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War, Memory, and the Newfoundland Regiment at Gallipoli

P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER¹

SONS OF TERRA NOVA

On the heights of red Gallipoli you met the Turkish horde —
The men who for a thousand years had gloried in the sword.
With Anzacs and with Britons there — a hero ev'ry man —
You calmly heard the word **Advance!** And you boldly led the van.

Constantinople's minarets 'twas not your fate to see.
But till the order came to cease you strove for victory.
The story swept around the globe, and all men understand
The dauntless will and martial skill of the men of Newfoundland.

Frederick J. Johnston-Smith (1917)²

FOR AUSTRALIANS AND NEW ZEALANDERS, the Gallipoli Campaign is revered as a struggle of mythic proportions and continues to represent a national awakening or coming of age for both soldiers and the larger citizenry.³ For other British imperial and colonial troops who participated in the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, the struggle with the Turks on the peninsula has been absorbed into collective memory in somewhat different ways. The First Newfoundland Regiment, who arrived relatively late during the Gallipoli Campaign, found itself in battle for the first time at Suvla Bay. Their experiences were markedly different from those of the soldiers in the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZACS). For the soldiers from Britain's oldest colony, Newfoundland, Gallipoli was a baptism of fire that began to cultivate a sense of national identity through military valour. Although Newfoundland soldiers' participation in the Gallipoli Campaign has not attracted attention commensurate to the regiment's later exploits on the Western Front during

the Allied thrusts of 1918, the peninsula played a particular, albeit secondary role in Newfoundland's collective consciousness.

This paper explores the impact of the Gallipoli Campaign on the First Newfoundland Regiment and the way in which the campaign was remembered and memorialized in Newfoundland. The experiences of the regiment during the Gallipoli Campaign are assessed in three parts. First, the responsibilities and activities undertaken by Newfoundlanders during the Gallipoli campaign are outlined using the regimental war diary and other primary and secondary sources. Second, the ways in which Newfoundland soldiers characterized their experiences in personal war diaries are examined. Third, drawing upon the recent historiography on war and memory, the paper examines the ways in which the actions of the regiment at Gallipoli were and were not commemorated and memorialized after the war.

There is a great deal of primary and secondary literature on the Newfoundland Regiment, although few academics have devoted specific attention to analysis of the regiment's role in the Gallipoli Campaign. Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson's excellent official regimental history *The Fighting Newfoundlander* remains the standard reference work on Newfoundlanders overseas during the First World War, although his chapter on the actions at Suvla and Helles focuses more on anecdote and narrative than analysis and comparison. Other scholarly research has focused on the role of the home front during the campaign, regimental morale, and regimental enlistments and casualties according to demographic data analyzed at a macro-level.⁴ As Andrew Parsons noted in his 1995 thesis, there remains "a great void in our knowledge and understanding of Newfoundland's wartime history."⁵

FROM NEWFOUNDLAND TO GALLIPOLI

When the Great War began, Newfoundland was militarily unprepared to send an overseas battalion. They lacked a military organization, recent experience, and the requisite equipment. Newfoundlanders had sent soldiers to Quebec in 1776 and aided the British during the War of 1812, but had not participated as a distinct colonial force in any armed conflict during the Victorian age. The only quasi-military organizations on the island in 1914 were various church-sponsored groups, the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve, and the Legion of Frontiersman.⁶ Despite the absence of a recent military mythology, Newfoundland civilians rushed to enlist when war was declared in August of 1914. The first five hundred were affectionately remembered as the "Blue Puttees" because they were forced to wear blue leg wrappings as no khaki ones were available. After some preliminary training near St. John's, the first contingent boarded the SS *Florizel* on 4 October and made their way to England, eventually settling in at Camp Aldershot in early 1915 to train as a battalion for overseas engagement.⁷

The Gallipoli Campaign began while soldiers of the Newfoundland Regiment were just starting to learn their trade in the training camps of Britain. Five weeks lapsed between the Allies' final attempt to force the Straits of Marmara and the ill-fated Allied landings at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915. In the face of fierce opposition, the legendary British 29th Division secured a landing at Cape Helles, at the tip of the peninsula. The ANZAC force managed to gain a foothold at what later became known as Anzac Cove, some fourteen miles up Gallipoli's western shore. The Royal Naval Division and the French Division carried out diversionary attacks on the eastern shore of the peninsula and across the Straits of Marmara at Kum Kale. All the landings were contained by the Turks and a bitter stalemate ensued. In a bid to break the debilitating deadlock, Sir Ian Hamilton, commander of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, ordered a main offensive at Anzac in early August, accompanied by a diversionary breakout at Helles and landings at Suvla Bay. The initiative at Suvla, as at Anzac, ultimately proved unsuccessful. The Allies did not hold the high ground at Sari Bair and dug in at Suvla, with heavy human loss. Hamilton was desperate for reinforcements and ordered the 29th Division to the Suvla front. However, the 29th Division had been devastated by the twin terrors of fighting and disease while in the Helles sector and was itself in need of reinforcement. The Newfoundland Regiment, waiting and training patiently in Egypt with the 2nd Division, was called upon to join the 29th's depleted ranks. This association lasted for the next two and a half years.⁸

The 29th Division⁹ had been organized in January 1915. The last infantry division formed during the war from regular battalions of the British army, most of its units had served as garrison troops in either India or the colonies. In September 1915, after an inspection by Lord Kitchener himself, the Newfoundland Regiment was called upon to replace the 1/5th Royal Scots, an Edinburgh Territorial unit that had joined the regular forces in the 88th Brigade prior to Gallipoli. The Royal Scots' ranks had been depleted by the early fighting at Gallipoli and with no reinforcements forthcoming the battalion was withdrawn at the end of July. In this context, the Newfoundland regiment found itself joining the ranks of the veteran units of the 88th under the command of Brigadier-General D.E. Cayley.¹⁰

On the night of 14 September the Newfoundlanders left Alexandria onboard the HMT *Ausonia* for an undisclosed destination. Four days later they arrived at Mudros, having taken a zig-zag route to avoid U-boats rumoured to be prowling the area. The next day, 19 September, they left Mudros on HMT *Prince* and that night they arrived at Suvla Bay. At about 2130 hrs., Newfoundland soldiers disembarked at Kangeroo Beach and did not finish landing until about 0100 hrs. the next morning. The scene that greeted them seemed to foreshadow the days ahead. The night was exceedingly cold and stormy, and the only shelter they were provided with was a series of open dugouts in the sand, none more than four feet deep. In the early morning the men began to deepen their holes but these signs of movement, visible to the Turks, precipitated shelling. Almost immediately the

Newfoundland Regiment had a taste of the seemingly ceaseless artillery barrages so intimately associated with the First World War. By the end of the first day, one officer and eight other ranks had been wounded by the distant enemy guns.¹¹

In the coming days and weeks the regiment found its responsibilities increasing, as daily casualties took their toll and exposed the soldiers to the realities of battle. On 21 September A and B companies took up their positions in the support trenches before being relieved by C and D companies two days later. It was here that the first two Newfoundlanders were killed. It was not until 30 September that members of the regiment moved into the fire trenches to relieve the 2nd Battalion, South Wales Borderers for ten days, before being relieved by the Worcestershire Regiment and returning to the Essex Reserve trenches. About every ten days the Newfoundlanders switched with the Worcestershires and 1/London Battalion for front-line duty through October and November.¹²

The first real action by the Regiment came on 4 November with the taking of a small knoll in front of the Newfoundlanders' lines from which Turkish snipers took shots at the Allied trenches. A party of seven men under Lieutenant J.J. Donnelly made a night raid on the Turkish post, killing two of the three snipers there. When the third Turkish sniper managed to return with approximately fifty reinforcements, a skirmish ensued. One Newfoundlander was killed and the other seven wounded in the encounter, yet they held out successfully until they were relieved the following morning. The objective was thereafter affectionately known as "Caribou Hill" to the troops. Not only did the taking of Caribou earn the very high compliments of the Divisional commander; it was also an important objective in that most of the regiment's losses had come from sniping from this point. There was a marked diminution in Newfoundland casualties from sniping following its capture. On 17 November, the regiment was informed that Lieutenant Donnelly had been awarded a Military Cross and Sergeant W. Greene and Private R.E. Hynes Distinguished Conduct Medals for their "acts of gallantry and devotion to duty." The Newfoundlanders were recipients of their first medals, a wonderful Christmas treat for those back home.¹³

In late November and December 1915, the Newfoundland Regiment faced conditions of hardship and continued to be given growing responsibilities, although they never found themselves involved in any major offensive operation. On 16 November the regiment entered the firing trenches and, because the troops who were to have relieved them had been so badly reduced in numbers that they could not take their place, they were forced to hold on, night after night, until mid-December. On 26 November a torrential storm battered the already beleaguered troops, washing away trenches, polluting already scarce wells, and leaving some soldiers past their waists in water. To make a horrible situation even worse, immediately after the rain stopped the temperature plummeted and the flooded terrain began to freeze. Even the sick held on within the Newfoundland lines as both sides fought more for survival than anything else. The already depleted

regiment had been worn down to a little over a quarter of its regular strength. A draft of about 90 officers and men arrived from Britain on 1 December, bringing strength up to nearly 400 men. Despite this reinforcement, the Newfoundlanders' time at Suvla was nearly at an end.¹⁴

At the same time as the Newfoundland Regiment first landed at Suvla, senior Allied command began to discuss the evacuation of the Peninsula. At the end of September 1915 Bulgaria entered the war, threatening Serbia and raising the possibility that the Central Powers could forge an uninterrupted overland link with the Turks. In response, the Allies decided to build up a force for Salonika to support the beleaguered Serbs, and Sir Ian Hamilton was obliged to reduce his force at Suvla Bay at the very time he was anticipating reinforcements. By mid-October, Lord Kitchener (the Minister of War) was thinking of a complete evacuation of Gallipoli, and on 23 November the War Committee decided on this course of action. Suvla Bay and Anzac were to be evacuated first, followed by Cape Helles.¹⁵

On 20 December 1915 the Allies executed the first phase of their evacuation plan. Thirty men of the First Newfoundland Regiment formed part of the rearguard that covered the withdrawal of the 29th Division. This was a difficult task, given that the rearguard was expected to provide sufficient deception to mask the movement of a large body of men. The operation was a complete success due to careful planning and the punctual execution of tasks. There were no casualties sustained at Suvla on the night of the evacuation; the Turkish forces were kept at bay by a combination of heavy naval fire and cleverly devised Allied ploys. Devices were set to fire off rifles at fifteen minute intervals while another device set off Mills bombs after the troops had departed the lines. The combined evacuation of Anzac and Suvla involved approximately 83,000 men with 186 guns, 2000 vehicles and 4700 horses and mules. Lieutenant-Colonel A.L. Hadow, the commanding officer of the regiment, summarized the evacuation as "a wonderful operation" and stated that the conduct of his men "left nothing to be desired."¹⁶ It was an unqualified success in which the Newfoundlanders played a respectable part.

The Newfoundland battalion regrouped at Mudros on the night of 20 December and was almost immediately assigned to aid in the evacuation from Cape Helles. Three days after they left Suvla they arrived at "w" beach, and soon found themselves acting as stevedores and filling in at the front lines as required. They took over the work of the Greek Labour Corps (whose numbers were nearly double the strength of the Newfoundland Regiment at the time) and spent most of their time building roads, bridges and piers, and then loading lighters with war material being transferred to the ships for evacuation. Their position was shelled day and night, and their mundane work was continuously fraught with danger as a result. On 4 and 6 January 1916 the first Newfoundlanders left the peninsula, and over the course of the following two days most of the remaining soldiers were evacuated. In the early hours of 9 January, Lieutenant Owen Steele and 44 men formed a rearguard during the final evacuation and at 0400 hrs departed "v" Beach. As they

pushed off from the *River Clyde*, completing yet another successful withdrawal, Steele and the others were amongst the last Allied soldiers to depart the peninsula.¹⁷

The Newfoundlander's "baptism of fire" at Gallipoli ended with the evacuation of Helles. At Gallipoli, 29th Division suffered a substantial 34,011 casualties, and while the official history of the division maintains that morale remained high, the units needed to be rebuilt in terms of manpower and morale. Of the 933 officers and men of the First Newfoundland Regiment who had arrived on the Peninsula, only 170 were left to answer the roll call following the final evacuation. Hadow, who had taken over the Newfoundland Regiment in December, assumed the task of rebuilding his battalion in Egypt before his soldiers embarked for France in March of 1916, reaching Marseilles on the 22nd of the month. Late in June the 29th Division was sent to the Somme and took up its position as part of the army that was to make a long-planned attack on the German lines. For Newfoundlanders on the battlefield and their families back home, 1 July 1916 proved to be a day of unequivocal valour and sacrifice. The regiment was sent over the top on that fateful morning, and within fifteen minutes its ranks were decimated. While the losses at Gallipoli were felt by a few families in Newfoundland, it is said that Beaumont Hamel impacted every household in the small colony.¹⁸ The first of July lives on in the island as Memorial Day.

NEWFOUNDLAND SOLDIERS AND THE GALLIPOLI EXPERIENCE

For inexperienced citizen soldiers yet to experience the horrors of the Western Front, the Gallipoli Peninsula served as a stage for the construction of national pride and the concomitant dismantling of preconceived notions about war. Anticipation ran high prior to arrival, undoubtedly the product of romantic images of war. The average age of the men who served in the Newfoundland Regiment was approximately twenty-three. They lusted for adventure, a chance to experience new lands, and an opportunity to meet new people.

The nature of the general activities assigned to the Newfoundland Regiment proved less adventurous than many of the naive recruits had envisioned.

The soldiers had come expecting to find war a life of excitement. They found it, on the contrary, duller than the most dreary spells of lonely life in the back woods of their own island. Either side kept constant watch on the other. Snipers waited eagerly for the least sign of life that they could fire on. Shells rained down wherever troops were suspected to be. Aeroplanes came humming overhead dropping bombs or observing. The heat, the hard work, the flies, the thirst and the intermittent shelling combined to tax the nerves and temper of the men to the full.¹⁹

The regiment never found itself involved in a major operation, although at one point the Newfoundlanders' commanding officer was so confident of his troops that he asked Sir Ian Hamilton directly that the regiment be allowed to storm Anafarta and Tekke Tepe.²⁰ Instead, casualty lists mounted due to Turkish snipers, artillery fire, and disease. Injuries sustained picking up rubbish on top of the Allied parapet lacked the romance and inspiration of a concerted assault on the enemy lines.²¹ Most of their time was spent digging trenches, and while at Helles some expressed their displeasure at the boring, laborious nature of the work which they, as soldiers, had been given.²² Representative of the Newfoundlanders' sentiments, Owen Steele sent a letter home in November 1915 in which he complained of the monotony of trench warfare but stated optimistically that "we may get some excitement yet."²³ The *Times* captured the mood offered in soldiers' war diaries when it noted that "Every day they prayed that something might happen, that orders might come for them to attack the Turks, or that the Turks might attack them."²⁴ A general command as such never came, and the Newfoundland soldiers' life on the Gallipoli Peninsula was not akin to the valourous Victorian imperial depictions of battle that most of them must have envisioned at the time of enlistment.

Some activities held more romantic appeal than others, and allowed members of the regiment to remember elements of the campaign as national victories. The taking of "Caribou Hill" on the night of 4 November proved the most rewarding and enduring memory of regimental bravery and success at Gallipoli. Although Major-General de Lisle, the general officer commanding the 29th Division, noted that this particular enterprise was "ordered largely to blood the Newfoundland Battalion [and] so initiate them in the fighting spirit which still pervades the Division," Newfoundlanders writing during the war and after unanimously maintained that they were given the orders because the task was of paramount importance to the consolidation of the British lines.²⁵ The two-stage evacuation of Allied troops from the peninsula provided the soldiers with an opportunity to further embrace a national mystique of dependability and success based on the "privileged" position with which Newfoundlanders were tasked. Nevertheless, realities dictated that the efforts of the regiment were exerted in an ultimately failed cause. Caribou Hill was abandoned with the rest of the Suvla lines, and an evacuation, no matter how successful, lacks the romantic appeal of a common unified offensive, no matter how futile the latter proves to be. At Gallipoli the soldiers could see themselves and thus their nation to be "coming of age," but no one supposed that they were there yet.

In general, the conditions on the Gallipoli Peninsula were not conducive to the maintenance of regimental morale. The nature of the terrain hindered mobility and meant that the enemy was often out of sight, and food and water were in short supply. As John Gallishaw explained, the latter consideration had practical effects on the kit carried by the soldiers:

On the Peninsula, when you have to walk with all your possessions on your back, each additional ounce counts for much. As soon as we found that it was impossible to get water to wash or shave in, we threw away our towels and soap. A few kept their razors. The only thing I hung on to was my tooth brush — not for its legitimate purpose, but to clean the sand and grit out of my rifle.²⁶

The conditions facing the Newfoundlanders brought about, in the words of Richard Cramm, “enemies far worse than the Turks were capable of creating by military activity.” Hundreds of enemy corpses lay immediately in front of the Newfoundlanders’ trenches. “Clouds of flies swarmed over these as they decayed in the sweltering heat of the day,” and then “preyed on the food and the drink, carrying disease and death in their trail.” The sandy soil of Gallipoli, “thickly inhabited with disease germs,” were blown into the food and water by high winds. Disease was a constant nuisance, often with mortal consequences. Few escaped the scourges of dysentery, jaundice, enteric and trenchfoot that spread throughout the ranks with amazing rapidity, certainly causing a greater number of casualties than any other factor.²⁷ Diaries and memoirs are filled with harrowing stories of excruciating “tummy” pains and the effects of sickness on troop strength.²⁸ Despite the relative absence of direct offensive action in the Newfoundlanders’ Gallipoli experience, their tenure on the Peninsula was not playtime.

Newfoundland soldiers’ diaries indicate a common fear of Turkish artillery. Bursting shells and deadly shrapnel were a constant source of intense anxiety. Death may have been equal, but the means by which it was delivered influenced soldiers’ preferences:

A shell can be heard coming. Experts claim to identify the caliber of a gun by the sound the shell makes. Few live long enough to become such experts [...]. In dugouts we always ate our meals, such as they were, to the accompaniment of “Turkish Delight,” the Newfoundlanders’ name for shrapnel. We had become accustomed to rifle bullets. When you hear the zing of a spent bullet or the sharp crack of an explosive, you know it has passed you. The one that hits you, you never hear. At first we dodged at the sound of a passing bullet, but soon we came actually to believe the superstition that a bullet would not hit a man unless it had on it his regimental number and his name. Then, too, a bullet leaves a clean wound, and a man hit by it drops out quietly. The shrapnel makes nasty, jagged, hideous wounds, the horrible recollection of which lingers for days in the minds of those who see them. It is little wonder that we preferred the firing line.²⁹

Turkish artillery proved, like disease, to be a faceless enemy that could claim lives without face-to-face engagement with the enemy.

Despite the hardship and danger associated with the campaign, the Newfoundlanders seemed to develop a genuine respect for their Turkish enemy. As one junior NCO described, feelings toward the Turks differed between individuals, “but we

were all agreed that Johnny Turk was a good, clean, sporty fighter, who generally gave as good as we could send. Therefore, whenever we could we gave him decent burial, we stuck a cross up over him, although he did not believe in what it symbolized ...”³⁰ As an adversary, the Ottoman troops were relatively respectful in return:

The Turks never fired on burial parties; and men on the Peninsula, wounded by snipers, tell strange stories of dark-skinned visitors who crept up to them after dark, bound up their wounds, gave them water, and helped them to within shouting distance of their own lines[...]. That is why we respected the Turk. When we tried to shoot him, he chuckled to himself and sniped us from trees and dugouts[...]. Only once did he really lose his temper. That was when under his very eyes we deliberately undressed on his beach and disported ourselves in the Aegean Sea. Then he sent over shells that shrieked at us to get out of his ocean. But in his angriest moments he respected the Red Cross and never ill treated our wounded.³¹

Although poetry on the home front would cast the enemy in a negative light, personal diaries were seldom derogatory. On the battlefield the Turkish troops often had to grapple with similar problems and, the Newfoundlanders believed, proved worthy adversaries.

Given the place of the Newfoundlanders on the Allied front lines, the November storm and subsequent freeze was a disaster of epic proportions. Nevertheless, members of the regiment adopted the episode as a symbol of their endurance, tenacity and durability as soldiers. The Newfoundlanders’ lines were at a low point in the valley they occupied, and so they were hit hard by the deluge. However, while other regiments suffered deaths from the subsequent freeze, the Newfoundlanders did not lose a soldier as a direct result of the conditions. Although 150 members of the regiment ended up in hospital for exposure (mostly frostbite), that they had weathered the storm as well as they did actually became a source of pride:

When, on the 29th, the storm abated, the ever famous Twenty-ninth Division, of which the Newfoundland Regiment formed a part, had lost two-thirds of its strength. The British had suffered 30,000 casualties, of whom 10,000 were unfit for further service. It must be placed to the credit of the Newfoundland Regiment that it stood the terrible ordeal with a physical resourcefulness and courage that was without parallel in the whole army. The severe winter weather of our own climate had provided our men with a physical adaptability that could hardly be expected of office clerks from the city of London, and only when they were so frost-bitten that they were unable to walk did they give themselves over to the field hospital.³²

It was believed that their island roots and experience braving the elements gave them the stamina and general hardiness to survive.

By transforming hardship into self-empowering myths of superior dependability, the regiment was able to maintain morale under difficult circumstances. Morale was also maintained in other ways. Letters and care packages sent to the front gave the soldiers something to look forward to, even though they were often received a month or more after they were posted.³³ Since they could not be at home, they brought familiar place names with them and attached them to their new surroundings.³⁴ Hamilton's visits to the front line trenches helped maintain morale.³⁵ Songs like "Tipperary" helped preserve optimism; however, more irreverent and at times disrespectful changes in lyrics or newly-created songs allowed the regiment to cope with the distance from home and the strict discipline.³⁶ Finally, as Andrew Parsons has argued, the cornerstone of the Newfoundland Regiment's morale was its "strong national identity." Almost all of the soldiers came from the one small colony, making their "identity self-evident" as "Newfoundland's national contingent." In this way, the battalion overseas became a soldier's "surrogate family."³⁷ Common ties between all of the members maintained unit cohesion and fostered a spirit of co-dependence in the face of adversity.

For a regiment on the battlefield for the first time, the twin dynamics of enthusiasm and naivete can be costly. The Newfoundland Regiment entered Gallipoli as a cast of inexperienced soldiers not yet comfortable with the realities of modern warfare. As *The Times* reported in its history of the war, the morning of the 20th "was the first time that the regiment had actually been under fire, and the men had not yet learned the necessity of taking all possible shelter. After the explosion of each shell they ran out to pick up bits as souvenirs." There was allegedly nothing that their officers could do to keep them under cover, and as a consequence several men were hit.³⁸ Frank "Mayo" Lind, however, wrote that it was "greatly to the credit of Newfoundland, the way our boys behaved under fire. One would think they were old soldiers."³⁹ Whatever one's assessment of the regiment's first experience of battle, they learned from experience and were adaptable to the realities of their new surroundings. They learned to keep their heads down, and continuously found new ways to outmanoeuvre the enemy, as one junior NCO wrote:

[A Turk] will stand up in his dugout in broad daylight, exposed from his waist up, and give you a chance to pot him, so that his mate can get you. We used to lose men that way first. As soon as we aimed, the second sniper turned his machine gun on us and got our man. Now we've found a better way. We stick a helmet up on top of a rifle just above the parapet, and fire from another part of the trench.⁴⁰

By the time they left the Peninsula, they had not only tasted war for the first time, but they had gained important skills, as well as having mastered the lingo of the front lines.⁴¹

As Jonathan Vance has explained, comradeship transcends the realm of friends; it is a bond experienced only by those "joined in a common fate."⁴² Soldiers' accounts tell of beleaguered men, exhausted by disease, prolonged anxiety, poor diet, lack of water, and even injury staying in the front lines as long as possible for fear of abandoning their regiment. Those who had to leave did so with lament, as John Gallishaw expressed after being severely wounded:

I hated to leave those men of the First Battalion, who welcomed me so heartily. I was glad at the thought of getting back to the States again; but it was strange to think that I was no longer a soldier, that my days of fighting were over. An inexpressible sadness came over me as I bade good-bye to them. Some of their names I do not know, but they were all my friends. There are others like them in various hospitals in England and Egypt; and also in a shady, tree-dotted ravine on the Peninsula of Gallipoli there is a row of graves, where also are my friends of the First Newfoundland Regiment.⁴³

For many of those who survived the Gallipoli Campaign, a common fate was to be met in the muddy wasteland of the Somme. Gallipoli was their baptism of fire. Beaumont Hamel was hell on earth.

GALLIPOLI AND NEWFOUNDLAND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

An array of recent scholarship has focused on the ways in which nations and communities remembered and memorialized the Great War. Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1976) has emerged as a landmark approach to studying war and remembrance, and the types of questions he introduced have been adapted to the Canadian context by Jonathan Vance in his critically acclaimed *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (1995).⁴⁴ However, little academic research has examined the Newfoundlanders' collective memory of World War One, and nothing has focussed on the Gallipoli Campaign.⁴⁵ The construction of a collective memory of participation in the Gallipoli Campaign began while the Newfoundlanders were still on the shores of Turkey. It was adapted in light of changing circumstances and perpetuated throughout the Great War and interwar period, and continues to resonate in the province's current memory in print and song.

When exploring war and remembrance, it is worthwhile to make a general separation between "private" and "official" constructions of collective memory. Private memory consists of personal, individual reflections, unpublished or published, such as diaries, literary perspectives, poetry, and unofficial histories. Official memory is that directly created or fostered by the state through press releases, official histories, government-funded memorials, and the like. In some ways this line may be arbitrary, as private memory may be shaped by official remembrance

and official memory may be a product of individual initiatives or based on unofficial resources. Nevertheless, both play roles in the construction of collective memory and national "myths."⁴⁶

Personal accounts produced by members of the Newfoundland Regiment appeared during the war and began to shape the ways in which the colony would remember the Gallipoli Campaign. Letters sent home from the front gave a sense of life on the front and the concerns of the soldiers, although they did have to take into account the censors.⁴⁷ Unpublished diaries kept alive personal histories of the event within families. Furthermore, Newfoundland soldiers' memoirs and accounts were published almost immediately after the regiment departed the Dardanelles. The first, John Gallishaw's *Trenching at Gallipoli: The Personal Narrative of a Newfoundlander with the Ill-Fated Dardanelles Expedition*, appeared in print in 1916 and provided readers with a realistic, nationalistic (distinguishing Newfoundlanders from other Allied troops), and somewhat frank account of the activities at Suvla Bay. Although his testimony could not be considered idealized, it did stress the importance of respecting the efforts of the regiment on the Peninsula: "The men our regiment lost, although they gladly fought a helpless fight, have not died in vain. Constantinople has not been taken, and the Gallipoli campaign is fast becoming a memory, but things our men did there will not soon be forgotten."⁴⁸ So long as Newfoundlanders remembered the campaign and took pride in the regiment's efforts, the sacrifices could not be considered futile. Their soldiers had put the island on the map for the world to see and respect.

That stated, the experience also raised the soldiers' need to educate other imperial soldiers about their distinctiveness from the Canadians. On the voyage to England (the *Florizel* having joined a trans-Atlantic convoy) and while training in the Mother Country, members of the regiment had often been confused with their colonial neighbours. This consolidated the resolve of men like Owen Steele to make sure that such improper classifications were corrected as soon as possible: "Apart from the fact that we are much prouder of our distinctiveness as Newfoundlanders, the Canadians generally have been getting a bad name for themselves." Certainly members of the regiment could make the distinction between themselves and their Canadian cousins, but the need remained to consolidate their autonomy and to ensure that regimental successes were recognized as Newfoundland's alone.⁴⁹

Newfoundland newspapers also played a crucial role in constructing a collective memory of the Gallipoli Campaign. Based in St. John's, both *The Evening Telegram* and *The Daily News* kept Newfoundlanders informed about "their boys" at Gallipoli. There were, of course, no foreign correspondents for the newspapers at that time, so messages tended to be somewhat delayed. It was two days after the regiment landed at Suvla Bay that *The Evening Telegram* dispelled rumours the regiment had been sent for garrison duty at Khartoum, although it still did not know in which of the "two fields of conflict" on Gallipoli the Newfoundlanders would be fighting.⁵⁰ Letters from soldiers on the peninsula were often published in their

entirety in the local papers, sometimes appearing several months after the fact. For instance, a letter from the Dardanelles dated 30 September 1915 was published in the local press on 5 November:

We went into the trenches on Sunday night and came out again on Monday night. Just before we were supposed to leave the Turks tried to attack the right of the line but were driven back with heavy losses. We had to stand to, and were in the bombardment. I can tell you it was very exciting for six hours or more. What with shells bursting and the rapid firing of rifles one has no time to think of anything. However it was a nice little christening, and now when it really comes to us we won't mind it.⁵¹

This type of depiction, featuring the use of words like "exciting" instead of "anxious" or "tense," compounded notions of the expeditionary force as a great, brave adventure. The last sentence provided an early glimpse of what became a postwar hallmark of reflections on the Gallipoli experience — that of a "baptism" or "christening" of fire that prepared the Newfoundlanders for subsequent events.

In addition, the newspapers were used to disseminate official correspondence on the regiment that must have stirred colonial pride. The *Evening Telegram* published a letter from the Colonial Secretary dated 10 December 1915 that offered "High Praise for Newfoundlanders At the Front." It read as follows:

His Excellency the Governor is in receipt of a letter from Mr. H.F. Batterbee, of the Colonial Office, Downing Street, in which, amongst other things, he makes reference to the men of our Regiment in the following terms:—

We hear magnificent accounts from all sides of the manner in which the men are conducting themselves at the front in Gallipoli. I hear privately that even the Australians speak well of them, and that there can be no higher praise.

I have no doubt that the people of Newfoundland will be glad to hear such high praise of our gallant boys.⁵²

Such positive rhetoric must have fostered a growing sense of national pride. In newspapers, it was coupled with recruitment advertisements aimed at compelling young Newfoundland men who had yet to enlist to do so as quickly as possible, so they too could join the ranks of the island's "gallant boys" and bring pride to the colony.

The function of the newspapers was not only to convey positive updates on the regiment. Daily casualty lists kept the close-knit Newfoundland community abreast of reports as to who was wounded or had died overseas. Nevertheless, unpleasant news was often accompanied by glowing tributes to fallen soldiers. For example, when *The Evening Telegram* reported that 1369 Lance Corporal Alonzo John Gallishaw of St. John's had been "dangerously wounded" on 23 October, it concluded with the statement that Gallishaw was "a very popular young man here,

aged 22 years, and one of exceptional ability."⁵³ Furthermore, families shared with the newspapers letters from military officials and soldiers at the front announcing the most troubling of news. The deaths of loved ones were shared with the community.⁵⁴ As Jay Winter has explained, "Grief is a state of mind; bereavement a condition. Both are mediated by mourning, a set of acts and gestures through which survivors express grief and pass through stages of bereavement. Many of these moments are lived within families supported by social networks."⁵⁵ Casualty lists and personal letters forwarded to newspaper editors by grieving yet proud families made sacrifices at the front both personal and communal losses. In making the transition from the personal to public realms, newspapers allowed the community to mourn along with families, while at the same time illustrating the noble context in which sacrifices were made.

During the First World War, journalists played a key role in constructing Newfoundland's collective memory of the Gallipoli Campaign. In the interwar period, this torch was taken up by amateur historians writing and presenting "unofficial" histories of the regiment at war. Jonathan Vance, in describing Canadian memory and the Great War, described a "High Diction version of the war as a Victorian conflict" that emerged in the postwar period. Although no one wanted to wallow in the horrors of war, society could not pretend that it did not happen. Therefore, the solution was "to carefully construct a version of the war experience that showed consideration for the sensibilities of Canadians but also satisfied their desire to keep the war in the forefront of public consciousness." As an outgrowth of this agenda, the unofficial histories lacked a critical element and did not test the validity of myths, merely giving them a local flavour in a manner that was "overwhelmingly positive and focussed on cooperation, unity, and a determination to put the cause ahead of everything."⁵⁶ The Newfoundland case lends itself to similar conclusions.

In postwar Newfoundland, "unofficial" historical accounts took several forms, from the soldiers' memoirs already discussed, to public presentations and regimental histories, to articles in veterans' magazines. No one painted the landscape of Gallipoli as an ordered Victorian battlefield, nor did anyone pretend that the conditions soldiers encountered were anything less than hellish. Nevertheless, the accounts lent themselves to glorifying the actions of the individual soldiers and their collective embodiment of Newfoundland's characteristics and dedication to Empire and kin. For example, Richard Cramm's *The First Five Hundred: Being a Historical Sketch of the Military Operations of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in Gallipoli and on the Western Front during the Great War (1914-1918) together with the individual military records and photographs where obtainable of the men of the first contingent, known as "The First Five Hundred", or "The Blue Puttees"* (published in 1921) does just what its title claims. The actions of the regiment are described in brief, in the case of Gallipoli relying heavily on the anecdotes and testimonies of soldiers themselves and concluding with excerpts from a Blue

Puttee's personal diary. The last 150 pages provide brief biographies and photos of the first Newfoundlanders to enlist. With the faces of the soldiers adorning much of the book, the author did not downplay their contributions to the attainment of Allied victory and Newfoundland's burgeoning international identity. In *The Veteran Magazine* (the oracle of the Great War Veterans' Association of Newfoundland) and on the pages of *Newfoundland Quarterly*, veterans and citizens fulfilled the need to chronicle the deeds of the regiment overseas through the interwar period. Despite the political and economic difficulties experienced by Newfoundland after the war, largely a product of the massive war debt assumed by the colony, wartime sacrifices were treated with respect and memory of deceased soldiers was sustained in tributes to the regiment's accomplishments. The tone was overwhelmingly positive. An official history did not appear until 1964, and when it did arrive it maintained the positive flavour of the originals, placing a premium on success and omitting unsavoury actions of the regiment.⁵⁷

Jonathan Vance has explained that "the memory of the war was not found only on the non-fiction shelves of library and bookshop." Poetry and prose also shaped and reflected the predominant myths of the wartime experience. Literature was used to convey the emotional and psychological landscapes of the Great War, placing a premium on "tone and feeling" and not "meter, construction, or any other technical aspect."⁵⁸ For the first time in recent memory, the colony and its people had to deal with deaths of local sons on far away battlefields. Authors and poets gave meaning to these sacrifices and sought to preserve the memories of those who had fallen.

Fictional narratives based on the Gallipoli Campaign appeared from time to time during and after the war, reminding Newfoundlanders of the accomplishments of their native sons overseas. Authored under the pseudonym "Bona Vista," "Snipers Sniped: A Tale of the Newfoundlanders in Gallipoli" is a clear example of myth-making and identity-building through prose. The opening scenario featured a sniping party of one Australian and two British soldiers on a small hill near Suvla. The famished Australian was in awe at the British "chaps" eating fried horse-mackerel, and he asked them where "in the name of all beautiful things" they got the fish.

One of the Newfoundlanders gave it to us. They are born fishermen and no sooner they arrived here, than some of them set to work fishing.... The Newfoundlanders have their own ways of finding and catching fish. I saw some of them going out a few nights ago in a despatch [*sic*] launch with a huge net which they had made out of cocoanut [*sic*] rope.

Hence, readers saw the local identity of their island of fishermen transposed overseas, marked by ingenuity and garnering respect from other soldiers. After the Australian and British men discussed their emotional and psychological fatigue, the narrator introduced sniping as "special work done by the best regimental shots

and is as interesting as it is dangerous," and explained that those "soldiers assigned to sniping are considered as being honored by their officers." At this point the heroes of the story, members of B Company, First Newfoundland Regiment, joined the small sniping party. While the Australian and Brits spent their time talking about their "inter-empire party" and their need to return to camp with a successful report, a Newfoundlander shot one of the enemy. This was considered beginner's luck until two "Terra Novans" killed another Turkish sniper. "By the wicked devil!" shouted the Australian, "these Newfoundlanders are enchanted. Why, they have sniped all the snipers!"⁵⁹ Thus, by the end of the short story the Newfoundlanders had proven their quality as disciplined, sharp-shooting, effective soldiers and are praised by none other than the English and Australian themselves. The soldiers had not abandoned their colony's identity; rather, the author illustrated how they had made it internationally renowned.⁶⁰

As was the case with war prose, there was a flourishing of amateur poetry in Newfoundland during the Great War that continued into the 1930s. The regiment's experiences at Gallipoli were either incorporated into or provided the main focus for many poems.⁶¹ As Jonathan Vance found in Canadian war poetry of the period, poems convey an intense feeling of local pride, an enduring imperial tie, and strong religious convictions. In these ways they helped to mould Newfoundland's collective memory of the effort in powerful and emotive ways.

The ANZAC soldiers' disdain for the arrogance of the English officers at Gallipoli has settled into Australian collective consciousness, but poetry would suggest that the Newfoundland regiment harboured no similar feelings of angst towards Britain. The experiences and sacrifices made on the Turkish peninsula were cloaked in heroic rhetoric that espoused the paramountcy of the colony's imperial ties and the majesty of the Empire. In the "high diction" manner described by Jonathan Vance, many poems depicted the soldiers as medieval knights, noble warriors, their sacred moments of sacrifice made with a purity of heart and soul.⁶² In one poem the Newfoundland Regiment is christened "The Knights of Avalon," and in another they are simply champions of "the old Red, White and Blue!"⁶³ H.H. Pittman's "Our Heroes" (1930) saw no difference between the needs of the Empire and the needs of Newfoundlanders. He stressed the heroism and the adventure of the war, and upheld the traditional ideals of war and sacrifice as the "noble" fight and "noble" death. Led by the bugle call, the "Brave sons of Newfoundland" answered the call of their blood kin and bounded across the Atlantic, their "pulses eager" as they "sped to aid the Mother." In Pittman's poem, the "fathers" of the Newfoundland soldiers had fought in the legendary victories of Agincourt, Trafalgar, and Waterloo, and as sons of the Empire the regiment was continuing this legacy by picking up the sword at "Suvla and Caribou." England had not changed, the English flag was still Newfoundland's "creed," and thus every need of the motherland was also their own.⁶⁴ For amateur poet Arthur Wheeler, reflecting on the first of the Newfoundlanders to give their lives at Suvla, those who had died in

their efforts "to save the Empire" were the "country's dearest pride" and were "heroes all!"⁶⁵ By the virtue of a soldier resting at Beaumont Hamel or "among the glorious Anzac slain" at Gallipoli, poets promised that the memory of the fallen would live on in perpetual glory.⁶⁶

Jay Winter has explained that some wartime and interwar prose and poetry fused "new" and "old" genres of writing that did not inherently reject "traditional languages about the dead" but "reformulate and reinvigorate older tropes about loss of life in wartime." Protest was aimed at the lying and self-deception of imaginary romance in war, and some poets "recast older romantic traditions to express at one and the same time the dignity of the men who had fought and the degradation to which they had been subjected."⁶⁷ If Dan Carrol's "Caribou Hill" was a heroic, traditional tribute (see appendix B), Robert G. MacDonald's "Romance in the Twentieth Century" did not conform to such lofty depictions of battlefield glory, furnishing a realistic image of the less than inspiring conditions at Gallipoli in which the unseasoned Allied soldiers were fighting.

These lads on Gallipoli's ridges
From the Isles of the South, from the Austral Continent;
(Can't you see the Maori touch in their dark faces, the little limbs, the flash of the eye?
Has it struck you that some of these others were keeping sheep little more than a year ago?)
Lads from the Isle of the North — you can almost see the roll of the fishermen in their walk to this day;
Half mad with heat, half blind with the glare, tormented by flies and vermin;
Clothed in stained and worn khaki garments.

However, MacDonald still managed to find solace in the divine mission of the soldiers:

Do you know what they are doing? — here's a romance for you —
They have come from the ends of the earth, from the corners of the globe,
And their work is — to wrest the Holy Shrine of Saint Sophia from the Infidel,
To take possession in the name of Jesus Christ of the Holy Sepulchre,
To drive the Turk out of Europe.
This is Romance in the Twentieth Century!⁶⁸

In this instance it was not for the Empire the Newfoundlanders were fighting, but the Christian sanctity of the Western world itself. Since the adventure in the Dardanelles was a pan-Christian crusade, an ecumenical spirit could be fostered in Newfoundland that bridged internal Catholic-Protestant and denominational cleavages.

Poems about the regiment at Gallipoli relied heavily upon Christian imagery and the notion of a crusade against the Turkish infidels. Tributes to the fallen were infused with a sense that Christ had accompanied the soldiers on the battlefield and the belief that their eternal salvation had been secured by the nature of their actions. A.M.P.'s "In Memory of Gallipoli," written at Suvla Bay, paid homage to the deceased and did not feel that the sacrifices were wasted in a lost cause. Instead, he argued that the deceased may have even chosen "the better way/ To part with life, and for God and Right,/On the field of honour fight." Having fought as heroes and died as men, the dead soldiers were raised by the poet to heaven where they could rest in the peace of God's glory.⁶⁹ Dan Carroll's "In Memory Of Private Michael John Blyde" told the story of the youthful, "blue eyed drummer of the corps" who had led the Newfoundlanders into battle and now lay dead at Suvla. The author pleaded with the Lord that the deceased be granted "eternal peace" and "the crown of warrior souls," at the same time consoling his mother to wipe away her tears and lift her head with assurance that "He sleeps among the brave,/The first, the fairest of the sons,/That Terra Nova gave!"⁷⁰ For families of Newfoundlanders who died at Gallipoli, condolence was offered in the twin glories of the pride of the colony and the glory of God. They were not victims. In the eyes of Goldsmith they were martyrs for Newfoundland:

The greatest gift that a land can prize
The young who die so the Land may live,
Nor willed it otherwise.
Die? they were weary, God gave them rest.
Fall? they are raised for evermore!
Whether on Beaumont Hamel's crest
Or "Caribou Hill" by Turkish shore,
Never their glory can fade or fall
Who have won the greatest Cross of all,
Nor ever their country dies!⁷¹

The memory of the First Newfoundland Regiment's successes and sacrifices at Gallipoli were thus preserved in non-fiction, prose and poetry. Collective memory, however, extends beyond the written word. As historian David Facey-Crowther has explained, "war cemeteries and war monuments are tangible symbols that bear witness to the fallen soldier's deeds." The military cemetery and the cenotaph become "shrine[s] for national worship" and places of remembrance.⁷² In terms of edifying the soldiers' efforts in concrete and bronze, the Gallipoli Peninsula is not a key site in the landscape of Newfoundland's physical memory of the war for several reasons.

The forty-nine members of the Newfoundland Regiment who died as a result of the Gallipoli campaign do not rest in a common cemetery on the shores of the Adriatic. Their headstones are found in ten cemeteries, ranging from Suvla Bay to

France (see appendix C). Seven men who died on medical ships were buried at sea and are memorialized at Beaumont Hamel, relatively accessible to Newfoundlanders, a function of both geography and cultural variables. For those lonely souls who rest in Egypt, Malta and Mudros (hardly locations that Newfoundlanders would associate with their war effort), few visitors must gaze upon their headstones each year. Only twenty-seven Newfoundland soldiers are buried in cemeteries at Suvla Bay and Cape Helles. The wide dispersal of regimental headstones resultant from the Gallipoli experience does not create a natural point of pilgrimage in Turkey on which Newfoundlanders can converge to remember the campaign.

Grave sites bear personal monuments and speak of individual sacrifice, while cenotaphs and war memorials are collective symbols speaking for communities as a whole. In the decades following the First World War, the Newfoundland government embarked on a project of constructing an "official" memory of the war effort by erecting war memorials in Newfoundland and overseas. The Sergeant's Memorial, near Church Hill in St. John's, was unveiled on Memorial Day, 1921, in honour of "the memory of the gallant sons of Newfoundland whose bodies are now resting under the soil of Gallipoli, Flanders and France."⁷³ In the interwar years, official memorials were erected to trace the "Trail of the Caribou" from Newfoundland to the Western Front. These bronze statues of caribou atop rock piles commemorate Newfoundland's wartime accomplishments.⁷⁴ However, there is no such marker on the Gallipoli Peninsula to serve Newfoundland's collective memory or to act as a point of pilgrimage. Evidently, the Turkish shores on which the Newfoundland regiment had experienced its first taste of war and suffered its first casualties were too isolated, and the losses too few to garner a similar national monument. As fate would have it, the only references to the Campaign commemorated on national memorials are found in St. John's and at Beaumont Hamel.⁷⁵ In St. John's, the reference would preserve the memory of the Gallipoli campaign, if only in name, for the local community. The reference at Beaumont Hamel would also keep the memory of the campaign alive when Newfoundlanders' visited their most natural point of postwar pilgrimage. Beaumont Hamel exemplified symbolically the realities of what the Gallipoli campaign had become: a "baptism of fire" that, while an important experience of initiation, paled in comparison to the regiment's later accomplishments in northwestern Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

Colonel Hadow, when asked to characterize his initial impression of the Newfoundlanders in December 1915, described them as:

A very magnificent material, young, inexperienced, but all out to learn which they did. And trench warfare in Gallipoli was a splendid training ground. But of course

none of us had experienced yet the big battle and that came afterwards in France on the 1st of July, the battle of the Somme.⁷⁶

The primary focus of Newfoundland's collective memory of the Great War will forever be on its regiment's legendary valour at Beaumont Hamel. It was here at the Somme in 1916 that Newfoundlanders joined together in a united imperial thrust "over the top" and died together in a tragic slaughter of almost incomprehensible proportions. While the Gallipoli campaign provided the ANZACs with a nation-building experience on the bloody beaches at ANZAC Cove, the timing of the Newfoundland Regiment's arrival and the nature of their activities on the Gallipoli peninsula were not conducive to the creation of a comparable national myth. There was Caribou Hill, of course, and the much lauded rearguard position during the successful evacuations at Suvla and Helles, but the campaign was ultimately a failure, whatever successes and praise the Newfoundlanders might have found there. The Newfoundland blood that was spilled was not shed in a united colonial thrust during a major Allied offensive. Disease and conditions at Gallipoli caused more casualties than did Turkish fire, and a successful role during a withdrawal lacks the romantic mystique of an offensive, even if the latter ends in tragedy.

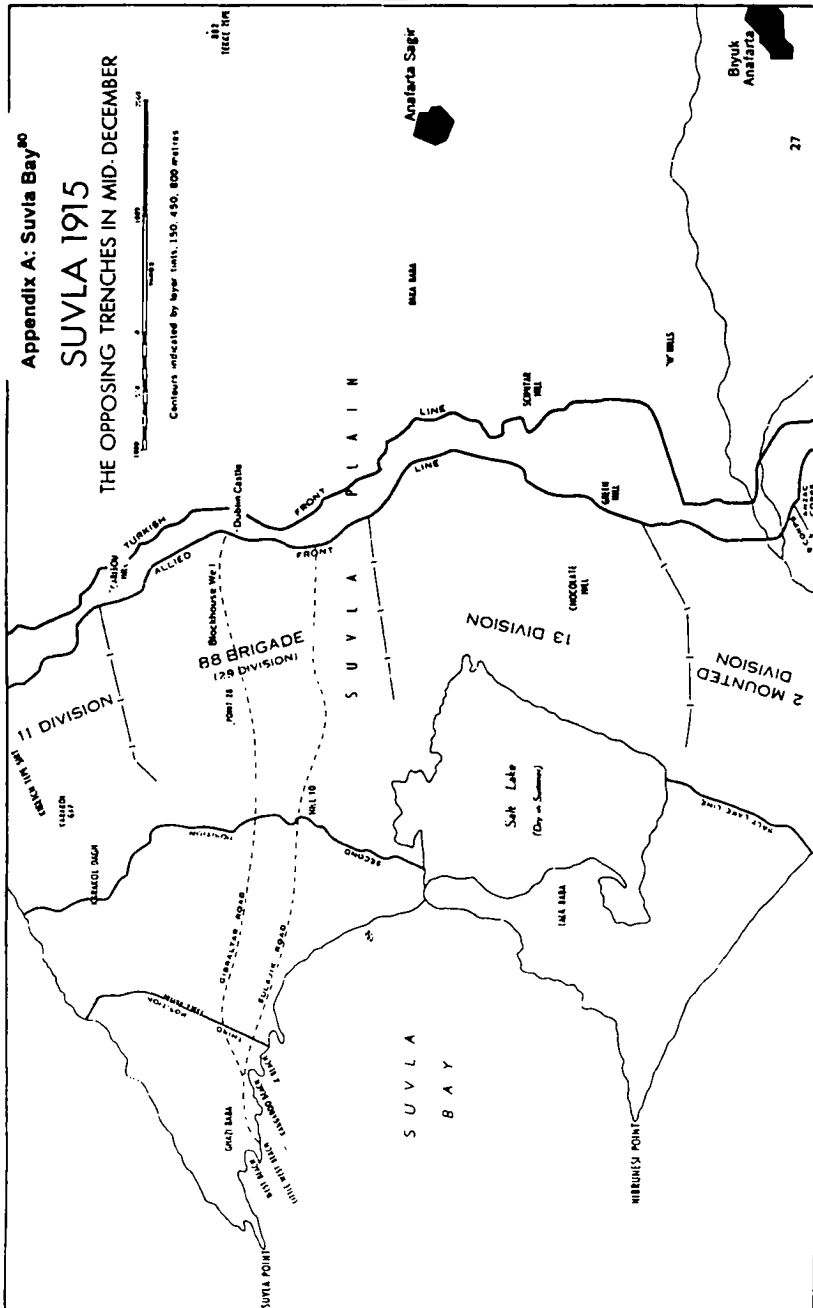
In light of the tragedy that befell the colony on 1 July 1916, however, the regiment's 'baptism of fire' at Gallipoli became crucial to the construction of Beaumont Hamel as a meaningful and heroic attack by competent, disciplined, and battle-hardened troops. If the Newfoundland Regiment was composed of warriors with natural ability, as narratives depicted them to be as early as Gallipoli, then there could be no question that valour, not inexperience nor lack of skill, marked that tragic day on the Somme. Framed in the context of the Gallipolitan experience, where the Newfoundlanders had proven their worth as first-rate soldiers, "nothing could have been finer" than the bravery and gallantry they went on to display in France.

* * *

If one looks closely, there are nascent indications that the memory of the regiment's participation at Gallipoli lives on. At a recent meeting of the Western Front Association in St. John's, calls were heard for the erection of a caribou monument at Gallipoli to join the six that trace the "Trail of the Caribou" from St. John's through northwestern Europe. Artist Wallace Ryan, the grandson of "Blue Puttee" Lance Corporal John J. Ryan, is in the process of creating a comic book on a young Newfoundland soldier at Gallipoli. In song, the last album of the popular Newfoundland band Great Big Sea included the track "Recruiting Sergeant," a traditional ballad that tells the story of the Newfoundland regiment during the Great War. In Kevin Major's 1995 fictional account about Newfoundlanders on the

Western Front entitled *No Man's Land*, nightmares about the sudden loss of a friend at Gallipoli serve as a preface for what the main character is about to experience.¹ Although the First Newfoundland Regiment's participation in the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force will forever be overshadowed by the tragedy that befell both the soldiers and the colony at Beaumont Hamel, Newfoundlanders have not completely forgotten their first foray into modern warfare on the bloody beaches and in the dreary trenches at Gallipoli.

Appendix A: Suvla Bay²



Appendix B: "Caribou Hill," Dan Carroll³

Somewhere beside the Dardanelles,
Our countrymen in arms,
Work valiant deeds whose praises ring
Above the field's alarms.

And round our Island coast to-day,
'Tis read with hearts athrill
And rising patriotic pride,
How Donnelly kept the Hill.

With eight whose grit the Sultan's horde
Defied, and whose renown
In song and story through the years
Emblazoned shall go down.

How when attacked in front and flank
They showed their Moslem foes,
The spirit that sustained their sires
Upon the frozen floes.

Brave Spirit of the Night of Stress!
Whose inspiration cheers
And nerves the Newfoundlander's heart,
When deadliest danger nears.

Spirit, of Storm and Starlight born,
The message of whose birth
The heralds of Aurora flashed
Over their native earth!

That spirit who has erstwhile reigned
O'er barrel, pan and bridge,
Stayed with our heroes thro' the night
On Gallipoli ridge.

So dawning found them holding still
The baffled Turk at bay,
And evening saw them on the hill,
The victors of the day!

Night falls; but hissing bullets rain
 Around their dugout yet,
And one of that undaunted band
 Lies wounded unto death.

But hark! a call from out the night,
 That tells relief is near —
Then even the bleeding soldier's voice
 Swells in the ringing cheer.

Another night, another day,
 Their rifles' deadly load
Poured death into the Turkish works
 Wher'er a turban showed.

And yet another night descends —
 The foe has stronger grown —
And fiercer grows his sniper's fire,
 They're closing ten to one!

"Steady!" — Along the fronting ridge
 The Turkish line expands;
"Steady!" the young Lieutenant's voice
 Rings to the Newfoundlands.

They waver not, with surer aim
 The certain bullets go,
"Steady!" each well timed volley tells
 More deadly on the foe.

Grim grows the soldiers' brow and fierce,
 With calculating eye
He marks the intervening space
 And fast the missiles fly.

Was that a cheer? Upon the breeze
 Familiar notes arise;
It is the Tipperary song,
 They're coming! Our brave boys!

Then soon along the captured height
Our Island soldiers formed;
The ground was theirs, they'd won the fight,
The Turkish hold was stormed.

"Advance and fortify!" They did,
And as the work went on,
A title for their prize they coined;
It seemed that everyone

Thought of his native hills afar
To which their hearts beat true,
And in the flush of victory,
They named it Caribou.

Here's to the men, whose valor is
Thy glory, Newfoundland!
Here's three times three to Donnelly
And those of his command!

While we with reverential hearts
Extend to those who gave
Their lives, by Caribou's famed Hill,
The honour due the brave.

Appendix C: Soldiers of the Newfoundland Regiment Killed During the Gallipoli Campaign and their Burial Sites⁴

Burial Location	Cemetery	Regt. #	Name	Date of Death
Gallipoli Peninsula	Azmak Cemetery (Suvla Bay)	1144	E. Bewey	1 December 1915
		1328	J.M. Brown	3 December 1915
		44	J. Dunphy	12 December 1915
		625	J. Ellsworth	4 November 1915
		295	J. Fitzgerald	1 December 1915
		1095	J.J. Hynes	18 November 1915
		309	G.S. Knight	2 December 1915
		165	S.T. Lodge	1 October 1915
		975	W.J. Murphy	9 October 1915
		1189	F.C. Roper	27 November 1915
		1017	J.J. Tibbo	25 October 1915
			Capt C. Wighton	25 October 1915
	Hill 10 Cemetery (Sulva Bay)	280	M.J. Blyde	26 September 1915
		776	D.M. Carew	7 October 1915
		339	H.E. Ebsary	1 December 1915
		179	W.F. Hardy	23 September 1915
		1283	S. Hiscock	4 November 1915
		902	H.W. McWhirter	22 September 1915
		383	F. Roberts	23 October 1915
		243	J. Squibb	19 October 1915
	Lancaster Landing Cemetery (Cape Helles)	1354	R. Morris	7 January 1916
		1066	G. Simms	30 December 1915

Egypt	Cairo War Cemetery	38	J. Ebsary	23 September 1915
		3	E.J. Hoare	11 July 1916
		6	A.A. Sellers	19 August 1915
	Chatby Cemetery, Alexandria	912	F. Columbus	Wounded 29 September 1915 Died 9 October 1915
		82	W.F. Collins	28 October 1915
		1302	W. Duke	26 October 1915
		582	J.P. McDonnell	29 October 1915
Malta	Addolorata Cemetery	724	B.W. Freebairn	23 October 1915
		555	P. Holden	Wounded 14 December 1915 Died 29 January 1916
	Pieta Cemetery	886	R. Fowlow	23 November 1915
	East Military Cemetery	271	G.R. Clarke	24 November 1915
		407	W.L. Murphy	29 September 1915
		276	R.K. Watts	27 September 1915
Mudros	Portianos Cemetery	1312	I. Furey	7 December 1915
		99	J. Myrick	10 December 1915

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France	Beaumont Hamel [These men were buried at sea]	760	J. Hardy	Wounded and died 14 October 1915
		107	W.P. Miller	Wounded and died 17 October 1915
		696	J. Murphy	Wounded 4 November 1915 Died 7 November 1915
		1342	F.C. Somerton	Wounded 20 November 1915 Died 25 November 1915
		1259	M. Soper	Wounded and died 27 September 1915
		880	W. Tucker	Wounded 12 October Died 25 October 1915
		1065	J.F. Viscount	Wounded 25 October 1915 Died 30 October 1915

Unknown Graves:

Green Hill Cemetery (Gallipoli) - 2 Newfoundlanders "Known Only to God"

Azmak Cemetery (Gallipoli) - 3 Newfoundlanders "Known Only to God"

In addition to this list of dead, 80 members of the Newfoundland Regiment were wounded at Gallipoli.

¹On 20 October 1998, Joy Cave [author of *What Became of Corporal Pittman?* (Portugal Cove, NF: Breakwater Books, 1976), an intriguing account of the Beaumont Hamel catastrophe] gave a talk on the Newfoundland Regiment and the First World War. Her husband made the point that there should be a seventh caribou memorial erected at Gallipoli. Jason Churchill, e-mail to the author, 29 October 1998; Wallace Ryan, "The Narrow Way: Publication in Development," http://enterprise.newcomm.net/arts97/multi/Dnarrow_.htm, last accessed 23 October 1998; Great Big Sea, *Play*, Warner Music Group, 1998, which features the lyrics "They crossed the broad Atlantic in the brave Florizel/And on the sands of Suvla, they entered into hell,/And on those bloody beaches, the first of them fell..." and in the chorus "You'll fight the Hun in Flanders, and at Gallipoli..."; Major, *No Man's Land* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1995).

²Map drawn by Sergeant E.H. Ellwand, Department of National Defence (Canada), published in Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander*. The placement of Caribou Hill in a map in Cramm, *The First Five Hundred*, 39, is peculiar.

³Poem written while the Newfoundland Regiment was still on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Published in the St. John's *Evening Telegram*, 22 December 1915, 5; reprinted in *Newfoundland Quarterly* 15/4 (April 1916), 8.

⁴Compiled from Parsons, *Pilgrimage*, 26-7.

Notes

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²Reproduced in Elizabeth Russell Miller, *Arms and the Newfoundlander: Poetry of the Great War*. (St. John's: H. Cuff, 1994), 45.

³On the development and perpetuation of the 'Anzac legend,' see C.E.W. Bean, *The Story of Anzac: Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* vols. 1-2 (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1921, 1924), and Alistair Thomson, "The Anzac legend: Exploring national myth and memory in Australia." In *The Myths We Live By*, Eds. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London: Routledge, 1990), 73-82.

⁴G.W.L. Nicholson. *The Fighting Newfoundlander: A History of The Royal Newfoundland Regiment*. (St. John's: Government of Newfoundland, 1964); P.R. O'Brien. "The Newfoundland Patriotic Association and the Administration of the War Effort, 1914-18," M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), 1982; Andrew D. Parsons. "Morale and Cohesion in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 1914-18." M.A. thesis, MUN, 1995; C. Sharpe. "The Race of Honour: An Analysis of Enlistments and Casualties in the Armed Forces of Newfoundland 1914-18." *Newfoundland Studies* 4/1 (1988), 27-55. Papers delivered to a conference on Newfoundland and the First World War, held in St. John's in the fall of 1998, further developed these themes, as well as other social, political, economic and cultural aspects of the wartime experience.

⁵Parsons. "Morale and Cohesion." 8; David Facey-Crowther, Memorial University of Newfoundland, e-mails to the author, 14 September and 18 October 1998; Jason Churchill, e-mails to the author, 17 and 29 October 1998.

⁶Between 1892 and 1914, several local Newfoundland churches sponsored uniformed youth organizations that combined religious instruction with military training aimed at the moral and physical development of youth based on a British military model. First came the Church Lads Brigade (formed in 1892 by the Church of England), followed by the Catholic Cadet Corps (1896), the Methodist Guards (1900) and the Presbyterian Newfoundland Highlanders (1907). (The Legion of Frontiersmen, a non-denominational organization, was established during the Boer War and had established two bases in Newfoundland by 1914.) Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, 92-7. Major A. Riley, the second-in-command at

Gallipoli, wrote that when war broke out, these 'religious' brigades were "all formed together, intermixed, but the company commanders were one from each religion to start with. That didn't last after a few days at Gallipoli." CBC interview of Major Riley, tape 1, NAC, RG 41, Vol. 18, File 6, CBC-Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 1.

⁷Richard Cramm. *The First Five Hundred: Being a Historical Sketch of the Military Operations of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in Gallipoli and on the Western Front during the Great War (1914-1918) together with the individual military records and photographs where obtainable of the men of the first contingent, known as "The First Five Hundred", or "The Blue Puttees."* (Albany, NY: C.F. Williams, 1921), 19-27; Nicholson. *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, 114-55.

⁸Philip J. Haythornthwaite. *Gallipoli 1915: Frontal Assault on Turkey*. (London: Osprey, 1991); Nicholson. *Fighting Newfoundlander*, 167-8. On 29th Division see Captain Stair Gillon. *The Story of 29th Division: A Record of Gallant Deeds*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1925). Pages 1-72 discuss the formation of the division and efforts at Gallipoli.

⁹British 29th Division consisted of 86th Brigade (2nd Royal Fusiliers; 1st Lancashire Fusiliers; 1st Royal Dublin Fusiliers; 16th Middlesex Regiment), 87th Brigade (2nd South Wales Borderers; 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers; 1st Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers; 1st Border Regiment) and 88th Brigade (4th Worcestershire Regiment; 1st Essex Regiment; 2nd Hampshire Regiment; and the 1st Newfoundland Regiment beginning in September 1915). The 88th Brigade was originally formed from contingents that had served in India, Burma, China and Mauritius. See Gillon, *The Story of 29th Division*, 254-6.

¹⁰Nicholson, *Fighting Newfoundlander*, 168-9. The manner in which Kitchener openly informed the regiment of his intentions was described in a "Letter from One of Our Boys" at Badajos Barracks, Wellington Lines, Aldershot, 13 Aug 1915, published in *The Evening Telegram*, 2 Sept 1915, 8: "Well, the inspection came off last Thursday and we were one of the best there. In all there was about forty thousand troops there. We were the last in the line and Kitchener had a long talk to us; he said 'you've just come down from Scotland, haven't you?' He seemed to know all about our movements, and then, the surprise came when he said, 'well, I'm sending you off to the Dardanelles and be prepared for a quick move.' The Colonel and Frank Summers have gone to the mobilization depot at once. We are getting our ammunition and boots to-morrow and our field dressings. As you know we will wear Pith Helmets and shorts and khaki shirts and socks, we will get that in the Dardanelles. Well, I suppose the move will come in a couple of weeks. R." Although not mentioned in regimental histories, the regular soldiers of the 29th apparently did not receive the Newfoundlanders with open arms. See Martin Middlebrook. *The First Day on the Somme 1 July 1916*. (London: Penguin, 1971), 26-7.

¹¹Great Britain, War Office, Library: Royal Newfoundland Regiment, War diaries of the Newfoundland Regiment, Copy at National Archives of Canada (NAC), MG 40 G 1, Microfilm, B-2302 (hereafter "War Diary"), September 1915; The Times. *History of the War*. XIV (London: "The Times," 1918), 187. A map of the Suvla front is included as Appendix A.

¹²War Diary, September, October and November 1915. As Nicholson explained, "Essex Ravine" was a gully named after the 1st Essex Regiment of 88th Brigade. The Essex trenches were in the shadow of Karakol Dagh, the western crest of the Kiretch Tepe coastal

ridge. The fire trenches could be observed by the enemy from both flanks, which Turkish snipers used to great advantage. *Fighting Newfoundlander*, 171-2.

¹³War Diary, November 1915; *The Times. History of the War*. XIV, 189-90; Owen William Steele. "World War I Diary (1914-16)." (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Centre for Newfoundland Studies) (hereafter "Steele Diary"), 4-5 November 1915. On 17 December 1915, the *Evening Telegram* proclaimed Lieutenant Donnelly "The Hero of the Hour" based on the receipt of unofficial letters from the front that told of Donnelly's Military Cross, including one from the Commander of C Company congratulating Mrs. Donnelly on the brave conduct of her son (page 6). Five days later the newspaper printed Dan Carroll's heroic poem "Caribou Hill" (see appendix B) (*Evening Telegram*, 22 December 1915, 5), and on 27 December 1915 Newfoundlanders could read a letter from the Colonial Secretary announcing receipt of the Military Cross and two Distinguished Conduct Medals by members of the regiment. "We congratulate the parents of each of these courageous and honoured soldiers of the King for they are a credit to Newfoundland — and Newfoundland is proud of them — and a credit to the Newfoundland Regiment." Page 3. The next day the text of a letter to Lieut. Donnelly from the Benevolent Irish Society appeared in the newspaper, notifying him that they were holding "a patriotic smoking concert and celebration at their Club Rooms" that evening in honour of his award. 28 December 1915, 9.

¹⁴John F. O'Flaherty. "The Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 1775-1952: A Complete History of the Regiment." typescript (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, n.d. [1952?]), 12-13; Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, 181-5; Cramm, *The First Five Hundred*, 41-2; Steele Diary, 26 November — 19 December 1915. The Newfoundland War Diary for December 1915 is unfortunately missing from the collection at the National Archives of Canada.

¹⁵Haythornthwaite, *Gallipoli 1915*, 84-6; Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, 185-6; "Ten Years Ago — Evacuation of Gallipoli," *The Veteran Magazine* 5/3 (May 1926), 24-6.

¹⁶Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, 188; Hadow quoted in Captain Leo C. Murphy. "Newfoundland's Part in the Great War." In *The Book of Newfoundland* 1, ed. J.R. Smallwood (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1937), 379-80. A.J. Stacey provides a detailed view of the Suvla evacuation from a soldier's perspective in "Memoirs of A. J. Stacey: A Newfoundlander at War." (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Centre for Newfoundland Studies) (hereafter "Stacey Memoirs"), 16-17.

¹⁷War Diary, January 1916; Cramm, *The First Five Hundred*, 43-4; Steele Diary, 4-9 January 1916.

¹⁸Casualty statistics in Appendix A of the War Diary for July 1916 illustrate the devastation felt at Beaumont Hamel, where the regiment suffered the highest percentage loss of all units on the first day of the Somme offensive. On 1 July 11 officers were killed, 12 wounded, 2 died of wounds, and 1 was missing and presumed killed. Casualties to other ranks totalled 66 killed, 362 wounded, 21 dead of wounds, and 207 missing (believed killed). NAC, MG 40 G 1, microfilm reel B-2302.

¹⁹*The Times. History of the War*. XIV, 188.

²⁰Due to the casualty lists, Hamilton could not accept the C.O.'s offer. In a postwar letter, Hamilton wrote: "I myself will never forget the request made to me personally, by Lieut.-Colonel R. de H. Burton, after their first day in the trenches, that they be allowed to

storm Anafarta and Tekke Tepe single-handed.” “A Tribute From General Sir Ian Hamilton.” *Veteran Magazine* 8/4 (April 1930), 62; also in Murphy, “Newfoundland’s Part in the Great War.” In *The Book of Newfoundland*, 1, ed. J.R. Smallwood, 376.

²¹John Gallishaw. *Trenching at Gallipoli: The Personal Narrative of a Newfoundlander with the Ill-Fated Dardanelles Expedition*. (New York: A.L. Burt, 1916), 174, 177-8.

²²Owen Steele wrote, on 30 December 1915, that “Having received orders from the Brigade last night we went out to W. Beach this morning where we were to take up our quarters for we were now to do some fatigue work, as the Greek Corps had refused to work on account of so many shells coming to the beach lately [from ‘Asiatic Annie’ across the Dardanelles]; they were beginning to lose quite a lot of men and were therefore afraid to work there. There was a general dissatisfaction over this for we considered that they were thus making ‘Navvies’ of us.” “Steele Diary.”

²³“Steele Diary,” letter dated 1 November 1915.

²⁴The Times. *History of the War*. XIV, 188-9. The frustration was captured in a Frank Lind letter in which he tells of a comrade’s dream in which Kitchener forgets about the regiment until after the war’s end. Ninth letter, 20 July 1915, in Frank Lind. *The Letters of Mayo Lind*. Ed. J. Alex Robinson (St. John’s: Robinson & Co., 1919), 57.

²⁵Diary of Major-General de Lisle, GOC, 29th Division, Public Records Office (PRO), CABINET 45/241. De Lisle’s sentiment was corroborated in the CBC interview of Major A. Raley, tape 1, NAC, RG 41, Vol. 18, File 6, CBC-Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 3.

²⁶Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 125.

²⁷Cramm, *The First Five Hundred*, 36-7. Gallishaw also explained that the flies made an unpleasant chore of trying to eat one’s ration of hard biscuits, apricot jam, and bully beef. This “pretty good ration under ordinary conditions” was, “without water, most unpalatable” in itself, without the constant worry of getting a mouthful of flies. *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 59-60, and on conditions and sickness, 70-1, 88-9.

²⁸As Owen Steele explained in a letter dated 18 October 1915, “sickness has created the greater havoc for we have now only 760 or 770 out of our original 1070 or 1080.... My platoon has only twenty three active men and I had originally over fifty.” “Steele Diary.”

²⁹Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 66-9.

³⁰Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 154. Religious zeal on the home front lent itself to the depiction of the Turks in somewhat more callous terms, as poetry suggested. The Christian imagery of a crusade is discussed later in the paper.

³¹Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 161-2. A.J. Stacey went further and claimed: “Anyone could see that we in Suvla Bay would not have a ghost of a chance if the Turks had modern weapons.” “Stacey Memoirs,” 16. Newfoundland soldiers’ statements such as these stand out in sharp contrast to British and ANZAC perspectives that cast the Turks as ‘dirty’ fighters with little to no respect for the customs of European warfare.

³²Cramm, *The First Five Hundred*, 42.

³³“Chapter Five: The Deliverance Of Morale” in Parsons’ M.A. thesis, “Morale and Cohesion in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 1914-18,” provides an excellent overview of ways in which families and institutions on the home front supported the troops at Gallipoli and subsequent theatres during the war.

³⁴Frank Lind noted that a sign at the entrance to the Newfoundlander’s dugouts designated the place “Torbay Road,” and that the headquarters of 88th Brigade was called “Newfoundland Ravine.” Nineteenth Letter, *The Letters of Mayo Lind*, ed. Robinson, 108.

³⁵ An excellent example of this point is found in Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 133.

³⁶ The following oft-quoted lyrics were sung by the regiment after Lieutenant-Colonel A.L. Hadow, known for his strict disciplinary measures, was appointed Commanding Officer on 6 December 1915:

I'm Hadow, some lad-o
Just off the staff,
I command the Newfoundlanders,
And they know it — not half;
I'll make them or break them,
I'll make the blighters sweat,
For I'm Hadow, some lad-o,
I'll be a general yet.

This is quoted in Parsons, "Morale and Cohesion," 113; David R. Facey-Crowther, "War and Remembrance: Newfoundland and the Great War," typescript (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, 1993-1996), 4; and others. For references to other songs adopted by the soldiers, see "Stacey Memoirs," 18; Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, 176; and Parsons, "Morale and Cohesion," 113-14.

³⁷ Parsons, "Morale and Cohesion," 52, 77. Well above 90% of the regiment's members came from Newfoundland, and 52% originally lived in St. John's. C. Sharpe. "The Race of Honour: An Analysis of Enlistments and Casualties in the Armed Forces of Newfoundland 1914-18." *Newfoundland Studies* (1988) 4/1, 37. Parsons explained that "The Newfoundland battalion maintained its unique identity because it functioned the way that regiments were supposed to function under the old regimental administration system. The Newfoundland contingent operated like many other regionally recruited regiments with a reserve depot in Britain and the battalion in the field. This maintained the continuity which supported a sense of community and regimental spirit. Because the Newfoundland Regiment had its own administrative structure, distinct from that of the British Army, it was able to control the movement of its men when they were not at the front. As in the case of other "undiluted" units such as the Royal Naval Division or the Guards Division, it was largely administrative factors which physically kept the unit together. These factors contributed to the strong unit cohesion and regimental spirit of the Newfoundland Regiment for the duration of the war. This was because the regiment continued an association with the older, Cardwellian, regimental structure characterized by a common place of origin, identification with the community and the appeal to tradition." "Morale and Cohesion," 50-1.

³⁸ The Times. *History of the War*. xiv, 187.

³⁹ Frank Lind, Sixteenth letter, 27 September 1915, in *The Letters of Mayo Lind*, ed. Robinson, 87. Major-General Cayley, the Brigadier-General of 88th Brigade, did not share Lind's optimism of the regiment's competencies from the start. In the following excerpt, he felt that the Newfoundlanders *grew* to become dependable soldiers, but at the onset still left something to be desired: "I may say that the 29th Division was a regular Division, consisting almost entirely of regular Battalions and Batteries of the old Army. So their standard of discipline and routine was high. One wondered how a unit coming from such absolutely different surroundings would fit in with the rest. Indeed, at first, when they eventually took over trenches on their own, they naturally fell short of what that stern disciplinarian, the Divisional Commander, expected of them. I speak feelingly on the subject, as my position

was largely to act as a buffer between him and them — fortunately a fairly resilient one. Little matters like sanitation and the cleanliness without which trenches cannot be permanently occupied, were at first a good deal to seek. Also there were failures in the organisation of working-parties, so that often the amount of digging done did not meet with approval. I personally did not expect miracles, nor did General De Lisle, though he appeared to do so." Cayley in Murphy, "Newfoundland's Part in the Great War," in *The Book of Newfoundland*, 1, ed. J.R. Smallwood, 355.

⁴⁰Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 128-9.

⁴¹The same NCO gave an overview of the language of the front lines as follows: "To me, one of the most interesting side lights of the war is the slang that forms a great part of the vocabulary of the trenches. Early morning tea, when we got it, was 'gun-fire.' A Turk was never a Turk. He was a Turkey, Abdul Pasha, or a cigarette maker. A regiment is a 'mob.' A psychologist would have been interested to see that nobody ever spoke of a comrade as having died or been killed, but had 'gone west.' All the time I was at the front, I never heard one of our men say that another had been killed. A man who was killed in our regiment had 'lost his can,' although this referred most particularly to men shot through the head. Ordinarily a dead man was called a 'washout'; or it was said that he had 'copped it.' The caution to keep your head down always came, 'Keep your napper down low.' To get wounded with one of our own bullets was to get a 'dose of three-o three.' The bullet has a diameter of three-hundred-and-three thousandths of an inch." Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 135.

⁴²Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995), 128.

⁴³Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 236-7.

⁴⁴Paul Fussell. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1975). See also Jay Winter. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), who takes a slightly different and more focussed approach than Fussell.

⁴⁵The one exception is David Facey-Crowther's unpublished article, "War and Remembrance: Newfoundland and the Great War."

⁴⁶When I use the term "myth" I do not mean to imply that the notion or ideas a myth embodies are inherently untrue. They are often rooted in fact but are constructed, adapted and adopted by a collective in ways that do not always place a premium on the intention to achieve as much "objectivity" or "fact" as possible.

⁴⁷Samples of letters from the front can be found in local newspapers as they were often published (this is discussed later in the paper). Based on a cursory study, a "typical" letter might be something like "Letter from the Front," W.C. Baird of Nagle's Hill to his parents, dated 5 October 1915, *The Evening Telegram*, 8 November 1915, 5: "Just a few lines to let you know that I am well and in the best of health, hoping that you are in the same. I haven't much news to tell you, because we are not allowed to tell much, and when a fellow cannot say much it is very hard to write a letter. Everything is alive out here. We have been in the trenches before. I am in the trenches now. There are [sic] lots of company here. The boys are all well and smart. We have a few wounded and a few killed, not many. The worst we find here is the heavy shell fire. There are lots of them going over our heads all day long. Don't worry about me; I am all right. If God spares my life, after the war is over and I get back home, I will have lots of news to tell you. I haven't got the cakes or stuff you sent me yet. It would be all right if I had some of it now; I haven't received a letter from you for a

long time. I received one from Lucy and two from Olive. I wrote uncle Bob some time ago, but no answer to either.... Remember me to all."

⁴⁸Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 237. The other famous published compilation of first-hand accounts was J. Alex Robinson's edited collection of letters from Frank Lind, many of which had appeared in the *St. John's Daily News*. *The Letters of Mayo Lind*, ed. Robinson.

⁴⁹Steele, quoted in Sandra Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians in the Great War*. (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1992), 299-300. See also Fifth letter, 26 May 1915, in *The Letters of Mayo Lind*, ed. Robinson, 41-2; Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli*, 11; Joan Horwood. *Massacre at Beaumont Hamel*. (St. John's: Avalon, 1975), 6; and J.E.J. Fox. "From Pleasantville to Englebeimer." *Veteran Magazine* (April 1928), 69-70.

⁵⁰"At the Front on Gallipoli Peninsula." *The Evening Telegram*, 21 September 1915, 4. The "official" message that the regiment had landed at Suvla Bay was passed on two days later. "At the Front." *The Evening Telegram*, 23 September 1915, 3.

⁵¹"Our Regiment in the Firing Line." *The Evening Telegram*, 5 November 1915, 7.

⁵²*The Evening Telegram*, 11 December 1915, 4.

⁵³*The Evening Telegram*, 27 October, 4.

⁵⁴See, for example, letter, Cluny Macpherson, Dardanelles, to Mr. J.J. Murphy, St. John's, 8 October 1915, published in *The Evening Telegram*, 17 November 1915, 9: "I very much regret to tell you that your son Walter passed away two or three days after he dictated the letter to you. He was cheerful right up to the last, although I warned him that he was seriously ill. In fact he was feeling better and ate quite heartily of the light diet allowed him for his dinner. Just after dinner he had a sudden collapse and passed away. You will be glad to know that I was able to arrange for a R.C. Chaplain to visit him on the day before his death, and he was with him also at the time of his death. He is buried in the military cemetery on the east side of the harbour of Mudros in the Island of Lemnos, with many another brave chap who has laid down his life for his country. You and Mrs. Murphy have my very deepest sympathy in your bereavement."

⁵⁵Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 29.

⁵⁶Vance, *Death So Noble*, 108-10, 172-3.

⁵⁷In the Canadian experience, Jonathan Vance explained that "while Canadians waited for the official record, they set about compiling their own story of the war, in countless local and battalion histories, poetry collections, novels and short stories. They took their mythicized version of the war, with all its inaccuracies and half-truths, and gave it legitimacy as history. Their memory was transformed into a gospel, and the worth of any account of the war was judged on the degree to which it approximated the ideal." *Death So Noble*, 163. In the case of Newfoundland a similar process took place, and the "unofficial," mythicized histories that were written formed the substance for Colonel Nicholson's "official" regimental history published in 1964. Although Nicholson did not provide the reader with footnotes or endnotes, a reading of the "unofficial" histories listed in his bibliography lays abundantly clear the sources of the author's information. Written by the soldiers and interested citizens during the war and after, unofficial accounts were the chief source of the official version of the regimental history, and myths created on the battlefields and in Newfoundland both during and after the war were perpetuated and given the stamp of officialdom.

⁵⁸Vance, *Death So Noble*, 174.

⁵⁹"Bona Vista." "Tales of the great war: Snipers sniped: A tale of Newfoundlanders in Gallipoli." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 16/2 (October 1916), 34-36. Another example of Newfoundland's "fishing identity" and Gallipoli is found in "Comrade," "A Night On Gallipoli." The Suvla Bay land and seascape is compared to Conception Bay back home and the author reflects that the "peculiar antics" of the Newfoundland soldiers at Gallipoli were merely as if "they were back again on the fishing grounds off Newfoundland, Labrador, or some other place." *Veteran Magazine* 1/2 (April 1921), 9.

⁶⁰The choice of having the ANZACS and British praise the Newfoundland Regiment was not coincidence. Since both groups were tremendously respected by the Newfoundland soldiers in the field, especially the Australians in light of their perceived gallantry at Gallipoli, British and Australian comments were often employed by Newfoundlanders to testify that they really had been good soldiers. Who could be more worthy judges of military aptitude than the experienced British, who formed the hub of the Empire, and the ANZACS who had proven themselves time and time again at Gallipoli. The soldiers' tremendous respect and admiration of the ANZAC soldiers was shared by Newfoundland journalists. See, for example, "Attack of the Light Brigades," *The Evening Telegram*, 23 October 1915, 3, discussing the "brilliant exploit by gallant Australian troops" in a "triangle of death" where few survived; "The Anzacs Lead," proclaiming how the ANZACS had "gained great glory in their fights under General Birdwood in the region around Gaba Tepe," as well as the article "The Soul of Anzac," *The Evening Telegram*, 25 October, 4, 7.

⁶¹Newfoundland war poetry appeared in newspapers, magazines, and books. Major R.H. Tait's *"The Trail of the Caribou": The Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 1914-1918*. (Boston: Newfoundland Publishing Co., 1933) is a well-known interwar collection. Elizabeth Miller's recent *Arms and the Newfoundlander: Poetry of the Great War*. (St. John's: H. Cuff, 1994) is a useful compilation.

⁶²Vance, *Death So Noble*, 89-96.

⁶³Robert G. MacDonald. "Sir Galahad (A Thought For To-Day)." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 19/1 (Summer 1919), 19, in *Arms and the Newfoundlander*. Ed. E. Miller, 48; Dan Carroll. "In Memory of Private Michael John Blyde." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 15/3 (December 1915), 9.

⁶⁴H.H. Pittman. "Our Heroes." *Poems* (1930), in *Arms and the Newfoundlander*, ed. E. Miller, 51-3.

⁶⁵Arthur Wheeler. "Heroes All." *Evening Telegram*, 14 October 1915, 4.

⁶⁶Frederick Andrews. "The Fallen." In *Arms and the Newfoundlander*, ed. E. Miller, 54.

⁶⁷Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 204.

⁶⁸Robert G. MacDonald. "Romance in the Twentieth Century." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 15/3 (December 1915), 28.

⁶⁹A.M.P. "In Memory of Gallipoli." *The Veteran*, April 1924, 24.

⁷⁰Dan Carroll. "In Memory of Private Michael John Blyde." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 15/3 (December 1915), 9, in *Arms and the Newfoundlander*, ed. Miller, 20.

⁷¹Observations and quote from Facey-Crowther, "War and Remembrance," 9.

⁷²Facey-Crowther, "War and Remembrance," 9; Vance, *Death So Noble*, 60.

⁷³Facey-Crowther, "War and Remembrance," 10.

⁷⁴There is also a monument to 29th Division at Beaumont Hamel. On Newfoundland's memorials see Stephen Mills, *Task of Gratitude: Canadian Battlefields of the Great War*.

(Calgary and Winnipeg: Vimy Ventures, 1997); Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander*, 513-19; W. David Parsons, *Pilgrimage: A Guide to the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in World War One*. (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1994); and for a contemporary view see Captain A.H. Anderson, "The War Memorial." *Veteran Magazine* 1/1 (April 1921), 70-2.

⁷⁵The construction, dedication, and pilgrimages to war memorials after the war provided "a ritual expression of [families'] bereavement, and that of their local communities," Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 6. Given the absence of a memorial at Gallipoli, there was no such focus for Newfoundlanders' attention. However, veterans and their families did make several pilgrimages to the Peninsula where their comrades and loved ones had fallen. For instance, on the fiftieth anniversary of the campaign a contingent of World War I veterans from Newfoundland visited Gallipoli. See George Hicks, "Newfoundland pilgrimage to Gallipoli." *Legionary* 40/2 (July 1965), 10-11. As Jay Winter explained, the pilgrimage movement extended kinship bonds between war victims and their families. Those who made the journeys, for all their physical and emotional difficulties, did so in the company of others who had shared in the sacrifices of war and "knew what it meant to mourn fallen soldiers." *Sites of Memory*, 52.

⁷⁶CBC interview of Colonel A.L. Hadow, May 1964, NAC, RG 41, Vol. 18, File 6, CBC-Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 5.

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