A Monumental Appearance, on the Architecture of American World War I & II Memorials in Europe.

By Lucas Rikveld | 4717147 Delft Technical University
Under the supervision of Michele Tenzon AR1A066 History Thesis

In June 2024, I watched the ceremony commemorating the 80th anniversary of D-Day on television. Apart from the many venerable veterans and world leaders assembled, I was intrigued by the setting. Changing throughout the day and the consecutive speeches and ceremonies, a number of allied memorial sites along the coast of Normandy, France, formed their stage. The monuments shared commonalities; they exuded a similar aesthetic, prestigious yet austere, grand yet sober. The sites reminded me of Dutch war cemeteries and memorials commemorating the dead of the same war. The minimalistic limestone structures, inscribed with names, dates, and sayings in robust forms and strict symmetrical formations. What followed was a growing fascination with the stylistic monuments. I began wondering about the style, which seemed both recognizable and unique.

During the First and Second World Wars, as part of the Allied forces, many American soldiers sacrificed their lives in the efforts to liberate Europe. In the periods following the wars, the need for burial and commemorative sites led to the establishment of numerous American war cemeteries and monuments on European soil.

Apart from the numerous non-governmental monuments scattered over Europe, commissioned by American army divisions after the war, commemorating their losses (American War Memorials Overseas, 2008), some major architectural monuments were erected through the efforts of governmental institutions of the United States. Often, these were commemorative structures in war cemeteries.

Between 1925 and 1960, over 33 memorial sites were planned and realized by the American Battle Monuments Commission. The ABMC is a U.S. governmental agency that was established in 1923, during the aftermath of World War I, with the mission to erect and safeguard American battle memorial sites (American Battle Monuments Commission, 2024).

The rapid and widespread realization of cemeteries and monuments within Europe by the ABMC during the years following both world wars, while commissioning American architects, was a uniquely orchestrated architectural intervention.

Moreover, the development is worth researching because the majority of the structures were built in the architectural style that would later be labelled as 'Stripped Classicism', a mildly abstracted form of neoclassicism (Tanovic, 2019). In Western nations, the style became usual in memorial architecture after the First World War. During the interwar period, the style, gained popularity as state architecture among totalitarian European regimes, as well as in the U.S. under the New Dealism of Franklin D. Roosevelt (Tanovic, 2019).

Why was it that the style gained popularity with the Americans in this period? What was it that made the style remain popular within Western commemorative architecture? Who were the architects involved with the ABMC, and what was the architectural, political, and societal context of their designs?

Although much has been written about the architectural styles of monuments in the 20th

century, that of the ABMC specifically, and the interesting architectural movement of Stripped Classicism, research about the relation between the two phenomena remains absent. The prime objective of this research project is to investigate the influences that shaped the designs of the major U.S. World War I & II monuments on European soil.

1. The Origins of the ABMC

Following the First World War, the American Battle Monuments Commission was created in 1923 under President Harding. It would replace and merge two existing War Department projects that ministered to military cemeteries and tended to the creation and installation of commemorative battlefield maps. Notably, Harding did not appoint an architect or anyone with architectural expertise to the commission of seven. The reason for this might lie in the fact that the substituted War Department projects were not endeavouring to erect memorial buildings on cemeteries or battlefields. Harding appointed a general, three members of veterans organizations, a member of the Gold Star Mothers (an organization of mothers who lost children in service of the US Military), a senator, and a congressman (Grossman, 1984).

The newly appointed commission expanded its mission by planning to erect commemorative structures on their sites. Whereas the War Department projects had used bronze battlefield maps to form the central memorial objects on battlefield sites, the ABMC decided these would be replaced by architectural monuments. Furthermore, the commission decided that chapels would be erected on the planned military cemeteries. Both changes should improve the impressions of the memorial sites. (Grossman, 1984) Apart from the realization of new memorial architecture, the commission saw it as their duty to provide the maintenance on the sites and to deal with non-federal efforts to establish overseas monuments, approving or rejecting these (Connor, 2018).

The War Department had come up with a plan to build military cemeteries on European soil to bury the American losses there, countering repatriating efforts by American families of an estimated 84.000 dead soldiers. This way, the costly logistic operation of mass repatriation, carried out by the military, could be avoided (Grossman, 1984). The cemeteries should be in size and aesthetic weigh up to the standards of those of other European nations and be imposing enough so that American families would not decide to repatriate the remains of their relatives. The cemeteries would be based on the Arlington Cemetery in Arlington, Virginia (Connor, 2018). The Arlington Military Cemetery to this day remains the largest in the United States and was created in 1864 following the Civil War; thus, a logical nationalistic inspiration to the members of the War Department. Furthermore, the ABMC hoped the historical archetype would serve to distinguish the American cemeteries from their European counterparts.

The decision by the ABMC to largely extend the design of the memorial sites and cemeteries might have had to do with how it regarded the plans of the United Kingdom's War Graves Commission. The UK commission planned to erect memorial architecture on all of its cemeteries, as well as to erect grand monuments on battlefield sites. The ABMC was also convinced United Kingdom was realizing designs that would celebrate the achievements of their forces, rather than commemorate their losses, stating:

"While the Commission was in France, there was a general belief, I think, that all the monuments erected by the Allied nations were dedicated to their dead and not to the achievements of their units. This I have found to be by no means the case." (Grossman, 1984)

Remarkably, this reading contradicts Sabina Tanovic's interpretation of the developments in the nature of commemorative architecture by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission after the First World War. In her book Designing Memory, Tanovic, an architect and researcher focused on memorial architecture, argues that during the aftermath of the First World War, building war monuments celebrating victory, which was the historical norm, became

controversial. The unprecedented devastation and loss caused by the war brought about a collective sense of mourning, rather than one of celebration. This generated a need for a major shift in public commemorative architecture in its nature and form. No longer should monuments praise the national forces or their glorious victories. Instead, monuments would serve as official commemoration of those who offered their lives, as well as identifying the respective war as a turning point in history. This change in meaning caused a shift in architectural form. Whereas memorials would traditionally often contain figures of war, these displays became less usual in Western monuments after 1917 (Tanovic, 2019). The intern communication of the ABMC, however, shows that it considered a similar position, but abandoned this in the desire to manifest American involvement in the war that would not be overshadowed by other nations' memorials (Grossman, 1984).

2. The Commission of Architects

In early 1925, the American Battle Monuments Commission began with the selection process of designs for its planned monuments and chapels. The assignment was of national interest: creating a series that would physically represent the United States in Europe. This led the ABMC, in consultation with the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA), to engage "the most prominent architects in the country" (Grossman, 1984). This goal became evident in the commission's choice to hire Paul Philippe Cret as its leading consulting architect.

Paul Cret was a French immigrant who had come to the United States in 1903 to teach the classical École des Beaux-Arts method at the University of Pennsylvania. He had established himself as a leading civic architect and had realized an impressive record in architectural competitions. Furthermore, prior to his assignment by the ABMC, the Pennsylvania Battle Monuments Commission had hired him to design three memorials. His impressive record made Cret an ideal candidate. The Commission of Fine Arts recommended Cret to the new board of the ABMC.

As a consulting architect, Cret proposed a number of architects, most of whom had experience in civic architecture and employed a classical style. Apart from himself, the list included McKim, Mead & White, Charles A. Platt, John Russell Pope, Egerton Swartwout, Howard Van Doren Shaw, Albert Kahn, Thomas Harlan Ellett, Henry Sternfeld, and the firm of Mellor, Meigs & Howe (Grossman, 1984).

The Commission of Fine Arts rejected Albert Kahn, noting that his work was "rather along commercial lines". The Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) countered Crets' selections with eleven firms, and so manifested its influence within the ABMC (Grossman, 1984). However, regarding his completed projects, which by then included high-rise buildings and the use of, for its time, modern construction materials and architectural styles, it could be considered that the refusal of Kahn was a rejection of non-classical architecture by the CFA.

3. The World War I Memorials

Out of the in total 19 architectural projects that were commissioned by the ABMC after World War I, architects Cret, Pope, and Swartwout would design the most prominent battlefield monuments. Cret would, apart from supervising the commissioned architects, design a chapel for the Flanders Field American Cemetery (Connor, 2018). Both of his final designs, in line with the memorials he designed for the Pennsylvania Battle Monuments Commission, were of classicist nature and materiality, yet minimalistic in form and ornamentation (Figure 1). Cret stated about his design for the Aisne-Marne Monument: "though inspired by a Greek simplicity of treatment is not, however, an archaeological adaptation but follows, rather, the American traditions of the post-colonial period, and develops them in the spirit of our own time" (Grossman, 1984). This might best encapsulate the principles of his eclectic style.

About the designs, Elizabeth Grossman, an American architecture historian and scholar of Cret's work, states: "Cret and Howe were able to

Figure 1. Cret, Aisne-Marne Monument, From “The American Battle Monument Commission”. 2025 (https://www.abmc.gov/multimedia/chateau-thierry-american-monument/)

Figure 2. Swartwout, Montsec Monument, in respectively rather pure neoclassical form, 1932. From “The American Battle Monument Commission”. 2025 https://www.abmc.gov/cemeteries-memorials/about-montsec-american-monument/

Figure 3. George Howe, Somme cemetery, 1932. From “The American Battle Monument Commission”. 2025 (https://www.abmc.gov/cemeteries-memorials/about-somme-american-cemetery/)

design notable civic architecture, acceptable to their client, and to pursue successfully their own modernist aims.”, “On matters of style, typology, and composition, the commission [ABMC] remained relatively indifferent.”, and “Cret and Howe, in particular, succeeded in designing works that are significant both for their quality and as different responses to the postwar crisis of tradition. The analysis suggests that Cret and Howe achieved their aims by exploiting both the client’s indifference to style and, more importantly, the client’s architectural priorities.”

This would mean that the ABMC and the AFC were not involved with the choice of a specific eclectic style. Rather, the implemented style was an addition made by the architects themselves. This becomes evident when analysing the memorials; whereas Cret and Howe implemented cubic abstractions of classical typologies and minimal ornamentation (figure 1 & 2), Swartwout remained close to the classicist model (figure 3). Though he did not manipulate the classical elements, he used their simplest forms, such as the Doric column and the rotunda. Cret’s

modernist implementation mildly abstracted the classical typology; stripping the typical ornamentation resulted in an austere appearance. This interpretation of memorial architecture notably contradicts the ABMC's intention to establish monuments of grandeur. Though this intention is still clearly visible in the size of the monuments, the employed architecture sends a different message.

4. 1 The Interwar Period and the New Deal

The remarkable adoption of Stripped Classicism within opposing regimes during the interwar period is explicated in 'Problem-Solvers': The Modernist Ethos Behind Architecture in Stalinist Russia and New Deal America, by Samuel Patterson. He describes how, during the interwar period and the Great Depression, the architectural style of Paul Cret and others was embraced by the United States government in the efforts to create a national image. Notably, in the same period of time, across the Atlantic Ocean, similar styles were adopted by the nazis in Germany, the fascists in Italy and the communists in the USSR.

Through Cret's consulting and designing role for the American Battle Monument Commission, he had gained a strong reputation with the Commission of Fine Arts. In these prominent design tasks, he showed able compliance with his client, while adapting his own modernist alteration of the usual neoclassicist style. Patterson describes the style as projecting authority, stability, and progress (Patterson, 2019).

Figure 4. Pope's perspective of the Jefferson Memorial, ca. 1938. From "National Park Service." 2025 (https://www.nps.gov/articles/600004.htm#4/31.84/-78.05)

From 1929, the Great Depression hit the United States and would last the following decade. In 1932, President Franklin D. Roosevelt initiated the New Deal Era, with restrictive economic policies and public work projects. In 1935, the Work Progress Administration was established, which would employ millions of American citizens to construct civic buildings and infrastructure. (Harvey, 2012)

Roosevelt sought a uniform architectural style that would reflect both a historical and a prospective vision. Cret's architectural eclectic style resonated with this philosophy. He designed a number of public buildings during the New Deal era, including the Folger Shakespeare Library (1932), the Federal Reserve Board Building (1937), and the Cincinnati Union Terminal (1933). The Folger Shakespeare Library (1932) in Washington, D.C., again shows Cret's method, combining classical forms with modernist minimalistic concepts. In form and materiality, the building maintained a classical style, however, Cret designed such in a minimalistic manner, stripping it of ornamentation (Patterson, 2019). The projects helped Cret establish his reputation as an architect and that of his eclectic style for institutional and civic structures during this transformative period.

4.2 A Mondern Context

During the New Deal era, in a project led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself, architect John Russell Pope was commissioned to design a memorial commemorating the third U.S. President, Thomas Jefferson. Pope's design (Figure 4) was based upon classical architectural principles and faced criticism from renowned modernist architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Wright argued that classical styles were no longer suitable in modern democratic societies. He argued the need for a contemporary architectural language for state architecture (Patterson, 2019). This critique highlights the broader architectural

debate of the time and shows that the commissions by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) and the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) were not evident decisions.

Lewis Mumford, a renowned sociologist and critic in the field of urbanism, contributed to this movement with his 1937 essay, The Death of the Monument. In it, he radically rethinks the function of a public monument; he philosophizes about the monument as an art form established not to commemorate past generations, but to serve future ones. His unique position would still apply in contemporary architectural discussions, and architects like Pope and Paul Cret appear increasingly conservative compared to the progressive ideas emerging at the time.

Mumford's critique represents a wider Western contrary development. An international architectural avant-garde emerged in the 1920s, which would bring about the reign of modernist architecture, rejecting the very neoclassicism that the ABMC was employing in all of its memorial structures. While the ABMC was still inventing an American tradition in memorial architecture, based upon classical principles, leading European architects were developing new forms of memorial structures.

In 1918, Nikolai Kolli, a Russian architect, designed the first abstract public memorial, commemorating the victory of the Red Army in the Russian Revolution. Though never realized, similar designs followed. In the 1920s, Malevich developed his "architectons", abstract, cubic volumes, that inspired USSR architects. Though in the young state of the USSR a similar search for a nationalistic architecture was transpiring, their leaders initially favoured a modernist trajectory, which is most notably demonstrated in the cubic semi-constructivist memorial of the Lenin Mausoleum of 1924 (Michalski, 1998).

In the same year, the Kriegerdenkmal im Hofgarten was inaugurated in Germany, a radically modernist war memorial consisting of 13 rectangular blocks of limestone, lacking any ornaments. Prior to that, in 1921, Walter Gropius realized his expressionist Kapp Putsch monument, depicting an abstracted thunderbolt crashing into the earth. The examples show the radical, yet in some cases embraced, novel developed concepts of memorial architecture around 1920 (Michalski, 1998).

As mentioned previously, the ABMC closely watched the developments of its British counterpart, the War Graves Commission. Perhaps, Cret has been inspired by the popular memorial architecture of Sir Edwin Luytens, which preceded the monuments of the ABMC by a mere five years. In 1919, Sir Edwin Luytens conceived a new memorial form with his Cenotaph, in the form derived from the ancient Egyptian pylon, commemorating British losses of World War I. The Cenotaph perhaps foreshadowed the many Stripped Classicist monuments that would follow, both in its minimalist cubic form and its compromise between classical and modernist aspects (Michalski, 1998).

5.1 The ABMC after World War II

Following the end of World War II, four of the original members of the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) were still active, including its chairman, General John J. Pershing. After having realized the cemeteries and monuments for World War I, the ABMC focused on the preservation of these sites and therefore was never dissolved (Connor, 2018).

Paul Cret passed away at the age of 68 on September 8, 1945, one week after Japan's formal surrender. General Pershing expressed his deep admiration for Cret in a commemorative statement: "In his passing, we feel the loss not only of a valued associated but of a dear friend". Although Pershing officially remained chairman of the commission, he did not attend commission meetings from November 1945 until his death in July 1948. During this period, Paul Cret's successor, John Harbeson, an architect from Cret's firm in Philadelphia, was appointed as the ABMC's consulting architect (Connor, 2018). Given Cret's popularity within the federal

Figure 5. On the left side, Albert Speer's Nazi Pavilion, opposing Boris Iofan's USSR Pavilian on the right. Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne (1937) (https://www.nps.gov/articles/600004.htm#4/31.84/-78.05)

government and his good reputation within the ABMC, selecting an architect from his firm would have been a logical choice. The choice for someone familiar might as well have had to do with a sense of urgency, as the War Department pressured the ABMC to complete the burial sites within five years.

The ABMC's responsibilities after World War II extended those after World War I. While the commission had directed the creation of burial sites for fewer than 100,000 dead soldiers in three European nations, the World War II effort concerned over 400,000 dead across three continents (Connor, 2018). This enormous task necessitated swift planning and execution. The objectives were similar to those after World War I; it was to establish dignified and permanent overseas burial sites that would encourage American families to choose not to repatriate their lost relatives, and the ABMC should counter the emergence of independent monuments, commissioned by army units or states. To achieve this, the erection of war memorials by individual military units or organizations was prohibited; the ABMC gained a monopoly on monuments (Connor, 2018).

After the war, the commission had the duty to restore the existing World War I memorial sites and cemeteries, and create new sites, commemorating the American dead and accomplishments of World War II. Given the expanded workload, the ABMC was enlarged with the appointment of four new members. By May 1947, the commission resolved to exclusively build cemeteries, differing from the World War I policy by giving up the construction of battlefield monuments. This decision was likely influenced by both the scale of the post-war effort as well as the need to minimize costs. The Americans had invested deeply in the war and the rebuilding of Europe. In line with the focus on efficiency, discussions concerning the layouts and designs of sites were evaded by following the policies made after World War I (Connor, 2018). This meant that the basic architectural concepts devised by the commission under Paul Cret's consultation survived and were adapted in the monuments of World War II. Thirteen architects were selected by Harbeson out of a recommendation made by the Commission of Fine Arts, all of whom were

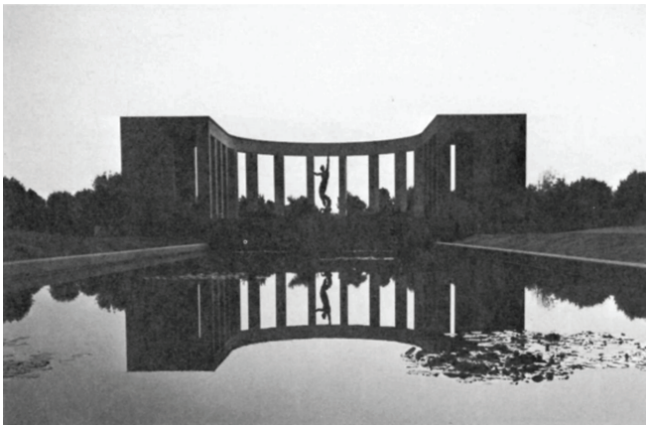

Figure 6. Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial by Harbeson, Hough, Livingston & Larson, From: "The American Battle Monument Commission". 1987 https://npshistory.com/publications/battlefield/abmc/normandy/booklet-e-1987.pdf

American. This shows the lasting dual influence of the CFA and the leading consulting architect on the ABMC decision-making on its architecture.

After Pershing passed away in 1948, President Truman appointed General George C. Marshall as the new chairman of the commission in January 1949. Under his administration, the ABMC would complete 14 cemeteries in the following eleven years (Connor, 2018).

The ABMC and the CFA seem to have neglected a notable surge of similar archtectural styles to that of Paul Cret in European nations under totalitarian regimes in the 1930s. The just defeated Nazis had rejected the modernism of the Bauhaus school; the previously mentioned Kapp Putsch monument by Gropius was labeled as Entartete Kunst and demolished. In the USSR under Stalin's rule, a new state architecture was developed, no longer dependent on the abstract tendencies of the Russian avant-garde, but academic classicism (Michalski, 1998). Both regimes aimed to demonstrate their authority through architectural aesthetics. This might be best illustrated by the opposing Nazi and Communist pavilions that aligned the Eiffel Tower in the World Exhibition of 1937 (figure 5). The cubic architecture based on classical principles shares an undeniable resemblance to the architectural style of the ABMC monuments.

Figure 7.William Adams Delano, Epinal Memorial] From: "The American Battle Monument Commission". 2025 https://www.abmc.gov/news-events/news/5-things-you-may-not-know-about-epinal-american-cemetery/

Figure 8: Reinhard, Hofmeister and Walquist, Ardennes American Memorial From: "The Land of Memory" 2025 https://www.landofmemory.eu/nl/sites-historiques/ardennes-american-cemetry-and-memorial/

5.2 The World War II Memorials

The Normandy American Memorial, by Harbeson, Hough, Livingston & Larson, lies at the heart of the Normandy American Cemetery. It consists of a half-circled colonnade erected in limestone (figure 6). The structure is perfectly symmetrical and fiitngly reflects in the pond in front of it. The typology, form, and materiality are reminiscent of a classical archetype. However, the building omits any further classical references, to the extent of rectangular columns, which remind one of Cret's Aisne-Marne Monument. It seems to be a classical temple, stripped of all its ornamentation.

The Epinal American Monument by William Adams Delano, is of a similar style (figure 7). It has a gate-like form with an opening, interrupted by columns, at its centre. Through materiality, symmetry, and abstracted typologies, such as

columns, a frieze, and a cornice, Delano made minimal, yet undeniable, references to the classical model. Contrarily, the minimalistic approach, its cubic form, and carved out illustrations of 20th-century warfare, give the building a modernist appearance.

Moving even further away from classical forms, the Ardennes American Monument by Reinhard, Hofmeister and Walquist, in Belgium (figure 8) features a massive cubic shape. A sculpture of an American eagle covers the front façade, along with the personifications of three virtues. Whereas the previously discussed monuments were still predominantly classical in their eclectic style, this monument might be predominantly modern. Only its symmetry, materiality, and figurative ornamentation suggest a classical justification. In Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion, both natural stone and figurative ornamentation were featured, yet it constitutes a modernist icon. Considering this, the Ardennes American Monument could be regarded as a departure from its predecessors.

Interpreting the World War II monuments, an evolution from their predecessors is clearly notable. The World War I monuments were, in most of their facets, strongly connected to their classical models. In their typology, form, ornamentation, and materiality, the structures were heavily based on classical archetypes. By some architects, including Cret and Howe, the classical elements were mildly abstracted, modernizing the designs. In the designs of the World War II memorials, however, this had become the standard. The architects go as far as omitting classical elements entirely to the extent that the classical basis becomes increasingly less notable. Only when regarded in their collective, the influence of the classical model still apparent. From the analysis of the policy of the ABMC, as well as that of the realized monuments, it becomes clear that Cret's mixed modern classic style became the standard for the architects of the ABMC.

6. Conclusion

This paper examines the architecture of U.S. war monuments erected in Europe after World War I and World War II by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC). It focuses on the adoption of Stripped Classicism - a style maintaining classical principles of materiality and composition while stripping relative ornamentation - as it became the dominant architectural style for the ABMC's monuments. The emergence of this style as the standard with the ABMC sparked the research into the architects involved with the ABMC and the processes of decision making, considering the architecture.

The introduction of Stripped Classicism with ABMC is linked to Paul Cret, a French-American architect who played an important role in defining the commission's architectural direction. In 1925, Cret was appointed both as the leading consultant and architect for the ABMC, a position that granted him significant influence in the design process and selection of architects for the World War I memorials. Under his guidance, the commission appointed architects who designed in similar neoclassical styles, some of whom utilized a similar modernist neoclassical approach to Cret's work.

Cret's architectural style was further reinforced by his continuously improving reputation within the U.S. federal government during the presidency of Roosevelt. During the New Deal era, Stripped Classicism became a commonly used style for federal government buildings. This trend was a result of Roosevelt's efforts to create a dignified and authoritative aesthetic for state institutions. As part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), numerous government buildings were constructed in this style, providing employment to American labourers during the Great Depression, while creating a national image through architecture. This federal embrace of Stripped Classicism contributed to Cret's continued popularity within governmental institutions, including his sustained leadership role within the ABMC until his passing in 1945.

Cret's twenty years of service for the ABMC formed an architectural tradition, notable in the years following World War II. In continuation of his legacy, the commission consulted architects of Cret's firm and continued to use Stripped Classicism as the style for its World War II memorial sites between 1945 and 1960.

The continuation of this architectural policy contributes to the lasting association between Stripped Classicism and 20th-century Western commemorative architecture.

The sober nature of Stripped Classicism was well suited for war memorials, as it conveys a sense of timelessness, due to its both historical and contemporary characteristics. This stylistic choice ensured that the ABMC's monuments maintained a uniform presence in Europe, both commemorating the U.S. sacrifices and establishing their historical significance.

In conclusion, the architectural development of U.S. war monuments by the ABMC in Europe was strongly influenced by the leadership of Paul Cret and the political context of the first half of the 20th century. The overall adoption of Stripped Classicism by the ABMC between 1923 to 1960 was not per se an aesthetic policy but a result of broader governmental commitments. This style has since become recognizable in 20th-century American memorial architecture, symbolizing the sober remembrance of America's legacy in both World Wars.

Annotated bibliography

Websites

- ABMC (n.d.) American Battle Monuments Commission. https://www.ABMCgov/
- American War Memorials Overseas. (2008). American War Memorials Overseas. https://www.uswarmemorials.org/html/mission.php
- NPS History (n.d.) National Park Service History Electronic Library & Archive. https://npshistory.com/
- Boaz, D. (2007) “Hitler, Mussolini, Roosevelt.” Reason From: http://reason.com/2007/09/28/hitler-mussolini-roosevelt/

Books and Reports

- AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION. (2024). Commemorative Sites Booklet [Booklet] https://www.ABMCgov/sites/default/files/2021-02/commemorative-sites-booklet.pdf
- AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION. (1975) Annual Report of the American Battle Monuments Commission to the President of the United States. U.S. Government Printing Office. https://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=SQvs2euGW0MC&oi=fnd&pg=PP11&dq=American+monument+battle+commission&ots=M42mcb7Sbh&sig=imPMXlkglxFP2qDDen46W6t94k8#v=onepage&q=American%20monument%20battle%20commission&f=false
- AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION. (1925) Annual report of the American Battle Monuments Commission to the President of the United States. U.S. Government Printing Office. https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/llserialsetpdf/08/66/2_/00/_0/0/08662_00_00/08662_00_00-002-0121-0000/SERIALSET-08662_00_00-002-0121-0000.pdf
- Bryant, B. (2011) Reassessing Stripped Classicism within the Narrative of International Modernism in the 1920s-1930s. Savannah College of Art and Design. From https://scad.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/SCAD~3~3~265~5814:Reassessing-Stripped-Classicism-wit
- Boullee, E. (n.d.) Architecture, Essay on Art. https://monoskop.org/images/b/ba/Boullee_Etienne-Louis_Architecture_Essay_on_Art.pdf
- Conner, T.H. (2018) War and Remembrance: The Story of the American Battle Monuments Commission. The University Press of Kentucky. https://books.google.nl/books?id=V75oDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Geurst, J. (2010) Cemeteries of the Great War by Sir Edwin Lutyens. 010 pubishers. https://books.google.nl/books?id=UnZfMbYczpUC&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Michalski, S. (1998) Public MonumentsArt in Political Bondage 1870-1997. Reaktion Books, Limited
- Mock, E. (1944) Built in USA: 1932-1944. The Museum of Modern Art. From: https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_catalogue_3385_300062025.pdf
- Smith, J. S. (2006) Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933-1956. Cambridge University Press.
- Tanović, S. (2019). Commemorative Architecture since 1914. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108760577.003

Articles and Papers

- Grossman, G. (1984) Architecture for a Public Client: The Monuments and Chapels of the American Battle Monuments Commission. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians. Pp. 119-143. 43 (2) https://doi-org.tudelft.idm.oclc.org/10.2307/989901
- Griffin, R. (2018) Building the Visible Immortality of the Nation: The Centrality of 'Rooted Modernism' to the Third Reich's Architectural New Order. Journal of comparative fascist-studies. Pp. 9-44 (7) doi 10.1163/22116257-00701002
- Harvey, P. (2012). Learning from the new deal. Review of Black Political Economy, 39(1), 87-105. doi:https://doi-org.tudelft.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s12114-011-9127-x
- Patterson, S. H. (2019) 'Problem Solvers': The Modernist Ethos Behind Architecture in Stalinist Russia and New Deal America. Oxford Brookes University. DOI:10.13140/RG.2.2.13792.43520
- Stevenson, M. (1951) WITH THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION., Landscape Architecture Magazine. 42 (1) https://www.jstor.org/stable/44662790
- Whyte, B. (2018) National Socialism, Classicism, and Architecture. Brill's Companion to the Classics, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. BRILL. https://doi-org.tudelft.idm.oclc.org/10.1163/9789004299061_016

Figures

- Figure 1: [Cret, Aisne-Marne Monument] (n.d.) (https://www.abmc.gov/multimedia/chateau-thierry-american-monument/)
- Figure 2: [Swartwout, Montsec Monument] (n.d.). https://www.abmc.gov/cemeteries-memorials/about-montsec-american-monument/
- Figure 3: [George Howe, Somme cemetery, 1932] (https://www.abmc.gov/cemeteries-memorials/about-somme-american-cemetery/)
- Figure 4: Pope, J. R. (1938) Perspective of the Jefferson Memorial (https://www.nps.gov/articles/600004.htm#4/31.84/-78.05)
- Figure 5: Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne (1937) https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:Exposition_Internationale_des_Arts_et_Techniques_dans_la_Vie_Moderne_%28Paris-1937%29.jpg
- Figure 6: The American Battle Monuments Commission (1987). Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial https://npshistory.com/publications/battlefield/abmc/normandy/booklet-e-1987.pdf
- Figure 7: [Williams Adams Delano, Epinal Memorial] (n.d.) https://www.abmc.gov/news-events/news/5-things-you-may-not-know-about-epinal-american-cemetery/
- Figure 8: [Reinhard, Hofmeister and Walquist, Ardennes American Memorial] (n.d.) https://www.landofmemory.eu/nl/sites-historiques/ardennes-american-cemetry-and-memorial/