

FLANDERS FIELD AMERICAN CEMETERY & MEMORIAL  
Wortegemseweg 117  
Waregem  
West Flanders  
France

HALS US-7  
*HALS US-7*

PHOTOGRAPHS

COLOR TRANSPARENCIES

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

FIELD RECORDS

HISTORIC AMERICAN LANDSCAPES SURVEY  
National Park Service  
U.S. Department of the Interior  
1849 C Street NW  
Washington, DC 20240-0001

## HISTORIC AMERICAN LANDSCAPES SURVEY

### FLANDERS FIELD AMERICAN CEMETERY & MEMORIAL

HALS No. US-7

- Location:** Wortegemseweg 117, Waregem, West Flanders, Belgium  
The coordinates for Flanders Field (at the entrance gate) are 50.873614 N, 03.452335 E, and they were obtained through Google Earth in August 2013 with, it is assumed, NAD 1983. There is no restriction on the release of the locational data to the public.
- The entrance gate faces west/southwest. To simplify cardinal directions used in this report, this corner will be considered southwest, with the wall along Wortegemseweg designated the south boundary of the site.
- Present Owner:** The Belgian government granted use of the cemetery land in perpetuity, free of charge or taxation, to the United States Government (See Appendix D). The American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) owns all buildings and capital improvements on the property.
- Present Occupant:** American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC)
- Present Use:** World War I military cemetery and memorial garden
- Significance:** Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial is one of eight overseas World War I cemeteries designed and administered by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC), a federal agency created in 1923. The practical necessity of burying American soldiers who died during the conflict was first handled by the War Department through the Office of the Quartermaster General's Graves Registration Service (GRS). Like the GRS, the ABMC was required to consult with the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts in creating permanent memorials overseas, including redesigning the existing War Department cemeteries with memorial chapels and other features. During the 1920s Flanders Field became part of a larger effort to create lasting and impressive memorials to the American war effort in England, Belgium, and France.
- Flanders Field is the only ABMC World War I cemetery in Belgium. Another World War I cemetery is located outside London, England, and the remaining six in northern France. In addition to memorial chapels at each cemetery, ABMC also saw to the construction of eleven free-standing World War I memorials at various sites in the three countries. There are two small memorials in Belgium, with the largest monuments at the site of major military accomplishments in France. ABMC hired prominent French-born American architect Paul P. Cret as its consulting architect in 1925. Cret guided every aspect of the ABMC construction

program from finalizing locations and selecting architects to inspecting progress and making maintenance recommendations.

Cret also personally designed the Chapel and renovated the site plan for Flanders Field, with this construction taking place between 1928 and 1930. Graves Registration Service architects had already established the basic form of the site, with a brick wall around a roughly rectangular cemetery and the main access road oriented diagonally from the corner gate. The gate with carved stone pylons and a handsome brick Superintendent's Quarters were built by the War Department during 1923-24. Cret's main contributions were the octagonal stripped classical Chapel, its location in a central sunken lawn, and three rond-points radiating from the center with stone urns. He also advised on everything from design and placement of benches to selection of annual plantings. Through Cret, the architecture and landscapes of the ABMC display a sophisticated Beaux Arts Classical approach, with the Art Moderne details and forms that characterized some of the best civic architecture of the 1920s and 30s.

Historian: Lisa P. Davidson, Ph.D.

## PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

### A. Physical History

1. Date of establishment: 1922
2. Designer:  
War Department, Graves Registration Service - George Gibbs, Jr., Landscape Architect; W. L. Phillips, Architect; Earl H. Lyall, Architect  
ABMC - Paul Philippe Cret
3. Contractor/Associated Artists:  
War Department - Les Entreprises Somerville, Paris  
ABMC - Lahalle et Levard, Paris - supervising architects  
Adams et Cie, Paris - plantings  
Susse Freres, Paris - cast bronze flagpole bases  
Alfred-Alphonse Bottiau, Paris - bas relief sculpture panels on Chapel
4. Occupant: Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial has been operated by the U.S. Government since its establishment in 1922. From 1922-1934 it was administered by the Graves Registration Service, Office of the Quartermaster General, War Department. The American Battle Monuments Commission oversaw redesign of the site and construction of the Chapel in 1928-30. In 1934, an Executive Order gave ABMC administrative control over all eight World War I overseas military cemeteries. ABMC continues to administer and maintain the site.

5. Periods of development:

- a. Original plans and construction: The War Department initially established a temporary cemetery outside Waregem, Belgium to bury war dead of American divisions who fought in the vicinity during the summer and fall of 1918. The Quartermaster General's Graves Registration Service acquired the site in 1922 for permanent burial of approximately 370 soldiers. In 1923-24, they built the brick perimeter wall and Superintendent's Quarters, and placed a large flagpole at the corner of a center lawn. The open center lawn was surrounded by four sections of graves in regular rows marked by wood crosses. The main access point was a crushed stone drive oriented diagonally from the southwest corner of the site. Trees were planted along the drive to form an allée and a handsome stone and wrought iron gate with bas relief eagles on the pylons was built at the entrance. This work was completed by 1924.
- b. Changes and additions: Starting in 1925, ABMC retained Paul Cret as consulting architect and he made numerous changes and additions to Flanders Field. The perimeter wall and footprint of the site remained the same, with the entrance gate, diagonal entrance drive with allée, and Superintendent's Quarters. Cret removed the flagpole and reshaped the formal center of the rectangular site into a square sunken lawn. Cret placed his intimate Chapel on a low pedestal in the center of this lawn surrounded by crushed stone paths. A flagstone path laid in an opus incertum pattern led to the Chapel. The four rectangular sections of graves, now with Carrara marble Latin cross or Star of David headstones, were framed by clipped hedges.

Three secondary flagstone paths also with allées of trees were placed at the corners of the sunken lawn leading to exedras-shaped gardens, or rond points. A stone urn flanked by low circular planting beds and stone benches was placed at the center of each rond point. The urns stand on a high pedestal and display the insignias of the four American divisions represented among the burials. A new flagpole with an elaborate bronze base designed by architect Egerton Swartwout was placed on a brick terrace near the entrance gate across the drive from the Superintendent's Quarters.

Cret's revised site plan maintained the massifs, or forest-like masses of trees and shrubs, around the outer edge of the burial areas. He outlined the grave areas and rond points with square clipped hedgerows of English yew or privet. Curved sections of lawn and informally arranged planting beds contrasted this outer ring of the site with the clipped and formal allées and hedgerows around the center.

Later changes to Cret's design have been minimal. Many individual plants have been changed, removed, or replaced over the years, but the overall character of the plantings remains. The opus incertum flagstone paths and rond points have been widened by spreading out the stones. The service/greenhouse area of the site has been most changed, with the addition of a large service building c. 1998.

#### B. Historical Context:

For additional documentation on the Superintendent's Quarters and the Chapel at Flanders Field see HALS No. US-7-A and HALS No. US-7-B.

World War I, or the Great War, has been overshadowed in the popular imagination by World War II. As historian Mark Meigs declares: "World War I has been a matter of unresolved interpretation for American participants from the first moments of their involvement to the return of the last soldiers and bodies of soldiers in the 1920s and even to the present day."<sup>1</sup> The new phenomenon of a modern war of attrition resisted clear interpretation and national meaning. The "War to End All Wars" did greatly impact America's international identity, political thought, and military development. The United States entered the war in April 1917, three years into a grueling conflict that nearly erased a generation of English, French, Belgian, and German men. The trench-warfare landscape of northern France and western Belgium was a nightmare of violence, disease, and unspeakably harsh conditions. Led by General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing, the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) provided essential reinforcements to battle-weary allies starting in 1918 and helped turn the tide of war against Germany.

Still a new player on the world stage, the United States had tasted imperial power in the Spanish-American War at the turn of the twentieth-century. Now with military success in World War I, our country needed to adjust to a new role as a world leader. This process was not always smooth or even. The U.S. military famously contracted in size after World War I, making a rapid response to the threats of World War II difficult. President Woodrow Wilson's efforts to establish the League of Nations failed in the face of growing isolationism among the American public and their elected representatives. Meigs writes that, "after some delays, Americans returned home to a country whose political climate rejected the continued international engagements that were the Wilsonian fruits of victory, embracing an agenda of "Normalcy" and isolationism. These 'effects' of World War I on America seem to deny that the war had significant effects."<sup>2</sup> The complexity of the response to World War I makes the creation of a cohesive commemorative project by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) all the more significant and worthy of close study.

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Meigs, *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Meigs, 2.

The creation of the ABMC and its overseas memorials and cemeteries illuminates the tension created by a more active international role for the United States. Historian Ron Robin writes of this period:

The ambitious cemetery-abroad project also underscored a crucial transition in the relationship between government and its citizens in the arena of international affairs. If before the war America's foreign image had been shaped by private initiative, the postwar government now sought to impose a more controlled, standardized image, one that reflected the search for order that characterized the federal government's domestic objectives as well.<sup>3</sup>

A broad desire to honor the fallen, especially among their families and fellow soldiers, generated a chaotic array of ideas, desires, and sometimes monuments, which the United States Government needed to manage. Political and military leaders struggled to develop a comprehensive approach to both provide an appropriate grave for individual soldiers and present the United States in a positive light. Ultimately the ABMC's memorial program represented the culmination of contemporary thought regarding memorials, in terms of both design and social meaning. By hiring a roster of top-notch architects to create tasteful designs, the ABMC was able to provide impressive monuments to the accomplishments of an interventionist American military.<sup>4</sup>

Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial is one of eight overseas World War I cemeteries designed and administered by the American Battle Monuments Commission (**Figure 1**). The practical necessity of burying American soldiers who died during the conflict was first handled by the War Department through the Quartermaster General's Graves Registration Service. Located in Waregem, Belgium, Flanders Field is the smallest World War I cemetery and the only one in Belgium. Another World War I cemetery is located outside London, England, and the remaining six in northern France. In addition to memorial chapels at each cemetery, ABMC also saw to the construction of eleven free-standing memorials at various sites in the three countries. ABMC hired prominent French-born American architect Paul P. Cret as its consulting architect in 1925. Cret guided every aspect of the ABMC construction program from finalizing locations and selecting architects to inspecting progress and making maintenance recommendations. Through Cret, the architecture and landscapes of the ABMC display a sophisticated Beaux Arts Classical approach, with the Art Moderne details and forms that characterized some of the best civic architecture of the 1920s and 30s. This report will consider Flanders Field in the context of the development of overseas military cemetery policy after World War I, the social and political role of the ABMC sites in creating a public memory of the war, and design practices and ideals of the time. A detailed account of the design and

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<sup>3</sup> Ron Robin, *Enclaves of American Political Architecture Abroad, 1900-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 34. While I agree with Robin's overarching assessment of the symbolism of the overseas cemeteries, his analysis of the ABMC (as a retread of early organizations) and Paul Cret's architecture (as retrograde and conservative) are off-base.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth G. Grossman, "Architecture for a Public Client: The Monuments and Chapels of the American Battle Monuments Commission," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43, no. 2 (May 1984): 119-143. Grossman's article provides a useful overview of the ABMC's role in building the World War I chapels and monuments.

construction of Flanders Field and its associated buildings will also illustrate Cret's vision for the site and how it fits into the overall commemorative program of the ABMC.

### American Combat in Belgium

The American Expeditionary Force actively entered the conflict in 1918. General Pershing resisted efforts to fold his troops into existing divisions, instead insisting on a distinct American combat role. The Western Front stretched across northern France and western Belgium. The brutal fighting in the Ypres salient (a bulge in the lines) was some of the worst along the Western Front, killing millions and completely demolishing the town of Ypres, Belgium, near the French border. The 30th and 27th American Divisions served with the British Army south of Ypres starting in the summer of 1918. In early September they gained ground against the Germans and reclaimed Mont Kemmel.

The most extensive American fighting took place to the south in eastern France. By October 1918 the American First Army was engaged in intense fighting in the Meuse-Argonne vicinity. However, sensing an opportunity to turn the tide against the Germans, the Allied Commander in Chief Ferdinand Foch asked Pershing for additional help with the fighting in Flanders to the north. The 91st and 37th AEF Divisions were dispatched, and under the command of the Belgian king, created a jumping off line roughly at the Belgian town of Waregem (Waereghem in Flemish) (**Figure 2**). The area around Waregem - including the current location of Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial on the southeast edge of town - had been well behind the German lines since the autumn of 1914. The slightly rolling farmland was still occupied by Belgian civilians and little damaged. Starting on October 31, 1918, one French division and the two American divisions pushed the Germans eastward toward Audenarde (Oudennarde), fully occupying that town on November 3rd. American troops helped reclaim the local countryside for the first time since the German Army invaded neutral Belgium.<sup>5</sup> A cease fire declared on November 11th ended hostilities on the Western Front and became known as Armistice Day.

### Overseas Cemeteries - Temporary and Permanent

By the end of the fighting, approximately 84,000 American soldiers had died overseas due to combat or disease. Burial sites were scattered all over the French and Belgian countryside, as illustrated in a 1920 War Department report (**Figure 3**). The task of identifying bodies and creating temporary cemeteries was undertaken by the Graves Registration Service of the Quartermaster Corps. Over 6,000 African-American soldiers, most of whom were denied the opportunity to participate in combat, were assigned the gruesome task of locating, exhuming, and moving decomposing bodies (**Figure 4**). Men assigned to the GRS attempted to find over 2,400

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<sup>5</sup> American Battle Monuments Commission, *A Guide to the American Battlefields in Europe* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1927), 212-216; ABMC, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe: A History, Guide, and Reference Book* (Washington, DC: U.S. Marine Corps, 1938), 395.

individual and field burial sites, and group the bodies in temporary cemeteries. These cemeteries were given numbers and featured rows of graves marked by whitewashed wood crosses and sometimes a flagpole and wire fence. Traditionally the next of kin could request that the body be returned home for burial, but the United States had never been involved in an overseas conflict of this scale before. As described by historian Lisa Budreau, "Americans were understandably confident that, as in past wars, their dead would be returned home for burial. They were still relatively unprepared for the heartache of missing men, massive unidentified dead, and the eventual complications wrought by a policy that advocated leaving bodies buried on or near distant battlefields during hostilities."<sup>6</sup> Gold Star Mothers and Fathers, the American Legion, and other veterans groups emerged in the post-war period as a chorus of opinions on the proper respect due to the dead and missing.

Our European allies, more accustomed to losing troops on far flung battlefields, had a very different tradition of burying soldiers near where they fell. Shortly after the Armistice, French Marshall Petain offered assistance to Pershing in creating permanent American cemeteries in locations where American divisions had distinguished themselves in battle.<sup>7</sup> In the year or so after the end of hostilities, the Army hoped to resist pressure to return bodies and adopt a policy requiring overseas burials. An internal Quartermaster Corps memorandum noted "there is...no alterative but leaving the remains in France, and the sooner this fact is recognized, the better."<sup>8</sup> This course of action quickly proved to be politically impossible. By the end of 1919, the U.S. War Department settled on the expensive and complicated policy of allowing the next of kin to request return of the body while establishing overseas military cemeteries for those bodies remaining. This policy caused some political problems for our allies, none of whom allowed repatriation of bodies. Ultimately just over 30,000 bodies would remain in overseas American cemeteries, but this number was far less than other countries, which had 100 graves to our every one.<sup>9</sup>

Further complicating matters was a three-year ban on exhumations passed by France's Ministry of the Interior in February 1919. French officials allowed centralization of bodies and removal for public health concerns, but sought to limit extensive exhumation and transport of bodies on public highways and railroads.<sup>10</sup> Work on locating and registering American burials had already begun in late 1918 and officials were taken aback by this ban. In March 1919 the

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<sup>6</sup> Lisa M. Budreau, *Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919-1933* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010), 39.

<sup>7</sup> Ralph Hayes, *A Report to the Secretary of War on American Military Dead Overseas - May 14, 1920* (Washington, GPO, 1920), 23.

<sup>8</sup> Memorandum, Major H. R. Lemly to Quartermaster General Rogers, (11 August 1919), Box 4, Entry 17 - Project Files, 1910-52, RG 66 - Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, National Archives and Records Administration I, Washington, DC [hereafter Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I]. The Commission of Fine Arts was involved with assisting the War Department from the beginning and both organizations hoped that popular sentiment for repatriation of the bodies could be overcome by providing beautiful overseas cemeteries. CFA Chairman Charles Moore was corresponding unofficially on this matter with Lemly starting in May 1919.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, *The National Commission of Fine Arts, Tenth Report - July 1, 1921-December 31, 1925* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1926), 71.

<sup>10</sup> Hayes, 22.

War Department proceeded to send out next of kin questionnaires asking about preferred burial locations, in spite of the uncertainty.<sup>11</sup>

After a fact finding tour by a Congressional committee in April 1919, the Senate appropriated funding for a national cemetery in France, hoping to encourage families to leave their loved ones buried overseas.<sup>12</sup> War Department officials promised that those who chose to allow their loved ones to remain in foreign soil would be pleased with the care taken in those cemeteries. As Budreau notes:

National cemeteries overseas offered the ideal opportunity for the state to preserve the myth of the fallen soldier while maintaining military esprit de corps. Here, on the adorned landscape of camaraderie and memory, the United States could leave its footprint of national might and influence abroad.<sup>13</sup>

Historian G. Kurt Piehler also sees the creation of American cemeteries and memorials overseas as an effort to promote the prestige of the United States and shape official memorial of the conflict. He sees the many next of kin who refused to allow their soldier's remains to stay in overseas cemeteries as resisting any further sacrifice for the nation.<sup>14</sup> On a more practical level, officials worried that the decomposing bodies, buried without embalming or proper coffins, would be too shocking for family members hoping to identify remains before final burial in the United States. The logistical challenges of repatriating bodies would likely fail to comfort the families demanding the extraordinary effort. Creating overseas national cemeteries would help maintain the patriotic vision of a glorious death in battle.

Assistant Secretary of War Ralph Hayes prepared a report for the Secretary on the American military dead overseas which he submitted in May 1920. At this time the War Department reiterated their commitment to both returning bodies to the United States and creating "fields of honor" for those who remained buried overseas, depending on the wishes of the next of kin. At this early stage the War Department was proposing three permanent cemeteries in France, to be located at Suresnes, Montfaucon (Romagne), and Belleau Wood. The desire was to have a smaller number of permanent sites to allow the maximum enhancement and development at each. This policy was quite different from the British one, which created an official cemetery at each place where forty or more soldiers were buried. As a result of this policy and their large numbers of war dead, there are approximately 1,500 British burial grounds in France and Belgium.<sup>15</sup> Hayes acknowledged the conflicting opinions regarding burial locations while offering reassurance that War Department policy remained unwavering:

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<sup>11</sup> See Budreau, Chapter 5.

<sup>12</sup> Budreau, 46; "Senate Votes for Cemetery for Our Dead in France," *New York Times*, 13 June 1919, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Budreau, 48.

<sup>14</sup> G. Kurt Piehler, "The War Dead and The Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 168-185.

<sup>15</sup> Meigs, 181. Each British cemetery had "Cross of Sacrifice" designed by architect Sir Reginald Blomfield. Each stone cross had a bronze crusader's sword attached to the front and stood on an octagonal base. He also designed the headstones. Larger British cemeteries also had an altar-like "Stone of Remembrance" designed by architect Sir Edwin Lutyens. See "Address of Mr. Charles Moore, Chairman, National Commission of Fine Arts, Before the ABMC," (2 October 1923), Box 3, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. For period photographs of British cemeteries and

I do not hesitate to say that the sight of actual disinterments, however reverently made, and the vision of the Fields of Honor have left with me the fervent hope that the proportion of parents preferring to have their sons rest overseas will be large. But, officially, no officer of the War Department can permit such a hope to defeat or delay the redemption of the pledge made at the war's beginning, that the desire of the families as to their own dead would take precedence over every other consideration.<sup>16</sup>

The first bodies were shipped from England in February 1920, and from France in April 1920 after negotiations with French authorities to lift restrictions by the end of 1919.<sup>17</sup> Hayes' report discussed the various arguments for and against repatriation of war dead, as well as conditions in France during this period. One argument against immediate repatriation was the limited transportation facilities in northern France, which were fully occupied with rebuilding and bringing food to a war torn region. Because of fuel shortages, the first bodies sent home from France in April-May 1920 were those within 100 miles of the five ports designated for this purpose.<sup>18</sup>

The immediate problem before creating permanent overseas national cemeteries was locating the many battlefield burials and individual interments. By May 1920 2,000 temporary burial locations had been consolidated into less than 600 sites. Inquiries sent out to families in 1919 indicated that 59 percent wanted their soldier returned and 26 percent requested burial overseas (14 percent of the inquiries went unanswered).<sup>19</sup> By April 1921, over 14,800 bodies had been returned to the United States at great expense and trouble. However the slow progress and vague policies in this area prompted many to try and make their own arrangements, either for exhumation and transport, or private overseas burial. Perhaps most prominent was the grave of Quentin Roosevelt, son of the former President, who was buried in France near the site of his combat plane crash. The wealth and connections of this family made the construction of an attractive memorial fountain possible, but there was still a question of upkeep. Other families with soldiers in single graves often could not bear the thought of this resting place being disturbed. The difficulty of tracking, marking, and maintaining these graves motivated the GRS to pressure families to allow disinterment and relocation.

In addition, families who had initially wanted their soldiers returned began changing their minds, as rumors of misidentification or coffins filled with rocks circulated. Certainly positive identification of decomposed or brutally wounded bodies was very difficult. Historian Mark Meigs notes that in spite of the uncertainty surrounding identification, many families took comfort in receiving a soldiers' body and perhaps chose not to focus on whether they would ever know if the identification was correct.<sup>20</sup> The added logistical problems of families changing

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memorials see Sidney C. Hurst, *The Silent Cities: An Illustrated Guide to the War Cemeteries and Memorials to the Missing in France and Flanders: 1914-1918* (New York: E. P. Hutton & Co., Inc, 1929).

<sup>16</sup> Hayes, 12.

<sup>17</sup> For a detailed account of the negotiations see Hayes, 25-30.

<sup>18</sup> Hayes, 13, 32.

<sup>19</sup> Hayes, 35-36, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Meigs, 184.

instructions with shipment or overseas burial already underway prompted the Secretary of War to impose an August 15, 1921 cutoff on all changes to previous instructions.<sup>21</sup>

Historian Edward Linenthal has written that "patriotic rhetoric and monument building are designed to ensure continued allegiance to patriotic orthodoxy."<sup>22</sup> Linenthal's study of commemoration and battlefield sites on American soil does not consider World War I, but clearly the impulse to establish overseas military cemeteries, and build memorial chapels and monuments speaks to related national concerns. Construction of impressive American cemeteries and monuments on European soil became a matter of national pride and patriotic recognition of wartime sacrifice. In his notable study on public memory in America, historian John Bodnar contends that before World War I "the balance of political power in the United States-the context of public memory-was shifting and fragmented."<sup>23</sup> World War I began an expansion of the state and a related uptick in nationalism and patriotism. Bodnar examines the surge in historical pageants and celebrations in the 1920s as evidence of the use of public memory for a national agenda. The debate about commemorating the recent events of the Great War corresponded to the emergence of a nationalistic patriotic view.

The Hayes report recommended creating a commission - the War Memorials Council - which would advise the War Department on cemetery and memorial development, in consultation with the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA). The War Memorials Council would have the same dual purpose as the eventual ABMC, but as described by Hayes, more emphasis on facilitating visits overseas by family members and veterans.<sup>24</sup> The CFA was created in 1910 to advise the Federal Government on matters of design and aesthetics.<sup>25</sup> This body of architects, landscape architects and sculptors was mainly involved in projects in and around the Washington, DC, but also consulted on federal matters outside the nation's capital. The CFA was first officially approached for advice on creating a U.S. national cemetery in France in the fall of 1919.<sup>26</sup> However its chair Charles Moore took an active interest in questions of war commemoration from the beginning, particularly because he had two sons who served with the AEF.

Members of the War Memorials Council included Moore and Ralph Hayes, no longer Assistant Secretary of War, in addition to various high ranking government officials and clergy.<sup>27</sup> Colonel Charles C. Pierce, Chief of the GRS, also served as the Council's secretary. In

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<sup>21</sup> Budreau, 76.

<sup>22</sup> Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 2d ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 5.

<sup>23</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 21. See also 138, 171-72.

<sup>24</sup> Hayes, 42-43. The first iteration of this body may have been the "Committee on Post Bellum Memorial Design," formed in July 1920. A memo listing its members includes familiar names such as Charles Moore as Chair, Ralph Hayes, Major Pierce, Colonel Penrose (head of GRS at this time), and Henry [sic.] Kendall, AIA. See Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>25</sup> See Sue A. Kohler, *The Commission of Fine Arts: A Brief History, 1910-1995* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1996.)

<sup>26</sup> Typescript, "American Cemeteries in France," Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. At this time CFA Commissioners Charles Platt and John Russell Pope were to develop a plan for one large cemetery with a "large central memorial commemorating the services of our soldiers."

<sup>27</sup> Typescript, War Memorials Council membership list, n.d., Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

September 1920 Pierce came to the CFA for advice regarding the plans for overseas cemeteries. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker was personally requesting that a CFA committee visit the proposed cemetery sites and make recommendations.<sup>28</sup> Because President Wilson was to leave office at the end of March, it was determined that the trip should commence before the change in administration. President Harding and his Secretary of War, John Wingate Weeks, would also be supportive of the overseas cemetery plans, but Baker wanted to avoid delays or funding problems.<sup>29</sup>

The Commission of Fine Arts representatives for the trip were Charles Moore, landscape architect James L. Greenleaf, and architect William Mitchell Kendall of the illustrious firm of McKim, Mead & White. They were accompanied by Colonel Pierce and Major George Gibbs, Jr. of the GRS. Gibbs was an experienced landscape architect who had been detailed to the GRS at the end of 1920 in order to assist with developing plans for overseas cemeteries. Moore, on the personal recommendation of Greenleaf and former CFA landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., approached Quartermaster General Harry Rogers requesting Gibbs' transfer from the Construction Division to the overseas cemetery work. He was highly qualified, having graduated from Harvard in 1904 with a degree in landscape architecture, and worked in the Olmsted Brothers firm in Boston for over ten years. Gibbs had been with the Quartermaster's Construction Division since May 1917, working on camp and cantonment layout and construction. In July 1920 he converted from a military to civilian engineer.<sup>30</sup> Gibbs prepared some preliminary plans that the CFA committee reviewed at Kendall's New York office on February 28, 1921.<sup>31</sup>

The group traveled to Europe on an army transport in March 5, 1921 "with a view to examining locations and preparing plans for the permanent American military cemeteries in Europe."<sup>32</sup> Moore elaborated on the goals of the trip in a letter to the U.S. Ambassador in Paris: "The purpose of the visit is to confer with the French and British officials having charge of military cemeteries, so as to secure such a degree of cooperation as may seem advisable; also, to

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<sup>28</sup> CFA Minutes, (3 September 1920 and 20 September 1920), Entry 1 - Microfilm Copy of Minutes of the Commission, 1910-1990, RG 66, NARA I, Washington, DC [hereafter CFA Minutes]. "The Commission decided that plans for these cemeteries should be prepared by the very best architects and landscape architects whom it is possible to secure." A private group called the American Field of Honor Association sought authority over American military cemeteries in France, but the War Department was determined that they remain in government control like domestic national cemeteries.

<sup>29</sup> See Letter, Caemmerer to Moore, (8 October 1920), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>30</sup> Letter, Moore to Quartermaster General Harry Rogers, (4 November 1920), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Gibbs' resume is attached to this letter.

<sup>31</sup> Letter, H. P. Caemmerer, Assistant Secretary CFA to James Greenleaf, (18 February 1921), Folder - European Trip of 1921, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Additional correspondence between Moore, Pierce, and Greenleaf, discussing Gibbs' experience and ability to work with Army personnel, is located in the same box. For example see Letter, Greenleaf to Moore, (29 September 1920).

<sup>32</sup> Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," American Graves Registration Service to Quartermaster General, (4 February 1926), Box 157, Entry 13 - Decimal Subject File Concerning the Construction and Maintenance of Cemeteries and Monuments, RG 117 - Records of the American Battle Monuments Commission, National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, MD [hereafter Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II]. See also "\$3,000,000 for Graves: United States Commission Takes Up Plans to Beautify Cemeteries," *Washington Star*, 26 March 1921, clipping in Folder - European Trip of 1921, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

arrange for the architectural and landscape treatment of such American cemeteries as shall be retained in France, and, in general, to give such consideration to war memorials erected in France as may be possible and advisable."<sup>33</sup> At this time the War Department was planning to create four cemeteries in France (Suresnes outside Paris, Meuse-Argonne in Romagne, Aisne-Marne in Belleau, and Somme in Bony) and one in England (Brookwood).

Shortly after returning, Moore presented the plans prepared by Gibbs to the entire CFA at their June 9, 1921 meeting. At the urging of Assistant Secretary of War J. Mayhew Wainwright, the CFA committee recommended that more cemeteries be considered - two in France and one in Belgium (to be called Flanders Field).<sup>34</sup> It also promoted fairly wide spacing between graves and a planting plan of trees (not flowers) considered distinctly American in comparison to allied cemeteries. Another concern raised was allowing space for expansion and adding monuments in the future. The War Department approved these recommendations, including expanding the number of cemeteries to add Oise-Aisne and St. Mihiel in France and Flanders Field in Belgium. This decision was finalized in August 1921 and Gibbs again traveled to Europe to gather data for plans.<sup>35</sup> Correspondence between Moore, Kendall, and Gibbs indicates that Kendall was asked to contribute designs for architectural features such as gates, fences, and water towers, although the informality of this arrangement made Kendall uncomfortable.<sup>36</sup>

Plans moved forward in 1921-22 to consolidate the several hundred remaining temporary American cemeteries into the eight permanent locations, which would be modeled on stateside national cemeteries, particularly Arlington. The Commission of Fine Arts was looking at a comprehensive plan for Arlington Cemetery in this period and touting the Civil War portion of this cemetery as the model for cemetery development both at home and overseas:

The most quiet, restful, and holy portion of Arlington is the area occupied by soldiers of the Civil War. The small, moss-grown stones, with green grass between, and forest trees overhead - these are the typical elements of the American military cemetery. Every officer who has charge of such a cemetery, whether in this country or in Europe, should understand the aim, the purpose, and the ideal.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Letter, Moore to U.S. Ambassador in France, (2 February 1921), Folder - European Trip of 1921, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Louis Ayres of the firm York & Sawyer was originally going to go on the trip but was not able to join the group. See also "Plans Military Cemeteries: Charles Moore Home After Two Months' Trip to Europe," *New York Times*, 11 May 1921, clipping, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>34</sup> Typescript, "American Cemeteries in France," c. 1921, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Gibbs noted that Edward Lawson, Delineator, American Academy in Rome and John Paul Jones, Engineer, assisted with the plans.

<sup>35</sup> Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe,"; see also U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, *The National Commission of Fine Arts, Tenth Report - July 1, 1921-December 31, 1925* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1926), 71-74; and *The National Commission of Fine Arts, Ninth Report - July 1, 1919-June 30, 1921* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1921), 39-65.

<sup>36</sup> See for example Letter, Kendall to Moore, (14 September 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>37</sup> *The National Commission of Fine Arts, Tenth Report - July 1, 1921-December 31, 1925*, 62. The "World War" section of Arlington also received a white marble "Soldiers' Memorial Cross" erected on November 13, 1923 by the Argonne unit of the American Women's Legion. Moore noted in a letter written shortly after approval of the cross that he wished this type of monument would become more popular than the "doughboy" for local memorials. See Letter, Moore to Bishop Brent, (9 September 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

The CFA hoped to avoid the elaborate variety of headstones that characterized later sections of Arlington and return to simplicity and dignity. Since the Civil War, Arlington National Cemetery had been the most prominent military cemetery in the United States. The development of a national cemetery system in that post-war period codified the official approach to military cemeteries. Ideally headstones were simple, like the Civil War soldiers area of Arlington. Later use of a variety of commercial headstones for Civil War officers and Spanish American War graves was decried by the early twentieth century. Well-tended paths and regular rows of graves characterized the grounds, which were enhanced by trees, shrubs, and lawns. In the late-nineteenth century, simple rostrums were built at many national cemeteries as a location for Memorial Day events and other gatherings. Lodges for cemetery superintendents, decorative gates, and perimeter walls and fences were also part of the American military cemetery tradition. The American public would expect facilities overseas to meet these standards, even as the approach to commemoration and remembrance was becoming more elaborate.

Another aspect of the national cemetery context at this time was the establishment of the Memorial Amphitheater and Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (designed by Thomas Hastings of Carrère & Hastings). On November 11, 1921, the United States laid the body of an unknown American soldier to rest in the tomb at Arlington National Cemetery. This symbolic gesture followed similar ones by England and France; Belgium buried an unknown soldier in late 1922. The marble amphitheater at this prominent site was only a few years old. The unknown soldier was placed in a plain pedestal that would later receive a marble mausoleum. As historian Thomas W. Laqueur has written, the attention to both symbolic unknown soldiers and the identification of individual graves or missing soldiers represents a cultural shift in the production of collective memory. These two seemingly contradictory trends served to elevate the status of the common soldier, even when he anonymously represented the group.<sup>38</sup> While the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington became the de facto national memorial to the Great War, the tremendous effort to individually identify the dead and missing in overseas military cemeteries represents a parallel cultural impulse.<sup>39</sup>

The U.S. Government made arrangements with the Belgian and French governments to purchase land acquired from private owners to create the permanent overseas American military cemeteries. Secretary of War Weeks formally announced in August 1921 the names and locations of the six cemeteries in France, as well as Brookwood in England. Like Brookwood, Suresnes Cemetery outside Paris took its name from the existing French cemetery. The other sites were Aisne-Marne at Belleau Wood, Meuse-Argonne at Romagne, Oise-Aisne at Fere-en-Tardenois, Somme at Bony, and St. Mihiel at Thiaucourt. As noted in the press release, the "official designations [were] to commemorate the major operations of the American Army in which the great majority of the men interred in each cemetery lost their lives."<sup>40</sup> The location of

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<sup>38</sup> Thomas W. Laquer, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 152.

<sup>39</sup> Historian James Mayo has noted the continued importance of the Tomb of the Unknown as its meaning has been reaffirmed with each new conflict. See James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 11.

<sup>40</sup> Press Release, War Department, (15 August 1921), Box 9619, Entry 1888 - General Correspondence, 1917-22, RG 92 - Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General [hereafter Entry 1888, RG 92], NARA II.

the proposed cemetery in Belgium was still to be determined but the name Flanders Field and a possible location near Ypres were mentioned.

The Graves Registration Service estimated in August 1921 that it would need to accommodate approximately 375 graves in its permanent Belgian cemetery.<sup>41</sup> Lieutenant Colonel John R. Thomas, Jr., assigned to General Staff at the Military Attaché in Belgium, inspected several temporary American cemeteries in West Flanders to determine the location for a permanent one in early September. He visited No. 373, which was a section of Lijssenthoek British Military Cemetery but determined that there was not enough land available to expand the American section without interfering with British plans. There were similar issues with several other small American plots in this area, including No. 372. Both temporary cemeteries No. 372 and 373 were located near Poperinghe, west of Ypres near the French border. Thomas recommended No. 1252, located just outside Waregem, become the permanent American cemetery in Belgium. In September 1920 this cemetery contained 90 burials; this number later expanded as burials were consolidated here (**Figure 5**). This site had the advantage of being an "entirely American cemetery" with potential space for 743 graves.<sup>42</sup>

In spite of some sentiment that a site closer to Ypres be chosen due to the significance of the fighting there, it was agreed that the bodies in the temporary plots around Poperinghe would be relocated to Waregem.<sup>43</sup> Colonel H. F. Rethers, with the GRS, wrote to Charles Moore that the plot of land in Waregem that included Temporary Cemetery No. 1252 was recommended for the Belgian cemetery, noting that "there is plenty of ground adjoining the cemetery which would lend itself to the purposes of beautification and enlargement."<sup>44</sup> In October 1921 the mayor of Waregem, Belgium was notified by the Belgian War Graves Commission that American allies were interested in creating a permanent cemetery at the site just southeast of town. Landowner Melvina Delespaul resisted, saying proximity to her farms would contaminate the water supply. However her protests were to no avail and on January 22, 1922 this land was claimed by the Belgian government and perpetual rights given to the U.S. Government for use as Flanders Field American Cemetery.<sup>45</sup>

At its earliest stages, Gibbs described the plan for the Waregem cemetery as a "simple one." He continued in a letter to Moore, "in land of small lot areas and houses everywhere, five acres for 500 graves is all the space there is available, and I think that that is enough there."<sup>46</sup> Gibbs' preliminary design for the Waregem site is dated November 15, 1921 (**Figure 6**). It shows the basic polygon of the site with the diagonal entrance drive flanked by buildings leading to a flagpole. An elevation of the buildings has not been located but the footprint on the plan

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<sup>41</sup> GRS, "Summary of Estimates," (25 August 1921), Box 156, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>42</sup> Letter, Lieut. Col. John R. Thomas, Jr. to Major Churchill, General Staff, (28 September 1921), Folder 687 Cemeteries - Europe, Box 9619, Entry 1888, RG 92, NARA II. Thomas noted that the number of burials at No. 1252 had fluctuated due to disinterments and reburials in the area.

<sup>43</sup> See Correspondence in Folder 687 Cemeteries - Europe, Box 9619, Entry 1888, RG 92, NARA II.

<sup>44</sup> Letter, Rethers to Moore, (22 September 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Rethers also noted that another plot "near Lyjssenthoek" was unsuitable due to the proximity of a British cemetery.

<sup>45</sup> Budreau, 118.

<sup>46</sup> Letter, Gibbs to Moore, (20 October 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. In other parts of the letter, he was describing his interactions with General Pershing and cuts to Bony and Belleau Wood that he did not like.

suggests that the caretaker and reception room buildings flanking the entrance were to be joined by an arch over the entrance drive. The center lawn is large and rectangular, surrounded by regularly spaced trees and four sections of graves.<sup>47</sup>

In spite of initial high level support, efforts to execute the CFA plans encountered some obstacles. While on his fall 1921 trip, Gibbs reported that the "obstreperous big general" -- i.e. Pershing -- was requesting more cuts to estimates, particularly at Bony and Belleau Wood. He told Moore he was doing his best to cut without harming their designs.<sup>48</sup> As for Flanders Field, Gibbs said "nobody has attacked that little fellow."<sup>49</sup> Moore complained that resistance to the CFA recommendations from parts of the War Department reflected an attitude of "cheapness" that threw doubt on the overseas cemeteries.<sup>50</sup> By December 1921, Moore prevailed in convincing the War Department to leave the plans essentially intact. He wrote to fellow War Memorials Council member Bishop Charles Brent of Buffalo:

Undoubtedly you were the mollifying influence that has led the War Department to the approval of the plans of the Commission, and the determination on their part to ask for a sufficient amount of money to provide for the coming year's work....It is very easy indeed to take a plan and chop off tens of acres here and there; but the plans were studied on the ground, and every foot of land was taken with a deliberate purpose to secure natural and obvious boundaries or to prevent the domination of the American cemeteries by structures on the crest of the hill above, or for some other like reason.<sup>51</sup>

The Quartermasters Corps estimated that \$1,700,000 was needed to complete the necessary work on the eight overseas cemeteries, but full funding was not forthcoming. Congress approved Public Resolution 44 on April 1, 1922, giving the War Department \$856,680 to purchase the necessary real estate and make improvements. Work on the overseas cemeteries began in July 1922, with some grading and drainage work done in the preceding months.<sup>52</sup>

Planning and design also continued, with the Commission of Fine Arts reviewing submissions of standard gate lodge designs from the Quartermaster's Corps in April 1922. The CFA was not impressed, replying that "the designs submitted lack qualities which should characterize the American work in France, if our cemeteries are to hold their own with those of

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<sup>47</sup> Press Release, "Report of General Pershing on American Cemeteries Abroad," (4 December 1923), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. There had been concerns in the War Department that the Commission of Fine Arts plans were too extensive, prompting modifications to the original plans, which were approved in 1922.

<sup>48</sup> Letter, Gibbs to Moore, (14 October 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>49</sup> Letter, Gibbs to Moore, (20 October 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. In other parts of the letter, he was describing his interactions with General Pershing and cuts to Bony and Belleau Wood that he did not like.

<sup>50</sup> Letter, Moore to Major General J. G. Harbord, Deputy Chief of Staff, (17 September 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>51</sup> Letter, Moore to Brent, (9 December 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>52</sup> Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe." Except for a few small amounts, this appropriation was the total amount received by the GRS for overseas cemeteries.

other nations."<sup>53</sup> They suggested that Gibbs be consulted and allowed to confer with Kendall and other members of the CFA.

A blueprint from June 2, 1922 shows the proposed gravesite layout for Flanders Field at Waregem, with four rectangular sections of graves facing each other around a now almost square lawn. Each section was four rows deep and 23 wide, accommodating 368 plots.<sup>54</sup> Soldiers to be buried here were from the 91st, 37th, 27th and 30th Divisions who fought in the vicinity. The name "Flanders Field" came from the famous poem written by Canadian physician and Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae after the Second Battle of Ypres in May 1915. McCrae's poem made the poppy a lasting symbol of remembrance for fallen soldiers. Using the voice of the fallen soldiers, the first verse reads "In Flanders fields, the poppies blow/between the crosses row on row,/That mark our place; and in the sky/The larks, still bravely singing, fly/Scare heard amid the guns below." There was interest naming an overseas American cemetery "Flanders Field" even before a Belgian site was selected. The Somme American Cemetery in Bony, France was referred to as "Flanders Field" for a brief period in 1921.<sup>55</sup>

As the GRS commenced work on the permanent cemeteries in summer 1922, they came under immediate pressure to place disinterred bodies stored in warehouses into their permanent graves. Major A. H. Barkley, GRS commanding officer in Europe, immediately set to work doing the required grading at the permanent cemeteries to allow these bodies to be reinterred. Rushing this work with all available men and equipment between July 1922 and January 1923 cost \$150,000, a larger than anticipated portion of the total appropriation.<sup>56</sup> The haste probably contributed to the need to do reburials later in 1923.

Major Barkley was replaced by Major H. L. Green, Constructing Quartermaster, in October 1922. This was a shift in control within the Quartermaster Corps from the GRS to the Construction Division. Green saw to the burial of the bodies from the warehouses and prepared lump sum contracts for the remaining cemetery work. He was an experienced architect, having worked for ten years with the office of John Lawrence Mauran in St. Louis.<sup>57</sup> Shortly after taking the position, Green wrote to New York architect Cass Gilbert, a personal contact. He asked for Gilbert's thoughts on the American cemeteries in France, noting the English practice of including an altar and a cross in every cemetery. Gilbert responded with his knowledge of the

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<sup>53</sup> Letter, Lieut. Col. Sherrill to Colonel Penrose, (1 April 1922), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. A few weeks later the CFA unsuccessfully suggested that the Quartermaster hire architect Nathan C. Wyeth, an American graduate of the *École des Beaux-Arts* currently in Europe. Letter, Sherrill to Quartermaster General Rogers, (3 May 1922), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>54</sup> War Department - Graves Registration Service, "No. 1252-1063, American Cemetery - Flanders Field at Waereghem, Belgium - Grading Plan for Grounds and Method of Numbering Graves and Rows," (2 June 1922), RG 117, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD.

<sup>55</sup> See preliminary drawing (1921), U.S. Commission of Fine Arts Office Files; and Gibbs' report, Typescript, (19 May 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>56</sup> Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 3.

<sup>57</sup> See "Address of Mr. Charles Moore, Chairman, National Commission of Fine Arts, Before the ABMC," (2 October 1923), Box 3, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Moore testified that Green "knew how to deal with contractors, and if we had selected from the whole Army probably we would not have been able to get a better man."

Commission of Fine Arts recommendations and forwarded the letter on to Moore, who also responded cordially to Green, promising to send copies of the plans.<sup>58</sup>

In spite of the positive reaction to Green, in late March 1923, Gibbs wrote a long letter to Moore that shows the status of the efforts and the administrative uncertainty of this period when the Construction Division was taking control. He had submitted plans for Suresnes and just learned that they had been referred to the CFA. Gibbs expressed relief that this review was still in place and noted that they should have received Belleau too, with Brookwood, Waregem, and Bony to follow close behind. There was some pressure to have all the work contracted before the funds lapsed on June 30th. Gibbs confided in Moore:

After the contracts are let it will still be possible I suppose to make any necessary changes in the plans, and I have understood all along that the approval of all details of architectural work was reserved to Washington. I thought however that the plans were being acted on outside the Commission and I feared many complications. ...I have had some rather serious misgivings as to the progress of all this work from time to time, first it looked as though all the funds would be eaten up in burial work, then the job was rescued by being put on a business basis as a purely construction job. In the general overhaul I thought the work was to be taken over without me and I had visions of many of the details getting lost in the change. I am still here however and have with me the best of all the men that we were able to gather.<sup>59</sup>

A War Department plan for Flanders Field from this period shows that Gibbs made some revisions to his original concept, likely with input from the CFA (**Figure 7**). The center lawn is squarer in shape. Slight bumps at the corners have been elongated and developed into more formal rond point features. Allées of trees define the grassy axes leading to the rond points on the north, east, and south corners. These rond point exedras are close to the ones executed by Cret, but the placement of trees blocking the axis and lack of defined paths are key differences.

A summary of GRS activities in Europe noted that some of the burials in Flanders Field (and five other permanent cemeteries) had been disinterred and reburied "to meet newly adopted cemetery plans and arrangements."<sup>60</sup> In spite of continued resistance, bodies were moved from isolated graves or rearranged in existing cemeteries to create regular rows. According to Pershing, the original recommendations of the Commission of Fine Arts had been too extensive

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<sup>58</sup> Correspondence - Moore, Gilbert and Green, (October-November 1922), Folder - Graves, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>59</sup> Letter, Gibbs to Moore, (25 March 1923), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Gibbs expected that his time on the project would run out on July 1st and one of the "younger men" in the office would have to see to the final construction details. He noted that "Major Wyeth" was unable to join the effort. Gibbs also mentions previous work on plans for the World War section of Arlington Cemetery and expresses an interest in returning to that project when he leaves Europe.

<sup>60</sup> Memorandum, Charles A. Morrow, QMC to Chief of GRS, (20 November 1923), Box 157, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. This memorandum included a list of dates for when plans were transferred and contracts let in connection with improvements at the permanent cemeteries.

and were modified during 1922.<sup>61</sup> It seems like in spite of Moore's success in late 1921, some plans were scaled back due to limited funds.

Final Flanders Field plans (Job No. 1252) were sent to the U.S. on March 16, 1923.<sup>62</sup> This phase of improvement included construction of the Superintendent's Quarters, flagpole terrace, entrance and service gates, and perimeter walls, as well as a planting plan.<sup>63</sup> While Gibbs is listed as the landscape architect on all these drawings, W. L. Phillips, another employee of the QMC Construction Division, appears as architect for the flag court, walls, and gates. Blueprints for the Superintendent's Quarters are missing, but the building is included in the specifications and was built as part of this campaign. It is likely that Phillips was also the architect for the Superintendent's Quarters.<sup>64</sup>

A memorandum accompanying the plans noted that "the preliminary plans tentatively approved by the Secretary of War have been very closely followed, the principal changes being the surrounding wall and the caretaker's house."<sup>65</sup> Because local brick was inexpensive, it was decided to build a brick wall on all four sides of the site, rather than the wire fence used at other cemeteries. The separate buildings originally proposed for the caretaker's residence and visitor reception were combined into one structure, given the small size of the cemetery. The brick house was designed to "conform to the character of the architecture and construction in general to the houses in the locality."<sup>66</sup>

Architects Henry Bacon (designer of the Lincoln Memorial, dedicated in 1922) and Louis Ayres were asked to review the Flanders Field plans for the Commission of Fine Arts. Moore had requested that the architects not be too critical about any of the still-to-be-approved War Department overseas cemetery plans due to the impending deadline for letting contracts.<sup>67</sup> Ayres reported back to the CFA that he and Bacon found the plans for Flanders Field to be "first rate." He wrote:

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<sup>61</sup> "Report of General Pershing on American Cemeteries Abroad," (4 December 1923), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. This document was also released to the press for publication on December 12th by Secretary of War Weeks.

<sup>62</sup> Blueprint copies on site at Flanders Field, Folder - Drawings 2301-2304, and Folder - Drawings 2305-2309.

<sup>63</sup> In addition to the planting plan and a detail drawing of the water system, this set of March 15, 1923 blueprints includes "Details for Walls and Entrances," "Ground Plan for Cemetery," and "Details for Flag-Court." Located in Drawing Files, Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, Belgium.

<sup>64</sup> A memorandum from 1925 mentions GRS Construction Division employee, Earl H. Lyall, as architect of all the caretaker's houses for the European cemeteries. An American, Lyall was trained as an architect and engineer at Columbia University and the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. See Memorandum, Lieut. Col. William O. Smith to Quartermaster General, (8 June 1925), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. Corroborating evidence attributing the house to Lyall has not been located, although his name appears as the architect on a drawing for the original flagpole. See War Department Plan 891 - Details for 45 Foot Flagpole, Flanders Field, (2 January 1923), in the Drawing Files, Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, Belgium. It seems more likely that the Quarters for this small cemetery were designed by W.L. Phillips, since he designed the gates, walls, and flag court, as well as doing the drawings for Gibbs' landscape plans.

<sup>65</sup> Memorandum, R. P. Harbold, Chief, GRS to Quartermaster General, (16 March 1923), Box 647, Entry 1891 - General Correspondence Geographic File, 1922-35 [hereafter Entry 1891], RG 92, NARA II.

<sup>66</sup> Memorandum, R. P. Harbold, Chief, GRS to Quartermaster General, (16 March 1923), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

<sup>67</sup> Letter, Caemmerer to Ayres, (10 April 1923), Box 6, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

Neither of us were [sic.] familiar with the general plan developed by the committee of the Commission, so that we do not know whether it follows closely the original scheme. However, it looks like a good, general scheme and most of the details and the design of the building look very attractive.<sup>68</sup>

They proposed only some changes to the entrance gateway and posts, which were promptly passed along to the War Department with the approvals.

The original planting list for Flanders Field included 75 English elm (*Ulmus campestris*), 40 Lombardy poplar (*Populus nigra pyramidalis*), 39 Swiss poplar (*Populus canadensis*), and 48 broad-leaved lindens (*Tilia grandifolia*), among other trees and shrubs such as 200 flowering dogwoods (*Cornus florida*) and 300 purple rhododendrons (*Rhododendron ponticum*). The Lombardy poplar would line the entrance allée and be arrayed around the corners of the lawn. The lindens and a solid hedge of hornbeam (*Carpinus betulus*) traced the rond points. The entrance drive and path around the center lawn were to be paved with macadam (later changed to gravel or crushed stone) while the court outside the gate had pavé, or Belgian block. Gibbs' plan also included the concept of curving massifs, or mountains of plants, to include dozens of rhododendron, varieties of azalea (*Azalea pontica*), and snowberry (*Symphoricarpos racemosus*). The curving edges of these massifs provided a backdrop for the grave areas.

The contract for this project was let on April 11th to Les Entreprises Somerville, of Paris. Les Entreprises Somerville also received a supplemental contract for some additions and changes to the original contract.<sup>69</sup> The specifications included detailed instructions on preparing soil and planting, construction of the walls, gates, and Superintendent's Quarters, and creation of a water system with pumping equipment.<sup>70</sup> The contractors built the stone gate pylons and base for the gate, the brick perimeter walls, erected the flagpole and paved an area around its base with brick. The specifications list the materials for the gate pylons as *Garche (demi roche)* limestone, with bronze plaques. As built the pylons have carved letters and carved bas relief U.S. seals instead of applied bronze, probably reflecting the CFA review suggestions and the modified contract (**Figure 8**). The brick walls included sections around the service yard and at the Superintendent's Quarters. Work was to begin in the spring and as of October 1st was 37% complete.<sup>71</sup>

Contractor delays slowed progress on all the cemeteries, but by November 1924 the GRS considered them complete "from the visitors' point of view" with the exception of projects at Oise-Aisne and Suresnes. The appropriation would expire at the end of fiscal year 1925 (June 30, 1925) so GRS inspectors pushed for final completion from all the contractors, most not

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<sup>68</sup> Letter, Ayres to Caemmerer, (21 April 1923), Box 6, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>69</sup> Memorandum GRS to Quartermaster General, (7 November 1924), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

<sup>70</sup> Office of Constructing Quartermaster, "Specifications for Completing Improvements of Grounds of Flanders Field American Cemetery at Waereghem, Belgium," (15 March 1923), Drawing Files, Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, Belgium.

<sup>71</sup> Memorandum, Charles A. Morrow, QMC to Chief of GRS, (20 November 1923), Box 157, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

forthcoming until very close to the deadline. At Flanders Field, sand in the well water led to a delay in final payment while the contractor installed a filtration system.<sup>72</sup>

By the end of fiscal year 1925, there were 30,405 burials in the American military cemeteries in Europe and 130 soldiers buried in Europe outside of those cemeteries. 46,214 bodies had been returned to the United States.<sup>73</sup> The eight permanent cemeteries were St. Mihiel, Meuse-Argonne, Somme, Aisne-Marne, Oise-Aisne, and Suresnes, all in France, Flanders Field in Waregem, Belgium, and an American section in the Brookwood military cemetery outside London, England. The plans for all permanent cemeteries were done by Gibbs according to the advice of the Commission of Fine Arts. All of the new cemeteries had gates, crushed stone paths, with some stone curbing in place, a flagpole, and temporary wood headstones arranged more or less in regular rows. Each was surrounded by a mix of masonry walls and wire fencing, except Flanders Field which had complete brick perimeter walls and Brookwood which was part of an established cemetery. Superintendent's quarters and reception rooms for visitors were built at every site. For the smaller cemeteries like Flanders Field, one building housed these two functions. Lieutenant Colonel W. O. Smith, who had been in charge of GRS activities in Europe since June 30, 1924, offered this summary of cemetery conditions:

The cemeteries as they stand are completed as far as lawns, planting, water-system, sewers, roads and walks, and proper living and office quarters are concerned. However, no monumental features of any kind have yet been built, except flagpoles at all cemeteries, and the pool at the Meuse-Argonne Cemetery, and the cemeteries are still for the greater part, surrounded by wire fences, and wooden crosses are still in place. Of course all three of these items are covered by the program of the Battle Monuments Commission.<sup>74</sup>

The ABMC would be taking over the task of additional improvements at the overseas cemeteries.

### Creation of the American Battle Monuments Commission

The Act creating the ABMC was signed into law by President Warren G. Harding on March 4, 1923. It transferred control of memorial construction and further improvements to the overseas cemeteries from the War Department to this largely civilian commission. The chair, secretary, and members of the commission were appointed on June 20th. General John J. Pershing served as chair, with Major Xenophon H. Price of the Army Corps of Engineers appointed Secretary. Price would be the guiding administrative force of the ABMC throughout its building campaigns. Other commissioners included Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, a World War I veteran, and Mrs. Frederic W. Bentley, a Gold Star mother (**Figure 9**).<sup>75</sup> As the first report of the ABMC noted:

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<sup>72</sup> Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 5.

<sup>73</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1925*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 7.

<sup>75</sup> Typescript, List of ABMC Commissioners, (19 September 1923), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

These [American] cemeteries in themselves will ever remain as memorials to the sacrifices of those who fell. It was believed by Congress, however, that further beautification might be accomplished by the construction of memorial monuments and buildings in them....All other duties in connection with their development and maintenance still remain a function of the War Department, and the [American Battle Monuments] Commission is concerned only [emphasis original] with the erection of memorial monuments and buildings.<sup>76</sup>

Even though it was not funded until April 2, 1924, the ABMC started holding meetings in September 1923 since the members served without pay.

While the ABMC would officially take the lead on aesthetic issues, its enabling legislation maintained the role of the Commission of Fine Arts in reviewing and approving all plans. Charles Moore fully supported creation of the ABMC, with the caveat that CFA review continue. It is likely that Moore and his CFA colleagues favored removing development control from the War Department because of their objections to the handling of their plans. James Greenleaf complained privately to Moore:

Instead of fundamental [sic.], and far reaching problems of design being handled in a broad spirit by those who are qualified, controlling factors and critical details are being settled offhand by officers inadequately if at all equipped [sic.], who are immersed in a maze of detail. Instead of working for the future in a fine way they are pushed by the pressure of the moment into the easiest way out. The result is peril, if not death to the work the Secretary of War asked our Commission to do some two years ago.<sup>77</sup>

While certainly Moore shared some of Greenleaf's frustration, he declined to criticize the War Department publically, instead releasing a report of his September 1923 inspection trip noting that "while the cemeteries are far from complete..., the progress of the work indicates clearly that the result will be highly satisfactory."<sup>78</sup> Shortly thereafter Moore was invited to explain the CFA's involvement to date and their intentions going forward at an early ABMC meeting. The meeting report indicates that he was received cordially and the two groups pledged to work together amicably.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Typescript, "Annual Report - The American Battle Monuments Commission Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1924," 5. Box 2, Entry 3 - Annual Reports of the Commission [hereafter Entry 3], RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>77</sup> Letter, Greenleaf to Moore, (13 June 1923), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>78</sup> Typescript, "Report by Mr. Charles Moore, Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, As to the Permanent American Cemeteries in Europe, After a Tour of Inspection July-September 1923," (27 September 1923), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Moore even went so far as to write "the Commission of Fine Arts has had from the beginning the cooperation of the Construction Division of the Office of the Quartermaster General, War Department, and the utmost harmony has prevailed." Moore also published articles explaining the plans and progress of the overseas cemeteries, such as "The American Cemeteries in Europe," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 57, no. 12 (December 1923): 728-734.

<sup>79</sup> "Address of Mr. Charles Moore, Chairman, National Commission of Fine Arts, Before the American Battle Monuments Commission," (2 October 1923), Box 3, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

Lieutenant Thomas North, Field Artillery, U.S. Army, was detailed to the ABMC in October 1923 and established a European office in Paris on June 1, 1924. A photographer charged with completing terrain photographs of the American battlefields traveled to Europe with North. Also in June the Commission traveled to Europe to inspect the American military cemeteries and battlefields there (**Figure 10**). Prior to the trip they visited important battlefields and military cemeteries in the United States. In Europe they conferred with officials from England, France, Belgium, and Italy and visited cemeteries and memorials created by these countries. After the inspection tour, the ABMC was blunter in its analysis of GRS efforts:

The impression gained in almost every cemetery is that the work has been done with a minimum expenditure of funds. This is in direct contrast to the impression gained from a British cemetery, where everything is of the best. It is one of the commission's duties to provide such further works of architecture and art in these cemeteries as may be necessary to improve their appearance.<sup>80</sup>

ABMC felt that the efforts of the War Department were basically satisfactory, with well-arranged and cared for cemeteries, but the existing architecture and design needed improvement. In particular the caretaker's houses were deemed too plain and prominently situated. It was determined that each cemetery would receive a nonsectarian memorial chapel to serve as its main focal point and "add a religious touch."<sup>81</sup> The walls, flagpoles, and site plan (particularly the interior paths and plantings) would also be upgraded. ABMC cautioned that the permanent headstones should be installed as soon as possible, in order to begin repairing the inevitable damage to lawns and plantings from this work.

The question of permanent headstones was a lingering controversy that offered the newly formed ABMC a chance to assert its authority. With frustration mounting, one of the first tasks set before the ABMC and its partners was choosing a permanent headstone design. Although a slab headstone was traditional in military cemeteries, Pershing and his Commissioners favored retaining the cross-shape of the temporary wood markers. This position had the public support of groups such as the American Legion and Gold Star Mothers. As Pershing explained it, the top priority was maintaining the look of rows of white crosses in permanent form. However the Army, and many members of Congress, had doubts about the durability of a cross form. The resulting debate continued and ranged across sub-issues from the suitable form of grave marker for Jewish soldiers, choice of materials, and whether the stone would be imported from the United States. A closer look at this debate reveals the political and social challenges inherent in memorial design questions being addressed by the ABMC, as well as the shift in control of overseas cemeteries from the War Department to ABMC.

When the ABMC was created in early 1923, the War Department likely felt the question of permanent headstones was already settled. After much debate, the argument for a slab-type headstone like those in all national cemeteries seemed to have prevailed. This form was first proposed and approved by the Commission of Fine Arts in 1919 with a design from architect

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<sup>80</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1925*, 17.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

Charles Platt.<sup>82</sup> In September 1921 the dimensions were increased, but a cross form was never approved by CFA.<sup>83</sup> With the creation of the ABMC, civilians had a greater voice in this issue, with the powerful backing of General Pershing as the Chair, and ABMC Secretary Price. Price wrote to Secretary of War John Wingate Weeks in December 1923 expressing the strong preference for a cross form headstone. He inquired whether the main objection was the fragility of stone cut into this form, and asked for information about using a material such as steel painted white.<sup>84</sup> Weeks sent a detailed reply which perhaps he thought would settle the matter:

The War Department realizes thoroughly the aims and purposes of the ABMC and kindred organizations, and understands fully such high-minded desire to perpetuate in proper form the memory of our dead who now lie in American fields of honor overseas. The question of design for a suitable marker has been often before the Department. . . As you are aware the present crosses are wood and not durable. This necessitates their replacement by some marker of an enduring nature. The Fine Arts Commission in conjunction with the Cemeterial Division, Office of the Quartermaster General, and with the advice of the War Memorials Council, comprised of representatives of various religious faiths, welfare organizations, American Legion and other civic and military organization, have agreed upon a design.<sup>85</sup>

Weeks described a marker similar to those in use at national cemeteries, with a small rosette at the top which could hold a cross or other religious symbol. He rejected the idea of any material except stone and asserted that the design "seem[ed] to be free from reasonable objection and while not unduly accentuating religious belief, give sufficient recognition to it for those relatives who earnestly desire something of the kind."<sup>86</sup>

ABMC persisted, gathering information in early 1924. In response to an inquiry, CFA Chairman Charles Moore reported although it was thought a cross form would be too fragile and not allow enough room for an inscription, he was unhappy with the current proposal. Apparently the feeling on the CFA was that the current enlarged slab headstone conflicted with their vision of the overseas cemeteries as grassy vistas with scattered shade trees.<sup>87</sup> After its January 1924 meeting, ABMC issued a memorandum stating that it was the "unanimous opinion of the Commission that every effort should be made to perpetuate the form now used, that of a cross."<sup>88</sup> It reiterated this opinion in its 1924 *Annual Report*, adding specific mention of a Star of David design as well.<sup>89</sup> ABMC proceeded to obtain a resolution from the American Legion, via ABMC

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<sup>82</sup> Platt designed the headstone and prepared a model in Fall 1919. Also at this time, John Russell Pope was asked to design a monument to serve a central motif in each American cemetery. The CFA reviewed a sketch at a meeting in November. This approach was similar to the English model of slab headstones and a "Cross of Honor" in each cemetery. CFA Minutes, (11 November 1919).

<sup>83</sup> Letter, Moore to Price, (12 January 1924), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>84</sup> Letter, Price to Weeks, (19 December 1923), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>85</sup> Letter, Weeks to Price, (27 December 1923), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Letter, Moore to Price, (12 January 1924), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>88</sup> Memorandum, (30 January 1924), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>89</sup> Typescript, "Annual Report 1924," 8.

Commissioner D. John Markey, unanimously supporting retaining the crosses.<sup>90</sup> It also created a committee to study what materials would be best for permanent crosses.

Correspondence on this issue shows a flood of suggestions regarding specific materials, from enameled steel to concrete to various types of stone, both domestic and international. Many of these inquiries came from suppliers of these materials or headstone manufacturers. Spearheaded by Senator Reed, a Congressional resolution gave ABMC a say over the final design and materials of the headstones. The Congressional bill appropriating funds for the headstones in Europe specified that the design and material must be agreed upon by both the Secretary of War and the ABMC, forcing the War Department to work with the new demands. By 1924 officials at the Quartermaster Corps seemed resigned to the ABMC takeover of this issue. Quartermaster General W. H. Hart wrote to Captain George M. Chandler regarding the new role of the ABMC: "As our part in the matter is simply to erect the kind of marker authoritatively determined upon, we are forwarded such documents as we had bearing upon the question and we are now awaiting the Battle Monument Commission's decision."<sup>91</sup> Captain Chandler's response is revealing:

As a matter of historical precedent and personal interest I hope we will stick to our slab marker. It is of Civil War and long standing with us. It is truly and typically American. It is our Military marker. I speak merely for myself - I see no reason for abandoning our own Army precedents when they have been satisfactory to us for many years.<sup>92</sup>

The successful effort of the ABMC to claim control over this decision and assert the public preference for crosses contradicted the military tradition. With ABMC guidance, the overseas cemeteries would depart dramatically from the typical national cemetery. A piece in the *New York Times* later that year, which was also picked up by the Associated Press, described General Pershing saying the current crosses standing "row upon row" would be perpetuated for all time in stone. He noted that veterans returned home would still receive the traditional slab military marker.<sup>93</sup>

### Overseas Memorials - Temporary and Permanent

Construction of memorials and markers overseas was perhaps an even more difficult issue than military cemeteries. In the absence of a clear policy or any visible movement on this matter in the years immediately following the war, many individuals and veterans groups began to make plans for memorials in France and Belgium. Federal officials feared that a decentralized effort would reflect poorly on the United States and sought to regain control. Poor design and shoddy construction was one concern, in cases such as makeshift Division memorials. Another issue was overzealous commemoration of relatively minor efforts. American military officials

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<sup>90</sup> Letter, D. John Markey to Price, (9 February 1924), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. The text of the resolution is enclosed with the letter.

<sup>91</sup> Letter, Hart to Chandler, (12 May 1924), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>92</sup> Letter, Chandler to Hart, (7 May 1924), Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>93</sup> "Stone Crosses to Mark Graves: Hero Cemeteries Overseas are Beautiful Now, Pershing Says," *New York Times*, 18 November 1924, clipping in Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

particularly felt that it would be inappropriate for American monuments to be too showy or improperly located given the greater wartime losses of their European allies. The lack of an overarching perspective threatened to undermine the effectiveness of a collective commemorative project. Completing the research to verify the details of battle accomplishments and events took on a particular urgency as a key first step in a larger memorial program. To this end the War Department created the Battle Monuments Board (BMB) in June 1921. Unlike the War Memorials Council, the BMB consisted of all active military officers, including various representatives of the Quartermaster Corps, Adjutant General, and Corps of Engineers. Most noteworthy was Major X. H. Price, serving as Executive Officer and providing a direct link between the BMB and ABMC.<sup>94</sup>

The immediate task before the Battle Monuments Board was creating historical maps and battlefield markers. However, a procedure for accomplishing this goal was not quite defined. A Battle Monuments Board "Outline of Work" for September 1921 includes 21 items such as deciding on the type and number of markers, estimating construction and maintenance costs, and "collection of accurate data for the preparation of relief maps to be used on monuments."<sup>95</sup> A few months later in December 1921, the Battle Monuments Board was beginning to flesh out its duties and set its priorities as preparation of relief maps showing key battles and the design of the smaller monuments. In January 1922 Colonel Palmer of the Battle Monuments Board wrote to the Adjutant General of the Army looking for good draftsmen to work on their maps and historical projects.<sup>96</sup> They also planned to start with inventorying their existing battlefield photos and preparing a list of further work. A Signal Corps officer detailed for this purpose traveled to France in May 1922 to take additional photographs and examine possible monument sites, with assistance from a Board member.<sup>97</sup>

Like the Graves Registration Service, the Battle Monuments Board conferred with the Commission of Fine Arts to ensure that its plans for battlefield markers and monuments were "in good taste, dignified, and in all respects of the highest standard."<sup>98</sup> The Commission of Fine Arts had originally proposed pairing monuments with the cemeteries in order to set the location and avoid "the disorder which riots in so many of our national battle parks."<sup>99</sup> The BMB proposed several types of monuments - bronze relief maps at approximately 76 key points with enameled details on stone bases; "outline sketch maps" for each division, also in bronze; stone monuments marking places of noteworthy events; and bronze tablets on key buildings. In addition to this flurry of small monuments, the BMB proposed two large monuments marking the most significant American operations at the Meuse-Argonne (Montfaucon), and near St. Mihiel. In addition, the BMB was making the case for memorials as a governmental function:

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<sup>94</sup> Battle Monuments Board membership list, (11 June 1921), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>95</sup> "Board for Marking the Battlefields of Europe - Outline of Work," (21 September 1921), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>96</sup> Memorandum, Battle Monuments Board to Adjutant General, Army, (30 January 1922), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. He was having trouble getting qualified enlisted men for the detail.

<sup>97</sup> Battle Monuments Board, "Suggested Working Plan," (15 December 1921), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>98</sup> "Memorandum To Secretary, Fine Arts Commission, Subject: Plans of Battle Monuments Board," (12 December 1921), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>99</sup> U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, *The National Commission of Fine Arts, Ninth Report - July 1, 1919-June 30, 1921* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1921), 53-56.

The work of marking these battlefields should be undertaken by the National Government. This will insure that all operations are treated in the order of their importance, markings are historically correct, and proper arrangements are made for the ground used and upkeep of the monuments.<sup>100</sup>

In addition there was much concern that veterans groups and others were already moving forward with monument plans, threatening the ability of the United States to present a comprehensive memorial project.

The Commission of Fine Arts seemed to withhold judgment on the wisdom of the BMB's relief map and small monument ideas, just asking to see models and offering general advice about materials and lettering. However the two large monuments prompted them to refer to the overseas cemetery plans already subject to their review. Writing as the CFA Secretary, Lieutenant Colonel C. O. Sherrill, Army Corps, pointed out that the CFA had already prepared plans approved by the War Department for cemeteries at Suresnes, Romagne, Belleau-Wood, and Bony in France and Brookwood in England. Sherrill also noted that the War Department was proposing additional cemeteries at St. Mihiel, at Seringes et Nesles, and "one in Belgium." Sherrill cautioned that "various organization interested in war memorials have reported their desire to the Commission of erecting monuments on the battlefields of France, and good order requires supervision."<sup>101</sup> By February 1922, the *Washington Herald* reported that the CFA approved plans by the BMB to "mark the American battle fields in Europe by tablets and monuments."<sup>102</sup> The CFA again urged that this effort be coordinated with the cemetery projects.

The Battle Monuments Board never moved beyond the planning stages for its projects, or received a construction appropriation. Ultimately their goals were transferred to the ABMC, which combined the duties of the Battle Monuments Board and the Graves Registration Service as the official agency for overseas commemoration. ABMC's first annual report for fiscal year 1924 described the design emphasis of its purposes as well as the unfinished business of the Battle Monuments Board: "... [to] commemorate by suitable memorials and markers the services of the American Forces in Europe; to secure supervision over the locations, designs, materials and inscriptions of memorials that might be erected abroad by Americans; to establish an official agency to assist in the erection and maintenance of such memorials; and to complete the historical photographic record of the war."<sup>103</sup> One Marine and one Army officer were detailed to the ABMC in February 1924 in order to complete necessary historical research to determine the battle lines of all American units for each day during their service at the front in Europe. The ABMC report declared optimistically, "with these lines accurately fixed, locating monuments and making inscriptions historically correct becomes a simple problem."<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Memorandum, (12 December 1921), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>101</sup> Letter, Lieut. Colonel C. O. Sherrill to Colonel J. McA. Palmer, President, Battle Monuments Board, (16 December 1921), Box 153, Entry 3, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>102</sup> Clipping, "Battle Monument plans Approved: Arts Commission Would Commemorate American Fields in Flanders," *Washington Herald*, 28 February 1922, Folder - Battle Monuments Board, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

<sup>103</sup> Typescript, "Annual Report 1924," 4.

<sup>104</sup> Typescript, "Annual Report 1924," 10.

At first ABMC was still pursuing the relief map project, but gradually the focus of the historical research shifted to a guidebook approach. As the research proceeded and it became evident that the official record remained lacking, ABMC began an extensive correspondence with various officers and enlisted men in order to complete the picture of American combat activities in Europe. The Commission was also charged with completing the combat terrain photography project begun by the Battle Monuments Board. Information was compiled for each combat action of the war, including dates, participating American divisions, annotated maps and photographs.<sup>105</sup> A Signal Corps photographer, Private First Class Richard Hansen, traveled in Europe to photograph various sites during fiscal year 1925 and 1926.<sup>106</sup>

The ABMC also quickly asserted itself as the design authority for overseas memorials and cemeteries. They convinced the relevant French and Belgian officials to withhold approval for all American monuments unless authorized by ABMC. ABMC renewed the Battle Monuments Board's objection to poorly-built temporary memorials, and permanent memorials being erected without an overall commemorative program or design review. They intended to withhold approval for any strictly decorative memorials, in order to create their commemorative program in a cohesive fashion. Exceptions were made for building something useful as a memorial, such as a bridge, fountain, or meeting hall. It had become clear that politically it would be best to not delay any projects that could directly benefit the local populations. ABMC was also looking carefully at war memorials created by both other nations and private or military groups. The British Imperial War Graves Commission was in the process of spending nearly \$50 million on major monuments such as rebuilding the Menin Gate in Ypres, Belgium. In 1925, the French authorities had not erected any national war memorials, but the Department of Fine Arts in the French government had a commission on historical monuments tasked with designating and marking ruins and relics of the war as monuments. There were also many French markers and memorials erected by subscription.<sup>107</sup>

### Architects, Planning, and Design Review

As ABMC moved forward on a comprehensive and ambitious design program, it was clear that dedicated architectural expertise was needed. Correspondence shows that in early 1925, Senator David A. Reed (Pennsylvania), Price, and Charles Moore, Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, were making decisions regarding how to select architects and proceed with the work.<sup>108</sup> Moore had received suggestions from CFA Commissioners in the preceding weeks, with some discussion of creating a World's Fair type commission of prominent

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<sup>105</sup> A set of these portfolio volumes, "Terrain Photographs American World War Battlefields in Europe," is Lot 2556 (69 boxes), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Box 67 includes a volume that illustrates the action of the 91st Division in the Ypres-Lys Offensive of October 29 -November 11, 1918. The location of the Flanders Field American Cemetery is noted.

<sup>106</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1925*, 71.

<sup>107</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1925*, 58-59; 45; ABMC, *Annual Report 1926*, 21-43. Belgian, German, and Italian military cemeteries and war memorials were also briefly considered in the report. Grossman notes that ABMC enlarged their plans in order to compete with these efforts by other countries and spent 1925-29 "add[ing] and subtract[ing] from its list of monuments in response to external pressures." See "Architecture for a Public Client," 123-24.

<sup>108</sup> See Folder 231.24 - Architects, Draftsmen etc., Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

architects.<sup>109</sup> It was through this process that Moore put forward prominent architect Paul Philippe Cret (1876-1945) as consulting architect to the ABMC. They proposed to have him travel overseas during the summer of 1925 to evaluate the potential sites and make recommendations. Moore noted that for the best results Cret should be paid enough to devote a year or two to this work exclusively. Then "the memorials will be a credit to the Government of the United States and an inspiration to the countless persons who will visit them in future years."<sup>110</sup>

Cret was an excellent choice for the job (**Figure 11**). He was born in Lyons, France and trained at the *Écoles des Beaux-Arts* in Lyons and in Paris. He immigrated to the United States in 1903 to teach design at the University of Pennsylvania, a position he held until 1937. He also maintained a respected architectural practice based in Philadelphia. Accomplished in Beaux Arts design practices and known especially for his elegant public buildings, in the 1920s Cret developed a mature style that incorporated Art Moderne motifs into Classical forms. When ABMC brought him in as consulting architect, his most noteworthy pre-war buildings included the Pan-American Union in Washington, DC, a widely-praised, competition-winning design (1907, with Albert Kelsey), National Memorial Arch at Valley Forge (1914-17), and the Indianapolis Public Library (competition, 1914, with Zantzinger, Borie & Medary). Cret was in France when war broke out and stayed to serve with the French Army from 1914-1919. Later in his service he functioned as a Lieutenant Liaison Office with the American Army.<sup>111</sup> He was awarded the Croix de Guerre and made an officer in the Legion of Honor for his service.

Upon returning from France, Cret continued to win high profile competitions with widely praised designs for the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC (1919-1927), and the Detroit Institute of Art (1919-1927). In addition to public building types, Cret increasingly specialized in commemorative architecture. In 1919 he designed a modest but high profile memorial fountain for Quentin Roosevelt, son of former President Theodore Roosevelt, killed in action as a combat pilot in France.<sup>112</sup> His competition entry for the extensive World War I Liberty Memorial in Kansas City earned second place. At the time of his appointment to the ABMC, Cret was already working on several war memorials to be erected in France for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.<sup>113</sup> Cret served as ABMC Consulting Architect until his death

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<sup>109</sup> See correspondence between Moore, William Adams Delano, James Greenleaf, Louis Ayres, James E. Fraser (sculptor), and Milton B. Medary, Jr., (December 1924), Box 3, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. Medary was a partner in the Philadelphia firm of Zantzinger, Borie, & Medary. Cret worked with this firm on the Indianapolis Public Library and other projects. He put Cret at the top of his list of to lead the ABMC design campaign and the others concurred. See letter, Medary to Moore, (10 December 1924).

<sup>110</sup> Letter, Charles A. Moore to Senator David A. Reed, (17 January 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>111</sup> John Harbeson, "Paul Cret and Architectural Competitions," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25, no. 4 (December 1966): 306.

<sup>112</sup> A presentation drawing of the roadside fountain, shown in plan and in elevation, is found in Folder 967, Paul Philippe Cret Papers, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

<sup>113</sup> Sandra Tatman, "Paul Philippe Cret," [www.philadelphiabuildings.org](http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org), accessed 13 February 2013; Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, "Paul Phillippe Cret," in *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1970; reprint 1996), 149 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

in 1945. Cret's biographer, Theodore White, considers his design projects for the ABMC to be among his finest work.<sup>114</sup>

Cret was invited to attend his first meeting of the ABMC in February 1925. They proposed that he travel to Europe and make recommendations to the ABMC for a fee of \$50 per day plus all expenses (for any day he was engaged in ABMC work). Cret was already working on a Pennsylvania Memorial and it was suggested that upcoming travel costs could be split between the ABMC and that commission. ABMC declined to immediately appoint Cret as consulting architect, but asked that he examine potential sites, propose general schemes for memorials and chapels, and advise as to the best method of obtaining detailed plans. He was assured that "after this survey it is practically certain you will be asked to be the architect-advisor of the Commission on designs and construction."<sup>115</sup> Cret was also asked to prepare final designs for Latin cross and Star of David headstones, giving him the opportunity to put the final touches on these hotly debated cemetery markers. The architect agreed to start work immediately on the headstones and start the larger project sometime in May.<sup>116</sup>

Cret quickly submitted several possible designs for the headstones. Price notified him that full-size plaster models of "schemes B and C" would be made for the next ABMC meeting. The first priority was making a decision on the cross, and then the Star of David, which would be used for only about 350 graves. Price noted that "the Commission is committed to the cruciform headstone in spite of the objections against it."<sup>117</sup> With Cret's assistance, the headstone designs were finalized in 1925. After some debate about the type of stone, these headstones were manufactured in Italy and installed during 1927-28.<sup>118</sup>

In preparation for his 1925 trip, ABMC sent Cret a number of maps, documents, and site survey information. Several key decisions were already in place, such as the determination to add a chapel to each cemetery. The number, design, and specific location of the large monuments and smaller markers were less certain. However the list sent to Cret does reflect a majority of what was eventually built.<sup>119</sup> Cret responded by summarizing his understanding of the assignment. He would visit the nineteen potential monument sites and eight cemeteries to gather data necessary for architects to prepare preliminary studies. As to design recommendations Cret cautioned Pershing and the ABMC:

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<sup>114</sup> Theodore B. White, *Paul Philippe Cret: Architect and Teacher* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1973), 32. He became an American citizen in 1927. See Elizabeth Greenwell Grossman, *The Civic Architecture of Paul Cret* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19. The only ABMC projects covered in the architectural press were Cret's. See "American Battle Monuments France and Belgium, Paul P. Cret," *Architectural Forum* 56, no. 5 (May 1932): 473-476.

<sup>115</sup> Letter, Price to Cret, (26 February 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>116</sup> Letter, Cret to Price, (2 March 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>117</sup> Letter, Price to Cret, (20 March 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. Pershing also sent a letter to Cret about his European trip and offered that he would be in Europe during the summer to facilitate the decision-making process. See Letter, Pershing to Cret, (23 March 1923), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>118</sup> See Colonel Frederick W. Van Duyne, "Erection of Permanent Headstones in the American Military Cemeteries in Europe," *The Quartermaster Review* (January-February 1930): 25-30. Copy in Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>119</sup> Letter, Price to Cret, (3 April 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

...The magnitude of the work entrusted to your Commission will require the employment of several architects or sculptors, and it might be embarrassing to these men to be limited by a preference expressed by the Commission for a design prepared by someone else. My recommendation will therefore be in most cases very general, and the sketches accompanying these will be chiefly of plan arrangement most suitable for the site and in some cases of mass and silhouette desirable for a particular site. ...The recommendations...will be in fact more in the nature of a program for the artists selected to design the monuments and buildings.<sup>120</sup>

The ABMC also asked Cret to advise on French building practices and materials, and to recommend architects for the projects. He cautioned against having too many, noting that a team approach like a world's fair might be best. Cret planned to submit a list with his trip report and urged that delay between gathering data and appointing architects be minimized to expedite construction.

On further reflection, Cret submitted more detailed information on choosing architects shortly before leaving, in the hopes that this process could proceed simultaneously with his trip. Cret wrote to Pershing: "I believe that, on projects of this nature, which are to endure and ought to be the best possible expression of the gratitude of the country, the artists entrusted with the work ought not to be held to a too narrow limit of time."<sup>121</sup> He recommended preselecting a number of architects so work could begin on preliminary designs while his trip was in progress, and included a list for this purpose (see Appendix A). Many of the architects he named, in addition to himself, would go on to work for the ABMC -- Charles Platt, John Russell Pope, Egerton Swartwout, George Howe, Thomas Harlan Ellett, Harry Sternfeld. Other prominent names on the list -- McKim, Mead & White, Albert Kahn -- would not. The projects he felt could move forward were the monuments for Montfaucon, St. Mihiel, Château-Thierry, Nancy, Tours, Southampton, and Brest, as well as two of the "historical monuments" and two of the chapels. He promised rather optimistically, "these major projects underway and some clearer idea of the type desirable for the minor monuments and the chapels being arrived at, it will be an easy matter to have the whole work entrusted to your Commission under way during the winter."<sup>122</sup>

Cret also recommended three possible ways to handle payment - through a gentleman's agreement that the architect would be given the full job or something comparable by the ABMC, a fixed lump sum of \$500 to \$1,000 as in an invited competition, or 20% of the percentage fee as calculated by American Institute of Architects standards for the entire project. He also raised the subject of his own compensation, which had only been settled for his work on the trip, not for additional potential duties as consulting architect. Cret noted that this work would be separate from any role as architect for one of the monuments or chapels. He again suggested three

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<sup>120</sup> Letter, Cret to Pershing, (11 April 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>121</sup> Letter, Cret to Pershing, (10 May 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

possibilities - lump sum fee, as in the case of a competition advisor; percentage fee on the proposed cost of the memorials; or a yearly salary.<sup>123</sup>

Just the day before Cret sailed from New York on May 16, 1925, Pershing responded with a number of decisions. In addition to approving Cret's plan, Pershing had secured a resolution from the ABMC members appointing Cret consulting architect upon return from his trip and allowing architects to be hired on his recommendation without further action by the Commission. Cret was to confer with Price regarding his payment as consulting architect. Price also traveled with Cret during the trip, giving him important influence over the architect's design decisions. Lieut. Thomas North of the Paris office prepared a preliminary survey for each site; Cret praised the thoroughness and usefulness of North's work.<sup>124</sup>

The most complicated part of Cret's task was recommending sites for monuments and markers. Principles adopted by the ABMC guided his evaluation. Each one should be on ground fought over by Americans, easily accessible, and with commanding views both to the monument and from it. Cret added the criteria that any monument site should have good "architectural possibilities," noting that "many monuments lose the best of their appearance in inappropriate surrounding."<sup>125</sup> Regarding the design of large monuments, Cret expressed a preference for a naturally elevated site and a structure with clean, bold lines easily read from a distance. He cautioned that "an elaborate monument set in the middle of a broad, open space almost looks like a piece of furniture forgotten in the middle of a field, whatever may be the value of its design."<sup>126</sup> Carefully designed approach roads, retaining walls, steps, and planting were preferable to elaborate sculpture in creating a monumental and impressive effect.

While much of Cret's time during the trip was occupied by considering multiple sites for each large monument, he was also tasked with examining sites for smaller monuments, referred to by the Commission as "historical" monuments. Initial guidance from ABMC suggested that one design be prepared and used in twelve or so locations, perhaps a hold-over from the Battle Monuments Board concept. Cret cautioned against this approach, noting that the proposed locations varied so greatly that each historical monument needed to be a site-specific design. He recommended that the proposed text for each monument be determined as a design starting point.<sup>127</sup>

The third major aspect of Cret's trip involved visiting the eight American military cemeteries to choose a location for a memorial chapel and make general recommendations for improvements. GRS Chief Lieutenant Colonel William O. Smith reported to the Quartermaster General that Cret and Price were to embark on their tour of the GRS cemeteries on June 9, 1925. Smith was concerned that funds had been allotted for masonry walls around all the cemeteries

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Letter, Pershing to Cret, (15 May 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. Pershing also reports that a monument in Rome was being added to the list. This idea was later abandoned.

<sup>125</sup> Typescript, Paul P. Cret, "The American Battle Monuments Commission Report on Survey in Europe May 15-August 21, 1925," (15 September 1925), 2; Box 2, Entry 3, RG 117, NARA II [hereafter Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925)].

<sup>126</sup> Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925), 5.

<sup>127</sup> Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925), 28.

but ABMC still needed to decide what would be built. He was also concerned about continuing funding for his Construction Division staff into the next fiscal year (starting July 1, 1925). Their salaries had been covered by an appropriation dated June 30, 1922 that was set to expire at the end of the current fiscal year. They included American architect and engineer, Earl Harvey Lyall (1877-1932), a graduate of Columbia and the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, French architect Charles L. Moginier, and civil engineer Eric D. Simpson, trained at the University of California. Smith mentions that Lyall designed all the houses built at the cemeteries, with assistance from Moginier. Smith urged that his staff be retained and allowed to continue the ongoing planting plans and do preliminary work for future projects, such as installing the permanent headstones and building walls.<sup>128</sup>

When Cret and Price arrived at Flanders Field, they would have seen the results of the War Department efforts to date. Cret's report on Flanders Field shows that the changes he oversaw at that cemetery were largely conceived at the time of this initial visit. Cret writes:

The general plan is not so successful as the majority of American cemeteries. The reception building is very near the entrance, and the flagpole blocks the entrance to the cemetery. This will be more objectionable when the trees have grown. Central square looks very empty.<sup>129</sup>

Cret recommended that the Chapel be placed at the center of the square, to be surrounded by the existing four sections of graves. The Chapel was to be symmetrical in all directions. The flagpole would be moved opposite the house where it could be seen from the road and not block the view of the Chapel. He considered placing the Chapel at the far corner of the cemetery but rejected that idea as inferior due to the fact that it was too small, would not help the main portion of the cemetery, and would eventually be blocked by trees. Recommended site improvements included more plantings at the entrance, replacing wood benches with something more permanent, and creating circular areas from three corners of the square (the rond points) with flagstone paths and art or a memorial as a focal point.<sup>130</sup>

Cret's report did not include photographs, but a series of contemporary Signal Corps photographs show the American cemeteries as he would have seen them. At Flanders Field young trees lined the entrance drive and a plain flagpole on a round base sat at the end of the drive. The curbing along the drive continued to create a circular area around the flagpole (**Figure 12**). The current Superintendent's Quarters, gate, and walls were in place, as are many immature plantings. Irregularly-shaped planting beds with a mix of trees and shrubs were visible in the area across the drive from the house and perhaps near the rear of the site as well. The center lawn is just grass surrounded by a narrow crushed stone path with a few young trees and small evergreen shrubs planted near the edge (**Figure 13**). In the grave areas four rows were visible with wood crosses. The arrangement of the burials was consistent with what is there today. One photograph shows some shrubs such as rhododendrons planted at the edges of the

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<sup>128</sup> Memorandum, Lieut. Col. William O. Smith to Quartermaster General, (8 June 1925), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>129</sup> Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925), 56.

<sup>130</sup> Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925), 56-57.

grave areas and the utilitarian-looking wood benches near the flagpole (**Figure 14**). Clearly effort had been put into arranging and landscaping the site, but Cret felt that ABMC could improve on the result.

Upon his return, Cret revisited the task of hiring architects for the various projects. In his report he reiterated his belief that minimizing the number of architects would greatly simplify things. To this end he thought each firm should do two or three projects. He also began to make more specific recommendations about procedures for hiring associated landscape architects, sculptors, and other artists, and obtaining estimates. Cret firmly suggested that the lead architect for each project should be able submit his choice for landscape architect, etc. to the ABMC and be confident that his preference would prevail. Regarding estimates, Cret recommended that once preliminary designs were received, these should be submitted for estimates from contractors in the proposed location, with the ABMC Paris office coordinating this process. This work could proceed simultaneously with the design review, providing guidance at an early stage as to whether a design needed to be simplified or changed due to cost.<sup>131</sup>

The work done by Cret and others during the summer of 1925 helped the ABMC to refine its memorial plans. The French, especially, had shown little interest in building memorials and it seemed increasingly inappropriate to have nearly 100 official American monuments scattered across their countryside. ABMC decided to greatly reduce the number of monuments, but create more large ones than the original two proposed by the Battle Monuments Board. A key reason for this change in scale was the waning landscape of the war:

The large memorials of the project should be sufficiently imposing so that people will make special trips to see them. This is considered quite important, as the battle-field region of France will probably not in itself attract tourists to any great extent after the evidences of the war have disappeared.<sup>132</sup>

It was also now clear that work should proceed first on the memorial chapels because acquiring sites for large monuments would take some time. The overseas cemeteries were already in the possession of the U.S. Government and ready for further development.

Selecting architects for the various jobs had not been done while Cret was away, but proceeded in the fall of 1925. Contrary to Cret's advice that a world's fair-type team be assembled, each firm was given one or two projects. This project-based approach was likely more economical than essentially creating an in-house team, but not conducive to rapid progress. The CFA had begun soliciting input on Cret's initial list over the summer. Most of their correspondents questioned the inclusion of Albert Kahn, deeming his skill to be mainly in commercial architecture. Architect Louis Ayres, of York & Sawyer, New York, and an outgoing CFA commissioner, made the observation that "I should not say that it would prove essential for all the monuments to tend toward the Classic, as they will probably be isolated and may be in surroundings where Gothic or Romanesque or some such other type would be more appropriate

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<sup>131</sup> Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925), 79-80.

<sup>132</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1926*, 13.

for the setting."<sup>133</sup> This comment reveals mainstream architectural practice at the time, which regarded various historic styles as tools to be employed by the architect as necessary. Moore compiled the comments and suggestions he received into a letter to Price. Only Kahn was rejected from Cret's list, but eleven names were added including Ralph Adams Cram, a specialist in Gothic Revival, York & Sawyer, Cass Gilbert, and Bernard Maybeck.<sup>134</sup>

Cret gently objected to the expanded list, mainly because he felt having a more limited number of architects each working on two or three projects for the ABMC would be most efficient, particularly in terms of travel costs. He requested that the West Coast architects added by the CFA (Bliss & Faville, Maybeck) be removed due to the difficulties of attending meetings in Washington, DC. Cret offered a tentative list of project assignments with most of the firms noted for more than one project, although several projects were still unassigned. John Russell Pope was only listed for the largest monument at Montfaucon. Cret included himself as the architect of the Château-Thierry monument. He proposed that Howard Van Doren Shaw design the Flanders Field Chapel, as well as the naval monument in Brest, France.<sup>135</sup>

Beyond the list of candidates, the hiring procedure still needed to be sorted out. A few days after Cret's assignment list, he prepared a new one based on direction from the ABMC that preliminary designs for many of the projects be prepared by two different firms. Cret had envisioned the selected architects working in a closed competition, each with their own preliminary assignment. Cret presumed that each architect who submitted a preliminary design would receive a comparable commission from ABMC, but Price was not extending that guarantee. The unusual nature of this approach caused some concerns and a desire to make sure the ABMC was following American Institute of Architect's guidelines properly. When ABMC briefly settled on the idea of having multiple firms submit designs for the same project, Cret cautioned that this would clearly constitute a competition. He told Price that AIA competition rules would apply or many architects would decline to participate. Cret had successfully entered and judged many competitions in his career. Competitions were also the cornerstone of his Beaux Arts education and his teaching methods at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>136</sup> However he was clearly uncomfortable with the ABMC's idea of two firms creating a design for the same project, without the usual competition rules and procedures. Cret drafted a letter carefully attempting to explain the procedure to potential architects. Price's rewrite of the letter took a more forceful tone, noting the unorthodox nature of their competition plans and citing the "patriotic appeal that these memorials hold for all Americans" as reason to accept the ABMC's terms.<sup>137</sup>

Because Price initially believed consulting with the AIA was just a courtesy he seemed taken aback by Cret's polite warnings about problems. Price felt that the ABMC work was outside of the AIA rules regarding competitions because those rules exempted overseas projects. However because these were to be essentially American buildings built by the U.S. Government,

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<sup>133</sup> Letter, Louis Ayres to Charles Moore, (9 July 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>134</sup> Letter, Moore to Price, (11 September 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>135</sup> Letter, Cret to Price, (1 October 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>136</sup> See John Harbeson, "Paul Cret and Architectural Competitions," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25, no. 4 (December 1966): 305-306.

<sup>137</sup> Letter, Price to Cret, (14 October 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

the AIA guidelines regarding proper payment and jury review still applied. Price complained about interference and contended that review by the ABMC and approval by the Commission of Fine Arts functioned as jury review in this case. Cret soothed him by clarifying that although their procedure was unusual, the architects would still have the responsibility to produce a preliminary design satisfactory to the ABMC. The dynamic between the two men is one that would be repeated over the course of a decade of work together. Cret's even temperament and talent for the administrative as well as the aesthetic aspects of architecture would compliment Price's own administrative and political skills while calming the career soldier's tendency to be impatient with architectural processes. Cret again strongly recommended assigning preliminary designs to one firm, which could generate four or five schemes from which the Commission could choose. Price ultimately agreed with Cret and promised to smooth things over with the Commission by presenting a list of approved architects with assigned projects.<sup>138</sup>

An ABMC report described the final method of hiring architects as "obtain[ing] designs by direct contract with different architects or firms whose reputation is such that it is practically certain they will produce a design satisfactory to the commission."<sup>139</sup> It noted that the architects preferred this method and both open and limited competitions had been considered but rejected. As Cret recommended, each architect would submit multiple preliminary sketches for their project, with larger monuments and chapels going to established firms and small memorials providing opportunities for a handful of younger architects. If an approved design was not developed within six months, the contract would terminate and the architect paid \$250 plus travel expenses. In late October invitations had been sent to eight architects/firms, but the locations of the large monuments were still in question pending final decisions by General Pershing. Cret had determined the location of the chapels within the cemeteries during his trip. Cret and Price also developed proposed cost allotments for the chapels, with \$50,000 allocated for Flanders Field.<sup>140</sup> The architects who received invitations were Cret, Ralph Adams Cram, Cass Gilbert, York & Sawyer, Cross & Cross, Arthur Loomis Harmon, John Russell Pope, and Egerton Swartwout. With the exception of Philadelphia-based Cret, and Boston-based Cram, all were located in New York City. These firms were the ones selected for the larger monuments and chapels.

The final list of ABMC architects and their projects would continue to change over the next year or so. By April 1926, Cass Gilbert declined the St. Mihiel monument commission, possibly because of disagreement with the contract procedures. Cret proposed a number of names for replacements, again mostly New York architects including Thomas Hastings of Carrère and Hastings, Raymond Hood, and H. Van Buren Magonigle, as well as Holabird and Roche of Chicago.<sup>141</sup> That same month, Howard Van Doren Shaw of Chicago was still listed as the architect of Flanders Field Chapel and the Brest Naval Monument. In May, the plan was for Cret to design the large monument at Château-Thierry and smaller monuments at Juvigny and

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<sup>138</sup> See correspondence between Cret and Price during October-November 1925, Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>139</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1926*, 23.

<sup>140</sup> Letter, Cret to Price, (2 November 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>141</sup> Letter, Cret to Price, (14 April 1926), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

South of Soissons.<sup>142</sup> Shortly thereafter, ABMC's Committee on Memorials proposed eliminating a number of the smaller memorials, including Juvigny and South of Soissons, in order to concentrate on difficult site negotiations for the larger memorials.<sup>143</sup>

The 1920s were a period of booming construction and expansion of all building types in the United States - commercial, domestic, industrial, educational, and institutional. Memorials were also being constructed all around the country, often as part of a larger program of civic improvement which had begun before the war and was now coming to fruition. In addition to memorials and monuments dedicated to the recent war, major projects such as the Lincoln Memorial (Henry Bacon, dedicated 1922) in Washington, DC and National Memorial Arch at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania (Paul P. Cret, 1914-1917). It was in this context that the journal *Architectural Forum* published its "Memorial Buildings and Monuments Reference Number." In the introductory essay "The Value of Memorial Architecture," architect Harvey Wiley Corbett offers an argument for memorials as the highest form of his art:

If we make our comparison in terms of financial outlay, investment or productivity, we are again confronted with the thought that memorial architecture has the least value of any type....Spiritual architecture, and in that we would include religious as well as memorial, as they are very much the same in purpose and should be classified together, is the last remaining bulwark of the soul of man....No other form of building has such vital significance, and certainly no other kind of architecture demands such study, such imagination, such vision. It is the one and only architecture in which the message it carries is more important than the form, the material, the style, or even the use....Since a memorial is likely to occupy a position of prominence...its very permanence creates an obligation to posterity which the architect will do well to heed.<sup>144</sup>

Corbett was Cret's contemporary, and a fellow graduate of the *École des Beaux-Arts*. He was mainly known for his skyscraper designs, but he also had commissions for memorials in the early 1920s such as the Peace Arch on the United States/Canada border.<sup>145</sup> The idea that memorial design was more permanent and didactic, creating a responsibility to transmit remembrance of an event across generations, was clearly shared by Cret and the ABMC.

The ABMC building program was still in development so no examples appear in this issue of *Architectural Forum*. Cret, however, did submit an essay, as did Egerton Swartwout, later architect of Brookwood Cemetery Chapel and the Montsec Monument. Swartwout's piece focused on memorial buildings, posing the question, "should buildings be erected as memorials, or rather, should memorials be buildings and not arches, or statues or fountains or shafts?"<sup>146</sup> He

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<sup>142</sup> Typescript, (16 April 1926), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. Cret would end up designing the Gibraltar Naval Memorial and Bellicourt Memorial in addition to Flanders Field and Château-Thierry.

<sup>143</sup> Extract of Letter, Price to North, (10 May 1926), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>144</sup> Harvey Wiley Corbett, "The Value of Memorial Architecture," *Architectural Forum* 45, no. 6 (December 1926), 321.

<sup>145</sup> Located in Washington State and British Columbia, the Peace Arch commemorates the Treaty of Ghent and the end of the War of 1812. It was dedicated in September 1921.

<sup>146</sup> Egerton Swartwout, "Memorial Buildings," *Architectural Forum* 45, no. 6 (December 1926), 325.

cautioned against the temptation to be more "practical" and build a combination memorial and school or city hall because the day to day use will obscure its memorial function: "The memorial idea is forgotten, not because of any lack of feeling or of patriotism, but because we as a people are likely to forget quickly unless we have some visible and beautiful object to awaken our remembrances."<sup>147</sup> Swartwout's approach emphasized the importance of commemoration as the primary function of a memorial, even as he cites the Elk's Memorial Building he designed in Chicago with a memorial rotunda and meeting rooms, as well as modest offices for the organization. A purist approach to this architectural dilemma is consistent with the ABMC allowing outside groups to build "useful" memorials overseas - fountains, bridges, town halls - while reserving the loftier national commemorative project for their own initiative.

Cret's *Architectural Forum* article focused on traditional memorial objects -- columns, shafts, cenotaphs and tablets. However he spent some time discussing the larger purpose of memorials, echoing the theme that a proper memorial required "permanency and a clear and arresting expression of the commemorative idea."<sup>148</sup> In Cret's view of memorials:

In these works, which even in their strongest and noblest examples are but frail symbols of man's eternal hope to secure his glories and perpetuate his memory to future generations beyond the grasp of time, utility is, perhaps, best subordinated to beauty and simplicity of form, and to that reverent care in execution for which even time shows respect.<sup>149</sup>

Cret emphasized his characteristic attention to simple and beautiful forms. By the time this essay was published, Cret was in the midst of designing the Flanders Field Chapel.

### ABMC Cemetery Improvements

While plans moved forward for the ABMC's building program, the existing cemeteries represented the public face of American war commemoration overseas. As acknowledged by the Graves Registration Service in their completion report at the end of 1925, only basic construction had been completed, no monumental or memorial projects. Frederick Hill, a New York attorney and former officer with General Pershing's staff, wrote to Price with his impressions of the four unspecified cemeteries following a trip to France in 1926. Hill wrote "they were neat, clean and well located but the buildings that have been erected and the other construction work connected therewith, including the planting and landscape treatment leaves something to be desired."<sup>150</sup> He was particularly dismissive of the buildings which he felt "do not reflect too much credit on our architectural or artistic powers," and criticized the plantings as "amateurish." Hill was quick to say that this was not intended as a criticism of the Army, which surely did the best it could with limited appropriations. He was greatly impressed by the quality of the British cemeteries and urged that ABMC take over development of the American ones. National pride was at stake, as Hill continued:

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<sup>147</sup> Swartwout, 329.

<sup>148</sup> Paul P. Cret, "Memorials - Columns, Shafts, Cenotaphs and Tablets," *Architectural Forum* 45, no. 6 (December 1926), 331.

<sup>149</sup> Cret, "Memorials," 336.

<sup>150</sup> Letter, Frederick Trevor Hill to Price, (6 May 1926), Box 157, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

I think everyone who has seen those cemeteries will agree that they look cheap - from the seal of the U.S. crudely carved on the portals, to the good, stout, ugly steel flagpole in the rear. The workmanship is obviously of the cheapest possible character, and no American visiting France can point to it with pride.

Clearly the ABMC officials held similar views, but avoided stating them quite so bluntly. Hill articulates the desire to remove all aesthetic decisions from the War Department and develop a more sophisticated American presence overseas.

Cret made a visit to Europe for ABMC in July 1926, as did General Pershing. A briefing memo prepared by Price for Pershing enumerated a number of issues around acquiring sites for monuments. It was hoped that Pershing could resolve them by exerting some personal pressure. He was also scheduled to do a general inspection of the cemeteries.<sup>151</sup> ABMC was helping to plan tours and prepare cornerstone laying ceremonies to coordinate with the American Legion convention in France during 1927.<sup>152</sup> The European Office was also providing site surveys to the various architects, when specified in their contract.<sup>153</sup>

The various firms and their projects were published in the *ABMC Annual Report* for fiscal year 1926. Clearly the ABMC intended to emphasize a new approach to the projects formerly under the direction of the Graves Registration Service and the Battle Monuments Board. Paul Cret was now listed as the architect for Waregem chapel. This was likely due to the death of Howard Van Doren Shaw in May 1926. His successor firm, Howard Shaw Associates, did take over design of the Brest Naval Monument with Ralph Milman as the architect of record for the project. Waregem was to be the smallest of the chapels, allocated only \$50,000 of the \$1 million appropriation for this purpose. The largest amount, \$300,000, went to the chapel at Meuse-Argonne Cemetery, the largest American overseas cemetery. The purpose of these nondenominational memorial chapels was described as "to provide attractive buildings which will add to the beauty of the cemeteries and give a sheltered place in each where those so inclined can go for meditation and prayer."<sup>154</sup> Tablets listing the names of the missing were to be included in each design; the larger ones would have a room devoted to maps and information about the American military operations in the area.

ABMC Commissioner Robert Woodside reported on his impressions of Flanders Field Cemetery in August 1926. He praised the excellent condition of the cemetery, particularly the beds of annual flowers planted by the caretaker. Woodside notes that the center square of the cemetery was already decided to be the only logical location for the Chapel. Cret had already

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<sup>151</sup> Memorandum - "Status of sites and work in Europe which ought to be done during the summer of 1926," Price to Pershing, (10 June 1926), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. This memo includes detailed information about negotiations for Montfaucon and correspondence with the Secretary of State about acquiring monument sites.

<sup>152</sup> See Box 132, Entry 10 - Monthly Reports of Paris Office [hereafter Entry 10], RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>153</sup> Letter, Price to North, (21 July 1926), Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II. In 1926 Lieutenant Thomas North was in charge of the ABMC European Office in Paris. North's main duties included working on site acquisitions for memorials and serving as a local contact for Commission members and architects starting design to chapels and memorials.

<sup>154</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1926*, 11.

suggested this placement after his visit the previous summer. Woodside goes on to say "it is suggested that the four corners of the square in the center of the cemetery...might be good sites for divisional memorials to be erected by the four divisions participating in Belgium, provided of course that such memorials should be in harmony with the chapel."<sup>155</sup> This idea for divisional memorials in the rond points evolved into the matching urns with discrete division insignias.

In the fall of 1926, Price informed Lieutenant North that designs had come in for most of the chapels. He noted that ABMC efforts for the near future would be "devoted toward pushing the chapels and the monuments at Montsec and Château-Thierry."<sup>156</sup> Around this same time, Price notified North that:

The Carrara marble bid for the headstones was finally accepted. The basis for this selection was color rather than durability, as it is desired to retain, in so far as possible, the effect of the present existing white headstones. No other stone bid on answered the requirements of the Commission as to whiteness.<sup>157</sup>

The preference for white stone was part of the requirements that the permanent stones maintain the look of white-painted temporary wood crosses. ABMC's *Annual Report* for 1926 summarized the progress of the headstone issue, highlighting the extensive discussion, including Congressional hearings on both form and material. The War Department and Commission of Fine Arts continued to favor a traditional slab headstone like those in national cemeteries. The ABMC and "practically all of the ex-service and gold-star organizations were in favor of permanent headstones of the same general form as the temporary headstones in use in these cemeteries."<sup>158</sup> The ABMC view prevailed and all the World War I overseas cemeteries have Carrara marble Latin cross or Star of David headstones following Cret's design.<sup>159</sup>

Price submitted Cret's preliminary designs for a chapel at Flanders Field cemetery to the Commission of Fine Arts in October 1926.<sup>160</sup> CFA Chair Charles Moore responded that the Commission favored "Scheme C" as having "a simplicity and charm to it that makes it altogether appropriate," although a formal vote does not seem to have been taken at this time.<sup>161</sup> Cret then submitted a revised design which was approved by the ABMC at its December 21, 1926 meeting

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<sup>155</sup> Memorandum, Robert G. Woodside to Chair, ABMC Commissioners, (23 August 1926), Box 2, Entry 3, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>156</sup> Letter, Price to North, (14 September 1926), Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II. Price commented that the designs submitted by Cram & Ferguson for Aisne-Marne and Oise-Aisne cemeteries "won't do at all." See also Letter, Price to North, (2 November 1926) in the same location. He notes that architect Ellet was having trouble getting his designs approved.

<sup>157</sup> Letter, Price to North, (26 October 1926), Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>158</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1926*, 27.

<sup>159</sup> Correspondence from late 1925 and 1926 shows the last stages of the ongoing debate about permanent headstones. There was pressure to require American stone, or switch to a French marble in lieu of Carrara marble. Ultimately the price of Carrara marble was more reasonable than any of the white stone alternatives. See Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II

<sup>160</sup> Letter, X. H. Price to Commission of Fine Arts, (11 October 1926), Box 49, Entry 8 - World War I Cemetery Files [hereafter Entry 8], RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>161</sup> Letter, Charles Moore to Price, (16 October 1926), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

and by the CFA in early January. Only exterior forms were being considered at this time, as the CFA noted it was still waiting to see studies of the interior.

Sketches in the Cret Papers at the University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives show several proposed versions of the Flanders Field Chapel, although they are not identified by scheme letter. All these designs share a Classical flavor, and the core idea of a small chapel with a distinctive vertical presence. An octagonal design has entrances on four sides. The composition of the elevation includes a tall frieze with bas relief sculpture and a low-pitched octagonal roof (**Figure 15**). A monumental winged figure was located at the peak of the roof. This design may be the "Scheme C" recommended by the CFA, although it would evolve into a much simpler composition. Architectural historian Elizabeth Grossman sees this drawing, as well as the final Chapel design, as a variation on the Temple of the Winds in Athens, Greece.<sup>162</sup> That Classical building is a tall, octagonal tower with a frieze of bas relief sculpture around the attic level.

Cret continued to revise his design over the next few months, with input from the CFA regarding the proportions of the door and window, height and other matters. Price noted to Cret after the February 10, 1927 meeting that ABMC had "decided that the interior of these chapels should be made Christian in character, although non-denominational," perhaps giving Cret further information about a desired approach to the interior.<sup>163</sup> Cret submitted several other revisions to the ABMC and CFA, with final conceptual approval for the exterior coming in March 1927. During the same month, Cret began sending the preliminary designs for this and other chapels to Paris for estimates.<sup>164</sup>

A final design rendering of the Chapel in the collection of the Commission of Fine Arts files is stamped February 17, 1927 (**Figure 16**). A very similar rendering was also published in the 1927 guidebook.<sup>165</sup> The elegant exterior of the Chapel stands in foreshortened perspective in front of a solid allée of trees and rows of Latin cross headstones. A bas relief of a Classical oil lamp appears in the frieze over the entrance instead of the subsequent two line "GREET THEM EVER/WITH GRATEFUL HEARTS" inscription. The door has a more stylized foliage motif but appears to be the same type of bronze grille as actually installed. The form and other details of the Chapel appear to be identical to what was built, including the low terrace with clipped dwarf hedges, a geometric stone grille over the window, and lion head drain scuppers in the attic story.

As 1927 proceeded, Cret continued in his duties as consulting architect to all the ABMC projects. Cret also was working on the design for the Château-Thierry monument at this time.<sup>166</sup> The chapel projects progressed most quickly, since choosing and acquiring sites for the monuments took much more time. A set of detailed drawings for the Chapel dated August 14, 1927 show the structure largely as constructed (**Figure 17**). On the exterior only the blank frieze

<sup>162</sup> Grossman, "Architecture for a Public Client," 138.

<sup>163</sup> Letter, Price to Cret, (10 February 1927), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>164</sup> See correspondence in Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>165</sup> See ABMC, *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe*, 253.

<sup>166</sup> Letter, Cret to Price, (10 August 1927), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II. Working drawings for Château-Thierry and Flanders Field Chapel were nearly ready, prompting Cret to ask Price whether to send them to the DC or Paris office.

over the entrance stands out as different. The interior motifs shown in these drawings indicate more extensive changes in this area. At this stage there are different design details for the marble floor, interior bronze grilles, and decorative ceiling. Here the mosaic ceiling depicts a winged figure standing on a pedestal in front of a colonnade instead of the oil lamp and "doves of heaven" design actually used.

Cret visited Flanders Field and the six cemeteries in France during May 1927 and submitted his report to Pershing and the ABMC. A number of points are worth noting regarding the overall administration and planning for the cemeteries. Jacques Greber, an architect and landscape architect from Paris, accompanied Cret on this tour. He was appointed local representative for four of the cemeteries per Cret's recommendation - Aisne-Marne, Oise-Aisne, Meuse-Argonne, and Suresnes.<sup>167</sup> Greber was educated in architecture at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, matriculating in 1901. He had a transatlantic career, designing many estate gardens in the Philadelphia area during the 1910s and was also serving as the consulting architect to Philadelphia's Fairmount Park Commission starting in 1917.<sup>168</sup>

Cret noted that since architects had been chosen for the chapels, they each should prepare an improvement plan for their respective cemeteries for approval by ABMC. His contributions would be general recommendations (other than Flanders Field) since it was more appropriate for the architect of the chapel to develop a cohesive vision for the site. Cret also urged that paths and roads, curbing, walls, sheds, and general planting plans be considered "work of architecture and art" and be under the jurisdiction of the ABMC and its hired architects. He praised the efforts of the Graves Registration Service:

In general, I was gratified with the improvement, since my last visit, in the appearance of the cemeteries, which is largely due to the vigilant care of the Graves Registration Service, seconded by the personal interest of the groundskeepers. Some handicaps due to the original planting, could not, in some cases, be overcome; the lawns, however, have been improved everywhere.<sup>169</sup>

Cret blamed the handicaps of the original planting on lowest bidder practices resulting in poor quality work, with the exception of Suresnes which enjoyed the services of a reputable firm. He recommended that the architects' estimates should include new plantings, moving existing plantings, improving soil, and repairing damage from chapel construction.

Cret mentions the Commission of Fine Arts' original intention to omit all flowers from overseas cemeteries, instead favoring the use of trees and shrubs like at Arlington National Cemetery. However local groundskeepers had introduced flower beds at many of the cemeteries

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<sup>167</sup> Letter, Greber to Cret, (29 January 1929), Box 5, Series I - Correspondence, MS Collection 295 - Paul P. Cret Papers, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA. Other correspondence in this box indicates that Greber was also working with Cret on the landscape plan for the Rodin Museum in Philadelphia and the Detroit Institute of Art during the mid- to late-1920s.

<sup>168</sup> Isabelle Gournay, "Jacques Greber," in *Shaping the American Landscape: New Profiles from the Pioneers of American Landscape Design Project*, ed. Charles A. Birnbaum and Stephanie S. Foell (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 112-115.

<sup>169</sup> Memorandum, Cret to Pershing, (13 July 1927), Box 2, Entry 3, RG 117, NARA II.

and "the visitors appreciate this initiative, feeling that flowers are the mark of reverent care to a grave."<sup>170</sup> Therefore, if this practice was to continue, Cret suggested that flower beds should be properly planned and incorporated into ABMC designs. This change brought the American overseas cemeteries more in line with British and French World War I cemeteries, which featured flowers planted in the grave areas.<sup>171</sup>

The ABMC cemeteries received many American visitors during the summer of 1927 due to the American Legion convention in France. These visitors had access to a guidebook to American military sites prepared by the ABMC and would have seen some cemeteries with permanent headstone installation underway. Renderings of the proposed chapels were included in the guidebook and displayed in many locations. It was estimated that 500 Legionnaires visited Flanders Field while a much larger number (approximately 12,000) visited Aisne-Marne American Cemetery near Belleau Wood in France.<sup>172</sup>

With the design of the Chapel for Waregem came a redesign of the site and planting plan for the entire cemetery. A site plan dated February 1, 1928 depicted the proposed changes to Flanders Field cemetery, including moving the flagpole and redoing the center lawn as a setting for the Chapel.<sup>173</sup> Colonel Frederick van Duyne of the GRS criticized this version of the new site plan as having too many gravel paths, which were expensive to maintain. The plan does show new gravel pathways around the center lawn, connecting the rond points on the outer edge of the grave areas, within the rond points, and from the Chapel to the corners of the lawn. He suggested eliminating the outer paths connecting the rond points and narrower paths from all corners except the entrance.<sup>174</sup> Ultimately the light visitation seems to have encouraged elimination of some of these paths.

General Pershing visited the site on May 3, 1928 and his final decisions on a number of pending design details are recorded in a memorandum written by Price.<sup>175</sup> He approved the design and layout of the Chapel, ordered that the entrance, perimeter wall, and superintendent's house remain, but vines and other plantings were to be added for screening. The paths were to be minimized, with the paths on the center Chapel lawn and at the rear of the grave plots eliminated, flagstone used for the paths leading to the rond points, and crushed stone for the entrance drive. In addition to mandating flagstone, Pershing directed Cret to make the rond points smaller so they would fit within the width of the connecting tree allée. He also specified hedges with openings for pedestrians along the rear and sides of the grave plots. Cret was also told to coordinate between Colonel van Duyne and a landscape architect (to be determined) in evaluating and altering the planting plan.

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<sup>170</sup> Memorandum, Cret to Pershing, (13 July 1927), Box 2, Entry 3, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>171</sup> ABMC, *Annual Report 1925*, 23.

<sup>172</sup> Memorandum - Report on Visits to Cemeteries and Battle Fields, September 1927, D. John Markey to Pershing, (31 October 1927), Box 2, Entry 3, RG 117, NARA II. See ABMC, *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe*.

<sup>173</sup> Blueprint, "Flanders Field American Cemetery - Alterations Made in General Layout by American Battle Monuments Commission," (1 February 1928), RG117, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD.

<sup>174</sup> Extract of Letter, Price to Chief Clerk Mangum, (18 March 1928), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>175</sup> "Memorandum Re: Decisions Made by General Pershing at Waereghem Cemetery, 3 May 1928," Price to ABMC European Office, (7 May 1928), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

A revised site plan dated May 19, 1928 reflects more closely what was constructed, with flagstone paths to the rond points and short flights of stairs at the corners of the tray-shaped sunken lawn (**Figure 18**).<sup>176</sup> It also appears to include hedges around the grave areas and rond points and a finished stone terrace around the urns in the rond points. Later that year Price suggests adding division insignias to the side of the urns in the rond points, contributing an important element of that feature.<sup>177</sup> This drawing lists Cret and the French firm of Lahalle and Levard in the title block. Pierre Lahalle was Cret's brother-in-law, and his firm served as the supervising architects for Cret's three ABMC projects. On Cret's recommendation, Lahalle and Levard also worked as supervising architects for other ABMC commissioned architects including George Howe, Egerton Swartwout, Arthur Loomis Harmon, and Thomas Harlan Ellett.<sup>178</sup>

Contracts for the Chapel construction and other work, such as new plantings, were let shortly thereafter in June 1928.<sup>179</sup> Signal Corps photographs of the site from May 28, 1928 show Flanders Field just before work began (**Figure 19**). The GRS plantings had grown since 1923, but were still immature in appearance. The beginnings of massifs planted with trees and shrubs appear behind the grave areas. Other plantings are visible which will be removed in Cret's plan, such as trees at the corners of the center lawn and in front of the headstones. There also seem to be clematis vines trained on wire pyramids alternating with the trees around the lawn. The photograph also shows the permanent headstones have been installed.

The permanent Carrara marble headstones were fabricated in Italy and installed at the ABMC cemeteries during 1927-28 under the direction of GRS engineers. A GRS plan for the concrete foundations for the crosses at Flanders Field is dated September 28, 1927.<sup>180</sup> The work at Flanders Field was done from January to March 1928.<sup>181</sup> A concrete footer with dowel pins was constructed for each row of headstones, with careful attention to the elevations. Once the stones were in place, it was necessary to regrade the grave areas and in some cases move trees and other plantings. This work was complete in all the cemeteries by the end of 1929, coinciding

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<sup>176</sup> *Plans Des Jardins*, (19 May 1928), ABMC Files.

<sup>177</sup> Letter, Price to Cret, (16 October 1928), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II. See also Cret's drawing, "*Vase et Piédestal pour Jardins*," (8 November 1928), ABMC Files.

<sup>178</sup> Letter, Price to Arthur Loomis Harlan, (19 January 1933), Box 3, Series I - Correspondence, MS Collection 295 - Paul P. Cret Papers, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA. Price and his ABMC colleagues ended up being very dissatisfied with Lahalle & Levard, feeling that they (particularly Georges Levard) were unqualified and dishonest. This rift caused difficulties between Cret and the Commission, particularly after Lahalle & Levard sued the U.S. Government for payment in 1932. This litigation was not resolved until 1936. See Typescript, "General Outline of the Services of Lahalle & Levard, Architects, In Connection with the Memorials Constructed By The American Battle Monuments Commission in France," (c. 1934), and miscellaneous related correspondence in Box 143, Entry 13; and Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II. In the letter from the Athenaeum collection cited above, Cret apologized to Harlan and expressed regret that Levard was pursuing legal action against his advice.

<sup>179</sup> Memorandum, Price to Pershing, (12 June 1928), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. The planting plan contractor was Adams and Co. of Paris.

<sup>180</sup> War Department, American Graves Registration Service in Europe, Drawing No. 2314, "Flanders Field American Cemetery, Waereghem, Belgium, Plan for Concrete Cross Foundations," (28 September 1927), ABMC Files.

<sup>181</sup> Quartermaster Corps - GRS, "Quarterly Report of the Flanders Field American National Cemetery," (31 January 1928 and 31 March 1928), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

with the construction of chapels and redesign of site plans.<sup>182</sup> Project management was handled by the ABMC Paris office. This office was staffed by officers from the Quartermaster Corps and the Corps of Engineers, with support personnel of civilian, foreign-national clerks. Price took over management of this office around this time and remained in that position until December 1934.

As construction of the Flanders Field Chapel neared completion in early 1930, Cret turned renewed attention to the planting plan for the cemetery. Many trees and other specimen plantings had been in place for several years (**Figure 20**). He focused on the existing conditions and the effect he was trying to achieve, working with local horticultural firms to create detailed plant lists for his plans. The firm of Adams et Cie (Adams and Co.) served as horticultural consultants at Waregem and prepared a planting plan inventory in the late 1920s. In January 1930 Cret noted that the trees lining the entrance drive and the center area were Lombardy Poplar. He recommended that they be replaced, because of their short life span, with elms (*Orme Champetre*). Cret disagreed with the local caretaker's request for evergreens, feeling that their shape would be unsuitable with this location. Replacing the Lombardy Poplar would mean removing 30 trees from the site.<sup>183</sup> Price notified Cret about a month later that it would not be advisable to replace the poplars with elms, given the lateness in the planting season and feedback from Adams et Cie. He also mentioned that spotted privet and round leaf boxwood had recently been planted (Cret requested the boxwood as a replacement for osmanthus). Ever gracious, Cret demurred to the local expertise of Adams et Cie.<sup>184</sup>

Cret's opinion was not only sought on the overall plan and large plantings, but on the smaller scale plantings. He wrote to Price in April 1930:

In regard to flowers around the urns in Waereghem cemetery, I have not a very precise knowledge of what grows well there. I would rather have a low border of green (ivy or box) on the outer edge, and inside of it a solid mass of purple flowers, not high. There is a flower looking somewhat like heliotrope, called I believe, "ajuratum," which might be suitable. The gardener may try something for this summer, and we will see the result. I had thought of using poppies (you [know] the verses about this flower), but I doubt if they bloom long enough to be suitable.<sup>185</sup>

Photographs from 1930 show climbing roses on the exterior wall, and trained on chains between the trees at the entrance allée (**Figure 21**). The trees themselves are taller but look rather shaggy. These poplars were later replaced with lindens kept clipped into a tight geometric form. The dwarf English boxwoods (*Buxus sempervirens* 'Suffruticosa') and beds of clipped English ivy are in place at the Chapel pedestal.

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<sup>182</sup> See Colonel Frederick W. Van Duyne, "Erection of Permanent Headstones in the American Military Cemeteries in Europe," *The Quartermaster Review* (January-February 1930): 25-30. Copy in Box 152, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>183</sup> Letter, Cret to Price, (15 January 1930), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>184</sup> Letters, Price to Cret, (24 February 1930), and Cret to Price, (14 March 1930), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>185</sup> Letter, Cret to Price, (4 April 1930), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

## ABMC in the 1930s

A summary of ABMC work prepared in April 1930 contains useful descriptions of the status of each memorial. In addition to Flanders Field, Brookwood Cemetery was complete by spring 1930. The work at Oise-Aisne and Suresnes Cemeteries was well-underway, as was the Château-Thierry Monument and the smaller memorial at Kemmel. The other monuments were generally in very early stages of construction, as were the chapels and improvements at Aisne-Marne, Somme, St. Mihiel, and Meuse-Argonne Cemeteries.<sup>186</sup> In addition to Flanders Field Chapel, Cret was the architect for Château-Thierry, the third largest monument, the large Gibraltar Naval Memorial, and Bellicourt, one of the smaller monuments (See Appendix B for a complete list of projects and architects). The eight cemeteries contained 30,810 graves, with 45,883 bodies having been returned to the United States. Flanders Field was the smallest with 366 graves. The flagpole at Flanders Field was identical to the one used at Brookwood Cemetery in England. Designed by Egerton Swartwout, the elaborate cast bronze base was described as having "features symbolic of the valor and sacrifice of the men who lie buried in the cemetery."<sup>187</sup> Cret's imprint at Flanders Field, in addition to the Chapel, was regrading of the central area, reconstruction of the rond points with urns and stone benches, and a new planting plan (**Figure 22**). The report contended that "the arrangement of paths and the selection of plantings are such that the cemetery will be increasingly beautiful as time goes on."<sup>188</sup>

Cret and Price made an inspection of the Flanders Field site in late July 1930. They compiled a list of minor changes and additions, but the ABMC improvements to the cemetery were largely complete at this time. Recommendations included adding a small border of shrubs near the entrance and a low border of ivy or small boxwood around the urns. At the Chapel, it was noted that the door would stick on hot days, a special pole was needed to operate the window, and the center of the bronze door panels should be gilded. Six flags were recommended for the interior of the Chapel.<sup>189</sup>

At this time the only American personnel at Flanders Field was a Graves Registration Service caretaker paid \$1,320 annually.<sup>190</sup> Even before all the memorials were completed, Price was writing to Pershing, "the question of the ultimate care of our memorials is still an important one as we have added proof each day that the present organization of the GRS will not be able to

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<sup>186</sup> See photographs with Progress Report, (10 April 1930), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. Many of the chapels and large monuments were underway, but only foundations constructed. Meuse-Argonne, Aisne-Marne, and St. Mihiel Cemeteries were to undergo complete site redesigns proposed by the ABMC architects.

<sup>187</sup> Typescript, "Summary of the Work of the American Battle Monuments Commission in Europe," (c. April 1930), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>188</sup> Typescript, "Summary of the Work of the American Battle Monuments Commission in Europe," (c. April 1930).

<sup>189</sup> Typescript, "Notes Made During the Inspection of Waereghem Cemetery Made by Dr. Cret & Major Price on July 24, 1930," (1 August 1930), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II. In the fall it was determined that 2 American, 1 Belgian, 1 French, and 1 Italian flags would be used. Cret thanked Price for his careful attention to these final details. See Letter, Price to Cret, (5 November 1930), and Letter, Cret to Price, (7 November 1930), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>190</sup> Typescript, "Statement Showing the Personnel on Duty in Connection with the Graves Registration Service in Europe," (19 November 1929), Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

do it to the Commission's satisfaction."<sup>191</sup> Price continued to lobby for an ABMC takeover of the GRS duties, complaining about the "worthless personnel" and expressing concern that the large amounts of planting being done would not be cared for properly.<sup>192</sup> A year later, in early 1932, Price again exhorted Pershing:

The biggest saving to be made here is to turn the GRS over to us. Their work is mainly a duplication of ours and has been for three years. We could handle it with no extra personnel. Colonel Jordan could remain here in charge of the pilgrimage.<sup>193</sup>

In just a few years the change Price was seeking would be accomplished.

A Flanders Field site plan updated to May 1933 shows the completed ABMC redesign of the Flanders Field as well as some of the early adjustments (**Figure 23**). The narrow opus incertum flag stone paths extended from the Chapel through the corners of the lawn to the entrance drive and rond points. The urns sat on round flagstone terraces, each with two limestone benches. Crushed stone was used for the entrance drive, service yard, and paths around the sunken center lawn. The massifs around the outer edges of the grave areas were densely planted with a variety of species, as were the beds along the inside of the perimeter wall. The inside of the perimeter wall was planted with ivy all the way around and the outside on the streets at the south and west had climbing roses. An opening in the center of the hedge at the rear of each grave area originally led through a gap in the massif to the outer lawn (**Figure 24**). By 1933 the plan notes that these gaps were to be planted and made continuous. This change simplified the circulation pattern of the cemetery by removing those secondary axes. As conceived by Cret and still maintained today, the landscape of Flanders Field is most formal at the center around the Chapel and graves, with square clipped English yew or privet hedges, pruned linden trees, and shaped yews and other individual evergreens. The curving edges of the massifs and plantings left to grow in more naturalistic shapes give the outer lawns a more informal character.

As the Great Depression worsened in the early 1930s, ABMC budgets became tighter. Administrators complained that indiscriminate cuts caused disproportionate hardship for an already efficiently run office. In 1934, an Executive Order transferred full administrative control of the overseas military cemeteries from the War Department to the ABMC. This change was the culmination of ABMC leadership on overseas commemoration for nearly a decade. The cemeteries and monuments would now be maintained and supervised by ABMC personnel, usually a combination of former servicemen as superintendents and local nationals adding their expertise as gardeners and groundskeepers. Many of the sites were not officially dedicated yet, but construction was generally complete.

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<sup>191</sup> Letter, Price to Pershing, (12 March 1931), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>192</sup> Letter, Price to Pershing, (15 January 1932), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>193</sup> Letter, Price to Pershing, (2 February 1932), Box 153, Entry 13, NARA 117, NARA II.

An extensive article written by General Pershing describing the work of the ABMC, with color photographs, was published in *National Geographic Magazine* that year. On the eleven memorials, Pershing wrote:

In size and design the battlefield monuments range from the towering Doric shaft topped by a statue, on the dominating hill of Montfaucon, to the simple, effective monument, near the town of Ypres, with its low lines blending with the plains of Belgium. The imposing monument on Hill 204, near Château-Thierry; the majestic circular colonnade on Montsec, in the St. Mihiel region..., and the other memorials in their size are proportionally representative of the strategic importance and greatness of the operations conducted in those areas by American military forces.<sup>194</sup>

Pershing emphasized both the effectiveness of individually designed memorials and the results of a comprehensive program that assigned importance appropriately. His article discussed the battles being commemorated and their strategic importance and accomplishments, as befitting the leader of the AEF. Regarding the chapels at the eight cemeteries, Pershing noted that they "likewise vary widely in design. Each is a gem of architectural beauty and an enduring shrine consecrated to the memory of those who fell in battle."<sup>195</sup> "Peaceful" Flanders Field Cemetery received a brief mention in the article, particularly emphasizing its flower beds and "classic" Chapel.<sup>196</sup>

When Pershing's article was published in *National Geographic*, four years of Gold Star Mother pilgrimages had been completed (1930-34). Nearly 7,000 women whose sons were buried overseas sailed to Europe at the expense of the U.S. Government. The Graves Registration Service and the ABMC coordinated these visits and tried to ensure that these tours were conducted with the utmost professionalism and dignity. Historian Jay Winter points out that "war memorials were places where people grieved, both individually and collectively."<sup>197</sup> The tremendous effort put into the Gold Star Mother pilgrimages reinforces Winter's assessment that for the generations that experienced the conflict first hand, these sites primarily provided a framework for personal grief. In later decades the personal mourning becomes replaced by the political symbolism.

In addition, these women were being rewarded for allowing their sons to continue serving as part of the national war commemoration overseas.<sup>198</sup> During the first few years the groups saw many construction sites and works in progress. However the existence of a "Gold Star" reception room at each cemetery would have helped the visiting women feel welcome and provided for. These facilities were of paramount importance to the War Department in their initial building campaign. The room incorporated into the Superintendent's Quarters at Flanders

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<sup>194</sup> John J. Pershing, "Our National War Memorials in Europe," *National Geographic Magazine* 55, no. 1 (January 1934): 1.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Pershing, 25.

<sup>197</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 79.

<sup>198</sup> Piehler, 177.

Field was small, but included toilet facilities and an electric radiator located inside the fireplace. This room was refurnished in 1935, perhaps in an effort to upgrade the decorations after several years of high profile visits.<sup>199</sup>

Visitors to Flanders Field in the early 1930s would have seen a newly completed greenhouse in the service yard, a workshop addition at the rear of the Superintendent's Quarters, and maturing plantings from Cret's revised site plan. The greenhouse was built according to GRS plans dated September 5, 1931.<sup>200</sup> A sketch of the workshop addition in plan survives among Cret's concept drawings for the Chapel.<sup>201</sup> An inspection on November 26, 1935 praised the condition of the cemetery and Chapel, noting the excellent condition of the yew hedge enclosing the grave areas. It observed that in several areas weeping willow and Lombardy poplar were planted too close together.<sup>202</sup> Cret was consulted and recommended moving or eliminating some of the poplars in the areas between the grave sections and side of the rond point paths. He wrote to Price: "My idea of planting was to obtain a fairly high mass at these corners, one which would remain in the winter (hence the tuyas)."<sup>203</sup> In 1933 the poplars lining the entrance drive were removed.<sup>204</sup> Large-leafed lindens (*Tilia platyphyllos*) replaced the fast growing poplars. The lindens were trained and clipped into a continuous wall, adding a key formal element to the inner section of the landscape. Photographs from 1935 show the newly planted lindens, and also that the English boxwood and common privet had filled in enough to be clipped into low, continuous hedges (**Figures 25 and 26**).

Cret visited to inspect the site on July 10, 1936.<sup>205</sup> In his report he praised the new trees at the entrance and the English yew (*Taxus baccata*) hedges. He felt that the grass could be improved, particularly on the slopes of the center lawn. Cret advised on the removal of large trees, such as some elms and poplars, and the choice of geraniums (red at the rond points and pink at the entrance drive and flagpole to harmonize with the roses). Training and shaping plants fell under his consideration as well. Cret provided a sketch for how the lindens at the rond points were to be trained when they were large enough. Also the shaped evergreens at the top edge of the center lawn were to be allowed to grow to a larger, 80 centimeter cube.

A drawing from 1938 shows the fully developed planting plan, with hedges around the grave areas, allées of trees at the entrance drive and rond points, and the massif planting beds (**Figure 27, Appendix C**). Several tree species listed prominently here, such as elm (*Ulmus*

<sup>199</sup> On new furnishings for reception room see letters in Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>200</sup> War Department, GRS, Drawing No. 1252-2317, "Details for Green-House, Flanders Field Cemetery," Drawing Files, Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, Belgium. This greenhouse is no longer extant.

<sup>201</sup> "Waereghem Cemetery - Addition to Reception Building," (n.d.), 062.265, 158.B.2, Waregem Chapel, ABMC, World War I, Flanders Field, Belgium, Paul P. Cret Papers, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

<sup>202</sup> Robert Woodside, "Inspection of ABMC Work," (November 13 to December 4, 1935), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>203</sup> Cret to Price, (15 January 1935), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>204</sup> GRS, "Quarterly Report of the Flanders Field American National Cemetery," (31 December 1933), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

<sup>205</sup> Extract from Report - Dr. Cret Inspection Visit to Waereghem, (10 July 1936), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

*Compestria*), have since been replaced, likely due to ongoing problems with disease.<sup>206</sup> Otherwise many of the plants listed here are still being used on site. A planting schedule from the same year indicates the ongoing process of editing the plantings, including replacing, removing, moving, and adding.<sup>207</sup> The formal dedication of Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial took place on August 8, 1937. The Belgian Prime Minister, Paul van Zeeland, U.S. Senator F. Ryan Duffy (D-Wisconsin), and many other dignitaries were in attendance, with the pedestal of the Chapel serving as a stage (**Figure 28**). A tradition of Memorial Day events, with local school children singing the American National Anthem, had also emerged at Flanders Field. The ABMC cemeteries and memorials were all officially dedicated this year. One handsome ABMC brochure with photographs of all the memorials and cemeteries declared:

The memorials and cemeteries shown in this folder were established by the United States of America as shrines to the memory of her forces who served in Europe during the World War. They are dedicated, in grateful remembrance, to the achievements of all who served and to the sacrifices of all who died.<sup>208</sup>

Brochures and other publications promoted the cemeteries and memorials, and provided information to visitors (**Figure 29**). The guidebook released by ABMC in 1927 was updated and expanded in 1938. The new version included photographs of the completed chapels and monuments.<sup>209</sup>

Also in the late 1930s, officials were concerned about commercial encroachment on the cemetery. A house and café was proposed for construction on a lot directly across the road west of the entrance. Pershing wrote to the Belgian *Chargé d'Affairs* at the American Embassy expressing his displeasure with this turn of events:

The government has gone to great expense in the development of this cemetery and in the erection of a beautiful chapel within its walls to commemorate the services of its sons. There will be much criticism by American visitors of the Belgian authorities if the proposed café should be erected at the very gate of the cemetery without any consideration of the obligation which the Belgian government assumed when permission was granted to locate a cemetery within its territory.<sup>210</sup>

Correspondence from 1937 shows that efforts to block this project were unsuccessful, but the Belgian government did buy a narrow buffer along the adjacent road, Bosstraat. This buffer was planted with plane trees and privet hedges and a fence was erected to screen the offending

<sup>206</sup> European black pine and black locust seem to have replaced these problematic species. Thank you to Chris Stevens for providing this field observation.

<sup>207</sup> ABMC, "Chapelle de Waereghem, Etat des Plantations," (5 April 1938), ABMC Files.

<sup>208</sup> ABMC, "American War Memorials 1917-1918," (c. 1937), Lot 5395 (G) - WWI Memorials in Belgium, France, and England, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

<sup>209</sup> See ABMC, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe*, 1938.

<sup>210</sup> Letter, Pershing to Louis Sussdorf, Jr., (23 June 1937), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

building.<sup>211</sup> Other small changes were made such as removing the ivy on the entrance pylons, altering the garage to house two cars, and constructing a small road from the Superintendent's garden to the compost pit beyond the greenhouse. Cret was continuing to inspect and advise in his capacity as ABMC consulting architect. After an August 3, 1938 visit to Flanders Field, he praised the general upkeep, the addition to the Superintendent's Quarters, and the removal of the ivy from the entrance pylons.<sup>212</sup> He also discussed removing the poplars along the outer walls in stages. Cret noted that the lindens around the rond points needed continued training to create the "circular wall effect" he desired. He suggested adding more stone benches to the outer areas "treated as an informal park." Four additional benches were installed in the outer lawn areas in 1939.<sup>213</sup> The rose bushes trained on chains along the entrance drive were to be moved forward 40 centimeters to create a continuous line unbroken by tree trunks. Also at this time Cret recommended thinning the plantings in the massifs here and at many other ABMC cemeteries.<sup>214</sup>

## Flanders Field During World War II

As another European conflict threatened to erupt into World War II, Flanders Field Cemetery again found itself in a war zone. In March 1940, Captain Charles Holle with the ABMC European Office wrote of mundane site maintenance issues such as replacing fir trees in the Flanders Field massifs which had been damaged by cold weather.<sup>215</sup> Then on May 10th, Germany invaded Belgium and Holland. The ABMC European Office had approved evacuation plans in September 1938, in case fast moving events dictated that local superintendents could not reach the Paris office for instructions. It turned out that the superintendents at Flanders Field, Meuse-Argonne, Somme, and Oise-Aisne each had to act according to his own judgment. The Superintendent at Flanders Field was William Moses (or Mozes in some records). He sent his wife to Paris in May, where she was evacuated back to the United States with many of the families of ABMC personnel.<sup>216</sup>

Moses had attempted to travel to Paris and join his wife on May 20th, but was cut off by fighting and German troop movements en route. After a circuitous journey, he returned to Waregem on June 12. He reported that German troops had been at Flanders Field several times from May 23-28. In the first visit, German troops went through the house, throwing things on the floor and searching for an American shortwave radio outpost. They also removed the American flag and tore it up. Two bicycles belonging to the Belgian gardeners were taken and the gardeners threatened with guns when they protested. German troops returned the next day and took some gasoline from the storage tank. They also broke windows and took some small

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<sup>211</sup> See correspondence from July 1937 through December 1938, Box 49, Entry 8, and Correspondence 1935-38, Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II. This work was completed in fall 1938 as a special projects no. 2 and 4.

<sup>212</sup> "Extract of Report of Consulting Architect," (31 August 1938), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II. Pershing thanked Cret for his continued service and suggestions. See Letter Pershing to Cret, (4 October 1938), Box 8, Series I - Correspondence, MS Collection 295 - Paul P. Cret Papers, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

<sup>213</sup> "Circular No. 3," (8 October 1938), Circular No. 7, (1 February 1939), and Circular No. 11, (1 July 1939), Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II. The contractor for this job was Guinot and Co.

<sup>214</sup> Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>215</sup> Extract of Letter, Captain Charles Holle to Pershing, (28 March 1940), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>216</sup> Letter No. 2592-P, Major Charles Holle, (22 May 1940) and Cablegram, (11 July 1940), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

items, but the cemetery was otherwise unharmed.<sup>217</sup> These events at Flanders Field were characterized by Major Holle as the "only deliberate aggression" experienced at the ABMC sites.<sup>218</sup>

ABMC officials were forced to leave France entirely in May 1941. Colonel T. Bentley Mott, head of the ABMC European office since January 1941, oversaw the excavation of all American personnel.<sup>219</sup> Care of the ABMC sites in France was transferred to the French Office of the Veterans' Secretary General, Military Graves Service. Three of Mott's non-American employees (two stenographers and an engineer, Pierre Rod) went to work for the French military cemetery authority. Similar arrangements were made for Flanders Field with the Swiss Legation in Brussels. Superintendent Moses left Flanders Field on May 7, 1941 and one of his Belgian employees, Achiel Adams, moved into the house to keep watch over the site. A Belgian gardener, Mr. Verplancke, also continued to protect and maintain the cemetery. In 1942, the Germans transferred responsibility for Flanders Field to the Belgian Ministry of the Interior and Public Health.<sup>220</sup> Mott attempted to visit and inspect the American cemeteries several times from June 1942 to March 1944, but was restricted from traveling and at one point detained by the Gestapo.<sup>221</sup>

As the Allies regained control of the relevant French and Belgian territory in 1944, Mott and ABMC personnel returned to assess conditions. The arrangements for maintenance of the cemeteries had worked quite well, with basic maintenance continued throughout the war. Some of the ABMC memorials did not fare as well. The Naval Monument at Brest was completely destroyed and the Montsec Memorial sustained significant damage from American artillery while the Germans were using it for an observation post. At Flanders Field, there were 12 temporary burials in Plot A. These burials of American aviators were done by British troops. An inspection report praised the conditions, noting that "the assistant caretaker, Mr. Adams, has kept the cemetery, including buildings, lawn, trees and shrubbery in excellent condition under very adverse conditions."<sup>222</sup> Adams and his staff were paid by the Belgian Ministry, but had to endure harassment from German officials. Adams was accused of being a Jew and ordered by the Gestapo to take the visitors' book to Courtrai (Kortrijk in Flemish) for inspection. They were looking for messages from Belgian citizens expressing sympathy and respect for the Americans. In September 1944 part of a battery of British field artillery was using the Superintendent's Quarters and other buildings on site, but they moved on shortly thereafter without causing any damage.

Colonel Price was making his own inspection of ABMC sites by October 1944, in an official role as President of the War Department Observers Board. He made four recommendations designed to protect the ABMC World War I sites and to apply that experience to commemoration of the still ongoing conflict. First and foremost, Price cautioned against

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<sup>217</sup> Major Holle, Diary Notes - Enclosure to Letter No. 2601-P, (29 July 1940), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>218</sup> Extract of Letter, Holle to Pershing, (14 July 1940), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>219</sup> Memorandum, Mott to Acting Secretary, ABMC, (8 August 1941), Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>220</sup> See Correspondence, Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>221</sup> Letter, Mott to Pershing, (5 May 1944), Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>222</sup> Office of Quartermaster, "Report of Inspection - American Cemeteries and Battle Monuments, Northern France and Belgium," Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

temporary burials in the World War I cemeteries: "These cemeteries were not designed to hold more. The temporary burials destroy their appearance and such burials are not necessary."<sup>223</sup> Second, the ABMC needed to have a landscaping expert visit each site to supervise thinning overgrown plantings. He also recommended that "the bullet marks on the Château-Thierry monument and Belleau chapel [Aisne-Marne Cemetery] be left as objects of interest."<sup>224</sup> His final, and most ambitious, recommendation was that as soon as the current war with Germany ended, a study commence for a memorial project in Europe. Price noted that "it should be in keeping with the old project. ...An early study should be made so that another flood of private memorials, with all their attendant political and diplomatic problems will be eliminated."<sup>225</sup>

## Flanders Field Post-World War II

After seeing the reports that most of the ABMC World War I sites remained in good condition, General Dwight D. Eisenhower sent his congratulations to Pershing in a widely publicized letter.<sup>226</sup> At the end of 1946, ABMC was attending to some of the deferred maintenance on its structures (**Figure 30**). Proposed projects at Flanders Field included repointing the stone gate pylons and repainting the gate, repairs to the flagpole base and terrace, and realignment of stone curbs. The Chapel required roof repairs, a replacement piece of stained glass, an electrical inspection, and regilding of the inscriptions on exterior and interior. However procurement of enough gold leaf proved to be difficult. "Colorless waterproofing" was mentioned several times as a coating treatment for the benches, urns, and base of the Chapel. The Superintendent's Quarters and greenhouse were also slated for minor maintenance. An expert was being called in to examine the English yew hedge and plans were underway to replace ailing Norway spruce (*Picea Excelsa*) with black pine (*Pinus Austriaca*).

The ABMC Consulting Architect was now John Harbeson, Cret's architectural partner and former student. Cret had continued to serve in that capacity, with some brief interruptions, until his death in 1945.<sup>227</sup> However, his level of activity had been diminished by poor health and the war in the proceeding few years.<sup>228</sup> Shortly after Cret's death, Grace Haupt, Executive Secretary for the Art Jury in Philadelphia, wrote to H. P. Caemmerer, Secretary for the Commission of Fine Arts, "His wide knowledge and wise counsel will be especially missed as we approach the great post-war improvement program, as well as his graciousness and delightful sense of humor."<sup>229</sup> Harbeson was the lead partner in Cret's successor firm, Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, & Larson.

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<sup>223</sup> Memorandum, Price to Commanding General, Army Service Forces, (7 October 1944), Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Letter, Eisenhower to Pershing, (11 October 1944), Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>227</sup> When Cret's position as ABMC Consulting Architect temporarily lapsed in 1932, Price wrote to him: "The mark of your genius is on all of our projects." See Letter, Price to Cret, (9 November 1932), Box 8, Series I - Correspondence, MS Collection 295 - Paul P. Cret Papers, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

<sup>228</sup> Cret suffered from hearing loss and the loss of his voice in later years, retiring from teaching in 1937. His obituaries often highlighted his work for the ABMC. See "Dr. Paul Cret Dies; A Noted Architect: Designer of War Memorials in France Was Responsible for Many Structures Here," *New York Times*, 10 September 1945.

<sup>229</sup> Letter, Haupt to Caemmerer, n.d., Box 20, Entry 4 - General Files, 1910-54 [hereafter Entry 4], RG 66, NARA I.

ABMC's mission expanded greatly with the addition of World War II cemeteries. Historian Jennifer Keene has argued that the World War I generation's greatest accomplishment was the creation of the modern Army for World War II.<sup>230</sup> This argument certainly holds true for the ABMC as it applied its former experience to the new demands placed upon it. With Harbeson's guidance, the ABMC again oversaw construction of multiple overseas American military cemeteries and memorials. The Commission of Fine Arts reviewed all projects. Lists were compiled of former ABMC architects or their successor firms, as well as newly prominent postwar actors such as Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill, Harrison & Abramovitz, and Edward Durrell Stone.<sup>231</sup> This process began in 1947-48, but the World War II burials were still under the control of the Graves Registration Command in 1949.<sup>232</sup> The ABMC would add fifteen World War II cemeteries to its inventory - five in France, two in Belgium, three in Italy, one each in England, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Tunisia, and the Philippines. Often larger than the World War I cemeteries, the World War II ABMC cemeteries followed the same formula of regular rows of headstones and a memorial chapel as a focal point for a formally designed landscape. In this instance the ABMC was involved in the site planning from the start, as opposed to working with the cemetery sites already established by the War Department.<sup>233</sup> The ABMC also built nine memorials of various sizes overseas in both the European and Pacific theaters and in the United States. ABMC's World War II building program reflects shifting architectural trends of the period toward International Style Modernism with unornamented surfaces and geometric forms.

The World War I sites continued to be carefully maintained and administered by ABMC personnel. Generally site superintendents were former U.S. servicemen with French or Belgian wives. Maintenance and other staff were hired as LNs - local nationals. Changes to Flanders Field were quite minimal, consisting mainly of routine maintenance until the 1990s. Additional stone benches around the center lawn were installed in the late 1950s, and nearly match the original ones.<sup>234</sup> The Superintendent's Quarters was renovated by adding dormers to create a third room upstairs in 1960.<sup>235</sup> More extensive changes were made in 1976-77, including converting the attached garage into a living room and a small rear addition to the main block.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Jennifer Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 7.

<sup>231</sup> Lists of Architects, (15 May 1947), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. Part of the list labeled "Able Architects not on the Lists" included avant garde icons such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Richard Neutra, and William Lescaze.

<sup>232</sup> Correspondence, Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

<sup>233</sup> Letter, Brigadier General Thomas North to John Harbeson, (1 March 1948), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II. In this letter North is also asking for Harbeson's opinion regarding a greater role for an American landscape architect in the overall planning.

<sup>234</sup> Drawing, "*Bancs Supplementaries*," (22 January 1958), Drawing Files, Flanders Field.

<sup>235</sup> Drawing, "*Habitation et Bureau - Projet de Transformation*," (25 July 1960), Drawing Files, Flanders Field.

<sup>236</sup> Drawing 108/38, "Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters, Addition and Modification, (3 August 1977); Drawing 108/36 "Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters, Modifications," (3 September 1976); "Specifications for Improvement and Modifications to Quarters at The American Cemetery and Memorial, Flanders Field, Waregem, Belgium," (3 September 1976), Drawing Files, Flanders Field.

Other repairs during the late 1970s included repointing the perimeter wall and Chapel terrace, and regilding the inscriptions on the Chapel.<sup>237</sup>

Additional changes to the Superintendent's Quarters included installing replacement windows on the first floor during the early 1990s. A concrete and brick ramp was added to the reception room entrance in this period as well. In the late 1990s a major new service building replaced the original greenhouse and service sheds, greatly increasing the scale of this feature and encroaching on the historic landscape. In 2004 the Superintendent's Quarters began to be used just as an office, with the superintendent living off-site. Maintenance of the plantings, landscape features, and Chapel has continued to be meticulous, making Flanders Field an enduring tribute to the sacrifices of World War I. President Barack Obama visited Flanders Field in March 2014 while in Belgium for the G-7 economic summit. His remarks emphasized our debt to the men buried there and the continued political and cultural symbolism of our World War I overseas cemeteries and memorials.

## PART II. PHYSICAL INFORMATION

A. Landscape Character and Description Summary: Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial is a cemetery and formal garden landscape which transitions from strict geometric paths and plantings at its center to large naturalistic planting beds and curving lawns around the outer portion of the site. A small Chapel sits at the center in a sunken lawn. The four grave areas are arrayed around this center lawn and defined by strict rows of white marble headstones and clipped English yew (*Taxus baccata* 'fastigiata') hedges. The property is surrounded by a brick wall on all four sides with climbing roses along the two street sides. The main entrance allée is lined by pollarded big leaf linden trees (*Tilia platyphyllos*) clipped into square forms, and flanked by the flagpole and brick Superintendent's Quarters. A modern service building is located near the northwest corner of the site in the original service yard area.

B. Character Defining Features:

1. Natural features:

- a. Topography: The site is naturally quite flat, with a very subtle slope down to the northeast.
- b. Vegetation: See HALS drawings for detailed information about vegetation. The vegetation is defined by the artful combination of evergreens (yews, arborvitae, boxwood, privet) clipped into geometric hedges, cones, cubes, or balls and planting beds with a more informal arrangement of deciduous trees, evergreens (both clipped and natural in form), deciduous shrubs, perennials and annuals. The allées of large-leaf linden trees, pollarded and clipped into a square wall of foliage, are also

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<sup>237</sup>ABMC, *Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission, Fiscal Year 1979* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1980), 67.

integral to the geometric formality of the site. The lindens appear along the central entrance drive and at the rond point paths. Intensively manicured, pollarded black locust trees also appear along the streets at the south and west property lines.

Massifs - or mountains of plantings - are located between the grave areas at the core of the site and the outer lawns. Predominant plantings here include large trees such as birch, oak, black pine, black locust, and maple and blooming small trees and shrubs such as rhododendron, lilac, azalea, hydrangea, spirea, currant, osmanthus, holly, magnolia, and purple-leaved plum. Manicured green lawns surround the Chapel and headstones and are also located between the massifs and the outermost planting beds. Climbing roses are trained on chains along the central allée and on the outer walls. Annual and perennial flowers also provide colorful accents at the edges of planting beds and surrounding the urns in the rond points. These small scale plantings and larger flowering trees and shrubs provide seasonal interest.

- c. Water: Flanders Field does not have any natural bodies of water.

## 2. Spatial organization:

- a. Land patterns: The public areas of the site are subtly divided into the formal commemorative space of the central allée, grave plots, and Chapel lawn and the informal, contemplative space of the lawns between the rond points. Administrative areas of the site line the west wall, starting with the walled garden and driveway for the use of the Superintendent's Quarters. Visitor access to the reception room and bathrooms here make it a semi-public area. The service building, equipment sheds, and compost area are located beyond the service yard to the north. These non-public spaces are somewhat concealed from the public areas by brick walls and plantings.
- b. Circulation: The public circulation patterns at Flanders Field are characterized by the formal primary circulation system with a main axis down the entrance drive and to the Chapel, and a less formal secondary circulation system around the outer lawn between the rond points. There are also non-public circulation routes along the crushed stone driveway between the service building and the side entrance of the Superintendent's Quarters.

The primary circulation system starts at the main gate and travels along the crushed stone entrance drive to the southwest corner of sunken lawn. This entrance drive has thin granite curbing and is flanked with clipped big leaf linden trees (*Tilia platyphyllos*) and roses trained on draped chains. The primary circulation continues with the crushed stone path around the square sunken lawn in the front of the grave areas. The diagonal axis created by the entrance drive continues with a flagstone path

leading from the southwest corner of the lawn to the Chapel door. Wide stone steps with low knee walls lead down at each corner of the square center lawn from the surrounding crushed stone path. Additional flagstone paths travel to the Chapel from the steps at each corner. The flagstone is set into the grass in a widened opus incertum pattern. The flagstone paths continue on the outer edge of the crushed stone path, radiating out past the grave areas to the three rond points. These axes are also treated formally, with allées of square clipped big leaf linden trees (*Tilia platyphyllos*). The English yew hedge (*Taxus baccata*) continues around the corner closest to the Chapel and then transitions into a common privet hedge (*Ligustrum ovalifolia* or *vulgare*) along three quarters of the allée and around the rond point. The privet hedge is also clipped into a square form. Each path ends at a circular flagstone terrace in the center of the rond point. These axes are defined both by stone pathways and the hedges and trees clipped into architectural masses.

The transition between the formal primary circulation routes and informal secondary system occurs at the sides of the rond points. Openings in the clipped privet hedge are flanked by taller sections of privet clipped into a pyramidal top. Short sections of opus incertum flagstone paths lead from the rond point terrace to the lawn areas located between the massif planting beds and those along the outer walls. Here wide lawns with curvilinear planting beds on both sides create an informal pathway. This secondary circulation route curves along the north, east and south sides of the garden, between the service area and the flagpole next to the entrance drive. The gardeners can access the grounds via this route, but signs mark the opening to the service yard as off-limits to visitors. Visitors can directly enter this secondary system at the flagpole terrace, but most are drawn along the main entrance drive to the Chapel.

- c. Views and vistas: Flanders Field does not have significant views of the surrounding area, due to the flat topography and construction of houses on the adjacent properties. The formal garden nature of the site creates significant internal vistas along the entrance drive between the main gate and the Chapel. Secondary vistas are created by the linear paths between the Chapel and the rond points. The curving lawn area around the outer area of the site creates another secondary vista.
- d. Water: Flanders Field does not have any manmade water features.
- e. Buildings and structures:

Chapel - A small octagonal limestone Chapel with stylized classical detailing is the focal point of the Flanders Field site. The Chapel sits on a low octagonal limestone terrace. See HALS No. US-7-B for complete documentation.

Superintendent's Quarters - The Quarters is a one-and-a-half story red brick house with a side gable roof sheathed in Belgian tile. It sits just inside the entrance gate to the west of the drive. See HALS No. US-7-A for complete documentation.

Entrance courtyard - There is a courtyard paved with gray Belgian block curving across the southwest corner of the site outside the entrance gate. It is also edged by granite curbing. Two short rounded stone pylons sit at the edge near the walkway. Modern safety pylons line the road edge of the site. This courtyard serves as a small public parking area for the site at the corner of Wortegemseweg and Bosstraat.

Entrance gate - The main entrance gate was built by the War Department in 1923 and sits facing the entrance courtyard. It consists of square limestone pylons with a base, shaft and capital form. The capital has a cove then ogee molding, with a flat section topped by a cyma reversa molding. The front of each pylon has an inset panel near the top with a bas relief of the Great Seal of the United States. Below each seal are carved the words:

FLANDERS FIELD  
AMERICAN  
CEMETERY

The words are done in a serif font and accented with red paint. The top of each pylon has a large limestone ball balanced on a curved pedestal. The gate itself is gold tipped wrought iron in two leafs. It swings from hinges on the pylons with a wheel and track on the ground for assistance. The hardware includes a key lock and a lever handle on the inside. The gate was designed by architect W. L. Phillips while working for the War Department.

Perimeter wall - The gate is integrated into the brick perimeter wall, which was also built by the War Department in 1923. The section at the entrance courtyard curves from the gate pylons to corner piers. The wall sits on a course of limestone, with 10 courses of red brick topped by a brick cap that slopes to the front and rear. The brick is irregular and laid in an alternating stretcher and header bond. The corner piers are topped by a limestone cap in a shallow pyramidal form.

The wall continues around all four sides of the cemetery, with limestone capped brick piers appearing at regular intervals. These piers are thinner than the two at the corner of the entrance courtyard. The wall changes height slightly, rising to the south along the *Wortegemseweg*, and also along the north and south walls going east as the grade slopes down

slightly. Generally the change in height occurs after a pier, but along the east wall there are some stepped changes in height as that wall goes south to north. There are also remnants of parging on the lower courses of the wall in some areas, probably meant to echo the limestone base at the gate.

The perimeter wall has wide, irregular mortar joints and shows signs of repair over the years. It appears structurally sound but in need of repair to avoid further damage. Climbing roses are trained to grow on the walls with wires at the entrance and along the west and south walls at the roads. The north and east walls border private property and are largely concealed behind mature trees and shrubs at the outer planting beds. The only openings in the wall other than the main gate are on the west wall along Bosstraat. There is a small wood gate between piers leading to the side door of the Superintendent's Quarters. This wall opening was added in 1976-77 to accommodate changes to the Superintendent's Quarters. A driveway gate is located just to the north. Another wider drive opening is located on the other side of the parking area at the service building. The gate here is a modern rolling gate.

Garden walls - There are additional sections of original brick wall defining a small yard for the Superintendent's Quarters and separating the house drive from the service yard. These walls have climbing roses or espaliered fruit trees growing on them.

Flagpole terrace - A brick terrace surrounds the flagpole at the east side of the entrance drive opposite the Superintendent's Quarters. The current terrace is a recent reconstruction of an earlier version. The red and gray brick is laid in a herringbone pattern, with the edges, base of the flagpole, and rectangular sections in the center outlined with parallel rows of brick. The terrace is surrounded by clipped common privet hedges (*Ligustrum ovalifolia* or *vulgare*) and flower beds with seasonal bulbs or annuals. The two corners farthest from the drive are beveled into a 45 degree angle. A short section of opus incertum-type flagstone path with wide grass joints is located at an opening in the privet hedge on axis with the flagpole. This path continues to the secondary circulation system along the outer lawn of the site.

Rond point terraces - Circular terraces form the center of the three rond points and a setting for limestone urns on pedestals. Flagstone is used here like the pathways. Originally this flagstone was more closely laid with narrow grass joints. Later the stones were moved to expand the terrace. Each rond point terrace extends to either side (except the north one, which is closed to the west) to create the flagstone paths leading to the outer lawn. These terraces are surrounding by small planting beds of English ivy (*Hedera helix*) with arborvitae (*Thuja* sp.) flanking each bench

located on the sides of the rond points. The arborvitae are clipped into tall cone forms.

Service Area Buildings - A modern maintenance building replaced earlier structures in 1998. This large modular structure does not follow the scale or materials of the original buildings. Three other small utilitarian structures located in this area are a fuel shed, a pump house, and an enclosed water reservoir.

f. Small scale elements:

Flagpole - This flagpole replaced the simple one originally placed at the end of the entrance drive by the War Department. The elaborate cast bronze base sits on an octagonal limestone pedestal. The base features natural motifs in bands of alternating height and width, forming a vase-like shape. The bronze base begins with an octagonal section with recessed panels on the outer surface. The next section slopes inward and features bas relief of alternating butterflies and olive branches. Next is a band of high relief shells. A smooth lamb's tongue like leaf in full relief projects upward with a bas relief oak leaf motif behind. Fully articulated petal-like forms curve outward with an oak leaf motif complete with high relief acorns. The base narrows to a band of high-relief volutes that resemble unfurling foliage. The top band is high-relief poppy foliage topped with alternating poppy flowers and seed pods. The pole rises from a coved molding. The pole top is a gold torch form. The flagpole was designed for ABMC by architect Egerton Swartwout. The same one is used at the Brookwood American Cemetery in England, where Swartwout designed the chapel. The bronze base was cast by Susse Freres, Paris.<sup>238</sup>

Urns - A limestone urn on a tall pedestal sits in middle of each of the three rond points. The slender, stylized urns have a fluted section near the bottom and flare slightly at the top. They stand on a square base on top of the square pedestal. The base of each urn has a small round medallion on each side. Each of these medallions displays a bas relief carving of the insignia of one of the four American divisions represented among the Flanders Field burials (27th, 30th, 37th, and 91st). Each urn sits in a small circular planting bed outlined by a clipped dwarf English boxwood hedge (*Buxus sempervirens* 'Suffruticosa'). These beds contain flowering bulbs such as daffodils and tulips in the spring and annuals during the summer and fall. The rond points, including the urns, were a key feature in Cret's redesign of the site during 1928-30.

Benches - There are two elegant rectangular limestone benches with rounded edges and no backs located at each rond point. There are flanking

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<sup>238</sup> American Battle Monuments Commission. "Flanders Field American Cemetery and Memorial," (1971), 7.

each urn and arranged parallel to the flagstone path leading to the chapel. These benches also face the openings for the lawn areas in the sides of the rond point hedge. They were included in Cret's original design for the rond points. In 1938 four additional benches were added at Cret's suggestion along the edges of the lawn between the massifs and the perimeter beds. There is one in each lawn section (three total) and a fourth at the edge of the south lawn facing the flagpole. These benches each have a flagstone pad to the front, with open joints for those around the outer lawn and narrower joints for the bench near the flagpole. Additional stone benches were placed around the upper edge of the sunken lawn in the late 1950s. Two each are located on the northeast and southeast sides. These benches are nearly identical in form and material to those from the 1930s, except there is a gap at the bottom edge with a narrower base.

Rose Chains: Sections of chain in two large loops are located between each tree at the entrance allée. Climbing roses are trained to grow along the chain from the center. This early feature of the site was restored during the last ten years.

### PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- A. Drawings, plans: Drawing collections with useful material on Flanders Field are described below. Specific drawings are cited as relevant throughout the report.
- American Battle Monuments Commission - scanned copies of drawings ranging from Cret's plans for the Chapel and plantings, construction drawings for the Chapel, and later changes to the Superintendent's Quarters and site.
  - Flanders Field - Drawing Files - includes blueprints of the War Department building campaign of 1923-24, and drawings of later changes to the Superintendent's Quarters.
  - Paul P. Cret Collection, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania - The collection includes sketches of proposed designs for the Flanders Field Chapel.
  - Cartographic and Architecture Branch, NARA II - The ABMC Record Group 117 includes a copy of the preliminary site plan for Flanders Field from 1922 and copies of other War Department-era blueprints.
- B. Historic views, photographs: Early photographs show Flanders Field during the War Department period and as ABMC changes were implemented. The collections with useful material on Flanders Field are described below. Specific photographs are cited or reproduced as relevant throughout the report.
- Still Pictures Branch, NARA II - The National Archives photographic collection has excellent sets of photographs showing Flanders Field in 1925, 1928, 1930, and 1935. These photographs are in RG 117 (ABMC) and RG 111 (Signal

Corps). Additional photographs of the site are found in these record groups, RG 66 (Commission of Fine Arts), and RG 165 (War Department General and Special Staffs).

- Textual Records, NARA II - Material in RG 117 includes construction progress photographs of the ABMC improvements at Flanders Field.
- Prints & Photographs Reading Room, Library of Congress - Several lots in this repository have photographs of Flanders Field, including battlefield terrain photographs and photographs of the dedication.

### C. Bibliography:

#### *Archives and Unpublished Sources:*

American Battle Monuments Commission

Scanned Drawing Collection - Flanders Field

Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Paul Philippe Cret Collection

Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Paul Philippe Cret Collection

Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, West Flanders, Belgium

Drawing Files.

National Archives and Records Administration I, Washington, DC

RG 66 - Records of the Commission of Fine Arts

National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, Maryland

RG 117 - Records of the American Battle Monuments Commission

RG 92 - Record of the Office of the Quartermaster General

Still Pictures Branch

Cartographic and Architectural Branch

Prints and Photographs Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

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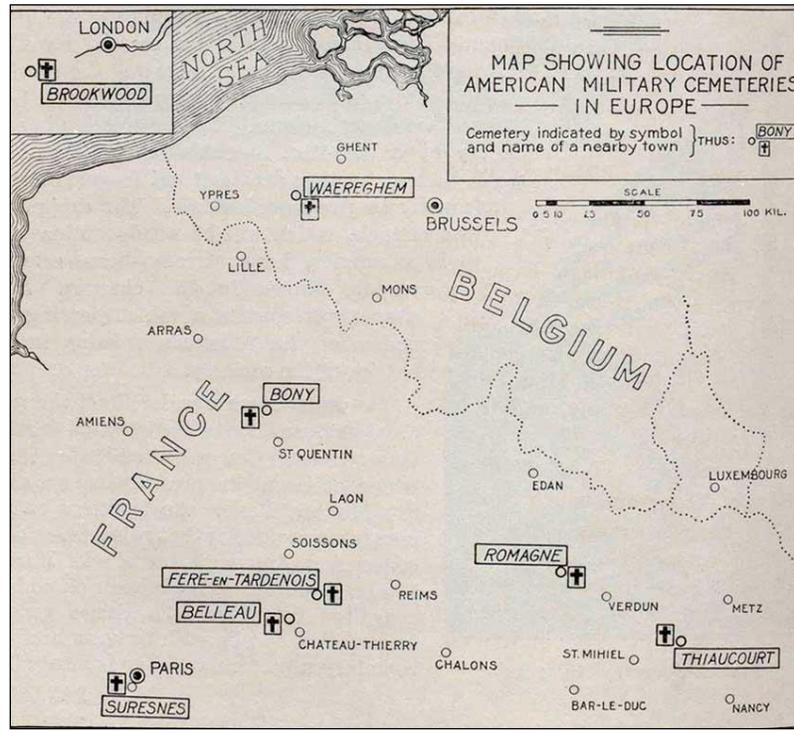
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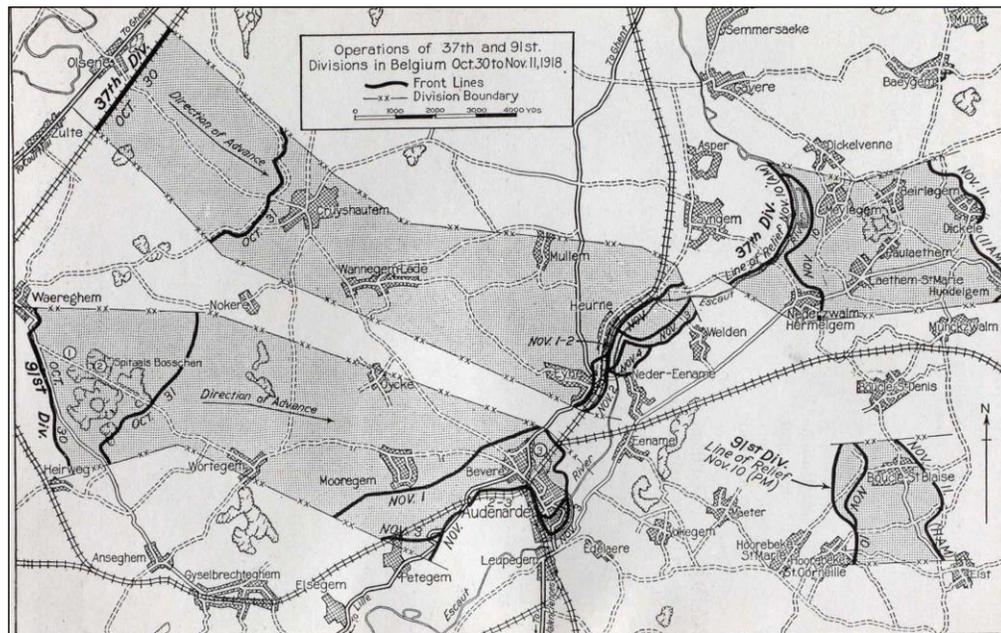
#### PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

Documentation of Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial was undertaken in 2013-14 by the Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS) of the Heritage Documentation Programs division of the National Park Service, Richard O'Connor, Chief. The project was sponsored by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC), Honorable Max Cleland, Secretary. Project planning was coordinated by Paul Dolinsky, Chief, HALS, and by Charles Hunt, World War I Regional Director, ABMC. The field work, including hand measuring and terrestrial laser scanning, was undertaken by Project Supervisor Christopher M. Stevens, HALS Landscape Architect, and HABS Architects Jason W. McNatt and Paul Davidson. Stevens, McNatt, Davidson, and Landscape Architecture Technician Bradley Odom (LSU) produced the measured drawings. The historical reports were written by HABS Historian Lisa P. Davidson, Ph.D. The large-format photography was produced by contract photographer Brian Grogan. On-site assistance at Flanders Field was provided by Christopher D. Arseneault, Superintendent; Christopher D. Sims, Cemetery Associate; Martin Degrande, Head Gardener; and by the ABMC maintenance staff.

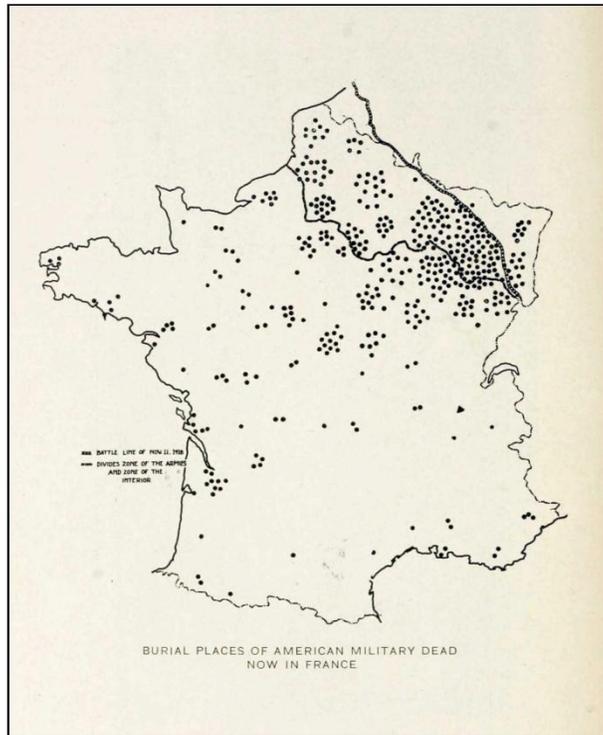
PART V. ILLUSTRATIONS



**Figure 1:** "Map Showing Location of American Military Cemeteries in Europe," (1927)  
 Source: ABMC, *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1927).



**Figure 2:** Operations of AEF Divisions near Waregem, Belgium, Fall 1918.  
 Number 1 in a circle near left edge indicates location of Flanders Field American Cemetery.  
 Source: ABMC, *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1927).



**Figure 3:** Temporary Burial Locations of American Military Dead in France, 1920

Source: Ralph Hayes, *A Report to the Secretary of War on American Military Dead Overseas - May 14, 1920* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1920).

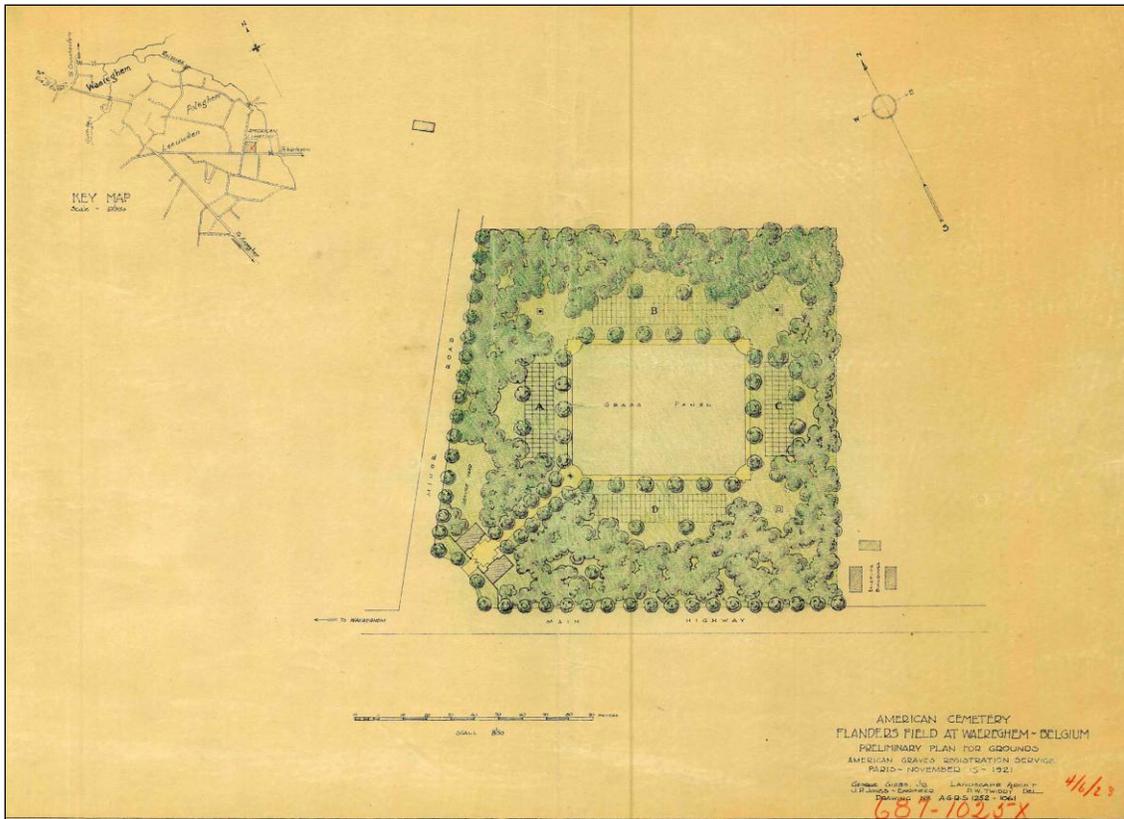


**Figure 4:** GRS Soldiers Searching Bodies for Identification, Romagne, France, c. 1920

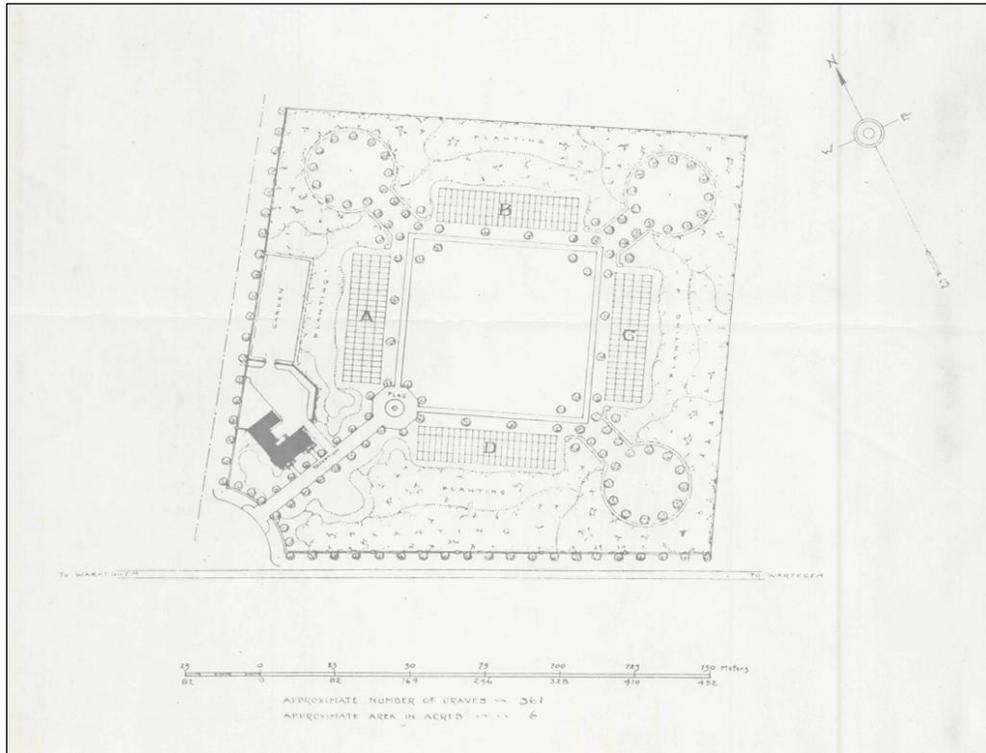
Source: Image 66-G-50LL, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 5:** View of Temporary American Expeditionary Forces Cemetery No. 1252, Waregem, Belgium, (15 September 1920). Note the wood crosses just visible beyond the wire fence.  
Source: Image 165-BCT-70C, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 6:** War Department, Graves Registration Service, Preliminary Plan for Flanders Field American Cemetery, Waregem, Belgium, George Gibbs Jr., (15 November 1921)  
Source: RG117, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 7:** War Department, GRS, Revised Site Plan for Flanders Field American Cemetery, c. 1923  
Source: RG117, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 8:** Entrance Gate, Flanders Field American Cemetery, c. 1925  
Source: Image 111-SC-86151, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 9:** First Meeting of the American Battle Monuments Commission, 1923  
Source: *Washington Evening Star*, 22 September 1923, clipping in RG 66, NARA I, Washington, DC



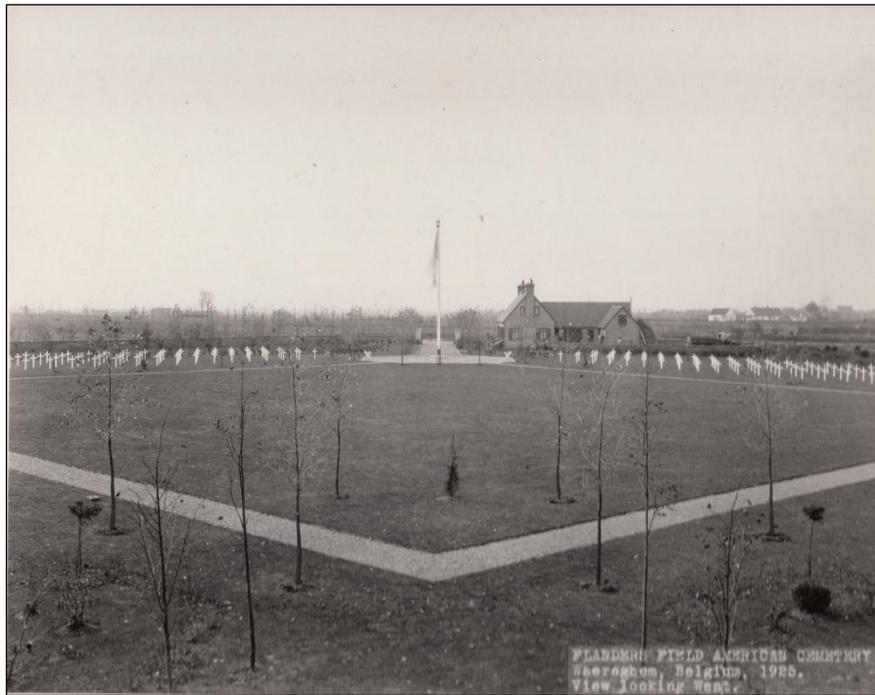
**Figure 10:** ABMC Commissioners Visiting Flanders Field, c. 1924  
Source: Image 111-SC-86153, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 11:** Architect Paul Philippe Cret, 1925  
Source: aaup.062.449.1, Paul P. Cret Collection, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania



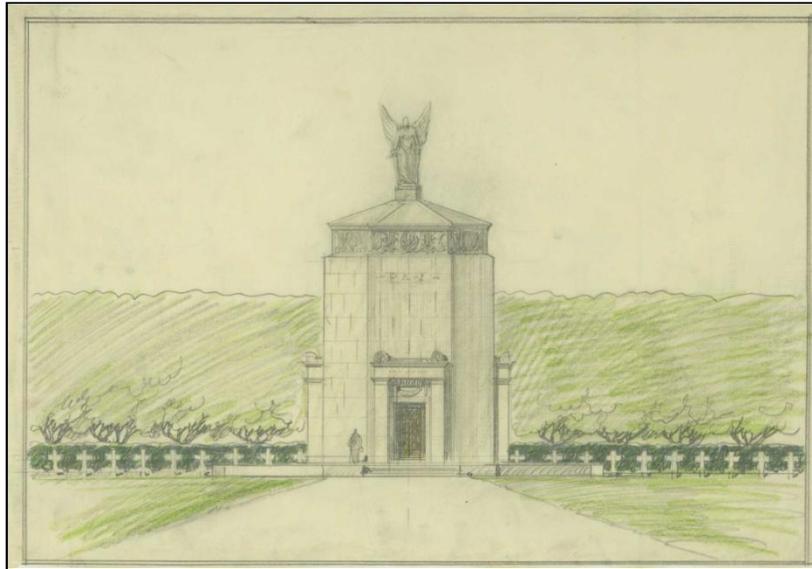
**Figure 12:** Signal Corps Photograph of Flanders Field Cemetery Looking East Along Entrance Drive (1925)  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-3, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



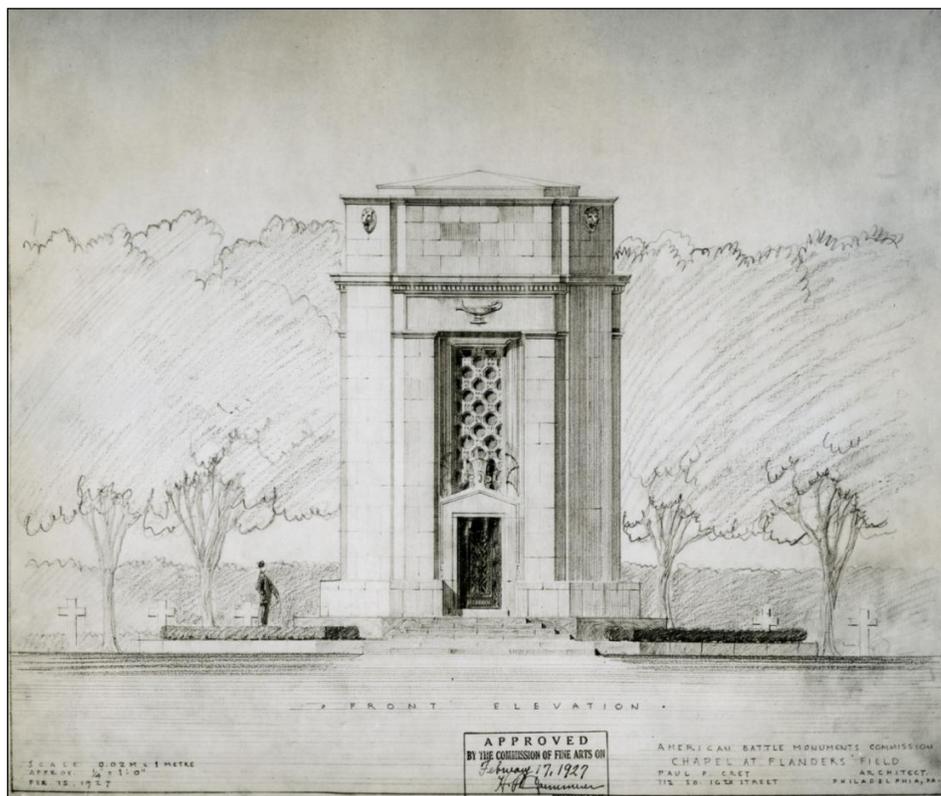
**Figure 13:** Signal Corps Photograph of Flanders Field Cemetery Looking West Across Center Lawn (1925)  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-5, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 14:** Signal Corps Photograph of Flanders Field Cemetery Flagpole (1925)  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-7, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 15:** Possible Scheme C, Proposed Flanders Field Chapel, Paul P. Cret, (c. 1926)  
Source: aaup.062.267, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania



**Figure 16:** Rendering of Approved Design for Flanders Field Chapel, Paul P. Cret, (1927)  
Source: Courtesy of U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, Washington, DC

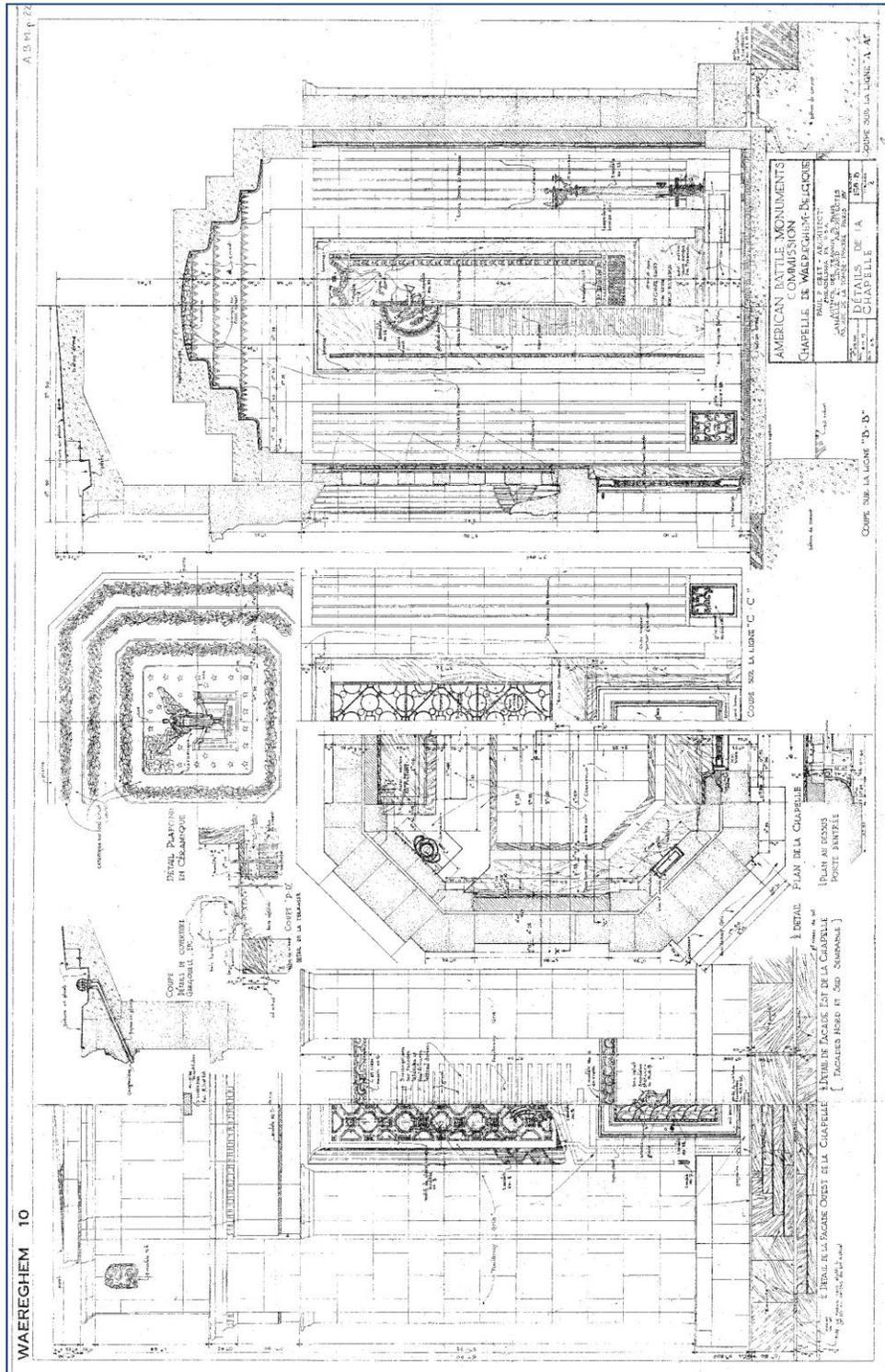
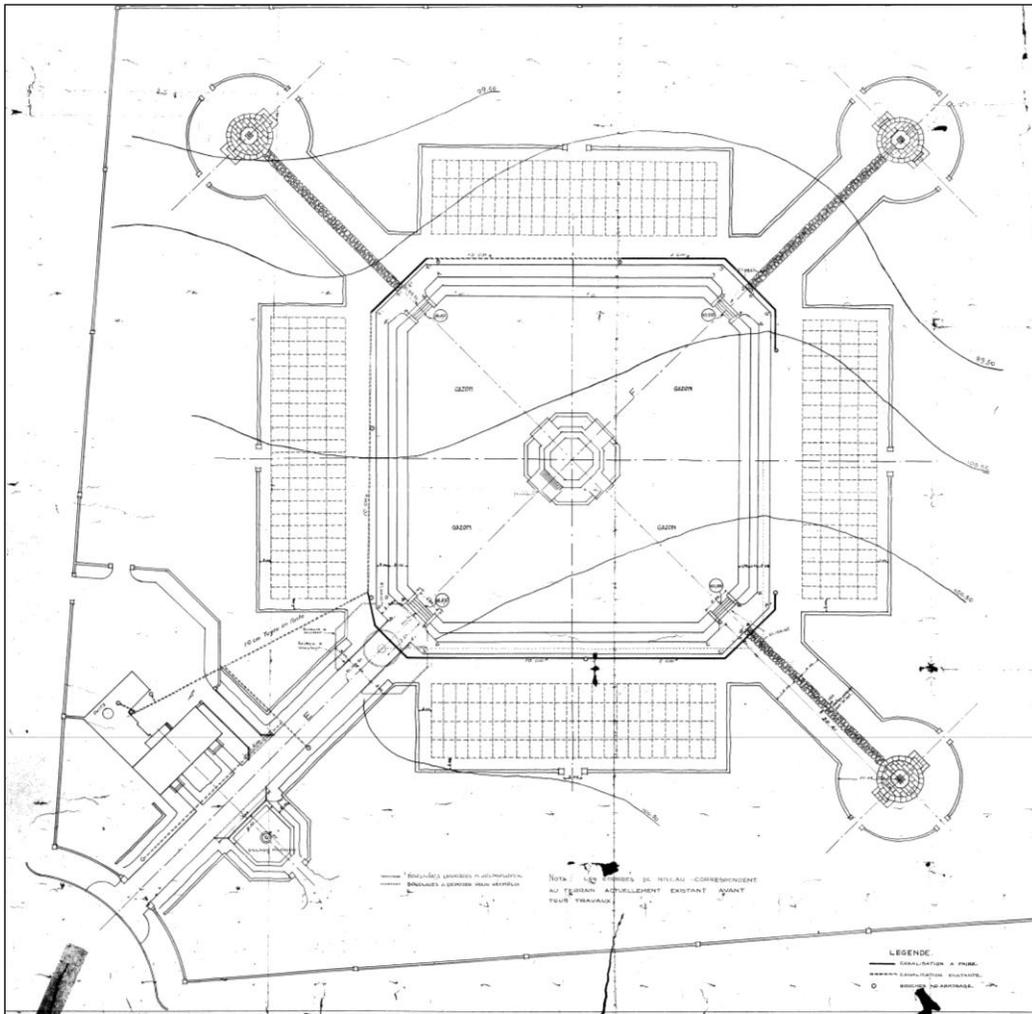


Figure 17: Flanders Field Chapel, Paul P. Cret, ABMC, (14 August 1927)  
Source: ABMC Files



**Figure 18:** Site Plan of Flanders Field American Cemetery, Paul P. Cret, ABMC, (19 May 1928)  
Source: ABMC Files



**Figure 19:** View of Flanders Field, May 28, 1928

Source: Image 111-SC-95414, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 20:** View of Rond Point with Chapel, 1930

Source: Image 117-MC-37-35, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 21:** View of Flanders Field Chapel and Entrance Drive, 1930  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-19, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 22:** View of Flanders Field with Chapel and Superintendent's Quarters, 1930.  
Note newly planted English yew hedges.  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-23, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD

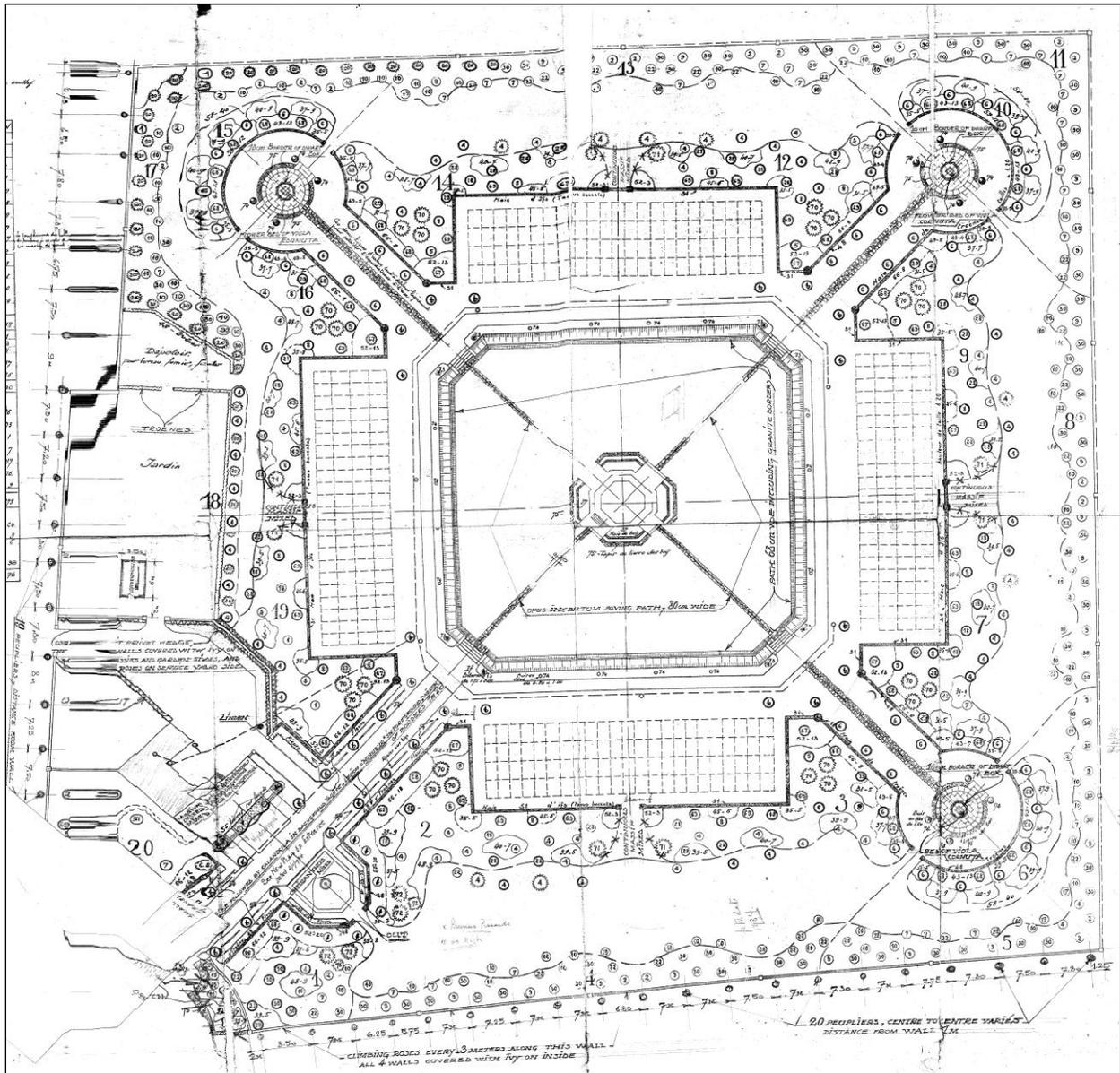


Figure 23: Excerpt from Planting Plan of Flanders Field American Cemetery, Paul P. Cret, ABMC, (May 1933, updated 1934)  
Source: ABMC Files



**Figure 24:** View of Grave Area, 1930. Note opening in English yew hedge in left background.  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-42, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD

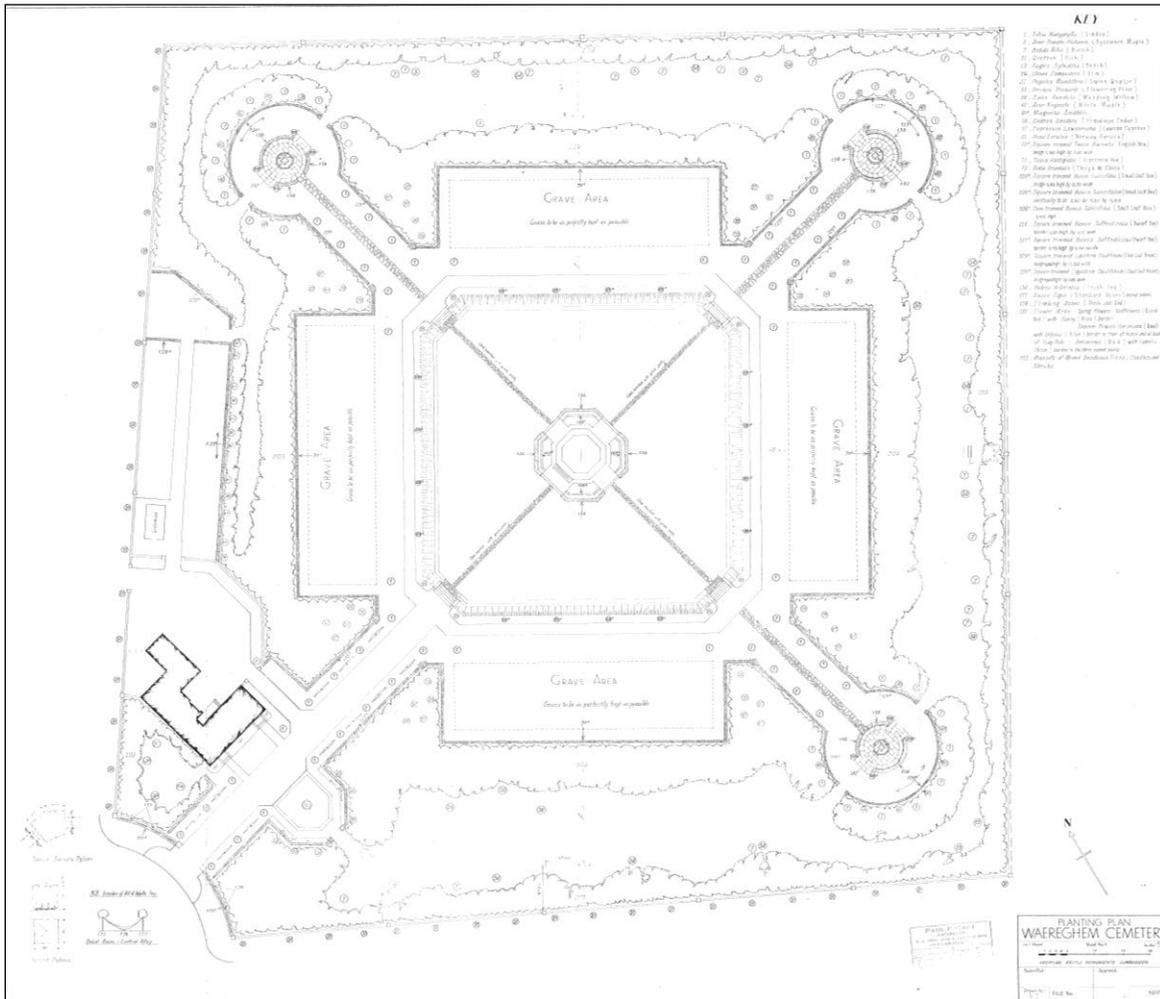


**Figure 25:** View at Rond Point with Urn and Privet Hedges, 1935  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-55, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



**Figure 26:** View of Chapel and Entrance Drive, 1935

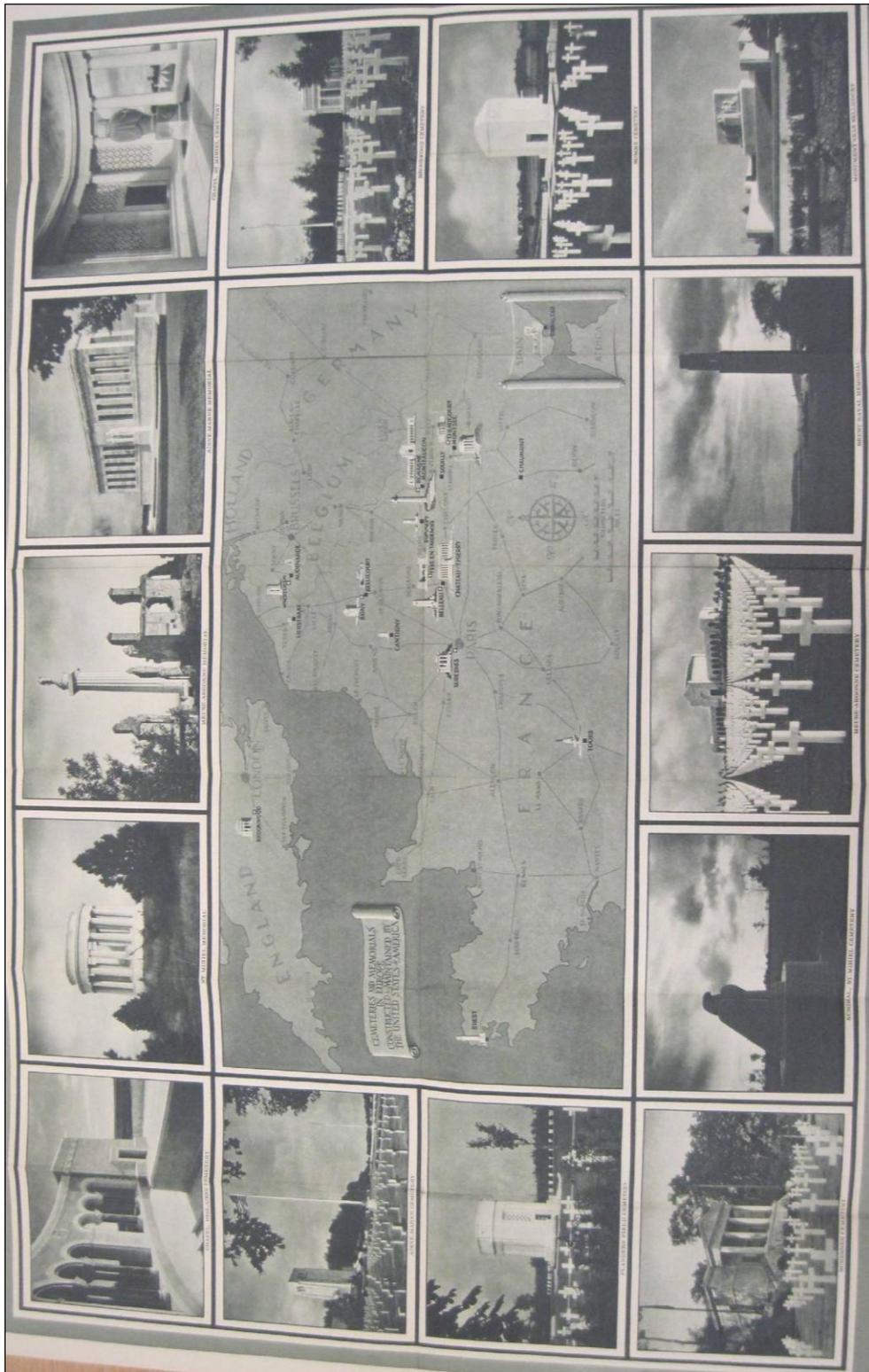
Source: Image 117-MC-37-52, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



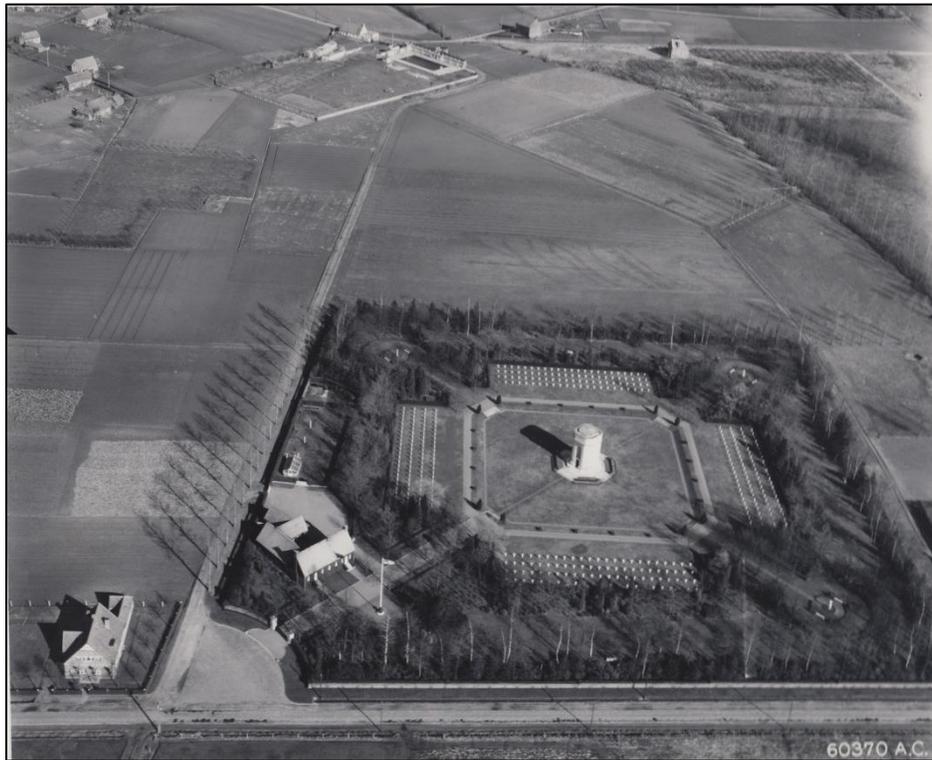
**Figure 27:** Planting Plan of Flanders Field American Cemetery, Paul P. Cret, ABMC, 1938  
 [See Appendix C for Plant List]  
 Source: ABMC Files



**Figure 28:** Dedication of Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, 8 August 1937  
 Source: Lot 5358 (H), no. 68, Prints & Photographs Reading Room, Library of Congress



**Figure 29:** Image from ABMC Brochure, c. 1937  
Source: Lot 5395 (G), Prints & Photographs Reading Room, Library of Congress



**Figure 30:** Aerial View of Flanders Field American Cemetery, March 1946  
Source: Image 117-MC-37-48, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD

PART VI. SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

**Appendix A: List of Architects for the Consideration of the American Battle Monuments Commission, May 10, 1925, Paul P. Cret<sup>239</sup>**

McKim, Mead and White, New York. This firm is so well-known that I do not need to give references as to their qualifications.

Charles A. Platt, New York. Mr. Platt is the author of the Freer Gallery, and is now working on the plans for the National Museum of the Fine Arts in Washington on the recommendation of the National Fine Arts Commission.

John Russell Pope, New York. Mr. Pope has built in Washington the Scottish Rite Temple and several residences, which have placed him in the foremost rank of the profession.

Egerton Swartwout, New York. Mr. Swartwout has built very important memorials; for instance, one to Mrs. Eddy. He is completing now the national Elks' memorial in Chicago, a very beautiful structure, and was the architect selected from the George Washington auditorium for the capital.

Howard Van Doren Shaw, Chicago.

Albert Kahn, Detroit.

Paul P. Cret, Philadelphia. Architect for the Pan American Union, Indianapolis Public Library, Delaware River Bridge, George Washington Memorial Arch at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania State Battlefields Monuments, Museum of the City of Detroit, etc.

For the minor projects, I would recommend the younger men:  
Thomas Harlan Ellett, formerly of McKim, Mead and White, now practicing in New York.

Mr. Harry Sternfeld, former Paris Prize winner, now practicing in Philadelphia.

Messrs. Mellor, Meigs and Howe, who have been awarded the gold medal of the Architectural League of New York.

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<sup>239</sup> Attachment to Letter, Cret to Pershing, (10 May 1925), Box 143, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

## Appendix B: ABMC Projects with Associated Architects

### Chapels and Cemeteries:

- Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery & Memorial, near Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, France, Architect - Louis Ayres (York & Sawyer, New York)
- Oise-Aisne American Cemetery & Memorial, near Fere-en-Tardenois, France, Architect Ralph Adams Cram (Cram & Ferguson, Boston)
- Aisne-Marne American Cemetery & Memorial, near Belleau, France, Architect Ralph Adams Cram (Cram & Ferguson, Boston)
- Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, Belgium, Architect Paul P. Cret (Philadelphia)
- St. Mihiel American Cemetery & Memorial, near Thiaucourt, France, Architect Thomas Ellett (New York)
- Somme American Cemetery & Memorial, near Bony, France, Architect George Howe (Mellor, Meigs & Howe, Philadelphia)
- Suresnes American Cemetery & Memorial, near Paris, France, Architect Charles Platt (New York)
- Brookwood American Cemetery & Memorial, England, Architect Egerton Swartwout (New York)

### Monuments:

- Meuse-Argonne Monument, Montfaucon, France, Architect John Russell Pope (New York)
- St. Mihiel Monument, Montsec, France, Architect Egerton Swartwout (New York)
- Aisne-Marne Monument, Château-Thierry, France, Architect Paul P. Cret (Philadelphia)
- Bellicourt Monument, Bellicourt, France, Architect Paul P. Cret (Philadelphia)
- Naval Monument, Gibraltar, Architect Paul P. Cret (Philadelphia)
- Naval Monument, Brest, France, Architect Ralph Milman (Howard Shaw Associates, Chicago) [destroyed during World War II and reconstructed]
- Services of Supply Memorial, Tours, France, Architect Arthur Loomis Harmon (New York)
- Somme-Py Monument, Somme-Py, France, Architect Arthur Loomis Harmon (New York)
- Cantigny Monument, Cantigny, France, Architect Arthur Loomis Harmon (New York)
- Audenarde Monument, Audenarde, Belgium, Architect Harry Sternfeld (Philadelphia)
- Kemmel Monument, near Ypres, Belgium, Architect George Howe (Mellor, Meigs & Howe, Philadelphia)

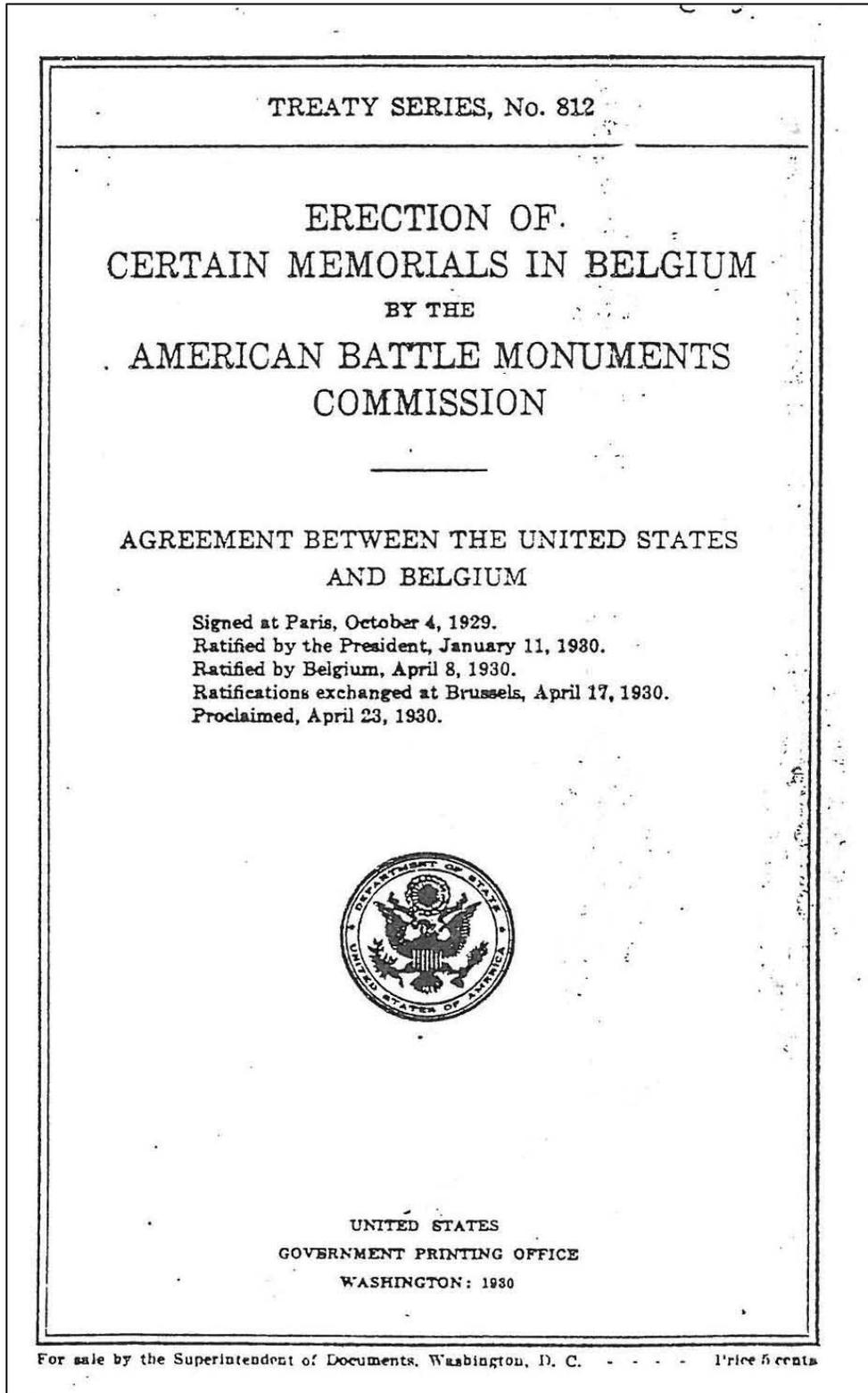
**Appendix C: Plant List from Planting Plan - Paul P. Cret, Waereghem Cemetery, 1938**

Note - This plant list itemizes the major plantings only, not the contents of the massifs. Original spelling and partial information reproduced here. Measurements denote meters.

<u>Key</u>	<u>Latin Name</u>	<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Notes</u>
1	<i>Tillia platyphylla (sic.)</i>	Linden	
3	<i>Acer pseudo-platanus</i>	Sycamore (sic.) Maple	
7	<i>Betula alba</i>	Birch	
11	<i>Quercus</i>	Oak	
13	<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	Beech	
26	<i>Ulmus compestris</i>	Elm	
31	<i>Populus monilifera</i>	Swiss Poplar	
33	<i>Prunus pissardi</i>	Flowering Plum	
39	<i>Galix pendula</i>	Weeping Willow	
40	<i>Acer Negondo</i>	White Maple	
45 <sup>D</sup>	<i>Magnolia amabilis</i>		
54	<i>Cedrus deodora</i>	Himalaya Cedar	
57	<i>Cupressus Lawsoniana</i>	Lawson Cypress	
61	<i>Picea excelsa</i>	Norway Spruce	
70 <sup>A</sup>	<i>Taxus baccata</i>	English Yew	square trimmed hedge 1.30 high by 0.50 wide
71	<i>Taxus fastigiata</i>	Hibernica Yew	
73	<i>Biota orientalis</i>	Thuya de Chine	
109 <sup>A</sup>	<i>Buxus salicifolia</i>	Small Leaf Box	square trimmed 0.40 high by 0.30 wide
109 <sup>B</sup>	<i>Buxus salicifolia</i>	Small Leaf Box	square trimmed, eventually to be 0.80 by 0.80 by 0.80
109 <sup>C</sup>	<i>Buxus salicifolia</i>	Small Leaf Box	cone trimmed 1.40 high
111	<i>Buxus suffruticosa</i>	Dwarf Box	square trimmed border 0.20 high by 0.30 wide
111 <sup>A</sup>	<i>Buxus suffruticosa</i>	Dwarf Box	square trimmed border 0.15 high by 0.30 wide
129 <sup>A</sup>	<i>Ligustrum ovalifolium</i>	Oval Leaf Privet	square trimmed hedge 0.80 high by 0.50 wide
129 <sup>B</sup>	<i>Ligustrum ovalifolium</i>	Oval Leaf Privet	square trimmed hedge 1.60 high by 0.80 wide
138	<i>Hedera hibernica</i>	Irish Ivy	

- |     |  |              |
|-----|--|--------------|
| 177 | Standard Roses   | mixed colors |
| 178 | Climbing Roses   | pink and red |
| 192 | Flower Beds - Spring Flowers: wallflowers (blood red) with pansy (blue) border<br>Summer Flowers: geraniums (rose) with lobelia (blue) border in front of house and at<br>back of flagpole; geraniums (red) with lobelia (blue border) in the three round points |              |
| 203 | Massifs of Mixed Deciduous Trees, Conifers and Shrubs  |              |

Appendix D: US-Belgium Agreements for ABMC Sites



BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS an Agreement between the United States of America and Belgium covering the erection by the American Battle Monuments Commission of certain memorials in Belgium in accordance with and by authority of the Act of Congress of the United States of America, approved March 4, 1923, entitled "An Act for the creation of an American Battle Monuments Commission to erect suitable memorials commemorating the services of the American soldier in Europe, and for other purposes", was signed at Paris on October 4, 1929, the original of which Agreement, being in the English and French languages, is word for word as follows:

AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND BELGIUM COVERING THE ERECTION BY THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION OF CERTAIN MEMORIALS IN BELGIUM.

This Agreement made at Paris, on October 4, 1929, by and between the Government of the United States of America, represented by General John J. Pershing, of the American Battle Monuments Commission, party of the first part, and the Royal Belgian Government, represented by Baron E. de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, Belgian Ambassador in Paris, party of the second part, for the acquisition by the Royal Belgian Government of lands intended as sites for monuments which the American Battle Monuments Commission is to erect in Belgium, in accordance with and by authority of the Act of Congress of the United States approved March 4th., 1923, entitled "An act for the creation of an American Battle Monuments Commission to erect suitable memorials, commemorating the services of the American soldiers in Europe and for other purposes", witnesseth that:

111772-30

ACCORD CONCLU ENTRE LES GOUVERNEMENTS DES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE ET DE LA BELGIQUE CONCERNANT L'ERECTION EN BELGIQUE DE MONUMENTS COMMEMORATIFS PAR LA COMMISSION AMERICAINE DES MONUMENTS DE GUERRE.

Le présent Accord, conclu à Paris, le 4 octobre, 1929, entre le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, représenté par le Général John J. Pershing, de la Commission Américaine des Monuments de Guerre, d'une part, et le Gouvernement Royal Belge représenté par Mr. le Baron E. de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, Ambassadeur de Belgique à Paris, d'autre part, pour l'acquisition, par le Gouvernement Royal Belge, de terrains devant servir d'emplacements pour les monuments que la Commission américaine des monuments de guerre se propose d'ériger en Belgique, en vertu de la loi du Congrès des Etats-Unis, approuvée le 4 mars 1923, intitulée "Loi pour la création d'une Commission américaine de Monuments de guerre en vue d'ériger des monuments commémorant dignement les services des soldats américains en Europe, et pour d'autres buts", certifie que:

(1)

## ARTICLE 1.-

The Belgian Government will acquire, by mutual agreement with the proprietors, the lands necessary for the erection of the American memorials.

## ARTICLE 2.-

The negotiations with the owners or tenants for the cession of the said lands will be pursued by the American Battle Monuments Commission, who will reimburse the Belgian Government for the purchase price thereof and for any expenses occasioned by the acquisition.

## ARTICLE 3.-

The said lands, as well as the monuments erected thereon, will be the property of the Belgian Government, who will grant to the Government of the United States without cost and in perpetuity the use and free disposal thereof.

## ARTICLE 4.-

The lands acquired will be devoted in perpetuity to the purpose above mentioned, but the Belgian Government shall have no responsibility with respect to the maintenance or the preservation of the monuments and their accessories.

If, in the future, the monuments should disappear or fall into ruin as a result of abandonment that can be considered as definite, and after the Belgian Government has informed the Government of the United States of their condition sufficiently in time so as to permit the latter to remedy the same if it so desires, the Belgian Government shall no longer be bound to permit the said lands to remain unproductive in perpetuity and shall have the right to use them for other purposes.

## ARTICLE 1.-

Le Gouvernement belge acquerra à l'amiable les terrains nécessaires à l'érection des monuments commémoratifs américains.

## ARTICLE 2.-

Les tractations à engager avec les propriétaires ou locataires des terrains précités en vue de la cession amiable des dits terrains, seront faites par la Commission américaine des Monuments de Guerre, qui remboursera au Gouvernement belge le montant du prix et des frais d'acquisition.

## ARTICLE 3.-

Les terrains en question ainsi que les monuments y érigés seront la propriété du Gouvernement belge qui en concédera gratuitement et à perpétuité l'usage et la libre disposition au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

## ARTICLE 4.-

Les terrains acquis resteront perpétuellement affectés à leur destination, sans toutefois que l'Etat belge puisse encourir de responsabilité en ce qui concerne l'entretien et la conservation des monuments et de leurs accessoires.

Si, dans l'avenir, les monuments venaient à disparaître ou à tomber en ruines, par suite d'un abandon que l'on pourrait considérer comme définitif, et après que l'Etat belge aurait informé le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis de leur état suffisamment à temps pour permettre à ce dernier d'y remédier, s'il le juge utile, l'Etat belge ne pourrait être tenu à perpétuité de laisser improductifs les terrains susvisés et pourrait les utiliser à d'autres fins.

## ARTICLE 5.-

It is expressly agreed that the said lands can be divested of their special character for reasons of the public welfare or public utility, of which the Belgian Government alone shall be judge.

In such case, after having consulted the American Battle Monuments Commission or eventually the Secretary of War, the Belgian Government will undertake, as far as it is still practicable, to rebuild at its own expense at another place in its territory and under similar conditions the monuments erected upon the lands in question.

## ARTICLE 6.-

The American Battle Monuments Commission or the organization which will eventually replace it will administer the land and monuments in perpetuity, in conformity with the Belgian laws and regulations, and will bear all expenses incident thereto so that the Belgian Government shall not be involved in any way.

## ARTICLE 7.-

The Belgian Government will settle all difficulties which may arise with owners or tenants of adjoining lands; it will institute and pursue any suit or sustain any defense concerning the properties acquired which may hereafter appear necessary. The cost involved and the amount of any possible judgments rendered against the Belgian Government will be repaid by the Government of the United States.

It is agreed, however, that settlement for damages caused by the personnel appointed by

## ARTICLE 5.-

Il est expressément convenu que les dits terrains pourront être désaffectés pour des raisons d'intérêt général ou d'utilité publique que l'Etat belge sera seul en droit d'apprécier.

En ce cas, après avoir pris l'avis de la Commission américaine des Monuments de guerre ou éventuellement du représentant désigné par le Secrétaire américain pour la Guerre, l'Etat belge se chargera, pour autant que ce soit encore faisable, de réédifier à ses frais, en un autre endroit de son territoire et dans des conditions équivalentes, les monuments érigés sur les terrains désaffectés.

## ARTICLE 6.-

La Commission américaine des Monuments de Guerre ou éventuellement l'organisme qui la remplacera, administrera à perpétuité les terrains et monuments, en se conformant aux lois et règlements belges et supportera toutes les charges qui pourraient les grever, et plus généralement, de telle façon que l'Etat belge ne puisse être inquiété en quoi que ce soit.

## ARTICLE 7

Le Gouvernement belge règlera toutes les difficultés pouvant s'élever avec les propriétaires ou locataires riverains; il suivra toutes actions ou défenses qu'il paraîtrait nécessaire par la suite d'intenter ou de soutenir au sujet des immeubles acquis. Les frais correspondants et éventuellement, le montant des condamnations lui seront remboursés par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

Il demeure entendu, toutefois, que le règlement des dommages causés, soit par le personnel préposé par le Gouvernement

the Government of the United States for the maintenance and guarding of the American memorials or by the equipment belonging to it, will be undertaken by the representative appointed by that Government.

The present Accord is to be ratified by both Governments. The exchange of ratifications is to take place in Brussels.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the date, month and year above-mentioned, this Agreement has been signed in four copies, each copy having the same value and effect as an original, by the Government of the United States, represented by General John J. Pershing of the American Battle Monuments Commission, and the Royal Belgian Government, represented by Baron E. de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, Belgian Ambassador in Paris.

[SEAL] JOHN J. PERSHING

[SEAL] E. DE GAIFFIER

AND WHEREAS the said Agreement has been duly ratified on both parts and the ratifications of the two Governments were exchanged in Brussels on the 17th day of April, one thousand nine hundred and thirty:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT KNOWN THAT I, HERBERT HOOVER, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Agreement to be made public to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington this twenty-third day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and  
[SEAL] thirty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-fourth.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:

J P COTTON

*Acting Secretary of State.*

**TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ACTS SERIES 4383**

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**AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERIES**

Agreement Between the  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
and BELGIUM

Signed at Brussels November 27, 1950

*with*

Note signed at Brussels December 24, 1950



## BELGIUM

### American Military Cemeteries

*Agreement signed at Brussels November 27, 1959;  
Entered into force November 27, 1959.  
With note signed at Brussels December 24, 1959.*

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AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND  
THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM CONCERNING  
AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERIES  
SIGNED AT BRUSSELS, ON NOVEMBER 27, 1959.

ACCORD ENTRE LE GOUVERNEMENT DES  
ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE ET LE  
GOUVERNEMENT BELGE CONCERNANT LES  
SEPULTURES MILITAIRES AMERICAINES  
SIGNE A BRUXELLES, LE 27 NOVEMBRE 1959.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM CONCERNING AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERIES

ACCORD ENTRE LE GOUVERNEMENT DES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE ET LE GOUVERNEMENT BELGE CONCERNANT LES SEPULTURES MILITAIRES AMERICAINES

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Belgium, desiring to amplify and give permanent character to the arrangements which have been mutually agreed upon concerning the establishing and maintenance of the graves of personnel of the United States of America who died during the World Wars 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 and who are buried in Belgium, have agreed as follows:

Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et le Gouvernement belge, désireux d'étendre les dispositions convenues concernant l'établissement et l'entretien des sépultures des membres du personnel des Etats-Unis d'Amérique tombés au cours des guerres mondiales 1914-1918 et 1939-1945 et inhumés en Belgique, et de conférer à ces dispositions un caractère permanent, sont convenus de ce qui suit:

*Article 1*

(1) The present Agreement applies to American military cemeteries, graves, and monuments on Belgian territory in Europe established in honor of personnel of the United States of America who died in the World Wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945.

(2) The term "personnel of the United States of America" includes any person who died as a result of either of the World Wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 and who was a member of the United States Armed Forces.

*Article 1*

(1) Le présent Accord s'applique aux cimetières, sépultures et monuments militaires américains établis sur le territoire belge en Europe en l'honneur des membres du personnel des Etats-Unis d'Amérique tombés au cours des guerres mondiales 1914-1918 et 1939-1945.

(2) L'expression "membres du personnel des Etats-Unis d'Amérique" comprend toute personne décédée par suite de l'une des guerres mondiales 1914-1918 et 1939-1945 et qui était membre des Forces Armées des Etats-Unis.

*Article 2*

(1) The Government of Belgium grants the Government of the United States of America in perpetuity and free of charge or compensation, the right to use for the establishment and maintenance of American monuments and military cemeteries, the plots of ground, including access roads to these plots, which are designated by mutual agreement of the two Governments. The areas already designated are described in the Annex [1] to the present Agreement.

(2) The cemetery plots referred to in (1) shall include sufficient ground for burial space, proper beautification, required approach roads and the construction of such buildings as are essential for the reception of visitors, the housing of caretakers and maintenance purposes.

(3) The right to use such lands and access roads includes, subject to the prior approval of the appropriate Belgian authorities, the right to plan, design, lay out and improve permanent cemeteries; to construct memorials, monuments and buildings thereon; to beautify the grounds; and to provide for the perpetual custody and maintenance of such cemeteries and structures. No construction, including the erection of simple enclosures, may be undertaken within 10 meters of foreign territory or within 5 meters of any road, the center of which constitutes an international boundary line at that point.

<sup>1</sup> Post, pp. 9 and 10.

*Article 2*

(1) Le Gouvernement belge accorde à titre gracieux et à perpétuité au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique le droit d'utiliser pour l'édification et l'entretien des monuments et cimetières militaires américains les terrains y compris les chemins d'accès à ceux-ci, désignés de commun accord par les deux Gouvernements. Les zones déjà désignées sont décrites dans l'annexe au présent Accord.

(2) Les terrains destinés à l'édification des cimetières et visés sub (1) seront d'une superficie suffisante pour comprendre les tombes, les embellissements, les chemins d'accès nécessaires, ainsi que la construction des locaux indispensables à la réception des visiteurs, au logement des gardiens et à l'entretien.

(3) Le droit d'utiliser lesdits terrains et chemins d'accès comprend, sous réserve de l'approbation préalable des autorités belges compétentes, le droit de projeter, dessiner, tracer et aménager les cimetières permanents, d'y ériger des monuments commémoratifs et des constructions, d'embellir les terrains et de prendre les dispositions nécessaires en vue de la garde et de l'entretien perpétuels desdits cimetières, monuments et constructions. Aucune construction, y compris la création de simples enceintes, ne pourra être entreprise à moins de 10 mètres d'un territoire étranger, ou à moins de 5 mètres d'une route dont l'axe forme frontière internationale à cet endroit.

*Article 3*

The Government of the United States of America will bear the expense of such layout, construction, landscaping and maintenance authorized by Article 2 as it undertakes.

*Article 3*

Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique supportera les frais de tracé, de construction, d'embellissement et d'entretien qu'il effectuera en vertu de l'autorisation qui lui est donnée par l'article 2.

*Article 4*

(1) The Government of the United States of America alone is empowered to have the bodies of personnel of the United States of America buried, exhumed or transported. These burials, disinterments and movements of bodies shall be exempt from all Belgian taxes.

(2) The Government of the United States of America shall not be subject to Belgian regulations concerning the movement of bodies within Belgium. However, the movement of bodies to or from foreign countries shall be subject to the prior authorization of the Government of Belgium.

(3) The Government of the United States of America will take all necessary measures to prevent the operations authorized in this Article from endangering public health.

*Article 4*

(1) Seul le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique est habilité à faire inhumer, exhumer ou transporter les corps des membres du personnel des États-Unis d'Amérique. Ces inhumations, exhumations et transports seront exempts de toute taxe belge.

(2) Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique ne sera pas soumis à la réglementation belge en ce qui concerne le transport des corps à l'intérieur du territoire belge. Toutefois, le transport des corps de Belgique vers des pays étrangers et vice-versa sera soumis à l'autorisation préalable du Gouvernement belge.

(3) Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique prendra toutes les mesures nécessaires afin que les opérations autorisées au présent Article ne constituent pas un danger pour la santé publique.

*Article 5*

(1) Nationals of the United States of America designated by the Government of the United States of America to carry out the measures provided for in Articles 2 and 4 of the present Agreement shall be permitted free entry into and departure from Belgium, provided they are in possession of an official United States document describing their identity, nationality and official position.

(2) The Government of the United States of America shall be permitted to employ the necessary Belgian labor, subject only to conforming to the Belgian Social Security laws and payment of rates of compensation fixed by Belgian legislation or by collective agreements prepared by joint labor-management commissions.

*Article 6*

(1) The immovable property referred to in Article 2, including the land, buildings and other improvements belonging to the Government of the United States and utilized by it as authorized by Article 2, shall be exempt from all Belgian taxes, including real estate taxes and the national crisis tax.

*Article 5*

(1) Les ressortissants des États-Unis d'Amérique désignés par le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique pour l'exécution des mesures prévues aux Articles 2 et 4 du présent Accord pourront librement entrer en territoire belge et en sortir, à condition d'être en possession d'un document officiel émanant des États-Unis constatant leur identité, leur nationalité et leur qualité officielle.

(2) Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique pourra recourir à la main-d'oeuvre belge nécessaire, à la seule condition de se conformer aux lois belges sur la sécurité sociale et de payer la rétribution aux taux fixés par la législation belge ou par les conventions collectives élaborées par les commissions paritaires.

*Article 6*

(1) Les biens immobiliers visés à l'article 2, y compris les terrains, constructions et autres aménagements, appartenant au Gouvernement des États-Unis et utilisés par lui comme il y est autorisé par l'article 2 seront exonérés de tous impôts belges, y compris la contribution foncière et la contribution nationale de crise.

(2) [1] The Government of the United States of America may import, reexport, acquire or use in Belgium, exempt from all taxes, (customs duties, excise taxes and taxes assimilated to stamp taxes), the equipment and supplies necessary for its official needs in carrying out the purposes of this Agreement. The Government of the United States of America shall have the same exemption in all undertakings and services which it may order or contract for in carrying out the purposes of this Agreement. The Government of the United States of America shall take the necessary measures to insure that none of the merchandise imported or acquired tax free shall be transferred in Belgium without the prior approval of the Government of Belgium.

(3) Motor vehicles imported by the Government of the United States of America and intended for its use or that of its citizens occupied in the measures provided for by the present Agreement shall be allowed temporary exemption from customs taxes and the transmission or luxury tax. The motor vehicles belonging to the Government of the United States of America and assigned exclusively to the operations described in the present Agreement are exempt from the Circulation Tax on Motor Vehicles. The Government of the United States of America will certify that a particular motor vehicle is for the official use of the Government of the United States of America in carrying out the purposes of this Agreement.

<sup>1</sup> See *port*, p. 11.

(2) Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique pourra importer, réexporter, acquérir ou utiliser en Belgique, en exemption de tous impôts (droits d'entrée, droit d'excise et taxes assimilées au timbre), le matériel et les approvisionnements nécessaires à ses besoins officiels pour l'exécution des fins du présent Accord. Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique bénéficiera de la même exemption pour tous les travaux et prestations qu'il commandera ou entreprendra pour l'exécution des fins du présent Accord. Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique prendra les mesures nécessaires pour qu'aucune des marchandises importées ou acquises en exemption d'impôts ne soit cédée en Belgique, sans l'accord préalable du Gouvernement belge.

(3) Les véhicules automobiles, importés par le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique et destinés à son usage ou à celui de ses ressortissants occupés aux travaux visés par le présent Accord bénéficieront de la franchise temporaire des droits d'entrée et de la taxe de transmission ou de luxe. Les véhicules automobiles appartenant au Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique et affectés exclusivement aux opérations décrites dans le présent Accord seront exonérés de la taxe de circulation sur les véhicules automobiles. Le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique délivrera un certificat attestant qu'un véhicule automobile déterminé est affecté à l'usage officiel du Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique pour l'exécution des fins du présent Accord.

## 7

(4) The wages, salaries, and other remunerations paid by the Government of the United States of America to nationals of the United States of America residing in Belgium and employed in undertakings envisaged in the present Agreement are exempt from Belgian income tax in conformity with Article X (1) of the Convention of October 28, 1948, between the Government of Belgium and the United States of America on the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Income Tax Evasion.<sup>[1]</sup> The remunerations paid to nationals of the United States of America mentioned above are exempt from all other direct or indirect taxes.

(5) The means of applying the exemptions provided by this Article shall be determined by agreement between the appropriate authorities of the Government of Belgium and of the Government of the United States of America.

*Article 7*

(1) The Government of the United States of America may designate one or more of its agencies to carry out the terms of this Agreement and will inform the Government of Belgium of the agency or agencies so designated.

(2) Any agency designated in accordance with Article 7 (1) above shall enjoy in Belgium immunity from civil suit for acts carried out in execution of the present Agreement.

<sup>1</sup> TIAS 2833; 4 UST 1659.

(4) Les salaires, traitements et autres rémunérations payés par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique à ses ressortissants résidant en Belgique et occupés aux travaux visés par le présent Accord sont exonérés des impôts belges sur les revenus, conformément à l'Article X (1) de la Convention conclue le 28 octobre 1948 par le Gouvernement belge et le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique pour éviter la double imposition et empêcher l'évasion fiscale en matière d'impôts sur les revenus. Les rémunérations payées aux ressortissants des Etats-Unis d'Amérique mentionnés ci-dessus sont exonérées de tous autres impôts directs ou indirects.

(5) Les modalités d'application des exemptions prévues par le présent Article seront établies de commun accord par les autorités compétentes du Gouvernement belge et du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

*Article 7*

(1) Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique pourra désigner une ou plusieurs de ses institutions pour exécuter les stipulations du présent Accord et notifiera au Gouvernement belge l'institution ou les institutions ainsi désignées.

(2) Toute institution désignée conformément à l'article 7 (1) ci-dessus, jouira, en Belgique, de l'immunité de juridiction civile pour les actes qu'elle aura accomplis en exécution du présent Accord.

*Article 8*

The present Agreement shall enter into force upon signature by both parties and shall supersede the Agreement signed in Paris, October 4, 1929, [<sup>1</sup>] as well as the Agreement concluded by exchange of notes on June, 6, and July 23, 1947 as amended on January 17 and 31, 1949, and December 28, 1954 and January 7, 1955. [<sup>2</sup>]

In witness whereof, the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed the present Agreement.

Done at Brussels, in duplicate in the English and French languages, this 27th day of November, 1959.

FOR THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA,  
POUR LES ETATS-UNIS  
D'AMERIQUE.

WILLIAM A. M. BURDEN,

[SEAL]

*Article 8*

Le présent Accord entrera en vigueur le jour de sa signature par les deux Parties et remplacera l'Accord signé à Paris le 4 octobre 1929 de même que la Convention conclue par échange de notes en dates des 6 juin et 23 juillet 1947 telle qu'elle a été amendée les 17 et 31 janvier 1949, le 28 décembre 1954 et le 7 janvier 1955.

En foi de quoi, les soussignés dûment habilités par leurs Gouvernements respectifs ont signé le présent Accord.

Fait à Bruxelles, en double exemplaire, dans les langues anglaise et française, le 27 novembre 1959.

FOR BELGIUM,  
POUR LA BELGIQUE.

P. WIGNY

[SEAL]

<sup>1</sup> TS 812; 46 Stat. 2732.

<sup>2</sup> TIAS 1672, 1960, 3230; 61 Stat., pt. 4, p. 3352; 63 Stat., pt. 3, p. 2674; 6 UST 992.

ANNEX TO THE AGREEMENT  
BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA AND THE GOVERN-  
MENT OF BELGIUM CON-  
CERNING AMERICAN MILI-  
TARY CEMETERIES

ANNEXE A L'ACCORD ENTRE  
LE GOUVERNEMENT DES  
ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE ET  
LE GOUVERNEMENT BELGE  
CONCERNANT LES SEPUL-  
TURES MILITAIRES AMERI-  
CAINES

Cadastral location of American military cemeteries in Belgium  
Situation cadastrale des cimetières militaires américains en Belgique

Commune of Waregem <u>Commune de Waregem</u>		
<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
B	836 i	2 Ha 50 a 70 ca
Commune of Hombourg <u>Commune de Hombourg</u>		
<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
B	21 E	1 Ha 14 a 72 ca
B	581 a	4 a 78 ca
B	582 a	7 a 60 ca
B	602 d	77 a 23 ca
B	604 c	10 a 33 ca
B	587 d	17 Ha 27 a 20 ca
Commune of Neuville en Condroz <u>Commune de Neuville en Condroz</u>		
<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
B	3 g	2 Ha 01 a 61 ca
C	371 h	32 a 31 ca
C	371 L	22 a 90 ca
C	371 N	32 a 48 ca
C	371 P	1 Ha 39 a 99 ca
C	371 Q	8 a 18 ca
C	371 R	1 a 28 ca
C	371 S	20 a 08 ca
C	371 T	1 a 00
C	409 a	2 Ha 47 a 18 ca
C	409 B	18 Ha 02 a 35 ca
C	409 E	3 Ha 67 a 53 ca
C	411 g	21 a 56 ca
C	411 H	68 a 23 ca
C	411 i	31 a 48 ca
C	411 k	4 a 89 ca
C	412 d	54 a 61 ca
C	412 E	6 a 10 ca
C	416 B	12 a 04 ca
C	417 B	93 a 00
C	418 c	1 a 16 ca

10

Commune of Neuville en Condroz (cont'd)

Commune de Neuville en Condroz

<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
C	419	2 Ha 66 a 30 ca
C	420	7 Ha 35 a 38 ca
C	422 B	4 a 76 ca
C	423 C	2 Ha 81 a 06 ca
C	424 B	55 a 61 ca
C	437 i	2 a 53 ca
C	461 e	42 ca
C	461 d	48 a 64 ca
C	462 B	8 a 53 ca

Location of american commemorative monuments in Belgium  
 Situation des monuments commémoratifs américains en Belgique

Commune of Kemmel

Commune de Kemmel

(Property of the State--Domaine de l'Etat)

<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
C	25 c	2 a 55 ca

City of Audenaerde

Ville d'Audenaerde

(Property of the State--Domaine de l'Etat)

Monument located Tacambaroplants (no cadastral location)

Monument situé Tacambaroplants (non cadastré)

*The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador*

MINISTÈRE  
 DES  
 AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES  
 ET DU  
 COMMERCE EXTÉRIEUR

Direction Générale C.  
 2ème bureau

n° 241/10

BRUXELLES, le 24-12-1959

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR,

J'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de Votre Excellence que les droits d'entrée, le droit d'accise et les taxes assimilées au timbre constituant, à l'heure actuelle, les seuls impôts susceptibles de s'appliquer aux opérations visées à l'article 6 (2) de l'Accord conclu le 27 novembre écoulé entre le Gouvernement belge et le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique concernant les sépultures militaires américaines.

TIAS 4383

11

Il est bien entendu que si l'Etat belge était amené à créer une nouvelle taxe éventuellement applicable à ces opérations, il aurait soin d'en exempter le Gouvernement américain aux fins de l'Accord précité.

Il résulte de ce qui précède que l'énumération des impôts dont il s'agit à l'article 6 (2) de l'Accord doit être considérée comme ne revêtant pas un caractère limitatif.

Je saisis cette occasion, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, de renouveler à Votre Excellence, l'assurance de ma très haute considération.

P WIGNY

Son Excellence Monsieur  
 WILLIAM A. M. BURDEN,  
*Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis  
 d'Amérique,  
 à Bruxelles.*

*Translation*

MINISTRY  
 OF  
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
 AND  
 FOREIGN COMMERCE

Division C.  
 Office Two  
 No. 241/10

BRUSSELS, *December 24, 1959*

MR. AMBASSADOR:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that customs duties, the excise tax, and taxes assimilated to stamp taxes now constitute the only taxes that may be imposed on the operations referred to in Article 6(2) of the Agreement concluded on November 27, 1959, between the Belgian Government and the Government of the United States of America concerning American military cemeteries.

It is understood that, if the Belgian State should decide to establish any new tax applicable to such operations, it would see that the American Government is exempted therefrom for the purposes of the aforesaid agreement.

It follows from the foregoing that the enumeration of the taxes provided for in Article 6(2) of the agreement is to be considered nonlimitative.

I avail myself of this opportunity, Mr. Ambassador, to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my very high consideration.

P WIGNY

His Excellency  
 WILLIAM A. M. BURDEN,  
*Ambassador of the  
 United States of America,  
 Brussels.*

TIAS 4383

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERIES

Agreement Between the  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
and BELGIUM

Correcting the Annex to the Agreement  
of November 27, 1959

Effected by Exchange of Notes  
Dated at Brussels January 8, 1962,  
and October 24, 1963



## BELGIUM

### American Military Cemeteries

*Agreement correcting the annex to the agreement of November 27, 1959.*

*Effected by exchange of notes*

*Dated at Brussels January 8, 1962, and October 24, 1963;*

*Entered into force October 24, 1963.*

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*The American Embassy to the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade*

No. 64

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to refer to the Embassy's Note No. 152 of May 10, 1961, [1] and subsequent conversations between representatives of the Ministry and the Embassy regarding discrepancies in the Annex of the agreement concerning American Military Cemeteries, signed at Brussels November 27, 1959. [2]

The Embassy wishes to inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Government of the United States accedes to the changes in the wording at the bottom of page two of the Annex from "Property of the State" to "Property of the City", and agrees to the typographical corrections of the list of section numbers and areas of the Ardennes American Military Cemetery as shown in the enclosed draft Annex.

The Embassy would appreciate being informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs if the Belgian Government is in agreement.

*Enclosure:*

*Draft Annex as corrected. [3]*

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
*Brussels, January 8, 1962.*

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<sup>1</sup> Not printed.

<sup>2</sup> TIAS 4383: 10 UST 2132.

<sup>3</sup> Not printed. For agreed annex, see *post*, p. 3.

*The Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade to the  
American Embassy*

MINISTÈRE  
DES  
AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES  
ET DU  
COMMERCE EXTÉRIEUR  
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE A.

Service des Traités

N° 50159/S.90.085

BRUXELLES, le 24 octobre 1963

Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce extérieur présente ses compliments à l'Ambassade des Etats-Unis d'Amérique à Bruxelles et a l'honneur de se référer à la note verbale de l'Ambassade du 8 janvier 1962, n° 64, relative à l'Accord entre le Gouvernement belge et le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, concernant les sépultures militaires américaines, signé à Bruxelles, le 27 novembre 1959.

Le Ministère confirme l'accord du Gouvernement belge sur la substitution à l'annexe dudit Accord, d'une annexe révisée apportant des corrections typographiques à la description de la situation cadastrale du cimetière militaire américain des Ardennes, et remplaçant la mention : "Domaine de l'Etat" figurant au bas de la page 2 de l'Annexe par la mention : "Domaine de la Ville".

L'Ambassade voudra bien trouver ci-contre un exemplaire d'une nouvelle annexe, sur laquelle lesdites corrections ont été apportées.

Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères saisit cette occasion de renouveler à l'Ambassade des Etats-Unis, l'assurance de sa très haute considération.

SACI

AMBASSADE DES ETATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE,  
27, boulevard du Régent,  
Bruxelles 1.

ANNEX TO THE AGREEMENT  
BETWEEN THE GOVERN-  
MENT OF THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA AND  
THE GOVERNMENT OF BEL-  
GIUM CONCERNING AMERI-  
CAN MILITARY CEMETERIES

ANNEXE A L'ACCORD ENTRE  
LE GOUVERNEMENT DES  
ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE ET  
LE GOUVERNEMENT BELGE  
CONCERNANT LES CEMETE-  
RIES MILITAIRES AMERI-  
CAINES

Cadastral location of American Military Cemeteries in Belgium  
Situation cadastrale des cimetières militaires américains en Belgique

FLANDERS FIELD AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERY  
CIMETIERE MILITAIRE AMERICAIN DES FLANDRES

Commune of Waregem-Commune de Waregem

<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
B	836 i	2 Ha 50 a 70 ca
B	836 k	1 a 83 ca
TOTAL AREA SUPERFICIE TOTALE		2 Ha 52 a 53 ca

HENRI-CHAPELLE AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERY  
CIMETIERE MILITAIRE AMERICAIN D'HENRI-CHAPELLE

Commune of Aubel-Commune d'Aubel

<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
C	241 g	1 Ha 54 a 98 ca

Commune of Hombourg-Commune d'Hombourg

<u>Section</u> <u>Section</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>Numéro</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Superficie</u>
B	21 e	1 Ha 14 a 72 ca
B	602 d	77 a 22 ca
B	604 e	10 a 83 ca
B	581 b	01 a 57 ca
B	581 c	01 a 57 ca
B	582 b	18 a 00 ca
B	587 f	01 a 00 ca
B	587 g	17 Ha 23 a 20 ca
B	587 h	01 a 78 ca
B	587 i	01 a 15 ca
B	596 h	2 Ha 22 a 00 ca
TOTAL AREA SUPERFICIE TOTALE		23 Ha 18 a 84 ca

ARDENNES AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERY  
Cimetière Militaire Américain des Ardennes

Section Section	Number Numéro	Area Superficie
B	3 h 5 . . . . .	2 Ha 91 a 74 ca
C	371 g . . . . .	91 a 60 ca
C	371 h . . . . .	29 a 78 ca
C	371 i . . . . .	98 a 12 ca
C	371 k . . . . .	01 a 28 ca
C	371 o . . . . .	26 a 75 ca
C	371 q . . . . .	1 Ha 48 a 69 ca
C	371 t . . . . .	17 a 14 ca
C	409 g . . . . .	15 Ha 63 a 14 ca
C	411 l . . . . .	01 a 40 ca
C	411 m . . . . .	31 a 24 ca
C	411 p . . . . .	04 a 89 ca
C	411 q . . . . .	68 a 23 ca
C	412 e . . . . .	31 a 01 ca
C	2	
C	412 m2 . . . . .	04 a 10 ca
C	412 n2 . . . . .	54 a 61 ca
C	416 e . . . . .	12 a 94 ca
C	417 d . . . . .	11 a 33 ca
C	417 e . . . . .	12 ca
C	417 f . . . . .	01 a 34 ca
C	417 g . . . . .	35 ca
C	417 k . . . . .	87 a 16 ca
C	417 h . . . . .	02 a 15 ca
C	419	2 Ha 66 a 10 ca
C	420 a . . . . .	01 a 70 ca
C	420 b . . . . .	7 Ha 33 a 68 ca
C	422 a . . . . .	04 a 73 ca
C	423 b . . . . .	2 Ha 81 a 1 ca
C	424 a . . . . .	1 a 1 ca
C	437 p . . . . .	1 ca
C	461 d . . . . .	1 ca
C	461 f . . . . .	1 ca
C	462 g . . . . .	1 ca
TOTAL AREA SUPERFICIE TOTALE		36 Ha 04 a 18 ca

Location of American commemorative monuments in Belgium  
Situation des monuments commémoratifs américains en Belgique

Commune of Kemmel - Commune de Kemmel

Section Section	Number Numéro	Area Superficie
C	25 e	1 a 55 ca

City of Audenarde - Ville d'Audenarde

(Property of the City - Domaine de la Ville)

Monument located Tacambaroplants (no cadastral reference)  
Monument situé Tacambaroplants (non cadastré)

5

*Translation.*

MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
AND FOREIGN TRADE

DIRECTION GENERALE A.

Treaty Office

No. 50159/59.035

BRUSSELS, *October 24, 1963*

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America at Brussels and has the honor to refer to the Embassy's note verbale No. 64, of January 8, 1962, regarding the Agreement between the Government of Belgium and the Government of the United States of America concerning American Military Cemeteries, signed at Brussels on November 27, 1959.

The Ministry confirms the agreement of the Government of Belgium to the replacement of the Annex of the Agreement by a revised Annex containing typographical corrections in the description of the cadastral location of the Ardennes American Military Cemetery and substituting the words "Property of the City" for the words "Property of the State" at the bottom of page two of the Annex.

The Embassy will find enclosed a copy of the new Annex on which the aforementioned corrections have been made.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this occasion to renew to the Embassy of the United States the assurance of its very high consideration.

[SEAL]

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
*27, boulevard du Régent,*  
*Brussels 1.*