

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CUSTOMS IN THE MILITARY:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE OBSERVANCE OF  
REMEMBRANCE DAY BY 56 FIELD ENGINEER  
SQUADRON, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

LISA MACHIN









PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CUSTOMS IN THE MILITARY:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE OBSERVANCE OF REMEMBRANCE DAY  
BY 56 FIELD ENGINEER SQUADRON, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

© Lisa Machin

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## **ABSTRACT**

The military is an occupation with its own culture and identity, of which only a small part is visible to the public. The focus of this thesis is the November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day celebrations of 56 Field Engineer Squadron (FES) in St. John's, Newfoundland as a cultural performance that has both public and private aspects. This thesis will show that both the public and the private Remembrance Day celebrations of 56 FES are culturally appropriate and equally important to their observance of this day, that these performances communicate different aspects of the group's occupational identity to both members and non-members, and that such customs serve to integrate unit members by differentiating them from non-members, be they civilian or other military units or branches.



## DEDICATION

On June 20, 1988, there was an accidental explosion during a training exercise at Slesse Range, CFB Chilliwack in which my (then) boyfriend 2Lt Mike Machin and fellow CME officers were participating. Six of the officers died and others injured, including my husband and his friend 2Lt Sean Ryan, a fellow officer from 56 FES. A memorial to commemorate the event was placed at CFB Chilliwack, British Columbia.



Photo D.1 Memorial at CFB Chilliwack (Jan. 1, 1993).

As a survivor, my husband carries the memories of these officers with him, and a small part of him never came back from the Slesse Range. I can never hope to put into

words the strength of the bond felt by the many individuals who go through experiences like this. This case study attempts to show the importance of these bonds, and some of the ways they are expressed to members and to the public.

War memorials are tangible ways to remind us of those who sacrificed with their physical lives, but fail to acknowledge the emotional sacrifices made by our members in so many facets of military life, training, or activities such as peacekeeping. I dedicate this thesis to my husband, and all members of the Canadian Forces who have died or been injured in any way in training or active service of Canada.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the many people who have aided me on my academic journey and the completion of this thesis. I must acknowledge the Institute of Social and Economic Research who recognized the importance of my work and gave me a grant in 1992 for the majority of the research expenditures in this project.

The greatest thanks go to the members, past and present, of 56 Field Engineer Squadron in St. John's, Newfoundland for trusting me with their culture and allowing me to study them for the past fifteen years. Were it not for them and their *esprit de corps*, I would not be writing this particular study. Thank you also to all those members, and former members, of the Canadian Forces who granted me interviews. Also, to anyone who happened to be caught in the lenses of my camera, thank you for not complaining.

I would also like to thank the CME museum staff who assisted me in January and April of 1993, retired curators Bud and Peggy Smith, Warrant Officer Don Thomas and archivist Debbie Towell. Thanks also to former Base Commander of CFB Chilliwack, and long-time family friends, Colonel Ywe Looper and wife Barbara for their help with accommodations in January of 1993.

I must also acknowledge Dr. Paul Smith, my thesis supervisor at Memorial University, whose own enthusiastic fieldwork has inspired my own research. His continued support, both the moral kind and the kind involving large stacks of

photocopied paper and loans from his enormous library, has helped me to stay the course. I would also like to say I am especially grateful that he did not even blink when I told him my research would involve the attempts by military personnel to steal a beaver, and I am certain there are many who doubt the validity of such a topic.

I would like to thank numerous friends and colleagues: Keith Coles for his assistance in recording the gun salute on Remembrance Day, 1992; Delf Hohmann, for allowing me to film and photograph from the windows and roof of his apartment located next to the National War Memorial on Remembrance Day 1992; Michelle O'Connell for her assistance with editing for grammatical errors; Jennifer Hollett for being a sounding board for my ideas in the very beginning, and my frustrations throughout my lengthy graduate career, as well as helping me to locate a number of books and journals for my literary review, when time was of the essence.

There are so many individuals in the Department of Folklore at Memorial University who have given me support, but a few I must mention in particular: Dr. Philip Hiscock, for his assistance with editing the final draft of this thesis and who allowed me to use his personal transcription machine, for which I am eternally grateful; Dr. Gerald Thomas, whose introductory course in Folklore inspired me to do twenty more; Dr. Martin Lovelace, current Head of Department, for his support and guidance through my graduate program; Sharon Cochrane and Cindy Turpin, the secretarial staff, who have

been there to help with all sorts of things too numerous to list.

I must thank the staff of the St. John's City Archives who aided me in my search for some very elusive older maps. Thank you to the staff of the Digital Media Centre of Memorial University of Newfoundland Queen Elizabeth II Library who painstakingly taught me how to use Adobe Photoshop, especially Mike Rowe who, I am convinced, is a wizard; without his help my maps would not be so very useful.

Very special thanks to my husband, Michael Machin, without whom I could never have done this. He maintained as objective an attitude, as possible, and allowed me to study his role in the Remembrance Day customs of 56 FES, and has been continually supportive of my work, though it could be seen to incriminate him.

Thank you to my father and mother, Rodger and Amelia Hobbs, for your tireless encouragement and support, moral and financial. Thank you to everyone who helped care for my children so I could undertake this study. Last, but absolutely not least, thank you to my children, Morgen and Simon, for putting up with me when "Mommy has to do work".

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjutant	Ops O	Operations Officer
Adm O	Administration Officer	PPCLI	Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry
Capt	Captain	Pt	Private
CF	Canadian Forces	RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
CFB	Canadian Forces Base	RNC	Royal Newfoundland Constabulary
CFOCS	Canadian Forces Officer Cadet School	Sgt	Sergeant
CFS	Canadian Forces Station	Spr	Sapper
C.L.B.	Church Lads Brigade	Tp	Troop
CO	Commanding Officer	SSM	Squadron Sergeant Major
Col	Colonel	US	United States
Cpl	Corporal	USAF	United States Air Force
CWO	Chief Warrant Officer	WO	Warrant Officer
DEU	Distinct Environmental Uniform		
FES	Field Engineer Squadron		
H.M.	Her Majesty's		
Hon	Honorary		
Ls	Leading Seaman		
Lt	Lieutenant		
2Lt	Second Lieutenant		
Maj	Major		
MCpl	Master Corporal		
MWO	Master Warrant Officer		
NCM	Non-commissioned Member		
NCO	Non-commissioned Officer		

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The Military: Occupational Folklore and Identity

To say that the military is merely an occupation would be an understatement; it is a culture, a way of life. The military goes to great lengths to prepare its members for, what is frequently termed as, “combat readiness” (Keegan 1994, xiv-xv). Uniforms, equipment, procedures, and military units are judged in terms of their “combat effectiveness” (Russell 3-4; Canada DND 1993b 2-1; cf. *King’s Regulations and Orders for The Army 1912*. par.98 and 122; Little 218-219). Military culture instills a worldview<sup>1</sup>, an ethos, or *esprit de corps*, which is central to how members function in training and in combat (Burke 2004, xiv; Cleveland 1994, 23; Cleveland 2003; English 60-1; Janowitz 1975; Russell 4). The military is not often recognized as a folk group, or as having folklore. Instead, the traditions for which the military are most well known are the public and formal parades and ceremonies presented in the media. In contrast to the public ceremonies, the majority of military occupational life is not visible to the public and therefore many aspects of their culture are private, being for members of the group only.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, events that have both public and private elements.

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<sup>1</sup> The term “worldview” refers to the groups’ “codes, structures, and cultural premises...” (Toelken 1975, 266).

<sup>2</sup> The majority of private customs in military tradition are not made public through the media, but in recent years, certain customs have been brought to the attention of the public as being outside ‘morally acceptable’ behaviour such as the Tailhook Convention 1991 scandal, the Canadian Airborne Regiment Initiation scandal in 1995, as well as other incidents of hazing in both the British and Canadian Forces. These are examples of private customs that were often connected with a more public or “official” custom within military culture. For further reading about these

The focus of this thesis is the November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day Celebrations<sup>3</sup> of 56 Field Engineer Squadron (56 FES)<sup>4</sup> in St. John's, Newfoundland, as a cultural performance that has both public and private aspects. The aim is to show that the public and private performances communicate different aspects of the occupational identity of 56 FES both to members of the group and to non-members. In so doing, this serves to integrate unit members by separating them from non-members, be they civilian or other military units or branches. In short, the thesis will: (1) outline the history of 56 FES, their role in the Canadian Forces, and their place within Newfoundland society; (2) detail, in brief, the observance of Remembrance Day in Canada; (3) describe in detail the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES based on my observations, interviews with participants, and published sources; (4) analyze and interpret the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES using the performance centred approach and related folklore theories.

Through the detailed study of the many elements of the Remembrance Day

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incidents see "Initiation rites banned in move against bullying" (1988); "Instructor urinated on me, says recruit" (1988); "Military police probe "initiation" prank at CFB Gagetown" (1996); Monchuk (1996); "Recruits 'had to sing while being beaten'" (1988); Sallot (1995); "Sergeant cleared of beating recruits" (1988); "Soldier burned in initiations ordeal" (1987); Woodford (1995); U.S. Department of Defense (1992). *Tailhook 91, Part 1: Review of the Navy Investigations*; U.S. Department of Defense (1993) *Tailhook 91 Part 2: Events at the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Tailhook Symposium*; Burke 2004.

<sup>3</sup> The term "Celebration" is used to refer to the entire body of November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day events for the members of 56 FES, as this is the term most often employed by the group themselves. The different customs that take place throughout the day are referred to individually as ceremony, prank or other term that applies, and will be defined further in this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> 56 Field Engineer Squadron will hereafter be referred to by their abbreviation 56 FES. Abbreviations for frequently used titles will be given after their first use such as HMCS Cabot and base titles CFB and CFS and explained in the Glossary in Appendix C that also provides definitions for military terms, phrases, and abbreviations used throughout the thesis.

Celebrations of 56 FES, the thesis will show that traditional knowledge and the context of the performance – public, private or a combination of these – is crucial to the performance of these customs and the meaning it holds for the members of the group. The thesis also examines what is being communicated through the performance to themselves and to outsiders - the “shared” (Baumann 1971, 32) and “differential identities” (Baumann 1971, 34)<sup>5</sup>. The importance of the play and ritual aspects of the celebrations of 56 FES will be explained through an examination of related customs from other military traditions. I aim to show that these public and private customs segregate the group (56 FES) from outsiders, from other military groups and the general public, and integrate members of 56 FES within the Squadron, and 56 FES within the entire Canadian Forces.

Remembrance Day is a statutory holiday in Canada that commemorates the anniversary of the last day of World War I, November 11, 1918. It exists to honor those who fought and died in that war, World War II and other major conflicts. Public ceremonies of remembrance are part of national tradition in other countries such as Britain, Australia and New Zealand, France, Germany, the United States, and Israel.<sup>6</sup> In many towns and cities across Canada, as well as on bases, and any location in which the Canadian Forces are serving, on November 11<sup>th</sup> there will be a ceremony of remembrance. In St. John’s, Newfoundland, on the morning of November 11<sup>th</sup>, a variety

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<sup>5</sup> See also William Hugh Jansen “The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore” (1959), Anthony P. Cohen “Belonging: the experience of culture” (1982).

<sup>6</sup> For further works about ceremonies of remembrance, commemoration, and military memorials see: Azryahu; Blair; Blair; Jeppeson and Pucci; Bronner 2000; Bowering; Davey and Seal; Dennis; Ellis; Gillis; Handleman 190-233; Harris; Hass; Fish 1987; Pickford; Santino 1992; Santino 1994; Santino 2004; Santino 2006).

of public and formal ceremonies take place that involve military, veterans, other groups such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, Church Lads Brigade, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, as well as government officials and clergy.

56 FES has been involved in Remembrance Day Celebrations since the formation of the Unit. The public celebrations organized by the Royal Canadian Legion<sup>7</sup> consist of a parade through downtown St. John's, and ceremonies at both the Sergeant's Memorial on Queen's Road, and the National War Memorial<sup>8</sup> on Water Street. Here government officials, representatives of military groups, veterans associations, and pseudo-military groups such as the Fire Department and Boy Scouts place wreaths. The Remembrance Day ceremony also involves the reading of the Act of Remembrance, poetry, prayers, the performance of band music and public singing of hymns. Since 1966, however, 56 FES has taken on a prominent role in the Remembrance Day Celebrations, and is responsible for the 21-gun salute. For a number of years, it has also had its own Squadron parade on Signal Hill overlooking the St. John's Harbour and the city. The 56 FES resumed participation in the Royal Canadian Legion parade and ceremonies in 1992 in St. John's, and has participated in events in other communities in the province in years since.

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<sup>7</sup> The Royal Canadian Legion was formerly named the Great War Veterans Association, and was renamed after World War II; it was founded by Canadian veterans of World War I to assist veterans and their families in matters concerning rehabilitation, reintegration into civilian society, the establishment of pensions, and the public recognition of veterans' service to Canada in the Great War (Rutherford; Bowering).

<sup>8</sup> The War Memorial on Water Street in St. John's Newfoundland is the second of only two in Canada that bear the distinction of "National". The National War Memorial in Newfoundland was built in 1924, when Newfoundland was a country, and unveiled on July 1<sup>st</sup> during the Memorial Day Ceremonies that commemorate the anniversary of the Battle of Beaumont Hamel July 1, 1916 where nearly the entire Newfoundland Regiment were wiped out (*The Evening Telegram* July 3, 1924: 8). After Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, the distinction "National"

In contrast to the public side of Remembrance Day that has been well documented, there exists a range of undocumented traditions that are practiced by personnel of 56 FES and others involved in the military on Remembrance Day. These customs might appear to the outsider to be a contradiction to the solemn mood of the public Remembrance Day ceremonies. They include the private custom of “making the rounds”<sup>9</sup> to the military messes and branches of the Royal Canadian Legion to socialize with the veterans, and celebrate their sacrifice in the service of Canada. This custom is very similar to the house visit traditions of mummering and wassailing described in numerous studies on Newfoundland and the British Isles (Pettit 1975, 32-42; Lovelace 271-81) but usually without the use of disguise. In fact, several unit members have made reference to the similarity between “making the rounds” and Christmas visiting traditions in Newfoundland, as Corporal Osmond did:

...It's sorta like Christmas time where you go around visiting everybody's house, right, you'd go down to the Legion talk to some of the Legionnaires, drink a few beer with them. They'd tell you a few stories about wartime, that sorta thing, and that's kinda good (Interview 13).

It is during a visit to the mess of a rival military group, HMCS Cabot, that the practice of “stealing the beaver”<sup>10</sup> takes place. This is an informal, and primarily private custom, no less ritualized than the gun salute. It is essentially a reciprocal military prank

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was retained.

<sup>9</sup> The name in use by members of 56 FES to refer to the custom of visiting the many locations intended for informal social activities for the military and veterans on Remembrance Day.

<sup>10</sup> The name used by members of 56 FES to refer to their organised attempts to steal the beaver mascot of the junior ranks mess of HMCS Cabot.



or practical joke, the object being for one military unit to attempt to steal an important object belonging to another military unit, mess, or base (Bowman, 1982; Smith 1990, Smith 1996). This prank is reciprocal as it may also be enacted in order for a military group to retrieve what has been stolen from them at an earlier date. In this case the members of 56 FES attempt to steal a stuffed beaver mascot, which is the property of the junior ranks mess of HMCS Cabot. “Stealing the beaver” is a relatively new custom for the members of 56 FES and HMCS Cabot. Regardless, the shared understanding about the reciprocal nature of this stealing custom among members of both units is derived from the oral history of previous stealing incidents that have involved members of both groups.

This ritual stealing can be seen as a reinforcement of the rivalry between groups, an enforcement of the boundaries between groups, whether it is one mess against another, or one military unit against another (Bastien and Bromley 48-50; see also Browne 1980; Cohen 1982; Moore and Myerhoff 123-36; Turner 1982; Turner and McArthur 1990, 83-93). This is similar to examples of inter-group pranks found amongst students (Bronner 1990, 113; Steinberg 1992; Baker 1983, 106-14; Taft 84-85), and other types of recreation and play in the workplace (Fine 1986; Roy; Santino 1986; Swanson; Nusbaum 1978). This inter-group rivalry and resulting pranking behavior (“stealing the beaver”) is not officially condoned by the Canadian Forces, but is part of the culture of both 56 FES and other units within the Canadian Forces.

E.C. Russell’s *Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Armed Forces* defines the terms “custom” and “tradition” as they pertain to the military community thus:

Custom may be said to be a long established continuing practice or observance, considered as an unwritten rule, and dependent for its continued reality and usage on long consent of a community. Many aspects of our social existence are governed by custom. Tradition is not so much a practice, but a process of handing down, or passing from one to another, knowledge, beliefs, feelings, ways of thinking, manners or codes of behavior, a philosophy of life or even a faith, without written instructions. Tradition employs symbolism, as it must, for human beings, save for the exceptionally articulate, find it difficult to express spiritual and abstract ideas in a few words.... But it must be remembered that customs and traditions are not sacrosanct for all time. Like words of the language, they are living things; they come and go. For they reflect social conditions and moral values. They mirror political innovation and technological advance. They change (Russell 1980, 1).

The term “custom” is defined within the discipline of folklore as “an activity performed with such regularity that it is considered expected behavior or a part of social protocol...and as a component of folk belief or folkways” (Sweterlitsch 1997, 168). Essential to the definition of custom as the “usual way of doing things” (Sweterlitsch 1996, 186) is that in performance any given custom is determined by the context of performance, and in the learning of a custom the rules for appropriate performance within a group are essential to the continuation of the custom (Sweterlitsch 1996, 186). As Ruth Benedict observes “the social function of custom is that it makes our acts intelligible to our neighbours. It binds us together with a common symbolism, a common religion, a common set of values to pursue” (1968, 188).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For further reading in custom, festival and ritual studies see Abrahams 1981; Abrahams 1987;

Folklorists study customs within folk groups defined by ethnicity, geographic region, age, religion, shared interests such as hobbies and sports, or occupation (Sweterlitsch 1996, 186). They also group custom according to type or related genre of folklore such as the articles about festivals by Roger Abrahams, Richard Bauman, Venetia Newall, and Robert Smith that make up the special issue of *Western Folklore* (1972).

The predominant categories of custom in folklore scholarship consist of: (1) rites of passage which highlight “important events in the human life cycle” (Sweterlitsch 1996, 186); (2) calendar customs defined as “practices associated with particular dates or times of the year” (Sweterlitsch 1996, 186; see also Smith, Paul and Georgina Smith); (3) larger cultural events such as festivals (Sweterlitsch 1996, 186; see also Falassi 1987).

The Remembrance Day Celebrations (November 11<sup>th</sup> in Canada) can be classified as both calendar custom, and a cultural event or festival, which Alessandro Falassi defines as “a series of coordinated events” set apart from everyday activity (1987, 2-3). Remembrance Day Celebrations also fall into the area of “secular ritual” and “secular ceremony” which function to both propagate and shape “cultural ideals” (Moore and Myerhoff 1977, 5). Jack Santino’s American Folklore Society Plenary Address of 2003 “Public Commemoratives, the Personal, and the Public: Spontaneous Shrines, Emergent Ritual and the Field of Folklore” (2004) also defines “memorialization” and

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Brunvand, 1986; Benedict 1968, 180-188; Benedict 1990, 173-183; Deal and Kennedy; Grimes; Lawrence 1987; Leach 1960 and 1961; Manning 1983; Noyes; Salmi-Niklander, 31-46; Smith, Robert Jerome 159-172; Stoeltje 1983, 239-245; Stoeltje 1990, 137-151; Turner & McArthur (1990).

“commemoration” as “public display” (364-365) that are performed to “express an attitude toward that condition [of absence] and the larger contexts in which they exist; support for the soldiers’ cause” (2004, 367).

The terms public and private employed throughout this work are used to describe the context of the event in the same way as in folklorist Gerald Thomas’s “Public and Private Storytelling Situations in Franco-Newfoundland Tradition” (1980, 175-181). Thomas, in discussing the performance contexts of Märchen, refers to the public as being inclusive of people outside the close-knit family, and private being a family situation, sometimes involving neighbours and close friends. Through time and the evolution of the storytelling tradition, the public aspect expands to include outsiders, those not of French-Newfoundland culture, through folk festivals, television and other media. Thomas distinguishes between the different styles of performance within the two distinct storytelling contexts.

Thomas Dandridge’s “Work Ceremonies: Why Integrate Work and Play?”(1988) provides reasons for the use of multiple terms to define the Remembrance Day Celebrations:

I do not distinguish sharply among ceremony, celebration and ritual, for it is their similarities and overlap, rather than differences that interest me. Ceremony is often thought of as solemn yet it may contain clowning behaviour or buffoonery. While celebration seems to connote a festive or joyous occasion, it may have a sacred or serious basis. Ritual is common to both ceremony and celebration; and it may be found in seemingly trivial or routine daily activities as well as in large-scale, pre-planned events (Dandridge 1988, 251-252).

Victor Turner's Introduction to *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual* (1982) describes the elements of celebrations that make them stand out from everyday activity "Each kind of ritual, ceremony, or festival comes to be coupled with special types of attire, music, dance, food and drink, "properties," modes of staging and presentation, physical and cultural environment" (1982, 12).

Turner's statement "When a social group...celebrates a particular event or occasion...it 'celebrates itself'" (1982, 16) asserts that this type of event is an expression of identity, and that for the message to be "heard" by participants and observers requires a shared knowledge of the meaning of the performance (Turner 1982, 19). To be a competent performer within a group or society one must have the traditional knowledge of the rules surrounding the context and content of performance (Ben-Amos and Goldstein 1975).

John J. MacAloon's definition of the term "cultural performance" in *Rite, Drama, Festival Spectacle: Rehearsals Towards a Theory of Cultural Performance* (1984) can also be applied to the Remembrance Day celebrations:

Cultural performances are... occasions in which as a culture or society we reflect upon and define ourselves, dramatize our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives, and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others (1984, 1).

Anthropologist Don Handleman differentiates between public events and private (proto) events:

Public events are constituted through their intentionality (their design, or "structure" in an older parlance) and through their practice (their

enactment or performance); Public events are profoundly existential, since no event *qua* event can exist substantively as a phenomenon apart from its practice. Design and enactment are integral to one another.... the proto-event is indeed one in which the doing of performance clearly has pre-eminence over its design (Handleman 17-18).

Handleman further distinguishes between “events-that-model” and “events-that-present” (1990, 22-62), or “mirror” aspects of society, “selectively reflecting versions of the latter that are known”. The Remembrance Day and Independence Day celebrations of Israel discussed by Handleman are both seen as “events-that-present” (1990, 191-233).

Frank Manning’s “Cosmos and Chaos: Celebration in the Modern World” (1983) refers to celebration as a “communicative agent” (1983, 7) that may “embrace two modes: play and ritual. Play inverts the social order and leans towards license, whereas ritual confirms the social order and is regulated” (1983, 7).

MacAloon’s “Sociation and Sociability on Political Celebrations” (1982) also describes the framing of play and ritual activities and behaviour within celebrations, separating performers from non-performers. The costumes worn by performers are symbolic of their role within the performance and within the society’s hierarchy (256). He sees both play and ritual as being communications of group culture and values. In this discussion of modern political celebrations in the United States he observes that few celebrations, other than ceremonies for remembering “traumatic historical circumstances,” embody national identity (1982, 266; see also Bronner (2000), Azaryahu, Pickford).

Richard M. Dorson’s “Material Components in Celebration” (1982) sees material

objects used in celebrations as symbolic communications of group values and beliefs. He likens the celebration to a theatrical performance; the costumes delineate performer roles and differentiate performers from audience. Ritual objects used by performers have symbolic meanings within the performance context.

Thomas Dandridge has termed such ceremonies as “framed play within work” (1988, 255-256) that combines “the creativity and release of play... with the rationality of goal oriented work” that function on many levels for both the group member and the organization (1988, 257-258), and John R. Bowman asserts that play and work are often interwoven in many contexts:

Many occasions occur in which individuals spontaneously play at their jobs. In fact, workers as players may engage in a variety of joking activities, horseplay, and practical jokes throughout the working day. Moreover, many of these play forms are repeated, and may even become routine features of some work settings (Bowman 1985, 61).

Though play relationships serve as symbols of group membership and help to integrate members by creating and maintaining and group identity, the emphasis should be on the participant’s own feelings and experiences of playing at work, as very few participants actually verbalize the integrative function (Bowman, 68-9).<sup>12</sup>

The solemnity of the ceremonies at the National War Memorial and gun salute are contrasted with the jovial atmosphere present during the “making the rounds” and “stealing the beaver”. Through an understanding of the importance of these customs to

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<sup>12</sup> For additional studies of jokes and play in the workplace see Fine (1986), Bradney, Roy, Swanson (1978), and Nusbaum (1978).

the members of 56 FES and the traditional rules and structure of the performance on Remembrance Day the thesis will show how such seemingly opposite contexts coexist in the Remembrance Day Celebrations.<sup>13</sup>

## 1.2 56 Field Engineer Squadron

Newfoundlanders have a long history of military involvement, since the formation of the Newfoundland Regiment (now the Royal Newfoundland Regiment) in 1914 to fight with the British and Dominion forces in World War I. The Royal Newfoundland Regiment was all but wiped out on July 1, 1916 in the Battle of the Somme, at Beaumont Hamel. The decline in the Newfoundland economy that followed World War I was significantly accredited to the fact that so many of Newfoundland's able-bodied men were wounded or killed (The War Amputations of Canada). There are few Newfoundland families that did not lose a male family member. Despite such a tragic military history, pride in military service is strong in Newfoundland's identity (The War Amputations of Canada). Prior to World War II, the island of Newfoundland was recognized as important to the defense of both Canada and the United States, and was later used for early warning radar, training and deployment of troops. It was a perfect location for naval and air bases, and its natural resources were utilized towards the war effort (Holmes 30- 32; Cardoulis

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<sup>13</sup> Dr. Peter Narváez has also explored what he calls the "death-humour paradox" in the introduction to the collection of articles in *Of Corpse: Death and Humour in Folklore and Popular Culture* (2003) that includes his article on jokes and pranks performed at Newfoundland wakes.



13-15, 39-67). The presence of the Canadian and American Forces here made a significant impact on Newfoundland society and reinforced a positive view of military service for Newfoundlanders (Cardoulis; Holmes).

The 56 Independent Field Squadron Royal Canadian Engineers, a Canadian Forces Reserve unit and an essential part of Canadian Forces Station St. John's, Newfoundland, was formed on October 26, 1949 as part of the initial establishment of the Militia in Newfoundland after Confederation. It was renamed the 56<sup>th</sup> Field Squadron on September 15, 1954, which was changed to the 56 Field Engineer Squadron during the restructuring of the Canadian Forces in the 1960s (Harvey 11; Holmes 147-157, 421).

The first commanding officer was Major S. F. Willett, who had formerly commanded the 16<sup>th</sup> Engineer Services and Works Company, Royal Canadian Engineers (1943-1947) a Canadian military unit that serviced the Canadian military infrastructure in Newfoundland (Harvey 11). Throughout World War II the 16<sup>th</sup> Engineer Services and Works Company recruited many Newfoundlanders (Harvey 11). Major Willett retired from the regular force in 1948 and returned to St. John's and founded his own surveying and engineering business (Harvey 11). Following World War II, the Canadian military was re-organized into the Active Force and the Reserve Force, with the majority of personnel to be Reserves (Holmes 146-147). Veterans of World War II commanded the majority of the Reserve units, a number of which had been established prior to the war (Holmes 148). Major Willett, able to prove that his former unit was already connected to Newfoundland, and that former engineers from the 16<sup>th</sup> Engineer Services and Works Company would gladly join, the 56<sup>th</sup> Independent Field Squadron was established to

provide engineer support to the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and the 166<sup>th</sup> Royal Canadian Artillery (Harvey 11-13).

The early years were characterized by enthusiasm in recruiting, training, and competition (Harvey 14-19). The competitions were based on projects that served to improve skills:

In May 1952, 56<sup>th</sup> Field Squadron, St. John's, which had been formed only three years previous, staged Exercise LIGHTNING before invited guests and hundreds of city residents. Mounting a water-borne assault, a squadron force attacked a simulated radar installation, captured the defenders and demolished the target tower and buildings. Later that year, the squadron built a 160-foot, single-panel Bailey bridge over the Fox Island River on the west coast of Newfoundland some 500 miles from St. John's to assist in opening the area to development. Since no road existed across the province and train travel would have used up all the available time, the unit was airlifted by the USAF from St. John's (Holmes 254; see also Harvey 17-20).

The years 1958-1959 brought a decline in training and morale for 56 FES, a direct result of both the emphasis on a civil defense role for the Militia, and funding cutbacks (Harvey 14-15; Holmes 254-278). In 1961, the United States Military turned Fort Pepperell over to the Canadian Armed Forces, and in 1962 the Newfoundland Area Headquarters, including all Reserve and Regular personnel, moved from Buckmaster's Field to buildings 311 and 312 of Fort Pepperell (Henderson 43-44; Harvey 23).

Beginning in 1962, the Royal Canadian Military Engineers underwent reorganization, and following the unification of the Canadian Forces in 1968, was

renamed the Canadian Military Engineers (CME) in 1971 (Holmes 307-31). Through the early 1960's and 1970's, 56 FES was able to maintain training at the squadron level, as well as sending members to train at the CME School at Canadian Forces Base Chilliwack, British Columbia. In 1965, Fort Pepperell was re-named Pleasantville. Then, in 1967, the base was given the title of Sub-Base St. John's. In 1968 this became CFS St. John's (Henderson 44-51). The years from 1975 to 1980 are described in the history book of 56 FES as being "the darkest days in the Unit's history" (Harvey 32) as the 56 FES declined in strength and were unable to conduct adequate training. The subsequent resurgence in strength and morale is attributed in part to the use of CME emblems, flags and songs "to heighten the Unit's profile in the community" (Harvey 33). The growth continued into the 1980's, at which time 56 FES was able to resume training, participate in competitions, complete numerous ambitious projects, all aiding the establishment of a reputation for military excellence that continued into the 1990's (Harvey 35-110). In 1993, 56 FES was relocated to building 310 of Pleasantville.

56 FES has had numerous commanding officers since Major Willett (Harvey 125). At the time of the majority of my fieldwork, the commanding officer was Major Tony Stack (1988-1993), followed by Major Terry Fleet (1993-1996); Major Stack took command once again (1996-2000), and then Captain Warren Miron (2000-December 2002), after which Captain Mike Machin took command. He is currently the commanding officer.

The 56 FES is recorded in *The Canadian Military Engineer Manual* (1.2) as one of the 22 major engineer units in Canada. Canadian Military Engineers "serve at virtually

every CF establishment and every CF Base and Station.” (1.2) and are “trained to apply engineering science and technology” (Chaplin-Thomas, Johnson, and Rawling 11) to military objectives. As outlined in *The Canadian Military Engineers Manual*, they are responsible for mapping and charting, road and bridge building, airfield and railway construction, camouflage, building accommodations on base or in the field, creating and removing obstacles, building and maintaining military cemeteries, the destruction of enemy infrastructure, and the creation of infrastructure for military or civilians, clearing mines from war-torn countries such as Kuwait, Cambodia, Afghanistan, and now Iraq. The CME have been involved in the building of Canada’s roads, airfields, bases, dockyards, bridges and railways, fortifications, and the mapping of the arctic (Canada DND 1993b, Ch.2; Kerry and McDill 1962 and 1966; Holmes 1997; Chaplin-Thomas, Johnson and Rawling 2003). The role of the CME is:

To conduct specialized military operations which contribute to the survivability, mobility, and combat effectiveness of other arms and services, and which disrupt enemy operations. While uniforms, tactics and equipment have changed considerably since the early days of this nation, the CME’s greatest resource, “The Sapper”, has changed very little. He is still “the man of all work of the Army and the public: astronomer, geologist, surveyor, draughtsman, artist, architect, traveler, explorer, antiquary, mechanic, diver, soldier and sailor; ready to do anything or go anywhere.” (Hill, 1987) And above all, sappers are highly trained team players who will attack any task with tenacity and determination of our uniformed predecessors.... Professionalism and rigorous training allows them to operate the most sophisticated equipment available. Yet in an

emergency, Sappers<sup>14</sup> place tools aside and fight as infantry (Canada DND 1993b, 2-1).

*The Canadian Military Engineers Manual* describes the origin of the CME motto, which also signifies their importance to the Canadian Forces:

“UBIQUE” means “Everywhere”. . . Because no campaign has ever been waged without the participation of sappers, the RCE was granted in 1931 the motto “UBIQUE” in recognition of their numerous honours in battle. This motto has been granted to the Canadian Military Engineers and symbolizes its pride in past achievements. (*The Canadian Military Engineers Manual*. 3-1)

The military engineer is viewed as being essential to the rest of the Canadian forces, and herein lies the root of their pride. The fact that their work is considered to include some of the most dangerous tasks in the Canadian Armed Forces is also a reason for pride in their expertise, and thus competition with other trades in the military.

The 56 FES are also active in community service, and have constructed many bridges in Newfoundland and Labrador: Fox Island River, Port Blandford, Dyke’s River, Gros Morne National Park, Quidi Vidi Lake in St. John’s, and Manuels River (Harvey 1990). The Squadron has also participated in several restoration projects throughout the city of St. John’s, such as the Quidi Vidi Battery completed in 1967 (Harvey 26-31, 60-61; Holmes 379; Chaplin-Thomas, Johnson and Rawling 86-87). The Unit has been given many awards in competitions for their proficiency in n skills used military

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<sup>14</sup> Throughout this study I use the term “sapper” in lower case to mean any member of the CME, and when capitalized it refers to the basic rank of Sapper, the abbreviation being “Spr”. The basic rank in the Canadian Armed Forces is Private Untrained (Pte).

engineering skills based on a number of these projects: the Lindsay Memorial Trophy for map exercise; the Mackenzie Trophy for unit administration efficiency; the Melville Trophy for Exercise Thumper Run; and the Gzowski Cup for the most outstanding unit in Canada (Harvey 144; *UBIQUE* 40). Members of 56 FES also participate in search and rescue operations, emergency relief such as in the Ontario and Quebec Ice Storm during 1997, and peacekeeping duties overseas with United Nations Forces in places such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kuwait, Rwanda, Somalia, and Afghanistan.

The number of personnel in this squadron at the time of my fieldwork was 143, which is similar to the number of members in many regiments. The number fluctuates frequently due to temporary leaves of absences for educational or work-related purposes, transfers to other units and the regular armed forces. The members of 56 FES join the military for a variety of reasons, however, the two most frequently given being (approximately 30% of 56 FES) economic and interest in the military. Since Confederation, Newfoundland has had the highest rate of unemployment in Canada (8% in 2003) and it is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that they also comprise the highest percentage of serving military personnel of any province or territory (Crosbie; Taylor). The majority of members interviewed joined 56 FES while pursuing higher education, and thus often to help fund their education. A few members had been Army Cadets during high school and regarded entry into the military as a natural progression. The members who stay with 56 FES after establishing a civilian career express a strong connection to both their unit, and the Canadian Forces.

The Unit is made up of mostly Reserve personnel, with two to four Regular Force

positions comprising an officer, two senior non-commissioned officers (Sr NCO), and a junior non-commissioned officer (NCO). The officer, typically holding the rank of Captain, will occupy the position either of Adjutant, Deputy Commanding Officer, Operations Officer, or Administrations Officer. One of the Sr NCOs will hold the position of Training Warrant Officer or Squadron Sergeant Major. The other Sr NCO will fill the role of Chief Clerk. The junior NCO will be the Squadron Transportation NCO. In 1992 there were four Regular Force personnel stationed with 56 FES.

The majority of Reserve personnel employed with 56 FES are designated as Class A in the Canadian Armed Forces. This means that they work one or two nights a week, attend weekend exercises, parades and other functions as required by their position in the unit. They are also required to attend any courses needed for the training for their rank and position in the squadron as the need arises. This is usually done in the summer months. During longer courses and lengthy exercises they are upgraded to Class B, or full-time personnel. Reserve personnel are not eligible for the same benefits as Regular Force members; their pension (a newly instated benefit) follows a different set of criteria, and they are only entitled to health care benefits when working as Class B and for peacekeeping duty or other crises (war or aide-to-civil power such as the ice storm relief in Ontario and Quebec in 1997). Their travel is provided to and from exercises, courses or call-outs. They are not provided with housing or housing allowances except when on courses, during exercises or call-outs. The Class A Reservist, for the most part, has other employment or is pursuing an education in the “civilian” world. There are some Reserve personnel who work full-time at the squadron and are classed Class B (Annotated A),

which means they are still Reservists and are not entitled to receive all the same benefits as Regular Forces personnel.

The pay scale is dependent upon the class system and the rank of the individual. In 1992 the basic rate of pay in the Reserves for a Private Untrained was \$22.04 for a half-day (less than 6 hours) and \$44.08 for a full day's pay (6 hours or more). For Private Trained, or Sapper in the CME, the rate increased to \$25.28 half-day, and \$50.56 full day. This compared with minimum wage in 1992, at \$4.50 per hour in Newfoundland meant that the Private recruit working six hours would receive less than \$3.67 per hour after taxes. On training exercises or projects in 1992 Junior Ranks and Non Commissioned Members would receive an additional \$12.30 per day (For the pay scale for additional ranks see Appendix B). For many members, their involvement in Remembrance Day was less about pay and more about duty to the veterans, living and deceased, to the Squadron, and to the Canadian Forces.

Military recruits are trained, first, to work in small groups, to build "buddy relations" (Little) with members of parallel ranks to create bonds and learn to depend on each other. These bonds are considered the backbone of training – and serve to connect military members to each other, their unit, regiment, branch and the Canadian Forces. Pride in one's section, troop, unit, regiment, branch translates into pride in the Canadian Forces. Thus such small group connections are considered to be essential to "combat effectiveness" (Little; see also Canada DND 1982; Canada DND 1993a; English 60-61; Fuller) – "membership of the part, and membership to the whole", as defined by Anthony Cohen (1982, 14).



Squadron members articulate these bonds in “occupational experience narratives” (McCarl 1978b) about teamwork in training and exercises and projects. Corporal Kennedy explained:

Being on course... like at the end of three weeks I've known them more than I've ever known my friends like four and five years...you get a bond I guess, like you go through the same hardships you get to see what each other can do and what they're like under pressure and stuff and one you get that respect you'll do anything for them (Interview 22).

Sapper Budden illustrates the importance of enduring shared hardships in the formation of friendships and bonds:

Like I mean, on my course we had this little thing called the "blade wheel," it was excellent. I mean every night as everyone went to bed, we'd spin this little, like little spinning top and whoever it pointed at would be “bladed” that next morning's inspection. You know, we'd always have something.. we used to hide like a crock of cheese whiz in their... always just something that just barely be showing for the.. instructor to find. So the instructors used to get a kick out of it too because like okay... “who got the blade wheel last night.” It used to get really bad, like we'd start disassembling beds and that, right before inspection and stuff. One time I got it.... My bed was perfectly made, not a wrinkle in it but it was completely upside down. I couldn't believe it. I came back from the shower. I almost died. The guys are great, I mean you can carry on with 'em about about anything, even something like that, I mean, the first summer I was up there, if we did something like that I mean you would've been shot I say, but you know after you get to know everybody... (Interview 27).

These peer groups are based on shared experiences and identity, and in more

informal contexts is less defined by rank, as noted by Master Corporal Dwyer, “We’re all friends... I can go talk to the highest-ranking officer and talk to him, cause he’s an engineer. . and talk to him . . . have a beer.. we’re all the same breed of man, or woman” (Interview 17). Similarly, stated by Warrant Officer Reelis:

This squadron acts more like a family... our officers look out for their troops; make sure they’re taken care of. A section of eight men are useless if four of them can’t get along together... you have to work as a team... you care about the welfare of the soldiers. . if he’s got a problem. . it’s your problem (Interview 12).

The members of 56 FES describe teamwork and group bonding as being essential skills learned though formal and informal instruction, through work and play that will be explored further throughout this study of the Remembrance Day Celebrations of this group.

### **1.3 Research Methods**

My involvement with 56 FES began during my own basic military training in the summer of 1987 at a course run by the Unit and 36 Service Battalion at CFS St. John’s. As the friend, then girlfriend, and now wife of unit officer, Captain Mike Machin, I have been a participant and observer of the customs and traditions of 56 FES for eighteen years. Prior to joining the Canadian Forces, I attended high school and worked at CFB Baden Soellingen, West Germany for three years, and have first hand knowledge of both the public and private aspects of military life. Were it not for my association with 56 FES, and members of other military units, I would never have discovered the more

private elements of their Remembrance Day celebrations, or other similar customs.

My unique position in relation to the unit has cast me as an insider and outsider. While as a non-member I am an outsider; as a former militia member, and the wife of an officer some of my experiences are those of an insider. The members of 56 FES view me as a marginal part of their unit. Were I merely the wife of a unit member, I would not have access to many of their more private celebrations. My position on the margins of the group is beneficial to this study as they do not take for granted my level of understanding of the procedures involved, and of the meaning of their traditions. There are many folklore studies that could not have been possible without this type of participant-observer approach (Jackson 1987: 63).

A number of contacts were made during my basic military training. As an insider, I have formed friendships with members of the group, and have taken part in numerous unit functions - Mixed Mess Dinners, "Army Night" at the Officer's Mess, several "Pukka Sapper" initiations, Christmas parties, graduation events, anniversary celebrations, and "Change of Command" ceremonies. Although these events are not directly related to the Remembrance Day Celebrations, they are examples of cultural performances with both public and private aspects within military occupational culture.

Remembrance Day, as it is celebrated in St. John's, Newfoundland, is a multi-faceted event, with numerous ceremonies going on at different locations and involving many different groups of people, both participants and observers. Therefore, it was beyond the scope of this thesis to study every aspect of Remembrance Day in detail. The documentation of these events consisted of the use of still photographs, video footage,

and field notes. In addition, the public ceremonies of years since 1992 were documented, with photographs and field notes, including the parades in Mount Pearl in 1997, St. John's in 1999, Portugal Cove in 2002, Holyrood in 2003, and Topsail in 2005 as well as gun salutes in 1993 and 1994 to allow for examining variation.

Tape-recorded interviews were conducted with present and former members of 56 FES, as well as a member of HMCS Cabot to document their participation in these events, and to discover their perspectives and memories of the Remembrance Day customs. A number of others were interviewed for additional information – members and former members of other military groups. For obvious reasons, all of the informants could not be quoted, and quotes have been chosen which either represent the information given by the majority of informants, or ones that provide important details or variations that were not described elsewhere. A number of informants asked to remain anonymous; as a result their names have been omitted from the quotes that have been used, as well as from the interview list.

Background research was conducted at the CME Museum at CFB Chilliwack, British Columbia in December of 1992, January of 1993 and April of 1993. Related traditions were documented at CFB Gagetown, New Brunswick in the summer of 1992. Numerous unit functions were observed, in addition to the Remembrance Day ceremonies, and documented with photographs and detailed field notes to examine the greater body of cultural performances of 56 FES (see Appendix F).

There were several problems encountered in the fieldwork for this thesis: the prohibited use of cameras in two situations, the inability to be everywhere at once. It was

necessary to use a colleague to photograph the gun salute, as it takes place at the same time as the ceremonies at the War Memorial on Water Street. While the tradition of "making the rounds" is considered an important part of Remembrance Day for the members of 56 FES, the only published documentation of it is a photograph in the unit history of sappers enjoying a celebratory drink together (Harvey 80).



**Photo 1. 1 The Soldiers of 56 FES on November 11, 1958 (reprinted with the permission of 56 FES).**

There are also very few printed sources that include descriptions of the gun salute performed by 56 FES in St. John's, aside from publications of the Canadian Forces such as the Unit history book (Harvey 1990) and *Ubique! Canadian Military Engineers: A Century of Service*. (Chaplin-Thomas, Johnson and Rawling).

### 1.4 Approaches

This thesis studies the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES from a performance-centred approach. Folklorists who employ this method study folklore as communication or performance events within its naturally occurring context, borrow methodology and concepts from many disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, theatre and literature studies, and linguistics (Fine 1996, 554-6; Ben-Amos 1997, 630-65). The contextual approach, developed by Bronislaw Malinowski, influenced the performance-centred approach. Malinowski described the difference between the “context of culture”, meaning the larger culture to which the event belongs and the “context of situation” which refers to each new performance situation (Malinowski 1923 in Ben-Amos 1996). Such folklorists as William Bascom further developed Malinowski’s ideas (Ben-Amos 1996, 158-60).

The performance approach was possibly most influenced by the sociolinguist Dell Hymes’ early works “The Ethnography of Speaking” (1962, 15-53) and in his introduction in “Toward Ethnographies of Communication” (1964) which argues that speech acts can be studied ethnographically in order to understand the rules of speech within an identified “speech community” and so enabling us to explain how the speech acts function within that community.

Dan Ben-Amos’ article, “Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context” (1971), describes folklore as a communicative process, a performance involving performers and audiences belonging to the same reference groups. Ben-Amos goes on to define folklore as “artistic communication in small groups” (1971, 13). Kenneth Goldstein’s “On the

Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory” (1971) further expands upon the work of C. W. Von Sydow (1948), seeing that each performance of folklore within the repertoire of a “tradition bearer” depends on many factors of the social and cultural environment (62-67).

Richard Bauman’s article, “Differential Identity and the Social Base of Folklore,” (1971) asserts that folklore performance can take place between both members of the same group as well as between members of different folk groups:

Folklore may be found in both symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships; members of particular groups or social categories may exchange folklore with each other, on the basis of shared identity, or with others, on the basis of differential identity. The point is that folklore performance does not require that the lore be a collective representation of all of the participants, pertaining and belonging equally to all of them. It may be so, but it may also be differentially distributed, differentially performed, differentially perceived, and differentially understood. As folk groups are generally conceptualised, all members have an equal stake in their common folklore and are equally eligible to perform it, whereas in all of our examples the lines between performer and audience are clearly drawn, based on differences of identity (1971, 38).

The book *Towards New Perspectives in Folklore* (1972) edited by Américo Perèdes and Richard Bauman is another important contribution to the performance approach, including the reprinted works of Ben-Amos (1971) and Baumann (1971).

Dell Hymes’ essay, “Breakthrough Into Performance,” asserts that variation is essential to performance, and that cultural knowledge and performance are interdependent (1975, 11-74).

Folklorist Richard Bauman's defining work "Verbal Art as Performance" (1977) explains:

the term "performance" has been used to convey a dual sense of artistic action – the doing of folklore – and artistic event – the performance situation, involving performer, art form, audience and setting – both of which are basic to the developing performance approach (1977, 4).

Bauman further underscores the importance of the context of performance to the content and meaning of the performance: "Performance always manifests an emergent dimension as no two performances are never exactly alike" (1977, 41).

Despite recent criticism of the merit of Eric Hobsbawm's scholarship, the concept of "invented tradition" discussed in the Introduction to *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger) is compatible with the performance approach:

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitably historic past (Hobsbawm 1).

Hobsbawm further asserts that while many traditions are consciously created, many are spontaneous (1-2). Likewise, Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin's "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious" (1984) suggests that each new performance is an invention.

The interdependence of folklore and creativity is discussed in Simon Bronner's introductory chapter in *Creativity and Tradition in Folklore* (1992, 1-38), a compilation of articles by a number of folklorists, meant to continue the teachings of folklorist W.F.



Nicolaisen. Bronner's introduction explains the importance of context and creativity to folklore, culture, and tradition and their use in folklore scholarship, and the prominent work of Nicolaisen in particular (1-38). Each communication or performance involves some degree of creativity, and each change produces variations in the folklore (1-38). Bronner states: "Folklore changes as people adapt it to different situations and needs. Folklore becomes manipulated knowledge; it is expressed as a blend of personal and social influence" (1992, 2).

The performance approach became widely used in the study of occupational folklore, such as the articles by folklorists Roger Abrahams, Robert H. Byington, Jack Santino, Archie Green and Robert McCarl in *Working Americans: Contemporary Approaches to Occupational Folklife* edited by Robert H. Byington (1978). Robert McCarl's "Occupational Folklife: A Theoretical Hypothesis" (1978) asserts that the performance of occupational folklore communicates the shared traditional knowledge of the group, which he calls the "shaping principle" which communicates aspects of their identity to themselves and to outsiders (1978, 145). It is the shared occupational knowledge of 56 FES, which informs members of the "appropriate performance" (Baumann 1977, 11; McCarl 1978b) for Remembrance Day and will be explored in this thesis.

## **CHAPTER 2: THE STUDY OF MILITARY TRADITIONS: AN OVERVIEW**

The study of the military as an occupational group with their own identity, system of meaning, work practices, language or vocabulary, customs and traditions is an emergent area of research, to which this study of 56 Field Engineer Squadron's Remembrance Day Celebrations can be added. What follows is a review of a significant portion of the research that has been undertaken on military traditions. Because the majority of the early works about military tradition are concerned with more than one genre of folklore and lack theoretical analysis or interpretation, these works have been approached chronologically, as opposed to thematically, in order to illustrate the development of this area of research up to the present.

### **2.1 Early Studies of Military Traditions**

A significant quantity of the early published works from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards merely record items of folklore collected by or from individuals, who at one time or another, served in the military, and tend to focus on songs and verse, stories, jargon or slang, and few include documentation of the context of folklore performance (Cleveland 1987, 87).<sup>1</sup> There are a number of works that document some aspects of the context of the folklore performance, provide examples for the comparison of texts, and a

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<sup>1</sup> For examples of some early studies see Beauchamp, Laidlaw, Limouze, Loomis, and Pound.

very small number of articles discuss the functions of the folklore they study (see for example Ives 1947; Keith 1950; Koch 1953; Wallrich 1953 and 1954).

Sgt. G.P. Bradley, a surgeon in the United States Navy, describes how naval funeral ceremonies are carried out in “Burial Customs Formerly Observed in the Naval Service,” (1894) and discusses some variations and origins of these customs.

Anthropologist Ralph Linton’s “Totemism and the A.E.F.” (1924) describes the “pseudo-totemic complexes” (296) in use by the American Expeditionary Forces 42<sup>nd</sup> Division. Linton’s article cites examples of how military groups form a relationship with objects or creatures in the natural world, believed to bring luck or blessing or share qualities the group aspires to have. Linton asserts that the totemic process as found in the A.E.F. was similar to that found in primitive societies (286-289). The A.E.F. was comprised of units from all over the United States, and had been named the “Rainbow Division” (298) for their multi-coloured collection of regimental colours. The rainbow name was used to distinguish group membership, and the belief widely held that rainbows were good-luck omens for the regiment. The soldiers used the rainbow as an emblem by painting rainbows on equipment and making insignia to be worn on their uniforms, both forbidden by commanders at first, but later recognized and accepted to be used in a standardized form (Linton 297-298).

The early military guide books, such as the *King’s Regulations and Orders for The Army, 1912*, (1914) outlines “official” customs and traditions and the rules for their practice, and attempts to provide a history of each. The 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of *Naval Customs Traditions and Usage* (1939) written by Lieutenant Commander Leland P. Lovette was

written as a history and reference guide for the U.S. Navy. Lovette gives detailed descriptions of the customs and traditions and attempts to trace their origins. This volume also includes detailed descriptions of both formal and informal customs, such as the “Crossing the Line” initiation ceremony practiced by sailors crossing the equator, behaviours such as etiquette and manners, the use and importance of flags, and a detailed chapter on naval expressions and words.

Service members and Veterans of World War II wrote about their own experiences, and were the focus of study for academics and collectors. There is a noticeable shift in focus from the recording of the folklore “text” to the interpretation of the function of the folklore in “context.” A former officer in the U.S. Army, folklorist Herbert Halpert wrote a number of articles based on his military experience, and includes material collected from U.S. servicemen stationed in both Canada and the United States (1944a and 1944b; 1945; 1990). His article “Tales of a Mississippi Soldier” (1944b) discusses the issue of the context of performance as crucial to the study of folklore, and shows how the informant will often alter the story to suit different audiences (103-107).

Teacher Agnes Nolan Underwood was one of the early collectors of military folklore in the United States. Underwood’s college classes at Russell Sage College in 1946 were comprised mostly of veterans (Underwood 286-297; Cleveland 1987, 88). In “Folklore From G.I. Joe” (1947), Underwood writes about the many items in her collection: stories, vocabulary and songs, rhymes and cadences, “superstitions” and good luck tokens, and the gendering of military equipment and acknowledges the impact of her gender on her fieldwork (not wanting to offend, her informants altered or omitted

vocabulary, and even whole songs, based upon the degree of foul language) (287). Agnes Underwood's large collection of military folklore was donated to the archive of the State University College at Buffalo.

Ronal Ives's "Dugway Tales" (1947) describes the stories being circulated among civilians and military members during World War II about the testing area in Utah, named "Dugway Proving Ground" (53). These stories supplied explanations to unanswered questions about many aspects of the military operations being carried on that were secret, such as personnel, procedures, and equipment. Ives sees these tales as functioning to alleviate stress for tale-tellers and audiences.

Sam Keith's "The Flying Nightmares" (1950) describes examples of folklore from personal experience as a member of the Marine Corps Bomber Squadron 413 during World War II. Keith describes some of his battle experiences and the songs, stories, and vocabulary that developed among squadron members based on shared experiences of the group.

William Wallrich's articles "U.S. Air Force Parodies: World War II and the Korean War about United States Air Force" (1953) and "U.S. Air Force Parodies Based Upon 'The Dying Hobo'" (1954) give different variations of songs, and the locations where other versions of the songs were found. Wallrich does discuss some of the functions of these songs as being to reduce stress, express fear and to entertain the military personnel who sing them (1953, 270) and also indicates how new versions incorporate current military terminology (1954, 236). Another former serviceman, Edwin E. Koch, writes about the superstitions, stories, and songs of the Fifteenth Air Force in "G.I. Lore of the

Fifteenth Air Force” (1953) including definitions and origins of the jargon, and some contextual details of the performance. (For some early works by former military members about folktale and folksong which include some contextual information of folklore performance see Brophy and Partridge; Cary; Dolph; Hench; Hopkins; Niles; Yates.)

William Wallrich’s “Superstition and the Air Force” (1960) describes the prevalence of customary practices used by members of the Air Force to ward off evil or protect them from harm. Wallrich sees these “talismans” as ways to deal with the omnipresent danger in training and combat. Examples of many of these symbolic objects and behaviours also serve to assuage the airmen’s fears of sexual prowess.

Clifford H. Bowring’s *Service: The Story of the Canadian Legion 1925-1960* (1960) describes the history of the Royal Canadian Legion, the importance of Remembrance Day ceremonies and the use of the poppy as a symbol of remembrance. He gives the words to the poem “In Flanders’ Fields” by John McCrae. Bowring sees the main objective of the Canadian Legion being to remind the public to remember both the losses and gains of war. He also explains the importance of the poppy campaign to the rehabilitation and support of Veterans and their families.

“Buddy Relations and Combat Performance” (1964) written by Roger W. Little, of the U.S. Military Academy’s Office of Military Psychology and Leadership, discusses how the buddy system, as observed among a U.S. rifle platoon in the Korean Conflict, served to maintain the objectives and structure of the U.S. forces command. Little studies the importance of the formation of a shared identity for the soldier’s primary group to his integration in the military organization. Little defines “buddy” relationship as:

...intensely personal and intimate, fostered by conditions of actual and expected stress. But the word was also used as a general term to describe all the men in the same unit who shared the risks and hardships of combat. Although often at odds with the authority system, the network of interpersonal relationships formed by buddies contributed to operational effectiveness by establishing and enforcing upper and lower limits to role performance (195).

Little describes the use of garrison contests to maintain unit strength and identity. He sees that the buddy relationship was most important in front-line combat, while the connection to the unit, or regiment came into play while at rear camps, rest centres or on leave where soldiers would have met members of other units or regiments. Little concludes that the combat effectiveness of individual soldiers, units or regiments could be directly attributed to the extent to which they bonded with their fellow unit members.

George G. Carey's 1965 "A Collection of Airborne Cadence Chants" analyzes the chants as a means of maintaining group identity and differentiating the Airborne from the rest of the US Forces. Carey collected these chants while the troops were actually running. Carey also explores how these chants function to alleviate boredom in daily routines, as well as to make light of the very real occupational hazards that the Airborne face on a daily basis (52-61).

Former Naval Aviator, Peter Thorpe's "Buying the Farm: Notes on the Folklore of the Modern Military Aviator" (1967) describes some of the "myth, taboo, and language" from his own personal experience. Thorpe sees the myths, stories and taboos as a vehicle for the creation of Aviator worldview and identity, necessary for occupational competence (11-17). These examples of Aviator lore attempt to mask the

danger and fear inherent in their everyday activities: Taboos against the fear of flight (12) and other such “un-masculine” behaviour (13-14), tales that revel in the near-death experience (14-15), and dismissing the moral consequences of combat (13). Thorpe concludes that such attitudes enable the pilot to be “effective” in combat (16).

Folklorist Bruce Jackson’s “What Happened to Jody” (1967) is also about the dissemination of “Jody Calls”, cadence chants named for their main character, in military culture and prison culture. Jackson uses examples from military sources, prison inmates, as well as published examples to compare the variants, in order to explore which aspects have survived through transmission.

Several new approaches came into usage in the late 1960s: anthropological theories such as Arnold Van Gennep’s *The Rites of Passage* (1960), Freudian analysis, the contextual approach, the organizational behavioural approach, and the performance-centred approach. Numerous works also explored the use of sexual symbolism in military folklore, and describe the importance of differentiating “male” from “female” in military verbal lore.

Anthropologist Melford S. Weiss’ “Rebirth in the Airborne” (1971) describes the rites of passage in the Airborne regiment and how they function to bind the members together while differentiating them from other groups in the military. Weiss describes the symbolic and magical customary, material and verbal lore of the Airborne, and brings to his interpretation the stages of initiation rites outlined by Arnold Van Gennep, likening the initiation to ones used by primitive societies. Weiss states that history, training and customs like the initiation serve to impart “esprit de corps” essential to the airborne identity (165).



Gary L. Wamsley's "Contrasting Institutions of Air Force Socialization: Happenstance or Bellweather" (1972) compares two systems military socialization, Officers Training School (OTS) and Pre-Flight (Pre-Flight) Training School. Wamsley discusses how recruits were stripped of their civilian identity and given a military one. The Pre-Flight system uses degradation and reward techniques to integrate the members and hopes to inculcate ideals such as patriotism, loyalty, fearlessness and hardiness in battle. The OTS system, in contrast, is seen to create a "managerial" culture (401).

"The Military as Rite de Passage" (1974) by Robert Endleman, another anthropologist, shows how the recruit makes the transition from civilian to military. Using the model provided in Arnold Van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage* with examples of Marine initiations from several published sources, this study is concerned with American conscripts of World War II. He explores the masculine identity in terms of the tools of the trade (rifles, etc.), uniforms, and hazing customs and the definition of "masculine" by the rejection of the "feminine" (282-285). Endleman asserts that for the conscript returning to the U.S. after World War II there was an absence of a parallel custom to signify their re-entry to civilian life that further complicated the transition for some (283).

"The Enlisted Man: Army Folklore" (1976) by William Ferris describes jokes, sayings and cartoons about officers which circulated in Xerox form amongst the enlisted military and civilian workers in the personnel office of a military base in the United States. Ferris asserts that these jokes express frustrations with their superiors and served as a release from the tension at work (234). He also saw that these forms served to

connect the enlisted men and civilians who shared the same workplace, while differentiating them from the officers.

In “Inventing Military Traditions” (1977), military historian John Keegan, formerly of the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, England looks at military traditions, both current practice and the past, as “invented” to create a desired identity. He describes numerous items of lore from the St. Cyr Military School in Brittany and how they became part of French military tradition. A section of this work describes how military uniforms are designed, often copying those of other nations, regiments, or units or from the past, based on an appealing style or aspects of character with which they are associated. The introduction to John Keegan’s most recent edition of *A History of Warfare* (1994) explores the importance of “regimental loyalty” to combat effectiveness (xiv-xv) and the uniform as symbol of identity (xiv-xv).

Lt. Col. R.J. Dickinson’s *Officers’ Mess: Life and Customs in the Regiment* (1977) outlines the history of the mess institution in the British military and its customs. Dickinson stresses the importance of humour in such a serious and dangerous occupation (vi). He describes both formal and informal customs, such as the origins of the mess kit, initiations, dining ceremonies, as well as games and contests.

Folklorist Elliott Oring “Totemism and the A.E.F. Revisited” (1977) discusses an earlier article by Ralph Linton “Totemism and the A.E.F.” (1927). Oring’s work describes examples of the totemic process in the experiences of soldiers in Vietnam. He shows how both the mongoose and “Bruce” the skull become symbols or mascots of the soldiers who use them (75-80).

S.G. Kenagy's "Sexual Symbolism in the Language of the Air Force Pilot" (1978) analyses the speech using a Freudian psychoanalytic approach. Kenagy asserts that such verbal folklore are expressions of group identity, and outlets for assuaging the perceived threats to their identity – loss of power and virility. Kenagy describes the many terms, phrases and rites that are meant to equate symbolize male sexual prowess with occupational success. The aircraft is depicted as the male sexual organ, an extension of the airman's body or a tool. The aircraft is also depicted as a female sexual organ, symbolizing either power or the fear of the loss of power.

## 2.2 Recent Studies of Military Traditions

The recent studies of military folklore show a wider array of military traditions than were previously covered; such as material culture; gestures, the interconnectedness of folklore and popular culture, as well as the "official" use of tradition to create and maintain group identity. The authors, who draw upon related studies to illustrate their own work, employ a more academic approach, and by narrowing their focus, endeavoured to achieve a greater degree of specialization.

E.C. Russell's *Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Armed Forces* (1980) describes customs of the Canadian Forces, from published sources, primary sources and from the memories and experiences of past and present members of the military. Russell sees these customs as beneficial to morale, regarded as essential to the military combat objective. Russell describes a number of formal and informal military traditions, the significance and uses of objects such as flags, and colours, and military vocabulary. Russell

describes the mascots of a number of military units, such as the Royal Newfoundland Regiment's mascot "Sable Chief", their uses and origins, as well as alluding to the unofficial custom of mascot stealing.

Monte Gulzow and Carol Mitchell's "'Vagina Dentata' and 'incurable Venereal Disease' Legends from the Vietnam War" (1980) describes versions of this tale type circulating among American military personnel, and in some cases civilians who had been told the stories by a military member. They see the stories as expressions of heightened fears and anxiety in the face of uncertainty when identifying the "enemy" among Vietnamese civilians. The stories also served to instruct military personnel to fear "intimacy" with civilians, any of whom could potentially be the enemy. Gulzow and Mitchell also see these stories as expressions of "castration anxiety" (315) of young men who went to war to "prove" their manliness.

George Cornell's "G.I. Slang in Vietnam" (1981) and Dan Cragg's "A Brief Survey of Some Unofficial Prosigns Used by the United States Armed Forces" (1980) and "Viet-Speak" (1982), describe how occupational vocabulary heightens group identity. The article "Viet-Speak" goes so far as to assert that the language developed by soldiers serving in Vietnam reflects their shared philosophy (Cragg 1982, 249-50).

Roy Nuttall's *The Changing Face of Fovant, a pictorial history* (1981) outlines the history of the regimental crests and other symbols carved in the hillside of Fovant, England by troops living and training there in World War I. He describes the badges' sizes and method of construction, as well as the length of time each took to carve. Nuttall

describes how the Fovant Badges Society came into being to maintain the symbols and their history.

Robert Sandels's "The doughboy: formation of a Military Folk" (1983) examines the development of the military as an occupation and the importance of the military within American society since World War I. Sandels sees the formation of group identity as central to military lore; emphasized through identifying the differences between military and civilian, or in identifying specialists within the military, to quote a soldier's diary, "we are conscious of an association that will bind us into a passionate group different and superior, as we think, to all others" (70). He emphasizes the importance of "professional" (72) attitudes and training to the new military identity and the emphasis place upon the development of the military and regimental loyalty through cultural enrichment and team spirit that bound members to one another, as a "family" (74). Sandels describes the use of symbols in the maintenance of group identity and expression, such as the "Rainbow" of the AEF (75) and the symbolic objects and behaviours, etiquette, speech, and uniforms. Sandels also explores trench folklore and its use in teaching soldiers how to survive the physical and psychological dangers of combat, and to maintain their bravado. Seen as essential to Doughboy character is the connection to civilian American life – that military identity was a temporary state, perpetuated after the war through the American Legion and veterans associations.

The pamphlet *The Fovant Badges Society* (1984) describes the history of the carved symbols in the hillside of Fovant, and that of the Fovant Badges Society with illustrations and photographs, and includes the childhood memories of one member of the

Fovant Badges Society about the troops stationed at Fovant. This pamphlet makes an appeal to visitors for donations to assist with the maintenance of the badges (1984). L. Bradford's *Fovant Badges Society: A History* (1986) also outlines the rules of the Fovant Badge Society, and shows how past changes have affected the goals of the society. Kate Bergamar's *Discovering Hill Figures* (1986) includes descriptions of the badges and where they may be found.

"The Function of Folklore in the Louisiana Army National Guard" by Barbara Waelde (1984) discusses group pride and identity through informal and formal folklore. Using interviews with members of the Louisiana National Guard, first-hand observations and printed material Waelde sees the fact that this group's service is voluntary rather than compulsory as being important to their pride (28). She gives a brief history of the group, and discusses their training (28-9). The Guard's identity is defined by its differences from outsiders, military or civilian. The functions of folklore in this study are seen as being to validate belief, escapism, educate, initiate, and to ensure conformity (29). This article includes examples of verbal lore such as songs, chants, narratives, proverbs, naming and jargon, as well as customs such as the drinking custom, the "Boot Ceremony" which requires new recruits drink alcoholic beverages out of a superior's boot (38). One noteworthy tradition involves a group "mooning" performed as a mock parade where the members are in formation and then ordered by their sergeant to moon the "rival" unit (38).

Les Cleveland's article "Soldiers' Songs: The Folklore of the Powerless" (1985) discusses the uses of songs by soldiers in training and work. Cleveland explains that soldiers face difficult and dangerous tasks on a daily basis and rely on both teamwork and

their occupational skill in all aspects of military life. Cleveland defines soldiers as “powerless” based on their lack of control within the military hierarchy and that the songs, which poke fun at their superiors and military life, serve as culturally accepted forms of release for tension or boredom and to subvert authority.

The short article by folklorist Louie W. Attebury, editor of *Northwest Folklore*, titled “San Diego Military Lore: Two Generations of Idahoans” (1986) discusses some military lore from both his and his father’s personal experience. Attebury describes military slang and speech, memories of boot camp, drilling, stories, hazing, as well as songs and chants. Though these descriptions are brief, he underscores how such lore helps the soldier undermine his superiors by avoiding hard work, and express frustrations with the authority over which they have little power (50).

Nathan Joseph’s *Uniforms and nonuniforms: communication through clothing* (1986) is a sociological study of clothing as “a form of communication” using examples from both the United States and British forces. Joseph asserts that the uniform depicts specialized offices and hierarchical positions more accurately than any other category of clothing. He discusses the many characteristics and functions of the uniform as “group emblem” (66) and a tool for organizational control (70-71). Joseph also states that the uniform suppresses individuality, reveals or conceals status position, and can be an indication of legitimacy (66-69). The uniform serves to differentiate insiders from outsiders (74) as well as to differentiate between sub-groups of the same organization (74-79).

Susan G. Davis' book *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (1986) contrasts the different participants and settings of parades in 19th century Philadelphia. Davis describes parades as being communicative events that "were ways of influencing perceptions and ideas" (22). Davis describes the many aspects of the parade performance – performers, audiences, costumes, music, symbolic objects, ceremonial time, space and behaviour, planning or lack thereof, that "frame" performance. This study discusses the issues of public and private, respectable and rowdy, planned and spontaneous. Davis argues that parades communicate solidarity and power both to group members and non-members.

Les Cleveland's "Military Folklore and the Underwood Collection" (1987) discusses Underwood's contribution to the field of military folklore. Cleveland includes an annotated bibliography of published song collections and scholarly articles on military folklore, including a few commercial recordings. The majority of the works listed are from the United States, though a few items from other countries are included. Cleveland's work "Military Folklore: Additional References" (1988) supplements his 1987 study.

Folklorist Lydia Fish's "The Last Firebase" (1987) is about the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. Fish describes the activities and uses of this Memorial for Veterans – vigils, pilgrimages, a meeting place, and the creation or re-creation of Veteran community. She explains the incorporation of the Memorial into other forms of Veteran lore such as legend (86) and a source of renewed pride in service (86). Fish states that the Memorial is a place for remembering and signifying the shared involvement in



the Vietnam War or their shared loss (87). Fish concludes that the name “The Last Firebase” used by Veterans to refer to the Memorial symbolizes their fight for recognition of service to their country denied them at the end of the Vietnam War (87).

Kelly A. Lally’s work “Living on the Edge: The Folklore of Air Force Pilots in Training,” (1987) shows how folklore embodies group identity. Lally documented a reciprocal prank involving the altering or removal of flight symbols (114). The description of the creation of flight names and symbols on planes, patches and t-shirts are ways to express small-group identity within the larger military culture (109). Also documented are beliefs, narratives, jargon, and good luck charms from the training experience. She also records joking and games among the group members during after-hours social activities. Lally’s work was undertaken at Columbus Air Force Base, in Columbus, Mississippi where she conducted interviews with pilots in training and observed many social activities of the group. Lally asserts that the “danger, risk and intensity” (108) inherent in this occupation is central in their shared knowledge. Lally concludes that the folklore serves to alleviate some of the fear and stress generated by their work (117).

C. Kurt Dewhurst’s “Pleiku Jackets, Tour Jackets, and Working Jackets: “The Letter Sweaters of War”” (1988) describes the decoration of uniform jackets by service members in Vietnam with both official and unofficial group emblems and slogans. Dewhurst defines these jackets as communications of group membership and identity for members during their service in Vietnam (101).

The article by Alexandra Jaffe, a former U.S. Army Officer, “Saluting in Social Context” (1988) studies stylistic variations of the United States’ military custom of

saluting (263). Jaffe regards saluting as a “ritualized performance” that “...reflects military hierarchy and provides a medium for the expression of individuals’ attitudes toward the system” (263). She describes the styles and rules for the correct performance of salutes, and ways that the rules are “bent”, and explores possible attitudes that underlie the changes (265-274). Jaffe asserts that saluting helps to create and maintain the military community by ensuring members acknowledge one another and their relationship within the military hierarchy (269). She shows how variations in context affect both the style and meaning of the salute and that such expression of group solidarity and boundaries are constantly being defined and redefined during performance (265-275).

Ray Raphael’s *The Men From The Boys: Rites of Passage in Male America* (1988) is a study of initiations from several contexts, such as college fraternities (79-89), societies such as the Free Masons (92-95), and the military (21, 97-101). Raphael asserts that modern initiations attempt to integrate the new member into the group by separating him from his former outsider status (90) modelled on primitive initiations (58) and to bind him to the new group, emphasizing ideals of teamwork and loyalty (90). Raphael describes military courses and promotions as a type of individual “re-initiation” (97-101).

Terence J. Wolfe explores the effects of differentiation in “The ‘Command Bunker’ in a Military Hospital: Changing Power Perceptions Through a Modified Fishbowl Technique” (1988). Wolfe assessed the problems in the functioning of a U.S. Military hospital in Germany as being due to the creation of rigid boundaries between the various departments and the management of the hospital. He concludes, “To be successful, organizations must also be integrated as cohesive units” (3).

René Chartrand's "The Winter Costume of Soldiers in Canada" (1988) outlines the history of Canadian military costumes from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. He describes how factors such as climate, popular fashion trends; finances, political upheaval and conflict have influenced the style of costumes. Chartrand sees the most important function of the soldiers' outfits as being protection from the elements. He sources historic documents from libraries and archives, such as regimental books and journals, and provides photographs and illustrations of some examples of costumes. Chartrand traces the evolution of the Canadian "capot," the "great coat" and the way the costume was modified for use by different branches of the military, infantry, artillery and engineer, cavalry and militia that became symbols of their group membership.

Lydia M. Fish's article "General Edward G. Lansdale and the Folksongs of Americans in the Vietnam War," (1989) discusses the songs of the Vietnam War and the influence of popular culture. Fish details Lansdale's use of folklore in Southeast Asia as a psychological tool in propaganda. Lansdale also compiled a dictionary of Vietnamese slang terms and also collected the folksongs of the United States Military in Vietnam, making the most extensive field collection of military songs from Vietnam to date (390-411).

Folklorist Carol Burke's "Marching to Vietnam" (1989) is a study of military cadence calls, their uses and importance. Burke states that the cadence calls used in drill "build morale, ensure group cohesion, and ease strain by diverting attention from monotonous and often strenuous labor or training" (424). She describes how these chants are taught to new recruits to impart new attitudes, to which they are expected to adhere as

members of the military. Burke states that the drill, which the cadences accompany, also serves “to erase individuality and inscribes a corporate identity” (424). Burke adds that though some cadences express conformity to the military ideal, many use humor to subvert the chain of command by making fun of superiors or rivals. She explains how each group often creates new versions as they are handed down or through different branches of the military, and even though cadences were banned, they continue to circulate and further subvert the upper echelons of military authority. Burke also examines the lyrics of the cadences and discusses their violent and sexual themes and attitudes that they impart to the new soldier recruit. The soldier learns to reject his civilian identity – equated with “female” characteristics to harden them for combat and death. The soldier must become one with their weaponry for their survival in combat. The soldier is taught to fear and hate the enemy, providing him with the will and desire to fight (424-438).

Journalist and writer, Christopher J. Feola’s “The American Who Fought on the Other Side,” (1989) discusses the formula used in legends during the Vietnam War and shows how versions of these legends were told in previous wars and are used in popular culture. He aims to discover why versions of these legends are found in the lore of one war and not another, and supposes one reason may be the unpredictability of guerrilla warfare (120).

Arthur Schrader’s memories of experiences in World War II are described in his article “Applied Military Folklore: Naples 1944” (1989). Schrader describes the contexts in which chants were used to make light of difficult situations and hard work. He then

describes how three divisions used this chant in a review parade for generals and dignitaries, voicing frustration and momentarily exercising power over their commanders (157-8). Responding to Schrader's article in "Correspondence and Commentary" (1989), Carol Burke commented that Schrader's article demonstrates the "contrast between parade ground and battlefield" and the importance of venting frustrations (158), and went on to cite more versions of this type of prank which "subverts the serious event with humour":

...collective defiance of those in power...ironically, these accounts of defiance serve the conservative will of the institution by preserving the moment of disruption within the bounds of the humorous narrative (159). (159-60). Les Cleveland adds a further comment on Schrader's article to the discussion of military chants and cadences (1989). Cleveland provides another version of how a chant was created to make fun of a particular officer (161-2).

Stephen Sossaman's "More on Pleiku Jackets in Vietnam," (1989) is a short commentary in response to Dewhurst's (1988) article about the decoration of tour jackets in Vietnam. Sossaman, a combat veteran of the 9<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division 1967-68, refutes Dewhurst's generalization that these jackets were used among all American personnel in Vietnam, and counters with his own experience that only "rear echelon personnel with little exposure to war" made and wore these jackets. He adds that combat personnel would not have access to the necessary paraphernalia used to decorate the jackets. Sossaman further explains that combat soldiers modified their personal belongings and uniforms to express their "individual identities" (76) and not group identity, through their assertion of their former, or future, civilian identity and frequently expressed a desire to

distance themselves from the military. Sossaman sees that rear-echelon soldier's culture differed greatly from that of combat soldiers because of the differences in their wartime experiences – the degree to which the soldiers' lives were in danger.

Patrick Hagopian's "Oral Narratives: Secondary Revision and the Memory of the Vietnam War" (1990) describes how personal experience narratives contribute to an ongoing discussion about the Vietnam War and attempts to reconcile the political turmoil of that time. From a different perspective, Leslie Fiedler's "Mythicizing the Unspeakable" (1990) describes the genre of Vietnam War films that attempt to idealize the experiences of the US soldiers in Vietnam, and find some connection between their service to patriotic duty, while rationalizing the brutality of the war.

Bruce Jackson's article "The Perfect Informant" (1990) describes the difficulties experienced in fieldwork and the pitfalls of over-enthusiasm for one's topic or a particular informant. Jackson's research into Vietnam Veterans' personal experience narratives caused him to become involved with a false informant, discovered to never have been in Vietnam and whose identity was misappropriated from members of the veteran community.

Don Handleman and Elihu Katz's "State ceremonies of Israel – Remembrance Day and Independence Day" (1990) describes the communication of national identity in these two celebrations. While Remembrance Day in Israel commemorates the war dead and Independence Day celebrates the formation of the state of Israel, Handleman and Katz interpret the structural connection of the celebrations as a communication of their symbolic interconnectedness.

J.G. Fuller's *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies 1914-1918* (1990) is a study of military life during World War I. Fuller studies some of the cultural differences between the British, Canadian, Australian, and French militaries and discusses how the strict discipline of the British military sometimes proved counter-productive to morale. Fuller describes the use of patriotism, entertainments and sports activities to build morale. He cites many songs and rhymes in circulation and how popular culture affected the military culture of the time. Troop Journals, newspaper articles, official histories, military documents, statistical reports, literary writings, academic articles and unit histories are the many sources for this book, included in the very extensive bibliography.

Philip Nusbaum's "Traditionalizing Experience: The Case of Vietnam Veterans." (1991) describes the creation of a veteran community through the friendship groups and organized activities of veterans' associations. Nusbaum defines the veterans' activities as a communication of their shared "veteran" identity, to other veterans and to the general public (61).

My own article "Mascots: Artifacts of Identity," (Machin 1991/1992) was written during the early stages of research for this thesis. I compare two mascots, "Bernie" the beaver mascot of the 56 Field Engineer Squadron and "Buddy the Puffin" of the St. John's Maple Leafs hockey team (33-57). This study focuses on the process by which these mascots were created, and their use to interpret the meanings they hold for each group. This work incorporates interviews with the consumers of these mascots, my observation, and printed sources (35). I assert that these mascots are symbols of group

identity that integrates those who use the mascots - the hockey team and their fans, or the Canadian Military Engineers - by segregating them from non-users.

The joint article by Carole Blair, Marsha S. Jeppeson, and Enrico Pucci, Jr. "Public Memorializing in Postmodernity: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial as Prototype," (1991) examines the "rhetorical power" (263) of such memorials. The authors explain that in contrast to modern architecture, post-modern architecture "restores the symbolic dimension to architecture" (267) and its "pluralistic rhetoric" (267) is able to combine many themes allowing them communicate to more than one audience. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is discussed in terms of its ability to communicate multiple messages; dependant upon how it is "read" (272) and its creation is referred to as its "authorship" (273). The juxtaposition of the three different structures that comprise the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (The Wall, the Statue and the Flagpole) is described as affecting the individual messages of each. The authors conclude that the post-modern design of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial communicates multiple messages, more democratic in its inclusion of divergent attitudes towards commemoration (282).

Folklorist Jack Santino's article "Yellow Ribbons and Seasonal Flags: The Folk *Assemblage* of War" (1992) describes the combinations of symbols from popular culture, patriotic tradition, and seasonal holiday decorations employed by U.S. citizens in public displays during the Gulf War. He sees these displays as communications of the individuals' feelings about the war in Iraq. Santino describes the symbolism of the objects chosen for these displays and concludes that the individuals' chosen arrangements



of these objects (which he terms *assemblage*) communicate their perception of community identity.

Robert C. Doyle's "Unresolved Mysteries: The Myth of the Missing Warrior and the Government Deceit Theme in Popular Captivity Culture of the Vietnam War" (1992) describes the transmission of this theme in military culture. Doyle explains how the reality of war meant that significant troops were unidentifiable or "missing-in-action" that prevented loved ones or fellow soldiers from attaining closure, and paved the way for the suspicion that little or nothing was being done by the American government to find soldiers believed to be still alive. He explains the many challenges that faced the U.S. Military in finding and identifying injured, dead and missing soldiers during Vietnam, and how the political conflicts both within the U.S., and between the U.S. and Vietnam created a climate of distrust for Veterans and their families. The distrust of the U.S. government was further exploited by popular culture that drew on legends of the missing warrior and has influenced aspects of the public in their response to conflicts since the Vietnam War.

Caron Schwartz Ellis's "So Old Soldiers Don't Fade Away: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," (1992) discusses the history of decorating graves and the use of poppies as a flower of remembrance since World War I. Ellis also discusses traditions of honouring the dead, and the importance of naming to commemoration. Ellis discusses differences in commemorative practices between the Vietnam War and the Gulf War, and the use of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as a site for remembrance of service personnel

in the Gulf War. Ellis sees the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as having impacted U.S. commemorative tradition.

Carol Burke's "'If You're Nervous in the Service...': Training Songs of Female Soldiers in the 40's" (1992) is a study of the songs sung by the many women in the U.S. military during World War II. Burke observes that "these women adapted popular songs by inventing verses which defined them as military women, proclaimed their enthusiasm and eagerness to serve, and voiced their frustration about the rigors of training (127). These songs also put into words the contradictory images society had of these women, the images they had of themselves and their role in the military; promoting women's service in a limited, non-combatant capacity and emphasizing their lack of effectiveness as "soldiers". She adds that the songs "sanctions approved values and censures others" (129).

Graham Seal's anthology, *Digger Folksong and Verse of World War One: An Annotated Anthology* (1991), provides variants of songs and verse and discusses the issues of style and function. Seal discusses bowdlerization of the song (9), and observes that within the private context, the "army bawdry" was part of military culture, but that the texts were modified, "to a new, public status... which merely changes the context of their meaning(s) and is the means of, as well as a motive for, their transmission and preservation" (10). Seal discusses the transmission of these songs through space and over time and indicates that it is not the songs' origin that is important, but the meanings they hold for those who sing them (10). The songs in the anthology are limited to a

representative selection of songs from Australian “digger lore”<sup>2</sup>, and not those of the regular soldiers or the home front (11). Seal asserts that the functions of these songs are affected by the context of their performance, during wartime or post-war, and that during wartime the songs are more of a sanctioned outlet for griping and making light of danger, and less about group solidarity or identity. Seal observes that the use of these songs for patriotic fuel or nostalgia is a post-war function (4).

Gwenda Davey and Graham Seal discuss the folklore of the Australian soldier in “Anzac Day” (1993). Anzac Day commemorates first Imperial Battle of Australian and New Zealand Troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula on April 25, 1915. Celebration includes tales, jokes, songs and verse, food and alcohol consumption, and the gambling game “two-up” or “swy”<sup>3</sup> that is usually illegal but tolerated on this occasion (13).

Graham Seal’s “Wartime folklore,” (1993) describes the study of the military in Australia as an occupational folk group, whose folklore is not limited to wartime, but is also important to the everyday life of the military member in training and everyday life. Seal describes the history and folklore of the “digger”, the Australian volunteer soldier, and some characteristics of digger identity. Seal explains that the digger identity was articulated in terms of their differences from other groups “with whom they came into contact” (364).

Tony Walter’s “War Grave Pilgrimage,” (1993) describes the uses of war graves and cemeteries of World War I and II and regards visits to these memorials as pilgrimage. Walter interviews tour leaders and directors, and uses literature and media programs

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<sup>2</sup> The term “digger” refers to the name given to volunteer Australian infantry soldiers (Seal 1993).

about on war memorials and cemeteries. He contrasts the uses of memorials by veterans and servicemen's groups with that of tour directors. Walter asserts that the differences in focus divides people into pilgrims, tourists or enthusiasts, and attempts to understand the meaning the grave site holds for each group. Walter supposes that "visiting the grave, or the name on the memorial, substitutes for the missing funeral" (77) that few received during wartime. Walter sees that for veterans "Remembrance is for the *communitas* that has been lost, as well as for the comrades who have been lost." (80). Walter likens the pilgrimage to Victor Turner's model of a rite of passage (1969), and that the sacredness of the experience for the pilgrim is the reason for their pilgrimage, and their experiences involving a transformation (81-87).

The folklore of Louisiana State University cadets and the subgroups within the larger group is presented by Shawn Mitchell in "Down in your Mustard Seed, Kool-Aid Pumping, Marshmallow-Filled, Twinkie-Eating Heart" (1993). Mitchell studies the subgroup called the Bengal Raiders and how their traditions, such as dress, speech, and initiations distinguish them from other cadets (57). Mitchell gives an outline of the Raiders' place within the Special Forces (57), and provides a detailed description of the Raiders' initiation customs marking the end of their training. The final part of the ceremony involves the uninitiated trainees wearing their uniforms inside out to indicate their lack of status before initiation (60). The concluding "flash" ceremony involves the award of the Raider patches (flash) to be worn on their berets, a symbol of their membership in the group (62).

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<sup>3</sup> This gambling game is a coin toss that uses two coins, developed by Diggers during World War I ("Two-Up"(2002 and 2006)).

An official publication of the Canadian Forces *The Canadian Military Engineers Manual* (1993) includes a short history of the Canadian Military Engineers, and outlines their role within the Canadian Forces. It also describes the structure of the branch, and the role and responsibilities of those within the branch organisation. Many of the official CME customs and traditions are described in detail: verbal lore such as the engineer motto, prayer, and songs (complete with musical scores); celebrations and ceremonies such as the engineer birthday, the Order of the Pukka Sapper, weddings, and funerals; symbolic objects such as the CME crests, badges, and flag, trophies and memorials; uniforms and customs pertaining to dress regulations; rules for behaviour such as “courtesy”, “attitude to orders”, “saluting” among others, mess traditions and general rules of etiquette. This manual describes the importance of not only training but also “culture” to the conduct of the Canadian Military Engineer (*The CME Manual*).

Les Cleveland’s *Dark Laughter: War in Song and Popular Culture* (1994) is an extensive study of military songs from World War I to Vietnam from the U.S., British Commonwealth and numerous other sources. Cleveland makes use of his own collections of songs and narratives as well as material from archives in the United States, such as the Lansdale and Underwood collections (xi-xiv), and Cleveland explores how military occupational songs and popular culture combine to provide the soldier with integrative concepts that bind them to both their occupation and to their homeland (2). The military being such a dangerous occupation requires the establishment of a strong occupational identity to be a competent and cohesive fighting force (29) through “ideological conditioning” (25) communicated through folklore performance.

Vietnam Veteran and Vietnam War Collection curator John Baky's "White Cong and Black Clap: The Ambient Truth of Vietnam War Legendry" (1994) describes the prevalence of such contemporary legend in Vietnam War folklore. Baky provides six legends that he feels are the most prevalent among the stories that are presented in popular culture about the Vietnam War. Baky concludes that these legends are outlets for the expression of fears and anxieties about the unknown, and the fascination with societal taboos.

The book *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (1994) edited by John R. Gillis is a compilation of works about memory and identity, which includes works about commemorative events and artifacts - monuments, memorials and cenotaphs. Several of the articles within this work are of significant interest: John Bodnar's "Public Memory in An American City: Commemoration in Cleveland"; Thomas W. Lagueur's "Memory and Naming in the Great War" which discusses the origin of the cenotaph and its symbolism, as well as the use of individual graves for war cemeteries; Kurt G. Piehler's "The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War," that describes American burial customs and commemoration of war dead as purposeful attempts to "nationalize the war dead"; and Daniel J. Sherman's "Art, Commerce, and the Productions of Memory in France after World War I," which describes the many varieties of monuments in France.

History professor Alfred W. McCoy's "Same Banana!: Hazing and Honor at the Philippine Military Academy" (1995) describes the experiences of former members of the Philippine Military Academy and the use of hazing in the academy's history. He describes

aspects of military life and training to demonstrate the role that hazing and other military traditions played in the development of group culture and identity. The customs and traditions of the Philippine Military Academy borrowed from the US Military in its attempt to build “male loyalties” (692). McCoy sees military bonding as a reinforcement of “masculinity” (695), and hazing as a text of manliness (696) and group loyalty - the “Honor Code” (695), and teaches the importance of teamwork. McCoy describes the emphasis placed upon transformation through warfare or military service in literature and historical writings, and the delineation between male and female that were made to emphasize expected male behaviour. Philipino cadets readily accepted the borrowed hazing rituals because their own male culture already practiced similar rites as adolescent initiations and in-group tests of power and aggression. Examples of the “Same Banana” class (702) are used to show how collective defiance served to bind the classmates through their shared experiences and hardship. Following this class through battles and prison camps, McCoy shows how individuals relied on the hardiness taught in training, the symbols of their identity, and their shared bonds for their survival. McCoy also describes the importance of these bonds in peacetime, and how the “Honour Code” served to preserve the integrity of individual officers through difficult or unpopular military decisions.

Thomas E. Barden and John Provo, both Vietnam veterans, present stories which illuminate the fears and anxieties of soldiers who served in Vietnam in “Legends of the American Soldiers In the Vietnam War,” (1995). Barden and Provo assert that these legends are examples of lore emerging from the experiences of the U.S. military fighting and living in Vietnam. The legends come from their own memory, or were collected from

informants who corresponded with the authors via an Internet bulletin board. Barden and Provo prompted their internet informants with examples of legends from the works of John Baky (1994) and materials from the Vietnam Folklore archive at New York State University in Buffalo. Barden and Provo regard these legends as instruments of social control through the maintenance of taboos and boundaries (228).

Susanna Trnka studied the themes of sex and violence in military song and rhyme in her article “Living a Life of Sex and Danger: Women, Warfare, and Sex in Military Folk Rhymes.” (1995). Trnka cites works by other scholars on military song and cadences as well as examples from informants, literature and films. She observes that these rhymes are used to inculcate new recruits with military attitudes that will enable them to shun their former civilian identity and become part of the military machine (235). Trnka asserts that sex and pleasure are equated with violence, seen as essential to being a “real” soldier (237-239).

Carol Burke’s “Military Folklore” (1996) is an overview of the study of military folklore with bibliographical sources. Burke sees military lore as part of the service member’s occupational training, which imparts both techniques and worldview that form the basis of the group’s shared identity. Burke cites examples of military lore such as vocabulary and slang, cadences, beliefs and related customs and narratives.

Maoz Azaryahu’s “The spontaneous formation of memorial space. The case of *Kikar Rabin*, Tel Aviv”(1996) is about the spontaneous memorial constructed following the assassination of Israel’s Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. Azryahu asserts that



memorials and commemoration “pertain to the politics of collective identity” (502). He says of spontaneous memorials:

As authentic expression of popular sentiments and anchored in specific traditions of popular culture, the evocative power of such memorialisations is also related to the manner in which sacred ground is formed by unregulated public participation (503).

Azryahu shows how spontaneous memorials, already part of current Israeli tradition, combined with Israel’s past and current climate allowed for the creation of this spontaneous memorial, and transformed the civic space into a sacred space (512-512).

Kristin Ann Hass’s *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (1998) analyzes funeral customs, memorials, memorialising, and the many ways that people interact with the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Hass states that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a place for the expression of public and private grief. Hass discusses styles of memorials and contrasts them to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and the changing attitudes that affect the style and customs of memorialising. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, having been built by Veterans and their families, was to be a much more inclusive memorial, both in design and in use. Hass states that the many types of objects left at the Memorial are part of the new custom of individual “memorialising” and a “communicative act” (30), a voice for so many diverse opinions.

Carole Blair’s “Contemporary U.S. Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric’s Materiality” (1999) asserts that memorials “do the work.... that we expect eulogies to do” (17). Blair incorporates theories of language, rhetoric and semiotics to study five contemporary memorials from the United States - the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the

AIDS Memorial Quilt, the Civil Rights Memorial, Kent State University's May 4 Memorial, and the Witch Trial Tercentenary Memorial. She approaches these memorials as rhetorical texts to discover how they are created and maintained, reproduced or transmitted, and function for their audience (30-50). Through her study of these memorial sites Blair concludes:

Rhetoric's materiality constructs communal space, prescribes pathways, and summons attention, acting on the whole person of the audience. But it also allows a rhetorical text to "speak" by its mere existence, to endure of the durability of its composition, to be preserved by particular models of reproduction, and to act on other texts (49-50).

Simon Bronner's "Inventing and Invoking Tradition in Holocaust Memorials," (2000) studies memorials organized and created by Jews in Oswiecim, Poland and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania from his own personal perspective as a child of Holocaust Survivors. Bronner describes the construction of memorials as a symbol for the public remembrance of the Holocaust as problematic, in that such symbols must "transcend national commemoration and involve ritual grieving in and of various discrete communities and social groups," (2000). Using ideas developed in his earlier work *Grasping Things: Folk Material Culture and Mass Society in America* (1986), Bronner considers "the invention of tradition as a folk process within mass culture and for public consumption" (2000) that is also dependent upon the many "public and private purposes for memorials" (2000).

Matthew Dennis's "St. Monday: Memorial Day, Labor Day, and the Celebration of Leisure" (2002) studies the history of Memorial Day, Armistice Day and Veterans Day

in the United States. He concludes that these celebrations are “most often observed locally” but also “embodied nationalism and national patriotism” for the participants (237). Dennis describes how these celebrations, like many others in the United States, have become less about remembrance and more about leisure.

In 2003 Carol Burke edited a special issue of the online journal “Newfolk: New Directions in Folklore” (<<http://www.temple.edu/isllc/newfolk/journal.html>>) devoted to military folklore. This issue included an introduction and article by Carol Burke, followed by essays from Richard Allen Burns, Lydia Fish, Les Cleveland and Lt C Martin Heuer, Ret., Timothy D Rives, and Simon Bronner. Carol Burke’s Introduction observed that military folklore helps “affirm a shared identity and reflect upon a shared predicament,” (Burke 2003a). Burke’s article “Military Speech” (Burke 2003b) uses numerous examples of military language to show how their speech “distinguishes them from civilians, adds humour to what is often a tedious job, and relieves anxiety when the tension of war replaces the tedium of peace,” (Burke 2003b).

Richard Allen Burns’ “‘This is my Rifle, This is my Gun...’: Gunlore in the Military” (2003) uses the functionalist perspective to interpret the importance of the rifle in military culture, from personal military experience, in that to be ready for combat, the recruit must learn to handle his/her weapon with ease. Burns sees, however, that the language and traditions equate the rifle with sex and aggression and underscore the value of the weapon in military training and combat. Burns further states that the use of “gender-laden vocabulary” (2003) asserts male superiority, but that this is now in decline in mainstream military culture due to new regulations and increased enrolment of women in

the forces. Consequently, new ways of stressing the importance of the rifle to survival have evolved.

Lydia Fish explores the interdependence of folklore and popular culture in “Informal Communication Systems in the Vietnam War: A Case Study in Folklore, Technology and Popular Culture” (2003). Here she shows how the folklore of service people during the Vietnam War blended “official military culture, domestic popular consumer culture, occupational folk culture, vernacular cultures of various sorts ranging from United States regional and ethnic cultures to indigenous Vietnamese and other Asian cultures... to find their own voice to speak about them and create their own channels of communication,” (Fish 2003). Fish gives examples of radio broadcasts, print media, military occupational folk music, and attitudes of military officials towards occupational folksong.

Les Cleveland’s “Songs of the Vietnam War: An Occupational Folk Tradition,” (2003) uses the concept of organizational culture to explore the troops’ use of “occupational folksong to define the complexities of their situation,” (Cleveland 2003). Organizational culture is seen to be “the way groups face the world and maintain their internal solidarity,” or “esprit de corps” (Cleveland 2003) which, for the military, is essential to combat effectiveness. The soldier must form bonds with the many small groups to which he belongs within the armed forces “squad, section, gun crew, flight or team,” (Cleveland 2003) in order to ensure he/she will fight for the collective survival of the group. Other aspects of military worldview are expressed such as the connection between the soldier and weaponry or machinery of war, the differentiation of one military trade from another, or civilian from soldier and gave voice to fear, derision, satire and protest. Criticism of the war took many

forms, in addition to songs, some of which were collected by General Edward Lansdale to inform the upper levels of the military about the dysfunctional occupational culture which was developing, with the hope of influencing the decisions about the war. The exclusivity and tight-knit organization of military culture is maintained by differentiating insiders from outsiders with the establishment of distinct vocabulary and symbols of their culture that portray the beliefs, behaviors and traditions that define their group.

Retired Lieutenant Colonel Martin Heuer's "Personal Reflections on the Songs of Army Aviators in the Vietnam War" (2003) describes the song contest held by General George P. Seneff during the war as a means for entertainment, boosting morale and community solidarity.

The concluding essay in the online military issue is Timothy D. Rives's "The Work of Soldier Poetry in Kansas, 1917-1919" (2003). Rives explains the importance of poems written by servicemen during World War I to understanding the military occupational culture of the era and the impact the war had upon the rest of society.

Carol Burke's *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane, and the High-and-Tight: Gender, Folklore, and Changing Military Culture* (2004) is a study of the culture of military training in America. Burke asserts that every aspect of military life is saturated with occupational identity – haircuts, uniforms, traditions and speech. Burke sees that "...the unofficial folklore and folk practices of military culture exist in an uneasy, often parodic relationship to official military procedures, routines, rewards and punishments," (xiv). She then explores the "masculine" ideals reinforced in military folklore and how the performance of such lore maintains segregation of men and women within the forces and

“undermine the military values of teamwork and efficiency” (xiv). The research for this book took place at Fort Bragg’s Camp All-American as a participant-observer study (x-xiii). Burke’s work looks at hazing and other initiation rituals, such as the scandal that resulted in the disbandment of the Canadian Airborne Regiment in 1995. She discusses the uniform in military history, asserting that the uniform is a symbol of group membership, and separates the group from others in society and shows how uniforms are designed for different aspects of military life, such as the combat fatigue versus dress uniform, and the differences in visible marks of rank or regiment. Burke also explores military speech as embodiments of group identity, differentiating them from other units. She also examines several scandals within the United States military, such as the scandal that occurred at the United States Naval Aviators Association Tailhook Conference held in Las Vegas Nevada in 1991, as further evidence of hostility towards women and of corruption in the military. Burke draws attention to the fact that prisoners of war were able to boost their morale by the creation and maintenance of customs, and verbal lore that helped them to survive desperate conditions and treatment. Throughout this book, Burke shows how folklore of various types functions to educate members with occupational knowledge, as well as alleviate boredom, frustration, anxiety and fear, and make light of the sense of powerlessness felt by soldiers during peacetime and war.

Senior research fellow at the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute and assistant adjunct professor of history at Queen’s University, Allan D. English’s *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective* (2004) discusses the culture of the Canadian Armed Forces since integration in 1968 and explores the possible problems and benefits

in the adoption of aspects of American Military Culture. English, using an organizational behaviour approach, asserts that an understanding of the many small groups within the Canadian forces is needed to fully integrate the military organization. English further explains the common characteristics of military organizations as, “The communal character... heavy emphasis on hierarchy, and military discipline and control” (39). English sees “military ethos” as “critical to the army’s effectiveness...based on duty, integrity, discipline, and honour” (60-61). He further states, “the ethos of any military force will, in part reflect the nature of the society from which it emanates,” (60). This statement is connected to the debate, discussed throughout this book, over the degree to which the Canadian military has been “civilianised” (67). English studies military professionals – the officer corps - and their impact upon military culture, as well as the way society and the military affect one another. English describes the development of both Canadian and American military cultures, compares and contrasts them, and considers the benefits and drawbacks of “Americanization” of the Canadian Forces. He regards the 1968 reorganization of the Canadian Forces as having had a negative effect on Canadian military organizational culture; then offset by efforts of the subgroups within the military to maintain own culture and identity (3; 89-100). English concludes, “distinct service cultures exist for good reason – they reflect unique traditions that enhance esprit de corps and facilitate functional specialization,” (115). Throughout English’s book, the concept of military culture is seen to be essential to combat readiness and a key to the “motivations, aspirations, norms and rules of conduct” of military culture” (5).

Henry W. Pickford's "Conflict and Commemoration: Two Berlin Memorials," (2005) studies the creation and recreation of the "Neue Wache" (New Watch) in Berlin. Pickford sees this memorial as a communication of the many conflicting identities within the reunified Germany, and that failed to symbolize a single collective identity. Pickford uses examples of a number of German memorials through history, as well as examples from other countries, to differentiate between monuments and memorials based on the intended audience for their performance thus, "Monuments typically *address* the producer's community (nation), while memorials may address the dead themselves" (154). He also sees the messages of the performance as different, "in a monument the *context* is one of a privileged central site manifesting the states' importance in daily life, in a memorial a special precinct "extruded from life are ritualised" (154). Pickford sees the "Places of Remembering in the Bavarian Quarter" as a more "discursive memorial". He demonstrates how this memorial communicates more effectively to its audience the facts of the "historical experience of a civil catastrophe" (169), rather than attempting to create a "collective" identity (169).

Historian Robert Rutherford's *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (2004) describes the changes Canadian society underwent in the development of the home front during World War I, and the use of regional experiences and identity to the building of the national military. He uses the examples of three particular regions; Guelph, Lethbridge and Trois Rivières to show how "official" military and home front culture both shaped, and were shaped by regional culture. The harnessing of regional identities helped in the bonding of soldiers to others in their home regiments or units, but



other aspects of home front culture served to divide, “recruits from others, enemy aliens from others, veterans from others, men from women, and supporters from opponents of compulsory military service” (45). The graphic and brutal details of the battlefield, often exaggerated, in the media were intended to “demonize the enemy” (263) and to cast the war as noble and justifiable, in the end caused civilians to fear the same soldiers portrayed as dutiful and heroic at the time of send-off. Rutherford shows how the veterans upon their return, were treated as “other”. (262-263). The rehabilitation, reintegration and commemoration of the Canadian Veterans of World War I was largely due to the efforts of the veterans themselves who created the Great War Veterans Association. The public commemoration of the war in public events such as parades, ceremonies, and the creation of memorials resurrected the symbols used to rally the troops, valor and sacrifice to commemorate the veterans whose reality they could not comprehend, “sanitizing” the memory of the war (267-268) maintaining the distance between civilian and military culture (224-279).

In conclusion, the works described in this chapter are concerned with many aspects of military culture. The most popular area of study in military folklore has been verbal folklore – most prevalent is song and verse, especially cadence chants, followed by stories, with vocabulary and jargon being the third most covered genre, though often studied in conjunction with other verbal folklore as the group’s technical and in-group vocabulary and essential parts of the rest of their oral communication. The majority of works about military custom have focused on initiations or graduations from training courses, as well as hazing traditions. Numerous works study customs that pertain to beliefs - to the warding off of

danger or evil, or to ensure the soldiers' occupational competence. Similarly the study of material objects such as badges, crests, mascots, and talismans are discussed in their role in customs and belief. There are a number of works that discuss military customs of remembrance and commemoration, in addition to studies of the creation of the actual memorials, and these being mostly concerning the Vietnam War Memorial.

Military objects such as uniforms are not widely studied in folklore, but are often discussed in terms of their symbolic importance. The importance of military equipment, such as the "rifle" has not been examined in its use as a tool of the trade, but its symbolic occupational importance as expressed in verbal lore. Similarly, few works study the canon of military occupational technique, except from the perspective of customary lore – customs that accompany "firsts" – airborne jumps, aviator flights and so on. This may be due to the fact that many of these procedures follow official manuals – but as one member told me "We don't follow *that* [the CF Drill Manual]. We have our own way of doing it" and are taught informally. Describing procedures for parade formation and drill makes for very dry reading; the very long descriptions of the Remembrance Day parade formations were omitted from this thesis.

Overall, the majority of the authors have concluded that form of military folklore are expressions of group identity which facilitate members in acquiring the skills that enable them to perform as competent members of the group. Most of the authors stress the importance of teamwork and occupational skill to integration and survival – of the transformation from military to civilian as in training as well as in combat. The theme of "male" power and sexuality as equivalent to military competence is prevalent throughout

a significant number of the works that describe the sexual symbolism common within military folklore (Burke 2003b; Burke 2004; Burns 2003; Cleveland 1994; Kenagy; Trnka).

The “danger, risk and intensity” seen by Lally (108) as inherent in military occupational folklore is also articulated by Burke (2004), Cleveland (1985, 1994, 2003), and Thorpe (1967). The importance of the symbols of military identity – badges, uniforms, and “mascots” or other totems and their use is explained by Burke (2004), Cleveland (1994), Jaffe, Oring, Linton, Davis and Joseph. The works about commemoration such as Bronner (2000), Gillis, Hass, Blair, and Pickford are relevant in their focus on military memorials and remembrance as communications for the performers and audiences. The works of military history and sociology are relevant as they demonstrate the “official” and historical uses of custom and tradition by the military to bind its members to one another, and to the entire military community. Likewise, military manuals that describe traditions of the armed forces also regard military folklore as an important part of military occupational training, and serve as instruments of instruction for military members.

This selection of works on military customs and traditions, though by no means exhaustive, represents the development of the study of military folklore up to the present, and provides examples of related customs to aid in the interpretation of the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES, a study of the occupational culture of this Reserve unit of the Canadian Forces, begun in peacetime.

### CHAPTER 3: THE PUBLIC FACE OF REMEMBRANCE DAY

The Remembrance Day ceremonies are part of the occupational life for serving members of 56 FES, as members of the Canadian Forces. Knowledge of the many intricacies of these ceremonies is part of military training, learned through both formal and informal instruction; referred to by Robert McCarl as the “shaping principle” (1978a; see also Cleveland 1994). The members of 56 FES are taught the proper dress code and procedures for these ceremonies through drill practice, verbal instruction from instructors, and copying the conduct of more experienced sappers in their unit. *The Canadian Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial* (Canada DND 1993a) contains the many rules and regulations for every command, size and speed of movement, measurement of distance between soldiers, posture, movements, mode of dress, and equipment required for the many contexts where the military performs. Drill practice teaches the members the skills needed to perform their role in these ceremonies, as well as other contexts “ensuring that the Forces efficiently march and manoeuvre together as one in duty and routine; and promoting discipline, alertness, precision, pride, steadiness and the cohesion necessary for success” (Canada DND 1993a, Ch.1, 101). The use of standard procedures allows for the many units involved on the parade to move in unison. The drill procedures are sometimes performed with slight variations, depending on context of performance, and through time becoming standard procedures in a particular unit, or branch. *The Canadian Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial* allows for these adaptations, “...so long as the essential ingredients and customary sequence of traditional parades are recognized.” (106).

The public ceremonies on Remembrance Day are choreographed, rehearsed events, and rely on critical timings for their successful performance and follow more closely the established tradition as they involve many groups of people and are performed for a public audience. There is much less time for unstructured activity, and less room for creativity by individuals or groups of individuals. This chapter describes the public Remembrance Day customs of 56 FES based on my fieldwork, media accounts, unit documents (Appendix A) and from the experiences of the participants.

### **3.1 Plans and Preparations for the Public Celebrations**

The office of the Newfoundland Militia District (currently named 37 Brigade Group) handled the details concerning the District Parade in collaboration with the Legion Parade in St. John's. The memorandum prepared by the unit Adjutant, Captain Maxwell, on November 2, 1992 detailed the critical timings for the Legion parade and gun salute (Appendix A) based on the established Legion program.

The participation of 56 FES in the Remembrance Day Celebrations in other communities (1998) in Mount Pearl (Photo 3.2, p. 103); 2002 in Portugal Cove (Photo 3.3, p.104); 2003 in Holyrood (Photos 3.4 -3.5, pp.105-106); 2004 in Harbour Grace; 2005 in Topsail has meant more planning for the Squadron Head Quarters of 56 FES to coordinate the unit with the Legion of each of these communities, as well as organising a bus solely for their members. Individual members also needed to arrive at the base earlier the morning of Remembrance Day.

The Unit coordinates the arrangements for the gun salute with local officials from

Parks Canada, proprietor of the Queen's Battery on Signal Hill. The area for the salute must be closed to traffic, and members of the Squadron must clean up debris from the artillery rounds afterwards. An alternate location was used on November 11, 2005 when the Unit performed the gun salute in front of HMCS Cabot's premises on the South Side of St. John's Harbour (Photos 3.6 - 3.8, pp.107-109) (Map 3.1: 20, p.142). Though planning and logistics for this salute were simplified for the Squadron, the site being owned by the military, the location was more removed from the public and its historic setting overlooking the Narrows and the city of St. John's.

56 FES usually has two work nights a week, (currently Tuesday and Thursday nights), in addition to weekend training, events, and longer exercises. Prior to 1993, the two nights were Monday and Thursday. Monday [now Tuesday] nights are used for administrative purposes, and only the officers and junior and senior NCOs are required to be there, except for special occasions when extra training is required, as is often the case when a special parade is upcoming. Thursday nights are the usual training nights when all members are to attend. The unit work night that proceeds Remembrance Day is often used to have a parade rehearsal, and a gun party rehearsal. Therefore, November 9, 1992, all members of 56 FES were at CFS St. John's to practice. The people to be on parade were in the drill hall, building 316 (Map 3.2: 17, p.143) and those on the gun salute were checking the guns and to ensure that there are no mechanical problems that would disrupt the salute.

The guns were kept in the gun bay at Building 205 at CFS St. John's and must be signed out for both the rehearsal and the salute (Map 3.2: 22, p.143). The guns are set up between Buildings 205 and 206 for the practice. In the spring of 2005, 56 FES built a new

garage to house the guns in the lower vehicle compound, below Building 205 and 206. The guns that had been used for the salute, up to and including 1992 were L5 Pack Howitzers. In 1993, the Canadian Forces sold the L5 Howitzers to the Philippines; since 1993 56 FES have used C3 Medium Ceremonial Howitzers for the gun salutes.

The guns must be oiled, and the rounds checked and chamber fitted. The gun party practices the gun salute without firing the guns. Each member of the salute takes their place as required by their duties. There is one gun party per gun. For each gun party there are five people, each with a number title: the gun party commander is Number 1; the person on the left-hand side of the gun who fires the gun is Number 2; the person on the right-hand side of the gun adjusts the elevation and is Number 3; the two loaders are Number 4 and Number 5. Additional roles consist of the Gun Position Officer, the Safety Officer, and two spare sappers, also often NCOs (Interviews 3; 33).

The experienced members of 56 FES choose the gun salute participants. Master Warrant Officer Parsons explained the process of choosing people for the salute:

Well.. we take basically for the ah.. gun crews.. ah anyone in the squadron, usually ah from a sapper up to a sergeant. And ah.. if they are available, or if their civil job doesn't interfere or school or what have you, well then we'll pick so many and we train them and we try to.. have someone different on each salute until we get everybody trained, so... I think at this point in time now in the squadron, we got probably about seventy percent of the people who have had experience, so its.. no problem to get 'em, you know (Interview 8).

Learning the techniques for the gun salute involves both formal and informal

instruction – following both the official regulations, as well as instruction by the more experienced members of the unit, as observed in the previous quote by Master Warrant Officer Parsons. One of 56 FES's newer members, Sapper Hancock, described the importance of practice to a new member learning the procedure:

Oh that was an experience because I was the only female up there and I was loading the.... Howitzers, and for me.. I was ah..week before training with it.. because I had never seen this.. weapon, at all.... for me to be doing it I had to learn all the parts, not all the parts, but the parts that we needed to know and ah.. and ah.. So we had a week before, with I think, three days training on how to load the howitzers.. and things like that, and the movements that we would have to do with commands and everything like that. And we had ah.. press up there too.. some media up there, not a big lot, by the hill. And.... we all knew that it was a great honour to be on this.. because you know all the rest of our guys were down on the street doin' the parade, and they were the ones waiting for us to do our.. twenty-one gun salute.... so it was a great pleasure to do that (Interview 28).

The clothing to be worn was also outlined in the memorandum by the Adjutant Captain Maxwell written on November 4, 1992 (see Appendix A). This being a formal ceremony requires that all land force personnel wear the dark green Distinct Environmental Uniform (DEU) - the most formal uniform worn in public by all ranks of the Canadian Land Forces, DEU 1A. When the unit is on parade, the only thing distinguishing them from the rest of the Army units is their hat-badge (Photo 3.1, p.102) and collar dogs, which for the engineers features a beaver, as does that of the CME crest (Illus. 3.1, p.145; Canada DND 1993b, 4-9). The Army units are differentiated from the



Navy and Air Force units by the colour of their DEUs; the Navy DEU being black and the Air Force DEU being a medium blue (Photo 3.28, p.129).

The preparations that each unit member has to make the morning of Remembrance Day are much the same, regardless of rank. The dark green DEU's must be spotless, pressed with creases in the front and back centre of the trousers. The pale green shirt must be ironed, and worn with a dark green tie. Affixed to the front of the uniform jacket will be a nametag and any medals or badges the member has received. The berets worn by members of 56 FES are dark green, unless the member has served in the United Nations, signified by a light blue beret which worn only on Remembrance Day. The engineer hat badge, or in the case of support personnel serving with 56 FES, a badge of their branch, is attached to the front and centre of the beret, and to the left of the hat badge the sapper must place a Legion poppy, as is worn by every Canadian Forces member on parade. All members of 56 FES wear black leather gloves, as well as parade boots, which must be shined with spit and polish until you can see your reflection in them.

If the weather is particularly cold, rainy or snowy, as is often the case in St. John's in November, the dark green overcoat is worn on parade. In 1992, all personnel were ordered to wear their overcoats (Appendix A). However, those on the gun salute only wear their overcoats if absolutely necessary, as the overcoat limits movement required for firing the guns, combined with the fact that the members on the gun salute are not outside as long as those in the Legion parade. Many unit members will prepare their uniforms the night before the parade, especially because shining their boots is a time-intensive task.

Master Corporal Doug Payne described the preparations for the event, as well as what is required to clean the guns after the salute:

Night before, I get all my shit together, sometimes my boots are not as good as they should be, but hey, what the heck. But anyway, get up in the morning, first thing I do is make sure I've got two or three poppies [refers to the poppies sold by the Royal Canadian Legion, to be worn on the beret next to the hat-badge of service members when in uniform] and my ear defenders, the little tiny orange ones, right, couple of those. And then ah, you make sure you have all your dress ready to go. Get dressed, go down and meet the guys, and priority first is, if you're on the gun party is to make sure everything is flowing good and any other prep work that can be done to the guns are done and ah, lube'n em down, make sure the parts are moving, make sure that there's nothing that just, oh all of a sudden went wrong over night. And once that's out of the way, whatever [clears throat] and we know that everything is okay, and set and ready to go, there's talk of what would normally go on after everything is over, like "are you goin' to this club for a beer", whatever that type of thing. And ah, then it's just ah have a couple a smokes, probably a drop'a coffee.. hook em' [the guns] up mosey on off to the site. Then its, if we have time beforehand we'll practice the routine, right, especially if there's ah ah couple of guys on that haven't got the experience, especially now with the smaller rounds, it takes a bit of a bit more knack to it, in loading and stuff like that, but ah after that its just, go up there and.. it's cold, up on that hill , man the wind blows.. it's cold. And I don't wear no ah long johns, no nothing underneath I don't care about that, I just goes up there stands out front [one word undecipherable] say come on, just hear the crack, once they goes and you get the smell, and you get all the debris flyin' at ya, and everything is perfect and before you know it its over [snaps fingers], within minutes, right and then ah you get the smell off the

guns and the rounds that were gone off, and pack it up, hook em up... they may say clean em a little bit.. when we go back, they may say no we'll clean them the following night, or you know next Thursday night or something and if so then we just pack them away, head up to the garrison club or whatever club and sit down and have a few beer, you may go out afterwards, not sure right, pending on the mood, and that's about it, I suppose that's the routine (Interview 15).

Corporal Kyle Youden joined 56 FES in 1989 and when recounting his preparations for that day said, “I didn’t have a poppy. I had it pinned on my jacket,” and went on to explain how he was spared embarrassment by the father of another sapper who provided him with a poppy (Interview 23). These details emphasized by Corporal Youden exemplify the importance of being prepared and having the correct attire.

The memorandum outlined the roles of 56 FES in the ceremonies to take place on November 11, 1992 and the key participants for the year (Appendix A). As Remembrance Day is considered a “work” day for the CF, each member of 56 FES is paid a half-day’s pay for their attendance at the parade and gun salute (Interview 3) and attendance is mandatory. There are, however, several acceptable reasons for being absent such as illness, civilian employment, and academic responsibilities.

### **3.2 The Public Celebrations on Remembrance Day 1992**

For the majority of the members of 56 FES, the public ceremonies of Remembrance Day began at 8:00 a.m. on November 11, 1992 when the ninety taking part formed up in the parade grounds next to the drill hall in Pleasantville (Photo 3.9,

p.111)(Illus. 3.2, p.146)(Maps 3.1:1, p.142; 3.2:1, p. 143). The officers stood to one side of the parking lot, chatting and joking amongst themselves as the other ranks got into formation. At eight-thirty the Officers fell in. The unit was instructed by their Commanding Officer, Major Stack, as to the importance of their participation in the day's ceremonies (Photo 3.10, p. 111) and that brought a mood of solemnity to the entire unit. At 8:45 a.m., the Commander of Newfoundland Militia District, Lieutenant Colonel D.W. Foster, took over and instructed the parade regarding the critical timings of the event. The Officers were commanded to fall out at 9:00 a.m., and then each unit, was regrouped to board the yellow school busses at 9:15 a.m. The 14 members of 56 FES in the gun party left for the gun bay (Map 3.2:22, p.143).

At 9:25 a.m. the busses drove downtown to Queen's Road (Maps 3.1:3, p, 142; 3.2:3 p.143) where the military personnel disembarked and formed into ranks again (Photo 3.11, p. 112). Lieutenant Colonel Foster took command of the District Parade once more. The order in the District Parade was Colonel Foster, 56 FES, 1st Royal Newfoundland Regiment with regimental band, 36 Service Battalion, and the Gonzaga Army Cadets. The regimental band of the 1st Battalion Royal Newfoundland Regiment played "It's a Long Way to Tipperary" while the parade marched forward to come to attention in front of the Sergeants' Memorial on Queen's Road at the base of Garrison Hill (Map 3.3: 3, p.144).

The fourteen members of 56 FES that formed the gun party assembled the Howitzers at the equipment compound on Charter Avenue (Map 3.2:22, p.143) and hitched them to trucks to be transported to Signal Hill. A military emergency vehicle accompanied them with driver and one medic, and at 10:40 a.m. they arrived at the

Queen's Battery on Signal Hill (Maps 3.1:2, p.142; 3.3:2, p. 144) where they unloaded the guns and shells for the gun salute (Photo 3.14, p.115). The junior ranks members set up the guns, directed by the Safety Officer Master Warrant Officer Parsons, and the Gun Position Officer Lieutenant Robert Harvey. First the guns were towed into position by the trucks, facing the harbour (Photo 3.12, p.113). The gun supports were folded out and positioned, and the rounds were laid next to each of the two guns (Photos 3.13-3.14, p.114-115). Then the members of 56 FES took off their overcoats and placed them in the medical support vehicle (Photo 3.15, p.116). After the guns were ready a sentry was positioned in front of them, and the rest of the gun party began to mill about, killing time by chatting (Photo 3.16, p.117), joking and making fun of the sentry (Photo 3.17, p.118), and walking around the battery area, there being some time before the salute. Some of the sappers were taking photographs of each other in front of the guns; Master Warrant Officer Parsons was due to retire from the unit in the near future and several of the group members wanted photographs (Photo 3.18, p.119). At approximately 10:57 a.m., the party began to get ready to perform the gun salute, and adjusted their berets at which time the event took on a more serious atmosphere (Photo 3.19, p.120; Interview 33).

The ceremonies at the Sergeants' Memorial on Queen's Road began at 10:20 a.m. (Photos 3.20, p. 121; 3.21, p. 122). This started with bugler Tom Snow playing "Last Post". Members of the public who had come to watch stood quietly on the sidewalk on Queen's Road and Cathedral Street, or directly behind parade participants on Cathedral Street or Church Street (Map 3.3:3, p.144), especially family of the boy scouts and girl guides involved in the parade. The Legion colour guard, with colour bearers Ross Cull,

Ed Lahey, Jack Tizzard and Jack Williams, the Sgt-At-Arms Cyril Kirby, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police escort Sergeant D.R. Tipple, Sergeant E.P. Walsh, Corporal T.D. Stevens, Constable A. Pittman, and all the sergeants from the military units present stood at attention in front of the memorial (Photo 3.22, p.123). The colour guard of the Royal Canadian Legion lowered the colours in salute, while the remaining participants around the memorial stood at attention. A wreath was then placed on the memorial by a sergeant from each unit. Following the wreath ceremony the sergeants returned to their respective units, and the parade was re-formed into marching formation (Illus.3.3, p.147).

At approximately 10:25 a.m. the District parade joined the Legion parade, under the command of Doug England and marched to the National War Memorial at the East end of Water Street for the main ceremony (Photo 3.23, p.124; Map 3.3: 4, p.144). Behind the parade commander were the CLB Band and Signing Legionnaires, Legion Colour Guard, Royal Canadian Legion and Veterans, CF Regular Forces, HMCS Cabot, the Newfoundland Militia District Parade, 728 Communications Squadron, St. John's Fire Department Honour Guard, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Honour Guard, Royal Newfoundland Constabulary Honour Guard, H.M. Wardens Honour Guard, C.L.B. Officers, cadet groups, Metrobus Honour Guard, Senior Officials of the Boy Scouts, Royal Canadian Sea Cadets, Navy League, Royal Canadian Army Cadets, Royal Canadian Army Cadets, Royal Canadian Air Force Cadets, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. The parade marched to the National War Memorial on Water Street via Church Hill, Duckworth Street, and Cochrane Street (Map 3.3: 3-4, p. 144).

As the parade was making its way to the National War Memorial, the bands of the

various cadet corps could be heard playing upbeat marching tunes, with the cheerful sounds of glockenspiels and drums. The sidewalk in front of the National War Memorial on Water Street and behind the memorial on Duckworth Street, as well as the steps on either side were lined with members of the public of all ages who had come to watch the ceremony. The people watching began to stop talking, or spoke in whispers and stood waiting for the ceremony to begin. The veterans taking part in the event took their places at the right-hand side of the National War Memorial. The dignitaries, Singing Legionnaires and Church Lads Brigade (CLB) Band moved into position, on the left-hand side (Photo 3.24-3.26, pp.125-127). Already in position were the four sentries, military personnel positioned at each of the four corners of the memorial. They were standing with their backs to the memorial and on an angle and head bowed slightly. Each had their hands together on their rifle, which was positioned with the muzzle facing down and resting on their parade boots. The flags on the War Memorial were at half-mast, to commemorate fallen soldiers (Photo 3.24, p.125).

When all the parade participants had assembled on Water Street (Photos 3.28-3.29, pp.129-130), the parade commander, veteran Doug England called the parade to attention. The Lieutenant Governor Frederick W. Russell and the Vice Regal Party arrived, and stood at the front of the National War Memorial. Doug England then ordered the colour guard to shoulder their arms - to hoist their colours upwards and into the sling worn to hold the pole from which the colours fly; then present arms, and the colour guard lowered the colours parallel to the ground; all parade participants came to attention and saluted as the C.L.B. Band played "Oh Canada". The Lt Governor and Vice regal party then took their places on the left-hand side of the memorial. The parade commander then ordered the parade to stand

at ease (see Appendix C: Glossary).

At 11:00 a.m., trumpeter Tom Snow played “G” and all heads were bowed for two minutes of silence. At 11:03 a.m. Tom Snow played “Last Post.” The Master of Ceremonies, J.G. O’Grady, a member of the Royal Canadian Legion, recited the poem “In Flanders Fields” by Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae (Bowering 1960, 200).

Meanwhile up at the Queen’s Battery on Signal Hill, at 11:00 a.m., the gun party quickly came to attention in two groups and were ordered to the guns by Second Lieutenant Robert Harvey (Photo 3.30, p.131), and stood in formation (Photo 3.31, p.132). At 11:02 a.m., Lieutenant Harvey called out the elevation of the guns and using his stopwatch called off the rounds allowing one minute between each volley. The first round was fired at 11:03 a.m. For each round, two sappers loaded, one fired (Photo 3.32, p. 133) and then one sapper removed the shell casing with a “plunger” apparatus (Photos 3.33-3.34, pp.134-135), which is a local modification by Squadron Sergeant Major Parsons to the standard operating procedures is to extract the round by hand (Interview 8). Then a round was loaded into the second gun, and the same sequence is followed for all 21 rounds. A handful of spectators came to watch the salute and one reporter was there to capture the event (Photo 3.37, p.138). After the 21 rounds had been fired, the guns were dismantled very quickly, earplugs were removed, the shell-casings cleared up and all the equipment was loaded onto the vehicles again and the gun-party left for the gun lock-up at Pleasantville (Map 3.3:22, p.144) (Interview 33).

At the National War Memorial, with the sound of the gun salute in the distance (Photo 3.36, p.137), Dr. Douglas Copeman played “The Lament” on the bagpipes. The



Provincial President of the Legion, Walter Critchley then read the “Act of Remembrance” (Appendix D) and the Reverend Royden Reynolds, of First United Church in Mount Pearl, said a prayer.

The wreath-laying ceremony then began with accompaniment by the CLB Band and the Signing Legionnaires. The first hymn was the “Recessional” by the CLB Band. The first hymn by the Singing Legionnaires was “Oh God Our Help in Ages Past.” The Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Honourable Frederick R. Russell, representing Queen Elizabeth the Second, laid the first wreath and was accompanied by wreath bearer Lieutenant Commander Charles Parsons. The second wreath was laid by the Silver Cross Representative Elsie Brett, daughter of a fallen soldier, Munden Goodyear, and was accompanied by wreath bearer William Wilson, the commander of District 1 of the Legion. Ross Reid, Minister of Parliament for St. John’s East, representing the Government of Canada, accompanied by wreath bearer J.R. Walsh, the sub-regional director of Veterans Affairs Canada laid the third wreath. The fourth wreath was laid for the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador by the Honourable Clyde Wells, Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, with wreath bearer F.M. Blackmore, the treasurer of the Newfoundland and Labrador Command of the Legion. The fifth wreath was laid for the Royal Canadian Legion, Dominion Command by the President A.L. Harvey, accompanied by wreath bearer Frank Wall, and the Provincial Secretary of the Legion.

The Singing Legionnaires then sang “In Flanders Fields”, followed by “Eternal Father”, “Oh God of Love Oh King of Peace” while the next wreaths were being laid as

follows:

<b>Wreath Layer</b>	<b>Wreath Bearer</b>
6. Walter Cartier, President of the Royal Canadian Legion, Newfoundland and Labrador Command	Taylor French (2 <sup>nd</sup> Vice President the Provincial Command)
7. CFS St. John's Commander Leblanc for the Canadian Armed Forces	Master Warrant Officer P.E. Bailey
8. James Shields (President of the Eastern division) for the Royal Naval Association	Eric Rowe
9. Sylvester Malloy (166th Artillery Association) for the Royal Artillery Association	Cecil Godfrey (59 <sup>th</sup> Royal Artillery Association)
10. William Learning (President of 125 Squadron Royal Air Force and Allied Forces Association)	Max Cook
11. Doug Fiander (Former President of the Royal Canadian Air Force Association)	Mecco Butler
12. Leslie Mercer (Secretary of the Korea Veterans Association)	Fred McDonald
13. Commander M.Y. Hepdidge for HMCS Cabot	Chief Petty Officer 2 <sup>nd</sup> class A.G. Caines, Coxswain
14. Commander Colonel D.W. Foster for the Newfoundland Militia District (Photo 3.37, p. 138)	CWO William Squires
15. Commander, Superintendent C.S. Towson for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police	Sergeant R.J. Skanes.
16. Inspector A.C. Oliver of the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary	Constable K. Jackson
17. President Dr. Arthur May for Memorial University of Newfoundland	Dr. Graham Skanes (Dean of the School of General and Continuing Studies)
18. Mayor Shannie Duff for the Municipal Council of St. John's	Cadet Major Barry Griffiths of 2415 Gonzaga Cadet Corps
19. Lieutenant Colonel B.E. Furlong (Corps of Commissionaires)	Warrant Officer 1 Thomas G. Dodd.
20. Chief Petty Officer Jason Power (Fort Townshend Sea Cadets) for the youth of NL	Sergeant Nancy Yu (510 Lions Royal Canadian Air Cadets)
21. Cecil Hutchens (Commander of Post #9) for the American Legion	Martin King (Eastern District Commander)

The Lieutenant Governor then led the participants and veterans present to pin their

poppies to the Styrofoam crosses at the National War Memorial (Photo 3.38, p.139).

During this ceremony, the Singing Legionnaires, accompanied by the CLB Band, sang the hymns “Abide with Me,” “Go Now in Peace,” “Let There be Peace on Earth,” and “For the Fallen,” (Interview 35). Salvation Army Officer Captain Brian Peddle of the St. John's Citadel Corps gave the benediction, or closing prayer. The ceremonies concluded with the singing of the “Ode to Newfoundland”, followed by “God Save the Queen.” The trumpeter Tom Snow played “Reveille” and the Lieutenant Governor with the Vice Regal Party depart to take the Salute in front of the Provincial Court House approximately 500m to the West on Water Street (Map 3.3:5, p.144).

The parade commander, Doug England, called the parade to attention. The parade re-formed into marching order, and marched to the Provincial Court House (Photo 3.39, p.140; Map 3.3: 5, p.144), where the Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador took the salute, and the parade continued west to Ayre's Cove on the Waterfront where it was dismissed (Map 3.3: 6, p.144). At this time, members of the public pinned their own poppies to the crosses at the memorial, and many people stopped to speak to veterans still at the memorial. All members of CFS St. John's, including the members of the Newfoundland Militia District, including, 56 FES, then boarded the busses and were transported back to the parking lot outside the drill hall, in Pleasantville, where they were dismissed (Photo 3.40, p.141; Map 3.1: 1, p.142; Map 3.2: 1, p.143).

### 3.3 Media Coverage of the Public Celebrations

The parade schedule of November 10, 1992 in *The Evening Telegram* listed the time for parade formation at the Sergeants Memorial as 10:00 a.m., with markers from each unit to report to the Parade Commander, and Unit Commanders must report next, at 10:15 a.m. (“Armistice Day Parade. Order of Parade” 1992).

The first page of *The Evening Telegram* on November 12, 1992 featured a photograph of Dr. Douglas Copeman playing the bagpipes during the ceremonies (Gosse, 1992) with continued write-ups on the ceremonies in subsequent pages (1,3,14). In the November 11th issue of *The Evening Telegram* in 1992, the description of the parade in St. John’s by Jean Edwards Stacey (1992) is remarkably similar to the article from 1977 (“Canada’s war dead honoured”). The first page of *The Express* featured a photograph of a sea cadet yawning, while at attention during the parade on November 11th (“Say Aaah!” 1992). These local papers also include articles concerning living veterans (Nobes) and fallen soldiers (Harrington 1992) that use extracts from military histories and trench diaries. There are stories about the veterans’ families (Bickford 1992), as well as commentaries about issues facing the military and veterans (Vaughan-Jackson 1992). Throughout these articles there is considerable emphasis placed on education the youth about the importance of Remembrance Day (Nobes).

The majority of newspaper reports of the events covered in *The Evening Telegram* make no mention of the gun salute in their, otherwise detailed, description of the ceremonies in St. John's except to refer to the sound of the guns in the background, “Flags

blow in the wind, a trumpet sounds and in the distance a gun goes off,” (Payne 1988; see also “Canada’s war dead honoured” 1977).

The Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) evening news program *Here and Now* included television coverage of the ceremonies and parade in both St. John’s and Corner Brook (Seward 1992) and aired at 6:00 p.m., November 11, 1992. This coverage included the gun salute, as viewed by the camera crew from their position near the National War Memorial, but did not mention who was performing the salute. This news broadcast included footage of the ceremonies that took place at CFB Gagetown, as they included a special tribute to CME Sergeant Mike Ralph, a Newfoundlander and former member of 56 FES, and the first Canadian soldier to die in the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the former Yugoslavia (Adams 1992). The television programs *The Royal Newfoundland Regiment 1914-1918* produced by the War Amps of Canada was aired on CBC, November 11, 1992. This program describes the birth of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and the many battles fought from 1914 to 1918, the enormity of the casualties and the many acts of bravery and ingenuity of Newfoundland’s first regiment.

### **3.4 The History of the Public Celebrations**

The form of the Remembrance Day Celebrations in St. John’s has been constantly changing over the years. The first Remembrance Day [Memorial Day] in Newfoundland was July 1, 1919, the anniversary of the Battle of Beaumont Hamel, and

held at Bannerman Park (Map 3.1, p.142) on Military Road in St. John's. The memorial in this instance was a wooden cross, festooned with floral arrangements ("Memorial Day" 1919). The original parade route began at the Prince's City Rink Grounds. Examples of the celebrations from years since 1919 illustrate the changes in format and setting these events have underwent.

On July 1, 1924 the Great War Veterans Association (G.V.W.A.) and Field Marshal Earl Haig, unveiled the newly built National War Memorial located between Water Street and Duckworth Street across from the Kings' Wharf ("Unveiling Ceremony" 1924). This had been built with funds raised by the G.V.W.A. and supported by the Newfoundland public. In that year the Armistice Day parade formed up at the site of the train station on Water Street and marched to Queen's Road (Map 3.3: 3, p.144).

The location for the parade formation changed over the years. In 1925 the parade formed up at the Fort Townshend parade ground in St. John's ("G.V.W.A. Notes: Memorial Service July 5<sup>th</sup> 1925"). The first November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day ceremony was held in 1949 and the parade gathered at the old Memorial University grounds on Parade Street ("Remembrance Day" 1949; "Remembrance Services" 1949).

Likewise, the location used to give the salute to the Governor (Lieutenant Governor since Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949) has changed from year to year, originally at Government House on Military Road in 1919 ("Memorial Day" 1919) – a location used on subsequent occasions ("War dead remembered" 1966). In 1924, the salute was given at the Court House on Water Street ("Order of Parade" 1924), the site most frequently used in celebrations since.

Following the ceremonies at the National War Memorial, the Lieutenant Governor and Vice Regal Party returns to Government House, and is joined by the Colour Party, Veterans, and other honoraries, at which time the colours are returned to their location in Government House and a small ceremony and reception are held. This part of the tradition has been maintained since 1919 (“Memorial Day” 1919). On October 21, 2004, the Lieutenant Governor the Honourable Edward Roberts returned the original colours of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment back to them in a special ceremony at Government House, at which time they were replaced with a replica. The original colours were preserved in the Provincial Archives at the newly opened Rooms at Fort Townshend, St. John’s (Gov. House NL).

Prior to 1949, the parade and ceremonies were organised by, what was then called, the G.V.W.A. The G.V.W.A. became the Royal Canadian Legion in 1960 (Bowering 1960). It is the Newfoundland and Labrador Command of the Legion that currently organise the Remembrance Day Parade and Celebrations. The many plans and regulations for dress and street closures, and details regarding the celebration dinners and social functions, memorial services and parades were printed in the newspapers prior to Remembrance Day (formerly referred to as Armistice Day).<sup>1</sup>

In 1925, the program for the ceremonies at the National War Memorial include a map to inform participants and onlookers where to stand, and also includes the lyrics for

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<sup>1</sup> See for example the advertisements from local newspapers, “Sergeants’ Mess of Nfld. Dinner.” 1924; “Street Traffic Regulations Act, 1918” 1924; “Memorial Services, 1925”; “Armistice Day Parade” 1949; “G.V.W.A. Field of Remembrance” 1949; “Programme for Remembrance Day”

the song “Oh God Our Help in Ages Past” (“Memorial Services, 1925”). The descriptions of Remembrance Day ceremonies published from past years contain details of the locations, the participants and the order of events. One such description from 1977, reads:

The parade assembled on Queen's Road near the Sergeants' War Memorial at 10 a.m. and after a brief ceremony it moved out on schedule to be at the National War Memorial on Water Street in time for the traditional 11 a.m. time of silence.... The parade travelled under parade commander W.J. Wilson down Church Hill, east on Duckworth, down Cochrane then along Water Street to assemble in formation on the street below the memorial. About 200 veterans in blazers with medals gathered on the memorial, along with various dignitaries, an RCMP honour guard, and the legion colour guard. Above on Duckworth Street were the musicians: the CLB Band, the Newfoundland Pipe Band and the Singing Legionnaires. Following the arrival of Lieutenant Governor Gordon Winter and party, the CLB Band struck up the regal salute, then O Canada. Trumpeter Tom Snow sounded the Last Post then the assembled observed two minutes silence. Cannon thundered a slow cadence in the background. Reveille marked the end of the silence, Provincial legion president Bill Morry read the Act of Remembrance, for those who die for "freedom and truth." A lament of bagpipes by the Newfoundland Pipe Band followed. Canon C.W. Rusted of the Anglican Cathedral offered a prayer: "We pledge ourselves to serve the cause of peace." The singing Legionnaires sang the hymn O God Our Help in Ages Past. Then followed the wreath ceremony, as the CLB Band played the recessional. Among laying wreaths were.... Then each veteran performed an individual act of remembrance; the legionnaires filed past the memorial,



in turn pinning their lapel poppies to a white cross. The veterans' choir rendered John McCrae's war poem set to music, *In Flanders Fields*. Following benediction and blessing by Rev. Ian Wishart of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and the CLB Band's rendition of the Ode to the Queen, the Lieutenant Governor proceeded to the Court House where he would take the salute and the parade moved out in this order: CLB Band, Royal Canadian Legion colour party; the legion and veterans; the regular Canadian Armed Forces; HMCS Cabot; the Royal Canadian Engineers; the RCMP; the Newfoundland Constabulary; the St. John's Fire Department honour guard; the Royal Canadian Sea Cadets-navy league and wrenettes; Royal Canadian Army Cadets; Royal Canadian Air Force Cadets; girl guides and boy scouts. After the march past by the courthouse, the parade went on to Harbour Drive for dismissal ("Canada's war dead honoured").

In 1925, the Remembrance ceremonies were held on a Sunday (July 5). July 1st was observed as a holiday and different commemorative events took place on that day, such as the G.V.W.A. Sports Day at St. George's Field ("Memorial Services, 1925"). The public ceremonies to commemorate the Armistice of World War II were also held on the nearest Sunday to November 11th. In 1966, however, November 11th was declared a statutory holiday and from then on the celebrations would be observed on that date, rather than the nearest Monday or weekend ("Telegram to publish Friday").

The gun salute at the ceremonies prior to 1949 consisted of a rifle salute with the gun party positioned on the right-hand side of the National War Memorial ("Memorial Services, 1925"). In August 1949, however, an artillery unit was stationed at CFS St. John's and was expected to perform ceremonial salutes ("St. John's to be Artillery Base"). The first of these was a nineteen-gun salute fired for Viscount Alexander of Tunis

and Errigal and Governor General of Canada on August 28, 1949 (“Viscount Alexander”).

56 FES has been a participant in the November 11<sup>th</sup> G.W.V.A. [Legion] parade and ceremonies, since its formation as a unit in 1949, though the first two years there were only the founding members. Sergeant Barnes, a member of 56 FES since 1964, described his memories of the parades in his early days in 56 FES:

The Korean War was just over and we had a these veterans back and we’d be out on parade and we had people in our unit like... Taylor French was a Korean Veteran, and a few more we had a nice few at the time. So, the parade was really more, really serious thing for these people, it was serious to us but they could see it more than we could see what it was all about. We’d come down at about 9 o’clock, have our inspection and make sure everyone’s uniform was up to par... We started at Buckmaster’s Field and the parade would form up there and we’d march down to the Sergeants Memorial, then there was a wreath-laying ceremony, and then we left and went down to the main War Memorial and there was a ceremony at that and then we marched up to government house and there’d be a march past, and then we’d march right back to Buckmaster’s Field, and then we’d be dismissed (Interview 11).

56 FES fires the ceremonial gun salute on November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day, July 1<sup>st</sup> for Canada Day and as part of the commemoration of the Battle of Beaumont Hamel (July 1, 1916), Victoria Day (May 18<sup>th</sup>), and the Opening of the House of Assembly. The late 1950’s and early 1960’s saw a decline in the strength of the Militia across Canada, in part due to financial cutbacks, in addition to the emphasis placed on civil defence by the

Canadian government (Harvey; Holmes). The 166th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, one of the original Reserve units of the Newfoundland Area, were amalgamated with the 1st Battalion Royal Newfoundland Regiment on March 1, 1961 (Henderson 40) and the 1<sup>st</sup> Royal Newfoundland Regiment performed the salutes for a few years after that. It was intended that the gun salute task be rotated amongst the militia units, but taking on the salute in 1966, it has become part of the role of 56 FES. As Captain Fleet of 56 FES observed “Remembrance Day to me. It’s part of my job... we’re there for the public.. It’s a professional requirement” (Interview 2). Sergeant Edison describes his experiences with the gun salute since November 11, 1966:

We had the old uniforms... the old puttees.... I was one of the first people in the Squadron in the gun salutes... being one of the more senior then, even though I was only in 6 or seven years, I managed to get on the guns. It was great We’d get the guns ready... give them a second goin’ over, make sure all our ammo fit, chamber fit all our ammo, then we’d basically get everybody together and.. back then we didn’t have no panel vans and that, it was always.. the gun crews always rode in the back of the deuce and a halves...it was deuce and a half that towed the guns it was different guns than what we use now. And most November the elevens I remember the worst you’d ever seen weather wise and ah there’s times we’d just get out a couple minutes before, and fall in on the guns to fire and as quick as we could get it over we were back outa there (Interview 10).

When the unit began performing the gun salutes, the gun party would be on Signal Hill, and the remaining members of the unit would march up Signal Hill. In the late 1960’s and into the 1970’s unit strength was so low that when the gun party formed there were not

enough members remaining to be a significant presence in a larger parade. The squadron history book states that in 1973 there were only 28 members (Harvey 23). While the 1980's brought a steady increase in membership, the unit maintained their ceremonies on Signal Hill. Membership in 1992 had mounted to 143 personnel, and so in that year 56 FES was required to be part of the parade as well as undertake the salute (Interview 3). Major Stack describes some of the variations that have taken place in the parade and gun salute customs over the years and observed that individuals along the chain of command can influence the context of the celebrations:

When you go down on the Remembrance Day parade you're part of.. a multifaceted group. Ah you're also, you just sort of blend in with all the rest of the uniforms there. So everybody wanted to be on the hill with the guns, not on the parade.. So... Whatever way we could wangle it, I think is probably the best way to look at it...if we could we'd be with the guns. Now if ordered otherwise then we'd be otherwise, but the preference was always with the guns. And I remember a time when the powers that be, and I don't know who they were, and I don't know who they convinced but they convinced certain powers that be that it was much better if, since numbers were low and there was ah, it would be better if 56 just looked after the gun salute and didn't involve themselves with the cenotaph ceremonies, and that went on for a couple of years. And it sort of stuck for awhile as well and it, actually under my command, I encouraged that as well, because.... being a unit you like to keep the unit together. It's a morale thing, and... we are then seen as being unique. Everybody else goes on parade; the Squadron goes on the hill. It tends to bring the unit together. In fact we tried to organise it in such a way as we've made it into more of a ceremony than usual. Usually it's just two guns and a small gun party of four men per gun.. ah firing these

things, but we ah.. built it into a march up the hill with all the squadron, ah formal parade in the backdrop with the gun salute ceremony.. So we sort of enhanced the event as a unit and felt much better about doing that.. It wasn't until this year, 1992, that we had a new District Commander.. who.. was probably looking at the attendance of previous events and feeling that the Newfoundland Militia District wasn't well represented and wanted full participation of all the units. Some of the units had been in the habit of going to outlying areas and ah he encouraged, well encouraged is the wrong word, he ordered us to participate along with the other units in a big a way as possible, and then a certain, a small element then, the minimum was retained for firing the guns (Interview 1).

Aside from the very few members who joined the unit before 1966, many of the narratives of members referring to their participation on the parade prior to 1992 refer to the Unit parade on Signal Hill. All of the members of 56 expressed pride in the performance of the gun salute, as in the statement of Master Corporal Dwyer “the gun salute is something that is unique to 56 Field Squadron... the only ones allowed as engineers to do that...” (Interview 15). Lieutenant Palfrey also regards the salute as special, and bearing status:

When I did go in the gun salute, ah [clears throat] first of all you are selected to go in the gun salute, so its, you feel pretty proud to go in a gun salute with 56 Field Engineer Squadron because you know its a very unique thing, engineers don't usually do gun salutes because its an artillery job, and there is no artillery in Newfoundland so the engineers were selected, sometime back, to do the gun salutes. So it was a good, it was... you got selected and you went up on Signal Hill and you performed your task in front of a small audience at times, and ah done your best and you were quite proud of what

you did, always were (Interview 6).

While many members also explained that the gun salute held more esteem for 56 FES because it set them apart from the remainder of the military, it became evident that the majority of these members included the Signal Hill parade as part of what they meant as “on the gun salute” and they were differentiating between this and the larger parade at the National War Memorial. As in the statements of Warrant Officer Reelis, “It’s a squadron event.. It’s ours.. We should be together” (Interview 12), an observation shared by Corporal Kennedy when he said, “Everybody would rather be on the gun salute [than the District parade]” (Interview 22). Squadron Sergeant Major MWO Parsons also explained his reasons for preferring the salute to the parade:

I don't know if it's ah... I feel it's an honour to be on parade either way.. either uptown or on the gun salutes. I like the gun salute better, I'm not that much for the old marching and standing around in the streets, right I'd just as soon as be doin' something. Ah.. its a bit more high profile.. to the soldier himself, although a lot of people don't even knew we're up there. But ah, it is.. its something where you get more hands on, you're not just marching behind the next man or, you have a tasking and you do it. So I, I find its more fulfilling than a street parade but.. both are necessary (Interview 8).

Sergeant Edison also commented on the importance of participating in Remembrance Day, regarding the gun salute, “It’s... just 21 minutes of a day that weather or nothing else don’t bother ya.... It’s a soldiers’ day. It was good to participate... to be able to... walk in the steps.. To show the respect for the things we **did** [informant’s emphasis] gain” (Interview 10).

All of the members of 56 FES that were interviewed expressed their pride as members of 56 FES, the CME Branch and as members of the CF in participating in the parade and gun salute ceremonies. Also strongly articulated was that participation in Remembrance Day ceremonies is a sign of respect to veterans of past wars and conflicts, both living and dead. Their performance is expressed as a duty, to help educate outsiders about the sacrifices made by veterans and serving members of the CF for the rest of Canadian society. Lieutenant Palfrey stated:

Ah, well we knew what it was for, it was for remembering the past wars, the fallen comrades, those who participated in conflicts in the past, you know, it's to remember those personnel, those people, and we knew that, we knew that our participation meant a lot to those people and you felt like you were doing something, in your heart, for these people, and you were quite proud of what you were doing, and ah, when you hear the Last Post or Oh Canada or something you were quite proud of it, of you as an individual participator for fallen comrades (Interview 6).

Master Corporal Dwyer also expressed this pride and respect when prompted for his feelings about the public ceremonies:

First, as a member of the Canadian Forces, we're... honouring those who went before us, those who fell in wars, or those on... 'Specially now, peacekeeping missions who are just serving. As a member of 56...it's also just to honour the guys who who've at war, been on tasks, before where there have, things have happened. For example, Sergeant Mike Ralph who... had that unfortunate accident in Yugoslavia. He was formerly a member of 56 Field Squadron, and that was something I thought about this ah past time. I only knew the man through his reg force experience but the

time I had with him he was a true Newfoundlander, a good man (Interview 7).

While, members of 56 FES perform in the Remembrance Day ceremonies out of respect and a sense of duty, many express the importance of educating new military members about the past as explained by Master Warrant Officer Parsons:

I think they have to know it's part of their history, really, you know, any military person... It's good to know where you came from, and know where you're goin' so... I think it's natural to any soldier.... you have special feelings on this stuff, we're all in one sorta trade. I guess every soldier feels the same way (Interview 8).

Members also expressed concerns about what they saw as a reduction in the magnitude of the Remembrance Day celebrations, observed by Master Corporal Osmond:

It seems to be getting a smaller celebration each year, I... I don't know, I have a feeling it will, it may never die out, not that fast, but I think it'll get scaled down again to, to like the first of July [commemoration of the Battle of Beaumont Hamel], you know, which is now Canada's birthday. I think in time it will probably scale down, and ah, because our veterans our veterans our dying out, it just be can't be kept goin' repeated you know, over time people just forget and that's it (Interview 11).

It is through the occupational training in drill practice, as well as through on-the-job observation and informal instruction of more experienced sappers that new members of 56 FES are taught the many aspects of the public customs as part of the “canon of work technique” (McCarl 1986, 71) needed for occupational competence (Cleveland 1994, 23).





Photo 3.1 The CME Officer Hat badge.



**Photo 3.2 Remembrance Day Ceremonies in Mount Pearl, Newfoundland on November 11, 1998.**



**Photo 3.3 Remembrance Day Ceremonies in Portugal Cove, Newfoundland on November 11, 2002.**





**Photo 3.4 56 FES participate in the legion parade in Holyrood on November 11, 2004. The CO of 56 FES Capt Machin and SSM WO Carrigan place a wreath at the cenotaph on behalf of 56 FES.**



**Photo 3.5 The CO Capt Machin and SSM MWO Carrigan of 56 FES place a wreath at the memorial in Holyrood, Newfoundland during the ceremonies on November 11, 2004.**



**Photo 3.6** Members of 56 FES in the gun party pose in front of the St. John's harbour on the premises of HMCS Cabot on November 11, 2005 (Reprinted with permission of 56 FES; photo courtesy of Honorary Colonel Mike Parell).



**Photo 3.7** The gun party of 56 FES firing the gun salute on November 11, 2005 (Reprinted with permission of 56 FES; photo courtesy of Honorary Colonel Mike Parrell).



**Photo 3.8 The gun salute on November 11, 2005 (Reprinted with permission of 56 FES; photo courtesy of Honorary Colonel Mike Parrell).**





**Photo 3.9 Members of 56 FES form up outside the Drill Hall in Pleasantville, St. John's  
November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 3.10 Major Stack instructs the Squadron prior to the parade and gun salute on November 11, 1992**



**Photo 3.11** Members of 56 FES get into parade formation on Queen's Road in St. John's prior to the ceremonies at the Sergeant's Memorial on November 11, 1992.



**Photo 3.12** The Howitzers are positioned facing the St. John's Harbour on Signal Hill in St. John's on November 11, 1992 (Coles).



**Photo 3.13 Unfolding the gun supports prior to the gun salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).**



**Photo 3.14 Unloading ammunition; Sappers adjust their Poppies (left) prior to the gun salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).**





**Photo 3.15** The gun party removes their overcoats and places them in the medical vehicle prior to the salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).



**Photo 3.16** The gun party enjoys a few moments of casual time before the gun salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).





**Photo 3.17 Squadron Sergeant Major MWO Parsons, Sgt Gibbons and other members of 56 FES make fun of the sentry on November 11, 1992 (Coles).**



**Photo 3.18** MCpl Dwyer gives instructions to new sappers; Sgt Barnes, MWO Parsons, Lt Harvey and Sgt Gibbons pose for a photo in front of the howitzer gun (background) on November 11, 1992 (Coles).



**Photo 3.19** The gun party straightens their uniforms and berets, and put in ear defenders prior to the salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).



**Photo 3.20** The Sergeants Memorial on Queen's Road in St. John's



**Photo 3.21** Members of 56 FES during the ceremony at the Sergeants Memorial on Queen's Road in St. John's on November 11, 1992.





**Photo 3.22 Sergeants place wreaths at the Sergeants Memorial on Queen's Road in St. John's, November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 3.23** The front of the National War Memorial as viewed from Water Street, St. John's.



**Photo 3.24** A view of the ceremonies at the National War Memorial on November 11, 1992.





Photo 3.25 Dignitaries and wreath bearers at the National War Memorial on November 11, 1992.



**Photo 3.26 Dignitaries, the CLB Band and the Signing Legionnaires during the ceremonies on November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 3.27 The CLB Band and the Singing Legionnaires during the ceremonies on November 11, 1992**





Photo 3.28 Parade participants, including 56 FES, on Water Street in front of the National War Memorial during the ceremonies on November 11, 1992.



**Photo 3.29** The parade in front of the National War Memorial on Water Street on November 11, 1992.



Photo 3.30 The gun party runs to the guns at 11:00 a.m. on November 11, 1992 (Coles).



**Photo 3.31** The gun party in formation and ready for the salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).



Photo 3.32 A round is fired on November 11, 1992 (Coles).





Photo 3.33 A round being extracted on November 11, 1992 (Coles).



**Photo 3.34 A sapper (front right) holding the “plunger” apparatus for extracting the rounds during the gun salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).**



**Photo 3.35 Spectators watch the gun salute on November 11, 1992 (Coles).**



**Photo 3.36** A view of the gun salute from the roof-top of a residential building on Duckworth Street, adjacent to the National War Memorial, on November 11, 1992 (Photograph taken with a telephoto lens).



**Photo 3.37 District Commander LCol Foster placing a wreath on behalf of the Newfoundland Militia District at the National War Memorial accompanied by CWO Squires (left) on November 11, 1992.**





**Photo 3.38** Participants pin their poppies on the crosses during the ceremonies on November 11, 1992.

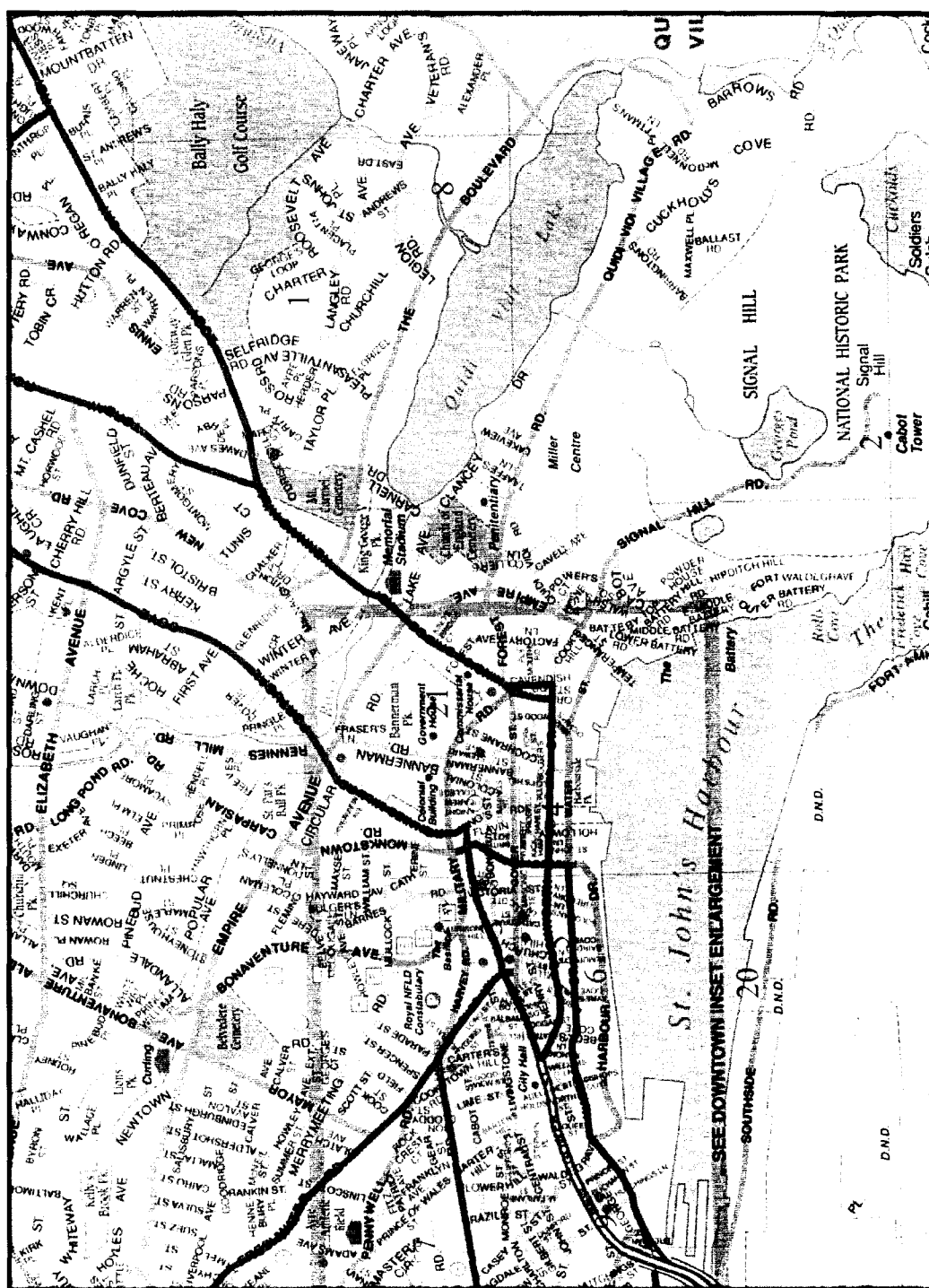


**Photo 3.39 The Legion Parade marches west to the Court House on November 11, 1992**



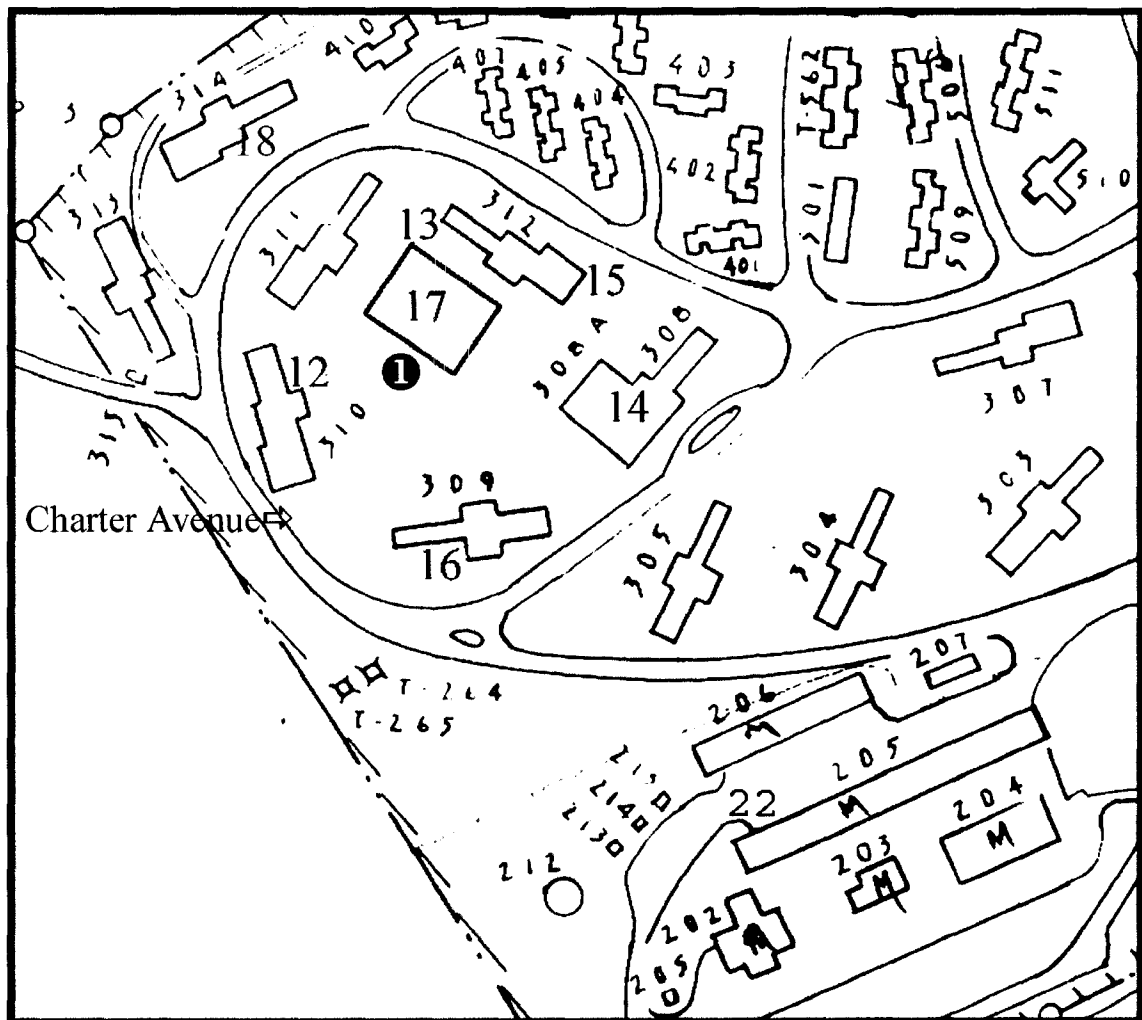
Photo 3.40 CO Maj Stack dismisses 56 FES on November 11, 1992.



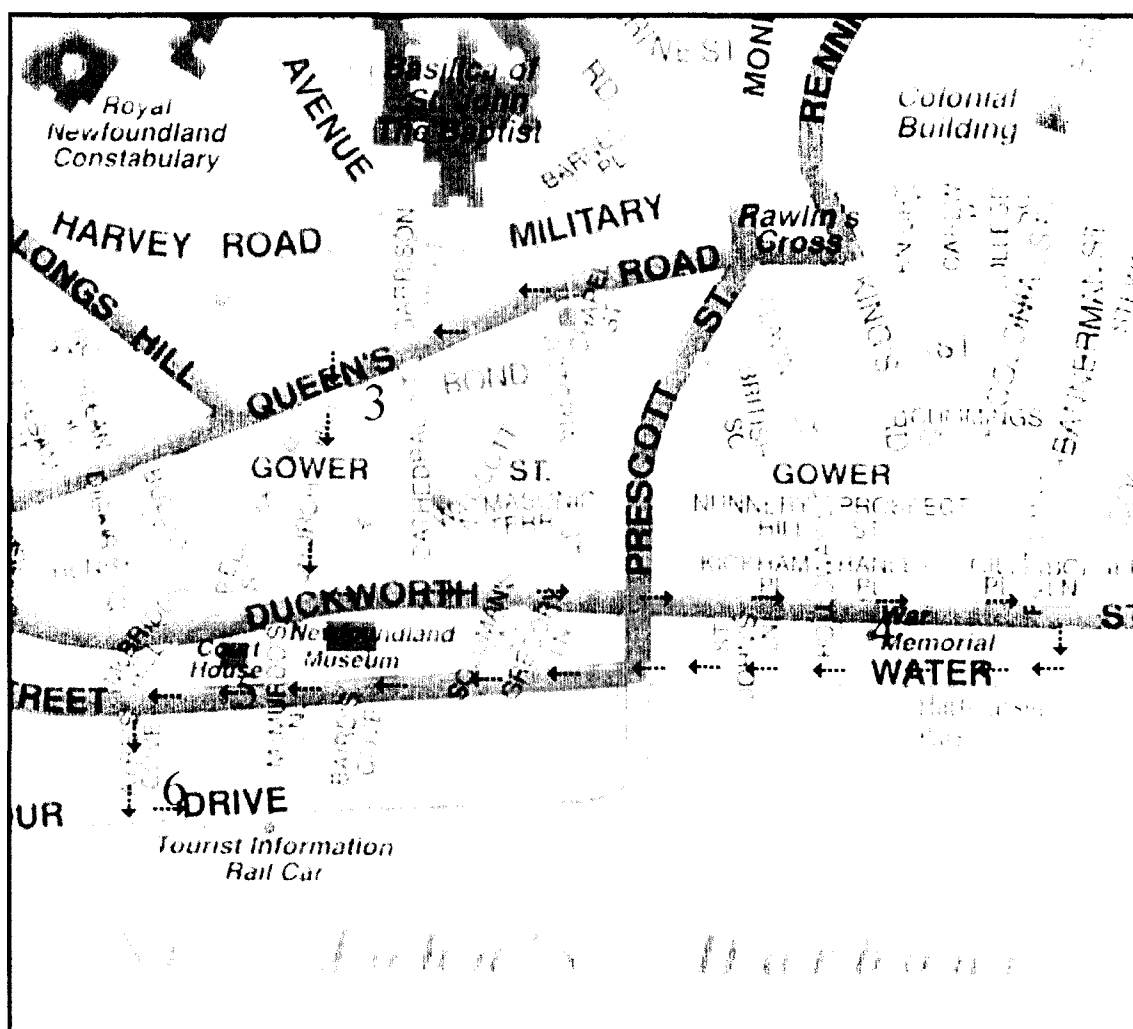


**Map 3.1 St. John's, Newfoundland: Locations for Remembrance Day Celebrations in St. John's (*St. John's* 1996).<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> All maps have been modified using Adobe Photoshop 5.0.



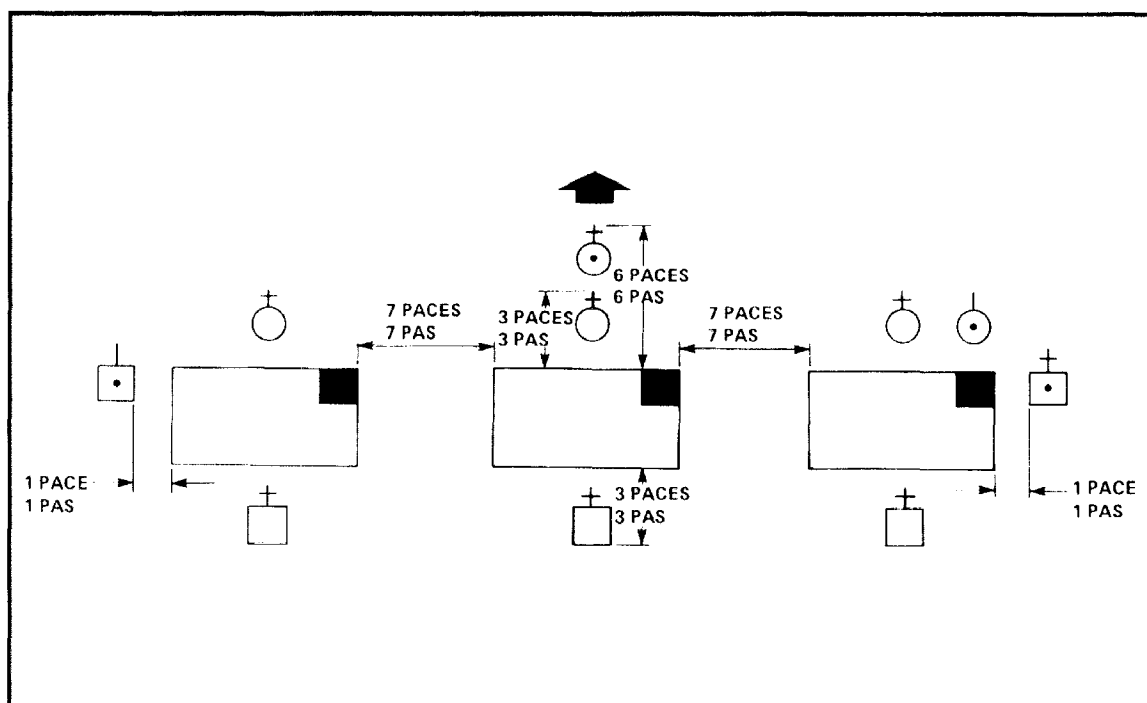
Map 3.2 Section of CFS St. John's (*Plot Plan 1958*).



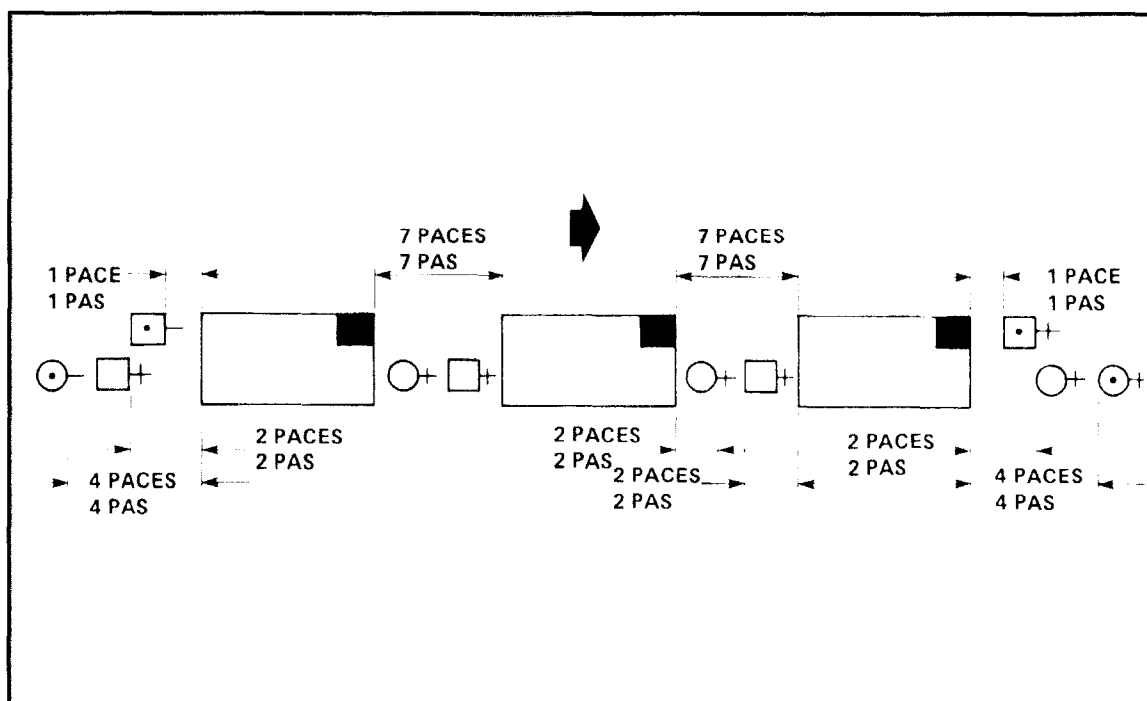
**Map 3.3 Section of the inset of Downtown St. John's with locations for the Remembrance Day parade route and ceremony locations (*St. John's*. 1996).**



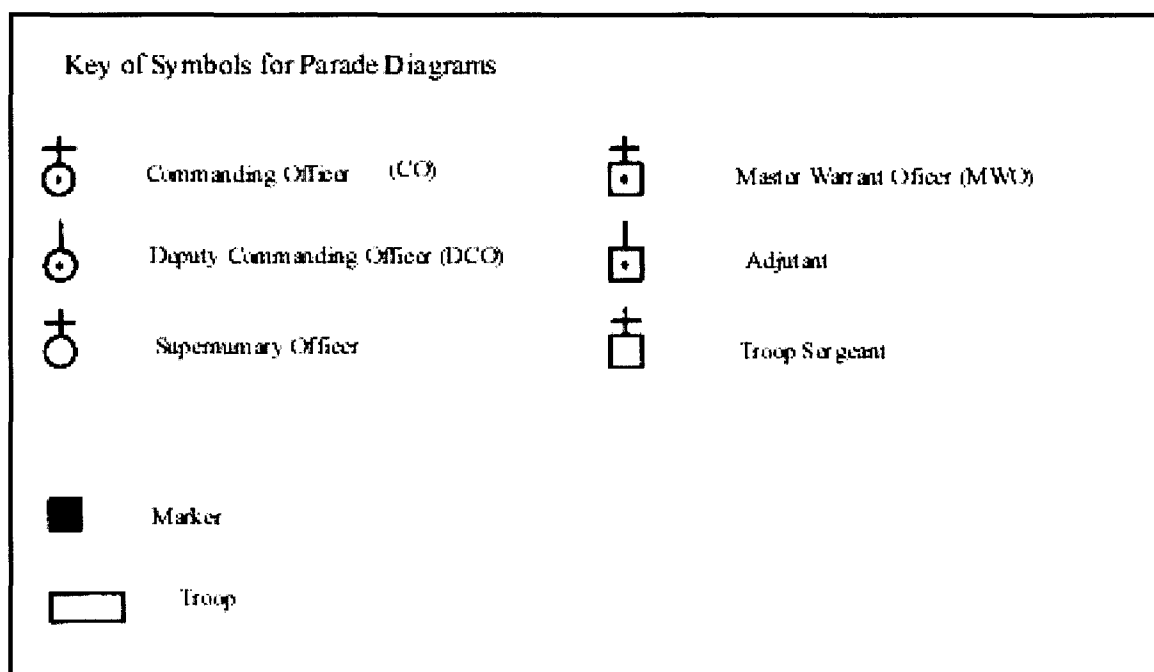
Illustration 3.1 Crest of the Canadian Military Engineers (reprinted from the *CME Manual* 4-6).



**Illustration 3.2 Company in Line** (reprinted from the *Canadian Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial 7-5*).



**Illustration 3.3** Company in Column of Route (reprinted from the *Canadian Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial* 7-7).



**Illustration 3.4** Key for parade diagrams (symbols copied from the *Canadian Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial 1-1*).

## CHAPTER 4: THE PRIVATE FACE OF REMEMBRANCE DAY

The private celebrations on Remembrance Day, for the majority of 56 FES, begin when they are dismissed by their Commanding Officer at around 11:45 a.m. These celebrations consist of “making the rounds”, or visits to the messes and Legion branches of CFS St. John's by the military personnel and veterans, and on some occasions, this may include invited guests. This custom involves social activities such as drinking, eating, chatting, singing, dancing, games such as pool or darts, or other activities. It is a more private event than the parade and gun salute, and both the content and structure are subject to considerable variation.

Within that context the private custom of Remembrance Day, in which members of 56 FES take part, is the custom of “stealing the beaver”. This involves an attempt to steal the beaver mascot of HMCS Cabot (Photo 4.1, p.196) that closely resembles the beaver mascot that belongs to 56 FES (Photo 4.2, 197). Russell's “Mascots” chapter describes several colourful mascots belonging to Canadian Forces units and implies that these mascots are routinely stolen (1980, 126). A similar prank described by Lally (1987) involves the removing or alteration of flight symbols between rival “flights”.<sup>1</sup> This takes place during the afternoon and evening of Remembrance Day while members of 56 Field Engineer Squadron are making their rounds, and visit HMCS Cabot to take part in the social activities at the junior ranks mess. Though less obvious as the public customs,

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<sup>1</sup> The investigation into the Tailhook Scandal of 1991 describes the informal events at the



these private customs also impart occupational techniques and skills (McCarl 1978a and 1986) needed for military competence (Cleveland 2003).

#### **4.1 Plans and Preparations for “Making the Rounds”**

For these private celebrations, there are very few preparations made by the members of the unit. The messes and Legions prepare food and beverages to be consumed by the visitors, and organize musical entertainment of one sort or another. The station commander decides on the locations available for the private celebrations at CFS St. John’s prior to Remembrance Day, such as the time to open of the messes, or the use of a central location, such as the Drill Hall, as explained by Lieutenant Machin:

One of the station commanders wasn't into having mixed mess functions whereby there'd be senior NCOs and Corporals and Privates in the Officers Mess. He wasn't into that so he said to avoid that scenario he set up one big sort of fest hall in the drill hall. The drill hall would be all done up and there would be several bars in there and people would have a place to mingle. There'd be tables and chairs and refreshments of all sorts laid out and that would be where the people would congregate rather than at the messes. So the messes remained closed but the people could intermingle in the drill hall... (Interview 3).

The relocation of the Officers’ Mess from Building 308 to Building 309 (Map 4.1, p.216) at Pleasantville in 2002 with the Sergeants’ and Warrants’ Mess, and the Junior

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convention that included the unofficial use of mascots, symbols and crests (U.S. Department of Defence 1992 and 1993).

Ranks' Mess of CFS St. John's has also affected members plans for "making the rounds". The Officers' and Warrants' Messes were combined on the main floor, and the Junior Ranks remained on the upper floor. Whether or not the messes are open is, now, not an issue. The Garrison Club, the junior ranks club of the Reserve Militia remains, but is primarily used for special functions as needed by individual units.

A similar change in "making the rounds" was effected by the move of HMCS Cabot to the South Side of the St. John's Harbour in 1997 (Map 3.1: 20, p.142). The premises of HMCS Cabot had previously been located across from 56 FES on Charter Avenue in Pleasantville (Map 4.1: 18, p.216). As the harbourside location was more convenient for training members of HMCS Cabot, a new building was erected adjacent to the Coast Guard building on the South Side of St. John's Harbour in 1997 (Map 3.1: 20, p.142). The distance from CFS St. John's has resulted in very few members of 56 FES now visiting HMCS Cabot on Remembrance Day. The few members who have gone have done so on an individual basis, mostly having family or colleagues they wish to visit.

The location for Squadron celebrations may also be affected by other decisions of the Commanding Officer. In the event the Squadron is to take part in Remembrance Day parades and ceremonies outside of St. John's, it may be decided that the Squadron should celebrate at the branch of the Royal Canadian Legion in that community, prior to "making the rounds" to other locations, such as the messes or Legions in the St. John's area. This was the case when 56 FES took part in the Remembrance Day parades in Portugal Cove (2002), Holyrood (2004), and Kelligrews (2005).

Individual unit members who choose to participate in "making the rounds" must

arrange their own transportation and, if desiring to drink alcohol that day, are expected to make arrangements for a ride with another member of the unit or with family or friends. The occasions the Squadron took part in the Remembrance Day parades outside of St. John's, they returned to CFS St. John's by bus. Those members that chose to leave earlier, or later, than the bus required their own transportation.

Squadron members' decisions whether to participate in "making the rounds" are based on a number of factors. For example, the reason given by Sapper Thomas for his decision not to take part was "...prior commitments," (Interview 30). The reason mentioned by others was the lack of transport, or having to rely on parents. This was the case for Corporal Youden, who expressed regret at having to leave, just before a group of former members were to depart for HMCS Cabot (Interview 23). Sapper Brown, whose father had been a member of 56 FES, explained that he returned home, as "my family was all there wanting to take pictures with me in my uniform and all that" (Interview 29).

The rules for "making the rounds" are part of the informal education the newer sappers receive from more experienced peers who pass on their own experiences, through "occupational experience narratives" (McCarl 1978b), or through direct instructions from their superiors. For example Major Stack, when dismissing 56 FES on November 11, 1992 stressed the importance of visiting the Legions and speaking to the veterans. In a sense this informal education indoctrinates the participants with a set of "rules of performance" (Bauman 1971, 16; McCarl 1978b, 5). The discussion of the chain of events on Remembrance Day elicited comments by numerous members about the education of new members. Master Corporal Osmond observed:

I think Remembrance Day... it's changing slightly... I think the newer people have to be ah let known how the tradition really works. I noticed this year there were some people that, they left a lot earlier, I guess you could see that in the Garrison Club, I guess... went off on their own, they had their own things planned. Where for myself, I can see, I use my brother because he's on the other side of the road, so he's not just from my unit, so I can get an idea what he does... but he'll tell his wife, and the same thing with myself and I'll tell my girlfriend "Don't expect me home early or sober on this here day because Remembrance Day, and every year we do this, this, this." It's planned out. You know it's going to be a big celebration (Interview 13).

This particular custom has changed through the years, and each peer group (as defined by the members themselves) have their own versions of this custom. Master Corporal Osmond gives a chronology of events as practiced by his "group" and what he perceives to be tradition:

There was usually meals laid on in the mess, right, this year that was changed... ooh that was bad, sandwiches. There was usually a hot meal laid on. Then after that was when the socializing really begin. Traditionally, the way it started out, they usually had free issue, we used to start out in our own mess, the junior ranks' mess, the Garrison and we'd start out there and drink beer whatever free stuff was there.... And from there we'd leave according to wherever most, like your group of people, were going, say most times... I remember you head over to the Reg force junior ranks, and the warrants, and everybody like that. So you'd stay over there and drink some more, whatever free issue was there you'd drink some more. By this time you're feelin' pretty good... And from there, ah it was either down to the Legion, it's sorta like Christmas time where you go

around visiting everybody's house, right, you'd go down to the Legion talk to some of the Legionnaires, drink a few beer with them.. They'd tell you a few stories about wartime, that sorta thing, and that's kinda good. It's good to get down with the veterans, and then ah, from there possibly back to Cabot. That's usually the last place that's usually going, for some reason. A lot of people like to go there, and so, from there, a lot of people go downtown. A lot of people go down.. different clubs, say the Cotton Club [a local strip club] or something like that, a bunch of navy guys, navy guys or army guys, whatever it may be (Interview 13).

Furthermore, the first time a member participates in “making the rounds” can affect his or her perception of the rules for performance as described by Corporal Peddigrew, “After that we came back here to the drill hall and they had a big party down here...it was just a typical after Remembrance Day party, drinkin' beer and just tellin' stories and stuff like that,” (Interview 19).

Along with the routine for “making the rounds,” Lieutenant Palfrey, a former member of 56 FES from 1980 to 1989, explains that socializing with the veterans on Remembrance Day is regarded as an important aspect of Remembrance Day Celebrations:

We would take the guns down from Signal Hill and bring them back to the gun bays and ah do a quick cleaning, and then we would go off to the Legion, or first of all, I think that we would make our rounds at the respective messes that you were affiliated with...[phone rings; short interruption by a call for Rick] Ahm, well you have different people there, different age groups, you have younger people nineteen twenty, then you have the older people up to eighty on Remembrance Day, you'd have people there with different experiences and you would ah, for example,

after you'd leave the messes you'd go, you know, you start at the messes and then to the Legion, we'd go to Branch 56 down in Pleasantville, and then on to Branch number 1 in the West End of St. John's, but when you're at the Legion, say for example Branch 56, you stick to your own peer groups of course, but then you'd go around and talk with the older people, have a beer with them, and they'd talk to you and basically its a time for them to get out and enjoy themselves, they seemed like, they really looked forward to the Remembrance Day occasion, like Christmas almost, I mean, they seemed really comfortable in with their friends, and we're very comfortable in with they seemed really comfortable in with them, ah just sharing a part of their life for a short period of time and remembering what they had done for people of the future, but we would go around and basically do the same thing every year basically, like I said talk to people, visit, play pool, darts or just mingle (Interview 6).

The performance of experienced members differs from that of newer members and, as Lieutenant Machin explains, the sapper's concept of what is traditional is affected by the way he or she is taught to perform the custom, and from whom he or she learns "the rules of performance":

And I think what has happened is... the generations have slipped out of sync now and that's not really done. The older people, like I know the CO and people like Len Edison and a few others, the older types, Wally Barnes, Sergeant Major, that's the first thing they do, that's another tradition entirely, but they talk to the older people because they're still in sync, or they've been taught to, taught that, or whatever. But the younger crowd, like I guess myself, it started around... '84 '85, just as I'd been in a couple years, the thing was to do, more than talk to the old guys was to have a bit of fun while we were at it. 'Cause it was like, you're a young

guy, you're paid to go drinking, you're allowed to go anywhere in town, the military can go and drink it was kinda like brand new experience, it was like a real party atmosphere type of thing... and the last thing you wanted to do was go down.... but I did. I've done that a couple years and ah some of the stories are pretty horrific and terrific.. There's some pretty neat stories coming out of there, and I just hope that the younger crowd gets some of that too (Interview 3).

“Making the rounds” is also seen as a way for serving military members to connect with the veterans, and to celebrate with them. As Sergeant Edison said, “it was just a day communicating with the ex-soldiers” (Interview 10). Corporal Dwyer elaborates:

First, as a member of the Canadian Forces... we're honouring those who went before us... those who fell in wars, or those on... ‘Specially now, peacekeeping missions who are just serving as a member of 56... It's also just to honour the guys who who're at war, been on tasks... things have happened. For example, Sergeant Mike Ralph who.. had that unfortunate accident in Yugoslavia, he was formerly a member of 56 Field Squadron and that was something I thought about this ah.. past time. I only knew the man through his Reg Force experience but the time I had with him he was a true Newfoundlander, a good man (Interview 17).

Warrant Officer Reelis also spoke to the importance of socializing together as a unit, as well as with the veterans, on Remembrance Day:

It's also a day for camaraderie with troops that are here now... plus you get to meet the veterans... it's their day... This squadron acts more like a family... our officers look out for their troops, make sure they're taken care of. A section of eight men are useless if four of them can't get along

together... you have to work as a team. You care about the welfare of the soldiers.. If he's got a problem.. It's your problem (Interview 12).

As Lieutenant Machin observed, the informal social activities allow for a blurring of the divisions between ranks:

It's a good time, it's like a chance to relax, unwind with your buddies a little bit... talk to the older guys, meet friends you haven't seen for awhile, um meet friends from other units you don't get a chance to socialize with, you get a chance to socialize with the other ranks. I came from the other ranks [refers to his having reached the rank of MCpl before undergoing officer training] so I sorta like getting back there once in awhile. You get to drink a few, you get to go to other places which ordinarily aren't open to you, either officially or ah you'd want to go there any other time (Interview 3).

Master Corporal Dwyer summed it up when he commented, "We're all friends... I can go talk to the highest-ranking officer and talk to him, 'cause he's an engineer.. and talk to him...have a beer.. We're all the same breed of man, or woman" (Interview 17). The ability to socialize in mixed ranks during the informal events is an accepted behaviour among the participants, most of who are military members, or peripheral members – veterans, former members, or invited guests.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Additional examples of events that provide members of 56 FES with opportunities for informal socialising in mixed ranks are described in Appendix F.



## 4.2 Plans and Preparations for “Stealing the Beaver”

The Canadian Military Engineers have both official and unofficial uses of the beaver. The Canadian Forces allocates symbols to be used as unit identifiers, sometimes based on symbols already created by units themselves. The official uses, stated in the *Canadian Military Engineers Manual*, are as the central symbol of the crest, which is used on hat-badge, belts, and other parts of the official uniform, and is found on the covers of official military documents, signs, plaques, and the other objects for use in the workplace (Illustration 3.1, p.145). As illustrated by the *Canadian Military Engineers Manual*:

The Branch has maintained the beaver as the focal point of our badge. The beaver, the National Animal of Canada, due to its noted skill in building has been a traditional engineer emblem. The style of beaver chosen was similar to the one used in the Non-permanent Force Canadian Engineer badge in 1903, and in the RCAF Construction and Maintenance Unit badge. The beaver is on a brick red background, a colour signifying our place in combat as well as our role in construction and maintenance of works and buildings. The badge embodies our two names, “Engineers” and “Genie”, and our motto “Ubique.” The badge is surmounted by the Royal Crown emblematic of our allegiance to the Queen of Canada, our Colonel-in-Chief, was approved in October 1976 (Canada DND 1993b, 8-1).

The unofficial uses of the engineer crest can be seen in the 56 FES t-shirts (Photo 4.3, p.198; 4.5, p. 200) and jacket (Photo 4.4, p.199) designed by the Squadron and incorporate the official crest with other symbols of the Canadian Military Engineer, such

as the flag and the common saying concerning the engineers "First In....Last Out" on the t-shirt, and the colours used in the jacket.

The beaver being the official symbol of the Canadian Military Engineers, it follows that the mascot of 56 Field Engineer Squadron would be a beaver. The taxidermied beaver which 56 Field Engineer Squadron has named as their mascot was donated to 56 FES by former commanding officer, Major Al Sutherland, and named "Bernie" by Master Warrant Officer Squires. "Bernie" was eventually housed in a Plexiglas case, made by SSM Parsons, and a homemade engineer flag placed behind the beaver (Personal communication with Master Warrant Officer Parsons on November 30, 1992; Photo 4.2, p.197).

The beaver mascot of HMCS Cabot is also a stuffed beaver that had been donated by a former member of Cabot. The beaver was mounted on small logs, chiselled to appear as if gnawed on by the beaver, and housed in a glass case that bears an engraved brass plate which read "Presented to the General Mess of HMCS Cabot by Leading Seaman E. Lee 1978," (Photo 4.1, p.196). Leading Seaman Beitenman described the importance of the beaver mascot in terms of its use by the members of her unit:

It's just one of those permanent fixtures that everybody loves...since it was donated to us its become part of ah... the traditions surrounding the unit. As a member of the junior ranks it's a one of our emblems more or less... We have initiations that are centred around this beaver. Well they start with a party with an open bar, and massive amounts of drinking... You are welcomed in to the mess and you have to kiss the beaver's tail.... once you finish up your summer training so you're officially part of the unit... and

ah it's just part of your general initiation into the informal side of the unit so.... the basis of its traditional role, like becoming part of the junior ranks mess, that with the attempted kidnappings of the beaver and stuff... it's almost a mascot... it's chiefly associated with our mess (Interview 32).

Though the beaver of HMCS Cabot's junior ranks mess is used for that group's initiation that resembles the "Screech In" ceremony performed in Newfoundland to initiate visitors or new residents as honorary Newfoundlanders.<sup>3</sup> "stealing the beaver" has become part of the Remembrance Day Celebrations for many members of both 56 FES and HMCS Cabot.

There are no formal preparations made for an attempt by 56 FES to "steal the beaver". Instead this is a spontaneous event and its performance dependent upon a number of variables, including whether or not HMCS Cabot is to be a location for "making the rounds" on November 11. If members of 56 FES are unable to go to HMCS Cabot on Remembrance Day, or decide not to go, then they are not able to attempt to "steal the beaver." In some cases, members do not find out about such incidents until after the fact as not everyone in 56 FES participates in this prank, as Corporal Kennedy commented, "I never heard about it. I must have been off in the corner loaded somewhere," (Interview 22). For members of HMCS Cabot the knowledge of past attempts by 56 FES to "steal the beaver" may mean that they prepare for future attempts

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<sup>3</sup> The "Screech In" ceremony involves the initiate drinking a shot of Newfoundland "Screech", kissing a cod fish or the rear-end of a puffin, most often made of plastic or wood, and then reciting a saying in exaggerated Newfoundland dialect, following which the initiate is pronounced an "honorary Newfoundlander" and awarded a certificate to that effect ("Newfoundland Screech" 2006).

by moving the beaver or securing it in some way, as was the case in 1992 when the beaver was relocated from atop the trophy case in the mess (Photo 4.1, p.196) to behind the bar (Photo 4.6, p.201).

It happens that attempts to “steal the beaver” are instigated by particular members of the unit, usually individuals who had been involved in this particular custom before. Lieutenant Machin refers to the group of people who had made attempts on the beaver as “my group,” as he and several other junior officers and junior NCO's are considered to be the core group of perpetrators of this event (Interview 3). Having said that, the members who participate each year are not always the same. Master Corporal Payne noted that the participants could be from all ranks:

Officers... senior NCOs.. right down to Sappers... oh yeah, you got to have everyone involved because it is the beaver, the beaver represents the engineers... and engineers right, from a Sapper right up to the big guy [the Commanding Officer].. makes a difference, and everybody else in between, so why not, right that's your symbol in a bloody naval mess [laughing] (Interview 15).

Master Warrant Officer Parsons saw that participation depended on a number of factors:

It depends on the person, time of day and the amount of alcohol consumed, right... It has to be a good engineer, that's the way I'd look at it... person who's spirited, that got a lot of *esprit de corps*... you know you get half crazy sometimes, on that stuff... It makes a colourful engineer, you know, you've got to have so many people like that or you end up, geez, like robots... (Interview 8).

Major Stack also saw that the officers were often the instigators of the “stealing the beaver” custom:

I think it's.. It's ah probably.. the junior element, your element that ah has a lot of responsibility in the military, ah probably a lot more than most people would have in a civilian terms, junior managers would start off on a pretty low rung and they wouldn't have that much responsibility. Military, particularly the army, maybe not the navy, but the army tends to throw young people into the breach very quickly, and they assume a lot of responsibility and they have a lot of things they have to do...so they work hard, and I think the other side of it too, they play hard as a group, and this is just one of the sort of things that they could get themselves involved in (Interview 1).

And from the other side, Leading Seaman Beitenman, a member of HMCS Cabot, described the “stealing the beaver” custom as follows:

[Much laughter] Well.. these guys like our beaver I guess [laughing] there have been numerous attempts, and one of the better ones... as you've seen it's in the case hey, with the white bar inside... One of the better attempts was they made it half-way to the door with it one year, with the power cord from the case still dragging behind it before [laughing] before one of the senior hands had said “Hey Guys where you goin'?” right. But it's a standard running rivalry type thing, and ah its kind of a tradition.... it's been there longer than I have [the traditions] yeah. Well... it's.. The basis of its traditional role, like becoming part of the junior ranks mess, that with the attempted kidnappings of the beaver and stuff... it's almost a mascot... it's chiefly associated with our mess.... It seems a lot like fraternity type.. sorta deal, where one tries to make off with the others

mascots.... [Items from 56] actually if memory serves me correct there is something that we have.. behind the bar.. that was mentioned in passing that it's from.. [56 FES] but I don't even remember what it is now.... With the party goin' right, and everybody gets drinkin'... and then somebody figures it's about time, and the beaver will attempt to be taken away [laughing] there's usually an ensuing fight [laughing and can't speak] you know... it's like, the next night you're down for training, it's like did you hear this? Did you see this? It serves a function.. it kinda draws the junior ranks together, which.. in a unit as large as we have, you need something like that (Interview 32).

For members of 56 FES, the plans to steal the beaver are sometimes discussed before Remembrance Day, but often not until the morning of the parade. The discussion of plans for the prank, and the reasons for stealing the beaver, may help to involve newer members in the custom, as Sergeant Kelly explained:

Oh Cabot... the thing with Cabot, Cabot has this beaver over in their hallway. Now the Engineers, that's our hat-badge, is a beaver, and we don't like the fact that they got one.....It's a little tradition that's after startin' up, is you get the younger fellas, you get into it, and they get a few beers into them... They want to get involved. They're over chattin' with you. Where I'm at the higher level now, they're over chattin' with you and you're tellin' them about how when you first got in we went over and, the big thing is, who can try and get the beaver off the wall, steal the beaver from 'em cause we don't think they should have it, and they have it in a glass case up against the wall.... (Interview 7).

Lieutenant Machin also explains how planning for the rest of the day's celebrations while "making the rounds," informs other members of the unit about "stealing the beaver" and

the rules for performance:

Basically it's just an example of follow the leader type of things. Their superiors and their elders sort of will mention that they're, "When are we going to Cabot?" to one of their friends, or whatever their peers and the younger guys will go "What are you going over there for, what are you going over there for?" And then they'll explain the process of how the messes are open, how the Legions are open and then, then the conversation about last year we almost got the beaver will start up sort of inadvertently off to the side somewhere and the young guys go "What beaver? What beaver? I thought only engineers are supposed to have beavers" and then the older guys will go "That's right. That's why we're going to take Cabot's...." that sort of scene.... (Interview 3).

Lieutenant Palfrey expressed similar sentiments:

I don't know where they got it [beaver at HMCS Cabot], but that's insignificant to us. It's on the engineer hat-badge, it's not on the navy hat badge. It's a symbol of hard work, diligent work, getting the job done. . .no matter what conditions you're in and here it is in a navy mess, and we thought that was improper (Interview 6).

Sapper Hancock learned about this stealing custom while "making the rounds" on Remembrance Day, 1992:

That day.. that was the first time I had heard about it.... it was, I guess between 12:30 and 2:30, cause everyone was talking about the beaver.. and how one other time some of the guys tried to take it.. I don't know if they got out of the building with it or not.. they probably did.... but they got caught at doin' it somehow.... and it wasn't by the engineers, it was by.. another officer, and they asked the names of these guys and the guys gave

names of other guys in the unit.... and when the time came later to get these guys... so the boys did get away with it... it was always a big joke after.... Corporal Gulliver I think it was, told me about it, Corporal Gulliver and Corporal Kenny.. how they ah.. some of the guys had tried to take it before (Interview 28).

The strategy to “steal the beaver” is most often formulated while at the mess of HMCS Cabot, once the members of 56 have discovered where the beaver is located that year, in its case atop the trophy display or behind the bar. At that time they can judge the amount of distraction that will be required for the members to carry out their plans. Master Corporal Payne describes the failed attempts to “steal the beaver” in 1992, emphasizing the importance of planning and team work:

We had a very poor attempt....I think less talk and more action at a certain time we would have gotten the bloody thing, right... shoulda had it. We should have had it..... What happens is, after you get to your own mess and you have a few drinks whatever... after prob'ly a couple of hours passes by there's talks then about moving off to other messes and as soon as someone mentions about HMCS Cabot, someone else probably mentions the beaver, right, and gettin' it, right and then it's slopped around or passed around a little bit, and its not, there's not really a plan. I think like, what happened this time was that there was.. wasn't a plan before we left, right, I think we waited a lot, way too long I think, as soon as we were in there we should have said okay look, this is how its gonna go. I need so many people to guard the door, I needs.. one person just to act as a stupid idiot just to be able to make sure that.. when you walk into the bar, you'll notice that.. the bartenders go off this way [motions with left hand straight out to the left] right straight to the bar and you walk in a little bit from the door,



and you'll see the beaver right on the, on the shelf....they moved it behind the bar, but see it was still retrievable from the bar, because well, all you had to do was get a big lad.. stand him right out from the entrance, right.. soon as you opened the door, stand right there where the bartenders can't get past ya, right. One guy'll rush in, take it down, you'll have to get a tall lad so he don't drop the bloody thing, cause it is the beaver, right, hand it out to somebody else, get a few bodies to block the door from anybody else who wants to get ya and theeeew [noise made to signify fast and stealthy movement] go. And have a drop-off point planned for it, right. But it was disappointing, we waited too long, and it really rots my socks right cause we coulda had it, but they ended up lockin' the door after.. but that's too easy too because soon as it open [clears throat] you can get buddy [makes a cracking sound with fist smacking into cupped hand] walk along there and keep the door open....you can get it, if you wanted it, you can get it (Interview 15).

The rules for performance of “stealing the beaver,” are part of the shared occupational knowledge that is passed on during the performance of the custom, and as well in the telling of occupational experience narratives (McCarl 1978b). Captain Fleet, commenting on the failed attempts of 1992, also refers to the unofficial acceptance of “stealing the beaver” within Canadian Forces culture “Ha ha ha, well they never got it. It's too bad. I wasn't there that particular time... It's not discouraged but it's not encouraged, but you expect it to happen... It's a bit of rivalry that's healthy, I think” (Interview 2).

This type of stealing may seem strange to many outside the realm of military culture but there is a ritual quality to it, which is evident in the explanations of what would be done

with the beaver, or other item if stolen, also considered as the rules for “appropriate” performance (Baumann 1977, 11; see also Hymes 1975, 17):

There is a fine line between simple rivalry and vandalism. If it comes down to vandalism it’s hooliganism, and should be discouraged and should be dealt with.. ah things like this I mean stealing that beaver they would have taken that beaver over here, we all would have had a great laugh at it, certainly a good chuckle ah probably had a plate engraved and had it returned in some ceremonial manner right, it is important in that way (Interview 2).

The objects involved in the “stealing” custom within the Canadian Forces are not always mascots, as in the case of 56 FES, but may be items such as mess bells (Photo 4.7, p.202), propellers (Photo 4.8, p.203); totem poles (Interview 31); ceremonial cups (“Hawk Tales”) as well as the “Stealer’s Trophy” (Photo 4.9, p.204; Osolinsky; “Steeler’s Trophy”). Sergeant Edison further explains:

A bell in a mess is a very popular thing.. like Cabot has stole the bell of the Garrison Club which is the junior ranks mess for us a few times and we’ve done the same, and then Cabot showed up with this beaver. I don’t know where it came from but I know it’s there, and it was under guard they knew that we’d go after it even up until the other day they were ready to do the same thing. It’s strange to see the navy with a symbol of the unit... just to say that you can get it. It would be taken in fun.. and it would be given back. You know yourself that Cabot knows where to go to get it if it did go missing.. to claim it and say we took it back.. it’s all in fun all in sport, nobody’s lost no teeth over it.... Aboard ships and messes you find it.. they would try and take the bell... it’s a symbol of the mess,

the man that rings the bell buys a round for everyone who is in the house...Cabot did get in the Garrison Club back... around '80, I'd say '78 to '80 and they managed to get the bell of the Garrison Club and they'd let you know they got it they'd initial it and they'd put stolen from on such and such a date.. and they would give it back. It's there.. I've heard tell of it in all my day. I suppose the beaver goes back to the day people stole flags, people lifted somebody's flag of a unit (Interview 10).

Sergeant Reelis also explains the “stealing the beaver” as part of accepted tradition within the Canadian Forces:

It's just a mess thing.. you get it out of there.. eventually it'll get back there. Like a lot of messes have that, there are things that are there to be stolen... There's one mess that's got a shovel that's silver plated, and that's the whole purpose of it. It's mounted on a plaque and it's got crests on it of where it's been, and when you steal it you put a crest on it, and it's been around the forces a few times. Some messes have got bells, and that's what they're there for, to be stolen (Interview 12).

Nor is the tradition of “stealing the beaver” an isolated act. Sapper Budden described another incident involving an attempt to steal a beaver statue in a public park in Fredericton, New Brunswick near Canadian Forces Base (CFB) Gagetown, undertaken by him and a number of sappers on the same training course that illustrates his understanding of stealing customs:

I remember one time up in Fredericton, ah one of the parks in the middle of Fredericton has this big brass beaver er something, it's humungous, I mean.. And there was four of us there, we were sloshed and we were just tryin' to get this beaver back to the shack right and it was like [acting out

trying to lift large, heavy beaver] “come on, hands on for a lift” you know, and could not move it right. That would have been the ultimate if we had gotten that back to the shack.... We just couldn't move it, I mean that would have been the ultimate thing, just get that back in the shack, you know inspection the next morning, “Ahh what is that?” ... “You know we acquired that there sir”.... I don't know how we would have got it back, you know, get a bus or something [both laugh] I don't think we really cared at the time (Interview 27).

A number of stories assert that a cannon belonging to the United States Naval Facility at Argentia, Newfoundland was stolen by HMCS Cabot, taken back to the United States Naval Facility; only to be taken again by members of HMCS Cabot. Major Stack explained how such stealing customs are informally maintained, and rules for appropriate performance are part of the occupational knowledge of 56 FES, and throughout the Canadian Forces:

The tradition that's evolved in many military messes is that you, you could call it outright theft or whatever, but there has been there's been items liberated from various messes on times over the years in the tradition of the military, taken back to one's own mess, engraved that they had found this trophy from somewhere, and subsequent to that maybe somebody else would visit that mess from the original mess that the item was in and re-acquire it, of course bring it back under great acclaim, so it's not new in the annals of military history, and I don't know how far it goes back. It's just a fun type thing. You can probably wander around this mess here, I think there's a propeller down there that travelled from place to place in jest, so it's something that's.. I don't even know where the tradition started ah.. But I don't think these [HMCS] Cabot people were totally attuned to

allowing this thing to go out of their hands.... ah and the Navy has done it as well. That very unit that we're talking about now, that are guarding their beaver so fervently also ah.. liberated a cannon from the U.S. Naval station in Argentina and have it proudly displayed in their lines, so you know, that's going back a few years, but that was, they're of the same, they do the same thing.... Every other organisation does. Now this is not a sanctioned event. Nobody sits down and says.. "This will happen." It's usually, it's usually by the junior element, ah.. and again nobody gets hurt ah.. the property is usually added to in some way, improved, polished up, but engraved saying that we did it, the individuals did it and then either given back, or the other group are given the opportunity to acquire it back, so I guess it allows yeah, it's ah.. it probably gives our people for one brief fleeting period, yeah, besting the other guy... it's just something that a spontaneous act, reaction to the differences in the military (Interview 1).

The members of 56 FES have an understanding and acceptance of "stealing" customs as appropriate behaviour that allows them to take part in "stealing the beaver" if and when the opportunity arises.

#### **4.3 The Private Celebrations on November 11, 1992**

On November 11, 1992, the members of the Newfoundland Militia District who took part in the Remembrance Day ceremonies disembarked the busses, and ran to their respective mess halls for lunch, and their first celebratory drink. The members of 56 FES formed into ranks outside the drill hall, and were ordered to stand at ease by CO Major Stack (Photo 3.40, p.141). The band of the RNR marched past in formation, playing an

upbeat tune (Photo 4.10, p.205). Major Stack commended the squadron's performance on parade, and dismissed them, adding the reminder "It would be nice for all of you to try to make it down to Branch 56 of the Legion to have a drink with our veterans," (Major Stack, November 11, 1992). For 56 FES, the formal part of the day was over, and they had earned their half-day's pay. However, for many of the squadron members, there remained a sense of obligation to the unwritten tradition of "making the rounds" to the messes and the branches of the Royal Canadian Legion.

After the members of 56 FES were dismissed at 12:00 p.m. they departed individually, or in small groups. There were a few moments of confusion, as some members assumed the messes were already open, and some junior ranks personnel were turned away from the Officers' Mess (Map 4.1: 14, p.216). Some members of 56 FES went to visit with the veterans at various branches of the Royal Canadian Legion. Branch 1 is located at 57-59 Blackmarsh Road in St. John's (Map 4.2: 10, p.217), Branch 36 is at 51 Park Avenue in Mount Pearl (Map 4.3: 11, p.218), and Branch 56 is on the Boulevard in Pleasantville (Map 3.1: 8, p.142; Map 4.1: 19, p.216). Sapper Hancock, gave an account of the "making the rounds" on November 11, 1992 as she remembers them:

At twelve thirty and we had ah.. dinner laid on at the Garrison, like every year the Legions and.. the militia units always do.... we all had lunch.. and they said well from now on.. 'cause this was my first Remembrance Day and they said all day long all we do is go visit the rest, the other militia units, the Legions and everything like that, and it's a rip roarin' [laughing] time to get drunk really, and ah.. but our unit is really close, so we didn't, and we enjoy each other's company, so most of us didn't really leave the

ah Garrison Club 'til about 3:30 [pm] and from there I left Garrison and went over to the Cabot.... (Interview 28).

A number of the officers of 56 FES went to the Officers' Mess, at building 308 in Pleasantville to have lunch (Photo 4.11, p.206; Map 4.1: 14, p.216). In the Blue Room, upstairs, there was seafood chowder and rolls available to the members of the mess and their guests along with an alcoholic beverage called "Moose Milk". During this time, Colonel Mackay, of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Royal Newfoundland Regiment, introduced a visiting officer of the Royal Scots Regiment, and presents him with an engraved plaque, in recognition of the affiliation of the two units since the First World War (Photo 4.12, p.207). The officers and visiting guests chatted and mingled (Photo 4.13, p.208). A Korean War Veteran, of the Royal Canadian Regiment Special Forces, approached Major Stack, while at the lower bar, calling attention to the engineer hat badge. He seemed confused that the engineer hat-badge had a beaver on it, pointed at it and said, "That's our beaver." Major Stack replied that the Royal Canadian Regiment beaver has a stick in its mouth, whereas the CME beaver does not.

At approximately 2:15 p.m. I glanced outside and observed three junior ranks members of 56 FES walking towards the premises of HMCS Cabot. Sapper Hancock was among this first group headed to HMCS Cabot:

Of course you know the famous beaver over there [almost laughing]? So we all go yeah we're gonna get it this year we're gonna take it, and things like that, there was only four of us I think that went over with me, and we were over there and we got a drink.... I'd say it was 3:30.. It was ah.. Corporal Kenny, Corporal Gulliver, I think his name was, yeah, Corporal

Gulliver, hmmm there was one more, not sure.. We all went over there we all said "Ahh... We gotta get that beaver," right... 'cause last... I think it was. I don't know if was the last year, 'cause I wasn't there, that they had taken it or they had got caught taking it and they gave the wrong names and everything like that and it was just a big fun... 'Cause they started calling all these people up and saying well.. "You were trying to take the beaver from Cabot," and it was like "No.. heh, no I wasn't there," 'cause the guys had given the names of the other guys in the unit once they had gotten caught, but we went over there saying "ahh.. If we can do it we're going to take that beaver!" And when we got up to the bar over there at 3:30 [p.m.] or quarter to four, whatever it was, the beaver chained.. to the bar, there was a chain around it, there was no way we were going to get the beaver from there that day because it was chained down to the bar. I guess Cabot was just waiting for the engineers to come over and get it. But ah.. we kinda gave up on that idea.... we spent a couple of hours there.. I think it was probably 5:30 when we left.. and ah.. our group headed downtown [both laughing]....(Interview 22).

Around 2:30 p.m. the messes were declared open, meaning that all members of the military and visitors could visit any mess regardless of rank or affiliation. At this time, many officers and non-commissioned officers, as well as visiting honoraries, went the Garrison Club (Map 4.1: 15, p.216), which is the junior ranks' mess of the Newfoundland Militia District, situated in building 312 of Pleasantville. The activities there included talking, eating and drinking, and playing pool (Photos 4.14-4.17, pp.209-212). The food provided at the Garrison Club consisted of sandwiches, coffee, and tea. Some discussion of visiting the premises of HMCS Cabot was noted. A junior-ranking Sapper approached Lieutenant Machin and asked if there would be an organised attempt on the beaver this year:



[I] went to the Garrison Club, and didn't even have to say the word beaver and there was people coming up asking me what about it and everything, seeing as I'd made such a name for myself I guess or my group had made such a name for itself.. and it wasn't, it wasn't people who were in the original group it was all sorts of odds and sods who were engineers but had had no direct involvement in the scenario of ripping off the beaver. So eventually we went over to Cabot, formulated a plan, they at this point they knew we were coming so they had the beaver. It was behind the bar, it was chained on, but they had made the mistake of chaining it on to its perch [refers to the logs] So the perch wasn't fixed to anything so the beaver and perch could be taken out of the bar with little problem, so we went to plan B where we get behind the bar and steal the beaver (Interview 3).

A number of members of 56 FES of mixed ranks departed on foot at approximately 3:45 p.m. for HMCS Cabot in building 314 of Pleasantville (Map 4.1: 18, p.216). At the junior ranks mess of HMCS Cabot the social activities were underway (Photo 4.18, p.213), and a number of members of the mess were involved in a drinking ritual (Photo 4.19, p.214). This ritual entailed the participant drinking a (presumably alcoholic) beverage from an object fashioned from (what appeared to be) a toilet plunger, gripping it with their mouth, and with hands held behind his or her back. Unfortunately, I was asked not to take more photographs at this time, and am unable to show more of the social activities at HMCS Cabot. These social activities include talking and singing songs, including a rousing rendition of "Barrett's Privateers."

It appeared that the members of HMCS Cabot had anticipated that the members of 56 FES would try to steal the beaver that year, and it had been removed from its display

case (Photo 4.1, p.196) and placed behind the bar (Photo 4.6, p.201). The members of 56 FES tried to plan a way to get the beaver, which would prove to be a difficult task as the bar is closed off by a door that was kept locked. The main sappers involved in the attempts to steal the beaver, Lieutenant Mike Machin, Lieutenant Sean Ryan, Corporal John Wicks, Master Corporal Doug Payne, and Corporal Rod Avery created a diversion to get near the door of the bar (Photo 4.20, p.215). They had intended to break a beer glass, so as to force someone to open the door to the bar in order to clean up the glass. This would then allow the group to attempt to ambush those behind the bar and to “steal the beaver.” They made several attempts to gain entry to the bar by asking for things, such as a mop for a spilled drink and dustpan for broken glass, but were unable to get near the beaver.

During this time, I observed the attempts by the members of HMCS Cabot to keep the members of 56 FES in check. This focus on the beaver became obvious, as many members of 56 FES remained at the bar of HMCS Cabot for the duration of the evening instead of “making the rounds” to some of the other locations. Master Corporal Payne explained the importance of the beaver and the cause for his own tenacity that evening:

I mean that don't make sense to me right, it's not like en a saltwater rabbit, or anything right, know what I mean? Right this is what's bugging me about it, right I can see if they got a little tug-boat on the friggin' bar but not a beaver, right, it's just you know it's like us havin' ah, a steamliner put up on a monument, in our unit, it doesn't make sense. You got to be a little bit cunning, you got to want to do somethin' different right, you know who cares what happens after that? Right? Remember that time I ran out to Major Stack? I said, “Look I don't care. I really don't care, just give me the

chance I'll do it. I don't care if I get's a smuck in the mouth, or I gets demoted," [both laughing heartily, refers to his recent demotion from Sergeant to Master Corporal] ... So it's go for it, it's only a minor little thing...so long as the beaver don't get dropped, that's the main thing, that's that's like carrying a baby in your hands, soon as you got it we can't shag it up, if you're gonna fall, you fall on your face first before you let the beaver go.... if you're going after somethin' that is your symbol then you should treat it with a lot of respect (Interview 15).

Members of HMCS Cabot also stood near the front entrance of the junior ranks mess as sentinels to prevent the beaver being taken from the building. Around 6:30 p.m. the CO of 56 FES made a short visit to HMCS Cabot, to inform unit members there that he was going downtown. Master Corporal Payne requested the CO's permission to steal the beaver. The CO made no direct comment, and asked to be informed if anything should happen. He also instructed Master Corporal Payne to gather others who would like to come and to meet him at the "Blarney Stone" bar located on George Street (Map 4.2: 9, p.217). Several more attempts to "steal the beaver" were made, but they finally reluctantly gave up. Realising it was getting late, the few remaining members of 56 FES left and went downtown to the "Blarney Stone" on George Street, where Lieutenant Machin, Master Corporal Payne, Major Stack and a few others stayed to listen to an Irish Newfoundland band and have another drink. At approximately 9:00 p.m., these members of 56 FES left for Branch 1 of the Legion by taxi (Map 4.3: 10, p.218).

At Branch 1 the group joined other squadron members in playing darts, pool and talking to the veterans and their wives. There was a mood of disappointment over the

failure to acquire the beaver. Dancing began, with sappers dancing with wives of the veterans. There was an air of celebration, mixed with nostalgia. Though it was obvious that, for some, the celebrations would continue, the majority of the members of 56 FES had dispersed in small groups, some to downtown or other Legions, while others returned home.

Though the private customs “making the rounds” and “stealing the beaver” have few formal rules, procedures, and plans, and are taught through informal instruction and by observing the performance of other members during Remembrance Day, these customs continue to be an important part of Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES.

#### **4.4 Media Coverage of the Private Customs**

There is a dearth of information about the informal celebrations on Remembrance Day in the media. The first two decades after WWI there were a great number of functions centred around Remembrance Day, some of which were open to the public, such as Armistice Dances and church services, and announcements for these were published in the local newspapers.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in the two decades following World War II, such advertisements and descriptions were published in the newspapers.<sup>5</sup>

As the 20<sup>th</sup> Century progressed, the Veterans began to age and their numbers dwindled, and so interest in many of the social events that resulted in a decline in the

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<sup>4</sup> See for example “Memorial Day 1919”; “Sergeants’ Mess of Nfld. Dinner” 1924; “Memorial Services, 1925”; “G.V.W.A Sports Day” 1924; “Luncheon at Bally Haly”.

<sup>5</sup> “Armistice Ball” (1965); “Armistice Day Ball held.” (1966); “Attention! Attention! Armistice Dance” (1949); “Bella Vista Country Club: Armistice Night Dance” (1966); “G.V.W.A.

scale and numbers taking part. The local newspapers published fewer descriptions and advertisements. The only information concerning the informal celebrations in *The Evening Telegram* on Friday, November 8, 1968 was a mention of the “Armistice Day Ball” in St. John’s and Mount Pearl in an article that described the upcoming Remembrance Day events.<sup>6</sup> In 1983, *The Evening Telegram* described the formal dinner and dance held at Branch 1 of the Royal Canadian Legion on November 10<sup>th</sup>, and included a list of the special guests who attended (“Legion Dinner” 1983). The local papers from 1990’s onwards provide no descriptions of the Legion social functions in local papers.<sup>7</sup> Nor do the media document the celebrations that take place in the various military messes as these are events in which, for the most part, only the military participate, and the media are not present.

Military publications intended for the military community, such as the newspaper *Der Kanandier* published for the Canadian Forces in Europe, often included accounts of both public and private celebrations, both for November 11<sup>th</sup> and those that commemorate battles fought by individual military regiments, or groups of regiments. The accounts of these ceremonies include photographs and detailed accounts by military press and by members of those military units who took part of both public and private ceremonies. For

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Armistice Ball” (1949); “Walsh’s Armistice Dance” (1949).

<sup>6</sup> See for example “Province’s war dead will be remembered: Observances set for Monday” 1968; “Official Armistice Ball... Branch 56” 1977; “Legion Dinner” 1983; “Branch 36 Armistice Ball, Dinner and Dance” 1988; “ “Branch 56 Band Concert” 1988.

<sup>7</sup> The newspaper issues consulted: *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, Newfoundland) Nov. 9-12, 1970; Nov. 1-12, 1977; Nov. 1-15, 1983; Nov. 1-12, 1988; Nov. 11-12, 1989, Nov. 11, 1991; Nov. 1-13, 1992; Nov. 6, 1993; Nov. 12, 1993; *The Express* (St. John’s, Newfoundland) Nov. 11,

example *Der Kanadier* (May 15, 1985) presented photographs of the more private aspects of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry commemorations titled "Frezenberg... 70 Years Later," (1985) with photographs of two service members walking among the trenches with a veteran who had served there. On May 15, 1985 *Der Kanadier* also included a photograph of a soldier with H.R.H. Princess Margaret during the festivities that followed the ceremonies involving the Royal 22<sup>nd</sup> Regiment in Groesbeek, Holland, as part of the commemoration of the liberation of the Netherlands in World War II. Another issue of this newspaper included articles and photographs by service members of some of the social events that took place in Monte Cassino and Sicily, Italy, as part of the anniversary of that battle, in May 1985 ("Anniversary Celebrations" 1985).

During the course of this research no reports of "stealing the beaver" or other such pranks were published in the media. This reinforces the point that the custom is intended for "insiders" and that few, if any, "outsiders" have witnessed attempts to "steal the beaver." And even when they have, like myself, they were asked not to take photographs. As explained by Robert Freed Bales (1970, 153-54): "Most small groups develop a subculture that is protective for their members, and is allergic, in some respects, to the culture as a whole.... They [the members] draw a boundary around themselves and resist intrusion."

Military publications, such as *Der Kanadier*, have published accounts of similar pranks that took place at Canadian Forces Base Baden Soellingen, West Germany. While I was working at CFB Baden Soellingen, West Germany in 1985, members of the 2<sup>nd</sup>

Battalion Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) stationed there undertook a similar attempt, following which the photograph of the participants was featured in *Der Kanadier* on May 22, 1985 (15). The object involved in the incident was named "The Stealers Trophy" [often spelled "Steelers"] an oversized ice hockey goalie stick proudly bearing many engraved metal plaques listing the date of successful stealing incidents, and the names of the participants ("The Steelers Trophy." 1985).

A later incident was depicted in *Der Kanadier* on May 7, 1986. A photograph of the CO of the Communications Squadron at CFB Baden congratulating a visiting Reserve member on "his skilful tactics in relieving the fire department of the Stealers Trophy," (Osolinsky). An additional commentary in the caption read, "Any potential <<stealers>> are invited to visit Communications Squadron located in 1CAG," (Osolinsky; see also Photo 4.9, p.204).

In the same issue a feature section titled "Hawk Tales" (1986) discusses another stealing incident:

A mystery of sorts has plagued the Hawks' nest for the past few weeks, since our all-ranks mess dinner. It seems someone lifted the squadron's "loving-cup" during the festivities, and has now ransomed it for two cases of "killer heinies"<sup>8</sup>. Unidentified intelligence sources have pointed the finger at our very own armourers. This of course can neither be confirmed or denied. It seems there was a misunderstanding about the "tradition" and when asked, any armourer will grin and say he knows nothing about it.

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix C: Glossary.

This may very well be rectified by the time you read this, however we will keep you abreast of the situation (19).

#### **4.5 The History of “Making the Rounds”**

The history of these events is a blend of published history and the “occupational experience narratives” (McCarl 1978b) of members of 56 FES. Together these shape what the group perceives to be traditional, and in the telling serve to inform others about rules for appropriate and competent performance.

When 56 FES was formed in 1949 the Canadian Forces was situated at Buckmaster's Field in the centre of St. John's (Map 3.1: 7, p.142), and the social activities took place at the messes there. Once the members of 56 FES had finished their own meal at the mess at Buckmaster's Field, some would visit other messes or Branch 1 of the Legion on Blackmarsh Road, St. John's for the evening (Map 3.1: 7, 10, p.142). The Unit history shows a photo of the sappers of 56 FES, during these celebrations in 1958 (Photo 1.1, p.26; Harvey 80). Sergeant Barnes, who had been a member of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment prior to joining 56 FES in 1964, describes these celebrations in the days when they were held at Buckmaster's Field:

Then we'd march right back to Buckmaster's Field, and then we'd be dismissed, but then all the messes used to be open... and there was a lot of activities on and most of the people then were veterans, besides us younger guys, there wasn't too many of us, and you had to be 21 to drink anyway and a lot of us couldn't get in the mess at that time, we used to have a place off to ourselves but we used to see them in there havin' a



great time, but we had a great time, drinkin' our cokes and whatever, and then that night there was a big dance, 11<sup>th</sup> November.. Buckmaster's Field, the mess (Interview 11).

Once the Canadian Armed Forces were relocated in Pleasantville in the mid 1960s, with the militia in buildings 311 and 312 (Henderson 42-43) the custom of making the rounds as it is practised today, began to develop, and Branch 56 of the Legion became the focal point of the activities for many sappers in the earlier years of 56 FES, as Master Warrant Officer Parsons remembers:

Well, after the formal parade.... usually we visit the Legion Branches, there are several of them, and our mess, you know.... have a drink, and I guess, reminisce, you know, back to the old days: how parades were, and everything else, and ahm usually pass the day... that way. One thing I find here now, is going back fifteen or twenty years ago, like I say, usually, probably ah you'd be on the go until probably eight o'clock, nine o'clock in the night. But things have calmed down somewhat, and it doesn't seem to have the same. . impact on people now anymore, it's after.. I guess, sort of dying out a bit, you know (Interview 8).

Sergeant Edison, a member since 1966, also spoke about his memories of the early days of the Squadron and the importance of making the rounds to the celebration:

I think that we only had one year here that one or two messes have been closed to the general bodies, but all the messes were always opened. Messes, legions, whether it.. was the messes, Cabot, and then it was the RAF people always were at the RAF Club so we visited there, the American Legion used to be on the go at the base and we used to visit the American Legion, and then back to Branch 56, and probably down off

New Gower Street to Branch 1.. you just go in and meet the veterans.. and in my case I knew a lot of the veterans.. in Branch 56 some of the legionnaires were involved with the squadron.. they'd tell you how they used to do it themselves during the war, it was just a day communicating with the ex-soldiers (Interview 10).

Major Stack, a member of 56 FES since 1978, describes his experiences of “making the rounds” and recent changes he has seen:

Branch 56 is close to here, and it was always a place where you could go down and meet the Legionnaires, and the veterans and that was diminished.. or they decided to close Branch 56 earlier or there wasn't enough of 'em around anymore and they focused everything at the major Branch 1.. whatever the reason, Branch 56 was no longer the beehive of activity, so that the military community here, particularly the Reserve military community, tended to focus on ah.. something close by, and I guess Cabot, everyone naturally gravitated towards Cabot, it wasn't any conscious decision “Let's all, let's all be Navy and talk to those people.” it's just the way it happened, I 'spose, and that's why everyone ended up at [HMCS] Cabot, and it seems to have become a new, sort of a tradition, I can't really say when it started, maybe its only been the last three or four years.... In fact I was the one that was encouraging people to go down to 56.. probably because I, I don't know. I still have that ah as being the.. the usual modus operandi you know you come off the hill you go to Branch 56, but I think there's not that much down there anymore so.. Branch 1, everyone focuses on Branch 1 now.. Branch 1 is a dance whereas Branch 56 was never a dance.... Branch 56 was a spontaneous party, and it was almost like stepping into a room out of ah the Second World War with Vera.. Vera Lynn or whatever her name was.. being you know, playing in

the background a bunch of people actually gathered around the piano, with people sitting at the piano, various modes of dress and you know you look back and you look at something that looks like an old war film, a bunch of these pilots that were at one of their ah barracks in London, and ah.. that's not there anymore, that's what, that's what Branch.. Branch 1 has replaced it and they've grouped it all together now but it seems to be.. less of a traditional way if doing things (Interview 1).

Lieutenant Fleet, a member of 56 FES Squadron Headquarters (SHQ) since the spring of 1982, was among the many members whose accounts of “making the rounds” saw the Legion as the focal point of this custom during the early years:

I think the thing that stands out the most, is ah, one year, I think it was my first or second year.. down at Branch 56, there was a whole pile of veterans and their wives, and they used to sit around and bang away on the piano with the old, "Long way to Tipperary" and all these tunes, and you get to meet them and talk to them. They, used to be, some of the older guys used to get amazed to see me in uniform, cause they still weren't used to seeing a female in uniform, and we used to have a really nice time talking to them (Interview 5).

The custom of “making the rounds” may change over the years, as Sergeant Kelly, a member of 56 FES since February 1986, commented:

Well after the parade, we went then ah up in the drill hall, they had a few beer laid out, sandwiches stuff like that, and you just went and ah had a couple a beer, sneak em cause you were only seventeen then, so you sneak a couple of beer and ah, go with that, have a coupla a beer and talk to a few people, now, basically now then not a lot of people wasn't talking to anybody really, as such, just the people you knew from the unit, talking to

a couple others, but basically that was it, the first year.... that particular year, the first time around.. I went to the drill hall, once I left the drill hall, I just went home because I wasn't really into what.. goes on afterwards and whatnot.... The next year came round, in a little longer.. knew a few more people, like you would.... So then you went, went and did the parade, went to the drill hall. After the drill hall then you went and started goin' to the Legion then, you went down, start at the Legion down, down by us, that's ah Branch ah, I can't remember the Branch... Branch 56, yes that's right, down by us, down in Pleasantville. Start there, have a few drinks there, then you'd go to ah, just pop around to all the different Legions, have a coupla beer here, coupla beer there.. and then eventually end up downtown, cause you had your dress uniform on, that's the only one you're allowed to wear downtown or anywhere in public, so you took advantage of the situation and went downtown in uniform.... When you go to the Legions, that's when you used to talk to the skippers [name commonly used to refer to older men in Newfoundland].. all the skippers would be out and you'd be just chattin' with them cause they like, that's, I mean, basically Remembrance Day was their day because they're the ones who it's for, so you'd just go with them and you'd sit down and you'd just sit down wherever you want, wherever you saw a group of people, go over and sit down "Hello", go over and have a chat, and they'd be tellin' you their war stories about.. when they were in, all that, and you just listen to what they were saying, have a chat with them.. makes them feel like they're not forgotten about, cause that's ther big day of the year, where they get to remember what they did (Interview 7).

#### **4.6 History of “Stealing the Beaver”**

The history of the custom of “stealing the beaver” by 56 FES includes tales explaining the birth of the custom, and stories of other stealing in addition to tales of incidents that have taken place within the Canadian Military.

Lieutenant Machin explained the “emergence” (Baumann 1977, 37-38) of their stealing custom as follows. In 1986, a former member of 56 FES, Lieutenant Keith Mills brought the beaver of HMCS Cabot to the attention to members of 56 FES. However, at that time, few members of 56 FES visited HMCS Cabot. On November 11, 1988, the messes were opened for Remembrance Day, and members of 56 FES began to visit the HMCS Cabot Junior Ranks Mess in large groups, where they saw the beaver at that time. It was not until the members of 56 FES had left HMCS Cabot and were at Branch 56 of the Legion that several of the junior officers, including Lieutenant Machin, discussed stealing the beaver and the next possible opportunity (Interview 3). It was not until 1989, however, that the junior officers, along with several junior NCO's and Sappers, made their first, now famous, attempts on the beaver (Interview 3). This attempt, though unsuccessful, was inspiration enough for members of 56 FES to try again.

The members of 56 FES visited HMCS Cabot on November 11, 1990, and “Cabot had chained the beaver to its perch” [refers to the small logs to which the beaver was mounted] (Interview 3). Lieutenant Machin’s narrative describes the events of November 11, 1990:

It's the second year [1990], the first year [1989] I wasn't directly involved in it. We were gonna set up a diversion, a couple of the younger sappers were gonna start a fight in the corner, the beaver was in a Plexiglas case in a corner by a fireplace.. start up a fight as a diversion, one of them [sappers] was going to throw the other one against the case, break it grab the beaver and start throwing it along this chain outside, and the last guy in the chain was over the fence and in the golf course and he was just going to run until he could run any more with it [laughter in voice, informant smiling] but ah the two young sappers, this was the first time was had a whole mess of plans that night, the two young sappers started getting in a fight the people around them who weren't aware of the plan, because they were members of other units, and we didn't bring them into our confidence.. they broke up the fight *tout de suite* and the two sappers got kicked out and we had a devil of a time getting them back in [laughs, swallows and pauses] The next plan was.. one guy was gonna.. he had, we had a broomstick with a metal end, we were just gonna walk in the bar with it stuck down beside our sides and run at the case break it a just pass it, keep the chain there pass it along, but we got so long in planning that one that the.. the navy people caught on that there was engineers hangin' out along the corridors and down in the basement and outside and everything in a big line and they said "Hmmm what's going on here?" So they realized we were what we were after and they moved the beaver behind the bar.... at which point our plan took even longer because there's a door into the bar, but it can only be opened by the bartender. We sat back and observed the place for a little while, and we noticed that the code they were... There was people coming and going from behind the bar.. and bartender had to go over and open the door all the time and the navy people were going back and forth we forgot what knock they were using, they were using the old shave and a haircut routine. We were going to get

one guy to go up and knock on the door and have two sappers or two of the young guys ready to grab on the door, rip it open a guy would run in get the beaver [laughing] pass it out this chain which had truncated to going out the front door. 'Cause we were getting pretty polluted this time, and I managed to knock down a shelf in the [laughing] foyer and got in a rather loud argument with this ah petty officer from the navy. So all the engineers, they then they caught on to what they were doing again, all the engineers got thrown out.... so we went to the Garrison Club, regrouped, gathered some more compatriots with us, had a couple beers and went back to Cabot, and they didn't seem to notice that we were back so we went right back into planning and scheming and actually causing a disturbance. The navy, at this point they were singing songs and doing all this kind of stuff so we started singing our own songs, and ours were a little bit lustier and bawdier than theirs were so they got upset and threw us out again [both laugh]. So we all went down to Branch 56, had a few beers there, talked to the old farts for awhile, and believe it or not, the weather was kind of crappy that day, we all decided we'll go back to Cabot. So the third time we went back to Cabot we actually did get someone in behind the bar but they had three bartenders in there at this point and he was flicked out the door, at this time we ah decided it'd be better if we all left.. it was kind of late at that point (Interview 3).

Corporal Geoff Peddigrew, another participant in the 1990 attempts, described his role in the event:

We try to bring it home every year.. in 1990 I guess it was.. after the parade.. this year we went over.. we had two attempts at it.. we were pretty close. The first time was ah.. we went in and... we were standing around looking at it looking inconspicuous... myself and Corporal Corbett... We

went over to it and just looked at it and standin' around like we weren't doin' anything and people were positioned they were going to run with it, going to grab it and just run out of the mess... When we finally grabbed ahold of it and started runnin' we didn't realize it was plugged in . . the whole case was plugged in. So we started running and all of a sudden there was a cord on the wall and it kind-of pulled us back, so then the whole mantel-piece started to crash to the floor, so everyone grabbed ahold of the mantel piece and grabbed the beaver and took us and brought us up to the duty officer and he took our names and everything. So we came back over here [56 FES] but.. we felt like we failed and we had to go back and get it again. So we changed nametags and walked back over again to the mess, walked in and this time we had people positioned in corners ah so.. right out though door, right outside. And what was going to happen, I was gonna... Two guys were going to pretend to start a fight and they were going to fight and I was going to run over and smash the glass, grab the beaver and throw it and then get caught [laughs], just stand there and let them catch me. But then once I threw the beaver it would just get passed down the chain right out through the door and the last guy'd run with it. So somehow our timings got mixed up and I started to run at the beaver with a scarf wrapped around my hand going to smash the glass. I got about... about three feet away from it when a couple people jumped on top of me, and kindly escorted me out of the mess, brought me to the duty officer again and couldn't believe I was back again for the second time... We went back again for the third time but they wouldn't let us back in. [We] changed nametags once more but it just didn't work... There were nine or ten people involved (Interview 19).

The members of 56 FES that participated in this emergent custom took part in the plans and attempts to “steal the beaver” because of their shared knowledge about this type



of prank as traditional within Canadian Forces culture. Often during discussions of “stealing the beaver” with me, the members 56 FES and other units in the Canadian Forces described similar pranks that they had been involved with, or had heard about.

For example, the Officers' Mess (now the Annex) in Building 308 of CFS St. John's has a large aeroplane propeller hanging above the door to the bar. The propeller had been stolen the officers of a Canadian Air Force Tracker Squadron 880 that had been stationed at CFS St. John's to patrol the Atlantic Coast. This unit was housed at the Torbay airfield until 1989.<sup>9</sup> The propeller was returned to the mess bearing an engraved brass plate commemorating the event. It reads: “Liberated and Refurbished By MR 88 Bearcats 12-Feb 88” (Photo 4.8, p.203).

Calvin Purcell, a former member of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, was one of the soldiers involved in the “Stealers Trophy” incident of 1985 and described in detail how he, and fellow PPCLI members, was able to slip into the Military Police Compound and steal the trophy. Purcell also told how the Boy Scout troop from CFB Baden later stole the trophy from the orderly room of the PPCLI, using a well-staged “mock” accident that even involved the ambulance being called from the base to distract the PPCLI duty officer (Interview 34). This trophy also had many engraved plaques with the names and dates of successful “stealers” (“Stealer's Trophy” 1985).

Warrant Officer Thomas, serving with the Canadian Military Engineers' Museum, at Canadian Forces Base Chilliwack, British Columbia provided me several other

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<sup>9</sup> (Henderson 63-64).

accounts of “stealing pranks.” Members of the officers’ mess at CFB Chilliwack stole the totem pole from CFB Comox, on Vancouver Island without being caught. To be returned to Comox, it had to be airlifted by helicopter. In another incident the mascot of the Canadian Forces Officer Cadet School (CFOCS) in Chilliwack, a stuffed bear was routinely stolen by the Sergeant’s Mess and held for ransom for a keg of beer. Each time the bear was stolen, CFOCS would buy the beer, throw a party, and the bear was handed back. In another prank, recounted by Warrant Officer Thomas, a sword from the United States Civil War that was on display in a pub in New England was stolen by a group of Canadian Military Engineers who had been taking part in a diving course on Deer Island, New Brunswick. The military engineers went on a pub-crawl just over the border, spied the sword and took it from the pub. The owners of the pub, who viewed the incident as a literal theft, had notified the police. When the culprits were discovered, the sword was returned with a formal apology; it was believed that a cover-up by the military prevented the “thieves” from being charged (Interview 31).

Sapper Budden described another incident involving an attempt to steal a beaver statue in a public park near Canadian Forces Base Galetown, New Brunswick:

I remember one time up in Fredericton, ah one of the parks in the middle of Fredericton has this big brass beaver er something, its humungous, I mean.. and there was four of us there, we were sloshed and we were just tryin' to get this beaver back to the shack right and it was like [acting out trying to lift large, heavy beaver] come on hands on for a lift, you know and could not move it right, if that would have been the ultimate if we had gotten that back to the shack.... we just couldn't move it, I mean that would

have been the ultimate thing, just get that back in the shack, you know inspection the next morning, "Ahh what is that?" ... "You know we acquired that there, sir"....I don't know how we would have got it back, you know, get a bus or something [both laugh] I don't think we really cared at the time (Interview 27).

The military sometimes attempts to record such events through mock reports where official forms are used. For example, during the annual planning conference of 56 FES at United States Naval Facility, Argentia, Newfoundland the weekend of February 5 to 7, 1993, members of 56 FES attempted to steal the ship's bell from the mess. The evening of February 6, 1993, following the annual conference dinner, during the informal gathering at the combined mess, attempts were made by several members of 56 FES, including Major Stack and Sergeant Edison, to remove the ship's bell, an important part of any mess - especially a naval mess. They unhooked the bell from its hanger on the wall by the bar, and tried to sneak it down a hallway towards the kitchen and back entrance of the mess. The Chief of Base Security apprehended them, and the bell returned to its display, at which time the two individuals involved were released. Later that evening, several of the junior NCO's of 56 FES wrote a mock report of the incident, as if it were to be included as part of a disciplinary hearing. Unfortunately, the report was left behind, and I was unable to include it here.

The file containing records of the prank "Operation Ark" that took place at CFB Chilliwack have survived however in the Canadian Military Engineers Museum formerly at CFB Chilliwack. This file includes the correspondence between military commanders and padres, work orders, as well as the plans and preparations to build and stock a biblical style

ark to “save” members of the military community in Chilliwack from an “impending flood”. The amount of detail in this file is similar to the format for the official preparations required for any military project, exercise, or other operation. The use of official forms to document these types of pranks and jokes may be a way for the members to make fun of, or subvert (Cleveland 1985) the strict adherence to procedure and the degree to which every minute detail of military occupational life is also recorded.

The engraved plaques adorning the stolen objects and the occupational experience narratives in circulation are a common method of recording the history of these events. Less common are published accounts, such as those discussed in the “Mascots” chapter of *Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Armed Forces* by E.C. Russell (1980) who alludes to mascot stealing:

Also fashioned of metal is the well-known yet seldom seen Cecil the Snake of 444 Tactical Helicopter Squadron. The device on the squadron badge is the hooded cobra and many years ago, in Germany, a fine likeness of this fierce reptile was acquired in a shop. From then on, he was called Cecil the Snake. But because visitors from other squadrons have been known to cast covetous glances at Cecil, the cobra has been entrusted to the care of the junior officer of the squadron, there being dire penalties awaiting the gentleman should anything happen to Cecil. As a result this unusual mascot emerges from his secret refuge only for special occasions in the mess. But perhaps the most cherished and the most coveted of the long parade of inanimate mascots which led truly charmed lives in the Canadian Forces was the Greater Yellow-Legs of Ottawa's No.2416 Aircraft Control and Warning Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force in the 1950's, which when glasses were raised in the squadron mess,

brought forth the solemn toast, “the Honoured Twillick!” So great was the fame of this bird that it was essential, for his own security, that he spend most of his quiet hours bound by a huge chain in a strong wrought-iron cage. For this mascot was no ordinary Twillick bird.<sup>10</sup> Not only did he occupy the honoured position of being the major device on the squadron's official badge, but he dominated the scene of every mess function.

Unknown to the uninitiated, the Twillick bird was fitted with an uncommonly capacious holding tank, together with a spigot concealed in the feather just abaft the landing gear. With a flourish, the Twillick-Master would give a twist to the spigot and proceed with the ceremonial “Charging of the Noggins” with a brew which defied normal analysis, but which always evoked the lusty toast, “Up the Twillick!” (Russell, 126).

This type of stealing tradition, being part of the folklore of the Canadian Forces, though not officially condoned, is accepted and perpetuated among members of the military most often through informal learning, during the events’ performance and in the circulation of occupational experience narratives, and less often through printed records such as military newspapers and publications. The objects that are stolen, the beaver and other items, themselves tell the history of stealing customs in military culture, bearing the engraved evidence of past successful theft. These are commemorative objects, not unlike a memorial defined by Pickford as being discursive of the ritual frame “extruded from life” (154) and seen by Falassi as “time out of time” (1987). The members of the Squadron see the beaver mascot as “sacred”, as explained emphatically by Master Corporal Payne:

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<sup>10</sup> See Glossary in Appendix C.

... So long as the beaver don't get dropped, that's the main thing, that's that's like carrying a baby in your hands... If you're gonna fall, you fall on your face first before you let the beaver go.... if you're going after somethin' that is your symbol then you should treat it with a lot of respect (Interview 15).



Photo 4.1 Beaver mascot of HMCS Cabot in its display case at the (former) junior ranks mess Building 314 of CFS St. John's.



Photo 4.2 Bernie (Bucky) the beaver mascot of 56 FES in his case.





Photo. 4.3 56 FES t-shirt.



Photo 4.4 56 FES jacket bearing the CME crest and in CME colours red and blue.



Photo 4.5 The back of a course t-shirt from summer training in 1992 with a drawing of the CME crest and cheer "Chimo".



**Photo 4.6** The bar of HMCS Cabot's mess in building 314 of CFS St. John's in Pleasantville.





Photo 4.7 Mess Bell of the (former) Officer's Mess of CFS St. John's in building 308 in Pleasantville, St. John's, Newfoundland.



**Photo 4.8** Propeller above the door of the (former) Officer's Mess at CFS St. John's in building 308 of Pleasantville, St. John's, Newfoundland.



**Photo 4.9** The Stealer's Trophy depicted in *Der Kanandier* May 1986 (Osolinsky) [poor quality reproduction as photo was scanned from newsprint].



Photo 4.10 The band of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment playing a marching tune on November 11, 1992.





**Photo 4.11 Officers having lunch in the Blue Room at the (former) Officers' Mess in building 308 of CFS St. John's on November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 4.12 A visiting Royal Scots officer accepts a plaque from Colonel Mackay of 1 RNFLD in the Blue Room of the (former) Officers' Mess, Building 308 of CFS St. John's on November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 4.13 Officers at the bar of the (former) Officers' Mess of CFS St. John's on November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 4.14 Members of 56 FES at the Garrison Club in the afternoon of November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 4.15 Metrobus Honour Guard members at the Garrison Club during the afternoon of November 11, 1992.**



**Photo 4.16** Members of 56 FES talking and playing pool at the Garrison Club in the afternoon of November 11, 1992.





**Photo 4.17** Social activities at the Garrison Club during the afternoon of November 11, 1992.



**Photo 4.18** Social activities at the (former) junior ranks mess of HMCS Cabot, building 314 of CFS St. John's on November 11, 1992. In the background, barely visible on the right-hand side, is the case where the beaver of HMCS Cabot was usually kept.

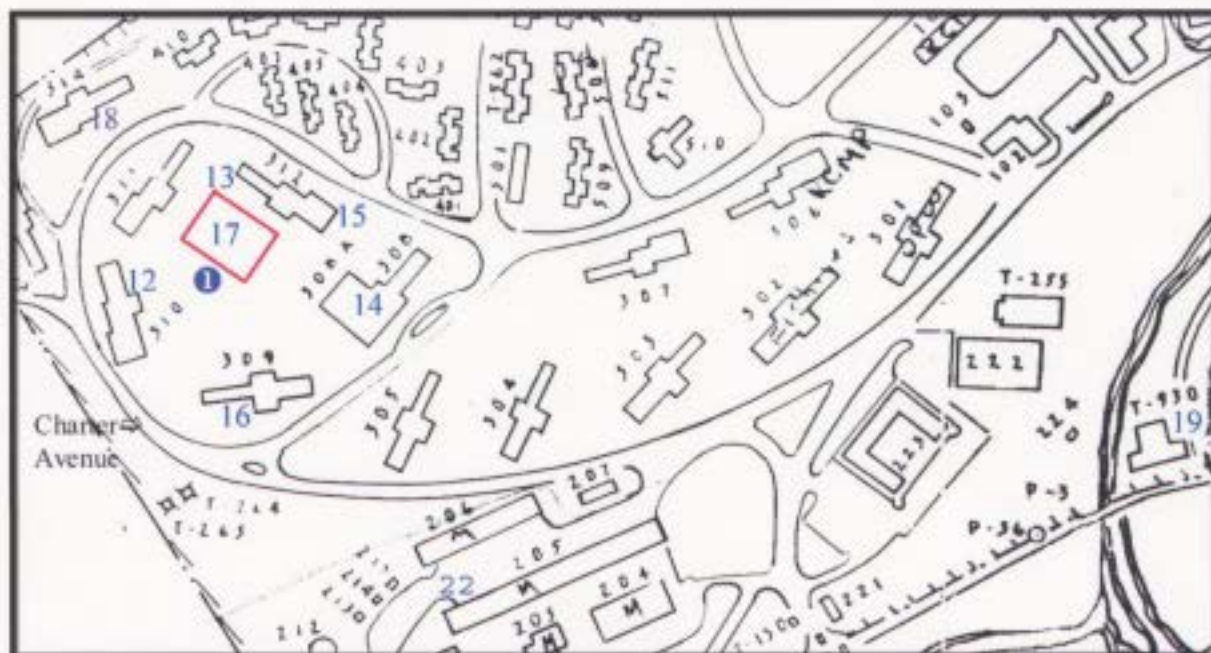


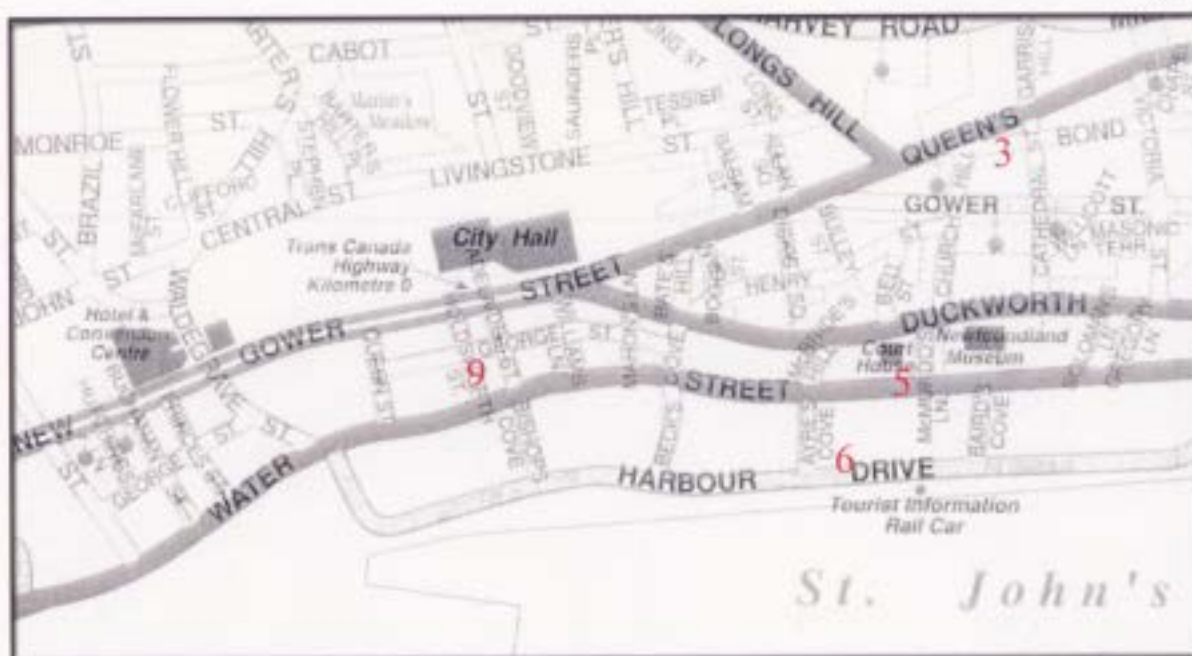


**Photo 4.19 Drinking game at the junior ranks mess of HMCS Cabot (Building 314) during the celebrations on November 11, 1992.**

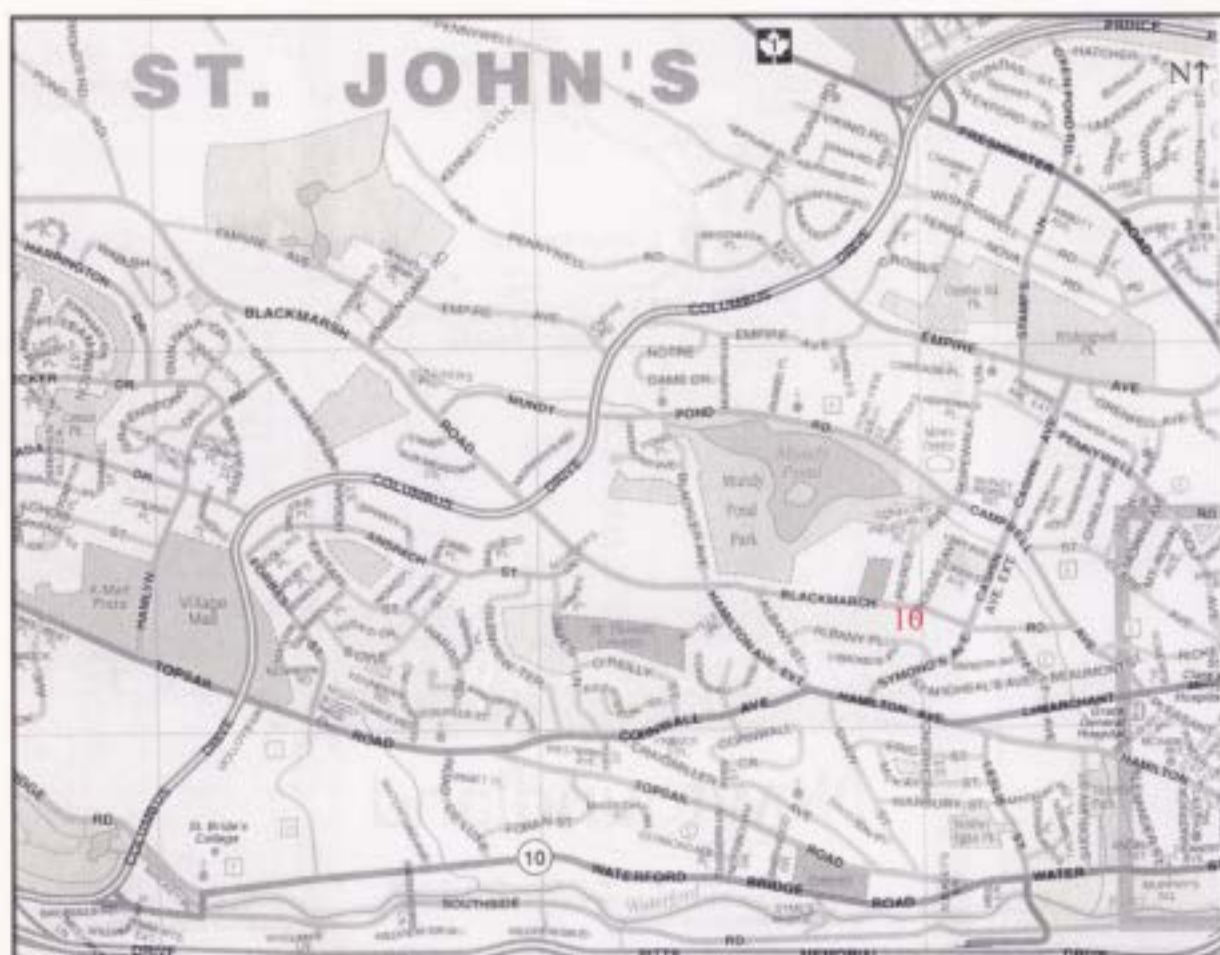


**Photo 4.20** Members of 56 FES plotting the beavers' demise; from left to right: Lt Machin, Cpl Avery, Sgt Gibbons and Cpl Wicks at the (former) junior ranks mess of HMCS Cabot on November 11, 1992.



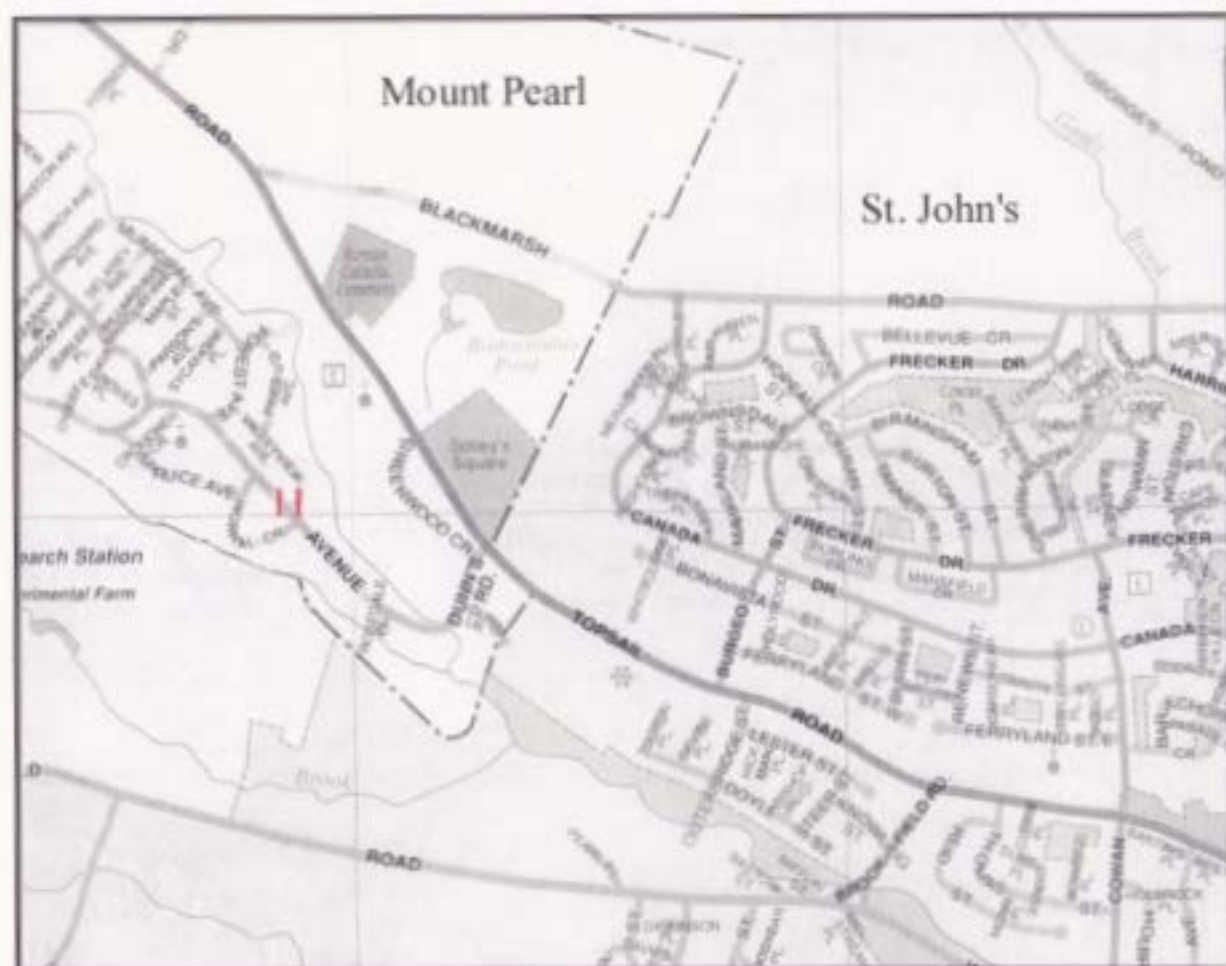


Map 4.2 Section of the inset of Downtown St. John's indicating locations for Remembrance Day events (St. John's, 1996).



Map 4.3 Section of St. John's indicating the location of Branch 1 of the Royal Canadian Legion (*St. John's*, 1996).





Map 4.4 Section of St. John's and Mount Pearl, indicating the location of Branch 36 of the Royal Canadian Legion in Mount Pearl (St. John's, 1996).

## **CHAPTER 5: ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS**

The Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES is comprised of public and private customs that differ in style, structure and performance (Handleman 1990, 17-18).

Richard Baumann explains the interdependence of performance, context and “cultural competence” (Baumann, 1977, 9, 27-31) that Don Handleman refers to as the custom’s “existentiality” (1990, 17). The Remembrance Day celebrations are “set apart from everyday life” (Falassi 1987) through “framing” or “keying” (Baumann 1977, 16; see also Davis) devices - setting, behaviour, speech, costume - that draw attention to the events as special or significant (Baumann, 1977, 16; Turner 1982). As “framed play within work” (Dandridge 251-259; see also Abrahams 1978, 189, Bowman 1985, 61-71; Macaloon 1982; Nusbaum 1978, 18-28), the public and private Remembrance Day customs of 56 FES are reinforcement of the meaning that this day holds for members of the unit.

Through a closer examination of the objects used in performance, and the structure and style of performance I will make evident their importance for members of 56 FES as communications of shared and differential identity as defined by Richard Baumann (1971, 38; see also Bowman 1985, 69; Jansen 1959; Cohen 1982; Cohen 1985). Identifying the differences between members of the Squadron and non-members facilitates the integration of sappers within their unit and branch. Likewise, identifying the similarities between members of 56 FES and members of other military units or trades, and maintaining their connection to the Veterans, serves to integrate 56 FES

within the entire Canadian Forces, and strengthens their sense of belonging to that body (Bronner 1985, 1; Cohen 1982; Cohen 1985; English 115, McCarl 1978a; Wolfe, 344).

### **5.1. The Public Ceremonies**

As noted above, military occupational training involves a great degree of technical skills and knowledge of procedures and regulations. This degree of regulation also applies to many aspects of a service members' life outside the workplace (Burke 2003a; 2004 ix). Many events in military life are marked by ceremony, of which only a fraction is visible to the public. For example, glimpses of formal military ceremonies such the as the 56 FES Change of Squadron Sergeant Major parade in 1992 featured in *The Evening Telegram* ("End of an era" 1992).

The parade and gun salute are the most public and formal ceremonies of Remembrance Day for 56 FES. The style of the occasion, the complexity of the event, the amount of preparation involved and the strictness of adherence to procedures and dress codes demonstrates the importance of the occasion (Burke 2004, 86; Handleman 13-17; Davis 22; Jaffe 271). The knowledge of the public performance of Remembrance Day ceremonies are communicated to both participants and observers in a variety of ways, informal and formal, that create a set of expectations for the style and structure of the event (Turner 1982, 16; Davis 67).



### 5.1.1 The Legion Parade and Ceremonies

Parade and drill are part of the everyday occupational life of the military (Canada DND 1993a, Ch. 1). The Remembrance Day parade organized by the Royal Canadian Legion, however, is a ceremonial display event (Ch. 1, 103), which involves both military and non-military participants. The public customs are the “work” part of Remembrance Day, as noted by Captain Fleet, “Remembrance Day to me. It’s part of my job... we’re there for the public. It’s a professional requirement” (Interview 2).

Carol Burke in “Marching to Vietnam,” discusses the symbolic function of parade drill: “it erases individuality and inscribes corporate identity—the movements of individuals indistinguishable from the whole” (Burke 1989a, 424; see also Cleveland 1994, 46). In a different but related context, Susan G. Davis’s *Parades and Power* (1986) illustrates the many ways parades serve to divide participant from observer:

The unity of motion acquired through drilling and practice implied unanimity, collective control and self-control. Uniforms reduced variety and effaced individualism, heightening the image of order created by concerted movement. At the same time, costumes caught the eye with a gorgeous and colourful organization of detail. Tokens of identity, such as badges, sashes, ribbons and banners, unified marchers and separated them from their audience... In the same way, bands of musicians hired by volunteer organisations and the militias added aural complexity to the visual spectacle, announced the parade from afar, and testified to the expense of the production... Planning and devices such as uniforms and marching skills not only heightened the sense of performance, but also

discouraged bystanders from joining in, clearly separating performers and audience (159-162).

The participants in the public events are differentiated from observers most obviously by their uniforms. Nathan Joseph's *Uniforms and Non-Uniforms* describes the ways that uniforms separates insiders from outsiders:

Because of its association with a group, the uniform assumes the properties of a totemic emblem and embodies the attributes of that group.... As with other cultural artifacts, the uniform seems to have an existence independent of the group or its wearers. In the old army saw, one "salutes the uniform and not the man." the uniform is not only an emblem but also a reminder of the behaviour appropriate toward this emblem; it becomes a third factor in the interaction between wearer and other... it is an impersonal objectification of the group... The Uniform Reveals and Conceals Status Position. The uniform is read as an indicator of membership in an organization. The uniform makes the wearer's position or status much more visible than do other types of dress; it minimizes the possibility of confusing members with non-members...The Uniform is a Certificate of Legitimacy. The uniform is read to discern the relationship between wearer and organization... The uniform is a symbolic declaration that an individual will adhere to group practices and norms and standardized roles and has mastered the relevant group skills. The Uniform Suppresses Individuality... suppresses idiosyncrasies of behaviour, appearance, and sometimes physical attributes (66-69).

The members of 56 FES are part of a larger military presence, and their identity as Canadian Military Engineers is indistinguishable to the observer unless they are in close proximity (Jaffe 265). The memorandum by Captain Maxwell (Appendix A) orders every

sapper to be dressed the same, only the name tag or medals discerns one from another, and the CME Badge, collar dogs and epaulets distinguishing them from other trades (Burke 2004, 82-83; Joseph 66-9; Jaffe; Cleveland 1994, 46-47). The Legion poppies, adopted in 1919 as the “flower of remembrance” are made and sold by the Legion to be worn, voluntarily, by the public as a sign of respect for our veterans (Bowering 200). Military members are ordered to wear a poppy on their headdress (Appendix A) on Remembrance Day, it being a paid workday. The members of the military on parade appear, to the average onlooker, identical; one young woman pointing out her boyfriend on parade at the Sergeants’ Memorial on November 11, 1992 noted, “Army guys look all the same in uniform”. Also noted by Carol Burke, “The institution, not the individual, speaks through military dress,” (2004, 79).

Alexandre Jaffe’s “Saluting in Social Context” explains that saluting is used in ceremonial events to indicate “temporal markers” of an event, or “to initiate or terminate a formal event” (Jaffe 1988). Jaffe further explains, “Control of a formation of soldiers is passed from one person to another by salutes, with a salute offered to the person presently in command by the person taking over...” (Jaffe 1988, 265; see also Davis 67). The beginning of the ceremonies at the National War Memorial is indicated when the Lieutenant Governor arrives and the parade commander orders the parade and colour party to give the “vice regal salute”. The end of the parade is indicated when the Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador “takes the salute” from the parade, meaning he returns command to the individual commanders, symbolising the end of his control over the events. The specialized

movements of the parade and gun salute serve to set it apart as symbolic behaviour (Falassi 1987).

The uniformity of movement achieved through parade drill, combined with the large numbers of military members in uniform, heightens the sense of belonging to the entire Canadian Forces and acceptance of their shared occupational ideals (Burke 2004, 78-105; Davis 159-162; Joseph 69; Rutherford 41; Weiss 284; see also English; Keegan 1977). The commemoration of those who were lost and respect for living veterans is emphasized by the unified group of military personnel who by their participation communicate their feelings of duty, honour, and bravery in the service of Newfoundland and Canada in conflict and war, in the past as well as for the future. For the public who take part as observers, there can be any number of meanings, based upon an individual's beliefs, experiences and cultural background (Hass; Davis 165; Bronner 2000).

The "framing" (Turner 1982, 12; Babcock 1978, 276; MacAloon 1982, 255-271) of the ceremonies with special costumes, speech, movement, and time and setting indicate their significance for the participants. The locations of the ceremonies – the National War Memorial and the Sergeants' Memorial – indicate a ceremonial space (Blair 17). War Memorials are symbolic monuments constructed to commemorate not only the battles that were fought and the soldiers who sacrificed with their lives, but also the values and liberties that the military were fighting to uphold (Blair; Blair, Jeppeson and Pucci; see also Bodnar in Gillis (74-89); Dennis (237), Ellis (25-30); Hass; Pickford (133-173)).

The participants in the ceremonies at the National War Memorial stand on the steps or directly in front, based upon their role in the ceremonies, that set them apart from the public who stand behind, in front or to the sides of the memorial. Though the distance of the observers from the participants is not great, the constructed physical enclosure of the War Memorial creates a division, between participants and observers – insiders and outsiders. The Sergeant's Memorial on Queen's Road in St. John's is situated in the middle of the road, where Queen's Road, Cathedral Street and Church Hill meet. The participants in Legion Parade stand in parade formation on the street circling the memorial, with observers standing behind the participants. Thus, the separation of performers and audience is clearly articulated in the time and setting of the ceremonies. The National War Memorial and the Sergeants' Memorial becomes a "ceremonial" space (Turner 1982, 12; Azryahu 501-513; Fish 1987, 82; Walter 63-64, 81-87; Pickford 154) that indicates that these celebrations are "apart from the everyday," (Falassi 1987, 2; Moore and Myerhoff 1977, 5).

The November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day is a statutory holiday in Canada, which means it is to be observed on the date, and not the nearest Monday, further emphasizing its importance (Russell 202). With many businesses closed and streets blocked and traffic diverted, everyday life is on hold, further emphasizing the importance of the ceremony.

The parade schedule printed in local papers for the public<sup>30</sup> and in the memorandum for members of 56 FES serves to ritualize the events and set them apart as “special” (Handleman 17-18; Turner 1982, 12). The public is notified of the streets to be closed for the parade route prior to Remembrance Day.<sup>31</sup> The streets are transformed from everyday space into ceremonial space, for the duration of the Remembrance Day Ceremony (Turner 1982; Turner 1987; Falassi 1987).

The National War Memorial in Ottawa, Ontario was at the centre of recent public uproar and media attention; on Canada Day, July 1, 2006, young men were caught urinating on the National War Memorial. The discussions of these incidents by members of the Veteran community, the military and the public have given rise to demands “for better security to protect the memorial” (CBC News, 2006a; see also CBC News, 2006b) because “This is a shrine to people who fought for us in the wars” (Harrold and Zabjek) and the youths’ behaviour is seen as disrespectful towards the veteran community and war dead for which the memorial is a symbol.

### **5.1.2. The Gun Salute**

The gun salute holds as much importance for 56 FES as the Legion parade and ceremonies. Squadron members consider the gun salute a public event, but the site for its performance, Signal Hill, is set apart from the larger ceremony, out of sight of the other

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<sup>30</sup> For example see the schedules from local papers “Remembrance Day Ceremony” Nov. 9,

participants and audience at the National War Memorial, though there may be a small audience who come to watch the salute itself.

The gun salute begins at the same time as the Last Post at the National War Memorial, and the sounds of each round being fired can be heard in the background. Though the gun party are not visible to the participants and observers at the National War Memorial, they are still part of the public ceremonies. The timings for the gun salute are listed only in the memorandum for the members of 56FES and not listed in the program of the Remembrance Day ceremonies published in local papers. In published media accounts describing the events on Remembrance Day, it is usually the sound of the guns that are described and not the proceedings per se.

For the members of the gun party, their participation in the ceremony is shorter, as their duties end when the 21 rounds have been fired and they return to the gun lock-up. They are also able to have some private moments of informal activity before they must participate in the gun salute (Interview 33), whereas those involved in the parade setting are afforded no moments away from the audience. Captain Terry Fleet explained why he, as a new member, had liked being on the gun salute, “but if I had a preference I'd be on the gun salute because you'd get back in time for dinner . . . on parade there was always was a big line-up (Interview 2).

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1992; “Armistice Day Parade: Order of Parade” Nov. 10, 1992; “Parade Schedule” Nov. 10, 1993.

<sup>31</sup> For example see “Traffic Regulations: Remembrance Day” 1949.

The gun salute is an important part of Remembrance Day ceremonies at Canadian Forces establishments across Canada (Russell 9,10). The honour felt by members of 56 FES is heightened as no other engineer squadron or regiment fires artillery, this sets them apart from other units. As Master Warrant Officer Parsons noted, “it’s a bit more high profile to the soldier himself, although a lot of people don’t even know we’re up there,”(Interview 8). However, though significant in terms of the military celebration of remembrance, the gun salute is rarely mentioned in the media, as part of the entire public celebration. Indeed, a number of civilians, questioned informally about their knowledge of the salute, stated that they believed the “Tattoo” performed the salute. The tattoo in St. John’s being a seasonal ceremonial re-enactment of the militia stationed at the Queen’s Battery from 1824-1862 to protect St. John’s Harbour (Henderson 47). Interestingly, there are few published accounts of the Remembrance Day gun salute performed by 56 FES such as those found in military publications (Chaplin-Thomas, Johnson & Rawling; Harvey). *Guarding the Gates: A History of Canadian Forces Station John’s* by Peter Henderson includes a photograph of 56 FES training with the L5 Pack Howitzers, but does not mention the gun salute (89).

The pride felt by Squadron members is attributed to being able to excel in the work of another branch of the military. Lieutenant Machin observed, “The gun salute, well we have a saying in the engineers, the gun salute is something we do for a hobby that the artillery does for a living,” (Interview 3). Sapper Hancock echoes these sentiments, “We have howitzers, and this ah... Artillery thing to have these weapons, and those are



our weapons...and we were selected to do this gun salute and it's not our trade to have these weapons," (Interview 28). Lieutenant Rick Palfrey also defines the salute as a symbol of elevated status:

When I did go in the gun salute, ah [clears throat] first of all you are selected to go in the gun salute, so it's, you feel pretty proud to go in a gun salute with 56 Field Engineer Squadron because you know it's a very unique thing, engineers don't usually do gun salutes because it's an artillery job, and there is no artillery in Newfoundland so the engineers were selected, sometime back, to do the gun salutes . . . You got selected and you went up on Signal Hill and you performed your task in front of a small audience at times, and ah done your best (Interview 6).

It is not surprising, that many members of 56 FES also expressed the desire for the entire Squadron to resume the earlier version of the unit parade to Signal Hill for the gun salute:

It's a morale thing, and we're, we are then seen as being unique. Everybody else goes on parade; the Squadron goes on the hill and it tends to bring the unit together (Interview 1).

Warrant Officer Reelis made similar statements, "It's a squadron event. It's ours. We should be together" (Interview 12), and Corporal Kennedy "Everybody would rather be on the gun salute [than the District parade]" (Interview 22).

The discussion of "status" and "pride" did not appear to be diminished by the lack of recognition of their participation by the public, or the relatively small audience who have attended the salute, "you got selected and you went up on Signal Hill and you performed

your task in front of a small audience at times, and ah done your best and you were quite proud of what you did, always were,” (Interview 6).

Squadron members also express pride in the performance of the gun salute, in terms of the correct execution of the salute, as in the memories of Sergeant Edison:

The big thing was the Royal Newfoundland Regiment had it and district took it and gave it to us. . So we were runnin' them. We had a little bit of training, trained a few of us, and then we began training our own gun crew... We had the old guns, the old 105's and they took those and they gave us an Italian gun and that was a different gun, they sent an artillery guy down from Gagetown and he spent a weekend with us, trained a half a dozen of us and we just carried on again and we never really had any problems. . . just another thing we were doing, it was another task we were given and we did it (Interview 11).

There is an emphasis on following correct procedure for both parade formation and the salute. Military manuals such as the *King's Regulations and Orders of 1912* and *Naval Customs, Traditions and Usage, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* (51-75), and the *Canadian Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial* include detailed regulations and the procedures for gun salutes. The required practices for the salute allows for experienced members of 56 FES to show new members how to perform their role in the gun party, and ensures that few mistakes are made on such an important occasion. As Sapper Hancock commented:

I was a week before training with it. Because I had never seen this... weapon, at all. . . . for me to be doing it I had to learn all the parts, not all the parts, but the parts that we needed to know and. . . So we had a week before, with I think, three days training on how to load the howitzers. . and

things like that, and the movements that we would have to do with commands and everything like that (Interview 28).

The gun party participants wear the same uniform as the parade participants, with slight modifications to allow for greater ease of movement. The gun party remove their overcoats just prior to the salute, even in very cold weather, and do not wear gloves as they restrict movements and correct handling of the gun.

The gun salute differentiates the engineers from other military units through its uniqueness as perceived by the participants of 56 FES, and others in the Canadian Forces, awarding them special status within the Canadian Forces. This ceremony can be seen to have both public and private elements as the members of 56 FES performing the gun salute are physically apart from the Legion parade and ceremony, and not identified in the media documentation they are less visible to the public. The participants in the parade and gun salute are differentiated from their audience by their uniforms or special attire, movements, in addition to ceremonial speech, texts and behaviour that serves to connects the military participants with one another, reinforcing their common identity and worldview (Burke 1989a, 425; see also Cleveland 1994, 46-47; Davis; Jaffe; Joseph). By virtue of military membership and the link to past military battles, peacekeeping and other types of heroism, the public ceremony reinforces the public face of the military, which is one of uniformity, respectability, honour and strength, (Davis 158; Cleveland 47; Rutherford 278-279). The military performance of the public ceremonies model the behaviour expected for public commemoration (Handleman 1990, 17) for both insiders and outsiders.

## 5.2. The Private Celebrations

Handleman asserts that private events are “ones in which the doing of performance clearly has pre-eminence over its design” (1990, 19). The private celebrations of “making the rounds” and “stealing the beaver” are less structured than the public ceremonies, and the rules for their performance are acquired informally. These informal celebrations, more noticeable as “play” activities, take place within the occupational realm of the participants and teach members additional occupational skills as well as to reinforce their occupational identity (Burke 1996; Burke 2003a; Cleveland 1994; McCarl 1978a). The “frame” for these celebrations is the absence of frame, the lack of regulation – the opposite of the public celebrations.

The military is an occupation that expects to encounter danger in training and in combat (Burke 1992, 127-137; Cleveland 1994; Dickinson 1977; Lally 107-120; Thorpe; Wamsley). Military members learn through occupational training and folklore to cope with danger and hardship by making light of it through humour and play at work (Cleveland 1994)<sup>32</sup>. Carol Burke explains the use of marching cadences and songs are employed to alleviate boredom and weariness (Burke 1989a, 424). Military songs, verses, jokes and pranks are acceptable ways to express the perceived differences between ranks, other trades and rivals (Burke 2004, 28).

The participants in the private customs are, for the most part, military, or those peripheral to the military - quasi-military groups who are involved in the parade, dignitaries, and friends or family of military members - invited guests. The setting is the military messes and Legions that uphold military ideals and codes of conduct. The need to differentiate military from civilian then is not necessary, and all the participants are “insiders”. The informal activities that take place during the private events that follow the Remembrance Day ceremonies are only possible amongst people who are knowledgeable and accepting of the established codes of conduct for such informal situations (Hymes 1975; McCarl 1978; Bales 153-154; Santino 1978, 199-202). I was permitted to be present, and to study these private customs, because of recognized peripheral membership of 56 FES.

#### **5.2.1. “Making the Rounds”**

The private celebration of “making the rounds” is an informally learned tradition, which has no written guide for its content or structure. There is no program or plan for the events, no delineation of participants or observers, and no strict adherence to a dress code. The activities that take place during the making the rounds custom are informal - drinking, talking, playing pool or darts, singing and dancing – and are much less restrained than those of earlier in the day. Though these events are accepted activities for

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<sup>32</sup> See also Burke 1987 425; Burke 1992, 127-137; Burke 2004, 27-28; Carey 52-61; Cleveland

military members, they are also “set apart from the everyday” (Falassi 2) in that though the social activities take place in a supposed military setting, there are any number of different ranks, units and trades present.

The making the rounds allows people of different ranks, and affiliation to get together without the same formal constraints that they are used to having during working hours, expressed here by Lieutenant Machin:

It's a good time, it's like a chance to relax, unwind with your buddies a little bit.. talk to the older guys, meet friends you haven't seen for awhile, um meet friends from other units you don't get a chance to socialize with, you get a chance to socialize with the other ranks. I came from the other ranks [refers to his having reached the rank of MCpl before undergoing officer training] so I sorta like getting back there once in awhile. You get to drink a few, you get to go to other places which ordinarily aren't open to you, either officially or ah you'd want to go there any other time (Interview 3).

Members of 56 FES articulated a number of reasons for taking part in “making the rounds.” The intent to show respect to the veterans and celebrate with them their part in past wars and conflicts was noted by Sergeant Edison “it was just a day communicating with the ex-soldiers” (Interview 10). Master Corporal Dwyer describes how “making the rounds” makes connections across generations:

First, as a member of the Canadian Forces... we're honouring those who went before us.. those who fell in wars, or those on... 'specially now, peacekeeping missions who are just serving as a member of 56.. its also just to honour the guys who who're at war, been on tasks... things have happened. For example, Sergeant Mike Ralph who.. had that unfortunate accident in Yugoslavia, he was formerly a member of 56 Field Squadron and that was something I thought about this ah.. past time. I only knew the man through his "Reg" force experience but the time I had with him he was a true Newfoundlander, a good man (Interview 17).

The handing down of knowledge from experienced sappers to new members was described by Sapper Hancock as "all we do all day is go visit the rest, the other militia units, the Legions,"(Interview 28) and in the suggestions of the Commanding Officer to "have a drink with our Veterans" (Major Stack) on Remembrance Day 1992 the rules for involvement are outlined, and contributes to the repertoire of acceptable celebration for unit members (Goldstein, 1971). "Making the rounds" serves to integrate members with one another, with the larger community of CFS St. John's and with Veterans and former members, and the Canadian Forces as a whole. The lack of strict regulations and rules does not affect the importance of the meaning of the event, which for long-time group members is taken for granted. As Warrant Officer Reelis observed, "It's also a day for camaraderie with troops that are here now... plus you get to meet the veterans... it's their day," (Interview 12).

### 5.2.2 “Stealing the Beaver”

Within the military there are many objects that serve as totems or symbols. Such objects are defined in relation to the group who is using it (Bronner 1985, 1; Linton 1924; Oring 14). For example, the Fovant Badges carved in the hillside of Fovant, England during World War One by military personnel living and training in that area signified a common wartime experience for group members, and others who served there (Nuttal). Jack Santino (1992) depicts “folk assemblages” during the Gulf War similarly showed that symbols of multiple traditions were used to communicate a shared perception of community identity (19-27).

The beaver as a symbol is, for the Canadian Military Engineer, something to aspire to. Often called “nature's engineer” it stands for the things that the members of 56 Field Engineer Squadron, as with other engineer units, want to be. As Lieutenant Palfrey explained:

The beaver is. . . as you know a beaver is a busy little bastard, right, works very hard, very diligent and in making its house, in the way of construction... and gathering its food, so therefore the beaver is a symbol of the military engineers cause they're hard, diligent, busy little workers and the beaver symbol. . .it represents the engineers (Interview 6).

Identifying strongly with the beaver symbol results in the belief that HMCS Cabot should not have a beaver as a mascot. Lieutenant Palfrey further explained:



I don't know where they got it [beaver at HMCS Cabot], but that's insignificant to us. Its on the engineer hat-badge, its not on the navy hat-badge. It's a symbol of hard work, diligent work, getting the job done . . .no matter what conditions you're in and here it is in a navy mess, and we thought that was improper,” (Interview 6).

“Stealing the beaver” is the most private custom performed by 56 FES on Remembrance Day. It is undertaken in the relaxed atmosphere at the junior ranks mess of HMCS Cabot, among the many groups of participants celebrating there. The stealing custom differs, however, from “making the rounds” in that historical evidence of the customs’ practice is available relating to other traditions in the form of material objects, engraved plaques, as well as a number of the accounts of stealing in military publications. Together these reinforce the occupational narratives of military members in St. John’s.

Les Cleveland explains the prevalence of satire in military lore as an expression of “opposition to” (1994, 88) military occupational culture, and in this instance may be read as “poking fun” at the military’s prevalence for the regulation and “commemoration” of absolutely anything and anything. The use of military tactics to enact such a prank as described by members of 56 FES highlights its importance for teamwork and for bonding. Major Stack describes the rules for performance thus:

The tradition that's evolved in many military messes is that you, you could call it outright theft or whatever, but there has been there's been items liberated from various messes on times over the years in the tradition of the military, taken back to one's own mess, engraved that they had found this trophy from somewhere, and subsequent to that maybe somebody else

would visit that mess from the original mess that the item was in and re-acquire it, of course bring it back under great acclaim, so its not new in the annals of military history, and I don't know how far it goes back.. It's just a fun type thing. (Interview 1).

Though members of other military units and para-military groups may be present, the primary participants of the custom are members of 56 FES, with the members of HMCS Cabot as secondary participants. The combination of the informal atmosphere, and the shared knowledge of this type of prank among a large number of people in this context, results in the lack of interference by the audience. The members of HMCS Cabot, however unwittingly, are less likely to treat the matter as literal theft but more as a case of the maintenance of the accepted stealing custom. As Leading Seaman Beitenman stated, "it's a standard running rivalry type thing, and ah its kind of a tradition.... it's been there longer than I have [the traditions]." This is not always the case, as was seen in the attempts of 1990, when members of HMCS Cabot summoned the duty officer to try and charge the members of 56 FES with theft or damaging the beaver. In this instance, the members of 56 FES evaded being identified by switching their nametags, and the duty officer was unable to identify the culprits.

To be successful, members of 56 FES need to have access to the junior ranks mess at HMCS Cabot. Without the informal and semi-private context of "making the rounds", access to HMCS Cabot's junior ranks mess, and the understanding that this type of prank is a form of ritual stealing with prescribed procedures, the members of 56 FES cannot perform this particular custom. Since the relocation of HMCS Cabot to new premises on the South

Side of St. John's Harbour (1997), there have not been any concerted efforts on Remembrance Day by 56 FES to "steal the beaver" and the custom has become inactive (Goldstein 1971); except in the occupational experience narratives and plans to "get it some day" voiced by members of 56 FES. The occasions that Squadron members have been at HMCS Cabot, and that the circumstances were deemed "inappropriate" for "stealing the beaver", have been few. The rules for performance often supersede opportunity, explained Lieutenant Machin:

I don't think anybody's ever tried doin' it any other time of the year to do it because that's the time we've always done it I guess.... the messes are open on New Year's Levee but its the spirit of the occasion is its New Years', and its like you don't. . We're just not into it, and come to think of it that'd probably be a great time [breaks into laughter] (Interview 3).

Though members of 56 FES had traditionally made their attempts to "steal the beaver" of HMCS Cabot on Remembrance Day, the opportunity to do so was presented to a group of Squadron members the week following Remembrance Day in 2004 when attending a course at the premises of HMCS Cabot (Interview 36). This time, through a modification of their past approach, they were successful in "liberating" the beaver. In this way, the tradition as understood by 56 FES was altered.

The performance of the stealing custom emerges from the "making the rounds" through the intentional mention of the beaver in casual conversation of existing members on Remembrance Day. This keying, or framing, technique sets the stealing attempt in motion, in parallel with, but apart from, "making the rounds":

Basically it's just an example of follow the leader type of things. . Their superiors and their elders sort of will mention that they're when are we going to Cabot to one of their friends . . . then the conversation about last year we almost got the beaver will start up sort of inadvertently off to the side somewhere and the young guys go "What beaver? What beaver? I thought only engineers are supposed to have beavers" and then the older guys will go "That's right. That's why we're going to take Cabot's. . . (Interview 3).

The "rules" for such "stealing," a behaviour not condoned in "everyday life" (Falassi 2), frames this behaviour as "play" and allows for its performance in settings prescribed by the shared tradition (Baumann, 1977; Handleman 1990, 69-71; Huizinga 1970, 85; Callois 1961).

Misunderstandings occur when a group steals an object not considered part of the "stealing" tradition by its owners. In the story above concerning the theft of the United States Civil War Sword by CME members, Thomas explains the owners of the sword, being civilian pub owners, viewed the "prank" as a crime and called the police (Interview 31). Within the Canadian Forces community, the theft of the "Loving cup", though not considered part of the stealing tradition, was still not regarded as a literal theft:

It seems there was a misunderstanding about the "tradition" and when asked, any armourer will grin and say he knows nothing about it. This may very well be rectified by the time you read this, however we will keep you abreast of the situation ("Hawk Tales" 1986).

The stories above may demonstrate the rules of "competent" or "appropriate" performance (Baumann 1977, 11) as they inform the audience that the pranks is meant to

be reciprocal and not a theft in the literal sense between groups who have a shared understanding of these pranks as acceptable behaviour.

The underlying message in the stories above is that for an “appropriate” performance of the “stealing prank” it must be undertaken with a group who also understands and accepts the tradition. The “stealing” must be reciprocal. Corporal Kennedy asserts “It’s like a challenge....We used to take flags up in Gagetown.... we took the infantry flag because they took ours” (Interview 12).

The informal “rules” underscored in the occupational narratives of members of 56 FES for even such informal customs as “stealing pranks” attest to the pervasiveness of regulations in addition to procedures for every aspect of military life (Burke’ 2004 ix, xiii, 15).

By their performance “stealing pranks” participants affirm their group membership in “besting” another group, as explained by Major Stack:

I think ah competition is ah. . is there. You have a cooperative, we call it in the military too, ah another acronym is your, your ah. . term is the “all arms team” which is everyone working together, but yeah okay that's the ultimate aim. Yes you want all the forces working together but you also want the individuality that creates *esprit de corps*, and so competition is the way to do it. . and...how are you gonna foster that? Well, you can do through sporting events or whatever and other things, but you can best one another as well in something like this (Interview 1).

The items that bear a plaque to commemorate both the stealing incident and the perpetrators may also serve as a reminder of the custom or as an invitation to resume the game.

A number of Squadron members expressed the importance of “stealing the beaver” in terms of its values to the skill development, and the qualities essential for this task:

You got to be a little bit cunning, you got to want to do somethin' different right, you know who cares what happens after that? Right? Remember that time I ran out to Major Stack I said, “Look I don't care.. I really don't care, just give me the chance I'll do it. I don't care if I get's a smuck in the mouth, or I gets demoted,” [both laughing heartily, refers to his recent demotion from Sgt to MCpl] ... So it's go for it, it's only a minor little thing...so long as the beaver don't get dropped, that's the main thing, that's that's like carrying a baby in your hands, soon as you got it we can't shag it up, if you're gonna fall, you fall on your face first before you let the beaver go.... if you're going after somethin' that is your symbol then you should treat it with a lot of respect (Interview 15).

Teamwork among members of mixed ranks is considered an essential skill, and this is applied to the stealing custom:

Officers . . . senior NCOs . . . right down to Sappers... oh yeah, you got to have everyone involved because it is the beaver, the beaver represents the engineers... and engineers right, from a Sapper right up to the big guy [the Commanding Officer] . . . makes a difference, and everybody else in between (Interview 15).

Warrant Officer Reelis explained, “Team work is one of the pride of the engineers... You’ve got to be able to think fast on your feet. Good sense of responsibility...and initiative” (Interview 12).

These customs require a strong sense of Squadron spirit, noted by Master Warrant Officer Parsons:

It has to be a good engineer, that's the way I'd look at it... person who's spirited, that got a lot of esprit de corps... you know you get half crazy sometimes, on that stuff... It makes a colourful engineer, you know, you've got to have so many people like that or you end up, geez, like robots... (Interview 8).

Leading Seaman Beitenman of HMCS Cabot also explained the integrative function of the custom to her unit, “It kinda draws the junior ranks together, which. In a unit as large as we have, you need something like that,” (Interview 32). In this way, the members are engaged in play that reinforces the importance of bonding and teamwork to military operational competence. The “stealing the beaver” custom, while an entertaining and often-spontaneous prank, serves to unify the members of 56 FES and differentiate them from the HMCS Cabot through the maintenance of rivalry and competition and by communicating the differences between these two groups (Cohen 1982, 4-7).

Many similar examples of military customs and traditions serve to differentiate one group from another such as Ralph Linton’s examination of the totemic symbols used by the A.E.F. (1924), Kelly Lally’s study of Air Force Pilot lore (1987), Barbara Waelde’s study of the Louisiana Army National Guard (1984), and Shaun Mitchell’s

article about the Bengal Raiders (1993), to mention a few. In addition, many studies of the specialized vocabulary used in military stories (Feola; Halpert; Thorpe), speech (Cornell, 1982; Cragg 1980, 249-50), verse and song (Burke 1989a; Burke 2003a; Burns; Cleveland 1994; Seal 1991; Seal 1993; Trnka 1995) illustrate the differences between sub-groups in the military.

“Stealing the Beaver” is based upon the shared understanding and acceptance of this type of “framed play within work” (Dandridge 251-259) within the occupational culture of the Canadian Forces. The custom teaches occupational skills and pokes fun at the rules that govern military life, but in a culturally acceptable way. The incidences of such customs are dependent upon both the cultural and situational contexts as defined by Richard Baumann (1971, 1977).

Military ceremonies of remembrance juxtapose solemnity with celebration, reverence with reverie in the performance of group membership and shared values and purpose. In the face of the memory of the destruction of war, and the prospect of future conflicts, the military uses humour and entertainment to alleviate boredom, tension and fear (Burke 1989a, 425; Burke 1992; Burke 2003a; Burke 2004; Cleveland 1985; Cleveland 1994; Cleveland 2003; Cornell; Cragg; Dickenson, Fuller; Lally, Thorpe, Wamsley). Also articulated by Major Stack:

You can complete all kinds of operational commitments, and do a very good job at it, and get recognition for it, and we have, we've received quite a bit of trophies and things like that, and those are tangible rewards for efforts made, but.. ah with an organization that's built on people, people



have to interact socially.. and people have to be felt to be part of a.. a group that thinks.. similarly I suppose, and you achieve that when you do, when you do an event.. like that and you're recognized as and a foreign body of people, picture it Remembrance Day, you've got a, you know, thousands of people involved in one event.. and then out of that entire parade there's a certain [inaudible] of about 90 people that all wear a similar uniform and marching together proudly, you know that tends to build cohesion.. and then later, when you're in a social environment, then you know, you see the engineers sticking together... It echoes back to the regimental system that the military is built on, you know, basically if you're going to, if you're going to support an individual in a hostile environment with a.. small arms fire landing around you as you're constructing a bridge.. and what's the impetus to do that? Why are you going to do that? Why are you going to stand up in the face of enemy fire.. lift a for you a fifty pound weight, or 60 you each got 50 pounds, lift a 300 pound panel into place.. on a bridge under enemy fire artillery, small arms fire whatever, what drives and individual to do that? Its not the fact that somebody ordered them to, its the fact that the guy on the other end of that carrying handle is somebody who you've gained affinity towards in some sort of a social event, you know or.. on training systems....the thing is that you don't want to look bad in the other person's eyes, and you ah you wanna you want to help this other guy.. or girl and their only way to do that is ah.. is through building *esprit de corps*.. with competition.. good training, and yeah.. social events (Interview 1).

Through formal and informal training, the many aspects of these celebrations are taught, so ensuring that each sapper performs competently, in every aspect of their occupational life, public and private events (Bauman 1977, 11; Hymes 1975, 11-74;

McCarl 1978, 145; Turner 1982). The learned occupational knowledge regarding these celebrations informs the members of 56 FES how to celebrate and pay respect to the Veterans, to themselves as military members, and to the dead and that both solemn commemoration and informal celebration are acceptable and expected behaviours within the military culture of 56 FES. The bonds created among members of 56 FES through their shared experiences are further reinforced through the Remembrance Day Celebrations that strengthen the group's identity as members of 56 FES, members of the CME and members of the CF.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This thesis is a study of the customs associated with the November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 Field Engineer Squadron in St. John's, Newfoundland, as a cultural performance that has both public and private aspects. These customs are examples of the broad spectrum of military occupational traditions of 56 FES, a Reserve Squadron of Canadian Forces Base St. John's, in Newfoundland and Labrador. This thesis has described the many facets of the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES through my observations, the descriptions by past and present participants and published sources.

Chapter one provided an overview of this research outlined the history of 56 FES, and the nature of their occupational role in the Canadian Forces. The specialized and often dangerous occupational training of this squadron of Canadian Military Engineers, and their involvement in projects that benefit the community, are a source of group pride. The nature of military operations necessitates a degree of secrecy regarding their training and deployment that results in their separateness from the civilian world. Without my recognized peripheral membership, the members of 56 FES would not have permitted this study to be undertaken, nor would I even have knowledge of many aspects of these customs and traditions.

Chapter two presents an overview of some of the published works on military traditions that are related to this study in terms of topic and approach, by folklorists, scholars of other disciplines and non-academics alike. Furthermore, the majority of

published works are concerned with verbal lore – songs, stories and speech and relatively few studies concern military customs. Furthermore, the majority of published works about the military folklore focus on the Regular Forces, and very few are concerned with the Reserves. By far the largest category of published works on military folklore concerns the United States Military, and a very small number concern the Canadian Forces.

Chapter three described the public aspects of the November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES. The public customs consist of participation in the parade and ceremonies of the Royal Canadian Legion, and the gun salute performed by 56 FES on Signal Hill. I describe the plans and preparations that are made for these events, a brief history of the customs, the media coverage of these events, and their performance on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1992.

Chapter four described the private aspects of the November 11<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES. The private celebrations comprised the “making the rounds” and “stealing the beaver” customs. The history of these events was outlined, the plans and preparations that preceded the activities, the few mentions of private celebrations in the media, and the performance of these customs on November 11, 1992.

Chapter five presented an analysis and interpretation of the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES using the performance centred approach and related folklore theories about play within work. I then outline the application of the performance centred approach to the study of the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES as a cultural performance event that can only “exist substantively as a phenomenon apart from its

practice,” (Handleman 1990, 17). Here it was also demonstrated that traditional knowledge and the context of the performance – public, private or a combination of these – is crucial to the structure and style of performance and the meaning it holds for the members of the group. The public customs of the parade, ceremonies and gun salute differ from the private customs in style and structure – the public customs being more formal and having clearly a well-established history and rules for performance that are communicated through informal and formal occupational learning. The private customs of “making the rounds” and “stealing the beaver” are transmitted by and large through informal means. Furthermore, there exists a paucity of official evidence as to their existence, aside from the objects that are the focus of the stealing prank. This chapter has interpreted the material objects used in these customs – the National War Memorial, the Sergeants’ Memorial, the uniforms, badges and insignia, and the beaver mascot of 56 FES, and the one owned by HMCS Cabot, as emblems of military identity for the members of 56 FES; as unit members and as members of the Canadian Forces.

In conclusion, the Remembrance Day Celebrations of 56 FES are a part of the unit’s occupational training and work that incorporates “framed play within work” (Dandridge 1989) found in numerous other examples of military folklore, both of 56 FES and among other groups in the Canadian Forces (Russell 1980; Appendix F), the United States (Burke 2004; Cleveland 1985; Cleveland 1994; Davis; Ferris; Fuller; Lally; Mitchell; Schrader; Waelde; Wamsley), Britain (Cleveland 1985, 1994; Dickinson 1977; Fuller), Australia and New Zealand (Cleveland 1985, 1994; Fuller; Seal 1991). For the members of 56 FES, jovial celebration and solemn commemoration are essential parts of Remembrance Day - paying

respect to the dead and the living Veterans and celebrating with them. These customs are a way of communicating the group's unit identity, as unique within the Canadian Forces, and as part of the greater body of the Canadian Forces and Veterans of past wars and conflicts.

These Remembrance Day Celebrations serve to strengthen and maintain those aspects of identity the military consider to be important to the occupational training of their members. Through such examples of public and private customs the military reinforces the bonds formed between members and their units within the military. The ritual framing of the Remembrance Day Celebrations draws attention to the memory of past wars and conflicts, to honour and celebrate those who have served and those who are serving today.

## **POSTSCRIPT**

Rumour has it that on the weekend following Remembrance Day 2004, the beaver mascot belonging to HMCS Cabot was "liberated" from the Junior Ranks Mess of HMCS Cabot by several members of 56 FES, and subsequently hidden. An anonymous source hinted to me that the beaver might be presented to the Commanding Officer of 56 FES during the annual Sapper's Christmas Dinner, on December 16, 2004, or the "Secret Santa" event at the Christmas party later the same night. Eager to witness this event, I attended the party, but the beaver failed to materialize, and speculation and rumour

abound as to its whereabouts.

I have since heard that the beaver is now resting happily in its natural habitat...



**Photo 6.1** Beaver mascot of HMCS Cabot April 5, 2006.

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## APPENDIX A: REMEMBRANCE DAY INSTRUCTIONS<sup>1</sup>

### MEMORANDUM

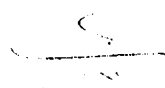
1110-1 (Adjt)

04 Nov 92

Distribution List

### REMEMBRANCE DAY CEREMONIES

1. Sqn participation will consist of:
  - a. Gun Party - under comd MWO Parsons, GPO Lt Harvey; and
  - b. Pde contingent - 1, 2 and Sp Tps under Maj Stack. SHQ elms will fall in with tps as designated by SSM. Adm O and Ops O will fall in as supernumeraries with 2 Tp and Sp Tp respectively. Loc for GMT Tp Comd TBA.
2. MWO Parsons will co-ord all aspects of the Gun Party, incl manning. Tp WOs will pde with their tps.
3. All mbrs of the Sqn are expected to attend the pde. Tp Comds will investigate reqs for excusal thoroughly. Action iaw Sqn ROs will be taken against all unauth absences.
4. Dress will be DEU 1A - name tags, medals, black gloves, and overcoat. All pers to wear ankle boots and have poppies properly affixed to berets.
5. A list of critical timings is enclosed. SSM is Sqn OPI for this pde.
6. Adm O to ensure pay sheets aval - co-ord loc for signing-in with SSM.

  
 R.J.P. Maxwell  
 Capt  
 Adjt  
 4675

### DISTRIBUTION LIST

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ANNEX A  
TO OP 0 0  
2 NOV 92

Critical Timings Annex to Op 0 01

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1.	muster pdc	0800	parking lot behind Canex	All Dist pers less 2 R Nfld R forms up IAW Annex B
2.		0830		Offrs fall in
3.		0845		Dist Comd takes over pdc
4.		0900		Offrs fall out
5.		0915		embus
6.	departure	0925	Pde to Sgt's Memorial and Salute Pty to Signal Hill	see Annex B
7.	arrival	1000	Sgt's Memorial	
8.	Memorial Service	1020	Sgt's Memorial	Dist now part of Legion pdc
9.	departure by foot	1035	to National War Memorial	see Annex C
10.	arrival	1050	National War Memorial	
11.	last post and gun salute	1100		
12.	Reveille, hymn, prayer	1103		
13.	wreath laying	1110		

14. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the parade will proceed to the front of the Provincial Court House where the Lieutenant Governor of NF and Labrador will take the salute. The parade will continue west to Ayre's Cove for dismissal and embus to Pleasantville. (see Annex C)

## APPENDIX B: CANADIAN FORCES RESERVE PAY SCALE<sup>2</sup>

<u>PAY RATES</u>			
<u>EFFECTIVE 01 APR 92</u>			
RANK	IPC	COLUMN 1	COLUMN 2
Pte	Recruit	22.04	44.08
Pte	Basic	25.28	50.56
	1	26.15	52.30
	2	27.04	54.08
Cpl(A)	Basic	30.18	60.36
	1	31.25	62.50
	2	32.38	64.76
Cpl(B)	Basic	33.25	66.50
	1	34.35	68.70
	2	35.53	71.06
Sgt	Basic	36.18	72.36
	1	37.49	74.98
	2	38.76	77.52
WO	Basic	39.66	79.32
	1	41.13	82.26
	2	42.57	85.14
MWO	Basic	44.32	88.64
	1	45.48	90.96
	2	46.75	93.50
CWO	Basic	48.49	96.98
	1	50.12	100.24
	2	51.77	103.54
FOA	12.30	Exception	\$256.67
CAS SDA	12.17	UIC	3.0
SDA	190.00	CPP	2.4

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GENERAL SERVICE OFFICESPAY RATESEFFECTIVE 01 APR 92

RANK	IPC	COLUMN 1	COLUMN 2
<i>0001/</i> 2LT	Basic	28.07	56.14
	1	29.30	58.60
	2	30.53	61.06
LT	Basic	37.21	74.42
	1	38.37	76.74
	2	39.53	79.06
LT(CFR)	Basic	42.62	85.24
	1	43.85	87.70
	2	45.04	90.08
CAPT	Basic	46.76	93.52
	1	48.31	96.62
	2	49.89	99.78
MAJ	Basic	62.92	125.84
	1	64.83	129.66
	2	66.73	133.46
LCOL	Basic	76.34	152.68
	1	78.55	157.10
	2	80.78	161.56
FOA		<i>12.30</i>	
CAS SDA		<i>12.17</i>	
SDA		<i>190.00</i>	

TABLE TO ARTICLE 204.53

RANK	PAY LEVEL	TRADE GROUP	PERIOD OF DUTY OR TRAINING	RATES (in dollars) AFTER SEPTEMBER 1997				
				ANNUAL INCENTIVE PAY CATEGORIES				
				Basic	1	2	3	4
Private	Recruit	Recruit	Less than 6 hours	23.34				
			6 hours or more	46.68				
Private	1	Standard	Less than 6 hours	26.78	27.69	28.63	32.00	
			6 hours or more	53.56	53.38	57.26	64.00	
Corporal (A)	2	Standard	Less than 6 hours	40.41	40.98	41.58	42.17	42.73
			6 hours or more	80.82	81.96	83.16	84.34	85.46
		Specialist 1	Less than 6 hours	43.56	44.32	45.09	45.83	46.62
			6 hours or more	87.12	88.64	90.18	91.66	93.24
		Specialist 2	Less than 6 hours	46.13	47.05	47.96	48.91	49.83
			6 hours or more	92.26	94.10	95.92	97.82	99.66
Corporal (B) <i>Master Corporal</i>	3	Standard	Less than 6 hours	42.10	42.67	43.25	43.83	44.42
			6 hours or more	84.20	85.34	86.50	87.70	88.84
		Specialist 1	Less than 6 hours	45.23	46.00	46.78	47.52	48.32
			6 hours or more	90.46	92.00	93.56	95.04	96.64
		Specialist 2	Less than 6 hours	47.79	48.72	49.65	50.58	51.52
			6 hours or more	95.58	97.44	99.30	101.16	103.04
Sergeant	4	Standard	Less than 6 hours	46.42	46.89	47.37	47.86	48.32
			6 hours or more	92.84	93.78	94.74	95.72	96.64
		Specialist 1	Less than 6 hours	50.08	50.56	51.06	51.53	51.98
			6 hours or more	100.16	101.12	102.12	103.06	103.96
		Specialist 2	Less than 6 hours	53.10	53.57	54.05	54.54	55.00
			6 hours or more	106.20	107.14	108.10	109.08	110.00
Warrant Officer	5	Standard	Less than 6 hours	51.73	52.20	52.67	53.17	53.66
			6 hours or more	103.46	104.40	105.34	106.34	107.32
		Specialist 1	Less than 6 hours	54.24	54.71	55.19	55.68	56.14
			6 hours or more	108.48	109.42	110.38	111.36	112.28
		Specialist 2	Less than 6 hours	56.31	56.79	57.25	57.77	58.23
			6 hours or more	112.62	113.58	114.50	115.54	116.46
Master Warrant Officer	6	Standard	Less than 6 hours	57.07	57.64	58.24	58.80	59.37
			6 hours or more	114.14	115.28	116.48	117.60	118.74
		Specialist 1	Less than 6 hours	58.65	59.20	59.83	60.39	60.96
			6 hours or more	117.30	118.40	119.66	120.78	121.92
		Specialist 2	Less than 6 hours	59.85	60.41	61.01	61.57	62.14
			6 hours or more	119.70	120.82	122.02	123.14	124.28
Chief Warrant Officer	7	Standard	Less than 6 hours	63.35	64.02	64.72	65.38	66.02
			6 hours or more	126.70	128.04	129.44	130.76	132.04
		Specialist 1	Less than 6 hours	63.35	64.02	64.72	65.38	66.02
			6 hours or more	126.70	128.04	129.44	130.76	132.04
		Specialist 2	Less than 6 hours	63.35	64.02	64.72	65.38	66.02
			6 hours or more	126.70	128.04	129.44	130.76	132.04

## APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY<sup>1</sup>

**Advance:** “A unit is advancing when it is moving in the direction the front rank would face in line” (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*)

**Appointment:** “Positions of command within units and sub-units, eg, company commander, division commander or platoon commander.” (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*)

**Alignment:** “A straight line on which a body of troops is formed or is to form.”(*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*).

**Artillery:** “Guns used by the army; the arm or branch of the land forces which uses guns.” (Russell 38).

**Attention:** “The term used to refer to both the state of readiness for command and to address a superior”. The soldier stands with “heels together and in line” with “feet turned out to form an angle of 30 degrees”, shoulders “level and square to the front”, with “arms hanging straight as their natural bend will allow, with elbows and wrists touching the body” and “wrists straight. The back of the hands outwards; fingers aligned, touching the palm of the hand, thumbs placed on either side of the forefinger at the middle joint with the thumbs and back of the fingers touching the thighs lightly and the thumbs in line with the seam of the trousers; head held erect, neck touching the back of the collar, eyes steady, looking their height and straight to the front” (*CF Drill* 202)

**Battalion:** “A military formation consisting of two or more companies” (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*). “The battalion, traditionally, is a unit of infantry composed of several companies and forms part of the larger brigade or regiment.”(Russell 39).

**Cadence:** “The number of paces to the minute.” (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*).

**Captain:** (Capt) “In the service today, the term captain has several meanings. In terms of rank, the naval captain is equivalent to colonel, while the army and air force captain is the rank between lieutenant and major...”(Russell 41).

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<sup>1</sup> The majority of these terms are quoted from the DND Publications the Canadian Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial, The Canadian Military Engineers Manual or The Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Forces (Russell 1980); for the purposes of the glossary the abbreviations will be used CF Drill, CME, and Russell, respectively, with the item number or page following. For additional quotes the source will be written in full, when applicable; items with no quotations are from commons usage and/or the personal usage of the author.

Changing direction: "To form a new front, i.e., to change the front of the unit, but not its formation, to face to the right or left" (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*).

Civi: a term often used by Canadian military members to mean civilian, or civilian employment or world.

Collar Dogs: "common military term for Collar Badges. The collar dog of the CME features a beaver above the motto "UBIQUE" on a banner,"(*CME 4-6*). "Metal collar badges shall be worn with army service dress, centred on the stitching of the collar/lapel seam so that the stitching passes diagonally under the centre of the badge with the base of the badge parallel to the ground and the beavers facing inwards..."(*CME 4-2*).

Colonel: (Col) "A rank which denotes a senior staff officer, not yet a general officer, but no longer the senior officer of a regiment..."(Russell 41).

Colours: "When used alone, or unless otherwise specified, Standards, Guidons, Queen's, and Command/College/Regimental colours, and Air Squadron Standards," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*). "...The colours when carried in battle, served two practical purposes--identification and place of concentration (Russell 170-172).

Column: "Sub-units one behind the other on parallel and successive alignments, at such a distance from one another that, when formed at an angle of 90 degrees to either flank, they will be brought into line with a seven pace interval between platoons and a ten-pace interval between companies," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*).

Column of route: "A unit turned to the right or left out of line, flank file leading and with officers and supernumeraries positioned to lead or follow the formation," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*).

Column of threes: "A unit in threes turned to the right or left out of line, flank file leading, but with officers and supernumeraries in their normal positions as in line," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-1*).

Company: "A military formation consisting of two or more platoons" (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-2*).

Corporal: (Cpl) "The rank between Private (which in the CME is Sapper) and Master Corporal (MCpl)" (Russell 43).

Distance: "The space between men or bodies of service personnel from front to rear," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-2*).

Division: "Two or more brigades," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-2*).

Dressing: "The act of taking up correct alignment and covering," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-2*).

Esprit de Corps: "A term taken directly from the French language to mean the spirit of the corps, or unit; the sentiment, similar to patriotism, which military personnel feel towards each other, their unit, or regiment; a bond felt towards those who live, fight and often die together which is essential to maintain the strength of the fighting force. Used in countless military documents, literature and histories the phrase esprit de corps refers to, the 'spirit of the Service'," (Russell xiii). "What patriotism is to your country, so is *esprit de corps* to a unit...As *esprit de corps* binds a man to his unit, so will comradeship bind a man to his fellows," (MacNeil 1951: 1-2) The journal of the Canadian Forces is aptly named *Esprit de Corps*.

Ethos: Often ephemeral in nature, ethos is defined as the "characteristic spirit and beliefs of [a] community, people, system, literary work or person," (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 6<sup>th</sup> Edn. qtd. In English, 60). Allan D. English discusses the difficulties in defining military ethos and states that "societal differences account for variations in ethos among military groups in time and space" (English 60).

Formation: "In the Canadian Forces today the word has two connotations: one, in a sense, static; the other, one of movement. The first is an ordered arrangement of troops under a single command, such as an air division, a brigade group, or a naval task force, organised for a specific purpose. The formation having the connotation of movement is as in the traditional air force sense of formation flying where two or more aircraft are led and manoeuvred as a unit. This latter meaning for formation is also seen in the drilling of troops, in tanks advancing, say, in echelon, and in a squadron of destroyers making, say, a torpedo attack," (Russell 46).

Front: "The direction in which troops are facing or moving," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-3*).

Frontage: "The extent of ground covered laterally by a body of service personnel," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-3*).

Guides: "Individuals on the right and left of the front rank, whose specific duties are to maintain correct distances or intervals from other units when on the march and on whom the remainder of the member in their unit march, take up and maintain dressing. The guides are not to be covered. Guides may be used to indicate unit and sub-unit parade square positions for fall-in," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-3*).

Honorary Colonels: "These honorary appointees play an important role as custodians of their units' histories and traditions, fosterers of esprit de corps, advisers to the commanding officers and as vocal advocates of the Militia in local communities.



They should also maintain liaison with the Regular Force Components of the CME. Recommendations for these appointments are made through the chain of command to the MND by senior officers serving or having served with the unit.” (CME 1-5).

HMCS: “The four block letters, HMCS stand for His/Her Majesty's Canadian Ships in commission, and also the name of the ship's company begins with HMCS as well,”(Russell 49).

Infantry: “Soldiers who fight on foot,” (Russell 49).

Interval: “The space between individuals or bodies of service personnel on the same alignment,”(CF Drill Glossary GL-E-3).

Junior Officer: “The collective term for officers of the ranks of: captain and lieutenant (N)(for Navy); lieutenant and sub-lieutenant; second lieutenant and acting sub-lieutenant,”(Russell 50).

Killer Heinies: The name commonly used to refer to the larger size cans of “Heineken” beer (approximately 750 ml) by CF personnel and civilians in Germany [during the mid 1980s].

Leading Seaman: (Ls) “The rank directly below master seaman in the navy, similar to the rank of corporal in the army and air force,” (Russell 52, see also “Killick” 50)

Legion: for the purposes of this thesis, this term refers to any branch of the Royal Canadian Legion, whose premises usually including a bar, kitchen, and other recreational facilities such as dance floor, pool tables, dart boards and so on. The facilities are for the use of Legion members, veterans, associated military personnel and families and friends of the Legion. Formerly named the Great War Veterans Association, founded after WWI to assist the with the rehabilitation and reintegration of Veterans, as well as to provide assistance to deceased Veterans families, and to ensure their fallen comrades were fittingly commemorated (see also Bowering).

Lieutenant: “(Lt) A commissioned officer immediately below the rank of captain in the army and air force, and immediately below the rank of lieutenant-commander in the navy. A word of ancient French origin, lieutenant originally meant one who acts for, or in lieu of, a superior officer. The land and air forces pronounce this rank “leftenant,” while seamen say “lieutenant,” (Russell 51).

Lieutenant-Colonel: (Lt Col) “The rank between colonel and major in the land and air forces. He is the commanding officer of an armoured or artillery regiment, or of an infantry, signals or service battalion...”(Russell 51).

Line: "Bodies of service personnel formed up on the same alignment."(*CF Drill Glossary G-L-E 3*).

Major: (Maj) "The rank in the land forces between lieutenant-colonel and captain," (Russell 50).

Marker: "An individual placed to indicate the position which a body of service personnel will occupy when covering and falling in," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-3*)

Mess: "In the Canadian Forces, there are separate messes for commissioned officers, warrant officers and sergeants, and junior ranks. There are unit messes, base and station messes, and messes in HMC ships. Derived originally from the Latin, *missum*, the Old French word *mes* had the meaning of a dish, a serving of food or a course of dishes, and eventually, a serving dish holding food for four people. This, in turn, took on the connotation of a group of four who habitually sat together at a table and helped themselves from the same dishes -- hence a mess. The usual definition for mess indicates the functional, practical role -- the home of all those officers, men and women, who live in; the club for all serving personnel; the centre of social life on a base or station, or in a ship. Indeed, in the two hundred years we have had messes, the continuing common to all is that the mess is where officers and men take their food, whether they are bivouacked in the field, comfortably housed in a modern barracks, hanging on to the mess table in a ship at sea, or dining amidst the splendour of plate and crystal, good cheer and sparkling repartee, of the finest mess in the land...(Russell 13-17; see also *CME* 12-1).

Militia: "Reserve regiments today are officially part of the reserve force as opposed to the term regular force. But the term militia continues to be used in the reserve regiments and, indeed, their geographical groupings are called "militia areas," (Russell 52).

Non-commissioned Officer: NCO, or NCM for Non-commissioned member; personnel above the rank of Master Corporal (MCpl) including Sergeant (Sgt), Warrant Officer (WO), and Master Warrant Officer (MWO), also referred to as "other ranks" (Russell 53).

Other Ranks: "A collective term of all those not of commissioned rank," (Russell 53). Another term with the same meaning is the term Non-Commissioned Member (NCM) which is currently used more frequently than "other ranks."

Pace: "The length of a standard stride measured from heel to heel," (*CF Drill Glossary GL-E-3*).

Platoon: "A basic military formation of approximately 30 service personnel, normally formed in three ranks, having one right marker, a Platoon Commander, and a

Platoon Warrant Officer or Sergeant,” (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-3).

Private: (Pt) is the lowest rank of a soldier. In the CME the term Private means those who only have their basic training course and not yet a "Sapper".

Pukka Sapper: the initiation ceremony used to award “honorary” engineer status to a non-engineer (Appendix F) (see also *CME*, Russell 55).

Rank: When used in drill “A line of service personnel, side by side, on one alignment, separated by an interval,” (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-3). Also refers to the position within military hierarchy, i.e. the rank of Captain.

Regiment: “The regiment is a permanent recruiting and training unit of the army with a permanent depot or home station, and is divided according to its function into companies, squadrons and batteries... Sometimes it has the "total family" meaning of the infantry, including the depot, as well as the battalions, the operational units of the regiment. In armour, the regiment itself is the operational unit, while in the artillery there are regiments within the regiment. In a signal regiment the squadrons, which make up the regiment, are capable of independent detached service. Before the seventeenth century, the military unit was the company. But as the management of land forces advance in the tactical sense, the need soon arose to collect these independent companies into groups under the rule (or regimen or regime or regiment) of a single officer who was called the colonel,” (Russell 56).

Regular Force: in the Canadian Forces the term Regular Force is often abbreviated to “Reg Force” or “the Regs”, and means a person who is employed full time in the Armed Forces.

Reserve Force: in the Canadian Forces the term Reserve Force refers to personnel who are employed part-time with the Armed Forces, and who may or may not be employed also in the civilian world, depending upon the amount of time they work with the military.

Sapper: “The basic rank of an NCM in the CME is that of a “Sapper”” (*CME* 2-1); “a collective term for the military engineer branch. Sapper is derived from the French saper, to undermine, which points up the original role of the sappers - demolition. In the days of fixed fortifications and defensive positions, sappers and miners were employed in tunnelling right under the enemy's walls, which were then breached by the use of explosives. The advancing of trenches for the purpose of reaching enemy positions was known as sapping, and the men as sappers...”(Russell 57; see also *CME* 3-1).

Senior Officers: “The collective term for officers of the ranks of colonel and captain (N)

(for navy); lieutenant-colonel and commander; major and lieutenant-commander," (Russell 58).

Soldier: "Member of an army," (Russell 59).

Stand At Ease: "the standing position of standing with the inside of the heels 25 cm apart at 30 degree angle, arms behind the back and the back of the right hand in the palm of the left hand with thumbs crossed right over left and fingers together and extended," (*CF Drill* 203-207).

Stand Easy: the position of the feet is the same as for Stand At Ease (*CF Drill* 204) however "the hands move from behind the body to the position of Attention," (*CF Drill* 202) but may relax and "move all but their feet and adjust clothing and equipment...but are not permitted to speak," (*CF Drill* 205, 206).

Squad: "A small military formation of platoon or less size which is adopted to teach drill movements," (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-4).

Squadron: "A military formation approximately the size of a company," (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-4; see also Russell 60).

Sub-unit: "One of the component bodies forming a unit; ie, a platoon is a sub-unit of a company," (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-4).

Supernumeraries: "Officers, warrant officers and senior non-commissioned members who form in front or in rear of their respective formations without filling a parade appointment," (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-4).

Twillick bird: "The Twillick is a medium-sized (roughly 36 cm in height) shorebird with distinctively long and bright yellow legs. Its diet consists of small fish and water insects.... The name "Twillick" comes from Newfoundland..." (National Defence Canada 2006).

Troop: "A military formation approximately the size of a platoon," (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-4); "Troop today denotes a part of a squadron of armoured vehicles, and is also used colloquially in the collective sense, "the troops," meaning other ranks," (Russell 62).

Ubique: "The CME motto "UBIQUE" means "Everywhere". Unlike the infantry and armoured units, the CME do not have colours. Because no campaign has ever been waged without the participation of sappers, the RCE [Royal Canadian Engineers] as granted in 1931 the motto "UBIQUE" in recognition of their numerous honours in battle," (*CME* 3-1).

Wheel: "A movement by which a body of service personnel facing a flank changes direction," (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-4).

Wing: "A military formation approximately the size of a battalion," (*CF Drill Glossary* GL-E-2).

## APPENDIX D: TEXTS OF RECITATIONS

### Act of Remembrance<sup>1</sup>

Almighty God, we thank thee for thy protection and guidance in the dark days of war and for the liberties, which were won by the service and sacrifice of our comrades, which we remember, and honour at this hour. We pray to thee to grant us the wisdom and strategy to safeguard these precious freedoms. Bless our gracious Queen and all the Royal Family. Guide those in authority that they may plan wisely and strive zealously to strengthen all that is best in our land. May wisdom, honour and truth be the foundation of our life, and may our faith be ever deepened in thee our God and Father, Amen.

Oh God we remember before thee, those who lay down their lives for freedom and truth. We commend their souls into your gracious keeping and we pray that we may be worthy of their sacrifice. Help us to be faithful to those ideals for which they fought and died and may we continue to perpetuate the memory of our comrades by our service to veterans and their loved ones, remembering our solemn obligations when we pray. May.... [some words inaudible due to sounds of artillery fire] be with us yet. Lest we forget. Lest we forget.

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<sup>1</sup> As read on November 11, 1992 by Walter Critchley.

**In Flanders Fields<sup>2</sup>**

In Flanders' fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks still bravely signing fly,  
Scarce heard amidst the guns below.

We are the dead.  
Short days ago we lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders' fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe,  
To you from failing hands we throw  
The Torch – be yours to hold it high;  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow  
In Flanders' fields.

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<sup>2</sup> As recited on November 11, 1992; see also *John McCrae*. Pamphlet. Government of Canada Veterans Affairs. Cat. No. V32-23, 1988: 1.

## APPENDIX E: INTERVIEWS FOR THIS THESIS<sup>1</sup>

### Members of 56 FES

#### Officers:

1	Maj Anthony (Tony) Stack	Feb. 25, 1993; May 27, 1993
2	Capt Terry Fleet	Feb. 11, 1993.
3	Lt Michael G. Machin	Jan. 7, 1992 (notes); Jan. 27, 1993.
4	Anonymous	Nov.12, 1992.
5	Lt Beverly (Bev) Fleet (SHQ)	Nov.12, 1992.
36	Anonymous	Dec. 10, 2004 (notes)

#### Non Commissioned Officers:

7	Sgt John Kelly	Nov. 8, 1992.
8	MWO Boyd (Butch) Parsons	Nov.16, 1992.
9	Sgt James (Jim) Gear	Nov. 17, 1992.
10	Sgt Leonard (Len) Edison	Nov. 16, 1992.
11	Sgt Walter (Wally) Barnes	Apr. 18, 1993.
12	WO William (Bill) Reelis	May 17, 1993.

#### Junior Ranks:

13	MCpl Adam Osmond	Nov. 17, 1992.
14	MCpl Paul Lamswood	Nov. 12, 1992
15	MCpl Douglas (Doug) Payne	Mar. 15, 1993.
16	MCpl David Butt	Feb. 18, 1993.
17	MCpl Cyril Dwyer	Feb. 27, 1993.
18	Cpl Lawrence (Larry) Hatfield	Nov. 16, 1992.
19	Cpl Geoff Peddigrew	Nov. 12, 1992.
20	Cpl Robert Tee	Feb. 15, 1993.
21	Cpl Rod Avery (Reg. Force)	Feb. 15, 1993.
22	Cpl James (Jim) Kennedy	Mar. 9, 1993.
23	Cpl Kyle Youden	May 21, 1993.

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<sup>1</sup> The ranks given here are those of the informants at the time of interview. Unless otherwise specified, these interviews were tape-recorded. The interviews took place in St. John's, Newfoundland; other locations have been noted in brackets.



24	Spr Sean Tucker	Feb. 18, 1993.
25	Spr Erika McFarlane	Feb. 15, 1993.
26	Spr Bryan Cobb	Mar. 16, 1993.
27	Spr Terrence (Terry) Budden	Mar. 15, 1993.
28	Spr Pauline Hancock	Apr. 5, 1993.
29	Spr Mike Brown	May 21, 1993

**Former Members of 56 FES:**

6	Lt Richard (Rick) Palfrey	Oct.16, 1992.
30	Spr Llewellyn Thomas	Mar. 23, 1993.

**Members and Former Members of Other Canadian Forces Units:**

31	WO Donald Thomas (CME Museum CFB Chilliwack)	Apr. 30, 1992 (notes).
32	Ls Lenor Ann Beitenman (HMCS Cabot)	Sept. 24, 1993.
34	Cal Purcell (former member of 2PPCLI)	Sept. 2005.
35	Brian Edwards (Singing Legionnaires)	Oct. 20, 2005 (via telephone).

**Non Military:**

33	Keith Coles (colleague and assistant)	June 29, 1993.
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## **APPENDIX F: ADDITIONAL CUSTOMS**

There have been many other customs that include public and private aspects of which members of 56 FES have been a part. I have been a participant-observer for numerous events through my involvement with 56 FES. The descriptions, which follow, are from field notes, from personal memory, photographs, and parade or dinner programs.

### **Course Graduation Parade and Smoker**

In August of 1992, the author went to CFB Gagetown while many of the troops from 56 FES were there taking part in various courses and was able to document the graduation parade and events which followed.

The combined graduation parade took place on August 14, 1992 at the Militia Training Centre Gagetown (MTC), on the North Parade Square at 7:00 p.m. The parade involved soldiers from armoured, artillery, engineer and infantry units of the Atlantic Militia Area (AMA). The AMA was comprised of units from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Each unit marched in and formed upon the parade square to face the visitor stands and dais, and later in 1992 was renamed Land Force Atlantic Area (LFAA). The Regimental Sergeant Major Chief Warrant Officer I.S. MacPhee was in command. The Adjt of MTC Gagetown Captain E.J. MacDougall took over the parade from the RSM. The DCO Major R.R. Pollard marched in and took over from the Adjt, and the officers fell in. The CO of MTC Gagetown in 1992 was Lieutenant Colonel D.W. Foster, who arrived and took command of the parade.

Lieutenant Colonel Foster then approached the dais and asked the reviewing officer Brigadier General A.R. MacDonald, Commander of the AMA to inspect the troops. An antique military vehicle arrived on the parade ground, it being so large, to transport the RSM, Adjt, DCO, CO and Brigadier General from one unit to another. The troops inspected, the vehicle returned, and Lieutenant Foster asked permission to march past. The parade, led by Lieutenant Colonel Foster, marched past the podium, with Brigadier General A.R. MacDonald taking the salute. The top candidates from each course conducted this summer were presented with their plaques, and the candidates returned to their ranks. The parade then concluded with the officers falling out. The Chief Warrant Officer MacPhee took over and dismissed the parade.

Following the parade, inside the drill hall next to the parade square, there were refreshments provided, and people talked and had drinks before attending to their own unit functions. The troops involved in the engineer training courses had their "smoker" outside the building of 22 Field Squadron on the base. There was a steak barbecue with rolls, mushrooms and onions, baked potatoes, and soft drinks provided. Anyone of age could purchase beer, if so desired. Picnic tables were set up for the event and there was a large turnout. As the evening progressed, the sappers began to sing engineer songs and carry on. One of the songs such was of course "The Engineer Song" which begins "We are we are we are we are the engineers, we can we can we can we can demolish forty beers...." And later on songs such as "Barrett's Privateers" and the engineer favourite, "Sam Hall" were sung. The party lasted approximately 3 hours, but many people left to go to other, more private, events.

One of the private parties took place in an apartment in Fredericton, rented by NCMs from 56 FES, who worked in Gagetown as course instructors for the entire summer. The party involved mainly newer members of 56 FES who were there for courses. Lieutenant Machin and I were invited to the party, and arrived at approximately 11:00 p.m. for a short visit, so that Lieutenant Machin could personally congratulate those who had finished their courses on a job well done. It is not a common practice to fraternize in mixed ranks with the course officer, but in the case where the troops invite the course officer, it is appropriate to make a short visit and have a drink to congratulate them. The engineers pride themselves of being less strict in social situations, and less formal with each other while still maintaining the official chain of command.

#### **Change of Squadron Sergeant Major and Squadron Birthday Celebrations**

On October 22, 1992 I was present for a Change of Squadron Sergeant Major parade at the drill hall at CFS St. John's. The Squadron Sergeant Major (SSM) Master Warrant Officer Butch Parsons handed over his staff of office, the Pace Stick, to incoming SSM Warrant Officer Kevin O'Keefe. The parade began at 8:15 p.m. and followed the standard parade format. This parade, however, was conducted in the combat uniform rather than DEUs. This is common when the parade takes place in an all-military setting rather than for public viewing. The military work dress, the combat uniform is not to be worn in public, except when in transit to and from work. The SSM marched in at 8:20 p.m. and the markers fell in at 8:25 p.m., followed by the rest of the troops who then formed up into ranks. The Officers fell in at 8:35 p.m. and then the CO fell in and took over the parade. A

sign of the degree of formality associated with the parade, the Regimental Band of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment was there to play the marches.

There were also several important people presiding over the parade, Colonel Isabelle, there to review the parade and the Honorary Colonel of 56 FES, Colonel Wilton. At the arrival of each of these guests, everyone stood. Then the two Colonels participated in inspecting the Squadron and the band with the SSM, CO and each Troop Commander in turn. The CO Major Stack led the Unit in a march past the dais, and everyone stood once more. When the unit was in formation again, the troops presented arms to the dais. Then the handover took place. The new SSM Warrant Officer Kevin O'Keefe fell in and the hand-over took place with Master Warrant Officer Butch Parsons handing over his staff of office. Then Master Warrant Officer Parsons fell out, taking his place on the dais. There was a speech about the Unit and about Master Warrant Officer Parsons' long involvement with the engineers. Colonel Isabelle then presented several of the sappers who had finished a training course with their new rank badges. Then the Unit advanced in review order, CO and then Officers. Everyone stood as Colonel Isabelle and Colonel Wilton left. The new SSM then dismissed the troops.

After the parade there were refreshments provided in the training room of building 312. A keg of beer had been procured for the event. Unit members and visiting military personnel gathered and chatted. There was a reception in the Garrison Club at 9:45 p.m. Refreshments were provided, and the members proceeded to play pool, drink and talk. During the social activities at the Garrison Club, a number of the officers and senior NCOs left the room with Warrant Officer Parsons and went to one of the Unit offices. There the

officers and senior NCOs participated in a "Mug Out" ceremony for MWO Parsons. The "Mug Out" is an informal custom of drinking a mug of alcohol, usually spirits, to informally toast the person and their importance to the group. This being a private custom, I was not present to take photographs.

The following Saturday, October 24, 1992 a mixed mess dinner was held at Branch 36 of the Royal Canadian Legion, also for the Change of Squadron Major and to celebrate the Forty-Third Birthday of 56 Field Engineer Squadron. At mess dinners all military personnel are required to wear DEUs, or Mess Kit for those who have it and civilian guests are to wear appropriate formal attire. The dinner was scheduled "7:00 p.m. for 7:30 p.m." which allows for the pre-dinner drinks and socializing.

Ten minutes prior to the serving of dinner, the under-age sappers and their guests leave the bar and proceed to the dining room on the lower floor of the Legion. This is a tradition that began about a year ago, due to new policies on underage drinking. A piper appeared in the doorway of the Legion bar to "pipe in" the head table, and then the remainder of the participants. The head table consisted of members of 56 FES: the CO Major Stack and wife Wanda, the new SSM Warrant Officer Kevin O'Keefe and girlfriend Brenda Miller, outgoing SSM Master Warrant Officer Butch Parsons and wife Eileen, Sergeant Len Edison and Mrs. Edison, Captain Gord Stringer and wife Marie, and Adjt Rohan Maxwell and wife Maggie Stokes, Honorary Colonel Wilton and Mrs. Wilton as well as several other visitors Captain Perry Grandy (1 RNFLDR) and girlfriend, Lieutenant Colonel Harry Bowne and Mrs. Bowne, and one other officer whose name I failed to note, also with his wife. Everyone follows the piper downstairs and take their place behind their

seats. Each seating place has a name card and each sapper is seated next to his or her guest, if they have brought one. No one is seated until all have taken their places, and until the head table is seated. The President of Mess Committee (PMC) for the evening was Captain Rohan Maxwell. At mess dinners throughout the Canadian Armed Forces, the PMC is often referred to as "Mr. President". The Vice President of the Mess Committee (V/PMC), whose identity I failed to make note of, most likely a junior member of the unit, was called "Mr. Vice" throughout the evening, assists him.

The Legion staff served the meal, which is made up of three courses: beef consommé, followed by baby carrots, mashed potato, mashed turnip and gravy, which is then followed by strawberry shortcake, tea and coffee. The meal is accompanied by water and wine, for those who wish to partake. During the desert course, the port is poured for the toasts. No one is allowed to smoke until after the Loyal Toast, and only after a senior member at the head table begins to smoke.

The PMC stands and announces the toasts. The first toast is the Loyal Toast made by the PMC to the Queen: "Mr. Vice, The Queen". For each toast, everyone present stands holds up their glass of port, and drinks after clinking glasses with those around them. For those not wishing to drink port, your beverage of choice in a glass is permitted.

The first person to speak, Colonel Wilton made a toast to the Military Engineers, refers to them as the "the Family" which is the affectionate name of the engineer branch due to the kinship felt by members towards the branch. He goes on to discuss the amalgamation of the Armed Forces, and the Military Engineers part in the peacekeeping efforts being made by the Canadian Forces. He said that 56 FES was a well-prepared unit and was

represented by members now serving from coast to coast. He goes on to mention the awards, which the unit has received over the years and says, "We already know it's [56 FES] the best!" He salutes older engineers to which all the engineers respond "Chimo!". He then says "To the Branch!" and everyone again shouts "Chimo!" Colonel Wilton then recites the words to Wings, one of the official marches of the Canadian Military Engineers and everyone responds with a hearty "Chimo!"

Sergeant Len Edison read letters that were sent by former members of the squadron sending their best wishes to Master Warrant Officer Parsons. Major Stack discussed some recent events such as exercise "Water Baby" and thanks everyone for their support through the years. He then asked Master Warrant Officer Parsons to come forward and Corporal Williams presented him with a gift on behalf of the whole Unit. Everyone again shouts "Chimo!" Warrant Officer Kevin O'Keefe then came forward and gave Master Warrant Officer Parsons a present and discussed the history of their professional involvement with each other. Everyone then shouts "Chimo!" Sergeant Len Edison then presented Master Warrant Officer Parsons' wife, Eileen Parsons with a present on behalf of 56 FES thanking her for her support of her husband's involvement through the years. Major Stack then said there have been many well known two man teams such as "Fred and Barney" [the Flintstones], "Bonnie and Clyde" [famous gangster couple], and now "Butch and Wally" making reference to the close friendship and working relationship between Master Warrant Officer Butch Parsons and Sergeant Wally Barnes. Sergeant Barnes gets up and toasts the "family" of 56 FES, to which all respond with "Chimo!" once more. Master Warrant Officer Butch Parsons stood and spoke about his life in the military and some of his



experiences with 56 FES. He mentioned the "Mug Out" ceremony that took place the previous Thursday evening, and says that in the past "London Dock" has been the preferred drink for such ceremonies but that things had changed. He finished his speech by saying that no matter what unit he is affiliated with or what he does he will "always be an engineer". Then the PMC Captain Rohan Maxwell thanked everyone for being there and instructed everyone about the rest of the evening's festivities. The piper then piped out the head table, and then the remaining guests were free to leave the table.

There exists an informal tradition practiced by some of the junior engineer officers that would take place after the conclusion of a mess dinner. Once the senior officers and officiating guests have left the dining room, the junior officers proceed to drink all the remaining alcohol on the tables. After the senior officers left the dining hall, several of the junior officers did proceed to drink the leftover alcoholic beverages. The dancing began in the upstairs bar and ballroom area. In an adjacent room, sappers and guests played pool and talked. Also in the poolroom were chairs and a television and some people watched the NHL hockey play-offs on television. Throughout the evening, many people moved back and forth between the poolroom and the ballroom to check on the hockey game. The dancing and other social activities were very relaxed, and once the senior officers removed their uniform, or mess jackets, it signalled others that they were now permitted to also remove their jackets. Similar protocol applies to the order at which personnel are permitted to leave the festivities; the most senior officer will leave first, in this case the Honorary Colonel, following which the CO and his wife, and following that anyone may leave.

### **Sappers Christmas Dinner**

On December 5, 1992 the author was permitted to observe the 56 FES Christmas dinner and party, normally for serving members only. The dinner was held at the Garrison Club in building 312 at CFS St. John's. This year a Sappers Dinner was held, sometimes called a "Mens" Dinner because it entails the "men" or the lower ranks, to be served dinner by the Officers and senior NCOs. This role reversal is a chance for the higher ranks to give something back to the lower ranks, and it also helps to exemplify the camaraderie felt between all ranks of engineers.

The dinner was held on the last training night before the Christmas holidays. While the other ranks were involved in work, the dining area and preparations are made by some of the Officers and senior NCOs. The dinner took place at approximately 8:00 p.m. The mess cooks of CFS St. John's prepared the dinner. The meal consisted of roast turkey, boiled potatoes, turkey gravy, carrots, green peas, green salad, rolls, and pudding for desert, served with coffee and tea. Alcoholic beverages were for sale at the bar, and soft drinks were free.

The Sappers' Dinner entails that the youngest Sapper in the Unit becomes the acting Commanding Officer for the duration of the evening, and the oldest Master Corporal becomes the acting Squadron Sergeant Major. This evening Sapper Beason became the CO and Master Corporal Payne became the SSM. The officers and senior NCOs proceed to serve the meal to the rest of the troops, bringing their plates to them, filling their coffee or tea mugs. During the desert course, Major Stack asked permission of Sapper Beason to speak, and when he was granted permission, he spoke about the Manuels River Bridge,

which the Unit had just completed. He thanked the people who prepared the meal, and wished luck to those going overseas on peacekeeping duties. Everyone present responded with a hearty "Chimo!"

After the meal ended, the Officers and senior NCOs cleared the tables and moved the tables and chairs back to make space on the dance floor. Then some organized games took place, one of the unit members acting as PMC announcing each game: The first person to get to the bar with the ball number 7 from the pool table won a free rum and coke; whoever could sing their ABC's backwards won two free bottles of beer; the person guessing the correct number of ounces in a Texas Mickey won a half case of beer (a case being 24 bottles); the first Sapper to get to the bar with one of Major Stack's epaulets (shoulder badges) won a free beer. There was a lot of dancing and singing going on as well. The festivities lasted until about 1:00 a.m., but the following day being a workday, few people stayed late.

### **The "Pukka Sapper"**

The Pukka Sapper initiation is a tradition, which is well known and recognized as an official tradition of the Canadian Military Engineers (Canada DND 1993b 3-4; Russell 55; Canada DND 1982 8-5). I was present for one of these initiations on March 25, 1993 following a training night and social function in the Garrison Club at CFS St. John's. The Colonel Commandant of the Canadian Military Engineers, Major General Freeman was visiting 56 FES to discuss what was happening in the Branch (meaning all CME) across Canada and overseas. There was a gathering in the Garrison Club following training in

order for the Colonel Commandant to speak to the troops.

The CO Major Stack introduced the Colonel Commandant Major General Freeman and the Branch Chief Petty Officer Daly, who had accompanied him to Newfoundland. Chief Petty Officer Daly discussed the Colonel Commandant's role and history with the CME. The Colonel Commandant gave a speech, saying that the CME are the most respected engineers in the world due to their fine training and their participation in peacekeeping duties overseas. He presented several awards: Sapper of the Year award (instituted three years ago) to Sapper Kelland, who was at the time in Petawawa, training to go to Somalia; Top Junior Non-commissioned Member (NCM) to Corporal Williams for his performance in Gagetown during the summer of 1992; Top Corporal or Private in Combat Service Support in 1992 to Private Bartlett.

At the conclusion of the function, the Officers proceeded to the Officers' Mess to continue their social activities. Captain Dave Adams, the band leader of the 1RNR band, was due to retire in the very near future and the Officers from 56 FES wanted to present him with the Pukka Sapper. They brought with them the necessary scroll and approached him as he stood talking to others in the bar. According to CME tradition, the initiate must stand on their head, while supported by engineers if necessary, and drink two ounces of liquor of their choice (usually spirits). Should the initiate not wish to partake of alcohol, another beverage may be substituted. Captain Adams was unable to stand on his head for medical reasons, so two of the Officers from 56 FES improvised and held a chair over his head to simulate him being upside down. The resulting configuration was humourous, but not very effective. He was also unable to drink the chosen beverage for medical reasons, so Captain

Mike Machin was chosen to serve as proxy and did the honours with a shot of Jack Daniels rum. Captain Rohan Maxwell gave a speech about the custom of the Pukka Sapper, and explained that the word "Pukka" comes from the Hindu word meaning "genuine, permanent, and solidly built" and that those individuals who have proved themselves to be valuable to the engineers in deed or in spirit are considered to be worthy of the title of "Pukka Sapper". The senior engineer must be convinced that the initiate is worthy for the custom to be performed. This being acknowledged, the senior engineer present, Major General Freeman then presented the scroll to Captain Dave Adams and everyone shouted "Chimo!"

#### **40th Anniversary Celebrations 1988**

56 FES celebrated its 40th Anniversary with a number of events in October 1989. Engineers who had been members of 56 FES in the past came home for the event. The Colonel Commandant of the CME, the senior serving Canadian Military Engineer in Canada at the time, Major General J.E. Woods, visited, and required an aide-de-camp (ADC); Second Lieutenant Machin performed that duty and accompanied him to all anniversary functions, and showed him around town, visiting various military establishments around St. John's.

The anniversary events took place from October 27 to 29, 1989, beginning with a "Meet and Greet" in the drill hall of CFS St. John's at 7:30 p.m. on October 29. This was an opportunity for new members to meet old members, and their guests or families. There were refreshments provided and announcements about the various events to take place.

At 9:30 a.m. on the morning of October 28th there was a pancake breakfast at the Garrison Club, building 312 at CFS St. John's. 56 FES set up a field kitchen truck set up with a generator outside the Garrison Club and Major Stack along with several NCOs cooked breakfast for everyone. At 10:30 a.m. outside the drill hall there were displays and competitions in various skills, conducted relay style with teams, such as spike driving, log sawing, and another task requiring the sapper putting on a large amount of clothing worn for winter warfare, including mittens and boots and having to perform skills requiring manual dexterity (2Lt Harvey, ed. 109-110).

Later, there was held a large parade in the drill hall. The inspecting officer was Major General J.E. Woods. Also in attendance was Honorary Colonel Wilton. The CO Officer of 56 FES in 1989 was Major Tony Stack. The parade began at 5:40 p.m. with the markers being called. The parade followed the standard format, with the addition of two general salutes for the Colonel Commandant and the Honorary Colonel. The troops came to attention and all visitors stood while the band played part of "The British Grenadiers", one of the two official quick marches of the CME. The Colonel Commandant inspected the troops and then returned to the dais. Following this the Colonel Commandant awarded several promotions, including Second Lieutenants Mike Machin and Sean Ryan who were both promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. The Unit then performed a march past. The parade advanced in review order while all visitors stood. 56 FES gave the general salute for the Colonel Commandant, and he leave the parade square. Next the unit gave a general salute for the Honorary Colonel, and he also departed. The Officers fell out; the SSM took over and dismissed the parade. The Squadron photographer took photographs of the parade,

some of which are included in the unit history book (2Lt Harvey, ed. 108).

The dinner and dance held for the 40th anniversary celebrations took place at Branch 56 of the Royal Canadian Legion in Pleasantville. The dinner was scheduled 7:00 for 7:30 p.m. and followed the standard Candlelight dinner format, which is that of a mess dinner with the addition of invited guests. The dinner program details the order of events: "Piping In" of Head Table PLEASE STAND; Grace PLEASE STAND; Meals served; Port distributed for toasts; Toast to the Queen (Youngest Sapper) PLEASE STAND; Toast to the Branch of Military Engineers (Major-General Woods) PLEASE STAND; Toast to the Squadron (Colonel Wilton) PLEASE STAND; Smoking permitted; Introduction of the Head Table by the PMC; Presentation (Major Stack); Departure of the Head Table PLEASE STAND; Remainder please move to Ball Room for Dance. The menu is included in the program: roast beef, potato, vegetables, and tomato juice, wine and strawberry shortcake.

The evening progressed with dancing and talking in the bar and ballroom of the Legion. There was a disk jockey to play songs, and the majority of the participants were dancing. For many it was a very late evening, as the Colonel Commandant stayed until nearly 1:30 p.m.

The following day there was a Church Parade and Pipe Drum Ceremony at the drill hall held at 11:00 a.m., the details of this parade I failed to note. At 12:30 p.m. there was a barbecue held at the Garrison Club, with the barbecue pits set up outside the door to the Garrison Club. Unit members cooked hamburgers and hotdogs, served with baked potatoes and salad on paper plates. Beverages were available for purchase from the Garrison Club bar. This too was a very casual gathering, with many people talking and playing pool.

### **“Army Night”**

Friday nights at the Officers' Mess at CFS St. John's are usually referred to as TGIF (Thank God It's Friday) and involve mess members and their guests meeting after work, usually 5:00 p.m. and onwards for drinks and an informal supper. The supper is provided free of charge by the mess, and in some cases, depending on the Entertainment Officer at the time, pizza has been ordered in or barbecues take place outside on mess grounds at the barbecue pit. However, usually one Friday a year was designated "Army Night" and the mess members from the various Army units get together to decorate the mess with camouflage webbing, nets, tents used in the field on exercise and so on. Members are to dress up in army uniforms of their choice, some members dressing in Canadian combat uniforms, but most dressing in army uniforms from other countries, or old outdated Canadian uniforms and so on. Basically it is a night of masquerade. The usual meal is provided, and the usual informal socialization occurs, but with the addition of props, costumes, and often times, additional alcohol is allowed to be brought in, as in the case of Army Night 1992, where members of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Royal Newfoundland Regiment brought a batch of “Navy Grog” comprised mostly of dark rum, and served it from plastic “jerry cans” (used to store water for military use). The games that are allowed in the mess are anything but usual during Army Night.

Army Night 1992 involved several boisterous activities, mainly involving engineer officers and their guests. The first being jousting, whereby two very tall officers put two other officers up on their shoulders who held pool cues as each pair tried to poke, hit, or



knock the other pair about.

Then many participants played "greasing the gun". This game involved moving a long mess table to an open area in front of the bar and elevating one end of the highly polished table, then placing some of the cushions from the chesterfield in the games room around on the floor in front of the elevated end of the table. Then some small subjects were chosen for the "rounds", myself being one of them and several of the officers took turns as well. I was placed on the table, laying on my stomach on top of a blanket, facing the open double doors of the mess bar, and holding in both hands a Zippo lighter. Several officers standing on both sides of the table, Lieutenants Philpot, Ryan, Jeans and Machin included, took hold of the sides of the blanket and slid me back and forth on the table to gain momentum; one of the engineers saying "On my count. One... two... three... Fire!" and on that everyone slid me forward and let go as I slid upwards and outwards off the end of the table. As I was sliding, I was required to light the Zippo lighter when the command of "Fire" was announced and if unable to do so it was declared a misfire. The first time I misfired and had to do it again. Both times I landed on the cushions on the floor, and being a small person of 5-foot height, weighing approximately 110 pounds at the time, they nearly sent me over the cushions and into the hallway. This continued for a short time, with numerous people participating.

Additional games played on Army Night include "Seven Fourteen Twenty-One" and "Liars Dice", both games being part of 56 FES Officer repertoires and commonly played during regular TGIF evenings. The game of Liars Dice was so much a part of 56 FES Officer traditions that Lt Ryan and girlfriend Heather Penney designed a special Liars Dice

box, which her father made, and kept in the Officers' Mess year-round. The box was constructed of wood with a small felt-lined compartment to hold the dice tight together. The individuals sitting around the table each get a book, or box, of matches and each person has three matches, each representing a "life". A set of five dice are then shaken in the box by one individual, who opens the box and looks at the dice to determine what combination of numbers they have, closes the lid and proposes a total to the person to their right, "four threes" or "full house with fives over threes" and so on. The person to the right can either believe them and take the box, or call them a liar and open the box. If they believe them they must take the box, open it to see what is there. They may set aside any number of die in the compartment and re-shake the dice once, to get a higher score than the one that they accepted. Then they hand the box to the next person on their right. In the case that the person rejects the score given to them and declare the person to their left a liar, they must throw open the box to reveal the contents. If the person was indeed lying, the liar must lose a "life". If not, the person who opened the box must lose a "life". When one loses all ones "lives", you have to buy everyone at the table a round of drinks. The key to the game is to be able to bluff well, and to be able to tell when others are bluffing. Some good bluffs involve saying there is a low score when the score is slightly higher, and bluffing that there is a very high score if there is a low score, such as five ones.

The game of "Seven Fourteen and Twenty-one" also involved dice. A person rolls the dice, trying to reach the score of seven using the side of the die with one dot on them - the "ones". They are allowed three tries, holding the one aside until their tries are up. The number gets passed to the next person who adds their ones to the total. The dice continue

around the table until someone reaches seven. This person goes to the bar and orders a shot of alcohol no more than 2 ounces, of any combination they desire, often coming up with combinations of drinks such as Crème de Menthe and Jack Daniels. The rolling continues around the table until the number fourteen is reached, that person must go to the bar and pay for the drink the other person has ordered. Then the rolling continues again until the count reaches twenty-one; The person who rolled twenty-one must go to the bar and get the drink previously poured and drink it. In some cases, the same person who ordered the drink ends up drinking it, which is sometimes very amusing. A volunteer is allowed to have the drink for a person who does not wish to drink alcohol. Sometimes the person ordering the beverage will fool everyone by ordering a non-alcoholic beverage, like milk, and everyone assumes the drink includes alcohol.

These customs are additional examples of the public and private aspects of military customs. The degree of formality depends upon various factors such as the purpose of the event, the participants, the observers, the venue, the traditions surrounding the event, and many other factors as well. The official customs of the Canadian Forces are subject to minor changes on a more unit-specific level. Many military customs involve some degree of formality, in that the chain of command is an ever-present factor. However, there is in social situations the need to foster a friendly camaraderie between the ranks, but still maintain the respect for one another's role in the chain of command. The very informal customs often appear to emerge from the very formal:

Dining in the mess is a formal occasion, but the high jinks, fun and games, which often follow the concluding of the dinner, are anything but formal.

The arrangements for entertainment are often left to the younger, high-spirited members of the mess, and they seldom fail to come up with activities of a lively kind (Russell 35).

The acceptance of other types of more private customs such as the "Greasing the Gun", which take place at the Officer's Mess at TGIF and Army Night so long as they take place in a private military setting. This is explained further in the chapters on the Mess in *Customs and Tradition of the Canadian Armed Forces* (Russell 13-36), the Custom of Crossing the Line (Russell 84-850, and also in the discussion on Military Mascots in *Customs and Tradition of the Canadian Armed Forces* (Russell 125-131). Further discussion of CME customs and traditions can be found in the *Canadian Military Engineer Manual* (1993), and the *Customs of the Canadian Military Engineers* (1982) both of which are official military documents.





