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SAHANZ 2006: Contested Terrains

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Edited by

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SAHANZ 2006: Contested Terrains

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The Gate of Eternal Memories: architecture art and remembrance

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ABSTRACT

The Menin Gate is a large memorial in Belgium to British Empire troops killed and missing during the battles of the Ypres Salient during the First World War. Designed by the architect Reginald Blomfield in 1922 it commemorates the 56,000 soldiers whose bodies were never found including 6,160 Australians. Blomfield's sobering memorial has symbolic architectural meaning, and significance and commemorative meaning to relatives of those whose names appeared on the surfaces of the structure. In 1927 the Australian artist and soldier William Longstaff painted his allegorical painting "Menin gate at Midnight" showing the Gate as an ethereal structure in a brooding landscape populated with countless ghostly soldiers. The painting was an instant success and was reverentially exhibited at all Australian capital cities. From the contested terrain of war remembrance this paper will argue that both the Gate and its representation in "Menin Gate at Midnight" are linked through the commemorative associations that each employ and have in common.

"Here was the world's worst wound. And here with pride

'Their name liveth for evermore' the Gateway claims.

Was ever an immolation so belied

As these intolerably nameless names?

Well might the Dead who struggled in the slime

Rise and deride this sepulchre of crime."¹

In "On Passing Menin Gate" the poet Siegfried Sassoon derided the "pile of peace complacent stones" in his usual vitriolic verse on the effect of the industrialized warfare of the First World War. Designed by the prominent Edwardian architect Sir Reginald Blomfield, the Menin Gate at Ypres had been built as a memorial to the 56,000 missing from the battles of the Ypres Salient between 1914 and 1918. It was constructed on the site of the demolished gateway that stood on the road through the city ramparts to the nearby town of Menin. Sassoon's sarcasm derived from his own – somewhat contradictory – role in the war as both a decorated hero and fierce critic and his conviction that officialdom was cynically using the bereaved and their tide of sorrow for national and imperial agendas. Others, too, were cognisant of the memorial as evidence of official guilt for the war and propaganda for the British Empire.²

However, these people were at odds with many others who held that the memorial was chiefly a focus of grief for sons and relatives whose bodies were never recovered and given a burial in an

Imperial War Graves cemetery. As a product of particular political and ethical policies, the bodies of British Empire soldiers were not returned to their countries but buried close to where they met their fate. The soldiers named on the gate were not just 'fallen' but also 'lost'. For the relatives of the missing a pilgrimage to the Gate was a significant act which helped to heal the effects of grief and loss providing a tangible link to the memory of loved ones through its location, dedication and numberless names.

The dedication ceremony on the 24th of July 1927 was a significant and moving affair attended by officials, dignitaries and thousands of pilgrim mourners. The ceremony was also attended by the Australian artist Will Longstaff who had been a Captain in the Australian Army. By his own account, while walking by the Gate at night, Longstaff had a vision of the ghosts of the missing rising up out of the ground in front of the Gate and marching off towards the Ypres battlefields.³ This experience provided the inspiration for his painting "Menin Gate at Midnight" depicting his vision of a spectral army arising from the poppy fields near the Gate. It was well regarded in Britain and enjoyed overwhelming acclaim and popularity in Australia where it was shown in each of the capital cities before investiture at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. Longstaff's painting successfully tapped into a number of key commemorative ideas and sentiment of Australian people of the time. Firstly, memorials could act as 'empty graves' for the dead and be a focus of memory for those who may never see the graves of relatives overseas. Secondly, that pilgrimage was an important part of alleviating grief. Thirdly, both the Gate and the painting tapped into a tide of spiritualism that

swept Britain and Australia at the time helping to soften the blow of losing loved ones. To Australians the painting was not just a representation of the memorial but as important as the building itself. As Bruce Scates points out, in the 1930s no Australian could stand before the Menin Gate at Ypres without the mental picture of Longstaff's painting hovering in their mind.⁴

From the contested terrain of war remembrance this paper argues that both the Gate and its representation in "Menin Gate at Midnight" are linked through the commemorative associations that each employ and have in common. Also – as with many World War One memorials – both contest the notion of traditional remembrance by substituting for the lack of physical remains of soldiers seen as necessary for meaningful mourning at the time. To do this, the paper will discuss the Menin Gate and its architectural and commemorative meanings with reference to the painting Menin Gate at Midnight – discussing the linkages between architecture and memory in the context of war memorials. It is important to understand memorials such as these, in the context of their time, as the focus of genuine grief and not just the symbol of a victorious empire.

Commemoration and Remembrance

War memorials in the First World War Anglo-Australian sense are mnemonic objects that form the focus of collective memory and remembrance for distant events and places. As Tarlow asserts 'They serve as foci for political and personal ritual, dependant on a shared history'⁵. They are surrogate tombs for the 'fallen' and remember the service of those who answered the call. More importantly, while many built during the war doubled as war propaganda, war memorials offered a focus of solace for relatives who had lost relatives. This was particularly important where there were no bodies to grieve over. Almost before the war ended a wave of war memorial building gripped Australia with many communities erecting their own memorials to those from the district who had served or fallen.

The mechanized nature of the war and the strategies employed on the battlefields resulted in mass deaths on an unprecedented scale. Each British Empire country abided by the decision to avoid bringing back soldiers remains to the country of origin and this made local war memorials extremely important as a focus of loss and as a substitute grave for the dead. The decision to not return soldiers' bodies was both political and ethical. The sight of so many bodies being returned was politically unacceptable for many governments.⁶ Arguments that bodies should be buried in carefully designed cemeteries near the battlefields was advanced by the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) whose charismatic leader, Sir Fabian Ware, successfully argued – against much opposition – for equality of treatment. It was unjust that the rich could afford to take the bodies of their sons home while the vast majority of the population could

not.⁷ Consequently soldiers' bodies effectively became the property of the state and were re-interred in cemeteries designed by IWGC architects and tended by their gardeners.

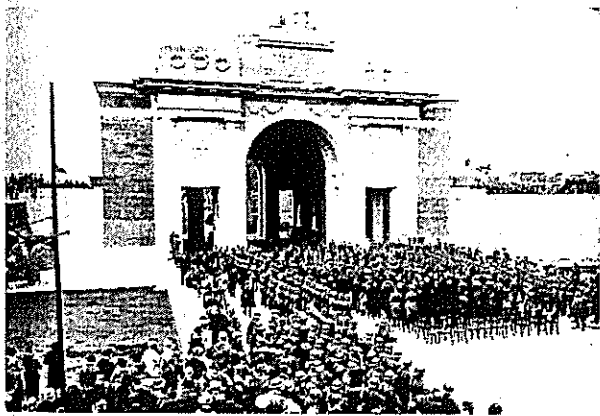
As Bruce Scates argues, the decision not to repatriate bodies made pilgrimage to battlefield gravesites an imperative whether the pilgrimage was actual or imaginary.⁸ The presence of a body to grieve over was a significant factor in healing the grief over the loss of a son. As Tarlow shows, a synchronic relationship between the living and the dead had developed by the end of the nineteenth century emphasizing an ongoing emotional relationship with the dead rather than merely a past one or a future one in heaven. While grief was no less intense than in previous times, codes of feeling had changed and become manifest in such things as the regular visiting of graves.⁹ Tarlow's research helps explain why local war memorials were so emotionally charged at that time, particularly memorials to those whose bodies were never recovered. In normal circumstances people could bury and visit their dead in local graveyards but this was not possible with the war dead. Grief was intensified at such distance from the soldier, the horrible circumstances of the death and the lack of personal burial rituals – compounded when soldiers were missing and no grave could be photographed or even imagined. The Menin Gate arose out of the need for a class of memorial that was specifically aimed at commemorating what '...every family dreaded: the terrible oblivion of the missing.'¹⁰

The memorial to the missing

Along with most World War One memorials, the Menin Gate memorial was born in conflict. By the end of the war the Belgium city of Ypres was in ruins. Suggestions of how to mark Ypres as 'holy ground' abounded, including leaving the city as a ruin. This suggestion was championed by both Winston Churchill and King George V who recommended that the British government buy Ypres as a monument.¹¹ There were other schemes including rebuilding part of the city and leaving some ruins as a 'zone of silence'. However in the end it was considered less costly and less politically problematic to build a memorial on the ruins of the Menin Gate despite determined efforts to scuttle this process.¹² Before the war this gate, a simple way through the ramparts of Ypres, was guarded by two lions bearing the arms of the city.¹³ At the end of the war it was merely a scar through what remained of the ramparts.

In 1919 the British architect Reginald Blomfield accepted the challenge from the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) to design a new memorial to the missing. He chose the site of the old Menin Gate as the most suitable site for the purpose because it was the place through which most soldiers marched to fight and also because the moat offered aesthetic possibilities as a reflecting medium.¹⁴ Blomfield was a leading architect and writer who designed a number of important

projects and at the time of his appointment was part of a team of senior architects charged by the IWGC with designing war cemeteries and memorials. In the late nineteenth century Blomfield had flirted with the Arts and Crafts movement but in the early years of the twentieth century had become an arch classicist preaching the virtues of the Beaux Arts.¹⁵ He believed that the way out of the chaos of Victorian eclecticism was a single style like the Renaissance which advocated discipline, proportion and the architect as coordinating genius.¹⁶ The Renaissance tradition, which emphasized human values, was an important inspiration to the architects involved in designing for the IWGC. This direction derived authority from books such as Geoffrey Scott's "The Architecture of Humanism" which argued that the architecture of the Renaissance was a counter to the enemies of humanism - "chaos and inhuman order".¹⁷ Humanism encouraged an architectural vocabulary that was humane, ordered, resonant, comprehensible and would have the "greatest symbolic and emotional power".¹⁸



Source: (Australian War Memorial 2006 ART09807)
Figure 1. Menin Gate - Opening Ceremony 1927

Bromfield designed the Menin Gate memorial as two large arches straddling the road and joined by 'all of memory'. He relates that the most difficult problem was the accommodation of the vast number of names which began as 40,000 but ballooned to approximately 58,600.¹⁹ Eventually his design did not accommodate all the names of the missing and another 35,000 names were accommodated on a wall at Tyne Cot Cemetery designed by Herbert Baker.²⁰ 6160 Australian names are recorded on the walls of the Gate. While the memorial is in the form of a triumphal arch, it was never meant to trumpet victory and this was in line with a general trend in Britain and Australia to downplay the glorification of war. Any sign of gloating or aggression in memorial design might attract harsh criticism.²¹ Some saw the Menin Gate as a warning. "This is not an *Arc de triomphe*, but a gateway of eternal memories, a shrine of the might of the British Empire, and perhaps, when millions of our people have seen it and read some of it; it may be the gateway of 'Never Again'".²² Designed in a restrained Renaissance style, the architecture attracted some criticism as "...made up from the stock of architectural commonplaces

and meaningless trappings...bereft of the enthusiasm and patience which should endow it with the impress of life..."²³ The German pacifist Stefan Zweig wrote a long, emotional and much quoted piece in the *Berliner Tageblatt* in 1928 extolling the virtues of the Menin Gate memorial as "...a monument more moving than any other on European soil."²⁴ While the architecture and its effect was important, it was the names that it carried that were of much greater significance to those who visited the memorial.

Names and their evocation was an important part of commemoration after the Great War.²⁵ People still trace or touch inscribed names with their fingers as if invoking the memory of lost relatives and as a substitute for the material existence of a body. The emotional and physical connection between the physicality of memorials, inscribed names and their commemorative significance is explored by Susan Stewart who offers touch as an adjunct to our visual experience. 'Seeing' is also a form of touching where our eyes 'fall upon' objects establishing connections between our visual and tactile impressions of an object through our experience of both. She makes the point that tactile perception involves a particular type of 'remembering' as we touch with sensitive parts of our body, such as fingers, so that there is not only a perception of the object but also of the contact itself bringing to life the object and triggering memory in the process. In such a context the names of the missing become a focus of recognition all the more important as they are often the only remaining physical evidence.²⁶

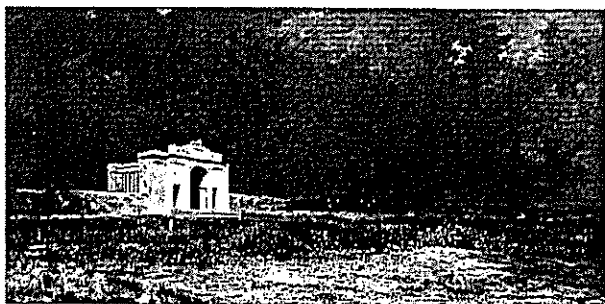
People made pilgrimages to the Menin Gate to see or to touch the names of loved ones. As previously discussed pilgrimage was an important part of the remembrance process necessary as the bodies of the dead were at a distance from the grieving relatives. Touching or seeing the names of loved ones was an emotional experience amplified in reports of the Society of St Barnabas which organized tours from Britain to Ypres. Most who travelled were mothers and wives of those killed. "All one could do was to put one's arm in theirs, as if they had been one's own mother, and, pointing high up on Menin Gate, spell out a name to them... 'That's him' they said and cried a little".²⁷ "I felt I wanted to kiss my son's name when I saw it" confessed one quiet little grey haired woman to me afterwards. 'I feel so happy to have seen that name'".²⁸ "I kissed his name in the carved stone".²⁹ In Australia a pilgrimage to the Menin Gate was out of reach to all but the wealthiest and therefore images of the gate - or better still photographs of names - were very important in the grieving process. During and after the building of the Gate various organizations such as the Imperial War Graves Commission and the Australian High Commissioner received letters from Australian families seeking assurance that missing sons and husbands would be commemorated on the gate and requesting photographs of their names.³⁰ The sheer weight of names on the Gate also had a significant effect

on Will Longstaff who, as previously mentioned, painted the artwork *Menin Gate at Midnight* in response to his vision at the gate during a night time walk after the opening ceremony.

The Menin Gate at Midnight.

Longstaff reportedly painted *Menin Gate at Midnight* in almost one sitting and under the 'psychic influence' of his experience.³¹ Its success can be partly attributed to the popularity of spiritualism at the end of the nineteenth century which found fresh ground at the end of the First World War in consoling the grieving relatives of dead soldiers.³² Certainly in Australia, spiritualist ideas and the concept of soldier ghosts returning to comfort or instruct the living had fuelled many newspaper illustrations and theatre depicting spiritual and ghostly reunions. There were stories of soldier spirits inhabiting the architecture of the Menin Gate where some claimed to feel their presence or hear the tramp of marching. The felt presence of soldier spirits at battlefields and memorials continues today as Bruce Scates research on the resurgence of Australian military commemoration demonstrates.³³

In 1920 the author and spiritualist advocate Arthur Conan Doyle toured Australia presenting lectures on spiritualism in major population centres. Those not enamoured of spiritualism called it 'a snare and a delusion' – a cruel trick to play on grieving families.³⁴ However many others denied the ultimate death of soldier family members preferring to believe that they were 'quietly sleeping' awaiting resurrection – a theme that the painting *Menin Gate at Midnight* conveyed very well.



Source: (Australian War Memorial 2006 ART09807)

Figure 2. Will Longstaff *Menin Gate at Midnight* 1927, oil on canvas 140.5x271.8cm

The *Menin Gate at Midnight* painting was donated to the Australian Government by Lord Woolavington who had purchased it from Longstaff as "it so impressed me".³⁵ After a showing in Australia House in London the painting was loaded on board the MV Morton Bay and transported to Australia for exhibition across the nation during 1928 and 1929.

The first exhibition was in Perth from 3rd to 30th of July at the WA Museum and Art Gallery where an estimated 105,281 saw the painting.³⁶ In Perth immense crowds flocked to the painting – particularly on Sunday afternoons. The painting was given prominent position at the gallery and all Perth

newspapers carried articles about the painting and its symbolism. The West Australian reported that the painting showed the

"...army of the deathless...rising slowly and quietly to inspect the stonemasonry built by the living world as their common grave. They are marshalled in silence. The mysticism of the painting is its great quality." "...[a]t times there were 60 to 70 inspecting the picture. Many of them were obviously returned soldiers. Some took off their hats when looking at the painting".³⁷

Similar experiences were reported in other states where its viewing was accompanied by sombre music as people filed past. It is clear from the Perth experience alone that that the painting was important not just because it was a famous painting widely advertised but because it struck deep at the heart of a grieving nation and at the need for the commemoration of those whose bodies were far away.

Unlike the physical Menin Gate, Longstaff could not present the numberless names engraved on the memorial but he could portray this effect with his spectral army. The seemingly endless host of figures that inhabited his surreal landscape evoked a similar emotional response of awe and sorrow. The image of the building (which was well known and its construction progress reported in the press) and the phantom army worked to represent a sacred ground. Public response to the painting was captured by the Reverend W.H.Bain in a sermon to parishioners at Canterbury Baptist Church in Victoria in February 1928.³⁸ The sermon hit a resonant chord and was subsequently published in the Melbourne Age and copied to John Treloar, director of the Australian War Memorial. Bain's sermon mingled brave and selfless deeds of soldiers at the battles of Ypres with the meaning of the memorial itself to the armies of the British Empire. For Bain there was no contest between spiritualism and the Christian message he saw that the painting conveyed – death was not the end of life. Bain had been to view the painting himself and he commented on the reverence with which it had been received. "One could not fail to be impressed with which people stood before the picture. Such is the ability of the human heart to respond to the appeal of what is sacrificial (sic)".³⁹ Sacrifice was something that could easily be transferred from Christianity to death in the battlefields and it was a powerful idea that enabled survivors to transcend the horrible and often senseless deaths in battles, giving comfort that – like Christ – soldiers had died for them. In the case of those named on the Menin Gate they had "...sacrificed all – even the identity of their graves".⁴⁰

Of course not all accepted this connection, particularly those that felt betrayed by a government that had sent them to war and then abandoned them to unemployment or to a life of disability – or both.⁴¹ Anger about the apparent abandonment of returned soldiers by politicians was palpable. The public were also flayed by criticism for their short memory of just who had saved them from the

horrors of a German dominated world. For example, the RSL in Western Australia during the 1920s continually pointed out the raw deal that returned soldiers were receiving across the country.⁴² Anger was compounded in Western Australia by the failure of the public and the state to honour the fallen through a state war memorial. This aside however, the sacrifice of the fallen and those that had served was a common and oft recited concept reinforced by Anzac day ceremonies with their quasi-religious overtones.

As Bain intoned in his sermon the symbolism in the painting was clear – sacrifice and resurrection. Longstaff's use of commonly understood metaphors contributed to the painting's public appeal.⁴³ For instance his use of poppies evoked concepts linked to memorial garden landscapes as symbols of death and resurrection. Poppies as tribute had been used since the war. They were hardy flowers that grew over the bodies of soldiers, their red colouring suggesting blood and sacrifice.

their use in ceremonies and as offerings was reinforced by such famous poems as "In Flanders Fields" by John McCrae where "...the poppies blow, between the crosses, row on row..."⁴⁴ Poppies, flowers and gardens in general also conveyed the idea of regeneration associating the fallen with the pastoral. Garden memorials heightened the effect of commemoration through the conveyance of tropes of decay and renewal and conveyed ideas of cyclic regeneration and linkages between the fragility of nature and human existence.⁴⁵ In this sense the painting connected with established commemorative metaphors and the many garden war memorials that had been constructed throughout Australia by that time. The painting's national success continued through the thousands of reproductions that were produced and sold to individuals and organizations throughout Australia.

Conclusion

The Menin Gate emerged out of the contested terrain of the Ypres battlefields as a focus for Empire grief and the special case of soldiers who were missing. Not all were happy about its building or design and argued for other forms of commemoration. Some like Sassoon railed against the Menin Gate as evidence of national guilt or the duping of the bereaved. However there appear to be fewer detractors than admirers. Part of the reason for this was the design for the memorial itself which was conservative, restrained and used straightforward classical symbolism. As previously stated, the use of classicism was linked to humanism and projected a human quality onto an inhuman situation, although classicism might also glorify the notion of war through "projecting the familiar image of the manliness of the fallen."⁴⁶ It was also overtly symbolic that the gate was placed at the site where soldiers had marched on the way to the Salient. Christian symbolism rendered this as a gate to the afterlife – gates being a familiar mortuary symbol in cemeteries. Gateways were already a legitimate memorial form in Britain and

Australia as memorial lych gates and soldiers' arches.

The Menin Gate carries no figurative sculpture other than the resting lion over the east arch referring to the British Empire as do the inscriptions either side, 'Pro Patria' and 'Pro Rege' (for country, for king). There is no doubt that there are overtones of nationalism and that the Gate could have been seen as propaganda for a victorious British Empire although evidence appears to suggest that this was usually avoided as it attracted much criticism.⁴⁷ Mosse argues that in commemoration, personal consolation was second to justifying the nation. The memory of the war was refashioned in commemoration that masked the reality of war, the purpose of war and presented it as a centrepiece of nationalism.⁴⁸ Certainly war memorials do mask the true nature of war – but this is simply because they could not provide the focus of healing if they did so. Mosse's argument unfairly contests the use of memorials as places of memory and healing. The vast number of visitors to the Menin Gate came to see relative's names, not to see the might of the British Empire. The Architecture was a background for the inscription of names and pilgrims went primarily to 'visit' relatives and to remember, although the architecture was still admired as a 'noble work'. National agendas were not primary to personal grief but rather "[c]ommemoration derived the value it attributed to death at least as much from a local sense of place and community as from the nation"⁴⁹

As previously discussed pilgrimage was an important part of commemoration and remembering loved ones, particularly since their graves were at a distance and more particularly if their bodies were missing. Pilgrimage to the Gate from Britain was difficult but not impossible through various organizations such as the Society of St Barnabas. But pilgrimage was impossible for most in Australians with the result that photographs of the Gate and names became the substitute.

The painting of the Menin Gate with its overlays of mysticism, sacrifice and resurrection offered a focus of commemoration that was quite different to the abstract forms of stone memorials dotting the Australian landscape. But there was no contradiction between the physical reality of the Gate and its representation in the painting. Both merged in stone and paint to become the 'gate of eternal memories', a name that was given to the gate and a name that was emblazoned on the free booklet that accompanied reproductions of painting around Australia.⁵⁰ Above all, like the Menin Gate at Ypres, the painting offered the chance of pilgrimage to a place sacred to memory, even if that might be an imaginary pilgrimage. Travelling to see the painting was a pilgrimage itself and standing before it evoked the imaginary pilgrimage that Bruce Scates argues is an essential condition of commemoration for those removed from the graves of their war dead.

Although there were contested notions about the role of the Menin Gate as a focus of commemoration it was generally received as a legitimate focus for the grief of relatives of the missing. This was reinforced at the opening ceremony when Field Marshal Plumer said to the mourners in his address "he is not missing: he is here" - a brilliant piece of theatre which was widely reported and which helped to establish the memorial as a legitimate substitute grave. This phrase also deeply affected Longstaff

and helped with the conceptualisation with his painting 'Menin Gate at Midnight'. Although the painting was simply a representation of the Gate it offered similar solace and commemorative comfort reinforced with spiritualist and sacrificial tropes. Respect for the painting as a memorial in its own right is reinforced by its present position in the Australian War Memorial as a sacred object in a room lit to inspire reverence.

Notes

- ¹ S Sassoon, *Collected Poems 1908-1956*, London: Faber and Faber, 1964.
- ² P Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*. Barnsley Yorkshire: Leo Cooper, 2003, p 104.
- ³ D Dendooven, *Ypres as Holy Ground: Menin Gate and Last Post*, Koksijde: Belgium, De Klaproos, 2001, p 82, also *The Gate of Eternal Memories: "Menin Gate at Midnight" The story of Captain Will Longstaff's great allegorical painting*, Melbourne: The Australian War Memorial, c1928, p 24.
- ⁴ B Scates *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p 97.
- ⁵ S Tarlow, (1997). 'An Archaeology of Remembering.: Death, Bereavement and the First World War', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 7,1, (1997): 105-121.
- ⁶ N Hanson, *The Unknown Soldier: The story of the missing of the Great War*, London: Doubleday, 2005, p 289.
- ⁷ P Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, p 47 see also M Heffenan, 'For Ever England: The Western Front and the Politics of Remembrance in Britain.' *Ecumene*, 2, 3, 1995: 293-323.
- ⁸ B Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, p46.
- ⁹ S Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An archaeology of mortality*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, p 131.
- ¹⁰ B Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, p37
- ¹¹ D Dendooven, *Ypres as Holy Ground*, p 21.
- ¹² D Dendooven, *Ypres as Holy Ground*, p50 King George did not attend the opening ceremony for the Menin Gate unlike the Belgian King Albert. There was speculation that he was miffed that his scheme for Ypres to be left in ruins was not accepted.
- ¹³ These lions were presented to the Australian War Memorial in 1997 and now form a guard to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.
- ¹⁴ R Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect*, London: Macmillan and Co, 1932, p185.
- ¹⁵ P Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, London: Phaidon Press, 1995, p 107.
- ¹⁶ J. M Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, London: John Murray, 1989, p 190.
- ¹⁷ G Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism*, London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914, p 242.
- ¹⁸ G Stamp, *Silent Cities: an exhibition of the memorial and cemetery architecture of the Great War*, London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1977, p 6.
- ¹⁹ R Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect*, p 187.
- ²⁰ D Dendooven, *Ypres as Holy Ground*, p 107, also Baker, Herbert. *Architecture and Personalities*, London: Country Life, 1944, p 91. Dendooven claims that it is not possible to accurately say how many names are recorded on the Menin Gate as the reported figure changes with some frequency - although it lingers around the 55,000 mark.
- ²¹ A King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* Oxford: Berg, 1998, p 206.
- ²² T. A Hannam, 'Gate of Eternal Memories' in *Menin Gate Pilgrimage*, London: Society of St Barnabas, 1927, p 7.
- ²³ D Dendooven, *Ypres as Holy Ground*, p 69.
- ²⁴ Australian War Memorial file, 'Memorial to the Missing', series A2909, Ags6/1/48 part 2.
- ²⁵ T. W Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', in J. R. Gillis (ed) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. See also P Gough, 'Corporations and Commemoration: First World War Remembrance, Lloyds TSB and the National Memorial Arboretum', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, 5, 2004: 435-455.
- ²⁶ S Stewart, 'Prologue: From the Museum of Touch' in M. Kwint, C. Breward and J. Aynsley (eds) *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*, Oxford: Berg, 1999, 32-39
- ²⁷ H V Morton. 'Threshold of the Empire' in *Menin Gate Pilgrimage*, London: Society of St Barnabas, 1927, p 16.
- ²⁸ James Dunn, 'Scenes at the Arch' in *Menin Gate Pilgrimage*, London: Society of St Barnabas, 1927, p 34.
- ²⁹ '700 Happy Mothers Return' in *Menin Gate Pilgrimage*, London: Society of St Barnabas, 1927, p 36.
- ³⁰ Australian War Memorial file, 'Memorial to the Missing', series A2909, Ags6/1/48 part 2.
- ³¹ A Grey, 'Will Longstaff's Menin Gate at Midnight', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 12, 1988: 47-50.
- ³² J Winter, *Sites of Memory, sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p58.
- ³³ B Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, p 118.

- 34 J Winter, *Sites of Memory, sites of Mourning*, p 62.
- 35 Cablegram from Sir Granville Ryrie to Rt Hon S. M. Bruce. Australian War Memorial, File - 'Memorials. Ghost of Menin Gate Picture by Longstaff', Series A458, AU370/2 1928-1930.
- 36 Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery of Western Australia, 30th September 1929.
- 37 *The West Australian*, Wednesday 4th July 1928, p 18.
- 38 W H Bain, Manuscript of Sermon 'The Ghosts of Menin Gate', Australian War Memorial, AMW93 12/5/188, 1929.
- 39 W H Bain, Manuscript of Sermon.
- 40 Arthur Wilson, 'The Long, Long Trail' in *Menin Gate Pilgrimage*, London: Society of St Barnabas, 1927, p 10.
- 41 K. S Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001, p 316.
- 42 *The Listening Post*, 1922 to 1930, Vol 1 to 10.
- 43 A. Grey, 'Will Longstaff's Menin Gate at Midnight', pp 47-50.
- 44 J MacCrea, *In Flanders Fields*, Champaign Illinois: Project Gutenberg, NetLibrary.com. 1919.
- 45 P Gough, 'Corporations and Commemoration', p 449.
- 46 G Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: reshaping the memory of the world wars*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, p 105.
- 47 A King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p 262.
- 48 G Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, p 7 and p 105.
- 49 A King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p 242.
- 50 *The Gate of Eternal Memories: "Menin Gate at Midnight" The story of Captain Will Longstaff's great allegorical painting*, Melbourne: The Australian War Memorial, c1928.

