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LUTYENS'S CENOTAPH

ALLAN GREENBERG New Haven

We were slaughtered in a Dirphian gulley, and our graves, near Euripos, were paid for by our nation. Justice. For in confronting the cruel clouds of war we gave away our years of lovely youth.

Simonides, *Graves by the Water*[1]

The Cenotaph was one of a number of temporary structures erected on the route of the Peace Day Parade in London on 19 July 1919 to officially celebrate the end of World War I. Immediately after the unveiling ceremony, the base of the memorial was covered with flowers. For weeks after the parade there were queues of people waiting to place wreaths there. Pressure from the public to retain this memorial mounted. By the end of July the cabinet decided to recreate the structure in permanent materials and designate it Britain's official war memorial. This is a rare example of public acclaim for a design and of government acknowledging and responding to this expression of approval. The paper describes the history of the Cenotaph, charts the development of the design, and attempts to understand why it evokes such a positive public response.

THE CENOTAPH[2] in Whitehall, London is the first and the best known of more than 133 war memorials and cemeteries designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) to commemorate the 1,104,890 British and Commonwealth soldiers who gave their lives in World War I (Fig. 1).[3] It is here, annually, at the 11th hour on the 11th day of the 11th month, that all traffic stops while two minutes of silence and other Armistice Day rituals are observed to commemorate the end of The Great War. This rite is also enacted in most of the nations of the British Commonwealth. After 1945, the ceremony was expanded to include the British Empire's dead of World War II.[4]

The Cenotaph's design is modest in character, and today it is such a familiar part of Whitehall that few persons who pass by stop to contemplate its significance, the curious circumstances of its creation, or the subtlety of its architectural lines. Yet it stands as a rare example of a work of architecture which has become a national shrine by spontaneous public acclaim, for official action designating it as Britain's national war memorial was merely the last chapter in the history of its creation. This anomaly of 20th-century architecture was first noted by Eric Homberger, who wrote: "The circumstances of its conception . . . suggest that this brilliantly successful focus for the most deeply held emotions of the interwar period was conceived of almost as an afterthought, and that it was the people not the government who made it such an unparalleled object of respect."[5]

What are the reasons for the Cenotaph's enormous appeal? What aspects of its form and what projections of meaning elicited the extraordinary public response? What was it that moved so many men and women to clamor for the recreation of this temporary memorial into permanent materials? Considering the events that led to the creation of the Cenotaph offers us an understanding of their impact on its design as well as a broadened perspective on the immediate period. This unusual episode shows how a great work of architecture may encompass within its rubric the full range of deep emotions that are associated with

1. In Willis Barnstone, *Greek Lyric Poetry,* New York, 1972, 134.

2. I am indebted to the Graham Foundation for a generous research grant awarded in 1981 to offset the cost of travel and research for this essay; to Nigel Nicolson for his generous assistance and permission to quote from Lady Sackville's diary and reproduce drawings in his collection; to the Imperial War Museum, Public Record Office, House of Lords Record Office, and RIBA Drawings Collection for allowing me access to their achieves of material relating to the Cenotaph and permission to publish drawings and quotations; to Eric Homberger for his generously sharing insights and steering me to the correct files in the Public Record Office; and to Kenneth Morgan for providing information on David Lloyd George.

3. This total is based on the list "Cemeteries in France and Belgium designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, K.C.I.E., R.A." prepared by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. It includes 126 cemeteries, an additional two, designed in conjunction with memorials to the missing, and another memorial to the missing making a total of 129. To this we add the Cenotaph, and the memorials at Southhampton, Rochedale, and Leicester which were executed under other auspices than the War Graves Commission. Lutyens also designed numerous private memorials.

4. After World War II, the celebration was moved to the Sunday nearest to 11 November and is now called Remembrance Sunday.

5. Eric Homberger, "The Story of the Cenotaph," *Times Literary Supplement,* 12 November 1976, 1429–1430. This brilliant essay is the most detailed account of the planning of Peace Day and the Victory Parade and of the circumstances leading to the creation of the Cenotaph.

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Fig. 1. The Cenotaph in Whitehall, London as it appears today (*Country Life*).

a terrible war, and how it may rise above the fickle strains of public sentiment and opinion that are the inevitable outgrowth of such a period of crisis to breach the fences of political ideology and social class and touch our common sense of kinship and humanity.

The story of the Cenotaph begins in 1919 with the British government's proposal to sponsor a national day of festivities to celebrate the signing of the peace treaty then being negotiated officially to end four terrible years of war. In part, this fete was intended to divert public attention from serious national problems that included an economic recession, labor unrest, and, even more threatening, manifestations of discontent in the army.[6] Lord Curzon, the Lord President of the Council, was chairman of the Peace Celebrations Committee that first met on 9 May 1919, to begin to organize a full program of festivities to last for four days. The high point of the celebration was to be a victory parade through London by soldiers of the Allied and Commonwealth armies. A day of thanksgiving to be known as Peace Day with religious services, river pageants, and numerous other events was also planned. Lord Curzon tentatively scheduled 2–5 August for the festivities.[7] The committee met again on 18 June. The minutes of this meeting note that Prime Minister David Lloyd George (1863–1945) had asked French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929) about French plans for the peace celebration. He learned that France was to hold a

6. Homberger, "Story of the Cenotaph," 1429–1430.

7. War Cabinet Peace Celebrations Committee, Draft of Minutes of Meeting 9 May 1919, 1–2, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO) Cab 27/52.

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military parade and contemplated no other organized observance.[8]

After the first meeting of the Peace Celebrations Committee, Lionel Earle K.C.B., C.M.G., Secretary of the Office of Works, asked the Earl of Derby, British Ambassador to France, to ascertain the precise scope of the French peace celebration. Earle's letter of 13 May was probably written at the suggestion of Sir Alfred Mond, Minister of Works. Responding on 17 May, the ambassador enclosed with his letter an undated staff memorandum of a meeting with Monsieur Seguin, Sous-Secretariat des Beaux-Arts, which states: "There would probably be some sort of monument or catafalque which would form the center of a procession from the Arc de Triomphe to the Pantheon."[9]

The Treaty of Versailles was signed on 28 June. Lord Curzon's committee met for the third time on 1 July to complete its plans. The Peace Day celebrations were set for 19 July 1919. Lord Curzon reported the prime minister had again discussed the peace celebration with Clemenceau. The minutes note, "The Prime Minister had been told in Paris by M. Clemenceau that when the allied troops marched through Paris on the 14th instant, they would pass a great catafalque, which they would salute in honour of the dead."[10] A catafalque is a temporary structure, often representing a tomb, for receiving and displaying the remains of a dead person. This one would be erected adjacent to the Arc de Triomphe at the Etoile as part of the French ceremony planned for 14 July (Fig. 2). Lloyd George was impressed by this idea and felt the need for a similar British focus for public acts of homage. He suggested that an eminent artist be consulted about the design.

Lord Curzon thought a catafalque would be too foreign for British subjects and more in "harmony . . . with the Latin temperament." Mond agreed and stated "that a catafalque was purely a catholic idea and might not appeal to the British public generally." Lord Curzon wondered if there were alternatives and suggested building a large cross, 20–30 ft. in height, "in the circular space near Admiralty Arch, facing Charing Cross."[11] The committee decided that: "The First Commissioner of Works and General Leach in consultation, if necessary, with some prominent artist, should go into the question of the nature of the shrine and its position on the processional route."[12] It was Mond who turned to Lutyens for advice. Both were involved



Fig. 2. Soldiers of the Allied armies marching through the Arc de Triomphe at the Etoile, Paris, on 14 July 1919, as part of the Victory Day celebration. The structure to the right of the arch is a catafalque which was removed after the celebration (Harlingue-Viollet).

in the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission. During the previous year, Mond had also asked Lutyens to design an unrealized project for a temporary war shrine to be built in Hyde Park.[13]

On 2 July 1919, the *Times* wrote that the "main lines of the Victory fetes to be held here on 14 July are now fixed." It noted that at the parade in Paris, "The Arch de Triomph will be the center of interest . . . because there will be set up the monument to those who fell in the Great War."[14]

Thus it was that in early July the prime minister asked Lutyens to 10 Downing Street and officially invited him to design a catafalque for the victory parade through London.[15] The prime minister noted that the structure should be nondenominational

8. War Cabinet Peace Celebrations Committee, 2nd Minutes, 18 June 1919, 2. PRO Work 21/74.

9. Lionel Earle to Earl of Derby, 13 May 1919, and Earl of Derby to Lionel Earle, 17 May 1919 with enclosure of undated memorandum. PRO Work 21/74.

10. War Cabinet Peace Celebrations Committee, Minutes of Meeting, 1 July 1919, 8. PRO Cab 52/27.

11. War Cabinet Peace Celebrations Committee, Minutes of Meeting, 1 July 1919, 9. PRO Cab 52/27.

12. Homberger, 1429–1430, and Cabinet Peace Celebrations Committee Draft Minutes of Meeting, 1 July 1919, 9. PRO Cab 52/27.

13. Sir Martin Conway, "The Proposed Temporary War Shrine in Hyde Park," *Country Life,* 21 September 1918, 246.

14. The *Times,* 2 July 1919, 12. Note the dateline is 1 July and is most likely based on information given out by the Peace Celebrations Committee after its meeting on that day.

15. Homberger, "Story of the Cenotaph," 1430. The date of this meeting is not certain. Lloyd George's engagement diaries for 1917–1933 have been lost and Lutyens does not mention the day in his *Journal of Remembrance* (see n. 17). Christopher Hussey is clearly incorrect in his *Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens (Country Life, 1950)* when he states on page 391 that this meeting took place on 19 July, which was the day of the parade and the unveiling of the temporary Cenotaph. Hussey's reconstruction of events is probably correct except for his error in dating the meeting of Lutyens and Lloyd George on 19 July. This probably occurred because he mistakenly believed the version of the Cenotaph here illustrated in Fig. 20 was the first sketch for Lady Sackville and assumed that because it is signed and dated 19 July that this was the date of the meeting with the prime minister. Gavin Stamp in *Lutyens, The Work of an English Architect* (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981) states that the meeting took place in early June. I believe early July, after the 1 July meeting of the Peace Celebrations Committee, is the most likely date. (See below for further discussion.)

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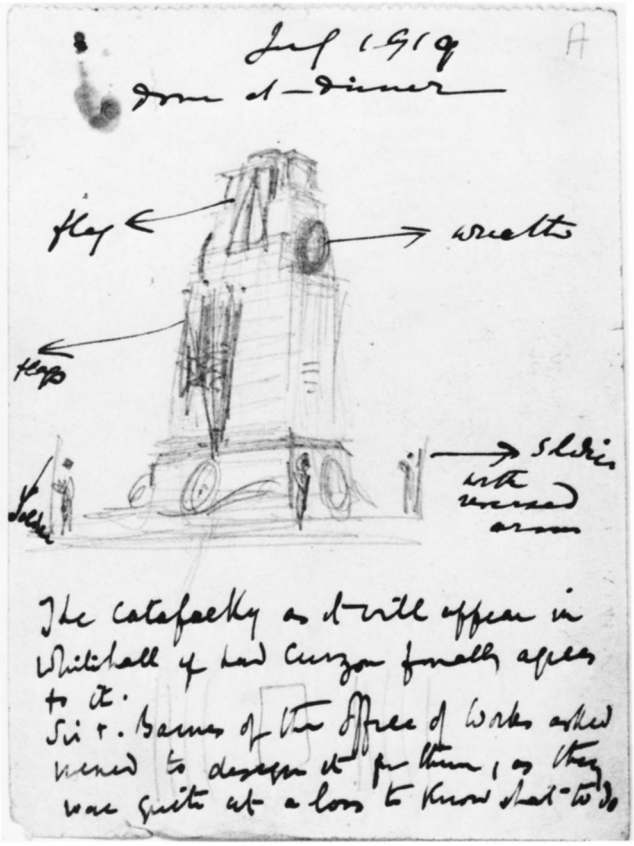


Fig. 3. Lutyens's first sketch for the design of the Cenotaph, thought to have been executed for Lady Sackville the very day he received the commission from the prime minister (Nigel Nicolson).

in character and stressed that barely two weeks were available for design and construction. Instead of a catafalque, Lutyens proposed building a cenotaph—literally, an empty tomb. Most such monuments are elevated on a pedestal and dedicated to the honor of a person whose body is buried elsewhere. Lloyd George concurred with Lutyens's proposal. In his *Journal of Remembrance,* written 12 years later, Lutyens credits Lloyd George as the source of the idea for building the Cenotaph.[16]

According to Christopher Hussey, after leaving the prime minister, Lutyens met with Sir Frank Baines, Chief Architect of the Office of Works, for whom he sketched out a design.[17] The same day, at dinner, he drew his idea for Lady Sackville (Fig. 3).[18] This shows the Cenotaph close to the form in which

16. The *Journal of Remembrance* is a set of notes Lutyens wrote in 1931 recording his role in the creation of the Cenotaph. Copies are at the Imperial War Museum and the Public Record Office.

17. Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens,* 391. Both the sketches used by Hussey show the Cenotaph at a late stage in the evolution of design. The one he used as the sketch for Lady Sackville was executed on or after the Peace Day Parade as a gift (Fig. 22); the sketch for Sir Frank Baines is lost.

18. The two sketches are illustrated in Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens,* 384, Fig. 103.

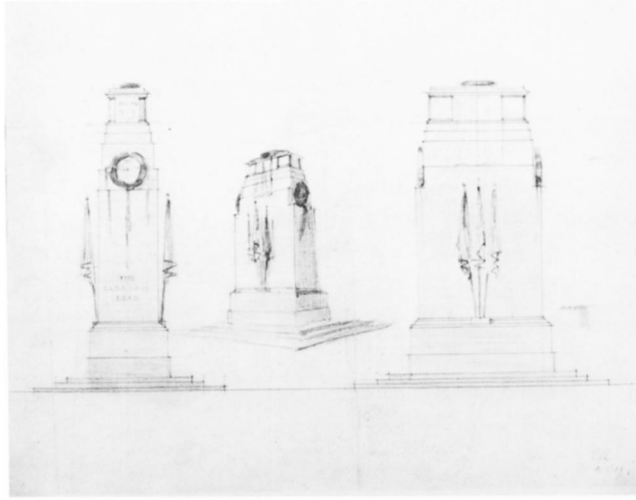


Fig. 4. Lutyens, drawing for the Cenotaph dated 4 June 1919 (Imperial War Museum).

it was finally built. The minutes of the fourth and last meeting of the Peace Celebrations Committee on 9 July do not mention the Cenotaph.

This sequence may not be the full story, for we have to account for a complete drawing of the Cenotaph in elevation and perspective dated 4 June 1919 (Fig. 4). There are two possible explanations to account for this drawing. In preparation for the Peace Celebrations Committee's first meeting, Lord Curzon had asked the heads of the various government departments for "their suggestions as to the way in which peace should be celebrated."[19] Perhaps someone had proposed a monument. Alternatively, after the committee's first meeting, Mond may have contacted Lutyens on his own initiative. He had learned from Lord Derby's letter to Lionel Earle in late May of the French plans to erect a catafalque.[20] In either case, Mond may have wanted to give Lutyens time to consider a design in the event the committee decided one would be required. If either supposition is correct, Lutyens may have started to think about the design in early June. In this case he would have had a design in mind when he met with Lloyd George in July. Its minutes make clear that the tone of the meeting of the Peace Celebrations Committee was informal, and it is quite likely that Mond may not have felt it necessary to inform either the prime minister or Lord Curzon of his earlier discussions with Lutyens. No verification is available to support either supposition, but they seem the most likely explanations of the drawing dated 4 June 1919. In architecture, as in so many important endeavors, participants in great events seldom chronicle all their thoughts or the details of the events as they unfold. The temporary Cenotaph

19. War Cabinet Peace Celebrations Committee, Minutes of Meeting, 9 May 1919, 1.

20. Earl of Derby to Earle, 17 May 1919.

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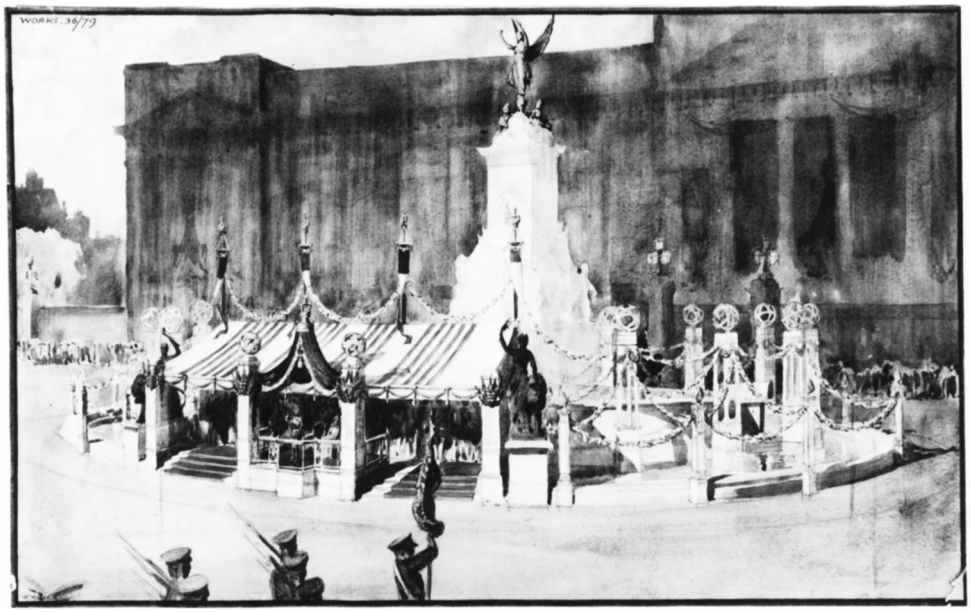


Fig. 5. Water color study of temporary Royal Saluting Pavilion for the Peace Day Parade prepared by the Office of Works (Public Record Office).

was such a minor detail in the planning of the Peace Day Celebration and the winding down of the war effort that no one involved could have possibly imagined it's becoming the official memorial.

After leaving the prime minister's office, Lutyens started design work at full throttle, for there were only 16 or 17 days for finalizing the design, completing working drawings, and construction. The final design was approved by Curzon on 7 July. Sir Frank Baines's letter to Lutyens conveys the urgency of their situation: "Your sketch was submitted this evening to Lord Curzon and his Lordship agrees with the proposal, and I now send your sketches back by hand and should be very much obliged if you could let me have the details at the earliest possible moment so that I can get on with the work."[21] The Office of Works completed the construction drawings for the temporary Cenotaph and supervised its realization. In addition, they prepared studies for temporary structures and decorations on the parade route and supervised their installation (Figs. 5 and 6).

It is important to note that the Cenotaph was but one of many commemorative events and decorations along the parade route. The original was a temporary structure built of wood and plaster. It was unveiled on 19 July 1919, the very morning of the peace parade. (The architect was not invited to the ceremony.) Within an hour, wreaths were piled high around its base and soon after, 15,000 Allied soldiers marched past in silence and saluted the dead (Fig. 7). For many days after the parade, long lines of people waited patiently to add their own homage.

The king reviewed the parade from a temporary pavilion constructed for the purpose at Buckingham Palace, and an elaborate program of festivities and entertainment followed. But it was the Cenotaph which caught hold of the public's imagination. From then on, this understated and abstract monument became the symbol of England's grief.

Critical response

On 21 July, only two days after the parade, the *Times* wrote, "The new Cenotaph erected in Whitehall to the memory of 'the glorious dead' was the center of what was perhaps the principal, as it was certainly the most moving portion of Saturday's triumphal ceremony. The Cenotaph . . . is only a temporary structure made to look like stone; but Sir Edwin Lutyens's design is so grave, severe, and beautiful that one might well wish it were indeed of stone and permanent."[22] Cognizant of the public's growing enthusiasm, the *Times* wrote further of the Cenotaph on 26 July, "No feature of the Victory March in London made a deeper impression than the Cenotaph erected in Whitehall to the memory of 'The Glorious Dead.' Simple, grave and beautiful in design, it has been universally recognized as a just and fitting memorial of those who have made the greatest sacrifice; and the flowers which have been daily laid upon it since the march show the strength of its appeal to the imagination. It ought undoubtedly to be erected in more permanent form among the Monuments of London though not on its present site."[23] The *Times* feared that the site, in the middle

21. Baines to Lutyens, PRO Work 20/226. The letter is dated 5 July with a 7 written over the earlier date.

22. The *Times,* 21 July 1919, 15.
23. The *Times,* 26 July 1919, 13.

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Fig. 6. Water color study of decorations on the Ministry of Defense Building at Whitehall for the Peace Day Parade prepared by the Office of Works (Public Record Office).

of six lanes of heavy traffic on Whitehall, would impair traffic flow and that the lack of space for people to gather would cause accidents. The end of the Horse Guards Parade nearby was suggested as a more reasonable location. The Advisory Committee on London Traffic and the Westminster County Council also objected to the Whitehall site on the grounds of traffic problems. The Westminster County Council proposed using Parliament Square as the site for the Cenotaph.[24]

To the hypothetical objector who protested that the Cenotaph was designed specifically for its Whitehall site, the *Times* replied that "its essential simplicity and dignity would make it effective in almost any surroundings." As Lutyens himself would note, this assumption was not well founded. But the *Times* went on to agree that "the desire of the great mass of the public is to see it perpetuated in its present form."[25]

24. Cenotaph, Office of Works File No. 1126, 2, PRO Work 20/139, and Lutyens, *Journal of Remembrance,* 2.
25. The *Times,* 26 July 1919, 13.



Fig. 7. Temporary Cenotaph with wreaths piled around the base after the Peace Day Parade (Public Record Office).

On 29 July 1919, the day before the cabinet met, Lutyens wrote Sir Alfred Mond: "I should like the monument to be where it now stands of Portland stone with all the refinement digestion [?] can invent to perfect it. The site has been qualified by the salutes of Foch and the allied armies and by our men and their great leaders. No other site would give this pertinence."[26] Later, Lutyens would recall that:

> Time passed and the plain fact emerged and grew stronger every hour that the Cenotaph was what the people wanted, and that they wanted to have the wood and plaster original replaced by an identical memorial in lasting stone. It was a mass-feeling too deep to express itself more fitly than by piles of ever-fresh flowers which loving hands placed on the Cenotaph day by day. Thus it was decided, by the human sentiment of millions, that the Cenotaph should be as it is now, and, speaking as the designer, I would wish for no greater honour, no more complete and lasting satisfaction.[27]

The matter was finally resolved on 30 July when the cabinet met and decided that the Cenotaph should be re-erected as a permanent memorial on its present site in Whitehall. The *Times* reported:

26. PRO Work 20/139.
27. Lutyens, *Journal of Remembrance,* 2.

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It is understood that the Cabinet were largely influenced in their decision to retain the Whitehall site by a moving letter from Sir Edwin Lutyens, which Sir Alfred Mond read to the assembled Ministers. There were several alternative proposals before the Cabinet. The one which obtained most support was that the Cenotaph should be re-erected in permanent form in a spot to which traffic considerations did not apply—for preference in the Mall. The final decision was taken against any change of site on the ground that the Cenotaph in its present position had memories which could not be uprooted.[28]

In some mysterious way, the design of the Cenotaph embodied the nation's deep and terrible bereavement. It became the focus for the outpouring of four years of pent-up sorrow which had been waiting for victory, or some tangible signal, to be released. For the government, this spontaneous wave of public approval solved the thorny task of defining a program and selecting a design for a permanent memorial. On 1 November 1919, Lutyens submitted his drawings for the permanent Cenotaph to Sir Alfred Mond, noting, "I have made slight alterations to meet the conditions demanded by the setting out of its lines on subtle curvatures, the difference is almost imperceptible, yet sufficient to give it a sculpturesque quality and a life, that cannot pertain to rectangular blocks of stone."[29] The drawing was approved by Mond on the same day. These optical refinements, hinted at in Lutyens's letter of 29 July 1919 to Mond, are almost as subtle and complex as those of the Parthenon.

Sixteen months after the cabinet decided to rebuild it in permanent form, at 11 a.m. on 11 November 1920, precisely two years after the cease-fire, the new stone Cenotaph was unveiled. As part of the same ceremony, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was laid in Westminster Abbey. This time the architect was one of a select group of guests, including the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, who were formally invited to observe the ceremony.[30] In the three days that followed, the stone Cenotaph was visited by 400,000 people (Fig. 8). Six days later, on 17 November, the prime minister wrote to Lutyens: "On behalf of the Cabinet I desire to thank you for your fine and generous service in designing and building the memorial which has become a national shrine, not only for the British Isles but also for the whole Empire. The Cenotaph by its very simplicity fittingly expresses the memory in which the people hold all those who so bravely fought and died for the country. How well it represents the feeling of the nation has been amply manifested by the stream of pilgrims who have passed the Cenotaph during the past week."[31] From that time on, annual observance of Armistice Day at the Cenotaph became an established rite.



Fig. 8. Stone Cenotaph photographed hours after the unveiling ceremony on 11 November 1920, showing the long lines of people waiting to lay wreaths and pay their respects to the dead (The Bettmann Archive/BBC Hulton).

These events were reported in the United States in the November 1919 issue of *Architectural Forum*:

It is not always that a monument of architectural distinction wins immediate public approval, and there is, therefore, great interest to all artists in the circumstances surrounding the temporary cenotaph designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens and erected in Whitehall for the London Peace Day celebration. It was, in the nature of all temporary pure decorations, rapidly conceived and promptly executed for what was thought but a brief space of time; but its excellence as a monument and tribute to "The Glorious Dead" at once impressed the public mind with the result that an immediate desire was expressed to have it executed in permanent materials. When it became evident that the public appeal must be granted, the city officials suggested the desirability of other sites in consideration of possible traffic difficulties; but this aroused such opposition that there was no doubting the interest of the public in seeing the monument executed on the same site for which it was created. It is a great satisfaction that a pylon of such simple dignity should command the widest approval. An English contemporary says, "For once we have the right thing in the right place."[32]

Nearly two years later, on 20 June 1921, John W. Simpson, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, presented Lutyens with the Institute's Royal Gold Medal. His tribute echoed public sentiments: "To me, as an architect, the Cenotaph seems the most remarkable of all his conceptions. Precisely suited to its site and its surroundings, austere yet gracious, technically perfect, it is the very expression of repressed emotion, of massive simplicity of purpose, of the qualities which mark those whom it commemorates and those who raised it."[33]

28. The *Times,* 31 July 1919, 12. The Lutyens letter referred to in the text is cited above at note 21.

29. Lutyens to Sir Alfred Mond, 1 November 1919, PRO Work 20/139.

30. Report, Proceeding and Memoranda on the Cabinet Committee and Memorial Services, 11 November 1920, 4, PRO Cab 27/99, 92.

31. House of Lords Record Office, Lloyd George Paper, F/95/52 and Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens,* 394.

32. "The Whitehall Cenotaph, London, England," *Architectural Forum,* November 1919, 162.

33. *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects,* 25 June 1921, 474.

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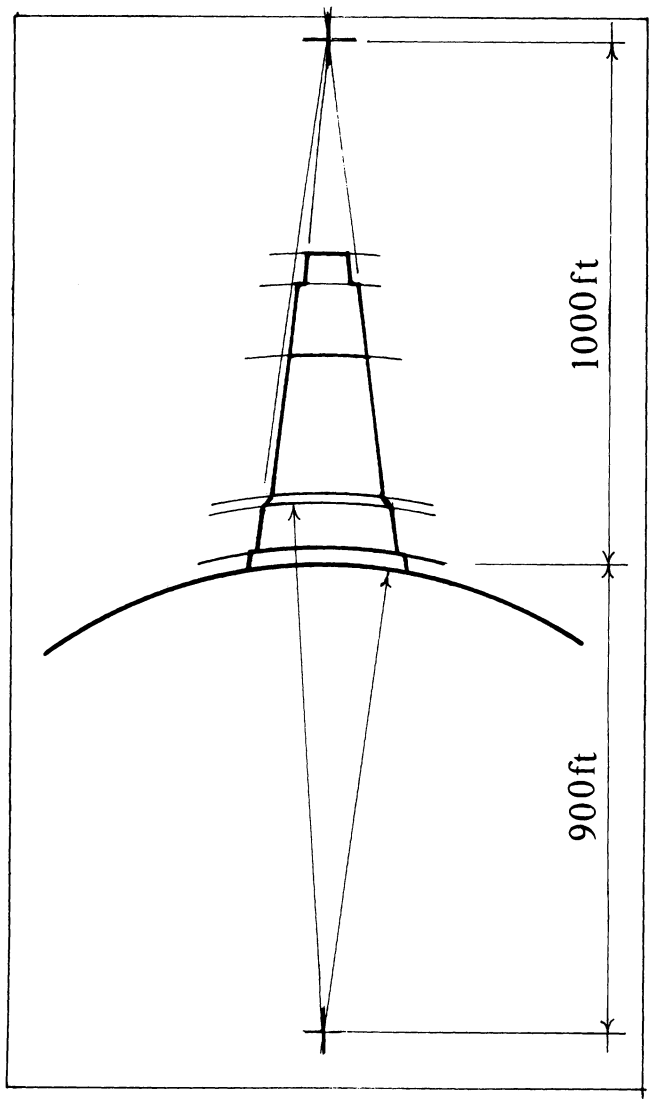


Fig. 9. Geometry of the Cenotaph: vertical planes are radials of a circle with center 1000 ft. above the ground and horizontal planes are arcs of a circle with center 900 ft. below the ground plane (author).

Over the years Lutyens was able to persuade the authorities to reject suggestions aimed at improving the Cenotaph. First there came a proposal to place life-size, realistic bronze statues of sentries at each corner.[34] These would have introduced a literal element into the design that was out of key with its open symbolism and abstract character. In 1923 proposals were made to illuminate the Cenotaph and to install a vertical beacon of light set within the wreath at the top of the coffin.[35] The latter idea was proposed by six members of Parliament to add to the Cenotaph's "symbolic beauty."[36]

34. Lutyens to Sir Alfred Mond, 29 July 1919, PRO Work 20/39.

35. *The Sphere,* 30 June 1923, and *Illustrated London News,* 23 June 1919, 1091.

36. The *Times,* 16 June 1923. Letter to editor from John Garzoni, *et al.* This proposal was supported by an editorial on 18 June 1923 titled "Post Tenebras Lux."

Form and meaning

Today, the agony of The Great War is largely forgotten. It is difficult for us to imagine or to reconstruct its enormous impact on the lives of those who lived through it, or on those of their children and grandchildren throughout England and the Commonwealth. During the 1920s and 1930s it was customary to doff one's hat when passing the Cenotaph. As recently as 1955, my last year in high school in South Africa, students were excused from morning classes to sell poppies for charity in remembrance of Flanders Day. At 11 a.m. on every 11th day of November, the entire student body gathered in the school hall to observe two minutes of silence in homage to the dead of two world wars, just as the queen was standing in silence in front of the Cenotaph in London. (At least this was how we imagined it, for we were unaware that in England the celebration had been changed to the Sunday nearest to 11 November.)

The Great War took the lives of almost an entire generation of England's youth. Their deaths directly touched virtually every family. It would also profoundly affect the psychological outlook of the following generation, too young to have gone to the front. And so it was, in 1919, amid the vast outpouring of grief and social and economic turmoil, that the very aspect of modesty, understatement, and abstraction in the Cenotaph's design, its "massive simplicity of purpose," was decisive in drawing forth successive waves of public approval.[37] This achievement is, I believe, a function of the memorial's form.

Ezra Pound's comment, apropos of poetry, that "rhythm must have meaning," provides a useful key to assist us in understanding the architectural ideas embodied in the design of the Cenotaph.[38] The shrine has three parts: base, superstructure, and, at the top, empty coffin. It is the interaction of these parts that determines the Cenotaph's formal character and, in conjunction with the symbolic elements, articulates the meaning embodied in the design.

The mass of the permanent Cenotaph decreases slightly as it rises, for all the memorial's vertical lines and planes are not vertical, but radials of a circle whose center is 1000 feet above the ground (Fig. 9). Its four sides are therefore battered inward. The angle of inclination of the front and rear surfaces is slightly greater than that of the sides because the shape of the plan is nearly a double square. All horizontal lines are arcs of a circle whose center is 900 ft. below ground level. These optical refinements endow the monument with an inner tension and life that differentiates it from its surroundings. The batter of vertical planes and the various setbacks give it an added, almost exaggerated, sense of stability.

The monument's base is 7 ft. 4 in. high (Fig. 10). It has four

37. *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects,* 25 June 1924, 474.

38. Paul Fussell, *Poetic Meter and Poetic Forms,* New York, 1973, 3.

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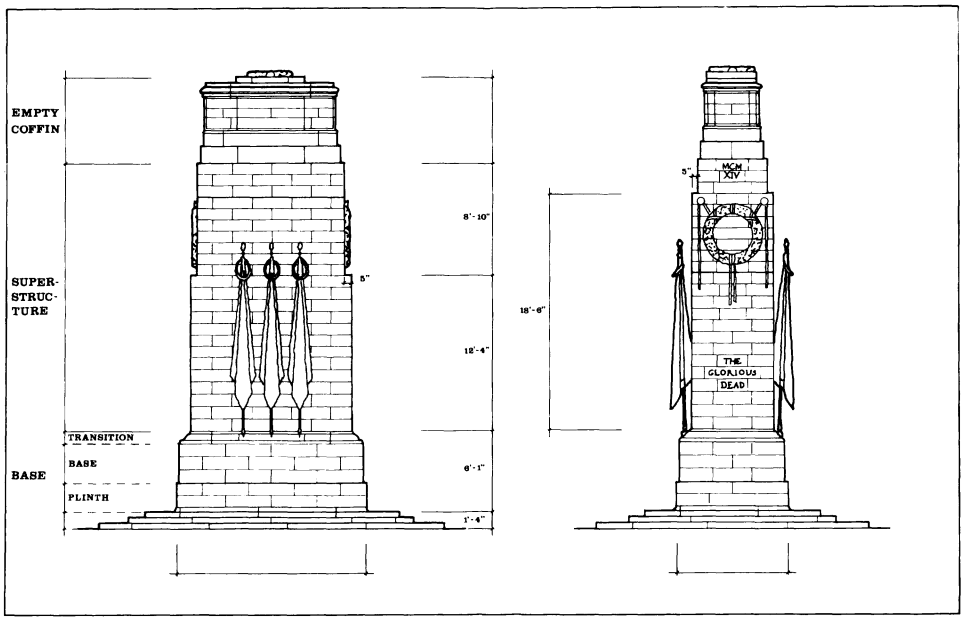


Fig. 10. Front and side elevations of the permanent Cenotaph (author).

parts: steps, plinth, base block, and transition molding. The base block is 3 ft. high and is formed by a rectangle in plan (Fig. 11). The base block is set on a 2-ft. 1-in. high plinth which projects 3 in. beyond the base on all four sides. The 1-ft.-high transition molding has three parts: torus, cyma reversa, and, at the top, a cavetto (Fig. 12). The height of these three parts is 6 ft. 1 in. The plinth rests on a platform of three steps with 5-in. risers. Their treads have a ratio of 2:1:2. At first glance, the overall character of the base appears to be static. There is a neat concordance of overall horizontal dimension of 6 ft. 3 in. for the three steps and a vertical of 6 ft. 1 in. for base block, plinth, and transition molding. However, the syncopated rhythm of the tread is reinforced vertically by a plinth : base : transition molding ratio of 2(25″):3(36″):1(12″). From the plinth face to the top of the transition molding there is a decrease in the plan dimension of 10½ in. on each side. This is an addition to the setbacks and the constant inward batter. The lower portion of the Cenotaph quietly establishes the memorial's overall character: an outward appearance of simple repose which, on close observation, shows itself to be dependent on the more complex rhythms of its masses.

The superstructure is more subtle and dynamic in its articulation (Figs. 10 and 11). The transition from the base occurs above the cavetto at a height of about 7 ft. above street level. The superstructure then rises another 21 ft. to the bottom of the top section, the empty coffin. The superstructure starts as a double square, rectangular in plan. It relies for articulation on two simple setbacks, each of 5 in., which occur on alternate faces and at different heights—20 ft. above the street on the side face and 26 ft. on the front. These are the two critical

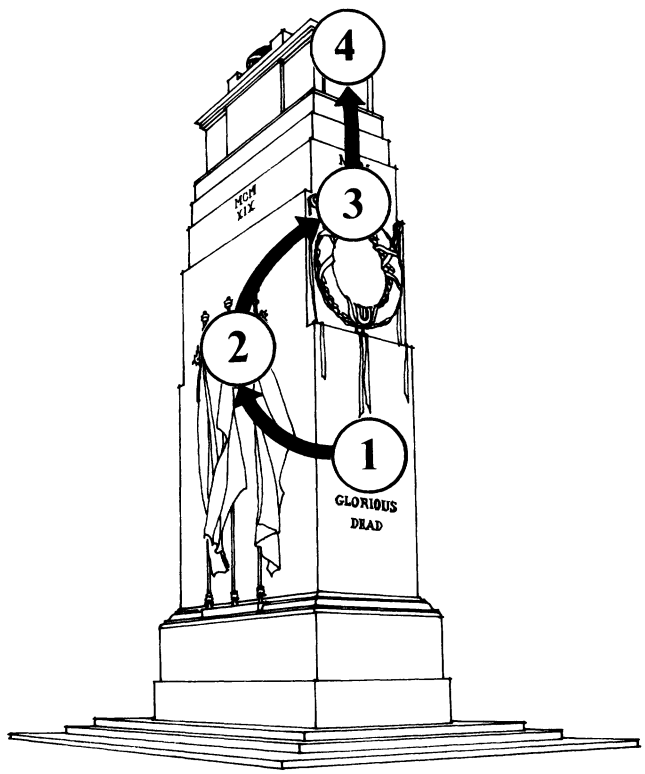


Fig. 11. Diagram showing the spiral progression as the eye is drawn upward from the base of the Cenotaph to the empty coffin on the top (author).

elements of articulation, for they facilitate the way in which we unravel the memorial's meaning.

The lower rectangular plane of the front of the superstructure has the words "The Glorious Dead" inscribed on it (Fig. 11).

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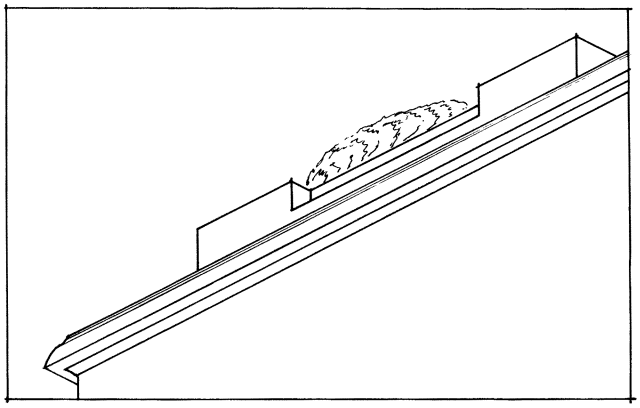


Fig. 12. Diagram showing the articulation of the wreath, stone tablet, and lid at the top of the coffin of the Cenotaph (author).



Fig. 13. Temporary Cenotaph photographed on 19 July 1919 with Sir George Gilbert Scott's Home Office and Foreign Office (1863–1873) in the background (Imperial War Museum).

The eye is drawn from this plane, laterally and upward, by the setback, which in turn emphasizes the higher side plane forming the background to the three flags. The shape of the side plane, with two narrow rectangles notched out of the top two corners, has a definite vertical thrust caused by the indentation at the top, which focuses attention inward to the center. The second setback, upon whose face a stone wreath is set, is on the front plane. It is smaller in scale but similar in shape to the side. The juxtaposition of two similar shapes, of different size but constant proportion, interlocking one above the other at right angles, generates a dynamic, vertical spiral movement. This movement is enhanced by the pronounced inward batter of all vertical faces. The result is an insistent upward movement of eye and mind inevitably leading to the empty coffin at the top for which all of the preceding has been preparation.

The stone coffin rests on its own narrow two-step base (Figs. 10 and 11). The continuity of these steps around all four sides effectively stops the vertical spiral movement. The slight shadow of a torus molding above the second step is the lone transition element. Although the coffin design is simple and severe, it is also, because of its molding and chiaroscuro, the most richly articulated part of the monument. The coffin is capped by a simple cornice compounded of the powerful reverse ovolo of the lid, which casts a deep shadow that is the most prominent and powerful part of the entire composition; below it are a cyma reversa, corona, and a large cavetto (Fig. 12). The lid's shadow is rendered more important because these cornice elements immediately below it are interrupted by projecting panels at the center of the front and the side of the coffin. The lid's reverse ovolo is, therefore, the last form which surrounds the four sides of the memorial. The entire composition is crowned by a wreath carved of stone resting on a raised tablet. This tablet is indented at its center above the long side of the Cenotaph, providing a subtle echo, in reverse, of the setbacks which articulate the superstructure.

The Cenotaph presents a kind of exercise in metrical organization of meaning, mass, and rhythm. The attention of the viewer is drawn steadily upward from the static base to the empty coffin. The simple device of setbacks on alternate faces creates this effect with strong inflections, proceeding from front to side to front. At each stage there is a simple message: first the words "The Glorious Dead," carved on the lower portion of the front; then the three flags on each side of the memorial, their vivid color and delicate folds contrasting powerfully with the inert stone; and third, returning to the upper portion of the front superstructure, the stone wreath and the date MCMXIV that is incised above it. The decrease of mass by setbacks and batter and the rich articulation at the top portion of the structure compel the viewer to focus, ultimately, on the empty coffin. The coffin signifies the death of the nation's noble and heroic youth. This reinforces the eye's formal ascent to the ultimate fact of death.

By constantly engaging us in the subtle interplay of mass and rhythm, Lutyens insists that we contemplate the trauma of individual death. The coffin's delicate moldings, a few tense curves, are perceptibly painful when set against the spartan and planar articulation of base and superstructure. The moldings of base and coffin are not unusual, and could have been inspired by numerous statue bases or such 18th-century monuments as the fine John Woodward Memorial of 1728 in Westminster Abbey. The use of planar setbacks on alternate sides and the careful reduction of the numbers of moldings to those critical points of transition between base and superstructure, superstructure and bottom of coffin, and, most important, coffin lid, which is set against the sky, achieve a unity of form and meaning so complete that Lutyens's genius is immediately apparent.

Lutyens conscientiously avoided confronting grieving individuals with any political or social issue. By relying on understatement, by confronting the elemental tragedy of individual

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death, his monument ennobled the grief and passion of a nation's mourning. The small size of the Cenotaph, just over 35 ft. in height, its simple planarity, marked batter, and the light color of its stone, stand out in strong contrast with the massive and sculptural qualities of the surrounding government buildings (Fig. 13). Its subtle scale and delicate articulation also exaggerate the projection of power of some of the adjacent background buildings. In its Whitehall setting, the Cenotaph is placed almost directly on the street, for everyone, with no hint of bellicose pomp or pride. So placed, it becomes a metaphor for the vulnerability of the individual in a democratic society. Its siting differs markedly from that of the French catafalque, which was placed to one side of the Arc de Triomphe, and off of the axis of the Champs Elysees. This location alone seemed to assure that the French monument would slip from memory.

Evolution of the design

The evolution of the design for the Cenotaph is best studied in the extant sketches and models. The earliest study is a wood model at the Imperial War Museum (Fig. 14). Five features differentiate it from the final design:

1. The three steps of the base section have equal treads and high risers (the latter comprise approximately ⅛ of the height, as compared to 1/28 in the final design).
2. The base section has no plinth.
3. A setback occurs on the front and rear faces but not at the sides.
4. The coffin is much taller relative to the rest of the design than in the final version.
5. The coffin base has three steps rather than the two in the final design.

The next step in the evolution of the design is seen in the drawings which Lutyens sketched for Lady Sackville (Fig. 3). Here the design has a second setback on the side elevation at the height of the mid-section of the wreath, a cluster of three flags in the center of the side elevation, and a flag draped over the coffin. These features are precisely summarized on a drawing of two drafted elevations with a sketch perspective, dated 4 June 1919 and signed E. L. L. (Fig. 4). A plinth has been added to the base, clearly an afterthought, drawn freehand over the ruled outline underneath. These two drawings show the wreath standing on the ledge of the setback of the front elevation. This suggests that this support function may have been the origin of the use of the setback as a feature of the design.

The absence of setbacks, or perhaps a phase of the work questioning their effect, is the starting point of the next stage in the evolution of the design (Figs. 15 and 16). These two drawings are first laid out without any setbacks, but setbacks are then sketched over the earlier ruled outline. The intersection at the transition molding between base and superstructure is



Fig. 14. Wood model of the earliest version of the Cenotaph (Imperial War Museum).

unresolved. Further, the lines indicating setbacks on the front elevation do not coincide with those on the side. Rather than sitting on the setback, the wreath is now suspended from pegs. The flags at the side of the Cenotaph are shown set apart, and the steps have an A:B:A rhythm. Both are in more or less their final disposition. Figure 16 has two new features. An urn is tentatively sketched over the coffin of the side elevation, and the base design includes sculptures of lions.[39]

The next step in the evolution of the design shows a setback below the wreath only at one end (Fig. 17). The side setback is not clear. Both setbacks are shown by lines drawn over an earlier design. Lady Sackville's notes state: "Proposed Catafalque for Whitehall, for the Peace Procession. McNed designed this during dinner. He wants a laurel wreath at the side and a pyre burning at night on the top. Lloyd George suggested the words: 'To The Glorious Dead' to be engraved on side and [together

39. These drawings date from the period around 7 July 1919. On this day Lutyens wrote to his wife Emily that "Curzon wants it less catafalque, so I am putting a great urn on it." Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens,* London, 1980, 164.

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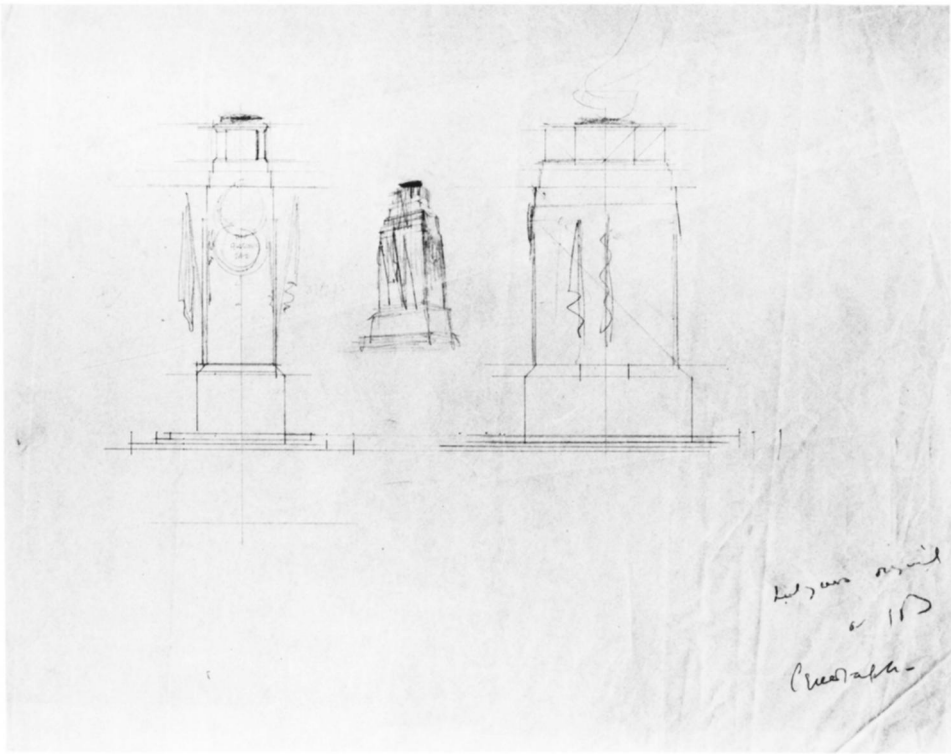


Fig. 15. Lutyens, a study for the Cenotaph laid out without setbacks, which are sketched in freehand over the ruled lines (RIBA Drawings Collection).

with the] date." This line of development is summarized in Fig. 18, which still has the wreath sitting on the ledge of the front setback but also hanging from pegs. The side setback is raised above the wreath and the resulting decrease in width of the front neatly emphasizes the date MCMXIV on one side and MCMXIX on the other. With the exception of the urn the design is more or less in final form. The conge molding between plinth and top step and at the transition to the coffin base were subsequently dropped from the design.

At this point we also should take note of Fig. 19. It is on the same size leaf and with the same July 1919 date as the sketch for Lady Sackville described above (Fig. 17). This study shows a simple statue base with cornice, upon which there is a recumbent figure of a soldier. Lady Sackville's note states that Lutyens explored this element as a possible alternative to the urn on the Cenotaph. The sketch shown in Fig. 20 is probably the last one before construction started and shows the design as built with the exception of a step missing at the coffin's base. The small plan may show the position of sentries.

The last two sketches of the Cenotaph included here were done on or after 19 July (Figs. 21 and 22). Each illustrates a design developed from the previous sketches but different from the built Cenotaph. They show the monument with its setback heights reversed: a low setback on the side and a higher one in front. A wreath is set on the ledge of the top setback. The drawings show a wreath on top of the coffin. The design is obviously unresolved, for the eye is held by the front elevation and climbs straight up to the coffin without being drawn into a spiral movement to the side elevation. One of these drawings was given by Lutyens to Victoria Sackville-West on the night of 19 July 1919 when he dined with her and her husband Harold Nicolson (Fig. 21). Hussey erroneously believed it to be one of the earliest sketches of the Cenotaph. It is signed and dated by Lutyens, who seems to have confused the day of the month by inscribing a "19" over a "20." It shows the memorial with background buildings and parade decorations. It may be that Lutyens's restless mind was unable to stop designing even after the fact and that the sketch was a speculation on ways to render the temporary memorial more impressive than built. In this case, the date reflects the impromptu realization of the sketch at dinner on the day of the parade. On the other hand, Nigel Nicolson suggests that Fig. 22, which illustrates the same design, was probably done on 28 July 1919 and given to Lady Sackville to convey to someone else.[40]

40. This interpretation by Nigel Nicolson is outlined in notes he kindly presented to me in December 1986. He states that the sketch on Fig. 21 may have been the drawing referred to in Lady Sackville's diary for 28 July 1919: "Found McNed at home [Lady Sackville's Hill Street house], very excited about the Cenotaph which he took me to see in a taxi in the twilight. It looks so well and dignified in Whitehall.

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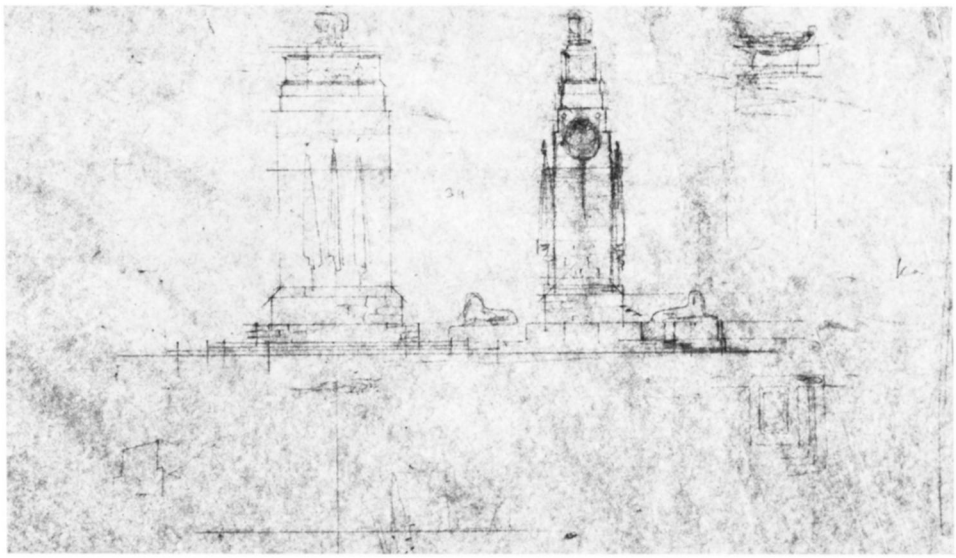


Fig. 16. Lutyens, a study for the Cenotaph with setbacks sketched in freehand over a ruled drawing, an urn set above the coffin, and statues of lions framing the base (RIBA Drawings Collection).

The temporary Cenotaph had a cloth flag draped over the coffin, wreaths of live laurel, and six additional cloth flags, three on either side. For the permanent memorial, Lutyens wanted the six flags on the superstructure to be reproduced in carved and painted stone and the wreaths to be carved of green verdite stone.[41] He prepared drawings and a scale model of this design and submitted it to the cabinet for approval (Fig. 23).

Lady Sackville's diary of 11 July 1920 notes: "McNed has to see the Cabinet this week about the flags on the Cenotaph; he is worried about them."[42] On 7 August 1920 she states that: "McNed says that his Cenotaph stone flags had been absolutely refused at the last Cabinet meeting, and he is wondering if Lord B [Lord Balfour? NN.] could have any influence over Lloyd George in getting him to use the stone flags instead of the silk flags which are advocated by Lord Leigh and Eric Geddes, and which will get bedraggled and will smear the Cenotaph. They will have to be changed constantly. Poor McNed says that they have no confidence in him. He took me to Hampton Court to see his beloved Wren's work, and told me how badly the great Wren had also been treated."[43] Finally Lutyens assented, with regret, to the use of silk flags. The question was more than one of aesthetic and even utilitarian preference. The real flags, like the rejected plan to locate bronze statues of sentries around the memorial, tighten the specificity of patriotic and nationalistic sentiment. The stone flags were a more open symbol with diminished reference to the confused emotions of the day.[44] Further, the vigor and delicacy of the colorful flags waving in the wind create an unresolved tension with the immobile stone coffin and base. The effect undercuts the sense of the terrifying finality of death which one feels at the Cenotaph; one feels it more powerfully at the quadrifons arches with their stone flags at the Military Cemetery at Etaples, France, which Lutyens designed in 1920 (Fig. 24). The flag over the coffin, the metal wreaths above the flag poles, and the use of green verdite for the wreaths were also dropped from the final Cenotaph design.

One obvious source for the design of the Cenotaph was Lutyens's earlier proposal of August 1918 for a temporary war shrine in Hyde Park (Fig. 25). A first temporary shrine had been erected earlier that year, and people had lined up for days to lay wreaths. Sir Alfred Mond desired a more fitting monument and called upon Lutyens to design a temporary nondenominational structure. The Lutyens design was published in the September issue of *Country Life* that year but never built.[45] It consists of an altar raised on a platform with six steps in front; a ledge is provided for wreaths and on either side of the platform are flanking

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He showed me all his cuttings and made a little drawing of it for Vita's Eve." Nigel Nicolson adds that "Eve was Rosamund Grosvenor, and this is possibly D [the drawing is marked D by Nigel Nicolson on the top right hand cover of the sheet] found among Lady Sackville's papers, and which, typically, she 'forgot' to pass on to Eve."

41. Lutyens to Mond, 1 November 1919.

42. The quotations from Lady Sackville's diaries were kindly supplied by Nigel Nicolson.

43. Ibid.

44. I am indebted to Eric Homberger for this important idea and for the reference to open symbols discussed in Ernest Gombrich, *Symbolic Images, Studies in the Art of the Renaissance,* London, 1972.

45. Conway, "Proposed Temporary War Shrine in Hyde Park." *Country Life,* 21 September 1918, 246.

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Fig. 17. Lutyens, drawing of the Cenotaph with a smoking urn over the coffin and confused indication of the setbacks (Nigel Nicolson).

pylons. These are formed of four pillars which suggest obvious affinities with sentry boxes, surmounted by fir cones, symbols of virtue, eternity, and the elect in heaven. Lutyens wrote that the pylons represent God and Man, and he expended considerable thought on possible inscriptions.[46] The pylons have setbacks on two sides to emphasize the frontality of the flat front face. If we imagine that the space between the piers is filled in solid, that the length of one side is increased, and that the pine cone is replaced by a coffin, we have the genesis of the early sketches for the Cenotaph.

The notion of using setbacks on alternate faces goes back to one of Lutyens's sketches of 1913, for a rooftop fountain bowl at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi (Fig. 26). G. E. Street's steeple spire at St. Mary, Wheatley (1856), which has a setback on the north and south façades but not on the east and west, also has been posited as a possible source by Roderick Gradidge.[47] A more convincing antecedent may be late 19th- and early 20th-century American skyscrapers such as the Woolworth Building (1911–1913) by Cass Gilbert, or renderings of new skyscrapers by Hugh Ferriss to study maximum mass permitted by the New York Zoning Law of 1916. The setback was used as a device in Gothic and Renaissance design and ornament to insure frontality. Lutyens's use of two setbacks on alternate sides is quite original, and his interest in frontality became more pronounced in the great quadrifons arches at the Memorial to the Missing, Thiepval, France (1924) and the City War Memorial at Leicester, England (1923).

In 1917, two years before he designed the Cenotaph, Lutyens visited the battlefront in France. Horrified by what he saw, he wrote his wife, "What humanity can endure, suffer is beyond belief . . . the only monument can be one in which the endeavor is sincere to make such a monument permanent—a solid ball of bronze!"[48] Lutyens sensed that neither realism nor expressionist exaggerations could attain the rarified heights of feeling demanded by the massive disruption and trauma of this war. The unprecedented terror of total warfare with new and terrible weapons; the sudden, startling apprehension for the future of humanity; the outrage that such a catastrophic event could have happened; and fundamental questions about Britain's ability to cope with the challenges of the future had to be reconciled with grief for fallen sons and comrades; pride in the Allied armed forces; and a sense of patriotism and duty. Lutyens distanced himself from the horrors of battle and the raging political debates in order to marshal aesthetic forms that could be capable of embracing all these forces. He knew that what solace there was could only be found in the recognition of death's finality and, by virtue of the beauty and intensity of meaning projected by the memorial, in marking this fact for posterity. It was precisely because of its abstract form that Lutyens had proposed a bronze ball—perhaps suggested by Boullee's memorial to Newton, or by earlier memorials, which included piles of cannon balls. Yet, when faced with the actual task of designing the Cenotaph, he began immediately to create a more complex set of forms that would have the content and the power to communicate its meaning directly to the public.

Conclusion

In retrospect, Lutyens's proposal to Lloyd George to build a cenotaph, rather than a catafalque, was critical to the success of the memorial. The recovery of the bodies of those who died in

46. Lutyens to Lady Emily Lutyens, 30 August 1918. In Clayre Percy and Jane Ridley, eds., *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to His Wife, Lady Emily,* London, 1985, 364.

47. Roderick Gradidge, "Edwin Lutyens—The Last High Victorian," in Jane Fawcett, ed., *Seven Victorian Architects,* London, 1976, 122–136.

48. Lutyens to Lady Emily Lutyens, 12 July 1917, in Percy and Ridley, 349.

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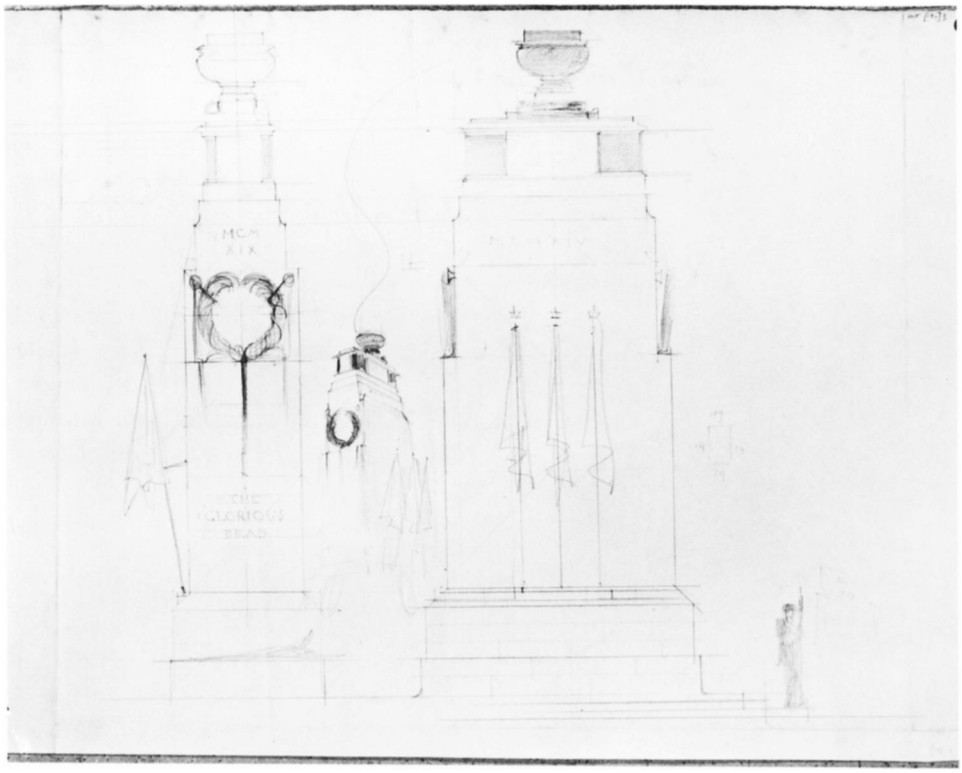


Fig. 18. Lutyens, elevations of the Cenotaph with urn and conge molding at the base of the coffin (RIBA Drawings Collection).

battle has been an important practice since the time of the ancient Greeks.[49] If recovery was not possible, either because of defeat or because death took place at sea, the Greeks built a cenotaph and a *sema* to replace the body. According to Emily Vermeule, the *sema* may be a piece of stone or a stone figure. This stone substitute for the dead person is "both the external sign of the invisible dead . . . and the substitute person, especially kept alive in memory when written upon."[50] Vermeule notes further that stone itself has special significance: "Wherever earth-burial was even a sporadic custom, it was common practice to spread stones over the body in a light screen, to keep animals off. A stone was often placed near the head, sometimes as a pillow, sometimes in the mouth; stone became closely associated with the dead for its durable and protective qualities. From that association it was a short step, in Mycenaean and classical times, to making an occasional substitution of stone or a stone figure for a dead person."[51]

The catafalque, whether in the form of a coffin set on a horse-drawn gun carriage or a more architectural base for a coffin, is a temporary structure. Its intent is very specific, and its symbolism is therefore relatively closed. Lutyens's suggestion to



Fig. 19. Lutyens, a sketch of the temporary Cenotaph with a sculpture of a recumbent soldier instead of an urn on the top (Nigel Nicolson).

build a cenotaph opened the door to the development of architectural ideas with deep and long-lasting resonances in the history of war memorials. Greek stele and cenotaphs are often decorated with references to the cause of death, and these include both inscription and decoration.[52] Greek literature also describes

49. Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry,* Berkeley, 1979, 512.
50. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death,* 45.
51. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death,* 45.
52. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death,* 187.

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Fig. 20. Lutyens, sketch of the final design of the temporary Cenotaph (Imperial War Museum).



Fig. 21. Lutyens, a drawing of the Cenotaph dated 19 or 20 July showing the sequence of setbacks reversed (Nigel Nicolson).

dead warriors on funeral pyres with their weapons and often their animals as well, who accompanied their masters to Hades. Here Lutyens breaks with that tradition. His Cenotaph is conspicuous for the absence of reference to battle, to war, or to cause of death. In this context, the loss of the stone flags is particularly important, for the cloth diminishes the intensity of focus on the dead by introducing both military and temporal elements. This focus on death itself accounts for Lutyens's eventual rejection of statues of lions as an element in the design (Fig. 16).

As realized, the Cenotaph not only embodied the sincerity of "endeavor" that Lutyens associated with the bronze ball, but a larger dimension of meaning that embraced solace, the acceptance of death, and a sense of the fragility and uniqueness of each individual. This is what was understood so directly, so empathetically, by the populace on that Peace Day of 19 July 1919. The monument was perhaps the one part of the peace celebration that spoke of nothing but death, of duty well done, and of remembrance. Its modesty and eloquence are rare in the history of war memorials. To measure this achievement, one need only compare the Cenotaph's understatement with the ponderous forms of the French catafalque or with the temporary, now forgotten, plaster structures that were erected in the United States to welcome American soldiers home.[53] In spirit, the Cenotaph evokes a profound acceptance of the reality of death in an unstable world. This stoic view of the tragic destiny of human affairs assumed specific dimension in Lutyens's designs for the Cenotaph, as well as in his other cemeteries and memorials to the dead of The Great War.

APPENDIX

Catalogue of Sketches, Drawings, and Models

The known sketches, drawings, and models for the Cenotaph are listed below. They are in three collections: Royal Institute British Architects Drawing Collection, Imperial War Museum, and Nigel Nicolson, Esq., as follows.

RIBA Drawings Collection

The following list is taken from the catalogue of the Drawing Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London: Whitehall, the Cenotaph [196].

53. Lutyens was familiar with the French catafalque design. On 29 July 1919, he wrote Sir Alfred Mond: "I hear from Paris that 'the French are very sick at ours being so much better than theirs.' " Letter in PRO Work 20/139.

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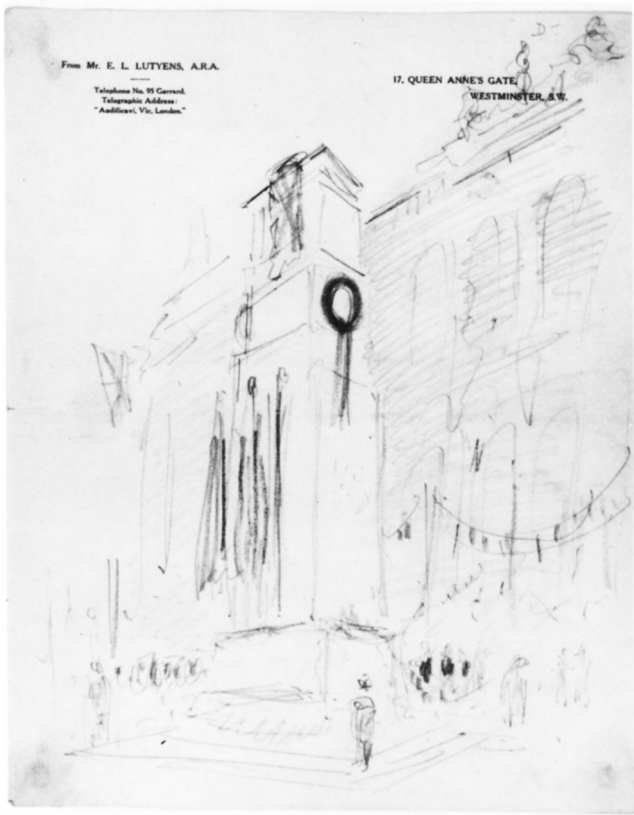


Fig. 22. Lutyens, drawing of the Cenotaph again showing the sequence of the setbacks reversed (Nigel Nicolson).

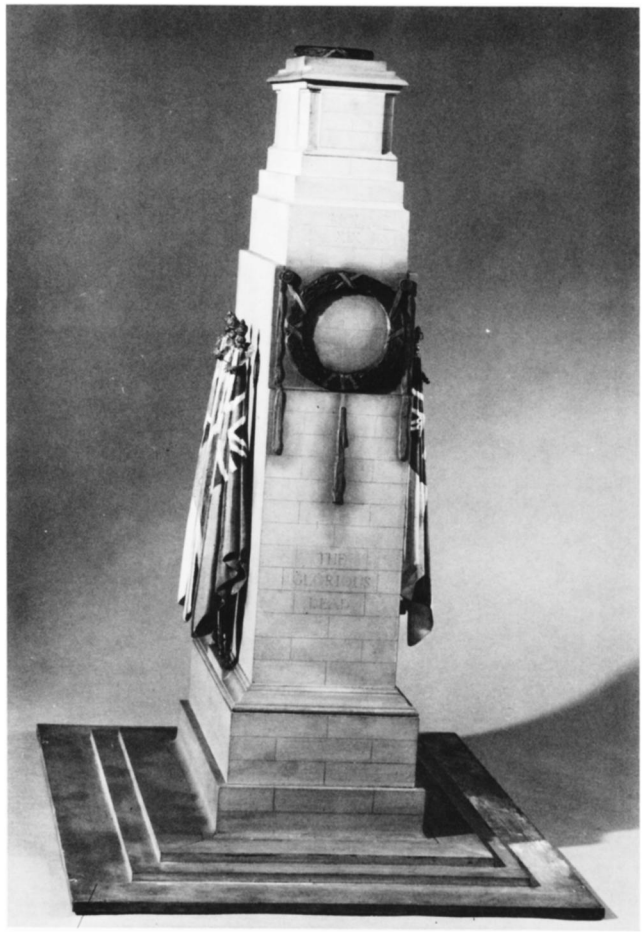


Fig. 23. Lutyens, a scale model of the final design submitted to the cabinet for approval of the stone Cenotaph (Imperial War Museum).



Fig. 24. Quadrifons arches support stone flags and a cenotaph at the Military Cemetery, Etaples, France, designed by Lutyens in 1920 (author).

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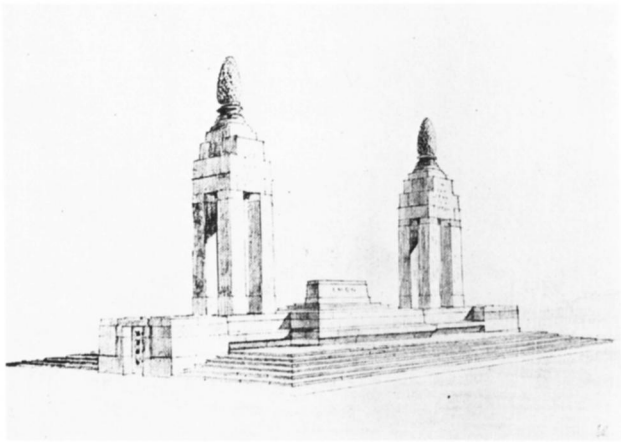


Fig. 25. Lutyens, design of August 1918 for a temporary war shrine at Hyde Park, London (*Country Life*).

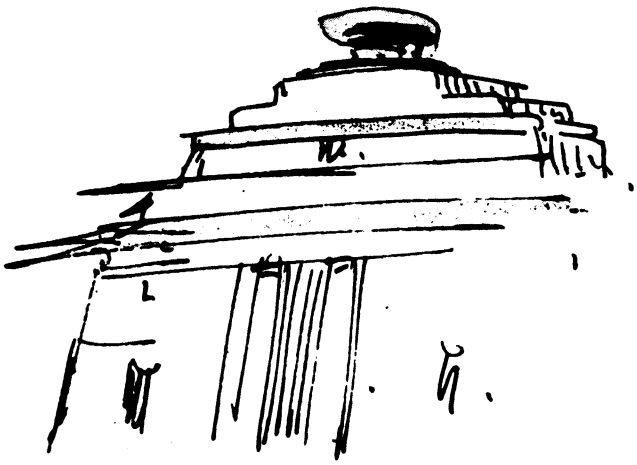


Fig. 26. Lutyens, sketch of 1913 for a rooftop fountain at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, exploring the theme of setbacks of alternate sides of a cubic form (*Country Life*).

1. Sketch design with urn on top; front and side elevations and eight sketches of the draped flags (Fig. 16).
   Pencil and crayon on oiled paper (565 × 705).
2. Sketch of the front and side elevations with the draped flags in position (Fig. 15).
   Pencil and crayon on oiled paper (545 × 610).
3. Another sketch design with an urn on top; front and side elevations and perspective sketch (Fig. 18).
   Pencil and crayon (685 × 1015).
4. Sketch design with flags at an angle to the monument; front and side elevations and perspective sketch.
   Pencil and green crayon (760 × 760).
5. Plans at three levels, front and side elevations of a design with different proportions from the above.
   Pencil (760 × 965).
6. Plans at three levels, front and side elevations of design with urn on top.
   Scale: ½ in. to 1 ft.
   Insc: Dimensions given on elevation.
   s & d: E. L. Lutyens A.R.A./17 Queen Anne's Gate/London, S.W., July 1919.
   Pencil (760 × 1170).
7. Perspective of Cenotaph, not dated.
   Pencil (30 × 22).
8. Plans at three levels, front and side elevations of approved design of Cenotaph dated October 1919. Signed and dated Alfred Mond, 1 November 1919 and Edwin L. Lutyens.
   Ink and colored pencil (124 × 76).

Imperial War Museum

1. Uncatalogued wood model, scale ¼ in. = 1 ft., discovered in storage by Ms. Jennifer Woods, the librarian, and me on 27 November 1986 (Fig. 14).
   Wood, painted.
2. Drawing 3991B. Front and side elevations with perspective sketch between these two drawings. Drawing is dated 4-6-19 and signed E. L. L. (Fig. 4).
   Pencil and colored pencil.
3. Drawing 1551B. Eye-level perspective of the final design. A cutting affixed to the back of the sheet states: "Sketch by E. L. L. for Lord Curzon, first sketch" (Fig. 20).
   Pencil and colored pencil.
4. Drawing of measured plan and two elevations of temporary Cenotaph.
   Ink.
5. Model 4207. Model of final stone Cenotaph. This model was submitted to the Cabinet when it was proposed that the temporary structure be replaced. Model details were made by Derwent Wood, R.A., based on Lutyens's design (Fig. 3).

Nigel Nicolson Collection

These six drawings have been marked A through F by Mr. Nicolson.

NN-A Perspective dated July 1919 and inscribed by Lady Sackville:
Done at dinner. The catafalque as it will appear in Whitehall if Lord Curzon finally agrees to it. Sir F. Baines of the Office of Works asked McNed to design it for them as they are quite at a loss to know what to do (Fig. 3).
Pencil (3¾ in. × 5 in.).

NN-B Perspective of Cenotaph with urn on top of the coffin. Annotation by Lady Sackville:
Proposed catafalque for Whitehall for the Peace Procession. McNed designed this during dinner. He wants a laurel wreath at the side and a pyre burning at night on the top. Lloyd George suggested the words: "To the Glorious Dead" to be engraved on the side and date (Fig. 17).
Pencil (5½ in. × 7½ in.).

NN-C Elevation of statue of recumbent soldier figure and base. Dated July 1919 and annotated by Lady Sackville:

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Recumbent Soldier. After suggestion for catafalque with figure of soldier on the top instead of vase-pyre (Fig. 19).
Pencil (3½ in. × 5 in.).

NN-D Perspective of Cenotaph and Home Office on Lutyens's office stationery (Fig. 22).
Pencil and colored pencil (8 in. × 10 in.).

NN-E Perspective of Cenotaph on Lutyens's office stationery.
Pencil and colored pencil (8 in. × 10 in.).

NN-F Perspective of Cenotaph with building and flags in background inscribed by Lutyens: "to McVita from McNed who apologizes, July 19, 1919." The 19 is written over a 20 (Fig. 21).
Pencil and colored pencil (5 in. × 10 in.).

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