An Empty Graveyard: The Victims of the 1946 AOA DC-4 Crash, Their Final Resting Place, and Dark Tourism

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Abstract

In 2013, archaeologists succeeded in locating a plane crash that had been presumed buried based on local stories. The aircraft had crashed into a steep hill, subsequently known as Crash Hill. On the summit is a deteriorated memorial which resembles a cemetery, marking the thirty-nine people who died in the 1946 tragedy. This memorial has been a spot of pilgrimage for family and an attraction for adventure seekers. This draw to dark tourism sites is not uncommon but since archaeologists shared their finds with the public through social and local media, many of those visitors are drawn to the crash site instead of the memorial. This is a problem as there are possibly mass graves at the crash site, and visitation can potentially disturb those remains. This article argues for caution when discussing finds publically and for the repair and restoration of the memorial at the top of the hill to fill the want to visit a site of tragedy without disturbing the actual crash site.

Keywords

aviation archaeology, dark tourism, aviation history, Newfoundland and Labrador

Introduction

On top of Crash Hill, in Stephenville, Newfoundland and Labrador, is a monument to the thirty-nine victims of the crash of American Overseas Airlines Douglas DC-4 NC-900904, and a small, fenced area containing thirty-nine crosses, now broken, weather-worn and fallen. For years, this monument – a cenotaph with the appearance of a burial ground - had been a trail-end for hikers, snowmobilers, and all-terrain vehicle users, as the graveyard associated with the 1946 airplane crash. In 2013, an archaeological team from Memorial University of Newfoundland, with a local guide, endeavoured to discover the actual site of the crash on the hill somewhere below the monument, to assess the claims that the site had been buried by blasting the top of the hill. Archaeologists also wanted to attempt to locate the mass grave or graves indicated by conflicting stories circulating in the local community about the recovery efforts. The site was located, but no graves were positively identified. Since then, the monument has shifted from being the end of the trail, to an indicator as to the location of the physical wreckage of the aircraft, and many who were once content to visit the summit of the hill have been attempting to access the crash itself. This new element of dark tourism is putting visitors, the integrity of the site, and the human remains buried somewhere at the crash site, at risk. This article reviews the history of the crash and its subsequent memorialization, before discussing the challenges of dark tourism and potential future treatment of the landscape as a site of memory.

History of the Crash

AOA NC-900904, hereafter AOA 904, was scheduled to fly from LaGuardia Field, New York, to Shannon, Ireland, with a refuelling stop in Gander, Newfoundland. The aircraft departed New York at 12.14 (Newfoundland Time, UTC 03.30) on 2 October 1946 and at 16.13, Captain William R. Westerfield was informed by the dispatcher at Gander, that the weather in Gander was unsuitable for landing and not expected to improve (Landis et al. 1947; Wilkins 1946). The aircraft was to proceed to Stephenville, where it landed at 16.30 (Landis et al. 1947). There had been an alternated crew waiting in Gander, but as no crew was in Stephenville, the crew

were required to have a twelve-hour stop over to rest (Wilkins 1946). Departure was scheduled for 04.45 on 3 October (Landis et al. 1947).

Shortly before scheduled departure, the flight crew were briefed by the United States Army Air Force (USAAF) and informed about the expected weather for the duration of the flight (Landis et al. 1947). At 04.45, Captain Westerfield requested takeoff clearance, but was informed by the control tower operator that due to the fact that the winds had increased to 9 mph and were blowing 90 degrees to the runway there would be a change in runways (Landis et al. 1947; Wilkins 1946). Airfield procedure dictated that DC-4s were to take off over the water (Runway 30) if winds were less than 10 mph. Perhaps with the fear that winds might increase, the control tower operator advised that the flight be changed to Runway 7 (Wilkins 1946). The runway was cleared and AOA 904 took-off at 05.00 with a magnetic bearing of 70 degrees. Fifteen minutes later, the wind decreased to 4 mph (Landis et al. 1947). Otherwise, the ceiling was 5,000 feet and visibility was at 10 miles. This meant that the weather was clear for flying but the moon and stars were not visible (Landis et al. 1947; Wilkins 1946; Unknown Author 1946a). No one was watching the aircraft in the minutes after takeoff (McGrath 1946).

One minute after takeoff, the control tower operator requested a ceiling check, and AOA 904 advised him to 'wait for ceiling check' (Landis et al. 1947; Wilkins 1946). No radio contact occurred after this. Two and a half minutes after takeoff, witnesses reported a glow of fire directly in line with the runway in the nearby hills (Landis et al. 1947). No other aircraft was flying in the area at the time, so it was assumed that AOA 904 had crashed (Wilkins 1946). Attempts were made to contact the aircraft, but to no avail. NC 90903 departed 22 minutes later, and was instructed to leave from runway 30 (Wilkins 1946). Search operations were initiated immediately by the USAAF, aircraft flying over the site described it as a 'terrific fire' with little hope of survivors (Figure 1). The aircraft had hit the hill seven miles from the runway, in an area where pilots familiar with the runway would make a right turn shortly after takeoff to avoid the hills. The hill is 1200 feet high and the aircraft struck forty feet from the summit (Wilkins 1946). It is



Figure 1: Aerial photo of the wreckage taken one hour after the crash by navigator Robert Alber of Air France (from the collection of Lisa M. Daly).



Figure 2: Aerial view of the memorial at the top of Crash Hill taken in 1950 (from the collection of the Our Lady Of Mercy Church Museum, Port au Port Peninsula).

believed the pilot could not see the hills in the dark, and started the turn too soon or was unaware of the elevations in the area and struck the hill (Landis et al. 1947; Wilkins 1946). Helicopters used in the rescue of survivors from the Sabena OOCBG which crashed near Gander on 18 September 1946, only two weeks earlier, were requested, but deemed unnecessary and the request cancelled (Canadian Press 1946). Search parties were assembled, departed at dawn, travelled by rail to Harry's River, across a marsh, then through four miles of forest. They arrived at the site around midday and the Newfoundland Rangers arrived shortly after at 14.00 (Canadian Press 1946; Horwood 1986: 118). They confirmed the deaths of all eight crew, twenty-five adult passengers, and the six children on board the aircraft. The search party also indicated that the remains were burned beyond recognition, and later searchers could only confirm the identities of a few people. Due to these factors, it was decided that the remains would not be removed from the site, but rather would be buried near the aircraft. One of the Newfoundlanders working at Harmon Airfield and a member of the initial search party, Ronald Reardon (2012), indicated that the remains were extensively damaged, with fragments scattered around the wreckage and in the trees. Due to the fire, transporting the remains was challenging, and he indicated that not all remains were likely collected and brought to the burial area.

The remains were gathered, and according to Newfoundland Ranger T. Fitzpatrick, were 'piled up like cordwood, all burned and blackened' (Horwood 1986: 118), while they waited for a group of Americans to arrive with dynamite to blast a hole deep enough for the remains. The steep, rocky hillside has very shallow soil, so graves had to be blasted rather than dug by the Rangers. Although, the reports are a little conflicting from the Newfoundland Rangers on site, as Fitzpatrick claims there were multiple holes blasted and multiple graves, whereas labourer Reardon claimed a single grave was dug with a pick and shovel, and the official Ranger report says 'during the day, they [twenty-five labourers] buried the remains of the victims and erected crosses and Stars of David' (Figure 2; Fagan and Fitzpatrick 1946: 2; Horwood 1986: 119; Reardon 2012). Wilkins' (1946) report does confirm the graves were blasted, but no further details are given. This is not a clear description of the burial. The remains were buried somewhere near the wreckage

in an unmarked area. To bury the wreckage and remains, steps were taken to obtain permission to dynamite the hill above the crash with the goal of burying the wreckage and remains under rubble (McGrath 1946). Within hours of the crash happening and the determination that there were no survivors, steps were taken to create a memorial. A monument was air lifted to the summit of the hill, and wooden crosses with name plates were carried in. These were erected within days of the incident, with the Canadian Press (1946) reporting that 'the little rows of white crosses in the western highlands will mark the scene of Newfoundland's second fatal crash of a civil airliner'. On 6 October, a funeral service (conducted by a rabbi and priest) was held in a DC-4 aircraft flying over the site, in a similar fashion to the funeral for the victims of the Sabena crash of the previous month (Unknown Author 1946b). The service was attended by next of kin, AOA and USAAF officials, and H.A.L. Pattison, who was the representative for the Newfoundland Government (McGrath 1946).

Since the Crash

The memorial 'burial ground' was rebuilt after Dixie Knoss visited in 1989. She had brought the importance of fixing the markers and the fence around the site to the attention of the United States Defense Department who funded the replacement of the markers, using the original name plates from the 1946 memorial (Knoss 1989). The crosses had fallen once again, the nameplates and Star of Davids had fallen off the wooden crosses, and the site was in desperate need of restoration (Figure 3). The dilapidated state of the site might have helped contribute to the need for visitors to see more upon arrival. As the memorial was overgrown with plants, small trees, and the crosses had fallen, it did not afford suitable dignity to the victims of the crash. If the memorial were maintained, it would better portray the original intention of the memorial as a symbol of where the victims were buried. With the memorial restored, Knoss argued it could become the symbol of the crash once again, and thus the focus of both those looking for the trail-end marker. Meanwhile, those searching for the dark tourism element would be satisfied as the memorial would once again convey the idea that the victims of the crash are buried at



Figure 3: Local guide Don Cormier at the monument placed at the summit of Crash Hill. Note the broken crosses bearing the names of some of the victims (photo by Michelle Bennett MacIssac 2017).

the summit of Crash Hill, if memories of the rediscovery of the site starts to fade as years past.

The actual burial area for the victims of the crash has not been identified. As indicated, there are conflicting reports as to what exactly happened with the remains. Some witnesses say they were buried in a single mass grave while others say multiple graves (Fagan and Fitzpatrick 1946; Horwood 1986; Reardon 2012). Newspapers reported they were buried on site, but implied they were buried at the summit (Canadian Press 1946). This is how the site was lost as this dynamiting was thought to have completely destroyed the site. That said, one informant, Nelson Sherren (2013) said that in the 1960s he was involved in further blasting in the area to further obscure the wreckage and that archaeologists

would not find anything. It was assumed that, because the site was dynamited once in the days following the incident, and again a few years later, there was nothing left to the aircraft and it was all buried by the rubble. The local guide, Don Cormier (2013), used by the archaeologists searching for the site was familiar with the area due to his hunting activities, and told of multiple other hunters who used the area and often searched for the wreck. According to Cormier, most explorers and hunters in the area who were interested in the site often did not go far enough along the hill to find the wreckage. A landslide is visible in the landscape, and most assumed this landslide was the result of dynamiting the wreck, and the fact that there is no evidence of the aircraft reinforces the idea that the site was completely buried. However, it is now supposed that the aircraft is a little further along the hill, at one of the steepest points, an area not often frequented by hunters due to the incline (Don Cormier, pers. comm. 2013). Using a historical photograph (Figure 2) and contemporary maps, the author asked Cormier to lead the team beyond the landslide, where the group then located the wreckage.

Archaeology, Social Media, and Dark Tourism

The term 'dark tourism' was coined by Foley and Lennon in 1996, but only began being studied academically a decade later (Biran and Hyde 2013; Raine 2013). The term refers to a form of tourism where visitors travel to sites associated with death, tragedy, or suffering, or where such occurrences have been memorialized. Stone (2006: 242) better defined dark tourism and created a spectrum indicating a variety of levels of 'darkness' within the phenomenon, ranging from entertainment-oriented attractions to places of conflict or genocide. This spectrum has been expanded upon to examine not just the types of attractions, but also the consumers of dark tourism (Raine 2013), as well as the varying motivations for the commodification of dark tourism sites (Virgili et al. 2017). From an archaeological perspective, examining the materiality of death allows for a greater understanding of the performance surrounding mortality and its commemoration (Williams 2003), and uncovering death from the past continues the memory of the individual or society by the living (Parker Pearson 2001). Aviation archaeology often examines

plane crash sites, many of which involved the death of individuals on board (Daly 2015). While ethically, aviation archaeology can be confused with wreck-hunting, or a form of treasure hunting involving aircraft, the uncovering and recording of aviation sites allows for the discovery and preservation of the story of that aircraft and crew, particularly when conflicting accounts are found in the historical record. The identification and possible recovery of human remains allows them to be repatriated (see work done by JPAC; Webster 1998), buried in marked graves, or memorialized even if no physical remains are found. These memorials often mean a lot to survivors, family, and the aviation community as a whole (Hillier 2017; Legendre 2001). Human remains found on aviation sites are often commingled, highly fragmented, and spread over significant distances. Even when recovered at the time of the incident, their fragmented nature often means not everything is fully recovered and properly buried (Hillier 2017). Examining aviation archaeology sites can potentially mean recovering remains that can then be interred in formal cemeteries, or, in certain cases, can lead to 'finding' someone who has been listed as Missing in Action during a conflict (Webster 1998).

Forms of dark tourism have been present in Newfoundland and Labrador for years. From historical walks around cities and communities featuring stories of murders and hauntings, to a museum dedicated to a sealing disaster that happened in 1914, most museums feature at least one exhibit dedicated to an air or sea disaster, so there are many outlets for those interested in dark tourism. That said, contemporary tourism has been increasingly interested in both the authentic experience of history and the interest in death and suffering (Sharpley 2009: 6). Historical walks may bring people to the spot where someone was murdered, but the evidence is long gone. The mangled metal of a plane crash gives a strong visual cue through which mass death and destruction may be understood. Crash Hill has become one of these destinations. Before the rediscovery of the location of the crash itself, the memorial on the top of the hill was one such site; a stand-in for the missing aircraft wreckage and, given the individual crosses - one for each victim - was often mistakenly believed to be the final resting place of thirty-nine people. Reports about the site stated that while the remains were buried on site, the area was completely demolished, burying all remnants of the crash (Reardon 2012; Sherren pers. comm. 2012). This removed much of the drive for members of the public to visit the actual crash site, if there was nothing to view. In fact, even when the Dixie Knoss, the daughter of one of the victims, Alva J. Marley, came to visit the crash site in 1989, there was no mention of her visiting the crash site, but simply flying over the memorial and the hill so she and her brothers could 'see where their dad was' (Knoss 1989). Research about the site has been shared with media and social media, showing potential visitors that there is more to the area than just the memorial at the top of the hill (Hurley 2013). This open sharing of research with the public is one of the new shifts in archaeology in the social media age, but can also put sites at risk from an increased numbers of visitors and subsequent damage.

Investigating and Remembrance on Crash Hill

Archaeologists rediscovered the site in 2013 as part of a documentary that was never completed, and the author reported the find to the local media in an effort to discuss the history of that and other aviation site in the area at the Stephenville Regional Art and History Museum after the expedition. The site was also mentioned, although not in depth, on the author's blog (http://planecrashgirl. ca). This has created a new interest in visiting the actual crash site, and not simply the memorial on the top of the hill. This does bring forward the ethical side of promoting archaeological work on social media. As the site was 'lost' to the community, archaeologists finding the remains of the aircraft and promoting the fact that it was found now brings a renewed interest. This did bring out stories from people in the area who remembered the aircraft, allowing for a better understanding of the site and a greater understanding of how the local community viewed the incident in terms of the town's history. It created a more community oriented story, instead of one imposed by researchers (cf. Richardson 2013). By sharing of the story of aviation sites, posted online and via traditional media, they can benefit both the research and researcher. Conversely, trying to be open about the research does not fully dissuade the public from the idea that academics carefully manage information (Bonacchi and Moshenska 2015). Another effect of sharing information is that is has inadvertently promoted increased numbers of visits to the site. Coupled with this, as an outreach effort, a presentation at the local museum about the history of this and another aviation site on the nearby Port-au-Port Peninsula and the knowledge that researchers had been to the site, let others know that the site was potentially accessible. The research, archaeology, and even social media posts have been done with an attempt at understanding and respect, but there is always the concern that other visitors will not do the same. Since the initial archaeological visit, at least one person informed researchers that they visited the site specifically to look for the graves.

Promotion of any site, whether through social or traditional media, will potentially attract the interest of some of the general public. This is particularly true with aviation sites, since the aviation community is comprised of professional and amateur flyers, former and current military and airport personnel, amateur and professional historians, as well as others who are simply interested in aircraft. Some of the interested parties will reach out to archaeologists, especially if they have a visible media footprint, and in such cases, archaeologists can stress the importance of maintaining site integrity and can talk about the site in such a way as to encourage those interested to also be stewards of the site, making sure everything is left in situ. In this researcher's experience, one method that has worked has been to request photographs from site visitors as a way to monitor sites. Permission is always asked to potentially use images online or in publications, which includes the public's passion in the research and protection of a site. This added responsibility of those interested in the research area creates more of a community system of protection. This has been seen in Gander, Newfoundland, where members of the community have taken it upon themselves to help monitor sites, and to report those who are caught looting scrap metal (Daly 2015). Others will gain information about sites from social media and will not contact researchers. Some may do so after they visit the site. One way in which to mitigate this risk is to be vague about specific locations, and, if a map is used, be clear that markers are purposefully not accurate to force potential visitors to contact either the archaeologist in question or the governing body. This allows researchers to get a 'feel' for those looking to visit the site, remind them of the associated laws, and try to engage them to help in the above mentioned monitoring and protection of sites.

Work at Gander has always been done with an effort to curb site looting, and AOA 904 is a site outside of the usual military sites that litter the landscape of Newfoundland and Labrador, Military sites were, for the most part, divested of remains, armaments and sensitive equipment. Commercial crashes, such as the Sabena in Gander and AOA 904, left much behind. Newfoundland Rangers worked hard to recover the sites, but commercial crashes tended to have more people on the aircraft, more luggage than military flights, plus items such as plates, trays, and other luxuries (Figure 4). This leaves more behind and more souvenirs that can be collected by visitors. Efforts are made to stress the importance of maintaining the sanctity to these sites, but that might increase the dark tourism appeal (Sharpley 2009: 8). There is no commercialization to these sites, possibly adding to the appeal as they represent more of an untouched tragedy. That said, sites such as the Sabena crash near Gander have been frequently visited and, according to local sources, most people in the area have something from the site. usually dishes (Darrell Hillier, pers. comm. 2008). In some cases, collecting helps preserve a site, as is the case with Royal Air Force Ferry Command Hudson Mk. VI FK690 in Gander. When the Trans-Canada Highway was mapped through the area it was going to pass over the wreckage, so the community was invited to collect pieces of the aircraft. Some parts are preserved due to that collection (Dalv 2015). That said, aviation sites fifty years or older in Newfoundland and Labrador are now protected under the Historic Resources Act. The crash site itself is still largely intact, with the tail section mostly untouched and the burnt metal from the wreck still on site, giving it an untouched look and feel, plus a visual indication of the potential destruction that can happen to an aircraft upon impact.

There are those who visit the site as an act of pilgrimage or mourning. Knoss' 1989 visit to see where her father died was an act of mourning. Other relatives, typically grandchildren, have come forward wanting to visit the site if they ever visit Newfoundland. Cormier does have a connection to the site. His father was one of



Figure 4: A meal tray found at the crash site (photo by Shannon K. Green 2012).

the Newfoundlanders who helped recover the remains, although the man never really spoke about the experience and has since passed away. Cormier has been back to the site, but has said nothing about locating the burials. For him, the visit to the site is an act of pilgrimage as it was something important his father was involved in, but something too traumatic for him to talk about. This connection that Cormier feels to the site is comparable to the memory tourism discussed by Virgili et al. (2018: 66) as it allowed him the chance to 'see and understand' this traumatic incident in his father's life.

Now that the site has been located, various individuals have contacted the author to express interest and advice on visiting the crash site. Those who used to use the memorial at the top of the hill as a trail end are now looking to continue the journey to include the actual crash site as they know it is close (Michelle

McIssac pers. comm. 2017). Visitors to the site may have different potential ties, whether that is a family member who died in the crash, one who helped with the recovery efforts, or an interest in community or aviation history, and reaching the crash is now more for the adventure of it rather than an act of commemoration. This could expand Raine's (2013) dark tourist spectrum to include those who are actively seeking recreation and require any 'historic' destination. Raine points out that some who visit dark sites, such as cemeteries, are passive recreationists, who use the greenspace as an access route or open space. Raine also discusses other uses such as sightseers, hobbyists, and thrill seekers. Crash Hill is not an easy hike, so it can be argued that the thrill-seeking aspect uses the destination as a challenge, as can the hobbyist angle for avid hikers looking for new routes and experiences. The landscape around the hill is virtually untouched, on the top of a hill which overlooks lakes, ponds, forests, and in the distance, the town of Stephenville, the airport, and the ocean beyond, which holds strong appeal for sightseers. Many visitors do seen to fit best into the category of passive recreationists. Their motivation is the hike, and the crash is the goal destination rather than the route, but then there is the potential for interacting with the crash or the memorial donce they reach that goal. Some might consider it as an act of remembrance or commemoration, but many rarely know anything of those who died on the site besides what is on the monument at the summit. There is no context on the site, either at the memorial or at the wreckage. The remembrance at the site is not first hand, as without context, the incident is imaginary, left for people to create their own version of the story (Walter 2009: 47). It has added a further element of dark tourism to the visit. The new visitors, which have appeared since the rediscovery of the site, are looking to visit the actual crash, where the remains of the aircraft are visible. So instead of being satisfied with the trail end, now there is a need to view the actual crash. This shifts the emotion and physical focus from a symbol of death on the top of the hill to the actual place of death (Walls and Williams 2010: 49, 51). The exploration of the site is akin to digging around a memorial, without the training or experience to be able to identify degraded human remains. This adventure-seeking opens up the site to treasure-hunting and increases the chance that any remains on the site, whether in a mass grave found in the wreckage, will be disturbed. This has always been a problem with aviation archaeology, as well as other forms of archaeology where artifacts may be viewed as 'valuable'. In some of the early guides to wreck-chasing, site visitors are encouraged to take souvenirs from sites. Similarly, in many tragic commercial crashes, such as the Sabena in Gander, there are often stories of riches that were on the aircraft (i.e. money and jewellery), which brought seekers out to find literal treasure (Daly 2017). At the time of publication, the author knew of no plans to erect signage at the site.

An opposing perspective is that the woods around Newfoundland are full of animals, many of which would have scavenged any remains missed by the first recovery crews and the Newfoundland Rangers. If the mass graves are shallow, they would also be accessible by animals, but, Ranger Fitzpatrick said he visited the site about a year later. He had heard rumours of people visiting the site looking for valuables, but he found that the graves had been undisturbed (Horwood 1986: 119). This would indicate that the graves were deep enough to prevent it. Given that the Rangers reported remains throughout the site, there is the potential to argue that the entire site can be considered to be a graveyard and should be treated as such. Between this and the site being registered as an archaeological site with the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, penalties for disturbing the site could range from fines to jail time (Government of NL 2017).

The cenotaph at the summit of Crash Hill, even with the deteriorated symbolic grave markers, should once again become the focus for those looking for the adventure of visiting the crash. The shift to the actual crash as the focal point put the site and the human remains on site at risk. The memorial at the summit needs to be restored once again, with information panels placed to give visitors about the history of the site and a warning that there are remains at the crash site (Virgili et al. 2018). This would potentially give a greater sense of ownership to site visitors, the community, and family, as well as a greater sense of commemoration surrounding the site, helping to protect the wreckage (Walls and Williams 2010: 61). This may be give a better photo opportunity or a better view of success to those searching for the trail end. That

said, not all visitors go to the crash for the same reason. As we have discussed above, some people visit the site as an act of pilgrimage or memorialization, as they have familial ties to the crash.

Conclusion

Aircraft crash sites that still remain on the landscape tend to be in areas that are inaccessible. Those that are accessible are cleaned up, and have often been looted by scrap hunters. The inaccessible sites hold a certain appeal to those doing back-country hiking or driving all-terrain vehicles. Aviation sites that were created fifty or more years ago are protected in Newfoundland and Labrador by the Provincial Archaeology Office, but the fines associated with looting archaeological sites are not always a deterrent. Other jurisdictions have created regulations for the protection of aviation resources, but in Canada, each province is responsible for developing archaeological regulations, so they vary across the country. Similar to the work done in Gander to record crash sites and assess the viability for archaeology at the war-era town site (Daly 2015), other countries have been assessing and recording what remains of their military heritage (for examples see Freeman and Pollard 2001; Lake 2002; Millbrook 1998) Much of the aviation archaeology work done by the author has had the goal of recording the sites for preservation, but at the same time promoting the history of the sites to the local communities, aviation enthusiasts, and giving a resource to families looking to find out more about the sites. In many cases, the ideas are conflicting as promoting the sites puts them at risk. Being able to draw the focus from the actual wreckage will help to respect the sombre nature of the site, combined with repairs to the memorial at the summit of the hill as well as information to discourage the dark tourism trend of trying to visit the actual wreckage, would help keep the remains that are at the wreckage safe.

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