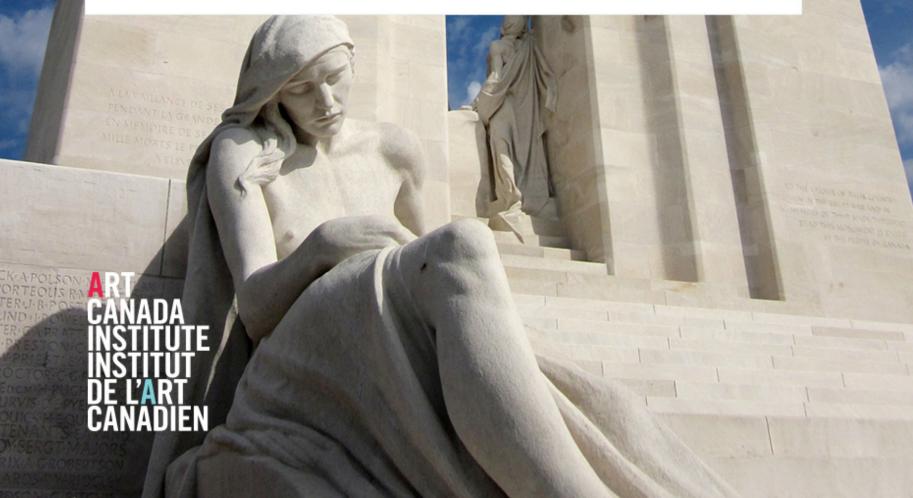


WALTER S. ALLWARD Life & Work

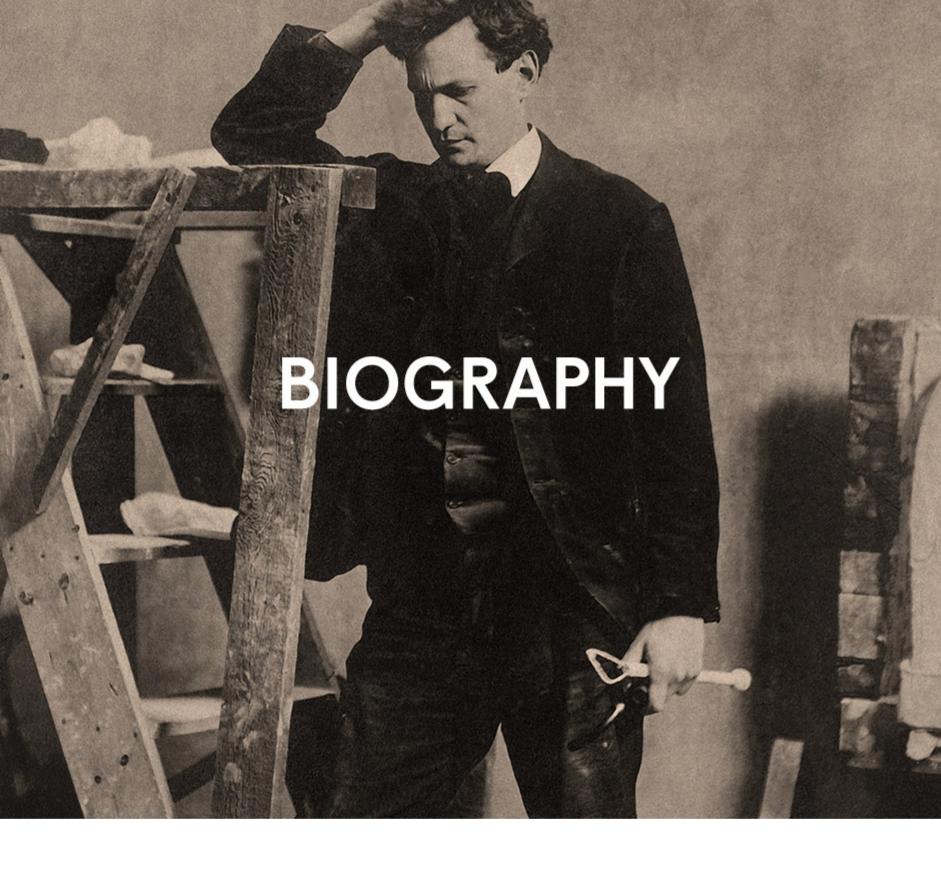
By Philip Dombowsky





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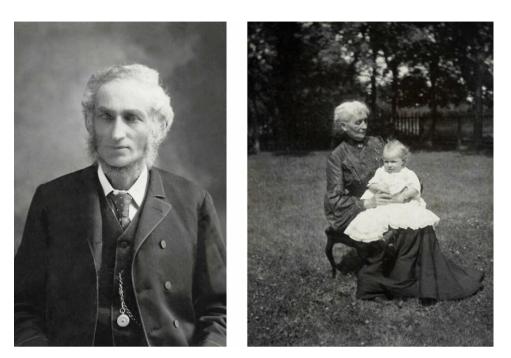


Walter S. Allward (1874–1955) began life modestly in Toronto and against all odds became the foremost sculptor of his generation. He left school at fourteen and learned about sculpture by looking through books and magazines at the local library and by studying replicas at a nearby museum. By twenty, he had won his first commission and never looked back. His landmark works—the Bell Memorial; the Brantford, the Stratford, and the Peterborough war memorials; and especially his masterpiece, the Vimy Memorial in France—transformed sculpture. Despite his enormous success, Allward was largely ignored in the years after his death until 2001, when he appeared as a fictional character in Jane Urquhart's novel *The Stone Carvers*.



EARLY LIFE

Walter Seymour Allward experienced adversity at an early age. He was born on November 18, 1874, to John A. Allward (1833-1903) and Emma Pittman (1839-1905).¹ His father was raised in St. John's, Newfoundland, where he apprenticed as a carpenter. His mother, the eldest daughter of James Pittman, a master shipbuilder, came from the coastal town of New Perlican.² In 1869, as a consequence of the decade-long economic depression, John, Emma, and their children (Charles, Elizabeth, Mary, and James) moved to Toronto, where Walter and two of his siblings were born. The city



LEFT: John Allward, n.d., photograph by Gagen and Fraser, Toronto. RIGHT: Emma Pittman Allward, n.d., photographer unknown.

offered John more opportunities but supporting his growing family continued to be difficult.³ During Walter's early years, the family moved several times, mostly remaining in east Toronto.

As a child, in addition to experiencing economic hardship, Walter was affected by the loss of four siblings, all of whom died in childhood before he reached the age of ten.⁴ Despite these troubles, he grew up in a protective environment insulated by his parents, his two older siblings, and an extended family that included two of his mother's sisters, Sarah and Mary. The youngest of John and Emma's surviving children, he found refuge in art as a way to express his emotions and to give free rein to his imagination. His sister Elizabeth later noted, "Walter was always artistic. As a child he was always drawing and modelling and dreaming, dreaming of the great things he would someday do in art."⁵ He was already fascinated by sculpture; one of his earliest creative pastimes was making figures from clay that he found in abundance along the banks of the nearby Don River. In later years, he attributed his artistic success to the values instilled by his parents, praising his father for "his refusal to be satisfied with anything but good work," and his mother, "a woman of unusual strength of character and fine spiritual quality," for encouraging the development of his imagination.⁶

BECOMING AN ARTIST

For Allward, the path to becoming a sculptor was unconventional. He attended Dufferin School on Berkeley Street in the mainly working-class district of St. David's Ward until he was fourteen, when he began helping his father with carpentry work. Although economic considerations were likely a factor, Allward later stated, "I was never a scholar. I always liked better to do things with my hands than to study."⁷



Despite a keen interest in sculpture, Allward chose a more financially prudent path in 1890, beginning an apprenticeship as a draughtsman with an architectural firm headed by Charles Gibson (1862–1935) and Henry Simpson (1865–1926). When the company was dissolved the following year, he continued to work under Simpson, who had set up his own practice. Simpson's principal commissions at that time included Cooke's Presbyterian Church on Queen Street East (1891) and Bethany Chapel on University Avenue (1892). Allward remained in his employ until 1894, producing blueprints and presentation drawings and gaining a deep understanding of architecture that would serve him well.

During this period, still intent on pursuing a career in art, Allward studied painting under William Cruikshank (1848-1922). Although this interest was short-lived, he maintained a close friendship with Cruikshank over the next two decades. As a member of numerous art societies, including the Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Cruikshank provided Allward with his first glimpse of Toronto's art world. He may also have



William Cruikshank, *Breaking a Road*, 1894, oil on canvas, 93 x 175.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

steered Allward toward the Toronto Art Students' League (TASL), which had originated as a sketch club in 1886. Allward became a member of the TASL in the early 1890s, which provided him with opportunities to refine his drawing skills and to interact with other artists.

Compared with other late nineteenth-century Canadian sculptors, including Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917) and George W. Hill (1862-1934), Allward had hardly any formal training in art. Hébert spent eight years as an apprentice to the architect and painter Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916) in Montreal, followed by three years in Paris, where he learned the complex techniques involved in bronze casting. Hill also developed his skills in Paris, attending the Académie Julian and the École des beaux-arts. For both artists, studying European sculpture was critical to their future work. Unable to afford studies in Europe, Allward embarked upon a different path.

Allward later recounted that his interest in sculpture emerged in his late teens through exposure to ancient Greek sculpture and the art of Michelangelo (1475-1564) in books and magazines at the Toronto Public Library and by studying sculpture replicas at the city's Educational Museum.⁸ He also became captivated by the French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), whom he especially wished to emulate. Allward later remarked, "Rodin's work, among the moderns, made a very strong appeal to me then, and still, does. It lives. I felt I wanted to do work like it."⁹





LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *Figure Study*, n.d., graphite on paper, Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston. RIGHT: Auguste Rodin, *The Thinker*, modelled c.1880, cast c.1910, bronze, 70.2 cm (h), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

At the outset, Allward pursued his interest in sculpture with little encouragement from family or friends and under unrelenting pressure to earn a living. His only direct training was from evening modelling classes in the early 1890s at the new Technical School in Wycliffe Hall on College Street and, beginning in 1894, through employment at the recently opened Don Valley Pressed Brick Works, where he created bas-relief and three-dimensional sculptures in terracotta for architectural decoration. Allward was gradually developing skills that would allow him to devote his life to sculpture.

EARLY MONUMENTS AND PRIVATE COMMISSIONS

In 1894, at age nineteen and having only minimal training as a sculptor, Allward entered and won a competition to design a bronze statue of Peace for the Northwest Rebellion Monument in Queen's Park, near the recently opened Ontario Legislative Building. Erected to commemorate the end of the Northwest Rebellion (now known as the Northwest Resistance) led by Louis Riel in what is now the province of Saskatchewan, the monument marked a turning point in Allward's life and the beginning of his career as a sculptor.





LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Northwest Rebellion Monument (posterior view), 1894-96, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto.

The project was directed by D. McIntosh & Sons, a prominent manufacturer of public and funeral monuments based in Toronto. Allward's lack of experience meant that he worked slowly, which resulted in complaints from his employer, who had provided money in advance for his studio and tools. Confident in his artistic abilities, Allward threatened to destroy the sculpture if the company continued to exert pressure. The McIntosh representative relented, but when Allward arrived at the site the next morning a guard was stationed beside the figure, an arrangement that continued until he completed the sculpture.¹⁰

Designed according to the then popular Beaux-Arts style, the monument has a single figure on a pedestal within a pyramidal composition. It was a critical success, with one reporter noting, "Mr. Allward has succeeded in producing a work of true artistic feeling, one that will be a credit to the city as well as to the artist."¹¹ Allward attended the unveiling on June 27, 1896, and when the crowd called out for him to speak, he responded with a modesty that became one of his hallmarks: "I thank you for your appreciation of my work. It is not what it might have been, but it was the best I could do. Probably I will do better next time."¹²



LEFT: Frederick Sproston Challener, *A Singing Lesson*, 1902, oil on canvas, 50 x 45 cm, private collection. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *Hugh Lachlan Cruikshank Allward*, c.1905, bronze, 38 x 14.2 x 1.1 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



In his early years, Allward struggled to support himself as a sculptor. He shared living quarters for a time with the artist Frederick Challener (1869-1959), in a large room on the top floor of an office building in downtown Toronto. As he later recounted, both were so short of money that they would often subsist for days on little but oatmeal porridge.¹³ The two would remain lifelong friends. In 1902 Allward was a model for Challener's painting *A Singing Lesson*, and in 1906 Allward's son Hugh posed for the figure of Cupid in Challener's mural *Venus and Attendants Discover the Sleeping Adonis*, situated above the proscenium arch of Toronto's Royal Alexandra Theatre.

Although he aspired to work on large sculptures and later became known primarily for his public monuments, Allward occasionally accepted private commissions. In 1896 he was awarded a contract to produce granite sculptures of Drama, Victory, and Music for a mausoleum erected by Robert Fulford in memory of his wife, the celebrated actress Annie Pixley. Located in Woodland Cemetery in London, Ontario, the Pixley Mausoleum was designed by the London-based architectural firm Moore and Henry and constructed under the supervision of D. McIntosh & Sons, who had hired Allward on the strength of his work on the Northwest Rebellion Monument.¹⁴



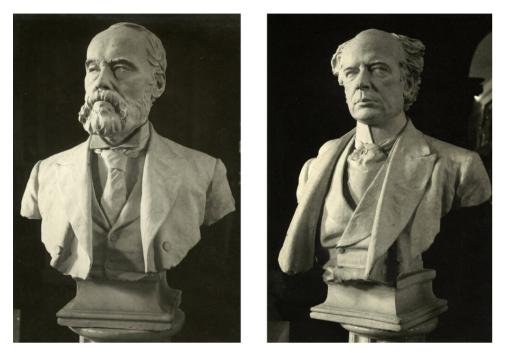
LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Pixley Mausoleum, 1895-97, granite, Woodland Cemetery, London, Ontario. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Pixley Mausoleum (detail of *Victory*), 1895-97, granite, Woodland Cemetery, London, Ontario.

Subsequently, in 1897, Allward submitted a bid to design a bronze sculpture honouring Dr. Oronhyatekha, a Kanien'keha:ka physician and one of the first accredited Indigenous medical doctors in Canada, who became the chief executive of the Independent Order of Foresters (IOF), one of the largest insurance companies in Canada. Oronhyatekha embarked upon an ambitious plan to construct a new headquarters, the Temple Building, at the corner of Bay and Richmond streets in Toronto. Once it was underway, the company announced a competition for a sculpture of Oronhyatekha for the main lobby.



Allward's bid was chosen ahead of entries from Europe, the United States, and Canada. When the work was unveiled in June 1899, he was lauded for his realistic portrayal, confirming his rising reputation as an artist.¹⁵

Allward's financial situation began to improve in the late 1890s, when he was commissioned by the Educational Museum at the Toronto Normal School (a teacher's college) to produce plaster portrait busts. The program had been initiated in 1887 with the goal of assembling a collection of "famous men of all ages." Intended for educational purposes, seventyeight busts were eventually made, most by Allward and two older and more experienced sculptors, Hamilton MacCarthy (1846-1939) and Mildred Peel (1856-



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *Bust of Sir George Ross*, 1901, Toronto Normal School. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *Bust of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, 1901, Toronto Normal School.

1920).¹⁶ Allward's early contributions included busts of the

British poet Alfred Tennyson, in 1897, and Canada's sixth prime minister, Sir Charles Tupper, in 1898.

It was through that project that Allward met his future wife, Margaret Kennedy. The youngest child of Angus Kennedy and Margaret McGillivray from Galt, Ontario, Margaret was studying at the Toronto Normal School when she met Allward. The couple married on September 14, 1898, and on Christmas Day of the following year they celebrated the birth of their first child, Hugh Lachlan Cruikshank Allward.

Over the next few years Allward accepted additional commissions from the Educational Museum, sculpting portrait busts of Sir George Burton, Chief Justice of Ontario; Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; and Sir George William Ross, Premier of Ontario, among others.¹⁷ Each reflects Allward's acute powers of observation and exacting use of detail. The busts of Burton and Laurier were shown at the twenty-second annual exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in Toronto in April 1901 (the first time Allward's work was presented in an official art exhibition) and, later that year, at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, where he was awarded a silver medal.

Although there is no conclusive evidence that Allward travelled the short distance from Toronto to Buffalo for the exhibition, he likely did. There, he would have had his first opportunity to view outstanding examples of recent American sculpture, including several works by the highly acclaimed George Grey Barnard (1863-1938), Daniel Chester French (1850-1931), and Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907). Allward was especially drawn to the work of Saint-Gaudens, describing him in 1911 as "perhaps the greatest American sculptor of modern times."¹⁸



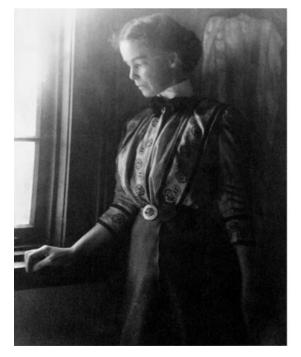


LEFT: Unveiling of Augustus Saint-Gaudens's Sherman Monument at Grand Army Plaza in Manhattan, New York, 1903, photograph by Robert L. Bracklow. RIGHT: Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Sherman Monument, 1902, bronze, Grand Army Plaza, Manhattan, New York.

TORONTO'S MOST PROMISING SCULPTOR

The first decade of the new century was eventful for Allward, both personally and professionally. His father and mother died two years apart, in 1903 and 1905, respectively, and on June 6, 1906, he and Margaret celebrated the birth of their second son, Donald John Pittman Allward. In his professional life, Allward emerged as Toronto's most promising sculptor.

Allward's early career coincided with a new stage of growth and prosperity in Toronto. Particularly important was the development of Queen's Park and the construction of the new Ontario Legislative Building (1883-96), which would serve as an ideal location for monuments honouring prominent figures. After the positive response to the Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96, from the public and critics alike, Allward was in a favourable position to compete for the many sculptures commissioned for Queen's Park.





LEFT: Margaret Allward, n.d., photographer unknown. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward at the beach with his wife, Margaret, and his two children, Hugh and Don, n.d., photographer unknown.



In May 1901 Allward was chosen to design a monument honouring John Graves Simcoe, who was the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. Organized and managed by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, the competition included entries from American and European sculptors. Byron Edmund Walker (1848-1924) (later Sir Edmund Walker), the first president of the guild, supported Allward's proposal and would play a major role in his evolution as a sculptor in the years that followed.¹⁹

The success of the Simcoe Monument led to further commissions. In 1903 Allward was chosen by Ontario Premier George William Ross to produce a sculpture for Queen's Park commemorating Sir Oliver Mowat, a former premier of the province. For this work, Allward combined a traditional full-length statue of Mowat with bas-relief allegorical figures representing Jurisprudence and Justice. In 1906 the plaster models for the panels were included in the winter exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia.²⁰

Allward's years of financial insecurity were now behind him. In 1902 he purchased a property on Walker Avenue west of Yonge Street in what was then north Toronto. Over the next two years, he designed and built an Arts and Crafts-style house and studio, which one visitor later described as "a profoundly quiet place."²¹ It was here that he would spend time with his family, entertain friends, and work on various commissions.



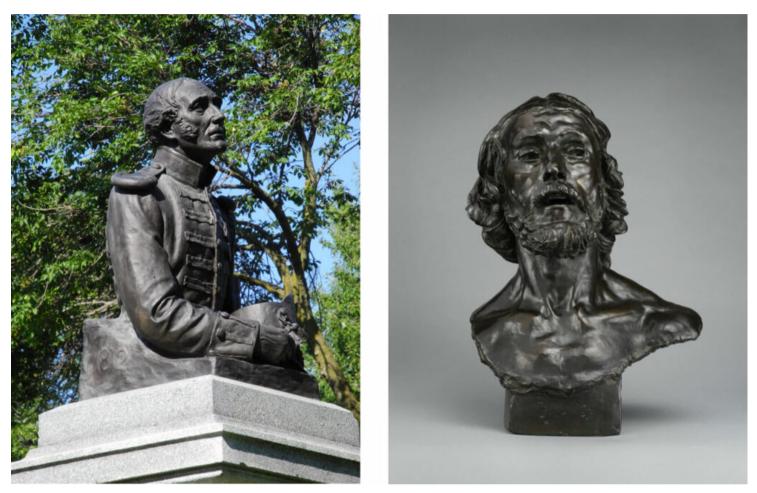
LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Sir Oliver Mowat Monument (detail of pedestal featuring *Jurisprudence*), 1903-5, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Sir Oliver Mowat Monument (detail of pedestal featuring *Justice*), 1903-5, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto.

Allward's reputation was further

enhanced by his sculpture of an old soldier for the War of 1812 Memorial in Toronto's Portland Square. Although it was delayed because of a lack of funds, the monument was enthusiastically received when it was finally unveiled in early 1907. A reporter for the *Globe* newspaper noted that "of the artistic qualities of this distinguished piece of work one can only speak in terms of the highest praise. The indomitable courage... is depicted by Mr. Allward with a reverent hand, and the horror of war is made to reach the consciousness through the poignant pathos of the aged and broken veteran."²²



More than in any previous work, Allward presented his subject symbolically rather than realistically, accentuating the old soldier's inner anguish. In so doing, he paid homage to Auguste Rodin, whose work he had long admired, and which he was finally able to see first-hand during a summer trip to London and Paris with Margaret in 1903.²³



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *The Old Soldier*, War of 1812 Memorial (detail of bust), 1903-7, bronze and granite, Victoria Memorial Square, Toronto. RIGHT: Auguste Rodin, *St. John the Baptist*, modelled c.1878, cast c.1888, bronze, 54.3 x 40 x 27.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

AN ARTIST IN DEMAND

Most early twentieth-century sculpture competitions set specific parameters for submissions; for artists like Allward, those that allowed for greater creative freedom were invariably more rewarding personally, as he could move beyond traditions. The call to create Toronto's South African War Memorial, 1904-11, was such a commission—and it was one of Allward's most important works. As the art enthusiast James Mavor wrote about him in 1913, "the works which are most indicative of his genius are those in which there is some opportunity for the exercise of the imagination...Where Allward shines is in those compositions where he is free to select or to design his figures, and to dispose them in such a way as to suggest some symbolism and at the same time to offer fine lines."²⁴



The South African War Memorial commemorates the 267 Canadian volunteers who died in the Boer War between 1899 and 1902. The conflict marked Canada's first official dispatch of troops to an overseas battle, one between Britain and two independent Boer states, the South African Republic (Republic of Transvaal) and the Orange Free State, and it had widespread public support. The monument features a granite base with a group of three sculptures in bronze. The central figure represents Canada, pointing out the path of duty to two Canadian soldiers, and was inspired by and modelled after Allward's mother, who had seen four of her children die before adulthood. Rising from the base and behind the three figures is a seventy-foot column capped by a bronze allegorical depiction of Victory.

With its multiple figures and soaring column, the South African War Memorial was Allward's most ambitious work to date. Despite the demands of the project, he continued to take on additional work, including a monument honouring Ontario Premier John Sandfield Macdonald for Queen's



Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial, 1904-11, bronze and granite, Toronto.

Park in 1907. The following year he submitted a sketch model to the newly formed Advisory Arts Council (AAC) for a monument on Parliament Hill commemorating the Honourable Robert Baldwin and the Honourable Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine, whose collaboration led to the establishment of responsible government in 1848, a forerunner of Canada's parliamentary democracy. The AAC determined that Allward's proposal was superior to others, including entries from Louis-Philippe Hébert, George W. Hill, Alfred Laliberté (1878-1953), Coeur-de-Lion MacCarthy (1881-1979), and Hamilton MacCarthy, all of whom were well-established sculptors in Canada. The committee was so impressed by Allward's design that they arranged for the sketch model to be displayed for several weeks in the main entrance hall of the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings.





LEFT: Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial (detail of *Canada*), 1904-11, bronze and granite, Toronto. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial (detail of *Victory*), 1904-11, bronze and granite, Toronto.

In 1908, as demand for his work increased, Allward hired the sculptor Emanuel Hahn (1881-1957) to be his studio assistant. Hahn had earlier been employed at D. McIntosh & Sons, producing mainly bronze reliefs for monuments. His first task in his new job involved enlarging the model figures for the South African War Memorial using a mechanical measuring device that Allward had designed. He continued to work with Allward until 1912, contributing to the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument and to the Bell Memorial, 1909-17.

Although Allward was, by all accounts, introspective and solitary, he valued the company of other artists, including Frederick Challener and William Cruikshank, with whom he became close friends during his formative years. By 1908 he was busy with three major projects–the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, the John Sandfield Macdonald Monument, and the South African War Memorial–but he was also active in the leading artists' groups in Toronto. He joined the art critic Augustus Bridle and the artists E. Wyly Grier (1862–1957), George Agnew Reid (1860–1947), and Hahn in founding the Arts and Letters Club in Toronto, whose goal was to allow members "to seek among themselves a genial companionship, and to increase the sympathy between the various branches of the arts."²⁵ Allward served on the executive from 1908 to 1911.

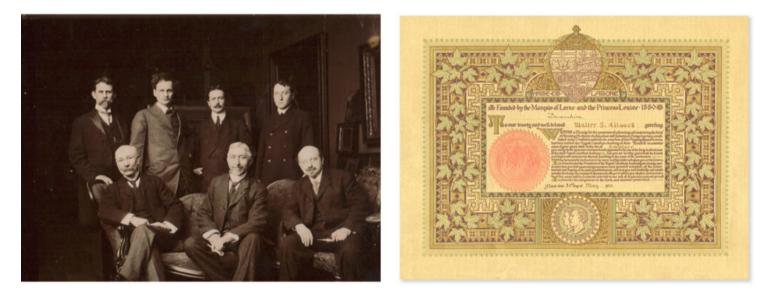
In 1909 Allward became a member of the newly established Canadian Art Club (CAC), which had been formed in 1907; founders included artists Franklin Brownell (1857-1946), Edmund Morris (1871-1913), and Homer Watson (1855-1936). One of the group's main activities was an annual exhibition held both in Toronto and Montreal. Allward participated in two, presenting a sketch model of the Bell Memorial in the fifth annual exhibition (1912) and another of the King Edward VII Memorial, Ottawa, in the sixth annual exhibition (1913).



Walter S. Allward, John Sandfield Macdonald Monument, 1907-9, Queen's Park, Toronto.



Allward was also a long-time member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA). He was elected an associate member in April 1903, two years after contributing portrait busts of Sir George Burton and Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the RCA's annual exhibition. However, he resigned in November 1910 in protest against the rule that required members to regularly contribute to the group's exhibitions, a stipulation that was especially burdensome for sculptors, given the time and costs expended in producing a work. He rejoined two years later after the organization allowed sculptors to submit a photograph of an important work in lieu of a statue or model. In 1914 Allward was voted an Academician of the RCA, one of the highest professional honours for Canadian artists.



LEFT: Walter S. Allward with members of the Canadian Art Club, c.1909-15, photographer unknown. Left to right (back row): A. Phimister Proctor, Walter Allward, Curtis Williamson, and Edmund Morris. Left to right (front row): William E. Atkinson, Horatio Walker, and J. Archibald Browne. RIGHT: Royal Canadian Academy of Art Certificate of Associate Membership for Walter S. Allward, May 30, 1921.

PUSHING THE BOUNDARIES OF CANADIAN SCULPTURE

The South African War Memorial in Toronto was formally dedicated in May 1910 but without the statue of Victory, whose completion had been postponed because of insufficient funding and shipping delays.²⁶ Despite its unfinished state, the monument was widely praised as Allward's boldest and most successful work, an assessment confirmed when the final bronze sculpture was installed in August 1911.²⁷

In 1909 Allward had begun work on the Bell Memorial in Brantford, Ontario. With its horizontal design, the work is widely acknowledged as his first sculpture to break fully with the Beaux-Arts style, which had informed his earlier monuments. The project was initiated to commemorate the invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell. Allward's description, which he submitted to the organizing committee with a sketch model, noted that the female figures in bronze mounted on granite pedestals at each end of the horizontal monument symbolized the telephone's ability to span vast distances.





View of the dedication of the Bell Memorial, including Alexander Graham Bell, members of his family plus committee members, erected to commemorate the invention of the telephone by Bell in Brantford, Ontario, 1917, photograph by Park & Co. The rear row includes (left to right) three executive members of the Bell Memorial Association, Alexander Graham Bell centre, William Foster Cockshutt, M.P., and two more Association executive members. The front row includes (left to right) Mabel H. Grosvenor (Bell's grand-daughter, later to be Dr. Mabel H. Grosvenor), Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell (Mabel), and Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor (Elsie – Dr. & Mrs. Bell's eldest daughter), plus one other person.

As with many of Allward's projects, the Bell Memorial was beset by delays, partly because of other commitments. For instance, in early 1912 he submitted to the Arts Advisory Council a sketch model for a monument on Parliament Hill commemorating King Edward VII, who was widely hailed as "Peacemaker," owing to his fostering of good relations between Britain and other European countries, particularly France. Allward's design, a continuation of his exploration of horizontal composition, was ultimately chosen from proposals submitted by more than forty sculptors. The work featured Edward VII standing in front of a wall, on top of which Allward added a reclining figure symbolizing Peace. An inscription below this figure and behind the King reads: "Through Truth and Justice he strove that War might cease and Peace descend o'er the earth." Allward would never finish the monument, owing to the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914.²⁸





Walter S. Allward, Maquette for King Edward VII Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND NEW MEMORIALS

Like most Canadians, Allward was preoccupied with events in Europe throughout the First World War (1914-1918). By the end of hostilities, some 619,000 men and women had enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force for service overseas, while hundreds of thousands of others worked on the home front. Allward's unease with the violence is reflected in several pen-and-ink drawings, including The Battlefield, 1916, in which Christ stands before a mass of corpses. The impact on him and his desire to help are evident in an evocative letter he wrote to the Canadian government in early 1917, offering to delay his professional work in order to create prostheses for facially disfigured soldiers: "I am a sculptor and would be able to model the missing parts...If I can be of any service to my country in this direction, I will gladly do what I can."²⁹ Unlike their counterparts in Britain and the United States, the Canadian government had not yet implemented a program to create prosthetic parts for wounded soldiers.

More than 61,000 Canadians and Newfoundlanders perished during the conflict and, after the war's end, towns and cities throughout the country sought ways to honour them. Canadians had no previous experience of such a large-scale sacrifice, and the sense of loss was heightened by the government's decision, based on practical considerations, not to repatriate the bodies of the men and women who had died overseas. In the

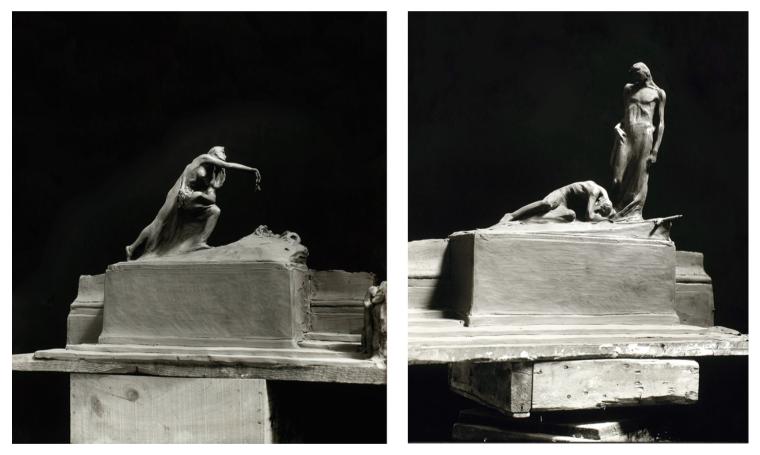


LEFT: Frederick H. Varley, For What?, 1918-19, oil on canvas, 147.4 x 180.6 cm, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. RIGHT: Henrietta Mabel May, Women Making Shells, 1919, oil on canvas, 182.7 x 214.9 cm, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.

immediate post-war period, hundreds of memorials were erected in communities across the country, with most initiated by local citizens and largely funded through public donations.



One of Allward's first memorial projects developed through his friendship with Sir Edmund Walker. In 1918, in his capacity as President of the Bank of Commerce, Walker asked Allward to develop ideas for a memorial honouring bank employees who had served. The following year, Allward submitted wax models for two monumental sculptures. The first, *The Service of Our Women– Healing the Scars of War*, depicts a woman sowing seeds on rocky incline strewn with war debris, including a broken canon. The second, *The Service of Our Men-Crushing the Power of the Sword*, portrays a man standing over a recumbent figure with his sword cast aside, symbolizing the "brute beast of willful war waged by a misguided nation."³⁰ Although the sculptures were never realized, Allward's proposals explored ideas that would be expressed in his future war memorials (Stratford, 1919-22, Peterborough, 1921-29, and Brantford, 1921-33), emphasizing that "the power of benevolent ideas in evolution will tend to make the savagery of war impossible."³¹



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Wax model for The Service of Our Women–Healing the Scars of War for the Bank of Commerce War Memorial, 1918, photographer unknown. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Wax model for The Service of Our Men–Crushing the Power of the Sword for the Bank of Commerce War Memorial, 1918, photographer unknown.

True to his own values and consistent with views that had taken hold throughout the country, Allward emphasized the sacrifice of lives rather than glorifying war. Of the three commissions, he chose to proceed first with the Stratford project, whose theme was "the supremacy of right over brute force." He worked on the monument's two figures throughout the early months of 1921, completing the clay models by July. Reporting on a visit to Allward's studio, George Kay, a member of the committee overseeing the project, captured Allward's deep attachment to his work and the degree to which he had been affected by the war, noting,



Mr. McPherson and I were invited to inspect the completed model of one of the two figures to be erected...The figure which he has completed is that of "Defeat," which he said he had tackled first as being much more the difficult of the two, owing to the dejected posture and aspect of the brute. It is about 8½ feet high and Mr. McPherson and I thought it a very satisfactory representation of a most unlovely character, and we quite believed Allward when he said that during the latter stages of its creation he suffered severely from "the blues" due solely to enforced association with it.³²

The monument in Stratford would be completed in 1922, but Allward was unable to attend its unveiling nor was he making substantial progress on the Brantford and Peterborough projects. Instead, he

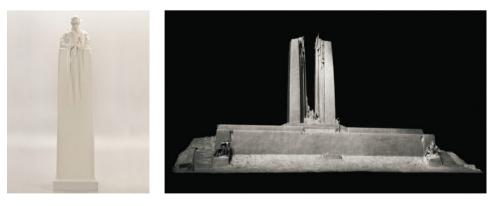


Walter S. Allward, Stratford War Memorial (detail), 1919-22, bronze and granite, Memorial Park, Stratford, Ontario.

focused on the design and construction of what would be his most ambitious and demanding work, the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36.

"THIS GLORIOUS MONUMENT"

While Allward was occupied with local monuments, plans for Canadian national memorials in Europe were also taking shape. In May 1920 a House of Commons special committee recommended that permanent memorials be erected in France and Belgium to pay tribute to the sacrifice of Canadians during the First World War. That September the government formed the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission (CBMC), a seven-member body



LEFT: Frederick Chapman Clemesha, *Model for St. Julien Memorial*, 1920-23, plaster, hemp, 118.5 x 26.5 x 19.7 cm, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *Maquette for Vimy Memorial*, c.1921, photographer unknown. This model was Allward's submission to the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission competition.

that subsequently proceeded with plans to erect monuments on eight battle sites that Belgium and France had granted to Canada.



Initially planning to replicate a single monument on each of the eight sites, the CBMC launched a national competition open to all Canadian architects and sculptors in December 1920. In response, 160 entries, presented in the form of drawings, were submitted. Seventeen finalists, including Allward, were given a stipend to provide a model and a description based on their original drawing. On October 4, 1921, the jury unanimously chose Allward as the winner and Frederick Clemesha (1876-1958), a Regina-based architect and former lieutenant in the 46th Battalion (South Saskatchewan), Canadian Expeditionary Force, as the runner-up.

The jury was impressed by the "individuality and complexity" of Allward's design, which included twin pylons and twenty allegorical figures, and decided that the memorial should be developed as a single monument in one location. The site originally chosen was Hill 62 near Ypres, Belgium, but this location was changed to Vimy Ridge in France, first through the efforts of Peter Larkin, High Commissioner in London, and Colonel A.F. Duguid, director of the historical section at the Department of National Defence, and finally through the intervention of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who viewed the site as "hallowed ground". Vimy Ridge was the scene of one of the First World War's most decisive battles, marking the first time that all four divisions of the Canadian Corps fought under a single command, but at a cost of 3,598 Canadian lives.



Canadian machine gunners positioning themselves in shell holes on Vimy Ridge, April 1917, photographer unknown.



Allward left Toronto for France in June 1922 with his wife and two sons with the expectation that the Vimy Memorial would be completed within five years. In Paris, his first objective was to find an appropriate studio. After extending the search to rural France and Belgium without success, the Canadian government intervened and purchased for Allward the former house and studio of the English sculptor Sir Alfred Gilbert (1854-1934), at 16 Maida Vale in London. Despite its location, a full day's journey to the Vimy site, Allward was relieved to be in his new home, which he described to Sir Edmund Walker as "a rather beautiful place, lots of studio rooms, and a place in which you can forget the outside world."³³

There, Allward set to work on the most formidable project of his career. He spent nearly two years preparing architectural plans and travelling throughout Britain and Europe in search of a stone that possessed a colour, texture, and luminosity suitable for the north of France. He eventually found his ideal material in an ancient Roman quarry at Split, in Croatia. Once it reopened in 1925, the quarry provided more than 6,000 tons of Seget limestone for the memorial. The stone was shipped via Italy, and then transported to France by truck and by rail. The first delivery arrived at the site in 1926.



LEFT: Men working blocks of stone in Pietrasanta, Italy, for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. RIGHT: Dressed stone blocks in work yard, n.d., photographer unknown.

In the meantime, workers at Vimy were busy excavating war debris, such as explosives and wire, as well as human remains. When the ground was finally cleared, the British structural engineer Dr. Oscar Faber supervised the construction of the memorial's massive concrete substructure. The cornerstone was laid in September 1927.

Allward had begun working on the sculptures in his London studio in the mid-1920s, starting with the figure *Canada Bereft*. Yet, even as the Vimy project progressed, he did his best to honour his commitments in Canada. His proposal for the Peterborough War Memorial had been accepted in 1921, but work on that project was set aside as he focused on completing the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22, before leaving for France. The fate of the Brantford memorial was beyond Allward's control. He had submitted three different sketch models, but the Brant War Memorial Association, organized to oversee construction of the monument, was unable to raise the money



WALTER S. ALLWARD Life & Work by Philip Dombowsky

needed.³⁴ Failing for a second time to obtain the funds for Allward's design, whose main features included two granite pylons rising above a stone of remembrance, three bronze figures, and a piece of damaged field artillery, the committee decided in the early 1930s to erect the memorial without the bronze figures.

In London, Allward completed *Canada Bereft* and the other sculptures for the Vimy Memorial, first in clay and then in plaster, before sending them to the site, where, beginning in 1930, stone carvers supervised by Luigi Rigamonti (1872-1953) used an enlarging device called a pantograph to create double-size versions, which were carved from large single blocks of stone. Far behind schedule, Allward had temporary studios built around the figures so that work could continue in all weather conditions.

In May 1934 Allward received news that his son Donald, an aspiring sculptor who was helping him with the Vimy Memorial, had died after falling from a third-storey window while on holidays in Dinard, France. Despite the sudden loss, and the extra responsibility of caring for Donald's five-year-old son, Peter, Allward remained focused on the last stages of the project, overseeing the carving of the figures and the engraving of the 11,285 names of Canadian soldiers who died in France and whose bodies were never recovered. The final details, which included removing the makeshift studios and thoroughly cleaning



LEFT: Carvers working on *The Sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless* sculpture for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. In the right foreground is the half-size plaster maquette modelled by Allward in London. RIGHT: Temporary protective structure at the top of the Vimy Memorial pylons, n.d., photographer unknown.

the monument, were completed by the end of May 1936. In June, Allward emptied his London home and studio and moved with his family to the market town of Hythe on the English coast, making it easier for him to travel to the Vimy site.

The unveiling ceremony of the Vimy Memorial took place on July 26, 1936, officiated by King Edward VIII in the presence of President Albert Lebrun of France and an estimated 100,000 spectators, including more than 6,000 Canadian veterans and their families. Allward was ambivalent about going, stating to his friend Emanuel Hahn, "my only desire is to leave everything right and forget it," but he relented, witnessing the proceedings from an area at the base of the pylons that had been reserved for government officials and special guests.³⁵





Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

Among those to address the large crowd was Ernest Lapointe, Canadian Minister of Justice, who, speaking on behalf of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who was unable to attend, stated, "The grandest tribute we could offer to Canadian soldiers is to affirm that their sacrifices have contributed to the introduction into our civilization of its highest modern conception–that of universal Peace founded on recognition of the basic right of people to life and justice."³⁶ Following Lapointe, the King, standing on a raised platform next to *Canada Bereft*, said: "For this glorious monument crowning the hill of Vimy is now and for all time part of Canada....We raise this memorial to Canadian warriors. It is the inspired expression in stone chiseled by a skillful Canadian hand of Canada's salute to her fallen sons."³⁷





LEFT: Vimy Memorial with view of bombed battlefield and trenches in front. RIGHT: Aerial view of the Vimy Memorial dedication ceremony, 1936, photographer unknown.

RETURN TO CANADA

After fourteen years abroad, Allward returned to Canada with his wife, Margaret, and his grandson Peter, satisfied that he had created a memorial that was both "worthy of the men who gave their lives" and "a protest in a quiet way against the futility of war."³⁸ He was also happy to be home, noting in a letter to Emanuel Hahn: "We will leave good friends here...but one's heart is what one should follow and ours are very much in Toronto."³⁹

In Canada, Allward's accomplishment was widely celebrated. In 1937 he was awarded an honourary Doctor of Laws degree from Queen's University, Kingston, and was named a Fellow of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, "in recognition of his outstanding achievement in the design and execution of the Vimy Memorial."⁴⁰ He was the guest of honour at the institute's annual dinner, which included the reading of letters from such dignitaries as Colonel H.C. Osborne, secretary of the Canadian Battlefields Memorial Commission; Prime Minister Mackenzie King; Eugène Beaudoin, chief architect for the French government; and Sir Edwin Lutyens, the distinguished British architect who in 1933 had described the Vimy Memorial as "a great masterpiece."41



In June of the following year, Mackenzie King again acknowledged Allward's triumph when he put forward a motion in the House of Commons stating, "this House desires particularly to express its appreciation to the services of Mr. Walter Allward, who, as the designer and architect of the memorial at Vimy, has given to the world a work of art of outstanding beauty and character."42 In 1939 Allward received an honourary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Toronto and in 1944 he was appointed a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Even as he was being celebrated, however, Allward discovered that during his time in Europe interest in public sculpture had diminished significantly and that sculptors were mostly producing smaller works for exhibition. Sculptors were also beginning to explore different modes of aesthetic and personal expression, rejecting the patriotic tendencies of Allward's work. The shift was evident at the first exhibition of the newly formed Sculptors' Society of Canada at the



Georges Bertin Scott, *Unveiling Vimy Ridge Monument*, 1937, oil on canvas, 250 x 179.5 cm, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.

Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario) in October 1928, which featured work by artists moving in a modernist direction, including Emanuel Hahn, Elizabeth Wyn Wood (1903-1966), Frances Loring (1887-1968), and Florence Wyle (1881-1968). Bertram Brooker (1888-1955), a leading advocate of modernism in Canada, captured this sensibility is his description of Hahn's work as "a free and imaginative approach to the arts . . . encouraging a new and untrammeled expression, characteristic of our environment here and growing out of it, without servile submission to the academic aims of older countries."⁴³ After his return, Allward received only one major commission, the William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial in Queen's Park. The project was spearheaded in late 1936 by Mackenzie King to commemorate the role of his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, in the struggle to establish democratic government in Upper Canada, and it was finished four years later.



FINAL YEARS

After completing the Mackenzie monument in May 1940, Allward's creative output consisted mainly of drawings, among them designs for future monuments, including a grand memorial commemorating the British evacuation of Dunkirk, and a series of more than one hundred war cartoons in graphite and crayon that expressed his despair and disillusionment with the onset of the Second World War in Europe. The war cartoons were highly personal works, never shown in public during his lifetime.



Walter S. Allward, The Release, 1940, graphite and coloured pencil on cream paper, 21 x 35.3 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

During the war years of the Second World War, and especially during the Nazi invasion and occupation of France, Allward was anxious over the possibility of damage to the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36. His concern was heightened in late May 1940, when Canadian newspapers reported that German bombers had deliberately destroyed the monument.⁴⁴ On June 2, in an effort to disprove Canadian charges, Adolf Hitler visited the site, where he had pictures taken before assigning special troops from the Waffen-SS to guard the memorial. These images were suppressed by the Canadian press, but when reports began to leak out that the monument in fact had not been destroyed, Prime Minister Mackenzie King felt it necessary to make a statement in Parliament in early August correcting earlier claims.⁴⁵ Despite official reassurances, Allward remained uneasy until the British regained control of northern France in September 1944 and were able to state with absolute certainty that the Vimy Memorial had survived intact. Upon hearing the news, Allward told a reporter, "You have relieved my mind a lot. I've been worrying about it for a long time ever since that report away back in 1940 that it had been damaged."⁴⁶



At the height of the Second World War, the University of Toronto asked Allward to submit a proposal for a memorial to Sir Frederick Banting, who in 1921 had discovered insulin at the university with the help of Charles Best. Banting had died in a plane crash in 1941, and the university formed the Banting Memorial Committee to explore a way of honouring him. In late 1943 the committee asked Allward to prepare designs and to help select an appropriate site. He presented his first sketches months later, stating that he strongly favoured a design that would convey "the gratitude of the people for the relief provided by the discovery of insulin."⁴⁷ Allward produced numerous drawings and eight sketch models over the next year, but the project was ultimately cancelled because of costs.





Walter S. Allward, Maquettes for Sir Frederick Banting Monument, n.d., photographer unknown.

After the death of Margaret, his wife of more than fifty years, in Toronto in 1950, Allward spent most of his time at the house and studio he had designed and built in a secluded area in York Mills. Although he continued to sketch, he produced no further public sculptures, leaving him time to spend with friends and family, including his son Hugh, who had built a house nearby, and his grandson Peter, who was establishing a career in architecture. He died at home on April 24, 1955, at the age of eighty, and was buried beside Margaret in St. John's Anglican Church cemetery. Obituaries were published in newspapers across the country, with one account noting that Allward's legacy as one of Canada's most important sculptors was secure "by the common consent of fellow artists and the public alike."⁴⁸ No one could have foreseen that the artist who had brought the Vimy Memorial to life would be almost completely forgotten for the next several decades.



WALTER S. ALLWARD Life & Work by Philip Dombowsky



Walter S. Allward, c.1909, photograph by Pringle & Booth, Toronto.



Walter S. Allward (1874–1955) was a sculptor for over forty years, and over the course of his career his openness to new ideas led to radical changes in the way he handled figures and spatial composition. His landmark works, including the Baldwin–Lafontaine Monument in Ottawa, the Bell Memorial in Brantford, and his masterpiece, the Vimy Memorial in France, stand as the work of an artist in his prime with a vision entirely his own. Allward's early monuments reflect the dominating Beaux-Arts style. Despite his mastery of this tradition, Allward sought out new approaches, finding inspiration in the work of European and American sculptors, such as Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) and Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907).



NORTHWEST REBELLION MONUMENT 1894–96



Walter S. Allward, Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96 Bronze and granite Queen's Park, Toronto

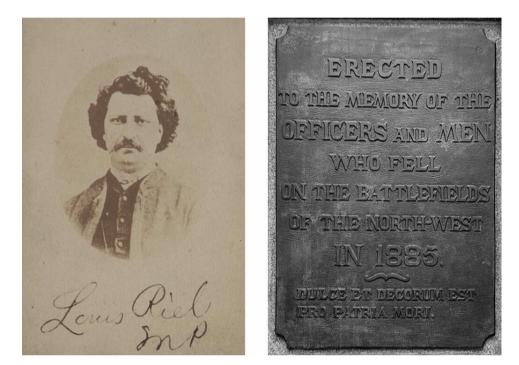


Allward announced his arrival as a sculptor with confidence. Only nineteen and with no formal art training or previous work as a sculptor, he won the competition for a statue to be erected near the recently completed Ontario Legislative Building in Queen's Park, Toronto. The work would depict Peace as part of a monument to the enlisted soldiers and volunteers who died during the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, when the Canadian government sent troops to suppress an uprising led by the Métis leader Louis Riel. The monument and the event it commemorates have been the subject of controversy in recent years, as the violence against First Nations and Métis people in Canada has become better understood. Today, an understanding of the conflict as a rejection of Métis sovereignty has been widely accepted by historians and others, and it is now commonly referred to as the Northwest Resistance.

Allward's statue portrays Peace as an idealized female figure in a static pose, with a full-length robe falling loosely from her shoulders. Her right hand holds an olive branch and her left hand is raised in a gesture commanding silence. The sword at her side represents the power of Canada at rest. The sculpture, Allward's earliest professional commission, was his first to focus on peace, a theme he would return to throughout his career.

The monument had been

proposed by a group of Toronto women who began raising funds for the project in the early 1890s.



LEFT: Louis Riel, 1873, photograph by Notman Studio. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Northwest Rebellion Monument (detail of plaque), 1894-96, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto.

In 1894 the committee hired D. McIntosh & Sons, a local purveyor of works in granite and marble, to provide a pedestal and to supervise Allward's progress. The pedestal, designed by James Wilson Gray (1864-1922), a McIntosh employee, is made of grey granite, twenty feet high, and ornamented with the insignia of the various regiments that took part in the Northwest expedition. The names of the soldiers who died and the battlefields on which they fought are also included, along with the inscription, "Erected to the memory of the officers and men who fell on the battlefields of the Northwest in 1885. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." ["It is sweet and proper to die for one's country."]¹ The work reflects Beaux-Arts principles popular at the time, a single figure on a pedestal within a pyramidal composition.

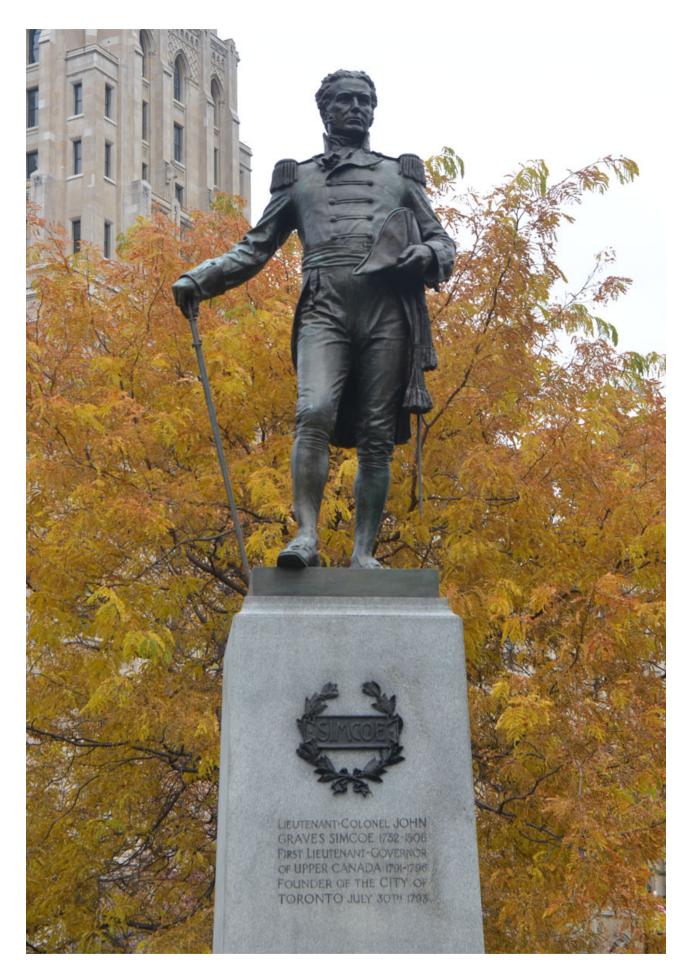
Allward worked on the sculpture throughout 1895 in his studio in the Imperial Chambers Building on Adelaide Street in Toronto, completing a clay model in time for a public showing in January 1896.² The bronze casting of the final model was done at the foundry of Bureau Brothers in Philadelphia.³ In June 1896, the monument was unveiled before a large crowd gathered in Queen's Park. Like other such ceremonies in the late nineteenth century, the dedication of the Northwest Rebellion Monument was an important civic event, featuring a



military parade and patriotic speeches by officials from various levels of government, including the Honourable Sir George Airey Kirkpatrick, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, and Mayor Robert John Fleming.



JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE MONUMENT 1901-3



Walter S. Allward, John Graves Simcoe Monument, 1901-3 Bronze and granite Queen's Park, Toronto



Allward's monument commemorating John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, was his second for Queen's Park and solidified his reputation as one of Toronto's most promising sculptors. The work is a realistic depiction of Simcoe in uniform in a standing pose, his hat in his left hand and a walking stick in his right. The design had been selected from among nine proposals submitted by sculptors from France, Scotland, the United States, and Canada.¹

In attempting to depict Simcoe accurately, Allward was initially impeded by a lack of information about his appearance and uniform, but a reproduction of a memorial to Simcoe in the Cathedral Church of Saint Peter in Exeter, England, gave him the details he needed.² He worked on the sculpture in his studio in the former Technical School on College Street throughout 1902, and in early 1903 he sent a plaster model to the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company in New York City, the leading bronze-casting facility in the United States. Allward spent several days at the foundry that March, supervising the finishing details.³ The bronze, measuring nine feet high, was then shipped to



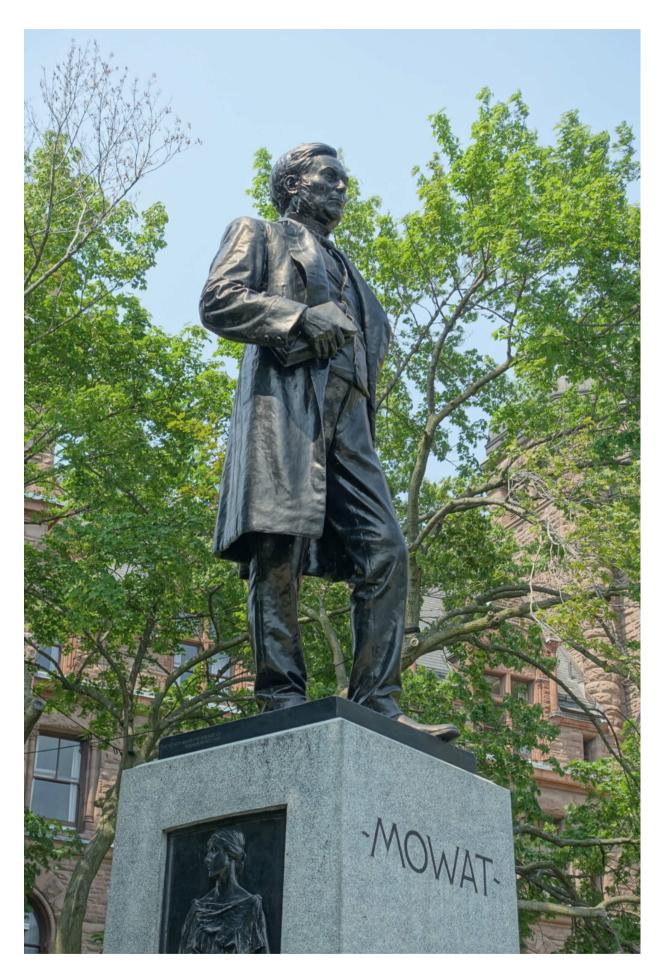
Unveiling of the John Graves Simcoe Monument, Queen's Park, Toronto, May 27, 1903, photographer unknown. Allward is visible seated among the dignitaries.

Toronto, where it was mounted on a granite pedestal that Allward had designed, in time for the unveiling ceremony on May 27.⁴ Although most of the speeches focused on Simcoe's accomplishments, Premier George William Ross commended Allward for producing "a beautiful illustration of the sculptor's art."⁵ The Globe noted that the monument presented Simcoe "in both his military and civic capacities" and was "of exceptional beauty, and both the originality of the conception and the treatment accorded it by Mr. Allward

excited the greatest admiration."⁶



SIR OLIVER MOWAT MONUMENT 1903-5



Walter S. Allward, Sir Oliver Mowat Monument, 1903-5 Bronze and granite Queen's Park, Toronto



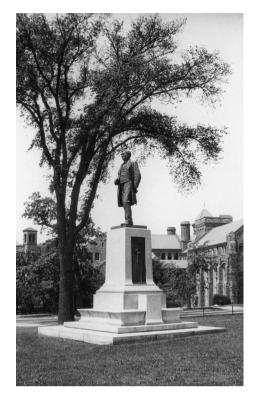
Allward's first full-length sculpture honouring a contemporary Canadian leader paid tribute to Sir Oliver Mowat, a lawyer and politician who served Ontario as Vice-Chancellor, Premier, and Lieutenant Governor. Located on the west side of the Ontario Legislative Building, the work depicts Mowat reflecting on something he has just read, the fingers of his right hand pressed between the pages of a book, his left hand holding his reading glasses. As with Allward's statue of John Graves Simcoe, 1901-3, the Mowat sculpture was widely praised for its realism, with one observer noting that "those who knew the deceased statesman best declare the expression and pose to be exceedingly lifelike."¹ The skill to produce a realistic image was a prerequisite for sculptors at the time, and Allward had the advantage of already having modelled a portrait bust of Mowat for the Educational Museum in Toronto.

The Ontario government had taken the first steps to erect a monument to Mowat shortly after his death in April 1903. Premier George William Ross awarded Allward the contract on the strength of his bust of Mowat and his work on the John Graves Simcoe Monument. The grey granite pedestal, designed by D. McIntosh & Sons, was twelve-and-one-half feet high and supported by a solid mass of concrete seven feet deep. On two sides of the pedestal Allward added life-size bronze bas-relief figures,

Jurisprudence and *Justice*, in recognition of Mowat's career.² He hired Bureau Brothers in Philadelphia to cast the panels, which were the first he produced for a public monument. The bronze figure of Mowat, measuring nine-and-one-half feet high, was cast by the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company in New York City.

The pedestal was installed in September 1905, and the statue itself was put in place a few weeks later, in time for the unveiling in November. The plaster casts of the panels were later included in the 1906 winter exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia at the request of the institution's president, Edward Horner Coates, who had seen them during a visit to Bureau Brothers.³

With the unveiling of the Simcoe and Mowat monuments in Queen's Park in 1903 and 1905, Allward became the best-known sculptor in Toronto, lauded for his ability to create realistic depictions of his subjects. He would later contribute two additional works to the park, the John Sandfield Macdonald Monument in 1909 and the William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial in 1940.



Walter S. Allward, Sir Oliver Mowat Monument, 1903-5, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto.



THE OLD SOLDIER, WAR OF 1812 MEMORIAL 1903-7



Walter S. Allward, *The Old Soldier*, War of 1812 Memorial, 1903-7 Bronze and granite Victoria Memorial Square, Toronto

One of Allward's most important early works is his sculpture of an old soldier, which forms part of the monument in Victoria Memorial Square (formerly Portland Square) honouring soldiers who died in the War of 1812. Early plans had called for a bronze full-length representation of a military figure in uniform surmounting the pedestal, a format commonly used for Canadian war memorials, but Allward chose instead a bronze half-length figure of a soldier, whose experience of the misery of war is reflected in his haunted expression and pose. As described in one account, the sculpture depicts "an old onearmed soldier in the uniform of 1812, holding his shako [a military cap] in his



remaining hand, and gazing heavenward."¹ Created following a trip to London and Paris in the summer of 1903, the work marks a turning point in Allward's career, borrowing from such works as *The Burghers of Calais*, 1884-95, by Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), in emphasizing the subject's inner suffering rather than his outward appearance. Allward had viewed works by Rodin during his 1903 trip to Europe.

The War of 1812 Memorial, commissioned by the Army and Navy Veterans' Association of Toronto, was erected on the site of an old burial ground used between 1794 and 1863 for soldiers and their families from nearby Fort York. After the cemetery was closed, the area was neglected for almost twenty years, prompting the city to establish a park and to grant the Army and Navy Veterans' Association permission to construct a memorial there. The association was slow to develop the project, but by 1901 the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, which had been entrusted by the association to supervise the work, had retained the services of the Toronto architect Frank Darling (1850–1923) to prepare a design.

The monument's cornerstone was laid on July 1, 1902, and the pedestal was unveiled later that year, on November 24. The sculpture was delayed owing to insufficient funds, which were being raised mainly through public subscription. In July 1905 the Government of Ontario contributed money, and Allward finished the work the following year, with the official unveiling on January 5, 1907.² Despite its obscure location, a few writers recognized that the sculpture was an important milestone for the artist. Among them was Arthur E. McFarlane, who referred to *The Old Soldier* as "profound feeling nobly expressed."³



Auguste Rodin, *The Burghers of Calais* (detail), 1884-95, bronze, 201.6 x 205.4 x 195.9 cm, Victoria Tower Gardens, London.



SOUTH AFRICAN WAR MEMORIAL 1904–11



Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial, 1904-11 Bronze and granite University Avenue and Queen Street West, Toronto



The South African War Memorial on University Avenue in Toronto, which honours Canadian soldiers who died in South Africa during the Boer War (1899-1902), was Allward's first multi-figure sculpture and a significant departure from the single-figure war memorials popular at the time. The unanimous choice of the committee in charge, his design features a group of three bronze figures near the base, representing Canada sending her sons to war, and a seventy-foot-high grey granite column supporting a winged female figure representing Victory (inspired by *The Winged Victory of Samothrace*, c.200-190 BCE), standing on a globe and holding a golden crown in her outstretched hands. On the front and sides of the column the names of the battles in which Canadians participated are listed, and below the three figures is the inscription, "To the Memory and in Honour of the Canadians who Died Defending the Empire in the South African War 1899-1902."

The South African War Memorial is one of several monuments in Canada commemorating the Boer War. Other notable examples include the Boer War Monument, 1907, by George W. Hill (1862-1934), in Montreal, which features two bas-relief sculptures on a granite pedestal, a plaque with a profile of Lord Strathcona (who had financed a regiment known as Lord Strathcona's Horse to fight in South Africa), and a bronze sculpture of a soldier struggling to control a rearing horse. Hamilton MacCarthy (1846-1939), widely recognized as one of the earliest masters of monumental bronze sculpture in Canada, also



LEFT: Artist unknown, *Winged Victory of Samothrace*, c.200-190 BCE, Parian marble, 244 cm (h), Louvre, Paris. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial (detail of *Victory*), 1904-11, bronze and granite, Toronto.

honoured the country's Boer War volunteers, designing memorials for Ottawa (1902), Brantford (1903), Halifax (1903), and Quebec City (1905), all of which conformed to the traditional presentation of a lone soldier on a pedestal.

Allward's work, the most ambitious Boer War monument in Canada in terms of scale, remained true to the tenets of Beaux-Arts sculpture, portraying figures in a static but realistic manner within a pyramidal composition. Its location had not been decided upon when Allward was awarded the commission. Having by then gained more influence over his projects, he suggested University Avenue as a suitable site, "some 600 feet about Queen Street on a circle of sod or of concrete, some 60 feet in diameter." He further noted that the roadway "would divide to the right and left of the monument in a circular line and take up with the present road leading to the Parliament buildings," thereby adding "much beauty to the entrance of the Avenue."¹ The committee accepted Allward's recommendation.

Allward's South African War Memorial was formally dedicated on May 23, 1910, but without *Victory* at the apex, as its completion had been postponed



initially by funding shortages and later by transportation delays.² Still, the monument was widely praised as Allward's most ambitious and successful work, an assessment confirmed when *Victory* was installed in August 1911.³ The last piece of the sculpture, a bronze tablet listing Canadians killed in the Boer War, was delayed owing to a disagreement regarding the positioning of names. Ultimately, Allward's suggestion that the names appear alphabetically in a single paragraph rather than in vertical rows was adopted and the panel was finished in 1914.



BALDWIN-LAFONTAINE MONUMENT 1908–14



Walter S. Allward, Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14 Bronze and granite Parliament Hill, Ottawa

This work came into existence through the efforts of Governor General Earl Grey, who admired the Honourable Robert Baldwin and Sir Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine for their collaboration in bringing together Upper Canada and Lower Canada into the united Province of Canada in 1848 and their efforts to establish modern democracy in Canada.¹ The Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument is Allward's first horizontal design, and it features a pedestal measuring approximately thirty-two feet from end to end in the form of a crescent-shaped stone bench, or exedra. The composition demonstrates that Allward was prepared to depart from traditional conventions in order to better convey the underlying meaning of the work. Surmounting the pedestal, bronze figures of Baldwin and Lafontaine stand beside each other in conversation in front of a parliamentary desk. Immediately below them is the inscription, "Baldwin Lafontaine 1848-1851," flanked by a crown and a fleur-de-lis. Combining two statues of historical figures in a single monument was rare in Allward's lifetime, the most notable example being the Lafayette and Washington Monument by Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi (1834-1904), erected in Paris in 1895 and New York City in 1900.



Walter S. Allward, Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument (detail of bronze figures), 1908-14, bronze and granite, Parliament Hill, Ottawa.



On either end of the bench that forms the pedestal are figures portraying Upper and Lower Canada, sculpted in low relief. Upper Canada is symbolized by grain and a plow, referring to the agricultural life of the early settlers, while Lower Canada is represented by a boat and a cross, alluding to the voyageurs. At the end of the wall on the left is a mace, while on the right there is a downturned sword, symbols of government and justice.

The design of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument echoes the Admiral David Farragut Monument in Union Square, New York, 1876-81, created by Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907), which features a figure of Farragut on top of a crescent-shaped marble bench. Unlike Saint-Gaudens's sculpture, however, Allward's use of the bench relates directly to the monument's subject, acting as a whisper wall that amplifies the voices of people who are seated at either end and thereby symbolizing the dialogue between Upper and Lower Canada. Allward may have seen the Farragut and the Lafayette and Washington monuments during a trip to New York City, with both influencing his future work.



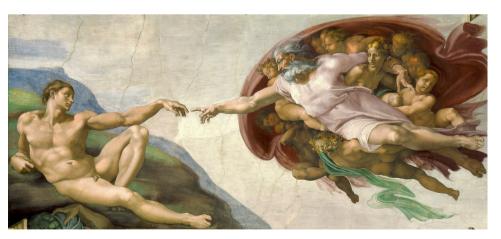
BELL MEMORIAL 1909-17



Walter S. Allward, Bell Memorial, 1909-17 Bronze and granite Bell Memorial Park, 41 West Street, Brantford, Ontario

The Bell Memorial is grand in scale, befitting the subject. Allward aimed to capture the world-changing nature of Alexander Graham Bell's invention of the telephone. Bell received the first long-distance telephone call in 1876, after running telegraph wires between the towns of Brantford and Paris, Ontario, thirteen kilometres away. In describing the design, Allward noted that he had tried to "cover as much space as possible, owing to the large area of the proposed site, and to create a design which would be interesting and expressive in outline from any point of view."¹

The Bell Memorial consists of two twelve-foot bronze allegorical figures representing Humanity, one talking and the other listening. They are positioned on grey granite pedestals at either end of the monument, which measures approximately fifty feet across. In the centre is a large bronze panel, carved in low relief, depicting a man sending messages over a curved surface representing the Earth. Above this man, inspired by



Michelangelo, *The Creation of Adam*, c.1512, fresco, 280 x 570 cm, Sistine Chapel, Vatican City.

the image of Adam on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, c.1512, by Michelangelo (1475-1564), is a figure symbolizing Intelligence and, on the right, are three floating messengers, Knowledge, Joy, and Sorrow. The only



WALTER S. ALLWARD Life & Work by Philip Dombowsky

direct reference to Bell is in the inscription beneath the panel, "To commemorate the invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell in Brantford 1874". The memorial marked a complete break from Allward's early upright Beaux-Arts sculptures by presenting classical figures within a horizontal composition, conveying the telephone's ability to span vast distances.

The idea to honour Bell's invention had originated with William Foster Cockshutt, a Conservative member of the Canadian House of Commons and president of the Brantford Board of Trade. In 1906, after securing the support of the City of Brantford and receiving an authoritative statement from Bell confirming the city's claim as the location where the telephone was invented, Cockshutt formed the Bell Memorial Association. The competition announcement, published on September 30, 1908, stipulated that the memorial "should chiefly be allegorical in its character."² It required the designs to be "in the form of sketch-models, in white plaster, made on a uniform scale of one and one-half inches to the foot" and that "a typewritten description of the design shall accompany each model." Ten designs by sculptors from Europe, the United States, and Canada were received by the selection committee; after careful consideration, Allward's design was chosen.

Allward's deadline was originally set for August 1912, but he was able to finish only the full-size plaster versions of the two allegorical figures in August 1914. After inspection by committee members, they were sent for casting to the Gorham Manufacturing Company in Providence, Rhode Island, but work there was delayed owing to the war-time shortage of French sand, a material used in

the casting process, and the fact that several skilled workers had enlisted.³ The project was postponed further when in the summer of 1916 an explosion at the plant during the casting of the right half of the bronze panel destroyed the mould and injured several workers. Despite these setbacks, Gorham completed both halves of the panel by April 1917. Victor Cavendish, Governor General of Canada, unveiled the Bell Memorial on October 24, 1917, in the presence of Alexander Graham Bell and several thousand onlookers.



THE STORM 1920





Walter S. Allward, *The Storm* (front and back), 1920 Bronze, 33.9 x 21.5 x 38.9 cm National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

The Storm, a work that portrays a woman leaning forward, her face hidden by her raised arm and her cloak, is a rare example of a small bronze by Allward. He had sculpted many allegorical female figures for his large public monuments, from *Peace* on the Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96, to *Canada* on the South African War Memorial, 1904-11, but this modest, expressive piece was unique. It was created to fulfill the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA) requirement that an artist must donate a work of art, known as a diploma work, to the academy in order to be elected academician. The process was important for the legacy of participating artists, each of whom would submit a work that would become a permanent part of the nation's art collection.

Despite its special purpose, *The Storm* is reminiscent of other sculptures Allward made around 1920. The pose is similar to figures in other works, including the sketch model of *The Service of Our Women-Healing the Scars of War*, 1918, for the proposed Bank of Commerce War Memorial, which features a woman climbing a rocky incline strewn with war debris, spreading seeds that will in time cover the scars of war. The expressive handling recalls several



Elizabeth Wyn Wood, *Northern Island*, 1927, cast tin on black glass base, 22.5 x 37.7 x 20.8 cm with base, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

small plaster sculptures, such as *Dream Time*, c.1920-40, and *The Reaper*, c.1921, that Allward produced as studies for monuments. In the wider context of Canadian sculpture, the abstract quality of *The Storm* looks forward to such



works as *Northern Island*, 1927, by Elizabeth Wyn Wood (1903-1966), a founding member of the Sculptors' Society of Canada.

Allward had a long association with the RCA. He had been elected associate member in April 1903 but resigned in November 1910 in protest against the rule requiring members to contribute regularly to RCA exhibitions, a stipulation especially demanding on sculptors given the time spent and costs incurred in producing a work. He rejoined the RCA in 1912, after the organization amended its constitution to allow sculptors to submit a photograph of an important work in lieu of a statue or model. Allward completed *The Storm* in 1920 and sent the work to the National Gallery of Canada early the following year. He created a second cast for Sir Edmund Walker (1848–1924), who in 1924 lent the sculpture to the British Empire Exhibition held in Wembley, England, where it was exhibited alongside other major Canadian artworks.



STRATFORD WAR MEMORIAL 1919–22



Walter S. Allward, Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22 Bronze and granite Memorial Park, Stratford, Ontario

This work is a departure from the motif typically seen in Canadian war memorials, of a lone soldier on a pedestal, and it is Allward's first fully realized sculpture honouring Canadians killed in the First World War. It features two bronze sculptures mounted on one of three blocks, which are positioned on a granite base comprising two layered slabs.¹ The figures symbolize the triumph of right over brute force, a theme that Allward had previously explored in his sketch model *The Service of Our Men-Crushing the Power of the Sword*, 1918, for the proposed Bank of Commerce War Memorial, and would revisit at the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36.

In his description of the Stratford War Memorial design, Allward points out that spiritual man is represented at the highest point of the base that connects the two statues, his head looking upward toward the heavens and his left hand holding a palm branch, symbolizing peace; the second statue, representing strife, walks down an incline, dragging a broken sword in defeat. Below the figures is the inscription, "They gave their lives to break the power of the sword." The names of local residents who died in the conflict appear on two blocks, on either side of the central block.



Allward completed the bronze figures for the Stratford War Memorial before leaving for Europe in June 1922 to work on the Vimy Memorial.² The unveiling of the monument, situated on a small triangular plot of land, took place in front of a large gathering from Stratford and the surrounding area in November of that year. George Kay, a member of the Soldiers' War Memorial Committee, enthusiastically reported to Allward a couple months later that



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figure), 1919-22, bronze and granite, Memorial Park, Stratford, Ontario. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *Study for Stratford War Memorial (No. 8)*, c.1920, graphite on laid paper, 47 x 63 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

the people generally seem greatly pleased with the work, and while there are a few who would have preferred something more conventional we hope that the appreciation will grow when they have time to think out the meaning the figures are intended to convey.... [I] was touched to see the groups of people who lingered about it for many days after it was unveiled. For at least a month whenever I passed that way, by day or evening, there were people about it, and it is still heaped with wreaths and flowers, and I feel that in erecting a local shrine to the fallen we have filled a want which was deeply felt.³

The Stratford War Memorial was modified in 1955, when four bronze plaques bearing the names of those who died in the First World War, the Second World War, and the Korean War were installed on the fronts and backs of the two side blocks, covering the original engraved inscriptions, which by then had become almost illegible. In 1961 the monument was moved to a more spacious setting in the city's Memorial Park.



PETERBOROUGH WAR MEMORIAL 1921–29



Walter S. Allward, Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29 Bronze and granite Confederation Park, 501 George Street North, Peterborough, Ontario



Allward's war memorial in Peterborough presents two allegorical figures in bronze, each on a white granite block, symbolizing the triumph of civilization over barbarism. The figure representing Civilization stands in a commanding position with a sword in one hand and the other hand outstretched toward Strife, who is retreating with one arm covering his face in despair and the other carrying an extinguished torch.¹ The monument is similar in theme and style to the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22, but with a heightened sense of drama. Another difference is that the Peterborough War Memorial was designed from the outset for a city park, providing Allward with the opportunity to design both the approach to the work and the surrounding landscape, much as he would do on a larger scale with the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36.

Efforts to erect a war memorial in Peterborough had been initiated by the local branch of the Canadian Red Cross in late 1919. The project was carried to fruition by the Citizen's Memorial Committee, which was formed in December 1920. Central Park (later renamed Confederation Park) was the chosen site, having served as a gathering point for soldiers leaving to fight in Europe and arriving home. As with similar projects throughout the country, funding was raised mainly through small contributions from local residents. Allward's final design was approved in June 1921.



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Peterborough War Memorial (detail of *Civilization*), 1921-29, bronze and granite, Confederation Park, 501 George Street North, Peterborough, Ontario. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Peterborough War Memorial (detail of *Strife*), 1921-29, bronze and granite, Confederation Park, 501 George Street North, Peterborough, Ontario.

Committed to completing the

Stratford monument, Allward was unable to finish the work in Peterborough before departing for Europe in June 1922. In 1925 he suggested that the project be further delayed so that he could devote all his energy to the Vimy

Memorial.² The following year he gave in to pressure from the committee and hired the British sculptor Gilbert Bayes (1872-1953) to finish the two bronze figures in London. Working from Allward's half-size models, Bayes completed the full-size figures and supervised the preparation of the plaster versions, which were sent to the Thames Ditton Foundry in Surrey, England, for casting. The site was excavated under the direction of Allward's son Hugh in May 1928. The stepped granite base and the pedestals, one of which is inscribed with the names of those who died in the First World War, were put in place soon after, followed by the installation of the bronze figures.

Dedicated to the 717 local men and women killed overseas, the memorial was unveiled on June 30, 1929, by Sir Arthur Currie, former commander of the Canadian Corps, and the Reverend Canon F. G. Scott, Archdeacon of Quebec and Director of Canadian Army Chaplain services. Colonel H.C. Osborne of the Imperial War Graves Commission also spoke at the event, describing the



monument as "a valuable contribution to Canadian art and a memorial that will be increasingly cherished as the years pass."³

Allward's design was last modified in 1978, when bronze plaques with the names of the dead from the Second World War and the Korean War were added to the granite blocks rising from the base. Bronze plaques with the names of those who died in the First World War were also installed, covering the original engraved names.



VIMY MEMORIAL 1921-36



Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial, 1921-36 Seget limestone and concrete Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France

The awe-inspiring and majestic Vimy Memorial sits on the highest point of Vimy Ridge, rising over the Douai plain in northern France, its dramatic limestone pylons visible from a great distance. Vimy marks the place where more than 10,000 Canadian soldiers were killed or wounded in one of the most decisive battles of the First World War.¹ The brutal four-day conflict that began on Easter Monday, April 9, 1917, represents the first time the four divisions of the Canadian Corps fought as a unit, and marks a defining moment in the nation's history. In capturing the ridge, Canada earned immense respect from its allies for fighting skill and bravery, while also stoking national pride at home. Allward devoted fifteen years of his life to the Vimy Memorial, creating a monument recently described by Christopher Hume as "without parallel in scope and ambition."² Completed in 1936, the work is both an inspired testament to the 61,000 Canadians who lost their lives during the First World War and the culmination of Allward's work as a sculptor.



Allward later revealed that the idea for his design had been inspired by a dream, suggesting how deeply he felt in undertaking the project:

> When things were at their blackest in France, during the war, I went to sleep one night after dwelling on all the muck and misery over there. My spirit was like a thing tormented... In my dream I was on a great battlefield. I saw our men going by in thousands, and being mowed down by the sickles of death,



William Longstaff, *Vimy Ridge*, c.1930-39, ink on paper on card, 44.8 x 75.5 cm, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.

regiment after regiment, division after division. Suffering beyond endurance at the sight, I turned my eyes and found myself looking down an avenue of poplars. Suddenly through this avenue, I saw thousands marching to the aid of our armies. They were the dead. They rose in masses, filed silently by and entered the fight, to aid the living. So vivid was this impression, that when I awoke it stayed with me for months. Without the dead we were helpless. So I have tried to show, in this monument to Canada's fallen, what we owed them and will forever owe them.³

Starting in 1921, Allward drew approximately 150 sketches before arriving at his final design, which he described as "a sermon in stone against the futility of war."⁴ The monument, a blend of classical and modernist elements, is on a site that is part of 290 acres of land that the French government granted to Canada to use in perpetuity as a memorial park. It features a horizontal base 236 feet long by 36 feet high, surmounted by two pylons, symbolizing Canada and France, rising 100 feet above the platform. It is adorned with twenty sculpted allegorical figures, including two groups, one at each end of an "impregnable wall of defense", that represent breaking the sword of war and offering of sympathy to the grieving and helpless.⁵ Above each group is a canon covered with laurel and olive branches, symbols of peace. At the top of the front wall stands "the heroic figure of Canada brooding over the graves of her valiant dead," echoing traditional images of the Virgin Mary in mourning.⁶





LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of *The Spirit of Sacrifice* and *The Passing of the Torch*), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of *The Sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless*), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

Behind this sculpture, at the base of the twin pylons, is a dying soldier, *The Spirit of Sacrifice*, his pose suggesting the crucified Christ. He stands next to a figure portraying *The Passing of the Torch*, a reference to one of the most famous poems of the First World War, "In Flanders Fields" (1915), by the Canadian Army Medical Corps officer Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae. Together, the two figures represent sacrifice and spiritual rebirth. Near the top of the pylons eight figures depict Faith, Hope, Honour, Charity, Knowledge, Justice, Truth, and, at the very top, Peace. Two reclining figures in mourning, inspired by statues Michelangelo (1475-1564) created for the Medici Tomb in Florence and symbolizing the grieving parents of dead soldiers, are positioned on each side of the stairs on the back of the monument. As with Allward's earlier war memorials, there is no sense of triumph at Vimy, the twenty allegorical figures instead conveying loss, sorrow, and redemption.

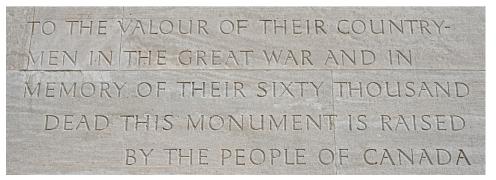




Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of the Chorus), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

Allward spent two years preparing detailed plans and searching for stone of the right texture and tone for the monument. More time was needed to clear the site of debris and construct the concrete foundation. The cornerstone was finally laid in September 1927. In 1930 Luigi Rigamonti (1872-1953), an Italian sculptor whom Allward had met shortly after arriving in London in 1922, began carving the sculptures from the plaster maquettes that Allward had made in his London studio and then shipped to the Vimy site. The first to be completed was Canada Bereft, now one of the most recognizable sculptures in Canadian art. Allward's actual model for the work was a former professional dancer named Edna Moynihan, whom he had hired through an advertisement in The Stage newspaper. During his interview with her, Allward measured her shoulders, explaining that he wanted to create "a mother figure with shoulders wide enough to carry the sorrows of dead sons."⁷

As Rigamonti supervised the carving of the figures, Allward hired the acclaimed British artist and designer Percy John Delf Smith (1882-1948) to engrave on the lower walls of the monument the names of 11,285 Canadian soldiers killed in France during the First World War whose final resting place is unknown. Smith also



Inscription by Percy John Delf Smith on the front wall of the Vimy Memorial.



inscribed on the front wall the following words in French and in English: "To the valour of their countrymen in the Great War and in memory of their sixty thousand dead this monument is raised by the people of Canada / À la vaillance de ses fils pendant la Grande Guerre, et en mémoire de ses soixante mille morts, le peuple canadien a élevé ce monument."

Allward's perseverance in realizing his vision and his commitment to perfection were evident throughout the Vimy project. Colonel H.C. Osborne of the Imperial War Graves Commission noted at a ceremony honouring Allward, "He thought always in terms of centuries to be. Grandeur of conception, flawless construction, perfect proportions, gracious lines and glorious sculpture combine in a creation which nations will admire and which will thrill Canadians with pride in the generations that are to be."⁸

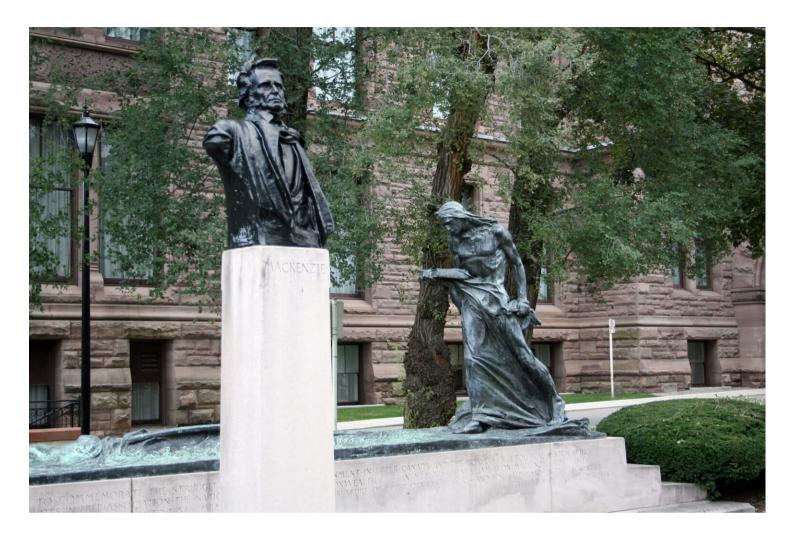
Now part of the Vimy Ridge National Historic Site of Canada maintained by Veterans Affairs Canada, the monument underwent major restoration in 2005. With almost one million visitors a year, it remains one of Canada's best-known works of public art.



LEFT: Michelangelo, *Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici*, 1520-34, marble, Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of *Male Mourner*), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.



WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE MEMORIAL 1936-40



Walter S. Allward, William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial, 1936-40 Bronze and granite Queen's Park, Toronto

The William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial, located on the west side of the Ontario Legislative Building in Queen's Park, is Allward's last completed sculpture. Prime Minister Mackenzie King initiated the project in 1936 as a way to honour his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, who in 1837 led an armed rebellion in Upper Canada in an effort to establish greater government accountability. The work features a tall vertical pedestal supporting a bronze bust of William Lyon Mackenzie. Behind and to the right is a horizontal granite pedestal surmounted by a bronze figure leaning forward and holding a law book in one hand and a broken harness in the other, symbolizing the oppressed farmers who rose up against the British colonial government. Inscribed on the pedestal are the words, "To commemorate the struggle for responsible government in Upper Canada and the pioneers of a political system which unites in free association, notions of the British Commonwealth." To unify its two parts, Allward added a small horizontal reflecting pool in front of the sculptures.



Allward hired the Gorham Manufacturing Company in Provincetown, Rhode Island, to cast the various bronze elements. The sculpture was installed in early June 1940, but given Canada's entry into the Second World War the previous year, Mackenzie King requested that there be no official celebration for the unveiling. Despite the lack of a formal dedication, the work drew praise from multiple sources, including a tribute by Arthur C. Hardy: "In



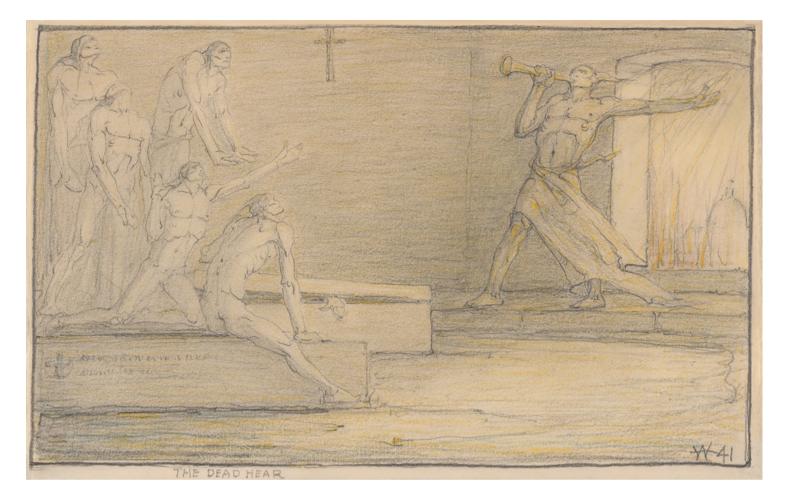
LEFT: Walter S. Allward, William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial (detail of figure representing oppressed farmers), 1936-40, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial (detail of Mackenzie), 1936-40, bronze and granite, Queen's Park, Toronto.

purity of line and general artistic attainment I believe this monument stands at the very top of our Canadian memorial sculpture."¹

Allward continued to work on landscaping details after he finished the sculpture, hiring Sheridan Nurseries to plant several Austrian pines between the monument and the building behind it, as well as a low hedge of Japanese yew around the pool, to address concerns from residents regarding its potential danger to children. Complaints from the public persisted, however, and the pool was covered over in 1948.



THE DEAD HEAR 1941



Walter S. Allward, *The Dead Hear*, 1941 Graphite and coloured pencil on cream paper, 21.2 x 33.3 cm National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

In this work five figures are raised from the dead by a trumpeter to help with the war effort. Visible in the distance through a doorway on the right is an outline of St. Paul's Cathedral, a symbol of British resilience during the Second World War. The cathedral survived a ferocious German air raid in the early morning of December 30, 1940, and was immortalized in one of the war's best-known photographs, *St. Paul Survives*, by Herbert Mason (1903–1964). The theme of the drawing alludes to



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *Untitled*, c.1940, graphite and coloured pencil on wove paper, 21.1 x 27.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *Futility*, n.d., graphite and coloured pencil on wove paper, 25.3 x 20.5 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

The Bible verse 1 Corinthians 15:52: "for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." It also recalls Allward's dream of soldiers rising in support of the living, which served as an inspiration for the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36.



The Dead Hear belongs to a series of approximately one hundred allegorical sketches on war themes that Allward produced at the onset of the Second World War. He referred to them as war cartoons, reflecting the disillusionment and despair he felt following the Nazi invasion of Europe in the late 1930s. In contrast to his numerous sketches for monuments, the emotional directness of these works places them in the tradition of Francisco Goya (1746-1828) and the German twentieth-century Expressionist masters Otto Dix (1891-1969) and George Grosz (1893-1959).¹ The linear style and visionary quality are reminiscent of works by William Blake (1757-1827), whose work Allward had ample opportunity to view during his years in London. The figures in the drawings are similar to sculptural works he produced during his mature phase, including the two bronze sculptures for the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22. Although the war cartoons remained part of Allward's private collection and were never exhibited during his lifetime, they are among his most accomplished drawings and as a group represent his last major work.

Various subjects are presented in the drawings, ranging from an anguished group of figures run through with a large sword held by the hands of God to the hopeful image of a haloed Christ figure rescuing drowning figures from the turbulent waters below. As with *The Dead Hear*, many of the works contain Christian imagery. Within Allward's oeuvre, they resemble, both in emotional depth and religious content, a series of melancholic drawings that he executed at the onset of the First World War, *Death of Artist*, c.1914, and *The Battlefield*, c.1916, among them. Unlike the earlier pieces, however, where he used washes of ink over graphite, the war cartoons are executed in graphite and coloured pencil. They also differ in their immediacy and emotional impact, which Allward achieves in part by placing his figures close to the picture plane and minimizing depth throughout the composition.

SIGNIFICANCE & CRITICAL ISSUES

Walter S. Allward (1874–1955) was active when there were only a few sculptors in Canada. His success inspired other young artists, including Emanuel Hahn, Frances Loring, Florence Wyle, and Elizabeth Wyn Wood, all of whom went on to make significant contributions to Canadian art. Allward's various war monuments, culminating in the Vimy Memorial, had a moral as well as an aesthetic purpose, and were markedly different from those of both the previous generation of sculptors and those of his peers. His intention was to reveal the tragedy of war and design monuments that more provocatively explored themes of redemption.



MEMORIALIZING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Although the depiction and commemoration of war is present throughout history, the First World War (1914-1918) engaged artists to an extent greater than any other previous conflict. The participation of artists from Canada was mainly due to the efforts of William Maxwell Aitken, the future Lord Beaverbrook, who, in November 1916, established the country's first official war art program, the Canadian War Memorials Fund.¹ The fund was intended to provide an enduring record of the war effort both in Canada and abroad, and would eventually employ more than one hundred artists (mostly British and Canadian). By the end of hostilities, artists including Cyril

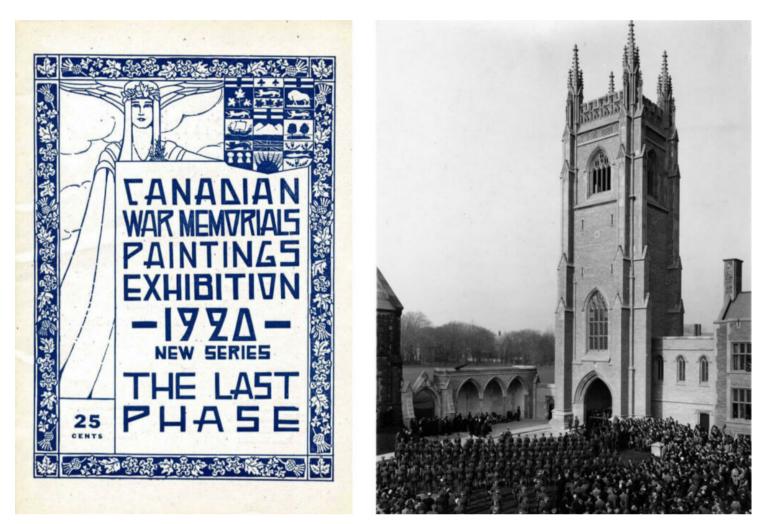


A posed photo of Canada's first official war artist, Richard Jack, at work on his iconic painting *The Second Battle of Ypres*, 1917, the first work of art commissioned by Lord Beaverbrook, 1914-19, photographer unknown.

Henry Barraud (1877-1965), John William Beatty (1869-1941), Richard Jack (1866-1952), Mabel May (1877-1971), and Alfred Munnings (1878-1959), along with future members of the Group of Seven A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974), Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), and Frederick Varley (1881-1969), would create almost one thousand artworks.

Although the collection was exhibited to great fanfare at Burlington House in London in early 1919 and later toured North America, Aitken's plan to house the works in a war memorial gallery in Ottawa was subsequently abandoned as the country's attention shifted from documenting battles to memorializing those who had died in the conflict. The fund had been successful in chronicling Canadian soldiers' experiences, but a deeper response to the tragic loss of more than 61,000 lives was expressed through commemorative monuments, which, in the words of the historian Robert Shipley, "were part of the attempt to make sense on an emotional and spiritual level of the loss of so many friends, loved ones, and comrades."² More than seven thousand memorials were erected in communities across Canada following the war, most of which were funded by local residents. Usually set in a central location, they were produced in a variety of forms, ranging from simple crosses on pedestals, as in the town of Trochu, Alberta, to the elaborate Soldiers' Tower at Hart House, University of Toronto.





LEFT: Catalogue cover of *Canadian War Memorials Paintings Exhibition 1920* (1920). RIGHT: Soldiers' Tower at Hart House, University of Toronto, after a two-minute silence, November 11, 1924, photographer unknown.

Approximately four hundred memorials in Canada include figures, most portraying soldiers in uniform, either alone or in groups. The most ambitious is the National War Memorial in Confederation Square, Ottawa, 1925-39, which consists of a large granite arch with twenty-two figures of men and women representing the various military services that contributed to Canada's war effort between 1914 and 1918. The vast majority of memorials were modest in comparison. George W. Hill (1862-1934) was the most prolific designer of war memorials in Canada; among his best-known sculptures is the Westmount War Memorial, Quebec, 1922, which features a winged figure pointing out the path of victory to a marching soldier. Hill's other notable works include the Charlottetown War Memorial, Prince Edward Island, 1923-25, consisting of three charging soldiers with rifles on a granite pedestal, and the Sherbrooke War Memorial, Quebec, 1926, where the motif of three soldiers is repeated, but in this case at the base of the pedestal, from where they look upward to a winged figure representing victory. Although war memorials were numerous across the country, Allward's work as a designer is unique in Canada, rejecting the conventional practice of representing soldiers in favour of a more provocative exploration of redemption and a future without war.





LEFT: Vernon March, National War Memorial, 1925-39, granite, bronze, Confederation Square, Ottawa. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of *Canada Bereft* in the foreground and *The Spirit of Sacrifice* and *The Passing of the Torch*), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

MONUMENTS TO PEACE

Allward was deeply affected by the First World War, and his beliefs guided his approach to designing memorials. As he noted when reflecting on the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, he created "a sermon against the futility of war....Vindictiveness and Hate have been excluded from my design. In my original drawings, I had a foot trampling on a German steel helmet. Even that symbol I removed."³

Like many of his generation, Allward accepted as an act of faith that the First World War was, in the words of H.G. Wells, "the war to end war," tragic but necessary to defeat German militarism. This view is reflected in the design of his early First World War monuments, beginning with his two models for the proposed Bank of Commerce war memorial on King Street West in Toronto, *The Service of Our Women–Healing the Scars of War* and *The Service of Our Men–Crushing the Power of the Sword*, both 1918. The themes in those works reappear in the Stratford War Memorial, 1919–22, and the Peterborough War Memorial, 1921–29, both of which convey the message that Canadians killed in Belgium and France died to protect the values of civilization over barbarism and to put an end to future wars.





LEFT: Alfred Laliberté, Monument aux Braves de Lachine, 1925, granite, bronze, 524 x 900 x 216 cm, Stoney-Point Park, Montreal. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of *Male Mourner* and *Female Mourner*), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

These ideas were more ambitiously expressed in the Vimy Memorial, which the historian Tim Cook describes as "a monument to peace, not victory, an

homage to loss and death, and a call to remembrance."⁴ Allward's design for Vimy surpasses his earlier efforts by more explicitly envisioning the path to a more enlightened future, incorporating near the top of the twin pylons allegorical figures representing Peace, Truth, Knowledge, Justice, Faith, Charity, Hope, and Honour, values to which he hoped humankind would aspire.

When the memorial was completed in 1936, it was widely interpreted as a symbol of peace. A statement read on behalf of Prime Minister William Mackenzie King at the Vimy dedication service expressed this idea: "Canada asks that the nations of Europe strive to obliterate whatever makes for war and for death. She appeals to them to unite in an effort to bring into being a world of peace. This is the trust which we, the living, received from those who suffered and died. It is a trust we hold in common. A world at peace, Canada believes, is the only memorial worthy of the valour and the sacrifice of all who gave their lives in the Great War."⁵ This view of the Vimy Memorial has remained constant for the more than eighty years since its unveiling.



 WALTER S. ALLWARD

 Life & Work by Philip Dombowsky

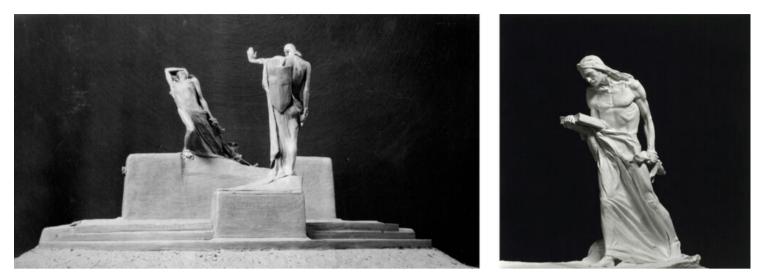


Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of allegorical figures in the upper pylons), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

CONTRIBUTION TO CANADIAN SCULPTURE

One of Allward's most important milestones, marking his intellectual and artistic independence, was his eventual rejection of École des beaux-arts ideas of monument design, seen in works such as the John Graves Simcoe Monument, 1901-3, and the John Sandfield Macdonald Monument, 1907-9, including the pyramidal presentation of a static single figure on a pedestal. Instead, with works like the Bell Memorial, 1909-17, and the unfinished King Edward VII Memorial, begun 1912, he began to explore the dramatic possibilities of combining expressive classical figures, influenced by Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), with horizontal composition in a way that encourages viewers to move within the space of the monument. Allward continued to refine this approach with the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22, and the Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29, bringing it to perfection in the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36.





LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *Maquette for Peterborough War Memorial*, n.d., photographer unknown. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, detail of the *Maquette for William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial*, n.d., photograph by Herb Nott & Co. Ltd., Toronto.

Allward had a profound impact on other sculptors in Canada. His high aesthetic and technical standards, and the positive reception of his work, significantly raised the profile of sculpture throughout the country, greatly benefiting other Canadian sculptors, including Emanuel Hahn (1881-1957), Frances Loring (1887-1968), Florence Wyle (1881-1968), and Elizabeth Wyn Wood (1903-1966). Hahn was especially close to Allward, having served as his assistant between 1908 and 1912, and the two remained friends until the latter's death in 1955. As a token of their friendship, Allward bequeathed many of his personal sculpting tools to Hahn, with the request that they be passed from one generation of artists to the next.⁶ Allward's willingness to expand the language of sculpture beyond the Beaux-Arts style and his commitment to various arts organizations were also important to these artists, all of whom would go on to become founding members of the Sculptors' Society of

would go on to become founding members of the Sculptors' Society of Canada in 1928, a group that initiated many exhibition opportunities for Canadian sculptors while greatly expanding the language of sculpture in this country.





LEFT: Frances Loring with her sculpture *New York Mounted Policeman* (DETAIL), c.1909-12, photographer unknown. RIGHT: Emanuel Hahn with his sculpture *Un jeune garçon*, c.1907-8, photographer unknown.

Among the sculptors Allward influenced, Loring was especially articulate about his impact and spoke often about the Vimy Memorial in the many illustrated lectures she presented. In an address to the Canadian Council of Women in Port Arthur, Ontario, in 1922, Loring described Allward's masterpiece in detail: "There is no one doing as fine a type of monumental work as Mr. Allward. He had lived a lonely life, through lack of understanding by his fellow craftsmen, but his marvelous work in regard to the memorial has put him at the top of the ladder."⁷ A few years later, she referred to Allward as "the greatest sculptor in Canada and for his monumental work, the best in the world. . . . Canada is only beginning to appreciate him now that Europe has been acclaiming his genius, but Canada doesn't yet realize what he is. Now, for the Vimy Ridge memorial, he was given an absolutely free hand–and as a result you get a work of genius."⁸ Loring expressed a view widely shared by Allward's contemporaries.



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Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

POSTHUMOUS RECOGNITION

A few months after Allward's death in 1955, the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts included a selection of his drawings and plaster maquettes, along with photographs, in their 76th annual exhibition, held at the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario).⁹ However, in the years that followed, Allward's work received little critical attention until 1990, when Lane Borstad completed a catalogue of Allward's drawings and sculpture as part of his Master's degree.

The neglect of Allward's works was related to a wider contemporary dismissal of sculpture's contribution to the cultural life of Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One prominent study went so far as to suggest that before 1960 in Canada, there were "very few sculptors of substance. There was nothing that could really be considered to constitute a tradition, nothing either to follow or against which to react. Nor was there evidence indicating a real awareness of or interest in what had been occurring

in European or American sculpture since the turn of the century."¹⁰ Remarkably, this view not only overlooks Allward's achievements but also those of numerous other early twentieth-century sculptors, Emanuel Hahn, Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917), Frances Loring, and Elizabeth Wyn Wood among them.



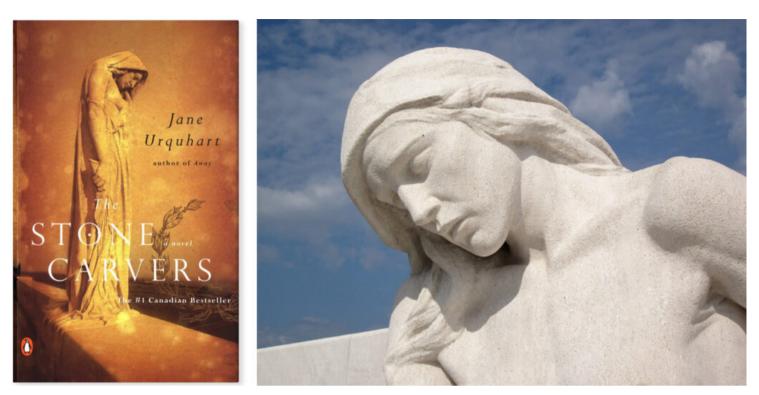
Interest in Canadian sculpture was revived in the mid-1980s with the publication of Terry Guernsey's *Statues of Parliament Hill* (1986) and the exhibition *Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy*, shown at the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1987.¹¹ A decade later, the National Gallery of Canada paid homage to two other prominent early twentieth-century sculptors in the travelling exhibition *Emanuel Hahn and Elizabeth Wyn Wood: Tradition and Innovation in Canadian Sculpture*.



LEFT: Frances Loring, *The Shell Finisher*, 1918-19, bronze, 67 x 19.5 x 21 cm, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. RIGHT: Elizabeth Wyn Wood, *Linda*, c.1932, plaster, 202 x 68.5 x 57 cm, Winnipeg Art Gallery.

Allward finally emerged from obscurity in 2001, with the publication of Jane Urquhart's novel *The Stone Carvers*, a fictionalized account of Allward and the building of the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, a work the author poignantly describes as "a huge urn...designed to hold grief."¹² Although his work then began to receive greater critical attention, most of the new scholarship focused on his crowning achievement, the Vimy Memorial. His career as a whole continues to be largely ignored.¹³





LEFT: Cover of Jane Urquhart's *The Stone Carvers* (2003; first published 2001). RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of *Female Mourner*), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

PRESERVING ALLWARD'S LEGACY

Allward's principal sculptures remain accessible to the public in their original settings. Many of them, including four of his works in Queen's Park, the South African War Memorial, 1904–11, and the monuments in Stratford, 1919–22, in Peterborough, 1921–29, and at Vimy, 1921–36, have been restored in recent years, allowing the public to experience them in near pristine condition.¹⁴ The work carried out on the Vimy Memorial between 2005 and 2007, part of a larger Canadian government effort to repair First World War monuments in Europe, was the most ambitious art restoration project in Canadian history.

Allward's legacy is also preserved in several smaller pieces, including sculptures and drawings, held by the National Gallery of Canada, the Art Gallery of Ontario, and

Queen's University Archives.¹⁵ In addition to these holdings, the collection of the Canadian War Museum includes seventeen of the twenty plaster figures that Allward created in London between 1925 and 1930 for the Vimy Memorial. The three other plaster figures, including *Canada Bereft*, are housed at the Military



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *Dream Time*, c.1920-40, plaster, 26 x 28.5 x 10.5 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *The Reaper*, c.1921, plaster, 43 x 11.5 x 29 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Communications and Electronics Museum in Kingston, Ontario.

Allward's legacy is perhaps best enshrined at Vimy. In 1996 the Government of Canada officially designated the parcel of land (290 acres) on which the



memorial stands a national historic site. Operated by Veterans Affairs Canada and officially known as the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, the site includes a visitor education centre that each year provides hundreds of thousands of visitors with information about Canada's and Newfoundland's role in the First World War. In 2002 Allward was named a National Historic Person on the recommendation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. The plaque commemorating this honour, unveiled in July 2010 at the site of the Bell Memorial, 1909-17, in Brantford, Ontario, identifies Allward as "an outstanding sculptor of some of Canada's finest public monuments," who "emerged as a dominant figure in the transition from the sculptural conventions of the Victorian era to the more abstract forms of the 20th century."¹⁶ Allward was also honoured with plaques by the Ontario Heritage Foundation in 2004, the Fort York branch of the Royal Canadian Legion in 2007, and the Friends of the Stratford War Memorial in 2018.¹⁷



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figure), 1919-22, Memorial Park, Stratford, Ontario. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figures), 1919-22, Memorial Park, Stratford, Ontario.

REASSESSING MONUMENTS TODAY

Recent events have intensified the debate over whether or not to remove from public spaces monuments commemorating controversial figures or events. In Canada the most famous figure to invite scrutiny is the country's first prime minister, John A. Macdonald, who has been criticized for his role in setting up the country's residential school system. The system forcibly separated Indigenous children from their families for extended periods and forbade them to acknowledge their heritage or to speak their own languages. In recognition



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of this injustice, a statue of Macdonald outside Victoria City Hall, British Columbia, was removed in 2018 as part of the city's reconciliation program with local First Nations.¹⁸ Victoria's city council reached this decision after discussions with Indigenous leaders and a public consultation process was subsequently initiated to determine the sculpture's future home.¹⁹ As Canadians continue to scrutinize and challenge history, more critical dialogues about monuments are likely.

Allward's sculptures have generally not attracted much in the way of negative attention. Two exceptions are the Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96, a work erected following the suppression of an uprising lead by Métis leader Louis Riel in 1885, and the Nicholas Flood Davin Monument in Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, 1903, marking the burial place of Davin, a lawyer, journalist, and politician who wrote the report that led to the establishment of the residential school system in Canada.

For the Northwest Rebellion Monument, Allward sculpted a female figure of Peace. Canadians at the time largely viewed the government's response to the uprising as necessary to maintain law and order in Western Canada. That perspective has since changed, and it is now widely acknowledged that the conflict denied Métis sovereignty; the events are now commonly referred to as the Northwest Resistance. In 2017, because of the monument's ties to Canada's colonial past and to the loss of Métis sovereignty, the Métis Nation of Ontario adopted a resolution at its annual general assembly to move the main part of their annual Louis Riel Day ceremonies, which had been held on November 16 at the Northwest Rebellion Monument since 2011, to a different site. To date no demands have been made to remove the work. Reconciliation efforts, however, might include adding a plaque to the pedestal, in recognition of the Métis and other Indigenous peoples who died in the conflict. Such a marker would be consistent with an intervention adopted at the Davin gravesite in Beechwood Cemetery, with its portrait bust by Allward from 1902, where a historical plaque was installed in front of the monument in 2017, noting Davin's authorship of the report that served as the basis for Canada's residential schools.²⁰ This approach views public monuments as historical markers, points of entry to a better understanding of events in Canadian history.

Allward's early work mainly depicts prominent Canadians–Sir Wilfrid Laurier, George William Ross, and Sir Oliver Mowat among them–who did not implement policies that are currently considered controversial. After completing the Bell Memorial in Brantford in 1917 his efforts were focused on memorializing Canadians killed in the First World War. In these works, culminating in the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, Allward rejected typical depictions of military subjects, choosing instead to design monuments that expressed redemptive themes. His final sculpture marks the role of William Lyon Mackenzie in establishing responsible government, a forerunner of Canada's parliamentary democracy. Viewed as a whole, Allward's body of work continues to present Canadians with essential lessons in history.



Walter S. Allward, Nicholas Flood Davin Monument, 1903, Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa.





Walter S. Allward working in clay on the main figure for the South African War Memorial, Toronto, 1906, photograph by Pringle & Booth, Toronto.

STYLE & TECHNIQUE

Walter S. Allward (1874–1955) was one of the most innovative modern sculptors in Canadian history. As a young man he was quick to absorb the main tenets of the current Beaux-Arts style, but his creative drive and perseverance ultimately gave rise to extraordinary forms previously unknown in Canadian sculpture. The complex and timeconsuming process of producing monumental sculptures, whether in bronze or stone, demanded a high degree of skill and patience, reflected in the various techniques he used and in the appearance of his finished works.



DEFINING A NEW STYLE FOR CANADIAN SCULPTURE

Like many leading sculptors in Canada at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, Hamilton MacCarthy (1846-1939), Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917), and George W. Hill (1862-1934) among them, Allward was influenced by the teachings of the École des beaux-arts in Paris, an approach that dominated Canadian sculpture during this period. As evident in such works as Hébert's Maisonneuve Monument, Montreal, 1895, and Hill's Boer War Monument, Montreal, 1907, the Beaux-Arts style features a pyramidal composition, with the



George William Hill, Monument aux Héros de la Guerre des Boers, 1907, bronze and granite, 920 x 2200 x 1600 cm, Ville de Montréal, Dorchester Square, Montreal.

monument's subject portrayed in a realistic manner and placed on a pedestal raised on a larger stone base. This compositional scheme is often supplemented with allegorical or historical figures at the base. Allward's monuments in Queen's Park in Toronto reflect Beaux-Arts principles, as does his South African War Memorial, 1904-11.

Although Allward's early work, such as the John Graves Simcoe Monument, 1901-3, illustrates his mastery of the Beaux-Arts style, his mature work broke with that tradition. The shift is first evident in the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14, on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, which presents two historical figures, the Honourable Robert Baldwin and Sir Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine, standing next to each other in front of a parliamentary desk on a horizontal pedestal and base. The work was inspired by the Admiral David Farragut Monument in New York City, completed in 1881 by the American sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907). Similar to Saint-Gaudens, Allward uses a gently curved horizontal pedestal to bring the figures of Baldwin and Lafontaine close to eye level while also allowing viewers to move within the space of the sculpture, a feature enhanced by incorporating, as part of the pedestal, a bench for sitting.





LEFT: Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Admiral David Glasgow Farragut Monument, 1876-81, granite, bronze, Madison Square, Manhattan, New York. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14, bronze and granite, Parliament Hill, Ottawa.

Allward further refined this approach in the Bell Memorial, 1909–17, whose horizontal layout invites viewers to walk up a series of steps to the large central panel and into the space between two allegorical figures on blocks positioned approximately fifty feet apart at each end. The fullest expression of this compositional approach is realized in the Vimy Memorial, 1921–36, which effectively combines both horizontal and vertical elements in a design that encourages viewers to move within or around the monument itself and in close proximity to the figures.

As well as evolving beyond the Beaux-Arts approach to composition, Allward's mature style rejects allegory in favour of symbolism. He was inspired by sculptors like Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), whose work he had first admired through reproductions and later through first-hand exposure during a trip to Europe in 1903. A central component of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Beaux-Arts





LEFT: Auguste Rodin, *The Burghers of Calais*, modelled 1884-95, cast 1985, bronze, 209.6 x 238.8 x 241.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figures), 1919-22, bronze and granite, Memorial Park, Stratford, Ontario.

sculpture, allegory is a means of presenting abstract concepts or ideals within a work but does not express emotion beyond hand gestures or through the addition of symbolic objects. The rise of Symbolism in France and Belgium, witnessed in Rodin's exploration of expression and gesture in such works as *The Burghers of Calais*, 1884-95, developed in contrast to Beaux-Arts classicism.

Rodin's influence on Allward is especially evident in his sketch models for the Bank of Commerce War Memorial, 1918, and in the statues he designed for the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22, and the Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29. The debt to Rodin is also apparent in the twenty figures of the Vimy Memorial, where Allward similarly reveals emotion through pose, gesture, and the grouping of figures. At Vimy, as Laurie Labelle and Dennis Reid note, Allward "adopted a universal figure to convey the complex realities of war as



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the allegorical figure in its simplicity could no longer express the range of emotion [he] sought to convey."¹

In taking this path, Allward helped to define a new direction for sculpture in Canada in which the main objective is to create emotionally expressive figures. An early indication of this approach is evident in The Old Soldier for the War of 1812 Memorial, 1903-7, where Allward emphasizes the subject's powerful response to the suffering caused by war. The shift was recognized by his contemporaries, including fellow sculptor Emanuel Hahn (1881-1957), who in 1929 described Allward's work as having "moved from allegory to symbolism: more introspective; concerned with an emotive and existential figure coming out of solid mass."² In his late works, the figures used in the earlier war monuments and perfected at Vimy reappear in an even more attenuated form. As Labelle and Reid indicate, Allward "created an increasingly expressive figure by exaggerating the physiognomy...to convey the concept of human struggle towards a higher ideal."³ The use of visibly emotional faces and forms is repeated in Allward's last sculpture, the William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial, 1936-40, as well as in numerous drawings, including his series of war cartoons and his sketches for the proposed Sir Frederick Banting Memorial, 1943-44, at the University of Toronto.



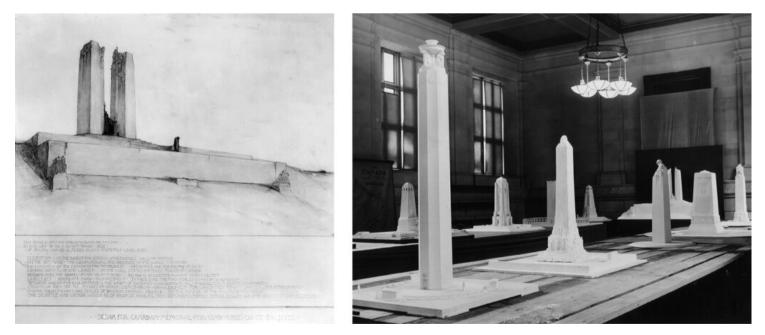
Walter S. Allward, The Failure, c.1940, graphite and coloured pencil on wove paper, 20.5 x 25.3 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



DESIGNING FOR COMMITTEES

While many artists begin projects with complete creative freedom and no limitations, Allward almost always began a project with parameters already established. Most of his commissions were initiated by local citizens, community groups, or government agencies, who usually appointed a committee that established requirements, including the basic design specifications, the citizenship of artists allowed to participate, the submission deadline, and the project schedule. The committee would often appoint a design subcommittee to choose a sculptor and to provide comments on the artist's work at various stages. Allward's great talent was to create dramatic, stylistically innovative sculptures despite having to design his works within the limitations of committees' requests.

The competition for the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908–14, on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, open to "artists resident in Canada and artists of Canadian birth residing elsewhere," was a typical example of the submission and selection process.⁴ Advertisements placed in newspapers in Canada, Britain, and France instructed artists to present their designs as sketch models in plaster (to a uniform scale of one-and-a-half inches to the foot), along with a description. The identity of the sculptor was provided "in a sealed envelope without distinctive mark thereon" and revealed only when the committee had made their choice.⁵ In general, the number of proposals could vary significantly depending on the prestige of the project and the rules regarding who could participate. In the case of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, nine proposals were submitted, each of which was examined by the committee in early 1908. After careful scrutiny, and without knowing the identity of the artist, the three members agreed that Allward's design best fulfilled the requirements.



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Submission sketch for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., Veterans Affairs Canada. RIGHT: Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission Design Competition, 1921, photographer unknown.

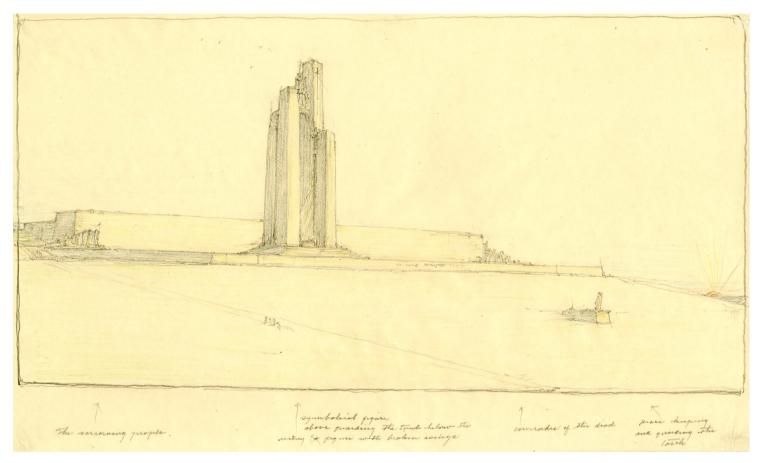
Another notable example of a prescribed competitive design process is that of the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, Canada's most prestigious First World War commemorative project. The competition, open to "all Canadian architects, designers, sculptors and other artists," was announced by the Canadian



Battlefields Memorials Commission (CBMC) in December 1920 and was carried out in two stages because of the large number of submissions expected. For the first round, participants were required to provide a drawing of their proposed design. The committee received sketches from 160 artists; after they were assessed, seventeen finalists, including Allward, were each paid a stipend to provide a plaster model and a written description based on the original drawing. In October 1921 a jury comprising three experts from Canada, England, and France chose Allward.

FROM SKETCH TO PLASTER MODEL

Allward first developed his ideas for a sculpture on paper and often created dozens of graphite drawings for a particular project. In developing his plan for the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, for example, he produced more than 150 mostly graphite sketches before arriving at the final version. Among them were numerous alternative concepts, such as *Alternative design for the Vimy Memorial*, n.d., as well as several figure studies.⁶



Walter S. Allward, Alternative design for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., drawing, Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston.

Once Allward had created a satisfactory design, he sculpted a small clay or wax

sketch model, or maquette, which was usually submitted to a committee.⁷ If chosen, he would then create a more detailed half-size figure in the same material over an armature of iron or wood and chicken netting, often working from a live model and making modifications as required. From the half-size figure, Allward produced a full-size clay or wax version. Once this stage was completed, a plaster duplicate of the full-size version was cast.



The goal throughout was fidelity to the original concept, which required labour-intensive and exacting work. The critic Augustus Bridle notes, "In all these varying stages the sculptor must keep his original poetry of idea and at the same time get a fuller and freer expression of it. Lines which in the small model were undeveloped, in the larger model must come out–and much more."⁸ Allward needed to refine his designs as he scaled them up, while preserving the concept he originally had been contracted to produce.

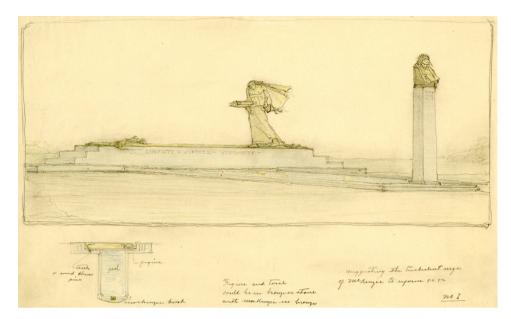


LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *Canada "Bereft": Maquette for the Vimy Memorial*, c.1921, plaster, 45.5 x 28.5 x 13.5 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *Plaster model of The Sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless for the Vimy Memorial*, n.d., photographer unknown.

It was usual for a committee to monitor Allward's work during the various stages. For the South African War Memorial, 1904-11, members of the Plans and Designs Committee made their first official visit to his studio in July 1906, when they examined the first of the full-size figures (the sculpture representing Canada) and gave their approval, subject to minor changes. The two soldiers at the base of the pylon were inspected and accepted by committee members in 1908 and 1909. After final refinements to the three figures, plaster versions were made and then sent in pieces to the Gorham Manufacturing Company in Providence, Rhode Island, for casting in bronze.



For the William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial, 1936-40, a committee headed by the architect John Lyle worked closely with Allward, consulting on his designs before visiting his studio in April 1937.⁹ As Lyle stated to his colleague Harry Orr McCurry, the work had "arrived at a stage when this small Committee should meet in Toronto to view the model that Allward has made and make a final inspection before any further work is undertaken."¹⁰ Although committees ensured that a project adhered to its original objectives,



Walter S. Allward, *Drawing of the William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial*, n.d., Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston.

they were often problematic. As Allward remarked to a journalist in 1922: "I daresay, I have been a great trial to committees. Certainly some of them have been to trial to me. But I have never lacked for sympathy from certain understanding souls, so the going has been not too hard."¹¹

From early in his career, benefiting from his knowledge of architecture, as well as his growing reputation as one of Canada's leading sculptors, Allward was actively involved in all aspects of a monument's design. His contract for the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22, for example, indicates that his fee included "the preliminary sketches, the accepted sketch model, the preparing of working drawings for the granite pedestal, and its foundation, also general supervision of the granite work, and supervision of the erection of the bronze group."¹² Allward also often gave advice on a monument's location and the surrounding landscape, keenly aware that positioning and context contributed to the viewer's experience. In his design for the King Edward VII Memorial on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, begun in 1912, he included a wall behind the figures so that the viewer's eye would be focused on them rather than on the stone buildings behind the sculpture.¹³ For the Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29, Allward not only approved Central Park as the best site but also designed the approach to the monument and chose the species of trees and bushes that would serve as a backdrop. His preparation for the Vimy Memorial, situated on the highest point of Vimy Ridge and facing east toward the rising sun, included modifying the ridge to improve sightlines and to create the impression that the monument arose naturally from the ground.





Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.

The process of making large monuments was labour-intensive, more so given that Allward worked slowly and meticulously. Sculptures with single figures, such as the John Graves Simcoe Monument, 1901-3, usually took two years to complete. He worked for seven years on the multi-figure South African War Memorial, from the submission of his proposal in 1904 to the installation of the final bronze sculpture in 1911. The Vimy Memorial, Allward's most ambitious and challenging project, took many years to complete: he made his first sketches in 1921, moved to Europe to begin work on the memorial there in 1922, and completed it in 1936.

Sculptural commissions were hard to come by in Canada, being both scarce and highly competitive, and Allward generally pursued as many projects as possible. However, his increasing success meant he worked on several sculptures simultaneously. Although Allward usually worked alone, he hired studio assistants when his schedule became especially demanding. In 1908 he employed the sculptor Emanuel Hahn to help with the South African War Memorial. Hahn, who was Allward's studio assistant until 1912, also contributed to the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14, and the Bell Memorial, 1909-17. During the mid-1920s, while sculpting the figures for the Vimy Memorial in his London studio and dealing with various problems associated with the project, Allward hired the English sculptor Gilbert Bayes (1872-1953) to finish two bronze figures for the Peterborough War Memorial. As with Hahn, Bayes was assigned to sculpt full-size figures from Allward's halfsize models, before preparing plaster versions for casting.





LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Bell Memorial (detail of one of the figures representing Humanity), 1909-17, bronze and granite, Bell Memorial Park, 41 West Street, Brantford, Ontario. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial (detail of soldier), 1904-11, bronze and granite, Toronto.

CASTING IN BRONZE

Most of Allward's sculptures were cast in bronze, an alloy composed of copper, zinc, and tin, which had replaced marble as the preferred material for sculpture by the mid-nineteenth century, being less expensive as well as more durable outdoors. His sculptures were unique pieces and therefore were produced using the sand-casting method, a relatively simple and economical process that permitted the foundry to duplicate with a high degree of fidelity the intricate detail of the sculptor's final model.¹⁴

Beginning with his first professional project, the sculpture of Peace for the Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96, Allward relied mainly upon foundries in the United States for bronze casting. He initially had the casting done by the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company in New York City or by Bureau Brothers in Philadelphia.¹⁵ Starting with the figures for the South African War Memorial, 1904-11, Allward used the Gorham Manufacturing Company, located in Provincetown, Rhode Island, who also cast the John Sandfield Macdonald Monument, 1907-9, the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14, and the Bell Memorial, 1909-17. As well as benefiting from the high level of skill provided by American foundries, Allward's projects with these facilities gave him a first-hand look at the work of some of the leading sculptors in the United States. Daniel Chester French (1850-1931) and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, for example, used Henry-Bonnard and Bureau Brothers to cast many of their acclaimed works.





Walter S. Allward, Bell Memorial (detail of central panel), 1909-17, bronze and granite, Brantford, Ontario.

It was only in the early 1920s that a Canadian foundry, the Architectural Bronze and Iron Works, based in Toronto, acquired the equipment and developed the skill to cast large-scale bronze figures. Allward hired the company for *Justice* and *Truth* for the King Edward VII Memorial, begun 1912, and for the two statues of the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22.¹⁶ The figures for the Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29, completed in Allward's London studio, were cast in bronze by the Thames Ditton Foundry in Surrey, England, the only time he used a company outside North America for bronze casting.

When a sculpture was ready to be cast, Allward would usually spend several days at the foundry to observe the process and supervise the finishing work, which included applying a patina, a procedure that involved heating the surface of a cast and applying solutions of salts and acids to give the work a decorative and durable finish. After a coat of wax was applied for additional protection, the bronze was shipped to its final destination.





Walter S. Allward, Statue of Justice for the King Edward VII Memorial (detail), 1920, bronze and granite, Supreme Court of Canada, Ottawa.

CARVING IN STONE

Although most of the sculptures that Allward produced were cast in bronze, he also occasionally worked in stone, the most notable example being the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36.¹⁷ Regardless of the medium, Allward first developed his ideas on paper before producing a sketch model. The main advantage of stone over bronze was that the final plaster version did not require the same attention to detail. Allward entrusted that aspect of the work to the carver.



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Carvers working on The Breaking of the Sword sculpture for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown.



For the twenty statues of the Vimy Memorial, Allward produced life-size wax versions in his London studio at 16 Maida Vale, working from sketches based on living models. These figures were subsequently moulded to the same dimensions in plaster, and after minor refinements they were sent to the Vimy site for carving in situ from large single blocks of stone, under the direction of the master carver Luigi Rigamonti (1872-1953). In carving the stone figures, which were twice the size of the plaster statues, Rigamonti and his assistants used an instrument called a pantograph to reproduce the sculptures to the desired scale. With this device, the carvers "measured the relative depths of different parts of the plaster figures with a measuring rod. By drilling into the stone blocks placed beside the plaster carvings to depths determined by another connected measuring rod, they were able to reproduce the plaster dimensions at twice the scale."¹⁸ Rigamonti and his assistants carved each figure or figure group, including those positioned at the top of the two pylons, in purpose-built temporary enclosures to allow work under all weather conditions. Six years were required to carve the monument's twenty figures.

As with most sculptors of his generation, Allward preferred bronze to stone, owing to its greater durability. He chose stone for the figures of the Vimy Memorial mainly on aesthetic grounds, to give the monument a unified tone, and to a lesser extent out of fear that if cast in bronze they might be melted down for munitions in a future conflict. The only time he combined bronze and stone figures in a single monument was for the proposed King Edward VII Memorial, begun in 1912, which included three figures cast in bronze (Edward VII and the allegorical representations of Truth and Justice) and one in stone (Peace, positioned along the top of the wall behind the bronze sculptures).



LEFT: Walter S. Allward, Statue of Truth for the King Edward VII Memorial, 1920, bronze and granite, Supreme Court of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, Statue of Justice for the King Edward VII Memorial, 1920, bronze and granite, Supreme Court of Canada, Ottawa.



ADDING INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions were a common feature of Allward's monuments, beginning with his earliest work in Queen's Park, Toronto. One of his main concerns in devising inscriptions for war memorials was the presentation of the names of the deceased. For the Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22, and the Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29, for example, the names of local men and women killed in the First World War, along with the main inscription, were carved into the blocks that formed the pedestal. Allward persuaded the committee for each memorial to accept alphabetical ordering, without distinction of rank or department of service.



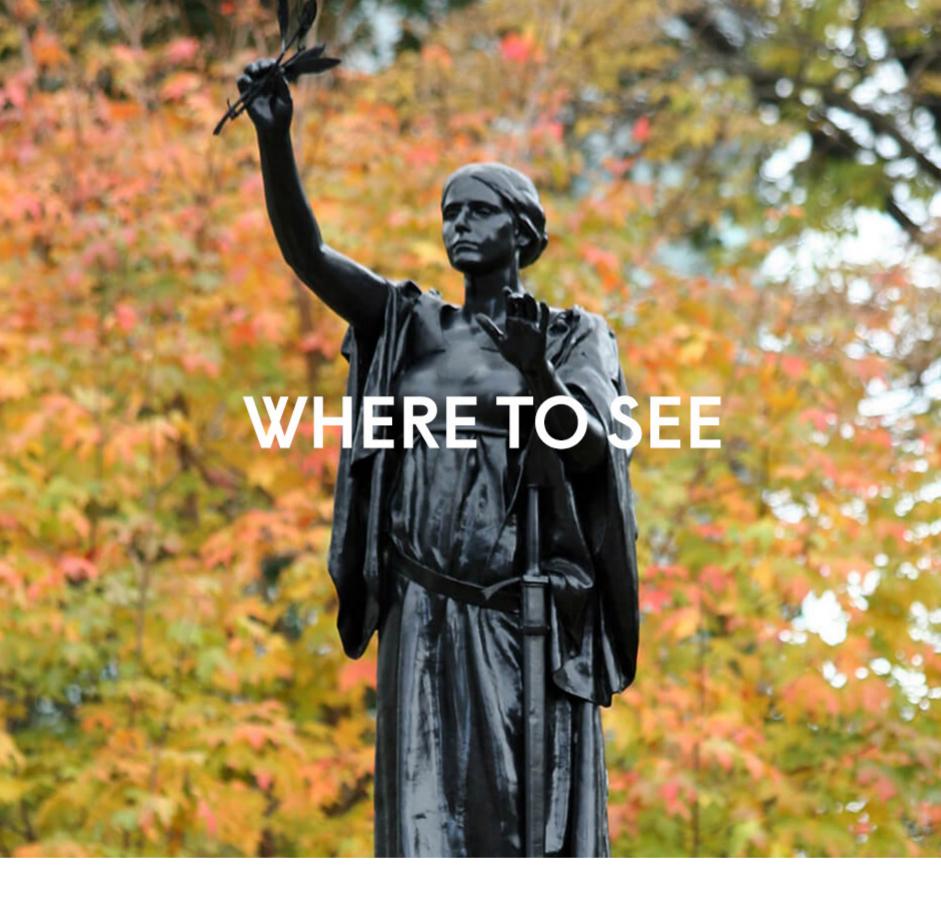
LEFT: Sandblasting names onto the lower wall of the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. RIGHT: Two men cutting names on the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown.

For the Vimy Memorial, 1921-36, Allward designed the lettering and chose the placement of the names of the 11,285 soldiers who were killed in France during the First World War and had no known burial place. As the names were not part of Allward's original design, The Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) suggested that they be arranged in perpendicular columns, a format that had been adopted for the Menin Gate Memorial in Ypres, Belgium, which lists the 6,983 Canadian soldiers killed in Belgium whose bodies were never found. Allward rejected that proposal, believing that it would compromise the aesthetic coherence of his design and instead suggested a horizontal layout, with names listed alphabetically from left to right across the memorial's lower walls. By adopting this arrangement, Allward also reaffirmed the equality of those who had lost their lives. The exacting task of engraving was entrusted to the acclaimed British artist and designer Percy Delf Smith (1882-1948), whose first step was to prepare scale and full-size drawings of the names and other inscriptions. The meticulous engraving process was achieved by sandblasting through rubber templates made from the drawings. For Allward, inscriptions on his war memorials, including Vimy, were an integral part of the design, as well as a way of honouring those who had paid the ultimate price in service to Canada.





Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of soldiers' names), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France.



Walter S. Allward's works can be found in numerous public and private collections across Canada. The works listed below may not always be on view and do not represent the complete collection of Allward's work at each institution.



BEECHWOOD CEMETERY

280 Beechwood Avenue Ottawa, Ontario, Canada 1-866-990-9530 beechwoodottawa.ca/



Walter S. Allward, Nicholas Flood Davin Monument, 1903

BELL MEMORIAL PARK

41 West Street Brantford, Ontario, Canada 519-756-1500



Walter S. Allward, Bell Memorial, 1909-17 Bronze and granite

CANADIAN NATIONAL VIMY MEMORIAL

Route départementale 55, Chemin des Canadiens 62580 Givenchy-en-Gohelle, France 011 33 3 21 50 68 68 veterans.gc.ca/eng



Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial, 1921-36 Seget limestone and concrete



CENOTAPH/MEMORIAL GARDENS

Erie Street Stratford, Ontario, Canada 519-271-0250



Walter S. Allward, Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22 Bronze and granite

CONFEDERATION PARK

501 George Street North Peterborough, Ontario, Canada 705-742-7777



Walter S. Allward, Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29 Bronze and granite



NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

380 Sussex Drive Ottawa, Ontario, Canada 613-990-1985 gallery.ca/



Walter S. Allward, Hugh Lachlan Cruikshank Allward, c.1905 Bronze 38 x 14.2 x 1.1 cm



Walter S. Allward, Study for Stratford War Memorial (No. 8), c.1920 Graphite on laid paper 47 x 63 cm



Walter S. Allward, *The Storm*, **1920** Bronze 33.9 x 21.5 x 38.9 cm



Walter S. Allward, Dream Time, c.1920-40 Plaster 26 x 28.5 x 10.5 cm



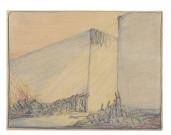
Walter S. Allward, Canada "Bereft": Maquette for the Vimy Memorial, c.1921 Plaster 45.5 x 28.5 x 13.5 cm



Walter S. Allward, The Reaper, c.1921 Plaster 43 x 11.5 x 29 cm



Walter S. Allward, *The Failure*, c.1940 Graphite and coloured pencil on wove paper 20.5 x 25.3 cm



Walter S. Allward, Untitled, c.1940 Graphite and coloured pencil on wove paper 21.1 x 27.6 cm



WALTER S. ALLWARD Life & Work by Philip Dombowsky



Walter S. Allward, *The Release*, 1940 Graphite and coloured pencil on cream paper 21 x 35.3 cm



Walter S. Allward, *The Dead Hear*, 1941 Graphite and coloured pencil on cream paper 21.2 x 33.3 cm



Walter S. Allward, *Futility*, n.d. Graphite and coloured pencil on wove paper 25.3 x 20.5 cm



Walter S. Allward, Six Female Figures and Child, n.d. Pen, brush, and black ink on laid paper 20 x 24.9 cm

PARLIAMENT HILL

Wellington Street Ottawa, Ontario, Canada 1-866-599-4999 visit.parl.ca/



Walter S. Allward, Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14 Bronze and granite

QUEEN'S PARK

110 Wellesley Street West Toronto, Ontario, Canada



Walter S. Allward, Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96 Bronze and granite



Walter S. Allward, John Graves Simcoe Monument, 1901-3 Bronze and granite



Walter S. Allward, Sir Oliver Mowat Monument, 1903-5 Bronze and granite



Walter S. Allward, John Sandfield Macdonald Monument, 1907-9 Bronze and granite







Walter S. Allward, William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial, 1936-40 Bronze and granite

SUPREME COURT OF CANADA

301 Wellington Street Ottawa, Ontario, Canada 1-888-551-1185 scc-csc.ca/



Walter S. Allward, Statue of Justice for the King Edward VII Memorial, 1920 Bronze and granite



Walter S. Allward, Statue of Truth for the King Edward VII Memorial, 1920 Bronze and granite

UNIVERSITY AVENUE AND QUEEN STREET WEST

360 University Avenue Toronto, Ontario, Canada 416-392-2489



Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial, 1904-11 Bronze and granite



VICTORIA MEMORIAL SQUARE

10 Niagara Street Toronto, Ontario, Canada 416-338-4386



Walter S. Allward, The Old Soldier, War of 1812 Monument, 1903-7 Bronze and granite

WOODLAND CEMETERY

G493 Springbank Drive London, Ontario, Canada 519-471-7450 woodlandcemetery.ca/



Walter S. Allward, Pixley Mausoleum, 1895-97 Granite



NOTES

BIOGRAPHY

1. The date of Allward's birth has been variously reported as November 18, 1875 or on the same day in 1876. The Register of Baptisms from All Saints Anglican Church, Dundas Street, Toronto, lists Allward's date of birth as November 18, 1874 and date of baptism as October 3, 1875.

2. For information on the shipbuilding work of James Pittman and his family, see Calvin D. Evans, *Master Shipbuilders of Newfoundland and Labrador*, *Volume 1: Cape Spear to Boyd's Cove* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 2013), 111-13.

3. Anne Anderson Perry, "Walter Allward – Canada's Sculptor," *International Studio* 75 (April 1922): 120.

4. Frederick William (1877-1877) of "capillary bronchitis"; Emma Augusta (1878-1879) and Clara Ethel (1880-1881) of "tubercular meningitis"; and Ida Emma (1883-1884) of "dysentery and disease of the lungs."

5. Elizabeth Jardine, quoted in "To Unveil Vimy War Memorial," *Calgary Herald*, April 7, 1934, 30.

6. Anne Anderson Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Great Sculptor," *National Pictorial*, March 1, 1922, 1.

7. Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Great Sculptor," 2.

8. Perry, "Walter Allward – Canada's Sculptor," 121.

9. Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Great Sculptor," 2.

10. "Threat to Smash Statue Put Guard over Allward," *Vancouver Daily World*, January 19, 1924, 18.

11. "Art Notes," Toronto Saturday Night 9, no. 8 (January 11, 1896): 9.

12. "The Noble Dead. A New Monument for Queen's Park," *The Globe* (Toronto), June 29, 1896, 6.

13. "I First Saw," Winnipeg Tribune, February 27, 1923, 4.

14. Nancy Z. Tausky and Lynne D. DiStefano, "Pixley Mausoleum, 1895-7," in *Symbols of Aspiration: Victorian Architecture in London and Southwestern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 404-7.

15. "Oronhyatekha: Unveiling of a Statue of the Supreme Ranger," *The Globe* (Toronto), June 17, 1899, 30.



16. For more on the Educational Museum sculpture program, which lasted until 1905, see Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984), 154-59.

17. Allward completed a total of eight busts; his other subjects were Dr. John Rolph (June 1899), Sir Oliver Mowat (February 1900), and A.S. Hardy (September 1900). The busts of Laurier, Mowat, and Ross remain in the Government of Ontario art collection. The whereabouts of the others are unknown.

18. Walter Allward to George Hatley, Secretary, Bell Memorial Telephone Association, May 5, 1911. The Bell Telephone Memorial Association Fonds, Box #2574-3, Walter Allward - Correspondence, 1911-13.

19. Walker helped select Allward to design a monument in Portland Square in Toronto dedicated to soldiers who died in the War of 1812. He was also a key member on the committee that awarded Allward the commission to design the South African War Memorial on University Avenue near Queen Street in 1904.

20. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts exhibition was held from January 22 to March 3, 1906.

21. Augustus Bridle, "Canadians of To-day and To-morrow: Walter S. Allward, Sculptor," *The Globe* (Toronto), Saturday Magazine Section, May 28, 1910, A10.

22. Alexandrina Ramsay, "Army and Navy Veterans' Monument," *The Globe* (Toronto), January 5, 1907, 10.

23. The author found no evidence that Allward and his wife travelled to Europe in the months following their wedding. The 1903 trip is documented by a shipping manifest and a short notice in the July 11, 1903 issue of *The Globe* that indicated that "Mr. and Mrs. Allward will shortly leave for a trip to England and the continent."

24. James Mavor, "Walter Allward, Sculptor," *The Year Book of Canadian Art 1913* (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, Limited, 1913), 252.

25. "The Arts and Letters Club; Organization Formed to Unite All Branches of the Arts," *The Globe* (Toronto), May 15, 1908, 9.

26. "Unfinished Year after Unveiling," *The Globe* (Toronto), May 24, 1911, 9; "Causes of Delay on the Monument," *The Globe* (Toronto), May 25, 1911, 8.

27. See, for example, Bridle, "Canadians of To-day and To-morrow: Walter S. Allward, Sculptor," A1.



28. Allward completed two of the figures, *Justice* and *Truth*, for the King Edward VII Memorial before leaving for Europe in 1922. In 1970, after languishing in storage for several decades, the two figures were installed in front of the Supreme Court Building on Wellington Street in Ottawa.

29. Walter Allward to the Honourable A.E. Kent, Minister of Militia, January 19, 1917. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, box 1, file 3, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.

30. "Sculpture and the War," The Lamps (December 1919): 84.

31. "Sculpture and the War," 84-85.

32. George Kay to General W.B. Morrison, July 15, 1921. Orr Family Fonds, file 1, no. 41, Stratford-Perth Archives, Stratford, Ontario.

33. Walter Allward to Sir Edmund Walker, March 14, 1923. Sir Edmund Walker Papers, box 25, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

34. Each of the sketch models included the central feature of two pylons rising above a stone of remembrance. The designs differed mainly in the arrangement and choice of figures. As described in a souvenir program that was issued for the monument's unveiling in May 1933, Allward's final version included "the wounded figure of a recumbent youth gazing up at the cross, while a mother, with head held high, typifies unbroken faith and patriotic fervor; a third figure is in the attitude of prayer." *Souvenir of the Dedication of the Brant War Memorial* (Brantford: Brant War Memorial Association, May 25, 1933), 2.

35. Walter Allward to Emanuel Hahn, May 29, 1936. Collection of Sydney Browne, granddaughter of Emanuel Hahn.

36. Ernest Lapointe quoted in W.W. Murray, ed., *The Epic of Vimy* (Ottawa: The Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League), 94.

37. King Edward VIII quoted in Murray, The Epic of Vimy, 96.

38. Allward quoted in "The King at Vimy Ridge," *London Observer*, May 31, 1936, 11.

39. Walter Allward to Emanuel Hahn, May 29, 1936. Collection of Sydney Browne, granddaughter of Emanuel Hahn.

40. "Walter S. Allward, Sculptor and Architect of Vimy Memorial Honoured by R.A.I.C.," *The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 14, no. 3 (March 1937): 38.

41. Sir Edwin Lutyens quoted in William Marchington, "Huge War Memorial Placed on Vimy Ridge Soon To Be Completed," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), December 5, 1933, 1, 12.



42. Journal of the House of Commons 76 (1938): 55.

43. Bertram Brooker, "Sculpture's New Mood," in Bertram Brooker, ed., *Yearbook of the Arts in Canada* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1929), 102.

44. For example, Edwin Johnson, a Canadian Press staff writer, stated that "Canada's memorial to her first Great War dead atop Vimy Ridge has been smashed to pieces in deliberate bombing attacks by the Germans, according to British Tommies returned from the hell of the fighting in Flanders." "Says Vandalism was 'Obviously Deliberate,'" *Calgary Herald*, June 1, 1940, 1.

45. "Memorial at Vimy Found Undamaged," *The Gazette* (Montreal), August 7, 1940, 6.

46. "Designer Pleased at News," The Gazette (Montreal), September 4, 1944, 1.

47. University of Toronto, Board of Governors, Minutes, no. 4 [19], 1943-44, 218.

48. "Walter Seymour Allward," Globe and Mail (Toronto), April 26, 1955, 6.

KEY WORKS: NORTHWEST REBELLION MONUMENT

1. A second plaque, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the rebellion, was added in 1935.

2. "Art Notes," Saturday Night 9, no. 8 (January 11, 1896): 9.

3. "Trade Notes," The Monumental News 8 (1896): 526.

KEY WORKS: JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE MONUMENT

1. The project had been initiated in 1893 by the Ontario Historical Society. In 1897 supervision was handed over to a committee comprising members of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, including Frank Darling (1850–1923), E. Wyly Grier (1862–1957), and Byron Edmund Walker (1848–1924). The competition for the sculpture was officially announced in early 1901.

2. "Governor Simcoe Monument," The Globe (Toronto), May 9, 1902, 12.

 Allward's trip to New York is noted in Walter Allward to William Lyon Mackenzie King, March 10, 1903. Library and Archives Canada, MG 26, J1, vol.
 3.

4. "The Simcoe Monument," The Globe (Toronto), May 23, 1903, 25.

5. Premier George William Ross quoted in "Monument to First Governor," *The Globe* (Toronto), May 28, 1903, 8.

6. "Toronto Sculptor Succeeds," The Globe (Toronto), May 15, 1901, 4.



KEY WORKS: SIR OLIVER MOWAT MONUMENT

1. "The Mowat Monument in Toronto," *Buffalo Morning Express*, November 12, 1905, 10.

2. The two bas-relief panels are reproduced in "Men, Women, and Events," *The Globe* (Toronto), September 9, 1905, 8.

3. "The Statue of Sir Oliver Mowat," *The Globe* (Toronto), November 4, 1905, 1. The exhibition was held at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts on North Broad Street in Philadelphia from January 22 until March 3, 1906.

KEY WORKS: THE OLD SOLDIER, WAR OF 1812 MEMORIAL

1. "For the Military Graveyard: Model for Figure of Soldier's Monument Approved," *The Globe* (Toronto), July 7, 1905, 12.

2. Victoria Memorial Square, now officially part of Fort York National Historic Site, was recently refurbished and currently features several interpretative panels describing the park's history.

3. Arthur E. McFarlane, "The Work of Walter Allward," *The Busy Man's Magazine* 18, no. 7 (November 1, 1909): 3.

KEY WORKS: SOUTH AFRICAN WAR MEMORIAL

1. Walter Allward to the Finance Committee, South African War Memorial Association, December 15, 1905.

2. "Unfinished Year after Unveiling," *The Globe* (Toronto), May 24, 1911; "Causes of Delay on the Monument," *The Globe* (Toronto), May 25, 1911, 8.

3. See, for example, Augustus Bridle, "Canadians of To-day and To-morrow: Walter S. Allward, Sculptor," *The Globe* (Toronto), Saturday Magazine Section, May 28, 1910, A1.

KEY WORKS: BALDWIN-LAFONTAINE MONUMENT

1. Governor General Lord Grey to James Bryce, His Excellency, the British Ambassador, March 4, 1907. Library and Archives Canada, MG 27, II, B2, vol. 7, C-1357, 1955-56.

KEY WORKS: BELL MEMORIAL

1. Walter Allward to George Hatley, Secretary of the Bell Memorial Committee, May 14, 1909. The Bell Telephone Memorial Association fonds, Bell Canada, Montreal, Box 2574.

2. "Monument to be Erected for the Bell Telephone Memorial Association," September 30, 1908. The Bell Telephone Memorial Association fonds, Bell Canada, Montreal, Box 2574.

William A. Day, Gorham Manufacturing Company, to Walter Allward, August
 1914. The Bell Telephone Memorial Association fonds, Bell Canada,
 Montreal, Box 2574.



KEY WORKS: STRATFORD WAR MEMORIAL

 The Stanstead Granite Quarries Company Limited based in Stanstead, Quebec, provided the blocks, which were assembled and inscribed by the McIntosh Granite Works of Toronto.

2. The casting was done at the Architectural Bronze and Iron Works in Toronto, the first Canadian company to cast large-scale works in bronze.

George Kay to Walter Allward, January 3, 1923, Orr Family Fonds, file 2, no.
 Stratford-Perth Archives, Stratford, Ontario.

KEY WORKS: PETERBOROUGH WAR MEMORIAL

 A few months before its unveiling, the sculpture was described as representing "the nobler spirit of mankind forbidding the advance of militarism." "Peterborough's Beautiful War Memorial," *Saturday Night* (January 5, 1929): 2.

2. Walter Allward to Judge Huycke, Peterborough, December 27, 1925. Citizens' War Memorial Committee Fonds, Peterborough Museum and Archives, Peterborough, Ontario.

3. "Lest We Forget": Order of Ceremonial for the Unveiling and Dedication of Peterborough's Memorial to Her Sons who Died in the Great War, 1914-1918. Peterborough, Sunday, June 30, 1929. Citizens' War Memorial Committee Fonds, Peterborough Museum and Archives, Peterborough, Ontario.

KEY WORKS: VIMY MEMORIAL

1. French soldiers had previously been unsuccessful in taking the ridge, at a cost of more than 100,000 dead and wounded.

2. Christopher Hume, "Vimy's Monumental Artist," Toronto Star, April 1, 2007.

3. Allward quoted in Anne Anderson Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Great Sculptor," *National Pictorial*, March 1, 1922, 3.

4. Allward quoted in Muriel Miller, "Famous Canadian Artists: Walter S. Allward," *Onward* 49, no. 2 (January 8, 1939): 22.

5. Allward's description of the Vimy Memorial is quoted in Tim Cook, *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2017), 212.

6. Cook, Vimy: The Battle and the Legend, 212.

7. Quoted in Suzanne Evans, Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007),
126.

8. "Walter S. Allward, Sculptor and Architect of Vimy Memorial Honoured by R.A.I.C.," *The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 14, no. 3 (March 1937): 39.



KEY WORKS: WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE MEMORIAL

1. Arthur C. Hardy, "Mackenzie Memorial," *Saturday Night* (September 14, 1940): 2.

KEY WORKS: THE DEAD HEAR

1. Tony Urquhart, *Vimy and After: Drawings by Walter Seymour Allward* (Stratford, Ontario: Gallery Stratford, 2005), n.p.

SIGNIFICANCE & CRITICAL ISSUES

1. The fund was an outgrowth of the Canadian War Records Office, which Aitken had set up earlier in the year to document Canadian participation in the conflict through film, photography, and print.

2. Robert Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987), 155.

3. Allward quoted in Muriel Miller, "Famous Canadian Artists: Walter S. Allward," *Onward* 49, no. 2 (January 8, 1939): 22.

4. Tim Cook, Vimy: The Battle and the Legend (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2018), 212.

5. "Prime Minister's Message at Vimy," The Ottawa Journal, July 27, 1936, 13.

6. Hahn in turn gave the tools to the sculptor Elizabeth Bradford Holbrook (1913-2009). Before her death in 2009, Holbrook bequeathed them to Christian Cardell Corbet (b.1966).

7. "Pays High Tributes to Ottawa Sculptor," *The Ottawa Journal*, June 23, 1922, 11.

8. The Leader-Post (Regina), November 13, 1926, 44.

9. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, *Memorial Section: Sketches, Models in Plaster and Photographs of the Work of the Late Walter Seymour Allward, C.M.G., R.C.A., F.R.A.I.C., LL.D., 1876-1955.* Art Gallery of Toronto, November 25, 1955-January 2, 1956.

10. David Burnett and Marilyn Schiff, *Contemporary Canadian Art* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 141.

11. Terry G. Guernsey, *Statues of Parliament Hill: An Illustrated History* (Ottawa: Visual Arts Programme, National Capital Commission, 1986); Christine Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987).

12. Jane Urquhart, *The Stone Carvers*, new edn (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 377.



13. Only one substantive article has been published to date about a work other than Vimy. See Dennis Duffy, "The Grandfathering of William Lyon Mackenzie King," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 581-608. Although Allward is mentioned in Maria Tippett's recent survey of Canadian sculpture, most of the discussion relates to his magnum opus in France. Maria Tippett, *Sculpture in Canada: A History* (Madeira Park, British Columbia, 2017).

14. After years of neglect, most of the monuments around Queen's Park were restored by City of Toronto under the supervision of the city's public art conservator, Sandra Lougheed, between 2000 and 2001. The Vimy Memorial was restored between 2005 and 2007 under the direction of the Ottawa architect Julian Smith.

15. Most of the items in these collections were donated in the 1980s and 1990s by Peter Allward, Walter's grandson. Peter, who became a successful architect, was raised by Walter and Margaret after the death of his father, Donald Allward, in 1934.

16. Alexandra Mosquin, *Walter Allward, Submission Report* (Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 2001).

17. The Vimy Memorial is also familiar through reproductions on stamps and currency, appearing most recently on the verso of the Bank of Canada's first polymer-based \$20 bank note, which was issued in November 2012, and on a series of Canadian and French commemorative stamps released in 2017 to mark the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge.

18. The statue, sculpted by John Dann in 1981, was donated to the City of Victoria by the Sir John A. Macdonald Society of British Columbia.

19. Macdonald has become one of Canada's most controversial historical figures. Protests have taken place and petitions have been presented with respect to Macdonald monuments in Regina and Kingston. In August 2020, protestors in Montreal toppled a statue of John A. Macdonald located in Place du Canada.

20. Cindy Blackstock, executive director of the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada, led the effort.

STYLE & TECHNIQUE

1. Laurie Labelle and Dennis Reid, "Walter Allward: Redefining Monumental Sculpture in Canada," unpublished paper, 3.

2. Hahn quoted in Labelle and Reid, "Walter Allward," 2.

3. Labelle and Reid, "Walter Allward," 4.



4. The competition rules for the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument are outlined in the "Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Advisory Arts Council Held in the Office of the Hon. Minister of Public Works, Ottawa. July 18th, 1907." National Gallery of Canada Fonds, 7.5 M – Minutes, Advisory Arts Council, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa.

5. "Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Advisory Arts Council Held in the Office of the Hon. Minister of Public Works, Ottawa. July 18th, 1907." National Gallery of Canada Fonds, 7.5 M – Minutes, Advisory Arts Council, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa.

6. Lane Borstad's catalogue of Allward's drawings includes thirty-three relating to the Vimy Memorial. Lane F. Borstad, "A Catalogue of Drawings and Sculpture of Walter Seymour Allward (1876-1955)," MA thesis (Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 1990), nos. 226-58.

7. Initially, Allward mainly used clay in modelling his figures. After encountering difficulties with clay for the South African War Memorial, he began using a special wax manufactured in Italy, which did not dry and harden as quickly, and was less susceptible to fungi. For more regarding Allward's preference for wax over clay, see Augustus Bridle, "Canadians of To-day and To-morrow: Walter S. Allward, Sculptor," *The Globe* (Toronto), Saturday Magazine Section, May 28, 1910, A10.

8. Bridle, "Canadians of To-day and To-morrow: Walter S. Allward, Sculptor," A10. Aspects of Allward's working method are described in several early sources. Along with Bridle's article, see Anne Anderson Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Great Sculptor," *National Pictorial* (March 1, 1922): 2.

9. The other members of the committee included Professor John Alford (1890-1960), A.H. Robson (1882-1939), and H.O. McCurry (1889-1964).

10. John M. Lyle to H.O. McCurry, April 20, 1937. Correspondence with artists, Allward, Walter S., box 255, file 10. National Gallery of Canada Fonds, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa.

11. Perry, "Walter Allward: Canada's Great Sculptor," 2.

12. Walter Allward to W. Preston, Chairman Soldiers' War Memorial, September 9, 1920. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, box 1, file 5, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.

13. "Memorial to the Late King Edward VII," *Construction* 6, no. 5 (May 1913):183.

14. For more on bronze casting, see William Donald Mitchell, *The Art of the Bronze Founder* (New York: Jno. Williams, Inc., 1916).

15. For the Sir Oliver Mowat Monument, 1903-5, Allward used both the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company and Bureau Brothers, the former for the Mowat statue and the latter for the pedestal.



16. The two bronze figures for the Stratford War Memorial were cast by the Architectural Bronze and Iron Works in 1922 and unveiled on November 6 of that year.

17. Allward's other works in stone include the figures of Drama, Victory, and Music for the Pixley Mausoleum, 1895-97, Woodlawn Cemetery, London, Ontario; the portrait bust of Private Walsley Haines, Newmarket, Ontario, 1900-1901; and the four lion heads beneath the figure of Victory at the top of the South African War Memorial, Toronto, 1904-11.

18. Laura Brandon, "History as Monument: The Sculptures on the Vimy Memorial," *Dispatches* 11 (January 2000): 2.



GLOSSARY

Académie Julian

A private art school established by Rudolphe Julian in Paris in 1868. Among the many Canadian artists who studied there are Maurice Cullen, J.W. Morrice, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté, A.Y. Jackson, and Clarence Gagnon.

Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO)

Founded in 1900 as the Art Museum of Toronto, later the Art Gallery of Toronto, the Art Gallery of Ontario is a major collecting institution in Toronto, Ontario, holding close to 95,000 works by Canadian and international artists.

Arts and Crafts

A precursor to modernist design, this decorative arts movement developed in the mid-nineteenth century in England in response to what its proponents saw as the dehumanizing effects of industrialization. Spearheaded by William Morris, the Arts and Crafts movement valued craftsmanship and simplicity of form and frequently incorporated nature motifs in the design of ordinary objects.

Arts and Letters Club of Toronto

A Toronto-based club established in 1908 to promote culture, it provided a space in which artists, architects, writers, musicians, and art patrons could practise and perform their art as well as engage in discussion in a convivial atmosphere. Founding members of the Group of Seven frequently met there to relax, exhibit, and promote their work. The club, which still operates today, was originally male-only; however, on February 19, 1985, female members began to be admitted.

Barnard, George Grey (American, 1863–1938)

Originally from Pennsylvania, Barnard studied at the Art Institute of Chicago before moving to France in 1883, where he attended the École des beaux-arts and was inspired by the work of Auguste Rodin. After he returned to the United States, he lived in New York City and he was celebrated for his sculptures for the Pennsylvania State Capitol.

Bartholdi, Frédéric-Auguste (French, 1834–1904)

Known for designing the Statue of Liberty in New York, Bartholdi studied painting under Ary Scheffer (1795-1858) and sculpture under Antoine Étex (1808-1888) and Jean-François Soitoux (1824-1891). He became fascinated by monumental sculptures in the mid-1850s after seeing the Sphinx and Pyramids of Giza in Egypt.

Beatty, J.W. (Canadian, 1869–1941)

An influential painter and educator at the Ontario College of Art (now OCAD University), Toronto, who sought to develop a uniquely Canadian style of painting. Beatty was a contemporary of Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven, though his painting style retained more traditional aesthetics than their work did. His most renowned painting, *The Evening Cloud of the Northland*, 1910, is held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Beaux-Arts

An academic style taught by the École des beaux-arts in Paris to students in architecture, graphic arts, painting, and sculpture. Mainly based on the art of Greek and Roman antiquities, the style was especially popular during nineteenth century. In sculpture, the style initially favoured the idealized forms of neoclassicism but increasingly absorbed naturalism as the century progressed.

Blake, William (British, 1757-1827)

A poet, visual artist, and mystical philosopher, considered a seminal figure of the Romantic period. Deeply religious and unconventional, Blake was fervently anti-rationalist and anti-materialist. Among his small circle of admirers were the Ancients (a group of English artists) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Bourassa, Napoléon (Canadian, 1827–1916)

Napoléon Bourassa was an architect, writer, painter, and sculptor. During his long career, he directed numerous church construction and decoration projects in French Canada. Of these, the most complex is Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes in Montreal. He was influenced by Michelangelo, Raphael, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, and Hippolyte Flandrin. Between 1870 and 1904, he designed and decorated eight churches.

Brooker, Bertram (Canadian, 1888–1955)

A British-born painter, illustrator, musician, poet, Governor General's Awardwinning novelist, and Toronto advertising executive. In 1927 Brooker became the first Canadian artist to exhibit abstract art. His work is in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, and other major collections. (See *Bertram Brooker: Life & Work* by James King.)

Canadian Art Club

Active from 1907 to 1915, the Toronto-based Canadian Art Club was spearheaded by the painters Edmund Morris and Curtis Williamson as a departure from what they viewed as the low standards of the Ontario Society of Artists. The invitation-only club included prominent Canadian painters and sculptors influenced by international developments, including recent Dutch and French painting. One of its goals was to entice expatriates, most notably James Wilson Morrice and Clarence Gagnon, to exhibit in Canada. Homer Watson served as the Canadian Art Club's first president.

Challener, Frederick (British/Canadian, 1869–1959)

A student of George Agnew Reid, Frederick (Fred) Sproston Challener began his career as a lithographer and painter. After travelling in Europe and the Middle East, he began to work as a muralist, working initially through the Toronto Society of Mural Decorators and the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, and collaborating with artists including C.W. Jefferys. He later received numerous theatre commissions, including for the murals decorating the interior of Toronto's Royal Alexandra Theatre.

Clemesha, Frederick (Canadian, 1876-1958)

Born in Lancashire, England, Clemesha set up an architectural practice in Regina, Saskatchewan, in the early 1900s and during the First World War served as a lieutenant in the 46th Infantry Battalion of the Canadian



Expeditionary Force. Resuming work as an architect after the war, he was the runner-up in the competition organized by Canadian Battlefields Memorial Commission to design First World War memorials in France and Belgium. His design, known as *The Brooding Soldier*, was unveiled in July 1923 at St. Julien, Belgium, marking the site of the first large scale gas attack during the Second Battle of Ypres in 1915.

Cruikshank, William (Scottish, 1848–1922)

A Scottish-born educator and portrait, figure, and scene painter who immigrated to Canada in 1871. Cruikshank was a long-time instructor at the Ontario College of Art (now OCAD University), Toronto. Many painters who themselves became notable and influential Canadian artists studied under Cruikshank, including Franklin Carmichael, Frank Johnston, J.E.H. MacDonald, and, it seems, Tom Thomson too.

Darling, Frank (Canadian, 1850-1923)

After training in Britain, Darling developed a successful architectural practice in Toronto, specializing in churches, bank branches, and other public buildings. His most notable projects include the Royal Ontario Museum, Convocation Hall at the University of Toronto, the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, and Walker Court at the Art Gallery of Ontario.

Dix, Otto (German, 1891–1969)

An Expressionist painter and printmaker who created harshly satirical, sometimes grotesque depictions of figures from Weimar Germany, Dix was a pioneer of the Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity) movement. War, prostitution, and human depravity were central themes of his work.

École des beaux-arts

A major institution in nineteenth-century France, the École des beaux-arts has its origins in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture established by Louis XIV in 1648. This academy was suppressed during the French Revolution, and the École was established in 1819, becoming the new national art school. It was based on an atelier system in which students worked in studios with different master artists, learning to draw in the academic tradition and participating in regular competitions.

French, Daniel Chester (American, 1850–1931)

The foremost American monumental sculptor of the early twentieth century, French is best known for designing the statue of Abraham Lincoln, 1920, in the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC. He first gained acclaim for *The Minute Man*, 1871-75, a commemorative monument in the Beaux-arts aesthetic commissioned by the town of Concord, Massachusetts. Over the course of his sixty-year career, French created allegorical and historical figures and portrait statues in a style that infused Neoclassism with naturalism.

Goya, Francisco (Spanish, 1746–1828)

Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes was an influential painter of the Spanish Enlightenment whose expressive style would guide the Romantic, realist, and Impressionist painters of the nineteenth century, particularly French artists including Édouard Manet. Though he rose to prominence as a court painter for



the Spanish monarchy, Goya's drawings and etchings of the horrors of the Napoleonic Wars and Spanish struggles for independence in the early nineteenth century, none of them published during his lifetime, would prove some of his most enduring work.

Grier, E. Wyly (Australian/Canadian, 1862–1957)

A portrait painter who depicted influential Canadian businessmen, politicians, and others. Following studies at the Slade School of Art in London, the Scuola Libera del Nudo in Rome, and the Académie Julian in Paris, he returned to Canada in 1891 and established a portrait studio in Toronto. Grier served as president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts from 1929 to 1939, and in 1935 became the first Canadian to be knighted for his work as an artist.

Grosz, George (German/American, 1893–1959)

A prominent chronicler of 1920s Berlin, George Grosz channelled the disillusionment of his First World War experiences into socially critical and often grotesque drawings. Associated with the Berlin Dadaists, he embraced the Neue Sachlichkeit ("New Objectivity") movement. In 1933, following the rise to power of the National Socialist Party, Grosz immigrated to the United States, where he settled in New York City and continued to work.

Group of Seven

A progressive and nationalistic school of landscape painting in Canada, the Group of Seven was active between 1920 (the year of the group's first exhibition, at the Art Gallery of Toronto, now the Art Gallery of Ontario) and 1933. Founding members were the artists Franklin Carmichael, Lawren Harris, A.Y. Jackson, Frank Johnston, Arthur Lismer, J.E.H. MacDonald, and Frederick Varley.

Hahn, Emanuel (German/Canadian, 1881–1957)

A sculptor and commercial designer who designed the Ned Hanlan monument (commissioned in 1926 and originally erected on the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition; now located on Toronto Islands, Toronto). He was the head of the sculpture department at the Ontario College of Art (now OCAD University), Toronto, and the husband of fellow sculptor Elizabeth Wyn Wood.

Hébert, Louis-Philippe (Canadian, 1850–1917)

One of the most important sculptors in Canada in the late 1800s, Hébert began his career by apprenticing with Napoléon Bourassa, and he later studied in Paris. He became known for creating bronze monuments, including several high-profile commissions for Parliament Hill in Ottawa and the Legislative Building in Quebec.

Hill, George W. (Canadian, 1862–1934)

One of the leading Canadian sculptors of the early twentieth century, Hill was known for his war memorials in the French academic style. Born in the Eastern Township of Shipton in Quebec, Hill studied sculpture at the École des beauxarts and Académie Julian in Paris from 1889 to 1894. Returning to Montreal, Hill went on to produce numerous major monuments primarily in Quebec and Ontario.



Jackson, A.Y. (Canadian, 1882-1974)

A founding member of the Group of Seven and an important voice in the formation of a distinctively Canadian artistic tradition. A Montreal native, Jackson studied painting in Paris before moving to Toronto in 1913; his northern landscapes are characterized by the bold brush strokes and vivid colours of his Impressionist and Post-Impressionist influences.

Laliberté, Alfred (Canadian, 1878–1953)

Born in Sainte-Élizabeth-de-Warwick, Quebec, Laliberté studied sculpture at the Council of Arts and Manufactures in Montreal and at the renowned École des beaux-arts in Paris. During his time in France Laliberté discovered the work of Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), who became a significant influence on his sculptures. Best known for his monumental works and his statuettes and portrait busts depicting traditional Quebec culture, Laliberté was a member of both the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and France's prestigious Académie des beaux-arts. He taught at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal (now part of the Université du Québec à Montréal) for thirty years.

Lismer, Arthur (British/Canadian, 1885–1969)

A landscape painter and founding member of the Group of Seven, Lismer immigrated to Canada from England in 1911. He was also an influential educator of adults and children, and he created children's art schools at both the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto (1933) and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (1946).

Loring, Frances (Canadian, 1887–1968)

A prominent figure in establishing Canadian sculpture and the style of national public monuments. Loring and fellow sculptor Florence Wyle, her lifelong partner, were the first women in Canada widely recognized for sculpture. Loring designed and modelled the Queen Elizabeth Way Monument in Toronto and the statue of Robert Borden in Ottawa. A passionate arts advocate, she helped found the Sculptors Society of Canada and organize what would become the Canada Council for the Arts.

MacCarthy, Coeur-de-Lion (Canadian, 1881–1979)

A London-born sculptor, MacCarthy received his training in his father Hamilton McCarthy's (1846-1939) studio. After setting up his own studio in 1918, MacCarthy became known for his commemorative monuments and busts of political figures. He created the Verdun War Memorial in Verdun, Quebec, as well as monuments in Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Knowlton, and Vancouver.

MacCarthy, Hamilton (Canadian, 1846–1939)

A pioneer of early monumental bronze sculpture in Canada, MacCarthy studied sculpture under his father, Hamilton W. MacCarthy, and at the RA Schools in London. MacCarthy designed numerous Boer War memorials in Ottawa, Quebec City, Brantford, Halifax, Canning, and Charlottetown. Other major works include his statue of Samuel de Champlain, 1915, at Nepean Point, Ottawa, and the South African War Memorial, 1902, in Confederation Park, Ottawa.



May, (Henrietta) Mabel (Canadian, 1877–1971)

A modernist painter of landscapes, urban scenes, and portraits and figure paintings of women. May studied under William Brymner at the Art Association of Montreal, before spending time in Britain and France in 1912-13. After her return to Canada she was commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Fund to depict women workers in munitions factories. May was an active member of Montreal's Beaver Hall Group in the early 1920s and a founder of the Canadian Group of Painters in 1933.

Michelangelo (Italian, 1475–1564)

A sculptor, painter, architect, engineer, and poet during the High Renaissance, Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni was renowned during his lifetime and is considered one of the greatest artists in history. His best-known works include the sculptures *David*, 1501-04, and *Pietà*, 1498-99, the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, and his design for the dome of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome.

Morris, Edmund Montague (Canadian, 1871–1913)

A painter best known for his portraits of Indigenous leaders during Canada's post-Confederation treaty negotiations, especially of the early twentieth century, although he was also an admired landscape painter. In 1906 Morris, on commission, accompanied the James Bay expedition for the negotiation of Treaty 9 with Cree and Ojibway peoples. He often used pastel in detailed, close-up portraits of Indigenous chiefs. With fellow painter Curtis Williamson, Morris instigated the creation of the Canadian Art Club in 1907, of which he was a key member.

National Gallery of Canada

Established in 1880, the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa holds the most extensive collection of Canadian art in the country as well as works by prominent international artists. Spearheaded by the governor general, the Marquis of Lorne, the gallery was created to strengthen a specifically Canadian brand of artistic culture and identity and to build a national collection of art that would match the level of other British Empire institutions. Since 1988 the gallery has been located on Sussex Drive in a building designed by Moshe Safdie.

Ontario Society of Artists (OSA)

Canada's oldest extant professional artists' association, the Ontario Society of Artists was formed in 1872 by seven artists from various disciplines. Its first annual exhibition was held in 1873. The OSA eventually played an important role in the founding of OCAD University and the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto.

Peel, Mildred (Canadian, 1856-1920)

Born in London, Ontario, Peel studied art at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, as well as in Paris, where she lived with her brother, noted painter Paul Peel. A member of the Ontario Society of Artists, she was known for painting portraits and sculpting busts and she received a number of important commissions to depict historic figures.



Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

Founded in 1805, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts was the first art school and art museum in the United States. In the nineteenth century, the school was one of the rare institutions to provide art education to women as well as men. The museum holds an important collection of American art from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries.

Reid, George Agnew (Canadian, 1860-1947)

A painter of portraits, figure studies, and genre and historical scenes. With his training in the academic tradition, and his roles as president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (1906-9) and principal of the Ontario College of Art, Reid became a key figure in Ontario's art scene. Inspired by the mural revivals in Europe and the United States, he promoted mural art in Canada–an activity that was part of his larger concern with using the visual arts to beautify urban life and encourage civic virtues.

residential school system

Established by the Canadian government in the 1880s and often administered by churches, residential schools continued into the 1990s. The system removed and isolated Indigenous children from their homes, families, traditions, and cultures so that they could be assimilated into the dominant colonial culture. Children were indoctrinated into Euro-Canadian and Christian ways of living and forbidden from practising their cultures or speaking their languages; curricula focused less on academic advancement than on training for manual labour in agricultural, industrial, and domestic settings. Many children were subjected to horrendous physical, sexual, emotional, and/or psychological abuse.

Rigamonti, Luigi (1872–1953)

Born in Milan, Italy, where he trained as a marble and stone carver, Rigamonti moved to London, England, early in his career. He worked for several years with Sir William Goscombe John (1860-1952), a prominent Welsh sculptor. In 1930, having developed a reputation as one of London's leading stone carvers, Rigamonti was hired by Walter Allward to serve as master carver of the twenty allegorical figures for the Vimy Memorial.

Rodin, Auguste (French, 1840–1917)

Regarded as the founder of modern sculpture, Rodin created naturalistic and expressive figures that challenged academic conventions. He remained a largely self-taught sculptor after the prestigious École des beaux-arts denied him admission three times. During a trip to Italy in 1875 Rodin encountered the work of Michelangelo (1475-1564), whom Rodin credited for liberating him from academicism.

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA)

An organization of professional artists and architects modelled after national academies long present in Europe, such as the Royal Academy of Arts in the U.K. (founded in 1768) and the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in Paris (founded in 1648).



Saint-Gaudens, Augustus (American, 1848–1907)

Considered the pre-eminent American sculptor of the late nineteenth century, Saint-Gaudens forged a new direction in American sculpture that replaced the waning Neoclassical style with the dynamic and naturalistic Beaux-arts aesthetic. Born in Dublin, Ireland, and raised in New York, Saint-Gaudens trained at the renowned École des beaux-arts in Paris. The success of his Admiral David Farragut Monument, 1876-81, in New York brought commissions for approximately twenty public monuments.

Sand-casting method

A relatively simple and inexpensive casting process that uses compacted sand to create a mould in which molten metal is poured. The sand commonly used during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries originated in France and had properties that made it possible to obtain a mould that would produce the sculptor's final model with a high degree of fidelity.

Sculptors' Society of Canada

Established in 1928 by Emanuel Hahn, Frances Loring, and Henri Hébert, the Sculptors' Society of Canada aspired to nurture opportunities for Canadian sculptors and to raise the public profile of sculpture in Canada. It played a critical role in organizing exhibitions and also supported many educational initiatives, including lectures and publications.

Toronto Art Students' League

Founded in 1886, the Toronto Art Students' League initially operated as a form of sketching club, but also organized drawing classes, exhibitions, and publications. From 1893 until 1904, the year it disbanded, members produced an annual calendar, a series now seen as an important milestone in the history of graphic art in Canada.

Varley, F.H. (Frederick Horsman) (British/Canadian, 1881–1969)

A founding member of the Group of Seven, known for his contributions to Canadian portraiture as well as landscape painting. Originally from Sheffield, England, Varley moved to Toronto in 1912 at the encouragement of his friend Arthur Lismer. From 1926 to 1936 he taught at the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts, now known as Emily Carr University of Art + Design.

Walker, Byron Edmund (1848–1924)

One of the leading bankers in Ontario in the later 1800s and early 1900s, Walker was an important philanthropist interested in education and the arts. He supported the University of Toronto, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Art Museum of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario), and the National Gallery of Canada.

Watson, Homer (Canadian, 1855–1936)

A landscape painter, Watson was famous for his depictions of southern Ontario. He was born in Doon, in Waterloo County, and spent most of his life there, where he not only painted views of the countryside, he took an interest in protecting the local environment. The first president of the Canadian Art



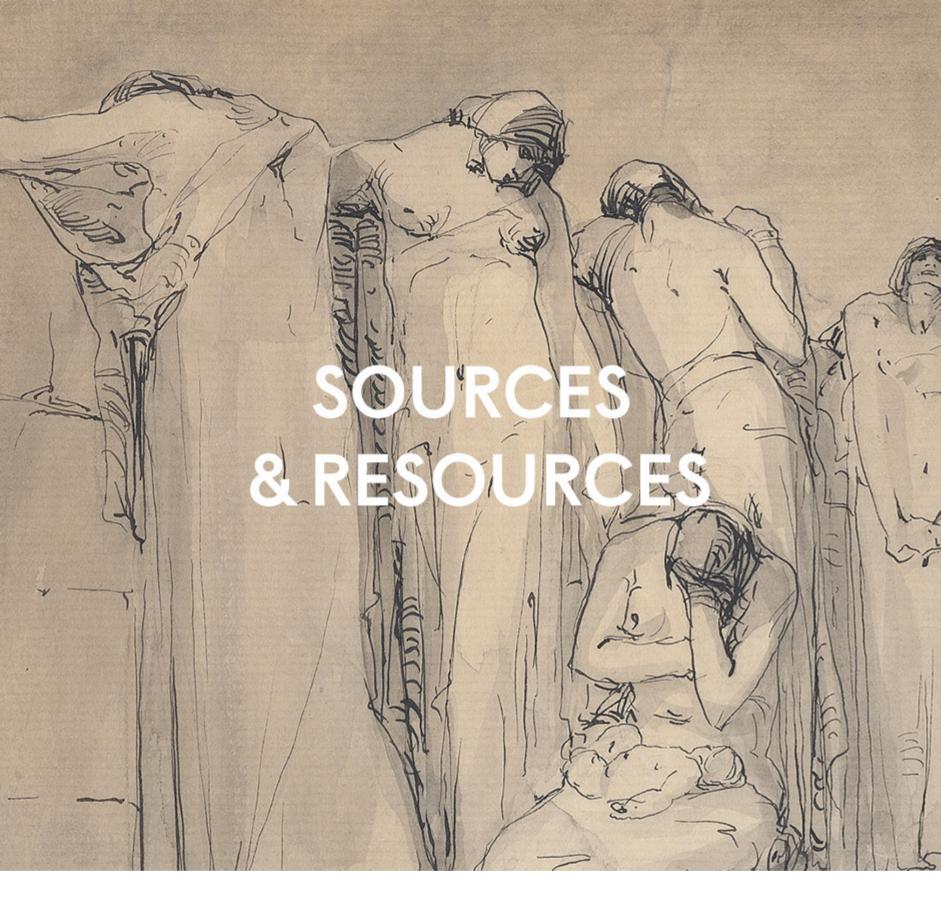
Club, he was a widely respected leader in Canadian art at the turn of the century. (See *Homer Watson: Life & Work* by Brian Foss.)

Wood, Elizabeth Wyn (Canadian, 1903–1966)

Lauded in her time, this experimental sculptor created simplified and rigorous monuments, portraits, figures, and landscape sculptures in equally diverse materials. Wood was also an important and influential figure in Canadian modern art circles; she was a founder of Sculptors' Society of Canada and a teacher at Central Technical School in Toronto for nearly three decades.

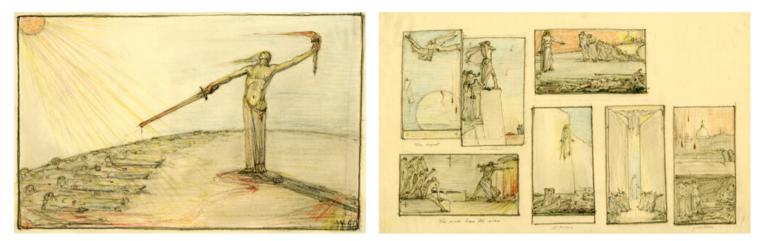
Wyle, Florence (American/Canadian, 1881–1968)

Prominent sculptor and designer Wyle, together with her partner Frances Loring, shaped the landscape of Canadian sculpture. Influenced by classical Greek sculpture, Wyle specialized in anatomy and depicted women in various poses, from undertaking manual labour to the erotic. Wyle was a co-founder of the Sculptors Society of Canada and the first woman sculptor awarded full membership to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts.



As a sculptor of large-scale works, Walter S. Allward (1874–1955) seldom exhibited during his lifetime except on rare occasions when he contributed clay models and smaller sculptures to group exhibitions. Allward's work has also rarely been exhibited since his death in April 1955. The two most notable posthumous exhibitions featuring his works include a memorial exhibition organized by the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1955–56, and a touring exhibition of more than 100 drawings presented in 2005–6.





LEFT: Walter S. Allward, *Untitled*, n.d., drawing, Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston. RIGHT: Walter S. Allward, *Untitled*, n.d., drawing, Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston.

KEY EXHIBITIONS

1901	Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 22nd Annual Exhibition. Gallery of the Ontario Society of Artists, Toronto, April 1901. Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, May 1-November 2, 1901.
1906	The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, 101st Annual Exhibition, January 22-March 3, 1906.
1912	Canadian Art Club, 5th Annual Exhibition, Toronto, February 8-27, 1912.
1913	Canadian Art Club, 6th Annual Exhibition, Toronto, May 9-31, 1913.
1921–22	Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 43rd Exhibition. Art Gallery of Toronto, November 17, 1921-January 2, 1922.
1924	Canadian Section of Fine Arts, British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, England.
1955–56	Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, <i>Memorial Section: Sketches, Models in Plaster and Photographs of the Work of the Late Walter Seymour Allward, C.M.G., R.C.A., F.R.A.I.C., LL.D., 1876-1955</i> . Art Gallery of Toronto, November 25, 1955-January 2, 1956.
2005–6	<i>Vimy and After: Drawings by Walter Seymour Allward.</i> Curated by Tony Urquhart. Organized and circulated by Gallery Stratford with the support of the Good Foundation and the Year of the Veteran, Canada. Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston, May 1-June 26, 2005; Gallery Stratford, September 11- November 13, 2005; Carleton University Art Gallery, Ottawa, November 28, 2005-January 29, 2006; and the Art Gallery of Peterborough, April 7-May 14, 2006.
2017	<i>Vimy–After the Battle</i> . Canadian War Museum, April 6-November 13, 2017.



KEY ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

Archives of Ontario, Toronto

The William Lyon Mackenzie Centennial Committee Fonds contains records documenting the building of the William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial in Queen's Park, Toronto, between 1936 and 1941.

Museum and Archives, Peterborough

The Citizens War Memorial Committee Fonds includes correspondence, photographs, and other records relating to the Peterborough War Memorial.

National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa

The Walter S. Allward Collection includes more than one hundred photographs documenting the construction of the Vimy Memorial, along with a small number of photographs depicting monuments such as the South African War Memorial, Toronto, and the Bell Memorial, Brantford, Ontario. Also included are portraits of Allward by Toronto-based photographers Sidney Carter, Arthur S. Goss, M.O. Hammond, and Pringle & Booth.

Queen's University Archives, Kingston

The Walter Seymour Allward Fonds consists of architectural plans, drawings, photographs, correspondence, and other textual records relating to the Vimy Memorial, drawings and photographs of other works by Allward, including the South African War Memorial and the Peterborough War Memorial, family photographs, documents pertaining to various awards received by Allward, and several war cartoons drawn by Allward in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

Stratford-Perth Archives, Stratford

The Orr Family Fonds includes correspondence relating to the design and financing of the Stratford War Memorial.

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

The Sir Frederick Banting Papers include sketches and photographs showing designs by Allward for the proposed Sir Frederick Banting Memorial at the University of Toronto.

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WALTER S. ALLWARD Life & Work by Philip Dombowsky

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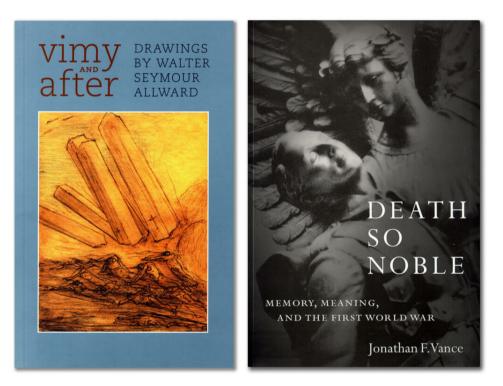
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LEFT: Cover of the exhibition catalogue *Vimy and After: Drawings by Walter Seymour Allward* (2005). RIGHT: Cover of Jonathan F. Vance's *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (1997).

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

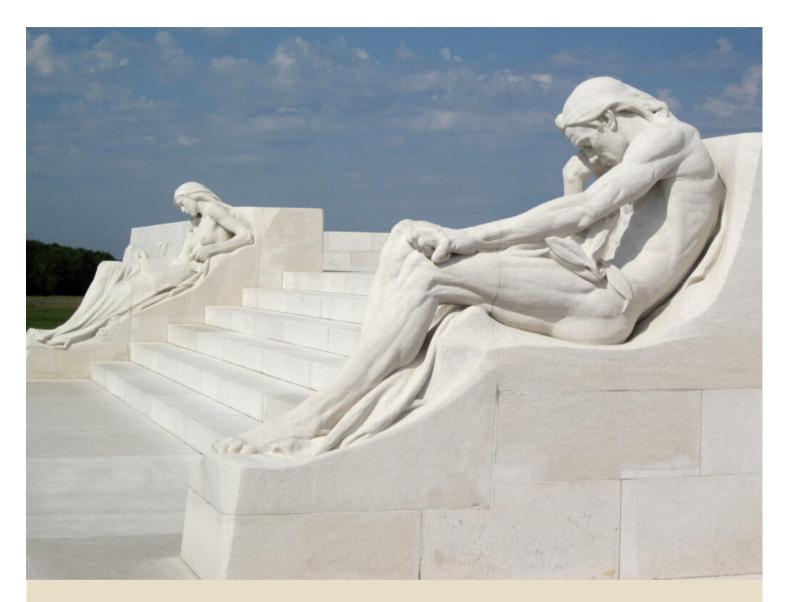
PHILIP DOMBOWSKY

Philip Dombowsky is an Archivist at the National Gallery of Canada, specializing in private collections and visual resources. He holds a MA in art history from Concordia University and a Master of Library and Information Studies from McGill University, Montreal. As well as making regular contributions to the National Gallery's online magazine, he is the author of Index to the National Gallery of Canada's Exhibition Catalogues and Checklists 1880-1930, which won the Melva J. Dwyer Award of the Art Libraries Society of North America (ARLIS/NA) in 2008. In addition to his work at the National Gallery, Dombowsky has played a pivotal role in locating and recovering art works lost by the art dealer Max Stern during the Nazi period in Germany. He is currently a consulting member of the Stern Cooperation Project, led by the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (ZI), an independent art historical research institute based in Munich, Germany. Among his upcoming projects is an exhibition on Walter Allward and early twentieth-century memorial sculpture.



"I first became aware of Walter Allward's work as sculptor through resources at the National Gallery of **Canada Library and** Archives, which include a large collection of photographs that depict his masterpiece, the Vimy Memorial, in various stages of construction. Further research and greater awareness of Allward's broader accomplishments led to the inevitable question: 'Why has Allward, an artist who achieved success at an early age and went on to become one of the foremost sculptors of his generation, been largely ignored in Canadian art history?"





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From the Art Canada Institute

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Credits for Cover Image



Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial (detail of *Canada Bereft*), 1921-36, Seget limestone and concrete, Parc Mémorial Canadien, Chemin des Canadiens, Vimy, France. Photo credit: Burke Paterson.



Credits for Banner Images



Biography: Walter S. Allward, c.1909, photograph by Pringle & Booth, Toronto. (See below for details.)



Key Works: Walter S. Allward, Vimy Memorial, 1921-36. (See below for details.)



Significance & Critical Issues: Walter S. Allward, South African War Memorial (detail of *Canada*), 1904-11. (See below for details.)



Style & Technique: Walter S. Allward, Bell Memorial (detail of central panel), 1909-17. (See below for details.)



Sources & Resources: Walter S. Allward, *Six Female Figures and Child*, n.d., pen, brush, and black ink on laid paper, 20 x 24.9 cm. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of the Allward Trust, Uxbridge, Ontario, 1986 (29594). Photo credit: NGC.



Where to See: Walter S. Allward, Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96. (See below for details.)



Credits: Vimy Memorial (detail of the Male Mourner and Female Mourner), 1921-36. (See below for details.)



Credits for works by Walter S. Allward



Alternative design for the Vimy Memorial, n.d. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston (V114-1, 43-10).



Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14. Courtesy of Wikimapia. Photo credit: bio2935c.



Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument, 1908-14. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: D. Gordon E. Robertson.



Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument (detail of bronze figures), 1908-14. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: D. Gordon E. Robertson.



Bell Memorial, 1909-17. Courtesy of Brantford Heritage Inventory, City of Brantford, Ontario, Canada, and Wikimedia Commons.



Bell Memorial (detail of central panel), 1909-17. Courtesy of Doolittle Productions. Photo credit: Benjamin Doolittle.



Bell Memorial (detail of figure representing Humanity), 1909-17. Courtesy of Flickr. Photo credit: Jamie Maxwell.



Bust of Sir George Ross, 1901. Baldwin Collection, Toronto Reference Library (X 44-13). Photo credit: M.O. Hammond.





Bust of Sir Wilfred Laurier, 1901. Baldwin Collection, Toronto Reference Library (X 44-6). Photo credit: M.O. Hammond.



Canada "Bereft": Maquette for the Vimy Memorial, c.1921. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of Mrs. Hugh Allward, Toronto, 1981 (26798). Photo credit: NGC.



The Dead Hear, 1941. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of Ursula and Stanley Mezydlo, Aurora, Ontario, 2014 (46322). Photo credit: NGC.



Detail of the *Maquette for William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial*, n.d., photograph by Herb Nott & Co. Ltd., Toronto. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



Drawing of the William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial, n.d. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston (V114-1, 44-02).



Dream Time, c.1920-40. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of the Allward Trust, Uxbridge, Ontario, 1986 (29587). Photo credit: NGC.



The Failure, c.1940. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of the Allward Trust, Uxbridge, Ontario, 1986 (29609). Photo credit: NGC.





Figure Study, n.d. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston (V114-1, 03-05).



Futility, n.d. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of the Allward Trust, Uxbridge, Ontario, 1986 (29608). Photo credit: NGC.



Hugh Lachlan Cruikshank Allward, c.1905. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of Ursula and Stanley Mezydlo, Aurora, Ontario, 2014 (46320). Photo credit: NGC.



John Graves Simcoe Monument, 1901-3. Photo credit: Mary Crandall.



John Sandfield Macdonald Monument, 1907-9. Photo credit: Philip Dombowsky.



Maquette for King Edward VII Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



Maquette for Peterborough War Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston.



Maquette for Sir Frederick Banting Monument, n.d., photographer unknown. Frederick Banting Papers, Biographical Materials, 1912-present, Box 45, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.





Maquette for Sir Frederick Banting Monument, n.d., photographer unknown. Frederick Banting Papers, Biographical Materials, 1912-present, Box 45, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.



Maquette for Vimy Memorial, c.1921, photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



Nicholas Flood Davin Monument, 1903. Photo credit: Beechwood Cemetery Foundation.



Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96. Alexander W. Galbraith Fonds (Fonds 1568), Item 267, City of Toronto Archives. Photo credit: Alexander W. Galbraith.



Northwest Rebellion Monument, 1894-96. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: Wojciech Dittwald.



Northwest Rebellion Monument (detail of plaque), 1894-96. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: SnowFire.



Northwest Rebellion Monument (posterior view), 1894-96. Photo credit: Adam Bunch.



The Old Soldier, War of 1812 Memorial, 1903-7. Photo credit: Matthew Blackett.





The Old Soldier, War of 1812 Monument (detail of bust), 1903-7. Photo credit: Doug Taylor.



Peterborough War Memorial, 1921-29. Photo credit: Tim Laye.



Peterborough War Memorial (detail of *Civilization*), 1921-29. Terry Guernsey Fonds, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa. Photo credit: Terry Guernsey.



Peterborough War Memorial (detail of *Strife*), 1921-29. Terry Guernsey Fonds, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa. Photo credit: Terry Guernsey.



Pixley Mausoleum, 1895-97. Courtesy of London Daily Photo. Photo credit: Ken Wightman.



Pixley Mausoleum (detail of Victory), 1895-97. Courtesy of Waymarking. Photo credit: Keldar5.



Plaster model of The Sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.





The Reaper, c.1921. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of Mrs. Hugh Allward, Toronto, 1981 (26799). Photo credit: NGC.



The Release, 1940. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of Ursula and Stanley Mezydlo, Aurora, Ontario, 2014 (46323). Photo credit: NGC.



Sir Oliver Mowat Monument, 1903-5. Alan Howard Fonds (Fonds 1548), Series 393, Item 20589, City of Toronto Archives. Photo credit: John Boyd.



Sir Oliver Mowat Monument, 1903-5. Photo credit: Wikimedia Commons.



Sir Oliver Mowat Monument (detail of pedestal featuring *Jurisprudence*), 1903-5. Photo credit: Philip Dombowsky.



Sir Oliver Mowat Monument (detail of pedestal featuring Justice), 1903-5. Photo credit: Philip Dombowsky.



South African War Memorial, 1904-11. Photo credit: Wikimedia Commons.





South African War Memorial (detail of Canada), 1904-11. Photo credit: Lee Sandstead.



South African War Memorial (detail of soldier), 1904-11. Photo credit: Lee Sandstead.



South African War Memorial (detail of Victory), 1904-11. Photo credit: Catherine AuYeung.



South African War Memorial (detail of Victory), 1904-11. Photo credit: Lee Sandstead.



Statue of Justice for the King Edward VII Memorial (detail), 1920. Photo credit: Isabel Gibson.



Statue of Justice for the King Edward VII Memorial, 1920. Courtesy of the Supreme Court of Canada. Photo credit: Philippe Landreville.



Statue of Truth for the King Edward VII Memorial, 1920. Courtesy of the Supreme Court of Canada. Photo credit: Philippe Landreville.



The Storm, 1920. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts diploma work, deposited by the artist, Toronto, 1921 (1816). Photo credit: NGC.





Stratford War Memorial, 1919-22. Courtesy of Flickr. Photo credit: Don Drews.



Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figure), 1919-22. Photo credit: Shawn Ankenmann.



Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figure), 1919-22. Photo credit: Lee Sandstead.



Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figure), 1919-22. Photo credit: Lee Sandstead.



Stratford War Memorial (detail), 1919-22. Photo credit: Galen Simmons / *Stratford Beacon Herald*, a division of Postmedia Network Inc.

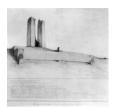


Stratford War Memorial (detail of bronze figures), 1919-22. Courtesy of Flickr. Photo credit: Don Drews.



Study for Stratford War Memorial (No. 8), c.1920. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of the Allward Trust, Uxbridge, Ontario, 1989 (30532). Photo credit: NGC.





Submission sketch for the Vimy Memorial, n.d. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: Veterans Affairs Canada.



Untitled, c.1940. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of the Allward Trust, Uxbridge, Ontario, 1986 (29591). Photo credit: NGC.



Untitled, n.d. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston (V114-1, 47-04).



Untitled, n.d. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston (V114-1, 46-11).



Vimy Memorial, 1921-36. Photo credit: 48712917 © Havana1234 | Dreamstime.com.



Vimy Memorial, 1921-36. Photo credit: Dean MacDonald, Veterans Affairs Canada.



Vimy Memorial, 1921-36. Photo credit: Veterans Affairs Canada.



Vimy Memorial, 1921-36. Photo credit: Willem Visser.



Vimy Memorial (detail of allegorical figures in the upper pylons), 1921-36. Photo credit: John Pellowe.





Vimy Memorial (detail of The Breaking of the Sword), 1921-36. Courtesy of Enacademic.



Vimy Memorial (detail of *Canada Bereft*), 1921-36. Photo credit: Douglas Stebila. © 2001-2020 Douglas Stebila.



Vimy Memorial (detail of *Canada Bereft* in the foreground and *The Spirit of Sacrifice* and *The Passing of the Torch*), 1921-36. Photo credit: Georgios Makkas.



Vimy Memorial (detail of the Chorus), 1921-36.



Vimy Memorial (detail of the Female Mourner), 1921-36. Courtesy of PxHere.



Vimy Memorial (detail of the Male Mourner), 1921-36. Photo credit: Elizabeth Salomons.



Vimy Memorial (detail of the Male Mourner and Female Mourner), 1921-36. Courtesy of PxHere.



Vimy Memorial (detail of soldiers' names), 1921-36. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: Brian Dell.





Vimy Memorial (detail of *The Spirit of Sacrifice* and *The Passing of the Torch*), 1921-36. Courtesy of Flickr. Photo credit: ed_needs_a_bicycle.



Vimy Memorial (detail of *The Sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless*), 1921-36. Courtesy of Enacademic.



Wax model for The Service of Our Men-Crushing the Power of the Sword for the Bank of Commerce War Memorial, 1918, photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



Wax model for The Service of Our Women-Healing the Scars of War for the Bank of Commerce War Memorial, 1918, photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial, 1936-40. Courtesy of Toronto Sculpture. Photo credit: Wojciech Dittwald.



William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial (detail of figure representing oppressed farmers), 1936-40. Photo credit: Lee Sandstead.



William Lyon Mackenzie Memorial (detail of Mackenzie), 1936-40. Photo credit: Wikimedia Commons.



WALTER S. ALLWARD Life & Work by Philip Dombowsky

Credits for Photographs and Works by Other Artists



Admiral David Glasgow Farragut Monument, 1876-81, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: D C McJonathan.



Aerial view of the Vimy Memorial dedication ceremony, 1936, photographer unknown. Collection of Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (R1196-14-7-E, Volume number: 109).



Breaking a Road, 1894, by William Cruikshank. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (572). Photo credit: NGC.



The Burghers of Calais, modelled 1884-95, cast 1985, by Auguste Rodin. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Iris and B. Gerald Cantor, 1989 (1989.407). Photo credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art.



The Burghers of Calais (detail), 1884-95, by Auguste Rodin. Courtesy of Flickr. Photo credit: Daniel Stockman.



Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission Design Competition, 1921, photographer unknown. Photo credit: Veterans Affairs Canada.



Canadian machine gunners positioning themselves in shell holes on Vimy Ridge, April 1917, photographer unknown. Collection of Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (PA-001017).





Carvers working on *The Breaking of the Sword* sculpture for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1986.



Carvers working on *The Sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless* sculpture for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



Catalogue cover of *Canadian War Memorials Paintings Exhibition 1920* (1920). Courtesy of Wartime Canada.



Cover of Jane Urquhart, The Stone Carvers (Penguin Books, 2003). Courtesy of Jane Urquhart.



Cover of Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997). This cover image is reprinted with permission of the Publisher from Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War by Jonathan Vance. © University of British Columbia Press 1999. All rights reserved by the Publisher.



Cover of the exhibition catalogue *Vimy and After: Drawings by Walter Seymour Allward* (2005). Photo credit: Philip Dombowsky.



The Creation of Adam, c.1512, by Michelangelo. Photo credit: Wikimedia Commons.





Dressed stone blocks in work yard, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1986.



Emanuel Hahn with his sculpture *Un jeune garçon*, c.1907-8, photographer unknown. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa.



Emma Pittman Allward, n.d., photographer unknown. Courtesy of Scott and Deb Allward.



For What?, 1918-19, by Frederick H. Varley. Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, transferred from National Gallery of Canada, 1971 (19710261-0770).



Frances Loring with her sculpture *New York Mounted Policeman* (DETAIL), c.1909-12, photographer unknown. Frances Loring and Florence Wyle fonds, E.P. Taylor Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario, Gift of the Estates of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, 1983 (LA.LWF.S4.15). © Art Gallery of Ontario.



Inscription by Percy John Delf Smith on the front wall of the Vimy Memorial. Courtesy of Shutterstock (ID: 378957595). Photo credit: Jon Nicholls Photography.



John Allward, n.d., photograph by Gagen and Fraser, Toronto. Courtesy of Scott and Deb Allward.





Linda, c.1932, by Elizabeth Wyn Wood. Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, Gift of Mr. Bertram Brooker (G-57-126). Courtesy of the Winnipeg Art Gallery. Photo credit: Ernest Mayer.



Louis Riel, 1873, photograph by Notman Studio. Collection of Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (1957-049 / e003895129).



Margaret Allward, n.d., photographer unknown. Courtesy of Hugh and Susan Allward.



Men working blocks of stone in Pietrasanta, Italy, for the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1986.



Military parade on University Avenue with a view of the South African War Memorial in the distance, Toronto, 1915, photographer unknown. Fonds 1244, Item 720B, City of Toronto Archives.



Model for St. Julien Memorial, 1920-23, by Frederick Chapman Clemesha. Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum (19980116-001).



Monument aux Braves de Lachine, 1925, by Alfred Laliberté. Photo credit: Guy L'Heureux.





Monument aux Héros de la Guerre des Boers, 1907, by George William Hill. Photo credit: Michel Dubreuil.



National War Memorial, 1925-39, by Vernon March. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: Mmcintyre.



Northern Island, 1927, by Elizabeth Wyn Wood. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Bequest of Mrs. J.P. Barwick (From the Douglas M. Duncan Collection), 1985 (28991). Photo credit: NGC.



A posed photo of Canada's first official war artist Richard Jack at work on his iconic painting *The Second Battle of Ypres*, 1917, the first work of art commissioned by Lord Beaverbrook, 1914–19, photographer unknown. Collection of the Canada Dept. of National Defence/Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (PA-004879).



Royal Canadian Academy of Art Certificate of Associate Membership for Walter S. Allward, May 30, 1921. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston (Basement Folio, Bay A - Shelf 4).



Sandblasting names onto the lower wall of the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1986.



The Shell Finisher, 1918-19, by Frances Loring. Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (19710261-0414).



Sherman Monument, 1902, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: Jim.henderson.





A Singing Lesson, 1902, by Frederick Sproston Challener. Courtesy of Waddington's Auctioneers and Appraisers, Toronto.



Soldiers' Tower at Hart House, University of Toronto, after a two-minute silence, November 11, 1924, photographer unknown. Department of University Extension and Publicity Fonds, University of Toronto Archives (2008-56-3MS).



St. John the Baptist, modelled c.1878, cast c.1888, by Auguste Rodin. Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Samuel P. Avery, 1893 (93.11). Photo credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Temporary protective structure at the top of the Vimy Memorial pylons, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter Seymour Allward Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston.



The Thinker, modelled c.1880, cast c.1910, by Auguste Rodin. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Thomas F. Ryan, 1910 (11.173.9). Photo credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici, 1520-34, by Michelangelo. Courtesy of WikiArt.



Two men cutting names on the lower wall of the Vimy Memorial, n.d., photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives; Gift of Peter Allward, 1986.





Two men walking in front of the Vimy Memorial pylons covered in scaffolding, September 10, 1932, photographer unknown. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1986.



Unveiling of Augustus Saint-Gaudens's Sherman Monument at Grand Army Plaza in Manhattan, New York, 1903, photograph by Robert L. Bracklow. Robert L. Bracklow Photograph Collection, New-York Historical Society (66000_318).



Unveiling of the John Graves Simcoe Monument, Queen's Park, Toronto, May 27, 1903, photographer unknown. Fonds 1568, Item 448, City of Toronto Archives.



Unveiling Vimy Ridge Monument, 1937, by Georges Bertin Scott. Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (19670070-014).



View of the dedication of the Bell Memorial, including Alexander Graham Bell, members of his family plus committee members, erected to commemorate the invention of the telephone by Bell in Brantford, Ontario, in the summer of 1874, 1917, photograph by Park & Co. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: Bell Telephone Memorial Society.



Vimy Memorial with view of bombed battlefield and trenches in front. Courtesy of Shutterstock (ID: 241243135). Photo credit: Willequet Manuel.



Vimy Ridge, c.1930-39, by William Longstaff. Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (19890275-051).





Walter S. Allward, c.1909, photograph by Pringle & Booth, Toronto. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



Walter S. Allward at the beach with his wife, Margaret, and his two children, Hugh and Don, n.d., photographer unknown. Courtesy of Scott and Deb Allward.



Walter S. Allward stands next to the blocks for the *Female Mourner*, n.d., photographer unknown. Collection of Veterans Affairs Canada / Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (e002852543).



Walter S. Allward with members of the Canadian Art Club, c.1909-15, photographer unknown. Newton MacTavish Fonds, E.P. Taylor Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario, Gift of Lachlan MacTavish, 1971, 1976 (LA.SC018.S8.45). © Art Gallery of Ontario.



Walter S. Allward working in clay on the main figure for the South African War Memorial, Toronto, 1906, photograph by Pringle & Booth, Toronto. Walter S. Allward Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Gift of Peter Allward, 1997.



Winged Victory of Samothrace, c.200-190 BCE, artist unknown. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Photo credit: Marie-Lan Nguyen.



Women Making Shells, 1919, by Henrietta Mabel May. Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (19710261-0389).



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