials were constructed, lower-class regions saw them as rallying points for labour strikes. Nick Mansfield notes that the basis for class issues after the war were formed after 1916 when conscription was enacted. Conscription affected rural counties the hardest, whose soldiers now lost their link to county regiments.[277] Memorials were used as rallying points for labour strikes, notably Norfolk in 1923 after wage reductions, of which many of the strikers were veterans.[278] While memorialisation was an inescapable movement across Britain, memorials ultimately highlighted deep class issues within rural areas. As a result, commemoration of the dead was left to the establishment in order to make significant decisions on placement and designs.[279]

The Meaning of Memorials

Around the British Isles, the organization and design of national memorials allows the exploration of the way in which different layers of identity were negotiated during the interwar period and how these influenced perceptions of the war. Relationships between the local, regional, national, and imperial layers reveal the confused and contested nature of national identity in the United Kingdom. National memorials are inherently political in nature, whereas local sites, often

[276] M.J. Petty, "Streatham War Memorials," unpublished paper in Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridgeshire Libraries. As cited in Mansfield, 80.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Mansfield, "Class Conflict," 82.
[279] Ibid, 84.

displaying the names of the dead, garner a much more personal and emotional response. According to Jenny Macleod in "Britishness and Commemoration: National Memorials to the First World War in Britain and Ireland," it is also important to note that the period in which these memorials were erected was at "a moment that in some respects was the zenith of an imperial Britishness."[280] While those in England asserted their allegiance to a sense of global Empire, other regions of the British Isles struggled to assert their individual identities in the wake of the First World War.

Scotland, for example, was able to use imperial sentiment to assert a separate but equal Scottish identity within their "Britishness."[281] This was achieved primarily through Scottish regimental arches, which provided a direct way of linking Scottish individuals and localities to the broadest expanses of the Empire and the war effort. By the beginning of 1923, 569 out of Scotland's 940 parishes had created either a memorial or a fund to build one.[282] The original plan for a large-scale memorial on the grounds of Edinburgh Castle arose in 1919, including a museum, a Presbyterian chapel, or a memorial that towered above the skyline. However, the memorial committee favoured a more sombre approach, seeking a place of "sacred character" in a renovated block.[283] These plans were approved in 1923 at the cost of £111,500, 45 percent of which was given by a single donor. The rest came from community donations and fundraisers.[284]

The Scottish National War Memorial officially opened on 14 July 1927. The opening ceremony was inherently Scottish in nature, as the pipe band of the Cameron Highlanders played

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[280] Jenny Macleod, "Britishness and Commemoration: National Memorials to the First World War in Britain and Ireland," *Journal of Contemporary History* 48, no. 4 (2013), 649.
[281] Macleod, "Britishness and Commemoration," 651. See also Jenny Macleod, "Memorials and Location: Local versus National Identity and the Scottish National War Memorial," *Scottish Historical Review* 89, no. 1 (2010), 73-95.
[282] Jenny Macleod, "'By Scottish Hands, with Scottish Money, on Scottish Soil': The Scottish National War Memorial and National Identity," Journal of British Studies 49, no. 1 (2010), 82.
[283] Macleod, "By Scottish Hands," 83.
[284] Ibid, 81.

traditional martial hymns such as "Flowers of the Forest," "Scots wha hae," and "Bonnie Dundee."[285] *The Aberdeen Press and Journal* declared that the commemorated men "fought and died as Britons, but for all that Scotland wishes to remember them also as Scotsmen, as men who carried on the tradition of centuries of warriors."[286]

The design of the Scottish National War Memorial in Edinburgh Castle displays its Scottish identity through reference to history and empire. First and foremost, the exterior of the Castle overlooking the city is historically associated with Scottish independence and national identity. The interior pays homage to Scotland's military tradition through separate memorial sites designated for each regiment, including Women's Nursing Services, Chaplains to the Forces, and Dominions.[287] Each regiment has its own arch describing their origins while listing their pre-1914 battle honors alongside those obtained during 1914-1918. The main section features a shrine with a bronze casket containing the rolls of honour on display. This sits atop a stone of remembrance. Macleod notes in "'By Scottish Hands, with Scottish Money, on Scottish Soil': The Scottish National War Memorial and National Identity" that in the absence of physical remains, the names become the site of mourning for the bereaved.[288]

Wales, on the other hand, did not experience such success. According to Macleod in "Britishness and Commemoration," the Welsh National War Memorial in Cardiff bore "no such trappings of imperialism; indeed it had few trappings of Welshness."[289] Upon its unveiling, it was hard to sustain the argument, reported by the *Western Mail*, that the opening ceremony had a "rich

[285] Macleod, "By Scottish Hands," 93.
[286] "War Memorials," *Scotsman*, 24 January 1945. Cited in Macleod, "By Scottish Hands," 94.
[287] Macleod, "By Scottish Hands," 86, Figure 2.
[288] Ibid, 88.
[289] Macleod, "Britishness and Commemoration," 654.

compound of military magnificence, and religious observations, and keen civic and national consciousness."[290] It was not designed by a Welshman; it was not made from Welsh materials but from Portland stone; most of the money to build the memorial did not come from across Wales, but from Cardiff and Glamorgan; and crucially, there was another semi-National Memorial already in place in North Wales.[291] Although the memorial itself has Welsh inscriptions, it is influenced by Classical Greek in its form: tall pillars surrounding three statues, one of which is of winged victory. Nike, the Greek goddess of victory, was a very common interpretation in celebratory postwar iconography throughout the world.

The absence of national unity in Wales can also be blamed on the fact that Cardiff was regarded as "too cosmopolitan and anglicised," while the North Wales Heroes Memorial in Bangor was much more representative of Wales' intended goals.[292] In contrast to lack of "Welshness" in the development and imagery of the Cardiff memorial, Bangor created a stone gateway featuring 8,000 names of the fallen alongside "armorial bearings" carved into the stone.[293] It was also much more indicative of a grassroots project. Donations were raised from the counties of North Wales as well as "London, Liverpool, Manchester, Stockport, Shanghai and the Welsh Hospital, India."[294] Jenny Macleod confirms that "in aggregate, it seems that from its design and fundraising success, this memorial was much more successfully rooted in Welsh culture and community than its southern counterpart."[295]

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[290] Macleod, "Britishness and Commemoration," 656.
[291] Ibid, 654.
[292] Ibid, 657.
[293] Ibid, 658.
[294] Ibid, 658-9.
[295] Ibid, 658.

Memorialisation was not limited to sentiments of peace and honouring the dead. For example, the town of Cambridge, England ultimately erected a statue called "The Homecoming," which was unveiled on 3 July 1922.[296] It features a young man taking broad steps as he returns from war, the trophy of a German helmet slung on his back. He is adorned with roses and a laurel wreath, both classically symbolic of victory. As Ken Inglis notes, it is "difficult to see this statue as a representation of a man who has been through the Great War."[297] Clearly the community of Cambridge determined that a positive and celebratory interpretation of the war was what they wanted to convey.

Interpretation of Memorials

In Canadian historiography of the war, it was argued that a form of Canadian independence was achieved on the battlefields of France and Belgium. Citizens of British dominions often grappled with the idea of greater Empire against their community and national identity. To be sure, there was a widespread movement of national identity that took shape during the war and gained further traction in Canada's postwar memory. Such notion was not unfounded; Canada had its own representatives at Versailles in 1919 and would enjoy a more prominent global geopolitical role as the twentieth century progressed. C.A. Sharpe concludes that despite domestic divisions and public belief in the "citizen soldier" myth, the considerable number of foreign-born CEF servicemen were instrumental in developing the "historical fabric of the country" on a national level.[298] This is in response to intense criticism of recruitment in Canada during the First World War.

[296] Inglis, "The Homecoming," 599.
[297] Ibid, 583.
[298] Sharpe, "Enlistment in the CEF, 51.

The creation of historical memory in Newfoundland shows the media as a significant influencer of public opinion, much like the newspapers in St. Marys. This originated from the first day of the Battle of the Somme, 1 July 1916. At 9:15 am near Beaumont-Hamel, France, 800 Newfoundlanders advanced across no man's land towards catastrophe. The attack was an abject failure, resulting in 233 dead and 477 wounded or missing. Only sixty-eight men answered roll call that evening.[299] Several local newspapers in St. John's were key in spreading information in the months immediately following Beaumont-Hamel, such as the *Telegram*, *The Daily News, The Weekly Advocate,* and *The St. John's Daily Mail*.[300] Such reports "hailed Beaumont Hamel for providing a new standard of discipline and courage," while also publishing soldiers' accounts that further cemented the attack as "gallant" and "deserving national acclaim."[301] Newspapers after the war urged civilians to recognize the war as a major part of their heritage, and Memorial Day as a construct existed to remind the public of their civic duties, "while Beaumont Hamel was the event which should motivate them to fulfil it."[302]

In the immediate postwar period up to 1925, Newfoundlanders ingrained the war and Beaumont-Hamel in their popular memory through their commemorative sites. This is predominantly displayed through speeches referenced on Memorial Day, as locals speaking to their peers would undoubtably carry significant weight. As in St. Marys, these speeches are some of the best signifiers of the intended meaning of the war memorials to the general public. For example, in 1920 Reverend Canon Jeeves noted that "what you enjoy is only yours today, because

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[299] Robert J. Harding, "Glorious Tragedy: Newfoundland's Cultural Memory of the Attack at Beaumont Hamel, 1916-1925," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 24, 1 (Spring 2006), 7.
[300] Harding, "Glorious Tragedy," 9.
[301] Ibid, 8. Harding notes David R. Facey-Crowther, "The Soldiers' Tale: Newfoundland Soldiers' Accounts of the Great War," talk to the Newfoundland Genealogical Society, 23 November 1999.
[302] Harding, "Glorious Tragedy," 12.

they laid down their lives on the National Altar."[303] In 1923, Governor Sir William Allardyce supported the idea of immortality for fallen soldiers, stating that "their heroism and their valour cannot perish, for they were heaven sent and imperishable."[304] This was a common theme across Canada, as religious leaders painted the war dead as sacred.

Newfoundlanders still associated with the British Empire despite the affirmations of nationhood. At the unveiling of the National War Memorial in St. John's on 1 July 1924, Field Marshal Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force, attended and gave a speech. He was also present at the unveiling of Beaumont Hamel Park in France a year later. In both instances, the Union Jack was on predominant display.[305]

Apart from Canada and Newfoundland, the nation-building narrative also existing within the perception of the Anzac "digger" in Australia. The term "digger" was coined on the Western Front in 1916 as a mark of status for Australia's citizen soldiers. It was a form of idealism for soldiers steeped in a special camaraderie and the belief that the Australian war experience was unique in its uniform, training, culture, and attitude.[306] As a result, this particular identity within the ranks influenced postwar ANZAC (Australia and New Zealand Army Corps) identity as well as the Australian cultural narrative of the war in the following decades. Alistair Thomson's introduction to *Anzac Memories* provides an analysis of the memory of the First World War in Australia and how it was influenced by commemoration and a constructed Anzac "digger" narrative. Family and cultural myths that surround Australian soldiers reveal the selective nature

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[303] "Anglican Cathedral Service," *Evening Telegram*, 5 July 1920. As cited in Harding, "Glorious Tragedy," 11.
[304] "Memorial Day Celebration," *Evening Telegram*, 3 July 1923. As cited in Harding, 12.
[305] Gerard J. De Groot, *Douglas Haig, 1861-1928* (London: Unwin Hyman Limited, 1988), 402-405; Harding, 22-23.
[306] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 43.

of war remembrance; one where "war is fascinating and heroic, at worst a hard time shared by good mates" but lacks "recognition of the horrors of war or the fate of its victims."[307]

Australia, like Canada and Newfoundland, experienced unprecedented loss during the First World War. In the first ten days of the Gallipoli campaign, over two thousand Australians were killed. This was four times as many as died during the South African War, which lasted three years.[308] However, personal identities combined with a national identity can soften painful memories by intersecting individuals with public legends. Thus, Thomson concludes that a critical analysis of Anzac memories "inevitably collides with powerful emotional investments in the past" due to the personal experiences that are, over time, shaped by legend and myth.[309] In oral interviews, many Anzac veterans had read the official history of the war and quoted anecdotes as if they had come from their own experiences in a desire to make sense of the past and compose a history that they could live with.

Another significant aspect of memorialisation is represented in Anzac Day ceremonies. These traditionally took on a masculine connotation due to the "digger" as representative of Australian manhood and might: "The men's job was to march, as they had marched away to war, and then to assemble at the memorial, remembering their dead," Inglis notes, adding that women were kept to the sidewalks and bereaved mothers often wore their sons' medals.[310] A significant portion of Inglis's article is based on an iconographic assessment of numerous Australian war memorials, and features photographs to assist the reader. The article ends with a brief case study

[307] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 43. See also George L. Mosse, "Two World Wars and the Myth of the War Experience," *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 4 (1986): 491-513.
[308] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 85.
[309] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*.
[310] Inglis, "War Memorials," 54.

of the development of the Anzac Memorial in Sydney. One proposal that was rejected was *The Crucifixion of Civilization*, "in which a naked, female Peace hung from a cross, surrounded by the armor, shield, and helmet of Mars, and with dead men and broken weapons at her feet."[311] The idea of a nude woman figure above men was evidently deplored by the Roman Catholic clergy and divided amongst Protestants, whereas a counter proposal with a nude male figure was deemed acceptable.[312]

Terry Smith, an art historian, noted "The idea of achieving masculinity in its surrender to the feminine" as potentially bringing uneasiness to the viewer.[313] Sculptor Leslie Bowles proposed a "female figure, raised beyond a sarcophagus, symbolizing Australia proudly," which he later abandoned and deemed "trite."[314] Inglis also questions interpretations of the obelisk, a common feature in cemeteries. In addressing its potential perception as phallic, he asks "should we therefore count obelisks as male when surveying representations of gender on war memorials, or would that be abandoning caution?" They also have a pragmatic use: they are cheap, easily made by stonemasons, and have surfaces that readily take inscriptions of names and messages.[315]

The iconography and motifs present on the war memorial in Auckland are also of note. Governor-General Sir Charles Fergusson at the opening of the cenotaph in November 1929 noted that "it will stand for generations, and probably for centuries as a memorial to those we

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[311] Inglis, "War Memorials," 46.
[312] Newspaper headline quoted in Scarlett, Australian Sculptors, pp. 266-67. As cited in Inglis, "War Memorials," 46, note 15.
[313] Terry Smith, "Populism and Privilege in Australian Painting," *Australian Cultural History* 3 (1984), p. 40. As cited in Inglis, "War Memorials," 48, note 17.
[314] K.S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War and Society* 3:2 (September 1985), 116-22. As cited in Inglis, "War Memorials," 48, note 18.
[315] Inglis, "War Memorials," 52. Inglis curiously presents no citation on his claim that art students perceive the obelisk as "phallic."

commemorate today."[316] The RSA wanted to make special note of the difference between a museum and the memorial that was widely regarded as timeless. A statement published in the *Herald* informs the public of its commemorative intent, depicting it as a "Holy Ground."[317] Worthy notes the importance of these sentiments, as it shows how collective memory is manufactured by key groups as opposed to developed over time in the public eye. His reliance on the available primary source material is also noted for its inherent limitations. Worthy states that "it is impossible to claim that all Aucklanders viewed their memorial in the way described here," but we can surmise that "the memorial was a special place unlike any other in Auckland."[318]

St. Marys Within the British Empire

Within the British Empire's widespread memorialisation after the First World War, St. Marys followed common themes in the development of its sites of memory, such as intended meaning, location, and appearance. However, it also qualifies interpretations that stress the nation-building narratives created by Canada and its fellow dominions. In St. Marys, memorial interpretations changed over time; from an emphasis on Empire in the 1920s to the struggle in the 1930s to reconcile the losses of the First World War in light of another conflict looming over the horizon.

As explored in Chapter One, St. Marys residents engaged in significant debate over the appropriate location of the memorial cenotaph. Suggested locations for the monument were downtown, at the Central School, at the Collegiate Institute, in the cemetery, or on a traffic island

[316] *NZH*, 29 November 1929, 15. As cited in Worthy, 610, note 41.
[317] *NZH*, 24 April 1930, 10. As cited in Worthy, "Communities of Remembrance," 612, note 46.
[318] Worthy, "Communities of Remembrance," 613.

in the middle of the town's busiest intersection.[319] By December 1920, St. Marys' Council had decided on the grounds of the Central School, an elementary school located several blocks south of the downtown core.[320] Under pressure from the GWVA, council changed the proposed site in January 1921 to a lot directly east of Town Hall, which created a rift in the community because the land being considered was expensive.[321] The cost issue was ultimately resolved by the good grace of William Weir, former mayor and ally of the GWVA. He purchased the lot himself and donated it to the town on the condition it be used as the memorial's site.[322] This centralised and visible location was highly sought after by veterans, who determined their sacrifice to be worthy of such recognition.

After the memorial in St. Marys was unveiled, its interpretation changed over time. In the 1920s, townsfolk sought to commemorate the dead and pay their respects to the Empire. By the end of the decade and into the 1930s, their interpretations were characterised by the struggle to find meaning in the loss experienced due to the war. Armistice and Remembrance Day speeches recorded by the local newspapers are the main sources in uncovering this aspect of social life in interwar St. Marys.

In St. Marys, the meaning of the war memorial for the public was reflected in the tone of Armistice Day services. Feelings were often mixed, celebrating victory and peace against the sadness and appreciation for those who died. Mayor Charles E. Richardson said in 1924 that it was "a joyful yet solemn duty that was being solemnized," because "[a]s Canadians we felt joyful for the inheritance of peace and prosperity," but the occasion "brought to mind the great sacrifice of

[319] "Soldiers' Monument – Where to Put it?" *St. Marys Journal*, 7 October 1920, 1.
[320] "Town Council," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 9 December 1920, 2.
[321] "Local Veterans Busy," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 13 January 1921, 1.
[322] "The Grounds for a Park Donated to St. Marys," *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, 20 January 1921, 7.

many of our kinsmen who had laid down their lives."[323] By 1926, the turnout at the Armistice Day ceremony was over one thousand strong in a town with a population of just over four thousand. The object of the services was to keep the "rising generation of our community the remembrance of the sacrifice made by Canada's young manhood."[324] The end of the 1920s marked the beginning of a shift in the war's memory in St. Marys. As residents began to reflect on the long-term meaning of the war, it began to take on the role of justification of the dead and became much more solemn in remembrance.

The memory of the First World War in St. Marys shifted in the 1930s to one defined by tradition, the struggle to find meaning, and the lack of a nation-building narrative among its populace. Armistice Day ceremonies gained a newfound popularity in Canada in the new decade and St. Marys' 1930 ceremony was attended by over two thousand people despite its population of under four thousand.[325] In 1931, the Government of Canada changed the day's official name to Remembrance Day. Its meaning grew from celebrating the Armistice to remembering all who sacrificed. "We as a nation realize the awful carnage of war…" remarked Rev. Father Gibbons of the Roman Catholic Church that same year, "this feeling should not detract from the duty of honor we owe our national heroes on this beautifully named, Remembrance Day."[326] The ceremonies became seemingly routine, as newspaper articles in St. Marys from 1934 to 1936 shortened. Despite the 1934 ceremony drawing some of the town's largest crowds for the occasion, by the late 1930s remembering the war dead took less than twenty minutes.[327]

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[323] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, "On Armistice Day," Nov. 13, 1924.
[324] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, "Armistice Day," Nov. 18, 1926.
[325] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 215.
[326] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, "St. Marys Pays Tribute to Her Fallen Sons," Nov. 12, 1931.
[327] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, "Service of Remembrance Held at the Monument on Armistice Day," Nov. 15, 1934.

Perhaps one of the most significant areas of recent historiography is the question of nation building in Canada based on the war. Tim Cook describes this ideology as "collective stories suggest[ing] that it was not until the fire of battle made the nation that Canadians emerged as a distinct people. The war in this context is a transformative event, speeding Canadians along the whiggish trajectory from colony to nation."[328] As a result, Mark Humphries argues, this narrative inherently minimizes the significance of divisions defined by race, class, gender, and region within Canadian society.[329] Based upon an analysis of Armistice/Remembrance Day ceremonies, memorials, and newspapers, the people of St. Marys did not prioritize the nationalist myth that Canada was born on the battlefields of France and Belgium. Rather, peeches given by Mayors of St. Marys were innately Anglo-centric. Charles Richardson spoke of the "brave men who had given their lives for the continuance of the Empire,"[330] and urged the Union Jack to be placed in every classroom, describing it as "the sacred emblem for which so many had died."[331] Later in his career, as a Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), he "asked all hearers to always be appreciative and thoughtful of the demands of those men who went through that struggle for the sake of protecting the Empire, Canada and the homes therein."[332] The caption along with an Honour Roll posted in the *Journal-Argus* asserted that "[t]hese men were willing to die for Canada; the Empire and British traditions."[333] The people of St. Marys were invested in the idea that they had protected the British Empire and asserted themselves as loyal subjects of the Crown. While

[328] Cook, "Battles of the Imagined Past, 418.
[329] Humphries, "Between Commemoration and History," 385.
[330] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*. "The Heroic Dead." Nov. 12, 1925.
[331] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*. "On Armistice Day." Nov. 13, 1924.
[332] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*. "Remembered Dead." Nov. 16, 1933. Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly became Members of Provincial Parliament (MPP) in 1938.
[333] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, "St. Marys Pays Tribute to Her Fallen Sons," Nov. 12, 1931.

Canadian nationhood and British Imperial loyalty are not mutually exclusive, St. Marys appears to emphasize its position within the Empire.

The imperialistic approach to creating meaning in the sacrifice of the war mimics the British approach in several ways. In his article "1914 in 2014: What We Commemorate When We Commemorate the First World War," Christopher Moore maintains that Britain's First World War was just and necessary, and was "a war of national survival, a defensive conflict fought at huge cost against an aggressive enemy bent on achieving hegemony in Europe."[334] Canada's involvement allowed for the construction of a nation-creating narrative. Tim Cook argues that the "war's nation-building impact makes its memory 'less tragic' in Canada than in other countries."[335] Why then was St. Marys so adamant on defining its role in the war as that of maintaining the might of the British Empire? Canada's strong initial public support of the war and full range of engagement realistically acted against the dominion's best interests. Enduring trauma from casualties, the conscription crisis, and further domestic divisions led to a nationwide "postwar psychic need to justify the terrible price of imperial loyalty."[336] The effect this need had on St. Marys' retelling of the narrative is profound; it is based upon loyalty and a desire to preserve the Empire whence Canada came. Justification of the immense loss and sacrifice by soldiers and civilians alike drove this memory of the war, as the notion that 1914 to 1918 was without meaning was inconceivable. St. Marys' memory embodied the common interwar theme of searching for meaning in the war, but the meaning it cultivated was seemingly imperial.

[334] Moore, "1914 in 2014," 428.
[335] Ibid, 430.
[336] Ibid, 432.

One of the most important aspects of the war's memory in Canadian historiography is the search for meaning in loss. At the 1931 ceremony, St. Marys Mayor H.D. Lang explained that the method of celebrating the Armistice had changed, as that year there was a more solemn note of thanksgiving instead of the previous celebrations of victory.[337] Reverend J. Riddell asked the crowd "Why did these men die? For freedom! But, have we any more freedom now than we had before?"[338] It was true; Canadian soil and freedom had never truly been in direct peril from the war overseas. This made the aftermath of the conflict especially difficult for those who experienced loss. Their loved ones were either buried in a foreign cemetery or consumed by the mud of Flanders or France, and were now simply a name on a memorial. This sentiment was expressed by a Mrs. Gardiner, Sr. of Kirkton, Ontario in her speech at St. Marys' 1932 Remembrance Day ceremony:

> How could I be glad with two sons lying over there in unknown graves… and the old Kaiser safe in Holland? But it saved many other brave boys, boys who went away as children and returned as old men. Nobody knows what they went through of the temptations they had and the sufferings they sustained—and what have we in this fair Canada done for those who returned weakened in body, broken in health?[339]

Mrs. Gardiner made a strong argument. Once Germany's richest and most powerful man, Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated to the Netherlands in November 1918. The Dutch government refused to extradite him for trial, so he wrote his memoirs and lived quietly until his death in 1941.[340] Additionally, Mrs. Gardiner referenced the lack of support for veterans suffering from wounds they obtained overseas, both physically and mentally. Following an economic downturn in 1920, doctors became increasingly stringent on signing off on medical pension for veterans, as

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[337] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, "St. Marys Pays Tribute to Her Fallen Sons," Nov. 12, 1931.
[338] Ibid.
[339] *St. Marys Journal-Argus*, "War Dead Remembered At Solemn Service, Friday," Nov. 17, 1932.
[340] Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2003), 164-5.

disabilities due to military service were difficult to determine objectively. This was especially true for those with post-traumatic stress, or "shell shock", who were dismissed as "childish" or "feminine."[341]

Mrs. Gardiner expressed a common sentiment, as the First World War had been costly to soldiers and civilians alike. In "We Throw the Torch: Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice," Alan R. Young argues that community response to the loss experienced in the war was characterized in the initial establishment of war memorials across Canada. Young asserts that "they are responses to the seeming meaninglessness of a world that appeared to be largely unchanged for the better, in spite of the vast number of dead."[342] The memorials also served as a replacement to a traditional gravesite. As seen in Mrs. Gardiner's case, every man who died overseas left their families with no site of mourning or reflection.

Due to the quick establishment of a memorial in St. Marys, it is apparent that the impacts of the war had a great deal of significance for the local community. Young also cites an "essential paradox" that despite the struggle to find meaning, the war was an event that could never truly be resolved.[343] Despite the memorials established in most communities throughout the 1920s, citizens still struggled with the concept that the war was maybe without meaning. While Remembrance Day ceremonies and names inscribed on cenotaphs helped create memory, it could not fully fill the gap in society left by the First World War.

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[341] Desmond Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil: Bureaucracy, Democracy, and Canada's Board of Pension Commissioners, 1916–33," *The Canadian Historical Review* 68, no. 2 (1987), 211.
[342] Young, "We Throw the Torch," 20.
[343] Ibid.

Overall, St. Marys exists within broader imperial trends of commemoration surrounding the First World War. Memorials were generally located in central locations within a community, and their prominence—or lack thereof—reflected on their meaning to those who visited. As seen in St. Marys, citizens of the British Empire often grappled with the interpretation of their commemorative sites. While Canadians and Australians looked for a narrative on which to construct their identity, those in the British Isles aimed for distinction of their national identity within one that was inherently British in its origin. Commemoration of the First World War was a pervasive and widespread movement in the 1920s within the British Empire and remains the most visible and lasting effect of the conflict in the public eye.

Conclusion

The St. Marys cenotaph in the present day. Source: St. Marys Museum Archives.

> While ambiguities of iconography and ritual are undeniably present in war memorials, and while they embody and proclaim a host of commemorative messages about war, they do not obliterate the simple truth that people die in war, and in the Great War their number was legion. That message may be direct; it may be indirect or muted; it may be drowned in sentimentality or lies, but between the lines of noble rhetoric, through the mass of figurative or sculptural detail, the harsh history of life and death in wartime is frozen in public monuments throughout Europe and beyond.[344]

The commemoration of the First World War took many forms throughout the British Empire during the interwar period. As explored throughout this thesis, St. Marys, Ontario was both emblematic of greater commemorative trends while also placing a greater emphasis on Empire in

[344] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 78.

the interwar period. It also contributes to Canadian historiography by revealing the experiences of St. Marys residents and intertwining them with other dominions of the Empire. This is done through three avenues: understanding the development of memorial sites within St. Marys; examining the names on the town's cenotaph, including the rationale for inclusion and their place within the broader scope of the CEF; and by contextualising the historical and cultural memory of the First World War in St. Marys alongside those of the British Empire and Ireland.

Despite its size, St. Marys has multiple sites of memory. The present study focussed on three prominent commemorative sites within the town: the cenotaph, a stained-glass panel in the Anglican church, and a now-gone captured German field gun. As seen across the British Empire, especially in New Zealand and North Wales, there was a need for involvement from "elites" in order to finish memorial projects, despite their grassroots nature. Everyday citizens had their say on the form and function of their respective memorials, while community leaders and politicians often contributed in the form of financial backing or logistical support. The fact that these deliberations were reported in such detail by local newspapers further demonstrates memorialisation's importance to the public.

Religion was also important in commemoration. In many communities across the Empire there was a significant number of memorials established within churches or on religious ground. Even public memorials, such as the Scottish and Welsh National War Memorials, featured religious iconography. A stained-glass window in the St. James Anglican Church in St. Marys shows not only the influence of the local Reverend Keith Masters, but also religion's pervasive social significance. The comparisons of soldiers to Christ became a common theme in war

memorials, which highlighted the notion of eternal life in death. This was a direct result of the pervasiveness of religion in society, and also functioned as consolation for loss.

Analysing the traceable names on the St. Marys cenotaph brings forth a better understanding of the war dead's place in the larger body of the CEF. Ultimately, the men inscribed on the town's memorial collectively represent the broader demographics of Canada's fighting force in terms of their birthplace, occupation, and religion. Men born in the British Isles, Anglicans, and most labourers statistically are paralleled in both St. Marys and in the greater population of Canada's fighting force.

It is also important to understand how the men on the St. Marys' memorial fit into the greater population of the CEF. Circumstances of death, religious affiliation, and occupation reveal several correlations between the men listed on the St. Marys monument and the broader CEF population, while further analysis reveals probable rationale for including the names of men with little relationship to the town itself. Three factors significantly influenced the inclusion of the names of soldiers only loosely related to the town: occupations, religion, and social connections. Small social circles within the town are seen through their occupation and the church these men attended, notably the St. James Anglican Church. Rev. Masters was one of the most vocal parties in the commemoration debates, personifying an amalgamation of citizen soldiers and their religious beliefs. These factors allow the men on the St. Marys cenotaph to be placed within a national context while providing evidence for why they were listed on the town's memorial despite their tenuous connections to St. Marys.

There are also differences when comparing the men on the St. Marys cenotaph with the overall population of the CEF. The most notable difference is the much lower percentage of

farmers and agricultural workers in St. Marys as opposed to the rest of Canada, in spite of its rural setting in Southwestern Ontario. This is likely due to the widespread movement of memorialisation across Canada. Memorials outside of incorporated municipalities like St. Marys allow for those in rural townships to be remembered at a geographically relevant site as opposed to being grouped in with others from differing regions. St. Marys was socially and politically separate from its surrounding area, offering communities within that area the opportunity to commemorate their own fallen servicemen independently.

Analysis of the names on the St. Marys cenotaph reveals that there is no stereotypical "true blue" St. Marys man. It is also unclear how Town Council vetted the names to be included, but they likely did not reject many out of respect for those who had experienced loss. While several men seemingly have weak connections to the town, their inclusion on the town's cenotaph exists purely through their social connections as well as the desire to commemorate the dead regardless of circumstance. While some on the St. Marys cenotaph never made it overseas, others lived in town less than a year. Additionally, one name is an error and another remains a mystery to this day. The inscription on the base of the cenotaph, "In Memory of Our Fallen Heroes," grants an eternal title to the men who laid down their lives, regardless of postwar interpretations of the First World War.

As previously seen, St. Marys exists within broader imperial trends of commemoration surrounding the First World War whether they be typical or atypical. The prominence of memorials, like the cenotaph in St. Marys, reflected their meaning onto those who visited the site. As demonstrated in St. Marys, citizens of the British Empire often grappled with the interpretation of their commemorative sites. This was especially true by the mid-1930s, as the failed promise of

the First World War ending all wars was on the minds of many. While Canadians, Australians, and Newfoundlanders maintained a narrative on which to construct their respective national identities, those in the British Isles aimed for a distinct identity within a British imperial context. St. Marys differs from national trends in its renewed devotion to the continuance of empire. The cost of the war was seen as justifiable to maintain British imperial strength.

Ultimately it was committees made of up prominent residents, politicians, and elites making the decisions for national monuments and their intended narratives, whereas local communities like St. Marys received more input from townsfolk and veterans that were highly vocal in proceedings. Commemoration of the First World War was a pervasive and widespread movement in the 1920s within the British Empire and is the most commonly seen and experienced lasting effect of the conflict that ushered in a new era of memorialisation.

Across the British Empire, the First World War was a turning point in the development of commemorative sites and the concept of memorialisation. In St. Marys, no war memorial existed prior to 1918. Analysis of commemorative sites in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand highlights commonalities in the form and function of these memorial sites, their intended meaning, and their subsequent interpretation.

Despite the ubiquitous nature of the war memorial movement, there were notable differences in the way St. Marys attempted to remember the First World War. While dominions such as Australia and Newfoundland created national identities based upon loss and bravery, St. Marys residents sought closer ties to Empire, highlighting imperial values and traditions as worthy of maintenance. The idea of “nation-building” appears less prominent on a local scale. People in

St Marys were not primarily thinking about Canadian statehood or national identity. The focus was on the men they lost and the disruption to community.

In the current historiography, smaller Canadian communities are often overlooked by historians when discussing the memory and commemoration of the First World War. The lack of accessible source material in addition to low public interest is likely the cause. However, this does not detract from the significance of local perspectives. Communities within Canada and the British Empire built memorials, held ceremonies, and remembered the conflict their own way. These communities' stories deserve to be told and will only add to historians' understanding of the First World War and its effects.

This further demonstrates that the First World War did not exert a singular, monolithic impact on the world. The intentional ambiguity of iconography on memorials allows the viewer to interpret them based on their own experiences. As a result, the meaning and memory of the war to St Marys residents in the interwar period was one that changed over time yet reflected public perception. Whether it was celebrating victory, honouring the fallen, or creating sites of memory, St. Marys, the British Empire, and its citizens truly never forgot the substantial effects of the conflict.

A century removed from the events of the First World War and the years that followed, academics can never fully comprehend the level of personal emotion that guided those to create memorials, whether they represent a person, community, or an entire nation. However, present-day researchers and those who were directly affected by the conflict may still share a common view that those who sacrificed their lives are worth remembering.

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Appendix A: Service Record Data

Name/Service Number	Born	Date/Place of and Age at Attestation	Unit Attested To	Occupation	Marital Status	Prior Military/Militia Service	Religion	Promotions/ Demotions/ Discipline	Illnesses/ Wounds	Date and Cause of Death
Abendana, Eric Montague Lieutenant	10 July 1892 Port Antonio, Jamaica, British West Indies	25 January 1916, Engineer Training Depot, Ottawa, Ontario Age 23	Canadian Engineers	Civil Engineer	Single	Yes 7th Field Company, Canadian Engineers Corps of Guides – Cavalry at Attestment	Anglican	No	11 October 1918, PUO	16 October 1918 Pleurisy
Berry, Frank William 7974 (BEF)	1884 West Ham, Essex, England	Stratford, East London, England Age 30	1st Battalion, Royal Scots Fusiliers					No		11 November 1914 KIA
Bodenham, Albert George 127059	9 December 1896 London, England	30 July 1915, London, Ontario Age 19	1st Battalion	Section Hand (railroad)	Single	No	Anglican	No	9 June 1916, GSW to Chin 25 June 1916, Shell Shock 10 October 1916, Contused Back Groin	30 August 1918 KIA
Bolster, George Christian 727511	23 December 1891 Talbert, County Kerry, Ireland	10 February 1916, St. Marys, Ontario Age 24	110th (Perth) Battalion	Farm Labourer	Single	No	Anglican	No	None	26 August 1918 KIA
Brewer, Horace 859 (BEF)	1888 Pattiswick, Braintree, Essex, England	1906, Warley, Essex, England Age 30	5th Dragoon Guards (Princess Charlotte of Wales's)	Cavalry		Yes 12 years of service		Promoted to Lance Corporal		30 March 1918 KIA

Cameron, Colin Lauchlin 334115	12 September 1899 Anderson, Blanshard Township, Ontario	6 January 1917, London, Ontario Age 17	63rd Depot Battery, CFA	Farmer	Single	No	Presbyterian	Attested as Gunner, transferred to Driver 8 January 1918	18 May 1917, Measles 2 January 1918, Tuberculosis (dangerously ill)	24 April 1918 Tuberculosis
Cook, James 190114	3 Februrary 1885 Usborne Township, Ontario	26 March 1916, St. Thomas, Ontario Age 19	91st Battalion	Fireman	Married, 3 children	No	Anglican	No	13 September 1916, Rheumatism 28 August 1917, Shell wound	25 January 1918 KIA
Dickinson, Clesson John 2265643	17 December 1897 Anderson, Blanshard Township, Ontario	14 June 1917, Toronto, Ontario Age 19	Division Signals Company	Student	Single	Yes COTC for 1 year, rank Private	Methodist	Yes Promoted to Acting Sergeant 30 December 1917 Was listed as Sapper upon death	15 March 1918, Scarlet fever 9 October 1918, Influenza	16 October 1918 Influenza
Dunham, George 727074	27 November 1887 Packham, Surrey, England	20 November 1915, St. Marys, Ontario Age 30	110th (Perth) Battalion	Farmer	Single	No	Anglican	No	None	10 April 1917 Died of wounds
Ellis, Frank Johnston 201954	6 December 1890 St. Marys, Ontario	15 November 1915, Toronto, Ontario Age 24	95th Battalion	Grocery Clerk	Single	No	Presbyterian	Yes Transferred to 9th Brigade, CFA as a Driver 24 July 1917	7 July 1917, PMO	7 October 1918 KIA
Evans, John Clow 852 C46	25 July 1887 St. Marys, Ontario	26 July 1914 Age 27	Royal Navy Canadian Volunteer Reserve		Single					29/30 December 1917 KIA

Evans, William Laurence	8 May 1890 St. Marys, Ontario		1/6 Battalion (Liverpool), Royal Army Medical Corps					No		11 August 1916 KIA
Finnie, Frank 6554	1 February 1889 St. Marys, Ontario	20 September 1914, St. Marys, Ontario Age 25	1st Battalion	Electrician	Single	Yes 2 years in Canadian Militia	Presbyterian	No	30 December 1914, Gonorrhea 5 June 1915, Rheumatism	15 June 1915 MIA Presumed dead
Freeman, Alexander 602842	18 November 1891 London, Ontario	28 July 1915, London, Ontario Age 23	34th Battalion	Clerk	Single	No	Wesleyan Methodist	No	None	8 October 1916 KIA
Gooding, George Jeffery 703224	14 November 1887 St. Marys, Ontario	4 January 1916, Vancouver, British Columbia Age 29	102nd (Comox-Atlin) Battalion	Salesman	Single	No	Anglican	No	None	22 October 1916 KIA
Gough, James 400729	27 December 1890 Larne, County Antrim, Ireland	3 March 1915, London, Ontario Age 23	33rd Battalion	Labourer	Single	No	Anglican	No	None	3 October 1916 KIA
Gough, Samuel 7406 (BEF)	16 February 1894 Larne, County Antrim, Ireland	1914, Belfast, Ireland Age 20	2nd Battalion, Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire) Regiment			Yes		No		20 September 1914 KIA

Graham, John Reginald 769726	3 February 1894 St. Marys, Ontario	5 January 1916, Toronto, Ontario Age 21	124th Battalion	Driver	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	4 April 1916, Acute synovitis 21 November 1916, Tear Shell Gas, Eye Irritation 2 February 1917, Frostbite 22 April 1917, ICT Toe 3 June 1917, Ulcer Right Toe	7 November 1917 Died of wounds
Grant, Kenneth Marshall 91031	10 March 1894 Guelph, Ontario	6 October 1915, London, Ontario Age 21	29th Battery, CFA	Banker	Single	No	Presbyterian	Yes Reverted to Gunner, 5 May 1916 Promoted to Bombardier, 21 August 1916	None	30 October 1916 KIA
Halls, Frank 602204	18 March 1889 Takley, Essex, England	13 January 1915, Stratford, Ontario Age 24	34th Battalion	Farmer	Single	Yes Territorials Essex	Anglican	No	None	26 July 1916 Died of wounds
Hannaberry, William Joseph 6567	16 October 1896 Blanshard Township, Ontario	20 September 1914, Valcartier, Quebec Age 19	1st Battalion	Labourer	Single	No	Roman Catholic	No	None	15 June 1915 MIA Presumed dead
Johnston, Noble John 152681	5 June 1896 St. Marys, Ontario		Royal Air Force					No		12 May 1918 Aeroplane accident

Langford, Everett Alexander Lieutenant	8 October 1879 Granton, Ontario	22 November 1915, London, Ontario Age 36	135th Battalion	Steam Engineer	Married 1 child	Yes 26th Middlesex Regiment	Anglican	No	None	8 August 1918 KIA
Lewis, Albert 401271	21 July 1897 Walthamstow, England	27 July 1915, London, Ontario Age 18	33rd Battalion	Toolmaker	Single	No	Wesleyan Methodist	No	None	16 September 1916 MIA, Presumed dead
Martin, Harry Ernest Arthur 727072	24 November 1897 Harrow, Middlesex County, England	11 November 1915 Age 18	110th (Perth) Battalion	Painter	Single	No	Anglican	Yes Deemed medically unfit and discharged, 9 October 1916	None	12 October 1918 Influenza
Martin, Norman 727527	26 March 1895 Kintore, Oxford County, Ontario	12 February 1916, Stratford, Ontario Age 20	110th (Perth) Battalion	Teacher	Single	Yes 6 months in 28th Perth Regiment	Baptist	Promoted to Corporal, 27 March 1916 Promoted to Sergeant 8 April 1916 Reverted to Private, 6 July 1917	11 April 1916, Mumps	26 October 1917 KIA
Matthew, Robert Theodore Lieutenant	27 July 1879 Saint John, New Brunswick	2 December 1915 London, Ontario Age 36	70th Battalion	Bank Accountant	Single	Yes 24th Kent Regiment	Anglican	No	None	12 August 1916 KIA
McConnell, William John 126605	2 November 1890 Port Elgin, Ontario	17 September 1915, St. Marys, Ontario Age 25	71st Battalion	Barber	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	None	11 September 1916 Died of wounds

McMaster, William Earl 727070	21 November 1897 Stratford, Ontario	15 November 1915, St. Marys, Ontario Age 18	110th (Perth) Battalion	Clerk	Single	No	Presbyterian	Promoted to Lance Corporal, 1 December 1915 Reverted to Private, 20 April 1917	9 September 1917, Gassed 25 August 1918, Wounded	10 September 1918 Died of wounds
Montizambert, Clement Trevor 435496	23 November 1890 St. Marys, Ontario	8 July 1915, Calgary, Alberta Age 24	50th Battalion	Rancher	Single	Yes Queen's Own Rifles, Toronto	Anglican	No	14 October 1915, Skin disease	3 June 1916 KIA
Moore, John 727761	7 February 1886 Parry Sound, Ontario	10 April 1916, St. Marys, Ontario Age 30	110th (Perth) Battalion	Labourer	Single	No	Methodist	No	18-20 April 1916, AWL 14 days CB for drunkenness 6-7 May 1916, AWL	9 May 1916 Acute gastritis
Nutt, Lionel Sydney 602837	2 May 1897 St. Marys, Ontario	4 August 1915, London, Ontario Age 18	34th Battalion	Machine Hand	Single	No	Anglican	No	15 June 1916, Exhaustion and Shell Shock	28 April 1917 KIA
Near, Frank Sydney 491130	14 July 1894 St. Marys, Ontario	23 June 1915, London, Ontario Age 18	33rd Battalion	Barber	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	31 January 1916, Influenza	8 October 1916 MIA, Presumed dead
Near, William 401470	2 March 1892 St Marys, Ontario	16 August 1915, London, Ontario Age 24	33rd Battalion	Freight Clerk	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	3 March 1917, Laryngitis	8 November 1917 KIA

O'Connell, James 727593	21 January 1883 Ballinasloe, County Galway, Ireland	22 February 1916, St. Marys, Ontario Age 33	110th (Perth) Battalion	Farmer	Single	No	Methodist	168 hours detention, 25 April 1916 168 hours detention for drunkenness, 8 June 1916 AWL 12 days, 12 days detention, 6 July 1917	None	14 November 1917 Died of wounds
Pettigrew, William Barclay 602419	7 April 1895 Edinburgh, Scotland	6 April 1915, Guelph, Ontario Age 20	34th Battalion	Tin Plater	Single	Yes Naval Cadets	Presbyterian	No	None	4 June 1916 KIA
Radcliffe, David Henry 802864	8 October 1878 Blanshard Township, Ontario	26 January 1916, Lucan, Ontario Age 37	135th Battalion	Clerk	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	10 May 1917, Myalgia Lumbar	27 September 1918 KIA
Render, Frederick 401331	6 December 1883 London, England	4 August 1915, London, Ontario Age 32	33rd Battalion	Machinist	Married	No	Anglican	No	None	9 July 1916 KIA
Richardson, Charles Thomas 401399	November 1875 London, England	9 August 1915, London, Ontario Age 39	33rd Battalion	Labourer	Married	No	Anglican	No	None	8 September 1916 KIA
Richardson, James Monilaw 100713	2 September 1886 Seaforth, Ontario	5 July 1915, Edmonton, Alberta Age 28	66th Battalion	Clerk	Single	Yes 19th Alberta Dragoons	Presbyterian	Promoted to Corporal, 7 May 1916 Reverted to Private, 28 June 1916	20 July 1916, Mumps	15 September 1916 KIA

Robinson, Bert Parker 199285	10 August 1879 St. Marys, Ontario	10 April 1916, Sioux Lookout, Ontario Age 36	94th Battalion	Railway Conductor	Single	No	Anglican	No	24 November 1916, Diarrhoea	13 April 1917 Died of wounds
Robson, Clarence Wilfred 727745	11 July 1897 Lakeside, Ontario	3 April 1916, St. Marys, Ontario Age 18	110th (Perth) Battalion	Butcher	Single	No	Anglican	AWL, 16 June to 26 June 1916	26 September 1916, Diarrhoea 5 August 1917, Cellulitis Right Foot	29 September 1918 KIA
Rundle, Russell Kerslake 152431	9 March 1897 Blanshard Township, Ontario		Royal Flying Corps Canada							31 January 1918 Plane crash
Sandercock, James Cecil 727784	29 May 1898 Biddulph Township, Ontario	20 April 1916, St. Marys, Ontario Age 18	110th (Perth) Battalion	Machinist	Single	No	Methodist	No	11 May 1917, Impetigo 23 August 1917, Wounded	28 August 1918 KIA
Sandercock, William George 690752	2 September 1897 St. Marys, Ontario	10 April 1916, Hamilton, Ontario Age 18	173rd Highland Battalion	Machinist	Single	No	Anglican	No	None	23 August 1917 KIA
Shore, John Arthur Murton 880806	29 December 1894 Port Rowan, Ontario	19 June 1916, London, Ontario Age 21	186th (Kent) Battalion	Bank Clerk	Single	Yes 26th Regiment for 6 months	Anglican	Promoted to Sergeant, 7 April 1917 Reverted to Private, 15 May 1917 Promoted to Lance Corporal, 15 May 1917 Reverted to Private, 24 August 1917	None	11 November 1917 KIA

Sinclair, Frank Raymond 727071	11 December 1896 St. Marys, Ontario	13 November 1915, St. Marys, Ontario Age 18	110th (Perth) Battalion	Farmer	Single	No	Presbyterian	AWL, 7 days detention, 14 August 1916	12 April 1917, Wounded	13 November 1917 KIA
Skinner, Archibald 340967	August 1899 St. Marys, Ontario	6 July 1916, Toronto, Ontario Age 18	70th Battery, CFA	Clerk	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	4 November 1917, Shell Gas 2 January 1918, Shell Gas 29 October 1918, Seriously Ill	3 November 1918 Influenza
Stapleton, Arnold Murray 308643	17 May 1893 West Nissouri Township, Ontario	5 January 1916, Prince Albert, British Columbia Age 22	44th Battery, 10th Brigade, CFA	Mechanic	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	15 October 1916, Wounded	20 November 1916 Died of wounds
Stubbins, Herbert 127257	6 July 1887 Brocklesby, Lincolnshire, England	12 October 1915, London, Ontario Age 18	71st Battalion	Farmer	Single	No	Anglican	No	None	7 May 1917 Died of wounds
Sweeny, William 727096	20 December 1898 London, England	23 November 1915, St. Marys, Ontario Age 17	110th (Perth) Battalion	Woodworker	Single	No	Anglican	AWL, 9 June to 10 June 1916	None	8 August 1918 Died of wounds
Taggart, James 53858	10 February 1886 Govan, Renfrewshire, Scotland	23 October 1914, Stratford, Ontario Age 28	18th Battalion	Clerk	Single	Yes	Presbyterian	No	None	9 October 1915 KIA

Taylor, Sidney Eric 602823	24 January 1897 London, England	30 July 1915, London, Ontario Age 18	34th Battalion	Woodworker	Single	No	Anglican	Awarded Military Medal, 22 September 1917 Promoted to Lance Corporal, 11 March 1917 Promoted to Corporal, 19 January 1918 Promoted to Sergeant, 15 August 1918	23 September 1916, GSW Head	15 August 1918 KIA
Todd, Frederick James 727707	25 August 1871 Downie Township, Ontario	24 March 1916, Stratford, Ontario Age 44	100th (Perth) Battalion	Traveller	Married	Yes 27th and 28th Regiment	Anglican	Promoted to Lance Corporal, 6 June 1916 Promoted to Corporal, 24 July 1916 Promoted to Sergeant, 23 May 1917 Reverted to Private, 3 July 1917	25 February 1918, Shell Gas	30 August 1918 Died of wounds
Uffelman, Sheldon 751361	4 August 1894 Waterloo, Ontario	10 January 1916, Waterloo, Ontario Age 21	118th (Waterloo) Battalion	Clerk	Single	Yes 108th Regiment for 5 months	Methodist	Forfeits allowance while in hospital, 21 August 1917	15 June 1917, VDG	6 November 1917 KIA
Volker, Lorne Albert 476054	4 May 1892 St. Marys, Ontario	7 July 1915, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan Age 23	3rd (McGill) University Company, PPCLI	Barber	Single	No	Presbyterian	Promoted to Lance Corporal, 17 August 1916	15 February 1916, Influenza 22 September 1916, Dangerously Ill	11 October 1916 Died of wounds

Walpole, Stanley George Saunders 453147	12 August 1896 Stratford-on-Avon, England	29 June 1915, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario Age 18	58th Battalion	Gardener	Single	Yes	Anglican	No	None	13 June 1916 KIA
Walton, Robert D. 193405	31 July 1891 Chantilly, France	14 August 1915, Toronto, Ontario Age 24	92nd (Highlanders) Battalion	Machinist	Single	Yes Watt's Naval Training School, 4 years	Anglican	Promoted to Lance Corporal, 28 May 1917	None	15 August 1917 KIA
Webb, Edward Alfred 475500	28 March 1896 London, England	15 October 1915, Toronto, Ontario Age 19	4th (McGill) University Company, PPCLI	Student	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	7 January 1916, Tonsilitis 15 April 1916, Wounded	17 April 1916 Died of Wounds
Webster, James Franklin 418032	16 March 1892 St. Marys, Ontario	17 February 1915, Montreal, Quebec Age 22	42nd Battalion (Royal Highlanders)	Storekeeper	Single	Yes 5th Royal Highlanders, 6 months	Presbyterian	Promoted to Corporal, 30 March 1915 Promoted to Sergeant, 21 April 1916	14 August 1915, Scabies 30 August 1915, Scabies 13 September 1915, Scabies	15 September 1916 KIA
Wilde, Frederick 7991 (BEF)	1886 Leeds, England		2nd Battalion, York and Lancaster Regiment					Promoted to Warrant Officer Class II		21 March 1918 MIA
Wiltshire, George Henry 727134	6 March 1878 Surrey, England	25 November 1915, St. Marys, Ontario Age 37	110th (Perth) Battalion	Farmer	Single	Yes Volunteered in South Africa, 9 months	Methodist	No	None	6 January 1916 Fall from Bridge

Woods, William 3131221	31 January 1897 Blanshard Township, Ontario	27 March 1918, London, Ontario Age 21	1st Depot Battalion, WOR	Labourer	Single	No	Presbyterian	No	20 May 1918, Illegally absent since 28 March 1918, struck off as deserter 27 June 1918, Arrested, convicted, and sentenced to 1 years' imprisonment 27 June 1918, Released from civil custody to proceed overseas 22 October 1918, Dangerously ill	23 October 1918 Influenza
Wright, William Jonathan Lieutenant	14 November 1874 West Zorra Township, Oxford County, Ontario	5 May 1916, Stratford, Ontario Age 31	110th (Perth) Battalion	Schoolteacher	Married	Yes 28th Perth Regiment	Presbyterian	No	None	18 August 1917 KIA

Acronym	Definition
AWL	Absent Without Leave
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
CB	Confined to Barracks
CFA	Canadian Field Artillery
GSW	Gunshot Wound
KIA	Killed in Action
MIA	Missing in Action
PPCLI	Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry
PUO	Pyrexia (fever) of Unknown Origin
ICT	Inflamed Connective Tissue
VDG	Venereal Disease – Gonorrhea
WOR	Western Ontario Regiment

Appendix B: 1911 Census Data

Name	Place of Habitation	Profession	Marital Status	Relatives	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Year of Immigration	Year of Naturalization	Race/ Nationality	Religion
Bodenham, Albert George	Salina Street, St. Marys, Ontario	N/A	Single	Father: James, English/ Canadian, Plasterer Mother: Minnie, English/ Canadian Labourer	December 1896	England	1907	N/A	Canadian	Anglican
Bolster, George Christian	Usborne Township, Ontario	Farm Labourer	Single	N/A	19 December 1891	Ireland	1910	N/A	Irish/Canadian	Anglican
Cameron, Colin Lauchlin	Finch Township, Ontario	N/A	Single	Father	12 September 1899 Age 12	Ontario	N/A	N/A	Scotch/ Canadian	Presbyterian
Dunham, George	West Nissouri Township, Ontario	Labourer	Single	N/A	April 1884 Age 26	England	1900		English	Anglican
Ellis, Frank Johnston	St. Marys, Ontario	Salesman	Single	Father: Archie, Canadian, Shoemaker Brother: Gordon, Canadian, Salesman	December 1890 Age 20	Ontario	N/A	N/A	Canadian	Presbyterian
Evans, John Clow	Dublin, Ontario	Labourer	Single	Mother: Catherine	February 1889 Age 22	Ontario	N/A	N/A	Irish/Canadian	Roman Catholic

Johnston, Noble John	St. Marys, Ontario	Shopkeeper	Single	Father: Robert, Irish/ Canadian, Labourer Mother: Isabella, Irish/ Canadian	June 1896 Age 15	Ontario	N/A	N/A	Irish/Canadian	Methodist
Nutt, Lionel Sydney	Wellington Street, St. Marys, Ontario	N/A	Single	Father: John, Dutch/ Canadian, Teamster Mother: Selina, English/ Canadian	May 1897 Age 13	Ontario	N/A	N/A	Dutch/ Canadian	Anglican
Render, Frederick	Robinson Street West, St. Marys, Ontario	N/A	Single	Father: Frederick A, English/ Canadian, Labourer Mother: Hannah, English/ Canadian	September 1902 Age 9	England	1908	N/A	English/ Canadian	Anglican
Richardson, Charles Thomas	St. Marys, Ontario	Labourer	Married	Wife: Emily, English, Housekeeper 7 children	November 1872 Age 38	England	1898	N/A	English/ English	Anglican
Sandercock, James Cecil	Elgin Street North, St. Marys, Ontario	N/A	Single	Father: Samuel, English, Labourer Mother: Annie, Irish/Canadian	May 1899 Age 12	Ontario	N/A	N/A	English/ Canadian	Anglican

				Brother: William George						
Sandercock, William George	Elgin Street North, St. Marys, Ontario	Labourer	Single	See above	September 1897 Age 14	Ontario	N/A	N/A	English/ Canadian	Anglican
Sinclair, Frank Raymond	William Street, St. Marys, Ontario	N/A	Single	Father: Daniel, Scottish/ Canadian, Mail Carrier Mother: Rosie, English/ Canadian	December 1897 Age 14	Ontario	N/A	N/A	Scotch/ Canadian	Presbyterian
Stapleton, Arnold Murray	Blanshard Township, Ontario	Labourer	Single	N/A	April 1894 Age 17	Ontario	N/A	N/A	English/ Canadian	Methodist
Taylor, Sidney Eric	Jones Street, St. Marys, Ontario	Labourer	Single	Father: Charles, English/ Canadian, Labourer Mother: Salina, English/ Canadian, Wasteroom	January 1896 Age 14	England	1907	N/A	English/ Canadian	Anglican
Woods, William	St. Marys, Ontario	School	Single	Father: Angus, English/ Canadian, Publisher Mother: Agnes, Scotch/	September 1900 Age 10	Ontario	N/A	N/A	English/ Canadian	Presbyterian

				Canadian, Housekeeper						