Phase II Intensive-Level Survey of the Confederate Memorial (000-1235)

Arlington National Cemetery
Arlington, Virginia

DHR File No. 2022-0201

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ABSTRACT

Total number of resources surveyed: (1) Confederate Memorial

Level at which surveyed: Phase II/intensive-level survey

Total acreage covered by the survey: Section 16, which is 1.22 acres

This report presents the results of a Phase II/intensive-level survey of the Confederate Memorial (DHR #000-1235) located in Section 16 of Arlington National Cemetery (ANC), Arlington, Virginia, in the center of Jackson Circle, near the intersection of McPherson Drive and Farragut Drive. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) requested that Army National Military Cemeteries (ANMC) conduct an intensive-level survey of the Confederate Memorial to evaluate its individual eligibility to be included in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), as part of DHR File No. 2022-0201: "Proposed Removal of Confederate Memorial at Arlington National Cemetery."

As required by Congress and implemented by the Secretary of Defense, ANMC is required to remove the ANC Confederate Memorial. ANMC will be removing the Confederate Memorial's bronze elements in accordance with the recommendations of the Congressional "Naming Commission" (formally called the Commission on the Naming of Items of the Department of Defense that Commemorate the Confederate States of America or Any Person Who Served Voluntarily with the Confederate States of America). This proposed project is considered a federal undertaking with the potential to cause adverse effects on historic properties pursuant to 36 CFR 800.3(a). ANMC is submitting this report to fulfil the requirements outlined in 36 CFR 800.4(c), which require the identification and evaluation of the historic significance of this historic property and the application of the National Register criteria (36 CFR 63) to determine its eligibility. In 2014, the Confederate Memorial had been listed as a contributing resource to the Arlington National Cemetery Historic District (000-0042), but it was not evaluated for individual eligibility at that time.

Based on the results of this survey, ANMC believes that the ANC Confederate Memorial is potentially individually eligible to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Criteria A and C. The memorial is potentially eligible under Criterion A because it constitutes a significant physical example of the contested national effort to commemorate the Civil War, and specifically the Confederacy, as part of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century efforts at reconciliation. This memorial vividly represents the "Lost Cause" ideology. The story of its creation and legacy demonstrates the lasting impact of this commemorative philosophy on broad patterns of United States history.

Additionally, the memorial is potentially eligible under Criterion C for its design by sculptor Moses Ezekiel, a master sculptor whose distinctive work stands out from other Confederate memorials constructed during the same period of significance. For the purposes of this study, the period of significance is defined as the years of the memorial's construction: 1912 to 1914. The Confederate Memorial retains its integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, feeling, association, and materials. It merits listing in the NRHP due to its status as a unique historical artifact that embodies, in monumental form, the discourse surrounding the memorialization of the Civil War.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was produced by Army National Military Cemeteries (ANMC). The work was federally funded and completed by ANMC agency staff as a government function related to the Section 106 consultation process for the proposed removal of the Confederate Memorial. We acknowledge extensive work by staff members from our Engineering Office, History Office, Public Affairs Office, Front Office, ANMC leadership, and other ANMC units that provided support throughout this project.

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This report presents the findings of a Phase II/intensive-level architectural survey of the Confederate Memorial (000-1235), located within Section 16 of the Arlington National Cemetery Historic District (000-0042) in Arlington, Virginia. The survey was conducted by the Army National Military Cemeteries (ANMC) Cultural Resources Program and the ANMC History Office from December 2022 through March 2023 at the request of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR). The documented was updated in August 2023 to incorporate additional construction information.

Pursuant to Section 370 of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2021, Congress required the Naming Commission to "provid[e] recommendations to Congress for the removal or renaming of Department of Defense (DoD) assets that commemorated the Confederate States of American or those who voluntarily served with the Confederacy."[1] The Naming Commission completed its analysis on September 12, 2022, and provided Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III with its final report. In a press release dated October 6, 2022, the Secretary of Defense directed numerous DoD components to implement the directives of the Naming Commission.[2] After investigating the ANC Confederate Memorial (among other DoD resources) and reviewing a study created by the Department of the Army, the Naming Commission came to several conclusions. First, it concluded that this memorial was "within its remit" and could be considered for removal.[3] Second, it decided that "contextualization was not an appropriate option" for this memorial.[4] Third, and most importantly, after reviewing various options, the Naming Commission made the following recommendations about actions that should be taken with regard to the memorial:

- The statue atop of the monument should be removed. All bronze elements on the monument should be deconstructed, and removed, preferably leaving the granite base and foundation in place to minimize risk of inadvertent disturbance of graves.
- The work should be planned and coordinated with the Commission of Fine Arts and the Historical Review Commission to determine the best way to proceed with removal of the monument.[5]
- The Department of Army should consider the most cost-effective method of removal and disposal of the monument's elements in their planning.[6]

Per the Secretary of Defense's directive, ANMC is required to carry out these recommendations "as soon as possible" and "no later than January 1, 2024."[7] To accomplish this, ANMC proposes the careful deconstruction, crating, and removal of the Confederate Memorial's bronze statuary elements to a storage facility. The granite pedestal on which the memorial sits will be left in situ and could become a possible location for interpretation that would contextualize the site and its history. This proposed removal project is considered a federal undertaking with the potential to cause adverse effects on historic properties pursuant to 36 CFR 800.3(a).

Per 36 CFR 800.4 and 800.16, ANMC identified the boundaries of the Area of Potential Effects (APE), the full extent of which will be determined with the DHR (Figure 3). The proposed undertaking would occur in Section 16 of ANC. Consequently, the total estimated acreage within the boundaries for the undertaking covered by this survey is 1.22 acres. However, the APE also includes historic properties adjacent to and within the viewshed of this proposed undertaking. The

following is a list of historic structures and features contributing to the ANC, Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall (JBM-HH), and Arlington House historic districts, all of which are located within or adjacent to the APE. These properties are identified in the 2014 Programmatic Agreement among ANC, the DHR, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), as well in ANC's 2014 National Register nomination and ANC's 2012 DHR Reconnaissance Level Survey.

Historic Properties:	DHR ID:
Arlington National Cemetery Historic District	000-0042
Confederate Memorial	000-1235 / 0042-0029
Boundary walls and gates	000-0042-0017
Selfridge Gate	
Grave markers	000-0042-0021
Custis Family gravesite	
Section 13, white Civil War (enlisted) soldiers' primary burial ground, historically called the "Field of the Dead"	
Burial Sections 1, 3, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 35, 37 & 46	
Battle of the Bulge Memorial	000-0042-0025
Rough Riders Memorial	000-0042-0040
Spanish-American War Memorial	000-0042-0043
Spanish-American War Nurses Memorial	000-0042-0044
U.S.S. Maine Memorial	000-0042-0047
Arlington House Historic District	000-0001
Arlington House Cultural Landscape	CLI #600049
Fort Myer Historic District (JBM-HH)	000-0004
McNair Rd.	
Fort Myer Memorial Chapel	

In accordance with Section 106 of the NHPA, ANMC undertook this Phase II survey to assess the Confederate Memorial's individual eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).[8] This survey report provides a detailed description, history, and contextual analysis of the memorial, in addition to analysis of and recommendations regarding its eligibility for the NRHP.

Caitlin Smith, AIC, M.A., ANMC's Cultural Resources Manager, served as the Principal Investigator, and Allison S. Finkelstein, Ph.D., ANMC's Senior Historian, served as the Principal Author. Additional support came from: Stephen A. Carney, Ph.D., ANMC's Command Historian; Jenifer Van Vleck, Ph.D., contract historian/editor; and ANMC Cultural Resources Program interns Matthew Migliozzi and Anita Hill. Documentation and research for this survey were conducted in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation* (Federal Register 48:190:44716-44742) and the DHR's *Guidelines for Conducting Historic Resources Surveys in Virginia* (2017). Caitlin Smith, Allison S. Finkelstein, Stephen A. Carney, and Jenifer Van Vleck all meet or exceed the qualifications described in the Secretary of the Interior's *Professional Qualifications Standards* (48 FR 44738-9).

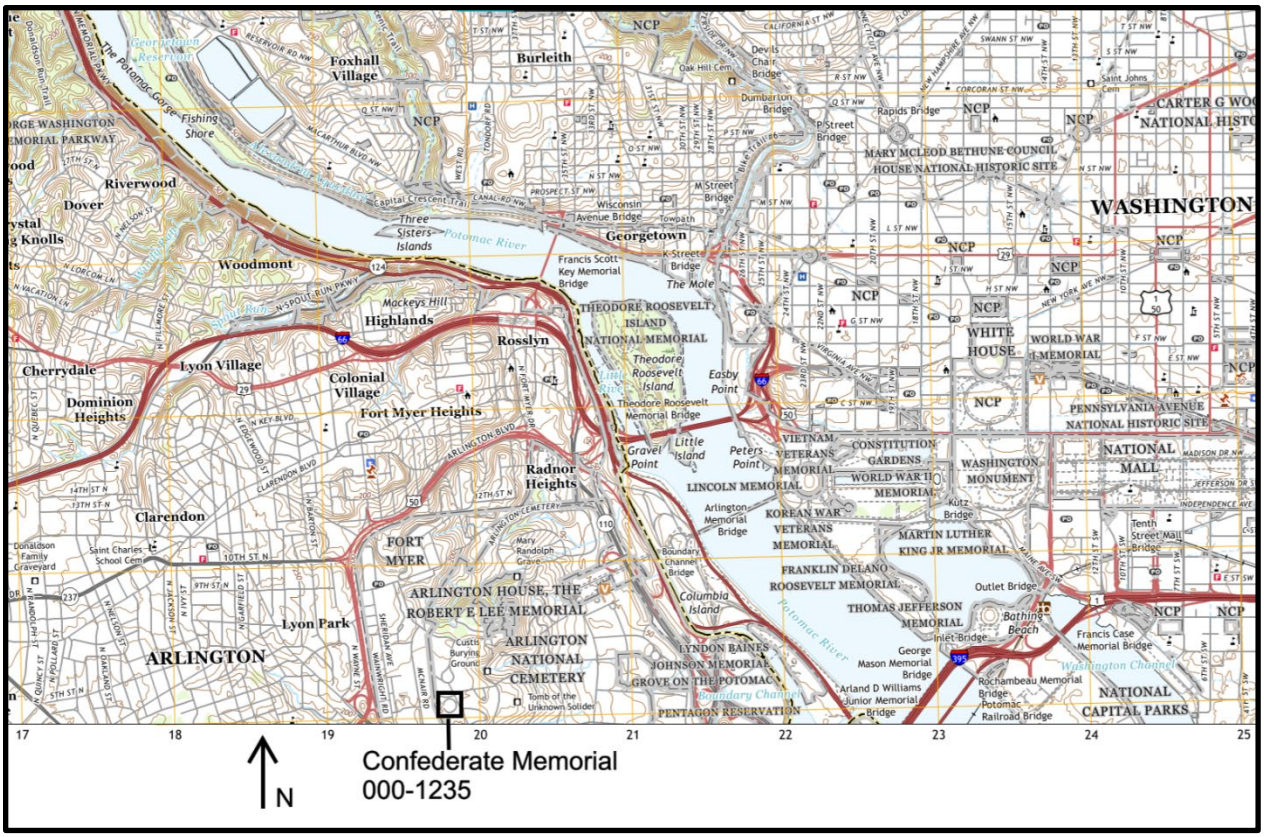

Figure 1: Location Map (USGS 7.5 minute quadrangle, Washington West, 2019), https://ngmdb.usgs.gov/ht-bin/tv_browse.pl?id=7e8c52ed485084dca8a03c299b3cd17f.

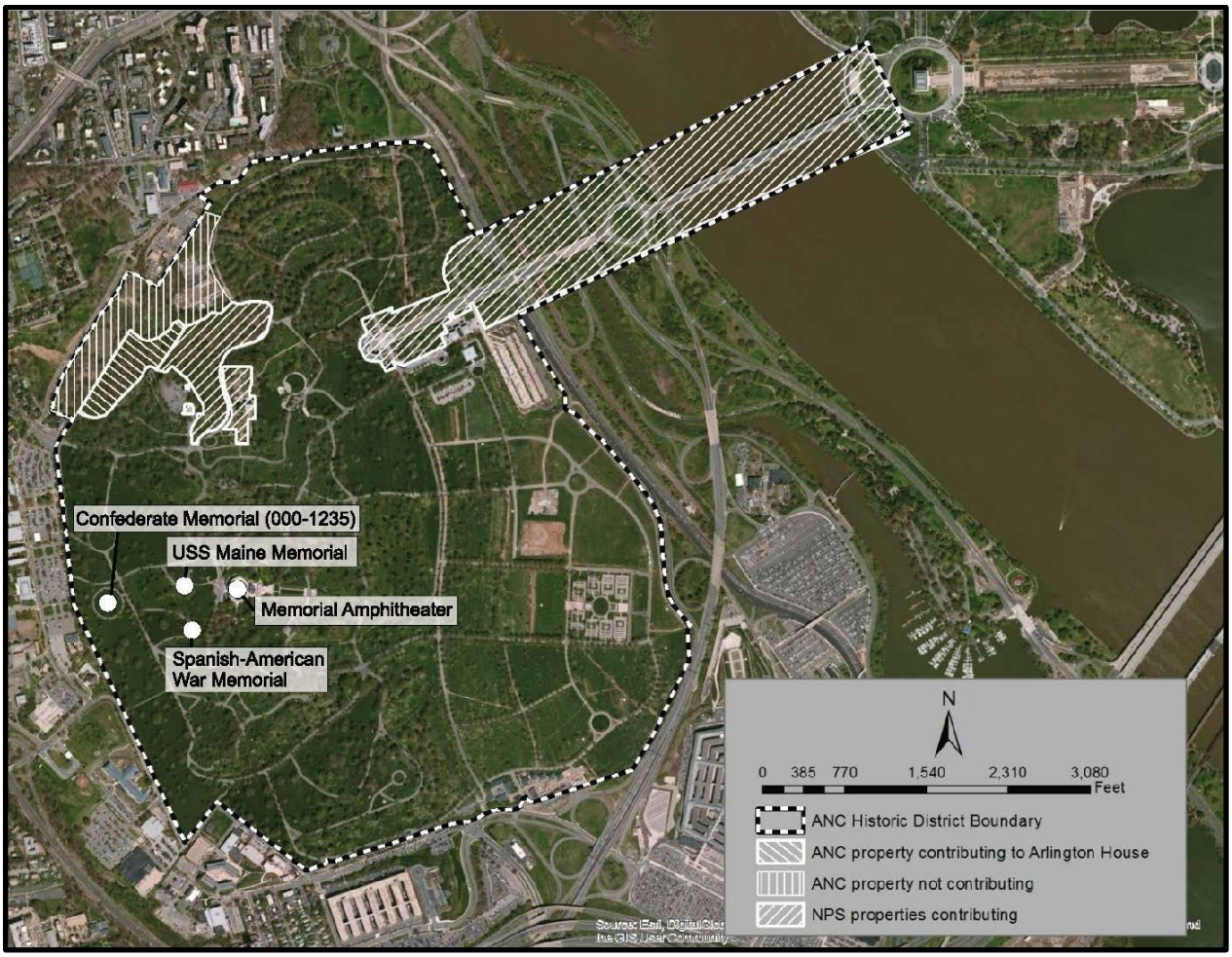

Figure 2: Location of Confederate Memorial (000-1235) within the Arlington National Cemetery Historic District (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Arlington National Cemetery Historic District, 2014).

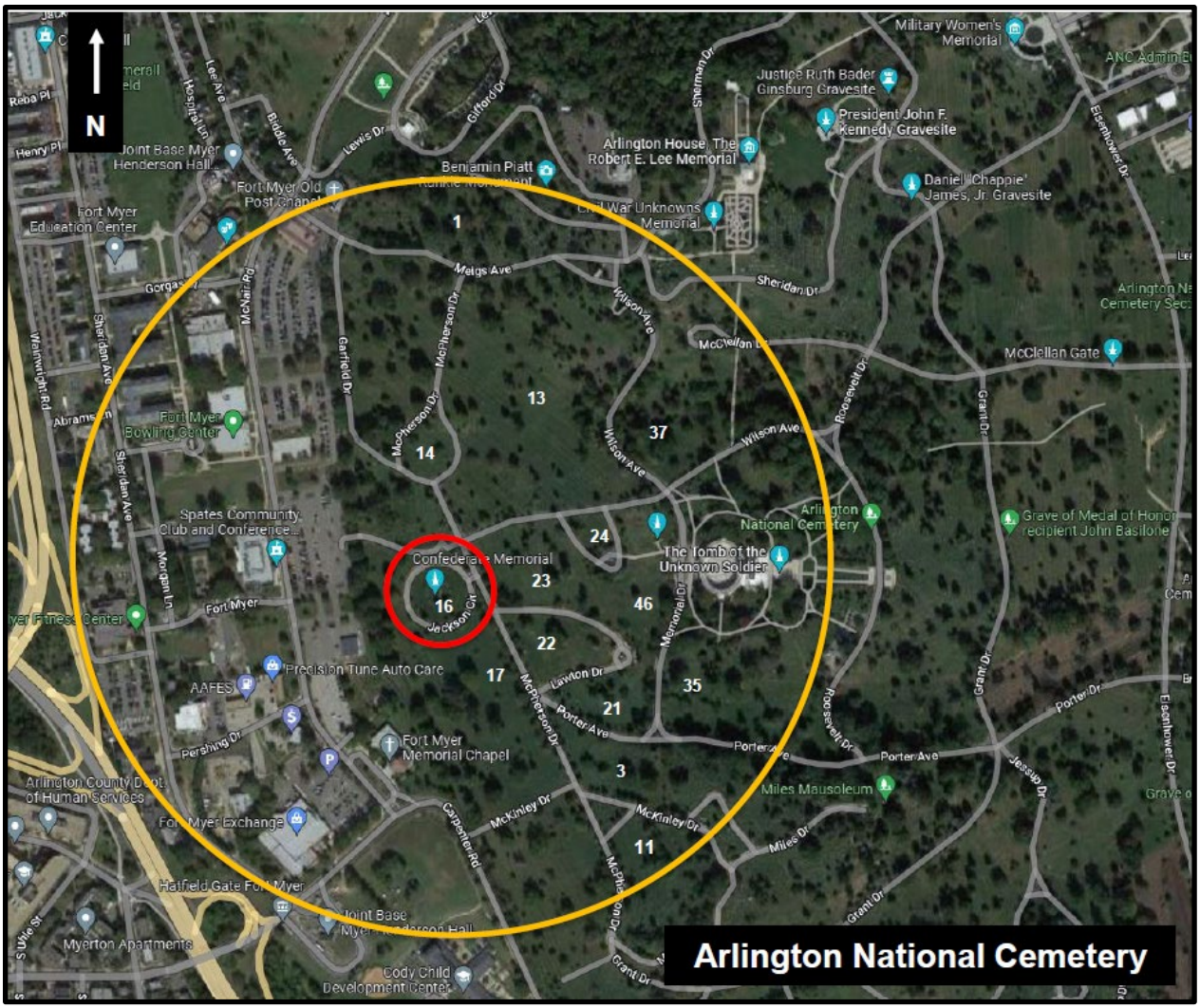

Figure 3: Satellite View of the boundaries of the Project Area. APE outlined in YELLOW. Proposed project location in RED (Satellite view of Arlington National Cemetery. Google Maps. Accessed December 28, 2022. https://www.google.com/maps/@38.8763973,-77.0752081,1127m/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=en).

1. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Introduction

Resource 000-1235, known as the Confederate Memorial, has undergone extensive research and preservation efforts over the years, conducted by both the ANMC Cultural Resources Office and the ANMC History Office. Taken together, these investigations have created a robust, interdisciplinary understanding of all aspects of this resource and its relationship to the broader cultural landscape at ANC.

Previous VCRIS Research

Prior research on the memorial is documented in the DHR's Virginia Cultural Resources Information System (VCRIS). The system indicates investigations occurred at the following times:

- 1995: A VCRIS entry was created as a result of the Save Outdoor Sculpture (SOS)! program (1990-1995) started by the former nonprofit organization Heritage Preservation. SOS! was a nationwide survey committed to documenting and preserving America's outdoor sculptures.
- 2012: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) staff updated the entry in support of the National Register nomination created for Arlington National Cemetery.
- 2018-19: DHR staff reviewed and updated the entry to include Timothy S. Sedore's book, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments*.

Previous Research by the ANMC Cultural Resources Office

The ANC Confederate Memorial was first recorded and reported to the DHR in 1995. In 2012, ANC undertook a Phase I/reconnaissance-level survey in support of its nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district. As a part of this 2012 survey, a Phase II/intensive-level survey was also conducted on the Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Based on the results of this 2012 survey, the Confederate Memorial was listed as a contributing resource to the ANC Historic District. In 2018, DHR staff recommended this resource for further study to determine its individual National Register eligibility.

Since 2014, ANMC's Cultural Resource Manager and the National Park Service Historic Preservation Training Center (NPS HPTC) have conducted annual condition assessments of the cemetery's cultural resources. The Confederate Memorial has been included in these assessments since 2014.

ANMC also maintains internal documentation of maintenance and conservation work, referred to as "Monument Maintenance Master Records." In 2003, the Confederate Memorial was determined to be in good condition. Treatment recommendations included "bi-annual wash and wax [and] once every 5 years-walnut shell blast and rewax."[9] In FY04 and FY06, the memorial received $2,000 worth of services by Ponsford, Ltd., a stone and bronze cleaning contractor and conservator; in FY08, it received an additional $15,450 worth of services by Ponsford, Ltd.[10] In 2010 the memorial was assessed by the NPSHPTC Masonry Section and found to be in good condition with "minor deficiencies identified."[11] Recommendations at that time included "general cleaning and wax coating touchups."[12] During the summer of 2015, Conservation Solutions, Inc. performed conservation work on the memorial at a cost of $55,180. The scope of work included

masonry cleaning, removal of cupric staining from the granite substrate, removal of failed mortar, repointing of deteriorated joints, and installation of lead t-caps in the skyward-facing joints. The bronze conservation treatment involved the complete removal of the wax coatings, reduction of the cupric corrosion, minor bronze repairs, repatination, and recoating with a protective wax system.[13]

In 2022, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) completed a documentation project of the Confederate Memorial, which included photographs and scaled photogrammetric images (see HABS VA-1348-J). These records will be filed in the Library of Congress.

Since its creation in 2012, the ANMC Cultural Resources Program has taken the lead in inspecting, assessing, and maintaining all historic properties in the ANC historic district. As noted above, this work included tracking and maintaining the Confederate Memorial as a historic object. While inspections occurred annually, maintenance occurred on a cyclical or as-needed basis. Little is known about the condition or maintenance of the memorial prior to 2012.

Previous Research by the ANMC History Office

ANMC's History Office has spent nearly a decade conducting in-depth primary and secondary source research on Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial. Prior to 2013, an official history office was not part of ANC's organization, and no in-depth research collection focused on the establishment of Section 16 or the creation of the memorial. After the establishment of the current ANMC History Office in 2013, the staff began a long-term effort to interpret the Confederate Memorial. This included a review of the historiography about the Civil War, Reconstruction, Civil War-era commemorative practices, the Lost Cause, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), and other relevant topics. The team also conducted extensive primary source research, utilizing historic newspapers, archival collections, photographs, and speeches. As a result, the ANMC History Office deeply understands how both Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial exemplify the historical context of the Civil War and Reconstruction, as well as memorialization practices at Arlington National Cemetery.

In addition, beginning in 2019, ANC created its first Long-Range Interpretive Plan, designed to guide ANC's interpretive priorities from 2020 through 2030. This plan categorized interpretation of Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial as a high priority and began the process to plan these projects. In December 2020, ANC created a new webpage, researched and written by professional historians, to interpret the Confederate Memorial in its historical context: https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Monuments-and-Memorials/Confederate-Memorial.

In August 2021, ANMC installed a temporary informational sign near the Confederate Memorial, which informs the public of its historical context and ANMC's plans for potential interpretation. Currently, ANMC is exploring a full range of long-term interpretive projects for Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial. These options will incorporate community engagement into the project-planning process, allowing diverse stakeholders to contribute to the creation and development of an interpretive installation at this site.

Through these research and interpretive planning efforts, the ANMC History Office has established a robust, detailed, and interdisciplinary foundation of knowledge about Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial—all of which contributed to this Phase II Survey.

2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The objective of this Phase II intensive-level survey is to evaluate the Confederate Memorial for its eligibility to be included in the National Register of Historic Places (NHRP). The Confederate Memorial has been well documented internally at Arlington National Cemetery, as explained above. The current survey began by using data obtained during prior fieldwork and research, and then expanded after years of in-depth, interdisciplinary investigations of this resource. The team conducted additional research specifically for this study, which resulted in a large foundation of source material that supports the analyses and conclusions of this report.

Throughout the process of developing this report, the Confederate Memorial was evaluated with regard to NRHP criteria in order to determine its eligibility. The team determined that the Confederate Memorial aligns with two NRHP criteria. First, Criterion A, for its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history. Second, Criterion C, for its embodiment of distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master (Moses Ezekiel) or possess high artistic values. Additionally, the memorial's integrity was addressed through seven aspects or qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The memorial is expected to meet the criteria for inclusion in the NRHP.

In addition to this report, ANC prepared a Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (V-CRIS) form and accompanying documentation for the site in accordance with DHR policies and practices. The V-CRIS packet includes a V-CRIS form, site plan, set of hard-copy color photographs, and CD of digital photos to the current DHR standards (DHR 2017).

3. HISTORIC CONTEXT

Introduction

The Arlington National Cemetery (ANC) Confederate Memorial, located in the Northern Virginia region, constitutes a significant example of the Confederate memorials created in the early twentieth century. Such memorials underpinned the ideology of the "Lost Cause": the notion that the Confederacy had fought the Civil War for a noble lost cause devoted to securing the tenets of American liberty and freedom through states' rights, rather than to perpetuate the institution of slavery.

The Confederate Memorial corresponds with three periods of historical significance. First, it references the Civil War (1861-1865), when ANC was established and the first burials of U.S. and Confederate service members took place on the property. Second, it embodies the complexities of Reconstruction and Growth (1866-1916), when ANC expanded into the nation's premier military cemetery and evolved into a significant national site of memory; during this time, Confederate veterans in the region and their supporters campaigned for the creation of Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial. Third, this site also encompasses the period from World War I to World War II (1917-1945), when more burials were added to Section 16 and the memorial itself became an important location for Confederate memorialization activities.

The Confederate Memorial occupies the center of ANC's Section 16, which was specifically designated for Confederate burials. The story of this memorial's creation reflects unique aspects of ANC's history. Yet its purpose and impact demonstrate the broad, lasting effects of Confederate memorialization and the sociocultural attitudes that that such memorialization illustrated. For these and other reasons outlined below, this cultural resource is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places based on Criterion A and Criterion C.

While ANC is an active cemetery, it is also a historic site, and its cultural resources constitute a type of outdoor museum. The Confederate Memorial represents an important part of this historic site and museum collection. Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial connect slavery, the Civil War, emancipation, Reconstruction, reconciliation, African American military service, segregation, civil rights, and other important aspects of the American past. The ANC Confederate Memorial must be understood, therefore, as part of a historic cultural landscape—one that has been designated as a National Historic District listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

ANC's Confederate Memorial is a contributing element to this nationally significant historic site. The Naming Commission determined that it is also racially insensitive and inaccurate in its depiction of the Confederacy and the Civil War—conclusions that are supported by abundant primary and secondary sources (see Bibliography). As a physical artifact, the memorial provides evidence that vividly illustrates the complexities of the Civil War and its commemoration during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century. The memorial serves as a primary source that reveals our nation's continuing struggle to make the ideals of our founding documents apply to all Americans.

Origins of Arlington National Cemetery

Prior to the onset of the Civil War, the property that became ANC was part of a plantation established by George Washington Parke Custis, the step-grandson of President George Washington.[14] Using labor which included that of enslaved people, Custis built a mansion, Arlington House, on a high hilltop overlooking Washington, D.C. He intended it to be his family home and a memorial to the nation's first president.[15] The name "Arlington" was likely a tribute to the Custis family's earlier plantation in Northampton County, Virginia, which may have been named in honor the family's ancestral home in England.[16] In 1831, Custis's daughter, Mary Anna Randolph Custis, married U.S. Army officer Robert E. Lee in the mansion's parlor.[17] Upon the death of her father in 1857, Mary Custis Lee inherited the estate.[18]

On May 24, 1861, after the onset of the Civil War and Robert E. Lee's decision to resign his commission in the U.S. Army and fight for the Confederacy, the U.S. Army seized the Arlington planation for defensive purposes.[19] The property's elevated location offered a critical strategic site for the U.S. Army to protect the U.S. capital. Between 1861 and 1864, the Army constructed several fortifications on the property to secure the defense of Washington, D.C.[20] The War Department also established a Freedman's Village there in 1863, which essentially functioned as a temporary refugee camp for displaced, formerly enslaved people.[21] (During the Civil War era, such people were referred to as "freedmen.") Freedman's Village remained on the Arlington property until 1900, and it had a lasting impact on the development of Arlington County.[22]

The Army began military burials at Arlington on May 13, 1864, due to lack of space at the nearby Soldier's Home Cemetery and Alexandria National Cemetery. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton designated Arlington as a national cemetery on June 15, 1864.[23] Early burials included Confederate service members, whose graves were intermingled with those of U.S. service members. Although African American service members and civilians had been buried at ANC since its earliest years, burials at ANC remained segregated by race (as well as rank) until President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in 1948, which desegregated the U.S. military and began the process of ending segregated burials at ANC.[24]

Initially, like the other national cemeteries established during the Civil War era, Arlington was not considered an honorable or desirable place to be buried. Rather, it was perceived as a cemetery for service members whose families could not afford to send their bodies home for burial. That perception began to change in May 1868, with the first national Decoration Day observance at ANC. This annual ceremony elevated the cemetery's national profile and transformed it into a central site of American military mourning and memory.

The cemetery's picturesque planning and design can be attributed, in part, to the direction of Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs during the first decades of its existence.[25] As ANC became more nationally prominent, it increased in size, and its design features were more carefully planned. Eventually, ANC became culturally iconic as a significant part of the symbolic landscape of the nation's capital and its surrounding areas. The National Capital Planning Commission considers ANC to be part of Washington's monumental core, which includes the Capitol, the National Mall, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, and Arlington Memorial Bridge (which links ANC to the city).[26] With the addition of Memorial Amphitheater in 1920 and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in 1921, ANC became even more nationally and internationally

renowned. Burials increased with each subsequent war and generation, and burial space became especially coveted after the nationally televised state funeral of President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

ANC continues to serve as an active cemetery today, while receiving over three million visitors each year—many of whom come not only to visit gravesites, but also to learn about the cemetery's history through tours, exhibits, and public programs. Many Americans and people around the world understand ANC as the nation's premier military cemetery. As the site of the annual national Memorial Day and Veterans Day observances—as well as frequent visits by foreign and domestic dignitaries, who come to pay their respects to the U.S. military by laying wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier—ANC continues to play a unique role as a prominent site of American military mourning, identity, patriotism, and nationalism.

The Establishment of Section 16 (Confederate Section)

Immediately after the Civil War, the United States underwent a period of attempted social and economic rebuilding, referred to as Reconstruction (commonly periodized as 1865 through 1877, when the U.S. government withdrew federal troops from the South).[27] However, Reconstruction did not heal the nation or close the wounds of the war. Attempts at sectional reconciliation continued through the early twentieth century, especially as many White Americans sanitized the history of the Civil War in order to promote narratives of national unity that marginalized people of color.[28] Reconstruction, and the political and social climate of the decades that followed it, deeply impacted ANC, eventually leading to the establishment of Section 16 as a special location for Confederate graves at the cemetery.

The creation of Section 16 can be directly linked to the Lost Cause mythology: an ideology developed by White southerners to promulgate their constructed memory of the Civil War. As analyzed by generations of historians, the Lost Cause mythology represented a particular perspective on the Civil War that identified the Confederacy as an honorable lost cause devoted to protecting America's democratic ideals and states' rights. It denied that the perpetuation of slavery and racial inequality was the cause of the war and argued that the Confederacy lost not because of military inadequacy, but because of insufficient resources. The Lost Cause romanticized the South, the Confederacy, and the institution of race-based slavery, and it painted a highly inaccurate picture of the history of the Civil War and enslavement. Through art, culture, literature, film, memorials, ceremonies, and more, the dissemination of the Lost Cause mythology aimed to rewrite the history of the Civil War. It mobilized elements of White supremacy to oppress people of color and to negate the civil rights gains achieved after the Civil War through the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution. Through commemorative works such as memorials, those who promoted the Lost Cause mythology attempted to reestablish much of the racial social order that existed before emancipation. Such memorials often implicitly affirmed Jim Crow segregation and other aspects of continued racial inequality in the United States.[29]

The onset of the Spanish-American War in 1898 gave many Americans an opportunity to unite for a common cause, further encouraging reconciliation efforts—including at Arlington National Cemetery. On December 14, 1898, President William McKinley gave a speech at the Atlanta Peace Jubilee, a celebration of the war's end. During this speech, he declared sectional conflict to be over and pledged that the federal government would care for Confederate war graves.[30] "Sectional lines no longer mar the map of the United States," McKinley proclaimed, and he asserted that "the time

has now come, in the evolution of sentiment…when in the spirit of fraternity we should share with you in the care of the graves of the Confederate soldier."[31]

McKinley's speech created new opportunities for Confederate veterans and southern women's memorial organizations to rewrite the history of the Civil War in ways that vindicated the Confederacy and its soldiers.[32] Members of the Washington, D.C.-based Charles Broadway Rouss Camp (post) of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) soon began lobbying the government to gather the scattered remains of Confederate war dead located at ANC and the Soldier's Home Cemetery in Washington, D.C. The UCV proposed to reinter these remains in a special Confederate section at ANC. [33]

In a June 5, 1899, petition to President William McKinley, the Charles Broadway Rouss Camp expressed concern about the status of Confederate graves at ANC. They described the graves as "scattered about the cemetery…intermingled with those of United States soldiers, citizens, quartermaster's employees and negro contrabands, and one is forcibly impressed with the idea that they are singularly misplaced. There is absolutely no way to distinguish the grave of a Confederate soldier from that of a quartermaster's employee, a citizen or a negro contraband. The same style of headstone marks all alike."[34] To the UCV, the inclusion of Confederate graves among those of Black Americans, U.S. soldiers, and others represented a wrong that needed to be resolved by grouping the Confederates together in a special section.

The UCV eventually succeeded in its effort to create a special Confederate section at ANC, despite a power struggle and continued disagreements with several southern women's memorial groups who wanted to bury the Confederate dead in Richmond, Virginia (the former capital of the Confederacy) or their home states.[35] On June 6, 1900, Congress passed Public Law 163 (31 Stat 630), which authorized the government to pay for the reburial of Confederate soldiers at ANC.[36] Public Law 163 enabled "the Secretary of War to have reburied in some suitable spot in the national cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, and to place proper headstones at their graves, the bodies of about one hundred and twenty-eight Confederate soldiers now buried in the National Soldiers' Home, near Washington, District of Columbia, and the bodies of about one hundred and thirty-six Confederate soldiers now buried in the national cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, two thousand five hundred dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary."[37]

Most of the work of reinterring the Confederate dead in what became Section 16 finished around October 1901.[38] Unlike standard government-issued headstones at ANC, these Confederate headstones had pointed tops, intended to distinguish them from the others.[39] The ANC design set a standard for Confederate headstones that would eventually be used in all national cemeteries.[40] The UCV itself requested this special design so that, "as far as the eye would reach, [it] would indicate the grave of a Confederate soldier."[41] Such a unique design, the UCV believed, would help ensure that Confederate graves would be clearly visible, and that they would be distinguished from those of U.S. soldiers, formerly enslaved people, and others.

The UCV understood that the Confederate graves at ANC could make a bold visual statement about their understanding of the war, positioning the Lost Cause narrative as a legitimate and respected part of American historical memory. Hilary A. Herbert, a Confederate veteran and former secretary of the Navy under President Grover Cleveland, played a significant role in the effort to create the Confederate section at ANC and later to install the memorial there. Herbert explained, in February 1901, that "Arlington is a place that will be visited by generations yet unborn, by both Americans and foreigners. The Confederate section of that cemetery, if established

as proposed, would direct the attention of every visitor, and would proclaim in unmistakable terms the respect and admiration for the Southern soldier entertained by his former foes."[42]

Herbert believed that moving Confederate remains out of ANC would amount to "giving up the capital of what is now our common country entirely to the Union dead. The Confederate dead will have no interest and no memorial telling of them or of their deeds anywhere within the reach of the city that was named for George Washington, the greatest of American rebels!" To Herbert, this would be especially tragic because, as he stated—echoing a common tenet of the Lost Cause mythology— "the Confederates fought for the Constitution of our fathers—for liberty and good government—and my belief is that, now that the Confederacy has passed away, the only hope for the future of ex-Confederates and their descendants lies in the perpetuity of the Union of these States under the constitution of our fathers."[43]

Other members of the UCV echoed the importance of perpetually commemorating Confederate war dead at ANC, in close proximity to the nation's capital. Samuel E. Lewis, one of the leaders of the reburial effort, praised how "in this beautiful plot are to be gathered together all the now scattered dead, each grave properly marked with a white marble tombstone, where hereafter we can keep faithful guard over the graves of these patriotic soldiers; keep them green and preserve and perpetuate them in the care of our children as a sacred patriotic shrine for all Southern people who may hereafter visit the city of Washington."[44] On the surface, such proclamations appeared to be patriotic affirmations of national unity. Yet this language of reconciliation belied (and rendered invisible) the more complex reality that post-Reconstruction efforts at national unity frequently came at the expense of African Americans' civil rights.[45] In this historical context, the UCV's vision of Section 16 as "a sacred patriotic shrine for all Southern people" left out a key historical fact: this "sacred patriotic shrine" glorified not all southern people, but specifically southern White people who had supported the Confederacy.

After their success at Arlington National Cemetery, some Confederate veterans involved with the effort to create Section 16 began a new campaign to push Congress to care for and mark Confederate graves located in northern states. With the support of Senator Joseph Benson Foraker, a Republican U.S. Civil War veteran from Ohio, such a congressional measure passed in March 1906. The creation of ANC's Section 16 thus directly led to the federal government taking on the stewardship of thousands of other Confederate graves.[46]

On June 7, 1903, the first Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies were held in Arlington's Section 16. After decorating the Confederate graves, the "ex-Confederate organizations of Washington City" placed a large floral wreath with the words, "In the Name of Fraternity" at the Tomb of the Civil War Unknowns—a mass grave and memorial near Arlington House that includes both unidentified U.S. and Confederate remains—in tribute to their former enemy. Such a gesture aligned with turn-of-the-century southern efforts at reconciliation, which used conceptions of familial reunion, nostalgia, and renewed friendship to gloss over the cause of the war (slavery) and to romanticize the conflict as a noble Lost Cause.[47]

The Creation of the ANC Confederate Memorial

Initially, plans for Section 16 included intentions to construct a memorial there. As early as 1899, the Rouss Camp envisioned that a "simple, inexpensive monument, bearing some appropriate, but simple, inscription, should be placed to mark the site."[48] A later explanatory note about the Confederate section, from around 1901, called for a "reservation for a monument in the future, but to be occupied by a large iron vase, filled with plants and evergreens in the meantime"—a plan reiterated in various sources.[49]

It is not surprising that the UCV wished to create a memorial in Section 16. After the Spanish-American War, new ANC burial sections containing graves from distinct conflicts or specialized professions often included memorials that commemorated those particular service members. Examples include the Spanish-American War Memorial, the Spanish-American War Nurses Memorial, the USS Maine Memorial, and, later, the Nurses Memorial, the Argonne Cross, and the Chaplains Monuments.

Several Confederate memorial groups, particularly those led by women, were interested in leading the effort to create a memorial in Section 16. Mrs. Magnus Thompson, president of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), began campaigning to lead the memorial effort at the national UDC's annual convention in 1902, and she continued to do so at the 1903 and 1905 conventions. Despite the national UDC's initial lack of endorsement, another chapter, the Robert E. Lee Chapter of Washington, D.C., began fundraising for the memorial in 1904; they were later joined by the Stonewall Jackson Chapter. Around March 1906, Mrs. Thompson obtained permission to erect the memorial from then-Secretary of War William H. Taft (who was later buried at ANC).[50]

Mrs. Thompson convened a meeting of local Washington, D.C. units of the UCV and UDC organizations on November 6, 1906, and the attendees formed the Arlington Confederate Monument Association (ACMA) to pursue and lead the memorial project.[51] For a variety of reasons, the national level of the UDC eventually took over the effort as a major project of their organization, for which they raised funds.[52]

The cornerstone for the memorial was laid during a ceremony on the afternoon November 12, 1912, as part of the UDC's national convention in Washington, D.C.—the first to be held "out of the South."[53] As part of the ceremony, a memorabilia box was placed beneath the resting place of the cornerstone. The box contained 39 different items related to the history of the memorial; the organizations involved in its creation; and stamps, coins, newspapers, and other related ephemera.[54] The speakers included Hilary A. Herbert, who used the ceremony as an opportunity to summarize the history of the United States through the lens of the Lost Cause narrative.

Herbert exclaimed to the crowd that "the historian no longer repeats the falsehood that the men who lie here before us and their comrades who sleep on a thousand battlefields died that slavery might live, or that the soldiers who rest in those graves over there enlisted to set the negroes free. That was not issue upon which war between the North and the South was fought."[55] With such rhetoric, Herbert made clear that this memorial was intended to rewrite the history of the Civil War in line with the Lost Cause mythology. Significantly, attendees included Corporal James Tanner, former commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), an organization of U.S. Army veterans, along with the commander-in-chief of the UCV.[56] The presence of both

commanders-in-chief aimed, again, to foster the notion that the memorial symbolized national unity rather than Lost Cause ideology.

The keynote speaker that day, William Jennings Bryan, reinforced Herbert's arguments in his own remarks. A former congressman, presidential candidate, and Spanish-American War veteran born in Illinois, Bryan believed that "The North and South jointly contributed to the causes that produced the war between the States. They share together the responsibility for the introduction of slavery; they bore together the awful sacrifices that the conflict compelled and they inherit together the glories of the struggle, written in bravery and devotion."[57] Bryan believed that reconciliation between the North and the South had been achieved, and that "charity and forgiveness have sprung up like flowers from the battlefield." [58]

After the cornerstone ceremony, on the evening of November 12, 1912, Taft—now president — spoke to the audience at the UDC's national convention and praised them for their work on the Arlington Confederate Memorial. Attendees at the convention, he claimed, did not aim to "mourn or support a cause." Rather, he told them, they were there "to celebrate, and justly to celebrate, the heroism, the courage and the sacrifice to the uttermost of your fathers and your brothers and your mothers and your sisters, and all your kin, in a cause which they believed in their hearts to be right." From Taft's perspective, "all the bitterness of the struggle on our part of the North has passed away, we are able to share with you of the South your just pride in your men and women who carried on the unexampled contest to an exhaustion that few countries ever suffered...no son of the South and no son of the North, with any spark in him of pride of race, can fail to rejoice in that common heritage of courage and glorious sacrifice that we have in the story of the Civil War and on both sides of the Civil War."[59]

With the cornerstone in place, construction proceeded on the memorial. President Woodrow Wilson dedicated the completed Confederate Memorial on June 4, 1914—a date chosen to align with the June 3 birthday of Jefferson Davis, former president of the Confederate States of America, at a major ceremony attended by thousands.[60] The many speeches at the dedication ceremony clearly identified the memorial as a purposeful testament to the Lost Cause ideology, intended to justify and defend this view of the Civil War in perpetuity.

In his invocation, Dr. Randolph H. McKim, a Confederate veteran and Episcopal minister, offered a Christian prayer to bless the memorial. He asked God to "grant that this monument may stand as a perpetual memorial of the reconciliation between the people of the States once arrayed against each other in deadly conflict. Let it stand as the embodiment of the high and pure ideals of the Confederate Soldier, who fought not for conquest, or for glory, but for the sacred right of self-government."[61]

General Bennett H. Young, commander-in-chief of the UCV, focused his speech on the remarkable fact that such a memorial had been erected at a national cemetery with the support of the federal government. To him, it proved that total reconciliation between the North and the South had been achieved. He explained:

> Nothing more strange and unwonted has ever happened in national life than the exercises of this afternoon. Its happening marks another step in the complete elimination of sectional passions, suspicions, or prejudice. This monument is a history, a pledge, and a prophecy: as a history, it memorializes the devotion of a people to a cause that was lost; as a pledge, it gives assurance that North and South have clasped hands across a fratricidal grave; as a

> prophecy, it promises a blessed future in which sectional hate shall be fully transmuted into fraternity and good will.[62]

Colonel Robert E. Lee, General Robert E. Lee's grandson, also spoke at the ceremony, and his speech revealed the racist foundations of the Lost Cause narrative being celebrated that day. He conceded that:

> [T]rue it is that the domestic light of the South shone through the dark veil of slavery, but that darkness was not so great; it was a slavery but not a serfdom, the dwelling together of two unequal races, without a familiarity; it was the good old-fashioned patriarchal bond-men and bonds-maids, and not medieval chattels or Roman villeins. These old Southern plantations were the realms of the courtly gentlemen, the home of the contented servant and the kingdom of the white woman.[63]

Rhetoric such as this, which nostalgically portrayed the antebellum south in a romantic view of "moonlight and magnolias," formed an integral part of the Lost Cause mythology. Based in beliefs that dehumanized people of color and falsified the realities of enslavement, this type of language underscored the implicit meanings of Confederate memorials, which were intended to endorse a revised version of the pre-war racial order. Paired with the imagery on the Arlington Confederate Memorial, Lee's remarks contextualize how the memorial sanitized the Civil War and promoted a society based on racial oppression and inequality.

In accepting the memorial for the government, President Wilson gave a speech that validated the sentiments expressed throughout the ceremony. He proclaimed that "this chapter in the history of the United States is now closed," and asked the audience to "turn with me your faces to the future, quickened by the memories of the past, but with nothing to do with the contests of the past, knowing as we have shed our blood upon opposite sides, we now face and admire one another."[64]

Yet "fac[ing] and admir[ing] each other" entailed less benign realities. This vision of national reconciliation entailed, as Lee had explicitly stated, justifying slavery as "not serfdom," and obscuring its violence and dehumanization as "the dwelling together of two unequal races." It entailed endorsing racial inequality, with the not-so-subtle implication that the "two unequal races" should remain unequal. It perpetuated, and indeed strengthened, the mythology of the Lost Cause—encapsulated by Herbert's words, which construed as a "falsehood" the idea that "the men who lie here before us … died that slavery might live." Juxtaposed against the imagery on the memorial itself, and placed within historical context, the paeans to national unity expressed at the ceremony disguised the memorial's actual intentions: to glorify a false and nostalgic vision of the Confederacy, and to affirm not national unity, but racial unity based on White supremacy.

ANC's Confederate Memorial thus presents a highly sanitized representation of the Civil War and slavery. In the context of its early twentieth-century creation, the memorial promulgated false historical narratives about the "Lost Cause." These narratives, in turn, buttressed the efforts of many White southerners and their supporters to maintain vestiges of the prewar racial hierarchy even after emancipation.[65] Thus, the Confederate Memorial must be interpreted within the larger context of Civil War commemoration, Reconstruction, reconciliation, and the long struggle for African American civil rights. It physically exemplifies the Lost Cause ideology—which has shaped commemoration of the Civil War within the United States' built environment through the present day.

The significance of this memorial, however, reflects not only its historical context, but also its specific location at Arlington National Cemetery. The Confederate Memorial is situated on a landscape that embodies the diverse, complex history of the United States—a landscape that includes the former site of Freedman's Village, the graves of formerly enslaved people, segregated burial sections, and the graves of hundreds of service members who broke racial barriers. Within this space, the memorial stands not simply as a testament to narratives about national reconciliation, as its advocates claimed. It also embodies social inequalities that persist to this day—inequalities that so many others buried at ANC battled, both literally and figuratively. Thus, the Confederate Memorial is a significant artifact that is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NHRP).

Resource Description and Character-Defining Features of the Confederate Memorial

The character-defining features of the ANC Confederate Memorial differentiate it from the common stylistic tropes found in many other Confederate memorials from the same time period; it embodies the Lost Cause ideology in unique ways. The memorial was designed by sculptor Moses Ezekiel, who had fought for the Confederacy in 1864, during the Battle of New Market, as a Virginia Military Institute (VMI) cadet. He also served in the trenches during the 1865 defense of Richmond.[66] The first Jewish cadet to enroll at VMI, Ezekiel graduated in 1866 and, reportedly following Robert E. Lee's advice, he studied art in Europe and became a widely recognized, prize-winning artist.[67] Although Ezekiel lived in Rome as an expatriate for much of his life, his most important sculptures are in the United States. These include, in addition to the ANC Confederate Memorial, an allegorical sculpture of "Religious Liberty," which now stands outside the Weitzman National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia; a statue of Thomas Jefferson originally created for the city of Louisville, Kentucky, and replicated for the University of Virginia; a statue of Homer, also on the campus of the University of Virginia; and "Virginia Mourning Her Dead" (also called the New Market Monument) at VMI.[68] Ezekiel was interred at the base of the Confederate Memorial in ANC in 1921.[69]

The ANC Confederate Memorial stands in the center of Section 16, an area of flat lawn on the western edge of the cemetery near the border with Fort Myer. Confederate-style government-issued white marble grave markers surround the memorial in circular rows. Several mature magnolia trees and other ornamental trees mark the walkways on the lawn that lead to the memorial. Four sections of shrubs form a circle just inside the innermost ring of grave markers, and trees flank either side of the shrubs on the south. Four Confederate veterans were eventually buried around the base of the memorial: sculptor Moses Ezekiel; Lt. Harry C. Marmaduke (Confederate Navy); Capt. John M. Hickey (Second Missouri Infantry), and Brig. Gen. Marcus J. Wright.

The elaborately designed Confederate Memorial stands just over 33-feet-tall and features a 30-foot-tall bronze sculpture atop an approximately 3-foot-tall, polished granite base. An inscription at the base notes that the bronze was cast by the Aktien-Gesellschaft Gladenbeck foundry in Berlin-Friedrichshagen, Germany. Atop the sculpture, a larger-than-life neoclassical female figure represents the South. One of her hands rests on a plow, and the other hand holds a laurel wreath. The woman stands upon a pedestal of four cinerary urns, each representing one year of the Civil War. Underneath the urns, a frieze decorated with fourteen shields represents each of

the eleven Confederate states and the three border states of Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri (which never joined the Confederacy).

Just below these shields, a bronze bas-relief depicts 32 mostly life-sized sculptures that portray mythical gods alongside southern soldiers and civilians, including two enslaved African Americans (a man and a woman). A distinguishing characteristic of this memorial, the bas-relief functions much like the inverse of the "cyclorama" paintings popular at the time. Meant to be immersive entertainment experiences that told the story of a particular incident in history, many cyclorama paintings focused on the Civil War and portrayed it in romanticized, often inaccurate ways.[70] Similar to a cyclorama painting, the bas-relief on this memorial compels the viewer to walk around the memorial to see the narrative being told. People at the time would have been familiar with this format and may have understood the memorial's bas-relief as a storytelling device.

The story on the bas-relief itself differs from messaging found on most other Confederate memorials. Rather than focusing solely on martial elements of the war, it depicts southern society as it related to the Confederacy (in the eyes of its creators and supporters), interspersed with images of classical mythological figures. On the south elevation of the bas-relief, the panoplied figure of Minerva, the Roman goddess of war and wisdom, tries to hold up the figure of a fallen woman, who is resting on her shield, labeled "The Constitution." Behind them, the Spirits of War trumpet in every direction. On either side of the fallen woman are figures representing different Confederate military roles, as well as White and Black civilians.

In particular, the figures of the enslaved Black people depicted on the memorial reveal the narrative intent of its creators. The Black male figure walks behind a White soldier, presumably following him to war; the Black female figure stands next to another White soldier, who kisses his infant as he hands the child over to her. Another White child clutches at her skirt.[71] As the Naming Commission concluded, the monument offers a highly inaccurate representation of slavery, consistent with racist images of "faithful slaves" and "mammies."[72] Such images appeared widely in American popular culture during this era, serving to bolster false historical narratives about the Civil War as well as new policies of segregation.[73]

In the words of Colonel Herbert, Moses Ezekiel was "writing history in bronze" when he designed the memorial. Herbert specifically pointed out the African American figures in its bas relief. His descriptions of this imagery, based in contemporary racist tropes, indicate how it depicted the ideology of the Lost Cause. Herbert called the African American man "a faithful negro body-servant following his young master," As Herbert explained it, the memorial's imagery told a story of the "kindly relations that existed all over the South between the master and the slave—a story that cannot be too often repeated to generations in which 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' survives and is still manufacturing false ideas as to the South and slavery …. The astonishing fidelity of slaves everywhere during the war to the wives and children of those who were absent in the army was convincing proof of the kindly relations between master and slave in the Old South." Herbert emphasized that "one leading purpose of the U.D.C. is to correct history. Ezekiel is here writing it for them, in characters that will tell their story to generation after generation. Still to the right of the young soldier and his body-servant is an officer, kissing his child in the arms of an old negro 'mammy.' Another child holds on to the skirts of 'mammy' and is crying, perhaps without knowing why." [74]

The monument's three inscriptions further reinforce these ideas. On its south face, below the Confederate seal, the inscription on the base reads: "To Our Dead Heroes By The United Daughters Of The Confederacy," followed by the Latin phrase *Victrix Causa Diis Placuit Sed Victa Caton* ("The Victorious Cause Was Pleasing to the Gods, But the Lost Cause to Cato").[75] This inscription etched the rhetoric of the Lost Cause onto the statue itself, proclaiming for all who read it that this memorial aimed to venerate the Confederacy and the institution of slavery upon which it stood.

Another inscription, circling above the shields, quotes from the Bible: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks" (Isaiah 2:4).[76] This quote aligns with the notion of a "New South"—the idea, prevalent in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century culture, that sectional reconciliation would bring the former Confederate states into the national body politic as fundamentally peaceful, more interested in economic progress than in conflict.[77]

A third inscription on the north elevation reads: "Not for fame or reward / Not for place or for rank / Not lured by ambition / Or goaded by necessity / But in simple / Obedience to duty / As they understood it / These men suffered all / Sacrificed all / Dared all—and died."[78] A classic invocation of the Lost Cause mythology, this inscription argues that Confederacy's cause represented a "noble sacrifice" rather than an effort to maintain an economic, political, and social regime based on the enslavement of human beings.

The three inscriptions embody the intertwining ideologies that served, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century culture, to erase the brutalities of slavery and the causes of the Civil War. First, the romanticized, false conception of Confederate defeat in the Civil War as a Lost Cause. Second, the concomitant reframing of the Confederacy's war against the United States as a noble "duty," detached from its actual objective of perpetuating slavery. Third, the notion of a New South, conjuring visions of national unity based on economic prosperity and peace.

Ironically, however, the memorial's sculpted figures—which depict slavery and the racist ideologies that undergirded it—belie the rhetoric of its inscriptions.[79] Taken together, the sculptures and the inscriptions (to paraphrase Herbert) *re*write history in bronze. They both glorify the Old South (while obscuring its brutalities) and promulgate the notion of a New South which "beat[s] [its] swords into plowshares." In the context of the memorial's early twentieth-century creation, these interwoven narratives held enormous ideological and cultural power. In both imagery and in words, the memorial conveys the messages that the Civil War was a just, noble Lost Cause; that slavery was benevolent; and that the emerging New South (presumably represented by the White female figure atop the memorial) was primarily interested in reconciliation, peace, and prosperity. As such, the character-defining features of this memorial represent not the Civil War itself, but the social, political, and cultural context of the memorial's early twentieth-century creation.

Themes Represented by the ANC Confederate Memorial

The ANC Confederate Memorial aligns with seven thematic contexts outlined in Appendix C of the "Guidelines for Conducting Historic Resources Survey in Virginia."[80] These intersecting themes, enumerated below, demonstrate that the ANC Confederate Memorial is potentially eligible

for listing in the National Register of Historic Places due to its significance in relation to numerous aspects of American history.

The ANC Confederate Memorial's representation of multiple thematic elements attests to its complex and multifaceted historic significance; the memorial's nuances both complicate its legacy and affirm its value as a primary source artifact. These seven themes provide essential context for understanding the memorial and its history, especially in relation to Criterion A. On its surface, the memorial continues to promulgate the Lost Cause narrative. However, by analyzing the memorial and Section 16 through these themes, we can glean a more accurate understanding of U.S. history. Precisely because of its imagery and divisive history, this memorial can prompt an honest evaluation of the Lost Cause ideology, Civil War memorialization, and the long struggle for civil rights. This opportunity for informed analysis represents one of the many reasons that this resource is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

The seven themes represented by the ANC Confederate Memorial are as follows:

- Funerary Theme
- Military/Defense Theme
- Architecture/Landscape Architecture/Community Planning Theme
- Government/Law/Political Theme
- Social Theme
- Recreation/Arts Theme
- Landscape Theme

Current Level of Knowledge

The ANMC History Office was established in 2013. Prior to that, ANMC had no official history office set up according to U.S. Army standards.[81] Since 2013, the interpretation of the Confederate Memorial has been a high priority for the History Office team. First, the staff spent several years conducting in-depth primary and secondary research on Section 16 and the memorial. This included extensively reviewing the historiography on the Civil War, Reconstruction, and commemorative practices, as well as delving into primary sources. While impossible to list sources in full here, the primary source research included thorough reviews of historical newspapers and magazines (including but not limited to *Harper's Weekly*, *National Tribune*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Evening Star*) and the archival holdings of institutions such as the National Archives and Records Administration, the Library of Congress, the State of Virginia Archives, the Virginia Military Institute Archives, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy library and archive.

In 2019, ANMC launched its first official interpretation and education programs (available at: https://education.arlingtoncemetery.mil/). In alignment with our Long-Range Interpretive Plan, we explored interpretation of Section 16 and the Confederate Memorial as one of our earliest projects that year. On our website, we created a new page that analyzed the Confederate Memorial (https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Monuments-and-Memorials/Confederate-Memorial). This page, which went live in December 2019 and has been updated since, reflects our research over the previous six years, as well as relevant scholarship, analysis, and interpretive best practices. Additionally, in the summer of 2020, ANMC installed the first temporary informational

sign related to the Confederate Memorial in Section 16, announcing our long-range interpretive goals for that site. Currently, ANMC continues to explore a full range of interpretive projects for Section 16 and the memorial, including both in situ and virtual options that will hopefully be developed in consultation with diverse community members.

The ANC Confederate Memorial: A Comparative Analysis

The ANC Confederate Memorial represents one important example of the trend of Confederate memorialization that took place around the turn of the century, particularly in the south. However, due to its location within ANC and its distinctive design, this memorial is unique in numerous ways, justifying its potential eligibility for the NRHP. A brief contextual analysis of Confederate memorials, particularly those in the Northern Virginia region, demonstrates the ways in which the ANC Confederate Memorial stands out in comparison to other contemporary examples.

Efforts to memorialize the Confederacy began during the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. Often led by Ladies Memorial Associations, these projects focused on the burial of Confederate dead (often in Confederate cemeteries with memorials), mourning activities, and ceremonies to honor the dead, such as Confederate-focused Memorial Day or Decoration Day observances.[82] These early efforts played a key part in shaping the Lost Cause mythology and southern politics. They also established southern White women as influential memory-makers. Women, unlike their Confederate male counterparts, could not exercise political rights such as voting. However, White women could use their status in southern society to memorialize the Confederacy in specific ways. Precisely because women did not fight in the war, their memorialization efforts proved effective in nostalgically reframing the Confederacy as a chivalric effort, fought on behalf of White women and families. Consistent with the Lost Cause mythology, these memorialization practices construed the Civil War as a gallant episode in American history, rather than a brutal conflict, fought over slavery that resulted in unprecedented casualties.[83]

Memorialization work expanded during the late nineteenth century, and new groups coalesced to take charge of more bold, publicly visible projects. Such groups included the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in 1894, and the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), founded in 1889.[84] These organizations, especially the UDC, constructed memorials, often located on the grounds of southern courthouses, state capitols, public squares, and other locations (sometimes even outside of the south) where they could be seen by larger populations, including people of color.[85] These memorials reinforced the postwar racial order and visually upheld the argument that the South fought for a noble lost cause.[86] It is important to note that Black Americans and their supporters frequently resisted the creation of these memorials and spoke out against the messages they promoted.[87]

The UDC became the most prominent advocate of the Lost Cause ideology as the erection of memorials expanded in the period from around 1890 to World War I.[88] Created by the UDC during this era, the ANC Confederate Memorial represents one of the organization's most important achievements during this building boom period.[89]

Confederate memorials eventually pervaded the Commonwealth of Virginia. Virginia became a focus of commemorative efforts for several reasons: much of the war's fighting had taken place in Virginia; Richmond had served as the capitol of the Confederacy; and the UDC located its

headquarters in Richmond.[90] Virginia ultimately became the state with the most Confederate memorials.[91]

However, the ANC Confederate Memorial stands out from the UDC's other memorials—and Confederate memorials in general—as distinctive, due to several factors.[92] First, it is located in Arlington National Cemetery, on federal government property owned and operated by the U.S. Army. The ACMA and the UDC specifically wanted this grand memorial to be located on the federally owned Arlington property. This location made a bold commemorative statement that planted the Lost Cause ideology within the center of the federal government's most renowned Civil War cemetery. By the turn of the twentieth century, moreover, ANC's national meanings had expanded to represent the memory of later wars and the overall memorialization of the U.S. military. By placing this memorial at ANC, its creators aimed to enshrine Confederates as American military heroes, not traitors or rebels. This memorial's location—among Confederate graves marked by official government Confederate headstones, and under the care of the U.S. government—thus had much broader connotations than memorial sites such as courthouses or town centers.

Second, as the former plantation owned by Robert E. Lee's wife, where Lee himself had lived and raised his family, ANC held multiple layers of symbolism. The ANC Confederate Memorial would symbolically reclaim some of this land to honor the cause for which Lee fought. Indeed, some originally wanted this memorial to be a statue of Lee.[93] Additionally, so close to Washington, D.C., this site offered an opportunity to place a powerful emblem of the Lost Cause within view of the nation's capital. Memorials erected at other locations could not convey such an emotionally and politically charged statement.

Third, the greater cultural landscape of ANC enabled this memorial to demonstrate complex historical patterns in ways that other such memorials could not. The memorial's creators intended it to relate to the other memorials and sites at ANC.[94] By adding this memorial to a burial section dedicated to a specific group—Confederates—the ACMA and the UDC equated the Confederate graves with other burial sections at ANC that also had memorials, such as the Spanish-American War Memorial, the USS Maine Memorial, and the Spanish-American War Nurses Memorial. This placement sent a message that the Confederate graves were no different than others at ANC, and portrayed Confederates as honorable U.S. service members, even though they fought against the U.S. military during the Civil War and in actuality constituted the enemy of the United States.

Yet the ACMA and the UDC could not have anticipated how the Confederate Memorial and Section 16 would later enable ANC to interpret the complex and intertwined histories of enslavement, the Civil War, Reconstruction, reconciliation, commemoration, and civil rights—as imprinted onto a single property. When analyzed in relation to the other sites at ANC, the memorial strikingly reveals these broader histories and their contemporary legacies. These sites include Arlington House, with its enslaved quarters; Section 27, which includes the graves of formerly enslaved people and members of the United States Colored Troops (USCT, the Army's official designation for segregated Black units that fought in the Civil War); the site of Freedman's Village; the many once-segregated sections of ANC; and the graves of civil rights leaders such as Thurgood Marshall and Medgar Evers. Understood in relation to these places, and to the broader cultural history of ANC, the Confederate Memorial functions as primary-source evidence in artifact form. As an artifact, it demonstrates complex historical patterns in ways that Confederate memorials located elsewhere cannot.

Fourth, the ANC Confederate Memorial is stylistically different from most other Confederate memorials. It does not include many common stylistic elements found in Confederate memorials, such as a statue of a common soldier or a Confederate leader. It is neither an obelisk nor a tablet, a shaft nor a plaque, a cannon nor a figurative statue alone. It combines several monumental elements: a statuary figure of a woman, a grandiose pedestal, a bronze bas relief, four cinerary urns, and numerous other decorative motifs and inscriptions. It is much larger than many Confederate memorials (though certainly not in comparison to the massive memorials previously located along Monument Avenue in Richmond). Though its format is different, the ANC Confederate Memorial in some ways resembles the bronze bas-relief that forms the centerpiece of Augustus Saints-Gaudens' Shaw 54th Massachusetts Regiment Memorial, dedicated in Boston in 1897 to commemorate the heroic African American service members of that unit.[95] Overall, however, the design of the ANC Confederate Memorial stands out as distinctive among its contemporary counterparts.

Figure 4: Robert Gould Shaw and Massachusetts 54th Regiment Memorial, Boston National Historical Park, Boston African American National Historic Site. NPS/Teuten, https://www.nps.gov/boaf/learn/historyculture/shaw.htm.

For comparison, the following list presents examples of Confederate memorials in Arlington County and surrounding areas of Northern Virginia.[96] These memorial types include tablets, common soldier statues, obelisks, equestrian statues, and other forms; however, nothing comes to

close to resembling the ANC Confederate Memorial either in design or symbolic location. As of the completion of this report, some of these memorials have been removed; when possible, this has been noted below.

- Arlington County
  - Upton Hill Tablet (removed in 2018)[97]
  - Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial[98]
- Alexandria City:
  - "Appomattox" Common Soldier Statue (removed in June 2020; base moved to Bethel Cemetery in Alexandria)[99]
  - Christ Church Cemetery Tablet (Gravesite Marker)[100]
- Loudon County
  - "Silent Sentinel" statue, Leesburg Courthouse (removed in July 2020)[101]
  - Confederate Memorial, Union Cemetery, Leesburg[102]
  - Sharon Cemetery Obelisk, Middleburg[103]
- Prince William County and City of Manassas
  - Manassas City Cemetery, Confederate Monument[104]
  - Manassas National Battlefield Park
    - Brig. Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson Equestrian Monument[105]
    - Brig. Gen. Barnard Bee Monument (Shaft)[106]
    - Brig. Gen. Francis Bartow Monument (Tablet)[107]
    - 7th Georgia Infantry, 5th Position Marker (Tablet)[108]
    - Pvt. George T. Stovall, 8th Georgia Infantry Marker (Tablet)[109]
    - First Manassas Marker (Tablet)[110]
    - Groveton Confederate Cemetery Monument (Obelisk)[111]
    - Second Manassas Battlefield Marker[112]
    - Lee, Longstreet, and Jackson Meeting Marker[113]
- Fairfax County and City of Fairfax
  - Fairfax Courthouse: John Quincy Marr Monument, Historical Marker, and Dahlgren Howitzers (removed in November 2020)[114]
  - Fairfax City Cemetery Confederate Monument[115]
  - Pvt. Peyton Anderson Monument (removed in July 2020)[116]
  - "Birthplace of the Confederate Battle Flag" Historical Marker on Main Street (removed in summer 2020)[117]

The removal of many Confederate memorials in the Northern Virginia region has been part of a larger, national movement to remove Confederate memorials, which gained intensity around 2015.[118] Even so, Virginia still has the second-highest number of memorials, below only Georgia.[119] According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), as of January 2022, 723 Confederate memorials remained in the United States, of which 290 were in Virginia—a figure updated to 279 by January 19, 2023.[120] Within this count, the SPLC included various forms of memorials beyond just statues, such as roads, schools, county and municipality names, military bases, license plates, parks, bodies of water, bridges, living memorials, buildings, and other forms; all had to be located either in a public space or spaces where the public could be invited to see them.[121] In terms of statuary Confederate memorials in Virginia, as of January 19, 2023, according to the SPLC's data, twelve statues have been removed with their pedestals remaining.[122] A total of 116 memorials of all types in Virginia have also been removed.[123]

As this comparative analysis demonstrates, While the UDC (and, earlier, the ACMA) created the ANC Confederate Memorial as one among many they built, this particular memorial remains distinctive. Due to its design, location at ANC, historical context, intentions, and surrounding landscape, it represents a unique example of memorials to the Lost Cause and aligns with Criterion A. When understood within this context, it presents a robust and complex interpretive opportunity. These differences further justify its potential eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP.

Integrity and Current Threats

The ANC Confederate Memorial currently retains its integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, feeling, association, and materials. No alterations have been made to the memorial itself. Regular conservation work, involving maintenance and minor repairs, has limited the effects of weather exposure. The memorial remains on its original site and the key features of its setting are intact. However, the design of the landscape immediately surrounding the memorial has varied slightly since its erection in 1914. Most notably, the original pedestrian pathways leading to and encircling the monument were removed and replaced with lawn around 1949. Nonetheless, both the memorial and Section 16 largely retain their 1900s appearance.

While the memorial remains located within the Arlington National Cemetery Historic District, threats to it are minimal, as it remains under ANC's stewardship. This resource is routinely inspected and maintained according to the standard of ANC's other resources.

Likewise, since the memorial currently stands within the ANC Historic District, it is protected within an access-controlled military installation. Confederate memorials at other sites have been vandalized. The threat of vandalism remains relatively low at ANC, since this is a heavily patrolled and protected Army installation. However, if the bronze elements of the memorial are removed, their condition and treatment depend on the determination of the memorial's ultimate location (through the Section 106 consultation process). The memorial's bronze elements could be at risk of vandalism—depending on where they are placed or stored. They could also suffer from deterioration and damage due to deferred maintenance or neglect. Any treatment or modification of the memorial brings the risk of potential unintentional damage related to the work.

The proposed undertaking threatens the Confederate Memorial with partial removal and a related loss of historic integrity. As required by Congress and implemented by the Secretary of Defense, ANMC is required to remove and relocate the bronze elements of the Confederate Memorial, while keeping the granite base in place. ANMC has initiated a process to prepare to carefully execute this requirement. Although ANMC will proceed cautiously and deliberately, any intervention brings the risk of unintentional damage to the object. Furthermore, removal reduces the ability of the property to convey its significance in several ways.

First, the removal of this memorial from its historic setting within ANC's Section 16 will result in a loss of historical authenticity; the memorial has a direct relationship with its surrounding landscape, especially the Confederate graves. Second, this action will alter the setting, landscape, spatial organization, and viewsheds of Section 16. Third, depending on the final disposition of the removed parts of the memorial, the undertaking could result in neglect, deferred maintenance, or demolition by neglect after the memorial's removal.

Preservation Goals

In a Phase II survey, the examination of potential threats is used to determine appropriate preservation goals and treatments for the historic resource. The following recommended goals are consistent with ANC's overall commitment to preserving the cemetery's many historic resources, and with current preservation laws and standards, including the "Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation" and the "Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties".

First, ANMC should document and identify the character-defining features of the Confederate Memorial and its current setting in Section 16, which make it potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP. In addition, documentation should provide for future preservation of and research on the Confederate Memorial. Towards this end, in 2022 the ANMC Cultural Resources Program contracted with the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) to produce a record of the Confederate Memorial. The HABS report included photographic and scaled photogrammetric documentation of the memorial, which will preserve an archival record of its physical and visual details. The HABS documentation meets the "Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Engineering Documentation." These records will be included in the HABS/HAER/HALS collection at the Library of Congress so that evidence of this memorial will be preserved for future research and study. The DHR and consulting parties should evaluate whether this documentation provides an adequate physical record of the memorial.

Second, historical records related the memorial should be compiled and preserved. Research should continue into its history and context. Through the creation of this Phase II Survey Report, ANMC has compiled an array of primary and secondary source material connected to the Confederate Memorial. This report is a first step in meeting this objective. Continued documentation, research, and preservation of historical records will help ensure that researchers and future generations can continue to study and analyze the memorial.

Third, if the bronze elements of the memorial are removed and relocated, ANMC recommends that they should be treated and maintained in accordance with the "Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties" (36 CFR Part 68, 1995). If deconstructed, the pieces should be documented, inventoried, catalogued, and preserved for future study and future disposition, as determined through the Section 106 process and in consultation with the public and consulting parties. The accuracy of the records and the quality of the storage should be such that, should the memorial be deconstructed, there is the opportunity for reconstruction in the future.

Finally, ANMC proposes the installation of interpretative elements in Section 16, so that the public can understand the Confederate Memorial's history and meanings. Such an interpretive project would explain the absence of this resource and enable ANC to continue to share its story with the public. Any interpretation, recontextualization, or additional design elements considered at this site should be created in consultation with diverse community members, so that the public can contribute their ideas and perspectives. ANC hopes that an interpretation project at this site would offer an opportunity for a creative, healing, and productive dialogue about challenging aspects of the American past. ANC has served as a sacred site of reflection on the American experiment for over 150 years. Such an endeavor would thus align with the cemetery's mission to honor, remember, and explore the many complexities of the past, as well as historical legacies that endure into the present.

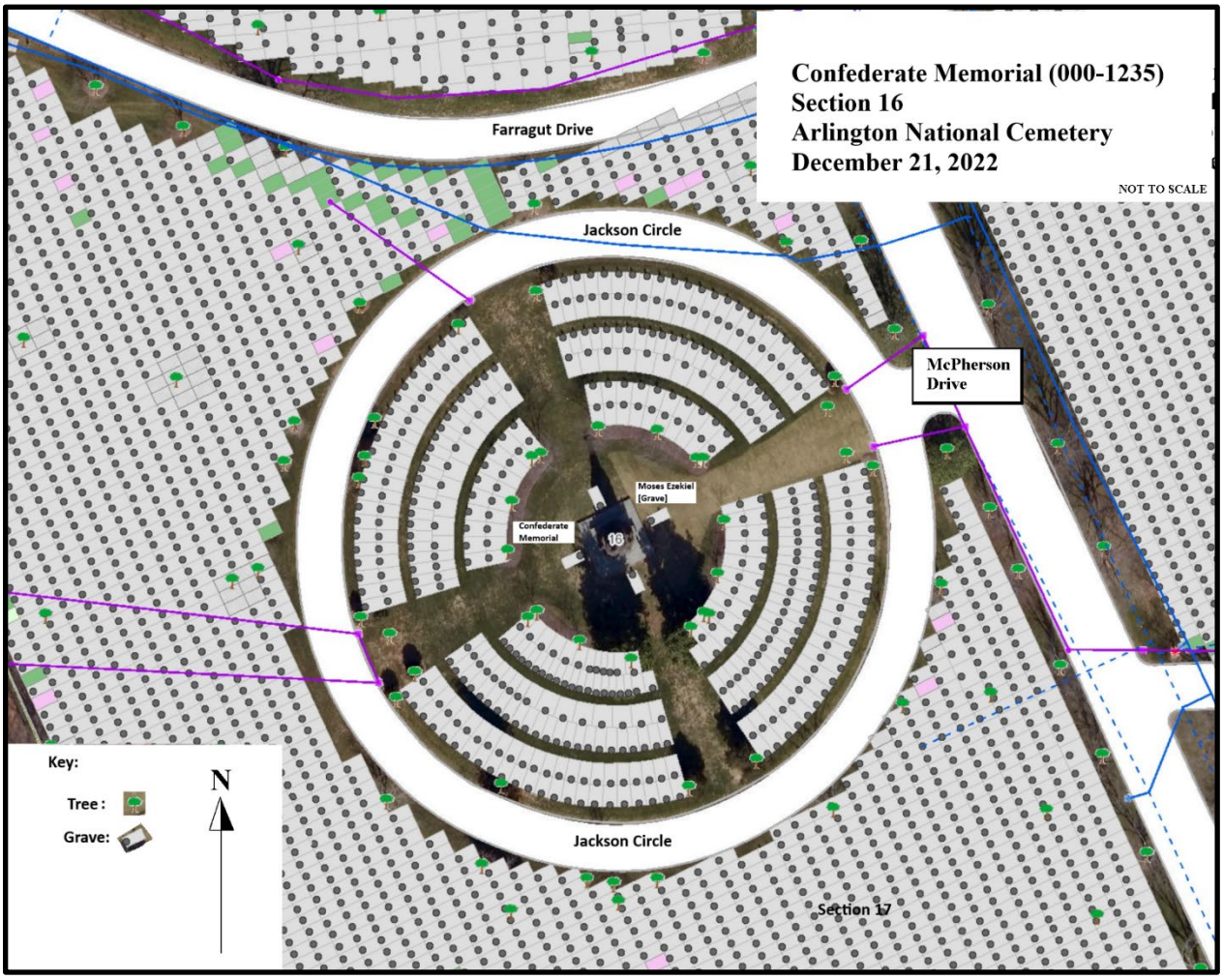

Figure 5: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Site plan. Satellite view of Section 16 in Arlington National Cemetery with GIS overlay of graves, trees, utilities, and roads. Army Cemeteries Mapper. Accessed December 21, 2022. https://ancmapper.army.mil/WebMapViewer/index.html

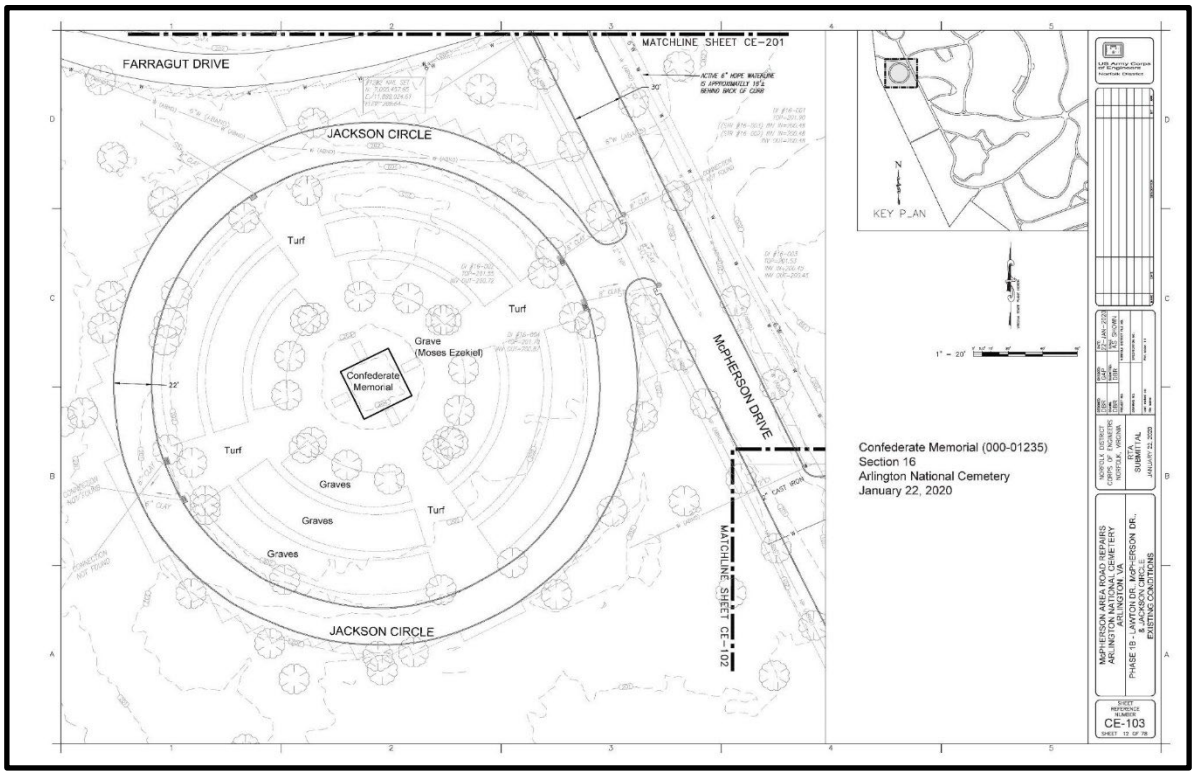

Figure 6: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Site plan (alternative). US Army Corps of Engineers, Norfolk District, McPherson Area Road Repairs, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA, Phase 1B – Lawton Dr., McPherson Dr., & Jackson Circle, Existing Conditions, RTA Submittal, Sheet CE-103, January 22, 2020.

Figure 7. Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Dimensions. HABS 2022 Study (1 of 3). "Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

Figure 8: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Dimensions. HABS 2022 Study (2 of 3). "Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

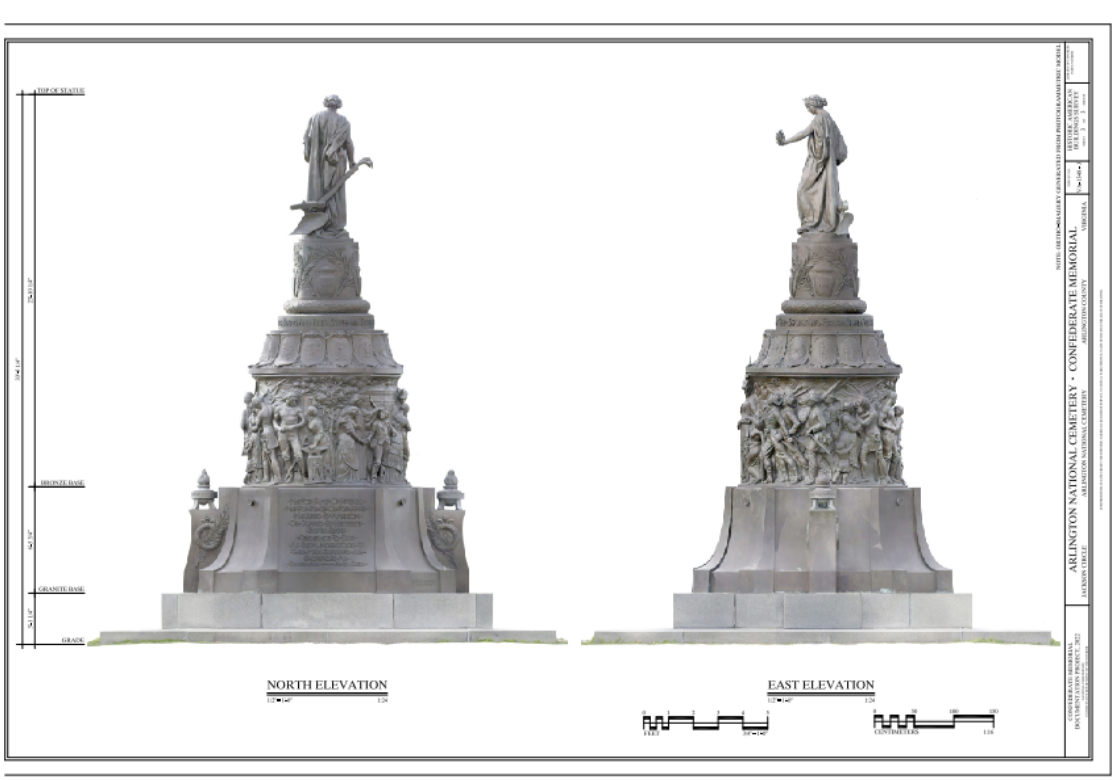

Figure 9. Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Dimensions. HABS 2022 Study (3 of 3). "Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

Figure 10: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). View from Section 16, facing northwest. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 11: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). View from Section 16, facing northeast. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 12: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Southeast elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 13: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Southwest elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 14: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Statue of the South, south elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 15: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Statue of the South, south elevation, seen from below. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 16: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Statue of the South, southwest elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 17: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Figural frieze, south elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 18: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Figural frieze, southeast elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 19: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Figural frieze, east elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 20: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Figural frieze, north elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 21: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Figural frieze, northwest elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 22: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Figural frieze, west elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 23: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Figural frieze, southwest elevation. U.S. Army photo.

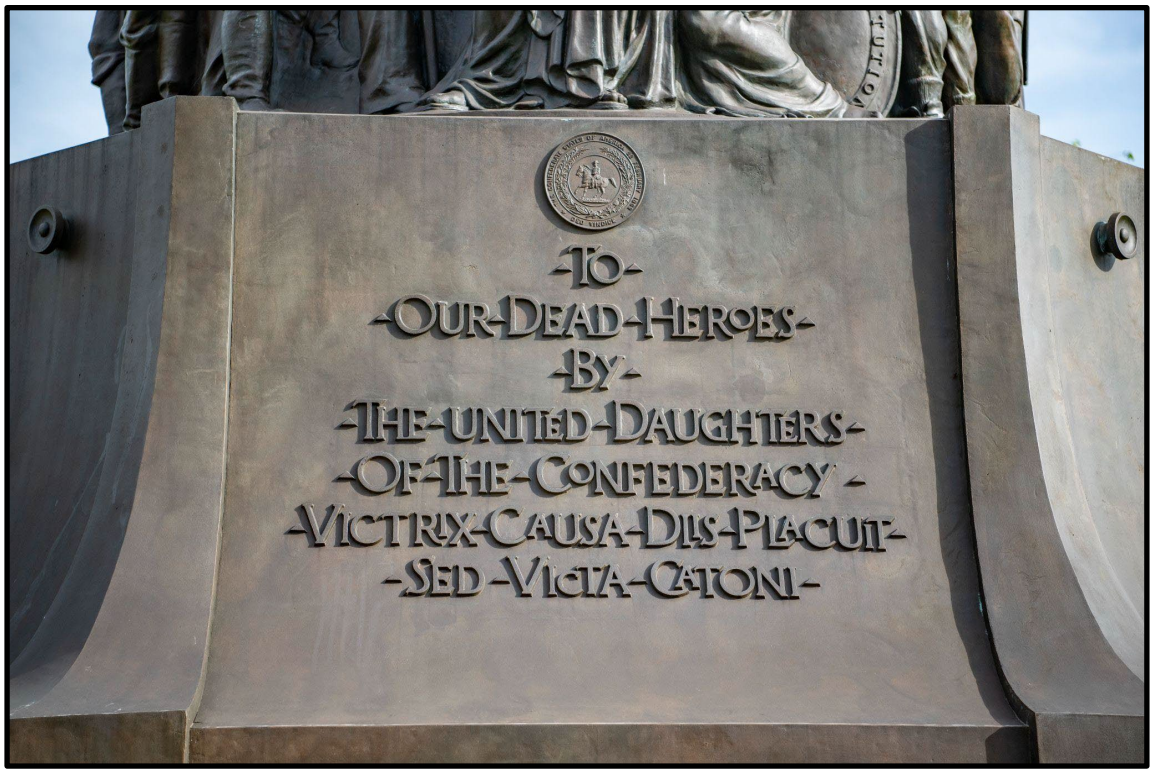

Figure 24: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). United Daughters of the Confederacy inscription, south elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 25: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Inscription quoting Randolph Harrison McKim, north elevation. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 26: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Grave marker of Moses Ezekiel. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 27: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Grave marker of Lt. Henry "Harry" H. Marmaduke. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 28: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Grave marker of Capt. John M Hickey. U.S. Army photo.

Figure 29: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Grave marker of Brig. Gen. Marcus J. Wright. U.S. Army photo.

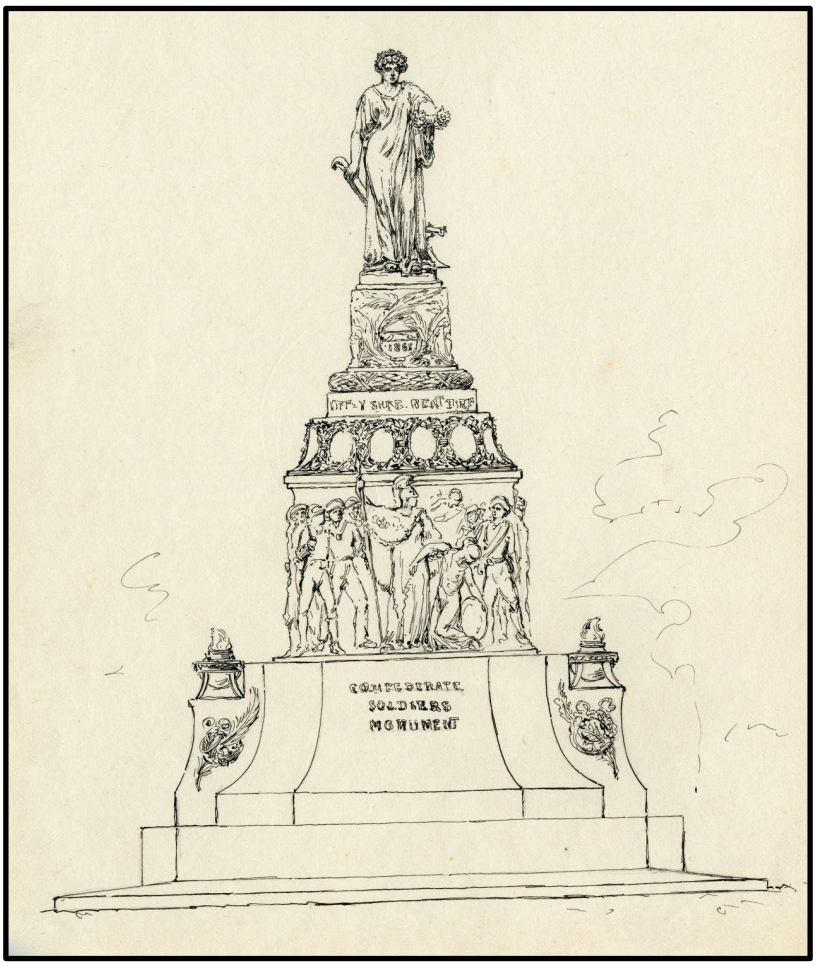

Figure 30: Confederate Monument, Arlington National Cemetery, pen and ink drawing by Moses Ezekiel, ca. 1910. Moses Ezekiel Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives, https://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/digital/collection/p15821coll18/id/21/rec/11.

Figure 31: Confederate Soldiers Monument, pen and ink drawing by Moses Ezekiel, ca. 1910. Moses Ezekiel Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives, https://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/digital/collection/p15821coll18/id/51/rec/15.

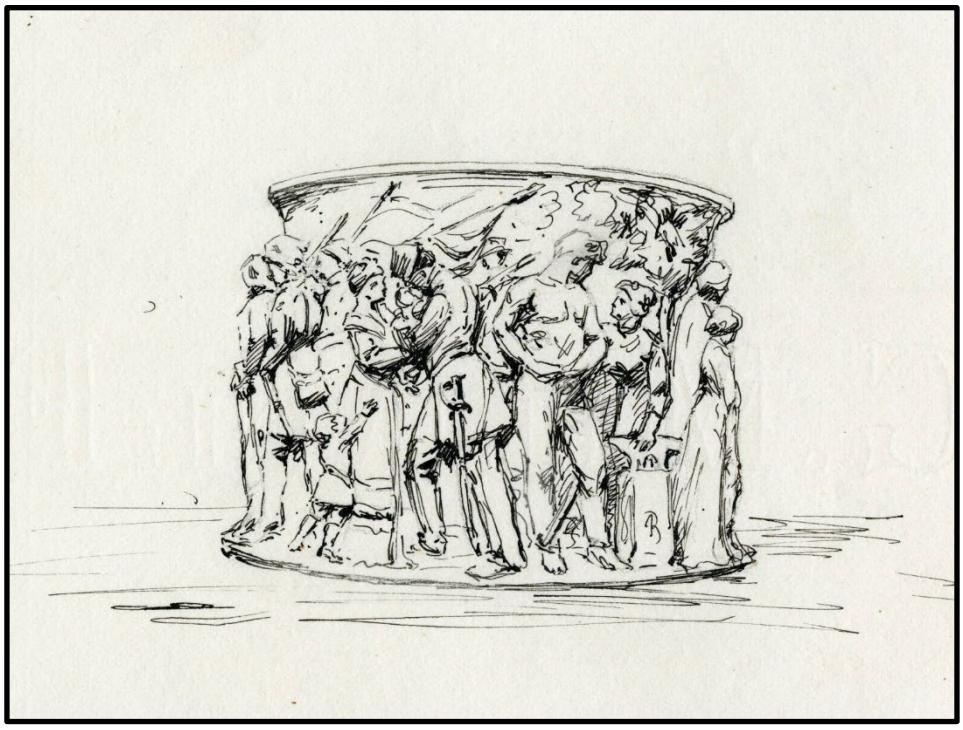

Figure 32: Confederate Soldiers Monument Frieze, pen and ink drawing by Moses Ezekiel, ca. 1910. Moses J. Ezekiel Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives, https://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/digital/collection/p15821coll18/id/52/rec/13.

Figure 33: Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Moses Ezekiel's maker's mark.

Figure 34: Confederate Memorial, Arlington Cemetery, ca. 1914-1920. Harris & Ewing, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2016854701/.

Figure 35: Arlington Cemetery [Virginia], confederate section, ca. 1910-1925. National Photo Company Collection, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2016825319/.

Figure 36: Arlington Cemetery, [Virginia], confederate section, ca. 1910-1925. National Photo Company Collection, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2016825320/.

Figure 37: Arlington National Cemetery, Monument to Confederate Dead by Ezekiel, ca. 1920-1950. Theodor Horydczak Collection, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2019681764/.

Figure 38: Arlington Cemetery - Confederate Memorial and graves of Confederate Veterans, 1930. RG 111-SCA Box #24, National Archives.

Figure 39: Confederate Memorial at Arlington National Cemetery, undated. National Archives.

Figure 40: Confederate Statue by Sir Moses Ezekiel, Jackson Circle, Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, April 22, 1940. National Archives.

Figure 41: Confederate Statue by Sir Moses Ezekiel, Jackson Circle, Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, April 22, 1940. National Archives.

Figure 42: Aerial View, Arlington National Cemetery, 1977. RG 111-CCS Box #6, National Archives.

Figure 43: Aerial view of Section 16 of Arlington National Cemetery, 2014. U.S. Army photo, https://flic.kr/p/o12tZd.

Figure 44: Existing temporary signage in Section 16 with the north elevation of the Confederate Memorial visible in the background, 2023. U.S. Army photo.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Evaluative Survey Findings and Eligibility Recommendation

Through the process of researching and writing this Phase II Intensive-Level Survey Report, ANMC has determined that the ANC Confederate Memorial is potentially individually eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, in addition to already being a contributing element of the ANC Historic District. The survey findings of this report demonstrate that this memorial meets Criteria A and C, but its national significance also exceeds these criteria.

The ANC Confederate Memorial meets the requirements of Criterion A in its unique visual representation of the Lost Cause mythology. This memorial illustrates the complex, decades-long process of Civil War commemoration. This effort has had long-lasting social, cultural, and political repercussions that continue to reverberate in American culture. As an artifact, the Confederate Memorial tells particular stories about the Civil War, slavery, and the antebellum South—and these stories, in turn, illuminate the early 20th-century context in which the memorial was created. If Moses Ezekiel was "writing history in bronze," he was in fact writing a history of his own time period, rather than the history of the Civil War itself.[124] As the Naming Commission and many historians have determined, this memorial inaccurately depicts the Confederacy and the Civil War, and its imagery and symbolism reveal the racial underpinnings of the Lost Cause ideology. In this way, the memorial shows how the Lost Cause ideology affirmed national unity at the expense of African American rights.

The survey findings of this report further support the requirements of Criterion A by demonstrating how ANC's Confederate Memorial is unique due to its location on the larger landscape of the cemetery. It forms part of a historic site—an open-air museum—that connects slavery, the Civil War, emancipation, Reconstruction, reconciliation, African American military service, segregation, civil rights, and other important aspects of the American past. While ANC is an active cemetery, it is also a significant historic site—visited by about three million people every year— and the cemetery's cultural resources constitute a type of outdoor museum. As a result, the Confederate Memorial will remain an important part of this historic site and museum collection, even after the proposed removal of its bronze elements. Proper interpretation of the Confederate Memorial would situate it within a broader historical context alongside other sites at the cemetery, such as Freedman's Village, Section 27, Syphax Corner (the property of formerly enslaved people at Arlington House), the formerly segregated sections of ANC, graves of African Americans, and Arlington House (run by NPS).

Finally, the survey findings of this report justify that the ANC Confederate Memorial also meets Criterion C, due to its design by Moses Ezekiel. A renowned master sculptor with a personal connection to the Civil War, Ezekiel's unique vision for this memorial distinguished it from many other Confederate memorial projects of the same time period.

For all these reasons as outlined throughout the survey findings and conclusions of this report, ANMC has determined that the ANC Confederate Memorial is potentially individually eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

Assessment of Potential Effect

By applying the criteria of adverse effects (36 C.F.R. § 800.5[a][1]), this survey report has determined that the currently proposed undertaking—the removal of the bronze elements of the ANC Confederate Memorial—could potentially result in several adverse effects on the characteristics that qualify the Confederate Memorial for individual listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

An adverse effect is found when an undertaking may alter, directly or indirectly, any of the characteristics of a historic property that qualify it for inclusion in the National Register in a manner that would diminish the integrity of the property's location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. As noted earlier, the proposed removal of the ANC Confederate Memorial reduces its ability to convey its significance and impacts its historic integrity.

As currently proposed, the undertaking would substantially impact the historic location and association of the memorial within this historic district by removing its bronze elements, leaving only the granite base. The removal of the bulk of the memorial would significantly change the historic views and vistas throughout the cemetery, especially in and around Section 16, causing permanent and irreversible changes. It would remove the centerpiece of Section 16, changing the composition and aesthetics of that section and deviating from the intended design.

Most significantly, the proposed undertaking would remove a large physical component of ANC's cultural landscape, altering the site-specific history and symbolism within the ANC historic district. Removal of the memorial's bronze elements from its historic location would change the character of the memorial, leaving little of the memorial within the original landscape setting that contributes to its historic significance. The narrative inscribed on the memorial would no longer be able to function as evidence of the Lost Cause's powerful and long-lasting hold on American culture. The ANC Historic District would lose a symbolic, visual illustration of this history, severing part of the interconnected narrative of American military memory embedded throughout the site.

Additionally, the proposed removal process could potentially result in unintentional damage to this historic resource during deconstruction, storage, and transportation. If the monument is disassembled and not reconstructed, there could be damage to the materials, design, and workmanship that are qualifying characteristics of the historic property. In addition, the memorial's safety and security could also be compromised depending on the condition of its future storage location after removal from ANC. At this time, it is unclear which entity will maintain ownership or control of the memorial's bronze elements, and whether there will be adequate and legally enforceable restrictions or conditions to ensure the long-term preservation of this resource. Through the Section 106 consultation process, ANMC intends to work with consulting parties and the public to determine the ultimate location for the memorial's bronze elements once they are removed.

Nonetheless, the limited nature of the proposed undertaking should have no adverse effect on the graves in Section 16 or on any archaeological resources in that area. Since the proposed undertaking is intended to remove only the bronze memorial elements of the memorial, the

granite base would remain in place and would still mark the spot where this resource once stood. No other work is currently proposed to the surrounding landscape and graves, all of which would be protected during the removal process. The headstones, circulation patterns, and horticultural elements of Section 16 should be preserved and unchanged. All construction work in Section 16 should be located in areas of the APE that have already been disturbed through prior development of the cemetery or adjacent infrastructure. All construction and staging should occur within existing roadways or areas that do not contain burials. Since this project does not currently include ground-disturbing activities, it is not expected that undiscovered cultural resources would be found during implementation of the undertaking.

Furthermore, despite the potential risks and adverse effects that could be caused by the proposed undertaking, this action should not impact the integrity of location, workmanship, feeling or associations of the overall ANC Historic District in a way that would change ANC's status as a National Register Historic District. No direct physical changes should be made to any other area of ANC beyond Section 16. ANC would still retain the many other features that justify its status as a National Register Historic District, and maintain its historic significance as a military cemetery that spans the nation's history and represents the diverse stories of the American people.

Even if the Confederate Memorial's bronze elements are removed, ANC should maintain its standing as a National Register Historic District—one that encompasses ongoing efforts to understand the Civil War and its legacies. ANMC must continue to facilitate this understanding, through good stewardship and preservation of ANC's historic resources, and through continual outreach and engagement with the American public.

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APPENDIX I: V-CRIS INVENTORY FORM

Virginia Department of Historic Resources
Architectural Survey Form

DHR ID: 000-1235
Other DHR ID: 000-0042-0029

Property Information

Property Names

Name Explanation	Name
Current Name	Confederate Memorial
Descriptive	Arlington National Cemetery Confederate Section Sculpture

Property Addresses

Current - Jackson Circle
Alternate - Arlington National Cemetery

Property Evaluation Status

This Property is associated with the Arlington National Cemetery Historic District.

County/Independent City(s):	Arlington (County)
Incorporated Town(s):	*No Data*
Zip Code(s):	22101
Magisterial District(s):	*No Data*
Tax Parcel(s):	*No Data*
USGS Quad(s):	ALEXANDRIA

Additional Property Information

Architecture Setting: Urban

Acreage: *No Data*

Site Description:

October 1995: Located within the boundaries of Arlington National Cemetery, which is rather close to a major airport and within an area known for poor air quality. The site is within 20 feet of a street, and overhanging trees or branches are nearby.

May 2012: The Confederate Memorial is located in Section 16 of the cemetery in the center of Jackson Circle, near the intersection of McPherson Drive and Farragut Drive. Section 16 is flat lawn with Confederate-style white marble markers in circular rows around the monument. Several mature Magnolia trees and other ornamental trees mark the lawn walkways to the memorial. To the east of the memorial is the USS Maine Memorial and the Memorial Amphitheater.

DHR Staff, 2018, based on 2011 data: No change since previous survey.

December 2022: No change since previous survey.

Surveyor Assessment:

October 1995: One of Virginia's finest Confederate Memorials.

May 2012: Arlington National Cemetery was established as a military cemetery during the Civil War on the Arlington House estate of Robert E. Lee. After the end of the Civil War, the Arlington estate was primarily used as a cemetery. Several memorials, beginning with the Tomb of the Civil War Unknown in 1866, were erected in the cemetery during that time. Planting of trees, shrubs, and grass took place within the cemetery, and roads were built as the property took shape as a picturesque rural cemetery. ANC is included in the architectural plan of the monumental corridor, which includes the Capitol, National Mall, and the Washington Monument. The death of John F. Kennedy in 1963 and the construction of the monument and eternal flame on his gravesite in 1967 escalated the commemorative use of the cemetery. Although ANC had always attracted visitors since its establishment, the burial of John F. Kennedy greatly increased the number of visitors. ANC continues to be used as a cemetery today and accommodates more than four million visitors a year. ANC is administered by the Department of the Army, which oversees all burial, maintenance, and visitor services. More than 300,000 people are buried at the cemetery, veterans and military casualties from every American conflict.

Although Confederate soldiers were buried at ANC from its inception as a cemetery, bitter feelings between the North and South and ANC's role as a primarily Union cemetery meant that there was not a monument to Confederate soldiers until the early twentieth century. Before that time families of Confederate soldiers were not always allowed to decorate the graves of their soldiers and, at times, were not allowed to enter the cemetery (Peters 2008:246). In June 1900, a section of the cemetery was authorized by Congress to be used for the burial of Confederate dead. During the next year and a half, soldiers who had been buried in national cemeteries in Alexandria and the Soldiers' Home in Washington were moved to the Confederate section of ANC (Section 16). In total, 482 persons are buried in the section; 46 officers, 351 enlisted men, 58 wives, 15 Southern civilians, and 12 unknowns. The grave markers in this section are distinctive, with pointed tops that were meant to be easily distinguishable from the rounded tops of Union soldiers' headstones.

The graves are arranged in concentric circles around the Confederate Monument, which was erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The organization's petition was granted on March 4, 1906, by Secretary of War William Howard Taft, who, as president, spoke at a reception for the organization upon the laying of the cornerstone for the monument on November 12, 1912. The completed monument was dedicated on June 4, 1914.

The significance of the Confederate Monument extends beyond the monument itself to the social climate in which it was built. The turn of the twentieth century marked a beginning of changing sentiments between the North and South with the authorization by Congress of a Confederate section within ANC. The reconciliation that began with this monument would be further strengthened through the Memorial Bridge that would physically and symbolically bridge the divide between Lee's Arlington and Lincoln's Washington. The Confederate Monument is a contributing object to the ANC Historic District for being an important part of the

nation's foremost military ceremonial and burial collection and for its design by Moses Ezekiel.

DHR Staff, 2018, based on 2011 data: This resource is recommended for further study to determine individual National Register eligibility.

December 2022:
The Arlington National Cemetery (ANC) Confederate Memorial constitutes a significant example of the Confederate memorials created in the early twentieth century which underpinned the ideology of the "Lost Cause" myth. Located in Section 16 of ANC, this memorial forms the centerpiece of a section specifically designated for Confederate burials. Although the story of its creation is unique to ANC, the purpose and impact of this memorial demonstrate the broad, lasting effects of Confederate memorialization and the deeply entrenched attitudes that they illustrated.

Military burials on the property that became ANC began during the Civil War and included the intermingled graves of Confederate service members. However, it was not until 1898 that the U.S. government took on the systematic care of Confederate graves. On December 14, 1898, President William McKinley gave a speech at the Atlanta Peace Jubilee, a celebration of the end of the Spanish-American War. During this speech, he declared sectional conflict over and pledged that the government would care for Confederate war graves.
McKinley's speech inspired members of the Washington, D.C.-based Charles Broadway Rouss Camp (post) of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) to lobby the government to gather the scattered remains of Confederate war dead at ANC and the Soldier's Home Cemetery in Washington, D.C. The UCV proposed to reinter these remains in a special Confederate section they wanted to be created at ANC.

Despite a power struggle and continued disagreements with several southern women's memorial groups, who wanted to bury the Confederate dead in Richmond or their homes states, the UCV eventually succeeded in their effort to create a special Confederate section at ANC. On June 6, 1900, Congress passed Public Law 163 (31 Stat 630). This law authorized the government to pay for the reburial of Confederate soldiers at ANC.

Most of the work of reinterring the Confederate dead in what became Section 16 finished around October 1901. The first Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies were held there on June 7, 1903. Unlike all the other graves at ANC, these Confederate headstones had a unique pointed top, intended to distinguish them from the other graves. The ANC Confederate headstone design set the standard for Confederate headstones in other national cemeteries. Likewise, after their success at ANC, some of the Confederate veterans involved with that effort began a new campaign to push for Congress to care for and mark the graves of Confederate service members located in northern states. With the support of Senator Joseph Benson Foraker, a republican U.S. Civil War veteran from Ohio, such a congressional measure eventually passed in March 1906. The creation of ANC's Section 16 thus directly led to the federal government taking on the stewardship of thousands of other Confederate graves.

Initially, various plans for Section 16 included the intention to construct a memorial there. As early as 1899, the Rouss Camp envisioned that a "simple, inexpensive monument, bearing some appropriate, but simple, inscription, should be placed to mark the site." A later explanatory note about the Confederate section from around 1901 called for a "reservation for a monument in the future, but to be occupied by a large iron vase, filled with plants and evergreens in the meantime," a plan repeated in various sources. Starting after the Spanish-American War, it became common for new burial sections at ANC that contained graves from distinct conflicts or specialized professions to include memorials that commemorated those particular service members. Examples include the Spanish-American War Memorial, the Spanish-American War Nurses Memorial, the USS Maine Memorial, and, later, the Nurses Memorial, the Argonne Cross, and the Chaplain's Memorial.

Several Confederate memorial groups, particularly those led by women, were interested in leading the effort to create a memorial in Section 16. Mrs. Magnus Thompson, president of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), began campaigning in favor of leading the memorial effort at the national UDC's annual convention in 1902, and she continued to do so at the 1903 and 1905 conventions. Despite national UDC's initial lack of endorsement, another UDC chapter, the Robert E. Lee Chapter of Washington, D.C., began fundraising for the memorial in 1904; they were later joined by the Stonewall Jackson chapter. Around March 1906, Mrs. Thompson achieved a significant milestone when she obtained permission to erect the memorial from then-Secretary of War William H. Taft.

Mrs. Thompson convened a meeting of the local Washington, D.C. units of the UCV and UDC organizations on November 6, 1906. The attendees formed the Arlington Confederate Monument Association to pursue and lead the memorial project. For a variety of reasons, the national level of the UDC eventually took over the effort as a major project of their organization, for which they raised funds.

The cornerstone for the memorial was laid on the afternoon November 12, 1912, as part of the UDC's national convention in Washington, D.C.—the first to be held "out of the South." After the cornerstone ceremony, on the evening of November 12, 1912, President Taft spoke to the attendees at the UDC national convention and praised them for their work on the Arlington Confederate memorial. During the cornerstone ceremony, a memorabilia box had been placed beneath the resting place of the cornerstone. The box contained 39 different items related to the history of the memorial; the organizations involved in its creation; and stamps, coins, newspapers, and other related ephemera.

President Woodrow Wilson dedicated and accepted the completed Confederate Memorial on June 4, 1914, at a major ceremony attended by thousands. The commanders-in-chief of both the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) were invited guests who made speeches. The symbolic decision to invite these two guests demonstrates the dedication organizers' intention to showcase the memorial as a powerful symbol of national unity and reconciliation following the Spanish-American War. Most of the speeches made at the dedication ceremony, however, clearly identified the memorial as a purposeful testament to the Lost Cause ideology, which was intended to justify and defend this distorted view of the Civil War in perpetuity. For example, General Bennett H. Young, commander-in-chief of the UCV, focused his speech on the remarkable nature of such a memorial being erected with the support of the federal government at a national cemetery. To him, it proved that total reconciliation between the North and South had been achieved. He believed that "Its happening marks another step in the complete elimination of sectional passions, suspicions, or prejudice. This monument is a history, a pledge, and a prophecy: as a history, it memorializes the devotion of a people to a cause that was lost; as a pledge, it gives assurance that North and South have clasped hands across a fratricidal grave; as a prophecy, it promises a blessed future in which sectional hate shall be fully transmuted into fraternity and good will."

In accepting the memorial for the government, President Wilson gave a speech that validated the sentiments expressed throughout the ceremony. Proclaiming that "this chapter in the history of the United States is now closed," he asked the audience to "turn with me

your faces to the future, quickened by the memories of the past, but with nothing to do with the contests of the past, knowing as we have shed our blood upon opposite sides, we now face admire one another."

The memorial itself was designed by sculptor Moses Ezekiel, who had fought for the Confederacy as a Virginia Military Institute cadet. The elaborately designed monument features a bronze, neoclassical female figure standing atop a bronze plinth and granite base. Around the plinth's base, a bas-relief features 32 life-sized sculptures that represent mythical gods alongside southern soldiers and civilians, including two enslaved African Americans (a man and a woman).

The symbolism of Ezekiel's sculpture reinterpreted the Civil War and slavery in a manner consistent with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideas about a "New South" that would be politically and economically integrated into a reunified nation. This project of so-called national reunification, however, denied the horrors of slavery and compromised African American civil rights, as had been codified in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments added to the Constitution after the Civil War.

The Arlington Confederate Memorial presented a highly sanitized representation of slavery, consistent with images of "faithful slaves" and "mammies" that appeared widely in American popular culture during this era. It promulgated false historical narratives about the Civil War and buttressed policies of segregation that aligned with the efforts of many white southerners and their supporters to maintain vestiges of the prewar racial hierarchy even after emancipation. Within the larger context of Civil War commemoration, Reconstruction, reconciliation, and the long struggle for African American civil rights, as well as the surrounding landscape of ANC, this memorial represented an important example of how the Lost Cause ideology was physically manifested in the built environment of the United States—in ways that perpetuated this perspective into the present day.

Errors from May 2012 entry:
1. "Arlington National Cemetery was established as a military cemetery during the Civil War on the Arlington House estate of Robert E. Lee."

1a. Robert E. Lee never owned the Arlington Estate, it was owned by his wife, Mary Anna Randolph Custis Lee, who inherited the property from her father, George Washington Parke Custis.

2. "After the end of the Civil War, the Arlington estate was primarily used as a cemetery. Several memorials, beginning with the Tomb of the Civil War Unknown in 1866, were erected in the cemetery during that time."

2a. The U.S. Army began to use the Arlington property as a military cemetery starting in 1864, which was during the Civil War, not after it. The proper name for the "Tomb of the Civil War Unknown" is the "Tomb of the Civil War Unknowns."

3. "More than 300,000 people are buried at the cemetery, veterans and military casualties from every American conflict."

3a. This is outdated information. As of 2022, more than 400,000 people have been buried at ANC.

4. Before that time families of Confederate soldiers were not always allowed to decorate the graves of their soldiers and, at times, were not allowed to enter the cemetery (Peters 2008:246).

4a. The ANC History Office is currently in the process of researching whether visitors were actually prohibited from entering the cemetery and decorating the graves of Confederates. Although this claim has been repeated in several secondary sources, the team has not yet found conclusive evidence to prove it is true. For example, in his 2022 dissertation, historian Dr. Christopher Warren (who formerly worked as an ANC historian) noted that some reports of this prohibition came from a "rebel perspective" and were "inconclusive at best, and pure fabrication at worst." Likewise, records from the National Archives indicate that there was no overall prohibition on the decoration of Confederate graves. A letter from Secretary of War William Belknap in 1874, for example, explained that there had been an order in 1873 which only allowed those associated with the Grand Army of the Republic to decorate graves on Decoration Day that year; however, the order only applied to that day in 1873, and no such order had been issued for 1874. Belknap noted that for 1874 at Arlington, "the grounds of that Cemetery will on that day be opened to all orderly persons who desire to decorate any of the graves within that enclosure." ANC was also providing "ordinary care" to Confederate graves. Thus, these sources indicate that there may have not actually been a total prohibition on the decoration of Confederate graves at ANC. Research on this topic will continue.

5. "In total, 482 persons are buried in the section; 46 officers, 351 enlisted men, 58 wives, 15 Southern civilians, and 12 unknowns."

5a. The ANC History Office, in conjunction with the Quality Assurance Team and the Office of the Chief Information Officer (OCIO), have validated 520 burials in Section 16. Based on the information available through ANC's public-facing Application Programming Interface (API), combined with Dr. Samuel Lewis's list of the 264 individuals buried in the Confederate Section as of November 12, 1901, the following count has been extracted: of the 520 total burials, 11 are civilians, 86 are spouses, 8 are unknowns, and the remaining 415 are Confederate soldiers who either died during the Civil War or chose to be buried in Section 16 following its establishment.

5b. Sources: ANC Public Web Service data retrieval
https://wspublic.eiss.army.mil/v1/IssRetrieveServices.svc/search?q=CEMETERYSECTION=16&sortColumn=PrimaryLastName,PrimaryFirstName&sortOrder=asc&start=0

5c. First Report of the Secretary of the United Confederate Veterans Association, List of Inscriptions on the Headstones of the Confederate Dead in the New "Confederate Section" in the Arlington, Virginia, National Cemetery, Near, Washington, D.C., as published in the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Re-Union of the United Confederate Veterans, 1907, p 36-41.

6. "The organization's petition was granted on March 4, 1906, by Secretary of War William Howard Taft, who, as president, spoke at a reception for the organization upon the laying of the cornerstone for the monument on November 12, 1912."

6a. President Taft spoke to the UDC on the evening of November 12, 1912, after they had laid the cornerstones for the memorial that afternoon. He did not speak to them "upon the laying of the cornerstone," but rather, after the laying of the cornerstone.

6b. Source: Hilary A. Herbert, History of the Arlington Confederate Monument (United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1914), 17-19, https://archive.org/details/historyofarlingt00herb/page/18/mode/2up?view=theater

Surveyor Recommendation: Recommended Potentially Eligible

Ownership

Ownership Category	Ownership Entity
Federal Govt	U.S. Department of the Army

Associate

Property Associate Name	Property Associate Role
Ezekiel, Moses J.	Sculptor
Aktien-Gesellschaft Gladenbeck	Other

Primary Resource Information

Resource Category:	Social/Recreational
Resource Type:	Sculpture/Statue
NR Resource Type:	Object
Historic District Status:	Contributing
Date of Construction:	1914
Date Source:	Owner
Historic Time Period:	Reconstruction and Growth (1866 - 1916)
Historic Context(s):	Architecture/Landscape, Funerary, Landscape, Recreation/Arts
Other ID Number:	*No Data*
Architectural Style:	No discernible style
Form:	*No Data*
Number of Stories:	*No Data*
Condition:	Fair
Threats to Resource:	Deterioration, Relocation
Cultural Affiliations:	Euro-American
Cultural Affiliation Details:	*No Data*

Architectural Description:

October 1995: Inscriptions: On sculpture: "M.Ezekiel - Sculptor Rome MCMXII" and "Made by / Atkien - Gesellshaft Gladenbeck/ Brunze - foundery/ Berlin - Friedrichshagen . Germany"
"Not for Fame or Reward/ Not for Place or Rank/ Not Lured by Ambition/ or Goaded by Necessity/ But in Simple/ Obedience to Duty / As They Understood it/ These Men Suffered all/ Sacrificed all/ Dared all - and Died./ Randolph Harrison McKim"
On South Side of Sculpture: "To/Our Dead Heroes/ by / the United Daughters/ of the Confederacy/ Victrix Causa Diis Placuit Sed Victa Catoni"
Carved Around Memorial: "And They Shall Beat Their Swords into Plough Shares and Their Spears into Pruning Hooks"
East side of Monument: "Burial Stone to - Moses J. Ezekiel/ Sergeant of Company C/ Battalion of Cadets/ of the / Virginia Military Institute."
Around the sculpture are shields to each state of the Confederacy. Some inscriptions are too worn to decipher.

Dimensions: Base: H:3' W: 27'8" Depth: 27'8"
Sculpture: H:32' W:17' Depth:15'6"
The monument is best summed as follows: "The 32-foot monument is crowned with a herioc-sized woman, symbolic of Peace, facing the South. Crowned with a wreath of olive leaves, she holds a laurel wreath, a plow stock, and a pruning hook. A vigorous high-relief, circular frieze in bronze is located around the center of the shaft and shows thirty-two life-size figures of Southern civilians bidding farewell to Confederate soldiers leaving for the war. Their sad return from the conflict iis recorded in the center part of the frieze. Above the frieze, which is a refreshingly realistic scene during a period when sculpture was dominated by allegorical Neoclassical figures, are carved in granite the seals of the Southern states. President Woodrow Wilson dedicated the sculpture in 1914, with 3,000 Confederate and Union veterans gathered to witness the occaision." - Outdoor Sculpture of Washington D.C., by James M. Goode. Page 197.

May 2012: The monument stands 32 feet tall and is dominated by a larger-than-life statue of a woman representing the South. Crowned with olive leaves, her left hand extends a laurel wreath southward in acknowledgment of the sacrifice of those who died in the war. Her right hand holds a pruning hook resting on a plow stock, illustrating the biblical passage that is inscribed at her feet: “And they shall beat their swords into plow shares and their spears into pruning hooks” (found in Isaiah 2:4, Micah 4:3, and Joel 3:10). The South stands on a pedestal with four cinerary urns, one for each year of the war, and is supported by a frieze with 14 shields, one for each of the 13 Confederate states and one for Maryland. The frieze directly underneath the plinth contains life-sized figures depicting mythical gods and Southern soldiers. At the front of the monument, the panoplied figure of Minerva, goddess of war and wisdom, tries to hold up the figure of a fallen woman (the South) who is resting on her shield, the Constitution. Behind the South the Spirits of War trumpet in every direction, calling the sons and daughters of the South to aid their falling mother. On either side of the fallen woman are figures depicting the sons and daughters who came to her aid, representing each branch of the Confederate Service: Soldier, Sailor, Sapper, and Miner.

The base of the monument has inscriptions on its north and south faces. On the south face, below the Confederate seal, the inscription reads: “To Our Dead Heroes By The United Daughters Of The Confederacy” followed by the Latin phrase Victrix Causa Diis Placuit Sed Victa Caton (“The Victorious Cause was Pleasing to the Gods, But the Lost Cause to Cato”). The north face reads: “Not for fame or reward / Not for place or for rank / Not lured by ambition / Or goaded by necessity / But in simple / Obedience to duty / As they understood it / These men suffered all / Sacrificed all / Dared all—and died.” Four Confederate soldiers are buried around the base of the monument: Moses Ezekiel, Lt. Harry C. Marmaduke (Confederate Navy), Capt. John M. Hickey (Second Missouri Infantry), and Brig. Gen. Marcus J. Wright who commanded brigades at Shiloh and Chickamauga.

Former Confederate soldier and internationally recognized sculptor Moses Ezekiel (1844-1917) was chosen to design the Confederate

Monument. Ezekiel was born in Virginia in 1844 and was attending the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) as its first Jewish cadet at the outbreak of the Civil War. Ezekiel fought at the Battle of New Market in 1864 and in the trenches outside Richmond near the war's close. After finishing his education at VMI in 1866, he moved to Berlin in 1868 to study at the Royal Academy of Art. Ezekiel moved to Rome after winning the Michel-Beer Prix de Rome from the Academy in 1874. Public commissions by Moses Ezekiel n the United States include "Religious Liberty" in Philadelphia, the Thomas Jefferson Monument in Louisville, Kentucky, the Jefferson Monument which stands before the Rotunda as well as the statue of Homer at the University of Virginia, and "Virginia Mourning her Dead" at VMI (Wrenshall 1910:12255-12264).

Although the monument and grave markers have not changed since its completion in 1914, the original pedestrian pathways leading to and encircling the monument were removed and replaced with lawn. A photograph dated circa 1910-1920 shows the monument without the walks, indicating that they may have been removed as early as the late 1910s. Four sections of shrubs form a circle just inside the inner-most ring of grave markers. Trees flank either side of the shrubs on the south. The entrances to the north and south have bushes.

DHR Staff, 2019, based on 2011 data: This bronze sculpture standing on a granite base and plinth commemorates Confederate dead.

Included in Timothy Sedore's "An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments" as monument number 135 on page 114.

December 2022:
Corrections:
1. Original Text:
Sculpture: H:32' W:17' Depth:15'6"
1a. Correction: Sculpture: H: 30' 3 3/4", W: Approximately, 18' 7" Depth: 15'6".
1b. Per the 2022 Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Survey No. VA-1348-J, conducted by the National Park Service.

2. Correction: The statue stands on a pedestal with four cinerary urns, one for each year of the war, and is supported by a frieze with 14 shields, one for each of the 11 Confederate states and the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri.

3. Correction: Moses Ezekiel's statue of Thomas Jefferson which stands before the Rotunda at the University of Virginia is a replica of his statue of Jefferson in Louisville, Kentucky.

4. Correction: Moses Ezekiel moved to Berlin in 1869, not 1868.
4a. Source: Ezekiel, Moses. "Baths of Diocletian" (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press., 1975), 18, 130-135, https://archive.org/details/memoirsfrombaths00mose/page/118/mode/1up?view=theater&q=Battle

5. Correction: After the battle of New Market, according to his own memoirs, Moses Ezekiel did not participate in any active engagements. However, he stood post and dug into rifle holes on the intermediate lines outside Richmond, Virginia near the end of the war.]
5a. Source: Ezekiel, Moses. "Baths of Diocletian" (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press., 1975), 118. https://archive.org/details/memoirsfrombaths00mose/page/118/mode/1up?view=theater&q=Battle

6. Correction: He won the Michel-Beer Prix de Rome in 1873 but did not move to Rome until 1874.
6a. Source: Ezekiel, Moses. "Baths of Diocletian" (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press., 1975), 17, 164, 167, 173, https://archive.org/details/memoirsfrombaths00mose/page/164/mode/1up?view=theater&q=Battle

Secondary Resource Information

Historic District Information

Historic District Name:	Arlington National Cemetery Historic District
Local Historic District Name:	*No Data*
Historic District Significance:	Arlington National Cemetery was established as a military cemetery during the Civil War in 1864 on 210 acres of Mary Custis Lee's 1,100-acre Arlington estate. After the end of the Civil War, the Arlington estate was used as a cemetery, military camp, and settlement area for freedmen. The picturesque planning and design of the cemetery is attributable to the direction of Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs during the first decades of the cemetery's existence. Arlington National Cemetery is also included in the architectural plan of the City of Washington's monumental core, which includes the Capitol, the National Mall, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, and Arlington Memorial Bridge. The Tomb of the Unknowns, placed in 1921, strongly emphasized the memorial nature of the cemetery. Arlington National continues to be used as an active cemetery today, accommodating more than four million visitors a year, and is administered by the Department of the Army, which oversees all burial, maintenance, and visitor services. ---------- December 2022: The property that became Arlington National Cemetery (ANC) was seized by the U.S. government for defensive purposes in 1861, around the time of the start of the Civil War. Owned at the time by Mary Custis Lee, the wife of Robert E. Lee, the property's hilltop location formed a critical strategic location needed to protect the U.S. capital, and the U.S. Army built several fortifications there. In 1863, the federal government established a Freedman's Village on the property as a refugee camp for formerly enslaved people. As wartime fatalities increased and burial space in the Washington, D.C., area became scarcer, the U.S. Army began to use the Arlington property for military burials in May 1864. The land became a national cemetery in June 1864.

Initially, like the other new national cemeteries established during the Civil War era, Arlington was not considered an honorable or desirable place to be buried. Rather, it was perceived as a cemetery for service members whose families could not afford to send their bodies home for burial. That perception began to change, however, in May 1868, with the first annual, national Decoration Day observance at ANC. This ceremony elevated the cemetery's national profile and transformed it into a central site of mourning and memory.

The cemetery's picturesque planning and design can be attributed, in part, to the direction of Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs during the first decades of its existence. As ANC became more nationally prominent, it increased in size, and its design features become more carefully planned. Eventually, ANC became culturally iconic as a significant part of the symbolic landscape of the nation's capital and its surrounding areas. The National Capital Planning Commission considers ANC to be a part of Washington's monumental core, which includes the Capitol, the National Mall, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, and Arlington Memorial Bridge (which links ANC to the city). With the addition of Memorial Amphitheater in 1920 and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in 1921, ANC became even more nationally and internationally renowned. Burials increased with each subsequent war, and burial space became especially coveted after the nationally televised state funeral of President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

ANC continues to serve as an active cemetery today, while receiving over three million visitors each year. Many Americans understand ANC as the nation's premier military cemetery. As the site of the annual national Memorial Day and Veterans Day observances—as well as regular visits from foreign and domestic dignitaries, who come to pay their respects to the U.S. military by laying wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier—ANC continues to play a unique role as a central site of American military mourning, identity, patriotism, and nationalism.

Corrections from original text (Above December 2022):
1. "After the end of the Civil War, the Arlington estate was used as a cemetery, military camp, and settlement area for freedmen."

1a. Starting in 1861, the U.S. Army occupied the Arlington property for defensive purposes and built several fortifications. In 1863—during the Civil War, not after the end of the Civil War—the U.S. government established a Freedman's Village on the property. The first military burials on the Arlington property began in 1864—during the Civil War, not after the end of the Civil War.

CRM Events

Event Type: Survey:Phase II/Intensive

Project Review File Number: *No Data*
Investigator: Caitlin Smith
Organization/Company: Arlington National Cemetery
Photographic Media: Digital
Survey Date: 12/16/2022
Dhr Library Report Number: *No Data*
Project Staff/Notes:

Caitlin Smith, AIC PA, M.S.
Allison Finkelstein, Ph.D.
Steve Carney, Ph.D.
Jenifer Van Vleck, Ph.D.
Matthew Migliozzi, B.A.
Anita Hill, B.A.

Project Bibliographic Information:

Confederate Memorial (000-1235)
Jackson Circle
Arlington National Cemetery
Arlington, Virginia
Phase II Architectural Survey
December 2022

Cultural Resource Management:
Caitlin Smith
Matthew Migliozzi
Anita Hill

Historians:
Dr. Allison Finkelstein
Dr. Steve Carney

Dr. Jenifer Van Vleck

Period Of Significance:

1906 - 1914

Level of Significance:

National

Surveyor's NR Criteria Recommendations:

A - Associated with Broad Patterns of History, C - Distinctive Characteristics of Architecture/Construction

Surveyor's NR Criteria Consideration Recommendations:

D - Cemetery, F - Commemorative Property

Phase II Intensive Survey Integrity Recommendations:

Location; Design; Setting; Materials; Workmanship; Feeling; Association

Event Type: Other

Project Review File Number: *No Data*
Investigator: Timothy S. Sedore
Organization/Company: DHR
Photographic Media: *No Data*
Survey Date: 1/1/2019
Dhr Library Report Number: *No Data*

Project Staff/Notes:

Data entry by DHR staff in 2019 to record/update existing records for Confederate monuments included in Timothy Sedore's "An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments."

This project did not involve field verification. VCRIS data entry will not result in hardcopy files in DHR's archives.

Project Bibliographic Information:

Confederate Memorial (000-1235)
Jackson Circle
Arlington National Cemetery
Arlington, Virginia
Phase II Architectural Survey
December 2022

Cultural Resource Management:
Caitlin Smith
Matthew Migliozzi
Anita Hill

Historians:
Dr. Allison Finkelstein
Dr. Steve Carney
Dr. Jenifer Van Vleck

Surveyor's NR Criteria Recommendations:

A - Associated with Broad Patterns of History, C - Distinctive Characteristics of Architecture/Construction

Surveyor's NR Criteria Consideration Recommendations:

D - Cemetery, F - Commemorative Property

Phase II Intensive Survey Integrity Recommendations:

Location; Design; Setting; Materials; Workmanship; Feeling; Association

Event Type: Survey:Phase I/Reconnaissance

Project Review File Number: *No Data*
Investigator: Tooker, Megan
Organization/Company: Unknown (DSS)
Photographic Media: *No Data*
Survey Date: 5/1/2012
Dhr Library Report Number: The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington D.C.

Project Staff/Notes:

May 2012: Survey performed by Megan Tooker and Adam Smith, USACE, ERDC-CERL, in support of National Register nomination for Arlington National Cemetery. Data entry performed by Megan Tooker.

Project Bibliographic Information:

Confederate Memorial (000-1235)
Jackson Circle
Arlington National Cemetery
Arlington, Virginia
Phase II Architectural Survey
December 2022

Cultural Resource Management:
Caitlin Smith
Matthew Migliozzi
Anita Hill

Historians:
Dr. Allison Finkelstein
Dr. Steve Carney
Dr. Jenifer Van Vleck

Surveyor's NR Criteria Recommendations:

A - Associated with Broad Patterns of History, C - Distinctive Characteristics of Architecture/Construction

Surveyor's NR Criteria Consideration Recommendations:

D - Cemetery, F - Commemorative Property

Phase II Intensive Survey Integrity Recommendations:

Location; Design; Setting; Materials; Workmanship; Feeling; Association

Event Type: Other

Project Review File Number: *No Data*
Investigator: Courson, Glenn
Organization/Company: Unknown (DSS)
Photographic Media: *No Data*
Survey Date: 10/3/1995
Dhr Library Report Number: The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington D.C.

Project Staff/Notes:

SOS! Survey

Project Bibliographic Information:

Confederate Memorial (000-1235)
Jackson Circle
Arlington National Cemetery
Arlington, Virginia
Phase II Architectural Survey
December 2022

Cultural Resource Management:
Caitlin Smith
Matthew Migliozzi
Anita Hill

Historians:
Dr. Allison Finkelstein
Dr. Steve Carney
Dr. Jenifer Van Vleck

Surveyor's NR Criteria Recommendations:

A - Associated with Broad Patterns of History, C - Distinctive Characteristics of Architecture/Construction

Surveyor's NR Criteria Consideration Recommendations:

D - Cemetery, F - Commemorative Property

Phase II Intensive Survey Integrity Recommendations:

Location; Design; Setting; Materials; Workmanship; Feeling; Association

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II. ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS
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Property Notes:

No Data

APPENDIX II: STAFF QUALIFICATIONS

Caitlin Smith, AIC PA, M.S., ANMC's Cultural Resources Program Manager, served as principal investigator on this project. She has served as Cultural Resources Manager at ANMC since 2021, and previously served as Conservation Program Manager from 2019-2021. She earned her M.S. in Historic Preservation, with a focus on Building Conservation, from the University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Philadelphia, PA. She also earned a B.A. in Historic Preservation and Political Science from the University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg, VA. Ms. Smith is an active member in several conservation and preservation professional associations, and regularly presents her work at professional conferences, workshops, symposia, and seminars.

Allison S. Finkelstein, Ph.D., ANMC's Senior Historian, served as principal author on this project. Dr. Finkelstein has worked at ANC since 2019 as a Historian (0170). She earned her Ph.D. in U.S. history from the University of Maryland, College Park, where she also earned a Ph.D. minor and graduate certificate in historic preservation, with a concentration on the preservation of military cemeteries and battlefields. A specialist on military memory and commemoration, Dr. Finkelstein has written an award-winning book and numerous other publications. She previously worked for the American Battle Monuments Commission and the Department of Defense Vietnam War Commemoration Program.

Stephen Carney, Ph.D., ANMC's Command Historian provided additional support for this project. He has served as a Historian (0170) for the U.S. Army since 2002. In addition, he served as the Department of Defense's representative to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's (ACHP) working group on controversial commemorative works. His work on this initiative contributed to the publication of ACHP's policy statement on the management or disposition of controversial commemorative works, such as memorials honoring divisive historical figures or events. That policy statement can be viewed here: https://www.achp.gov/digital-library-section-106-landing/achp-policy-statement-controversial-commemorative-works

Jenifer Van Vleck, Ph.D., contract historian, provided writing and editing support for this project. She earned her Ph.D. in History from Yale University in 2010. Dr. Van Vleck subsequently taught at Yale as a professor, authored an award-winning book and numerous journal articles, and advised ten Ph.D. dissertations. In 2016, she left academia to pursue a career in public history, initially as a Museum Curator (1015) at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum. Her fields of expertise include American social and cultural history, the history of technology, the history of U.S. foreign relations, and the military in American society.

Anita Hill, BA, ANMC Cultural Resource Management/ Architectural Historian Intern (2022), provided additional support for this project. Ms. Hill earned her B.A. in Classics with honors from Grinnell College, where she won the Seneca Prize in Classics and was inducted into

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Matthew Migliozzi, BA, ANMC Cultural Resource Management/ Architectural Historian Intern (2022), provided additional support for this project. Mr. Migliozzi earned his B.A. in History from the University of Maryland, College Park, where he was inducted into Phi Alpha Theta, the national honor society for History. He also earned his A.A. in Humanities & Social Sciences from the Community College of Baltimore County, where he was a member of the Phi Theta Kappa International Honor Society. His work has been published in the University of Maryland's, *Janus: The Undergraduate History Journal*, and he has also served as a Historical Research Intern with the Mellon Scholars Summer Research Experience.

APPENDIX III: CONSTRUCTION EXAMINATION

Confederate Memorial Construction Examination

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Edited by: Caitlin Smith, ANMC Cultural Resources Program Manager

Conducted: July 14, 2023

Access: Inspections conducted from the ground and a mobile elevated work platform (Figure 2)

Figure 1. Confederate Memorial, Arlington Cemetery, ca. 1914-1920. Harris & Ewing, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2016854701.

As no construction drawings for the Confederate Memorial have yet been found, the ANMC Conservation Program conducted a visual inspection of all bronze surfaces in an attempt to identify how the pieces of the monument came together during the construction process.

Construction methods for large bronze sculptures remain largely unchanged since the 20th-century. Large bronze statues of this type are commonly produced by casting relatively thin and hollow shell castings of individual elements. These elements are then joined together at a foundry into components of an appropriate size for transportation to the final site of construction, where they are assembled. After assembly, there are often still exposed open joints at the bronze surface, between the individual bronze pieces. Large bronze monuments that cannot support their own weight typically require an internal bracing system. Many iconic bronze statues, such as the Statue of Unity in Gujarat, India, and the Statue of Liberty in New York (Figure 2) utilize this method of reinforcement. This system may also be used to secure the bronze to a foundation or base.[125]

The joints between bronze elements can be discrete and difficult to discern, as they are meant to recede from view and not detract from the overall aesthetic of the structure (Figure 3). Bronze pieces are generally designed so that the seams connecting them are not obvious to the viewer (Figures 4–5); construction usually involves additional efforts to hide these seams.[126] Seams or

joints are filled using a variety of techniques. A bronze foundry may use sleeved, pinned, or riveted joints, known as "Roman joints." This process has now been superseded by welding and brazing. Brazing is a metal-joining process in which two or more metal items are joined together by melting and flowing a filler metal into the joint. Brazing fills gaps between bronze pieces, rather than melting them together. Additionally, there are known peened repairs at the Confederate Memorial. Peening is a metalworking process wherein cold pieces of metal are hammered together to close voids (Figures 6–7).[127]

A 2015 conservation treatment of the memorial included work to fill openings in the bronze structure to prevent infiltration by water, debris, and wildlife. These efforts further disguised the seams. The 2015 treatments filled open voids with mechanical repairs (i.e., bronze sheet and threaded rod peened in place) and used a bronze-filled epoxy filler (Figures 6–9).

In general, the horizontal seams between bronze elements are readily apparent and easily recognizable, whereas the vertical seams are better hidden. Some of the seams identified by the Conservation team could have originated from the conjoining of elements in the foundry and do not represent individual components of the monument. These foundry joins combined smaller bronze castings into larger bronze elements before shipping the components for assembly in the United States. The memorial likely arrived as at least 16 individual bronze components, and likely utilized a support structure to facilitate the construction, connect the individual elements, and provide additional rigidity. Thus, even without construction drawings and documentation, it is possible to develop an evidence-based theory of how the Confederate Memorial was constructed between 1912 and 1914.

Figure 2. Conservation team utilizing a mobile boom lift to conduct a visual examination of the memorial. U.S. Army photo, July 14, 2023.

Figure 3. Photograph by Albert Fernique showing the steel internal bracing system in the Statue of Liberty, 1883.
The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, The New York Public Library. "Assemblage of the Statue of Liberty in Paris, showing the bottom half of the statue erect under scaffolding, the head and torch at its feet." digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47de-0a19-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

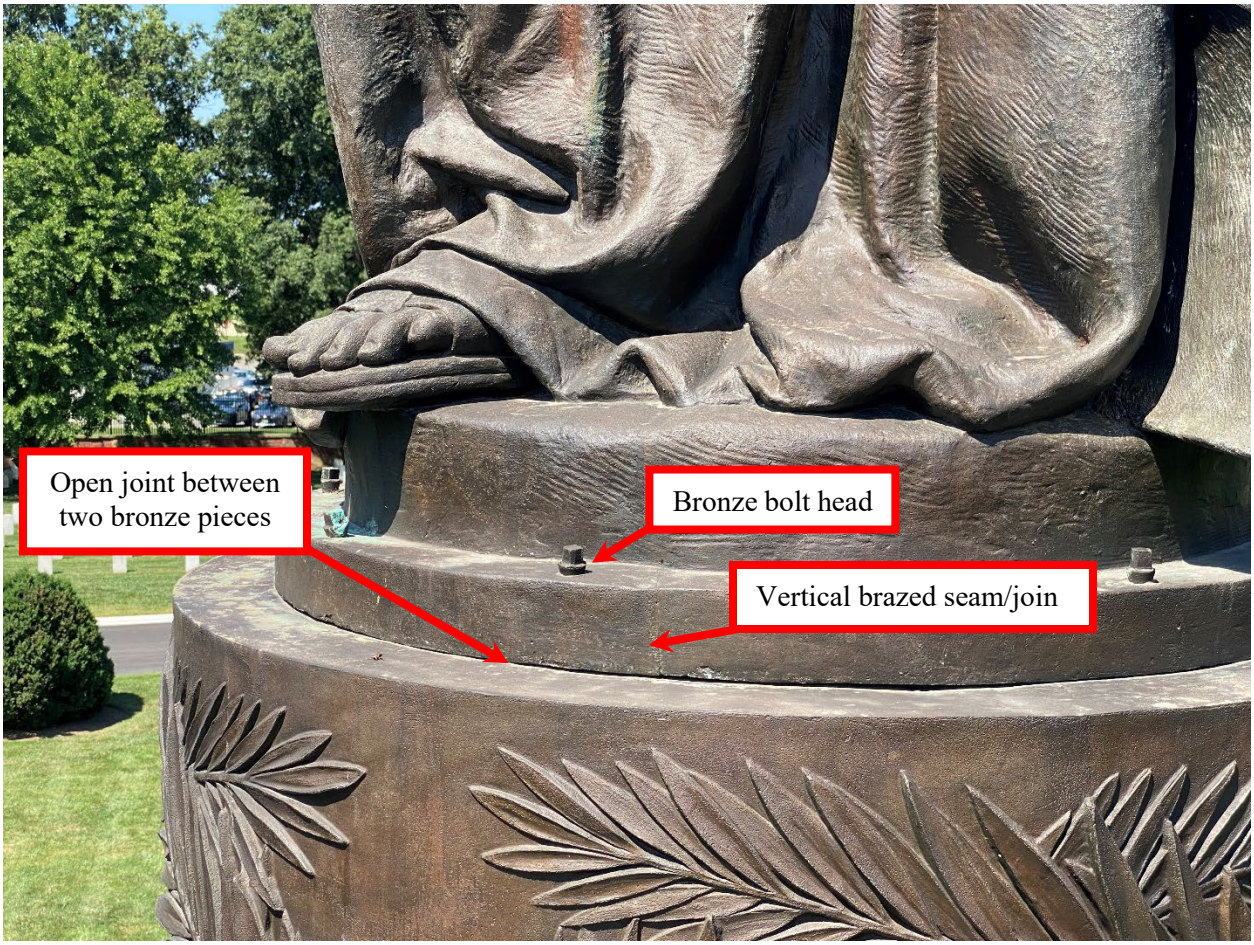

Figure 4. Illustrated photo showing (1) open joint between two bronze pieces, (2) vertical brazed seam/join, and (3) exposed bolt head. U.S. Army photo, July 14, 2023.

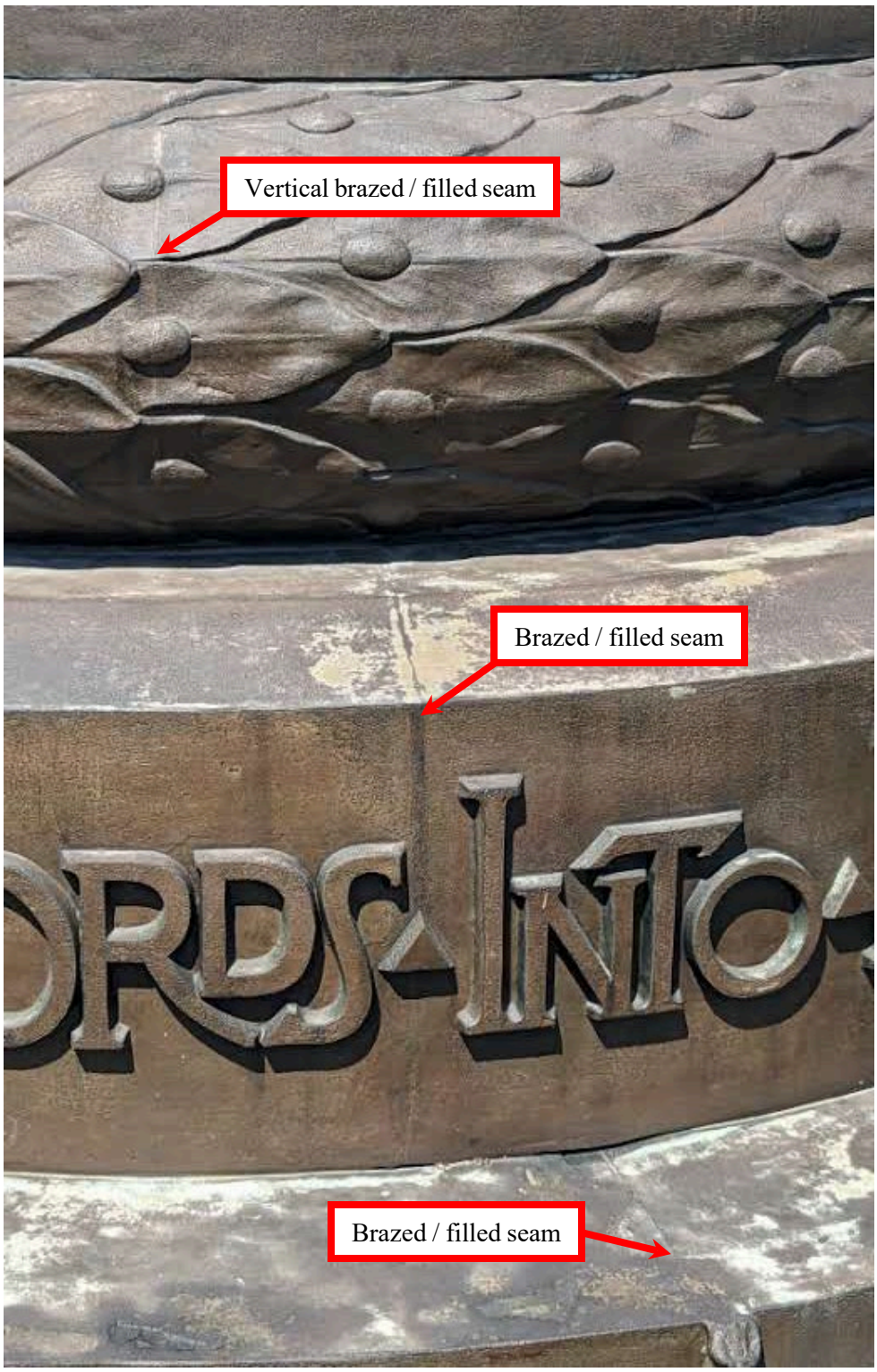

Figure 5. Illustrated photo showing a brazed or otherwise filled seam between bronze elements. U.S. Army photo, July 14, 2023.

Figure 6. Bronze sheet installed to fill gap, part of the 2015 conservation treatment. Conservation Solutions, Inc., 2015.

Figure 7. Bronze sheet peened in place to fill gap, part of the 2015 conservation treatment. Conservation Solutions, Inc., 2015.

Figures 8–9. Installation of bronze-filled epoxy into open seam (during repair above, and after repair below) as part of the 2015 conservation treatment. Conservation Solutions, Inc., 2015.

Figure 10. Possible attachment location for internal structural support. U.S. Army photo, July 14, 2023.

The following annotated images illustrate the open joints and filled seams visible between what the Conservation Program believes are the individual bronze components that form the memorial (Figures 11–17). Using these joints and seams as a guide, the Conservation Program identified at least 16 different bronze castings or components which comprise the memorial (Figures 15–17). Additionally, there are exposed bronze bolt heads at the base of the statue of the South (Figure 4) and evidence of possible attachment locations for the internal structural supports (Figure 10).

Figure 11. Confederate Memorial (000-1235), south elevation. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model from HABS 2022 Study. Image annotated to show visible seams made in the assembly of the monument at ANC, joins likely made at the Berlin foundry, and bolts which hold the top statue of the South to the pedestal depicting the four cinerary urns.

"Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

Figure 12. Confederate Memorial (000-1235), west elevation. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model from HABS 2022 Study. Image annotated to show visible seams made in the assembly of the monument at ANC, joins likely made at the Berlin foundry, and bolts which hold the top statue to the pedestal.

"Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

Figure 13. Confederate Memorial (000-1235), north elevation. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model from HABS 2022 Study. Image annotated to show visible seams made in the assembly of the monument at ANC, joins made at the Berlin foundry, and bolts which hold the top statue to the pedestal.

"Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

Figure 14. Confederate Memorial (000-1235), east elevation. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model from HABS 2022 Study. Image annotated to show visible seams made in the assembly of the monument at ANC, joins likely made at the Berlin foundry, and bolts which hold the top statue to the pedestal.

"Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

Component 1	Statue of the South
Component 2	Pedestal of Cinerary Urns
Component 3	Wreath Plinth
Component 4	Biblical Circle Inscription
Component 5	Frieze of Shields
Component 6	Figural Frieze
Component 7	Northwest Bronze Base
Component 8	North Bronze Base
Component 9	Northeast Bronze Base
Component 10	East Bronze Base
Component 11	Southeast Bronze Base
Component 12	South Bronze Base
Component 13	Southwest Bronze Base
Component 14	West Bronze Base
Component 15	West Torch
Component 16	East Torch

Figure 15. Bronze Component List.

Figure 16. Confederate Memorial (000-1235), South elevation. Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model from HABS 2022 Study. Image annotated to show major components of the monument and differentiate between bronze components.

"Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

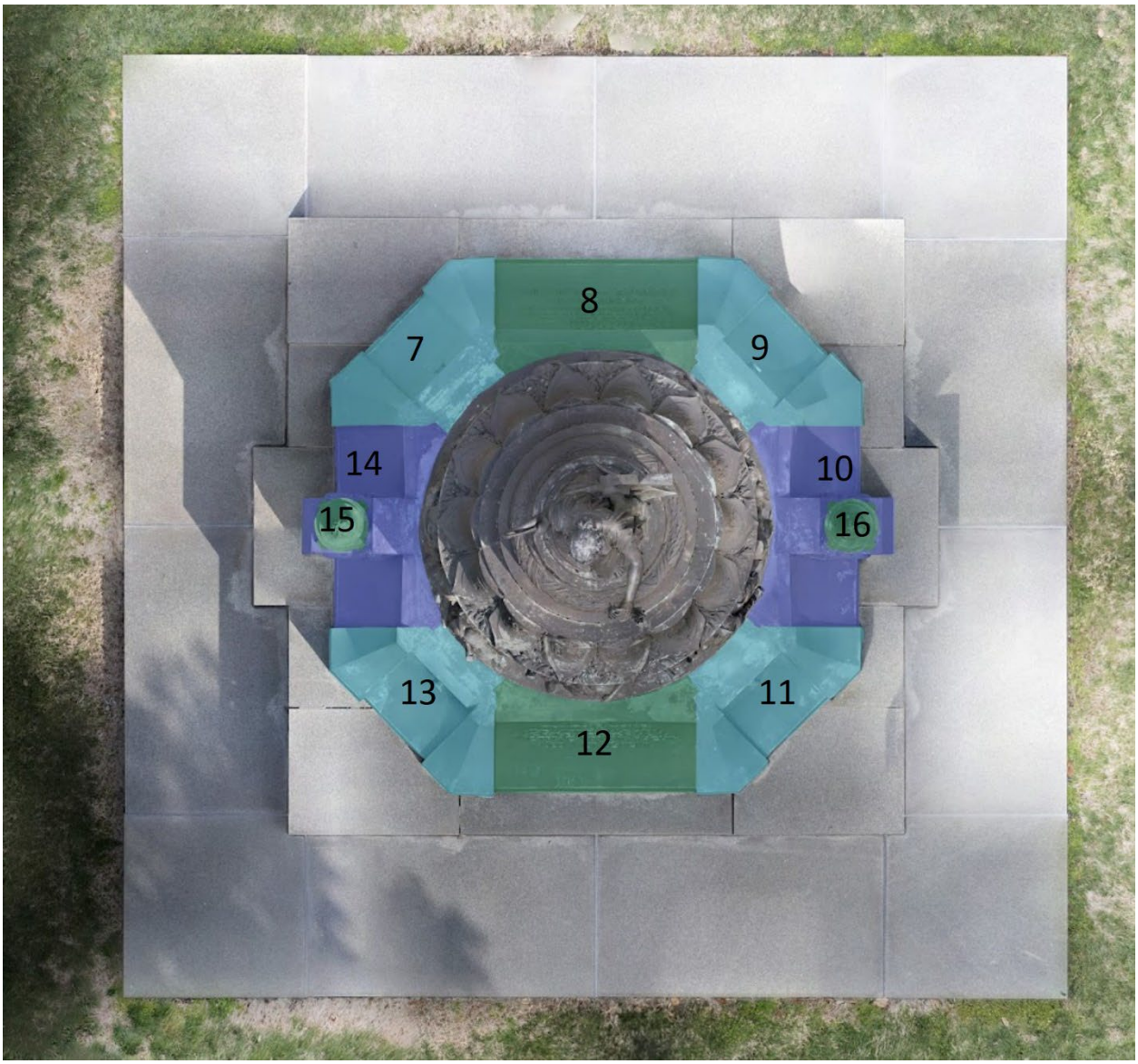

Figure 17. Confederate Memorial (000-1235). Ortho-imagery generated from photogrammetric model from HABS 2022 Study: bird's eye view. Image annotated to show major components of the octagonal bronze base.

"Confederate Memorial Documentation Project, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington County, VA, 2022." Survey No. VA-1348 – J. Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022.

ENDNOTES

[1] Commission on the Naming of Items of the Department of Defense that Commemorate the Confederate States of America or Any Person Who Served Voluntarily with the Confederate States of America (hereafter "The Naming Commission"), https://www.thenamingcommission.gov/faqs (accessed February 22, 2022).
[2] Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for Senior Pentagon Leadership, Defense Agency and DoD Field Activity Directors, October 6, 2022, https://media.defense.gov/2022/Oct/06/2003092544/-1/-1/1/IMPLEMENTATION-OF-THE-NAMING-COMMISSIONS-RECOMMENDATIONS.PDF (accessed February 22, 2023).
[3] The Naming Commission, Final Report to Congress, submitted to the Secretary of Defense on September 19, 2022, Part III, 15, https://www.thenamingcommission.gov/report (accessed February 22, 2023).
[4] Naming Commission, Final Report Part III, 16, https://www.thenamingcommission.gov/report (accessed February 22, 2023).
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[8] The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as Amended (36 CFR 800.4(b)(1)) (NHPA).
[9] Arlington National Cemetery. "Monument Maintenance Master Record." n.d.
[10] Arlington National Cemetery. "Monument Maintenance Master Record." n.d.
[11] Historic Architecture Team, Historic Preservation Training Center (NPS), "Arlington National Cemetery, Cultural Resources, Condition Assessment Report, Phase IV, Vol. II, February 2021, for Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA."
[12] Historic Preservation Training Center (NPS). "Monument Inspections, Arlington National Cemetery, FY10." August 8, 2010.
[13] Conservation Solutions, Inc. "Conservation Treatment Report for the Confederate Memorial." February 18, 2016.
[14] Arlington National Cemetery, "History of Arlington National Cemetery," https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/History-of-Arlington-National-Cemetery (accessed February 22, 2022); Micki McElya, *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 12-29.
[15] National Park Service, "George Washington Parke Custis," https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/george-custis.htm (accessed February 22, 2023); McElya, 12-29.
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[19] McElya, *The Politics of Mourning*, 28-20; Poole, *On Hallowed Ground*, 20-21, 32-36.

[20] Some of these fortifications can be seen on this map: Extract of Military Map of N.E. Virginia Showing Forts and Roads. [Washington, D.C.]: Engineer Bureau, War Department, 1865, https://www.loc.gov/item/88690679/https://www.loc.gov/item/88690679/.
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[23] McElya, *The Politics of Mourning*, 96-97, 98-99.
[24] Poole, *On Hallowed Ground*, 191; "Executive Order 9981, dated July 26, 1948, in which President Harry S. Truman bans the segregation of the Armed Forces," Series: Executive Orders, 1862–2016, Record Group (RG) 11: General Records of the United States Government, 1778–2006, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA): https://www.archivesfoundation.org/documents/executive-order-9981-ending-segregation-armed-forces/; "ANC Burial Log, 1865," ANC Historical Research Collection.
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[27] Eric Foner, "Reconstruction," U.S. National Park Service, last modified August 11, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/articles/reconstruction.htm.
[28] For more on the intersection between the failures of Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and the memory of the Civil War, see for example: Foner, "Reconstruction," https://www.nps.gov/articles/reconstruction.htm; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); and Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (Peter Smith Pub, 2001).
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[30] Blair, *Cities of the Dead,* 182; Michelle A. Krowl, "'In the Spirit of Fraternity': The United States Government and the Burial of Confederate Dead at Arlington National Cemetery, 1864-1914," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 111, No. 2 (2003): 151; Shannon Bontrager, *Death at the Edges of Empire: Fallen Soldiers, Cultural Memory, and the Making of an American Nation, 1863-1921* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020), 91-97. Krowl's article provides a detailed history and analysis of the effort to rebury Confederate dead in ANC.
[31] William McKinley, *Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley: From March 1, 1897 to May 30, 1900* (New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., 1900), 158-159; United States Department of Veterans Affairs, *Federal Stewardship of Confederate Dead* (2016), 22-23, https://www.cem.va.gov/CEM/publications/NCA_Fed_Stewardship_Confed_Dead.pdf.
[32] Krowl, "In the Spirit of Fraternity," 161-162; Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 187-188; Department of Veterans Affairs, *Federal Stewardship of Confederate Dead*, 22-23.
[33] McKinley, *Speeches and Addresses,* 158-159; Department of Veterans Affairs, *Federal Stewardship of Confederate Dead*, 22-23; Hilary A. Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument* (United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1914), 6-7, https://archive.org/details/historyofarlingt00herb/page/n1/mode/2up?view=theater&q=taf (accessed February 22, 2023). The following source claims that the Charles Broadway Rouss Camp No. 1191 of the UCV was organized for the specific purpose of securing government action on the Confederate graves at ANC: "First Report of the Secretary of the Monumental Committee of the United Confederate Veterans' Association," 2; United Confederate Veterans (UCV), *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans: Held at Richmond, Va; On Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, May 30th and 31st, June 1st, 2d and*

3d, 1907 (1907), 2, https://books.google.com/books?id=JsUTAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA3-PA23&lpg=RA3-PA23&dq=A+Petition+from+the+Charles+Broadway+Rouss+Camp+of+Washington,+D.C.,+Camp+No.+1191,+June+5,+1899&source=bl&ots=_-7hTw4PcI&sig=ACfU3U3BI6mtpvskBBPro--b-B8WrgDYQQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjZ9JCpkcjqAhXlgXIEHf_nCLwQ6AEwAHoECAsQAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false. In their report on the project to create a Confederate section in Arlington, the Rouss Camp specifically cited McKinley's speech as the impetus for their effort. United Confederate Veterans Washington, "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery and Attention Called to the Care Required for the Graves of Confederate Soldiers Who Dies in Federal Prisons and Military Hospitals Now Buried in Northern States by the Charles Broadway Rouss Camp No. 1191," (Washington DC: Judd & Detweiler Printers, 1901), 4, 10-11.

[33] Krowl, "In the Spirit of Fraternity," 161-162, Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 187-188.

[34] United Confederate Veterans (UCV), *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans,* 20; "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 21.

[35] For more information on the power struggles between men's and women's organizations on this topic, see Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 261-262. See also Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2022); Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2019); and Cynthia Mills and Pamela Hemenway Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003).

[36] Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 188-193; United Confederate Veterans (UCV), *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans*, 13-14; Department of Veterans Affairs, *Federal Stewardship of Confederate Dead*, 23-24; "An Act Making Appropriations for Sundry Civil Expenses of the Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 13, 1901, and for Other Purposes, Reburial at of Certain Confederate Soldiers," 31 Stat 630, Chapter 791, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December 1899 to March 1901*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office); "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 12-13, 32-36; Krowl, "In the Spirit of Fraternity," 168-170.

[37] 31 Stat 630, Chapter 791.

[38] The work that finished around October 1901 entailed setting the headstones; the installation of the plantings and shrubberies was planned for the next spring. The perpetual care of the graves in this section would be the same as for the rest of the cemetery and would come from Congressional appropriations. "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 5; Krowl, "In the Spirit of Fraternity," 165.

[39] Department of Veterans Affairs, *Federal Stewardship of Confederate Dead*, 24-25; Krowl, "In the Spirit of Fraternity," 164-166.

[40] Department of Veterans Affairs, *Federal Stewardship of Confederate Dead*, 24-25.

[41] Confederate Veterans, *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans* 4.

[42] H.A. Herbert, letter to the Secretary of the Confederate Veterans' Association No. 171, U.C.V., February 6, 1901, Confederate Veterans, *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans,* 28; Cox, "The Confederate Monument at Arlington," 150.

[43] H.A. Herbert, letter to the Secretary of the Confederate Veterans' Association No. 171, U.C.V., February 6, 1901, in Confederate Veterans, *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans*, 29.

[44] "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 14.

[45] See, for example, Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*; and Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

[46] NCA, *Federal Stewardship of the Confederate Dead*, 27-39; "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 14-15, 45-47.

[47] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 7; Krowl, "In the Spirit of Fraternity," 170-172; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 352. For more on how gestures of reconciliation like this wreath abetted the Lost Cause mythology, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*. A particularly strong example is the 1913 reunion at Gettysburg, analyzed in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 7-12.

[48] Confederate Veterans, *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans*, 24; Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 7. Another early discussion of the plans for the memorial was noted in "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery." This report stated that: "The blue-print of the plot of this section, as it came from the hands of the officers of the War Department, had the round

plot in the center marked conspicuously 'M.'" Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 25.
[49] "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 36. Herbert also described this temporary plan for a vase with plants where a monument would later go: see Confederate Veterans, *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans*, 28; "Report on the Reburial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery," 36.
[50] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 8-9; "Confederate Shaft Approved by Taft; Tanner Letter of Approval," *Washington Times*, April 8, 1906. The exact sequence of events surrounding Taft's permission is still under investigation by the ANC History Office. See also Arlington National Cemetery, https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Monuments-and-Memorials/President-William-H-Taft-Gravesite (accessed February 22, 2023). For more on the involvement of the UDC in the memorial's creation and its eventual leadership of the project, see Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*, 262-265; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 53-54; and Karen L. Cox, "The Confederate Monument at Arlington."
[51] Cox, "The Confederate Monument at Arlington," 150; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 53; United Daughters of the Confederacy, "Minutes of the 15th Annual Convention held in Atlanta, Ga. Nov. 11-14, 1908," 276, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x001542140?urlappend=%3Bseq=732%3Bownerid=27021597769934863-738; United Daughters of the Confederacy, "Minutes of the 16th Annual Convention 16th held in Houston, TX Oct 19-20, 1909," 278, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433079013805?urlappend=%3Bseq=286%3Bownerid=27021597765518613-300.
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[53] Krowl, "In the Spirit of Fraternity," 180; Cox, "The Confederate Monument at Arlington," 155; Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 18, 17-39.
[54] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 28-35, contains a list of items in the box.
[55] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 31; Cox, "The Confederate Monument at Arlington," 150.
[56] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 35. The Tanner Amphitheater at ANC, originally the "Old Amphitheater," was renamed the James Tanner Amphitheater in 2019. It was the site of the first official Memorial Day ceremony on May 30, 1868. Tanner himself is buried nearby in Section 2. Arlington National Cemetery, "Tanner Amphitheater," https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Monuments-and-Memorials/Tanner-Amphitheater (accessed February 24, 2023).
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[63] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 61.
[64] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 18, 69-71.
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[72] Naming Commission, Final Report Part III, 15-16.
[73] See, McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*; Wallace-Sanders, *Mammy*; Wallace-Sanders, "Southern Memory, Southern Monuments, and the Subversive Black Mammy." Historian Kevin Levin has demonstrated that the voluntary enlistment of Black men in the Confederate Army was a myth deeply rooted in the Lost Cause. He includes an analysis of how the ANC Confederate Memorial contributed to this myth. See Kevin M. Levin, *Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War's Most Persistent Myth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019) 1-11, 97-99, 136, 149-150, 156-157.
[74] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 76-77.
[75] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 78; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 261-263
[76] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 78-79; Isaiah 2:4 via Bible Gateway, https://www.biblegateway.com/verse/en/Isaiah%202%3A4 (accessed February 22, 2023).
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[78] Herbert, *History of the Arlington Confederate Monument*, 78-79.
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[80] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, "Guidelines for Conducting Historic Resources Survey in Virginia," https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/SurveyManual_2017.pdf, September 2017.
[81] The United States Army has specific regulations for the establishment, organization, and requirements for a field History Office. These are contained in Army Regulation (AR) 870-5, Military History: Responsibilities, Policies, and Procedures. Headquarters Department of the Army Washington, DC, 16 September 2021.
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[83] Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past*, 6-8; Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), "Whose Heritage?" 3rd edition, 24-25, https://www.splcenter.org/whose-heritage (accessed February 22, 2023).
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[89] Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 262-263.
[90] American Battlefield Trust, "Civil War Facts," last updated August 24, 2021, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/civil-war-facts (accessed February 22, 2023); Timothy Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), 1.
[91] Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments,* 1; SPLC, "Whose Heritage?" 1st edition, 10; SPLC, "Whose Heritage" database, https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1W4H2qa2THM1ni53QYZftGob_k_Bf9HreFAtCERfjCIU/edit#gid=1205021846 (accessed February 22, 2023).
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[93] Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 262-263.
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