

**A History of the Second Division Memorial,
President's Park, Washington, D.C.**

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List of Abbreviations

ABMC – American Battle Monuments Commission

AEF – American Expeditionary Forces

AFA – American Federation of Arts

CFA – Commission of Fine Arts

NPS – National Park Service

SDA – Second Division Association

WESF – Executive Support Facility

WHL – White House Liaison

WHVC – White House Visitor Center

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A History of the Second Division Memorial, President's Park, Washington, D.C.

Introduction

The Second Division Memorial is located in the southwest corner of President's Park on the Ellipse at Constitution Avenue and Seventeenth Street, NW (Figure 1). The memorial honors the 17,699 men who lost their lives in the service of the Second Division of the United States Army during World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. The memorial is comprised of an eighteen-foot-high sculpture of a hand grasping a flaming sword which guards an architectural frame of granite symbolizing the Second Division's actions in halting the German advance into Paris in 1918.¹ The gilded sword stands taller than the gateway and dominates the design. On the hilt of the sword is the insignia of the Second Division, an Indian head within a star upon a shield.² Written in gold leaf on the granite panels surrounding the open gateway are the names of the battles that the Second Division participated in during the three wars (Figure 2).

The memorial was originally constructed to honor the Second Division's dead from World War I with the dedication ceremony on July 18, 1936. The Second Division Association (SDA) took the initiative in raising funds for the memorial and worked in conjunction with the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) on the design and placement of it.

¹James M. Goode. *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, DC: A Comprehensive Historical Guide* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1974), 137.

²www.swiftsite.com/2ida/thepatch.htm 10 July 2002. The insignia was originated during World War I by a contest. It is also used as the design for a patch worn by the members of the unit.

congressional approval was required to erect the original memorial and the additions on the Ellipse. The additions were made to the memorial in 1962 to also honor the men of the Second Division lost in World War II and the Korean War.

The Second Division Memorial was planned and designed at a time when a national debate was occurring about what type of art and architecture would best suit the nation's capital. The design of the memorial reflects both the modernist and traditional aspects of this debate. Architect John Russell Pope provided the modern architectural framework for James Earle Fraser's sculpture of a flaming sword, a statement of Fraser's traditional artistic heritage as a student of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

Second Division Participation in World War I

When the United States entered the war in 1917 it had been going on for three years. By 1914 the countries of Europe had divided into two groups. The Triple Alliance, commonly known as the Central Powers, was formed of Germany, Austria–Hungary, and Italy. The Triple Entente, called the Allies, comprised of France, Great Britain, and Russia. Tensions between the two groups erupted when the Crown Prince of Austria was assassinated. Germany invaded France and the Russian forces mobilized. Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies in 1915, and in that year Germany won several major battles against the Russians. The United States had remained neutral until April 6, 1917, when war was declared as a response to Germany's refusal to provide assurance that passengers and crew of ships that passed into the war zone would be protected. When American ships were sunk under Germany's policy that all ships would be attacked,

regardless of their business, President Woodrow Wilson declared war. Major General John J. Pershing served as Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces to the end of the war.³

The Second Division was activated on October 26, 1917, in Beaumont, France. The original units included not only Army troops but also a brigade of U.S. Marines and Navy Medical Corps officers and men that accompanied the Marines. The original units were the Ninth and Twenty-third Infantry Regiments making up the Third Brigade; the Fifth and Sixth Marine Regiments composing the Fourth Brigade; and the Twelfth, Fifteenth, and Seventeenth Field Artillery Regiments, plus the Second Engineer Regiment, and the Second Sanitary Train. The division was led first by U.S. Army Major General Omar Bundy and Major General James G. Harbord and finally, Brigadier General John A. Lejeune, U.S. Marine Corps, until it return to the United States.⁴ By June 1, the Second Division was in position neat Chateau-Thierry, only fifty miles from Paris (Figure 3), and five days later struck at the Germans and recaptured Belleau Wood, Bouresches, and Vaux. The German corps involved in the battles issued a communication on June 17, after its retreat, expressing newfound respect for the American soldier. "The 2d American Division can be rated as a very good division . . . the various attacks of the marines were carried out smartly and ruthlessly."⁵ In the battle

³ American Battle Monuments Commission. *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938. Re-issued 1989), 1–15.

⁴Second Infantry Division. *The Second Infantry Division in World War II* (Nashville: The Battery Press, 1979), 13. James G. Harbord (1866–1947) served as wartime Chief of Staff to U.S. Commander in Chief, John Pershing. Harbord wrote two books; *Leaves from a War Diary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1931) and *The American Army in France* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1936). John Archer Lejeune (1867–1942) was the thirteenth commandant of the Marine Corps. Camp Lejeune, North Carolina is named for him.

⁵*American Armies and Battlefields in Europe*, 31.

at Soissons and Chateau-Thierry, the First and Second Divisions advanced seven miles and captured 3,500 prisoners and had wrote “a most brilliant page in American military history.”⁶ The battle of Soissons was especially significant because the Germans were never again able to regain an offensive stance.

After successfully retaking Blanc Mont, the Second Division participated in the Meuse–Argonne offensive that brought an end to the war and on November 11, 1918, the Armistice was declared. The division performed occupational duties in Germany until April 1919. Upon its return to the United States, the division was stationed at Fort Sam Houston, Texas.⁷

The Decision to Erect a Monument

The first reunion of the Second Division was held in Chicago on November 11–12, 1919. The official proceedings reported that the possibility of erecting a memorial had been discussed and that “sentiment was unanimously in favor of such a memorial but no definite plans for the work were formulated.”⁸ Brigadier General Lejeune, who had led the men in the war, was elected the first president of the association. The other goals of the newly formed SDA were to get 100 percent of those who had served with the Second Division as members and to write a divisional history. Cass Gilbert, Jr., an

⁶*American Armies and Battlefields in Europe*, 39.

⁷Rolfe L. Hillman, Colonel, U.S. Army (Ret.). Unpublished text of speech delivered at the Second Division Memorial, 29 May 1989; www.swiftsite.com/2ida/history.htm. (Copy in the James Earle and Laura Gardin Fraser Papers, Syracuse University Library, Department of Special Collections.)

⁸The Second Division Association, Official Report of Proceedings of the First Reunion, January 1, 1920.

architect and member of the SDA, contacted Charles Moore of the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) in Washington, D.C and informed him that the Second Division planned to erect a memorial and needed of advice on how to proceed.⁹

The SDA was still in early planning stages as discussions continued within the group for the next six years as to what kind of memorial would be appropriate and where it should be sited. The SDA turned to the CFA once again in March 1926 and made another request for advice on how to proceed. Moore spoke to Major General Hanford MacNider, who had become the president of the SDA in 1925, and reported to the commission that they “were not planning anything other than the conventional type of memorial to satisfy the present and the next generation.”¹⁰ The SDA also optimistically reported that it would be able to raise any amount of money needed.¹¹ This exchange appears to have ended satisfactorily, for at the 1926 reunion held in Chicago, MacNider told the SDA membership that the CFA would take over the job of finding a sculptor and getting the memorial built. He was ready to “put the whole matter into the hands of a

⁹Commission of Fine Arts, Meeting Minutes, 9 October 1920, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter cited as NARA), Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, Record Group (RG) 66, Box 1, Roll 2. Charles Moore was with the CFA from 1910 to 1940; serving as chairman from 1915 to 1937. Cass Gilbert, Jr., was the son of the architect Cass Gilbert, designer of the First Division Monument. The senior Gilbert had served on the CFA from 1910 to 1916. He began his career working with McKim Mead and White and was the architect for the Woolworth Building in New York City. Randall J. Van Vynckt, ed., *International Dictionary of Architects and Architecture*, Vol. 1 (Detroit: St. James Press, 1993), 309–12.

¹⁰ Hanford MacNider (1889–1968) was a graduate of Harvard. He was with the American Expeditionary Forces in France from 1917 to 1919 and advanced to lieutenant colonel. He was appointed assistant secretary of war (1925–1928). During World War II, he was recalled to active duty and was wounded while commanding in New Guinea. He retired as major general (U.S. Army Reserve) in 1951 and advanced to rank of lieutenant colonel while on the retired list. His papers are at the Herbert Hoover Library in West Branch, Iowa. MacNider was a native of Iowa. www.hoover.nara.gov 20 June 2002.

¹¹CFA Meeting Minutes, 25 March 1926, NARA, RG 66, Box 1 Roll 2.

commission and kiss the project good-bye until they report back and say the memorial has been erected.”¹²

After six years with little progress having been made the SDA realized that it needed outside assistance to accomplish its goals. Another issue that needed to be addressed was that of raising funds for the memorial. The October 1926 issue of *The Indian Head*, the official newsletter of the SDA, announced that the fund-raising campaign had officially opened although some donations had already been collected. The stated goal was to raise \$150,000. At this point, no decisions had been made as to the design or site for the memorial, but it was announced that “prominent artists are at work designing suitable plans and it is hoped that *The Indian Head* will soon be able to publish a few of the designs submitted.”¹³ The association stressed that the decision on the memorial would be a democratic one and that all who attended the reunion in 1927 would have a voice in the design and site. An invitation was made to “artists, sculptors and architects throughout the country . . . to submit plans and sketches for consideration. . . .”¹⁴ The cover of the January 1927 issue of *The Indian Head* carried a photograph of a model by sculptor, Finn Frolich (Figure 4).¹⁵ Frolich’s model depicted a soldier lying on a funeral bier with an eagle with spread wings atop him. At either end of the bier were a figures of a soldier. The accompanying article cautioned the reader of the

¹²*The Indian Head* 4, no. 6 (October 1926). Text of speech by MacNider from the “Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Reunion, held at the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, Ill., June 4, 1926.” MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library.

¹³*The Indian Head* 1, no. 10 (October 1926); *The Indian Head* 1, no. 4 (April 1926) 8.

¹⁴*The Indian Head* 1, no. 10 (October 1926).

¹⁵Finn Haakon Frolich (1868–1947) was a native of Norway. A student of Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Daniel Chester French, Frolich spent much of his later life in California. He was the official sculptor of the Pan-American Exposition in California in 1915. Glenn B. Opitz, ed., *Dictionary of American Sculptors: “18th Century to the Present”* (Poughkeepsie, NY: Apollo Book, 1984), 138.

newsletter “. . .the above picture is only a suggestion.” The caption under the photograph described it as “a recumbent figure with only the head and helmet showing, the rest of the body covered by a robe surmounted by the eagle with wings spread and beak open in defiance to any foe.”¹⁶ This dramatic design for the memorial appears to have met with little support from the members for the following issue of the newsletter stated, “It has been decided to discontinue the publication or reproduction of plans or designs for the proposed Memorial due to the number of objections, seemingly to a misunderstanding as to the purpose of publishing these reproductions”¹⁷

One of those most opposed to the suggested design for the memorial must surely have been S. T. Williamson, a design critic for the *New York Times*. He wrote MacNider that a memorial arch would “dispose of most of the artistic difficulties.” As to the design by Frolich that had appeared in *The Indian Head*, he likened it to “a buzzard hovering over a corpse.”¹⁸ MacNider replied that the memorial project was “in the hands of one James G. Harbord” and that although Harbord might not resent any suggestions, MacNider had “carefully avoided trying to give any.”¹⁹ Harbord served as chairman of the Committee on the Memorial Fund for the Second Division and proved to be a dynamic leader. MacNider and Harbord provided the necessary drive and leadership throughout the process of making the idea of a memorial a reality. Under MacNider’s leadership, the membership of the Association increased from 150 to 3,000 during his

¹⁶*The Indian Head* 2, no. 1 (January 1927).

¹⁷*The Indian Head* 2, no. 2 (February 1927).

¹⁸S.T. Williamson, *New York Time*, to Colonel Hanford MacNider, 26 September 1927. MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library.

¹⁹Hanford MacNider to S.T. Williamson, 30 September 1927. MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library.

first year in office, and the fund-raising campaign became a concentrated effort. At a fund-raising dinner for the memorial, MacNider revealed his vision of a “memorial which should represent the dash of an invincible fighting division. . . . I like to visualize two rough figures . . . rushing into battle just as they were.”²⁰

At least one other sculptor submitted a proposal for the memorial around this time. Gaetano Cecere, a sculptor working in New York, wrote to MacNider putting forth his qualifications for the job including the designs for “the U.S. Distinguished Cross and Medal, the Plainfield, N.J. War Memorial . . . and numerous other monuments.” It is not known whether Cecere’s proposal ever resulted in a design.²¹

In the meantime, the association continued to struggle with its fund-raising campaign. The fund-raising received a boost, however, in 1927 when the First Division Society made a contribution of five hundred dollars to the memorial fund.²² The First Division members had successfully raised funds for their monument, which was dedicated in 1924 with an address by President Calvin Coolidge. Located immediately south of the State, War and Navy building, known today as the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, in President’s Park, the eighty-foot column is topped by a gilded bronze figure of Victory by Daniel Chester French (Figure 5).²³ Another donation came from

²⁰*The Indian Head* 1, no. 3 (March 1926).

²¹Gaetano Cecere to MacNider, 10 November 1927. MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library. Cecere was born in New York City in 1894. He studied at the National Academy of Design and the American Academy in Rome. He later was the Director of the Department of Sculpture at the Beaux Arts Institute of Design. Glenn P. Opitz, ed., *Mantle Fielding’s Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Apollo, 1986), 141. Images of Cecere’s War Memorial at Clifton, New Jersey appeared in *Pencil Points* 11 (3 March 1930) 3:191-192. The design, which consists of a bronze urn on top of the monument with a victory figure standing on the base, was unveiled November 1929.

²²*The Indian Head* 2, no. 4 (April 1927).

²³Goode. *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.: A Comprehensive Guide*, 133; www.nps.gov/whho/Statues/first_division_monument.htm, 30 May 2002.

Raymond E. Lee, who identified himself as “Late Major 15th F.E. 2d Brigade, AEF.” Lee provided a most eloquent statement about the memorial’s purpose. “I do not know that the style or the location have been settled upon but, if it is to fittingly commemorate the magnificent service of these men and the thousands of others of the Second Division like them who never returned I do not think you can conceive of too noble a structure or too splendid a site.”²⁴ The year ended with a plea in *The Indian Head* to give a gift “toward the erection of a fitting Memorial to some brave Buddy who laid down his life that all of us might be here this Christmas 1926, enjoying peace and happiness.” On a more practical note, the same issue also included the news that the Internal Revenue Service had just ruled that contributions made to the SDA were deductible for income tax purposes.²⁵

For fund-raising purposes, the membership of the SDA was divided into districts with each one assigned an amount of money to raise through subscriptions or other donations. Brigadier General Paul B. Malone, U.S. Army, of Fort Sam Houston, Texas was one of the district chairmen and feared that he would not be able to raise the \$10,500 that had been allocated to him to collect. He took the initiative to get the recently produced film “Wings,” which employed members of the Second Division, shown in San Antonio at a special benefit for the Division and at the upcoming American Legion Convention in 1928. Malone wrote to Harbord for permission to go forward with the

²⁴ Raymond E. Lee to Hanford MacNider, 15 May 1927. MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library.

²⁵ *The Indian Head* 1, no. 12 (December 1926), 4.

plans and Harbord replied that he had no objections.²⁶ The film had been made in San Antonio, and the premiere took place there on April 30. The movie starred Charles Rogers, Richard Arlen, and Clara Bow and won the first Academy Award for best picture in 1927. Another brush with Hollywood for the SDA came in the person of Tom Mix, a popular cowboy star, who contributed \$100 to the fund for the memorial and was made an honorary member of the Los Angeles Chapter for his interest in the SDA.²⁷

Harbord made a plea to the association members to decide whether they wanted to continue with the efforts to raise a memorial. Funds had been trickling in, and they were nowhere near the stated goal of \$150,000. He was adamant that each and “every man gives something no matter how small” and did not want to turn to outside sources until the membership had all made their donations. Harbord finally suggested that the association vote at the convention in June of 1927 on the issue of whether or not to continue with the campaign. The issue was put before the members and the vote was unanimous to build the Memorial “by the first week of June, 1931.”²⁸

The October 1926 issue of *The Indian Head* carried an invitation for “artists, sculptors, and architects throughout the country to submit plans and sketches.” They were asked to design a memorial that would “forever commemorate the glorious part the Division played in making American History.” The plan was to include space to inscribe

²⁶Paul B. Malone, Brigadier General, U.S. Army to MacNider, 1 February 1927. MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library.

²⁷MacNider to Captain O.L. Early, undated letter. MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library.

²⁸*The Indian Head* 2, no. 6 (June 1927).

the names of the men who had lost their lives and “made the Supreme Sacrifice to the everlasting honor and glory of the Second Division.”²⁹

Harbord wrote to Ulysses S. Grant III, who held the position of director of Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital, asking if Grant would be willing to view photographs of the two possible memorial designs “with the object of obtaining . . . a tentative assignment of a suitable site on which the memorial might be erected.”³⁰ Grant then wrote to Charles Moore, chairman of the CFA, and requested that the commission give him and Major General Preston Brown of the Second Division a hearing regarding the proposed memorial designs. He closed his letter suggesting that the “advice of the Commission of Fine Arts would be helpful to the association at this time.”³¹ Ten years had passed since the SDA had first approached the CFA for assistance, and still no decisions had been made. Moore remained the chairman, and H. Paul Caemmerer was secretary. Caemmerer held his post in the CFA for thirty-two years and, like Moore, had great influence in the development of Washington, D.C. Adolph Weinman was the sculptor on the commission at this time.³²

One of the designs the SDA showed the CFA was by Charles Keck of a United States eagle protecting the French rooster upon a sphere that represented the world (Figure 6). The other proposal, by Karl Illava, was of a group of about ninety

²⁹*The Indian Head* 1, no. 10 (October 1926).

³⁰Harbord to Colonel U.S. Grant III, 25 April 1930, File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility (NPS/WHL/WESF). Grant was also a veteran of World War I.

³¹U.S. Grant III to Charles Moore, 5 May 1930, File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF.

³²Caemmerer was secretary from 1922 to 1954; Weinman was a member from 1929 to 1933.

infantrymen in close rank-and-file formation. The CFA felt Illava's proposal would be too expensive to complete and the design by Keck would be offensive to the French in spite of Keck's insistence that he could get the approval of the French government.³³ The CFA did not approve either of the designs and suggested that instead a competition should be held. In a letter to Brown, Moore put forth the plan that five sculptors should be asked to submit their designs for memorials already executed. From this the CFA, in conjunction with the committee from the Second Division, could make a selection of a sculptor and then commission him to design the memorial.³⁴ The process of selecting a sculptor did not eventually proceed in this way; however, nor did it go so smoothly.

The Commission of Fine Arts: The Selection of the Sculptor and the Site

The CFA had been established in 1910. It served the needs of the growing capital city by providing guidance and oversight on architectural and artistic projects and was an outgrowth of the McMillan Plan of 1901, which was an attempt to develop a cohesive plan for the development of Washington, D.C. The aim of the CFA was to help create a city befitting the image that the United States was developing in the world. Before the CFA's existence, Congress had appointed groups of individuals to serve on specific development projects, but the appointees were not necessarily qualified to offer advice on matters of art. The groups would then disband when the work was completed. President Theodore Roosevelt issued an Executive Order establishing the commission, which was then amended by President Taft to be enacted by Congress. Daniel H. Burnham, a noted

³³CFA Meeting Minutes, 16 May 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3; CFA Meeting Minutes, 2 October 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

³⁴Charles Moore to Preston Brown, May 1930, File 1430 "Second Division Memorial," NPS/WHL/WESF.

architect, was the first chairman of the CFA.³⁵ Many of the leading architects and artists of the day served as members of the commission including Pope, who was a member from 1917 to 1922, and Fraser, who served from 1920 to 1925.³⁶ In 1930, the Shipstead-Luce Act expanded the duties of the CFA by including under its purview the area of the city bordering the Mall, White House, Judiciary Square, Capitol, and Union Station. In 1939, the Act was amended to include the area around Lafayette Square.³⁷

The SDA and the CFA were struggling with an issue that had been debated by architects and artists since the end of the Great War. It is important to remember that at this point, the war was not known as World War I, but as the Great War or the war to end all wars. In the period between the world wars, there was much debate as to what type of memorial was most appropriate.³⁸ Some critics proposed that living, or “useful,” memorials would be more meaningful and worthwhile to the communities in which they were to be built. Memorial libraries, bridges, and parks or public squares served a more utilitarian purpose than a memorial arch or monument that would be forgotten and neglected except perhaps on Memorial Day or at other ceremonial events.³⁹ Charles Moore was the chairman not only of the CFA but also the General Committee on War

³⁵Sue A. Kohler, *The Commission of Fine Arts: A Brief History 1910–1995* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), 1–5. Burnham (1846–1912) served as the chairman from 1910 to 1912.

³⁶Kohler, *The Commission of Fine Arts*, 249.

³⁷Kohler, *The Commission of Fine Arts*, 74.

³⁸This debate was occurring in Europe at the same time. For a discussion of European war memorials as well as some in the United States, see Edwin Heathcote. *Monument Builders: Modern Architecture and Death* (West Sussex, Great Britain: Academy Editions, 1999).

³⁹Richard F. Bach, “Revising Our Notions of War Memorials,” *The Architectural Record*, February 1920, 191–192. This controversy was still continuing in 1945 when Philip C. Johnson wrote “War Memorials: What Aesthetic Price Glory?” *Art News* 44 (September 1945).

Memorials of the American Federation of Arts (AFA). The AFA was established in 1909 by an act of Congress under the leadership of Secretary of State Elihu Root.⁴⁰ In an article on memorials, he stressed that the federation had no set guidelines that it was attempting to force on the public. He added, however, that the “Federation of Arts is endeavoring to mitigate the plague of war memorials that are sweeping over this land . . . must we suffer not only war but also the commemoration of war?”⁴¹ Artist Cecilia Beaux recommended that the soldiers and sailors should be realistically depicted “permanently and visibly on record in many places as he looked and was, particularly if we are to believe what we are promised, that this is to be the last War.”⁴² The May 1919 issue of *American Magazine of Art*, published by the AFA, devoted all of its space to a discussion of war memorials. Almost everyone contributing to the issue listed the Civil War Memorial to Colonel Robert G. Shaw, located in Boston, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens as being one of the finest examples of its kind in the United States. Even Homer Saint-Gaudens, son of the sculptor and a captain in the U.S. Army, contributed his thoughts on what his father’s opinion on memorials for the Great War might have been. Saint-Gaudens “regarded the public erection of any form of bronze or stone memorial as a matter demanding the most sincere study, the strictest limitations . . . a work of sculpture

⁴⁰The AFA is a not-for-profit organization that was founded to expand and support education in the arts in the U.S. www.afaweb.org. 6 August 2002.

⁴¹Charles Moore, “Memorials of the Great War” *The American Magazine of Art* 10, no. 7 (May 1919): 233–234.

⁴²Cecilia Beaux (1855–1942) was a portraitist and sculptress. Cecilia Beaux, “The Spirit of War Memorials,” *The American Magazine of Art* 10, no. 7 (May 1919): 270–272.

once set up remains to inspire all future generations or to distribute its essence of bad taste or vulgarity or crudeness through all time.”⁴³

There were already some memorials for the war that could serve as possible models for the Second Division’s memorial. Eleven monuments were erected on European battlefields after World War I to commemorate the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). Congress established the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) in 1923. President Harding appointed the seven-member commission. Charles Moore of the CFA had been responsible for the design of the eight cemeteries that were laid out in Europe even before the ABMC was formed. The purpose of the ABMC was to represent the American participation in the war. Moore created “little Arlingtons” on the model of the Arlington National Cemetery with the desire to discourage repatriation of the dead to the United States by creating a meaningful and attractive setting. Among the architects chosen to create monuments was John Russell Pope, who was responsible for the Meuse–Argonne Monument in Montfaucon, France, completed in 1934.⁴⁴

The business of selecting a sculptor for the memorial became more serious when three proposals were submitted to the SDA. At the CFA’s meeting on July 1, 1930, photographs of the designs were viewed and discussed. It is not clear how the sculptors were selected but it is possible that Moore may have asked them to enter the competition. Moore was very influential in what was being built in Washington and was known for

⁴³Homer Saint-Gaudens, “Essentials in Memorial Art” *The American Magazine of Art* 10, no. 7 (May 1919): 258.

⁴⁴Elizabeth G. Grossman, “Architecture for a Public Client: The Monuments and Chapels of the American Battle Monuments Commission,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43, May 1984: 119-134.

picking jurors and competitors.⁴⁵ Shortly after this meeting, Harbord wrote a letter to Moore stating “it seems to me that what you have done in permitting Mr. Fraser to submit a sketch and calling upon Mr. Keck and Mr. Sanford to do the same is right in line with your original plan of the selection of a sculptor.”⁴⁶ Both Fraser and Keck later disclosed that Harbord had asked them to submit a design. Whether he received their names directly from Moore or from some other source could not be determined.⁴⁷ The sculptors selected to present designs were Fraser, Charles Keck, and Edward Field Sanford, Jr. Both Fraser and Keck had been students of Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Keck worked as his assistant from 1893 to 1898 and attended the American Academy in Rome of which Saint-Gaudens was one of the founders.⁴⁸ Keck, a member of the Federation of American Arts, is best known for his monuments to General Thomas Jonathan “Stonewall” Jackson and explorers Lewis, Clark and Sacagawea in Charlottesville, Virginia.⁴⁹ Edward Field Sanford, Jr., was born in New York in 1886. Sanford also studied abroad in both Paris and Munich. He often sculpted colossal figures including those on the California Library and Courts Building in Sacramento.⁵⁰ Of the three, Sanford had the least experience and was not as well connected with the CFA leadership.

⁴⁵Richard Guy Wilson, “High Noon on the Mall: Modernism versus Traditionalism, 1910-1970,” in *The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991*, ed. by Richard Longstreth, (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991).

⁴⁶CFA Meeting Minutes, 23 July 1930. NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

⁴⁷CFA Meeting Minutes, 2 October 1930. NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

⁴⁸Opitz, ed. *Dictionary of American Sculptors*, 212-213.; www.sgnhs.org Augustus/Assistants/Pratt/Keck 15 June 2002.

⁴⁹James Mackay. *The Dictionary of Sculptors in Bronze* (Suffolk, England: Antique Collector’s Club Ltd., 1977), 207.

⁵⁰Opitz, ed. *Dictionary of American Sculptors*., 351; Peter Hastings Falk, ed. *Who Was Who in American Art* (Sound View Press, 1985), 541.

Fraser had served on the CFA and Fraser and Weinman had worked with Pope and Gilbert. Keck, Weinman, and Fraser had all been students of Saint-Gaudens and all three men were members of the Numismatic Society.

Fraser's sculpture of a flaming sword was one that the CFA members regarded as appropriate for the memorial after viewing the submissions at the July 1930 meeting (Figure 7). There are several sketches extant in Fraser's hand, but the record does not show which of the designs he originally submitted. However, the flaming sword was an integral part of all of Fraser's sketches for the memorial. Sanford did not submit a new design at this point but instead employed his portfolio as evidence of his ability. Keck once again submitted the design of an eagle and a rooster that the commission found to be inappropriate for the memorial, out of scale, and possibly too costly. Three weeks later Keck submitted a new design to the CFA of a figure of Victory emerging from a shaft that was to be forty-foot-high. Keck presented his design "with great emphasis and enthusiasm," explaining that he had had only four or five days to work on it. Keck again questioned why his previous design had been disapproved. Weinman informed him of their concerns, including the possibility that the French might find the design insulting. Keck replied that the Americans had helped France in World War I and he believed that he could get approval from French authorities for the design. Weinman stated that even with French approval, Congress would still have to approve it. It was agreed that Keck could submit revised models and let the CFA make a decision.⁵¹ Keck's new design was strikingly similar to the Victory figure designed by Cass Gilbert and Daniel Chester French for the First Division Monument dedicated in 1924. At this same meeting,

⁵¹CFA Meeting Minutes 23 July 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

Sanford explained his design. Sanford's proposal was also of a Victory figure but it was placed on a large pedestal that would hold a small museum on the Second Division (Figures 8 and 9). The height of the entire monument would be fifty feet. The pedestal was to be a repository for the Second Division's battle flags, decorations and other memorabilia. It was his thought that the memorial could serve as a "Shrine for pilgrimage for the descendents of the members of the Division." No decision was made at the CFA's July 23 meeting at Harbord's request.

On August 22, 1930, Major General Harbord, accompanied by other Second Division Memorial Committee members Major General Preston Brown and Captain C.O. Mattfeldt, went to the CFA office to review the models and designs that had been received for the memorial. Harbord was becoming anxious to make a decision and proceed with fund-raising. In spite of the fact that the CFA was set to review the models at its September meeting, the SDA committee selected Fraser's design of a flaming sword in an architectural framework as the one that would be most acceptable to themselves and the CFA. The selection of Fraser's design would also cut short any further delays in the process as all seemed to be in agreement that it was the most satisfactory of the three. This would allow the SDA to proceed with the fund-raising campaign. However, H. Paul Caemmerer, secretary of the CFA, had intimated to the SDA that Fraser's design was the one favored by the commission.⁵² According to a letter written to Brown on July 7, 1930, by the commission, Keck had not yet submitted a photograph of his revised model of a figure of Victory emerging from a shaft. The CFA did not care for Sanford's model of a

⁵²H.P. Caemmerer was the secretary for the CFA from 1922 to 1954. He also authored a number of works on Washington, D.C. including *Washington: The National Capital* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932).

figure of Victory on a large pedestal, which would serve as a memorial space. Ready to make a decision, Harbord stated that he would see that Keck and Sanford were paid for their models.

The issue appeared to have been settled. However, at the next meeting of the CFA on September 16, architect Benjamin W. Morris objected to the fact that the Second Division Memorial Committee had selected a design before the CFA had had a chance to meet to consider all of the entries.⁵³ Keck wrote to the CFA stating his dissatisfaction that he had been told his design would be considered at the meeting, but before the meeting took place he had received a letter from Caemmerer that Fraser's design had been chosen. Harbord had told Keck that he had been informed that the CFA would not accept his design. Morris said, since the CFA had not met to discuss the designs, they were now in a precarious situation. Both Sanford and Keck resented that the competition had not been held "in accordance with the proper methods of procedure." Sanford was in fact so upset that he had discussed with Keck the possibility of taking legal action against the CFA.⁵⁴ On September 19, Keck wrote to Sanford that he had considered this possibility but had come to the conclusion that "a mistake has been made but other and more friendly methods should be used to correct it."⁵⁵ Because Fraser had already signed a contract with the SDA, it was necessary that he agree to void this document and resubmit his proposal with the other sculptors. In spite of being initially upset about having to give up his contract, Fraser did write to Harbord that he was willing to resubmit

⁵³Benjamin W. Morris was on the CFA from 1927 to 1931.

⁵⁴CFA Meeting Minutes, 16 September 1930, 7, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

⁵⁵Charles Keck to Edward Sanford, 19 September 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

his sketches “provided the other sculptors concerned submit only the designs shown by them previously, subject to modification in detail.”⁵⁶ This was in direct contrast to Harbord’s suggestion that new designs be allowed, but Fraser’s desire seems to have been respected. It was decided that the three artists should resubmit their designs. Harbord was very upset about the manner in which the CFA had carried out their duties and wrote a letter to the CFA that Morris stated contained criticism “so severe he would not wish to read the letter.”⁵⁷ Harbord was placated by a visit from Morris in which he agreed to let the process continue but made it plain that the SDA had been prepared to proceed with Fraser’s design which they had found “satisfactory.”⁵⁸

The CFA meeting on October 2 dealt again with the controversy over the selection of a sculptor for the Second Division Memorial. Fraser, Keck, and Sanford all resubmitted their designs. Sanford submitted a model as well, and Keck appeared in person to present his proposal. He had only a photograph of his model since it was not yet complete. He made a statement to the CFA that he had ceased working on his model when he had been informed that Fraser had received the commission and had partially destroyed it. When he was notified that he could resubmit his design, he had begun to rebuild it but had not had time to complete it before the meeting. He had also brought a photograph of his original rooster and eagle design but stated that, since it had been disapproved, he would withdraw the design.⁵⁹ The diary of Laura Fraser for October

⁵⁶Fraser to Harbord, 4 October 1930. NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

⁵⁷CFA Meeting Minutes, 16 September 1930, 5–8. NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

⁵⁸Harbord to Morris, 3 October 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

⁵⁹CFA Meeting Minutes. 2 October 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

1930 includes an entry stating that Fraser had won the Second Division Memorial competition but that the project was delayed because of politics.⁶⁰

The CFA then discussed how they could proceed with the competition in the most honorable way, as they were already receiving criticism from the art community on the way it had been handled. Weinman suggested that perhaps an outside jury would be the best solution to the problem. It would remove the CFA from the difficult position it found itself in and would satisfy the three sculptors as to the fairness of the decision. A letter was sent to the sculptors stating the stipulations of continuing the competition:

In order to meet the event, that two of the three competitors agree that a new jury be established, you are requested to name five individuals as possible jurors, in the order of your preference. The Commission of Fine Arts will select the three names receiving the most votes as the members of the jury, but should the nominations as received make this procedure impossible, the Commission will name the jury from the names received, in accordance with its best judgment. If two of the three competitors do not desire a new jury, the Commission of Fine Arts will act as the jury.

Sanford and Keck did send in a list of names, but Keck stated that he was equally willing for the CFA to make the decision. Fraser felt that the CFA should make the decision as had been planned originally. It was decided, after consulting with Harbord, that the CFA would make the decision.⁶¹

At the December 4 meeting, the CFA once again reviewed the designs for the memorial. The sculptors had made no major changes to their previous designs submissions. Keck appeared finally to accept that the eagle and rooster design was not going to be approved and had proceeded with his Victory figure. As the commission

⁶⁰ Dean Fenton Krakel, *The End of the Trail: The Odyssey of a Statue* (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 43-44.

⁶¹ CFA Meeting Minutes, 16 October 1930; Fraser to Caemmerer, 23 October 1930; Keck to CFA, 21 October 1930; Sanford to CFA, 22 October 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

members reviewed the proposals, they also considered where the best site might be for each design. Sanford's design of Victory on a pedestal was admired for the execution of the sculpture itself, but Weinman considered it to be an overdone theme with "no particularly new idea about it." Keck's design was seen as being appropriate to a park setting. But Fraser's design dominated the debate and was met with the most widespread approval although they all agreed it seemed most suited for a cemetery. Arlington National Cemetery was mentioned as the ideal place. Weinman's recommendation was strongly in favor of the "simplicity of the Flaming Sword design." He went on to say, "I think it is an unusual sort of thing you rarely see and it is in my opinion much more symbolic than would be represented by a number of figures." CFA member and architect John Cross held the opinion that the setting would be very important in the decision and that the Fraser design might not be satisfying in the wrong place. John Mauran, also an architect on the CFA, felt that "the chaste design of Fraser's Flaming Sword is very stunning. I do not think that it would appeal to the public as much as would Keck's."⁶² Morris felt that they could recommend that Fraser's design would be best suited for Arlington National Cemetery, but he feared that it might be compared to a "feather in an inkstand." Overall he felt that Keck's design might be the best.⁶³ Ezra Winter, a painter, spoke last and praised Fraser's design as ". . . one of the things that happens once in a million times . . . distinctly finer than any of the other designs presented." The CFA wrote to Harbord with its recommendations for the memorial. Sanford's design was unanimously disapproved; Keck's proposal was deemed "interesting" and was named a

⁶²Cross was a member of the CFA from 1928 to 1933 and Mauran from 1930-1933.

⁶³CFA Meeting Minutes, December 4, 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

possible choice if modifications were made. Fraser's design was preferred, and the CFA also made the recommendation that it be placed in Arlington National Cemetery. The final decision was left to the SDA and Fraser's flaming sword design was chosen.⁶⁴

The Report of the Commission of Fine Arts for 1930 stated that a tentative location on the Ellipse had been selected for the Second Division Memorial corresponding on the south to the site of the memorial fountain dedicated in 1913 to presidential aide Major Archibald Butt and CFA member Francis Millet on the north. The report went on to summarize the complex proceedings: “. . . as a result of a long drawn out competition instituted by the Second Division, James E. Fraser was selected as the sculptor, with John Russell Pope as the associated architect. The design of a flaming sword this commission feels has resulted in a memorial of distinction, beauty, and impressiveness.”

In the meantime, Congress was taking the necessary actions to allow for placement of the memorial on public ground. On January 15, 1931, Senator David Reed (Pennsylvania) presented Joint Resolution 233 to the Committee on the Library. On the same day, Representative Jonathan Wainwright (New York) presented Joint Resolution 467, also to the Committee on the Library. Both measures were “to provide for the erection of a suitable Memorial to the Second Division of the American Expeditionary Forces.”⁶⁵ Both measures were followed by reports from Senator Simeon Fess (Ohio)

⁶⁴CFA Meeting Minutes, 4 December 1930; Moore to Harbord, 6 December 1930, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 3.

⁶⁵*Congressional Record* – Senate, January 15, 1931. *Congressional Record* – House, February 12, 1931. Senator David Aiken Reed (1880–1953), served as a major in the field artillery, 1917–1919. He served in the Senate from 1922 to 1935. Representative Jonathan Wainwright (1864–1937), served as a lieutenant colonel 1916–1919. He served in the House from 1923 to 1931. Senator Simeon Davison Fess (1861–1936) served in the House from 1913 to 1923 and the Senate from 1923 to 1935. Representative Robert Luce (1862–1946), served in the House from 1919 to 1935 and 1937 to 1941 .

and Representative Robert Luce (Massachusetts), members of the Committee on the Library, making a slight change to the original resolutions. The words that specified the monument's exact siting were changed from "along the north side of B Street Northwest, a short distance east of Seventeenth Street" to "in the District of Columbia."⁶⁶ B Street was later renamed Constitution Avenue. This change was made to allow the CFA to make the final determination of the most appropriate site for the memorial. The reports also stated that the expected cost of the memorial would be \$100,000 and described the design of the flaming sword "outlined against the green foliage in either direction, front or rear." The report ended with a recounting of the Second Division's achievements in the war.⁶⁷ The Senate resolution was passed, taking precedence over the identical House resolution. It was signed by President Herbert Hoover on March 3, 1931, and became Public Resolution No. 128.⁶⁸

The sculptor had been chosen and congressional approval was in hand, but the SDA still had not raised the funds to build the memorial. The economic situation in the country had not improved, and the funds were not coming in as had been hoped. Four more years passed until any more action was taken on the issue.

⁶⁶Report No. 1821 to accompany S.JR. 233. *Senate Reports on Public Bills, Etc.* 71st Cong., 3rd sess., Dec. 1, 1930 – Mar. 4, 1931 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931); Report 2639 to accompany H.J.R. 467, *House Reports on Public Bills, Etc.*, Vol. 2., 71st Cong., 3rd sess., Dec. 1, 1930 – Mar. 4, 1931 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931).

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸Public Resolution No. 128. *U. S. Statutes at Large* 46 (1931): 1515.

The Sculptor, James Earle Fraser, and the Architect, John Russell Pope,

Unlike the First Division Monument, in which the column is topped by a sculpture, the Second Division Memorial was designed by a sculptor, working in collaboration with an architect. Fraser (1876–1953) and John Russell Pope (1873–1937) had already established a working relationship by the time Fraser was awarded the commission for the Second Division Memorial. They were contemporaries at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Both men had served on the CFA—Pope from 1917 to 1922 and Fraser from 1920 to 1925—and Fraser was responsible for the sculpture in the pediments of the National Archives Building built by Pope from 1930 to 1933.

The sculptor selected to design the Second Division Memorial was already widely known and was one of the most prolific of his time. James Earle Fraser was born in Minnesota in 1876. His early childhood years in the Dakota Territory influenced some of the work for which he is best known. There he was surrounded by a wild natural landscape still inhabited by herds of buffalo. Indians camped near the family's home, and Fraser had many opportunities to interact with them and observe them. *The End of the Trail*, which depicts an Indian on horseback, was exhibited at the Pan-Pacific International Exposition in 1915 (Figure 10).⁶⁹ Fraser also designed the buffalo nickel in 1913 with a portrait of an Indian on the other side (Figure 11).⁷⁰ By the early twentieth

⁶⁹Fraser's first version of *The End of the Trail* was completed as early as 1894, Martin H. Bush, *James Earle Fraser: American Sculptor, A Retrospective Exhibition of Bronzes from Works of 1913 to 1953, June 2nd to July 3rd, 1969*. (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., [1969], 16). For a book-length treatment of the sculpture see Dean Fenton Krakel, *The End of the Trail: The Odyssey of a Statue* (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973). Fraser's reputation for his western sculpture does not seem to extend to Great Britain. Mackay includes *The End of the Trail* in a list of Fraser's minor works, James Mackay, *The Dictionary of Sculptors in Bronze* (Suffolk, England: Antique Collector's Club Ltd., 1977), 142.

⁷⁰Other work by Fraser with a Western theme includes *Pioneer Woman*, *Buffalo Prayer*, and *Buffalo Herd*.

century the Indian began to be viewed as a romantic and tragic figure, and Fraser's western sculptures reflect this attitude.

Fraser's artistic education began at the Art Institute of Chicago at the age of fifteen. He enrolled at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris when he was twenty and also attended the Académie Colarossi. While in Paris, he was awarded a prize for *Head of an Old Man* at the American Art Association of Paris. An important break in his career came when he caught the attention of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who asked him to work in his studio as an assistant. Fraser returned with Saint-Gaudens to the United States in 1900, and two years later Fraser established his own studio in Greenwich Village, New York. Fraser remained close to Saint-Gaudens throughout the elder sculptor's life and assisted him with his sculptures, working on patination or finishing work when Saint-Gaudens grew unable to complete it on his own. In 1903, Saint-Gaudens gave Fraser the opportunity to do a bust of Theodore Roosevelt, and Fraser and President Roosevelt developed a lasting friendship based on their mutual love of the West (Figure 12). Fraser was eventually selected to create a bust of Saint-Gaudens for the Hall of Fame of Great Americans at New York University. The sculpture was made from a plaster model done from life sittings in 1906 and was unveiled in 1926 (Figure 13).⁷¹ He taught for a time at the Art Students League but soon had so many commissions that he could not continue. Fraser's work already had a place of prominence in the capital city. His statue of Alexander Hamilton, completed in 1923, stands at the south entrance of the Treasury Building (Figure 14). Fraser won the commission for the Second Division Memorial at

⁷¹Martin H. Bush, *James Earle Fraser: American Sculptor, A Restrospective Exhibition of Bronzes from Works of 1913 to 1953, June 2nd to July 3rd, 1969*. (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., [1969]), 26-27.; www.sgnhs.org/Augustus/Portraits/Fraser 15 June 2002 ; Dean Fenton Krakel, *The End of the Trail: The Odyssey of a Statue* (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973) 18.

the height of his career. At the same time, he was working on the sculptures for the National Archives, also with Pope, and for the Department of Commerce just across the Ellipse on the corner of Constitution and Fifteenth Street, NW. Other works by Fraser in Washington, D.C., include sculptures for the Supreme Court Building, the statue of Albert Gallatin located on the north side of the Treasury Building at Fifteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, and monumental sculptures for the Arlington Memorial Bridge Plaza.

In 1913, Fraser married Laura Gardin, one of his students, who became an accomplished sculptor. She is known mainly for her medallions, but she also won commissions for monumental sculptures. The two sculptors shared studio space at their home in Westport, Connecticut. Throughout their careers, Fraser hired his wife to carry out many of his designs. One such commission was the National Archives Pediments for which she translated his twelve-inch drawing into the huge sculpture. Laura Gardin Fraser described her husband's generosity in having her name, as well as his, carved into the pediment when she was "merely carrying out his design."⁷² In spite of being active during the period of emerging modernism in art, Fraser's style "remained essentially bound to tradition."⁷³ In spite of the number of works produced by Fraser during his lifetime, he is little known today.⁷⁴

Fraser's early sketches of the memorial exhibit the design process and show a much more classical architectural framework than the final product. One sketch closely

⁷²Biographical information on James Earle Fraser and Laura Gardin Fraser from *Dictionary of American Sculptors: 18th Century to the Present*, ed. Glenn B. Opitz (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Apollo Book, 1984), 133-134; and Krakel, *The End of the Trail*, 34; 52-53.

⁷³Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware; New York: Cornwall Books, 1984), 494.

⁷⁴ Martin Bush, *James Earle Fraser*, 95.

resembles the marble bandstand of the District of Columbia World War Memorial located in West Potomac Park dedicated on November 11, 1931(Figures 15 and 16).⁷⁵ In addition, in early designs, the flaming sword was enclosed within columns, but later it moved outside the frame to become a more dominant feature (Figure 17).⁷⁶ In a letter written to Harbord a few years after the completion of the memorial, Fraser expressed his motivation behind its creation. Fraser did not explain why he chose the flaming sword iconography in particular but stated it had been his desire to “make something different and unusual, and as I once in a while see the monument, it seems to have that quality.”⁷⁷

Fraser had already used the iconography of the flaming sword for the medal done for the Theodore Roosevelt Association in 1920 (Figure 18). The obverse side is a bust of Theodore Roosevelt and the reverse side a sword with flames. The legend around the flaming sword reads: If I Must Choose Between Righteousness and Peace I Choose Righteousness. Fraser may have associated this legend with the righteousness of the Second Division’s actions in the war. The flaming sword appears in the Bible in Gen. 4.24 RSV, “He drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the way to the tree of life.”

Pope, who was as prolific an architect as Fraser was a sculptor, studied architecture at Columbia University. There he distinguished himself by winning two

⁷⁵The memorial was designed by architect, Frederick H. Brooke, with Horace W. Peaslee and Nathan Wyeth, associated. Congress authorized its erection by an act approved June 7, 1924. H.P. Caemmerer, *Washington: the National Capital*, 71st Cong., 3d sess., S. Doc. 332 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 707–8.

⁷⁶Sketches from Fraser Papers, Box 39, File “Second Division Memorial,” Syracuse University Library.

⁷⁷Fraser to Harbord dated 2 October 1939, Fraser Papers, Box 21, File “Second Division Monument,” Syracuse University Library.

prizes that enabled him to study at the American Academy in Rome and to travel in Italy and Greece. After attending the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he returned to New York to begin practicing as an architect. His clientele was diverse, but he designed many large homes for the wealthy. He also designed master plans for several universities.⁷⁸ Throughout his forty-year career, Pope designed hundreds of buildings including a number of public buildings. He was active during the period when modern architecture had begun to make its mark in the United States.

At the end of Pope's career, he was heavily criticized for his classical designs. One of his last commissions, the Jefferson Memorial, caused a firestorm of criticism from fellow architects and architectural historians. Extracts of papers from the annual convention of the American Federation of Arts (AFA) were printed in the August 1937 issue of the *Architectural Record*.⁷⁹ These papers illustrate the furor caused by Pope's design for the Jefferson Memorial. The debate centered on whether classical or modern architecture was most appropriate for the public buildings in Washington, D.C. Joseph Hudnut, dean of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University suggested that the MacMillan Commission's plan was responsible for the idea that only classic architecture was appropriate.⁸⁰ Pope was committed to the idea that the public buildings in the Federal Triangle should present a cohesive design to the street. He wanted the complex to become a "monumental grouping larger than the Louvre and St. Peter's." His opinions

⁷⁸ Adolf K. Placzek, ed., *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, Vol. 3 (New York: Free Press, 1982), 450–451.

⁷⁹ *Architectural Record* 82, no. 2 (August 1937).

⁸⁰ Joseph Hudnut. "Classical Architecture Not Essential," *Architectural Record* 82, no. 2 (August 1937): 54–55.

may not have been popular, but he was on the Board of Architectural Consultants and remained a force to be reckoned with.⁸¹ This desire for a complex of monumental architecture also brought about criticism from the AFA convention with the observation being made that “in the heart of Venice there are buildings of every period . . . and yet these form a harmonious group.”⁸² William Lescaze, a modernist architect, was one of Pope’s harshest critics. In reference to the design for the Jefferson Memorial, he wrote, “America has definitely outgrown the imitation of Greek or Italian architecture. America is quite capable of developing its own architecture.” Continuing on, Lescaze praised the Folger Shakespeare Library by Paul Cret, calling it one of a few “rare instances of transition in building forms [that] may be found in the national capital.”⁸³

Pope did, however, leave a lasting impact on Washington, D.C. He was responsible for the design of some of the most prominent buildings in the capital—the National Gallery of Art, Jefferson Memorial, as well the National Archives Building (Figure 19). His Scottish Rite Temple was rated by his contemporaries as one of the most important buildings in the United States.⁸⁴ At the time that Pope was working on the Second Division Memorial, he was also involved in the projects for the Jefferson Memorial and the National Gallery of Art. It is perhaps significant that at the same time he was being severely criticized for clinging to traditional designs, he would design the

⁸¹Steven Bedford, *John Russell Pope: Architect of Empire* (New York: Rizzoli, 1998), 152.

⁸²*Architectural Record* 82, no.2 (August 1937):55.

⁸³William Lescaze, “America’s Outgrowing Imitation Greek Architecture.” *Architectural Record*, 82, no. 2 (August 1937): 55–57. Lescaze was one of the few architects working in the International Style on the East Coast in the 1930s. One of his most successful designs was the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building done with George Howe. Randall J. Van Vynckt. *International Dictionary of Architects and Architecture*, Vol. 1, *Architects* (Detroit: St. James Press, 1993), 511–512.

⁸⁴Bedford. *John Russell Pope.*, 7.

Second Division Memorial that is so modern in its concept and reflects the type of modernized classical architecture that was beginning to be favored by New Deal Architects.

Fraser and Pope continued to be friends until Pope's death in 1937. Pope was a frequent visitor to the Frasers' home in Connecticut, and Pope corresponded with Laura Gardin Fraser about various things including letting her know that he had written a letter of introduction to George Bolling Lee about her equestrian statue for the Lee–Jackson Memorial in Baltimore, Maryland, completed in 1938. Fraser was also involved on some level with Pope's work on the Jefferson Memorial. He received information from Pope's office regarding the controversy over the design, and Fraser sent Pope suggestions: "You may be interested in these few thoughts I had with regard to the situation about the Jefferson Memorial . . . it seemed to me an idea that had not been touched on in the controversy."⁸⁵ Like Fraser, Pope's work fell out of favor almost immediately after his death in 1937. Both men were traditionalists in a changing modern world.

The Site

In July 1935, Fraser wrote to Arno Cammerer of the National Park Service (NPS) advising him that the blueprints and drawings from the office of John Russell Pope had been sent.⁸⁶ The SDA had finally accomplished its goal of securing the funds to build the memorial, and the next priority was the decision on the location.

⁸⁵Pope to Laura Gardin Fraser, 1 April 1937; Pope to Lee, 1 April, 1937; Daniel P. Higgins, Office of John Russell Pope to Fraser, 22 April 1937; Fraser to Pope, 30 April 1937. Fraser Papers, Syracuse University Library.

⁸⁶The National Park Service had taken over administration of park lands in 1933.

The selection of the site for the Second Division Memorial also proved to be a challenge for the CFA. There were concerns that if the Second Division, as well as the First Division, had memorials on the Ellipse, other groups would begin to lobby for the same privilege. The possibility of having just one “great magnificent National Memorial with the names of the divisions and the battles inscribed” was discussed at the December 1919 meeting of the CFA. Moore had a specific site in mind—at the Tidal Basin on an axis with the White House, where the Jefferson Memorial was eventually placed.⁸⁷

The decision to erect the monument on the Ellipse was almost certainly influenced by the existence of the First Division Monument that had been erected there in 1924.⁸⁸ No other site could more closely link the accomplishments of the Second Division to the nation’s seat of political and military power. Belleau Wood in France and Washington, D.C., were the first possible sites named by the SDA at its 1919 Chicago reunion. One SDA member nominated Chicago as the best site for the memorial. At the Cleveland convention in 1926, the decision was reached to build in Washington. An article in *The Indian Head* suggested that Washington was a good choice since “everyone (particularly when they get married) visits Washington, or does so at least once in his life time.” Another motivating factor for those who lived in Washington was “seeing the Memorials other Divisions have erected and we want to see one to represent the good old Fighting Second Division. . . .”⁸⁹

⁸⁷CFA Meeting Minutes, 12 December 1919, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 2.

⁸⁸www.nps.gov/Statues/first_division_monument 30 May 2002.

⁸⁹*The Indian Head* 1, no. 1 (January 1926): 2; *The Indian Head* 1, no. 3: 2.

At a committee meeting in October of 1930, members of the CFA discussed possible sites in Washington for the memorial including Rock Creek Parkway and East Potomac Park.⁹⁰ By the end of that year, however, the site on the Ellipse appeared to be the preferred choice. The record does not reflect why the CFA's recommendations to place the memorial in Arlington National Cemetery were not carried out. Perhaps the SDA stood firm for the more prestigious and spot on the Ellipse. Once the general location on the Ellipse had been set, there was still some dispute over the memorial's exact placement. The NPS felt the memorial should not be placed exactly south of the Butt-Millet fountain, as the proposed construction of E Street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth Streets, NW, would necessitate moving the fountain. The NPS was also concerned about the "fine old elms," which were later decimated by disease, and crowding the Bulfinch Gatehouse on the corner of Constitution Avenue and Seventeenth Street, NW.⁹¹ On August 5, 1935, the architectural plan by Pope for the site on the north side of Constitution Avenue and east of Seventeenth Street, NW, was considered and approved. Also discussed was the Fourth Division Memorial, and it was suggested that the siting of that monument at Constitution Avenue and Fifteenth Street, NW, be considered in relation to the Second Division Memorial.⁹²

⁹⁰CFA Meeting Minutes, 9 October 1920, NARA, RG 66, Box 1, Roll 2.

⁹¹Letter from C. Marshall Finnan, Superintendent, National Capital Parks to the Director, National Park Service, 7 August 1935, File 1430 "Second Division Memorial," NPS/WHL/WESF. The Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks transferred to the National Park Service in 1933. E Street was extended in 1933, but not through to Seventeenth Street until about 1940. EDAW, Inc. *The White House & President's Park, Washington, D.C.: Cultural Landscape Report, Site History and Evaluation, 1791-1994* (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2002, unpublished manuscript, NPS/WHL/WESF), 267.

⁹²CFA Meeting Minutes, 5 August 1935, NARA, RG 66, Box 4, Roll 5. The Fourth Division Monument was never built on the Ellipse but was instead placed along Arlington Memorial Drive. The

The ground was broken on September 14, but not until October 15 did newspapers announce that the Ellipse definitely would be the site for the memorial. In late September, the CFA received a letter from a group headed by Lorimer Rich protesting the introduction of another memorial into “one of the finest parks in Washington.” The group was also concerned that other memorials would follow and noted that the CFA had already allotted sites on the Ellipse to the Fourth Division Memorial and the Early Settlers of the District of Columbia.⁹³ Rich also sent a copy of the letter to the press. *The Washington Post* quoted the letter that Moore wrote in response to Rich. Moore stated firmly “The Fine Arts Commission is satisfied with the location of the Second Division Memorial in the Ellipse, notwithstanding the criticism which has been lodged against the site.” Moore continued by saying that Rich’s letter, by being sent to the press, had caused confusion and “misled” people. He defended the placement of the memorials of the First and Second Divisions as having been designed specifically for their sites in President’s Park.⁹⁴ Moore also stated that the site for the memorial had been under consideration for four years and that Harbord had selected the site “with committees in Congress.” Because the ground had already been broken and the NPS had approved the site selection, the CFA could see no reason to stop progress on

monument was designed by architect Emory Kirkwood of Birmingham, Alabama and dedicated on June 29, 2000, with a formal dedication by the National Fourth Infantry Division Association on July 5, 2001.

⁹³Lorimer Rich, Wesley Sherwood Bessell, Howard L. Cheney, R. Stanley-Brown, Wm. Dewey Foster, John C. Bollenbacher, and Victor D. Abel to Charles Moore, chairman, National Commission of Fine Arts, 28 September 1935. Rich, with Thomas Judson Jones, was architect of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery. At the time this letter was written, he was employed in Washington, D.C., as a consulting architect in the Office of the Supervising Architect, Procurement Division. The Settlers of the District of Columbia Memorial was dedicated in 1936 at its site on Fifteenth Street between E Street and Constitution Avenue, NW.

⁹⁴“Ellipse Gets Memorial, Is Final Ruling,” *Washington Post*, 15 October 1935.

the construction.⁹⁵ Francis P. Sullivan, chairman of the Committee on the National Capital of the American Institute of Architects, wrote to Moore after reading the letter from Rich questioning what consideration the CFA had given to the selection of the site. Moore replied to this inquiry with much the same information as he gave to Rich, even though it was delivered with less defensiveness. Yet a third party was heard from on the subject of the site. Grace Kiess Swiggett, chairman, Fine Arts Department of the District of Columbia Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote to Moore expressing her displeasure with the CFA's decision and to relay that her "department is not in accord with your views nor with the action taken by the Commission on {sic} Fine Arts." Swiggett's focus was on who in Congress had approved the site, and Moore's reply directed her to the Senate Report of the Committee on the Library. All of these protests were much too late, and the decision on the site for the memorial was final.⁹⁶

The Ellipse, also known as President's Park South, was part of Pierre L'Enfant's first plan of 1791 in which he indicated the site for the President's House and the President's Park. Tiber Creek flowed south of the area and often flooded the parkland. It was known as the White Lot from the Civil War era until the early 1900s because of the white fence that enclosed the park during the mid-nineteenth century. Alexander Jackson Downing was commissioned to create designs for Washington's public parks by President Millard Fillmore in 1850. Downing died before the plans for the Ellipse could be carried out, but they were eventually completed during the administration of Ulysses S. Grant. The swampy land was filled in and graded and by the 1920s was dotted with

⁹⁵CFA Meeting Minutes, October 4, 1935, NARA, RG 66, Box 4, Roll 5.

⁹⁶Grace Kiess Swiggett to Moore, NARA, RG 66, Box 4, Roll 5.

baseball diamonds and tennis courts. During World War II, temporary barracks were erected just south of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building and remained in place until 1954.⁹⁷

The arrangement of monuments on the Ellipse is similar to that of Lafayette Park in which most of the monuments are confined to the edge of the park. The primary organizing element of the Ellipse is the central open green space. The surrounding streetscape gives definition to the space with the three large buildings along Seventeenth Street—the American Red Cross National Headquarters, the Organization of American States Building, and Daughters of the American Revolution Continental Memorial Hall. The Department of Commerce along Fifteenth Street, NW, similar in height and setback to the others, provides a balanced framework.⁹⁸ The monuments within the Ellipse are of varied designs. The Bulfinch Gatehouses were the first monuments to be erected on the Ellipse. Charles Bulfinch designed the gatehouses in 1828 during his tenure as the architect of the Capitol. The gatehouses, made of sandstone, stood at the west entrance to the United States Capitol grounds until 1874 when they were removed during Frederick Law Olmsted's landscaping of the grounds. In 1880 they were reconstructed on their present sites on Constitution Avenue, NW. One is located at the corner of Seventeenth Street, NW, and the other is located at the opposite side of the Ellipse on the corner of Fifteenth Street, NW. The NPS restored the gatehouses in 1938.⁹⁹ There have been

⁹⁷Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.*, 128–29.

⁹⁸EDAW, Inc., *Cultural Landscape Report*, 390–91.

⁹⁹Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington*, 138.

several attempts to reorient the gatehouses to face the south, but none have yet been successful.¹⁰⁰

The General William T. Sherman Statue by Carl Rohl-Smith was the first to be designed specifically for the Ellipse. The bronze equestrian statue is located at Fifteenth Street, Pennsylvania Avenue, and Hamilton Place, NW, and was dedicated in 1903. The First Division Monument, dedicated in 1924, and designed by Cass Gilbert and Daniel Chester French, was also located on the Ellipse. Both the Sherman statue and the First Division Monument were disconnected from the Ellipse grounds when E Street, NW, cut through to the east to Fifteenth Street, NW in 1934 and to the west to Seventeenth Street, NW in 1940.

The Butt–Millet Memorial Fountain was erected in 1913 in memory of two friends who had died when the S.S. *Titanic* sank in 1912. The center of the fountain contains two relief panels; one representing military valor in honor of Major Archibald Wallingham Butt and the other depicting an artist in honor of Francis Davis Millet. Both men were well known in Washington. Butt had been a military aide to Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, and Millet also served on the CFA from 1910 to 1912. The memorial was sculpted by Daniel Chester French with Thomas Hastings serving as the architect.¹⁰¹

The two fountains on Constitution Avenue at Sixteenth Street, NW, also bear a relationship to the Second Division Memorial. The Haupt fountains, gifts of Enid Annenberg Haupt, were constructed in 1968 and frame the entrance to the Ellipse from

¹⁰⁰EDAW, Inc. *Cultural Landscape Report*, 268.

¹⁰¹Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington*, 135.

Constitution Avenue, NW. They are located east of the Second Division Memorial and provide a central focus to the area between Fifteenth and Seventeenth Street, NW.¹⁰²

Construction of the Memorial

The groundbreaking ceremony for the “impressive Second Division memorial” took place on September 14, 1935, at 11 a.m. Major General Harbord spoke of the division’s achievements and stated the “beautiful monument will be more than a mere memorial. It will be rather an imperishable decoration which we, the survivors, place gratefully upon the dust of our dead comrades to testify to our deep, enduring love and admiration for them.”¹⁰³ The ceremony was broadcast over the radio, and the listeners heard not only the speakers but also the U.S. Marine Band, which played several selections including “American Patrol” and the “The Star-Spangled Banner.”¹⁰⁴ Harbord used the same spade to break the ground that was used for ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery. Invited guests included President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (who did not attend), Pope, Fraser, a delegation of Gold Star Mothers, and a number of military dignitaries.¹⁰⁵ The monument

¹⁰²EDAW, Inc. *Cultural Landscape Report*, 393.

¹⁰³“Second Division Site Dedicated,” *Washington Post*, 15 September 1935.

¹⁰⁴Program from the “Breaking of Ground for the Second Division Memorial,” File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹⁰⁵American Gold Star Mothers, Inc. was incorporated in 1928 to serve the mothers who had lost a son or daughter in World War I. The group’s charter has now expanded to include all wars since World War I. www.goldstarmoms.com 20 August 2002.

was slated to be completed in time for the annual reunion the following July.¹⁰⁶ A newspaper report incorrectly explained the iconography of the monument as “depicting the gateway to France being blocked by the flaming sword of the Second Division”¹⁰⁷ rather than the gateway to Paris.

In July of 1935, Fraser and Pope were ready to begin work. Both wrote Cammerer of NPS about the completed drawings for the memorial, and Fraser asked about arranging to have the foundation laid (Figure 20).¹⁰⁸ The J.C. Dodds Memorial Studios was headquartered in New York City but also had an office in Stony Creek, Connecticut. The company advertised on its letterhead that it dealt with “Memorials in all granites, marbles, bronze, art glass and statuary.” Working in conjunction with the Fred Drew Company, it was hired to lay the foundation for the memorial. In April 1936 the company sent blueprints of the proposed work to the NPS showing additional reinforcements that the NPS had requested (Figure 21). Richard Murphy, vice president of the company, stated they were ready to begin work on the foundation immediately.¹⁰⁹ Modifications had to be made to the foundation to support the Minnesota gneiss that would then be topped with the Stony Creek granite by the Dodds company.¹¹⁰ Fraser completed the sculpture of the hand holding the sword in his studio. The sculpture was

¹⁰⁶“2d Division Memorial Set to Start Sept. 14,” *Washington Post*, 6 September 1935, A-3; “Harbord to Begin Memorial Work,” *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), 6 September 1935; “Gold Star Mothers to Attend Service,” *Washington Post*, 13 September 1935.

¹⁰⁷“Second Division Memorial Rites Are Scheduled,” *Washington Post*, 10 September 1935.

¹⁰⁸Fraser to Cammerer, 12 July 1935; Pope to Cammerer, 12 July 1935, File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹⁰⁹Richard Murphy to Messrs. Finnan and Gartside, 29 April 1936, File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹¹⁰*The Indian Head* 37, no. 6 (June 1962), 1, 3.

cast by the Roman Bronze Works, headquartered in New York, and then was moved to the construction site (Figure 22).¹¹¹ A telegram was sent from Pope's office on July 3, 1936, to Washington, D.C., stating that Harbord, Fraser "and Sword" would definitely be there on the morning of July 10 to set the sword and promised, "everything else will be complete."¹¹²

Concerns about the landscaping were also part of the construction process. Fraser had requested that three linden trees along Constitution Avenue, NW, be removed, as they would obscure the view of the memorial from the street. The NPS removed the central linden tree immediately, but wrote to Pope requesting that the other two be allowed to remain in place until after the dedication ceremony as there was a location to which they could be moved.¹¹³

The original memorial's three-part design of pink granite provides an architectural backdrop for the sculpture (Figure 23). The large central panel creates an open gateway that frames the flaming sword sculpture with the Indian head insignia on the hilt (Figure 24). The sculpture is placed on a pedestal that reads: The Second Division/To Our Dead/1917–1919. The side panels are decorated with a relief sculpture of a laurel wreath, and the names of the battles in which Second Division forces died in World War I are engraved with V-cut recessed lettering filled with gold leaf (Figure 25). Three broad steps lead from the surrounding lawn to the platform that supports the memorial. The

¹¹¹The mark of the Roman Bronze Works is on the sculpture, but no records have been located relating the work on the sculpture to the foundry.

¹¹²Telegram from the Office of John Russell Pope to Mr. Malcolm Rice, 3 July 1936, Fraser Papers, Syracuse University Library.

¹¹³Malcolm Kirkpatrick, NPS to Pope, 23 June 1936; C. Marshall Finnan memorandum to Kirkpatrick, 5 June 1936, File 1430 "Second Division Memorial," NPS/WHL/WESF.

initials of Fraser, “JEF” are on the right hand side of the back of the sculpture, and a partial foundry mark of the Roman Bronze Works can be found on the east side of the sculpture.

The design of the architectural framework for the sculpture is in the style of much of the architecture that emerged during the New Deal period. It has been called “modernized classicism” with its stripped-down profile with little or no ornamentation.¹¹⁴ The silhouette of the structure resembles very closely the Federal Reserve Board Building by Paul Cret built in 1937.¹¹⁵ Pope’s entry for the Federal Reserve Board Building came in second and is a more classical design.¹¹⁶ The Second Division Memorial and the Federal Reserve were being designed concurrently and it is worth considering why Pope rejected a style for the Federal Reserve that he had used for the memorial.

In preparation for the dedication ceremony, the SDA requested from the NPS the same arrangements that had been provided at the groundbreaking ceremony. This included the presidential stand to accommodate 150 guests and smaller stands on either side. The SDA were expecting a far larger crowd at this ceremony and requested that five hundred chairs be placed between the stands and the memorial. In addition, hookups would be needed for the broadcasting the ceremony, as well an amplification system and

¹¹⁴Sara Amelia Butler, “Constructing New Deal America” (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2001), 55. The style was also called “starved classicism” and “classical moderne.”

¹¹⁵Paul Philippe Cret was very active during the first half of the twentieth century. He designed a number of war memorials for the American Battle Monuments Commission including the Aisne–Marne Memorial near Chateau-Thierry, France and the chapel at Flanders Field Cemetery in Belgium. Elizabeth Greenwell Grossman, Paul Philippe Cret: Rationalism and Imagery in American Architecture” (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1980), 212–18.

¹¹⁶Elizabeth Greenwell Grossman, *The Civic Architecture of Paul Cret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 193.

police protection.¹¹⁷ The dedication ceremony was the culmination of a three-day reunion held by the SDA. The gathering attracted approximately four thousand members and other visitors. The day before the dedication ceremony, a wreath was laid at Arlington National Cemetery at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.¹¹⁸ The dedication ceremony itself took place on July 18, 1936, at 2 p.m. (Figure 23). It began with an airplane salute overhead and ended with a twenty-one-gun salute and the playing of “Taps.” In between, Major Frank E. Mason and Major General Harbord addressed the assembled gathering.¹¹⁹ Mason read a message from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was away on vacation. Harbord’s remarks included the achievements of the Second Division in the war, especially July 15–18 of 1918 when “the history of the world was played out in those three days.” Harbord did not mention the time and effort it had taken to build the memorial, but he did speak to the importance of erecting a tangible reminder:

With such a combat accomplishment, and at such cost, it was unthinkable that there should be no visible token of recognition and appreciation in the national capital. It was left to the survivors who once wore the Star and Indian head in the old Second themselves to erect this beautiful and appropriate tribute to their dead.

He also gave tribute to the sculptor of the memorial saying, “the spirit of the Second Division . . . has been caught by the sculptor James Earle Fraser, and well symbolized by the flaming sword that barred the open door to Paris.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁷G.A. Herbst, SDA, to Marshall Finnan, NPS, 3 July 1936, File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹¹⁸“War Veterans Hold Ceremony at Arlington” *Washington Post* 18 July 1936, 3.

¹¹⁹Eighteenth Annual Reunion, The Second Division Association Program, File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹²⁰Text of speech by Harbord, 18 July 1936, File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/ESF.

There was some unfinished business after the dedication. The gilding of the bronze sword had not been completed in time. Fraser wrote to the NPS to say that he would be sending someone to Washington to complete the task, which would take three or four days.¹²¹ Also, the lettering of the inscription had not been filled in with gold leaf. This was completed in 1940 by the NPS. Harbord wrote to thank them for undertaking the project because the SDA was “practically without funds.”¹²² Another issue was whether additional lighting should be placed at the site. The SDA was hoping to light the memorial and requested the General Electric Company to submit a proposal. The NPS approved the recommendations provided “. . . there are no unpleasant shadows thrown on the monument and the lighting in no way detracts from the beauty and proportions of the structure.” The CFA did not agree, however, and Moore informed the SDA that the memorial would be lighted adequately from the street lights on Constitution Avenue, NW, which were slated to be increased to a double light standard with globes twice the size of the present ones. Fraser also felt that the lighting might “distort the monument.”¹²³ That ended the issue of lighting the memorial, at least for the time being.

The gold lettering was beginning to show wear by 1945. The SDA requested that it be repaired before a Victory Convention in July 1946. Whether the repair was done at this time is not evident from the record, but in 1953 similar requests were made. An

¹²¹Fraser to C. Marshall Finnan, NPS, 1 September 1936, File 1430, “Second Division Memorial” NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹²²Harbord to Frank T. Gartside, NPS, 23 April 1940, File 1430, “Second Division Memorial” NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹²³C. Marshall Finnan NPS, to H.P. Caemmerer, CFA, 13 February 1937; Charles Moore, CFA, to E.S. Colling, SDA, 3 March 1937; E.S. Colling to Marshall Finnan, 5 March 1937, File 1430, “Second Division Memorial” NPS/WHL/WESF.

estimate for gold leaf on the sculpture was \$1,000 with an additional \$325 for redoing the lettering. There was some concern as to how long the gold leaf finish was lasting, and an office memorandum of October 4, 1953, states that the Bureau of Standards had tested it. The gold leaf was finally redone by July 22, 1955, in time for Second Division Memorial ceremonies.¹²⁴

Changes to the Memorial, 1962

At its annual reunion held in Washington, D.C., in 1946, the SDA began to discuss the possibility of adding some type of recognition to the monument to honor those that had served and died in World War II.¹²⁵ The division had been stationed at Fort Sam Houston in Texas throughout the interwar period, serving as an experimental unit. During World War II, the Second Division had once again distinguished itself. The reported number of those killed in action was 2,999.¹²⁶ It landed with the allied invasion forces at Omaha Beach in Normandy on D-Day plus 1, June 7, 1944. After a thirty-nine day battle, they took possession of the port city of Brest. The division held its position throughout the Battle of the Bulge in early 1945 and took an offensive stance in preventing the enemy from capturing key roads and eventually in driving the German

¹²⁴I. Kaufman, national chairman, Memorial Services, of the District of Columbia Branch, SDA to Superintendent, Public Buildings and Parks, NPS, 26 October 1945; NPS memorandum from T. Sutton Jett, to George Clark, Superintendent, 9 June 1955, File 1430, "Second Division Memorial" NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹²⁵*The Indian Head* 34, no. 5(May, 1955): 3.

¹²⁶*Combat History of the Second Infantry Division in World War II* (Nashville, Tenn: The Battery Press, 1979), 193.

forces from the area. The division returned to the United States and did not participate in the invasion of Japan.

The Second Division's reunion of 1947 resulted in the formation of a Memorial Committee that was authorized to proceed with changes to the monument. These changes would have included action of the Division in World War II. Before any decisions had been made, the Second Division was back in action in Korea.

The Second Division arrived in Korea on July 23, 1950—the first unit to reach Korea directly from the United States. The division led the drive to the Manchurian border and in the spring of 1952 was instrumental in stopping the Communists' offensive movements. On August 20, 1954, the division returned to the United States. However, as a result of continuing tensions at the border of North and South Korea, the division returned to Korea in July of 1965. The Second Division remains stationed in Korea guarding the Demilitarized Zone.¹²⁷

After the 1949 reunion, the CFA was contacted with regard to potential changes to the memorial. The CFA referred the SDA to the sculptor of the original monument, Fraser, but the SDA did not receive a response. The association was aware that congressional approval would be necessary before any additions. Discussions at the time centered on adding the names of World War II battles in which the division had participated in to the existing monument. It was estimated that this could be done at a cost of \$3,000 to \$4,000.¹²⁸ The process of making changes to the memorial proceeded slowly. The president of the association, Edward K. Williamson, visited in Washington,

¹²⁷www.swiftsite.com/2ida/history.htm 10 July 2002.

¹²⁸*The Indian Head* 29, no. 7 (July-August 1950): 6.

D.C., in 1953 to take care of some business with regard to the memorial. Two topics were covered in discussions with Edward J. Kelly, superintendent, National Capital Parks, of the NPS. The gold leaf on the flaming sword was again deteriorating, and the association was advised that it could not be redone until 1955 because it would have to go through the budgeting process. The association also was advised that the additions to the memorial would involve a lengthy procedure. The first step would be to contact the original architect to have new plans drawn up. Then the CFA would have to approve the plans, and congressional approval would also be needed. Williamson also pointed out, in “The President’s Letter” in an issue of *The Indian Head*, that money would have to be raised for the addition.¹²⁹

In 1955, discussions of changes to the memorial took place at the reunion, held in Washington, D.C. An oil painting by the District of Columbia Branch showing proposed additions was displayed. The suggested changes were to include two granite blocks ten feet long on either side of the existing memorial with “bronze flagpoles topped by a spread eagle.” The granite blocks would include dates and battles from World War II and the Korean War.¹³⁰

The CFA began the review process of the design in October 1955. The following year, on February 17, 1956, it approved the additions on the basis of the architects’ perspective drawing.¹³¹ The CFA and NPS both notified Congress as to their approval of

¹²⁹*The Indian Head* 32, no. 11 (November 1953): 3.

¹³⁰*The Indian Head* 34, no. 5, (May 1955): 3.

¹³¹Harry T. Thompson, NPS, to File, copy; Second Infantry Division Monument Modernization Brochure, unpublished and un-numbered; Linton R. Wilson, secretary of CFA to Ralph O. Lundgren, Second Division Memorial Committee, 26 March 1956, all in File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF.

the project and their willingness to move forward.¹³² Having the approval of the CFA was an important milestone in the process, and the congressional approvals were under way, but there still remained the issue of raising funds. Ralph O. Lundgren was now the chairman of the Memorial Committee, and much of the May 1956 *The Indian Head* was devoted to informing the readers of the progress with the memorial. The cover carried a photograph of the proposed additions. Lundgren's original idea for the memorial was to add flagpoles. After meeting with the architectural firm of Eggers and Higgins, the architects who succeeded Pope's firm, at the suggestion of the CFA, the "flagpole idea was retained, but the bases were placed upon the dais of the monument itself . . . the original monument so expressive of beauty through its simplicity, remains unaltered."¹³³ Lundgren also tackled the issue of the cost of the memorial additions. He defended the costs for the stone, which had come from a quarry that was no longer operating. Consequently, the stone had to be "assembled from several places to complete our job . . . but we cannot cheapen our monument by having anything less than a first class job."¹³⁴ By May of 1957, a total of \$2,534.78 had been collected, less a payment of \$489.89 to Eggers and Higgins. A month later the fund had increased to \$3,013.89.¹³⁵

On May 24, 1957, Representative Robert Kean (New Jersey), who had served with the Second Division in World War I, introduced House Joint Resolution 345, which

¹³²David E. Finley, Chairman, CFA to Omar Burleson, chairman, Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives, 21 June 1957; memorandum from Hillory A. Tolson, acting director, NPS to Legislative Counsel, Office of the Solicitor, 1 July 1957, File 1430, "Second Division Memorial," NPS/WHL/WESF.

¹³³Both Fraser and Pope were deceased by this time, Pope in 1937 and Fraser in 1955. Eggers and Higgins were the successors of Pope's architectural firm.

¹³⁴*The Indian Head* 35, no. 5 (May 1956): 1-4.

¹³⁵*The Indian Head* 36, no. 2 (May 1957): 2; *The Indian Head* 36, no. 6 (June 1957): 4.

authorized the Second Division to erect a memorial to the dead of World War II and the Korean conflict. The resolution also stipulated that the “site chosen and the design of the monument and pedestal shall be approved by the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library with the advice and recommendations of the National Commission of Fine Arts.” The additions to the memorial were approved and enacted into law by Congress on August 24, 1957.¹³⁶

There was a pause in the process of enhancing the memorial until 1961 when Lundgren wrote to the CFA reporting that the funds for the additions had finally been collected. He reported that a meeting with the McLeod and Romberg Stone Company of Bladensburg, Maryland, was to occur the following week. The CFA replied that the SDA needed to coordinate with the NPS as the construction would be managed through the office of Sutton Jett, Superintendent of National Capital Parks. Lundgren reacted swiftly and requested permission from the NPS to begin construction. The permit was prepared, and work began on the site.¹³⁷

The groundbreaking ceremony took place on November 11, 1961. The event included three volleys of shots from the Army Firing Squad. The spade that had been used for the groundbreaking ceremony in 1935 was put to use once again and had been gilded and decorated with ribbon. President John F. Kennedy did not attend the ceremony, but a message from him was read. It began:

¹³⁶Public Law 85-131, 85th Cong. Representative Robert Winthrop Kean (1893–1980), served as a first lieutenant in the Second Division 1918–1919. He served in the House from 1939 to 1959.

¹³⁷Ralph O. Lundgren, SDA, to Commission of Fine Arts, 25 July 1961; L.R. Wilson, CFA, to Lundgren, 26 July, 1961; Lundgren, to T. Sutton Jett, NPS, 28 July, 1961; William M. Haussman, chief, Division of Design, memorandum to chief, Branch of Construction, 15 September, 1961; Lundgren to Jett, 10 October 1961: all in File 1430 “Second Division Memorial,” NPS/WHL/WESF. The McLeod and Romberg Stone Company’s other work includes the Washington Islamic Mosque and the additions to the First Division Monument as well as restorations on the White House and U.S. Capitol Building.

I am proud to participate in this occasion of the ground-breaking ceremony for these additions to the Flaming Sword Monument. I know that in World War I a brigade of the Marine Corps was joined with a brigade of the Army to form a unique division. I know that battalions of United Nations troops participated with the Second Infantry Division in the Korean War. As a consequence, this monument and its two new wings are a dedication and remembrance representing all our Armed forces, and our allies as well.¹³⁸

By June of 1962, *The Indian Head* was reporting on the progress to the additions. The McLeod and Romberg Stone Company had excavated the foundations and the stone base was installed. The fifty-foot flagpoles were installed, and the granite used was the same as that for the original memorial. The color of the granite was described as having pink granules “with a mixing of various tones of greys.” It was expected that the new addition would “weather” to match the color of the original stone, which had changed somewhat over time.¹³⁹

The additional panels commemorate the Second Division’s dead from World War II and the Korean War.¹⁴⁰ The panels name the major battles that the division was involved in and also includes the dates of the conflicts. The two panels of fifteen feet each with flagpoles topped by bronze eagles were placed on the east and west ends of the existing monument. The additions were designed by the architectural firm of Eggers and Higgins (Figure 26). The dedication ceremony took place on July 20, 1962, at 2 p.m. during a reunion of the SDA. Lundgren was master of ceremonies for the event, which

¹³⁸The speech was printed in the “Dedication Reunion” Program, July 19, 20, 21, 1962. Fraser Papers, Syracuse University Library.

¹³⁹*The Indian Head* 41, no. 6 (June 1962): 1, 3.

¹⁴⁰ William Patrick O’Brien. *The White House & President’s Park, Washington, D.C.: Administrative History 1791-1983; “Epilogue 1983-1997”* (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001): iv., 329. On file at NPS/WHL/WESF.

included separate dedications for the west and east wings. Wreaths were laid for each branch of the service and also for the French, Dutch and Thai battalions. The program from the ceremony includes a prayer that was read in unison:

This flaming sword monument now honors our dead in three wars. . . . We pray that we may be ever mindful of the sacrifices that have been necessary so that we could remain free men. . . . We pray that this monument may be a “sermon in stone” and that it may remind all who shall see it of this cost of freedom. . . . May we be cognizant of the fact that a continuous willingness to sacrifice all for the cause of liberty even to offering our lives is the key for the continuance of freedom. . . . With this knowledge may we face the future with confidence and strength. This is our prayer to Almighty God. . . Amen.

The Memorial – 1963 to 2002

The Ellipse has been under the care of the National Park Service since 1933. Before that time its care was the responsibility of the United States Army Corp of Engineers under the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds from 1897 to 1925, which then became the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital from 1925 to 1933.¹⁴¹ Records for upkeep of the memorial between 1936 and 1975 are not complete.

The Second Division Association continued its interest in the memorial after the second dedication ceremony in 1962. Letters between the Association and the NPS reveal the level of concern that was exhibited on both sides over the care of the memorial. A landscape development plan was done in February 1975 that specified the planting of hollies at the site and a floral display around the memorial’s base. A NPS report dated December 15, 1975, identified the condition of the memorial as “good and unaltered,” but

¹⁴¹O’Brien. *The White House & President’s Park, Washington, D.C.*, iv.

letters were already being exchanged between the two groups about maintenance on the gold leaf and masonry joints. This work did not occur until 1980, when the gold leaf on the sword sculpture and lettering was restored and the masonry was repointed at a cost of \$22,825. The association was also interested in having a walkway installed that would lead to the memorial from Constitution Avenue, NW.¹⁴² The walkway ultimately was turned down. The landscape architect recommended that the green space of the Ellipse should not be broken up by a paved area, which would have to be eight feet wide to remain in scale with the memorial. The landscape report also stated, “We have learned that the lack of a walkway to something people want to see does not prevent them from going there.”¹⁴³

At its annual convention in July 1980, the Second Division Association formed a monument foundation entrusted with the preservation and erection of monuments or memorials in both the United States and abroad. Dr. J. P. Wakefield, the first chairman of the foundation, wrote the NPS in December of that year of the association’s concerns about the condition of the memorial in Washington. The most pressing concern expressed in the letter was the need for gold leaf in the words above and below the flaming sword sculpture. Wakefield stated that many local residents had reported to him that they would have never known what the memorial was for if a tour guide had not

¹⁴²John P. Wakefield (Second Infantry Division Association, Inc.) to Manus J. Fish, Jr., director, National Capital Parks, 17 January 1975, Second Division Memorial notebook, White House Visitor Center (hereafter cited as WHVC).

¹⁴³Memorandum to associate director, White House Liaison from Darwina L. Neal, landscape architect, Professional Services 27 February, 1975, all in Second Division Memorial notebook. WHVC.

pointed it out to them.¹⁴⁴ By the time Wakefield wrote this letter, the gold leafing had been restored, but there were other concerns that continued into the future. In 1990, Wakefield wrote another letter, listing four points of concern regarding the memorial. Included were gold leafing, an interpretive sign, repainting of the flagpoles, and the removal of graffiti. The NPS responded that any interpretive sign that would be erected at the memorial would have to go through a review process to be sure the “historical and design integrity will be maintained.”¹⁴⁵

The SDA’s frustration with the NPS over the maintenance of the memorial reached a peak in 1992 when Gus Wendt, chairman of the Monument Foundation, wrote to Representative Frank Riggs of California regarding the work. Riggs immediately wrote a letter to Manuel Lujan, Jr., the secretary of the Department of the Interior. Robert Stanton, the regional director of the National Capital Region, NPS, replied to Riggs that the rehabilitation of the memorial would include “steam cleaning” and that the shrub hedges would also be renovated.¹⁴⁶ In 1993, the gold leaf was again restored.

SDA representatives have expressed an interest in having the “Indian Head Patch” of the Division incorporated into the current memorial. The most recent request was made in 1998 and was denied by the NPS. The NPS referred the SDA to a copy of the Public Resolution No. 128 from March 1931 which stipulated that the CFA had to

¹⁴⁴Dr. J.P. Wakefield, chairman, Monument Foundation to Jack Fish, director, National Capital Parks Service, 14 December 1980. Second Division Memorial notebook, WHVC.

¹⁴⁵Wakefield to Audrey F. Calhoun, 25 January 1990; Wakefield to Calhoun, 22 June 1990; Calhoun to Wakefield, 9 July 1990, all in Second Division Memorial notebook, WHVC.

¹⁴⁶Gus Wendt, SDA, to Representative Frank Riggs, 24 June 1992; Riggs to Manuel Lujan, Jr., secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, 29 June 1992; Robert Stanton, regional director, National Capital Region, NPS, to Representative Frank Riggs, 30 July 1992, all in Second Division Memorial notebook, WHVC.

approve the design for the memorial and would consequently have to be involved in any changes to it. Other groups would be involved as well, including the National Capital Planning Commission, The District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.¹⁴⁷

Current Conditions

The Second Division Memorial was rehabilitated during fall 2002 and spring 2003. The deteriorating caulking between the granite sections was removed and replaced with grout to prevent water infiltration. The entire memorial was cleaned to remove deposits from airborne pollutants. The flagpoles were stripped of deteriorated paint, cold galvanized and repainted. All brass elements were cleaned and polished. The eagle finials were regilded and realigned.¹⁴⁸ The north side of the memorial is planted with American and Japanese holly. Flower beds with pansies in the spring and begonias in the summer flank the memorial's eastern and western sides and the front of the wings.

Conclusion

The Second Division Memorial stands not only as a testament to the fallen soldiers of the wars it memorializes. It also is a tribute of the determination of the members of the SDA to ensure their fellow soldiers will be remembered. The SDA

¹⁴⁷E.O. Larson, Jr., acting regional director, National Capital Region, NPS to John L. Gray, 17 November 1998; E.O. Larson, Jr., NPS to Nick Lampson, United States House of Representatives, 12 January 1999. "Second Division Memorial" file, office of Glen DeMarr, Regional Land Use Liaison, Resources and Planning, National Capital Region, NPS.

¹⁴⁸"Second Division Memorial" Design and Construction Office, White House Liaison, National Park Service, August, 2003.

forged ahead in its desire to create a suitable memorial despite depressed financial times and waded through the bureaucracy necessary to get the design approved and constructed. The memorial, with its flaming sword sculpture and stark architectural framework, provides a fitting monument to the Second Division's achievements throughout three wars.

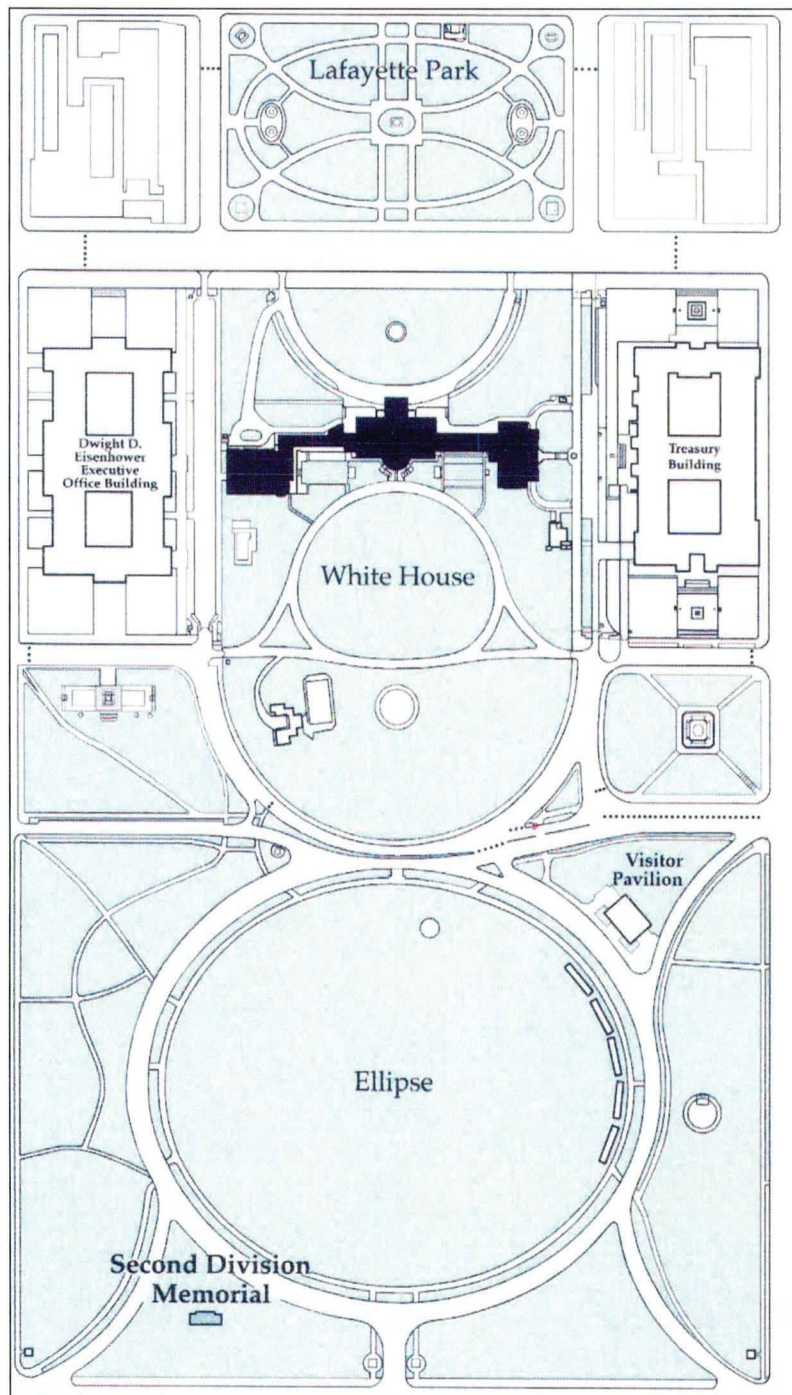


Figure 1. Site plan of President's Park indicating the location of the Second Division Memorial on the Ellipse. (Office of White House Liaison, National Park Service.)



Figure 2. Second Division Memorial. (Photograph by Terry J. Adams, National Park Service, July 2003.)



Figure 3. World War I Map. *The Indian Head* 1, no. 4 (April 1926), 3. (Hanford MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa.)

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No. 1



Figure 4. Model of proposed design by Finn Frolich. *The Indian Head* 2, no. 1 (January 1927). (Hanford MacNider Papers, Herbert Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa.)



Figure 5. First Division Monument. (Photograph by Terry J. Adams, National Park Service, November 2001.)



Figure 6. Charles Keck's design with the American eagle protecting the French rooster for a monument to the Second Division AEF, ca. 1930. (U.S. Commission of Fine Arts photo files, Washington, D.C.)

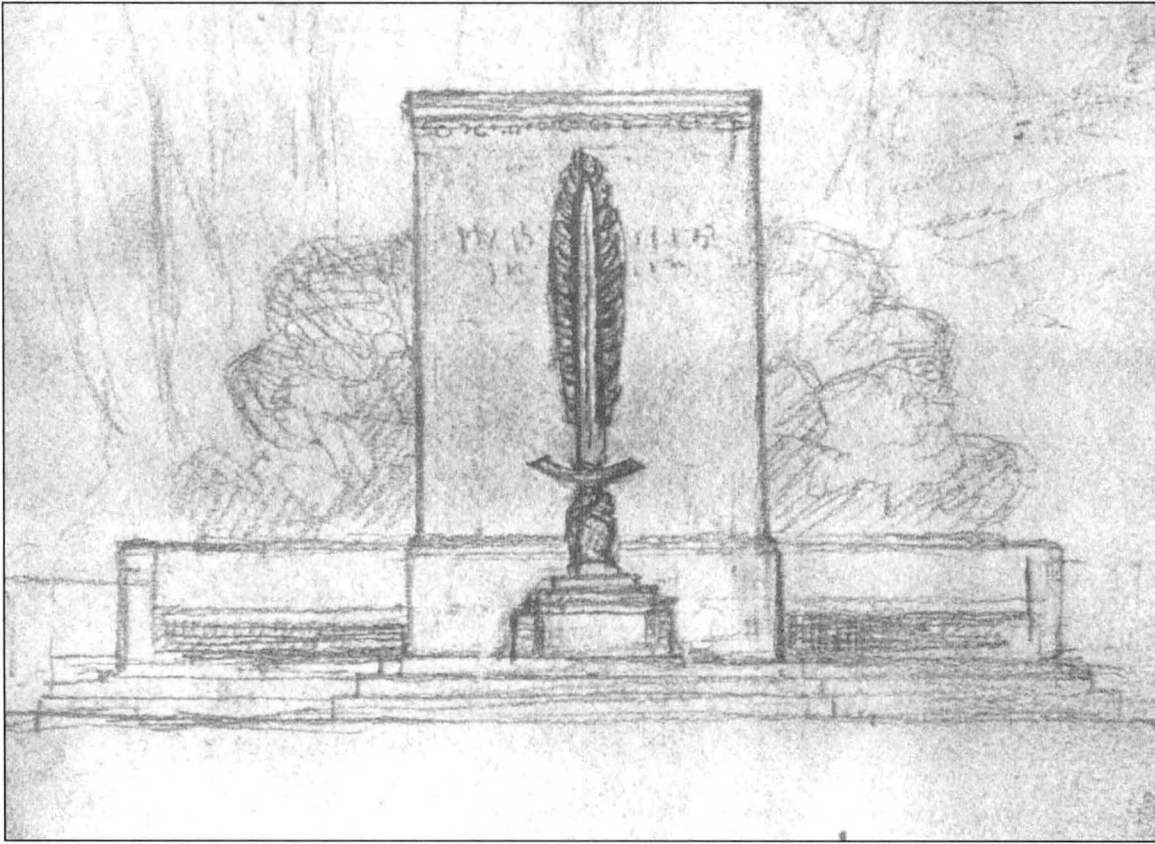


Figure 7. Undated drawing sketch by James Earle Fraser of an early proposal for the Second Division Memorial. (James Earle and Laura Gardin Fraser Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, New York.)

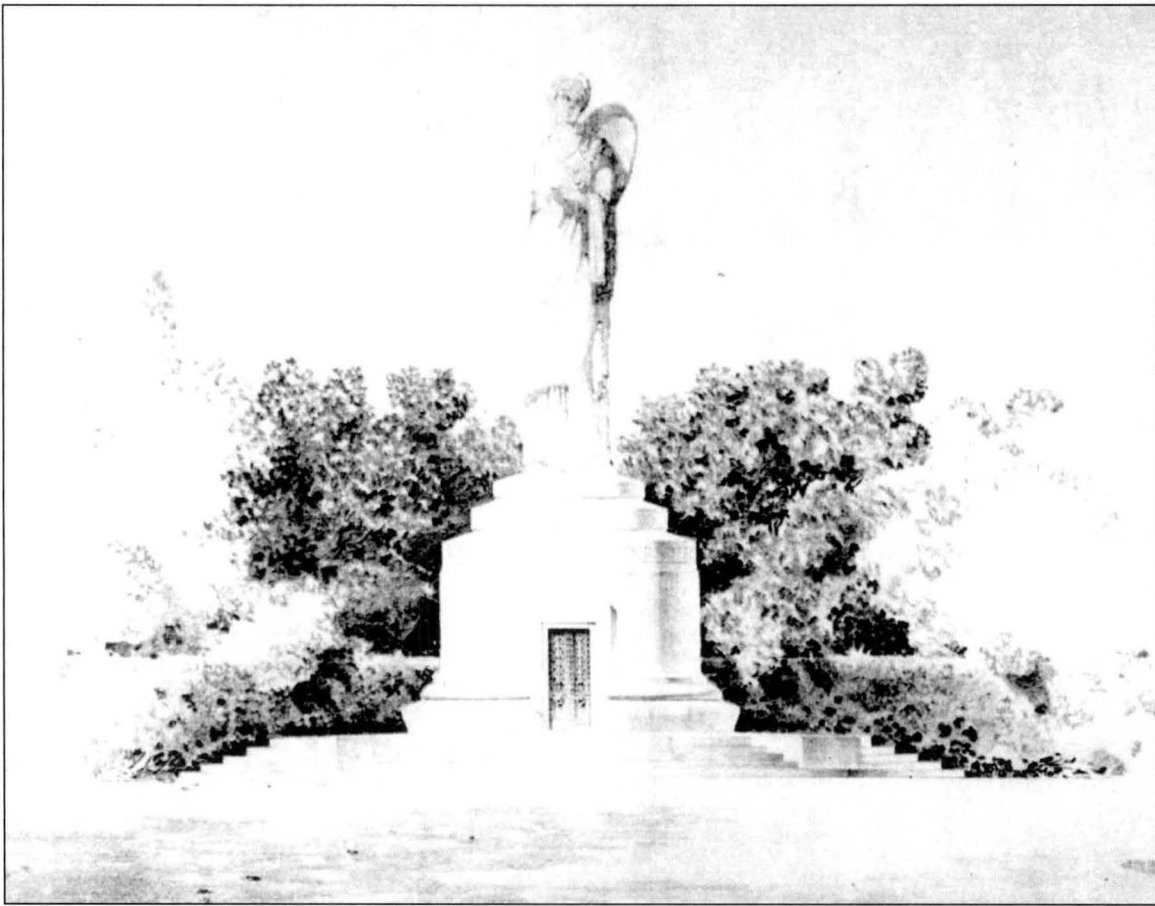


Figure 8. "A Monument to the Second Division AEF," the proposed design by Edward Field Sanford and Theodore J. Young, ca. 1930. (Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, RG 66, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.)

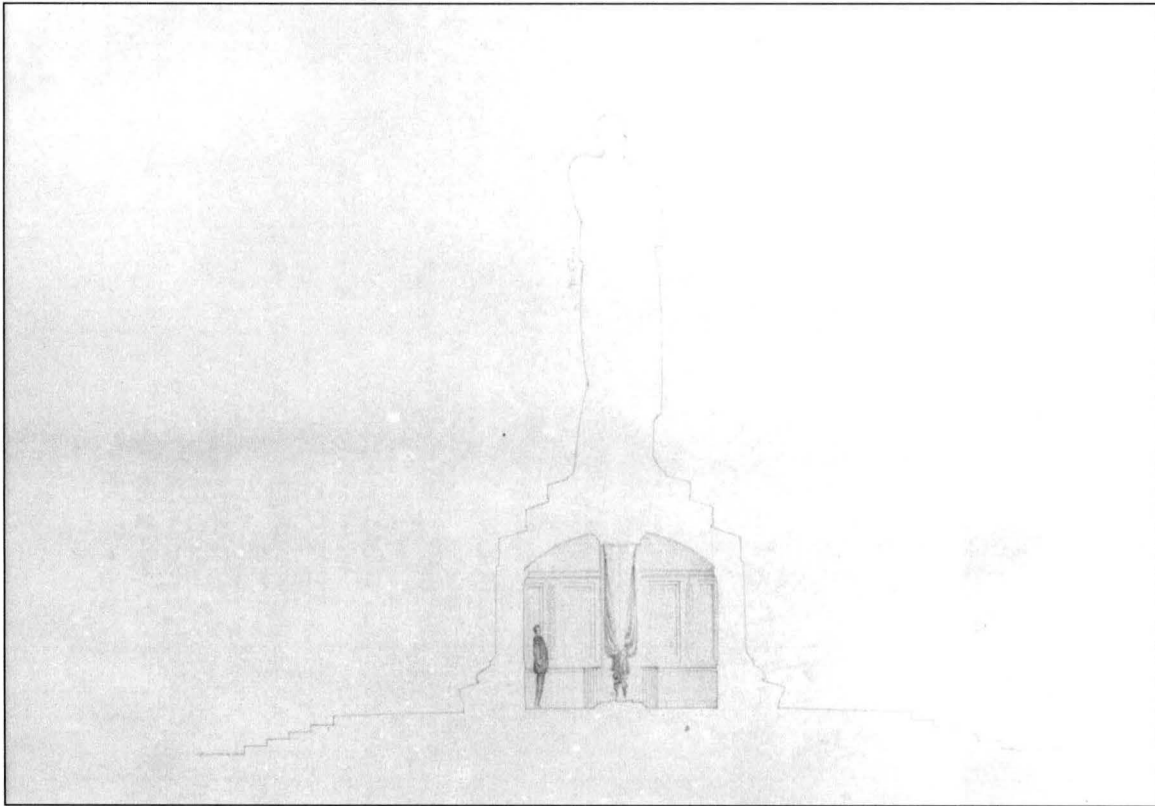


Figure 9. "A Monument to the Second Division AEF," the proposed design showing a small museum in the monument's pedestal by Edward Field Sanford and Theodore J. Young, ca. 1930. (Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, RG 66, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.)



Figure 10. *The End of the Trail* by James Earle Fraser. (From Martin H. Bush, *James Earle Fraser: American Sculptor, A Retrospective Exhibition of Bronzes from Works of 1913 to 1953*. New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1969, 17.)



Figure 11. Buffalo Nickel by James Earle Fraser. (From Martin H. Bush, *James Earle Fraser: American Sculptor, A Retrospective Exhibition of Bronzes from Works of 1913 to 1953*. New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1969, 13.)

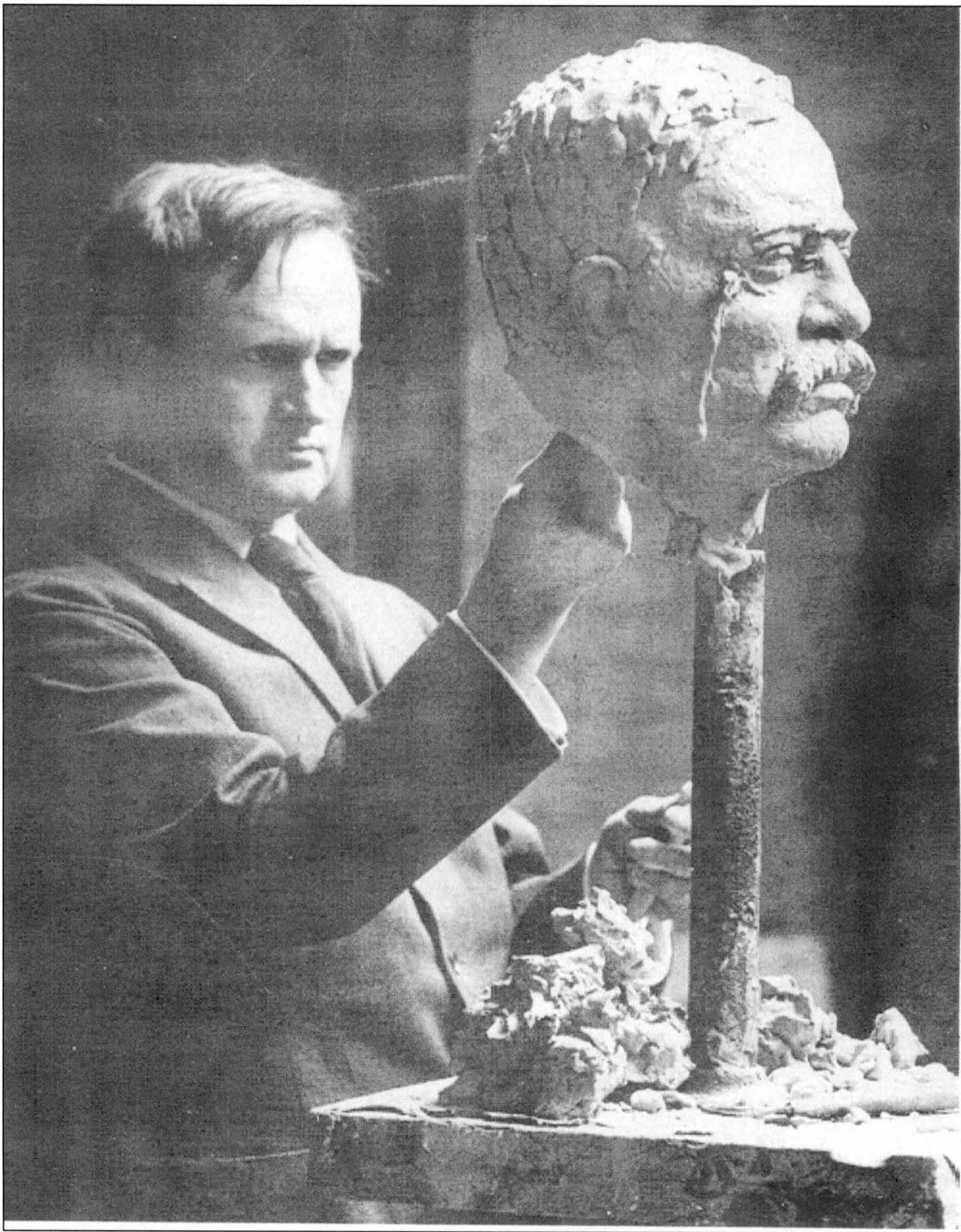


Figure 12. James Earle Fraser sculpting the bust of Theodore Roosevelt. (From Dean Fenton Krakel. *The End of the Trail: The Odyssey of a Statue*, Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973, 11.)



12. *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*
bronze thirty-two inches high

Figure 13. Bust of Augustus Saint-Gaudens by James Earle Fraser. (From Martin H. Bush, *James Earle Fraser: American Sculptor, A Retrospective Exhibition of Bronzes from Works of 1913 to 1953*. New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1969, 21.)



Figure 14. Alexander Hamilton by James Earle Fraser. (From Martin H. Bush, *James Earle Fraser: American Sculptor, A Retrospective Exhibition of Bronzes from Works of 1913 to 1953*. New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1969, 19.)

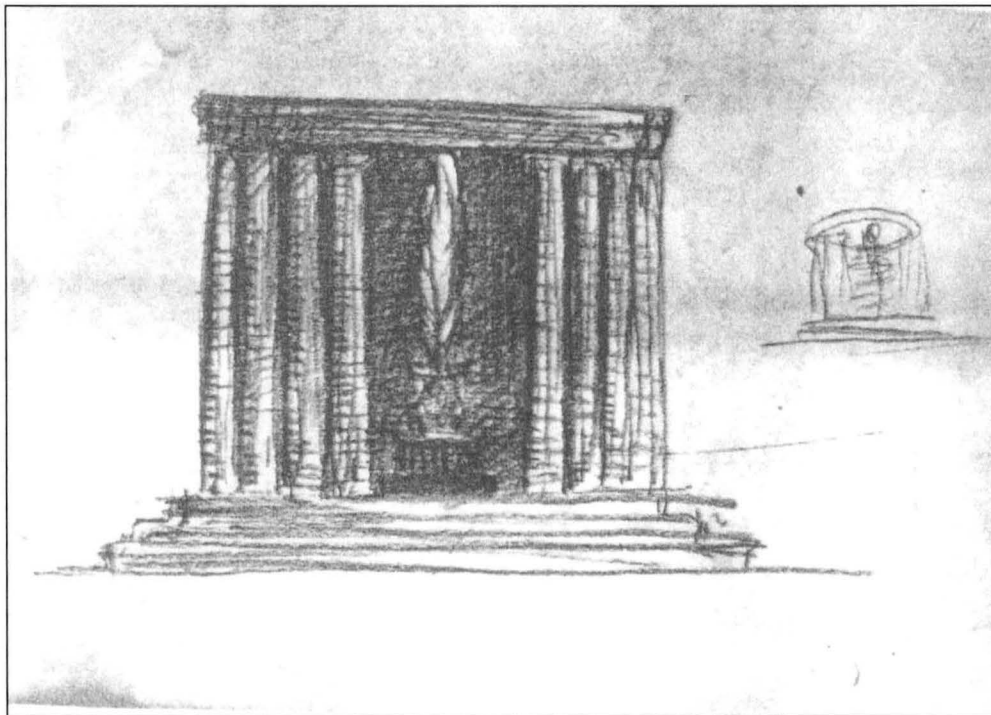


Figure 15: Fraser sketch of an alternative design for the Second Division Memorial. Undated. (James Earle and Laura Gardin Fraser Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, New York.)

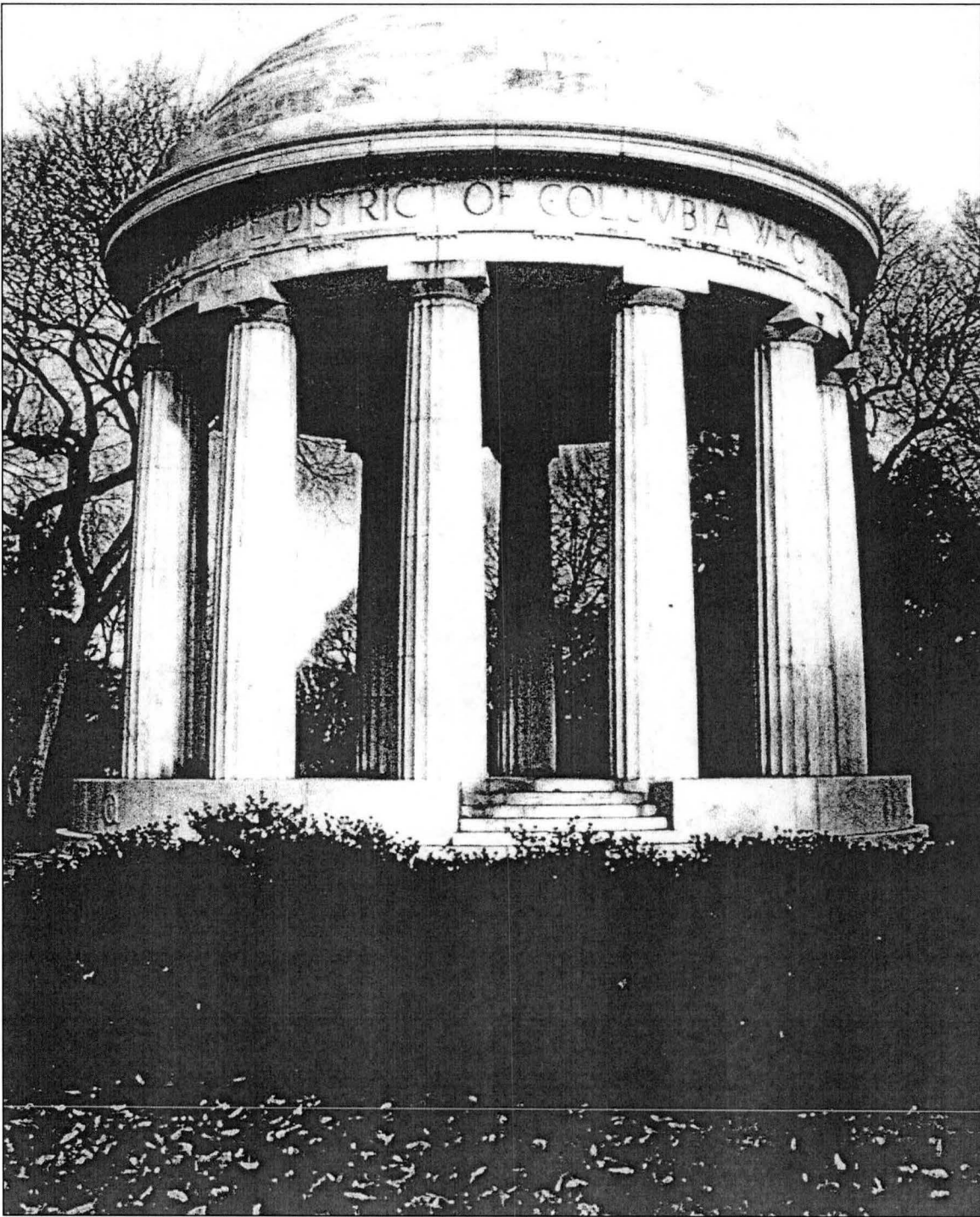


Figure 16: District of Columbia World War I Memorial. D.C. Undated. (Washingtonian Collection, Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.)

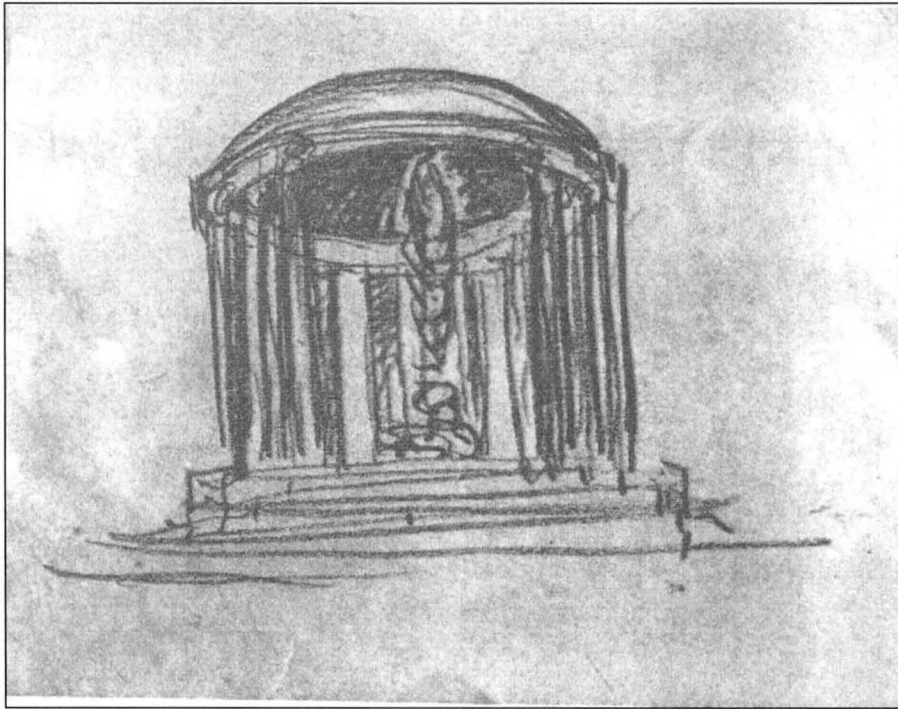


Figure 17: Fraser sketch of an alternative design for the Second Division Memorial, similar in design to the District of Columbia World War I Memorial. Undated. (James Earle and Laura Gardin Fraser Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, New York.)



Figure 18: Reverse of *Theodore Roosevelt Association Medal of Honor* by James Earle Fraser. (Photographed by permission of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, Oyster Bay, New York by John A. Courtney, National Park, 2003.)

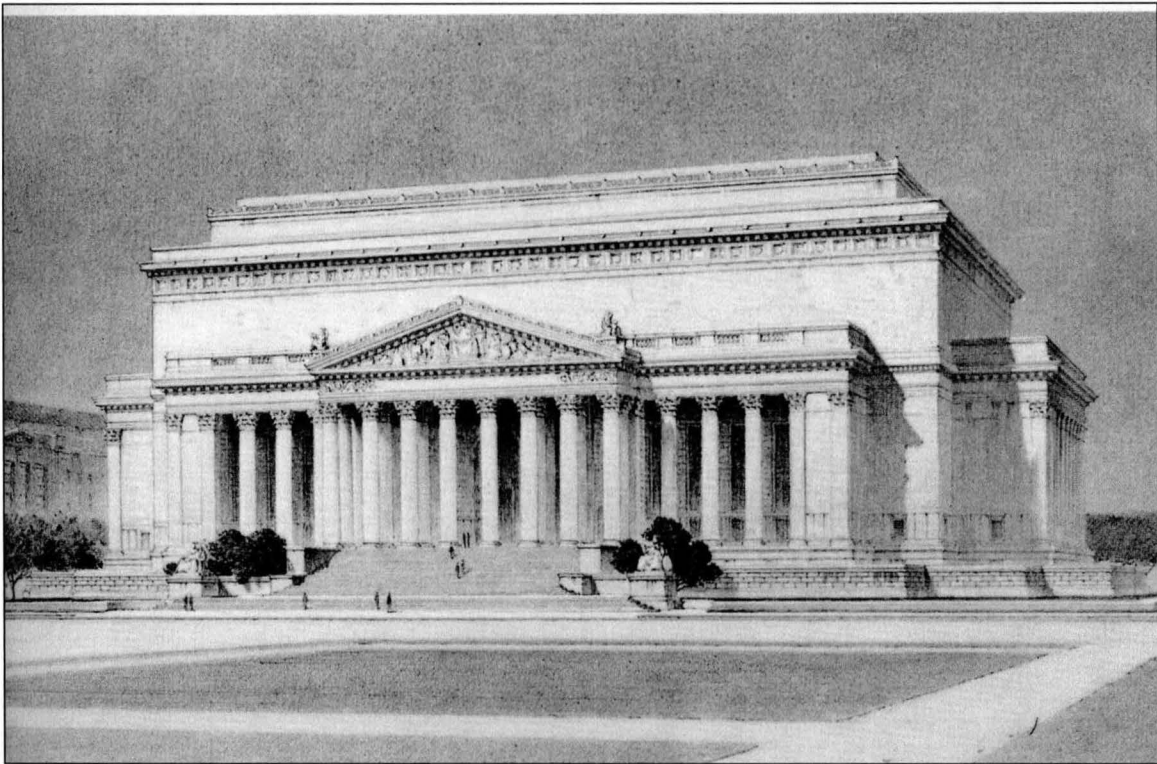


Figure 19: Rendering of final scheme for the National Archives by John Russell Pope. (Peter A. Juley Collection, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)

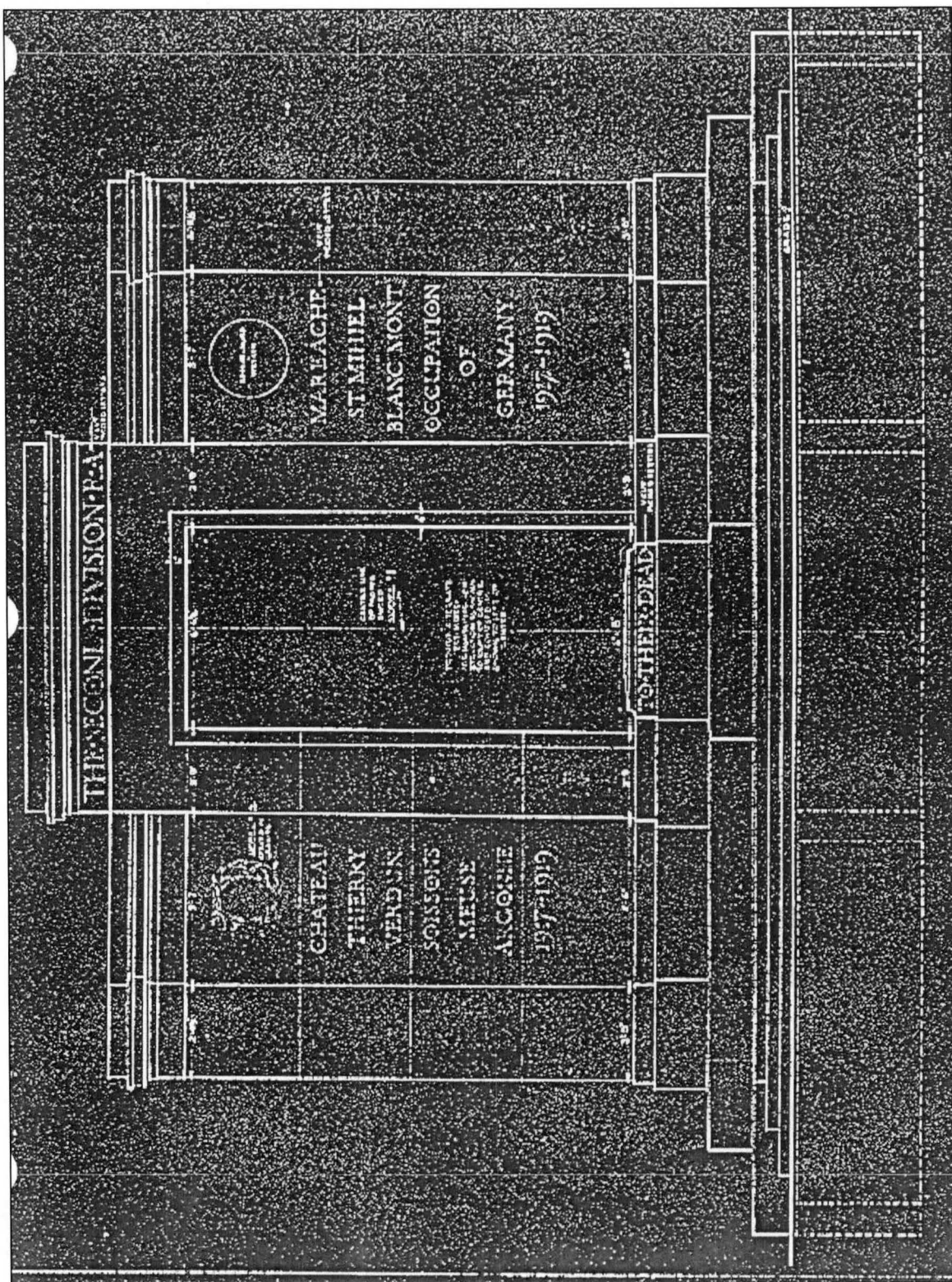


Figure 20: Front elevation for Second Division Memorial by John Russell Pope. July 3, 1935. (Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, RG 66, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. [Microfilm copy.])

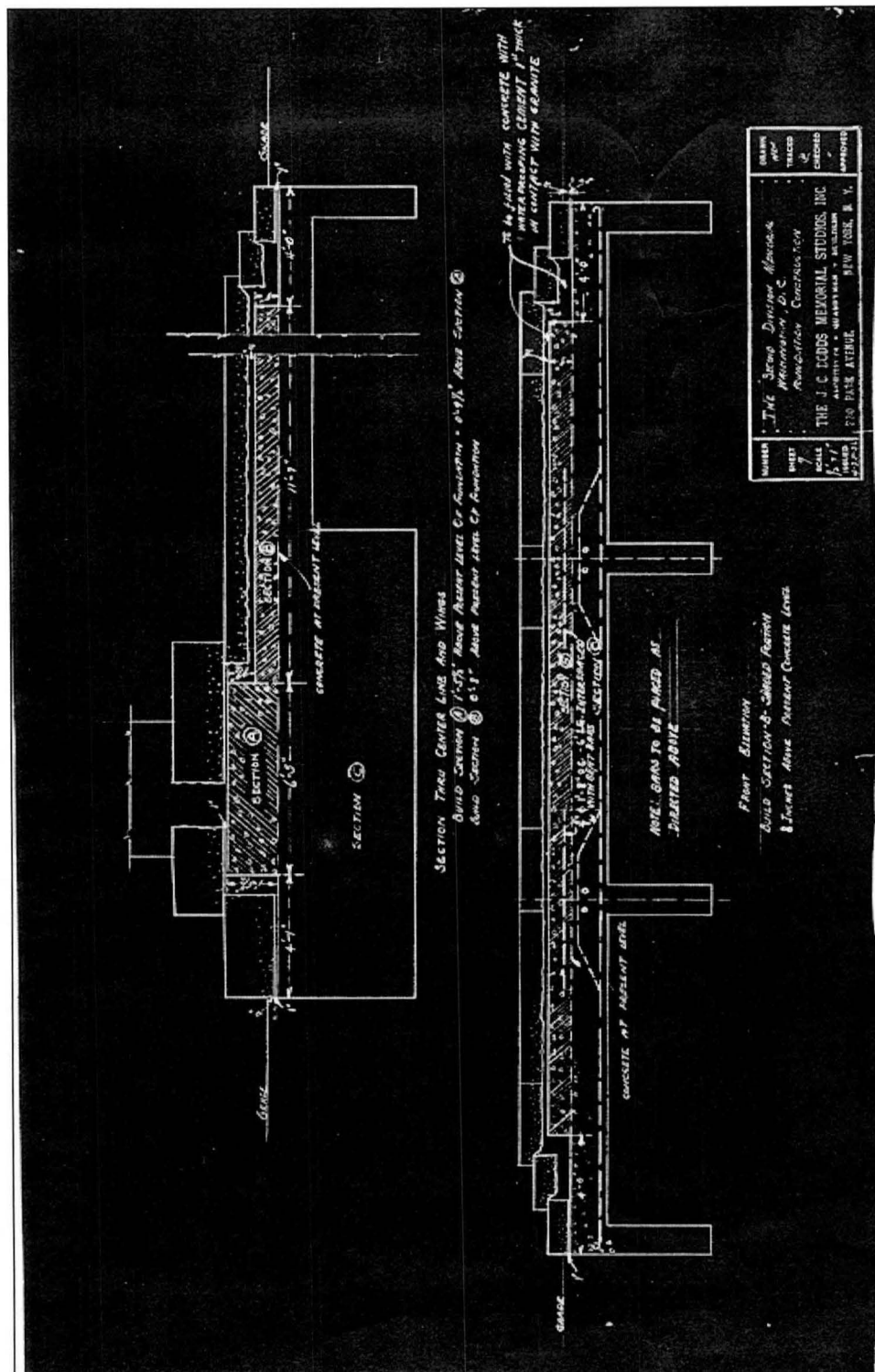


Figure 21: Section through center line and wings and front elevation of the Second Division Memorial foundation construction. The J.C. Dodds Memorial Studios. April 25, 1936. (Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, RG 66, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. [Microfilm copy.])

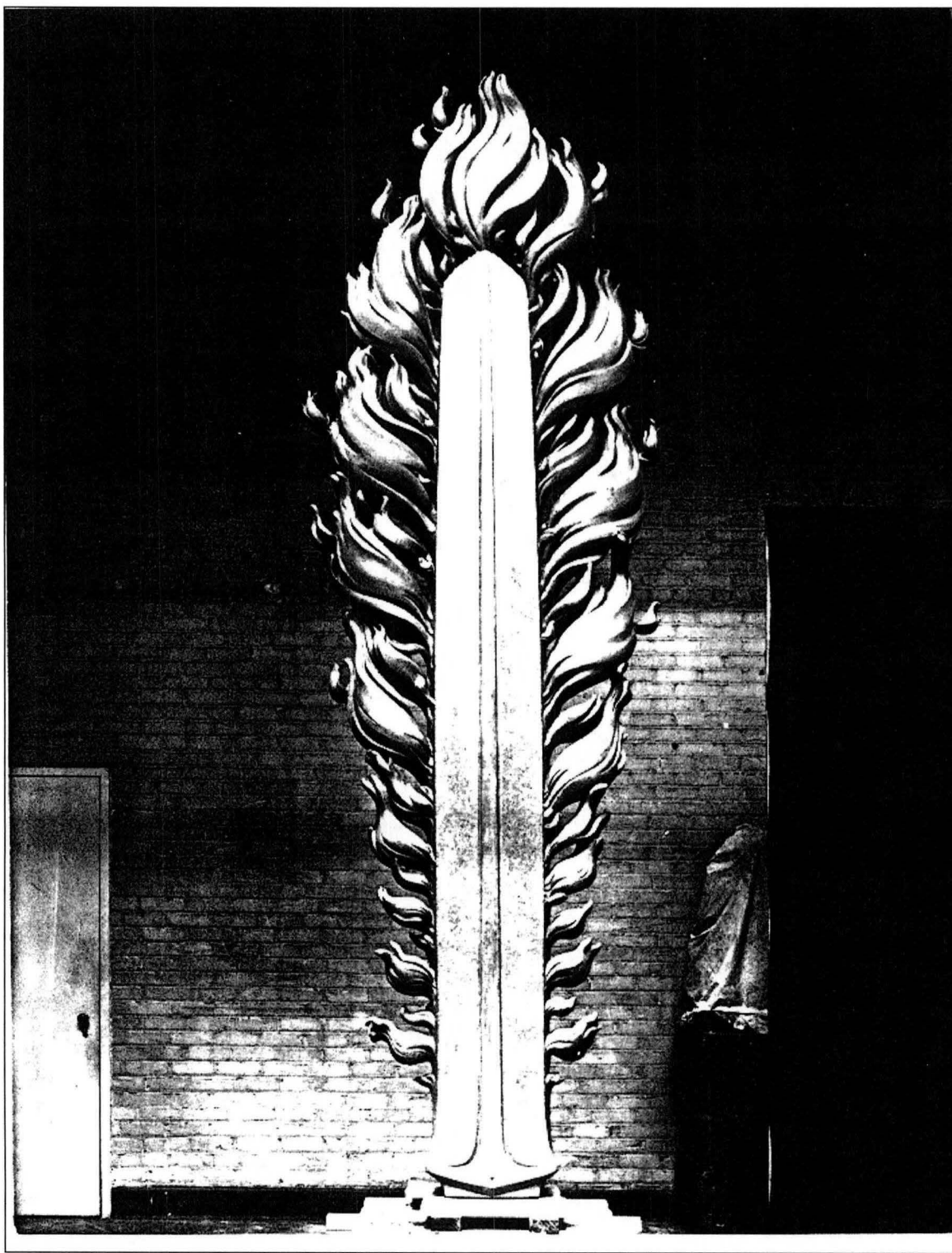


Figure 22: The flaming sword sculpture by James Earle Fraser. (James Earle and Laura Gardin Fraser Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, New York.)



Figure 23: Dedication of the Second Division Memorial on July 18, 1936. (Historical Society of Washington, D.C.)



Figure 24: Detail of the flaming sword sculpture showing hilt with the insignia of the Second Division, an Indian head within a star upon a shield. (Photograph by Terry J. Adams, National Park Service, July 2003.)



Figure 25: Detail of wreath and lettering on panels from the original section of the memorial. (Photograph by Terry J. Adams, National Park Service, July 2003.)



Figure 26: The Second Division Memorial as it appears today. (Photograph by Terry J. Adams, National Park Service, July 2003.)

Appendix A

Second Division Memorial Inscriptions

(Top Center Panel)

THE SECOND DIVISION

(East Side Panel)

**TOULON-
TROYON
BOIS
DE
BELLEAU
VAUX
SOISSONS**

(West Side Panel)

**MARBACHE
ST MIHIEL
BLANC MONT
MEUSE-
ARGONNE
THE RHINE**

(West Wing)

(Back Wall)

**ORGANIZED IN FRANCE OCTOBER 1917
ORIGINAL UNIT CONSISTED OF
ARMY MARINE AND NAVY TROOPS**

(Side Wall)

**NORMANY RHINELAND BREST
REMAGEN SIEGFRIED LINE
LEIPZIG CZECHOSLOVAKIA THE BULGE**

(East Wing)

(Back Wall)

**UNITED NATIONS BATTALIONS ASSIGNED
TO DIVISION IN KOREAN WAR FROM
FRANCE THE NETHERLANDS THAILAND**

(Side Wall)

**NAKTONG RIVER BLOODY RIDGE
KUNU-RI HEART BREAK RIDGE
CHIPYONG-NI OLD BALDY
WONJU ARROWHEAD RIDGE**

(Pedestals)

(West Pedestal)

**TO OUR DEAD
1941
1945**

(Middle Pedestal)

**TO OUR DEAD
1917-1919**

(East Pedestal)

**TO OUR DEAD
1950
1954**

(Inner side of East Pedestal)

1936/1962

(East End of Sculpture Right Hand Side)

**[ROM]AN BRONZE W[ORKS]
N.Y.**

(Back of Sculpture Right Hand Side)

JEF

Appendix B

**Senate Joint Resolution 233 (S. J. Res. 233)
To provide for the erection of a suitable memorial
to the Second Division American Expeditionary Forces.**

**introduced by Senator David Aiken Reed (Pennsylvania), January 15, 1931
(Seventy-first Congress, Third Session)**

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to grant permission to the Second Division Memorial Association, American Expeditionary Forces, through Major General J.G. Harbord, United States Army, retired, president, or his successor in office, for the erection as a gift to the people of the United States on public grounds along the north side of B Street Northwest, a short distance east of Seventeenth Street, a memorial to the Second Division: Provided, That the design and location for the memorial shall be approved by the National Commission of Fine Arts: Provided further, That such monument shall be erected under the supervision of the director of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital and that the United States shall be put to no expense in or by the erection of said monument.

The bill was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Library.

**In the House of Representatives, this bill was introduced as House Joint Resolution 467 (H. J. Res. 467) by Representative Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright (New York), January 15, 1931
(Seventy-first Congress, Third Session)**

The bill was referred to the Committee on the Library and ordered to be printed.

Appendix C

**Public Resolution No. 128 – Seventy-first Congress
(Senate Joint Resolution 233, S.J. Res. 233)
To provide for the erection of a suitable memorial
to the Second Division, American Expeditionary Forces.**

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to grant permission to the Second Division Memorial Association, American Expeditionary Forces, through Major General J.G. Harbord, United States Army, retired, president or his successors in office, for the erection as a gift to the people of the United States on public grounds in the District of Columbia, a memorial to the Second Division: Provided, That the design and location for the memorial shall be approved by the National Commission of Fine Arts: Provided further, That such monument shall be erected under the supervision of the Director of Public Buildings and Parks of the National Capital and that the United States shall be put to no expense in or by the erection of said monument.

Approved, March 3, 1931.

United States Statutes at Large 46 (Part I, Public Laws), 1931. 71st Cong., 1929–1931.

S.J. Res. 233 – Approved and signed by President Hoover – March 3, 1931.

Appendix D

**House Joint Resolution 345 (H. J. Res. 345)
Authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington,
District of Columbia, of a memorial to the dead of the Second Infantry Division,
United States Forces, World War II and the Korean conflict.**

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to grant the Memorial Association of the Second Infantry Division, American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, a monument to the dead of the Second Infantry Division, United States Forces in World War II and the Korean conflict; the site chosen and the design of the monument and pedestal shall be approved by the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library with the advice and recommendations of the National Commission of Fine Arts, and the United States shall be put to no expense in or by the erection of this memorial.

*introduced by Representative Robert Kean (New Jersey), May 24, 1957
(Eighty-fifth Congress, First Session)*

**Public Law 85-131
Joint Resolution
Authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington,
District of Columbia, of a memorial to the dead of the Second Infantry Division,
United States Forces, World War II and the Korean conflict.**

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to grant the Memorial Committee of the Second Infantry Division, United States Army in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, adjacent to the monument to the dead of the Second Infantry Division, American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, a monument to the dead of the Second Infantry Division, United States Forces in World War II and the Korean conflict; the site chosen and the design of the monument and pedestal shall be approved by the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library with the advice and recommendations of the National Commission of Fine Arts, and the United States shall be put to no expense in or by the erection of this memorial.

Approved and passed into law August 14, 1957.

U. S. Statutes at Large, (1958). 85th Cong., 1 sess.

Appendix E

Sculptures by James Earle Fraser in Metropolitan Washington, D.C.

- 1911 *Keep Memorial, "Journey Through Life."*
Rock Creek Cemetery.
- 1923 *Alexander Hamilton.*
Treasury Building, south plaza.
Pedestal architect, Henry Bacon.
- 1926 *John Ericsson Monument.*
West Potomac Park, Independence and Ohio Drive, SW.
Pedestal architect, Albert Ross.
- 1929 *Robert Todd Lincoln Memorial.*
Arlington National Cemetery.
- 1931 *President William H. Taft Memorial.*
Arlington National Cemetery.
- 1934 Commerce Department Panels, representing *Census Bureau, Coast & Geodetic Survey, Bureau of Foreign & Domestic Commerce, Bureau of Mines, Bureau of Navigation, Bureau of Aeronautics, Bureau of Steamboat Inspection, Patent Office.*
Commerce Department Building.
- Commerce Department Pediments, representing *Aeronautics, Fisheries, Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and Mining.*
Architects, York and Sawyer.
Commerce Department Building, Fifteenth Street, NW, façade between E Street and Constitution Avenue, NW.
- 1935 National Archives Pediment, *Recorder of the Archives*, and Figures of *Eagles.*
National Archives Building, Constitution Avenue, NW, entrance.
Architect, John Russell Pope.
- Heritage and Guardian* figures.
National Archives Building, Constitution Avenue, NW. entrance.
- Medallions (War Department, State Department, Treasury Department, Navy Department).*
National Archives Building, Constitution Avenue, NW, entrance.
With Robert Aiken and architect, John Russell Pope.

- Contemplation of Justice and Authority of Law* figures.
Supreme Court, First Street, NW, main entrance.
Architect, Cass Gilbert.
- 1936 *Second Division Memorial.*
President's Park, Ellipse.
Constitution Avenue and Seventeenth Street, NW.
Architect, John Russell Pope.
- 1938 *John Nance Gardner.*
Senate Chamber, U.S. Capitol Building.
- 1947 *Albert Gallatin.*
Treasury Building, north plaza.
- 1951 *The Arts of Peace, "Music and Harvest" and "Aspiration and Literature."*
West Potomac Park, Lincoln Memorial Circle, SW, at the entrance to Rock Creek
Parkway.

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Annotated Bibliography

National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility
Washington, D.C.

The office has files on the Second Division that include information on dedication ceremonies, repairs to the memorial, and correspondence.

National Park Service, President's Park, White House Visitor Center
Washington, D.C.

The office holds a notebook on the Second Division Memorial that contains information primarily on repairs and status reports of the Memorial since 1980.

Herbert Hoover Presidential Library
West Branch, Iowa

The repository for the Hanford MacNider Papers which includes correspondence referring to the Second Division Association and copies of the Second Division Association's newsletter, *The Indian Head*. The newsletter provides not only a chronology of the events leading up to the erection of the memorial and its additions but also information on fundraising and the design of the memorial.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Library
Washingtoniana Collection
Washington, D.C.

There was very little material available on the Second Division Memorial—only two photographs in the “Memorials” file.

National Archives and Records Administration
Washington, D.C.

The meeting minutes of the Commission of Fine Arts are contained in Record Group 66 (RG 66) and provide information on the involvement of the Commission in the selection of a sculptor and the final decision on the design of the memorial and its placement on the Ellipse.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library
Madison, Wisconsin

Copies of *The Indian Head*.

Syracuse University Library
Special Collections Research Center
Syracuse, New York

The James Earle and Laura Gardin Fraser Papers constitute fifty-seven linear feet. The collection contains letters, newspaper clippings, and drawings that refer to Fraser's work on the sculpture for the Second Division Memorial.