

FLANDERS FIELD AMERICAN CEMETERY & MEMORIAL,
SUPERINTENDENT'S QUARTERS
Wortegemseweg 117
Waregem
West Flanders
Belgium

HALS BE-1-A
HALS BE-1-A

PHOTOGRAPHS

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, SUPERINTENDENT'S QUARTERS

HABS No. BE-1-A

Location: Wortegemseweg 117, Waregem, West Flanders, Belgium

The coordinates for the Superintendent's Quarters are 50.873759 N, 03.452633 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 Superintendent's Quarters faces south/southeast toward the entrance drive. To simplify cardinal directions used in this report, the principal façade will be identified as south.

Present Owner: The Belgian government granted use of the land in perpetuity, free of charge or taxation, to the United States Government. The American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) owns all buildings and capital improvements on the property.

Present Use: Offices and visitor facilities

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. Flanders Field, located in Waregem, Belgium, 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. The Superintendent's Quarters is one of the War Department-built features already in place at Flanders Field when the ABMC was created. 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. The GRS established the original plan of Flanders Field and the other seven cemeteries during 1921-22. This work was done by GRS Landscape Architect George Gibbs Jr. in consultation with the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts.

The Construction Division of the Office of the Quartermaster General oversaw construction of basic features at each cemetery including gates, walls, and superintendent's quarters during 1923-24. The Superintendent's Quarters at Flanders Field is a one-and-a-half story brick dwelling with connecting ells to the rear and two doorways on the main elevation. While

the larger American cemeteries had separate buildings for superintendent's quarters and visitor reception, here these two functions were combined into one building given the small size of the cemetery. One doorway on the main elevation provided access to a reception room for cemetery visitors, particularly next of kin who had agreed to allow their soldier to be buried overseas. The Superintendent's Quarters, along with the gate and perimeter wall, is an important artifact of the earliest War Department development of Flanders Field that was beautifully integrated into the ABMC redevelopment of the site.

Historian: Lisa Pfueller Davidson, Ph.D., HABS Staff Historian

PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date of erection: 1923-24
2. Architect: Construction Division staff, Office of the Quartermaster General - probably American architect W. L. Phillips, assisted by French architect Charles L. Moginier.
3. Original and subsequent uses: The Superintendent's Quarters were built to house a Superintendent and his family, an office for the Superintendent, and a reception room with lavatory facilities for visitors. Initially the reception room was intended mainly for the use of next of kin visiting the cemetery. In recent years, the residential use of the Superintendent's Quarters has been discontinued while its use as an office and visitor's center is ongoing.
4. Builder: Les Enterprises Somerville, Paris
5. Original plans and construction: Although the original blueprints for the Superintendent's Quarters have not been located, related drawings from the War Department period are available, as well as specifications for the Quarters.¹ Early site plans and on-site analysis of the building indicate that the original configuration of a side gable, one-and-a-half story brick house is largely intact. The main block has two original entrances facing the entrance drive -- one for the Superintendent's areas and another for the "Gold Star Mothers" reception room. The original rear ell configuration forming a U is still evident although it has been altered. Originally the connecting ell at the west end was a garage and the ell parallel to the main block was a pump house.

¹ 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.

6. Alterations and additions: The small workshop ell at the north was added c. 1937 and a small adjacent ell now containing a handicap bathroom was added prior to 1939. In the early 1960s, dormers were added and the interior plan reconfigured, removing an interior wall from the Superintendent's portion of the main block and moving the kitchen to the rear in part of the former garage. In 1976-77, a small addition was placed to the back of the main block, allowing the visitor's bathroom to be moved to the rear of the reception room and adding an office with exterior door on that side. The former garage ell was converted into a living room and the water tank/pump room was converted into a new garage. A side entrance with foyer, small water closet, and a laundry room were placed in the west section of the pump room. There was also a proposal to redivide the main room, which does not appear to have been done.²

B. Historical Context:

For a detailed overview report on Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial see HALS No. BE-1. For documentation on the Chapel at Flanders Field see HALS No. BE-1-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."³ The new phenomenon of a modern war of attrition resisted clear interpretation and national meaning. 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. Led by General John "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. In the process the "War to End All Wars" greatly impacted America's international identity, political thought, and military development.

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

² "Specifications for Improvement and Modifications to Quarters at The American Cemetery and Memorial, Flanders Field, Waregem, Belgium," (3 September 1976); "Specifications for Improvement and Modifications to Quarters at The American Cemetery and Memorial, Flanders Field, Waregem, Belgium, Phase II" (12 September 1977), Drawing Files, Flanders Field.

³ Mark Meigs, *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 1.

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 1**). 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.⁴ A cease fire declared on November 11th ended hostilities on the Western Front and became known as Armistice Day.

Temporary Overseas American Cemeteries

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 2**). 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 3**). Men assigned to the GRS attempted to find over 2,400 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."⁵ 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.⁶ In the

⁴ 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: GPO, 1938), 395.

⁵ 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.

⁶ Ralph Hayes, *A Report to the Secretary of War on American Military Dead Overseas - May 14, 1920* (Washington, GPO, 1920), 23.

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 alternative but leaving the remains in France, and the sooner this fact is recognized, the better."⁷ 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, as no other country had a policy of returning 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.⁸

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.⁹ 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 War Department proceeded to send out next of kin questionnaires asking about preferred burial locations, in spite of the uncertainty.¹⁰

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.¹¹ 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.¹²

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

⁷ 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.

⁸U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, *The National Commission of Fine Arts, Tenth Report - July 1, 1921-December 31, 1925* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1926), 71.

⁹ Hayes, 22.

¹⁰ See Budreau, Chapter 5.

¹¹ Budreau, 46; "Senate Votes for Cemetery for Our Dead in France," *New York Times*, 13 June 1919, 17.

¹² Budreau, 48.

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 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.¹³ Hayes acknowledged the conflicting opinions regarding burial locations while offering reassurance that War Department policy remained unwavering:

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.¹⁴

The first bodies were shipped from England in February 1920 and from France in April 1920 after negotiations with French authorities to lift restrictions.¹⁵ Hayes' report discusses 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. Hayes also points out in his report that the YWCA operated "hostess houses" in repurposed Army buildings at Romagne, Bony, and Belleau Wood temporary cemeteries to receive visitors (**Figure 4**). He recommended that War Department development of permanent cemeteries include housing for personnel and visitors.¹⁶

¹³ 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 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).

¹⁴ Hayes, 12.

¹⁵ For a detailed account of the negotiations see Hayes, 25-30.

¹⁶ Hayes, 13, 32, 43.

The immediate problem before creating overseas national cemeteries was locating the many battlefield burials and individual interments. France allowed limited disinterment to resume by the end of 1919, mainly for burials outside of the military operations zone. The original 2,000 temporary burial locations were consolidated into less than 600 sites by May 1920.¹⁷ 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).¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ The added logistical problems of families changing 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.²⁰

Planning for Permanent Overseas Cemeteries

The Hayes report also recommended creating a commission - the War Memorials Council - which would advise the War Department in cemetery and memorial development, in consultation with the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts (CFA).²¹ 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.²² The CFA was created in 1910 to advise the Federal Government on matters of design and aesthetics.²³ 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

¹⁷ Hayes, 35-36.

¹⁸ Hayes, 15.

¹⁹ Meigs, 184.

²⁰ Budreau, 76.

²¹ 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.

²² Hayes, 42-43.

²³ See Sue A. Kohler, *The Commission of Fine Arts: A Brief History, 1910-1995* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1996.)

first officially approached for advice on creating a U.S. national cemetery in France in the fall of 1919.²⁴ 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.²⁵ Colonel Charles C. Pierce, Chief of the GRS, also served as the Council's secretary. In 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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 member for landscape architecture 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.²⁸ Gibbs prepared some preliminary plans that the CFA committee reviewed at Kendall's New York office on February 28, 1921.²⁹

²⁴ 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."

²⁵ War Memorials Council membership list, n.d., Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ See Letter, Caemmerer to Moore, (8 October 1920), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ 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; CFA Minutes, (28 February 1921). 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).

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."³⁰ 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 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."³¹ 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).

Moore presented the plans prepared by Gibbs to the entire CFA at their June 9, 1921 meeting.³² 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).³³ 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 a Flanders Field cemetery in Belgium (**Figure 5**). This decision was finalized in August 1921 and Gibbs again traveled to Europe to gather data for plans.³⁴

Plans moved forward in 1921-22 to consolidate the several hundred temporary American cemeteries into the eight permanent locations, which would be modeled on stateside national cemeteries, particularly Arlington. Since the Civil War, Arlington National Cemetery had been

³⁰ 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.

³¹ 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.

³² 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. See also CFA Minutes, (9 June 1921).

³³ Typescript, "American Cemeteries in France," c. 1921, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

³⁴ 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. Correspondence between Moore, Kendall, and Gibbs indicates that Kendall asked to contribute designs for architectural features such as gates, fences, and water towers, although the informality of this arrangement made Kendall uncomfortable. See for example Letter, Kendall to Moore, (14 September 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

the most prominent military cemetery in the United States. The development of a national cemetery system in that post-war period codified the national approach to military cemeteries. 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.³⁵

The CFA hoped to avoid the elaborate variety of commercial headstones that characterized later sections of Arlington and return to simplicity and dignity. The ideal was well-tended paths and regular rows of graves, 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. Sturdy 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. Creating a monumental Classical setting for official remembrance and pageantry illustrates the same impulse as the overseas commemorations of the ABMC. Historian Thomas W. Laqueur has written that the attention to both symbolic unknown soldiers and the individual identification of the dead and missing on memorials represent a cultural shift in the production of collective memory. After World War I a "new era of remembrance began: the era of the common soldier's name or its self-conscious and sacralized oblivion."³⁶ The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington became the de facto national memorial to the Great War, while the effort to individually identify the dead and missing in overseas military cemeteries represents a parallel cultural emphasis.

³⁵ *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.

³⁶ 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.

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."³⁷ Each cemetery would include a superintendent's quarters and basic facilities for visitors. The location of the proposed Flanders Field cemetery in Belgium was still to be determined but a possible location near Ypres were mentioned.

The name "Flanders Field" comes 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 early 1921.³⁸

The Graves Registration Service estimated in August 1921 that it would need to accommodate approximately 375 graves in its permanent Belgian cemetery.³⁹ 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 6**). This site had the advantage of being an "entirely American cemetery" with potential space for 743 graves.⁴⁰

³⁷ 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.

³⁸ See preliminary drawing (1921), U.S. Commission of Fine Arts Office Files; CFA Minutes, (28 February 1921); and Gibbs' report, Typescript, (19 May 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

³⁹ GRS, "Summary of Estimates," (25 August 1921), Box 156, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

⁴⁰ 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.

In spite of some sentiment that a site closer to Ypres be chosen due to the significance of the fighting there, it was soon agreed that the bodies in the temporary plots around Poperinghe would be relocated to Waregem.⁴¹ 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."⁴² 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 a 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.⁴³

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."⁴⁴ Gibbs' preliminary design for the Waregem site is dated November 15, 1921 (**Figure 7**). It shows the basic polygon of the site with the diagonal entrance drive flanked by buildings and an allée leading to a flagpole. An elevation drawing of the proposed buildings has not been located but the footprint on the plan 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.⁴⁵

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.⁴⁶ As for Flanders Field, Gibbs said "nobody has attacked that little fellow."⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

⁴¹ See Correspondence in Folder 687 Cemeteries - Europe, Box 9619, Entry 1888, RG 92, NARA II.

⁴² 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.

⁴³ Budreau, 118.

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ Letter, Gibbs to Moore, (14 October 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ Letter, Moore to Major General J. G. Harboard, Deputy Chief of Staff, (17 September 1921), Box 5, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

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 other nations."⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ Soldiers to be buried here were from the 91st, 37th, 27th and 30th AEF Divisions who fought in the vicinity.

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.⁵¹ Major A. H. Barkley, GRS commanding officer in Europe, was charged with completing required grading quickly to allow bodies stored in warehouses 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.⁵² Hurrying the grading and reinterment process 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 Office of the Quartermaster General 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.⁵³ 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

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 3.

⁵³ 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."

his knowledge of the 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.⁵⁴

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 to 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.⁵⁵

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 8**). 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.

Constructing Flanders Field American Cemetery

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."⁵⁶ In spite of continued resistance, bodies were moved from isolated graves or rearranged in existing cemeteries to create regular rows. By early 1923 all

⁵⁴ Correspondence - Moore, Gilbert and Green, (October-November 1922), Folder - Graves, Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ 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.

plans were in final review in preparation to let contracts, with construction proceeding through 1923 and 1924.⁵⁷ Final Flanders Field plans (Job No. 1252) were sent to the U.S. on March 16, 1923.⁵⁸ This phase of improvement included construction of the Superintendent's Quarters, the flagpole terrace, the entrance and service gates, and the perimeter walls, as well as a planting plan.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰

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."⁶¹ 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 house was designed to "conform to the character of the architecture and construction in general to the houses in the locality."⁶²

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 War Department overseas cemetery plans still needing approval due to the impending deadline for letting contracts.⁶³ Ayres reported back to the CFA that he and Bacon found the plans for Flanders Field to be "first rate." He wrote:

⁵⁷ Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 4.

⁵⁸ Blueprint copies on site at Flanders Field, Folder - Drawings 2301-2304, and Folder - Drawings 2305-2309.

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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 was designed by W. L. Phillips, since he designed the gates, walls, and flag court, as well as doing the drawings for Gibbs' landscape plans.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² Memorandum, R. P. Harbold, Chief, GRS to Quartermaster General, (16 March 1923), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

⁶³ Letter, Caemmerer to Ayres, (10 April 1923), Box 6, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I. The CFA had also been quite critical of several of the cemetery plans already submitted such as Suresnes and Belleau Wood (Aisne-Marne). See CFA Minutes.

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.⁶⁴

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

The 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 was to be paved with macadam (later changed to gravel) 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 (*Symphoricarpus 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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 9**). 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.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ 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

⁶⁴ Letter, Ayres to Caemmerer, (21 April 1923), Box 6, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

⁶⁵ Memorandum GRS to Quartermaster General, (7 November 1924), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ Memorandum, Charles A. Morrow, QMC to Chief of GRS, (20 November 1923), Box 157, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

⁶⁸ Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 5.

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.⁶⁹

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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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

ABMC Improvements

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 10**).⁷²

⁶⁹ Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 5.

⁷⁰ ABMC, *Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission - Fiscal Year 1925*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1926), 5.

⁷¹ Memorandum - "Completion report on construction of permanent American military cemeteries in Europe," 7.

⁷² Typescript, List of ABMC Commissioners, (19 September 1923), Box 4, Entry 17, RG 66, NARA I.

Prominent architect Paul Philippe Cret (1876-1945) was chosen as consulting architect to the ABMC, based largely on a recommendation from Charles Moore and the Commission of Fine Arts. Cret was an excellent choice for the job. 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. 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.⁷³ Cret served as ABMC Consulting Architect from 1925 until his death in 1945. Cret's biographer, Theodore White, considers his design projects for the ABMC to be among his finest work.⁷⁴

In February 1925 ABMC asked that Cret travel to Europe on their behalf to examine potential sites, propose general schemes for memorials and chapels, and advise as to the best method of obtaining detailed plans. That summer Cret, accompanied by ABMC Secretary Price, visited each of the eight overseas American cemeteries to choose a location for a memorial chapel and make general recommendations for improvements. 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.⁷⁵

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.⁷⁶

⁷³ Sandra Tatman, "Paul Philippe Cret," 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).

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ Typescript, Paul P. Cret, "The American Battle Monuments Commission Report on Survey in Europe May 15-August 21, 1925," (15 September 1925), 56; Box 2, Entry 3, RG 117, NARA II [hereafter Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925)].

⁷⁶ Cret, "Report on Survey in Europe," (1925), 56-57.

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 line the entrance drive and a plain flagpole on a round base sits at the end. The curbing along the drive continued to create a circular area around the flagpole. The current Superintendent's Quarters, gate, and walls were in place, as were many immature plantings. The center lawn was just grass surrounded by a narrow crushed stone path with a few young trees and small evergreen shrubs planted near the edge (**Figure 11**). In the grave areas four rows were visible with wood crosses. The arrangement of the burials was consistent with what is there today. The round points suggested on Gibbs' site plan from 1923 were outlined by trees but not paved. Also plantings at the corners of the center lawn blocked the axes envisioned in Cret's scheme.

This set of photographs also provides very clear images of the Superintendent's Quarters, c. 1925 (**Figure 12**). The handsome brick dwelling sat close to the entrance drive, with steps leading to exterior doors at the Superintendent's kitchen and the reception room. The original doors and French windows, now replaced, were visible, as were the exterior shutters which have been removed. Immature plantings of shrubs and trees were visible around the Quarters. Other than these changes, and the addition of a dormer, the front elevation of the Quarters looks very similar today. A perspective view from the northeast showed the east end elevation of the Quarters with the pump house ell and a glimpse of the connecting garage (**Figure 13**). The distinctive round window in the gable of the pump house ell remained intact after this area of the Quarters was converted into the garage. Another photograph taken from an elevated vantage point outside the front gate of the cemetery illustrates the early appearance of the Superintendent's Quarters, including the west rear ell, and its relation to other cemetery features (**Figure 14**).

Price submitted Cret's preliminary designs for a Chapel at Flanders Field cemetery to the Commission of Fine Arts in October 1926.⁷⁷ Sketches in the Cret Papers at the University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives show several proposed versions of the Flanders Field Chapel. All these designs share a Classical flavor, and the core idea of a small chapel with a distinctive vertical presence. One octagonal design includes a tall frieze with bas relief sculpture and a low-pitched octagonal roof. A monumental winged figure is 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.⁷⁸ That Classical building is a tall, octagonal tower with a frieze of bas relief sculpture around the attic level.

A final design rendering of the Chapel in the collection of the Commission of Fine Arts files is stamped February 17, 1927. A very similar rendering was also published in the ABMC's 1927 guidebook.⁷⁹ The elegant exterior of the Chapel stands in foreshortened perspective in

⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁸ Grossman, "Architecture for a Public Client," 138.

⁷⁹ See ABMC, *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe*, 253.

front 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. The chapel projects progressed most quickly, since choosing and acquiring sites for the monuments took much more time. Cret also was working on the design for the monument at Château-Thierry during this time. A set of detailed drawings for the Chapel dated August 14, 1927 show the structure largely as constructed. With the design of the Chapel for Flanders Field 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.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ 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.⁸² He approved the design and layout of the Chapel, ordered that the entrance, perimeter wall, and Superintendent's Quarters 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 in evaluating and altering the planting plan.

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 sunken lawn (**Figure 15**).⁸³ It included hedges around the grave areas and rond points and a flagstone terrace around the urns in the rond points. Contracts for the Chapel construction and other work, such as new plantings, were let shortly thereafter in June 1928.⁸⁴ When this work was ready to commence, the installation of the permanent headstones was recently completed. The Carrara marble headstones were fabricated in Italy and installed at the ABMC cemeteries during 1927-28

⁸⁰ 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.

⁸¹ Extract of Letter, Price to Chief Clerk Mangum, (18 March 1928), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

⁸² 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.

⁸³ *Plans Des Jardins*, (19 May 1928), ABMC Files.

⁸⁴ 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.

under the direction of GRS engineers.⁸⁵ The work at Flanders Field was done from January to March 1928.⁸⁶ It was also decided during 1928 that the Superintendent's Quarters needed a central heating plant. When built in 1923-24 it only had fireplaces and galvanized iron heating stoves.⁸⁷ The original crawl space was excavated into a partial cellar to house the new central heating plant with a coal-fired boiler. The cellar was in place by September and the heating system completed by December.⁸⁸

Work continued on the Chapel through 1929 and into 1930 (**Figure 16**). The Superintendent's Quarters continued to serve as the primary functional structure on site. An April progress report described the Chapel as complete except for the lists of the missing on the interior tablets. Price noted:

This cemetery looks very well indeed and has been greatly improved. The only features in it which are not up to the Commission's standard are the caretaker's house and the enclosing wall. Both of these were built before the Commission was organized and are of brick.⁸⁹

In spite of the negative comments from ABMC, the War Department-era features were incorporated nicely into the redesign and served the pragmatic needs of the site.

In addition to the general interest in completing the overseas memorials and cemeteries, now a decade after the end of the war, ABMC officials were feeling pressure from the planned Gold Star Mothers pilgrimage in the summer of 1930. In a January 1930 progress report, Price wrote:

...we are making the greatest efforts to completing all features possible before the visit of the Gold Star Mothers next summer. It is greatly regretted that this visit was not postponed a year, as the Chairman of the Commission informally suggested to those concerned. If it had been postponed until 1931 the impression on the Gold Star Mothers would have been one thousand times better, as the work which the Commission is doing will make these cemeteries exceptionally beautiful.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ 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. See overview report HALS No. BE-1 for a detailed discussion the controversy over headstones for the overseas American cemeteries.

⁸⁶ 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.

⁸⁷ 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.

⁸⁸ Quartermaster Corps - GRS, "Quarterly Report of the Flanders Field American National Cemetery," (30 June 1928, 30 September 1928, and 31 December 1928), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

⁸⁹ X. P. Price, "Memorandum for the Commission," (10 April 1930), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

⁹⁰ X. P. Price, "Memorandum for the Commission," (10 January 1930), Box 153, Entry 13, RG 117, NARA II.

Once the Federal government took the extraordinary step of providing trips to Europe for mothers whose sons had died while serving with the AEF, these women were not interested in delaying their travels further to give ABMC time to complete its work. An early photograph of the reception room in the Superintendent's Quarters -- dubbed the "Gold Star Mothers Room" shows arrangements made at Flanders Field to accommodate cemetery visitors (**Figure 17**) As originally intended by the War Department, the Superintendent's Quarters served as the main facility for visits from next of kin.

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. Photographs from 1930 shows the now tall allée of poplars at the entrance drive, the climbing roses at the perimeter wall, and maturing shrubs and other plantings around the Superintendent's Quarters (**Figures 18, 19, 20**). Cret 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.

Flanders Field in the 1930s

A Flanders Field site plan from May 1933, with updates to 1934, shows the completed ABMC redesign as well as some of the early adjustments.⁹¹ 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 a flagstone terrace, 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. As conceived by ABMC and still maintained today, the landscape of Flanders Field was most formal at the center around the Chapel and graves, with square clipped privet hedges, pruned linden trees, and shaped yews and other evergreens. The curving edges of the massifs and plantings left to grow in more naturalistic shapes gave the outer lawns a more informal character. The Superintendent's Quarters was sited near the entrance gate apart from these aspects of the site, but was visually related through its adjacent low walls and plantings, including carefully trimmed English ivy (*Hedera helix*) growing on the front elevation.

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, full administrative control of the overseas military cemeteries was transferred from the War Department to the ABMC, via Executive Order. 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

⁹¹ Paul P. Cret, "Planting Plan of Flanders Field American Cemetery," Waregem, Belgium, (May 1933, updated 1934), ABMC Files.

adding their expertise as gardeners and groundskeepers. Many of the sites were not officially dedicated yet, but construction was generally complete.

During 1934 General Pershing published an extensive article about the work of the ABMC in *National Geographic Magazine*. Pershing wrote, "At each of the cemeteries beautiful and comfortable reception rooms have been established near to or in connection with the caretaker's offices for the convenience of visitors and those desiring information regarding the soldier dead."⁹² At this time 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. These women were essentially being rewarded for contributing to the American war commemoration overseas by allowing their sons' graves to near the field of combat.⁹³ The first few years the groups would have seen 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, particularly when the chapels were still under construction. Historian Jay Winter points out that "war memorials were places where people grieved, both individually and collectively."⁹⁴ 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 dissipated, leaving only the political symbolism.

The "Gold Star Mothers" reception room incorporated into the Superintendent's Quarters at Flanders Field was small, but included toilet facilities and an electric radiator located inside the fireplace. This room was refurnished in late 1935, perhaps in an effort to upgrade the decorations after several years of high profile visits. Refurnishing included new rugs, curtains, and vases purchased from De Coene Brothers in Courtrai (Kortrijk), a commercial center about 20 miles away.⁹⁵ Visitors to Flanders Field in the early 1930s would have seen a newly completed greenhouse in the service yard, the completed Chapel and maturing plantings from Cret's revised site plan.⁹⁶ In 1933 the Lombardy poplar (*Populus nigra pyramidalis*) trees lining the entrance drive were removed.⁹⁷ 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 that the

⁹² John J. Pershing, "Our National War Memorials in Europe," *National Geographic Magazine* 55, no. 1 (January 1934): 2.

⁹³ Piehler, 177.

⁹⁴ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 79.

⁹⁵ Typescript, "Report of the European Office of the ABMC," (September 15-October 15, 1935) and (October 15, 1935-December 4, 1935), Box 132, Entry 10 - Monthly Reports of Paris Office [hereafter Entry 10], RG 117, NARA II. Also see letters in Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

⁹⁶ War Department, GRS, Drawing No. 1252-2317, "Details for Green-House, Flanders Field Cemetery," Historical Files, Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, Belgium. This greenhouse is no longer extant.

⁹⁷ GRS, "Quarterly Report of the Flanders Field American National Cemetery," (31 December 1933), Box 647, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

English boxwood and common privet had filled in enough to be clipped into low, continuous hedges.⁹⁸

When Cret visited to inspect the site on July 10, 1936, he recommended that an addition be put on the "reception building" to "store lawn mowers, lockers for gardeners, bicycles, etc."⁹⁹ A sketch plan of the workshop addition for the Superintendent's Quarters survives among Cret's concept drawings for the Chapel (**Figure 21**).¹⁰⁰ This one-story brick ell projects from the northwest side of the original pump house ell (now garage). It was built in late 1937 by local contractor Henri Desmet.¹⁰¹ A plan of the Superintendent's Quarters from 1939 shows the original division of the first floor of the main block into a dining room (center) and kitchen (west), as well as the small rear ell that now contains a handicap-accessible bathroom (**Figure 22**). A fireplace is located in the kitchen on the west wall. A small square passage linked the dining room, kitchen and rear porch/garage. The reception room on the east side of the plan included the still extant electric radiator in the fireplace. A small water closet was provided here, but this feature has been moved and reconfigured. The second floor had three chambers and the basement contained a boiler room and coal bin, as added in 1928 for the central heating plant.

A 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. 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.¹⁰²

Brochures and other publications promoted the cemeteries and memorials, and provided information to visitors. The guidebook released by ABMC in 1927 was updated and expanded in 1938. The new version included photographs of the completed chapels and monuments.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Images 117-MC-37-52 and 117-MC-37-55, Flanders Field American Cemetery, (1935), Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD.

⁹⁹ Extract from Report - Dr. Cret Inspection Visit to Waereghem, (10 July 1936), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

¹⁰⁰ "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.

¹⁰¹ Drawing, "*Cimetière Americain a Waereghem, Projet Por La Construction D'Un Magasin*, (2 August 1937), ABMC Files.

¹⁰² 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.

¹⁰³ ABMC, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe*.

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. On May 10, 1940 Germany invaded Belgium and Holland. The ABMC European Office had each of their sites put evacuation plans in place 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 their own judgment.¹⁰⁴ German troops were at Flanders Field several times from May 23-28. They went through the house, broke windows, and took gasoline, bicycles belonging to the local gardeners, and some small items, but the cemetery was otherwise unharmed.¹⁰⁵ These events at Flanders Field were characterized by Major Holle as the "only deliberate aggression" experienced at the ABMC sites.¹⁰⁶

ABMC officials were forced to leave France entirely in May 1941.¹⁰⁷ Care of the ABMC sites in France was transferred to the French Office of the Veterans' Secretary General, Military Graves Service. Similar arrangements were made for Flanders Field with the Swiss Legation in Brussels. Superintendent William Moses (or Mozes in some records) left Flanders Field on May 7, 1941 and one of his Belgian employees, Achiel Adams, moved into the Superintendent's Quarters 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.¹⁰⁸

As the Allies regained control of the relevant French and Belgian territory in 1944, 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 Monument 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."¹⁰⁹ 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.

¹⁰⁴ Letter No. 2592-P, Major Charles Holle, (22 May 1940) and Cablegram, (11 July 1940), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

¹⁰⁵ Major Holle, Diary Notes - Enclosure to Letter No. 2601-P, (29 July 1940), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

¹⁰⁶ Extract of Letter, Holle to Pershing, (14 July 1940), Box 49, Entry 8, RG 117, NARA II.

¹⁰⁷ Memorandum, Mott to Acting Secretary, ABMC, (8 August 1941), Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

¹⁰⁸ See Correspondence, Box 132, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

¹⁰⁹ Office of Quartermaster, "Report of Inspection - American Cemeteries and Battle Monuments, Northern France and Belgium," Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA 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.¹¹⁰ At the end of 1946, ABMC was attending to some of the deferred maintenance on its structures. 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 1945.¹¹¹ However, his level of activity had been diminished by poor health and the war in the proceeding few years.¹¹² Harbeson was the lead partner in Cret's successor firm, Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, & Larson.

ABMC's mission expanded greatly with the addition of World War II cemeteries. With Harbeson's guidance, the ABMC again oversaw construction of multiple overseas American military cemeteries and memorials. 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.¹¹³ 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. A brochure from 1971 continued to emphasize the "Visitor's Room" in the Superintendent's Quarters as an important amenity and point of contact between staff and visitors:

Near the cemetery entrance a comfortably furnished room is provided where visitors may pause to refresh themselves or obtain information from the cemetery staff. A register is maintained there, and all visitors are encouraged to sign it before leaving the cemetery. Burial locations and sites of memorialization in all of the overseas American military cemeteries of both World War I and World War II, plus other information of interest concerning the overseas cemeteries or local history, may be obtained from the Superintendent or the cemetery staff.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Letter, Eisenhower to Pershing, (11 October 1944), Box 133, Entry 10, RG 117, NARA II.

¹¹¹ 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.

¹¹² 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.

¹¹³ 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.

¹¹⁴ American Battle Monuments Commission, "Flanders Field American Cemetery and Memorial," 1971.

Changes to Flanders Field were quite minimal, consisting mainly of routine maintenance. The Superintendent's Quarters were substantially renovated starting in the early 1960s and again in the mid-1970s.¹¹⁵ In the early 1960s, dormers were added and the interior plan reconfigured, removing an interior wall from the superintendent's portion of the main block and moving the kitchen to the rear in part of the former garage (**Figure 23**).¹¹⁶

ABMC Annual Reports from the early 1970s noted a number of repairs and upgrades for the Superintendent's Quarters at Flanders Field. In fiscal year 1974 new kitchen cabinets, sink and range hood were installed, as well as new bathroom fixtures upstairs.¹¹⁷ Phase I of more extensive renovations began in fiscal year 1976. The original garage area was converted into a living room, with a hall, toilet and laundry room facilities added to the west behind the original pump house/workshop. Closets were added to the bedrooms, a new garage door installed in the former pump house, and a gated opening was added to the west perimeter wall to serve the new side entrance.¹¹⁸ Phase II, completed in fiscal year 1978, included a small addition on the back of the main block, allowing the visitor's bathroom to be moved to the rear of the reception room and adding an office with exterior door on that side.¹¹⁹

Other repairs at Flanders Field during the late 1970s included repointing the perimeter wall and Chapel terrace, and regilding the inscriptions on the Chapel.¹²⁰ 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. A brick and concrete wheelchair ramp was added to the Superintendent's Quarters in 2001, requiring enlarging one of the side windows at the reception room into a doorway.¹²¹ An additional handicap-accessible bathroom is provided in a small addition behind the 1936 warehouse ell. Since 2004 the building has been used strictly as an office and visitor's center, with the Superintendent living off site. Plans from the early 2000s to build a new visitor's building have

¹¹⁵ 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); "Specifications for Improvement and Modifications to Quarters at The American Cemetery and Memorial, Flanders Field, Waregem, Belgium, Phase II" (12 September 1977), Drawing Files, Flanders Field.

¹¹⁶ Drawing 108/45, "Flanders Field Bureau and Habitation," (28 February 1963), ABMC Files.

¹¹⁷ ABMC, *Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission, Fiscal Year 1974* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1975), 59.

¹¹⁸ ABMC, *Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission, Fiscal Year 1976* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1977), 72; *Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission, Fiscal Year 1977* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1978), 64.

¹¹⁹ ABMC, *Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission, Fiscal Year 1978* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1979), 67. Plans to add an arched partition redividing the dining room as part of Phase II do not seem to have been carried out. See "Specifications, Phase II."

¹²⁰ ABMC, *Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission, Fiscal Year 1979* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1980), 67.

¹²¹ Drawing - A. Cornelis, Kortrijk, Belgium, "Ramp Addition," (25 April 2000), Drawing Files, Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, Waregem, Belgium.

been shelved.¹²² Maintenance of the Chapel, plantings, and landscape features has continued to be meticulous, making Flanders Field an enduring tribute to the sacrifices of World War I.

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General Statement

1. Architectural character: The Superintendent's Building is a brick domestic structure with a one-and-a-half story main section and two original one-story rear ells that create a roughly C-shaped footprint (built 1923-24). It faces south/southeast toward the entrance drive. For the purpose of this description the front façade will be identified as south.
2. Condition of fabric: Good.

B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: 47 feet, 3 7/8 inches wide (at main block of house) by 75 feet, 10 3/8 inches deep (including rear ells)
2. Foundations: The visible foundations are red brick, laid eight courses high with a shallow water table formed by a one half brick set back. The pattern is alternating rows of stretchers and headers. The patio area addition and the small ell on the north now used as a handicap-accessible do not have a separate foundation with water table. The structural foundations are concrete footings, with a large wood summer beam supported on concrete piers in the basement.
3. Walls: The exterior walls are dark red brick laid in primarily alternating header and stretcher courses. The bond on the front façade is more mixed, with some sections of one header to three stretchers and other 1:1. The front façade has trained ivy between and above the openings. The additions on the rear have a lighter, more orange brick.
4. Structural system, framing: The house has load-bearing brick walls and a heavy truss roof frame with rafters supported on a purlin. The heavy pine timber structural beams have pinned mortise and tenon joints. There are some original metal I-beams in the former pump house and workshop.
5. Stoops: There are two stoops located at the front façade with four granite steps each leading to the reception room and residential (now office) doorways. Each stoop has low brick knee walls with a stone cap. The bottom section of wall cap has a shallow pyramidal shape.

¹²² Drawing - Wielfarert Architecten, Waregem, "Renovated Visitor's Quarter," (11 October 2002), Drawing Files, Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial.

There is a concrete ramp going from the reception room stoop to the side elevation, leading to a window modified into a doorway for handicap accessibility. The ramp has brick walls on both sides with a stone cap. There is a short ramp step to reach the threshold for the handicap-accessible bathroom.

There is a single step at the door added on the west façade. Two doorways at the addition on the north side of the main house share a three step granite stoop with a telescoping configuration. This stoop is sheltered by a clear corrugated plastic roof supported by metal brackets.

6. Chimneys: The building has four brick chimneys, each with a terra cotta chimney pot and a lightning rod. The bricks are laid in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. Two of the chimneys are external and located on the end façade of the main block. Each chimney has a corbelled brick cap and diagonal brick shoulders. There is a thinner internal chimney at the south slope of the main block, located off-center closer to the east. This chimney has been repaired with a section of new brick and a concrete cap at the top. The fourth chimney is located internally as well at the west slope of the ell roof. It is oriented perpendicular to the ridge line and is all stretcher brick.

7. Openings:

- a. Doorways and doors: The building has five exterior doorways into the main block and five exterior doorways leading to various sections of the ells. The typical opening is framed only by a segmental brick relieving arch with one course of header bricks and two courses of soldier bricks. The main façade has two identical doorways each one bay in from the ends. The east doorway leads to the reception room and the west into the former superintendent's residence. Replacement doors are solid wood with six equal recessed panels and a wide molding at the bottom with a thick bead and section of cyma recta. The brass lever handles have an escutcheon with a key hole below. Another doorway leading to the reception room from the ramp is a modified window. The door here is a modern vinyl door with glazing and a lever handle. Two additional doors were added with the small addition to the rear of the main block - one leading into the kitchen and the other into an office. The doors here are wood panel with vertical seams in the lower half and glazing in the top half. The lever handles have a key hole below.

The doorways into the rear ells of the building are more varied. There is a single leaf door at the west side ell which was added in a modified window opening in 1976-77. The wood door here is painted ivory with two simple horizontal panels in the lower quarter and a large area of glazing above protected by a curved wrought iron grate. It has a decorative door knob with a pointy star-shaped escutcheon. There is a large vinyl sliding glass door at the east side of the ell added when converting the original garage into a living room. This doorway has a roll-down security shutter. The front gable section

of the rear ell has a modern roll up door at the former water tank area. The small warehouse area to the north has a two-leaf door on the east façade with a metal beam above. These wood panel doors are similar to the ones in the 1970s addition with glazing in the top half and a lever handle. The small front gable addition housing a handicap bathroom has a modern white vinyl door with a thin fixed sidelight on one side and white lever handle.

- b. Windows: The typical window opening is rectangular with the window set directly into the brick with a segmental brick relieving arch. Each window has a sloped brick sill. There are six window openings on the main façade; the two flanking the reception room door are thinner versions of the other four. Similar windows are located on the side elevations, with some modifications. A window on the west façade of the ell has been shortened. The windows in the main house are replacement vinyl casements with an internal roll down shutter mechanism. Smaller versions of the typical window appear at the attic level in the gable ends. Modern windows in the bathrooms are a hopper type with frosted privacy glass.

Three original oak sash appear in the former water tank/garage and warehouse/workshop portions of the ells. These windows are a two-light French window with wide muntins and a two-light transom above. The lower rail of the sash has a thick ogee curve molding. These windows matched the original ones on the main block. Smaller one-light versions of these windows are in the basement, set below grade in concrete window wells. There are two of these windows on the south side of the main block. The former water tank and warehouse also have large circular windows in the gables with wood six-light divided sash. These window openings are outlined by two courses of header bricks.

8. Roof:

- a. Shape, covering: The main block of the building has a side gable roof with a moderate pitch. The ells have cross gable roofs, with the main two forming a C from the northwest corner of the main block. An additional cross gable is situated perpendicular to the rear water tank/garage ell, with a north/south ridge like the west ell. The addition on the rear of the main block, in the former location of a small porch, has a shed roof. The handicap-accessible bathroom has a cross gable facing north and lower than the warehouse cross gable next to it to the east. All the roofs are covered with red Belgian tile with round tiles on the ridges and gable ends.
- b. Eaves: The original and early portions of the building have shallow corbelled brick eaves with a wood soffit over the upper portion. Curved lead external gutters are located over the soffit. The downspouts also appear to be lead.

- c. Dormers: The building has two dormers on the main block portion, which were added c. 1960. One dormer is located in the center of the south roof slope. It has stretcher brick walls and a wood close eave. The dormer roof is very low pitched and sheathed with a roll material. It has one wide three-part window with a white vinyl sash and concrete sill. The other dormer is larger and located off-center on the north roof slope. It is the same in form and materials, with two three-part windows.

C. Description of Interior:

1. Floor plans: The building is mainly one floor, with a finished attic story and a partial basement at the main block only, and lofts in the garage and workshop. The east third of the main block contains the visitor reception room, with a small water closet to the rear. An interior door leads to the superintendent's area. This is now one large room, but originally was divided into a kitchen at the west end and dining room in the middle. An office/storage room is located to the rear of this space in the 1977 addition. The kitchen is in the west ell, in the former mechanical room/garage area. The rest of the former garage in this ell was converted into a living room. Continuing through the living room leads to the small foyer for the added side doorway, water closet, and a laundry room. The water tank space in the north ell is now a small attached garage. The warehouse or workroom extension (c. 1937) on the north side of this ell is used for file storage. A small extension tucked into the west side of this section houses a handicap-accessible bathroom and is only accessible from the exterior. This ell appears on drawings from 1939 (see Figure 22).

Three bedrooms and a full bathroom are located upstairs; this was an expansion from the original two bedrooms and wide hall.

The basement (added 1928) is only partially under the main block, with changes in level between the boiler room at the center, the room to the west, and former coal bin in the northeast corner. A small door in the west wall leads to an unfinished crawl space under the westernmost section of the house (the original kitchen).

2. Stairways: There is an enclosed pine winder stair at the southeast corner of the Superintendent's former dining room. This stair has a curved oak hand rail in the inner wall. The basement is accessed from the small hall between the reception room and Superintendent's rooms. This stair is a concrete closed stair with a winder turn at the bottom. There is a change of level between the rear hall and former garage/living room, with a short flight of three stairs covered with yellow and brown mottled ceramic tile.
3. Flooring: The first and second (or ground and attic) floor rooms in the main block have oak tongue and groove flooring with a three-and-a-half-inch wide

plank. The reception room floor has a parquet border of two thin strips of darker finish wood bordering a typical size and color plank. The reception room bathroom, rear hall, and side door foyer have four-inch ceramic tile in mottled yellow and gray. The laundry room has two-inch-square gray ceramic tiles. The rear office has twelve inch square tan ceramic tiles. The kitchen has modern vinyl tile in ten inch squares. The living room has commercial carpet on concrete. The basement, garage, and warehouse have painted concrete floors. The handicap-accessible bathroom has twelve-inch-square gray ceramic tile flooring.

4. Wall and ceiling finish: The walls and ceilings are primarily plaster, with an applied ceiling tile in the 1970s living room. The reception room, Superintendent's rooms, and upstairs bedrooms have a simple six-inch-high wood baseboard with a coved upper edge. The second floor rooms have cove or tray plaster ceilings formed by the truss/purlin system. The walls in the main house have a textured wall covering that has been painted. In the added office and reception room bathroom the plaster is textured. The reception room bathroom also has four-inch-square yellow tile on part of the walls behind the sink and a black tile baseboard. The kitchen has wallpapered plaster walls and a gray-blue ceramic tile backsplash with a circular glazed motif. The kitchen also has a tan ceramic tile baseboard of cut tiles approximately 4 1/2 inches high by 12 inches wide. The rear hall has a painted wood wainscot with grooved vertical boards and sloped top. The living room has textured plaster walls with small ogee crown molding at the applied ceiling tile. The water closet by the side entrance foyer has tan ceramic tile at the wall near the sink. The garage and workshop have painted brick walls and ceilings formed by the floor of the loft spaces above. The handicap-accessible bathroom has eight-inch-square white ceramic tile walls and a white veneer plank ceiling.
5. Openings:
 - a. Doorways and Doors: The typical interior doorway has pine trim three to four inches wide with mitred corners, and simple detailing and plinth. In some of the doorways the trim has a thick bead on the inner edge and slopes at the outer edge. The typical door is a thin solid pine door with recessed panels, either three square panels in the reception room or one or two in private areas of the house. The door to the kitchen is a frosted glass French door with six rectangular lights. The basement door and the closet and bathroom doors upstairs, have grooved boards in the panels, arranged horizontally in the top one and vertically in the bottom. The door between the side entrance foyer and living room is a modern French door with one smaller leaf and frosted privacy glass. There is a plastic accordion door between the rear hall and living room. There are utilitarian metal doors at the handicap-accessible bathroom. There are small vertical wood board doors for the eaves in the second floor.

- b. Windows: Most of the windows have been replaced or are modern additions. These are wood or vinyl casements with a single light, lever handle and thin sill. These windows have a roll-down security shutter incorporated into a box mounted in the frame above the window. The rope mechanism for the shutter is concealed within a hinged section of trim on the side (except the living room windows which do not have trim). The inside of the remaining original wood sash windows are untrimmed and set directly into the masonry.
 - c. Skylights: There are large fixed skylights that were added to the living room, garage and workshop roofs.
6. Decorative features and trim: The house has two fireplaces with gray terra cotta surrounds and hearths. The brick is arranged in a stylized pier with recesses. The mantle is black marble. There is a decorative cast iron fire box with a raised cloudlike motif in the reception room fireplace. The office/former dining room fireplace is filled with gray brick that appears to match the original. An additional fireplace at the west wall in the original kitchen has been removed, leaving only a patch in the wood floor. There is a small plastered niche in the wall of the former dining room with an arched top.
7. Hardware: The typical door hardware is a silver metal lever handle with a keyed escutcheon. The escutcheon is a tall thin rectangle in shape, with beveled edges on the older examples in the reception room. The original windows have a bar lever hardware with a center knob. The knobs on the basement windows have raised floral motifs.
8. Mechanical equipment:
- a. Heating, air conditioning, ventilation: The building was constructed with galvanized iron wood stoves and functional fireplaces instead of central heat. A stove was placed in each of the two upstairs bedrooms and in the pump room.¹²³ A radiant central heating system was installed a few years later, in 1928. Cast-iron radiators are set partially into the wall below many of the windows. Wall-mounted fin tube convection radiators are used in the addition and modified spaces from the 1970s. Another fin tube radiator was installed in a recess in front of the living room sliding glass door and covered by a silver grate. The faux coal grate in the reception room fireplace is an original electric radiator with Bakelite control knobs and wiring in the bottom.

¹²³ 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.

- b. Lighting: The building was constructed with electric lighting. There is an original five-arm brass chandelier in the reception room with opaque glass open globes. The Superintendent's rooms, now office, have fluorescent tube ceiling fixtures. Other areas of the house have ceiling or wall mounted fixture (enclosed). The garage and workshop have fluorescent tubes and exposed incandescent bulbs. There are small halogen recessed lights in the publically accessible bathrooms (reception room and handicap-accessible). Light switches throughout are a wide plastic rocker switch, sometimes attached to rectangular external conduit (current office).
- c. Plumbing: Originally the only bathrooms were located in the rear of the ground floor (full bath for house and a separate water closet accessed from the reception room). Later the residential bathroom was moved upstairs within the new dormer space at the rear of the attic floor (c. 1960). The reception room water closet was moved and rebuilt in the rear ell behind the new side entrance foyer in 1977. The fixtures include vitreous china toilets and wall-mounted vitreous china sinks in the reception bathroom and inside the toilet room of the handicap-accessible bathroom. The main sink in the handicap-accessible bathroom is installed into a Formica countertop. The bathroom faucets are all separate hot and cold.

D. Site:

1. Historic landscape design: For complete documentation of the historic landscape design, see Flanders Field American Cemetery & Memorial, HALS No. BE-1. The area immediately surrounding the Superintendent's Quarters has been treated as a semi-private extension of the cemetery landscape from the beginning. Hedges and low walls create some separation for the small yards at the west end of the Quarters and around the service yard on the east. Because these areas are still highly visible to the public they have been planted and maintained with the same care as the rest of the site. The west yard is planted as a cottage garden with shrubs, perennials, and annuals like those used in the cemetery proper. The small area in front of the Quarters includes planting beds and a narrow lawn. The east service yard now has a larger lawn area near the wall for the maintenance area, but originally was treated with more extensive plantings.

PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- A. Architectural drawings: Drawing collections with useful material on the Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters are described below. Specific drawings are cited as relevant throughout the report.
 - American Battle Monuments Commission - scanned copies of later changes to the Superintendent's Quarters and site.

- Flanders Field - on-site drawings file - includes blueprints of the War Department building campaign of 1923-24, and drawings of later changes to the Superintendent's Quarters.
- 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. Early Views: The collections with useful material on the Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters are described below. Specific photographs are cited or reproduced as relevant throughout the report.

- Still Pictures Branch, NARA II - The National Archives photographic collections have excellent sets of photographs showing the exterior of the Superintendent's Quarters in 1925, 1928, 1930, and 1935. The 1925 set includes interior views of the reception room and pump house. These photographs are in RG 117 (ABMC) and RG 111 (Signal Corps).

B. Selected Bibliography:

Archives and Unpublished Sources:

American Battle Monuments Commission
Scanned Drawing Collection - Flanders Field

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

Published:

American Battle Monuments Commission. *Annual Report*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1925-26; 1971-80.

American Battle Monuments Commission. *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1927.

- American Battle Monuments Commission. *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe: A History, Guide, and Reference Book*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1938.
- American Battle Monuments Commission. "Flanders Field American Cemetery and Memorial," 1971.
- Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Budreau, Lisa M. *Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919-1933*. New York: New York University Press: 2010.
- Gillis, John, ed. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Grossman, Elizabeth Greenwell. *The Civic Architecture of Paul Cret*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- _____. "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.
- Harbeson, John. "Paul Cret and Architectural Competitions," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25, no. 4 (December 1966): 305-306.
- Hayes, Ralph. *A Report to the Secretary of War on American Military Dead Overseas - May 14, 1920*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1920.
- Linenthal, Edward Tabor. *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*. 2nd ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Meigs, Mark. *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- Pershing, John J. "Our National War Memorials in Europe," *National Geographic Magazine* 65, no. 1 (January 1934): 1-36.
- _____. *My Experiences in the First World War*. New York: Da Capo Press, original 1931, reprint 1995 with forward by Frank E. Vandiver.
- Robin, Ron. *Enclaves of American Political Architecture Abroad, 1900-65*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Tatman, Sandra L. and Roger W. Moss, "Paul Phillippe Cret," in *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co, 1985.

U.S. Commission of Fine Arts. *National Commission of Fine Arts, Ninth Report - July 1, 1919 to June 30, 1921*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1921.

U.S. Commission of Fine Arts. *National Commission of Fine Arts, Tenth Report - July 1, 1921 to December 31, 1925*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1926.

Van Duyne, Colonel Frederick W. "Erection of Permanent Headstones in the American Military Cemeteries in Europe," *The Quartermaster Review* (January-February 1930): 25-30.

White, Theodore B. *Paul Philippe Cret: Architect and Teacher*. Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1973.

Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Withey, Henry F. and Elsie Rathburn Withey, "Paul Philippe Cret" in *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)*. Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1970. Reprint 1996.

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

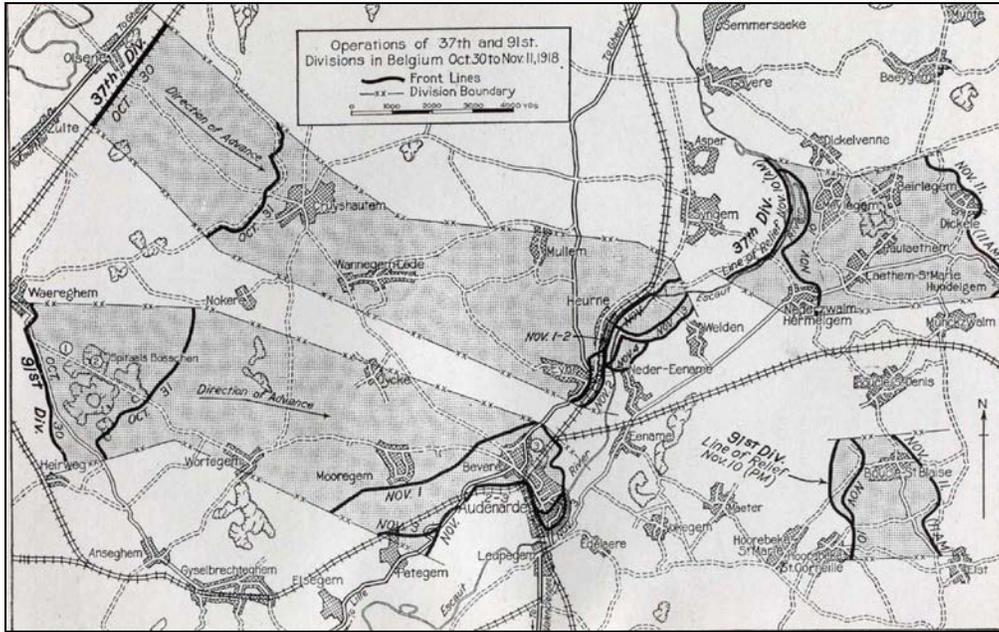


Figure 1: Operations of AEF Divisions near Waregem, Belgium, Fall 1918.
 Number 1 in a circle near left edge indicates location of Flanders Field American Cemetery.
 Source: ABMC, *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1927).

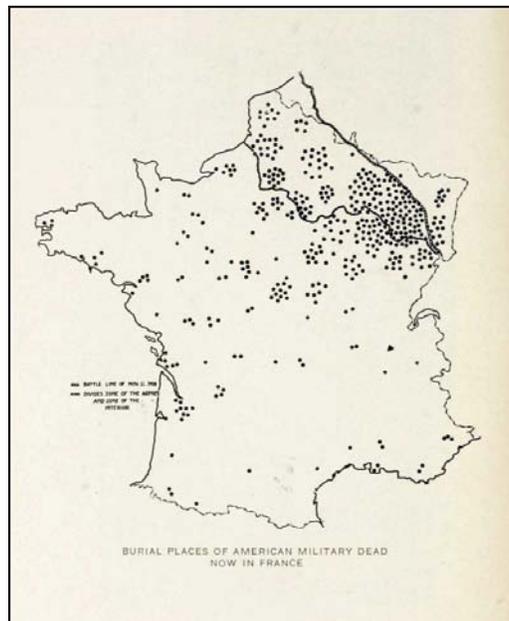


Figure 2: Temporary Burial Locations of American Military Dead in France, 1920
 Source: Ralph Hayes, *A Report to the Secretary of War on American Military Dead Overseas - May 14, 1920*
 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1920).



Figure 3: GRS Soldiers Searching Bodies for Identification, Romagne, France, c. 1920
Source: Image 66-G-50LL, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD

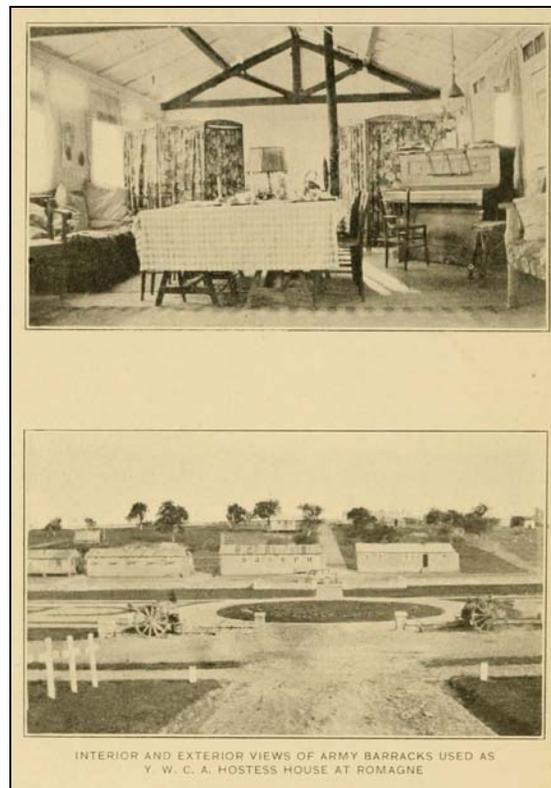


Figure 4: YMCA Hostess House in Repurposed Army Building at Romagne American Cemetery, c. 1920
Source: Ralph Hayes, *A Report to the Secretary of War on American Military Dead Overseas - May 14, 1920*
(Washington, DC: GPO, 1920).



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

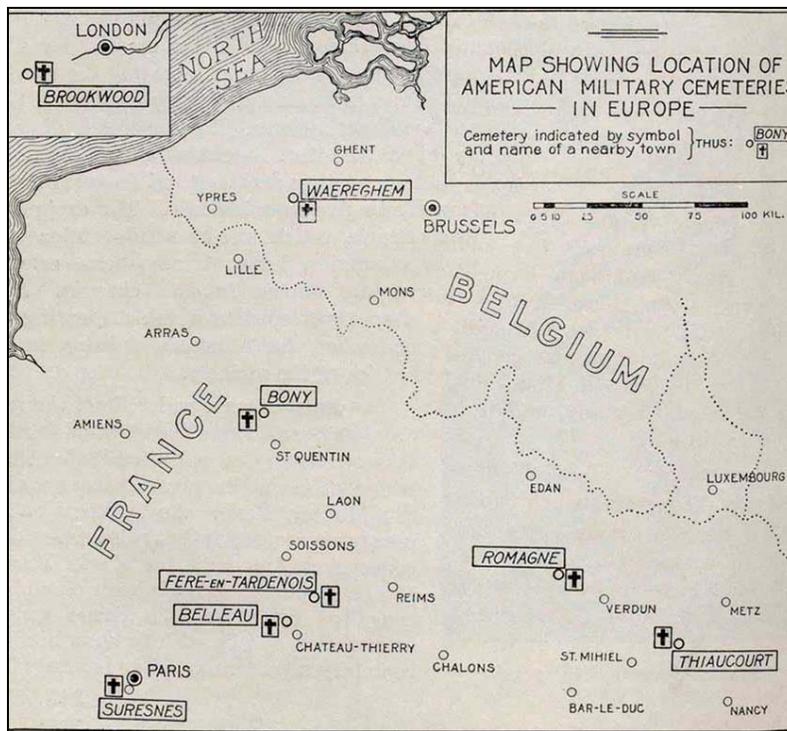


Figure 6: "Map Showing Location of American Military Cemeteries in Europe," (1927)
Source: ABMC, *A Guide to the American Battle Fields in Europe* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1927).

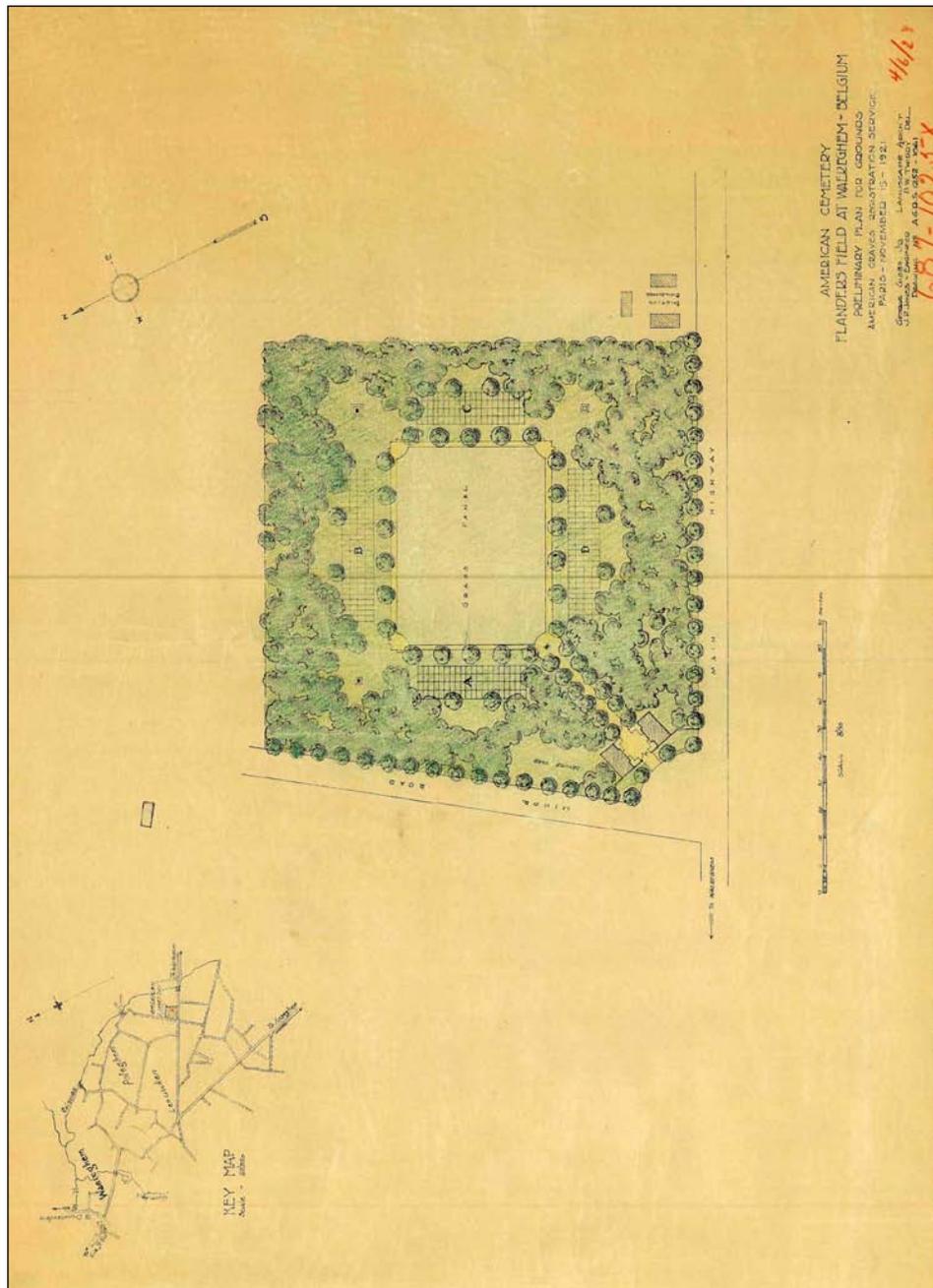


Figure 7: War Department, Graves Registration Service, Preliminary Plan for Flanders Field American Cemetery, Waregem, Belgium, George Gibbs Jr., (15 November 1921)
Source: RG117, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



Figure 8: War Department, GRS, Revised Site Plan for Flanders Field American Cemetery, c. 1923
Source: RG117, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD

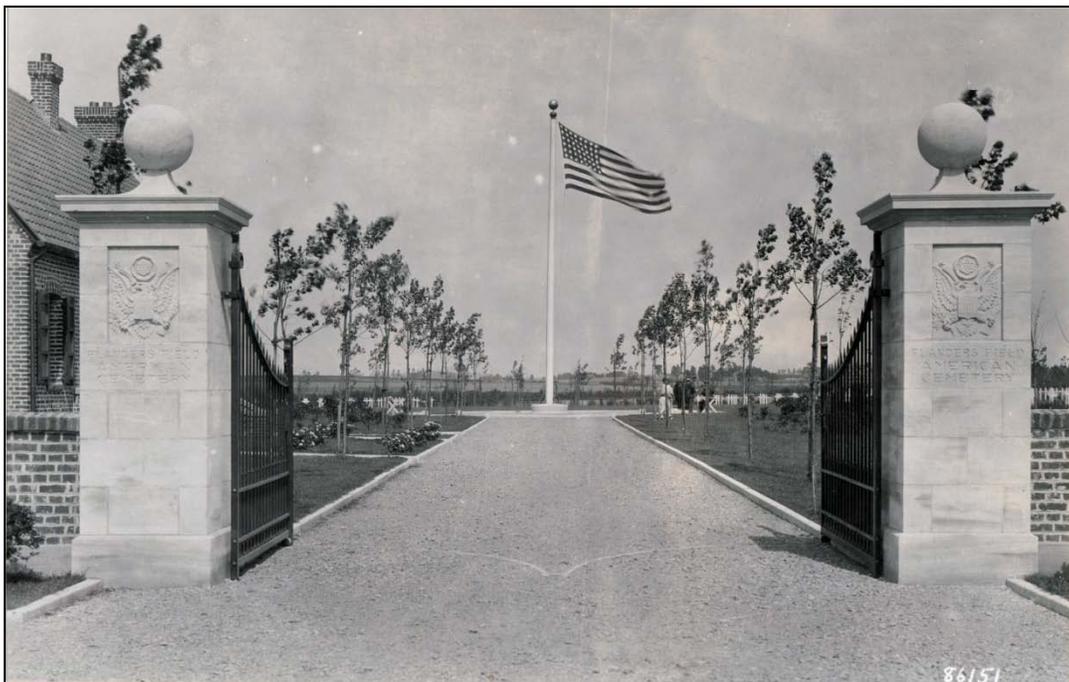


Figure 9: Entrance Gate, Flanders Field American Cemetery, c. 1925
Source: Image 111-SC-86151, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



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



Figure 11: 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 12: Main Elevation of Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters (c. 1925)
Source: Image 111-SC-86149, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



Figure 13: Perspective View of Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters from northeast (c. 1925)
Source: Image 111-SC-86275, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



Figure 14: Main Elevation of Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters (c. 1925)
Source: Image 111-SC-86169, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD

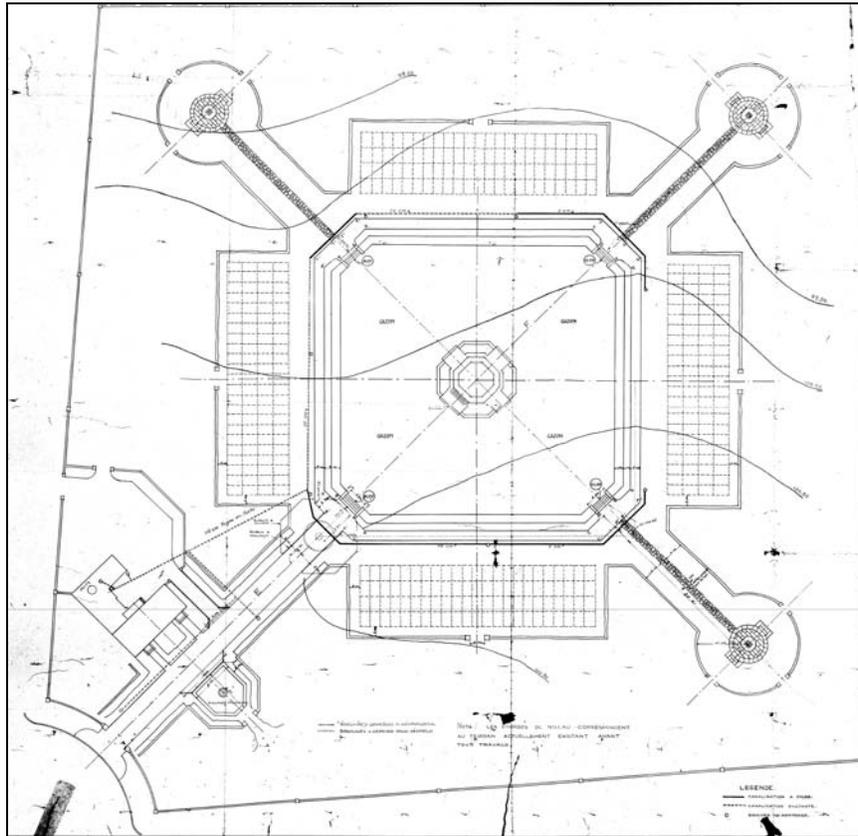


Figure 15: Site Plan of Flanders Field American Cemetery, Paul P. Cret, ABMC, (19 May 1928)
Source: ABMC Files



Figure 16: View of Flanders Field Chapel and Entrance Drive, 1930
Source: Image 117-MC-37-19, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



Figure 17: Reception Room in Flanders Field Superintendent's Quarters, c. 1925
Source: Image 111-SC-82677, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



Figure 18: View from Entrance Gate, c. 1930

Source: Image 117-MC-37-17, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



Figure 19: View of Flagpole and Superintendent's Quarters, c. 1930

Source: Image 117-MC-37-45, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD



Figure 20: View of Superintendent's Quarters, c. 1930. The man in uniform is likely Superintendent John Blain.
Source: Image 117-MC-37-47, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II, College Park, MD

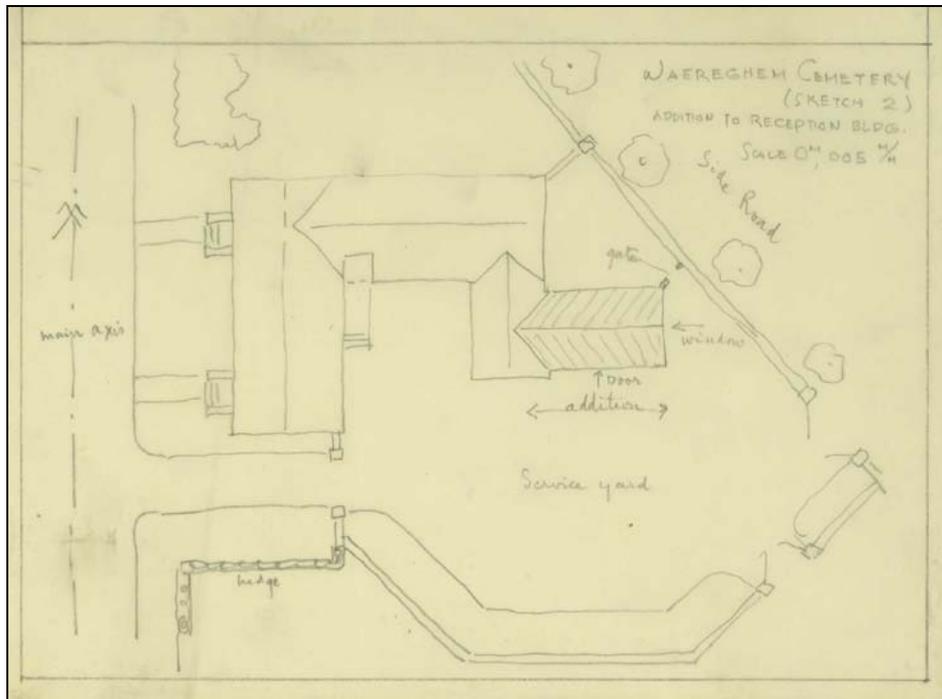


Figure 21: Sketch Plan of Addition to Superintendent's Quarters, 1936
Source: 062.266, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania

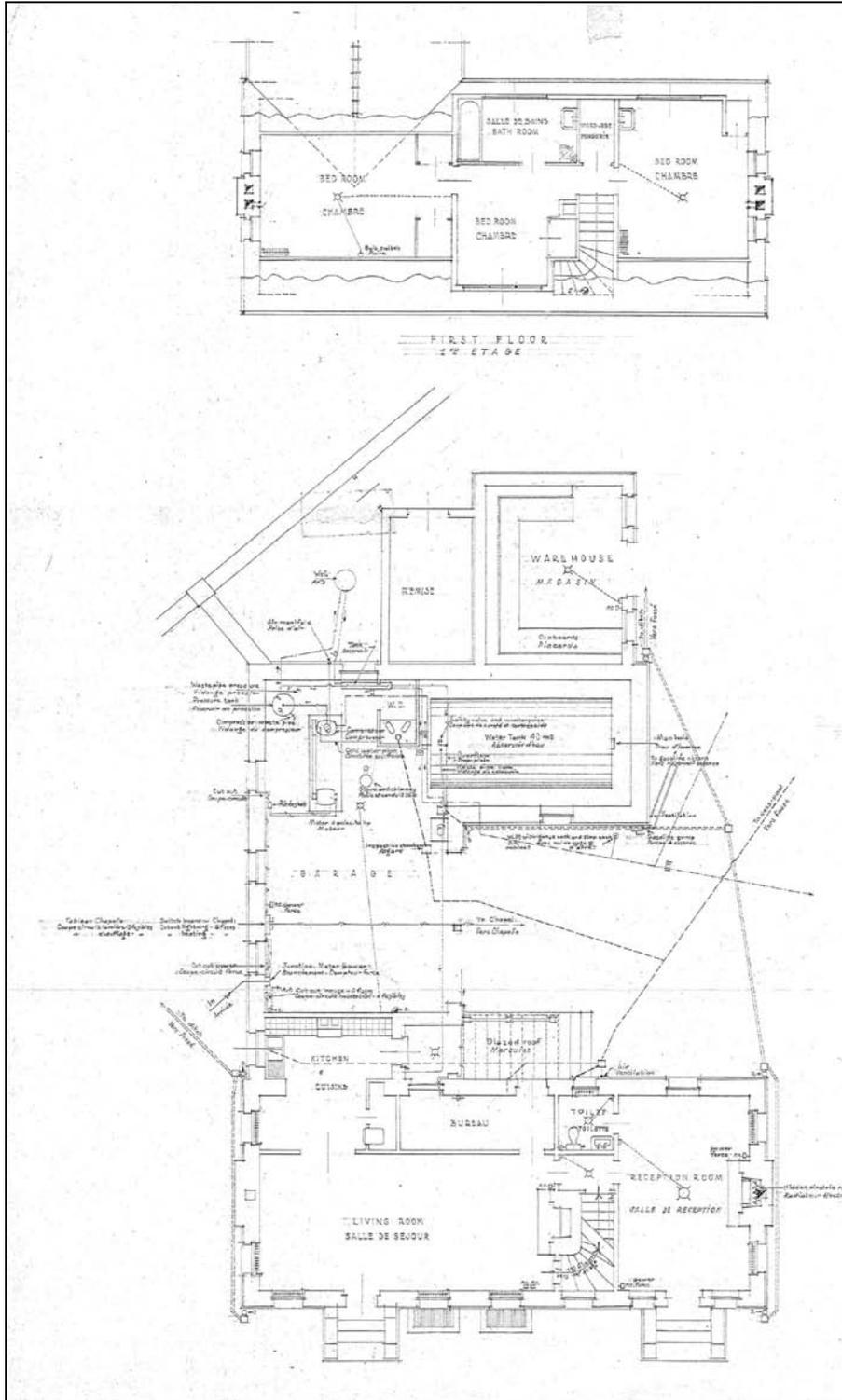


Figure 22: Superintendent's Quarters, Excerpt from "Utilities Plan," (August 1939)
Source: ABMC Files

FLANDERS FIELD AMERICAN CEMETERY & MEMORIAL,
 SUPERINTENDENT'S QUARTERS
 HALS No. BE-1-A
 (Page 50)



Figure 23: Elevation Drawings of Superintendent's Quarters with Dormers, 1960
 Source: ABMC Files

FLANDERS FIELD AMERICAN CEMETERY & MEMORIAL,
 SUPERINTENDENT'S QUARTERS
 HALS No. BE-1-A
 (Page 51)

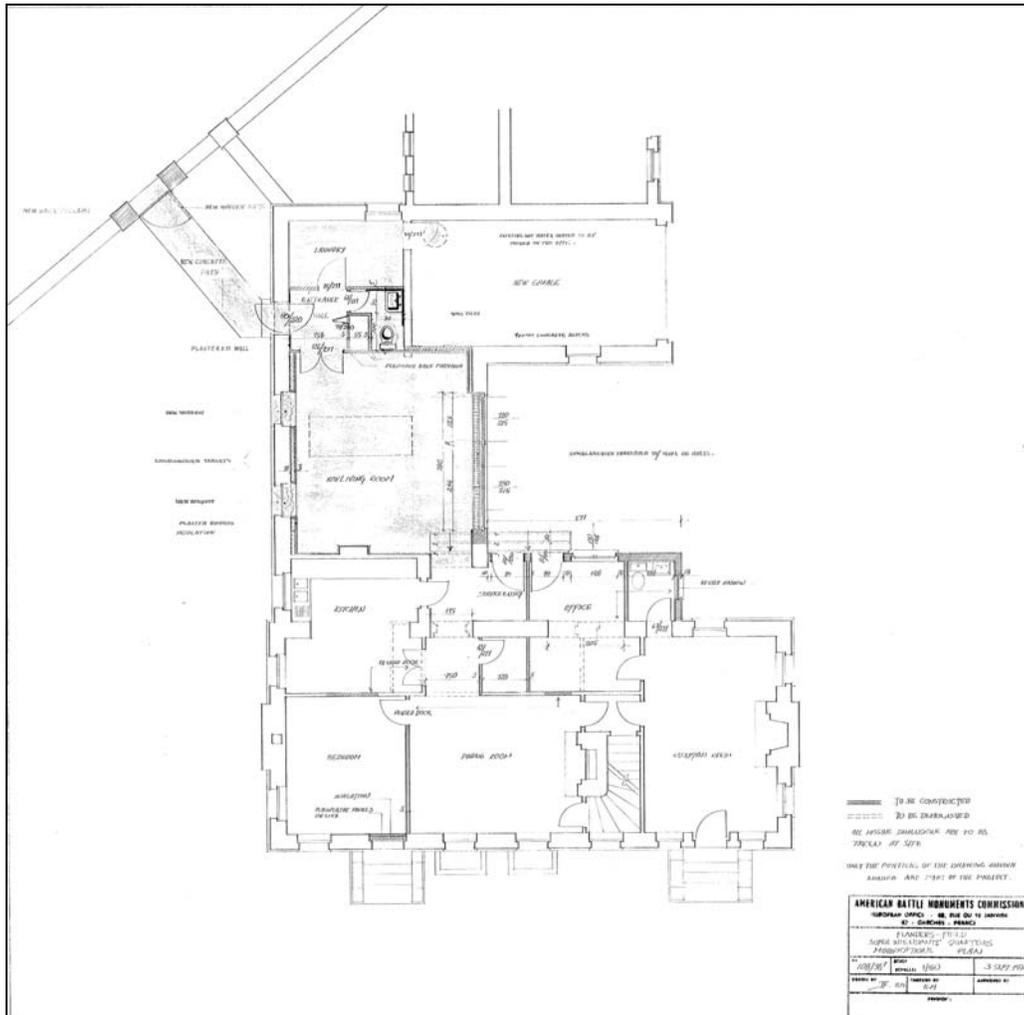


Figure 24: Additions and Alterations to Superintendent's Quarters, 1976
 Source: ABMC Files