

ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY  
MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER  
AND  
TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

HAB NO. VA-1348-G

APRIL 2020

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### ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER AND TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

HABS No. VA-1348-G

- Location:** The Memorial Amphitheater and Tomb of the Unknown Soldier are located in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Arlington County, Virginia.<sup>1</sup> They are situated on a small hill to the south of the Arlington House and adjacent to the *USS Maine* Memorial, and are bounded on the north side by Wilson Drive, on the east by Roosevelt Drive, on the south by Porter Drive, and on the west by Memorial Drive. The Tomb is located on the east side of the Memorial Amphitheater. The Memorial Amphitheater is located at latitude: 38.876414, longitude: -77.072746. This coordinate was taken at the amphitheater stage and was obtained in 2018 using Google Earth (WGS84). There is no restriction on its release to the public.
- Present Owner:** The United States Government owns the Memorial Amphitheater and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as part of Arlington National Cemetery. Together with the Soldier's and Airmen's Home National Cemetery, Arlington National Cemetery forms the Office of Army Cemeteries, under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Army.
- Present Use:** The Memorial Amphitheater and Tomb of the Unknown Soldier serve as active memorials to America's war dead and the sacrifices of the American Armed Forces. The Memorial Amphitheater as well as the main floor level of the reception hall building are open to the public, with the reception hall used as exhibit space. The basement of the Amphitheater is used as office space for the staff of Arlington National Cemetery while the second floor is currently unutilized, although some exhibits remain from when it was open to the public. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is guarded continuously by soldiers from the 3d Infantry Regiment (The Old Guard), with a changing of the guard ceremony held regularly throughout cemetery operating hours. The Memorial Amphitheater, and especially the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, are popular with both American and international tourists. The Memorial Amphitheater is also used for larger ceremonies, including those held on Memorial Day, Veteran's Day, and

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<sup>1</sup> A note on terminology: throughout this report, when capitalized, Amphitheater refers to the entire building including the reception hall. Lowercase amphitheater is used to refer to the amphitheater proper. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers is also frequently incorrectly referred to as the Tomb of the Unknowns following the 1958 interment of the unknowns of World War II and Korea. This report will refer to it uniformly as the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, while acknowledging that the term has now expanded to include the unknown dead as a general concept representing all American unknowns, not simply the actual physical remains contained within the original Tomb.

Easter Sunday. Several funerals of prominent Americans have also been held in the Amphitheater.

**Significance:** The Memorial Amphitheater and attached Tomb of the Unknown Soldier are significant as both the centerpiece of Arlington National Cemetery's efforts to memorialize and honor America's war dead and as a premier example of American Beaux-Arts design. The Memorial Amphitheater consists of an outdoor amphitheater with surrounding arcade, a reception hall (now serving as an exhibit hall and office space), and a chapel. There is also a basement crypt area originally intended to house the remains of America's distinguished heroes, but it was never utilized and remains empty. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, sometimes incorrectly referred to as the Tomb of the Unknowns or Unknown Soldiers, is located on the plaza on the east side of the Memorial Amphitheater, overlooking Washington, D.C.

The Memorial Amphitheater was originally conceived in the early 1900s, when it became clear that the Old Amphitheater (today known as the James R. Tanner Amphitheater) was insufficient in both size and grandeur to continue hosting the annual Memorial Day ceremonies and other events. The construction of the Amphitheater was overseen by the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, which was formed in 1908, although the legislation authorizing construction of the Amphitheater was not passed until 1913 and the cornerstone was not laid until 1915. Poor weather, supply issues, and war interceded to further delay construction and the Amphitheater was not completed until 1920.

The Memorial Amphitheater was designed by Thomas Hastings, of the renowned architectural firm Carrère & Hastings. Hastings' design is a masterwork of the Beaux-Arts approach, and he intended the building to be "very classic in character and at the same time in the spirit of the early colonial architecture of this country, making it appropriate for this place and purpose."<sup>2</sup> Hastings later claimed that he would prefer to be remembered for the Memorial Amphitheater over all of his other buildings.<sup>3</sup>

The conception and completion of the Memorial Amphitheater straddled American participation in the First World War, and there was soon a push to honor American sacrifice in the nation's most recent war with the addition of a tomb of a symbolic unknown soldier. An unknown soldier was removed from each of four American cemeteries in France (Meuse-

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hastings, quoted in Laurie Ossman, Heather Ewing, and Steven Brooke, *Carrère & Hastings: The Masterworks* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2011), 296.

<sup>3</sup> Ossman, et al, 299.

Argonne, Aisne-Marne, Somme, and St. Mihiel) and returned to Arlington. The four unknowns were placed in identical caskets and one selected to be placed in a special casket and interred under a temporary tomb on Armistice Day, 1921. Architect Lorimer Rich and sculptor Thomas Hudson Jones won the competition for the design of the permanent Tomb, a white marble sarcophagus marked with wreaths (north and south panels), Greek figures (east panel), and the inscription "HERE RESTS IN HONORED GLORY AN AMERICAN SOLDIER KNOWN BUT TO GOD" (west panel, facing the Memorial Amphitheater). The permanent Tomb was completed in 1932. In 1958, unknown soldiers from World War II and the Korean War were interred in the plaza between the Tomb and the Amphitheater under crypt covers marked only with the years of their respective conflicts. From 1984 until 1998 there was also an unknown soldier from Vietnam interred at the Tomb of the Unknown, but the remains were disinterred and identified in 1998. Due to the unlikelihood of finding an unknown from Vietnam, the Vietnam crypt cover was replaced with one reading "Honoring and Keeping Faith with America's Missing Servicemen."

Historian: Benjamin D. Brands, PhD Candidate, George Mason University

## PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

### A. Physical History:

#### 1. Date of erection:

Memorial Amphitheater:  
Groundbreaking: March 1, 1915  
Cornerstone laid (ceremonial): October 13, 1915  
Opening and Dedication: May 15, 1920<sup>4</sup>

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier:  
Interment of WWI Soldier and First Tomb: November 11, 1921  
Construction of permanent Tomb begins: February 28, 1929  
Completion of permanent Tomb: April 9, 1932

#### 2. Architect:

Memorial Amphitheater: Thomas Hastings, Carrère & Hastings, Architect.

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<sup>4</sup> Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, *Final Report of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 14, 21-25, 47. Herein after cited as *Final Report*. The ceremonial first spadefuls of dirt were taken by Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels and Judge Ivory G. Kimball.



Thomas Hastings was born in 1860, into a family of physicians, clergy, and artists. The Hastings family originally came to America in 1634, when Thomas Hastings (c.1605-1680) landed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Several generations of Hastings practiced medicine before producing Thomas Samuel Hastings (1784-1872), Thomas Hastings' grandfather and an accomplished composer and theorist of religious music who composed "Rock of Ages," among many other hymns. Hastings' father, also Thomas Hastings (1827-1911), was a well-regarded Presbyterian clergyman who practiced in New Jersey and New York. He was the pastor of the West Presbyterian Church in the Bryant Park neighborhood of Manhattan when the younger Thomas Hastings was born, a congregation he led for 25 years. Hastings' mother, Fanny Hastings nee De Groot, was the daughter of a Huguenot lawyer, whose connections ensured the social prominence of the family. Thomas was the fourth of five children and was a sensitive and intellectual child who drew incessantly from an early age. He originally attended Eversham's Collegiate Training School in preparation for higher education, but withdrew at 17 in order to begin an apprenticeship with Christian Herter, a prominent decorator and furniture designer, eventually becoming a draftsman under Herter's mentorship. At Herter's recommendation, he enrolled in the *École des Beaux Arts* in Paris in 1880, where his atelier master was Jules André. He returned to New York in 1883, without a diploma but not without benefit, as his subsequent career would draw heavily on his experience at the *École*. After working for the famous firm of McKim, Mead, and White for a period, he joined with John Carrère to form the architectural firm of Carrère and Hastings in 1885; their first major client, Henry Flagler, was one of Hastings' father's parishioners. Flagler hired the firm to design two hotels in Florida, including the Ponce de Leon Hotel that now forms part of Flagler College. The firm's most famous project was the New York Public Library. Hastings continued the firm with the same name after Carrère's death in 1911, working on a series of monuments, public buildings, and private residences. Hastings' client list was also aided by his marriage to Helen Benedict, the daughter of E.C. Benedict, a wealthy client of the firm and member of the New York City elite. Hastings died in 1929 as a result of complications from an appendicitis.<sup>5</sup>

#### Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Lorimer Rich, Architect

Lorimer Rich was born in Camden, New York in 1891. He attended Syracuse University, graduating in 1914 with a bachelor's degree in Architecture. After serving in the Army during World War I, he studied architecture at the American Academy in Rome, Italy from 1921 to 1922. He then returned to the U.S. and worked for McKim, Mead, and White from 1922 until 1928, when he opened his own practice. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was one of his first major commissions as an independent

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<sup>5</sup> David Gray, *Thomas Hastings: Architect* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), 13-76; Mark Allan Hewitt, et al, *Carrère & Hastings: Architects*, Vol. 1 (New York: Acanthus Press, 2006), 37-43; Thomas E. Luebke, ed. *Civic Art: A Centennial History of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, 2013), 546.

architect; he won the design competition within his first year of leaving McKim, Mead, and White. He also designed numerous government buildings, largely post offices, as well as several buildings for college campuses. This included his own alma mater Syracuse University, where he designed the College of Law, the Art Gallery, and the Auditorium as well as numerous dormitories and other less prominent buildings. In addition to his design work he also taught architecture at both Columbia University and the Pratt Institute. He died in a nursing home in Rome, New York in 1978 and was buried in Section 48 of Arlington National Cemetery, immediately adjacent to the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater and his Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.<sup>6</sup>

Thomas Hudson Jones, Sculptor.

Thomas Hudson Jones was born in 1892 in Buffalo, New York. His father was an engraver and encouraged him to pursue an artistic career. He attended the Albright Art School in his hometown and was awarded a prestigious fellowship to attend the American Academy in Rome, Italy, although at 19 he was deemed too young to attend and the fellowship was deferred. He worked with Daniel Chester French while French was working on the sculpture of Lincoln for the Lincoln Memorial, before leaving to enlist and serve in World War I. After the war he finally attended the American Academy, where he would have overlapped with Lorimer Rich. He initially taught sculpture at Columbia University, and later in his career also served as a Professor of Fine Arts at the American Academy in Rome. While the Tomb is his most famous design, he has numerous other prominent works, including the doors of the New Library of Brooklyn and several sculptures that adorn the chamber of the House of Representatives. In 1944 he joined the U.S. Army's Institute of Heraldry, where he remained for the rest of his career. He died in 1969 in Massachusetts.<sup>7</sup>

3. Original and subsequent owners, occupants, uses: The Arlington Memorial Amphitheater and Tomb of the Unknown Soldier have remained under the continuous ownership of the United States Government. During construction supervision fell under the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, which with a reduced constituency of just the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy continued oversight of additions and memorials to be added to the Amphitheater. In 1960 the

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<sup>6</sup> "Lorimer Rich Dies, Drew Tomb of Unknown Soldier," *The Washington Post*, 3 June 1978; "Lorimer Rich: Private, United States Army; American Architect," *Arlington National Cemetery Website* (unofficial), <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/lrich.htm> (accessed August 23, 2018). See also the biography section found in the Finding Aid for the Lorimer Rich Papers, University Archives, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries. This collection also holds a large number of original drawings of numerous Lorimer Rich designs, including the proposed design for a second tomb for the World War II unknown. Hereinafter cited as SUSCRC.

<sup>7</sup> "Thomas Hudson Jones," June 10, 2014, *Society of the Honor Guard: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* <https://tombguard.org/column/2014/06/thomas-hudson-jones/> (accessed August 24, 2018); "Unknown Soldier Design Selected: Completion of Tomb Waits on Appropriation by Congress," *The Washington Evening Star*, 11 December 1928; "Medal Designer Won One Himself: For Designing a Medal, of Course," *The Washington Post*, 26 April 1956.

Commission was formally abolished, with its responsibilities transferred to the Office of the Secretary of Defense and administered through the Department of the Army, with direct control exercised by the Superintendent, Arlington National Cemetery.

Throughout its existence, the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, along with the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier have served as active memorials to America's war dead and the sacrifices of the American Armed Forces. The Memorial Amphitheater is also used for larger ceremonies, including Memorial Day, Veteran's Day, and Easter Sunday. Several funerals of prominent Americans have also been held in the Amphitheater.

4. Builder, contractor, suppliers:

Memorial Amphitheater:  
George A. Fuller Company, General Contractor

Subcontractors:  
National Fireproofing Company, Reinforced Concrete  
Capital Electric Company, Electric work  
Donnelly & Ricci, Models  
Joh Eichleay, Jr. Company, Structural Steel  
John P. Curry, Portland Cement  
Vermont Marble Company, Exterior Marble  
W.G. Cornell Company, Plumbing  
Louis F. Andrae Company, Heating  
Robert E. Mackay Company, Painting  
Columbia Granite and Dredging Company, Sand, Gravel, and Cement  
E.J. Murphy Company, Glass and Glazing  
W.F. Cush, Excavating<sup>8</sup>  
Warren-Ehret Company, Waterproofing<sup>9</sup>  
Russell & Erwin Manufacturing Company, Hardware<sup>10</sup>  
Meyer-Sniffen Company, Plumbing Fixtures<sup>11</sup>  
Duparquet, Huot, & Moneuse Company, Kitchen Range<sup>12</sup>  
Cassidy and Son Manufacturing Company, Lighting Fixtures<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> All of the above from "Arlington Memorial Sub-Contractors" Folder 9, Box 10, Entry 327: General Correspondence and Other Records of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, Record Group 42: Records of the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as NARA I with folder, box, entry, and record group data as appropriate.

<sup>9</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to George A. Fuller Company, June 14, 1915, Folder 10, Box 10, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>10</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to Carrère and Hastings, September 22, 1916, Folder 6, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>11</sup> Col. Wm W. Harts to Carrère and Hastings, August 26, 1915, Folder 6, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>12</sup> Carrère and Hastings to Col. Wm. W. Harts, January 1, 1916, Folder 6, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>13</sup> Cassidy Company to Col. C.S. Ridley, October 14, 1919, Folder 6, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

Tiffany Studios, Window Grilles, Chapel Window Mounts, and Main Door<sup>14</sup>

Tomb of the Unknown

Hegeman-Harris Co., Inc., Approaches and Plaza<sup>15</sup>

Vermont Marble Company, Marble

Piccirilli Brothers, Carvings and Preparation for Sculptor<sup>16</sup>

5. Original plans and construction: The plans as originally prepared by Thomas Hastings in 1903 are not included in the records of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission or any other records examined during this project. There is, however, a photo negative of a set of artist's depictions of the Amphitheater held at the National Archives in College Park. Although these depictions are undated, they differ enough from the plans as constructed, showing a more generic version of both the location and design of the building, to suggest that this is the original concept of the building presented to Congress in 1903 and 1908, with the building as constructed developing from this concept when a full set of architectural plans were developed in 1913. These artist's depictions show both a front elevation as well as a site plan with a more ambitious formal landscape than that actually constructed, and an elaborately detailed building, but of only one story (Figures 1-2). The building consists of an elliptical amphitheater surrounded by arcades. The amphitheater has a large, oval stage, and behind the stage there is an attached reception hall building. In this original concept, the reception hall building is only one story tall, and is level with the arcade, which seems to have a slanted tile roof rather than an open deck as in the final design. The front of the Reception Hall is approached by a wide staircase, at the base of which is a statue, in indeterminate Classical form. There is a large portico opposite the stage, with smaller porticos to either side, evenly placed between the large portico and the stage. The building is located in the middle of a geometrical pattern of pathways and gardens, with an apparent assumption of essentially flat terrain. According to testimony before Congress in 1908, it was originally envisioned that the new amphitheater would be built at the location of the Old Amphitheater, near the Arlington House and the Tomb of the Civil War Unknowns.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See J.F.B. to Carrère and Hastings, November 4, 1916, Folder 6, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I for reference to the main door. See also the Architectural Drawings in Folder "Details, Tiffany Studios," Maps and Plans of Arlington National Cemetery, ca. 1913-ca. 1964, Record Group 77: Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>15</sup> Completion Report upon the Construction of the Approaches to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, February 2, 1932, Box 12, Entry 391: Construction Completion Reports, 1917-1943, Record Group 77: Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. Hereinafter cited as NARA II with folder, box, entry, and record group data as appropriate.

<sup>16</sup> Specification for the Completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, October 31, 1929, Revised 26 November 1929 and December 30, 1929, Folder 25, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery. Hereinafter cited as ANCHRC.

<sup>17</sup> Hearings Before Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, House of Representatives, relating to Erection of Memorial Amphitheater at Arlington, VA., August 2, 1912, Folder 2, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

This original concept was modified considerably when a full set of architectural drawings were created in preparation for construction in 1913 and 1914. A large, but incomplete, set of these drawings are held in Record Group 77 at the Cartographic Branch of the National Archives at College Park, Maryland. Labeled as Job Number 38 and mostly dated in October 1914, these detailed drawings show an open amphitheater surrounded by an arcade, with a large oval stage on the east side of the amphitheater. The reception hall building, located behind the stage on the east side of the building, is now expanded to two stories, with the second story occupied by two “trophy rooms.” There is a large portico on the west side of the amphitheater, with smaller ones to the north and south. The roof of the arcade has been updated to an open deck, with plans for a single row of seating. Beneath the arcade is a basement level with crypt space for approximately 300 burials. There is still a statue intended for the plaza on the east side of the building, but the plaza has now been expanded and is enclosed by a retaining wall. This retaining wall was made necessary as by this point a new location had been selected on a hill near the USS Maine Memorial, requiring significant grading and approach work. Finally, in a major addition to the original concept, a non-sectarian chapel occupies the basement area directly underneath the stage, while the basement of the reception hall building contains a kitchen, storerooms, and a public restroom. (Figures 3-7)

A final set of changes was made to the plans before construction began, largely in reaction to lower than expected contractor quotes on the original plans. This allowed the architects and the Commission to add some improvements to the design while staying within the appropriated budget. This included replacing cement with marble for some of the floors, use of marble rather than plaster columns in the interior of the Reception Hall, use of marble instead of wood in the balustrade around the second floor of the Reception Hall, sculptures for the exterior of the building, bronze main entrance doors, and other changes.<sup>18</sup>

6. Alterations and additions: Repairs to the arcade roof, including the addition of a copper covering and the installation of tile were instituted in 1922 to prevent further leaks.<sup>19</sup> This was the first in a series of several cycles of roof replacement for the arcade, which was retiled again in the 1940s and 1970s, at a minimum.<sup>20</sup>

The first major alterations, as opposed to simple maintenance and renovations, occurred in the 1930s, and largely involved the replacement of various elements of the original construction that had been done in plaster with marble. This included the

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<sup>18</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, with enclosed report, January 26, 1915, Folder 8, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>19</sup> Fred’k Stuart Greene to Colonel H.C. Bonnycastle, September 14, 1922, Folder 4, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Special Specification Covering Application of Roofing with Promenade Tile Wearing Surface over Concrete Roof Deck, Folder 4, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>20</sup> D.D. Hamilton to William H. Reick, June 6, 1945, Box 2, ANCHRC; Supplementary Report: Amphitheatre Rehabilitation, Arlington National Cemetery, Contract No. DACA31-76-C-0177, June 7, 1979, Box 121, Entry 17A: Project Files, Record Group 66: Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, NARA I.

replacement of the sculptures on the frieze of the east portico as well as adding new marble floors to the boxes in the amphitheater, marble in place of plaster for the vaulted ceilings in the two stage vestibules, and adding new tile floor to the roof of the arcade,<sup>21</sup>

While there were other minor repairs and renovations undertaken, the next major alteration of the site occurred in the 1970s, with the addition of a large terrace to the eastern side of the Reception Hall Building. In addition to the terrace itself, this work included a basement level below the expanded terrace that included quarters and workspace for the Tomb Guards and additional storage and mechanical rooms. The project also included renovations to the basement restrooms and conference room. Finally, the new terrace was connected to the side entrances of the reception hall building and the arcade by two marble bridges (Figures 8-10).<sup>22</sup> These renovations were completed in March 1975.<sup>23</sup>

Another major alteration of the building occurred in the early 1980s, when the building was redone to improve wheelchair accessibility, among other alterations and renovations. This major work included refinishing an area of the basement crypts on the south side of the building to provide an area for new accessible restrooms and an elevator. The elevator would then provide access from this basement anteroom to the main arcade. A ramp, following the curve of the arcade, was installed to provide access from ground level to a new door leading to this area. In the original plans for this renovation, a bronze and glass grille would contain the elevator on the arcade

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<sup>21</sup> Col. C.S. Ridley to Col. John C. McElroy, September 27, 1918, Folder 2, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I discusses the Amphitheater's relation to World War I and cost as reasons for doing original sculpted frieze in plaster. E.F. Conklin to Carrère and Hastings, April 1, 1920, Folder 2, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I refers to plaster ceilings in the original construction of the stage vestibules. Fred'k Stuart Greene to Colonel H.C. Bonnycastle, September 14, 1922, Folder 4, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I describes the original floors in the boxes as being made of concrete. He also discusses problems they had with these floors having "frost rise," which is perhaps why they were replaced in this renovation. See Completion Report: Repairs at Amphitheater, at Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, Box 12, Entry 391, RG77, NARA II.

<sup>22</sup> Information for Members of Congress: Renovation of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, October 23, 1973, Folder labeled "Memorial Amphitheater Renovation and Memorabilia Box, Box 2, ANCHRC; Renovation at Amphitheater East Front, August 8, 1973, Engineer Office Records, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia. Hereinafter cited as ANCEO.

<sup>23</sup> The conference room replaced the kitchen from the original construction of the amphitheater. It is labeled on the plans of the 1974 renovations as an already existing conference room, so the kitchen had already been replaced in an earlier renovation. No documentation of this earlier work was found during the research for this project. While not indicated in the blueprints examined in the Engineering Office files, it is likely that this renovation also included a change to the floorplan of the public restrooms. At some point the public restroom area was redesigned, with the men and women's room flipping sides and the janitor closet moved from in between the restrooms to a new location adjacent to the entrance. While the architectural drawings for the 1974 renovations show the restrooms in their original configuration, the same is true for every set of drawings examined for this project, including one dated from 2018. Obviously, the restrooms were substantially altered at some point, but the plans were never updated to reflect it. The 1974 renovations are the most reasonable time for this alteration to occur, as the entire area would already have been closed off for the addition of the terrace. Later renovations focused on entirely different areas of the building, such as the 1979-1980 addition of a wheelchair accessible area in the crypt area, or on repair and replacement damaged areas, such as the 1996 renovations.

level, but as installed there is simple a marble topped panel for a “pop-up” elevator with no machinery or framing showing when the elevator is not in use (Figures 11-12). In addition to wheelchair access, these renovations also provided for the installation of air conditioning, fire hydrants, and drinking fountains. The main mechanical components of the air conditioning were installed on the arcade roof, on either side of the stage. An additional, raised set of marble walls were added to the inner parapet to block the air conditioning units from view from the floor of the amphitheater. A TV and Press stand was installed on the arcade roof above the West Portico, providing a dedicated space for journalists with an unobstructed view of the amphitheater.<sup>24</sup> Although not noted in the original contract proposal, this renovation also included an alteration to the stage, eliminating the landing in between the two levels and bringing the top level out flush to back of the president’s chair.<sup>25</sup> The difference is clearly apparent between photographs of the stage from during construction (Figure 13) and those taking during site visits as part of this project (Figure 14).

Another major renovation was conducted in 1994-1996. Primarily this renovation was targeted at rainwater leaks and damage, as well as deteriorated marble, but it also saw the addition of a public address system, permanent accessible viewing areas, new landscaping, replacement walkways, and upgraded furnishings. Work commenced in November 1994 and completion was marked by a ribbon cutting ceremony held on May 22, 1996.<sup>26</sup>

## B. Historical Context:

Although construction began before U.S. entry into the First World War and proceeded throughout the conflict, the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater was actually born out of the massive death toll of the American Civil War. In this way, the Amphitheater mirrors the larger Arlington National Cemetery for which it serves as a focal point. While today Arlington is recognized as a site for remembering and honoring America’s servicemembers generally, its origins are sited firmly within the context of the Civil War. In many ways it remains indelibly linked to that conflict, particularly through its use by the U.S. Army for defensive and strategic purposes, and burial of Civil War casualties, as well as the presence of Arlington House in its dominating position overlooking the cemetery.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Supplementary Report: Amphitheatre Rehabilitation, Arlington National Cemetery, Contract No. DACA31-76-C-0177, June 7, 1979, Box 121, Entry 17A, RG66, NARA I; Elevation of Stage, Drawing Number 19-02-01, Plate 8, August 15, 1980, ANCEO

<sup>25</sup> Elevator & Stage Plans, Drawing Number 19-02-01, Plate 31, September 29, 1980, ANCEO; Stage Level Plan, Drawing Number 19-02-01, September 29, 1980, ANCEO.

<sup>26</sup> Program, Arlington National Cemetery Memorial Amphitheater Ribbon Cutting, May 22, 1996, Box 2, ANCHRC; Renovation of Memorial Amphitheater, Drawing Number F-760-20-01, June 14, 1993, ANCEO.

<sup>27</sup> Arlington House and a small area surrounding it belong not to Arlington National Cemetery, but to the National Park Service. The formal name of the site is Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial. National Park Service,

### Origins of Arlington National Cemetery

The Civil War, in addition to creating a need for a national military cemetery system, also provided the opportunity for the federal government to secure Arlington, which eventually became the premier venue for this system. Prior to the Civil War, Arlington House and its 1,100 acres of land belonged to Mary Custis Lee, a descendent of George Washington through his adopted son. Mary's father, George Washington Parke Custis, built Arlington House on a commanding hill visible from Washington, DC as a living memorial to George Washington. He had assembled a large collection of Washington artifacts and memorabilia there.<sup>28</sup> Mary was also married to Robert E. Lee, a Lieutenant Colonel in the U.S. Army, in April 1861, but soon to be the most famed general of the Confederacy. The Lee family connection combined with the military significance of the estate's position in relation to Washington, D.C. made its seizure by Union troops almost inevitable. By May of 1861, less than a month after the firing on Fort Sumter, the estate had been occupied by Union troops.<sup>29</sup> However beyond occupation as a logical part of the defense of the capital, the Arlington estate's future use as a cemetery was not yet determined, with three more years passing before the first burial.

While military necessity provided a clear legal right for the occupation of the estate, and the wartime Confiscation Acts provided for the seizure of the property of individuals taking up arms against the government, neither of these provided permanent claim to the land. Military necessity only provided for occupation during the war itself, and confiscation of traitors' property was constitutionally limited to the life of the offender and did not void the right of his or her heirs to reclaim the land. In the case of Arlington, and many other Confederate-owned lands, the federal government employed a different tool for theoretically permanent title. During the war, Congress passed the Doolittle Act, which levied a tax on land in the rebelling states (but not in the North). Nonpayment of this tax, which was further complicated by a requirement to pay in person, resulted in the sale of the land at auction. Using this law, the government was able to seize the entirety of the Arlington estate for Mary Custis Lee's failure to pay \$92.07 in taxes in person. In January 1864 the government then purchased the estate, valued at several hundred thousand dollars, for a mere \$26,800, giving the government, in theory, permanent title.<sup>30</sup>

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"Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial," <https://www.nps.gov/arho/index.htm> (accessed August 7, 2018). The ownership and interpretation of the house went through several stages, as it was first developed as a memorial by the Quartermaster Department in 1929 before being transferred to the control of the National Park Service in 1933. While original interpretations of the house focused on its links to George Washington and its representation of the early national period, in June 1955 it was officially designated as a national memorial to Robert E. Lee by act of Congress. Micki McElya, *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 44-46, 210, 227.

<sup>28</sup> Robert M. Poole, *On Hallowed Ground: The Story of Arlington National Cemetery* (New York: Walker & Company, 2009), 11-12; McElya, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Andrew J. Gaughan, *The Last Battle of the Civil War: United States versus Lee, 1861-1883* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 18-19.

<sup>30</sup> In theory only, because after the war the Supreme Court struck down the Doolittle Act as unconstitutional, on several grounds and in several major cases. After a protracted legal battle, Robert E. Lee's eldest son, George



Six months later on June 15, 1864, Arlington was designated as an official military cemetery by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. This actually postdated the first military burial on the property, which had occurred when Private William Christmas was interred on May 13, 1864.<sup>31</sup> Early in the war a series of General Orders made military commanders responsible for burying, and recording, all dead within their jurisdictions. Typically, the slain were hastily buried in mass graves where they fell, turning much of Virginia and other Southern states into graveyards. In addition to these General Orders, an executive mandate directed the government to acquire appropriate land for graveyards, setting the conditions for the first national military cemeteries. By the end of 1862, fourteen such cemeteries had been created. Following the massive bloodletting at Gettysburg, a new model was adopted, with the fallen carefully interred under uniform headstones in a neatly tended cemetery. In some ways, Gettysburg was a special case, receiving disproportionate attention due to the significance of the battle, the number of casualties, and its location in the North. The entirely unprecedented loss of life in the Civil War with at least 620,000 deceased soldiers created both physical and psychological problems for the state and society that radically changed the way Americans dealt with death, and specifically how the state interacted with the dead.<sup>32</sup> It is also important to note that the vast majority of military deaths during the Civil War were the results not of battle, but of disease. Indeed, other than Gettysburg, the majority of military cemeteries, as opposed to battlefield mass burials, were co-located with military hospitals.<sup>33</sup>

Two of these new military cemeteries were located in Washington, D.C., but by 1864 they, and the private cemeteries across DC, were approaching capacity. A new, expansive location needed to be found, and with Arlington recently coming fully into federal possession, it became a prime candidate. Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, who oversaw the development of Arlington National Cemetery.<sup>34</sup> In part, Arlington National Cemetery was enabled by a wider movement to formalize the relationship and obligations between the federal government and the dead of the Civil War. In the face of

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Washington Custis Lee, was awarded legal title to the estate in 1883. He then immediately resold the estate to the government, allowing Arlington National Cemetery to continue to operate with a now secure title. For a full accounting of the government's acquisition of the estate, see Andrew J. Guaghan's excellent legal history, *The Last Battle of the Civil War: United States versus Lee, 1861-1883*.

<sup>31</sup> Philip Bigler, *In Honored Glory: Arlington National Cemetery The Final Post*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (St. Petersburg, FL: Vandamere Press, 2005), 15-18.

<sup>32</sup> For full coverage of the impact of the Civil War dead on the American state and society, see Drew Gilpin Faust's *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008). For comparison, the Civil War resulted in the deaths of roughly 2% of the population (the entire population, not just the military eligible population), while World War II resulted both an absolutely lower number of deaths, with just over 400,000 Americans killed, but also a vastly lower rate of death, with the death of approximately 0.28% of the population. Allan R. Millet, et al, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States from 1607 to 2012*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Free Press, 2012), 75.

<sup>33</sup> Faust, 65, 99-100; McElya, 98.

<sup>34</sup> The widely told story that Meigs saw establishment of a cemetery at Arlington House as punishment for Robert E. Lee's treason has not held up to historical scrutiny by the ANC History Office.

the massive amount of death, American views of death and the dead fundamentally changed, including an increased attachment between the dead and the state, and thus an increased responsibility of the state to care for the dead in perpetuity. According to Drew Gilpin Faust, in the wake of the Civil War, “the nation’s value and importance were both derived from and proved by the human price paid for its survival. This equation cast the nation’s debt in ways that would be transformative...[requiring] a vast expansion of the federal budget and bureaucracy and a reconceptualization of the government’s role.”<sup>35</sup> A major component of this reconceptualization was the adaption of the permanent National Cemetery system, encoded in law in 1867 in the “Act to Establish and Protect National Cemeteries.” Inspired largely by the concern of the northern public that heroic Union soldiers had been abandoned to neglect and abuse by hasty burials in the South, the law provided for the establishment of National Cemeteries administered by the federal government, and the recovery and reinternment of Union dead from battlefields into these cemeteries. For the many battlefields within a thirty-five-mile radius of the capital, these recovered bodies were reinterred at Arlington.<sup>36</sup>

### Decoration Day

Despite this increased state role, America in the immediate post war period remained largely an associational society, in which many roles now belonging to the government were performed mainly by private individuals and organizations. This was reflected in the development of Decoration Day, the precursor to the modern Memorial Day. Communities in both the North and South began the practice of annually decorating the graves of Civil War veterans. There is significant debate as to where and when this practice first began, and various communities marked the practice on different dates, although usually it was held sometime in the spring.<sup>37</sup> This event was formalized on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1868, when General John A. Logan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic issued General Order No. 11, directing all G.A.R. posts across the nation to mark May 30<sup>th</sup> as a day of national remembrance for the Union dead. Within the next year, thirty-one states had mandated the celebration of Decoration Day.<sup>38</sup> From the very

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<sup>35</sup> Faust, 268.

<sup>36</sup> McElya, 107-109. This act was limited to Union dead and presumed no responsibility on the part of the federal government for caring for Confederate dead. According to Caroline Janney, this neglect led to a reaction in the South that spurred the creation of “Ladies’ Memorial Associations” across the South that sought to give Confederate dead proper burials and honor their memory. In the immediate aftermath of the war, these Ladies’ Memorial Associations made use of gendered norms to ostensibly depoliticize the act of honoring those who fought against the federal government, while laying the groundwork for the Lost Cause ideology that would prove so powerful in redefining American memory of the Civil War. Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), especially 45-46.

<sup>37</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001), 64-71; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 102-104; Janney, 76-78.

<sup>38</sup> Kammen, 103; Janney, 77. The Grand Army of the Republic was the principle Union veteran organization, and combined camaraderie and remembrance with active political lobbying on veteran’s issues. Decoration Day was

beginning, this holiday was closely associated with Arlington. The first official Memorial Day in 1868 featured a procession moving from Washington into the cemetery, proceeding to Arlington House before decorating the Tomb of the Civil War Unknowns and other Civil War graves before concluding with a speech by former general and future president, James A. Garfield, behind Arlington House.<sup>39</sup>

### The Old Amphitheater

The popularity of the holiday rapidly increased, and it soon became apparent that there was a need for a permanent facility at Arlington to host ceremonies for the occasion, as the crowds quickly outstripped the capacity of the makeshift arenas used in the vicinity of Arlington House the first few years. In 1873, Montgomery C. Meigs designed and oversaw the construction of a simple amphitheater near the Tomb of the Civil War Unknowns. Designed to hold approximately 1,500 people, this amphitheater consisted of a simple brick and wood pergola surrounding an elliptical, bowl-shaped sunken open space. The pergola's trellis supported grapes, wisteria, and other vines. A rostrum with twelve Ionic columns on the north side of the bowl served as a speaker's platform for events.<sup>40</sup> The amphitheater was built rapidly and simply; according to *The Evening Star*, construction was begun on May 2, 1873 and completed in time for the ceremony on May 30<sup>th</sup> of that same year, with the exception of the shrubbery and vines, which were expected to have grown in time for the following year's ceremony.<sup>41</sup>

### Calls for a New Amphitheater

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made an official national holiday in 1888 by act of Congress, which also established Memorial Day as the official title of the holiday. Bigler, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Terra Klugh, "Arlington National Cemetery, Old Amphitheater," HABS No. VA-1348-A, Historic American Building Survey, National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 5-6. Of note, the Tomb of the Civil War Unknowns is completely distinct from the more well-known Tomb of the Unknown Soldier located adjacent to Arlington Memorial Amphitheater. Designed by Montgomery Meigs and erected in 1866, the Tomb is a simple masonry vault containing the commingled remains of 2,111 unknown soldiers. Although originally intended to be solely in honor of Union dead, due to the method of recovery it almost certainly contains some Confederates as well. James Edward Peters, *Arlington National Cemetery: Shrine to America's Heroes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Bethesda: Woodbine House, Inc., 2008), 281.

<sup>40</sup> HABS No. VA-1348-A. See also Peters, 264.

<sup>41</sup> "Memorial Day- 1873," *The Washington Evening Star*, 30 May 1873. Of note, many secondary sources cited the Old Amphitheater as being erected in 1874, but this article clearly discusses the newly completed amphitheater as being used in 1873. See also "Notes on the Old Amphitheatre," Box 7, Entry 576: General Correspondence and Reports Relating to National and Post Cemeteries, 1865-c. 1914, Record Group 92: Records of the Quartermaster General, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. for a timeline of the construction of the old Amphitheater. On Memorial Day, 2014 the Old Amphitheater was officially renamed the James R. Tanner Amphitheater in honor of Tanner, a Union veteran who lost both legs at the Second Battle of Bull Run and who served as the commander-in-chief of the G.A.R following the war. Michael E. Ruane, "Arlington Cemetery to Rename old amphitheater for Civil War double amputee James Tanner," *The Washington Post*, 16 May 2014 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/arlington-cemetery-to-rename-old-amphitheater-for-civil-war-double-amputee-james-tanner/2014/05/16/7c85add4-dd3b-11e3-bda1-9b46b2066796\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.d636d861fd2d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/arlington-cemetery-to-rename-old-amphitheater-for-civil-war-double-amputee-james-tanner/2014/05/16/7c85add4-dd3b-11e3-bda1-9b46b2066796_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.d636d861fd2d) (accessed August 8, 2018)

By the early twentieth century, Memorial Day celebrations had vastly outgrown the space available in the Old Amphitheater, and a push was made to create a new, larger, and more permanent venue. Once again marking the primacy of Civil War memory in the founding of Arlington and its Amphitheater, this push was led by the Grand Army of the Republic (their ally in building the Old Amphitheater, Montgomery Meigs, had died in 1892).<sup>42</sup> More specifically, Judge Ivory G. Kimball, the Commander of the Department of the Potomac, Grand Army of the Republic, was primarily responsible for conceiving and lobbying for the construction of a new amphitheater. According to Kimball, the Old Amphitheater “was not only inadequate for the purpose and entirely too small for the immense gathering which congregated there but was a disgrace to the Nation whose heroic dead were intended to be honored.”<sup>43</sup> While to some extent this criticism was overstated in an attempt to justify a new, expanded amphitheater, it also perhaps reflected a change in the nature of the nation and the ways it wanted to honor its war dead since the completion of the Old Amphitheater. In between the opening of the Amphitheater in 1873 and Judge Kimball’s statements in 1903, the country had fought its first overseas war, the Spanish-American War (April-August 1898), and gained its first overseas territories with the annexation of the Philippines and Puerto Rico. While a simple, pastoral pergola had fit American ideas of death and honor in the nineteenth century, a new century and a new world power required something grander.

In 1903 Kimball went to then Secretary of War Elihu Root in attempt to convince him of the need for a new amphitheater, and to send an estimate to Congress requesting an appropriation. Root agreed and requested Congress to appropriate \$5,000 to procure initial plans for such a building. This was good enough for Kimball who, without waiting for Congress to act on the estimate, approached Thomas Hastings of the architectural firm Carrère and Hastings to prepare tentative plans for a new amphitheater. These plans were presented to the House Appropriation Committee, but Congress did not approve the appropriation, a decision no doubt quite disconcerting to Carrère and Hastings.<sup>44</sup>

Still, Judge Kimball persevered. After again failing in 1905 and 1907, Kimball and his allies were successful in getting a clause inserted into the Public Buildings Act passed on May 30, 1908. In addition to providing the requested appropriation of \$5,000, Section 16 of the Public Building Act also created a commission, consisting of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Superintendent of the United States Capitol Building and

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<sup>42</sup> He was buried in Section 1, near the Old Amphitheater and the Tomb of the Civil War Unknowns, under a headstone reminiscent of the Tomb, that he designed himself. The detailed burial instructions in his will directed his tomb to be sealed with hydraulic cement and to “leave him to await the Resurrection.” Poole, 100-101.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in *Final Report*, 9.

<sup>44</sup> “A Brief History of the Origin and Efforts Made to Secure the Erection of the Memorial Amphitheater at Arlington,” Folder 1, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. See also *Final Report*, 9. Throughout this report the phrase “Carrère and Hasting” refers to the architectural firm of that name rather than the individuals. John Carrère was not personally involved in the plans for the Amphitheater, and indeed died in 1911. The firm maintained the name Carrère and Hastings even after his death, and much of the correspondence between the firm and the Army and the Commission was signed simply “Carrère and Hastings” rather than by the individual signing the letter. Letters from Thomas Hastings or Owen Brainard, the consulting architect, were typically signed individually, and I have attempted throughout to signal when correspondence is from them individually vs. the firm as an organization.

Grounds, and representatives from the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Spanish War Veterans. Unsurprisingly, Judge Kimball was chosen as the representative of the G.A.R.<sup>45</sup>

This commission, referred to as the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, would oversee the design and construction of the Amphitheater. The exact membership of the commission would change throughout the process of construction. As appointed officials, the Secretary of War and Secretary of Navy changed due to administration transitions over the 13 years the commission was active. The representatives of the G.A.R. and U.S.W.V. were also replaced at various times for various reasons, including the death of Judge Kimball in 1916.<sup>46</sup> The commission also had as a de facto non-statutory member an Executive and Disbursing Officer, who oversaw day to day operations. This was, for the duration of construction, an additional duty for the Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, and was held by three different Colonels from the Army Corps of Engineers.<sup>47</sup> Of greater significance, the Commission was modified in 1915 to include the head of Camp 171, United Confederate Veterans.<sup>48</sup>

The newly formed commission wasted little time, and by February 1909 they had approved the Carrère and Hastings' design and proposed a budget for construction of \$750,000. However, Congress was slower to act, and it was not until the Public Buildings Act of 1913 that Congress authorized construction of the Amphitheater with an approved budget of \$750,000; \$250,000 of which was to be available immediately. This act explicitly allowed the commission to enter into contracts for the construction of the Amphitheater, and actually included in the language of the act the requirement to enter into contract with Carrère and Hastings specifically as the architects for the project. This was a huge point, as by naming Carrère and Hastings in the bill it allowed the commission to avoid the multiple bid process that was standard for government contracts (and indeed that they would enter in for the construction contract, marble suppliers, and almost all other elements of construction). Still, while the act authorized the expenditure of \$250,000, it did not actually appropriate the money, and it would be more than a year

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<sup>45</sup> *Final Report*, 9-10.

<sup>46</sup> See *Final Report*, 10, 12-13 for list of members by name. See also H.G. Kimball to Col. W.W. Harts, May 16, 1916, Folder 1, Box 4, Entry 326, RG42, NARA I for the death of Kimball.

<sup>47</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to Hon. Newton D. Baker, September 21, 1917, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 326, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>48</sup> This change was codified in law by the Public Buildings Act passed on March 4, 1915. Camp 171 was the Washington, D.C. post for the United Confederate Veterans. See Fred Beall to Col. Wm. W. Harts, May 19, 1915, Folder 3, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I and *Final Report*, 13. This addition finalized the composition of the commission until the completion of the Amphitheater. Following construction, the commission ceased active operations, and was formally reconstituted in 1921 to include just the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, and it retained responsibility for approving inscription and monuments erected within the Amphitheater until 1960, when the Commission was legally abolished and its responsibilities transferred to the Secretary of Defense. See Abolishing the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, Report No. 1635, 86<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2d Session, June 21, 1960, Folder 19, Box 1 Historical Research Collection, History Office, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia.

before the Sundry Civil Act for Fiscal Year 1915, passed in August of 1914, actually appropriated the money and allowed construction to move forward.<sup>49</sup>

Carrère and Hastings were likely happy to see their name in these bills, as at various points in the project their financial stake was put at risk. In addition to the failure of Kimball and Root to secure an appropriation until after the initial concept had been completed, the legislative separation of appropriations for the initial design and the actual construction caused some doubt about their right to compensation for the full project. During the congressional hearing of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds in 1912, certain members of Congress argued that since Carrère and Hastings had already been paid \$2,500 for the design from the original appropriation, it was now owned by the government and the actual construction could be overseen by the Supervising Architect of the Department of the Treasury. As a government employee, the Supervising Architect would not be eligible for the typical percent fee due an architectural firm, thus saving the government (and costing Carrère and Hastings) approximately \$40,000. Mr. Burnett, of the Committee, argued that “our [the government’s] architects are just as competent as are the architects in New York” and that he was opposed to any suggestion “outside architects be employed to do this work when we have a competent corps of architects under the Treasury Department.”<sup>50</sup> Luckily for the firm, the Supervising Architect was present and explained to the committee the difference between conceptual plans and the detailed drawings necessary for actual construction, and that ended any consideration of having the government takeover architectural responsibilities.<sup>51</sup> Nor was this the end of Carrère and Hastings’ financial travails, as in 1914 Judge Kimball, despite his role in originally bringing Carrère and Hastings on to the project, wrote to the chairman of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission to suggest that the \$2,500 already paid them should be deducted from the fee owed them for actual construction. A clause so stating was then inserted into their contract.<sup>52</sup>

With a contract in hand, Carrère and Hastings began working on the detailed designs and blueprints for the building. These full designs differed in some major points from the original concept sketches presented to Congress and the Commission. First of all, since the initial conception a requirement had been added to include a non-denominational chapel, which Hastings placed in the basement, underneath the stage. The reception hall building also went from one story to two stories, with the upper floor devoted to two trophy rooms. Hastings also fleshed out his plans for crypt space in the basement area

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<sup>49</sup> Extracts of Laws related to Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, Folder 3, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. The Sundry Civil Act also directed the use of the firm Carrère and Hastings by name. Additional appropriations of \$400,000 and \$100,000 were included in the Sundry Civil Acts passed March 3, 1915 and July 1, 1916, respectively, completing the original budget of \$750,000. An additional \$75,000 was added with the Deficiency Act approved on July 11, 1919. See *Final Report*, 13.

<sup>50</sup> Hearings Before Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, House of Representatives, relating to Erection of Memorial Amphitheater at Arlington, VA., August 2, 1912, Folder 2, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> I.G. Kimball to L.M. Garrison, August 12, 1914, Folder 1, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Col. Wm. W. Harts to Hon. Ivory G. Kimball, August 17, 1914, Folder 1, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

underneath the arcade and switched the arcade roof to an open deck with a single row of seating. As fully designed, the building featured an open amphitheater with permanent benches and a two-level stage with a president's chair.<sup>53</sup> The amphitheater was surrounded by an arcade, beneath which was the crypt space. A large portico was located on the west side, with two smaller porticos on the north and south sides. The amphitheater was joined at the east to a T-shaped building, containing a reception hall on the first floor and trophy rooms on the second floor. A large staircase occupied most of the ell, whose back wall curved to match the rear of the stage. The basement under this building contained the chapel, a kitchen, a public restroom, and various storerooms. (See Figures 3-7)

### Construction of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater

With the Commission established, the architects identified, and money appropriated, the next step was to open up bidding to contractors on the actual construction of the Amphitheater. In the Commission meeting held immediately following Congress' granting of the initial appropriation on August 12, 1914, the Commission authorized Carrère and Hastings to prepare "all of the preliminaries necessary for advertising the contracts," presumably to mean completing the detailed drawings as well as specifications for materials etc. This took some time, and it was November 1914 before the contract was opened to bidders.<sup>54</sup>

Twenty-two different companies submitted bids for the contract, with many contractors submitting bids for construction involving multiple different types of marble, so that the commission had to select from 105 separate proposals. These proposals included ten different kinds of marble. Most of the work in narrowing down this field was done by Carrère and Hastings, as well as Colonel William W. Harts, the Commission's Executive and Disbursing Officer. After going over all of the bids, Harts and the architects provided the Commission with recommendations on which type of marble to use and based on

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<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, while architectural historian Charles D. Warren writes that "Hastings invoked these symbols of honor and authority to tie this beautiful object to the most ancient memories of Western Civilization. It is a heroically overscaled throne, too big to sit in and too psychologically charged to be anything but a reminder of its unknown and permanently absent occupant," Hastings himself did not envision the chair as a major symbol critical to the Amphitheater's role in honoring the dead, writing rather that, "there is no real significance of the white marble chair in front of the platform of the Arlington Amphitheater, excepting as regards its being a part of the architecture of the building- a decorative feature, one which is associated with the old Greek Amphitheaters; in fact the chair was taken more or less from the Greek Amphitheater. It seems proper to provide an architectural chair for the principal person at a function." Hewitt, et al, 250; Thomas Hastings to H.P. Caemmerer, October 9, 1923, Folder 9, Box 17, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>54</sup> Minutes of the Meeting of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, August 12, 1914, Folder 1, Box 8, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; *Final Report*, 13-14. See also the Specifications for Memorial Amphitheater, Arlington, VA, Folder 10, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. These specifications are dated October 1914, and although they are not the final version, they show that the firm was working on these during the period between the August meeting and the release of the contract for bids. A proposed set of advertisements for proposal was presented to the Commission in their meeting on October 12, 1914, and corrections were made and approved for release. Minutes of the Meeting of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, October 12, 1914, Folder 1, Box 8, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

those marbles which of the companies provided the lowest bid. The recommended marbles were Colorado Yule, Danby Vermont, South Dover, and Southern Georgia Marble. The Southern Georgia was the cheapest, but was not deemed worth the cost savings when compared to the Danby or South Dover, while the Colorado Yule was the most preferred but also the most expensive. In general the bids were lower than expected, allowing the architects to revise the original drawings to have “some portions of the work...constructed of a higher grade of materials than were specified, and more nearly in keeping with the intention of the original plan as ordered by Congress.”<sup>55</sup> This included the replacement of some floors intended as concrete with marble, marble instead of plaster for the Reception Hall interior columns, marble for wood in the balustrade around the second floor, bronze doors for the main entrance, and other changes. The three lowest bidders on the original plans were asked to submit quotes for these changes in addition to their regular quotes. It was with these combined quotes that the final slate of bids from the George A. Fuller Company, Thomas O'Reilly, and the Norcross Brothers Company was presented to the commission during its meeting on February 4, 1915. The commission subsequently award the contract to the George A. Fuller Company, for a quote of \$529,400 based on the use of Vermont Danby marble, with an addendum of \$41,837 for the additional work. The contract was signed on February 11, 1915.<sup>56</sup>

This contracting process was not without controversy, as Owen Brainard, Carrère and Hastings' consulting engineer on the project, wrote a strongly worded letter of protest over the method of awarding the contract for additions. As the contract was awarded to the lowest bidder on the original design, with the additional work going to them automatically Brainard was concerned that there was a semblance of impropriety in the award of the additional work. Perhaps concerned over relationships with contractors his firm would work with in the future on other projects, Brainard told Colonel Harts that “if the contract, as drawn as your office suggests, were exhibited to any of the other bidders no amount of protestation or denial would ever convince them that the work had not been given to the Fuller Company upon an opportunity to re-estimate the further work without competition.”<sup>57</sup> This protest came to naught, however, and the contract was indeed awarded to George A. Fuller Company.

With a contractor on board, construction commenced quickly. Less than three weeks after the contract was signed, ground was broken on March 1, 1915. A small ceremony, with no public involvement, marked the occasion, with Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels and Judge Kimball turning the first ceremonial spadefuls of dirt.<sup>58</sup> Construction

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<sup>55</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, with enclosed report, January 26, 1915, Folder 8, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. See also Carrère and Hastings to Col. Wm. W. Harts, November 17, 1914, Folder 8, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I, for a complete list of firms submitting bids.

<sup>56</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, with enclosed report, January 26, 1915, Folder 8, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, February 4, 1915; *Final Report*, 13-14.

<sup>57</sup> Owen Brainard to Colonel Harts, February 10, 1915, and reply dated February 13, 1915, Folder 8, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>58</sup> *Final Report*, 14.



made good progress initially, with excavation completed rapidly and the brick foundations largely installed by the summer of 1915. A larger ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone was scheduled for October 1915. It was originally intended to be held on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, but had to be pushed back to the 13<sup>th</sup> due to weather. This ceremony was attended by the Commission, various dignitaries, and the interested public. President Woodrow Wilson was invited to attend and deliver an address, but begged off delivering a speech due to lack of preparation time and the press of duties. He did, however, attend and used a ceremonial trowel to symbolically set the cornerstone. Speeches were instead delivered by Secretary of the Navy Daniels, Charles Newton of the United Spanish War Veterans, and Judge Kimball.<sup>59</sup> (Figure 15)

### Memorabilia Box and Sectional Reconciliation

An integral part of this ceremony was the insertion of a memorial box into the cornerstone, and the accompanying selection of the materials to be included in a memorial box enclosed within the cornerstone to mark the occasion and signify the purpose of the Amphitheater that would be built around this cornerstone.<sup>60</sup> Some of these items were obvious representations of the ceremony itself, such as daily newspapers from that day and a program from the ceremony. Others were obviously closely tied to the greater import of the Amphitheater and its connection to the most idealistic elements of American history and society, such as an American flag, a bible, and copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Still others were simple “time capsule” items to mark the date (presuming that the box would be open on some significant anniversary in the future), such as a full run of the current U.S. currency and U.S. postage stamps.<sup>61</sup>

At least one item, however, was potentially more controversial. Included with these other patriotic and innocuous items was a “Report of the Confederate Dead at Arlington

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<sup>59</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to Bishop Earl Cranston, September 20, 1915, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Col. Wm. W. Harts to *The Evening Star*, October 5, 1915, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Woodrow Wilson to Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, September 7, 1915, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 326, RG42, NARA I. For a full account of the ceremony, including the text of the speeches delivered, see *Final Report*, 21-43. The original date, October 1<sup>st</sup>, was chosen to coincide with the annual encampment of the G.A.R., which would have allowed a large number of Union veterans to attend. W.F. Gude to Col. W.W. Harts, April 30, 1915, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>60</sup> The original cornerstone is no longer visible today, as it was concealed by the viewing terrace extension during the renovations in 1973-1974. Interestingly, while the renovations were ongoing, the memorabilia box was removed from the cornerstone and stored at the National Archives. The memorabilia box was then returned to Arlington and reinstalled in a new cornerstone at the front of the viewing terrace. There was some debate at the time over whether or not to open the box, but it was decided a more meaningful date would be appropriate. Initially Veteran’s Day 1976 (The Nation’s Bicentennial) was proposed, and later the 100 year anniversary of the cornerstone ceremony in 2015. Largely due to inertia, no opening occurred at either of those times, and the memorabilia box remains in the cornerstone unopened. See Memorial Amphitheater- Construction New East Façade, Removal of Cornerstone Memorabilia Box, Proposed New Memorabilia Box and Ceremony, Folder 11, Box 1, ANCHRC.

<sup>61</sup> List of Items to go in Corner Stone Box of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, October 13, 1915, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I

Cemetery.” Significantly, while there was also a copy of a report of the most recent G.A.R. encampment, no other American war, to include the recently concluded Spanish-American War, received a specific commemorative item in the memorial box. The original intent of the United Confederate Veterans and their representative on the commission, Fred Beall, was to include many more Confederate mementos, including Confederate flags, the report of the most recent meetings of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the U.C.V., and a history of the Confederate Monument at Arlington, which had been dedicated the previous year. Only the “Confederate Dead” pamphlet was finally included, although this reduction was not, at least according to extant records, due to opposition to Confederate memory but rather was made solely on the grounds of space. No record exists of any debate over the appropriateness of the inclusion of this item, even from the G.A.R. member on the commission. While this inclusion clearly resonates as inappropriate when viewed from the twenty-first century, there was even some recognition at the time that this was problematic, as the list of items included in the memorial box in the commission’s official final report failed to mention the inclusion of this Confederate commemoration.<sup>62</sup> This would not be the last time Confederate participation at the Amphitheater would be brought up, and the following occasions would not be settled with so little controversy or as amicably.

The immediate genesis of this Confederate inclusion was the appointment of the head of the local United Confederate Veterans camp to the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission by the Public Buildings Act of 1915. This, however, was simply one symptom of a larger movement that had been building since 1865, and in some ways was peaking during the construction of the Amphitheater. This was the movement for sectional reconciliation that eventually resulted in the “healing” of the wounds of the Civil War. The extent of the progress of this movement by 1915 was evidenced by the fact that a memorial to the Confederate dead was completed at Arlington the year before the cornerstone ceremony for the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater. This was a far cry from the first Decoration Day ceremonies at the cemetery, when military guards prevented the laying of flowers at Confederate graves.<sup>63</sup>

The Civil War had ended with the complete military defeat of the Confederacy, and the devastation of much of the South. Yet peace did not end the dilemmas facing the U.S. government, as it now had to determine how to readmit the rebellious states and recreate a unified nation. While the idea of an independent southern nation was dead, and the *formal* institution of slavery was irrevocably ended, everything else remained on the

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<sup>62</sup> List of Items to go in Corner Stone Box of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, October 13, 1915, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; *Final Report*, 24-25; Col. Wm. W. Harts to Julian G. Moore, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. Fred Beall to Col. Wm. W. Harts, October 1, 1915, Folder 1, Box 2, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>63</sup> In fact, the first funeral held at the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater after its completion was that of Moses Ezekiel, the sculptor of the Confederate Memorial. Ezekiel never served in the United States military, but did serve in the Civil War as a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute, seeing combat as part of the Confederate Army at the Battle of New Market. McElya, 165-169, 179; Funeral Services Held in the Memorial Amphitheater, Folder 16, Box 1, ANCHRC.

table. The exact political, economic, and social terms that would determine the relationships between the federal government and the states of the former confederacy, as well as the relationships between former Confederates, white loyalists, and former slaves within the states remained to be determined. These terms would be contested by multiple competing groups during Reconstruction, one of the most fraught and significant periods of the nation's history, and many would not be fully resolved until the early twentieth century; some are arguably still not resolved today.<sup>64</sup>

One of the issues determined by Reconstruction and its denouement was how the Civil War would be remembered, an issue obviously of great relevance to the Amphitheater. Like the rest of Reconstruction, this was a contested process. Historian David Blight has proposed that the memory of the Civil War was contested between three visions of the war: an emancipationist vision, a white supremacist vision, and a reconciliationist vision. According to Blight, the reconciliationist vision of the war was able to come to accommodation with the white supremacist vision, largely by writing out the story of emancipation and African Americans. The Civil War came to be viewed as a story of shared valor and sacrifice between soldiers fighting for each of the opposing sides. The unwritten part of this assumption was, that despite the service of over 200,000 African Americans in the Union Army, those soldiers were presumed to be white.<sup>65</sup> This reconciliationist and white supremacist alliance was on display at the cornerstone laying ceremony, where Secretary Daniels stated in his speech that "fifty years have passed since this battle of brothers. Mutual respect, forgetfulness of passion, and equal love of America characterize the survivors North and South. It is the eternal cementing of the Republic that the home of Lee is the burial place of the glorious company of Grant's invincible army and the equally brave soldiers who fought with Lee."<sup>66</sup> The racial import of these words of reconciliation were reinforced by the presiding presence of President Wilson, the first Southerner elected President since the end of the war, and recently responsible for the re-segregation of the federal Civil Service.<sup>67</sup>

As convincing as Blight's model and thesis is, the reconciliationist and white supremacist vision was not wholly successful or completely uncontested. Blight himself argues that the African American community kept alive the emancipationist vision of the war, which was revived nationally in the late twentieth century, and other historians have offered counterarguments or caveats.<sup>68</sup> Brian Matthew Jordan, one of Blight's students, offered a

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<sup>64</sup> For an excellent overview of the Reconstruction era, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1862-1877* updated ed. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2014). He also includes a useful bibliographical essay. As I write this report, the "Unite the Right 2" rally, protesting for "white civil rights" and marking the one year anniversary of protest and counter-protests in Charlottesville, VA over the removal of the Robert E. Lee statue that resulted in the death of a counter-protester is occurring a mere two blocks from the HABS office. Clearly the questions the Civil War was fought over are not settled in the country.

<sup>65</sup> Blight, especially 2-5.

<sup>66</sup> *Final Report*, 36. Daniels' forgiveness is impressive, as while he is from North Carolina, his father was a Union sympathizer and was killed by a Confederate sharpshooter when Daniels was still a toddler.

<sup>67</sup> See Nicholas Patler, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration: Protesting Federal Segregation in the Early Twentieth Century* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2004).

<sup>68</sup> Blight, 300-337.

refinement of Blight's argument by adding a fourth group to the mix-- Union veterans. If the majority of the north had accepted white supremacy and reconciliation by the beginning of the twentieth century, Jordan argues that Union veterans still held on to a view of the war that made a clear distinction between Union and Confederate valor. This included, to some extent, an acceptance of the emancipationist vision of the war as part of an effort to preserve a result that justified their sacrifices.<sup>69</sup> A second group that was less keen than the general public was formed by U.S. Army officers. Due to the resignations of the 1860s and the lack of Southern appointments to the Military Academy in the 1870s, the officer corps of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century skewed Northern and Western. Additionally, due to their training and professional culture, officers tended to be more nationalistic and less sectional than their civilian counterparts, even before the Civil War.<sup>70</sup> These two groups would prove critical to discussions of sectional reconciliation and Confederate inclusion on the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, due to the central role and influence of the Grand Army of the Republic and the extensive control executed on a day to day basis by Army engineers.

### Construction Delays

Following the cornerstone laying ceremony, George A. Fuller Company proceeded with construction, which was intended to be complete by February of 1917 and initially progressed rapidly.<sup>71</sup> However delays of various causes ensued as construction progressed, pushing back completion again and again. One of the main issues was with obtaining an adequate supply of marble. The Vermont Marble Company received the sub-contract for producing all of the exterior marble for the Amphitheater and they quickly fell behind. With a building almost entirely clad with marble, this imposed inevitable delays on overall construction, as there was very little Fuller could do with no marble on hand. The Vermont Marble Company made several excuses for their delay, including untimely delivery of the architectural drawings that they needed in order to accurately cut the stone. However, the major problem seems to have been that the marble was required to be of a quality higher than normal and that it was being drawn from a new quarry that was not fully operational or efficiently run at the start of construction.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Brian Matthew Jordan, *Marching Home: Union Veterans and their Unending Civil War* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2014). This view is echoed and reinforced by M. Keith Harris, who looks at the views of both Confederate and Union veterans. M. Keith Harris, *Across the Bloody Chasm: The Culture of Commemoration Among Civil War Veterans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014).

<sup>70</sup> See Mark R. Grandstaff, "Preserving the 'Habits and Usages of War': William Tecumseh Sherman, Professional Reform, and the U.S. Army Officer Corps, 1865-1881, Revisited," *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (July 1998) for his coverage of the demographics of the postwar officer corps.

<sup>71</sup> Contract, George A. Fuller Company, Folder 7, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. See also Folders 2-6 of Box 8 and Folder 1 of Box 9 in Entry 327, RG42, NARA I, which contain monthly reports of work completed and money spent for the entire project. Most of these reports are accompanied by blueprints with shaded areas depicting completed work.

<sup>72</sup> Folder 9, Box 10, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I contains extensive correspondence between Vermont Marble Company, George A. Fuller Company, Carrère and Hastings, and the project's Executive and Disbursing Officer over the delays in marble deliveries. While George A. Fuller Company seemed initially sympathetic, pressing Carrère and Hastings to send drawings, they quickly lost patience and began sprinkling their letters to Hastings and

By April 1916 delays had reached a state where Colonel Harts felt the need to write to the George A. Fuller Company expressing his doubt that they could meet their contract obligations and requesting them “to advise us of your expectations in regards to your being able to secure better results in this direction,” expectations that Harts initially found “very indefinite and...not satisfactory.”<sup>73</sup> Despite this displeasure, George A. Fuller continued work on the project, and by August of 1916 an inspection of the facilities of the Vermont Marble Company found that the situation had been much improved, although it would still likely take until the summer of 1917 for all stone to be shipped.<sup>74</sup> As can be seen from the extensive construction photos held in the Historical Research Collection at Arlington National Cemetery, work proceeded generally from excavation and foundations, to the construction of the brick walls, followed by the installation of the outer sheath of marble. While some work was done simultaneously, the reception hall was generally constructed first, with work then moving to the arcade and amphitheater. Thus, the first photo in the album (Figure 16), with an illegible date, shows excavation work beginning, and a photograph from July 1915 (Figure 17) shows the majority of excavation complete and the brick walls of both the crypts and the basement of the Reception Hall taking shape. By October 1915 (Figure 18), a crane had been emplaced and the first marble block put into place along the base of the Reception Hall. In November, the marble columns of the chapel were installed (Figure 19). By April of 1916, the Reception Hall and Stage archway had largely taken shape, and marble had begun to be emplaced along the foundations of the arcade wall (Figure 20). By February 1917, the exterior walls of the Reception Hall were essentially complete, although the stage remained under construction, and the columns and piers of the arcade had started to take shape (Figure 21). The sheer amount of marble in this construction is also hinted at by the stacked crates in this image. By September the arcade was over halfway complete, to include the west portico (Figure 22). In June 1918, the exterior of the building was mostly complete, and work transitioned to the amphitheater floor (Figure 13). Also that summer, work progressed on the granite retaining wall along the eastern plaza (Figure 23). The final image in the album, dated May 1918, shows the building and retaining wall complete, with work transitioning to the grading of the eastern plaza (Figure 24). Although not included in the construction photos, presumably significant work remained on the interior of the building as well.<sup>75</sup>

Marble shortages were not the only delay the Amphitheater faced. On occasion, work was held up due to failure to coordinate work from multiple sub-contractors. For example, in November 1916 Tiffany Studios complained that the bronze main door as well as the frames for the windows in the chapel had been waiting for five months for

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Colonel Harts with excerpts of their correspondence with the Vermont Marble Company, laying the blame for all delays upon them.

<sup>73</sup> Col. Wm. W. Harts to George A. Fuller Company, April 7, 1916, Folder 9, Box 10, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.  
Col. Wm. W. Harts to George A. Fuller Company, April 13, 1916, Folder 9, Box 10, Entry 327, NARA I.

<sup>74</sup> Gillam to Col. Wm. W. Harts, August 9, 1916, Folder 2, Box 9, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>75</sup> Also see the detailed Monthly Reports of Operations included in Folders 2-6, Box 8, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. These reports detail the money expended and work completed each month during construction, including blueprints of the building showing exactly what areas had been completed.

hardware, which was being provided by Russell and Erwin, who had only been awarded a contract in September 1916. The delay in this hardware contract was largely due to the government's requirement that all sub-contracts required a bidding process before the award of a contract, a process that imposed significant delays on various portions of the construction.<sup>76</sup> Other delays were imposed by changes in the plans for the building, such as Hastings desire to find a different option for the floor of the amphitheater proper that would be more in keeping with the building's majesty than simple concrete. Construction only commenced on the original design when no other option within the budget could be found and the contractor notified the architects that construction must commence immediately, or the laborers would be lost to other jobs.<sup>77</sup>

Other delays were imposed by outside forces. Obviously, as construction consumed almost five years, there were significant delays due to weather, even in as temperate an area as Washington, D.C. Additionally, as the work stretched on the U.S. was drawn inexorably into the First World War. Even before American entry, labor and especially skilled labor had begun to be increasingly difficult to find as American industry geared up to provide the materials necessary for the Allies to fight a modern industrial war.<sup>78</sup> Once American entered the war this became an even greater issue with laborers siphoned off by both war industries and the armed forces. Additionally, war time restrictions on transportation made moving material to the site difficult, although as the cemetery was run by the Army, the Executive and Disbursing Officer was able to request shipping priorities and eventually get the material delivered.<sup>79</sup> These labor difficulties were further complicated by several strikes and labor disputes, such as when the Amphitheater's painters went on strike in September of 1919.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to delays and labor shortages, the First World War also effected the construction of Arlington Memorial Amphitheater in a few other ways. First and most simply, the war time economy resulted in rising prices for almost all materials and certainly for labor, driving up costs and putting in doubt the ability of the contractor to build the Amphitheater at the originally appropriated budget. In requesting additional funding in January 1919, Colonel Ridley, the new Executive and Disbursing Officer, and Hastings argued that "the necessity of the additional funds arose from the increase of costs by reason of the European war subsequent to the preparation of all the original

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<sup>76</sup> J.F.B. to Carrère and Hastings, November 4, 1916, Folder 7, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Carrère and Hastings to Colonel Harts, September 20, 1916, Folder 7, Box 2, Entry 327, RG 42, NARA I.

<sup>77</sup> Colonel Wm. W. Harts to George A. Fuller Company, July 2, 1917, Folder 8, Box 10, Entry 327, NARA I; George A. Fuller Company to Colonel Wm. W. Harts, August 28, 1917, Folder 8, Box 10, Entry 327, NARA I; Colonel Wm. W. Harts to George A. Fuller Company, September 7, 1917, Folder 8, Box 10, Entry 327, NARA I.

<sup>78</sup> Gillam to Col. Wm. W. Harts, August 9, 1916, Folder 2, Box 9, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>79</sup> For an example, see the correspondence between George A. Fuller Company, Col. C.S. Ridley and the Inland Traffic Division regarding shipment for a load of marble contained in Folder 9, Box 10, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>80</sup> George A. Fuller Company to Col. C.S. Ridley, September 17, 1919, Folder 8, Box 10, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. See also Bodwell Granite Company to Col. C.S. Ridley, January 7, 1918, Folder 4, Box 11, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I which discusses difficulty of securing labor and shipping material from the quarry to Arlington.

plans and estimates.”<sup>81</sup> The Commission subsequently requested an additional \$100,000 of funding from Congress, which authorized \$75,000 in additional funding as part of the Deficiency Act passed on July 11, 1919, bringing the total authorized funding to \$825,000. The Amphitheater, including its approaches, was completed at a final actual cost of \$819,289.77.<sup>82</sup>

Finally, the entry of the country into a major war while it was constructing a major memorial to its war dead also led to some debate about the design of the Amphitheater. While the most obvious World War influence was the decision to add a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to the eastern plaza barely a year following the dedication, other smaller changes also came out of the war. There was some debate of including leaders and battles from the First World War on the inscriptions on the Amphitheater, but it was decided to stop these at the Spanish-American War, as since “the Memorial was authorized by Congress long before this war, and was really the culmination of agitation by veterans of the Civil War and the Spanish War, I [Secretary of War Baker] think it best to assume that it is to be regarded as devoted to the memory of heroic persons and occasions anterior to 1914, leaving such recognition as should be provided for the battles and heroes of this war to the subsequent action of Congress.”<sup>83</sup> However, with the War clearly looming large for the nation, there was some thought of its eventual inclusion on the Amphitheater proper. With this in mind, and with an eye towards some cost savings as expenditures rapidly approached even the expanded budget, Colonel Ridley, Hastings, and the Commission determined to substitute plaster for marble on the four large panel sculptures intended for the frieze on the east portico. This would have the benefit of reducing the cost of the sculptures by approximately \$12,500, but was also motivated by the idea that “the relation of the United States to the present war renders it highly probably that the location designated for this frieze will be employed most properly hereafter to commemorate some momentous action participated in by the American Forces.”<sup>84</sup> The sculptures were indeed completed in plaster by April 1919 by Ulysses A. Ricci, and not replaced with marble until 1934, ultimately matching the original design rather than commemorating World War I. It is possible that this was due to the feeling that the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier provided enough World War I commemoration, or potentially concern that changing the design would have required congressional approval.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Minutes of the Meeting of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, January 21, 1919, Folder 1, Box 8, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>82</sup> *Final Report*, 13; Original and Replacement Cost of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, Folder 12, Box 1, ANCHRC.

<sup>83</sup> Newton D. Baker to A. Lawrence Lowell, September 18, 1919, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>84</sup> Col. C.S. Ridley to Col. John C. McElroy, September 27, 1918, Folder 2, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. The frieze was not the only elimination in the name of cost savings. Hastings also agree to eliminate the seating along the roof of the arcade in an effort to control costs as construction approached completion. Charles W. Newton to Col. C.S. Ridley, Folder 5, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>85</sup> Charles W. Newton to Col. C.S. Ridley, April 9, 1919, Folder 5, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Ulysses A. Ricci to Carrère and Hastings, November 12, 1918, Folder 5, Box 11, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; “Marble Panels for Sculpture Above Main Entrance, Reception Building, Memorial Amphitheater,” pencil on paper, not to scale, 1-

### Arlington Memorial Amphitheater and Confederate Memory

The decision to exclude First World War commemoration from the Amphitheater as built left the field to the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, The Mexican War, the Civil War, and the Spanish American War. From these conflicts would be drawn the inscriptions that would mark the Amphitheater. As originally designed, this would constitute 44 battle names, 13 generals, and 13 admirals. The battle names were to be inscribed on the exterior of the parapet surmounting the arcade, extending all the way around the Amphitheater in chronological order, starting from the right side of the west portico. The generals and admirals would be inscribed in vertical lists on the pilasters on either side of the main stage of the Amphitheater. The selection of battle names engendered little discussion.<sup>86</sup> The selection of names of generals, however, was much more controversial. The generals included on the inscription were Washington, Greene, and Wayne from the Revolutionary War; Jackson for the War of 1812; Scott for the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War; Taylor for the Mexican War; Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, McClellan, and Meade for the Civil War (most had also served in the Mexican War as junior officers); and Merritt and Shafter for the Spanish-American War.<sup>87</sup> Several elements of these selections proved controversial in the long term. On one level, there was a simple element of presentism. While there doesn't seem to have been much debate at the time, the inclusion of Merritt and Shafter strikes most modern military historians as odd (the average tourist simply does not know who they are). Neither were particularly distinguished, but the role of the United Spanish War Veterans in getting the Amphitheater built, combined with the fact that they were still alive at the time of the dedication, providing an active constituency, militated for the inclusion of at least a few Spanish American War generals on the inscription. In a war that produced few famous generals, the simple answer was to include the commanders of the two main theaters of the conflict.<sup>88</sup>

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20-1934, F.C. Greve, Supt. Constructing QMC, RG77, NARA II; Completion Report: Repairs at Amphitheater, at Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, Box 12, Entry 391, RG77, NARA II.

<sup>86</sup> The battles inscribed were Lexington, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill, Trenton, Saratoga, Monmouth, Stony Point, King's Mountain, Guilford C.H., and Yorktown from the Revolutionary War; Lake Erie, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Lake Champaign, Plattsburgh, and New Orleans from the War of 1812; Resaca, Monterey, Buena Vista, Contreras, Churubusco, Molina del Rey, and Chapultepec from the Mexican War; Fort Sumter, Donelson, Shiloh, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Knoxville, The Wilderness, Petersburg, Mobile Bay, Atlanta, Cedar Creek, Winchester, Franklin, Nashville, and Appomattox for the Civil War; and Manila and Santiago de Cuba for the Spanish-American War. While not controversial in the sense of drawing protests, there are some interesting choices here, if this intended to be a list of the most prominent battles of American history. Of note, no Union defeats are included, other than Fort Sumter. Additionally, Knoxville is not usually considered a highly significant battle by Civil War historians.

<sup>87</sup> *Final Report*, 18.

<sup>88</sup> See the coverage of the Spanish-American War, and especially the questionable performance of Shafter, in Millet, et al, 252-281. It is also interesting that Shafter and Merrill were chosen over Nelson Miles, who was the Commanding General of the Army at the time of the war, and personally led the campaign in Puerto Rico. While Miles was without a doubt a courageous and tactically competent officer, his unweaning ambition rubbed many officers the wrong way. Combined with this, there may have been some lingering feelings of resentment within some Army circles towards Miles, who at the end of the Spanish-American War accused the War Department of



More significant at the time was who was not included. While the Civil War was well represented with six of the fourteen generals (seven if you included Scott, who while more famous for his performance in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War was still the Commanding General of the Army for the first several months of the Civil War), none of them were Confederates. The inscriptions were just about the last task completed on the Amphitheater, and somehow despite the presence of a member of the United Confederate Veterans on the Amphitheater Commission, this lack of Confederates was not noted or protested until right before the dedication ceremony. This was largely due to the nature of the commission's membership and operations. While the Commission had responsibility for overseeing the construction of the Amphitheater, its members were the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, who had full time jobs (especially during the latter portion of construction when America was involved in the First World War) as well as the heads of veterans groups, who were not full time employees but rather served as volunteers apart from their personal obligations. Other than the meetings of the council every few months, they were largely hands off, leaving day to day oversight of the construction to the architects and the Executive and Disbursing Officer, an Army engineer who actually oversaw the project for the government.<sup>89</sup> This delegated responsibility had a huge influence on keeping the topic of Confederate inscriptions out of sight until the very last stages of the project, and the oversized role of Army officers, along with the tight connection of the Amphitheater with the Grand Army of the Republic would have a major effect on the final outcome of the debate.

Army officers had a major effect on the initial exclusion of Confederates from the inscriptions on the Amphitheater. Nowhere in the bill authorizing the Amphitheater or in Hastings' original plans was there any requirement to exclude Confederates.<sup>90</sup> Nor did the method chosen for designing the inscription by its nature necessarily preclude the

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incompetence and corruption, both generally and specifically in feeding spoiled meat to recruits, leading to illness and death. Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army and the Spanish-American War*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 289-295. It may also reflect an uneasiness with including a living general among the inscriptions on the Memorial Amphitheater, as Miles was still alive in 1920, and indeed was still vigorous enough to lead the processional march from the National Mall to the Amphitheater as part of the dedication ceremony.

<sup>89</sup> One slight exception to this was Charles Newton, of the United Spanish War Veterans, who was an active correspondent about various issues, writing frequently to the Executive Officer. He also visited Carrère and Hastings at their New York office multiple times to discuss various aspects of the design. See, for example, Charles W. Newton to Col. WM. W. Harts, February 9, 1916, Folder 4, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I where he discusses the material to be used for the terrace and his visit to Carrère and Hastings to discuss this and other topics. Numerous other similar letters can be found in Folders 4 and 5, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. Colonel William W. Harts was the Executive and Disbursing Officer from the initiation of the project until September 1917 when he was relieved by Colonel Clarence S. Ridley. Ridley then ran the project until relieved by Colonel Clarence O. Sherrill in March 1921. Col. Wm. W. Harts to Hon. Newton D. Baker, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Col. C.S. Ridley to Hon. John W. Weeks, March 30, 1921, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>90</sup> Extracts of Laws related to Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, Folder 3, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. According to a memorandum prepared for the Secretary of War in 1915, while Hastings' design provided for the inscription of names, "the exact names were not specified in either the plans or the contract." Memorandum for the Secretary of War, Folder 2, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

inclusion of Confederate names. The quotes, battle names, and names of leaders for the Amphitheater inscriptions were selected by a panel of university presidents, presumably working with their history departments, and approved by the Commission. This panel was provided an initial list of generals and admirals, supplied by the Army and Navy respectively, to work from in drafting a final proposal.<sup>91</sup> Indeed the presence of President Alderman of the University of Virginia on the panel, would seem to make the inclusion of Confederates likely. During the panel's deliberations, Alderman wrote to the panel's chair, A.L. Lowell of Harvard, of the "regret I feel that the names of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson do not appear in the list of great American soldiers."<sup>92</sup> Still, as he explained in another letter after the dedication of the Amphitheater, his understanding was that the War Department had restricted selection of any Confederates and that he "would simply address myself to the selection of the best names under the limitations."<sup>93</sup> Likewise, Lowell's letter to the Commission with his panel's recommended list of names closed with the simple statement that "We understand that the memorial being in Arlington Cemetery, the names of Confederate officers are excluded."<sup>94</sup>

Other than the submission of an initial list without Confederates, it is unclear that the Commission ever explicitly banned Confederates. The role of the Army and Navy in providing these lists thus allowed them a vote in the decision, one that in the end inertia and timing proved enough to sustain. Due to the nature of the Civil War and the dominance of the Union Navy throughout, no real Confederate naval heroes emerged, and the naval list was never to draw much scrutiny. On the Army side, the combination of the resignation of Southern officers at the beginning of the war and the demographic exclusion of the Southerners from commission in the immediate post war period worked alongside slow promotion rates to ensure that the senior officer ranks in the early twentieth century were disproportionately non-Southern. This, as well as the institutional interests of the Army, ensured that despite the progress sectional reconciliation made amongst the public by 1920, the Army retained an older vision of the war, and in point of

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<sup>91</sup> The panel was approved by the Commission at its meeting on August 21, 1919 and consisted of President Lowell of Harvard, President Hutchins of the University of Michigan, and President Alderman of the University of Virginia. Minutes of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, August 21, 1919, Folder 5, Box 3 Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Newton D. Baker to Dr. Lowell, October 2, 1919, Folder 5, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>92</sup> E.A. Alderman to A.L. Lowell, January 5, 1920, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. In the same letter, he further suggested the substitution of any of Light Horse Harry Lee, Marion, Morgan, or Sumter (all Southerners) for Knox as a representative of the Revolutionary War. Although he may have hurt his credibility by misspelling Sumter as "Sumpter."

<sup>93</sup> E.A. Alderman to Clarence J. Owens, April 16, 1920, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>94</sup> A.L. Lowell to Colonel C.S. Ridley, January 13, 1920, Folder 2, Box 7, Entry 327, NARA I. Of note, the list provided by the panel was not the final list actually engraved, as the Commission directed the Historical Section of the General Staff to add two generals from the Spanish War, removing Knox from Lowell's list and adding a fourteenth name to make space. On the Army's recommendation, Shafter and Merritt were added to the list. Col. C.S. Ridley to Newton D. Baker, February 11, 1920, Folder 5, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Peyton C. March to Col. C.S. Ridley, February 28, 1920, Folder 2, Box 7, Entry 327, NARA I. The panel was explicitly directed to exclude names from the First World War, as Secretary of War Baker wrote that he felt it best that the Amphitheater inscriptions be "devoted to the memory of heroic persons and occasions anterior to 1914, leaving such recognition as should be provided for the battles and heroes of this war to the subsequent action of Congress." Newton D. Baker to A. Lawrence Lowell, September 16, 1919, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

fact submitted an initial list that excluded Confederates. This exclusion was accepted as an understood limit by the panel of University Presidents and ratified as final by the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission in their meeting on February 11, 1920. Significantly, the Commission's representative from the United Confederate Veterans, Fred Beall, was absent from that meeting due to illness, although he had seen the list from Lowell and sent a letter to the meeting protesting the exclusion of Confederate generals. A delegation from the G.A.R., however, was present, and addressed the Commission. The Commission did take up the question of Confederate exclusion, but "after some discussion this matter was passed as not requiring any action by the Commission." The only change made to the proposed inscriptions was the removal of Knox from the list of generals and the referral of the list to the Army for the addition of two Spanish-American War commanders, with the naval list referred to the Navy for the addition of another name, bringing both lists to fourteen names total.<sup>95</sup> Certainly the presence of the G.A.R. and the absence of the U.C.V. made this decision a bit easier.

While the question was thus settled, and the inscriptions finally cut and completed in time for the dedication ceremony, it did not stay settled. Before the ceremony was even held, the lists of generals, and the exclusion of Confederates, became public and received a vehement response. Fred Beall, U.C.V. leader and member of the Commission, led the charge. In March of 1920, in response to a request for a list of U.C.V. invitees to the dedication ceremony, he wrote that in light of the G.A.R.'s role in planning the dedication and the exclusion of Confederate names from the Amphitheater and the ceremony, he and the U.C.V. would boycott the ceremony. His reply is worth quoting at length:

I do not believe that any Confederate Veteran will care to attend the dedication. This is not to be construed that there is any prejudice or bitterness in the hearts of Confederate Veterans against the Grand Army of the Republic, or any of the brave chivalrous men of that organization who waged honorable warfare against the South, but Confederate Veterans cherish and revere the names of their great leaders and cannot consistently go where the names of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Joseph E. Johnson, Albert Sydney Johnson, Leonidas Polk, or any of our great Generals who led the armies of the South cannot be spoken and honored. To do so would not only dishonor the names of the true brave officers, whom all Confederate soldiers loved in life and followed in war with a patriotic devotion into all the hardships and perils and adversities of war, but it would be disloyal to our own convictions of right, justice, and propriety.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Minutes of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, February 11, 1920, Folder1, Box 8, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. The Navy list had already included names from the Spanish-American War.

<sup>96</sup> Fred Beall to Col. C.S. Ridley, March 25, 1920, Folder 3, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. Note the interesting use of the terms "patriotic" and "disloyal" here.

Beall's protest and boycott were unanimously ratified by Camp 171, U.C.V. at their next meeting.<sup>97</sup> Nor were Beall and his comrades the only ones incensed by the exclusion of Confederate names from the Amphitheater inscriptions. The Commission, the Secretary of War, and Colonel Ridley, the Executive and Disbursing Officer at the time, were all inundated with letters and telegrams of protest and demands for redress. Many, like Beall, used the language of sectional reconciliation and shared honor to demand Confederate inclusion.<sup>98</sup> Others made express reference to the loyalty of Southerners in the Spanish-American War and the First World War as demonstrating the completion of sectional reconciliation, such as the president of the "Alabama Society of Washington" (subtitle: for the advancement of Alabama and for the fellowship of Alabamans), who wrote to Secretary Baker that "we believe that the patriotism of the South in the Spanish-American War and in the Great World War, was such that no man from any section of the country can, with good grace, oppose doing full honor to Lee, Jackson, Wheeler, and Semmes and the other great soldiers and sailors the South produced."<sup>99</sup>

Perhaps the most persistent and contentious correspondent was Clarence J. Owens, Director General of the Southern Commercial Congress, who not only bombarded the Secretary of War with letters both demanding the inclusion of Confederates and accusing him of duplicitousness in this matter, but also organized others to write and telegram the Commission, the War Department, and even President Wilson. Owens even encouraged Congress to pass a bill to change the inscriptions at the Amphitheater to include Southern military leaders. The correspondence escalated to the point where Owens essentially accused Baker of lying and concealing his responsibility for the exclusion of Confederates, writing to Baker that his response to the Chairman of the House Committee on the Library was "absolutely contrary to all facts that you and others have presented to me to date."<sup>100</sup> Owens then went on to threaten to take the case to the people of the South

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<sup>97</sup> Fred Beall to Col C.S. Ridley, April 23, 1920, Folder 3, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. Apparently the Commission decided to do an end run around Beall, sending an invitation to the national Commander in Chief of the U.C.V. to both attend the ceremony and deliver a short address. He also declined, although he did not specify that it was in protest of Confederate exclusion, simply stating that it was "impossible" for him to be present. Newton Baker to General M.K. VanZandt, April 7, 1920 and K.M. VanZandt to Newton Baker, April 13, 1920, Folder 7, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. Getting his initials mixed up probably didn't encourage his acceptance of the invitation. While certainly some in attendance at the dedication had served with the Confederacy, no organized groups of Confederate Veterans were involved in the procession, spoke during the ceremony, or were assigned to the boxes in the Amphitheater reserved for V.I.P.s. *Final Report* 48-56; Box List, Folder 8, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>98</sup> For example, "if my father [a Confederate Veteran] and his comrades are unworthy of recognition and representation in that Memorial that stands, not to perpetuate animus and discord, but to be a solemn and sacred place to commemorate the deeds of heroism and patriotism of men who have answered the call of the Great Commander, and who, side by side, rest in that city of the dead, then there has been perpetrated the greatest injustice." Clarence J. Owens to Newton Baker, May 19, 1920, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 327, NARA I. This folder contains numerous other similar letters, as does Folders 2 and 3 of Box 7.

<sup>99</sup> F.F. Conway to the Secretary of War, May 14, 1920, Folder 2, Box 7, Entry 327, NARA I.

<sup>100</sup> Clarence J. Owens to Hon. Newton D. Baker, May 12, 1920, Folder 2, Box 7, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. Owens was not without a point, as Baker had claimed to have been unable to change the inscriptions as they were part of the design approved by Congress despite knowing that the original approved plans had not included actual names, and he had received a legal opinion that the selection of names for these inscriptions were part of the Commission's

and see Baker held “responsible, at least at the bar of the public opinion of the South.”<sup>101</sup> Baker responded by simply noting receipt of the letter and stating that “it will be given the consideration which it merits,” which was presumably not much, and added in a second letter the next day that he “could wish that the section of the country in which I was born had a more courteous representative.”<sup>102</sup>

The debate, and its incivility, also spilled into the halls of Congress. An earlier law had required any subsequent memorials or interments within the Amphitheater or within 250’ of it to require Congressional approval, so any addition of Confederates after the dedication of the Amphitheater would require legislation.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, a bill was presented that would authorize the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, “at their discretion, to make provision to include the names of southern military leaders in the inscriptions on the amphitheater.” The bill made explicit reference, as justification, to both the Confederate section at Arlington as well as the fact that “Confederate Veterans and their sons and grandsons, in peace and in active military service during the War with Spain and on every field in Europe in the World War, demonstrated their fealty to the United States.”<sup>104</sup> Introduced on the floor on the same day as the dedication ceremony, May 15, 1920, the debate quickly became rancorous. Representative William D. Upshaw of Georgia was the main proponent of the bill and began by making reference to both the Spanish-American War as a marker of a reunited country, as well President William McKinley’s order for the government to care for Confederate graves as a precedent. He then proceeded to justify the inclusion of Confederates based on the idea that a long line of Northerners would support inclusion. “If that indescribable American, Theodore Roosevelt, were here, with the rich blood of the southern cavalier in his veins...if Abraham Lincoln were here, a son of the South and the great apostle of human freedom...the soldierly Grant...if these great leaders of the North and the Nation could be present and see the name of Robert E. Lee denied a place on the roster of America’s great ones in that Amphitheater they would be deeply grieved.”<sup>105</sup> This contention did not

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responsibility in its role overseeing construction. Additionally while it is possible Baker was unaware of this as it occurred before his ascension to Secretary of War and the Commission, the first list of names submitted by Carrère and Hastings in June 1915 included both Lee and Stuart (although not Stonewall Jackson, presumably due to concerns over confusion as Andrew Jackson was already on the list and only last names were used). Carrère and Hastings to Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1915, Folder 3, Box 1, Entry 327, NARA I. See also the memo prepared for Secretary of War Garrison by Colonel Harts in August 1915 raising “one very important question of policy is involved in determining whether or not there shall be included the names of any officers of the Confederate Army during the Civil War.” Considering that this memo refers to the June list that did include Confederates, this may be Harts making a subtle argument for their exclusion. Memorandum for the Secretary of War, August 18, 1915, Folder 2, Box 3, Entry 327, NARA I.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Baker was from West Virginia and his father served in the Confederate Army. Newton Baker to Clarence J. Owens, May 18, 1920, Box 2 Folder 7, entry 327, NARA I; Newton Baker to Clarence J. Owens, May 19, 1920, Box 3, Folder 3, Entry 327, RG42.

<sup>103</sup> H.R. 8032, 66<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session [Report No. 344], Folder 4, Box 1, Entry 327, NARA I.

<sup>104</sup> H.R. 337, 66<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Box 269, Papers Accompanying Specific Bills and Resolutions, Committee of the Library, Record Group 233: Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, 66<sup>th</sup> Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

<sup>105</sup> 59 Cong. Rec. 7847 (1920).

go undisputed, as Representative Madden, of Illinois interrupted to ask “does the gentleman complain and protest because the loyal people of the United States refused to pay tribute to men who were traitors to the country in its time of greatest distress?”<sup>106</sup> This question, and the imputation that Lee was a traitor got a heated response from the Southern delegates, as it did again a few days later when in a second debate on the bill Madden again called Lee a traitor. According to an article in *The Evening Star*, the slur almost resulted in a physical altercation, as in response “a storm of protest swept over the democratic side of the house” and several southern congressmen “started toward Mr. Madden threateningly.”<sup>107</sup> Despite the heated debate and the general trend toward sectional reconciliation in the country by 1920, the bill died in committee, and no Confederates were ever added to the Amphitheater.

The relationship between Arlington Memorial Amphitheater and Confederate veterans thus combined an odd mix of inclusion, marked most obviously by the presence of Fred Beall on the Commission, and exclusion, with their noted and much debated absences from the final inscriptions and the dedication ceremony. This relationship thus both reflected and countered the success of sectional reconciliation in the greater American society by 1920. Perhaps this odd mixture can best be explained by the paradigm advanced by M. Keith Harris in *Across the Bloody Chasm*, in which he argues that sectional reconciliation occurred differently in veteran communities, north and south, then it did amongst the larger nonveteran society. For Harris, while veterans were generally supportive of sectional reconciliation by the end of the nineteenth century, they were unwilling to accede to any version of sectional reconciliation that compromised or denied the respective causes for which they fought; “these veterans dedicating monuments and staging reunions reminded Americans that they welcomed peace between countrymen, but only with the acknowledgement that their cause alone deserved accolades;” “the recognition of southern courage- a prominent refrain in reconciliatory rhetoric- did not preclude the acknowledgement of southern treachery.”<sup>108</sup> While the G.A.R. was willing to include Confederate veterans in the planning of the Amphitheater, and by the twentieth century even allowed them to participate in Memorial Day activities within Arlington, they still wanted it to remain clear that Union veterans and Confederate veterans were not equivalent. According to Union veteran Charles L. Holstein, “Glory has been the common heritage of soldiers in all wars, in all ages. Such glory we are quite willing to share with our late enemies, for they too were soldiers.” However, he continued, “the war for the Union was a conflict between right and wrong- between truth and error. The Union soldier stood embattled on the side of right and truth. The Confederate soldier was arrayed on the side of wrong and error.”<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> “Civil War Topic Brings Hot Debate,” *The Washington Evening Star*, 19 May 1920.

<sup>108</sup> Harris, 10., 51. See also 4-12.

<sup>109</sup> Quoted in Harris, 45-46.

### Dedication Ceremony

Despite the debate over Confederate inscriptions, by spring 1920 the Amphitheater was complete and ready to be dedicated. In consultation with the G.A.R., the date of May 15<sup>th</sup> was selected for the ceremony. As alluded to above, the Grand Army of the Republic had a large role in conceiving and executing the ceremony, once again demonstrating the powerful link between Civil War memory and the Amphitheater.<sup>110</sup> The ceremony was a chance both to show off the new building and its connection to the commemoration of war dead, as well as demonstrate the power and majesty of a newly imperial America. A grand parade, led by the 80-year-old former Commanding General of the Army, Nelson A. Miles, proceeded from the National Mall across the Seventeenth Street Bridge, and into the cemetery. The parade contained both current units of the Army as well as veterans. According to the official report of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Committee, the parade “made a most beautiful and impressive sight. Within the ranks were gray and grizzled veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic in their suits of blue, groups of veterans of the Spanish War in their suits of blue and gray, and the younger veterans of our most recent war in their khaki.”<sup>111</sup> Following the parade, a ceremony was held in the amphitheater, with speeches delivered by Secretary of War Baker; Daniel M. Hall, the Commander in Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic; Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels; Williams Jones, the Commander in Chief of the United Spanish War Veterans; and General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff, United States Army. Charles W. Newton, of the United Spanish War Veterans and the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, read a letter from President Wilson, who was too ill to attend. And while the United Confederate Veterans may have been absent, the tone of the day was still largely reconciliationist, with President Wilson’s address referring to the Civil War dead in Arlington as those men “who fought out the constitutional questions insoluble by other processes,” while “time has eliminated from our memories the bitterness which that controversy aroused, but time has only served to magnify the heroic valor of the captains and the men who fought the great fight.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> The Committee on Arrangements for the ceremony included 30 members from the G.A.R. and 9 from the U.S.W.V.; the chairman of the Executive Committee was a G.A.R. man, and the date was determined largely based on the availability of the Commander in Chief of the G.A.R. *Final Report*, 51-52; Telegram from Daniel M. Hall to Col. Clarence S. Ridley, February 26, 1920, Folder 7, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I. To indicate the full degree to which the G.A.R. dominated the Amphitheater, while the dedication was scheduled to allow the G.A.R. commander to attend, it was on a day that Thomas Hastings was unavailable, and thus he missed the ceremony of the building he later claimed to most want to be identified with. Carrère and Hastings to Colonel Ridley, March 30, 1920, Folder 7, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>111</sup> *Final Report*, 48.

<sup>112</sup> *Final Report*, 61. See also 45-73 for full coverage of the Dedication Ceremony and the full text of all the addresses delivered there. See Folder 13, Box 1, ANCHRC for an original program from the Dedication Ceremony. The National Archives has also digitized and published a motion picture footage that contains scenes from the ceremony. While the video is labeled as showing Memorial Day, it is clear from both the script notes and the video that most of the film is from the Dedication Ceremony. Memorial Services at Arlington National Cemetery (1920), Historical Films, ca. 1914-ca.1936, Record Group 111: Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860-1985, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/24751> (accessed September 4, 2018). This video also contains footage of the last ceremony at the Old Amphitheater and a wreath laying at the 1921 Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

### Selection of the First World War Unknown and 1921 Tomb

With the dedication of the building, it would seem that the role of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission was complete.<sup>113</sup> However, the world and the United States had changed since construction of the Amphitheater began. Almost immediately there was a movement to add on to the Amphitheater with the installation of a Tomb to the Unknown Soldier to honor the sacrifices of a new generation of American soldiers who had fought, for the first time, in Europe. The eastern plaza of the Amphitheater provided an obvious location for the Tomb. The main entrance to the reception hall opened onto the plaza, which in turn provided a vista looking back towards the District of Columbia. In addition, Hastings' original plans called for a statue of Victory set on a monumental staircase to mark the east plaza. While the monumental staircase was replaced with a simple retaining wall, the pedestal but not the statue had actually been installed, creating an ideal location for the Tomb. (Figure 25, Figure 7)

On March 4, 1921, less than a year after the dedication of the Amphitheater, Congress passed a joint resolution allowing for the selection of an unknown soldier from the American Expeditionary Forces of World War I, specifying that he be buried "in the Memorial Amphitheater of the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia."<sup>114</sup> The process of the selection and entombment of this unknown soldier was extremely elaborate. One set of unidentified remains were exhumed from four of the overseas cemeteries established in France during and immediately following World War I. Each of these cemeteries was selected to represent one of the four major fronts or campaigns that Americans fought on during the Great War. The eponymous Belleau Wood, Bony representing the Somme, Thiaucourt for the St. Mihiel offensive, and Romagne-sous-Montfaucon for the Meuse-Argonne. An officer was assigned to each cemetery, where they opened sealed orders specifying which grave to exhume, as well as an alternate should the first remains be found to have some sort of identifying feature or other issue. The exhumations occurred simultaneously at all four cemeteries on October 22, 1921, and the remains were placed in anonymous steel caskets with no markings. The paperwork recording where each set of remains had been found on the battlefield was subsequently destroyed to ensure the unknowns could never be identified. The four

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<sup>113</sup> Indeed, in March 1921 a bill was passed reforming the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission as solely consisting of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, and charging it primarily with overseeing the approval of memorials and inscription to be installed within the Amphitheater. 24 U.S.C. 291-295. See Report to Accompany Senate Bill 3264, 86<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2d Session, June 21, 1960, Folder 14, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>114</sup> Joint Resolution Providing for the bringing to the United States of the body of an unknown American, Folder 2, Box 23, Entry 17: Project Files, 1910-1952, Record Group 66: Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, NARA I. A second Joint Resolution in October 1921 provided funding for the ceremonies to be held in conjunction with the burial at Arlington. Joint Resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to expend from the appropriation "Disposition of remains of officers, soldier, and civilian employees, 1922", Folder 2, Box 23, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I. See also, Memorandum for the Commission of Fine Arts, September 14, 1921, Folder 1, Box 23, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I which discussed Hastings original plans for the eastern plaza as well as its suitability for the tomb. This also discusses the possibility of placing the tomb in the amphitheater proper, but this is ruled out due to concerns that it would be over the chapel, and the building was not designed to support that much weight in that location.



caskets were transported to Chalons-sur-Marne, where they were guarded by an honor guard from the French Army while French citizens viewed the caskets laying in state at the City Hall. The caskets were shifted at random by a detail of French soldiers, and then the bodies shifted to different caskets by embalmers, ensuring that the bodies were completely anonymous. The next day, October 24, Sergeant Edward F. Younger, a decorated veteran of the war, selected one of the caskets by placing a bouquet of white roses on it. The remaining three caskets were then resealed and reburied at the cemetery at Romagne-sous-Montfaucon after being assigned new unknown numbers. The selected unknown was placed in a specially made casket then transported to Le Havre, where it was placed aboard the *USS Olympia* for movement across the Atlantic.<sup>115</sup>

On its arrival in Washington, DC on November 9, 1921, the casket lay in state in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda until Armistice Day, when a procession carried it from the Capitol to the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater (Figure 26). A funeral attended by both domestic and foreign dignitaries was held in the Amphitheater. During the ceremony, the Unknown Soldier was invested with the Medal of Honor, as well as the Victoria Cross, Croix de Guerre, and other awards from Allied nations. President Warren G. Harding gave the main eulogy. The body was then entombed on the eastern plaza, directly in front of the main entrance to the reception hall.<sup>116</sup>

Due to the desire to entomb the unknown on Armistice Day, 1921 (November 11; this was the predecessor to the modern Veterans' Day holiday), there was not enough time to design a proper Unknown Tomb before the funeral ceremony. The Unknown was therefore initially buried under a very simple, three-level marble tomb set into the stairs on the eastern plaza. It was designed in such a way so as to form a pedestal, on which it was intended a later, grander, memorial could be installed (Figures 27-28). This initial tomb was constructed by the same contractor as the Amphitheater, the George A. Fuller Company.<sup>117</sup> In the period immediately after the entombment of the Unknown, it was generally assumed that this memorial would be completed by Thomas Hastings, in his role as the architect of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater.<sup>118</sup> Hastings began work on a design as early as 1921, and was in constant communication with the Commission of Fine Arts as well as the Secretary of War, who still had responsibility for the Amphitheater and any memorials placed there as part of the reconstituted Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission. Indeed, a plaster model of Hastings first design

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<sup>115</sup> Arthur E. Dewey, "Selection of the Unknown Soldier, written by Captain Arthur E. Dewey, QMC, U.S. Army (one of the Officers detailed to select the body) With Official Orders, etc.", undated manuscript, Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA. This account of the selection was written several years after the events occurred, possibly in 1931. In addition to a narrative description of the events surrounding the selection of the unknown remains, written in the third person, it also includes all of the official orders and documents connected with the event, which Dewey had saved to mark his involvement. Hereinafter cited as AHEC. See also Report of the Ceremony in Connection with the Selection of the Body of an Unknown American, Transporting to LeHavre, and Turning Same over to the Navy at that Port, October 29, 1921, Folder 36, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>116</sup> The Unknowns of World War I, II, and Korea in Arlington National Cemetery, Folder 28, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>117</sup> Memorandum for the Adjutant General, October 4, 1921, Folder 19, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>118</sup> Thomas Hastings to Charles C. Moore, September 8, 1921, Folder 1, Box 23, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

was in fact placed over the tomb for a time to allow the Secretary of War and others to consider its appropriateness. The original design was a tall cenotaph, with inscriptions around the main block and an elaborately sculpted top section (Figure 29).<sup>119</sup> Unfortunately for Hastings, the Secretary of War was not impressed with this design, and wanted something lower and simpler.<sup>120</sup> Hastings continued to work on other designs, and even agreed to work with another architect on the project, but by 1925 he was growing desperate. In October of that year he wrote to Charles Moore, the chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, “appealing to you—my ever present help in time of trouble—to see if there is anything you can do to help once more in connection with the Monument to the Unknown Dead...after Mr. Weeks [the Secretary of War] turned down our design, which was approved, as you know, by the Art Commission, I made another design hoping to meet with his approval, but he never acted.”<sup>121</sup> Hastings continued his correspondence with the encouraging Moore over the next several months, even to the point of sending in several proposed drawings before leaving on a European trip out of fear that “something would be wanted in the way of a design” while he was gone.<sup>122</sup>

#### Design Competition and 1932 Tomb

Unfortunately for Hastings, while the Commission of Fine Arts supported his efforts and approved his designs, nothing he did found favor with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, who held the authority for the final decision. Instead, in 1927 the design of the Tomb was put up for an open competition. Hastings was enraged, and argued that as the architect of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater he was essentially under contract to produce the Tomb, and that if his design was unsatisfactory that the Commission of Fine Arts and the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission should continue to work with him until a design mutually acceptable to all could be decided on. He even threatened to bring the issue to the American Institute of Architects, stating “I feel very strongly that no architect of standing would be willing to go into a competition of this character, nor should an architect of standing be willing to be a member of the jury if they could know the circumstances in the case...we having been employed and not paid for our service...in fact the government is asking the profession to do something unprofessional.”<sup>123</sup> While complaining about the expenses he had incurred in preparing several designs and large scale models, he took care to also make it clear that this wasn’t solely or even mainly about money as much as it was about “being able to execute a design which will be in character and harmony with the memorial amphitheater, of which we were the architects,” going so far as to claim that “I would do the work without compensation rather than to have the certain outcome of a deplorable competition to be part of the memorial amphitheater.”<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>See photographs and correspondence included in Folders 1 and 2, Box 22, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>120</sup> John W. Weeks and Edwin Denby to Charles Moore, February 11, 1924, Folder 2, Box 22, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I. See also John W. Weeks to Charles Moore, January 15, 1924, Folder 2, Box 22, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>121</sup> Thomas Hastings to Charles Moore, October 16, 1925, Folder 3, Box 24, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>122</sup> Thomas Hastings to Charles Moore, November 11, 1925, Folder 3, Box 24, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>123</sup> Thomas Hastings to Charles Moore, February 15, 1927, Folder 1, Box 24, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

The design competition was authorized by a joint resolution of Congress approved on July 3, 1926, with the design under the overall supervision of the Secretary of War and with an authorized \$50,000 for the construction of the Tomb. According to the resolution, the accepted design was subject to the approval of the Arlington Cemetery Commission, the American Battle Monuments Commission, and the Fine Arts Commission.<sup>125</sup> The competition was to work in two phases. In the first phase, all interested architects were to submit a ¾ inch to the foot scale drawings of one side and one end elevation of their design. The competitors were provided three copies of blueprints of the present tomb, and were further instructed that the current tomb was to be considered as a pedestal for the proposed design, such that designs should “be limited in height and of such a nature that while it fully emphasizes the dignity and importance of its mission, it will not present any conflicting or obtrusive feature when viewed against the Arlington Amphitheater.”<sup>126</sup>

Despite Hastings’ contention that no architect of standing would participate in such a competition, over seventy different designs were submitted. Out of these, five were selected for a second phase, where they would be examined by a panel that would make a final recommendation. This panel consisted of representatives from the American Institute of Architects, the Gold Star Mothers, and the American Legion. The five finalists were Horace W. Peaslee, architect, Carl Mose, sculptor, and Charles Eliot, landscape architect; Schweinfurth, Ripley, and Le Boutillier; Lorimer Rich, architect, and Thomas Hudson Jones, sculptor; Harry Stemfold, architect, Boris Riaboff, associate, and Gaetana Cecere, sculptor; and James Earl Fraser, sculptor and Egerton Swartwout, architect. In both phases care was taken to ensure that the jurors did not know who had designed each submission, so that it was a completely blind selection. For the second phase, each design team was to submit a model in plaster showing the memorial in complete detail.<sup>127</sup>

Before proceeding to the jury, the five designs were examined by a professional advisor appointed by the Secretary of War, who certified that each of the five designs met the mandatory requirements of the competition. Upon examining the five finalists, the jury selected the design designated as submission ‘D’, citing that its designer had “more successfully than any other competitor designed his monument in keeping with the scale and character of the Amphitheater” while the “austerity and restraint of the monument proper is quite fitting.”<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Joint Resolution Providing for the completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Arlington National Cemetery, Folder 1, Box 22, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>126</sup> Program of Competition for the Completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA. Under the Supervision of the Secretary of War, Folder 21, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>127</sup> “Jury Soon to Pick Memorial Design,” *The Washington Evening Star*, 1 November 1928.

<sup>128</sup> Report of the Jury of Award of the Competition for the Completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA. Under the Supervision of the Secretary of War, Folder 21, Box 4, ANCHRC.

Submission 'D' was the work of the architect Lorimer Rich and the sculptor Thomas Hudson Jones, both themselves veterans of World War I. The design was for a simple, large sarcophagus, which was to sit on top of the current tomb, with a total height of roughly 11' and a width of 9' at the base. The sarcophagus would be marked with Doric pilasters in low relief at the corners and along the long sides, with sculpted wreathes in between. On the side facing the Amphitheater would be an inscription, which had still not been finally determined at the time the competition was settled (See Figure 30). The opposite side would have a sculpting of three Greek figures, which according to Rich, "commemorative of the spirit of the Allies in the War. In the center of the panel stands Victory. On one side a male figure symbolizes 'Valor.' On the other side stands 'Peace' with her palm branch to reward the devotion and sacrifice that went with Courage to make the cause of righteousness triumphant."<sup>129</sup>

Despite the conclusion of the competition in 1928, it would be several more years before construction would begin. This delay was largely due to the need to settle several questions over the exact final design, and the interaction between these questions and the financing of the construction. Per the 1926 Joint Resolution, \$50,000 dollars had been allocated for the tomb; after overhead and the costs of the competition the government estimated that \$44,000 would be available for actual construction.<sup>130</sup> Lorimer Rich and General Bash, the Assistant Quartermaster General overseeing the project for the Army, engaged in an extended correspondence over the design and its cost. While Rich originally intended the die of the Tomb to be a single block of marble, as a cost saving measure it was proposed to use instead four pieces to be joined by joints concealed by the pilasters. This, the Army hoped, would serve several purposes. It would reduce the cost of the marble, as smaller blocks were easier to quarry and work with. It would also significantly reduce the weight of the individual pieces, easing transportation. This would also allow the carvings to occur in Thomas Hudson Jones' studio rather than on site, greatly reducing the time that the Tomb would be closed to the public.<sup>131</sup>

Rich pushed back strongly against this idea, arguing that such joints would be prone to breaking and chipping of the marble, and appealed to the "idea that this Tomb must be designed and constructed in the best possible manner to insure permanence."<sup>132</sup> He proposed instead to use a single piece for the die, but to hollow out a portion of the block from the bottom to reduce weight and cost. This was approved, and the final design of the Tomb included a single piece for the die. Rich later attempted to restore the die to a full piece as well, getting both the contractor and the marble supplier to agree to provide and set an un-hollowed out block for the same price, but the Quartermaster Corps saw no

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<sup>129</sup> Lorimer Rich to H.P. Caemmere, March 23, 1931, Box 6, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC. See also "Award of Design for Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," *The American Architect* (5 January 1929): 29-30.

<sup>130</sup> Joint Resolution Providing for the completion of the Tomb of the Unknown soldier in the Arlington National Cemetery, Folder 1, Box 22, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I; Program of Competition for the Completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA. Under the Supervision of the Secretary of War, Folder 21, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>131</sup> Brigadier General L.H. Bash to Lorimer Rich, November 1, 1929, Box 3, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC.

<sup>132</sup> Lorimer Rich to General Bash, November 13, 1929, Box 3, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC.

reason to make the change and refused to modify the contract.<sup>133</sup> With this decided, Rich was instructed to solicit bids from at least three contractors for the construction of the Tomb. Bids were received from the George A. Fuller Company, which had constructed the Amphitheater and the original tomb, C.T. Willis, Inc., and Hegeman-Harris, Inc. Hegeman-Harris then received the contract, which called for construction to begin in January of 1930.<sup>134</sup>

While not nearly as important for construction as the design of the die, the inscription for the west side also needed to be determined. The exact method of determining the final inscription is unclear. Some sources claim that the inscription was the result of a competition, with General Dewitt and General Hurley serving as the award committee, although the author's identity was not made known to the public.<sup>135</sup> This however seems unlikely, as the final inscription chosen matched exactly the inscription placed on headstones for unknown graves in the overseas American cemeteries, as determined by the American Battle Monuments Commission in 1925.<sup>136</sup> Other inscriptions were proposed before the final selection to the point that an individual involved with the selection process complained that "we have 3,498 others, which I printed and hung around the room til our heads spun." This writer favored the simple "Forever Unknown, Forever Glorious," but he felt that the War Department would "want God on it somewhere," a suspicion borne out by the final decision, which was to use the ABMC inscription of "Here Rests in Honored Glory an American Soldier Known But to God."<sup>137</sup>

Construction itself initially proceeded quickly once began, but then ran into some of the same problems as the construction of the Amphitheater. While the competition had initially envisioned building the new tomb on top of the existing marble 1921 tomb, this was abandoned in favor of building a new base that matched the completed tomb properly, although care was taken that the actual tomb and its cover were not disturbed at any point during construction. Thus, in addition to the die to be installed as a single block, there were four blocks of marble forming the sub-base, one for the base or plinth, and a final block forming the cap. All of the marble was to be of Colorado Yule, the marble that was originally desired for use in the Amphitheater but deemed too expensive. Despite the issues with delays in delivery during the construction of the Amphitheater,

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<sup>133</sup> Lorimer Rich to General Bash, November 13, 1929, Box 3, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC; Lorimer Rich to Captain John A. Gilman, February 5, 1930; Captain John A. Gilman to Lorimer Rich, February 7, 1930.

<sup>134</sup> L.H. Bash to Lorimer Rich, November 19, 1929, Box 3, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC; Lorimer Rich to General Bash, November 27, 1929, Box 3, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC; Standard Government Form of Contract (Construction) between War Department and Hegeman-Harris Company, Inc., December 21, 1929, Folder 25, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>135</sup> Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, General Info, Folder 22, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>136</sup> Robert G. Woodside to the Secretary of War, November 10, 1925, Folder 49, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>137</sup> Illegible correspondent to Lorimer Rich, January 23, 1932, Box 3, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC. According to research conducted by the Office of the Chief of Military History in 1956, "there appears to be some obscurity regarding the person or persons responsible for the selection. There were probably numerous conferences within OQMG before the final decision was made. However, the inscription which was finally selected was identical with the one which originated in ABMC in 1925." Memorandum for Colonel Thomason, April 17, 1956, Folder 49, Box 4, ANCHRC.

the same company, the Vermont Marble Company, was contracted to supply the marble for the Tomb. The 1921 tomb was removed beginning on August 27, 1931, and the various blocks forming the sub-base were installed between September 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>. The base was installed on September 11, 1931.<sup>138</sup>

At this point, a major problem arose. The specifications for the work noted that “only perfect stones shall be used for this work” and that “the block shall be examined and tested by the Architect or his representative at the quarry.”<sup>139</sup> Either this did not occur, or the inspector at the quarry did not have the same standards as the Quartermaster Corps, because upon installation the marble used for the base was rejected by Captain Gillman, the Constructing Quartermaster on the project, as unacceptable due to a dark spot at the southwest corner. This halted construction while a new block was obtained, and it was December before the plinth was replaced and the die and cap finally set. The die also caused some delays, as it took three attempts to find a block of marble of suitable size and quality from the quarry. With the marble in place, it remained only for the sculpting to be completed. The pilasters and rough preparation of the sculptures were completed by the Piccirilli Brothers before the stones were set at the plaza. A shelter was then built over the Tomb, so that Thomas Hudson Jones could complete the sculpting while the entire Tomb was hidden from the public. The final step was the carving of the inscription on the west panel, which was also completed by the Piccirilli Brothers. The Tomb was then unveiled, without ceremony, on April 9, 1932.<sup>140</sup>

In addition to the Tomb itself, Rich’s plan encompassed the completion of the eastern approaches to the Tomb and the Amphitheater. While not originally part of the Congressional authorization, the design competition allowed applicants to submit as part of their design “a modification of the surrounding terrace at additional expense for the purpose of making the Tomb itself more easily seen from the adjacent driveway or to enhance its dignity by provide a monumental approach.”<sup>141</sup> Rich’s design, as did many of the others, thus included the removal of the majority of the original retaining wall and the installation of a set of monumental stairs leading to the Tomb. The Commission of Fine Arts, which was responsible for the insertion of this clause into the competition, felt that this would allow the proper development of Arlington Cemetery in an aesthetically pleasing way that would complement its solemnity. In this vision, the axis of the Lincoln Memorial, Memorial Bridge, and Arlington House would be complimented by an axis

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<sup>138</sup> Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, General Info, Folder 22, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>139</sup> Specification for the Completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, October 31, 1929, Revised 26 November 1929 and December 30, 1929, Folder 25, Box 4, ANCHRC. See also Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, General Info, Folder 22, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>140</sup> Specification for the Completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, October 31, 1929, Revised 26 November 1929 and December 30, 1929, Folder 25, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery. See also Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, General Info, Folder 22, Box 4, ANCHRC; H.P. Caemmerer, “The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier,” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 66, no. 5 (May 1932): 277-280. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Buildings and Utilities in National Cemeteries, Folder 28, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>141</sup> Program of Competition for the Completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA. Under the Supervision of the Secretary of War, Folder 21, Box 4, ANCHRC.

formed by the Amphitheater, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and its eastern approaches.<sup>142</sup> As completed, Rich's design included a redone granite plaza replacing the original roadway in front of the Tomb, a monumental staircase leading to the Tomb and a long grass covered mall bordered by walkways and an alleé of trees. At the eastern terminus the mall was marked by another granite plaza with a decorative fountain. Due to the nature of the site, much of this work had to be completed before the Tomb proper could be installed. Thus, while the first work on the Tomb did not occur until August 1931, by the first months of that year significant grading and excavation had already occurred, and by April the framework of the stairs and outline of the approach were already taking shape.<sup>143</sup> (Figures 31-32)

### World War II and Korean War Unknowns

Although obviously this was unforeseen at the time, the final completion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in 1932 was actually closer to the outbreak of World War II than it was to the end of the First World War that had inspired it. America's entry into another global war, this one costing the lives of 400,000 Americans, soon raised calls for another addition to the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater. Shortly after the close of the war, Congress passed a bill providing for the entombment of a World War II unknown to join that of unknown of World War I on the Amphitheater plaza, to be interred on Memorial Day, 1951.<sup>144</sup> Lorimer Rich began working on plans for a second Tomb, similar to the first and to be placed in between the tomb of the World War I unknown and the front steps of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater.<sup>145</sup> However, the Tomb was never started, let alone completed, as before Memorial Day 1951 arrived the country entered into a new war, this one on the Korean peninsula and representing the first "hot" conflict of the global Cold War that had defined international relations since the close of World War II. Perhaps the Korean War brought home the idea that America's participation in warfare might be more proliferate than the space on the eastern plaza could accommodate, as after the war there was no longer talk of creating full new tombs; when the World War II and Korean War unknowns were entombed it was under a simple set of marble crypt covers in front of the 1932 Tomb.<sup>146</sup> That Tomb, despite only containing the remains of a World War I soldier, would come to represent the unknown dead, and therefore symbolically all dead, of all American wars. In this way, the Tomb today has to some extent supplanted the original purpose of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater.

While the unknowns of World War II and the Korean War did not have separate Tombs like that of the unknown of World War I, their selections and interments were marked

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<sup>142</sup> Charles Moore to Ferruccio Vitale, March 29, 1929, Folder 2, Box 24, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I; Wm. Adams Delano to Charles Moore, January 17, 1927, Folder 4, Box 23, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>143</sup> Construction Completion Report Upon the Construction of the Approaches to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, Box 12, Entry 391, RG77, NARA II.

<sup>144</sup> "Bill for Burial of Second Unknown Soldier Signed," *Chicago Tribune*, 25 June 1946.

<sup>145</sup> See the various artistic renderings, "Proposed Tomb for an Unknown Serviceman of the Second World War, Arlington National Cemetery," Tube 8, Lorimer Rich Papers, SUSCRC.

<sup>146</sup> McElya, 216, 228-229.

with similarly elaborate ceremonies. These ceremonies involved elements to ensure that the bodies selected for interment would never be able to be identified by erasing all trace of their original history and location of discovery. This ceremony also provided the chance for America to celebrate both the sacrifice of its fallen and the grandness and power of the country as a whole. Six unknowns from the Fort McKinley Cemetery in the Philippines and two from the National Military Cemetery of the Pacific in Hawaii were selected and transported to Hickam Air Force Base, where one was selected at random to represent the unknowns of the Pacific Theater. Simultaneously, 13 unknowns plus 13 alternate unknowns, representing every military cemetery in Europe and North Africa, were disinterred, with 13 sets of remains ruled to be completely unidentifiable eventually transported to Frankfurt. There they were rearranged by several different teams of military personnel to make them completely anonymous. After further transport to the cemetery at Epinal, France, a single representative was chosen for transport back to the states as the representative of the European Theater. The European and Pacific Theater unknowns were then carried by U.S. warships to the waters off the Virginia Capes, where they were united aboard the *USS Canberra* (CA-70). Aboard the *Canberra* on May 26, 1958, Hospital Corpsman William R. Charette, a Medal of Honor recipient, made the final selection between the two caskets, which had once again been anonymized. The unselected remains were buried at sea with full military honors. Also aboard the *Canberra* was the unknown of the Korean War, who had been selected from four unknowns at the National Military Cemetery of the Pacific on May 14, 1958 by Master Sergeant Ned Lyle, a decorated veteran of the Korean War. The unknowns of World War II and Korea were then transferred to the *USS Blandy* (DD-943) and subsequently transported to Washington, DC, where they lay in state in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda until their funeral and interment at Arlington on Memorial Day, 1958.<sup>147</sup> The bodies were interred under simple white marble slabs. While Rich's design originally had the slabs marked with wreaths and the name of their respective conflicts, in the final installation the slabs were inscribed simply with the years.

### Vietnam Unknown

While today the unknowns of World War I, World War II, and Korea are the sole occupants of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the east plaza, there was once another interment there. The precedent set by the burials of unknowns from World War II and Korea had transformed the meaning of the Tomb and the significance of the "Unknown Soldier." As the unknowns stood in for all the dead of their respective wars, the lack of an unknown at Arlington was an implied disrespect for all who had served during that war. This was perhaps an especially sensitive topic for Vietnam veterans, who already felt that their sacrifices had not received the same attention and respect as those of previous generations of American soldiers. However, this idea conflicted with the fact that advancements in mortuary affairs and DNA testing, combined with the concurrent

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<sup>147</sup> The Unknowns of World War I, II, and Korea in Arlington National Cemetery, Folder 28, Box 4, ANCHRC; McElya 228-229; John W. Finney, "Crypts for 'Unknowns' of Two Wars Planned," *The Washington Post*, 11 November 1956; "Arlington to Get New 'Unknowns,'" *The Washington Post*, 5 March 1958.



return policy adopted by the military after World War II, made it possible that there would be no unknowns produced by the Vietnam War.<sup>148</sup>

Still, preparations for the interment of a Vietnam Unknown progressed, even before the end of American involvement in Vietnam. As part of the expansion of the eastern terrace completed in 1973-1974, a third crypt was placed in between that of the unknowns of World War II and Korea, ready for an unknown of Vietnam.<sup>149</sup> In March 1975, with no Vietnam unknowns yet recovered, the crypt was covered by an unmarked white marble slab. Even this was removed the next month, and the crypt covered with the same granite pavers as the rest of the plaza. As the search for an unknown continued without success, veteran groups pushed for other ways to recognize their service. On Veteran's Day, 1978, President Jimmy Carter dedicated a plaque honoring Vietnam veterans inside the exhibit hall of the Amphitheater. On Memorial Day, 1983 two additional plaques in the exhibit hall were dedicated; one commemorated the dead of the Vietnam War while the other, recognizing the new significance of not entombing an unknown of America's most recent war, explained why there was no Vietnam unknown interred with the others on the plaza - a lack of suitable remains rather than a lack of respect.<sup>150</sup>

In the meantime, the military continued the search for an unknown that was unknown-enough to entomb. By 1982, only four sets of recovered remains were still classified as unidentified. Two sets were subsequently identified, and a third was ruled to probably not be an American. With only one set remaining, the pressure to act resulted in plans moving forward to entomb the remaining unknown at the Amphitheater. On Memorial Day, 1984, the Vietnam Unknown was entombed in the plaza of the Amphitheater. The ceremony followed the typical pattern established by earlier unknown entombments, with the body lying in state at the Capitol before a procession to the Amphitheater. President Ronald Reagan spoke at the ceremony and presented the unknown with the Medal of Honor, following the precedent set for the unknowns of World War I, World War II, and Korea.<sup>151</sup>

This entombment and ceremonies took place despite significant evidence that pointed to the likely conclusion that the remains were a specific officer, Air Force First Lieutenant Michael J. Blassie. The remains, which consisted solely of six bones or bone fragments, had been discovered in An Loc, Vietnam in 1972 by a South Vietnamese Army patrol. The remains were near the wreckage of a plane crash, and other material evidence near the remains included a life raft, part of a flight suit, a parachute, and a wallet, with Blassie's intact ID card and family photos. However, the wallet disappeared, lost or

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<sup>148</sup> McElya, 265-266, 269.

<sup>149</sup> Renovation at Amphitheater East Front, August 8, 1973, ANCEO; McElya, 267.

<sup>150</sup> The 1978 plaque read "The People of the United States of America Pay Tribute to Those Members of Its Armed Forces Who Served Honorably in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam Conflict," and thus honored all veterans rather than the unknown specifically or even those just those killed in action. McElya, 265-270.

<sup>151</sup> Bill Thomas, "Last Soldier Buried in Tomb of the Unknowns wasn't Unknown," *The Washington Post*, 8 November 2012; McElya, 278-281, 297-298; Michael Sledge, *Soldier Dead: How We Recover, Identify, Bury, and Honor Our Military Fallen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 127-130.

stolen, before the remains reached the Central Identification Lab in Hawaii, and the controversial technique of morphological approximation based on the recovered bone fragments determined that the remains were of an individual between 26 to 33 years old and between 65.2 and 71.5" tall. Blassie was 24 years old and 72" tall. Based on this sparse evidence, the remains were reclassified from "believed to be Michael J. Blassie" to "unknown." This reclassification eventually led the remains to Arlington, where they rested from 1984 until 1998. In 1997, however, CBS aired a report based on the 1994 research of POW/MIA activist Ted Sampley that used military records to make a solid circumstantial case that not only was the Vietnam unknown in fact Michael Blassie, but that the military was aware of this connection. Facing intense public pressure, the unknown was disinterred in May 1998, and DNA testing, greatly advanced since the Vietnam War, confirmed that the remains were in fact those of Michael Blassie, and were returned to his family for reburial at Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery. Facing the unlikelihood of discovering another set of unidentified Vietnam War remains, the slab over the Vietnam crypt was replaced by a new slab reading instead "Honoring and Keeping Faith with America's Missing Servicemen, 1958-1975."<sup>152</sup>

### The Tomb Guards

Although the Tomb was explicitly designed to avoid being "conflicting or obtrusive" to the Amphitheater, in many ways the Tomb now dominates the Amphitheater in popular perceptions of Arlington National Cemetery. Partially this is because it seems more tangible; the Tomb provides a focal point while the Amphitheater feels like a venue. Another reason for the Tomb's preeminence with the public is the greater spectacle it provides to visitors, a spectacle centered on the presence of the Tomb Guards and the ceremonial changing of the guard, which draws millions of observers every year. The very architecture of the Amphitheater has been fundamentally altered to focus on the Tomb and its guards, with the 1974 addition of an extended terrace being largely driven by the need to create more space for tourists viewing the changing of the guard. Today, the Tomb is guarded twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week by members of the elite Tomb Guard Platoon, 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment ("The Old Guard"), United States Army. When the cemetery is open to the public, this guard is mounted in impeccably turned out full dress uniform, and follows an elaborate and symbolic routine. Every hour, or every half hour during the summer, the guard is changed in an intricate and stylized changing of

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<sup>152</sup> Bill Thomas, "Last Soldier Buried in Tomb of the Unknowns wasn't Unknown," *The Washington Post*, 8 November 2012; McElya, 278-281, 297-298; Sledge, 127-130. In addition to the DNA testing, when the casket of the unknown was open in 1998 it was found to contain the material evidence, including a life raft and pieces of a flight suit that were originally found with the remains. These were supposed to have been destroyed after the remains were designated for burial at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in order to eliminate any connection between the remains and its discovery, as had been done for the previous unknowns. However, the director of the Central Identification Lab at the time, Major Jonnie Webb, who knew there was still a chance that the body would eventually be identified as Blassie, disobeyed orders and placed the items in the casket instead. See Thomas' article cited above.

the guard ceremony, a ceremony that has become a major point of attraction for visitors to Arlington National Cemetery.<sup>153</sup>

The origins of the Tomb Guard, however, are much more utilitarian. Following the original entombment of the Unknown Soldier in 1921, the Tomb was left unguarded, even while the cemetery was open to the public. However, the east plaza where the Tomb was located provided an incredible vista looking back towards Washington, D.C., and the Tomb was soon utilized as a convenient location for picnic lunches. In an attempt to prevent this and maintain the Tomb as a location of honor and remembrance, a civilian guard was established to watch over the Tomb during hours of operation beginning on November 17, 1925. The military took over responsibility for the guard on March 25, 1926, with the duty initially falling to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Cavalry Regiment stationed at nearby Fort Myer. Beginning at midnight on July 2, 1937 the guard was maintained continuously, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The Old Guard took over responsibility for maintaining the guard on April 6, 1948 and has done so without a single interruption since then, although the full ceremonies and the distinct Tomb Guard Platoon were not implemented until later (Figure 33).<sup>154</sup>

#### Uncompleted Plans

While the Tomb represents an unplanned addition to memorial landscape of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater as originally conceived, the modern array of the Amphitheater and its role and method in honoring American war dead has also been significantly shaped by portions of the original design that never came to fruition. As originally conceived, Thomas Hastings envisioned the Amphitheater as having specific elements honoring the wars and heroes of American up to 1915. These are represented by the inscriptions of battles and leaders from American wars from the Revolution to the Spanish-American War.

However, as the Amphitheater was intended to honor all American veterans, he also intended the Amphitheater to be updated to honor future wars as well. Specifically, when discussing the plan with Congress, Hastings expressed the idea that the arcade of the amphitheater could be used for memorials, and that the names of those who had served the country but were buried elsewhere could be inscribed on the amphitheater so that they could still be honored at Arlington. The arcade could also contain “busts or monuments or statues...which would be of very great interest even if there are only a few of them in the beginning, or none at all.”<sup>155</sup> This idea was attractive to both Army veterans and their families, and before the Amphitheater was even completed the Commission received

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<sup>153</sup> McElya, 1-2; Poole, 5, 169, 263-265; Bigler, 62-64; Rick Atkinson, *Where Valor Rests: Arlington National Cemetery* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2007), 142-151; The Old Guard, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier Arlington National Cemetery, Folder 54, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>154</sup> John D. Martz, Jr. to Richard Ober, December 3, 1953, Folder 48, Box 4, ANCHRC; Honor Guard at Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, January 28, 1975, Folder 48, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>155</sup> Hearing before the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, United States Senate, 62<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, March 29, 1912, Folder 2, Box 3, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

requests for the addition of memorial plaques honoring specific officers. In 1922, Hastings responded to one such request by writing that “the building was designed for just such a purpose...it would be a great addition to the character and general interest of the Amphitheater.”<sup>156</sup> No such tablets or monuments were ever installed however, partially due to confusion over who had the authority to approve them, and partially over the desire to avoid the politics of choosing who got in and who didn’t. A hodgepodge of tablets, inscriptions, and busts would certainly have drastically changed the symbolism and tenor of the Amphitheater. It is also possible that the rapid installation of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier discouraged any addition of memorials to individuals, by establishing the precedent of the Amphitheater as a place to honor American war dead generically and symbolically rather than specifically.

Similar concerns influenced another, even larger alteration from the architect’s original intent for the building. Hastings designed a basement course of the amphitheater arcade as a crypt, where the distinguished men of the country could be honorably entombed as part of the memorial environment of the Amphitheater. As early as November 1921, he corresponded with the Commission of Fine Arts about drawing up “a list of distinguished soldiers and sailors buried in Arlington Cemetery who might be moved to the Amphitheater.”<sup>157</sup> However, today the crypt remains closed to the public, unfinished and largely ignored, and empty other than odds and ends that have been stored there for lack of a better location.<sup>158</sup> No distinguished general, or even lowly private was ever entombed there. Partially, as above, this can be explained by the desire to keep the Amphitheater dedicated to American dead as a whole, rather than to specific heroes, a concept appealing to the democratic and egalitarian nature of American culture. More specific concerns also militated against the entombment of distinguished dead in the crypts of the Amphitheater. Some of these were summarized by a 1959 memo, including the necessity of getting the permission of kin to move those to be entombed, the desire of the spouses of those entombed to be buried with them, and the general cultural distaste for disinterring the dead once honorably buried. The memo also called attention to the example of General Pershing, the first major military figure to die after the completion of the Amphitheater. While some called for his to be the first burial in the crypt, he himself before his death clearly specified the site for his grave and his desire to be buried with his men. Burials in the crypts would also be significantly more expensive than a standard burial within the Cemetery. While unmentioned in the memo, there also must have been a

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<sup>156</sup> Thomas Hastings to A.B. Pouch, January 12, 1922, Folder 5, Box 18, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I. Interestingly, Pouch was the President of the “Bring Home the Soldier League,” an organization devoted to returning the remains of First World War dead from cemeteries in Europe to America, and was writing to support a memorial for Colonel Pierce, the head of Graves Registration Service during the war. Not everyone was as big a supporter of this concept, as an unsigned letter in the same collection notes that “I have my doubts that Colonel Pierce is a big enough name to start the Amphitheater tablets.” Unknown to Hon. Walter I McCoy, January 26, 1922, Folder 5, Box 18, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I. See also Col. Wm. W. Harts to Thomas Hastings, January 16, 1915, Folder 1, Box 7, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I which discusses a request for a memorial tablet in the Amphitheater before construction has even begun.

<sup>157</sup> Thomas Hastings to Charles Moore, November 22, 1921, Folder 7, Box 17, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>158</sup> These odds and ends include a collection of replacement balustrades and the plaques for the Vietnam crypt at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier that were removed when Blassie was interred there in 1984.

concern that the process of deciding who deserved burial in the limited space within the crypts would quickly have become acrimonious. The memo concluded that the implementation of any plan for burials “might arouse emotional, sentimental, and political reactions.”<sup>159</sup>

### Subsequent Additions

While the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is the most obvious and famous addition, the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater has also seen a number of other additions and renovations. Almost immediately following the dedication of the Amphitheater, problems were noted with leaking in the arcade roof, requiring substantial renovations within two years. Repairs, including the addition of a copper covering and the installation of tile were instituted in 1922 to prevent further leaks.<sup>160</sup> This was the first in a series of several cycles of roof replacement for the arcade, which was retiled again in the 1940s and 1970s, at a minimum.<sup>161</sup>

The first major alterations, as opposed to simple maintenance and renovations, occurred in the 1930s, and largely involved the replacement of various elements of the original construction that had done in plaster with marble. This included the replacement of the sculptures on the frieze of the East Portico. While part of the original motivation in doing this frieze in plaster was to retain the ability to later replace them with permanent sculptures honoring World War I, when replaced in 1934 the marble sculptures matched the original, generic Classical designs of war panoply and fasces. These alterations also included adding new tile floor to the roof of the arcade, new marble floors to the boxes in the amphitheater, as well as adding marble in place of plaster for the vaulted ceilings in the two stage vestibules.<sup>162</sup>

While not a major structural change, the Amphitheater got another enhancement in 1949, when the AMVETs donated a carillon to the venue. The AMVETs, an organization of World War II veterans, donated the carillon as a living memorial to remind Americans of

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<sup>159</sup> Summary of Information, Entombments in Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, July 15, 1959, Folder 14, Box 1, ANCHRC.

<sup>160</sup> Fred’k Stuart Greene to Colonel H.C. Bonnycastle, September 14, 1922, Folder 4, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I; Special Specification Covering Application of Roofing with Promenade Tile Wearing Surface over Concrete Roof Deck, Folder 4, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>161</sup> D.D. Hamilton to William H. Reick, June 6, 1945, Box 2, ANCHRC; Supplementary Report: Amphitheatre Rehabilitation, Arlington National Cemetery, Contract No. DACA31-76-C-0177, June 7, 1979, Box 121, Entry 17A, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>162</sup> Col. C.S. Ridley to Col. John C. McElroy, September 27, 1918, Folder 2, Box 4, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I discusses relation to World War I and cost as reasons for doing original sculpted frieze in plaster. E.F. Conklin to Carrère and Hastings, April 1, 1920, Folder 2, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I refers to plaster ceilings in the original construction of the stage vestibules. Fred’k Stuart Greene to Colonel H.C. Bonnycastle, September 14, 1922, Folder 4, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I describes the original floors in the boxes as being made of concrete. He also discusses problems they had with these floor having “frost rise,” which is perhaps why they are replaced in this renovation. See Completion Report: Repairs at Amphitheater, at Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, Box 12, Entry 391, RG77, NARA II.

the sacrifices of servicemembers who gave their lives during World War II. The carillon is not a true carillon as it does not make use of actual bells, but rather makes use of an electronic control box, located in the center office of the basement, broadcasting from a set of speakers on the roof of the ell. Acceptance of the donation of the carillon by the Secretary of the Army was authorized by Public Law 388, passed October 25, 1949 and the carillon was installed the same year, with a dedication ceremony held on December 21, 1949 anchored by a speech by President Harry Truman.<sup>163</sup>

Another donated enhancement was provided in 1969, when in honor of the organization's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary the American Legion donated an exterior light system to highlight the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the Amphitheater when viewed at night from Washington, D.C. President Richard Nixon accepted the system on March 15, 1969, symbolically flipping the switch that turned it on.<sup>164</sup>

While there were other minor repairs and renovations undertaken, the next major alteration of the site occurred in the 1970s, with the addition of a large terrace to the eastern side of the Reception Hall Building. The main motivation for this construction was to provide more room for visitors to view the changing of the guard ceremonies held at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, an event that had increased in both formality and popularity since the entombment of the unknown and the establishment of a permanent military guard. In addition to the terrace itself, this work included a basement level below the expanded terrace that included quarters and workspace for the Tomb Guards and additional storage and mechanical rooms. The project also included renovations to the basement restrooms and conference room. This conference room is located in the space originally used as the reception hall kitchen but is labeled on the plans of the 1974 renovations as an already existing conference room, so the kitchen had already been replaced in an earlier renovation. No documentation of this work was found during the research for this project. Finally, the new terrace was connected to the side entrances of the Reception Hall Building and the arcade by two marble bridges.<sup>165</sup> These renovations were completed in March 1975. Of particular note, during this renovation the original cornerstone was covered by the extended terrace, which thus included a new, publicly visible, cornerstone. During the renovations, the memorabilia box was removed from the original cornerstone and stored at the National Archives. The box was returned to Arlington in 1976, and after much debate and years of storage in the Administration Building, it was placed inside the new cornerstone in 1990, with the recommendation that it be opened on October 13, 2015, the 100 year anniversary of the laying of the original

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<sup>163</sup> Public Law 388- 81<sup>st</sup> Congress, Folder 11, Box 4, ANCHRC; Program, The National Evening Hymn, Memorial Carillon Ceremonies, December 21, 1949, Folder 11, Box 4, ANCHRC; "Text of Truman's Speech at Arlington," *The Washington Post*, 22 December 1949.

<sup>164</sup> See the significant documentation of this donation contained in Folder 30, Box 4, ANCHRC.

<sup>165</sup> Information for Members of Congress: Renovation of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, October 23, 1973, Folder labeled "Memorial Amphitheater Renovation and Memorabilia Box, Box 2, ANCHRC; Renovation at Amphitheater East Front, August 8, 1973, ANCEO.

cornerstone (Figures 34-35). Largely due to bureaucratic inertia, the 2015 ceremony did not occur, and the memorabilia box remains in the new cornerstone as of 2018.<sup>166</sup>

Another major alteration of the building occurred in the early 1980s, when the building was redone to allow wheelchair accessibility, among other alterations and renovations. This major work included refinishing an area of the basement crypts on the south side of the building to provide an area for new accessible restrooms and an elevator. The elevator would then provide access from this basement anteroom to the main arcade. A ramp, following the curve of the arcade, was installed to provide access from ground level to a new door leading to this area. In the original plans for this renovation, a bronze and glass grill would contain the elevator on the arcade level, but as installed there is floor level marble top panel for a “pop-up” elevator with no machinery or framing showing when the elevator is not in use. (See Figures 11-12) In addition to improving accessibility, these renovations also provided for the installation of air conditioning, fire hydrants, and drinking fountains. The main mechanical components of the air conditioning were installed on the arcade roof, on either side of the stage. Additional raised marble walls were added to the inner parapet to block the air conditioning units from view from the floor of the amphitheater. A TV and Press stand was installed on the arcade roof above the West Portico, providing a dedicated space for journalists with an unobstructed view of the amphitheater.<sup>167</sup> Although not noted in the original contract proposal, this renovation also included an alteration to the stage, eliminating the landing in between the two levels and bringing the top level out flush to back of the president’s chair.<sup>168</sup> The difference is clearly apparent between photographs of the stage from during construction (Figure 13) and those taking during site visits as part of this project (Figure 14). This change occurred despite the protests of the Commission of Fine Arts, who felt that such a change would “seriously detract from the scale of the elements forming the stage setting.”<sup>169</sup>

Another major renovation was conducted in 1995-1996. Primarily this renovation was targeted at rainwater leaks and damage, as well as deteriorated marble, but it also saw the addition of a public address system, permanent accessible viewing areas, new landscaping, replacement walkways, and upgraded furnishings. Work commenced in November 1994 and completion was marked by a ribbon cutting ceremony held on May 22, 1996.<sup>170</sup> As part of the renovation of deteriorated marble, the decorative urns or vases

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<sup>166</sup> Memorandum on Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Cornerstone Memorabilia Box, signed R.J. Costanzo, November 8, 1990, Folder 11, Box 1, ANCHRC; Memorial Amphitheater, Construction New East Façade, Removal of Cornerstone Memorabilia Box, Proposed New Memorabilia Box and Ceremony, Folder 11, Box 1, ANCHRC.

<sup>167</sup> Supplementary Report: Amphitheatre Rehabilitation, Arlington National Cemetery, Contract No. DACA31-76-C-0177, June 7, 1979, Box 121, Entry 17A, RG66, NARA I. Elevation of Stage, Drawing Number 19-02-01, Plate 8, August 15, 1980, ANCEO.

<sup>168</sup> Elevator & Stage Plans, Drawing Number 19-02-01, Plate 31, September 29, 1980, ANCEO; Stage Level Plan, Drawing Number 19-02-01, September 29, 1980, ANCEO.

<sup>169</sup> J. Carter Brown to Mrs. Wanda Kimball, April 28, 1979, Box 121, Entry 17A, RG66, NARA I.

<sup>170</sup> Program, Arlington National Cemetery Memorial Amphitheater Ribbon Cutting, May 22, 1996, Box 2, ANCHRC, Renovation of Memorial Amphitheater, Drawing Number F-760-20-01, June 14, 1993, ANCEO.

that filled the niches flanking the stage were replaced. This became an issue in 2011, when the original urns turned up for private auction. Instead of being preserved, as required by the contract, the urns had been turned over to a sub-contractor and subsequently ended up in the possession of a string of antique dealers. Following the exposure their auction received in 2011, they were returned to Arlington National Cemetery at no cost.<sup>171</sup>

## PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

### A. General Statement

1. Architectural character: The Arlington Memorial Amphitheater is a marble Beaux-Arts structure composed of an open amphitheater inscribed by a monumental arcade attached to a two-story reception hall building. The Neoclassical architectural vocabulary here includes pedimented porticos with monumental columns, entablatures with dentilated cornices, and sculptural friezes and panels. Sculptural motifs are borrowed freely from Greek and Roman architecture, as well as common symbols of America such as eagles. According to Charles D. Warren, the entire effect represented “a confident mixture of elements from different orders that not only serves to demonstrate the architect’s command of their forms and willingness to combine them freely, but expresses the newly triumphant and cosmopolitan American outlook.”<sup>172</sup>
2. Condition of fabric: Good. As a historic site drawing millions of visitors each year, the Amphitheater is generally well maintained. The one exception to this is the crypt area, which is not open to the public and is subject to periodic flooding, although most of the damage is to items stored in the area rather than actual structural damage. Additionally, the Amphitheater is dealing with a significant biofilm issue on areas of the exterior marble that are exposed to the elements, resulting in a black discoloration that is especially noticeable along the parapet of the arcade. A different biofilm has also resulted in red discoloration of the marble in other locations, although this is less prevalent than the black biofilm.<sup>173</sup> Finally, there have been issues with cracks in the die block of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Although the cracks were successfully filled in 2011, they are still visible to close inspection and the potential remains for the cracks to widen again.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Christian Davenport, “Arlington Cemetery Urns Turn Up on Auction Block, But How’d They Get There?”, *The Washington Post*, 23 January 2011; Christian Davenport, “Arlington Urns to Be Returned Instead of Auctioned,” *The Washington Post*, 25 January 2011.

<sup>172</sup> Hewitt, et al, 251.

<sup>173</sup> For a detailed study of the causes and attempts to solve the red discoloration, see Ralph Mitchell, Christopher McNamara, and Kristen Bearce, “Analysis of Red Coloration and Attempts at Decolorization of Marble from Arlington National Cemetery,” Laboratory of Microbial Ecology, Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences, Harvard University, Cambridge, 2006. A copy of this report is located in the archives at ANCHRC.

<sup>174</sup> Christopher Davenport, “Repairs on Persistent Cracks at Tomb of Unknowns Delayed,” *The Washington Post*, 29 June 2011. See also U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Norfolk District, “Tomb of the Unknowns repair inspection,”



B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: See HABS measured drawings for detailed dimensions. The reception hall section of the Memorial Amphitheater is a T-shaped building, with the main block section five bays wide by one bay deep and an ell three bays long by one bay wide. A semi-elliptical amphitheater surrounded by a covered arcade is located on the west side of the ensemble with porticos at the west, north, and south. A large, semi-oval, two level stage is the focal point of the amphitheater and is attached to the reception hall building at its rear ell, blurring the separation between the two sections of the structure.
2. Foundations: The foundation course of the amphitheater consists of 8" high blocks of dressed white marble, topped with a two layered molding with an ogee curve. The height of the lower row of marble blocks varies slightly with the site ground level. Above the molding is an additional large, regular course of dressed white marble blocks, which is in turn topped by a belt course of two-part molding, the lower of an ovolo curve and the upper flat.

The reception hall building sits on raised basement, surrounded on the east, north, and south sides by an expanded terrace that was added to the original structure in the 1970s. The original foundation is visible at the landings on the north and south sides and consists of a simple plinth approximately three courses of marble high topped by a three-part foundation wall composition of a thick, multi-part sill, three courses of marble laid with drafted margins, and a projecting watertable. The sill steps back with two flat courses topped by a wide bolection molding and then tapers with an ogee curve and bead. The water table has a two bottom layers of curved molding tapering outward to a dripstone course.

3. Walls: The exterior wall of the amphitheater consists of a monumental arcade, formed of a series of round arches flanked by engaged Roman Doric columns. Piers with a projecting, three-part molding form the springs of the arch, and each arch is marked by an ornamental keystone with a stylized scroll design. A balustrade with thick turned, urn-like balusters connects the base of each arch. The arcade supports an entablature with a plain frieze, a cornice with a plain soffit, and dentils. On top of the entablature there is an attic story of alternating panels alternating with carved rosettes. There are a total of 44 panels, each containing the name of a famous battle from American history up to the Spanish-American War arranged chronologically. The battles inscribed are Lexington, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill, Trenton, Saratoga,

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<https://www.flickr.com/photos/armyengineersnorfolk/sets/72157627829907681/> (accessed August 29, 2018). There had been talk of replacing the entire die block, but in the end it was determined that repairs were a better option both due to the potential that a replacement from the same quarry would also crack and to preserve the historically authentic original block. Michael E. Ruane, "Bid to Replace Tomb Monument Stalls," *The Washington Post*, 30 January 2008.

Monmouth, Stony Point, King's Mountain, Guilford C.H., Yorktown, and Lake Erie running from the west portico to the south portico; Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Lake Champlain, Plattsburgh, New Orleans, Resaca, Monterey, Buena Vista, Contreras, Churubusco, and Molina del Rey running from the south portico to the east portico; Chapultepec, Fort Sumter, Donelson, Shiloh, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Knoxville running from the east portico to the north portico; and The Wilderness, Petersburg, Mobile Bay, Atlanta, Cedar Creek, Winchester, Franklin, Nashville, Appomattox, Manila, and Santiago de Cuba running from the north portico to the west portico.<sup>175</sup> The rosettes that alternate with the inscribed panels are of three different types, of similar scale and style but with different petals. These alternate in regular order. This attic story also doubles as a parapet for the roof of the arcade.

The exterior walls of the reception hall are made of smoothly dressed marble laid in regular courses. On each side of the front portico and on each side elevation the wall is adorned with a pair of pilasters with Doric capitals. Between the pilasters there are sections of belt course molding above a recessed spandrel. Below the belt course, flanking each window, are two half pilasters in the same style. On the front wall, the interior pilasters are truncated by the projection of the front portico. The pilasters support an elaborate Neoclassical entablature with a plain frieze, wide cornice with robust dentils, and a final projecting cornice with an ogee curve.

4. Structural system, framing: The structure is built upon concrete footings with load bearing brick and marble. There are steel I-beams supporting the reception hall floor and the roof has metal trusses. The columns in the reception hall, arcade, and chapel are made of segmented drums of solid marble.
5. Porches, Porticos, terrace, and stoops:
  - a. Porticos: The Memorial Amphitheater features four Neoclassical porticos – three serving as access points to the amphitheater arcade and the most elaborate one on the east elevation of the reception hall.

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<sup>175</sup> Organized by conflict, they are Lexington, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill, Trenton, Saratoga, Monmouth, Stony Point, King's Mountain, Guilford C.H., and Yorktown from the Revolutionary War; Lake Erie, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Lake Champlain, Plattsburgh, and New Orleans from the War of 1812; Resaca, Monterey, Buena Vista, Contreras, Churubusco, Molina del Rey, and Chapultepec from the Mexican War; Fort Sumter, Donelson, Shiloh, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Knoxville, The Wilderness, Petersburg, Mobile Bay, Atlanta, Cedar Creek, Winchester, Franklin, Nashville, and Appomattox for the Civil War; and Manila and Santiago de Cuba for the Spanish-American War. There are some interesting choices here, if this intended to be a list of the most prominent battles of American history. Of note, no Union defeats are included, other than Fort Sumter. Additionally, Knoxville would probably not make any historians' list of significant Civil War battles. Also, it would have been quite easy to slightly and reasonably alter this list to have most of the breaks between conflicts coincide with the architectural structure by deleting one War of 1812 or Mexican War battle and adding an additional Civil War battle to use the East Portico to divide the pre-Civil War battles from the Civil War and the Spanish American War instead of leaving Chapultepec hanging on its own.

The east portico serves as the main entrance to the reception hall and also serves as a viewing area for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The stairs approaching the portico were replaced with the installation of the extended viewing terrace in 1974, which is flush with the portico. See below for the stairs from the terrace to the plaza. Six monumental Corinthian columns support an entablature with a triangular pediment. The pediment is lined with dentils and coffered soffits along both the eave and the raking cornice, with multiple decorative moldings beneath both. The molding has a projected section of stylized lotus blossoms over a narrow band of reeding. The frieze and the pediment itself are both empty. The top of the architrave is also marked by multiple moldings, with a plain cove section topping a wide band of egg and dart and narrow band of reeding. The middle of the otherwise plain architrave is marked by a band of narrow inscribed lamb's tongue. The portico is quite shallow, only projecting 3 or 4' beyond the reception hall building proper. The ceiling of the portico is made up of square recessed coffers. The side walls of the portico are created by large piers continuous with the rest of the building and engaged with the two side pillars. The front wall of the portico (facing the Tomb of the Unknown) breaks in detail with the rest of the building and is formed by marble blocks of uneven size in regular rows, alternating wide and narrow blocks with approximately 1" drafted margins; this matches the walls on the stage in the amphitheater. The floor of the portico is formed of white marble pavers, with each opening between the columns marked by a design with a square of white marble, rotated 45 degrees, set in a large square of white marble.

Within the east portico, the front wall of the reception hall building has a large frieze, marked with numerous sculpted panels. The main frieze has two small panels on the left and right and one large panel in the center, with the large center panel approximately three times the size of the smaller panels. Sculpted fasces separate the side panels from the center panel. In each of the side panels, there are identical sculptures, with a high relief Greek-style scaled breast plate and a helm surmounted with a crest made up of an eagle with spread wings. Behind the armor is a round, oval shield reminiscent of the shields of the Roman Legions during the Republican period, and the background is made up of weapons, banners, and other panoply of war. The center panel has the same set of armor in the center and is flanked on either side by a Greek figure, male on the right and female on the left. The female figure reposes leaning on an urn, with a helmet resting in front of the urn and has a Greek-style helmet perched on her head. The male figure reposes leaning against another set of armor, and is wearing a Greek-style helmet. The panel is further broken up by an upright sword and fasces that separate the female and male figures, respectively, from the center set of armor. Directly on either side of the center set of armor are helmets resting on the ground, facing away from the armor. The background behind all three figures are made up of weapons and standards, representing the trophies of war. Additional small panels mark the projecting walls of the portico, facing each other across the face of the

entrance. These panels have identical high relief sculptures, with a large, elaborately decorated shield with a crescent at the center surrounded by olive branches gathered at the bottom with a ribbon that then extends into a figure eight. At the foot of the shield are two Greek-style helmets facing outward, with a third, front-facing, helmet mounted above the shield. Behind the shield is a war trumpet, a Roman-style standard and a variety of weapons including a trident, an ax, and a spear. A ribbon is gathered behind the center of the shield, billowing out to either side.

The west portico serves as the main entrance to the amphitheater proper and faces the roadway and the *USS Maine* Memorial. The west portico is accessed via a marble staircase of eight splayed steps with rounded noses leading to the flanking knee walls enclosing ten additional steps to the arcade level. A knee wall of dressed stone with a plain top of recessed panels on all three sides extends from the base of the side (square) columns to the 10<sup>th</sup> step. A metal handrail extends from the outer edge of each set of paired columns to the lowest step. The portico is three bays wide with a tall Classical entablature and recalls a triumphal arch in form. Pairs of Roman Doric columns divide the bays at the front of the portico while round arches continued with rest of the arcade define the rear wall. The sides of the portico are set by piers formed by pilasters. Recessed, unornamented coffers mark the ceiling between each column. Molding of the entablature matches that of the arcade, while the attic story contains an inscription in three lines. The top line is a Latin phrase, “DVLCE ET DECORVM EST PRO PATRIA MORI” (“It is sweet and proper to die for one’s country” - a quote from the Roman poet Horace), the second line reads ARLINGTON MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER, and the bottom line is the year of construction in Roman numerals “ANNO DOMINI MCMXV” (Interestingly using the year construction began, 1915, rather than the year of completion in 1920). The bottom row is bordered by three small rosettes on each side, while the middle row is bordered by one large rosette per side. The entire inscription is flanked on either side by Roman fasces, with the ax heads oriented outward. Within the portico there is a niche, consisting of an unornamented round arch, on each of the side, or north and south, walls. Above each niche and between the arches are bas relief sculptures of eagles within raised medallions, with a lamb’s tongue outer motif and a roping inner motif. Each eagle is clutching a single olive branch in its talons. The eagles between the arches face towards the center arch while the eagles above the niches face outward.

The remaining two porticos are smaller, identical ones located on the north and south sides of the amphitheater. Marble stairs with rounded noses ascend from the ground level to the portico with eight splayed steps below the knee walls and eight straight steps between the knee walls to the base of the columns before a final two steps to the level of the arcade. The knee walls are dressed stone with three recessed panels on a plain top extending from the sides of the portico. Each

side portico is formed by a set of engaged Roman Doric columns on stacked square pedestals supporting an unadorned front pediment entablature with dentils in the raking cornice and eave. Piers behind each column project out from a rounded arch matching those of the arcade, although the arch for the portico is set forward from the line of arches that form the arcade. Behind the columns are pilasters with multiple moldings at the base and Doric capitals. A second shallow pilaster mirrors the same pattern of marble blocks as the wall.

- b. Viewing Terrace: The east side of the reception hall building opens on to an extended viewing terrace that was added in 1973-1975. The raised terrace wraps around the sides of the reception hall building as well, terminating on either side in an arched bridge leading to the amphitheater arcade. The terrace floor is paved with regular rectangular marble blocks. The retaining wall of the terrace is made up of large blocks of white marble in a regular pattern, with approximately 1" drafted margins, similar to the foundation wall of the amphitheater. The platform is lined by a balustrade matching that of the arcade, interrupted at regular intervals with square posts of the same height. The balustrade has one opening, directly in front of the east portico and facing the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; on either side of this opening the platform projects slightly to form a knee wall for the staircase leading down to the plaza for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The stairs to the viewing terrace and east portico are in two sections. A lower section of nine splayed steps leads from the plaza to the base of the knee walls. The lowest steps of this section extend beyond the edges of the viewing terrace platform. The upper section consists of another nine steps, with the lower four of these splayed around the knee walls. Both sections are made up of low rise white marble steps with rounded noses. Simple metal handrails, in two sections mirroring those of the stairs, mark the center pathway down the stairs and open directly towards the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. A matching metal rail extends perpendicularly from the base of these handrails all the way along the bottom step, separating the staircase from the plaza proper. See below for a description of the plaza.

- c. Stoops, Stairwells, and Ramps: There are two stoops, located symmetrically on either side of the amphitheater which provide access to the amphitheater, side doors to the reception hall, and the flying bridges leading to the viewing terrace. The stoops themselves are formed by four splayed marble stairs with curved corners, with the top stair forming a landing of approximately 3 x 6'. From this landing a straight run of 14 stairs, with a slight curve to match the curve of the amphitheater, leads up to a second landing on the level of the arcade. The inner edge of the stair is formed by the exterior wall of the arcade, while a balustrade of the same style as the arcade but with slightly larger balusters forms an exterior rail. Stairs then continue from the arcade level, with a run of five steps to a landing followed by a quarter turn to the right, another nine steps, and quarter

turn to the left, and a final two steps to a side door accessing the reception hall building. These stairs have a balustrade matching that of the lower stairs. A gap in the balustrade between the two sets of stairs provides access to a bridge leading to the plaza. The second set of stairs is original, while the lower stairs and the stoop itself were added as part of the expansion of the plaza in 1973-1975.

On both the north and south sides of the building there are additional stairs at the juncture of the amphitheater and the reception hall leading to the basement level. These stairs are identical on both sides with the exception that the final section of flooring on the north side is bare concrete, while the entirety of the south side is white marble. Nine flat, straight marble steps down lead to a landing bordered by walls of flat, unadorned marble blocks. There are bronze railings along both sides of the stairs and along the top of the walls. From the landing there is a single step up to a door accessing the basement level of the reception hall building (this is the entrance to Tomb Guard Quarters on the south entranceway). An additional four steps lead down to a second small landing, of concrete on the north side and marble on the south. From this landing there is a single step up for each of the two doors on the north and three on the south.

Additionally, there is a wheelchair accessible entrance added in 1980 on the south side of the amphitheater, between the south portico and the reception hall. A granite-floored ramp with a marble retaining wall with peaked top leads from ground level to this entrance, which is cut into the foundation of the arcade. The ramp runs parallel to the amphitheater wall, with a quarter turn marked by marble curbing at the top connecting to the masonry walkway around the amphitheater.

6. Chimneys: A single chimney projects from the north side of the reception hall building, where the main block intersects the ell. The chimney is plain marble blocks with a marble cap with ovolo molding and a metal protective covering. It projects approximately 5' from the roof, and is largely shielded from ground level view by the parapet.
7. Openings:
  - a. Doorways and doors: The sole exterior door on the amphitheater proper is the accessible entrance that was installed in 1980 in conjunction with the wheelchair ramp on the south elevation. This entrance has a rectangular opening cut into the foundation with no additional molding. There is a single leaf, six light French door with a sunburst design wood grille (this mimics the design of the original bronze Tiffany window grilles). The hardware consists of a plain brass rectangular escutcheon with lever handle and key lock and pintle hinges.

The reception hall building has ten original exterior doorways. The main entrance is located at the east portico. It consists of a monumental rectangular door opening

framed by a wide marble surround with richly carved ornamentation. The outer portion of the frame contains bas relief rosettes set in a slightly curved surface. The molding tapers in toward the door on the inner edge in several layers. The molding is continuous along top and bottom of door except where interrupted at bottom by door opening. The door opening is topped by an elaborate curved entablature consisting of plain frieze directly above the door topped by a variety of carvings concentrated on the cornice. Small dentils support egg and dart molding to a cornice supported by large carved dentils with lamb's tongue and volute details. Square coffers fill the spaces between the dentils, and around the middle of the cornice there is a narrow band of lamb's tongue. The bronze door frame is also ornamented with pilasters supporting a frieze with two raised rosettes and plain incised panel at the center, with dentils at upper edge. The elaborate two leaf cast bronze door is decorated with alternating large and small recessed panels with octagons inscribed inside the squares. The octagons have lamb's tongue and reed motifs around the edges. Each door leaf has a stylized lion head and serpent fixed door knocker, and there is a key lock on the left one. A contemporary steel and glass door and transom are mounted exterior to the original bronze door.

The remaining nine doorways are rectangular openings of various sizes set directly into the marble walls of the side and rear elevations without additional molding or ornament. Six of these openings are filled with pocket doors, typically a two leaf wood door with single light in the top half covered with decorative bronze grille of repeating arches and finials. Above and below the glazed opening there are 6" rectangular recessed panels, with an additional large (approximately 16") square recessed panel at the bottom half. The wood doors have a dark brown stain finish. Hardware consists of bronze fingerplates with keyed lock and flat tear-drop shaped lever on one side. Doors of this type are located on both side elevations of the ell. A variant of the above, but shorter and without the recessed panel above the glazing is located on both the north and south lower entryways, on axis with the landing stairs and leading to the Chapel. A second variant is the same as above, but shorter with no panel above the glaze and only two 6" panels below the glazing. One door of this type is located on both sides of the reception building leading to the amphitheater roof.

A hinged, single leaf variation of the typical wood exterior door, including the bronze grille over the single light, is located at the lower entryways on the side elevations of the ell (two on the south and one on the north). These doors feature two rectangular recessed panels below the glazing with the top one narrower than the bottom. Hardware consists of a brass rectangular escutcheon with spherical knob and key lock and three pin hinges. The door on the east side of the south lower entryway (door to public restroom area) is distinguished by being set in a deep reveal with wood paneled sides slanted at an acute angle, set on a plain marble plinth. These panels have square and rectangular recesses following the

pattern of the door. The other door on the south lower entryway substitutes an ovoid knob with no escutcheon.

In addition, non-original doors of a similar style are located on the west side of the expanded terrace. These doors give access from the lower entryways to the Tomb Guard Quarters (south side) and a mechanical room (north side). The doors are cut straight into marble with a single marble step up and are mounted on four pintle hinges. They are two leaf wood doors, with alternating square and rectangular recessed panels. The Tomb Guard Quarters door has a flat metal push plate on the interior with a fixed metal handle on the exterior. There is an additional deadbolt as well as inset lock mechanisms at top and bottom, and a metal kick plate on the interior. The mechanical room door has a metal escutcheon with lever handle and key lock on the exterior (interior not observed).

- b. Windows: The amphitheater has a series of identical basement windows with small vertical rectangular openings. These are original, and the bronze grille work was produced by Tiffany Studios. They are set directly into the foundation with a deep reveal and a plain, slightly sloped sill. The window sash are a two light wood casement faced with a bronze grille of two vertical lights in a sunburst pattern. There were originally 12 of these windows, positioned evenly around the amphitheater, with three each in the quadrants formed by the porticos and the reception hall. Currently, there are 10 remaining. One additional window grille remains, but the casement has been replaced by a fixed metal louver. The final window is no longer extant, as its original location now houses the accessible entrance door.

The reception hall has four large window openings on the main floor. Two are located on the front of the building flanking the east portico and one on each side of main block. These large rectangular openings have projecting sills supported at the corners by ogee curved fluted engaged pilasters marked at the top by four recessed circles above the fluting. The pilasters stand on a plinth formed by a course projecting across the width of the window opening, framing a plain raised spandrel panel. The window opening has wide tapered molding on sides and top and is topped by Classical window hood with arched pediment supported by scrolled brackets with stylized foliage carvings at corners. An elliptical curved hood is ornamented by a band of dentils across the bottom and following the interior curve. The sash is mounted in a white painted wood frame and consists of a French window with eight divided lights in rows of two vertically, topped by a divided transom of four lights each.

Additionally, two additional large window openings flank the main entrance within the east portico. A sill is formed by the continuation of the portico's belt course molding, with a wide tapered molding on both the sides and top of the window. The opening is set within a shallow panel that forms a plain frieze at top,



topped by a Classical hood of a simple dentilated cornice. The window sash themselves match the other four windows on the main floor as described above.

The ell of the building has additional windows, consisting of rectangular openings set directly into the marble walls with a simple projecting sills. The windows are hung sash six over six divided light windows. There are two per side of ell on the second floor level, with an additional window per side located in the lower entryways that are identical except for a rounded arch opening and top sash rail.

A final variant of windows within the ell are located on either side of ell on the main floor level. These have vertical rectangular opening set directly into marble with a simple projecting sill and contain white painted wood frame holding French windows with three lights each. There is some additional ogee molding along the bottom of the window opening

The terrace has a basement window located on the south side of the expanded terrace. This is set straight into marble, with a two light vinyl sash with screen, wood frame for screen. There is a bronze decorative metal grille in a 2x2 sunburst pattern, which appears to be an original Tiffany's grille moved from the reception hall basement during expansion.

A faux window on the north side of expanded terrace over the boiler room holds a painted metal grille in style of the Tiffany's basement windows but with 2 rows of 6 sunbursts arranged horizontally. This grille conceals metal louvers.

8. Roof:

- a. Shape, covering: The amphitheater proper is uncovered, but there is a flat roof that follows the arcade. This is sheathed in 18" square concrete tiles suspended over a tile subfloor. Two round drains are located over each of the north, south, and west porticos, leading to downspouts directed along the inner wall of the arcade. There is a low, 18" parapet on the interior edge with a higher 3' parapet on the exterior edge. Both parapets are marble with metal flashing. The exterior parapet has a flat marble cap, with two peaks where the parapet is interrupted by the side porticos. The inner parapet has a 1980 addition, where it is raised by several courses of marble for 20' to either side of the stage at intersection of the amphitheater and reception hall. This extended parapet helps conceal the HVAC machinery on the roof from view from the amphitheater.

The reception hall building has a T-shaped roof with a gable section oriented east to west and a lower cross hip at the main block. The roof has a standing seam copper sheathing of recent vintage. Drains for internal gutters and downspouts are located at the roof parapet valleys.

- b. Cornice, eaves: The dentilated cornice on the reception hall building forms a boxed eave. This cornice is topped by a tall parapet pierced by urn-shaped balusters at the east, north and south. The upper balustrade section of the parapet sits on a tall course of marble with a carved ogee molding and thin round bead at the top. At the gables the back edge of the marble pediment forms a low coping course.
- c. Miscellaneous: The space over the west portico of the amphitheater is now filled with a temporary metal tiered stand used as a press box for major events.

Each wing of the main block has a large half hip peaked skylight with a green painted metal frame. Concrete cross beams are visible between the roof and lower ceiling portion of the skylight within the second floor trophy rooms.

#### C. Description of Interior:

1. Floor plans: The amphitheater proper consists of a semi-elliptical open air amphitheater surrounded by a covered monumental arcade. The inside edge of the arcade is bordered by 42 boxes. Each box is fronted by a balustrade of the same style as the arcade but of smaller dimensions and separated on the sides by plain low marble walls approximately 3' tall. Two of the boxes, adjacent to the south portico, have had their floors raised to the level of the arcade and a metal railing added to provide wheelchair access. The center of the amphitheater holds curved rows of marble benches in a sloped stadium arrangement, divided in to an upper and lower section separated by a lateral aisle. The lower section has three aisles while the upper has five aisles. The front of the amphitheater is formed by a two-level proscenium stage with the lower level projecting out in an elliptical curve, with a large ceremonial chair in klismos style in the center. Vestibules on either side of the stage include doorways leading into the reception hall building.

The basement level of the amphitheater includes a hallway running underneath the arcade and intersecting the chapel on either side with unfinished spaces originally intended as a crypt. Distinguished Americans were to be entombed with the series of bays along the interior wall underneath the amphitheater boxes and niches on the exterior wall. Landings with adjacent storerooms are located on either side of the chapel as a transition space into the crypt area. Additionally, part of the south side of the crypt immediately adjacent to that landing was renovated in 1980 to include an elevator shaft and accessible restrooms, replacing some of the bays.

The reception hall building is a three level, T-shaped building with a main block facing east and a rear ell. The oval of the amphitheater intersects the reception hall at the west end of the ell, which contains the stage. The three levels of the reception hall building are connected by an elaborate stairwell with symmetrical staircases nearly filling the east half of the ell adjacent to the main block.

The basement level of the reception hall is dominated by the chapel, which occupies the west end of the ell and extends under the amphitheater's stage. The chapel is in an elongated U-shape, with the apse at the flat, west end. The apse and the center section of the nave are raised slightly above the lowest floor level with a low marble platform. Five steps running around the curve of the U give access to the higher floor level at the outer edges of the space. The basement level of the main block contains a short transverse hallway with two offices, a staff restroom, and the boiler room with its floor at a subbasement level. The public restrooms are located on the south side of this hallway through a shared entrance foyer. Construction of the viewing terrace added the Tomb Guard Quarters at basement level, which is not connected to the remainder of the building by any interior doors. The interior of the Tomb Guard Quarters contains a series of small rooms for off-duty guards to rest or gather.<sup>176</sup>

On the main floor, the reception hall, also sometimes referred to as the exhibit hall, occupies the entirety of the main block while the ell contains the main stair hall at its east half and the amphitheater stage at the west. The curved rear wall of the stage is visible at the center of the stair hall.

The second floor of the main block consists of a mezzanine level with an opening looking down into the exhibit hall, flanked by two large trophy rooms. The second floor of the ell is open to the stair hall.

2. Stairways: The amphitheater holds multiple interior marble stairways to connect its various levels. A wide straight run stair at the west portico is divided into three sections at its upper four steps by the pairs of portico columns. The bottom two steps travel the entire width of the portico and curve at the sides. At the north and south porticos there are identical straight run stairs that pass between pairs of columns at the arcade and widen at the floor of the amphitheater below the boxes. The first step below the columns has curved sides, while the last two at the amphitheater floor have subtle multipart curve. Additionally, each box is accessed from the arcade by four flat marble steps, framed by the arcade columns.

Each side of the stage has a multi-part stairway leading to both levels (Figure 3). Five splayed flat, wide marble steps with curved edges lead to a landing with a diagonal checkerboard pattern of white and darker marble. A quarter turn leads to two stacked flat marble steps followed by three straight steps that reach the lower level of the stage. An additional eight marble steps with rounded noses, slightly narrower at top to account for stage molding, lead up to the upper stage.

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<sup>176</sup> Due to restrictions on access, only basic descriptions of the modern interior of the Tomb Guard Quarters are included in this report.

Within the basement, each of the two landings has a short stairway leading to the crypt area. These stairways are four marble steps with rounded noses and a curved bottom step.

The stairway providing access to the amphitheater arcade roof includes interior and exterior sections. Two mirror-image straight run marble stairways travel between the first and second level at the side walls of the reception hall building ell. These stairs have a wall-mounted wood handrails on both sides and end at a quarter turn landing for the roof access doorway. The roof stair continues from a recessed landing with another quarter turn up two steps to an opposite quarter turn landing. The stairway continues as a straight run of seven steps to the roof. All steps are marble with rounded nose; the bottom step of the seven step set has a curved edge.

The main stairway for the Memorial Amphitheater reception hall is a mirrored pair of symmetrical curving stairs that travel between the basement and second floor mezzanine level at the north and south walls. The east half of the ell is given over to the multiple sections of staircase and a two-story stair hall. The staircase is an open well cantilevered stair, with a painted metal carriage, plastered underside, and decorative molding at the lower edge. Each wide marble step has a nose with an ogee curve and square molding. The lowest section of the stairs between the basement and first floor has small section of added wall mounted wood handrail at the structural piers. The majority of the stair has an elegant curving wood handrail with a scrolled curve set into the plaster at the base of the stairs. The handrail is mounted on an iron balustrade of a thin fluted design. The handrail ramps up as it reaches in the first floor and continuing around the edge of the open well, ending at a relatively thin fluted column newel. The basement to first floor staircases gently curve for 16 steps to a quarter turn landing and continue another 11 steps to the first floor stair hall. A second set of stairs of the same design lead up to the second floor, with 11 steps to a quarter turn landing at an exterior door followed by another 7 steps to another small landing. From this landing, the two staircases continue another 15 steps towards the center of the ell to join at an intermediate landing. Another two steps lead from this landing to the second floor. This intermediate landing has a diamond pattern in the white marble floor. The handrail continues along the edge of the second floor mezzanine in the stair hall.

Additional small sets of stairs are located within the chapel. Four steps lead from the lowest landing that joins the two sides of the main stairwell down to the chapel floor. Five additional steps, running the entire curve of the U, lead from the chapel floor down to the sub-level of the nave. For both of these staircases, the marble is covered with commercial-grade carpet. The apse is raised from floor level by three marble steps extending the length of the apse. On the north and south sides of the chapel under the main stair four stacked, curved marble steps with rounded noses lead to exterior doors. Another pair of stairs is located at the access to the amphitheater basement on either side of the chapel, with two sets of four steps each interrupted by

a landing. All steps are of white marble with rounded noses, with all except the bottom step covered in commercial carpet.

3. Flooring: With few exceptions, the typical flooring throughout the Memorial Amphitheater is some form and pattern of white marble. The arcade has a marble floor with alternating patterns. At every column there is white marble laid in a regular rectangular course, outlined in pink Tennessee marble of 10-12" in width.<sup>177</sup> Between columns there is white marble in regular blocks. The entire arcade is bordered on the interior and exterior with a narrow band of white marble.

The west portico has white marble floors, with three large squares of pink marble turned at a 45-degree angle, bordered by 10-12" of pink marble, marking each of the three entry ways. The north and south porticos have the same pattern as the west, but with only one square and the addition of two sets of pink marble rectangles corresponding to the interior paired columns. Within the boxes around the amphitheater there is a diagonal checkerboard pattern of white and pink marble bordered in solid pink marble; this marble flooring in the boxes is not original but was added in 1934.

The main floor of the seating area of the amphitheater consists of exposed aggregate concrete, with aisles formed by ramps sloping towards the stage. There is a low step for every two benches in upper section but not in the aisles. There are two drainage grates per aisle, one at the foot of the upper sections and the other halfway down lower section.

The main stage has a diagonal repeating pattern of 12" white marble squares bordered around the exterior by larger blocks of approximately 2 ½', although there is no border at the front upper stage or anywhere on the lower stage. The ceremonial chair on the lower stage sits on a single large block of white marble. The floors in the stage vestibules are plain rectangular white marble blocks.

Within the crypt area the floors are simple finished concrete scored into large squares. The area of the crypt that has been renovated as the wheelchair entryway and elevator lobby has 12" square white ceramic tiles, while the restrooms themselves have 1" mosaic tile in an irregular pattern of shades of brown and pink.

Inside the reception hall building, the chapel floor consists of white marble on the apse and raised portion of the nave, with commercial carpeting over marble on the

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<sup>177</sup> For brevity's sake, "Tennessee" is omitted from all future references to pink marble with the understanding that all of the pink marble is of the same variety. The white marble throughout the Amphitheater is Vermont Danby, while the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is of Colorado Yule. While none of the sources consulted in this report were clear on this, it is also assumed that the marble slabs over the crypts on the plaza adjacent to the Tomb are of the same Colorado Yule as the Tomb itself.

remainder of the floor. The hallways at the chapel side landings leading to the side exterior doors have vinyl tile flooring.

The basement offices in the main block of the building have commercial grade carpet over concrete. The staff restroom is floored in 12" ceramic tiles with a mottled gray texture and finish, as are the public restrooms and their entrance foyer. The entryway has a cutout for a fixed metal integrated floormat at the entrance from the exterior door. The boiler room floor is bare concrete scored into the shape of large square tiles.

Within the reception hall itself there is a polished white marble floor in a diagonal checkerboard pattern with rectangular sections of white marble between columns and along the border of the room. Both the trophy rooms and the second floor balcony are floored in commercial grade carpet over the original marble.

4. Wall and ceiling finish: Within the amphitheater arcade the marble outer wall is defined by monumental round arches separated by piers with wide Doric pilasters. Marble balustrades are located across the bottom of each arch. Each portico opening is flanked by double width piers. The inner "wall" is formed by monumental Roman Doric columns at regular intervals, with each portico opening marked by paired columns. Ceilings within the arcade are of plaster, with the ceiling between these paired columns is formed by recessed panels while the ceiling within the arcade itself is formed by repeating square recessed panels in three sections of uneven width. Squares are the width of the space between columns and separated by large coffers the width of the columns. There are also metal ventilation grates placed evenly along the arcade ceiling; these were not part of the original design but were added during construction due to issues with condensation within the space between the ceiling and the roof.<sup>178</sup>

The walls inside the amphitheater seating area include regular courses of smoothly dressed marble below the arcade and across the base of the stage. A series of boxes is located around these walls, interrupted only by the stairs at the three porticos. The boxes have balustrades across the front and slim marble dividing walls, with the exception of the curved corner boxes at the openings which have continuous curved balustrades. The focal point of the amphitheater is the arched, two-level stage dominating its east interior wall. The marble wall below the stage is interrupted by three decorative panels, cut in the same sunburst style as the basement window grilles, but in a three horizontal light arrangement and entirely of white marble, with more marble as a backing. See section 5, Amphitheater Stage, for a complete description of that feature.

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<sup>178</sup> Colonel C.S. Ridley to Carrère and Hastings, June 2, 1920, Folder 2, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

The stage vestibules have walls of regularly coursed marble matching the exterior walls. There is a multipart molding at the top and a marble ceiling of square recessed coffers forming a barrel vault.

The basement level of the amphitheater has whitewashed brick walls with the crypt area, although the whitewash has faded in many places to reveal the original red brick. The ceiling is of poured concrete with visible formwork patterns. At the renovated accessible restroom portion of this floor the brick walls are sheathed with plaster and the ceiling is covered with drywall. Inside the accessible restrooms the walls are square 4" ceramic tiles and the ceiling is painted drywall.

Generally, throughout the reception hall building walls tend to be plaster over brick with a thin marble baseboard. The typical ceiling treatment is plaster with several notable exceptions. Within the reception hall building, the chapel has plaster walls with a simple marble baseboard. Shallow round arch niches fill the spaces between arches openings to various stair landings. Within the apse the walls are the typical marble blocks laid in regular courses while the U-shaped nave space is lined with thick marble columns.

The chapel has a Guastavino tile vaulted ceiling over the nave and apse area that springs from the columns. This ceiling is covered by cork acoustic material that mimics the tile pattern. There is a simple plaster ceiling around the outside of the vault. The ceiling of the hallway to the side exterior door on the south side of the building has a decorative cornice, although for unknown reasons there is no matching cornice in the north side hallway.

The basement offices in the main block of the building have plaster walls with applied plastic baseboard, other than the staff restroom which has a baseboard matching the tile floor. An add-on partition of dry wall separates the rear section of the center office, currently used as the Historians' Office.

Ceilings in the basement offices are generally of plaster, with a drop ceiling of acoustic tile in the rear section of the center office and hall. The office on the north side of the building, currently used as the archive, has wood grain paneling along all four walls with a baseboard heater along the west wall. The drop ceiling here has a faux wood grid with opaque panels over fluorescent lights. The grid is surrounded by metal strips extending along all four sides which also provided ventilation openings. This paneling and ceiling were added during the 1974 renovation, and an unknown earlier renovation had already converted this space from the original kitchen to a conference room. Walls in the boiler room are of mixed painted brick and structural clay tile with a concrete baseboard. A simple brick elliptical arch opening, with the opening now covered by painted wood, marks the east wall of the boiler room where the coal bunker access used to be. The ceiling of the boiler room is poured concrete, with visible formwork patterns.

The public restrooms, including their entryway, have walls with a tall wainscot consisting of white subway tiles. The remainder of the wall is in plaster. There is a large radiator along the west wall. Stalls and countertops are made of composite material, and the ceilings are dry wall with recessed lights and HVAC vents.

The walls of the main reception hall space on the first floor are of plaster with a thin marble baseboard and the plaster ceiling includes a wide plaster cornice. The reception hall is divided into three areas with two-story center entryway. The entryway is on axis with the main entrance at the east portico and access to the stair hall in the ell. It is surrounded by a Neoclassical marble entablature supported on each side by four marble Ionic columns. Within this entryway, the front and rear walls are marked by four pilasters with egg and dart decorations on the capitals. The entablature has bas relief wreaths in the frieze, located over each column and pilaster. A lamb's tongue motif above the frieze is topped by dentils and a projecting cornice with a flat section topped by ovolo curved molding. Three sides of the entablature, corresponding to the two second floor "trophy rooms" and the stair landing are topped by a balustrade of polished marble matching that those on the exterior. A wood hand railing on iron posts was added around the inside of the balustrade at a later date, likely as a safety measure.

The second floor has plaster walls with a simple marble baseboard. The rear wall of the stair hall in the ell is curved to match the amphitheater rostrum. The ceiling here has a basic coved edge with a simple cornice. An elaborate coved ceiling is found in the main block, visible from the two story entryway and the second floor mezzanine. This ceiling has a wide plaster cornice surrounding a wide cove. Within the coved border the ceiling features eight-sided square and rectangular coffers with small diamond-shaped coffers at the intersections. The square coffers include a high relief silver accented gilded acanthus leaf rosette at the center. Plain rectangular variations on the eight-sided coffers are located around the edges of the two skylights, one over each of the mezzanine spaces.

5. Amphitheater Stage: The two-level marble proscenium stage for the amphitheater received an elaborate sculptural program and extensive architectural ornament. The round arch proscenium includes a half-domed vault over the upper stage level, or rostrum. The upper stage is set within the gable roof form of the reception hall building rear ell. The lower level of the stage projects out in an elliptical curve and includes a large ceremonial marble chair at the center. Barrel vaulted vestibules on either side of the stage include doorways leading into the reception hall building. Stairs starting at the seating level allow access at both sides of the stage, with a quarter turn landing.

The front wall of the lower stage has carved molding with a lamb's tongue motif and a small cavetto curve section. The wall behind the ceremonial chair has a carved



meander pattern along its top course. This wall also turns to follow the staircase on this level and is marked by a rosette on the end of the top course at its termination on each side.

The stage opening is flanked by monumental pilasters with round arch sculptural niches containing large white marble urns. See 7. Decorative Features for a description of the urns. Above the urns the pilasters are inscribed with the last names of 14 famous American generals on the left side of the stage and 14 famous American admirals on the right side of the stage, representing American participation in wars from the American Revolution to the Spanish-American War. The names inscribed are Washington, Greene, Wayne, Jackson, Scott, Taylor, Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, McClellan, Meade, Merritt, and Shafter for the generals and Jones, Truxtun, Preble, Hull, Decatur, Perry, MacDonough, Stewart, Farragut, Porter, Foote, Worden, Dewey, and Sampson. Above and below these inscribed names are large medium relief wreaths with scrolls. The frieze of the pilasters contains three medium relief rosettes. The pilasters have several levels of capitals, in order to extend to the cornice. The bottom capital has egg and dart molding leading to a course of lamb's tongue molding. On the next level, there is a band of bead and reel molding beneath egg and dart, while the uppermost capital ends in a stylized fleur-de-lis molding that meets the cornice. The monumental pilasters support a pedimented cornice with cornice returns, featuring large dentils with coffered soffits along both the cornice and the raking cornice, with an additional molding of stylized fleur-de-lis along the raking cornice. Above the dentils is a section of flat molding topped with projecting lamb's tongue molding, and on the raking cornice there is also a large additional section of subtly curving molding.

The stage arch includes additional decoration such as wide molding with a lamb's tongue motif and a scrolled keystone with an imbrication pattern. The voisoirs are carved with a quote, in a serif font, from President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address reading "WE HERE HIGHLY RESOLVE THAT THESE DEAD SHALL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN." The intrados of the arch are decorated with egg and dart molding and repeating recessed octagonal panels, each featuring a high relief rosette at the center of the panel and outlined with bands of reeding and lamb's tongue molding.

The upper stage sits within a half-round domed ceiling and curves at the front and rear. The rear wall of the stage has marble blocks with approximately 1" drafted margins, laid in alternating courses of wide and narrow blocks like the exterior wall within the east portico. This wall treatment sits above a wainscot of tightly laid marble blocks topped by a molded belt course. The bottom course is narrower and slightly projecting to give the impression of a baseboard. The ceiling dome rests on an entablature with a dentilated cornice and multilayered molding. At the corners of the cornice the individual dentils are replaced by a decorative pinecone sculptures. The entablature frieze contains an inscription in a serif font reading "WHEN WE

TAKE UP THE SOLDIER WE DO NOT LAY ASIDE THE CITIZEN,” a quote from George Washington.<sup>179</sup> At either edge of the frieze are three rosettes, two on the interior portion of entablature and one on the edge facing the amphitheater. The entablature is supported by a pair of Roman Doric columns at the outer edges placed into front of a simple pilaster. Four engaged Roman Doric columns are located around the rear wall.

The stage ceiling includes three bands of decoration following an inscribed U shape. The outer band has rectangular panels alternating with high relief rosettes in square panels, with the panels edged in lamb's tongue molding. The wide middle section is characterized by five large, six-sided panels alternating with narrow vertical rectangular panels, all with the same lamb's tongue molding at the outer band and additional rosettes at the edges of the rectangular panels. Three of the six-sided panels accommodate the curve of the dome by narrowing at the top. All of the six-sided panels feature a bas relief sculpture at the center of Classical military objects and symbols. The two outer end panels have a design with an elaborate anchor-shaped shield. Each terminus of the shield is in a ram's head design, while the center gathering of the shield ends in two decorative scrolls turning outward. The body of the shield has a border of stylized foliage. The shield is wrapped at its center with a sash or banner. An upright beribboned fasces is directly behind the shield at the center of the panel, along with crossed torch and quivered arrows. Sheathed swords with phoenix and ram's head pommels are placed horizontally behind the shield. The center three panels have an elaborate Greek-style helmet decorated with a ram's head at the front, with a griffin perched on top in lieu of a crest. The cheekpiece of the helmet is attached with a seashell clasp, and there is an indistinct seated Greek figure on the side of the helmet. The helmets are oriented to the right on the center and right panel, and to the left on the left panel. Behind the helmet are arrows and olive branches, and a staff surmounted with a disc and ribbons.

The top of the domed ceiling has bands of molding around the edge with lamb's tongue and dentils, and a wide band with an alternating pattern of guttae or diamond-shaped panels within a rectangle. A shallow step back then leads to a U-shaped section of tightly laid plain dressed marble at the uppermost portion of the ceiling.

6. Openings:

- a. Doorways and Doors: Elements of some of the exterior doors of the reception hall building can only be observed from the inside. The main entrance to the reception hall from the east portico has a monumental door opening framed on the interior by a bronze frame decorated on each side with fluted engaged column and half pilaster supporting a frieze with two raised rosettes and plain incised panel at center. The frame is topped by a three light hinged transom covered by a decorative metal grille with repeating pattern of arches and finials. The two-leaf bronze door has alternating rectangular and square recessed panels set in a large

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<sup>179</sup> Although it is more commonly attributed as “When we *assume* the soldier...”

rectangular surround with stylized bullseye rosettes. The panels alternate between brushed and textured finishes. The interior has a ring handle with a rope motif.

For the exterior pocket doors, in all variants the glazing is in a casement sash, with a bar latch. The exact style of bar latch varies slightly, due to replacement and damage rather than any difference in original design. For the doors exiting the side elevation there is a solid wood molding with mitered corners on a simple marble plinth. Doors exiting to the roof of the arcade have a raised threshold. The interior finish of these doors matches the exterior dark brown stain.

The same holds true for the single leaf exterior doors with decorative metal grilles, as their glazing is also in a casement sash with a bar latch. All these doors have a solid wood molding with mitered corners. For the door accessing the public restrooms, the inside of the door is painted a mustard yellow color, with the same color applied to the molding. On the remaining doors the molding is painted white.

The standard original interior door is a single leaf wood door with two large recessed panels of unequal size, with the larger panel on the upper half and a brass kick plate at the bottom. These are set in a wood frame molding with mitered corners, with a marble threshold. The door is hung on three ball pin hinges. Hardware varies, with some having original brass ovoid knobs without an escutcheon and others having replacement spherical knobs set in a brass rectangular escutcheon. Other doors, especially those on the restrooms, have a later addition automatic swing arm. There are also two-leaf versions of this door located between the chapel and the basement offices as well as the entrance to the center office. These two-leaf versions include integrated lever locks at top and bottom. While most of the interior doors have a dark brown stain finish, the doors to the public restroom, along with their frames, have been painted a mustard yellow color.

Within the basement level of the amphitheater there are several more interior doors. The typical door here is a two-leaf solid wood door with three recessed panels of unequal size trimmed with molding, with a brass rectangular escutcheon with lever handle and key lock. These are set in 6-8" wood frame with mitered corners and hung from four pin hinges. There is one of these doors leading from each side of the chapel into the crypt area. Variation to these doors at different locations include version that are slightly narrower, as well as single leaf doors in the same pattern. Hardware also varies slightly, with some including kickplates or different style knobs. The door to the storeroom on the north side landing is the same style, but is painted white with blue painted panels and frame, and also has a possibly original brass ovoid doorknob. The doors to the accessible restrooms, while later additions, mimic this style as well.

The final type of original door is located at the trophy rooms on the second floor. These are two-leaf white painted wood doors, with alternating large and small recessed panels. They are set into the typical interior molding with a marble threshold, and have brass ovoid doorknob with an integrated push button locks on the mechanism as well as integrated lever locks at the top and bottom of the door. They are hung on three ball pin hinges per side, and have brass and rubber doors stoppers matching those of the exterior doors.

Within the amphitheater at the floor level, there are doors on either side of stage that provide access to the crypt. These are not original, but were installed as part of accessibility renovations in 1980 and make an effort to match the style of the original building by mimicking the original Tiffany window grilles. These are oak single leaf six light French doors. The glazing has muntin with a starburst pattern with modest oak framing in an ogee curve. Hardware includes a brass lever handle set in a plain rectangular escutcheon with key lock and four pin hinges.

There are also several later addition doors that do not match the original doors in style or material. On the south side landing, one of the storerooms has an interior partition with a single leaf flat hollow core door with a brass doorknob hung on three pin hinges in a plywood frame. At the entrance to the crypt area on the north side there is a two-leaf, wood laminate door with metal push bar on inside and lever handle on outside with a key lock. This door is set in a metal frame on three pin hinges with a separate autocloser.

Other non-standard late addition doors include the entrance to the staff restroom, which is a solid wood single leaf door with no ornamentation, set in a simple metal frame. The door has a metal push plate and a kick plate on the exterior with a fixed metal handle in a rectangular escutcheon, as well as an automatic swing arm, on the interior. The door to the north office, which currently houses the archives, is dark wood grain veneer over particle board with no ornamentation. This door has a metal frame extending to the ceiling, with a large solid transom with wood grain matching the door. There is a fixed metal handle on a large rectangular escutcheon and a separate key lock on the exterior, and a push plate and kick plate on the interior. An automatic swing arm is mounted on the exterior, and it is hung on three pin hinges.

There are cased openings entering the hallways leading from the chapel to the side exit doors. These cased openings have the same molding marking the exterior doorways.

On the main floor, a simple plaster arch leads from the reception hall to the main stairway. On the basement level, there are five simple plaster arch openings, reaching to the full height of the wall that enter into the chapel. These openings,

along with the two wall niches, line up with the seven arches formed by the decorative columns that frame the nave. Two arches lead towards the crypts, two towards the side exit door, and the central arch, opposite the apse, leads to the door to the basement offices.

Either side of the stage has a doorway leading to the stage vestibules, with a door surround with a Neoclassical pediment. The door opening is flanked by engaged Ionic columns on simple plinths, with pilasters mirroring them to the sides. The entablature has flat bands and circular motifs on the frieze below a pediment with dentils on the cornice and raking cornice. The entire door surround is within a rounded arch with simple tapered molding and a scrolled keystone, supported by two piers that back engaged columns on the stage wall. High relief sculpture in the tympanum depicts Classical trophies of war. The sculpture contains three cuirasses, weapons including swords, axes, quivered arrows, and fasces, as well as oak leaves and branches. An eagle with spread wings is at the bottom center of the sculpture, directly above the doorway.

Each of the stage vestibules includes two doorways in its east wall -- one with a two-leaf door and one with a single leaf door. The two-leaf doors lead to the main stair hall of the reception building and consist with four recessed panels of uneven size, alternating large and small. They are set in a wood frame cased at the side with matching wood on a marble plinth. On each set the left leaf has brass escutcheon with spherical knob and key lock while the right has ovoid brass knob. There is a kick plate along the bottom of both leaves. The high threshold for these doorways is accessed via two marble steps with rounded noses that curve on the outer edges away from the stage. The doorways with single leaf door sit at floor level and lead to closets or anterooms. These doors have alternating horizontal and paired vertical recessed panels and a metal ventilation grille at top with small circular perforations. They are set in a narrow wood frame of matching wood with a marble plinth. They have a brass escutcheon with spherical knob and key lock. The door is mounted on three ball pin hinges with a brass kick plate at the bottom and also feature late addition auto-close swing arms. On the interior side of these doors there are brass and rubber floor mounted door stops, with hook and eye latches to allow them to also hold the doors open.

- b. Windows: On the interior, the basement windows in the crypt are set directly into the foundation with an exposed concrete lintel. The wood casements have brass rotating lever latches and two ball pin hinges. Currently only ten of the original 12 basement windows are visible from the interior, as one is located behind ductwork and another was replaced by the wheelchair accessible door.

All windows from the main exhibit hall space have been covered on the interior by large images on canvas as part of the museum exhibits, leaving only a portion of the marble molding visible. The visible marble molding is a simple multilayer

molding, mitered at the corners and surrounding all four sides, matching the wood molding of the other interior doors.

The ell windows are double hung, with molding matching that of the interior doors and a projecting sill with a molded apron band. They are set into a shallow reveal with recessed panels. Another recessed panel under a projecting sill fills the spandrel. Hardware includes brass recessed fingerplates and a sash lock with a security lock at the top. For the windows closest to the trophy rooms on the second floor, the molding extends to the marble baseboard, with a spandrel with a recessed panel under the sill. The arched windows at the lower entryway are single hung without a security latch at the top. The French windows on the main floor ell replace the hardware with an elaborate brass bar lock with an ovoid knob at the center. These windows were rebuilt as part of the 1994-1996 renovations.

Three decorative windows dominate the wall behind the apse in the Chapel. These are large round arch French windows set in thin bronze frames with a sloping marble sill. Each sash is made up of a lead grate with frosted glass, with rectangular lights around edges and diamond lights in the middle. The windows are fastened with a bar lock with rotating hook and pins. The areas behind the windows are unfinished bays without any exterior windows, and are artificially lit by spotlights to provide borrowed light. The left window has possible remnants of a bronze track support the window when opened, while the right window has three horizontal reinforcements on the sash.

7. Decorative features and trim:

- a. Amphitheater seating and signage: The amphitheater seating area has a series of fixed permanent benches. Narrow concrete support legs with a front ogee curve support white marble seats. Benches are in approximately 5' sections with three supports per section.

The seating area is also marked by circular black metal signs, each on a single pole marked on both sides with sans serif font. The signs are labeled as being built by Lake Shore Markers, Erie, PA. Sections are labeled "A" thru "C" for lower sections with "D" through "I" for upper sections. Each section is marked with two signs, located at the upper corners of section.

- b. Amphitheater stage urns: Replicas of the original decorative marble urns are located in the niches on either side of the stage.<sup>180</sup> The urns sit on a decorative

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<sup>180</sup> This became an issue in 2011, when the original urns turned up for auction. Instead of being preserved, as required by the contract, the urns had been turned over to a sub-contractor and subsequently ended up in the possession of a string of antique dealers. Following the exposure their auction received in 2011, they were returned to Arlington National Cemetery at no cost. Christian Davenport, "Arlington Cemetery Urns Turn Up on Auction Block, But How'd They Get There?", *The Washington Post*, 23 January 2011; Christian Davenport, "Arlington Urns to Be Returned Instead of Auctioned," *The Washington Post*, 25 January 2011.

engaged pedestal with a flat base. The pedestal base is decorated with ogee curved molding and stylized acanthus leaves rising to a bead. The main section of the pedestal is elaborately sculpted, with full-relief serpents rising from an acanthus leaf at the bottom center to form borders along either side. In the center is a Greek-style helmet surmounted with a griffin and a horsehair crest and on a field of spears and a ribbon. Above the main portion, a projecting molding decorated with a lamb's tongue motif leads to a flat cap that steps out at the sides to engage with the walls of the niche. Atop the pedestal, the urn sits upon a square base made up of several layers of moldings including a congé curved section decorated with repeating recessed rectangles with acanthus leaves at the corners. The bell-shaped foot of the urn itself is decorated with stylized foliage and flowers and bands of roping and beading. The cup of the urn has a bulbous shape, with an incised scallop pattern around its bottom topped by handle-like full-relief ram's heads at the sides. The upper cup of the urn has an oval insignia at the center over undulating recesses. The insignia panel contains a perched eagle with an American shield and an olive branch. A carved meander interspersed with small rosettes is located around the top. The urn cup is topped by a fluted bell-shaped cap with bands of egg and dart and reeding.

- c. Ceremonial chair: The president's chair or ceremonial chair forms the focal point of the lower stage. The chair is all white marble, and has a klismos-style curved back with faux cut outs mimicking a typical open backed wood chair. The legs are solid panels extending to the back of the chair with a decorative scroll design at the front and stylized vines on the sides. The armrests are stacked marble with wider top and bottom and a wide incised band in the middle. The chair is engaged with the wall behind it, and the upper portion is framed by a projection of white marble above the top of the wall sculpted in the shape of bundled reeds. This chair was altered as part of the 1934 renovations, with the removal of the steps at the base of the chair, instead leaving it sitting on a single block of marble, flush with the lower stage floor (See Figures 13-14).<sup>181</sup>
- d. Commemorative plaques: The main stair hall has four commemorative plaques mounted at the main floor level. The first, which is original, is a bronze rectangular plaque mounted on the exterior wall adjacent to the side elevation exit on the south side of the building. This plaque was added to mark the contributions of those involved in the design and construction of the building, and it lists the architects, the primary contractor, and the members of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, to include non-statutory Executive and Disbursing Officers who served during construction. Its full text reads:

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<sup>181</sup> Robert S. Beard, Memorandum on Presidential Chair, Memorial Amphitheater, Arlington National Cemetery, January 8, 1934, Folder 6, Box 18, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I; Charles Moore to General Dewitt, January 22, 1934, Folder 6, Box 18, Entry 17, RG66, NARA I.

ARLINGTON MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER  
ERECTED 1915-1920  
BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE FOLLOWING COMMISSION

LINDLEY M. GARRISON	NEWTON D. BAKER
SECRETARY OF WAR	SECRETARY OF WAR
JOSEPHUS DANIELS	ELLIOTT WOODS
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY	SUPT. U.S. CAPITOL BLDG. & GRDS.
IVORY G. KIMBALL	SGT. JOHN McELROY
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC	GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC
CAPT. CHARLES W. NEWTON	CAPT. FRED BEALL
UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS	UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS

EXECUTIVE AND DISBURSING OFFICERS  
COL. WILLIAM W. HARTS      COL. CLARENCE S. RIDLEY

ARCHITECTS	BUILDERS
CARRÈRE AND HASTINGS	GEORGE A. FULLER CO.

Along the curved wall the follows the back of the stage there are three additional plaques, which were added at later dates. On the south side of the stairwell is a large rectangular marble plaque that commemorates the 1969 donation of a lighting system for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the American Legion. It reads in full:

THE LIGHTING FOR  
THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWNNS  
WAS PRESENTED AS A  
GIFT TO THE NATION  
BY MEMBERS OF  
THE AMERICAN LEGION  
AND  
THE AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY  
IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE  
OF ALL WHO HAVE DIED  
IN DEFENSE OF AMERICA  
ACCEPTED AND INITIALLY LIGHTED  
BY  
PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON  
ON THE 50<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE AMERICAN LEGION  
MARCH 15, 1969



At the center of the stairwell there is a large rectangular marble plaque that commemorates the Grand Army of the Republic and General John A. Logan's establishment of Memorial Day in 1868. It reads in full:

TO  
COMMEMORATE  
THE DEDICATION OF  
MAY THIRTIETH  
IN EACH YEAR AS  
MEMORIAL DAY  
BY GENERAL ORDER NO. 11,  
ISSUED MAY 5, 1868, BY THE  
COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC  
GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN  
THIS TABLET IS PLACED  
BY THE LADIES OF THE  
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

On the north side of the stairwell is a large rectangular marble plaque that commemorates the 1949 donation of a Carillon by the AMVETS organization of World War II veterans, and the dedication of this Carillon by President Harry S. Truman. It reads in full:

BY ACT OF CONGRESS, OCTOBER 25, 1949  
AMVETS  
HEREIN INSTALLED AND PRESENTED A  
CARILLON TO THE PEOPLE OF THE  
UNITED STATES AS A MEMORIAL TO  
THOSE WHO DIED IN WORLD WAR II  
DEDICATED DECEMBER 21, 1949  
BY PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN

- e. Chapel altar and decorative features: In the chapel, there is a large marble altar centered in the apse. This is a solid rectangular white marble altar, approximately 4' high. The altar sits on a narrow marble plinth that project slightly from the body, and is marked at the corners with vertical rectangular panels with sculpted decorative urns, which are surmounted by a torch head. The front and rear of the altar has a large plain rectangular panel, slightly recessed from narrow bordering panels on all four sides. The sides of the altar are plain. The cap piece of the altar has a narrow bead and reel molding below a projecting half-round molding to a flat top.

Directly behind the altar is a tall, narrow marble plinth. The plinth is square at the back, with a three-sided front edge giving a tapered appearance. The base has three level stepped-in molding, with a subtle ogee curve at the top level. The top of the plinth has three bands of simple molding at the top, narrowing in an ogee curve to a flat platform that formerly supported the statue of Winged Victory currently on display in the reception hall. The bottom layer of molding is marked by two incised lines.

The apse is flanked by large, fluted wood panels mounted in the walls that were to serve as baffles for a pipe organ, which was never installed.

8. Hardware: The hardware is a mix of original, early replacement, and later additions. The original hardware is typically brass and is typified by ovoid knobs. Likely replacement knobs switch to a more spherical design, and there is a mix of modern hardware located in areas that are either add on, such as the doors to the expanded terrace, or completely remodeled, such as the basement office space in the main block of the Reception Hall building. For decorative hardware, three main motifs repeat throughout the building. These are the starburst pattern of the original bronze grilles on the windows in the basement, which has been reused elsewhere such as on the faux window on the boiler room and the door leading from the accessible lobby to the amphitheater floor; the repeating pattern of rounded arches and finials used on several of the door window grilles, and the acanthus leaf pattern used on the majority of the original light fixtures.<sup>182</sup>
9. Mechanical equipment:
  - a. Heating, air conditioning, ventilation: The building has been equipped with modern heating and air conditioning. As originally designed the building was heated using a coal furnace, boiler, and radiators, but now uses electric forced air heating, with late addition duct work and vents. The exact date of this change is unclear, but it was certainly before the 1973-1975 renovations, as that renovation included the area that formerly included the coal bunker and now forms part of the Tomb Guards Quarters.<sup>183</sup> Air conditioning was first installed in 1980, and was primarily focused on humidity control rather than cooling. This system made use of the existing vertical chases that were part of the original design.<sup>184</sup> All areas of the building are now supplied with modern air conditioning. The main

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<sup>182</sup> For a full listing of the original hardware and light fixtures, see Russell & Erwin Mfg. Co., Schedule of Hardware for Arlington Memorial, Washington, D.C., Carrère and Hastings, Folder 6, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I and Revised Estimate for Lighting Fixtures for the Memorial Amphitheater, Arlington, VA, Folder 6, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

<sup>183</sup> Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, Advertisement Instructions and Specifications for a Memorial Amphitheater and Chapel in Arlington National Cemetery, Paragraphs 343-352, Arlington National Cemetery Administration Office; Renovation at Amphitheater East Front, August 8, 1973, ANCEO.

<sup>184</sup> Supplementary Report: Amphitheatre Rehabilitation, Arlington National Cemetery, Contract No. DACA31-76-C-0177, June 7, 1979, Box 121, Entry 17A, RG66, NARA I.

HVAC cooling units are located on the roof, immediately adjacent to the exits from the reception hall building stairwells.

- b. Lighting: The original lighting fixtures are a variety of decorative bronze pieces produced by Cassidy and Son Manufacturing Company, with a common acanthus flower pattern. The typical ceiling fixture is a flush mounted decorative bronze fixture with an acanthus leaf motif and four exposed incandescent bulbs. Similar ceiling fixtures, but with seven instead of four bulbs are mounted in the main stairwell. A smaller fixture in the same motif but with only a single incandescent bulb mounted in a foliated rosette is also used in some of the less public spaces of the building, such as the entryway between the chapel and the crypts.

The reception hall has more elaborate fixtures, with the room circled by bronze wall mounted sconces with a scrolled bracket supporting a decorative candelabra in an acanthus motif holding six faux candles with incandescent bulbs in a circle. A seventh candle/bulb is located in the center, mounted slightly higher than those in the outer ring. A single bulb variation of these sconces is located in the second floor trophy rooms.

Several of the public spaces also have elaborate bronze chandeliers. The chapel has a circular chandelier at the center, with faux candles holding incandescent bulbs mounted in a circle of 12. The ring holding the candles is decorated with alternating solid sections cast with rosettes and opening sections decorated with elaborate stylized foliage. Below the main section of the chandelier, the fixture extends downwards in a multilevel urn shape with stylized acanthus leaves suspended from six scrolled brackets at the bottom. A bronze faux tassel hangs from the bottom. The entire fixture is suspended by a single chain, ending at the ceiling in a decorative mount in an acanthus leaf motif.

Similar chandeliers, but larger and with a brighter finish, are suspended from the ceiling on either side of the main Reception Hall. The candles and bulbs have been removed from these chandeliers.

Simple circular chandeliers with a wide bronze ring connected to a slightly smaller bronze ring by repeating simple bars are suspended in the main stairway. These hang from six chains gathered at the top to a mount matching those of the other chandeliers. Twelve bare incandescent bulbs project downward from the ring.

In addition to these original fixtures, an array of more modern lighting has been installed in various parts of the buildings. Both the reception hall and trophy rooms have modern track lighting, in white and metallic finish respectively. The chapel has modern small silver indirect halogen lights on the outer area and on the vaulted ceiling. The vestibule for the accessible restrooms and elevator has faux

art deco fixtures consisting of wall sconces of painted metal with a bowl design sitting in brackets perforated by two fins, with a bronze finish, each with a single bulb. The accessible restrooms themselves have simple, modern long florescent lights running along the top of the back walls and above the sinks. The basement offices use simple recessed lights in the ceilings.

Finally, the crypts are lit by a line of incandescent bulbs running along the centerline of the hallway ceiling. These have a mixture of covers, seemingly due to uneven replacement as original covers broke, with a mix of bare bulbs and jug shaped glass covers, some of the latter also covered with a metal grille. All of these seem to be later additions, as the original plans do not show any electrical wiring extending to the crypts.

- c. Plumbing: None of the original plumbing features remain, and the public restrooms, staff restroom, and wheelchair accessible restroom are all outfitted with modern toilets and sinks. Of note, significant renovations have occurred to the public restrooms, with the entire layout of that area altered from the original design and construction. It is unclear when the floorplan was changed, as it does not show up in any of the architectural drawings of the basement floorplan, to include those dated in July 2018. This layout change most likely occurred during the 1973-1975 renovations, which involved substantial demolition and construction in this area with the addition of the extended viewing terrace, but an accurate floor plan was never updated in the record.<sup>185</sup>
- d. Miscellaneous: There is a single elevator that provides access from the basement level of the amphitheater to the arcade. The basement access is provided in the wheelchair accessible entryway that was added in the early 1980s, replacing part of the crypts on the south side of the building. On the arcade level, there is no permanent framework projecting from the floor, or any permanent access doors or call buttons. Instead, the elevator ascends through the floor, where an opening has been cut into the marble. The access panel itself is marble, matching the surrounding floor.

In addition to this elevator, there is a chair lift that provides the access to the chapel and the second floor from the main floor. This lift is in two sections, with one for each flight of stairs. In both sections, the lift consists of a metal rail that parallels the south section of the main stairway, with a permanently attached large lift platform. The platform folds up when not in use. There are control boxes at each level. The rail is supported by metal post spaced at every other step.

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<sup>185</sup> For the original plumbing hardware, see The Meyer-Sniffen Company, List of Plumbing Fixtures for Memorial Amphitheater, July 21, 1915, Folder 8, Box 5, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.

An additional wheelchair lift, matching those on the stairs, provides access from the floor of exhibit hall to the level of the stair hall at the main floor level.

The roof of the amphitheater holds a variety of modern HVAC and telecommunications equipment and wiring.

Large rectangular speakers for the public address system are suspended from the amphitheater arcade ceiling on either side of the amphitheater stage.

The Amphitheater also has an electronic carillon, donated by AMVETS, which was installed in 1949. The carillon is not a true carillon as it does not make use of actual bells, but rather makes use of an electronic control box, located in the center office of the basement, broadcasting from a set of speakers on the roof of the ell.

An elaborate exterior light system highlights the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the Amphitheater when viewed at night from Washington, D.C. This system was donated by the American Legion and installed in 1969.

A simple hand crank winch, likely original or soon after, is located in one of the crypt bays on the south side of the amphitheater. This exact purpose of this winch is unclear, but it most likely was used for hauling coal into the building for the original heating furnace. Tradition within Arlington National Cemetery maintains that this was used for hauling coffins into storage during winter months, but there is no documentary evidence to support this and it seems unlikely that the amphitheater or adjacent areas would have been used for coffin storage when there was ample space further away from the main site of memorial and other public events. There is also no opening connected to the crank large enough to bring a casket into the actual crypt area. However, in the lack of any documentary evidence to the contrary, this must be considered a possible, if unlikely use.<sup>186</sup>

#### D. Site:

1. Historic landscape design: Care was taken to place the building in a way that made use of the existing physical and memorial landscape and to add a complementary Beaux-Arts formality to the surrounding landscape. The building's location on a small hill created a vista from the main entrance and east plaza looking over the cemetery towards Washington, D.C. The building was also laid out in line with the *USS Maine* Memorial, so that anyone standing on the stage of the amphitheater has a natural focal point of the mast of the *Maine* rising over the west portico.

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<sup>186</sup> Of note, for all of the major funerals held in the amphitheater, such as those of the unknown soldiers, the caskets were physically carried into the amphitheater by an honor guard.

- a. Tomb plaza: The eastern side of the reception hall is bordered by a large formal plaza leading to a monumental staircase. The main feature and focal point of the plaza is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, described below. The plaza is paved with granite in a patterned layout with large square blocks bordered with narrower rectangular blocks. The eastern edge of plaza is bordered by a balustrade, matching that of the arcade but in granite, with square newel posts at the edges formed of granite with recessed panels on three sides and with a cavetto molding to a flat top. The balustrade is interrupted at regular intervals by solid granite sections approximately 3' long. The balustrade slopes downward with the ground level on both sides of the plaza, with a slight curve to follow the line of the pathway as well as a slight angle change at second straight section. The balustrade ends in a curtail with a buttress stone with a scroll design and stacked ovals. The retaining wall beneath the balustrade is made up of plain granite blocks, with piers under the straight sections of the balustrade. The balustrade is mirrored to the end the plaza by a plain bronze fence of two solid circular rails on 3' high brass circular supports at approximately 6' intervals.
- b. East stair, mall, and fountain plaza: The Amphitheater is approached from the east by a monumental staircase of wide granite steps with two landings (Figure 36). This staircase was added during the installation of the 1932 Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Twelve steps lead to a wide landing of plain granite pavers in alternating courses of wide and narrow blocks. The center block of the landing has a diamond pattern, also in granite. Following the first landing, the stairway narrows, with the cheek wall of the landing making a 90 degree turn until it meets the cheek wall of the upper staircase. An additional 28 steps lead to a second landing that holds the base of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Four additional steps, bordering the front edge of the Tomb, lead to the main plaza. Along the stairs there is a cheek wall of wide granite with two layers of molding. The top layer of molding is in an ogee curve leading to a wide, thick top. The cheek walls for both landings are of low, flat plain granite blocks. The cheek wall of the upper landing is topped with a simple iron picket fence. The first landing has two plain granite benches, on either side. The benches have two support legs with a decorative scroll design and lion's paw feet.

The axis of the monumental staircase is extended by a mall to a second plaza focused on an ornamental fountain. This mall is formed by two elements, with a wide oval grass area at the foot of the stairs giving way to a long rectangular grass mall flanked by allées of trees. Both sections are surrounded by flagstone walkways. The mall terminates at Roosevelt Drive, with the landscape of the Amphitheater completed by the fountain plaza located on the far (east) side of Roosevelt Drive.

Additional formal design elements define the area on either side of Roosevelt Drive. The long mall terminates at four granite buried cannon bollards, each with

a raised five-point star at the top and joined by a bronze chain cast with small five point stars on the links. A rectangular section of the plaza has two levels, with three shallow steps at the center and an additional step from the roadway. The granite pavers here are arranged in seven sections outlined by rectangular pavers. At the two mall paths the sections have a diamond shaped paver at the center; at the other five sections the center motif is a large circle.

There is granite paving at the fountain plaza flanking Roosevelt Drive while the roadway itself is asphalt. Four large drainage grates at the road are embossed "Neenah Foundry, USA." A similar granite with more distinct black and pink areas was used for the curbing and benches. A pair of pedimented granite piers are located at each side of the road, on the west connected to L-shaped flanking walls with a fret along the top. A granite bench with lion's paw feet sits at each wall facing east. Each pier has a relief sculpture panel below the pediment on two sides with a fret along the bottom. All four piers feature a bas relief eagle facing the road. As typically depicted on the Great Seal of the United States, the eagles have outstretched wings and holds an olive branch in one claw and a bundle of arrows in the other. Bas reliefs of Navy-related motifs such as a ship wheel, anchor, ropes and tackle, cannons and shells, and flags appear on the rear of two piers. The other two piers on the opposite diagonal have Army-related motifs such as a helmet, rifles, grenades, ammunition, and a Gatling gun.

The large granite fountain consists of a shallow bowl supported on a large turned pedestal and an octagonal base. The fountain is set into an approximately 2' deep recessed circular pool with 6" high granite curbing. A bronze spout at the center is cast with decorative foliage such as lotus flowers and acanthus leaves. A large bronze plate in the pool is embossed with the name "Wm. Hobbs, Ltd., Atlanta, GA, USA." The bottom of the pool is lined with eight large wedge-shaped granite pavers.

The curved plaza including the fountain on the east side of the road is banked into the hillside, with the cemetery sloping down unevenly from north to south. A granite block retaining wall matching the one closer to the Tomb stands approximately 8' high, with the upper 3' formed by five sections of thick turned granite balustrade separated by rectangular piers. Five granite benches matching those at the mall are located along the edge of the plaza at each section of balustrade. The fountain plaza is in three levels, with the outer east edge located three shallow steps down from the upper road level and a single step up to the benches. These steps follow the entire curve of the plaza. The paving at the lower area is sections of Belgian block laid in concentric circles with a large flagstone five-pointed star at the center and rectangular flagstone blocks around the edge. Oval drains are located here and periodically along the mall to the west.

- c. Walkways: The landscape of the Amphitheater also includes a series of pedestrian walkways that both connect the Amphitheater and its various elements with the larger cemetery as well as framing it. The walkways consist of two ovals, one circling the Amphitheater and a second, smaller oval that encircles the retaining wall and monumental staircase, ending at the granite pathways at the foot of staircase. The two ovals are joined at intersections in line with the eastern plaza. A narrower walkway directly encircles the amphitheater and is connected to the larger oval by straight walkways running along the axis formed by the north and south porticos. Each of these straight walkways has a single set of straight run granite steps, with 8 on the south side and 9 on the north side, descending from the interior towards the exterior walkway. Additional walkways lead from the lower oval to connect to other areas of the cemetery. The walkways are made up of flagstone pavers laid in a random ashlar pattern. Within this landscape, there are mature trees surrounding the amphitheater and elaborate flowerbeds along the foundation of both the amphitheater and the viewing terrace.<sup>187</sup>

2. Additional structures:

- a. Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is located on the east plaza. The Tomb consists of a simple, large sarcophagus in four levels, all of white Colorado Yule Marble. The sub-base is a simple flat course of marble in several pieces. The base, or plinth, is in two course with a flat section beneath a thick level of molding with an ogee curve. The die block is one large piece of marble. While mostly plain, the die is marked with pilasters with Doric capitals in low relief at the corners and along the long sides, with sculpted wreaths in between the pilasters on the long sides, for a total of three wreaths on each side. On the side facing the Amphitheater there is an inscription in a san serif font, which reads in full:

HERE RESTS IN  
HONORED GLORY  
AN AMERICAN  
SOLDIER  
KNOWN BUT TO GOD

The font size is subtly different between lines, with “known but to God” the smallest and “an American Soldier” largest. The east side of the Tomb, facing Washington, D.C. and the monumental staircase, has a sculpture depicting three Greek figures. The central female figure, clasping a palm branch in her left hand, represents Victory. The female figure on the left, holding hands with Victory with one hand and in the other holding a dove, represents Peace. The final figure, the male figure on the right

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<sup>187</sup> Part of the original construction of the Amphitheater included the movement and replanting of cedar trees from other areas of Arlington National Cemetery as part of the immediate landscape of the Amphitheater. Col. C.S. Ridley to the Quartermaster General of the Army, with indorsements, January 18, 1919, Folder 3, Box 1, Entry 327, RG42, NARA I.



holding a sheathed sword in both hands represents Valor. The cap piece rises from a large flat section into a narrow cavetto curve to a flat top.

Between the Tomb proper and the Amphitheater are an additional three crypts marked by simple white marble slabs. The slabs are set in a section of the plaza marked with red granite pavers, setting it apart from the remainder of the plaza flooring. The right slab is marked simply "1950-1953" while the leftmost slab is marked "1941-1945." These two slabs cover the crypts containing the remains, respectively, of the Korean War and World War II unknowns. The center slab is marked with an inscription reading "HONORING AND KEEPING FAITH WITH AMERICA'S MISSING SERVICEMEN" and covers the empty crypt that used to hold the remains of the Vietnam unknown.

b. Woodhull Memorial Flagpole: Located to south of the Amphitheater on a line with the South Portico, the Woodhull Memorial Flagpole is set on an octagonal foundation of exposed aggregate concrete, scored into alternating rectangular and triangular sections. It has a marble base of uneven octagonal shape, inscribed all the way around with a dedication reading "IN MEMORY OF MAXWELL WOODHULL COMMANDER USN 1813-1863 AND OF HIS SON MAXWELL VANZANDT WOODHULL BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL USA 1843-1921." Above the marble base is a bronze octagon made up of projecting panels with a circle of bundled reeds above them, to a bell curve to a plain bead. Above the bead is a band of repeating bars with incised horizontal lines, with four superimposed rosettes evenly spaced around the band. A plain molding tapering out leads to a band of egg and dart molding. The pole itself is 90' tall white painted metal topped by a brass sphere, with a rotating cleat system.

c. Korean War Commemorative Bench: Located to the north of the Amphitheater, this was erected in 1987. It consists of a simple granite monumental bench with rusticated granites sides and an inscription across the back reading  
"THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF WAR LIES IN REMEMBRANCE"  
-HERMAN WOUK.

IN SACRED MEMORY OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO GAVE THEIR  
LIVES DURING THE KOREAN WAR 1950-1953

54,246 DIED, 8,177 MISSING IN ACTION, 389 UNACCOUNTED FOR POWS.

FIRST INTERNATIONAL TRIBUTE JULY 27, 1987  
GIVEN BY NO GREATER LOVE AND THE KOREAN WAR VETERANS  
ASSOCIATION".

The bench is meant to be decorative and commemorative rather than utilitarian, and is set too low for comfortable seating.

### PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- A. Architectural drawings: A large, but incomplete, set of the original drawings developed in response to the legislation approving the Amphitheater are held in Record Group 77, the Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, at the Cartographic and Architectural Branch of the National Archives at College Park. Labeled as Job Number 38, these were prepared by the Carrère and Hastings firm and are mostly dated in October 1914. These detailed drawings show all aspects of the building, and include various scales, including full scale drawings of much of the building. The drawings are a mix of blueprints and ink on linen. (See Figures 3-7 for examples from this collection). The same collection also includes architectural drawings from some of the sub-contractors, with details of their work.

Also within Record Group 77 at the Cartographic and Architectural Branch are architectural drawings of various additions and renovations conducted at the Amphitheater. This includes major work, such as the addition of the monumental staircase and approaches to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in 1930-1932 as well as smaller renovations including the replacement of plaster with marble on the eastern frieze sculptures and stage vestibule vaulted ceilings in 1934.

The Lorimer Rich Papers at the Syracuse Special Collection Research Center represent a second source of architectural drawings. This collection has a limited number of drawings, both of Rich's design for the approaches to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as well as several artist's depictions and blueprints of a proposed Tomb of the Unknown Serviceman of the Second World War that was never built.

For more modern alternations and additions, the Arlington National Cemetery Engineering Office holds an extensive digital archive of architectural drawings for various renovations dating back to the 1930s.

Finally, Folders 2-6, Box 8 and Folder 1, Box 9 from Entry 327, Record Group 42: Records of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, hold the monthly report of operations submitted during the construction of the Amphitheater. Most of these reports include blueprints showing the work completed that month (i.e.- a blueprint of the building with completed sections shaded in).

- B. Early Views: The Historical Research Collection at Arlington National Cemetery holds a large collection of photos detailing the construction of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater. These photos extend from the beginning of excavations in 1915 through the completion of the exterior in 1919. (See Figures 13, 16-24 for examples)
- C. Interviews: N/A

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E. Likely Sources Not Yet Investigated:

Entry 391, Construction Completion Reports, 1917-1943 from Record Group 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers at the National Archives and Records Administration may hold additional completion reports on other early renovations and additions. More recent work may be located in a different Entry using a different naming convention, as the author was unable to find any corresponding entry for reports from after 1943. Some of the most recent record relating to renovations may also still be with the Department of the Army, having not yet be transferred to the National Archives.

The Lorimer Rich Paper at the Syracuse University Special Collections Research Center may also hold more useful sources, as the scope of this project only allowed limited exploration of this collection through research conducted by the SUSCRC staff.

#### PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

Documentation of the Arlington National Cemetery Memorial Amphitheater and Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was undertaken in summer 2018 by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), Heritage Documentation Programs (HDP), National Park Service (Catherine C. Lavoie, Chief, HABS; Paul Dolinsky, Acting Chief, HDP). The project was sponsored by Arlington National Cemetery (ANC), Katherine Kelley, Superintendent. Field recording and measured drawings were completed by Mark Schara (Project Supervisor and HABS Architect), Paul Davidson (HABS Architect), Dan De Sousa (HABS Architect), and Ryan Pierce (HALS Architect), as well as student architects, Rodrigo Martinez (Latino Heritage Intern Program; Cal Poly Pomona), Ruben Melendez (Universidad Politecnica de Madrid), Candice Thornton (Clemson University), and Lymarie Torres (Universidad Politecnica de Puerto Rico). Benjamin D. Brands (Ph.D. Candidate, George Mason University) served as project historian, with guidance from Lisa Pfueller Davidson (HABS Historian). HABS Photographer Jarob J. Ortiz and student photographer Justin Scalera (Rochester Institute of Technology) completed large format photographs during summer 2018. Assistance was provided by Rebecca Stevens (ANC Cultural Resources Manager), Sujit Nathan (ANC Engineer), Tim Frank (ANC Historian), Stephen Carney (ANC Command Historian), and the staff of Arlington National Cemetery.



PART V. ILLUSTRATIONS

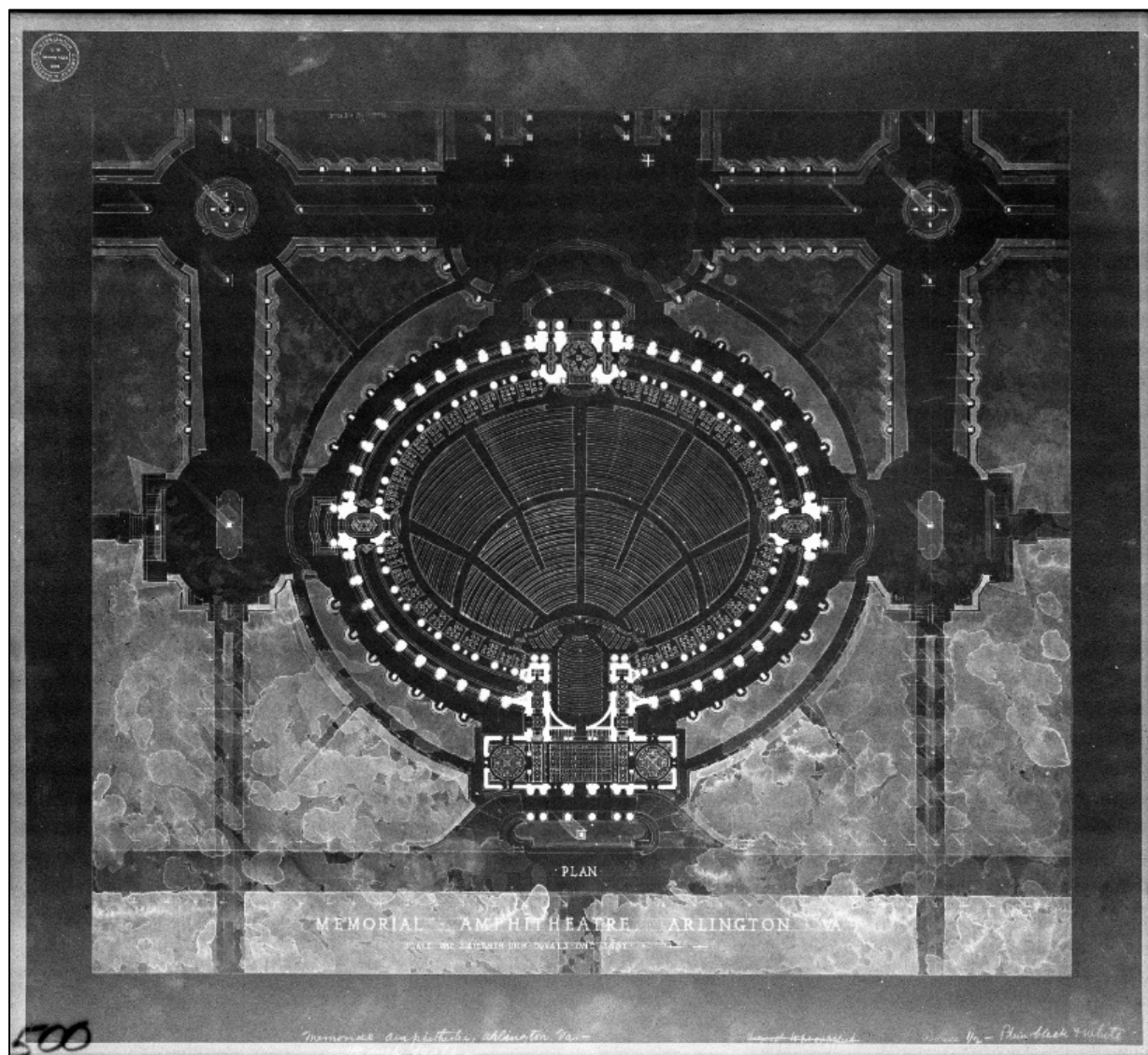


Figure 1: Carrère and Hastings, Artist's Rendering, Site Plan, Memorial Amphitheater, Arlington, VA  
(ca. 1903-1908)

Source: Image 121-BD-500B, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II

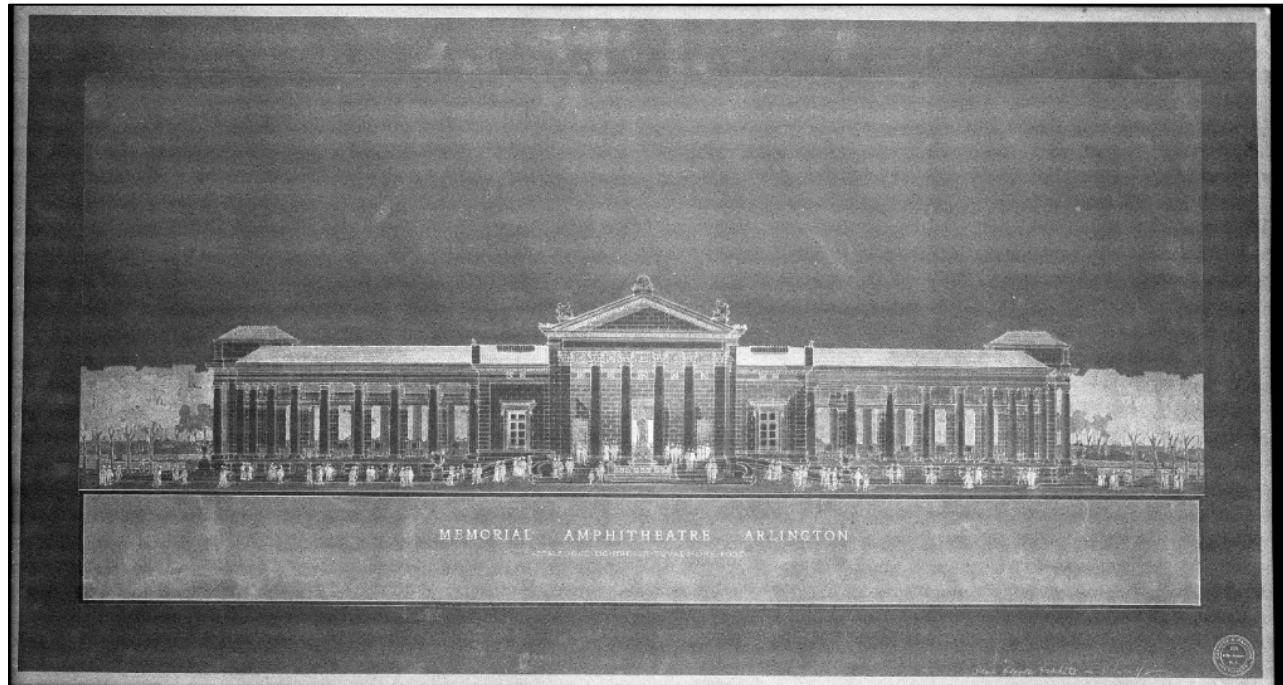


Figure 2: Carrère and Hastings, Artist's Rendering, Front Elevation, Memorial Amphitheater, Arlington, VA  
(ca. 1903-1908)

Source: Image 121-BD-500A, Still Pictures Branch, NARA II

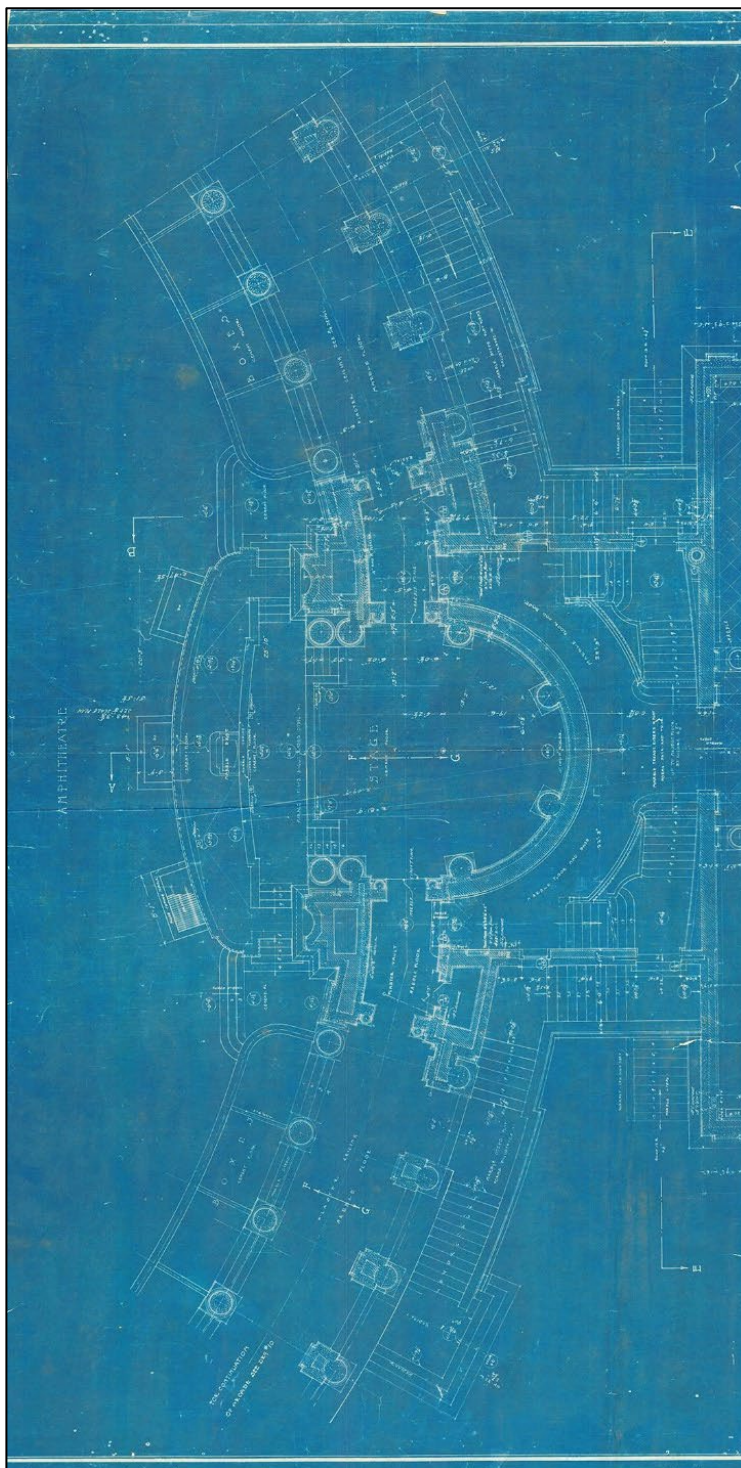


Figure 3: Carrère and Hastings, Floorplan of Stairs, Stage, and Crypts (ca. 1914)  
Source: Maps and Plans of Arlington National Cemetery, ca. 1913-ca. 1965, Record Group 77, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II



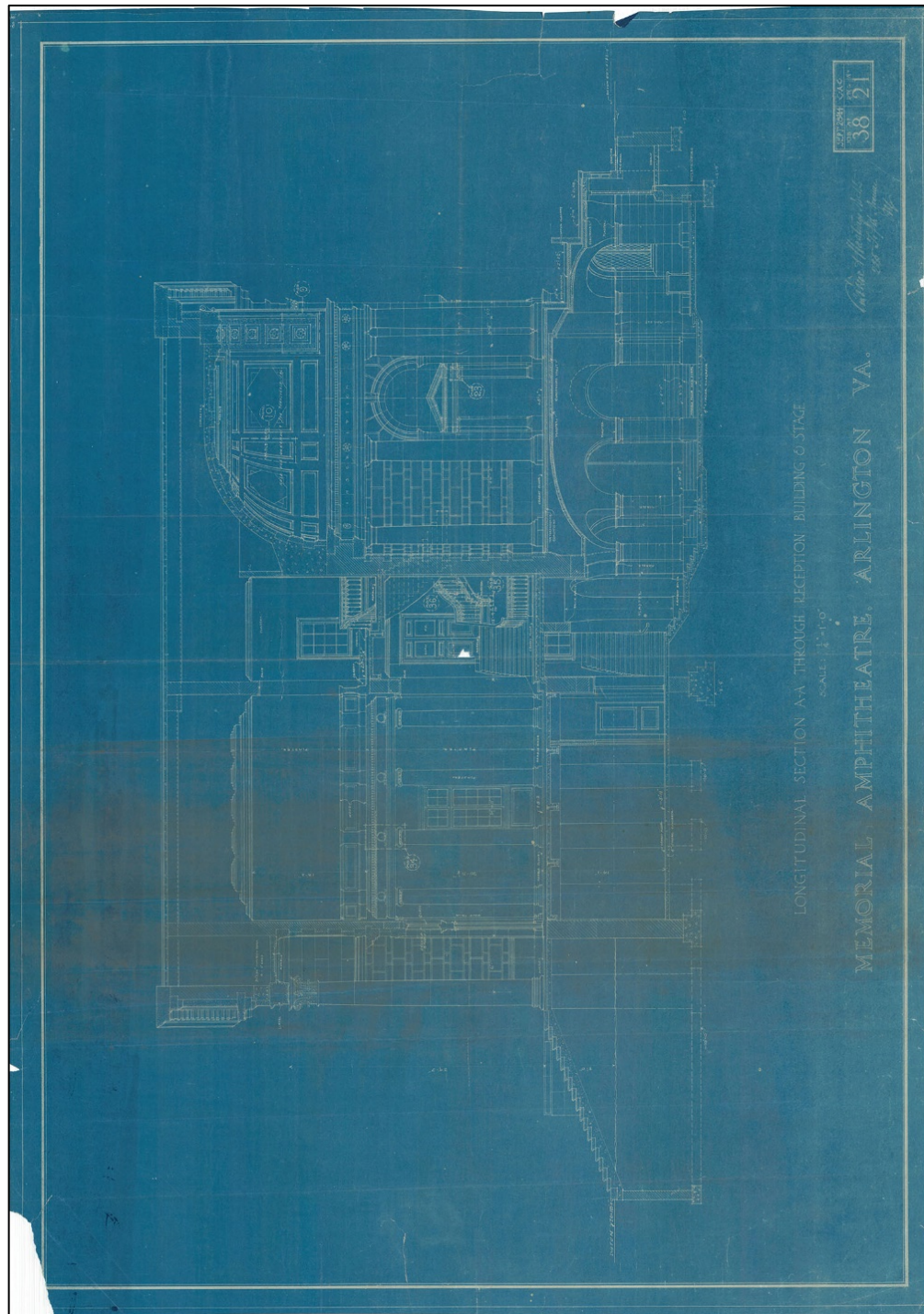


Figure 4: Carrère and Hastings, Longitudinal Section A-A Through Reception Building & Stage,  
(September 28, 1914)

Source: Maps and Plans of Arlington National Cemetery, ca. 1913-ca. 1965,  
Record Group 77, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II



ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY,  
MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER AND TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER  
HABS No. VA-1348-G  
(Page 96)

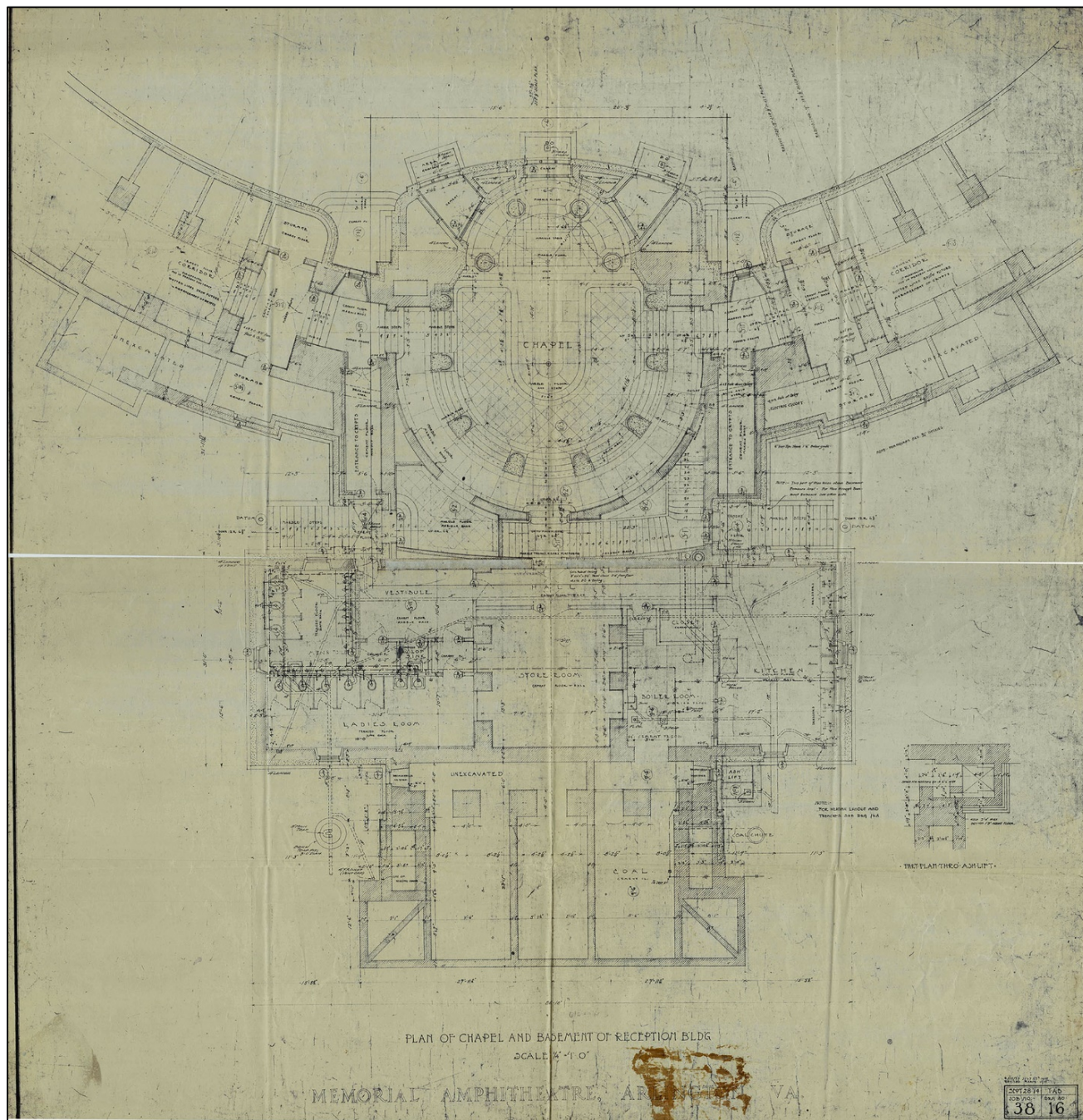


Figure 5: Carrère and Hastings, Plan of Chapel and Basement of Reception Bldg, (September 28, 1914)  
Source: Maps and Plans of Arlington National Cemetery, ca. 1913-ca. 1965, Record Group 77,  
Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II



ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY,  
MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER AND TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER  
HABS No. VA-1348-G  
(Page 97)

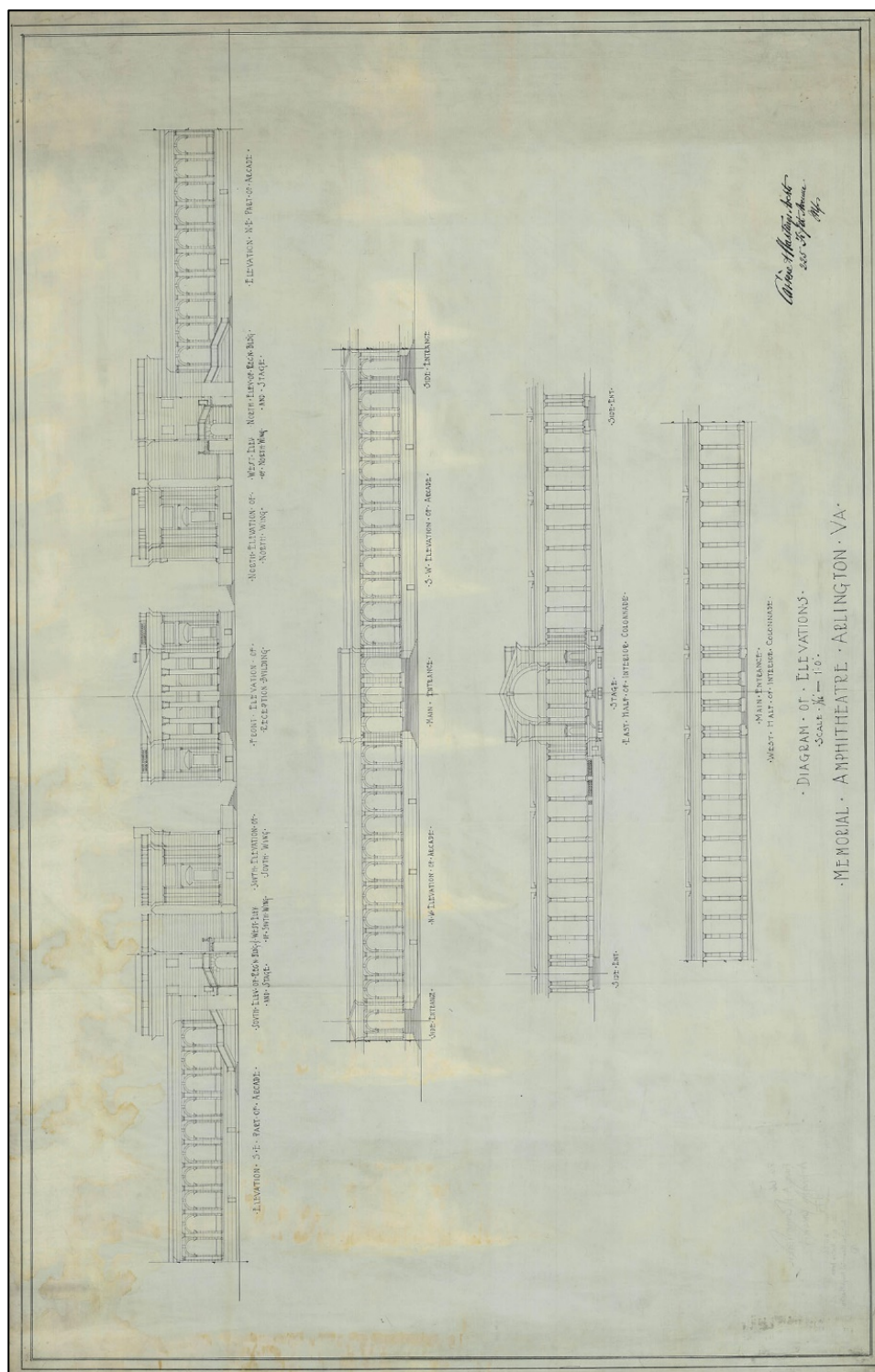


Figure 6: Carrère and Hastings, Diagram of Elevations, (ca. 1914)  
Source: Maps and Plans of Arlington National Cemetery, ca. 1913-ca. 1965, Record Group 77,  
Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II

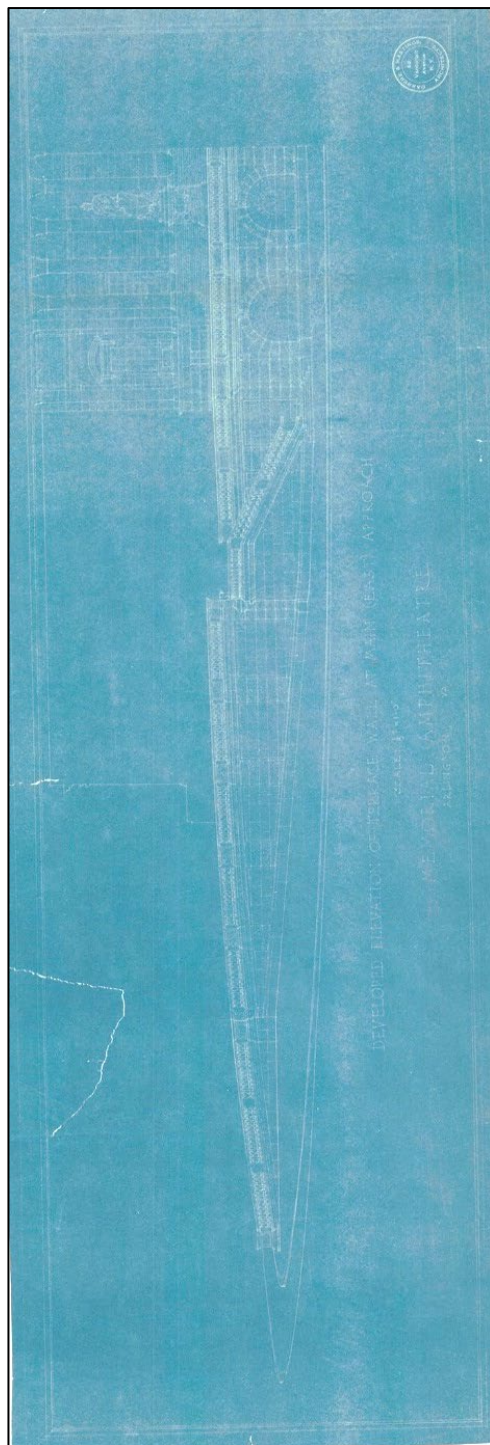


Figure 7: Carrère and Hastings, Developed Elevation of Terrace Wall at Main (East) Approach, (ca. 1914)  
Source: Maps and Plans of Arlington National Cemetery, ca. 1913-ca. 1965, Record Group 77,  
Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II

ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY,  
MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER AND TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER  
HABS No. VA-1348-G  
(Page 99)

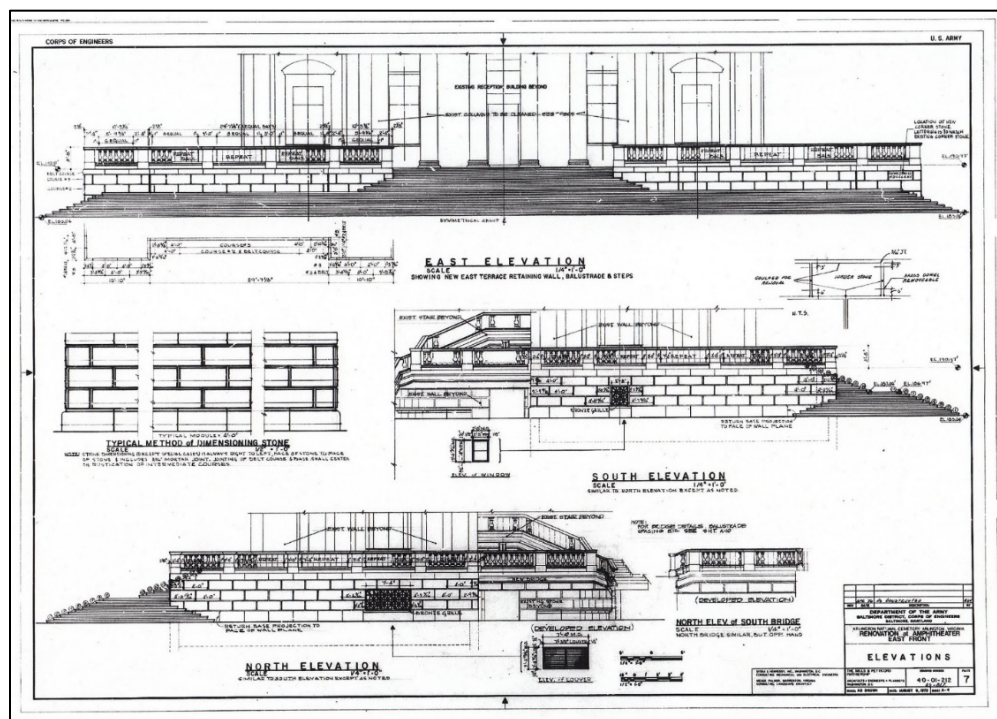


Figure 8: Elevations, Renovations at Amphitheater East Front (August 1973)  
Source: Engineering Office, Arlington National Cemetery

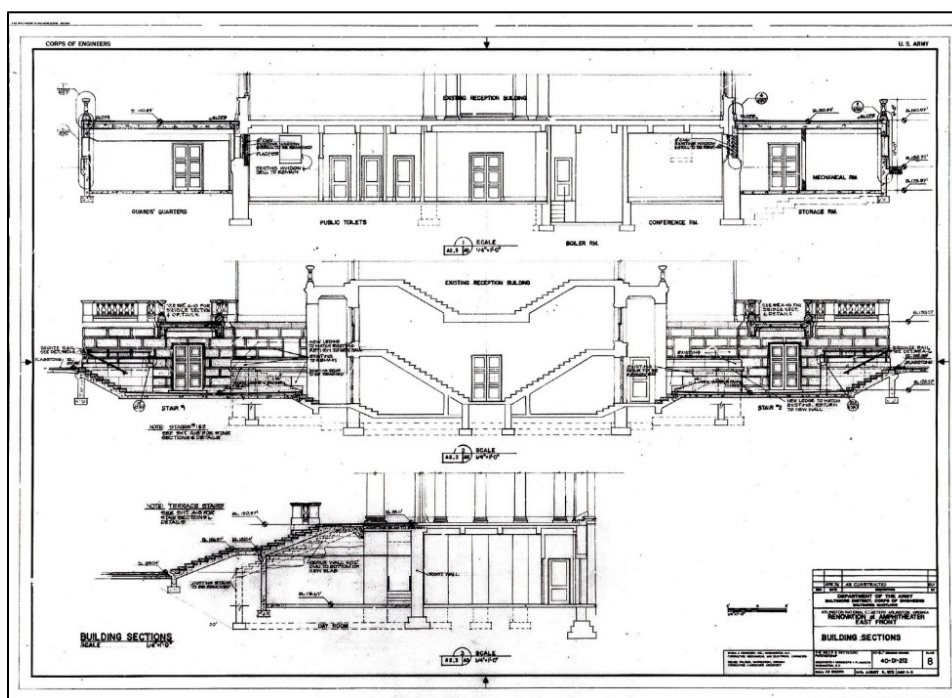


Figure 9: Building Sections, Plate 8, Renovations at Amphitheater East Front (August 1973)  
Source: Engineering Office, Arlington National Cemetery



[illegible]

Source: Engineering Office, Arlington National Cemetery



(Page 101)



Source: Box 121, Entry 17A: Project Files, 1941-1952, Record Group 66, NARA I



### Arcade Level, (1979)

Source: Box 121, Entry 17A: Project Files, 1941-1952, Record Group 66, NARA I





Figure 13: Detail, Arlington Amphitheater Stage Under Construction (June 1, 1918)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 14: Detail, Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Stage (2018)  
Source: Field Photo, Historic American Building Survey



Figure 15: Cornerstone Laying Ceremony (October 13, 1915)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 16: Excavation of Arlington Memorial Amphitheater (1915)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery





Figure 17: Excavation of Crypt Area, Arlington Memorial Amphitheater (July 1915). The pillar surmounted by an eagle in the background is the Spanish War Memorial.  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 18: Crane Used to Install Marble, Arlington Memorial Amphitheater (October 1915)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 19: Installation of Chapel Columns (November 1915)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery

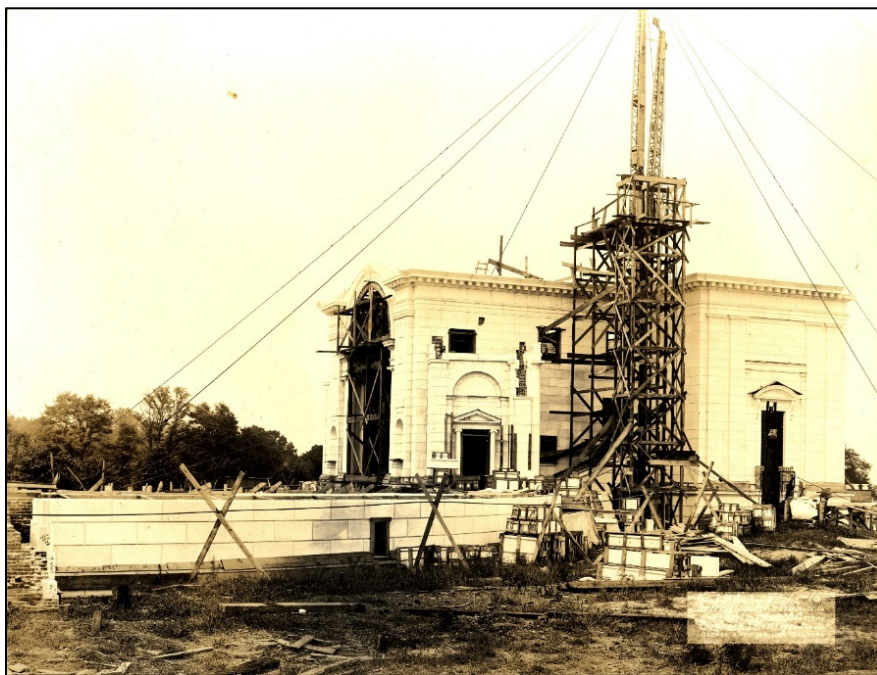


Figure 20: Reception Hall and Arcade Under Construction (April 1916)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery





Figure 21: Completed Reception Hall and Arcade Under Construction (February 1917)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 22: View of West Portico Under Construction (September 1917)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 23: East Retaining Wall Under Construction (July 1918)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 24: Eastern Approaches Under Construction (May 1918)  
Source: Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY,  
MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER AND TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER  
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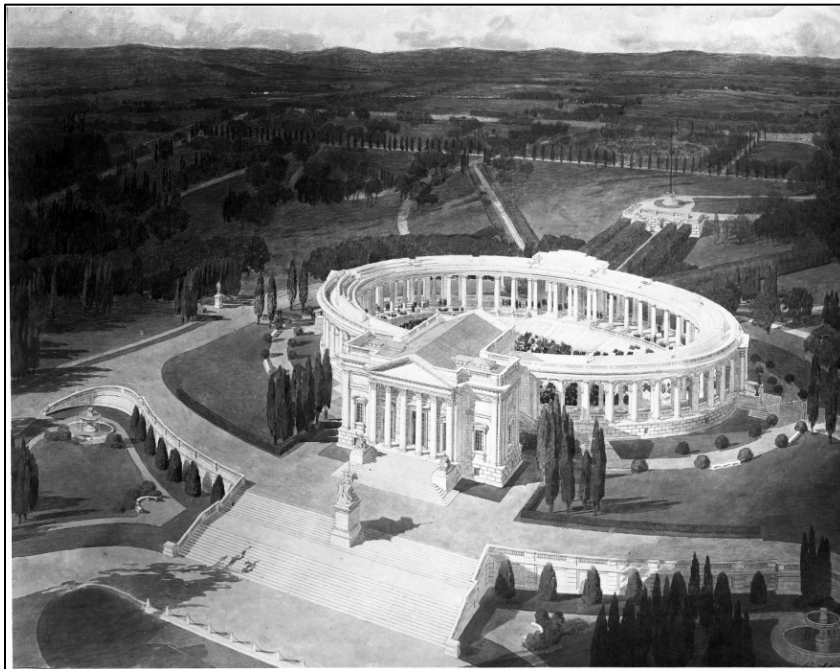


Figure 25: Artist's Depiction, Eastern Approaches of Arlington Memorial Amphitheater (ca. 1914)  
Source: Record Group 66: Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, Still Picture Branch, NARA II

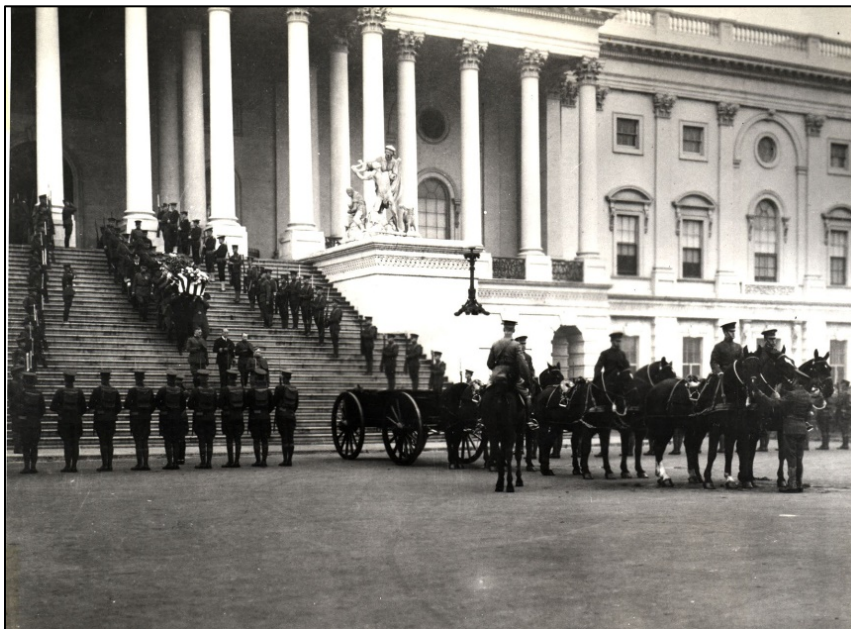


Figure 26: Unknown Soldier, World War I, Casket Carried Down Steps of U.S. Capitol  
(November 11, 1921)  
Source: Folder 37, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery

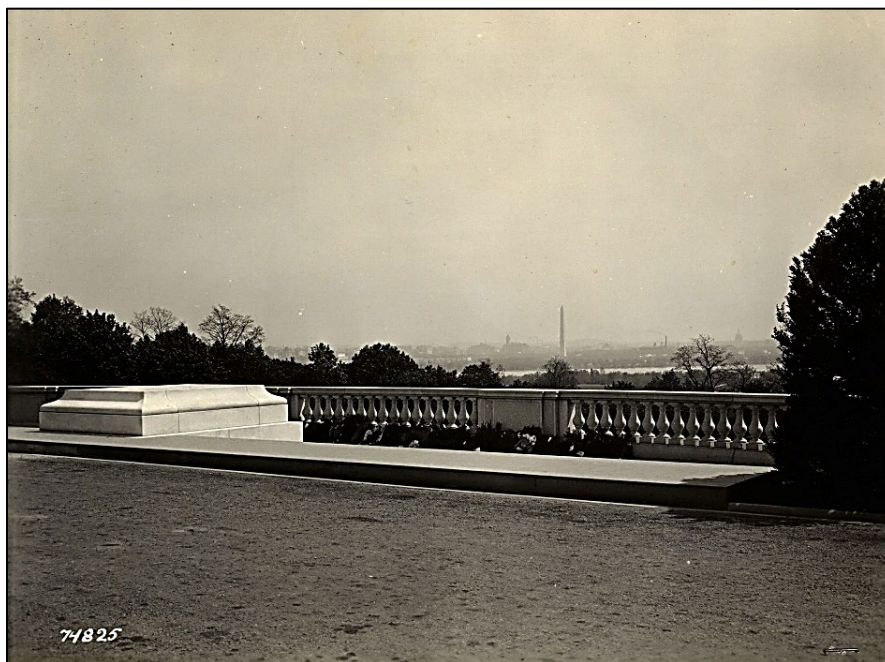


Figure 27: Original Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (ca. 1921-1930)  
Source: Folder 43, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery

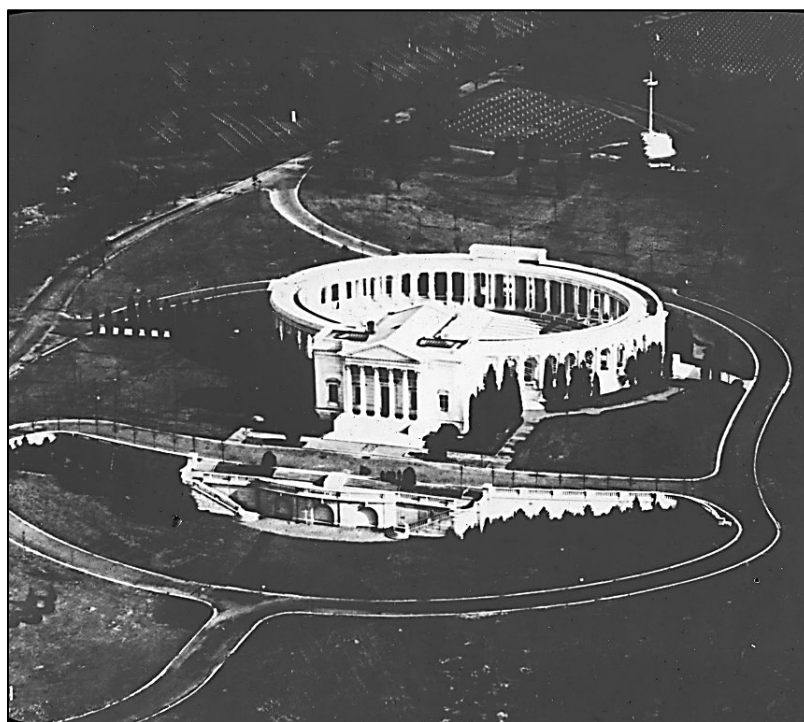


Figure 28: Aerial View of Arlington Memorial Amphitheater with Original Tomb of the Unknown Soldier  
(ca. 1921-1930)  
Source: Record Group 66: Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, Still Picture Branch, NARA II





Figure 29: Plaster Model of Hastings' Tomb of the Unknown Soldier Design at Amphitheater Plaza  
(ca. 1923-1924)

Source: Folder 1, Box 22, Entry 17: Project Files, Record Group 66, NARA I



Figure 30: Completed Tomb of the Unknown Soldier  
Source: Folder 31, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 31: Lorimer Rich, Artist's Depiction of the Approaches to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier  
Source: Folder 26, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery





Figure 32: Construction of Monumental Staircase (1931)  
Source: Folder 23, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



Figure 33: Changing of the Guard Ceremony (1951)  
Source: Folder 29, Box 4, Historical Research Collection, Arlington Cemetery



Figure 34: Major Charles Solliday, COE Resident Engineer, presents corner stone memorabilia box to Col. William E. Dennison, Commander, US Army Memorial Affairs Agency (May 31, 1974)  
Source: Folder 10, Box 1, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery

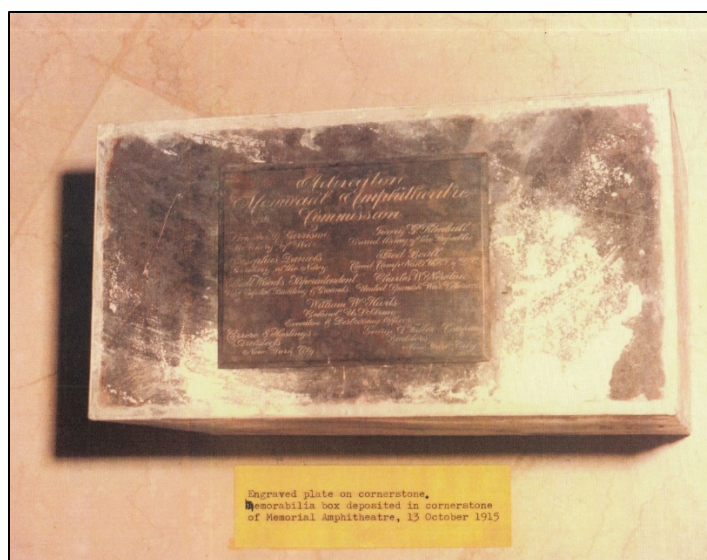


Figure 35: Cornerstone Memorabilia Box (1974)  
Source: Folder 10, Box 1, Historical Research Collection, Arlington National Cemetery



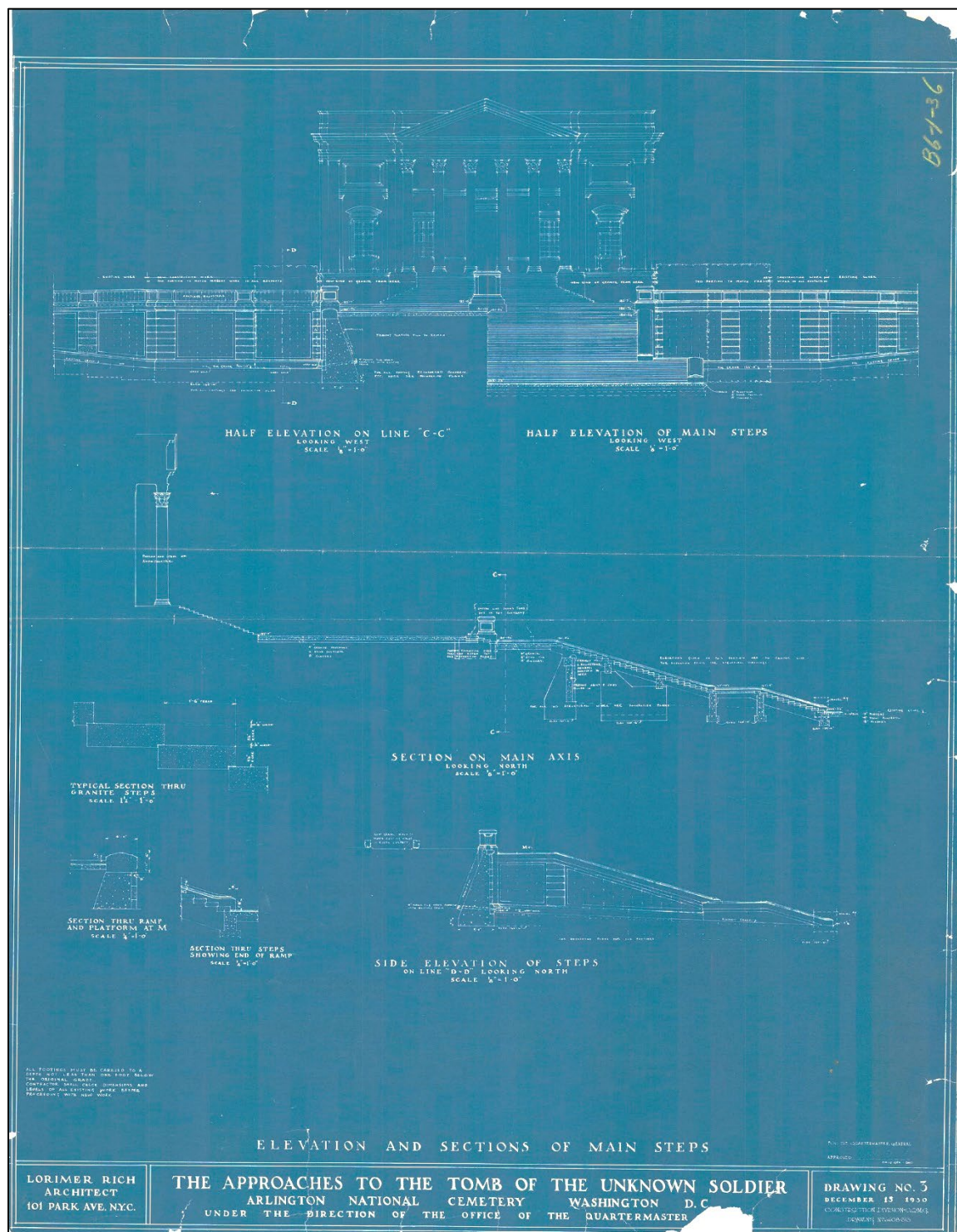


Figure 36: Lorimer Rich, Elevations and Sections of Main Steps,  
The Approaches to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (1930)

Source: Maps and Plans of Arlington National Cemetery, ca. 1913-ca. 1965, Record Group 77,  
Cartographic and Architectural Branch, NARA II