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CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM

Constructing and Deconstructing Victory, 1918 at the Canadian War Museum

TIM COOK & MARIE-LOUISE DERUAZ

Abstract: This article explores the history behind the creation of the Canadian War Museum's exhibition, Victory, 1918: The Last Hundred Days. The exhibition presented the story of the Canadian Corps during the Hundred Days campaign of the First World War and the Canadian contributions to Allied victory. What follows is a glimpse into the challenges of exhibition development. Together, artifacts, personal stories, films, works of art, immersive spaces, reconstructions and colourized historical photographs created an engaging visitor experience while communicating key concepts about the Hundred Days.

Cet article explore l'histoire de la création de l'exposition Victoire 1918: Les cent derniers jours du Musée canadien de la guerre. L'exposition présentait l'histoire du Corps canadien lors de la campagne des Cent Jours de la Première Guerre mondiale et les contributions canadiennes à la victoire des Alliés. Voici donc un aperçu des défis liés au développement de l'exposition. Grâce aux objets, histoires personnelles, films, œuvres d'art, espaces immersifs, reconstructions et des photographies historiques colorisées, l'exposition permet aux visiteurs de vivre une expérience captivante tout en leur expliquant les concepts clés des Cent Jours.

Canadians ways and it remains a poignant symbol of service and sacrifice, of pride and sorrow, of division and unity. For four years the Canadian War Museum (CWM) played a key role in educating Canadians about the Great War, with exhibitions related to the Canadian fighting forces in Flanders, international perspectives and experiences related to air warfare, women and war, Vimy, and many

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ways that Canadians engage in commemorative acts. There were upgrades to the First World War permanent galleries, especially the Air War and Vimy 1917 sections, and a host of programs, speakers' series, commemorative events, education products that went out to schools, the acquiring of key artifacts, and digital and social media products that contributed to the museum's offerings, outreach, and desire to commemorate the war. The capstone exhibition was Victory, 1918: The Last Hundred Days, which ran from late October 1918 to the end of March 1919, and explored the role and impact of Canadians and the Canadian Corps in the Hundred Days campaign.

Victory, 1918 was co-curated by Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein, former Director-General of the CWM and author of dozens of books, including The Greatest Victory: Canada's One Hundred Days, 1918. A crucial contribution to the exhibition's look, feel, design, and interpretive experiences came from Creative Development Specialist Marie-Louise Deruaz. Kirby Sayant was the Project Manager, Eric Fernberg was Collections Specialist, and Sandra O'Quinn was the Learning Specialist for this project. And, in fact, almost the entire museum staff contributed to the exhibition, which was seen by approximately 50,000 visitors. A social media campaign promoted awareness about the exhibition and the subject, featuring daily posts during the Hundred Day period from 8 August to 11 November 2018. The soldier's stories, quotes, photographs, and artifacts related to the battles were viewed over 1.8 million times. There were additional accompanying lectures, presentations, an exhibition catalogue, and a conference in January 2019 that focused on the pivotal year of 1919, with the essays published in a UBC Press academic book for 2020.

But the exhibition was at the heart of the museum's marking of the last year of the centennial period. There are always difficult choices involved in presenting history, from the content and interpretation, to the subject matter. The *Victory*, 1918 exhibition was an opportunity to explore the less well-known but crucial series of battles that ended the war on the Western Front on 11 November 1918. What follows is a brief glimpse into the challenges of presenting the story of the Hundred Days within the museum galleries.

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HUNDRED DAYS

The Canadian Corps played a key role in the final year of the First World War. Commanded by Sir Arthur Currie from June 1917, the Corps of around 100,000 soldiers was a hard-hitting formation with four experienced infantry divisions. Some of the Corps' success came from the Canadians' desire to serve together and to ensure that the four divisions were not broken up and sent to fight with British formations in a piecemeal fashion. Such cohesion was also important in allowing for the pooling of artillery, machine gun, engineering, and labour resources.

In early-1918, Currie was pressured by the British high command to reduce the number of infantry battalions in each division from twelve to nine, and to use those extra battalions to form two new divisions. The British had done this due to a shortage in manpower, but Currie refused to dilute the effectiveness of his divisions for the sake of two additional weaker divisions. Even when an army command and promotion was offered to him, Currie stuck to his guns, knowing that his soldiers at the sharp end would have a better chance of survival if they fought together and in numbers.

With Russia knocked out of the war, with Italy reeling, with the British and French weary, and the United States' Doughboys not expected to arrive in large numbers to the Western Front until later in the year, the Germans transferred dozens of combat divisions from the East to the West and struck hard on 21 March. Under a massive artillery bombardment of high explosive, shrapnel, and chemical shells, the British defenders were stunned, with German attack formations knocking them out or sweeping around them. For a few weeks, the front tottered, as the German army made deep gains.

While the Germans had begun to master open warfare, they could not support the infantry at the sharp end with enough guns and shells, which were left behind by the deep advances. As the British recovered, the defenders made the Germans pay for their multiple assaults. By late summer, the German forces were exhausted, having suffered over 800,000 casualties. The Allies lost even more, but they could better deal with the casualties as more American troops arrived at the front.

In the dark days of the German offensives, the Allies came together in desperation and agreed that French General Ferdinand Foch be appointed supreme Allied commander to better coordinate the

defence. Foch soon wielded the French, Americans, British, Belgian, and Dominion armies into a coherent force, ready to counterattack. The French and Americans struck in July at the Marne, achieving a stunning victory against dispirited and worn-down German troops. Foch believed that another, larger assault could again test the German forces. Almost no one predicted the end of the war in 1918.

The Canadian and Australian corps moved secretly to the east of the key logistical city of Amiens. With British and French units on the flanks, the dominion forces would spearhead the offensive. The Canadians had a reputation as shock troops, and when German intelligence detected their presence at the front, they predicted and prepared for an attack. The Canadians therefore detached a number of units and sent them to the Ypres sector, where they engaged in deliberately clumsy communications that were sure to be picked up by the enemy. The Germans thought the Corps was there and rested easy for the moment. In the meantime, several hundred thousand Allied soldiers prepared for the coming battle.

Surprise and shock were key to the battle at Amiens, and while there would be a traditional infantry and artillery assault, some 604 tanks were to be unleashed against the enemy, of which 168 were allotted to the Canadians. At zero hour, 4:20 am, the bombardment crashed down on the poorly-held enemy lines, with the infantry advancing behind a rapidly-moving creeping barrage. Tanks, armoured cars, and aircraft contributed to the all-arms battle. The German defenders died or surrendered by the thousands.

But there were no bloodless battles on the Western Front, and the deeper the Canadians pushed, the more they outpaced their protective artillery barrage and ran up against uncut wire. Brave and determined enemy machine gunners made the Canadians pay a terrible price, and the fighting became harder on the 10th and 11th as surprise was lost, communications and logistics broke down, and the Germans rushed reinforcements forward. The offensive ground to a halt on the night of the 11th, although fighting continued until the 20th, with hundreds of soldiers dying in this seemingly quiet period.

The Allies had struck a heavy blow against the Germans. On the Canadian front alone, the Corps' four divisions met and defeated elements of fourteen German divisions, capturing 9,311 prisoners, 201 guns, 152 trench mortars, and 755 machine-guns. Amiens was a surprise to both the enemy and the Allies. Perhaps the war might be ended in 1918, thought Foch, and he ordered a new series of offensives.

The Canadian Corps suffered almost 12,000 casualties at Amiens, but reinforcements, many of whom were conscripts, brought the fighting units nearly up to strength. The Canadians were moved north to the Arras front, near Vimy Ridge, and here they were to attack one of the most powerful German positions on the Western Front, the Hindenburg Line. The defenders were dug-in deep with their trench system thick and anchored on multiple concrete machine gun bunkers. The most powerful trench was the Drocourt-Quéant Line and further to the east was the unfinished Canal du Nord that incorporated marsh land and numerous trench systems into its defences to protect the key logistical hub of Cambrai.

The tempo of operations was much faster than earlier in the war, where there were long pauses between offensives, and the Canadians had less than a week to plan for the attack against the Arras trenches. They did it, marshalling tens of thousands of men and, for zero hour on the 26th, some 762 Allied guns. After a week of battle, the Canadians clawed their way forward, eventually breaking the heavily-fortified Drocourt-Quéant Line on 2 September. It was a significant victory and at least seven German divisions were defeated in fierce combat, with some 10,492 prisoners captured. But the hard fighting cost another 12,000 Canadian casualties.

The Corps was worn down and its soldiers' weary, but General Currie thought his Corps could fight in one more battle. After three weeks of preparation, they delivered another astonishing victory in crossing the Canal du Nord in late September. This complex operation saw the Corps push across the canal, through a relatively narrow gap, and then fan out of the eastern side, driving deep into the enemy lines before the Germans could counterattack. The strongpoint of Bourlon Wood fell to the Canadians on 27 September, the first day of the battle, but fighting raged until the capture of Cambrai on 8 October.

After Cambrai, the Canadians continued to push the Germans back, although there was little fight in their defeated forces. Currie's forces captured Mons on 11 November 1918, the last day of the war on the Western Front, and a symbolic victory since it was the place where the British had started their retreat in August 1914. The Canadian Corps secured an enviable reputation in what became known as the Hundred Days campaign, but it came at a terrible cost: over 45,000 Canadians killed or wounded.

MESSAGING

Above is a brief history of the Canadian Corps in the Hundred Days, but presenting it in a museum environment for all manner of visitors, from specialists to those who know little of the war, is the challenge of public historians, curators, and museum specialists. From mid-2016, Granatstein and Cook worked out a series of main messages. Instead of starting with artifacts, art, or stories, the historians crafted messages that guided the choices made by the exhibition team. The exhibition's main message was: the Canadian Corps played a critical role in defeating the German forces on the Western Front in the series of battles from 8 August to 11 November 1918, known as the Hundred Days campaign.

The primary message was supported by additional secondary messages:

- The battles of the Hundred Days, the greatest victories in modern Canadian history, had a decisive impact in ending the First World War.
- The Canadian Corps employed a sophisticated combined-arms approach to battle to break through the deep German defences.
- The Canadian Corps was commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie, who oversaw the development of innovative plans based on heavy firepower to assist the combat arms in overcoming the enemy.
- There were no easy victories on the Western Front, and the series
 of victories came at a terrible cost in lives.
- The experience of battle had a profound effect on the soldiers at the front and civilians at home.

One of the early challenges was in discussing how the exhibition should unfold. Would it be thematic or chronological? The Hundred Days was a chronological unfolding of a series of battles. At the same time, the victories came at a terrible cost, and the steady and heavy casualties in battle after battle was a key message to communicate throughout the exhibition. It was therefore logical to reveal the story in a chronological fashion, where the visitor would be directed along a path, with the sequence of battles unfolding as the backbone of the story.

The development of messaging was followed by intense research into the museum's collections of artifacts, images, and art. There was no shortage of material and Lord Beaverbrook's Canadian War Records Office had created a powerful legacy of film and photographs from 1916 to the end of the war, and even into 1919. Cook and Granatstein selected suitable pieces from the stunning war art collection. The historians recommended physical experiences and reproductions, including the idea of having a reconstructed tank emerge over the top of a dugout and to recreate a German pillbox on the Arras front. The tank idea later evolved into an original film, but the pillbox survived, at the heart of the exhibition, a poignant reminder of the strength of the German positions on the Western Front. [Figures 1a and b]

From the fall of 2017, Marie-Louise Deruaz joined the team as Creative Developer and began to work with the curators to tighten the content, draw out key stories, and create evocative visitor experiences. She was also the essential conduit, along with project manager Kirby Sayant, to the external designer, Francois St-Pierre Allaire, of Merlicht Inc. The goal was to reduce complexity and content to create a meaningful experience for visitors.

One of the early interpretative decisions was to colourize a number of the photographs. While the war is often imagined as a black-and-white struggle, these Canadians served, fought, and died in colour. In every zone, large colourized murals depicted the soldiers and nurses, creating a strong connection between the visitor and the content. Research was conducted into the colour of uniforms, kits, and geographic areas, as the museum team worked with Canadian Colour, who painstakingly colourized digital images. The Vimy Foundation also shared some of its extensive collection of colourized images. [Figure 2] Viewing these almost life-size depictions drew visitors closer to the emotional reality of the First World War, captured in evocative scenes of battlefields, and, later in the campaign, scenes of the Canadians interacting with French and Belgian civilians as they liberated over 200 communities during the final push to victory. The photographs were even more poignant when viewed together with the eyewitness accounts of Canadian soldiers and nurses, drawn



Figure 1a. [Canadian War Museum, CWM2018-033-0002-Dm]



Figure 1b. [Canadian War Museum, CWM2018-033-0078-Dm]



Figure 2. [George-Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19930012-342. Colourized by Canadian Colour]

from letters and diaries, and displayed as large quotations above the images.

The Hundred Days were a series of hard-pounding victories, but they came at a terrible cost. Several quotations and images depicted wounded and dead soldiers. There were also a number of soundscapes of artillery and machine-gun-fire that might have been disturbing to some. By enlarging and colourizing thirty or so images, new details could be seen in the photographs, including several dead soldiers in tall grass that are less noticeable in smaller black-and-white images. Although the museum avoided unnecessarily gruesome imagery, there was no attempt to hide the brutality of the fighting, and to do so would have been to sanitize the history. This required an advisory for visitors at the entrance of the gallery so that visitors could make an informed decision about whether or not to enter.

The exhibition experience moved from historical research to three-dimensional space. The proposed content was mapped onto the floor plan of the gallery. A single path was planned through the seven content zones: Introduction, Amiens, Arras, Preparation, Cambrai, Mons, and Return to Canada. The story of the Canadians



Figure 3. [Canadian War Museum CWM2018-033-0012-Dm]

in battle would be revealed gradually to visitors, from one space to the next, reinforced by bold graphic design elements. Highly visible dates and place names were placed to help visitors situate themselves geographically, and in time, within the story. At the start of each zone, a floor map indicated where the Canadians were situated before the battle. Together, the maps acted as a visual representation of the shifting Western Front and the Canadian advance. [Figure 3] Further along in each zone, the aftermath of each battle was summarized in an infographic, which tabulated key statistics such as Canadian casualties, prisoners and machine guns captured, and depth of advance.

The most difficult element of the exhibition was the introduction. A key message was to show the evolution from trench warfare to the open warfare of the Hundred Days. The team played with several ideas, including a film to summarize the war and the transformation of tactics. But a film at the beginning of an exhibition slows down visitors and creates a bottleneck in the visitor path. A more streamlined version was considered, beginning with the German March Offensives of early 1918, along with the three principal characters in the story: the Canadian soldiers, the Canadian commander Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie, and the Canadian Corps as the primary fighting unit. A star artifact in the form of Currie's uniform was a key draw, but it

was also necessary to work in a section on combined-arms training, and key colourized images. After multiple attempts to design the space, the large section on the Germans and the March Offensive was dropped, and the team hoped that visitors would understand through the first major cluster (the Battle of Amiens) that the fighting had changed from the three previous years of stalemated battle.

Artifacts were displayed throughout the exhibition, supported by images and text. In the Amiens battle, a medieval-looking tank crew member's mask and a German anti-tank rifle helped to tell the story of tanks during the battle. Artifacts related to logistics, such as ammunition and a rare insulated food container helped to tell that crucial story. These were augmented by a series of images and statistics that cycled through a screen to give a sense of the awesome logistical achievement. As part of the battle section, we highlighted Corporal Herman Good and Private John Croak, both from the 13th Battalion, whose bravery on 8 August led to the awarding of the Victoria Cross to both of them. Good lived, while Croak died, and both were represented with their Victoria Crosses and supporting artifacts. In fact, the exhibition showcased five Victoria Crosses to tell stories of uncommon valour on the battlefield. [Figure 4]

The Battle of Arras, fought from 26 August to 2 September, was a brutal affair that saw the Canadian Corps crashing through kilometres of enemy defences. The tempo of battle had vastly increased by the Hundred Days, as had the staff work, and these were highlighted in text, along with a panel on the key role of conscripts in keeping the fighting units up to strength. The focus of the space is a Canadian soldier advancing on a reconstructed German pillbox, housing two Germans and an MG-08 machine gun. Supporting artifacts, like a Lewis machine gun and a grenade, along with images, works of art, barrage maps, hanging reconstructed shells, quotations, and custom graphics all support the message of the fierce and sophisticated combined-arms that were required to drive through the enemy trench systems and knock out hundreds of machine gun positions.

A small medical section focused on the Allies' well-established system for moving soldiers from battlefield to care, and new developments in medicine that saved lives, such as blood transfusions. It also featured an interactive touchscreen module, asking visitors to put a series of photographs of the stages of medical care in the correct order, which allowed visitors to study and consider the presented images and think about their logical arrangement.



Figure 4. [Canadian War Museum, CWM2018-033-0046-Dm]



Figure 5. [Canadian War Museum, CWM2019-0042-0001-Dm]

With the support of the Eaton family during the centenary period, First World War exhibitions at the War Museum have included a program and activity space. The activity space in *Victory 1918* focused on a complex and popular multi-player game involving cards, dice, and a board, called *Command & Consequence*. Guided by a program interpreter, visitors worked together to overcome battlefield obstacles, deciding whether or not to send in a tank, engineers, or additional machine gunners to engage and overcome an obstacle. Chance featured in the game, as it does on the battlefield, and a player could draw a card and find out that an artillery shell had fallen short, with instructions to roll the casualty dice to see if one's troops were hit. The game was aligned to some of the main messages in the exhibition and proved of interest with young visitors. [Figure 5]

As part of the exhibition, three original films were created to reinforce key messaging and enrich the visitor experience. The CWM partnered with the National Film Board (NFB) and this opened the door to incorporating immersive experiences, colourized footage, and live-action filming. The three audiovisual experiences were displayed within the exhibition space, and the sound designer also created soundscapes for the zones without audiovisual content. Sound-bleed



Figure 6. [Canadian War Museum, CWM2018-033-0077-Dm]

is always a challenge in exhibitions; localizing and controlling sound in the space was an important part of the design process.

The first film was displayed in the Amiens section, and depicted a tank attack that was assembled from archival and postwar film footage. The dramatic sequence depicts an Allied Mk V tank supporting an infantry attack on a German position. The large projection created an ominous and evocative experience. [Figure 6]

In the third major battle, the assault across the Canal du Nord and the drive to capture Cambrai, another film was created to tell the story. Currie's Dilemma focused on Sir Arthur Currie's daring but dangerous plan to cross the Canal du Nord in late September 1918. The NFB located rare archival footage of Currie and his officers planning a battle at his headquarters. This inspired the director, Philippe Baylaucq, to recreate the planning of the assault on the Canal du Nord by colourizing and blending this archival footage with contemporary footage filmed by the NFB. Cook and Granatstein wrote an initial script based on Currie's letters, diary, and historical accounts, and it focused on the logistical planning — how the Corps would cross the canal, fight on the eastern side, and hold off the expected enemy counterattacks. The capture of Cambrai was a key

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event in the Hundred Days campaign that destabilized the German lines, sending them into retreat on this sector of the front.

The exhibition space continued with an exploration of the role of combat engineers in throwing bridges across the canal. This was followed by images of close-quarters fighting and artifacts, like the Vickers machine gun that played a key role in defeating enemy counterattacks, as poison gas swirled over the battlefield. A series of soldiers' quotations offered some insight into the intense combat, with Lieutenant Joseph Sproston, 10th Canadian Infantry Battalion, recounting, "This isn't war, it's murder. It's just pure bloody murder."

Captain John MacGregor of the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles was highlighted in the battle section. MacGregor was a multi-decorated officer who, in one clash, singlehandedly attacked a series of machine guns, killing four Germans and capturing eight prisoners, and was awarded the Victoria Cross for his leadership and bravery. In the aftermath section of the battle, visitors encountered Lance-Corporal Elgin Eby of the 75th Canadian Infantry Battalion, a prewar labourer from Kitchener, Ontario, who was one of several thousand Canadians killed in the many battles to capture Cambrai. His memorial plaque and medals were on display, and a stark reminder of the terrible cost of victory in the capture of Cambrai.

From the capture of Cambrai, a battle that saw another 13,000 casualties, the Canadian Corps chased the Germans through France and Belgium. The second last zone in the exhibition explored battles like Valenciennes from 31 October to 2 November 1918, displaying a British ensign flag hand-made by the French to greet their liberators. The Canadian role in the liberation has not been well explored in the historiography and it was clear that, while the Canadians were tired and fought-out, the liberation of thousands of civilians who had suffered under the cruel occupation of the Kaiser's forces reinforced for many front-line soldiers why Germany had to be defeated. "It made one feel that all this fighting had been worthwhile," wrote Private William Davidson, 72nd Battery, Canadian Field Artillery, "to see a people so glad to be delivered from hard rulers."

In the final days of the war, rumours spread among the frontline troops that the fighting was coming to an end. No one wanted to be the last to die after more than four years and three months of warfare. Visitors arrive at the climax of the exhibition's storyline, in an immersive theatre-like space, presenting the film, *Mons, The* Last Day. Surrounded by three floor-to-ceiling projections, visitors



Figure 7. [Canadian War Museum, CWM2018-032-0080-Dm]

sit and watch Canadian soldiers advancing on Mons on 10 November, as they slipped through the darkened streets in the early hours of 11 November, finally driving the Germans out of the ancient city. [Figure 7]

The NFB team was tasked with telling the story of the last hours and minutes of the war around Mons, although they faced a challenge with the absence of visual documentation. Little to no archival film or photographs exist from the capture of Mons. By filming serving members of The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) in old Montreal, the NFB team recreated the scenes in Mons, which were combined with historical and contemporary photographs. In the final presentation, a watch face counts down the hours and minutes to the 11 am armistice, while visitors watch the shocking moment when Private George Price is shot by a sniper only a few minutes before a final bombardment. He was the last Canadian and Commonwealth soldier killed on the Western Front before the Armistice. Ringing church bells signal the end of the war and on screen a few soldiers stand, removing their helmets, in stunned silence, unable to celebrate and wondering how they have survived the terrible war. Adjacent to the immersive experience is a panel detailing George Price's story. The display consists of his medals and a touching postcard sent to his



Figure 8. [Canadian War Museum, CWM2018-033-0006-Dm]

sister just before he died. He wrote, "Dear Florence, Just a line to let you know I still think of you[.] I will see you some day."

The final zone of the exhibition brings the Canadians, the Corps, and their commander home. Following battle after battle, the exhibition experience was intense, and so the final cluster's content had to be limited. The goal was to finish the story, explaining how the Canadian citizen-soldiers returned to their communities across the country, how the Canadian Corps disappeared as a fighting formation in 1919, and the challenges faced by Currie as some Canadians accused him of being wanton and reckless with the lives of his soldiers. The Hundred Days had seen tremendous victories but at a terrible cost, and those 45,000 casualties were particularly hard for some grieving Canadians to understand so close to the end of the war. This section featured key artifacts like Currie's impressive medal set and life-size cut-outs of silhouetted soldiers marching home, ending with a series of colourized images of the veterans reintegrating into Canadian society. [Figure 8]

The exhibition team worried that visitors might not fully appreciate the radically different fighting of the Hundred Days, with its combined-arms, open warfare, and rapid operational tempo being significantly different than the trench warfare of 1915 to late 1917.

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However, visitors seemed to understand and embrace these concepts and the transformative nature of battle during the four years of war. The reliance on colourized images, reconstructed spaces, and key artifacts resonated with visitors. One commented that "this was an excellent exhibition... it was like taking a walk through the history, and the focus on a shorter period, the Hundred Days, made it manageable." On a broader level, the almost 50,000 visitors who passed through the *Victory 1918* exhibition had the opportunity to develop a more nuanced understanding of the Canadian role during the Hundred Days campaign, how the war was fought at the tactical level in 1918, and how it was won.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Tim Cook is an historian at the Canadian War Museum and the author of 11 books, including *The Secret History of Soldiers: How Canadians Survived the Great War* (2018). He curated the First World War permanent gallery at the CWM and he has worked on temporary, travelling, and digital exhibitions. He is a member of the Order of Canada.

Marie-Louise Deruaz is a Creative Development Specialist at the Canadian War Museum. As well as holding a master's degree in Art Education, her background as a professional photographer has informed her work on permanent and temporary exhibitions at the museum during the past five years. Advising and collaborating with other museum professionals, her role is to provide accessible, informative and unique experiences for visitors.