

SITES OF MEMORY

THE WAR MEMORIALS OF WESTMINSTER



31st July 2014 - Gavin Stamp & Jon Wright

TWENTIETH
CENTURY
SOCIETY



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Introduction.

The United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials, (UKNIWM) now has over 60,000 sites on its database and the number continues to grow each year. The variety and diversity of them is staggering. Today, we are going to look at twenty or so C20th/21st London memorials chosen to show the range of artistic responses to commemoration, both after major conflict and more recently, to address retrospective concerns about the lack of monuments to various groups. When our previous chairman Gavin Stamp curated the Silent Cities exhibition at the Heinz Gallery in 1977, there were many who thought it wrong to focus in on the 'art' of war memorials, as if in some way that in so doing, one would be ignoring, or at least lessening their importance as sites of remembrance. We are still to fully understand the architectural significance of the huge number of sites built by Lutyens, Herbert Baker, Charles Holden and others, but as Gavin has continued to show through his foreign trips and publications, the building programme for overseas cemeteries and domestic memorials easily eclipsed any public works undertaking before or since.

The C20 Society looks at memorials rather differently than the vital organisations set up to document, conserve and care for memorial sites specifically. The War Memorials Trust, whose conservation work remains vitally important to the upkeep of UK memorials is foremost among these groups. English Heritage have listed a significant amount of memorials, and like us, they do judge the monuments for architectural and artistic significance, while bearing in mind the inherent importance of the sites in a social and historic context. Monuments say as much about the living as they do about the commemorated dead. In burial and mourning, we embark on a rite of passage aided in ritual and procession. Built memorials can be an expression of honour, gratitude, admiration, bravery, guilt, horror, anger; they can also stand as icons to be learnt from or summarize wider feelings and morals. The need for monuments in every town across the country in the years immediately after the two World Wars is obvious, not least when we remember than many had loved ones that were buried overseas or whose bodies were never recovered. Yet the contemporary need for additional memorials is more complex, reflecting the diminishing numbers of those with living memory of the events, and the desires of modern society to recognise the 'forgotten' participants of conflicts.

Our hope is that by seeing a range of memorials, we will be able to get a glimpse of how artistic responses to the tragedy of war have changed in the course of the twentieth century – who is being remembered and why, how has the artist or architect tried to impart those feelings and how successful have they been? And how were the mourners of yesterday, today and tomorrow expected to respond to, and even interact with, to such monuments?

*'So, then, all these things, care of funeral,
bestowal in sepulture, pomp of obsequies,
are more for the comfort of the living, than for the help of the dead.'*

St Augustine, Retractions ii, Chapter 64

Machine Gun Corps, Francis Derwent Wood, 1925. Listed Grade II*

The Machine Gun Corps memorial was unveiled in 1925 to instant controversy, leading to protests by the International Arbitration League, letters in *The Times*, and discussion in the House of Commons. By 25th August 1925 Harold Phillips was writing to say that in his view the Machine Gun Corps Memorial Committee would unanimously oppose any alteration being made to the wording and writes "I hope these troublesome busy bodies will find another mares nest and leave our memorial in peace."

The 9ft bronze figure of David presented the perfect image of the youthful soldier as well as the solitary nature of the machine gunner with deadly associations 'Saul has slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands' (Simon 18:6-7). The 'Glorious Heroes' are awarded with wreaths hung over life-size replications of machine guns, the instruments of mechanised massacre, to either side, accompanied by neatly-stacked soldier's packs and helmets. The base was also designed by the sculptor and is of stainless Mazzona marble.

Francis Derwent Wood was Anglo-American by birth, raised in Switzerland and educated in Germany, before training at the Royal Academy and then under Thomas Brock, contributing the Australian figures to the latter's Victoria memorial. Too old to enlist aged 41, Wood joined the Royal Army Medical Corps as an orderly in 1915, using his sculptural skills to make masks for those injured in the Great War. Rejecting the convention of rubber masks, Wood worked in metal and wood over weeks at a time, working from photographs of the men before their horrific injuries. He went on to set up the Department for Masks for Facial Disfigurement (1917-19). Casts were taken of the injured face, then used as a base for infilling the missing flesh and features. Masks were painted whilst worn so as to match the enamel paint to each patient's colouring. Wood and his team may have treated only several hundred of over 20,000 men injured in the face, were able to restore their confidence and ease their return to normal life, as well as informing later developments in plastic surgery. Wood said of his role: 'my work begins where that of the surgeon ends. When the surgeon has done all he can to restore function, to heal wounds, to support fleshy tissue by bone grafting, I endeavour by means of the skill I happen to possess as a sculptor to make a mans face as near as possible to what it would look like before he was wounded'

Wood went on to design war memorials in Liverpool and Ditchingham, Norfolk. The sculptor believed that memorials should not disguise the tragic reality of war. His bronze sculpture *Canada's Golgotha* (1918) illustrated a Canadian soldier crucified on a barn door, surrounded by laughing Germans. The story was later debunked, resulting in a government ban on publicly displaying the piece until 1992; new evidence was uncovered in 2002 confirming the incident.

Further information on Francis Derwent Wood's and Anna Coleman Ladd's work can be found at www.projectfacade.com, which includes silent film footage of the artist fitting and painting soldier's masks.



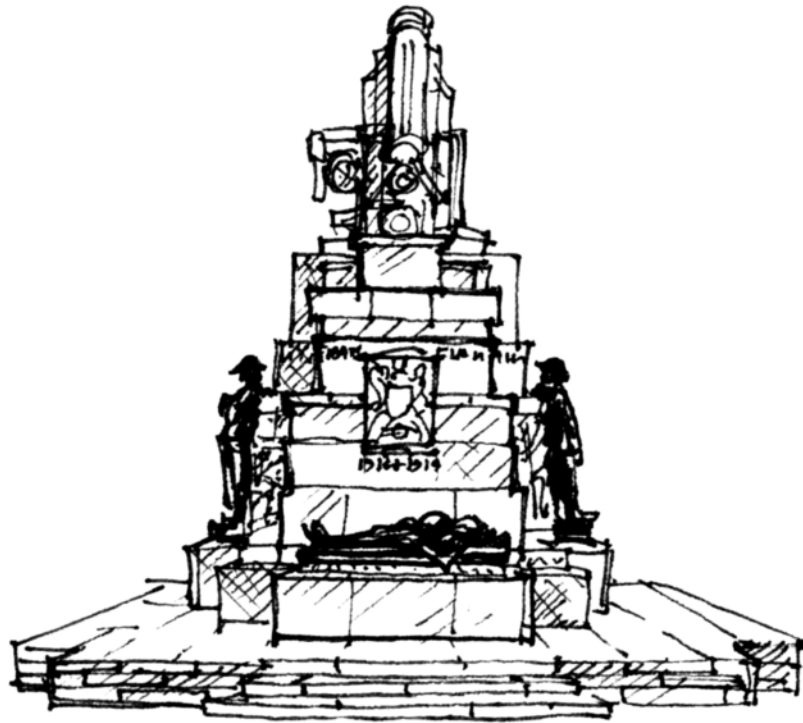
Left: Wood in his 'Tin Nose Studio', the Third London General Hospital

Royal Artillery Memorial, Hyde Park Corner, Architect, Lionel Pearson, Sculptor Charles Sergeant Jagger, 1925. Listed Grade I

The Royal Artillery Memorial is second only to the Cenotaph as a war memorial as a supreme work of art and is the masterpiece of Charles Sergeant Jagger, surely the greatest British sculptor of his generation and, indeed, of the 20th century. Here, at Hyde Park Corner, Jagger was working with the architect Lionel Pearson of the firm of Adams, Holden & Pearson. Between them, they succeeded in carrying off the dubious experiment of making machinery – military ordnance - into sculpture, (fulfilling the wishes of the regiment that the monument should be clearly identifiable as its own)., for Pearson's massive, rectilinear base carries a full- size 9.2 inch howitzer carved in stone. The effect is realistic and yet powerfully architectural. The Royal Artillery War Commemoration Fund Committee was formed in 1918 and a suitable site for its proposed memorial was found in 1920 at Hyde Park Corner. Adrian Jones, the sculptor of the quadriga on the nearby so-called Wellington Arch, offered his services and various architects and sculptors were approached. These included Herbert Baker and Edwin Lutyens. Working with the sculptor Derwent Wood, Lutyens struggled to produce a design with the "realistic thing" – a gun – requested by the Committee. In the event, no design was found satisfactory and the Committee began to look elsewhere.

In 1921 Jagger, as a "rising and vigorous artist", was approached, possibly at the suggestion of the painter John Singer Sargent, and he was asked to choose an architect to work with. A model was prepared by the Jagger and Pearson which met with the approval of the Committee and a contract was agreed the following year. The first design had the howitzer placed laterally across a massive symmetrical base, but Jagger soon decided to have the gun aligned with the long axis of the memorial, facing north, with the base now asymmetrical. At the suggestion of the Royal Fine Arts Commission, the orientation was subsequently reversed to create a better composition in relation to the falling ground. A howitzer had been chosen as it was the only gun which Jagger thought suitable to treat as sculpture; as an infantryman, he had respected the Artillery for their "terrific power" and for being the "last word in force" and he wanted to convey these qualities in stone. Below the stone howitzer, life-size bronze statues of an officer, a driver, a shell-carrier, and—a bold decision—a dead soldier are

combined with stone reliefs depicting war as painful labour in a style reflecting Jagger's admiration for Assyrian art.



This was a vision far removed from the symbolic or idealized approach of most contemporary war memorials and the work caused considerable controversy, partly because the howitzer was in stone rather than the more natural-seeming bronze (Jagger said that he did not want a dark object against the skyline). In *The Buildings of England*, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner refers to the 'ill-advised portrait in stone of a big gun', but to Arthur Byron (*London Statues*, 1981), the Royal Artillery Memorial is 'a superb work'. In 1949 three bronze panels were added in memory of the 30,000 men of the Royal Artillery who were killed in World War II. A number of side panels, sadly now much worn by the elements, depict the trench mortar, Lewis gun, and the ordinary rifle. Also featured are a French shrine, and a kitchen showing cooking utensils another shows the sign "wind dangerous" and the bell, which was used as a gong to give warning of the approach of gas. Another panel is devoted to the signallers at work. The names of trench tracks are recorded and another panel records the Royal Arms and the arms of the regiment. It was reported at the time that Jagger wanted the memorial to serve as a record for future generations of the uniform and the equipment used in the Great War. That he has certainly achieved.

Jagger was awarded a gold medal by the Royal Society of British Sculptors "for the best work of the year by a British sculptor in any way exhibited to the public in London." There is no idealisation here, no sentimentality; just truthful, brilliantly modelled realism about the brutal nature of conflict, though part of Jagger's genius was his ability to monumentalise the prosaic.

This great work of art makes a telling, if ludicrous contrast with the symbolism of the nearby Machine Gunners Memorial, which consists of a naked, epicene youth in bronze by Derwent Wood standing on a feeble Classical pedestal bearing the Biblical text “Saul has slain his thousands, but David his tens of thousands.” – which, in view of what machine guns did to human flesh, might seem almost obscene in context. But Jagger had been in the trenches and knew what war was like. His fourth bronze figure on his memorial was of a dead artilleryman, lying anonymously under a tarpaulin at the back, or north end, of the monument. This feature, introduced late in the process, met with opposition, but it meant much to Jagger, who believed that a memorial should tell the public about the horror and terror of war, and he paid for this part of the work himself.

Inevitably, perhaps, the Artillery Memorial was at first controversial. The overall design was modern in spirit and resolutely unsentimental. Jagger had declined to embody any symbolism of peace and declined to idealise war, whose real violent nature he wished to convey. An older generation found it difficult to accept that so brutal a thing as a gun could be treated artistically. Lord Curzon pronounced before he died in 1925 that the Artillery Memorial resembled “a toad squatting, which is about to spit fire out of its mouth... nothing more hideous could ever be conceived”. But the former Foreign Secretary and Viceroy of India was out of touch and the public response was generally favourable.

What is now sad and worrying is that those who originally opposed the Hyde Park Corner site had a point, for the exhaust fumes from the traffic that swirls past is having a destructive effect on the Portland stone and on Jagger’s magnificent friezes. Restoration of the bronzes was done a few years ago by Bronze Restorations Ltd, but apart from in a few places, no proper stone conservation has ever been done

The Society is currently discussing the condition of the memorial with the War Memorials Trust and Westminster City Council in an effort to look at what could be done – any restoration would need to be extremely sensitive.

Australian War Memorial, Hyde Park Corner, Tonkin Zulaikha Greer with artist Janet Laurence, 2003. Not Listed

Occupying a prominent position on Hyde Park Corner in the heart of London, the site of the memorial is part of the ceremonial route that links Admiralty Arch, the Mall, Buckingham Palace and Marble Arch. Taking its inspiration from the contours of Hyde Park Corner, the memorial is partly a landform, rising from the surface of the park through a series of Australian granite slabs. Principal architect Peter Tonkin explained that that, “the form chosen for the memorial reflects the sweep of Australian landscape, the breadth and generosity of our people, the openness that we believe should characterise our culture’. Also reflected in the shape of the wall are echoes of Australia’s unique flora and cultural heritage – the gumleaf and the boomerang – though the former is perhaps more difficult to appreciate and the latter was clearly gifted by the site.



One of the reliefs as it originally appeared

The 23,844 place names that are etched into the solid granite of the wall record the origins of those who served their nation in the two world wars, laid over these names are 47 of the battles in which they fought.

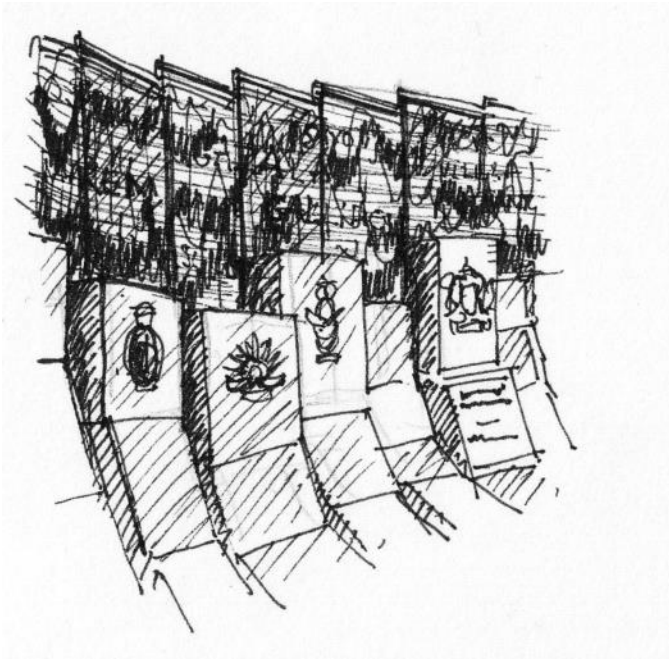
The project's completion was timed to coincide with the 85th anniversary of Armistice Day – 11th November 2003. The Australian War Memorial London was dedicated by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, in the presence of the Prime Minister of Australia, the Hon. John Howard MP and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Rt Hon. Tony Blair MP. The opening of the memorial took place 11 months after work began on 11th November at 11am.

Unfortunately, a key element of the design has not weathered as well as the architects might have hoped and in many areas the lettering is fading. It was repaired in 2009.

Walk eastwards past the Wellington Arch, to Constitution Hill passing –

R.A.F. Bomber Command Memorial. Liam O'Connor, Architect; Philip Jackson, Sculptor, 2012

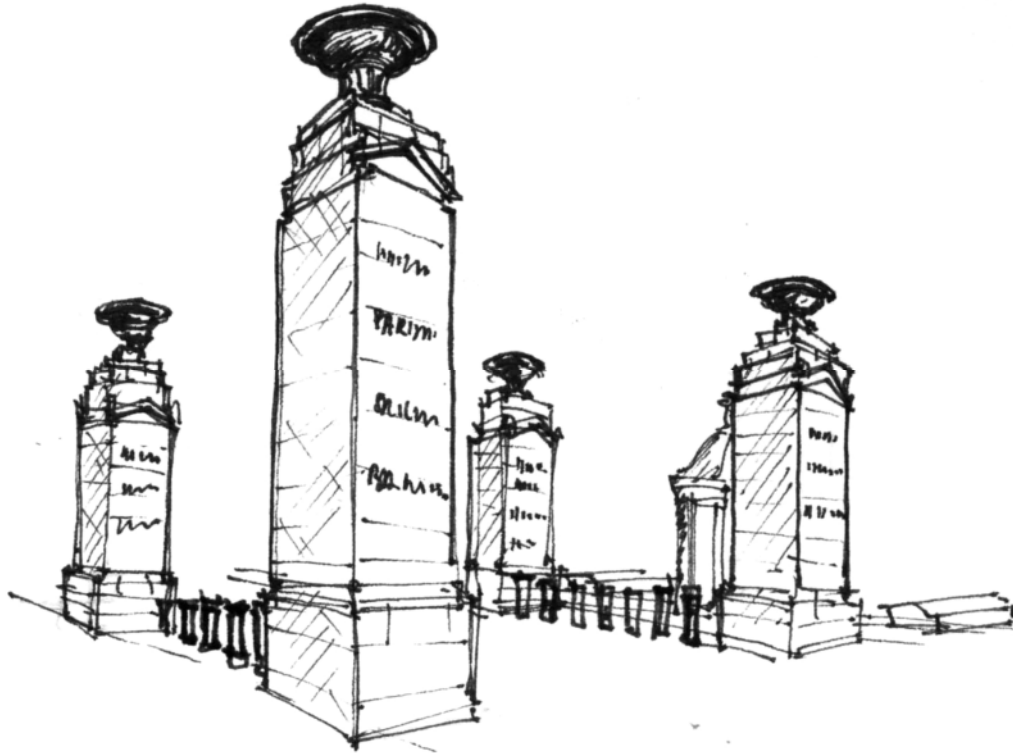
Unveiled in 2012, this memorial was only erected after a long campaign and against much opposition. To question its conception and its quality is not to denigrate the 55,000 casualties of Bomber Command whom it honours – the victims of casualty rates approaching those of the First World War – especially as the survivors were shabbily treated after the war was over. But it does seem extraordinary that, over 60 years after the defeat of Nazi Germany, such a memorial should have been built – another expression of Britain's continuing self-congratulatory obsession with the Second World War. The objections to the memorial were that it is in the wrong place, and occupies a chunk of the Green



Park. It is also far too large. A further objection must be that it is worryingly triumphalist in character, especially in view of the debate that has taken place about the morality of the Allied bombing campaign with the policy of carpet bombing of German cities (the discreet inscription on the inner frieze, claiming that the memorial “also commemorates those of All nations who lost their lives in the bombing of 1939-1945” was clearly an afterthought in response to criticism). Another criticism must be that it is bad architecture – bad Classical architecture: inept and pedestrian. The long colonnades are not integrated with the central block, while the free-standing clusters of Doric columns at the extremities, supporting neo-Victorian lamps, are frankly ridiculous. The internal sculptured group of a bomber crew is accomplished, but naively literal and sentimental in character, and so compares unfavourably with Jagger’s work on the nearby Artillery Memorial. Also nearby is Decimus Burton’s (Ionic) screen at Hyde Park Corner, which provides a pertinent lesson (not learned here) about how to integrate similar architectural elements.

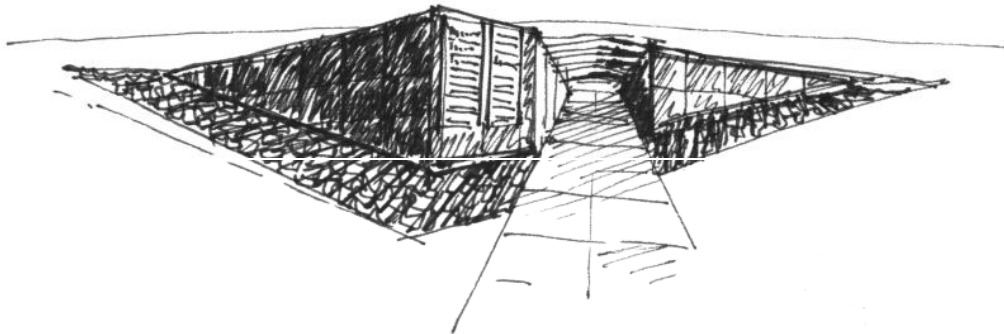
Commonwealth Gate, Liam O’Connor, 2002. Not Listed

The gateway at the top of Constitution Hill was unveiled by the Queen in 2002. This memorial celebrates the contribution made by India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Caribbean in both World Wars. A competition held in 1999 was won by Liam O’Connor, but in response to amendments made by Westminster City Council the design was changed. As executed, the pylons surmounted by dishes and the Indian pavilion or chattri on the St James’s Park side of Constitution Hill show a clear and deep debt to the work of Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker and demonstrate how the Classical style of memorial produced after the Great War for the Imperial War Graves Commission remains not only resonant but represents a standard which the better sort of modern memorial design sensibly still attempts to emulate.



Drifting northwards off Constitution Hill over the grass of Green Park

Canada Memorial, Green Park, Pierre Granche (1948-1997), 1994 – Granite, bronze and water. Not Listed



The Canadian memorial Foundation held a competition in 1992 to commemorate over 110,000 Canadians who gave their lives in the two World Wars. Out of 33 entries, It was won by Pierre Granche, an sculptor based in Quebec who began making sculptures in the 1970s, pioneering installation art in public spaces as opposed to galleries. Granche studied at the École de Beaux-Arts de Montreal and the Université de Vincennes in Paris and also taught in the art history department at Montreal for over twenty years. Money was raised in Canada with the assistance of Conrad Black, with further contributions from Great Britain.

For Granche, the commission represented an opportunity to put Canada before a European audience and he approached its design with great care and concern – wanting to design a monument that was a fusion of installation art and architecture. Granche’s works consistently revolve around integration and interaction, working sculpture into the architecture or the architecture into the sculpture: the truncated pyramid creates the illusion of its being buried in the ground, and granite is pervasive. The monument is divided into two, a path encourages people to walk in close proximity to the work. As a fountain the memorial welcomes interaction with the environment, whether leaves falling and washing over their bronze counterparts, or children playing. The sculpture is also an arrow to Halifax, Nova Scotia, reflecting the port from which soldiers and defence material embarked during the two world wars. The granite and bronze used for the work was transported from Canada, via Halifax.

Heading southwards, we pass Buckingham Palace and up the Mall, cutting through St James’s Park to reach-

Guards Division Memorial, Harold Chalton Bradshaw and Gilbert Ledward, 1926. Listed Grade II

The memorial at Horse Guards Parade, commemorates 14,000 Guardsmen who died in the Great War, was unveiled in 1926. The competition for its design held in 1922 had been won by the architect Harold Chalton Bradshaw and the sculptor Gilbert Ledward. The two had met at the British School at Rome before the war, where the former had been the first Rome Scholar in Architecture and the latter the first Rome Scholar in Sculpture. The first design was inspired by Galloni’s Garibaldi monument in Rome but it then evolved into a stocky and severe stone obelisk, or pylon, against which stand a deliberately stiff and formal row of five guardsmen. Ledward was instructed that each was to be representative of a



typical soldier from each of the five divisions: Grenadiers, Coldstreams, Scots, Welsh and Irish Guards. Models were chosen from the Irish Guards and as the sculptor worked from the nude figure first they were instructed to strip off first: "Begorra, Sir, and do the ladies have to do this too?" On the rear face of the memorial, facing St James's Park, is a panel depicting an 18-pounder field gun being loaded.

Bradshaw had trained at the Liverpool School of Architecture and had been gassed and wounded in the war. In 1924 he became the first Secretary of the newly founded Royal Fine Art Commission and shortly afterwards he won two separate competitions for Memorials to the Missing proposed by the Imperial War Graves Commission: at Cambrai (eventually erected at Louverval in France) and at Lille (taken over the border to Ploegsteert in Belgium and where the flanking lions are by Ledward).

Royal Naval Division Memorial Fountain, Horse Guards Parade, Sir E.L Lutyens, 1924. Listed Grade II

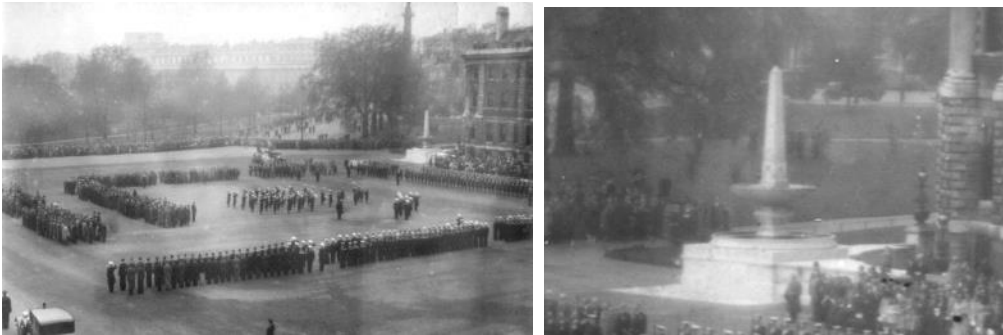
the first Rome Scholar in Sculpture. The first design was inspired by Galloni's Garibaldi monument in Rome but it then evolved into a stocky and severe stone obelisk, or pylon, against which stand a deliberately stiff and formal row of five guardsmen. Ledward was instructed that each was to be representative of a typical soldier from each of the five divisions: Grenadiers, Coldstreams, Scots, Welsh and Irish Guards. Models were chosen from the Irish Guards and as the sculptor worked from the nude figure first they were instructed to strip off first: "Begorra, Sir, and do the ladies have to do this too?" On the rear face of the memorial, facing St James's Park, is a panel depicting an 18-pounder field gun being loaded.

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The memorial features the names of prominent regimental actions, along with the badges of the various regiments that made up the division. In 1940, to allow construction of the adjacent Citadel building (see notes below) the memorial was removed and stored until 1952, when it was re-erected in Greenwich. After a long campaign by the Division, that was supported by HRH The Prince of Wales, the memorial was returned to its rightful place in 2003 – the plinth having remained undamaged throughout the building work on the citadel.

Churchill was extremely complimentary about Lutyens' elegant design. The following text is part of the address by Winston Churchill at the unveiling of the Memorial on Horse Guards, on the 10th anniversary of the Gallipoli Landings,

25th April 1925. "Everyone, I think, must admire the grace & simplicity of this Fountain, which the genius of Lutyens has designed. The site is also well chosen. Here, under the shadow of the Admiralty building, where, 11 years ago, the Royal Naval Division was called into martial life, this monument now records their fame and preserves their memory... Doubts and disillusion may be answered by the sure assertion that the sacrifice of these men was not made in vain. And this Fountain to the memory of the Royal Naval Division will give forth not only the waters of honour, but the waters of healing and the waters of hope."



The memorial fountain pictured in its original location at an RND Memorial parade in 1934

The Citadel, Horseguards Parade, The Mall, was built 1940-41 as an operations centre for the Admiralty. The foundations are nine metres deep, and a six metre thick concrete roof protects the main rooms. In the event of a ground attack the building would be defended from a number of loop- holed firing positions. In an attempt to disguise the original function of the building, it is now covered with Russian vine. It is still used by the Ministry of Defence, and is now part of the Whitehall communications. Sir Winston Churchill described it in his memoirs as a "vast monstrosity which weighs upon the Horse Guards Parade"

Immediately northwest to –

The Royal Artillery Boer War Memorial, William Robert Colton (1867-21), 1910. Listed Grade II

Portland Stone Sculpture decorated with bronze frieze. The war memorials that were erected to the Anglo-Boer Wars in the UK represented the first ever mass raising of war memorials in this country. The scale was unprecedented, no previous war, even those of a similar scale such as the Crimea (1854-1857) and the Napoleonic Wars (1798-1815), resulted in such a popular and public expression. This one, which records the names of 1,078 dead, was unveiled by H.R.H Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught on 20th July 1910. The plinth rests on a granite platform, with a curved back wall that has pillars at either end. Colton's sculpture depicts a winged figure (peace), calming and controlling a horse (the spirit of war).

The memorial was desecrated and parts of it quite badly damaged in the Peace Procession on 19th July 1919 – it had been boarded up for the duration of the procession, but the hoardings were ripped off by some of the marchers. It was restored in 1923. The National Archive contains a detailed and fascinating file on the memorial and its history (file 20/149), including the New York Times, July 31st 1910, reporting the memorial's unveiling by electric button in St Paul's.



Colton was born in Paris, the son of an architect and came to England in 1870. Studied at Lambeth School of Art under William Silver Frith. He was Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy Schools from 1907 to 1910 and from 1911 to 1912. Amongst his works, is another Boer memorial in Worcester, commemorating local men who had fallen in both campaigns and a highly-acclaimed 1898 sculpture, *The Girdle*, a female nude in bronze now at the Tate.



Photograph showing the memorial shortly after construction © Martin Edwards

Walk from Boer Memorial towards Admiralty Arch, and on the north side –

**Royal Marine National Memorial, Thomas Graham Jackson (Architect),
Captain Adrian Jones (Sculptor), 1903. Listed Grade II**

This memorial, like many others in London has had a decidedly turbulent history; it was constructed in 1903 to the Royal Marines killed in South Africa and China. During WWII, the memorial was stored at the yard of Holloway Bros IN Nine Elms after its removal from St James Park. As with the Lutyens memorial, it was removed for the construction of the Citadel (see page.. for more information on this building. After the war it was moved to the grounds of the Royal Hospital in Chelsea and was moved back to its present site in 1948. The memorial suffered slight bomb damage in 1940, but was restored by 1948. As part of the Millennium Year Initiative in 2000, the monument was fully restored. One of the major contributors to the restoration was the government of the Falkland Islands, whose donation of £15,000 honoured the two century-long relationship between the Islands and the Royal Marines. The sculpture shows a wounded marine being defended by a fellow soldier, his levelled rifle and bayonet suggesting an imminent attack. The pedestal has inscribed bronze plaques and on two sides, reliefs depict action at both Graspan (Boer) and the repulse of the Chinese attack on the Peking Legations – a little remembered conflict that involved the Royal Marines. The carved dolphins on each corner symbolise the marines as a naval force.

Jones (1845-1938), was born in Ludlow, Shropshire and studied at the Royal Veterinary College, qualifying in 1866 as a veterinary surgeon, and enrolling in the Army as a veterinary officer in the Royal Artillery. the following year. He served from 1867 to 1890 seeing service during the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868 before joining the 3rd Hussars in 1869. From 1871 to 1881 he served with the Queen's Bays in Ireland and was then attached to the 7th Hussars and fought with them in the Anglo-Transvaal war in 1881. In South Africa he was attached to the Inskilling Dragoons. In 1884 Jones served in Egypt where he selected camels for the Nile Expedition of 1884 and finally joined the 2nd Life Guards and retired in 1890 with the rank of captain.

After this distinguished military career, and with no formal training as an artist, he set himself up in a studio in Chelsea. Due to his profound knowledge of equine physiology and anatomy he specialised in horse sculpture, his best known example being Peace in her Quadriga (four horse chariot). At 40- tonnes this is the largest Bronze sculpture in Britain and stands atop Decimus Burton's Wellington Arch at Hyde Park Corner. Other notable works include the superb Cavalry Memorial in Hyde Park (1906), with St George triumphant over a rather crocodilian dragon and the fine equestrian statue of Sir Redvers Henry Buller in Exeter, (1905).

Edith Cavell, George Frampton (1860-1928), 1920. Listed Grade I

Edith Cavell (1865-1915) was a British nurse based with the Red Cross in occupied Belgium. She treated both armies, but helped hundreds of Allied soldiers escape to the Netherlands. She was arrested in August 1915 on the charge of harbouring prisoners of war, having been incriminated by resistance documents and a thank-you card sent by one escapee. She was imprisoned for ten weeks (the last two in solitary confinement) before being court-martialled. She confessed in full to her crimes and was executed by a firing squad at dawn. The night before her execution she told the Anglican chaplain, Reverend H. Stirling Gahan, who had been allowed to see her and to give her Holy Communion, "Patriotism is not enough, I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone".

Cavell's death quickly became the subject of Allied propaganda worldwide, the nurse becoming the most prominent female casualty of the Great War. The events were twisted into a tale of her fainting, and being executed by a single shot from a revolver. The image of the heroic nurse was quickly illustrated as an example of German brutality in postcards and contemporary press. In many she was depicted as a nubile girlish nurse (as opposed to her 49 years) implying that men should enlist to stop the murder of innocent British girls. Elsewhere, she was portrayed as a mature, patriotic woman, a mother-figure to troops. After the war, King George V and Queen Mary visited the site of her burial, before her body was exhumed and transported to Westminster Abbey for a state funeral, before being taken to her home city of Norwich, where she was buried to the east of the cathedral. Around the world streets, hospitals clinics, and even a mountain in the Canadian Rockies have been named after her.

Revealed in 1920, the memorial was criticised for its 'modernity' of style, most obvious in the distinctly European (note the Germanic plaits!) Expressionist style of the sculpture to the top. The female figure completes a cross form; she is not a Madonna and Christ child, but rather a mother protecting a female child, with 1920s bobbed haircut. A further fault was the 'pedestrian' positioning of the sculpture, overshadowed by the monumental cross.

Sir George James Frampton (1860-1928) began his training in an architect's office before training at the South London Technical School and the RA before training in Paris. Frampton was known for a symbolist style, often executing figures in a dream-like state. His more famous memorial is the Peter Pan statue in Kensington Gardens (1915). In 1912 he was President of the Royal Society of British Sculptors; making him a central judge in the selection of official war artists and memorials.

Heading southeast, we cross behind St Martin's, past Charing Cross station and down to Embankment Gardens –

Imperial Camel Corps ,Cecil Brown, 1920 Founder A. B. Burton. Listed Grade II



Bronze on Portland Stone, Bronze bas-reliefs. The Imperial Camel Corps were formed to patrol the western desert in the First World War and fought major campaigns in Egypt, Sinai and Palestine. Their job was to protect Allied troops (evacuated after the failure at Gallipoli) from risings by the Ottomans and Senussi confederation of tribes. The Senussi were eventually forced into submission late in 1916 by starvation, and by being denied the use of wells by camel corps units and light car patrols. The Camel Corps' most famous moment was assisting Lawrence of Arabia capture Jerusalem in the rebellion of 1916-18, although the damper weather meant many animals became victims of sarcoptic mange. The majority of the Infantry was made of Australian infantry, some of whom were already experienced camel jockeys. The corps were so successful that they were expanded from four to eighteen companies. Six companies were formed from British Cavalry, two from New Zealand Cavalry. The corps were reorganised into four large battalions to fight the Turks, assisted by an artillery unit from Hong Kong and Singapore. By the end of the war 346 of their formation had died in action.

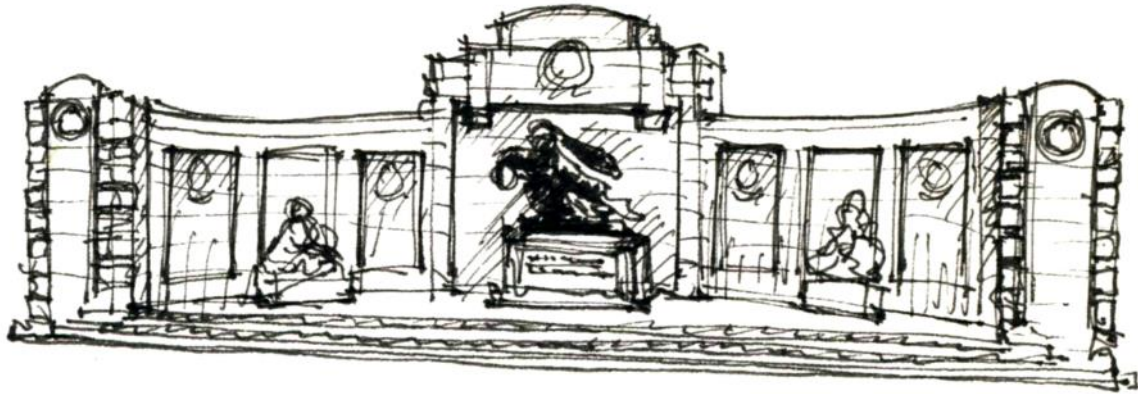
There was also an Indian Bikaner Camel Corps, and a Camel Transport Corps.

We've been unable to find much information so far on the artist, Major Cecil Brown (1868-1926) but it is thought that he was a corps officer. Auction records show that he specialised in racehorse sculptures and paintings.

Proceed down embankment to –

Anglo-Belgian Memorial, Victoria Embankment, Architect Sir Reginald Blomfield, Sculptor Victor Rosseau, 1920. Listed Grade II*

This memorial was a gift from the Belgian nation to thank Great Britain for their assistance to Belgium in the 1914-1918 war. It was unveiled on the 12th October 1920 when Leon Delacroix, the Belgian Prime Minister, offered the memorial to the British nation, the gift was formally accepted by Lord Curzon. The actual unveiling was performed by Princess Clementine of Belgium. The memorial was



erected as a token of gratitude by Belgian people who had found refuge in England during the German occupation of their country. The inscription below reads "To the British Nation from the grateful people of Belgium, 1914-1918".

The beautifully sculpted central bronze group is the work of the sculptor Victor Rousseau (1865 - 1954). He was born at Feluy-Arquennes, in the province of Hainault, the son of a stone-cutter. He studied from 1879-1880 at the Academie des Beaux-Arts in Brussels and won the Godecharle prize in 1890 which enabled him travel to England, France and Italy. He spent two years in Paris and several months in Florence, and returned to Belgium in 1894. From 1901-1919 he was Professor of Sculpture at the Academie des Beaux-Arts in Brussels and its director from 1919-1922 and 1931-1935.

In July 1920, and whilst the memorial was still being worked on, intruder[s] entered the site of the memorial and damaged the plaster models of the two figures of "Justice" and "Honour" and some of the shields with what was probably a hammer. Thereafter and until the unveiling, a nightwatchman was employed to guard the site. The memorial features bronze figures representing a Belgian woman accompanied by a boy and a girl both carrying garlands. As part of the Portland Stone surround we see two figures of a man and a woman. One represents "Honour" and the other "Liberty". Sadly the figures have become worn after years of exposure to the London traffic as have the shields. There were nine shields in all representing Brabant, Anvers (Antwerp), Liege, Hainault, Namur, Limbourg, Luxemburg. There were two for Flanders.

Crossing the road, we journey westwards along Embankment, under Hungerford Bridge, and pause by the Thames -



Royal Air Force Memorial, William Reid Dick (Sculptor) and Sir Reginald Blomfield (Architect), founded by Parlanti, 1923 Listed Grade II

Portland stone plinth and gilt bronze eagle, darkly patinated globe, The motto of the RAF, PER ARDUA AD ASTRA ('Through struggles to the stars') is inscribed around the frieze of the pylon. The first RAF Memorial Committee was set up in February 1919, to respond to the suggestion of Maj. Gen. J. M. Salmond that the force should have its own chapel in London. Architects Edwin Lutyens and W. D. Caroe were considered. When the cost became too high, they decided to build an 'ordinary memorial', separate from the anticipated Cenotaph. Prince Albert (later George VI) was patron. The sum looked for was £40,000, but not all of this was to be spent on the memorial itself. Other objectives were the creation of boarding schools for the children of airmen, the provision of bursaries for the children of officers, and treatment and assistance for the disabled.

The pylon form which Blomfield proposed had already been used by him for war memorials for Torquay and Luton, on each occasion crowned with a different feature. The form had recently been given perfected minimal treatment by Lutyens in his Cenotaph for Whitehall, nearby. Blomfield found Whitehall Steps "a beautiful site", but one which imposed limitations. The need to leave free

access space around the memorial limited the dimensions of the base, and this in turn, determined the height to which the pylon could be carried without injuring its proportions. The required height could only be achieved by the addition of the eagle and globe.

The original design show that the first intention was to have the eagle facing in towards the Embankment and away from the river, but Blomfield seems to have decided at a late hour that the Eagle would look better taking off over the river. Reid Dick' was the architect's choice, but his inventive input was limited; the eagle was based on a painting by ornithological artist, Archibald Thorburn. The unveiling was performed on the 16 July 1923 by the Prince of Wales,, he referred to the way in which those commemorated had "played their part in the war, braving with high spirit the unknown dangers of warfare in a new element and dying to give us the final victory", and to the tradition which their exploits and undoubted courage had established for the new " cloud armies of the future".

William Reid Dick (1878-1961) trained in a stonemason's yard before attending the Glasgow School of Art, exhibiting in London from 1907. From 1916-1918 he served in France and Palestine. In the inter-war years he distinguished himself in monumental architectural sculptures, notably the Kitchener memorial Chapel of St Paul's cathedral (1922-25) and Unilever House (Lomax-Simpson and Sir John Burnet, 1930-1) . He was responsible for a number of sculptures and memorials, including statues of George V (1947) and President Roosevelt (1950) in Westminster.

And onwards down embankment to –

Battle of Britain Memorial, Victoria Embankment, Architect Tony Dyson (Donald Insall Associates) Sculptor, Paul Day, 2005 Not Listed

Of all the recent memorials on this trip, none has been more debated than this one, a memorial to Winston Churchill's famous few. In September 2000, at the suggestion of Westminster City Council and English Heritage, the Battle of Britain Historical Society appointed an architect to carry out a feasibility study to examine how an existing disused granite structure on the Victoria Embankment, reportedly owned by London Underground Limited, could form the base for a Monument to the Battle of Britain. In December 2001, the architect, Tony Dyson of Donald Insall Associates, organised a limited competition to find an appropriate sculptor for the project, forming a Selection Committee, whose deliberations led to the Historical Society appointing the sculptor Paul Day in April 2002. Working closely with the sculptor, the architect designed the memorial around one of Bazalgette's granite plinths (a ventilation shaft for the District Railway).

In December 2002, in order to co-ordinate the fundraising for the Monument, the Historical Society appointed Maurice Djanogly who, at the beginning of 2003, formed the Battle of Britain Monument Committee and became the Deputy Chairman, with Rt. Hon The Lord Tebbit CH as Chairman.

The architect and sculptor were urged by Maurice Djanogly to look at the sketch design and consider how part of the bronze reliefs might emerge into three dimensions to form an image which, in bronze maquette form, could be sold to raise money for the project. This was agreed; the maquettes were produced – one is currently for sale at £145,000. The sculptural and architectural elements of the Monument's sketch design were then finalised and approved by the Committee and the scheme presented for comment to Westminster City Council's Public Art Advisory Panel and other public bodies including English Heritage, the Environmental Agency (because of the proximity of the proposed site to the River Wall), Transport for London Street Management, Westminster City Council's Highways and Bridges Departments and London Underground Ltd.

Paul Day has courted controversy several times in the course of his career and his depictions of the elements that 'made up' the Battle of Britain here do not have the quiet sophistication or dignity of the nearby RAF Memorial by William Reid Dick. Gavin Stamp suggested at the time that Day had given us the Battle of Britain through the eyes of The Lion comic's Paddy Payne, "warrior of the skies". Day's populist slant on the battle reinforces all those quiet clichés and half-truths about the battle itself - the heroes rushing to the planes to down their counterparts in epic dogfights above the white cliffs of Dover and the tea-making in the underground which Day called, 'an act of defiance'.

This memorial, more than any other recent monument, has fuelled public debate about the continued construction of memorials, that is perhaps odd for along with the Women at War Memorial, it is perhaps the most necessary of all of the recent monuments. It was critically very well received and seems to be well-loved by veterans of the battle. Donald Insall Associates were also responsible for the Animals at War Memorial on Park Lane, another monument that has caused a degree of head-scratching for many who are concerned about the present state of, and indeed the future of, memorial sculpture generally.

Paul Day is also responsible for the ghastly 'Meeting Place' sculpture at the restored St Pancras station. Thankfully, his relief of a skeleton train driver, a drunk and a fornicating couple, which were to be situated at the base, have been de-railed.

Crossing back over the road, we gather outside the Ministry of Defence building and gather at the first monument on the lawn –

Chindit Memorial, Victoria Embankment Gardens, Charing Cross Architect David Price, Sculptor, Frank Foster, 1990 Not Listed

Portland Stone and Bronze. This fairly recent memorial was unveiled on 16th October 1990 by HRH The Prince Phillip, Duke of Edinburgh. Commemorating the men and presumably women who had served in Burma. The Chindits (Officially in 1943 77th Indian Infantry Brigade and in 1944 Indian 3rd Infantry Division) were a British India 'Special Force' that served in Burma and India in 1943 and 1944 during the Burmese Campaign in World War II. They were

formed into long-ranged penetration groups trained to operate deep behind Japanese lines.



Chindit soldiers with one of their many 'mule trains' through the Burmese jungle.

The memorial is in the form of a stone column with a bronze Burmese guardian temple creature (Chinthe) on top and blue enamel crest of the chindits association on front face. Chinthes are mythical beasts and the guardians of all Burmese temples. This is where the name Chindits is derived from. The Chindits motto was 'the boldest measures are the safest'.

The rear of the monument is exclusively dedicated to Orde Wingate, who suggested the creation of the Chindits in 1939.

The Ministry of Defence. The vast complex you see before you was built in various stages from 1934 to 1959 (originally design from 1913 but stalled by two World Wars) to the designs of Vincent Harris and the Ministry of Works. Its colossal wall stretch 550 feet behind Whitehall, the uniform colonnades and utilitarian windows give it a prison –like character; Pevsner called it 'a monument of tiredness'; this might explain its suitability as a backdrop for monumental sculpture in recent years. Its best features are its main entrances with aluminium doors and the monumental sculptures of Earth and Water (1949-52) by Sir Charles Wheeler, regrettably the intended Fire and Air were vetoed by the Treasury. The concealed 16C vaulted undercroft and 18C bring it up to a listed status of Grade I.

And immediately to the right -

Fleet Air Memorial, James Butler, 2000. Not Listed

Bronze on Portland Stone, Portland stone curved base with gilt lettering . The Fleet Air Arm is the operational group of the Royal Navy, responsible for the operation of the aircraft on board their ships, as well as search and rescue. It was first established as the RNAS in 1914 for reconnaissance missions. At the onset of World War II the Fleet had only 20 squadrons comprising 232 aircraft, by VJ Day the total was 3,700 with almost 60 aircraft carriers, strike weapons in their own right. The 'Sea Vampire' was the first jet to land on a carrier in 1940. Today

the Fleet comprises 15% of the Royal Navy with 200 aircrafts. Henry Allingham (b. 1896) is the last surviving member of the RNAS, becoming an Air Mechanic Second Class in 1915. The memorial is the result of fundraising by the Fleet Air Arm Association and other bodies; it was unveiled by Prince Charles in the summer of 2000.

The winged figure appears as an angel from a distance, perhaps a guardian of the skies. Closer, his bare arms and strapped wings make him instantly comparable as Daedalus, the legendary Greek inventor, designer of the Labyrinth and father to Icarus, the boy who tragically flew too close to the sun. Like Daedalus, the winged character appears not mid-flight, but to stand

nobly as if over a cliff drop, as if carrying the weight of his responsibilities or suffering for those that have taken to the skies. The pilot's face is raised and turned, his oxygen mask hanging low as his mouth gapes silently, almost in horror. Although in flight kit, the pilot's arms are bare. The exposed limbs, and curling biceps signal the human fragility of the subject and the physical energy required in take-off.

James Butler RA (St Martins and RCA) trained as a stone carver before exploring cast metals, specialising in portraits and female nudes. His works include re-carving the Queen's beasts in Kew Gardens and the figure of John Wilkes in the City of London. Other recent war memorials including Green Howards D-Day memorial (Crepon, Normandy) and Field Marshall Earl Alexander in Wellington Barracks. He has also worked for the Royal Mint.



Passing other military heroes, we head back east and turn the corner, stopping on Horse Guards Avenue -

**Ghurka Memorial, outside the Ministry of Defence, Philip Jackson, 1997.
Not Listed**

The Ghurkas is the collective name for the Brigade of Nepalese soldiers that serve in the British Army. The Nepalese warriors were known for their tenacious spirit and originally drawn up to serve the British East India Company in the early

nineteenth century, forming their own unit after proving their loyalty in the Indian Mutiny, after which they, the 2nd unit, were awarded the honour of wearing the Royal 'Green jackets' with distinctive red trimmings. Ghurkha Regiments served the British Indian Army in both World Wars losing a total of 43,000 men, their motto became 'Better to die than be a coward'. They went on to serve in Brunei, The Chinese Cultural Revolution, and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. They formed part of the Queen's home guard from 1971. More recently Ghurkas have fought alongside British troops in the Falklands, Gulf War, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan (where they recently protected Prince Harry) and Iraq, as well as undertaking peacekeeping missions for the UN and NATO. They still carry into battle their traditional weapon - an 18-inch long curved knife known as the kukri. In times past, it was said that once a kukri was drawn in battle, it had to "taste blood" - if not, its owner had to cut himself before returning it to its sheath.

The British memorial before you was unveiled by Queen Elizabeth II in 1997. The quote is taken from Sir Ralph Turner, a former officer in the 3rd Ghurkha rifles. 'Bravest of the brave, most generous of the generous, never had country more faithful friends than you.'

Hundreds of Nepalese Ghurkha soldiers who fought for Britain protested 19 March 2008 outside the House of Parliament in London, demanding higher pensions and the right to stay in the country they served. This sparked a national petition to entitle them to British Citizenship when their service ends. In September 2008 former Gurkhas won the legal right to retire in the United Kingdom.

Philip Jackson was born in Scotland and trained as a press photographer before joining a design company, where he learnt sculpture. His works are 'impressionistic' and often appear on textured bases or against rough backgrounds, the figures becoming finer towards the principle features, faces and hands, as if focusing a lens. His other works include a figure of Mozart in Chelsea, and royals George VI (in Dartmouth Naval College), Queen Elizabeth (Windsor Great Park) and the Queen Mother (The Mall). His figure of 'The Yomper' in Portsmouth, a Falklands soldier, has a stocky build and stance that ears comparison with Jagger's soldiers of the Royal Artillery Memorial. When not working on public commissions, Jackson's personal worked is mainly themed on masked, particularly Venetian-inspired, figures with an air of mystery.

Emerging on Whitehall, we proceed to –

Haig Memorial – The Equestrian monument to Field Marshal Haig, Sculptor, Alfred Hardiman, 1937, base designed by S. Rowland Pierce. Listed Grade II

Earl Haig had been the Commander-in Chief of the British Armies in France from 1915-1918. A week after his death on 29th January 1928, the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, proposed a statue to him. Parliament had however agreed to the memorial with no consideration for how it should look. Quickly, that decision was passed to the hands of Sir Lionel Earle and the Office of Works, which was

responsible for overseeing all monuments in London' public spaces and Royal Parks. Earle, in turn delegated the decision to the Royal Fine Art Commission – an organisation he had been instrumental in setting up in 1924. Earle was convinced of one thing, the positioning of the sculpture in Whitehall. He was quoted as saying “the position should appeal so strongly to all those soldiers on account of site proximity to the Cenotaph”. The Cenotaph was, by this point a site of huge national importance. In spite of a number of obstacles, including King George V, Earle's view prevailed.



Earle was also responsible to limiting the number of entrants to the competition for the sculpture to just three. The three that entered were Gilbert Ledward, Alfred Hardiman and William Macmillan. As the plinth was to be a significant part of the memorial, the sculptors were obliged to each work with a different architect - Ledward with H.C Bradshaw, Hardiman with S. Rowland Pierce and Macmillan with Thomas Tait.

The winners were Hardiman and Pierce. Immediately after the commission, a sketch of the winning design appeared in the Times, it unleashed a storm of controversy that dogged the sculpture up until its final unveiling in 1937. At the heart of the argument, was the horse. Derived from Hardiman's studies of Renaissance sculpture, the horse was more classical charger than WWI cavalry, and was clearly at odds with the public perception of Haig post- WWI. Lady Haig was particularly critical of the winning design, asking why Haig could not be depicted on his own horse, Poperinghe whilst the British Legion campaigned to have the sculptor paid off and a new competition organised. Hardiman listened with quiet stoicism and altered his design several times. 8 years in the making, the sculpture was finally unveiled by the Duke of Gloucester on 10th November 1937, with the king laying a wreath the day after on Armistice Day.

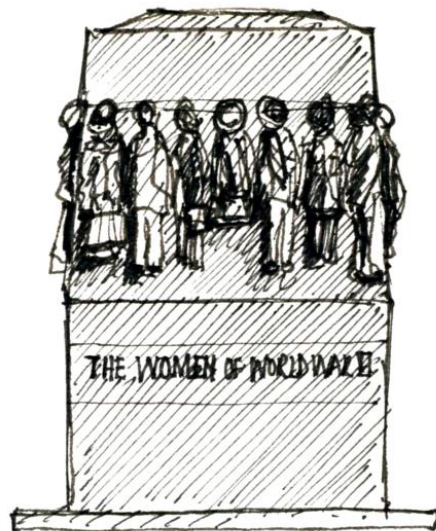
The final design was surely much better than the wretched organiser of the Battles of the Somme and Passchendaele deserved. Hardiman's bronze stands elegantly poised on a finely composed Classical plinth the horse leans forward, with one front leg raised, while horse and rider are unified by the curve of Haig's cape. In the end it appears as if the detractors all rather missed the point as the Architectural Review pointed out, this was not a private but a national monument

for which “it is essential that the statue be symbolical, and not the portrait of a gentleman on the portrait of a horse”.

Hardiman is perhaps now best remembered for this controversial sculpture to a deeply controversial figure. Other notable works include his fine, bronze Assyrian lions at the gates of Norwich City Hall, (1932-38 by C. H. James and S. R. Pierce, II*) and his three sculptures, ‘Recreation’, ‘Wisdom’ and ‘Education’, at the back of the building – all 1938. His bronze of St George, originally in Carlos Place but now at Eltham Palace and his stone carvings at County Hall in London, which comprise of four groups of statues on the Eastern side of the building, Hardiman was elected A.R.A. in 1936 and R.A. in 1944. He became a fellow of the Royal Society of British Sculptors in 1938 and the following year received their silver medal for his statue of Haig.

Women of World War II, John W. Mills, 2005, Bronze on Portland Base. Not Listed

‘Let the women of Britain come forward’ said Churchill. Over seven million women volunteered for the armed services and supporting roles in ammunition factories, first aid and the Land Army, in the Second World War. 450,000 were conscripted into the armed forces.



The Women of World War II's cause was championed by Baroness Boothroyd, who raised some of the £1 million on a celebrity episode of Who Wants To Be A Millionaire. Other funds were raised by a charitable trust run by volunteers in York. The memorial replaced a statue of Sir Walter Raleigh, which was moved to Greenwich. The memorial was unveiled by the Queen in 2005, on the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II. Military helicopters flown by all- female crews flew past the memorial to mark the occasion. The London Evening

Standard claimed that the swap was an example of New Labour rewriting history. The buccaneering explorer was banished because he was male, imperialist and had introduced tobacco to Britain. A statue to women was more politically correct.

The monument is unashamedly a companion (or competitor?) to the Cenotaph. Its pivotal location on Whitehall has the effect of assuming that the neighbouring 'Glorious Dead' are exclusively male, and its size and form deliberately relate (albeit crudely) to Lutyens' pylon. The choice of bronze separates the two, but also makes the memorial an uncomfortably dark and heavy addition to Whitehall's street furniture. Around the sides we see the hung-up uniforms of the Army and WRENS, RAF, Red Cross nurses, Land Girls, Munitions Factory workers, Air Wardens and so on: over-sized and somewhat crudely rendered. It is important to remember that although many women lost their lives in replacing men's duties, this monument is dedicated to all of those who served. It is a tribute to an entire generation, many of whom are still alive today.

John W. Mills (b. 1933) trained at Hammersmith and the Royal College of Art before completing national Service. From an early stage he specialised in figurative sculpture in metal, and has been President of the Royal Society of British Sculptors in 1982 and 1997. His other commemorative work includes the D-Day coin for the Royal Mint, The William Blake memorial, as well as a number of religious works.

The Cenotaph, Sir Edwin Lutyens, 1920. Listed Grade I

Perhaps it is rather English that the national memorial to the million British Empire dead should not be one of the grand projects for triumphal arches and avenues proposed during the war but what was originally intended to be a temporary structure, of wood and plaster, translated into Portland stone. In 1919, the Prime Minister needed to find "some prominent artist" to design a temporary non-denominational "catafalque" for the Peace Celebrations planned for 19th July. Sir Edwin Lutyens was recommended by Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works, and he is said to have told Lloyd George, "not a catalalque but a Cenotaph", that is, a monument to someone buried elsewhere. There are many legends attached to the design, which Lutyens is said to have sketched out in a matter of minutes, but he had already designed a more elaborate Cenotaph for Southampton. The tall pylon carrying the symbolic sarcophagus was composed with immense subtlety and refinement. All vertical and horizontal surfaces are modelled with curved entasis or optical corrections, and the monument is given dynamism by Lutyens' characteristic method of alternating set-backs.

The temporary Cenotaph was an outstanding success in that, after the generals, soldiers and politicians had marched past, it became a focus for grief, "the people's shrine". A million people made pilgrimage and a mountain of flowers and wreaths were piled up around it. Demands arose for the temporary Cenotaph

to be re-created in stone and eventually the government acceded to what Lutyens called "the human sentiment of millions". Small changes were made to the design, although Lutyens was not permitted to have the flanking flags executed in painted stone so that they would remain still. The permanent Cenotaph was unveiled on Armistice Day, 1920, when the body of the Unknown Warrior was drawn past to be interred in Westminster Abbey. Lutyens' design was criticised by some for its complete lack of Christian symbolism, but – as with his work for the Imperial War Graves Commission - he wanted forms which had meaning "irrespective of creed or caste" as he knew well that it was not just Christians who had been fed into the slaughter. That did not deter the Catholic Herald from dismissing the Cenotaph as "nothing more or less than a pagan monument, insulting to Christianity... a disgrace in a so called Christian land" as it was for "Atheist, Mohammedan, Buddhist, Jew, men of any religion or none". Lutyens later recounted how "There was some horror in Church circles. What! A pagan monument in the midst of Whitehall! That is why we have a rival shrine in the Abbey, the Unknown Warrior, but even an unknown soldier might not have been a Christian, the more unknown the less sure you could be."

So perfect was the Cenotaph found to be for its melancholy purpose that, after another war, nothing more was needed than to carve two more dates into the stone: "1939-1945". Lutyens died during that war. His daughter Mary later recalled passing the Cenotaph immediately afterwards and how "The aloof, lonely perfection of its beauty pierced me... I can never pass it now without feeling he is there – it is his soul, the quintessence of his genius – as much a memorial to him as to the dead of two wars – but above all a triumphant affirmation of the spirit of harmony which makes order out of the chaos of materialism. Perfect order is perfect well-being".



The unveiling of the Cenotaph in 1920