By Design
Iwo Jima and the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial

By Virginia B. Price

In March 1945 Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz observed of the men who fought on the Japanese island of Iwo Jima that "uncommon valor was a common virtue." This phrase was etched into the minds of a generation or more. It ultimately was chiseled into the base of the memorial honoring the fallen men and women of the U.S. Marine Corps as a poignant expression of a nation's gratitude for the courage of those who became, and died as, Marines. That monument, the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial, depicts a moment in the battle for Iwo Jima wherein six soldiers struggled to plant the flag atop Mount Suribachi.

The U.S. Marine Corps' pursuit of a memorial began in 1945. The decision of the Corps to have the memorial depict the flag-raising on Iwo Jima despite questions regarding project design and scale presages the recent debate over the memorial to honor those who fought in World War II. In fact, the Iwo Jima sculpture initially was proposed as *that* war's memorial, but this occurred before the fighting ended. Action was delayed amid concerns over favoring the Pacific theater over the Atlantic, and regarding the continuation of hostilities.[1]

Just as celebrity figures garnered support for building the World War II memorial in the 1990s, Hollywood cast its eye on Iwo Jima in 2006 with Clint Eastwood's two movies *Flags of Our Fathers* and *Letters from Iwo Jima*. The films highlight the sacrifices made by American and Japanese families for their respective countries. It is those very sacrifices—the lives of the men and women—that the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial honors. The scripted moment on Mount Suribachi was not a screenwriter's creation, but it captured the hearts of its audience nonetheless. The hold of the image over the American public dictated the memorial's subject matter, propelled an unknown sculptor into national prominence, and, in Washington, provoked discussion about the boundaries of the National Mall itself. The flag finally flew over the sculpture in October 1954, shortly before the memorial's dedication marking the 179th anniversary of the founding of Corps.[2]

The U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial pays tribute to the February 1945 battle for Iwo Jima. On February 19, after three days of pre-invasion assaults, the Marines landed under the cover of naval firepower. The Japanese under Lieutenant General Tadamichi Kuribayashi conceded the beaches, depending instead on a defensive system of blockhouses, pillboxes, gun emplacements,

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Elevation view of the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial. Weighing in at 100 toms, the statue is 78', the figures are 32', and the flagpole is 60' high. The figural grouping stands on a rock slope, intended to represent the terrain of Mount Suribachi. The rocks 6' high rise from a 10' base. The concrete base itself measures 66' x 46' and is faced with black Bonaccord granite. The men carry 16' M1 rifles, 12' carbines, and 32-quart canteens. (Historic American Landscapes Survey, Library of Congress: HALS No. VA-9-5).

and underground shelters and tunnels. (It is these men that Clint Eastwood brought to life in the film *Letters from Iwo Jima*). Over the next several days, the Marines isolated and surrounded Mount Suribachi.[3] The morning of February 23, battalion commander Lieutenant Colonel Chandler W. Johnson sent First Lieutenant Harold G. Schrier to lead a 40-man patrol up Suribachi to seize the crest. Sergeant Louis R. Lowery, a photographer for the Marines' *Leatherneck* magazine, accompanied them. Johnson handed Schrier a 54" x 28" flag from the attack transport *Missoula* to use when the patrol achieved its mission. Shortly after reaching the crater's rim, Schrier plus Platoon Sergeant Ernest I. Thomas, Jr., Sergeant Henry O. Hansen, Private First Class Louis C. Charlo, Private First Class James Michels, and Corporal Charles W. Lindberg raised the flag Johnson had entrusted to them. Lindberg later recalled that they had "found a water pipe, tied the flag to it, and put it up... Below [t]roops cheered, ships blew horns and whistles and some men openly wept. It was a sight to behold..." This flag-raising was captured on film by Lowery.

Shortly thereafter, Johnson asked Second Lieutenant Albert T. Tuttle to get another flag, a larger one that could be seen across the island, from one of the ships on the beach. Tuttle, on Johnson's orders, gave the 96" x 56" flag to Private First Class Rene A. Gagnon, who was heading up to join Schrier. Associated Press photographer Joseph Rosenthal was just starting his ascent; accompanying Gagnon were Sergeant Michael Strank, Corporal Harlan H. Block, Private First Class Ira I. Hayes, and Private First Class Franklin R. Sousley. When they reached the summit, Schrier decided the colors should be lowered and the second, larger flag be raised simultaneously. Strank, Hayes, and Sousley attached their flag to another pipe and struggled to place it into the ground. Gagnon went to help, as did Pharmacist's Mate Second Class John H. Bradley. Of the flag-raisers, Strank, Block, and Sousley died on Iwo Jima.

The battle continued. Thirty-six days of combat took the lives of approximately one-third of those who landed on the beach. While the high cost of Iwo Jima was debated at home, the Rosenthal image of the flag raising evoked feelings of patriotism and admiration for the young men's courage that had been sustained by the sight of the colors that day. Capitalizing on public opinion and the emotions stirred by the picture, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt determined it would be the logo or emblem for the U.S. Treasury's Seventh War Bond Drive. To promote the bonds, the three survivors—Gagnon, Hayes, and Bradley—toured the country, a public relations detail little enjoyed.[4] (It is this that the film *Flags of Our Fathers* remembers). The photograph was also copied for a commemorative three-cent stamp and won a Pulitzer Prize for Rosenthal.

Marine Corps Research Center, Archives Branch (AVIR)
View on Mount Suribachi of the raising, and lowering, of the American flag over Iwo Jima on February 23, 1945. (Department of Defense Photograph (USMC), Visual Information Repository, U.S. Marine Corps, Quantico: HQ #112,718, Box 5, Folder 5).

Just as the sight of the flag rallied the Marines as they continued their invasion of the island, boosting their morale, the Associated Press picture resonated with those at home. Many, in fact, interpreted Rosenthal's photograph as a sign that the battle had been won. However premature this understanding was, the emotionally

compelling image quickly became iconic. The photograph inspired Vienna-born U.S. Navy enlistee Felix de Weldon to fashion a three-dimensional model of the event, a sculpture that ultimately was adapted for use as the memorial to the Marine Corps.[5] No other sculptural form or subject was ever considered for the Marines' monument. The high-profile nature of the project also cemented de Weldon's artistic career, one that culminated with his appointment to the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts.[6]

Courtesy Washingtoniana Division, DCPL

View of the temporary statue placed outside the Navy Departnment building in Washington, D.C. Here, in November 1947, men are disassembling the monument and preparing it for transfer to Quantico. (Evening Star Collection, Washingtoniana room, DCPL, #5666.)

De Weldon went on to produce multiple models of the flag raising, including a 36' replica in plaster, but painted to resemble bronze, unveiled in front of the Navy Building in 1946.[7] As a temporary commemorative piece, the model's placement did not require the permission of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, despite its location on public land.[8] De Weldon's models were much admired, and in June 1947 Congress authorized the memorial for the Marine Corps' "dead of all wars." The Marines had five years—later extended to ten—to erect their monument based on de Weldon's sculptural model.[9]

The original concept for the memorial was more grandiose than what was eventually constructed, although the inspiration of the flag-raising and the sentiments behind the push for the memorial's creation remained steady. The Marine Corps League, which sponsored the project, turned to the architect Paul Franz Jacquet to develop de Weldon's sculpture into a memorial.[10] Jacquet's plan placed the "largest sculptured figures ever to be executed in bronze" on a gray granite plinth that was elliptical in shape. The faceted plinth was anchored to a smooth granite base; here, names of battles dating from 1775 through Okinawa were to be inscribed.[11] Jacquet's plans also included driveways and parking areas, nighttime lighting, landscaped grounds with reflecting pools, stairs and walkways, a rostrum, seating area, and interior space—a crypt—with a shrine.[12]

This concept was applied to a site in East Potomac Park, at the edge of Haines Point, where the Marine Corps first proposed building their memorial.[13]

Because the design and site proposal concerned public lands in the District of Columbia, the Commission of Fine Arts as well as other federal agencies had to approve both what it looked like and where it was to go. The War Memorial as planned was about 100' in diameter, as well as 100' high; it was to be placed in the picnic grove. The memorial, as Jacquet envisioned it, would engulf all the area to the point.[14] The scale ultimately precluded construction from taking place, yet de Weldon was already at work for the Marine Corps League on the model.[15]

Reflecting on his efforts for the model, de Weldon said that he had tried to achieve accuracy and realism in recreating the epic. However, he faced some obstacles to these goals, primarily due to the shifting from a two-dimensional medium to a three-dimensional art form. In his model, the sculptor aligned the figures more tightly with one another, particularly turning the first on axis with the others, rather than exactly reproducing the photograph.[16] The statue was described in a contemporary article as an "earnest, uncomplicated piece of popular art" and yet it has become one of the best-known statues in the world.[17]

The model was formed around a steel skeleton—the "bones" —in de Weldon's studio. It took 96 tons of plaster, which was supported by the steel framework, all 10 tons of it. The model was cut into more than 100 pieces and trucked up to New York (in sixty-four trips) for casting. There, the six figures were cast in 108 sections, eighteen per figure.[18] Speaking to the scale of his creation, De Weldon recalled that the heads of the figures measured 5' to 6' in height and the helmets each had a circumference of 11.'[19]

Even as de Weldon was working on his colossal figures, the Commission of Fine Arts cautioned the Marine Corps League "size alone will not cause a memorial to be great; " the Commission returned to its earlier proposition for a limited design competition and then mentioned the possibility of securing site approval first so that the artists could tailor their ideas to the specific place.[20] Ensuing discussions, nevertheless, focused only on finding a suitable site for de Weldon's composition. By the 1950s, the Nevius Tract in Arlington County, Virginia, was favored.[21] Attention therefore turned to the placement of de Weldon's sculpture—without the interior spaces of Jacquet's design—on that landscape.[22]

Enthusiasm for placing de Weldon's model on the Nevius Tract ran afoul of the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission, which stressed its preference for placing the memorial in the District proper. NCPPC argued that the Nevius Tract was not an extension of Arlington National Cemetery, but that of the National Mall. The Nevius Tract overlooked the Mall and was in axial alignment with it; therefore, NCPPC wanted a memorial on the site that "was in complete philosophical harmony with the great structures that already dominate

the Mall." NCPPC preferred a memorial to "the basic freedoms of the nation as set forth in the Bill of Rights."[23] By March 1953, competing goals for the tract—which President Truman deemed a public park in January—expanded beyond the freedom memorial proposal, and the Marines' memorial, to encompass the Netherlands Carillon.[24]

Nonetheless, the Commission approved the design of the pedestal for the statue and expressed a desire for a landscape plan, as well as the hope that the Nevius Tract could be protected from encroachment. The matter was not resolved until December, when the Commission and the Foundation opened a dialogue with Harry Thompson of National Capital Parks, who presented a plan for the tract that included the Marine Corps War Memorial, the Netherlands Carillon, and an open area for "a memorial", should the freedom shrine come to pass.[25]

In the interim, the Commission prevailed upon one of its members, Elbert Peets, to sketch a plan for the memorial site.[26] Peets noted that the elevation of the proposed site ranged from 90' to 110' above sea level and the tract comprised 25 acres. The plan needed to create both a terrace for overlooking the city and a location for the statue; Peets presented two interpretations of this dual-purpose site to the Commission. The Commissioners preferred the scheme wherein the memorial would be placed in an open area some 325' north-to-south x 250' east-to-west and the grade would slope downward to a terrace. At this juncture, discussion encompassed not only the elevation of the tract and its relationship to the Mall, but also the orientation of the statue itself and the effects of light. De Weldon determined that the sculptural grouping should face south to take advantage of the prevailing winds and light; facing south also ensured that the flag would fly as it did in the photograph.[27]

Armed with Peets's proposal, the Commission and the Foundation pressed Thompson to clarify the Department's stance on the Nevius Tract; de Weldon again expressed his desire for four or five acres for the memorial and the residual portion of the parcel to be given to Arlington National Cemetery. While pushing for confirmation from Thompson, the Commission recognized the need for a landscape architect, distinct from its membership, to design the grounds.[28] Early the next year, therefore, Horace W. Peaslee presented a plan for the memorial grounds that then was accepted in principle despite some discrepancy between locations designated by de Weldon and by Thompson for the memorial on the Nevius Tract.[29] In this design scheme, Peaslee addressed the desired approach to, and southern orientation of, the statue, as well as parking, circulation, planting, grading and steps up to the memorial platform, and siting of the parade on the west side. Peaslee acknowledged the dual function of the grounds, both as a setting for the memorial and overlook to the city and as host to large gatherings, music, and military maneuvers that would occur on the parade ground.

Work on the site continued as the ground-breaking ceremony took place on February 19, 1954. Peaslee elected to call in Markley Stevenson, also a landscape architect, to assist him with the evolving plan, one that changed in response to the Marine Corps' desire for a larger parade ground and encroachments on the site from a state highway and by the proposed E Street bridge (Roosevelt Bridge). Peets observed that the Nevius Tract "present[ed] an unusual opportunity in landscape architecture, that of making full use of the fine views the site affords—views of the river and city and especially the off-axis views of the Mall structures." He further emphasized the value of trees, as a backdrop to the mall and as a screen from apartment buildings rising above the site as well as their ability to frame vistas or create open spaces at appropriate places.[30] Concerns about the sight lines to the memorial from the Mall, as well as those afforded from the site, continued into the next year as proposals for the bridge became reality.[31]

Underscoring the dialogue about the Nevius Tract was the understanding of the space as an extension of the National Mall. True, when stretching the axis of the Mall westward, it does run through the parcel. The various proposals for Marine Corps, Netherlands, and freedom memorials were negotiated around this line. It crosses the Potomac River at an angle, effectively making the location of the Marine Corps War Memorial and the Netherlands Carillon something of a cross-axis. Elbert Peets argued to the Commission in his "notes on design criteria for the Nevius Tract" that the visitor rarely looks along the pure axial line but rather makes the connection between the Lincoln Memorial and Arlington House, a symbolic linkage made explicit through the bridge.

Peets continued, attempting to clarify the purposes of axial planning by emphasizing that it is the spatial arrangement of structures that lends rhythm and unifies a composition rather than a literal lining up of buildings on an axis. It is the ground patterns and sight-lines molded by trees that carry the scale from one setting or structure to another, Peets stated, reminding his audience of the framework of perspectives that shape perceptions of size and relative position. Peets ventured that the Nevius Tract would be an ineffective annex to the Mall given its physical separation and its primary, visual connection to the rear (closed) facade of the Lincoln Memorial. Peets concluded that the primary significance of the tract and its axial relationship to the Mall was through its role as a wooded backdrop to the Mall and through the off-axis vistas it afforded of the cityscape.[32]

Taking Peets's criteria into account, Peaslee and Stevenson formulated the landscape plan or "entourage" around the topography, featuring the hill and changing grade for the terraces and the parade. Vegetation on the premises is largely due to Stevenson, who selected willow oaks to border the roadway, chose lindens to edge the paths and frame the parade along with osmanthus

hedges, recommended hornbeams to fill in the narrow medians to the northeast and southeast of the statue, and placed yew hedges at the periphery of the plaza. He also preferred to let the trees grow up into "a tree hedge . . . in scale with the parade" and for an open view across the site to achieve a "clean, crisp design of trees and grass."

Peaslee modified the planting scheme, primarily because of money, using small pines for the density he perceived as necessary to make a background for "higher branching trees" on the east slope; Peaslee also advocated planting larger lindens and a double line of yews. The berm behind the reviewing stand was to be screened from the parking area by a grove of white pines and a yew hedge. Between the yews and the pines were a line of sour gum trees, selected for their fall color. In addition to the willow oaks, some laurel oaks were placed along the roadway in an effort to distance the tract from the highways. Scarlet oaks were planted along the entrance. Peaslee requested one diagonal swath be cut through the circle of trees, but this vista is not evident today. In 1961, Robert F. Kennedy had some of the oaks cut down thus widening the deliberate, visual funnel to the east, toward the Mall.[33]

Today, the memorial grounds are part of Arlington Ridge Park, an oasis in the midst of developmental pressures to the west and north with the high-rise residential buildings of Rosslyn towering over North Meade Street and Arlington Boulevard. It sits in the center of major transportation arteries, including the George Washington Memorial Parkway and Route 110 to the east and Route 50 to the north.[34] Also adjacent to the park grounds is the Army's Fort Myer. Irrespective of its present parameters, the park itself—not the memorial—was conceived as a visual terminus to the National Mall, extending the axis westward from the Lincoln Memorial. In the end, however, the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial was not placed directly on that axis but further back on the site, as view sheds to and from the monument became more important to its creators.[35]

The connection between the Rosenthal photograph, and later the statue, with the generation that lived through the Second World War and with successive generations is the intangible quality that keeps the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial sacrosanct. This connection sustains the commemorative purpose of the memorial grounds so that respect for place accompanies recreational needs for open space. The second flag-raising on Iwo Jima was one of the most documented events in Marine Corps history and so evocative an image that it was chosen—by them—to represent that past. General Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., Commandant, reiterated that the monument was meant to honor "the memories of [all] the brave men [and women] who have died in the service of their country." He declared it was not a "monument to war."[36] Instead the memorial

was intended, and has become, a national symbol and an enduring tribute in times of war and in peace.

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Endnotes

[1] HR2420 was introduced on March 1, 1945. By April 13, a letter to Gilmore Clarke, the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, revealed that the Navy Department recommended that legislation of this character be postponed until the termination of hostilities. Clarke also emphasized in correspondence concerns for finding a location and a sculptor, rather than the subject. Box 62, RG 66, Records of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts (CFA), National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Also, SJ Res 98, September 25, 1945, copy on file, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; HR 5521, 79th Congress, 2d session, February 19, 1946, copy on file, RG 66, NARA, and CFA. Also, Gilmore D. Clarke, Chairman, to Honorable Fritz G. Lanham, Chairman, Committee of Public Buildings and Grounds, March 4, 1946, Exhibit C-1, CFA.

[2] "Flag Flying for the First Time," *Evening Star* photograph, October 8, 1954, Washington Historical Image Collection, Washingtoniana, D.C. Public Library; "Iwo Jima Memorial to be Dedicated November 10th," *Naval Affairs* 33, No. 11 (October 1954); Richard L. Lyons, "Marines Dedicate Iwo Jima Memorial," *Leatherneck*, November 11, 1954.

[3] Col. Joseph H. Alexander, *Closing In: Marines in the Seizure of Iwo Jima*, World War II Commemorative Series (Washington, D.C.: Marine Corps Historical Center, 1994), p. 27.

[4] Karal Ann Marling and John Wetenhall, Iwo Jima: *Monuments, Memories, and the American Hero* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 97-121.

[5] Marling and Whetenhall, *Iwo Jima: Monuments*, p. 89; Eleanor Lee Templeman, "Valor Was a Common Virtue," *Northern Virginia Sun*, November 22, 1957, clipping on file, Community Archives/Virginia Room, Arlington County Public Library; "Artist's Talk Goes Back to Iwo Jima," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, February 6, 1956, clipping on file, Box 62, Records of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts (CFA), RG 66, NARA. De Weldon's plaster model was cast by the Bedi-Rassy Foundry in Brooklyn, New York. See "Iwo Jima in Arlington," *Washington Star Pictorial Magazine*, November 7, 1954, clipping on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; copy photographs, vertical file, ACPL; "Iwo Jima Statue Prepared for Trip to Washington," *Evening Star*, August 3, 1954, clipping and photo, *Washington Star* Photograph Collection, DCPL. Charles Tompkins Company was the contractor for the project; Helsing Brothers acted as a sub-contractor, while John J. Earley Studios developed the concrete paving system for the plaza and reviewing stand. See Kay Fanning, "Arlington Ridge Park, George Washington Memorial Parkway," National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory (Washington, D.C.: 2002, rev. 2003), pt. 2b, p. 11, who cites B.C. Howland to Merel S. Sager, September 22, 1954, 1430-2, LUCE files, National Park Service.

[6] Lee Grove, "Four Named to Arts Board," *Washington Post*, June 20, 1950, p. 1.
[7] Larry James, "To All Marines . . ." *Leatherneck,* November 1974, Memorials: MC War (Iwo Jima) file, Marine Corps Historical Center; H.P. Caemmerer to Col. Frank Halford, January 21, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke, Chairman, to Hon. F.J. Bailey, July 18, 1946, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Hon. Fritz G. Lanham, March 4, 1946, RG 66, NARA; letter to Hon. Gilmore D. Clarke, Chairman, April 13, 1945, RG 66, NARA; HR 2420, March 1, 1945, copy on file, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Col. Frank Halford, USMC, Ret., National Liaison Officer, Marine Corps League, October 30, 1947, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; John N. Brown, Secretary of the Navy, to Gilmore D. Clarke, December 16, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Donald De Lue, President, National Sculpture Society, to Gilmore D. Clarke, August 15, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to General Vandegrift, December 2, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Hon. John L. Sullivan, December 1, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Admiral C. Nimitz, December 1, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Petition, American University, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to H.P. Caemmerer, March 5, 1953, Box 62, Entry 7, RG 66, NARA; Meeting Minutes, February 22, 1946, U.S. Commission of Fine Arts; Minutes, January 31, 1947, p. 7, CFA; Minutes, March 8, 1947, CFA; Alexander A. Vandegrift, Commandant, to Gilmore D. Clarke, November 21, 1947, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; C. Earl Hindsman, *The Iwo Jima Story* (Washington, D.C.: USMC, 1955), p. 26; Henry Allen, "Iwo Jima and a Rain of Memory," *Washington Post*, October 7, 1981, p. B1.
[8] Memo for files, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; Lee Lawrie, Easton, Maryland, to H.P. Caemmerer, March 4, 1949, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; H.P. Caemmerer to Leo M. Chamberlain, University of Kentucky, March 8, 1949, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; H.P. Caemmerer to Daniel Rubin, September 9, 1946, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA.
[9] Minutes, June 19, 1947, pp. 9-10, CFA; Minutes, June 24, 1953, pp. 8-9, CFA; Public Law 66, 83d Congress, Chapter 120—1st session HJ Res. 157: Joint Resolution to amend the Act of July 1, 1947 (61 Stat 242), approved June 16, 1953, copy on file, Box 62, RG 66, NARA.
[10] "The Marine Corps Memorial," pp. 1-2, copy on file, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA.
[11] "The Marine Corps Memorial," p. 2; Minutes, August 28, 1947, pp. 10-16, CFA.
[12] "The Marine Corps Memorial," pp. 3-6.
[13] "Marine Corps Memorial, East Potomac Park," Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA.
[14] Gilmore D. Clarke to Hon. A.E. Demaray, Associate Director, National Park Service, August 29, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Major General U.S. Grant III, Chairman, NCPPC, August 29, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA.
[15] Minutes, August 28, 1947, pp. 10-16, CFA; U.S. Grant III to Gilmore D. Clarke, Chairman, October 9, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; B.H. Griffin, Airport Admin. Washington National Airport, to Gilmore D. Clarke, Chairman, September 9, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Hayward S. Florer, Air Carrier Inspector, to Bennett H. Griffin , Administrator, National Airport, September 8, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Jackson E. Price, Acting Associate Director, Department of Interior, to Gilmore D. Clarke, Chairman, September 23, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Jackson E. Price, October 6, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Col. Frank Halford, USMC, Ret., National Liaison Officer, Marine Corps League, October 30, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Robert Woodside, American Battle Monuments Commission, to the Chairman, National Commission of Fine Arts, July 30, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Frank Halford to H.P. Caemmerer, August 25, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Bennett H. Griffin, Admin. Washington National Airport, August 29, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Clarke to Demaray, August 29, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke to Hon. F.J. Bailey, Assistant Director, Legislative Reference, Bureau of Budget, July 18, 1946, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Frank Halford to Gilmore D. Clarke, January 15, 1947, Project files, Box 100, RG 66, NARA; Minutes, August 28, 1947, pp. 15-16, CFA; Minutes, October 29, 1947, pp. 5-6 and Exhibit H-1 to 3, CFA.
[16] Felix de Weldon, remarks, November 10, 1954, copies on file, CFA, and Box 62, RG 66, NARA.
[17] *Life Magazine*, September 20, 1954, clipping on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; "Is the Iwo Jima Monument as Popular as All That?" Washington Star, January 23, 1979, p. A4; Robert Stanton, Director, National Park Service to George Gentile, Connecticut, August 21, 1990, copy on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; Press Release, December 8, 1974, MCHC; "Recapture the Glory," clipping on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC.

[18] Kaljot, 28; "A Memorial to the Valor of the U.S. Marine Corps," *Washington Post*, February 23, 1951, clipping on file, MCHC; Matt McDade, "Statue of Iwo Jima Flag Raising Arrives After Tedious 2-Day Trip," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, September 4, 1954, clipping on file, MCHC; "Iwo Jima in Arlington," *Washington Star Pictorial Magazine*, November 7, 1954, clipping on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; Photograph [of de Weldon making clay likeness of Cpl. Rene Gagnon], *Washington Star Pictorial Magazine*, February 21, 1954, p. 8, clipping on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; "Iwo Statue Nearly Ready, Sculptor Says," *Times Herald*, September 15, 1953, clipping on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; "Famed Iwo Jima Sculpture Project Near Casting Stage," clipping on file, Memorials: MC War, MCHC; "Artist's Talk Goes Back to Iwo Jima," Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Pamphlet on file, Box 62, RG 66, NARA.

[19] "Artist's Talk Goes Back to Iwo Jima," RG 66, NARA.

[20] Clarke to Halford, October 30, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Gilmore D. Clarke, Chairman to Honorable John L. Sullivan, Secretary of the Navy, December 1, 1947, CFA; Minutes, November 25, 1947, p. 2, CFA; Clarke to Nimitz, December 1, 1947, RG 66, NARA; Clarke to Vandegrift, December 2, 1947, CFA.

[21] Congress amended its initial resolution on the memorial in 1953. This expanded the search for a site beyond the District's boundaries. Public Law 243, 75th Congress, Chapter 564—1st session, S. 774, August 4, 1937; Public Law 462, 82d Congress, January 8, 1952; Public Law 66—83d Congress, Chapter 120 1st session HJ Res 157: Joint Resolution to Amend Act of July 1, 1947 (61 Stat. 242), approved June 16, 1953. See also H.P. Caemmerer to Gilmore D. Clarke, March 9, 1953, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Ralph Wray to David E. Finley, May 14, 1952, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; David E. Finley to Ralph Wray, May 19, 1952, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Ralph Wray to the Honorable Theodore Green, May 19, 1952, Box 62, RG 66, NARA.

[22] Minutes, 1953, CFA; and Office of Horace Peaslee, Architect, Frank William Cole Associate Architect, "Entourage | Marine Corps War Memorial | Arlington, Virginia," Study No. 6, January 26, 1954, RG 66, NARA.

[23] John A. Remon to David E. Finley, July 1, 1952, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; David E. Finley to NCPPC, May 26, 1952, Box 62, RG 66, NARA.

[24] Minutes, March 10, 1953, CFA.

[25] Minutes, October 22, 1953, CFA; Minutes, November 17, 1953, p. 9, CFA; Minutes, December 17, 1953, CFA; David E. Finley to General Edson, November 4, 1953, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Finley to Edson, December 18, 1953, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Harry T. Thompson to H.P. Caemmerer, memo, January 8, 1954, Box 62, RG 66, NARA.

[26] Minutes, June 28, 1954, 2, CFA; Minutes, Sept. 25, 1953, Exhibit A, pp. 1-2, CFA.

[27] Minutes, September 25, 1953, pp. 1-2, CFA.

[28] Minutes, October 22, 1953, CFA.

[29] Merritt A. Edson to David E. Finley, January 15, 1954, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Horace W. Peaslee to [H.P.] Caemmerer, memo, February 1, 1954, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Caemmerer to Peaslee, February 3, 1954, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Finley to Edson, February 4, 1954, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Minutes, January 28, 1954, p. 13, CFA.

[30] Minutes, January 28, 1954, CFA; Minutes, March 11, 1954, CFA; Fanning, pt. 1, pp. 12-14.

[31] General Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., to David E. Finley, November 7, 1955, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; J.N. Robertson to David E. Finley, November 18, 1955, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Finley to Shepherd, December 21, 1955, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Col. Jean W. Moreau, USMC (Ret.), President, Marine Corps War Memorial Foundation, to District Commissioners, December 6, 1955, Box 62, RG 66, NARA.

[32] Minutes, March 11, 1954, Exhibit C, CFA.

[33] Fanning, pt. 3b, pp. 14-15.

[34] Arthur B. Hanson to the Honorable Samuel Spencer, wherein Hanson complained "I am continuously amazed at the inability of highway engineers to evolve road plans which do other than completely destroy items of great aesthetic value. It would appear that the plan . . . presents a road complex of massive confusion which could not be the result of coordinated effort," December 6, 1995, Box 62, RG 66, NARA.

[35] David E. Finley to General Merritt A. Edson, June 25, 1953, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; David E. Finley to General Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., June 25, 1953, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; David E. Finley to Hon. Robert D. Harrison, March 16, 1953, Box 62, RG 66, NARA; Minutes, March 10, 1953, pp. 11-14, CFA.

[36] Evert Clark, "Nor is This a Monument to War," *Washington Daily News*, November 11, 1954.