

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

It is so obvious that this topic has become an easy and therefore a well-used target for the special interest groups such as the NAACP. I am so sick of watching our so-called "leaders" knuckle under to such groups out of fear; and fear of what? This is our history, good or bad. We must learn from it to build upon the good points and beware of the bad ones. I do not, however, condone the flying of a Confederate battle flag or national flag on publicly owned property for the simple reason that it was a flag of rebellion and has no place in modern times on public property unless that public property is, or is a part of, a bona-fide Confederate memorial which serves a purpose in the community.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Dear Committee Members,

I am the author of a petition to rename Jefferson Davis Highway in Virginia. The petition, which began before the Charleston church massacre, has now collected over 4,000 signatures. A large number of residents of Alexandria, Virginia have signed and voiced their opinions on the petition. I urge you to read the petition and, particularly, some of the many thousands of comments submitted by signatories, as these comments speak volumes about current attitudes regarding Jefferson Davis's legacy and the offense they take to the his glorified recognition on a major roadway.

The petition is accessible here - <https://www.change.org/p/terry-mcauliffe-virginia-general-assembly-commonwealth-transportation-board-stop-memorializing-a-slave-owner-and-white-supremacist-rename-jefferson-davis-highway>

I also want to provide you with the link to a recently aired 15-minute documentary on Confederate symbolism in Northern Virginia. The documentary grapples with many of the same issues that you are now dealing with. So I believe it is worth your while to watch. See [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=orDODZZ\\_z-4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=orDODZZ_z-4)

Finally, I want to leave you with a collection of Jefferson Davis quotations (see below). Please read them. These quotations speak for themselves. I will leave it to you to decide whether or not you believe Davis's values and beliefs are offensive. Having read those quotations, I will leave it to you to decide whether Jefferson Davis represents our collective character as a society in the 21st Century and whether he deserves (or ever deserved) to be honored in Alexandria with a road named after him.

Here are the quotes:

"This, my friends, is what was called in good old revolutionary times, Lynch Law. It is sometimes the very best law, because it deals summary justice upon those who would otherwise escape from all other kinds of punishment."

Jefferson Davis (on the lynching of blacks after the Civil War)

"We recognize the negro as God and God's Book and God's Laws, in nature, tell us to recognize him - our inferior, fitted expressly for servitude...You cannot transform the negro into anything one-tenth as useful or as good as what slavery enables them to be."

Jefferson Davis

"African slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a moral, a social, and a political blessing."

Jefferson Davis

"If slavery be a sin, it is not yours. It does not rest on your action for its origin, on your consent for its existence. It is a common law right to property in the service of man; its origin was Divine decree."

Jefferson Davis

"It was one of the compromises of the Constitution that the slave property in the Southern States should be recognized as property throughout the United States."

Jefferson Davis

"Were it ever to be proposed again to enter into a Union with such a people, I could no more consent to do it than to trust myself in a den of thieves...There is indeed a difference between the two peoples. Let no man hug the delusion that there can be renewed association between them. Our enemies are...traditionless."  
Jefferson Davis (on reconciliation with the Union)

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Dear Advisory Group:

I have lived in and worked in the City of Alexandria for nearly 40 years. I have always been impressed with the history of our City and proud to share it with friends and family, and work for its preservation.

I believe that our history needs to be kept intact. There is no greater insult to people - of all races, colors, creeds, and economic background - than to erase our history. Our history is a rich tapestry from which we should learn, and in order to do so it must be remembered, and seen.

In the tumultuous days in which we live, we hear and read daily about history being lost, by accident or by the actions of individuals who feel that the artifacts do not match their agenda. I speak specifically of the recent accidental destruction of the home where the Bill of Rights was birthed, dating back to 1780, and the very disturbing fact that Isis destroys intentionally destroys cultural artifacts.

Mercy Street has brought a good deal of money to the City. Alexandria in fact has contributed to the production of that very television show, in which the City's rich history is remembered. Tourists come to our City to learn that history. What excuse will we have to take money with the right hand from this show, and then remove an iconic figure from the main street of the Old Town section of town?

I have had occasions where I have stood at the corner of Prince and Washington Streets and told the story to passers-by of the significance of where the Appomattox statue sits, the story of the soldiers who left from this place, and the reconciliation which was found when it was dedicated. The men who dedicated this statue over 125 years ago did so in honor of their friends and neighbors, not in honor of a cause which was lost. I never had one person speak to me saying they thought the statue should be removed. Some were tourists and interested in hearing in the story. Others were residents and had no idea what the statue stood for, even though they pass it every day on their way to work. Uniformly, all were pleased to hear the history.

Slavery is an institution which is reviled by modern people. But this history is part and parcel, unfortunately, of how this country started. We cannot right wrongs by sweeping them under the rug. They need to be examined, taught, learned, and remembered.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Toward the end of the January 27th meeting of the Ad Hoc Group on Confederate Memorials, a point was made regarding the importance of knowing the historical context in which streets were named in commemoration of Civil War soldiers loyal to the Confederate cause. Such information will shed light on the reasoning and motivation of local government leaders at the time streets were named. As it reviews the context for civic decisions made in that earlier era, the Group will also expand its awareness of the current context in which recommendations will be made to the City Council – and the impact on future generations of Alexandrians who may look back in wonder at the decisions made in 2016.

It was mentioned at the January 27th meeting, and is spelled out in further detail in the City Council's August 28th memo, that City authorities in the early 1950s established guidelines for the newly-annexed West End that included naming north-south streets after Confederate military leaders. More than five dozen streets are included in the current City Council inventory – about half cited as having been so named, with the other half cited, with less certainty, as possibly falling into that category.

In terms of establishing the context for those decisions it is important to note that after World War II, Virginia and other states – particularly in the South – wrestled in earnest with long-standing racial issues. Steps, some of them faltering, had been taken domestically as the nation battled facism in Europe and Asia, and as Americans increasingly confronted injustices on the home front. As the country took new jobs and raised families and looked forward to the benefits of peacetime, many states and local communities wanted to pick up where they had left off, to maintain the old order, the certainties of their previous lives. But for black Americans that meant that Jim Crow was alive and well, memories of midnight riders and violence were fresh, and second-class citizenship was the only kind of citizenship available. Within cities and towns where returning veterans told of rescuing whole populations from dictatorships, Americans took a measure of injustice at home – the separate and unequal facilities set aside for blacks – and resistance to segregation began mounting throughout the South. As Congress and the courts grappled with calls for justice and equality local governments and citizens' groups pushed back in an effort to preserve a way of life that was harder and harder to justify.

The result of this standoff, in a broad sense, was resistance in the late 1940s and the 1950s to changes that would bring about desegregation of public schools and facilities throughout the nation. In Virginia, separate facilities and unequal educational opportunities had been the rule for decades, and remained so, at least for a while. Civil rights lawyers and public demonstrations pressed for change, and after years of tumultuous legal battles in the courtroom and standoffs in the public square, the Supreme Court issued a ruling in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* which put an end to racially separate schools. The battle for equality was not yet over, however, as for the next several years state and local governments dragged their feet. Standing firmly on a states' rights platform, Virginia Governor Lindsey Almond declared he would close schools rather than permit black and white students to sit in the same classrooms: "we must," he said, "marshal a massive resistance." Federal troops oversaw the integration of public schools in other parts of the South, and at the end of the decade, faced with similar intervention, Prince Edward County closed its public schools. They did not open again until 1964.

Much more can be said about that period, but my only purpose here has been to identify the historical context in Virginia and the South – the generation of racial turmoil between the end of World War II and the civil rights legislation of the mid-1960s. It was during that period when Alexandria's civic associations, citizens' groups, and elected leaders named streets and other public spaces after Confederate heroes of the Civil War.

Jumping ahead to the present, we find that the forces and institutions that motivated civic action 65 years ago have largely faded. But agendas and debates on desegregation during the post-war era have given way to issues that are equally complex and time-consuming. Though the economy is healthier, the nation is stronger, individual rights are more secure, and technology has brought us all closer, these conditions

have also brought us face to face with each other. We see in our mirrors and prisms and selfies and media the similarities and differences and clashing cultural values and distinctive preferences and dislikes more so now than ever before. Contrasting values and clashing differences are brought to us with stark and startling digital clarity; nothing is left, anymore, to the imagination. And of all of the issues we face in the context of our modern lives, one that remains prominent – dominant at times – is race: fundamental distinctions between human beings that can get in the way of myriad efforts to live in harmony. Racism, a problem like none other in American history, is with us as much in 2016 as it was in the mid-20th century, during the Civil War era, at the founding of the nation, and in the long period of colonial rule. As the Ad Hoc Group on Confederate Memorials pursues an agenda narrowly defined by the City Council, it must work within the context of today's cultural conflicts.

Racism and its effects are all around us, a part of our social foundation, an element in our daily lives; it is inescapable. We see its results in headlines, on placards and t-shirts, in books and at the movies, in politics. Black actors protest the whites-only prizes at the Emmy Awards, while counterparts celebrate diverse winners of awards from the Screen Actors' Guild. The National Book Award goes to Ta-Nehisi Coates for his stark appraisal of the perils his son will face while growing up black in white America. Schools, long integrated, grapple with achievement gaps for non-white students. A school-to-prison pipeline alarms educators; enormous demographic disproportions among inmates confound law makers and law enforcers. Four times as many black Americans are murdered as whites; demonstrators chant "Black Lives Matter"; President Obama's vitriolic critics deny racial intent; the leading Republican candidate to succeed him gains white support by criticizing Mexicans, Arabs, and Muslims from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. The words of Chief Justice John Roberts – "the way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race" – ring hollow.

This is not meant to suggest that the task at hand is too complex, the underlying social pressures too confounding, the questions requiring resolution too difficult. In fact, the task before the Ad Hoc Group is, in relative terms, simple enough. What I am proposing is something the Group has no obligation to consider but which, clearly, I hope it will.

With respect, I am asking the Group to look up from its bare agenda, its sparse mandate, and look to the neighborhoods and skyline and horizon above the Port City, and to imagine the future, and the impact its recommendations should have. When the streets were being named and the memorials were being placed decades ago, in an effort to commemorate the actions and values of Confederate war heroes, the men and women who led that effort were crystal clear in their intent: to ensure future generations of Alexandrians would have an opportunity to remember what those men stood for, and why they served. The civic associations and governing officials of mid-20th century Alexandria had the future as much in mind as the past – they knew what was important to them about the awful Civil War era, and why it was important for the future. Whether their virtue was sound or their wisdom tainted, it is without irony that I note the success of their initiative, as measured by the attentions of the City Council and the Ad Hoc Group on Confederate Memorials these many years later, during the wintry months of 2016.

I am respectfully requesting that the Group, once its mission is complete, include an addendum to its recommendations to the City Council proposing that no action be taken until the 21st century leaders of Alexandria can attest that their decision regarding memorials, street names, designations of public spaces and the general profile of urban life reflect the values, character, achievements – and, most of all, aspirations – of this generation of Alexandrians. There is no question in my mind that such outcome should be in sync with the goals and objectives of the City's strategic plan, soon to be updated in draft. We should hope that new statements of principle and value will attract residents and tourists, businesses and institutions, good will and respect for at least the next 65 years or so... maybe even until the end of this century.

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Feb 03, 2016 11:01:41 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I am distressed and appalled by the City of Alexandria's efforts to remove the proud history of Robert E. Lee and the Confederacy from its streets. The Alexandria that I grew up in was proud of its southern heritage and did everything to preserve it. We were especially proud of Robert E. Lee, one of the finest Virginians who ever drew breath. Destroying history and ancient culture is what ISIS is doing in the Middle East.

History is the thing that makes Alexandria special. If the City of Alexandria pursues its present course of cultural Talibanization, I will avoid patronizing businesses in Alexandria.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

2-4-2016

I would strongly hope that the leaders of the City of Alexandria would recognize the importance of preserving and protecting its various cultural and historic resources on city property which are a part of our American Heritage. As a result, the city's leaders need to refrain from removing or altering any cultural or historic structures to our southern history and identity. We don't need the foolishness of "political correctness." Thank you.

Eric B Martin

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Feb 04, 2016 00:09:03 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

As a retired US veteran and a member of the American Legion, I am totally disgusted with groups and elected officials that utilized the tragedy in Charleston, SC to change the names of streets and remove monuments to our veterans. Believe me, I will boycott, not visit and tell others not to patronize businesses, restaurants nor visit cities that seek to eradicate our heritage and our history because of political correctness. Moreover, I will do all in my power to insure that those elected officials doing so will be voted out of office. This country has celebrated its veterans for over a century. There is no need to judge past veterans that lived in the 19th and early 20th century with today's standards. Instead of renaming roads and removing memorials and monuments, name new roads after civil rights leaders and heroes of the late 20th century and today. Stop the madness and keep the names of streets and continue to honor our veterans and our past American military heroes!

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

The City Council of Alexandria are a despicable lot. You are so Politically Correct it is disgusting. Move to a Communist country and live there. Please, please, just GO and get the he## out of this once proud country.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I am 57 years of age, a resident of Chester, Virginia, and have spent many weekends with my wife exploring the history of this great Commonwealth of Virginia. I am saddened by the more recent decisions to whitewash history from many areas as reactionary to the tragic violence in South Carolina and link between the Confederate battle flag and hate groups. In attending historical seminars at the Virginia Library on the Civil War, there are several black members in the audience that show an equal interest in the war and how it affected life then and how it eventually shaped our nation. I find this attendance mature, and healing, sharing a common interest.

I also understand the sensitivity to those ignorant of the prelude and wartime history, possessing only a knowledge of the battle flag as a symbol used by the Klan, and believing that anyone representing the southern states during this period were evil. For many younger folks, this is all they can relate to.

My hope is that all Confederate memorials can remain as they are, and that all of society will remember the greatest social upheaval of this great country. The war between the states, the great invader from the North, had similarities to the colonials breaking away from European control. Most Southerners participated in the effort for independence to save the only way of life they knew, and all young men joined the ranks for fear that their communities would shun them if they didn't join the effort. Numbers above 650,000 lives lost during this struggle are incredibly sad compared to statistics of other wars, and I am convinced it cannot be simplified, or minimalized to good verses evil, pro-slavery verses anti-slavery, it was more deep rooted powerful struggle of economic business differences. With Abraham Lincoln facing a second term political defeat because of the war, he decided that emancipation would provide a winning advantage in the struggle.

As all aspects of history contain differing ingredients and favorabilities, does it help to make it disappear or act as if it never happened or existed? Will our society be better off if we did not know of the struggles of the past? Shall we forget about the confederacy? Forget about the war, and forget about slavery? My thought is that by leaving the monuments and all evidence of the greatest struggle our country faced it keeps the discussions interesting. The valor and sacrifices brave young men made and what families endured on both sides is astounding. If I were with the City I would embrace the history and exploit it for the benefit of the City and its residents. There is no shame nor need to stoop to the same level as the hate filled fools who are off the rails.

Please rise above the fray. Leave the markers of History in place, and channel energies into moving forward and enriching our own history, taking it to the next chapter.

I love your city's history, and I'll be the first to join hands with you against hatred. Thank you for the opportunity to comment!

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

To whom it may concern,

I am disappointed that a few are so hell bent on changing names, memorials and indeed cultural history. With all the flack the confederate flag gets, I'm amazed NO ONE seems to care the American flag flew over slavery for DECADES, yet the confederate flag only 4. What happened so long ago is a part of US, like it or not, and in one way, removing the afore mentioned items would likely be a greater danger in seeing division happen again as opposed to leaving them alone as the reminders of a time of turmoil. I have pride in what my great grand father did, defending HIS homeland as best he could, having NEVER owned a slave, yet knew the value of independence. Please leave these symbols honoring those who did likewise.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

At the meeting on January 27, one member of the Advisory Group commented that the name of a street in Del Ray named "Forrest" could possibly be named for Nathan Bedford Forrest, Lieutenant General in the army of the Confederate States of America.

If so, the name should certainly remain to honor a unique American.

Here's why.

Forrest came from a humble background, but through the American system of rewarding entrepreneurs and people that could get things done for his community, he was remarkably successful. Although some of his success was rooted in what we today condemn, slave trading.

As a slave trader, an accepted and unremarkable profession of that era, he never split a family up when he sold them and never knowingly sold a slave to a cruel master. In fact, several slaves approached Forrest and begged him to buy them from their cruel masters because they knew he would resell them to a decent new owner.

When the war started, Forrest asked 45 of his slaves that he considered as servants to join him, offering them their freedom after the war, no matter how it turned out. They all joined him and although they had numerous opportunities to desert him, 44 stayed by his side until the end of the war. In fact, part of his special command escort later called "the green berets," consisted of the most elite and best soldiers available. Among the green berets were eight black soldiers.

As for General Forrest's battle record, it cannot be denied or downplayed. After his surrender, when asked by a Union Officer who he thought his greatest general was, General Robert E. Lee replied, "Sir, a gentleman I have never had the pleasure to meet, General Nathan Bedford Forrest."

General William Tecumseh Sherman said of Forrest: "... I think Forrest was the most remarkable man our Civil War produced on either side. ... He had never read a military book in his life, knew nothing about tactics, ..., but he had a genius for strategy which was original, and to me, incomprehensible. ... He always seemed to know what I was doing or intended to do."

During the war Union Sherman said that he would get "that devil Forrest" if it cost him 10,000 lives and broke the US Treasury. Sherman sent four successively larger armies after Forrest, and he decisively defeated each one.

The only black mark on his war record was alleged to be the Fort Pillow incident, where he was accused of killing unarmed black soldiers. History completely vindicates him of this unfair charge. Although some incidents did occur at Fort Pillow, they happened before Forrest arrived and he was absolutely furious with the inexcusable conduct of some of his soldiers.

Immediately after the war, Bedford Forrest returned home with the free black men who fought with him. Sixty-five black troopers were with the General when he surrendered his command in May 1865. Forrest said of these black soldiers, "No finer Confederates ever fought."

Although Forrest could neither read nor write, he dictated his orders to his staff. His "writing" was clear and

eloquent. Consider portions of his Farewell Address to his troops in Alabama. I believe it rivals Lee's Farewell Address:

"... The government which we sought to establish and perpetuate is at an end. Reason dictates and humanity demands that no more blood be shed. Fully realizing and feeling that such is the case, it is your duty and mine to lay down our arms, submit to the 'powers that be,' and to aid in restoring peace and establishing law and order throughout the land. The terms upon which you were surrendered are favorable. ... They manifest a spirit of magnanimity and liberality on the part of the Federal authorities which should be met on our part by a faithful compliance with all the stipulations and conditions therein expressed. ...

"..... a Civil war, such as you have just passed through, naturally engenders feelings of animosity, hatred, and re-venge. It is our duty to divest ourselves of all such feelings, and, so far as it is in our power to do so, to cultivate friendly feelings towards those with whom we have so long contested and heretofore so widely but honestly differed. Neighborhood feuds, personal animosities, and private differences should be blotted out, ..... In bidding you farewell, rest assured that you carry with you my best wishes for your future welfare and happiness. Without in any way referring to the merits of the cause in which we have been engaged, your courage and determination, as exhibited on many hard-fought fields, has elicited the respect and admiration of friend and foe. .... You have been good soldiers, you can be good citizens. Obey the laws, preserve your honor, and the government to which you have surrendered can afford to be and it will be magnanimous."

What did Forrest fight for after the war was over? You may not believe it, but Forrest was probably the 'first white man' to fight for and promote equality and civil rights for blacks.

Many people ignorant of history say that Bedford was the founder of the KKK. The Klan had already been in existence for a year and a half when he was asked to assume the leadership because the people looked up to him as their hero and proven leader.

The Klan Forrest rode with battled the criminal elements that were raping the south after the war. US. Army occupation forces committed innumerable atrocities, which today would certainly be classified as international war crimes, much of it against the free blacks. General Forrest joined a citizen militia then called the Klan to protect the citizens of the South, black and white alike, from these vicious atrocities. Forrest disbanded the Klan in 1869 because its mission had been achieved.

At a time when the northern states were passing laws forbidding blacks to live in their territories, Bedford Forrest publicly, and at great personal risk, defended the civil rights of the black people.

Forrest said there was no reason black people could not be doctors, store clerks, bankers, or in any other jobs equal to whites. He said they were skilled artisans and needed to be employed in those skills so that successive black generations would not be dependent on a welfare society.

Following the war, organized the Memphis & Selma Railroad and took it upon himself to hire blacks as architects, construction engineers, foremen, train engineers, conductors, and many other high level jobs, not just laborer positions.

The Independent Order of Pole Bearers Association, a forerunner of the NAACP, invited General Forrest, the first white man ever invited, to speak at their convention on July 5, 1875. During his speech, to much applause, Bedford said: "I came here with the jeers of some white people, who think that I am doing wrong. I believe I can exert some influence, and do much to assist the people in strengthening fraternal relations, and shall do all in my power to elevate every man - to depress none. (Applause.) I want to elevate you to take positions in law offices, in stores, on farms, and wherever you are capable of going." Forrest went on to say, "I came to meet you as friends, and welcome you to the white people. I want you to come nearer to us.

When I can serve you I will do so. We have but one flag, one country; let us stand together. We may differ in color, but not in sentiment. Many things have been said about me which are wrong, and which white and black persons here, who stood by me through the war, can contradict. Go to work, be industrious, live honestly and act truly, and when you are oppressed I'll come to your relief."

Compare the sentiments expressed by Forrest to:

"I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races -- that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races from living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." - Abraham Lincoln

When General Nathan Bedford Forrest died in 1877 it is noteworthy that his funeral in Memphis was attended not only by a throng of thousands of whites, but by hundreds of blacks as well. The funeral procession was over two miles long and was attended by over 10,000 area residents, including 3000 black citizens paying their respects.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I am often dismayed by the ignorance so often displayed that slavery was a "Southern Institution" when in fact it was a national problem.

Slavery is often used as a red herring to attack the Confederate States of America. Slavery was a national issue. I believe that it also may be a factor the Ad-hoc Group is taking into account in its deliberations. It is a non-issue to its deliberations.

Consider the following abbreviated timeline: all northern colonies and states were complicit in slavery and the initiators of the U.S. slave trade.

1612 The first commercial tobacco crop is raised in Jamestown, Virginia.

1619 Twenty slaves in Virginia Africans brought to Jamestown are the first slaves imported into Britain's North American colonies. Like indentured servants, they were probably freed after a fixed period of service.

1626 The Dutch West India Company imports 11 black male slaves into the New Netherlands.

1636 Colonial North America's slave trade begins when the first American slave carrier, Desire, is built and launched in Massachusetts.

1640 New Netherlands law forbids residents from harboring or feeding runaway slaves.

1641 Massachusetts is the first colony to legalize slavery.

1643 The New England Confederation of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven adopts a fugitive slave law.

1650 Connecticut legalizes slavery.

1652 Rhode Island passes laws restricting slavery and forbidding enslavement for more than 10 years.

1652 Massachusetts requires all black and Indian servants to receive military training.

1654 A Virginia court grants blacks the right to hold slaves.

1657 Virginia passes a fugitive slave law.

1663 Maryland legalizes slavery.

1664 New York and New Jersey legalize slavery.

1666 Maryland passes a fugitive slave law.

1668 New Jersey passes a fugitive slave law.

1682 Virginia declares that all imported black servants are slaves for life.

1684 New York makes it illegal for slaves to sell goods.

1694 Rice cultivation is introduced into Carolina. Slave importation increases dramatically.

1696 The Royal African Trade Company loses its monopoly and New England colonists enter the slave trade.

1700 Pennsylvania legalizes slavery.

1702 New York passes An Act for Regulating Slaves. Among the prohibitions of this act are meetings of more than three slaves, trading by slaves, and testimony by slaves in court.

1703 Massachusetts requires those masters who liberate slaves to provide a bond of 50 pounds or more in the event that the freedman becomes a public charge.

1703 Connecticut assigns the punishment of whipping to any slaves who disturb the peace or assault whites.

1703 Rhode Island makes it illegal for blacks and Indians to walk at night without passes.

1705 New York declares that punishment by execution will be applied to certain runaway slaves.

1705 Massachusetts makes marriage and sexual relations between blacks and whites illegal.

1706 New York declares blacks, Indians, and slaves who kill white people to be subject to the death penalty.

1706 Connecticut requires that Indians, mulattos, and black servants gain permission from their masters to engage in trade.

1708 The Southern colonies require militia captains to enlist and train one slave for every white soldier.

1708 Rhode Island requires that slaves be accompanied by their masters when visiting the homes of free persons.

1708 Blacks outnumber whites in South Carolina.

1710 New York forbids blacks, Indians, and mulattos from walking at night without lighted lanterns.

1711 Pennsylvania prohibits the importation of blacks and Indians.

1711 Rhode Island prohibits the clandestine importation of black and Indian slaves.

1712 Pennsylvania prohibits the importation of slaves.

1712 Slave Revolt: New York Slaves in New York City kill whites during an uprising, later squelched by the militia. Nineteen slaves are executed.

1712 New York declares it illegal for blacks, Indians, and slaves to murder other blacks, Indians, and slaves.

1712 New York forbids freed blacks, Indians, and mulatto slaves from owning real estate and holding property.

1712 In Charleston, South Carolina slaves are forbidden from hiring themselves out.

1715 Rhode Island legalizes slavery.

1715 Maryland declares all slaves entering the province and their descendants to be slaves for life.

1717 New York enacts a fugitive slave law.

1723 Virginia abolishes manumissions.

1731 The Spanish reverse a 1730 decision and declare that slaves fleeing to Florida from Carolina will not be sold or returned.

1740 South Carolina passes the comprehensive Negro Act, making it illegal for slaves to move abroad, assemble in groups, raise food, earn money, and learn to read English. Owners are permitted to kill rebellious slaves if necessary.

1751 George II repeals the 1705 act, making slaves real estate in Virginia.

1760 New Jersey prohibits the enlistment of slaves in the militia without their master's permission.

1760 England taxes the New England rum. New Englanders protested the tax would ruin the slave trade and cause more than 700 ships to rot for lack of work.

1767 The Virginia House of Burgess boycotts the British slave trade in protest of the Townsend Acts. Georgia and the Carolinas follow suit.

1773 Slaves in Massachusetts unsuccessfully petition the government for their freedom.

1774 The First Continental Congress bans trade with Britain and vows to discontinue the slave trade after the 1st of December.

1774 Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Georgia prohibit the importation of slaves.

1774 Virginia takes action against slave importation.

1775 Georgia takes action against slave importation.

1775 In July, George Washington announces a ban on the enlistment of free blacks and slaves in the colonial army. By the end of the year, he reverses the ban, ordering the Continental Army to accept the service of free blacks.

1776 Delaware prohibits the importation of African slaves.

1777 Vermont is the first of the thirteen colonies to abolish slavery and enfranchise all adult males.

1777 New York enfranchises all free propertied men regardless of color or prior servitude.

1778 Rhode Island forbids the removal of slaves from the state.

1778 Virginia prohibits the importation of slaves.

1780 Delaware makes it illegal to enslave imported Africans.

1780 Pennsylvania begins gradual emancipation.

1780 A freedom clause in the Massachusetts constitution is interpreted as an abolishment of slavery. Massachusetts enfranchises all men regardless of race.

1784 Abolition Effort Congress narrowly defeats Thomas Jefferson's proposal to ban slavery in new territories after 1800.

1786 Virginia and most other Southern States attempt to have the slave importation banned by the US Constitution at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, but New England states in alliance with two Southern states blocked the effort. (Article 1, Section 9 of the Confederate States Constitution outright banned the slave trade.)

1794 Cotton Gin Eli Whitney patents his device for pulling seeds from cotton. The invention turns cotton into the cash crop of the American South—and creates a huge demand for slave labor.

1794 Massachusetts, having set out on gradually emancipation, passed a law ordering every black, mulatto, and Indian who came into the state and remained two months to be publically whipped. The law remained in effect until 1834.

1808 United States Bans Slave Trade Importing African slaves is outlawed, but smuggling continues.

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Daniel P. Mannix, *Black Cargos*, Viking Press, 1962.

George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, D. Appleton, 1866.

W.E.B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States of America*, Russell and Russell, 1965.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

the people from up north come down here, trying to stir up trouble, because of being ignorant, leave us alone. makes me sick people in govt of southern states. never were born here making trouble trying to hide the truth. we are the true americans.people talk about tolerance, inclusivnes, diversity. but not for Christians and southern culture.

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### 1. Please provide your feedback:

From "Richard Prince's Journal-isms" column, May 29, 2015:

. . . Monuments "Inseparable From Jim Crow, White Supremacy"

In 1997, Kirk Savage, a professor of the history of art and architecture at the University of Pittsburgh, wrote "Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America." Journal-isms asked him about an argument that since the South lost the Civil War, the Confederate monuments are harmless or even a testimony to black liberation.

"I have an example of a similar response published in an African American newspaper in Richmond in 1890," Savage replied by email. "The Confederacy did lose and slavery was abolished, and as terrible as Jim Crow was, slavery was worse. But Jim Crow wasn't just segregation, it was violence and intimidation and murder too. And all these Confederate monuments are inseparable from Jim Crow and white supremacy.

"The monuments helped consolidate white supremacy across the South. They were the cultural arm of a political campaign that is still bearing its terrible fruit in Ferguson, Baltimore, and on and on. The monuments worked by uniting whites around the banner of the Lost Cause, rewriting the history of the Confederacy, and erasing the memory of Unionism and slavery and everything else that didn't fit the Lost Cause picture.

"The CSA [Confederate States of America] was an apartheid state — only a minority of its human population actually supported the Confederacy. White unionists and slaves outnumbered the Confederates across much of the South. Where are the monuments to the unionists who risked their lives and livelihood to harbor escaped Union prisoners or guide Union soldiers and civilians back to Union lines?

"Who in the white South even knows these people once existed? The monuments of the Lost Cause worked because they erased all that — they gave whites a glorious tradition and ritual that supported white rule and the suppression of any alternative racial politics.

"I'm not in favor of tearing down these monuments but I do think we could use them as teaching tools, to show how they contributed to a deadly century-long campaign of political repression that still has many lingering impacts in our world today. And I think we could use more public recognition for all those black and white who resisted the Confederacy and resisted the Lost Cause."

<http://mije.org/richardprince/reporter-killed-community-she-loved#crow>

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Why New Orleans should take down Robert E. Lee's statue: Wynton Marsalis

Times Picayune, New Orleans, Dec. 15, 2015

By Guest columnist

on December 15, 2015 at 11:09 AM, updated December 29, 2015 at 5:07 PM

"Man, you must be crazy!" replied a customer in a Pigeon Town barber shop in 2010 to the suggestion that we should erect a statue in front of the Superdome honoring the Super Bowl losing coach of the Indianapolis Colts, Jim Caldwell, instead of the victorious Sean Payton, coach of our New Orleans Saints. That sensible customer understood the meaning of symbols.

Our national myths and symbols tell us what we need to know about ourselves. They commemorate grand victories, evoke despair over tragedies and elicit joy over triumphs. Some celebrate courage under fire, while others remind us of what must never happen again. The most significant of these symbols represent values that should be considered and reconsidered by each generation as part of its civic duty.

Our Constitution is designed to be amended with the passage of time and custom. The flexibility of this most sacred text is considered to be ultimate proof of the visionary genius in our Founding Fathers. At the heart of our democratic process is the possibility of creating change. Through argument and compromise, we adapt, improvise and course-correct, ideally in search of "a more perfect union."

Like the Constitution, national stories and symbols also need amending as time and custom demand. There can be as much benefit in removing things of little worth as there is in erecting things of great value. Be it a person, city or country, there are always aspects of personality that can be improved. For all there is to love about New Orleans, a pervasive racism and inequality has plagued our civic life since the earliest days.

This foul condition forced our greatest ambassador, Louis Armstrong, to choose not to be buried in this home that he cherished and glorified night after night before the world audience. He was hurt to the bone by what he'd seen and experienced here. And though he represented our city as a place of magic, mystery and good times, he lived our shameful legacy of social injustice and racism. In 2015, that tradition is no longer a skeleton in our closet: It's a whole cemetery. Now is the perfect time to remove the head tombstone.

Take Robert E. Lee's statue down from its place of honor overlooking our city and rename and repurpose the circle that bears his name.

Lee statue doesn't reflect New Orleans today: Editorial

Lee statue doesn't reflect New Orleans today: Editorial

Generations of New Orleanians have circled around the statue of Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee in the heart of the city since 1884. It's a backdrop to Mardi Gras parades, a gathering spot for tourists taking a breather, a hub sending drivers off in a half dozen directions. Some hardly notice the towering general with his arms crossed. Others...

When one surveys the accomplishments of our local heroes across time from Iberville and Bienville, to

Andrew Jackson, from Mahalia Jackson, to Anne Rice and Fats Domino, from Wendell Pierce, to John Besh and Jonathan Batiste, what did Robert E. Lee do to merit his distinguished position? He fought for the enslavement of a people against our national army fighting for their freedom; killed more Americans than any opposing general in history; made no attempt to defend or protect this city; and even more absurdly, he never even set foot in Louisiana. In the heart of the most progressive and creative cultural city in America, why should we continue to commemorate this legacy?

I have never felt compelled to tell anyone who was not from New Orleans about the true racism that I experienced growing up here. People from other places aren't interested in hearing all of that when they really just want to talk about gumbo and find a good place to hear live music. Don't get me wrong, I love talking about po-boys, and recommending clubs, but all the Crescent City "fun" in the world can't cover up the damage inflicted on our way of life by lingering Confederate aspirations that still pollute a portion of our dreams, still influence our decision-making and ultimately prevent us from joining the modern world, let alone defining it.

A stubborn tradition of entrenched segregation and generational prejudice has stifled the development of a diverse, productive social and business environment that should have naturally evolved from our hybrid culture and unique cross-cultural creativity. The pernicious effects of this legacy are clearly evidenced by gross inequalities in everything from education to housing, to employment and access. We are accustomed to these conditions and perhaps don't see them, but we are capable of being so much more. It's time to live up to our potential, not down to the flaws that we have inherited.

Robert E. Lee betrayed his sacred oath to support and defend the Constitution and instead chose to lead an army intent on its violent overthrow — and he lost. The Civil War was a costly victory for democracy, but long after it had been decided, the backwards thinking leadership of this city erected monuments to Confederate generals who had committed treason against the United States — and lost.

In a nation founded on the credo of freedom struggling to overcome its inhumane legacy of chattel slavery, only profound hubris would lead one people to conclude that the enslavement of another should be THE SUPREME law of the land.

Lee's monument was erected to proclaim this arrogance across the ages, and reclaim as a victory what was lost on the battlefield. It's time for this age to speak back in clear opposition to this hubris. A monument in the middle of our city glorifying a losing general who fought against our country, against freedom and against the maximizing of our human potential through integrated creativity, is ridiculous.

After Hurricane Katrina, the support we received from people all over the world clearly demonstrated their appreciation of our culture and our character. The intensity of this love was demonstrated with unprecedented assistance of all kinds. We should transform the current Lee Circle into an inviting space that celebrates the communal intentions of the international community that helped us survive Katrina. This place would fill the heart of our city with something uplifting for us all and for all times. That, and not the stubborn echo of a shameful period of our history, should be the mythology we strive to teach to our kids and leave for our descendants.

Wynton Marsalis, a New Orleans native, is a trumpeter, composer and artistic director of Jazz at Lincoln Center in New York City. Why New Orleans should take down Robert E. Lee's statue: Wynton Marsalis

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

From the Southern Poverty Law Center, Jan. 13, 2016

Here's why the Confederate monuments in New Orleans must come down  
January 13, 2016

In this article

The Civil War Was A Violent, Treasonous Campaign Of Terror To Preserve Slavery And White Supremacy;  
White Terror And Domination Continued After The Civil War

Robert E. Lee: Slave Owner, Slave Abuser, Confederate General And Leader Of Violent War To Maintain  
White Supremacy, Traitor

Jefferson Davis: Slave Owner, Racist, President Of The Confederacy, Traitor

P.G.T. Beauregard: Confederate General, Slave Owner, Deserter, Traitor

"Liberty" Monument: Violent Terrorist Resistance To Integrated Government

The Monuments Have Kept Alive The Confederacy's Legacy Of Racial Oppression

Plaintiff Sons Of Confederacy Beauregard Camp No. 130

Conclusion

Last month, the New Orleans City Council voted to take down four monuments honoring the Confederacy and its heroes, resulting in a federal court challenge by preservation groups and a chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

This week, the Southern Poverty Law Center and several New Orleans lawyers filed an amicus brief (PDF) in the case that provides a fascinating historical account of the monuments' connections to the region's shameful history of violence and terror in support of white supremacy.

Read some of the more important excerpts of the brief below:

The Civil War Was A Violent, Treasonous Campaign Of Terror To Preserve Slavery And White Supremacy;  
White Terror And Domination Continued After The Civil War

The monuments at issue in this case honor and glorify the Southern Confederacy. Therefore, it is with the Confederacy that this analysis must begin.

Louisiana's antebellum economy and social order were rooted in the twin institutions of African slavery and white supremacy. In 1860, Louisiana had a total population of 708,002, of which 47 percent were enslaved, and the entire pre-war Louisiana legal system was based on maintaining white supremacy in every phase of life. In its colonial days, the 1724 Code Noir disenfranchised all blacks; when Louisiana became a state in 1812 its constitution limited the right to vote to free white male citizens who owned property or paid taxes. Subsequent laws limited voting to free white males until after the Civil War. As respected Louisiana federal jurist Judge John Minor Wisdom pointed out over fifty years ago, Louisiana social history is rooted in "the dominant white citizens' firm determination to maintain white supremacy in state and local governments by denying to Negroes the right to vote."

The Confederate cause in the Civil War was a tremendously violent campaign to hold onto this legal institution of white supremacy. The historical record is clear that the Southern states seceded from the Union and engaged in a treasonous war against the United States government because they were determined to retain the legal right to own, buy, sell, and sexually and physically abuse black human beings. There is no historical basis for the position that the Civil War was fought over anything other than the South's determination to retain the institution of chattel slavery. "Beyond ideology lay naked economic and political interests because southern white elites needed cheap labor akin to that provided by slaves if they were to remain a ruling aristocracy."

Indeed, Louisiana representatives openly identified slavery as the reason for secession:

As a separate republic, Louisiana remembers too well the whisperings of European diplomacy for the abolition of slavery in the times of annexation not to be apprehensive of bolder demonstrations from the same quarter and the North in this country. The people of the slave holding States are bound together by the same necessity and determination to preserve African slavery.

Slavery and the supremacy of whites was the essence of the struggle.

Article IV, Section 3 of the Constitution of the Confederate States stated:

In all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.

The Confederates lost. The violence and terror of the Civil War resulted in massive death and damage to the country. About 750,000 people died in the Civil War, leaving hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans. As a result of that defeat, Louisiana was faced with a new power bloc in voting—its African American population, who comprised nearly half of its census. Though clearly reluctant to do so, Louisiana authorized black men to vote.

The losers of the Civil War, however, were not prepared to give up their political power, their way of life, or their property. Many of the former Confederates took on armed resistance against the new regime, and by 1898, white Louisianans managed by politics, violence and terror to reinstitute white supremacy in political power and daily life. Black voters, who had only been allowed to vote since 1865, were officially disenfranchised again through an amendment to the state constitution that erected educational, literacy, and property qualifications for those who wished to vote unless exempted by the grandfather clause. This act of racist disenfranchisement was done openly. The chair of the 1898 convention declared: "We (meet) here to establish the supremacy of the white race, and the white race constitutes the Democratic party of this State."

As Judge Minor pointed out in his 1963 opinion, "[t]he Convention of 1898 interpreted its mandate from the people to be, to disfranchise as many Negroes and as few whites as possible." The constitutional amendment had its intended effect of reducing black voters from 130,344 in 1897 to 5,320 in 1900. By 1910, black voter registration had been further reduced to 730 people in Louisiana, or less than 0.5 per cent. White supremacy was back; black citizens were again subordinated and suppressed.

The white South also sought to revise the history of the Civil War by creating a new and inaccurate narrative that 1) cast the Confederacy as a noble and praiseworthy cause; 2) denied the central role that slavery played in causing the Civil War; and 3) downplayed the brutal reality of American slavery.

"In this revision of the past, the antebellum South was recalled as a benevolent, orderly society that pitted its noble values against the aggressive greed of northern industrial society. Denying slavery as the root

cause of the war, the proponents of the Lost Cause achieved an ideological victory – even as the South was defeated in the war – by shaping the popular memory of the conflict. In the process, this ideological victory helped insure widespread American acceptance of the South's justification for the racial status quo." — Eric Foner, *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation & Reconstruction* 216 (2005).

This distortion of history, crafted by white southerners, is a phenomenon that historians now call the Cult of the Lost Cause.

According to documents filed with the National Register of Historic Places:

The Cult of the Lost Cause has its roots in the Southern search for justification and the need to find a substitute for victory in the Civil War. In attempting to deal with defeat, Southerners created an image of the war as a great heroic epic. A major theme in the Cult of the Lost Cause was the clash of two civilizations, one inferior to the other. The North, 'invigorated' by constant struggle with nature, had become materialistic, grasping for wealth and power. The South had a 'more generous climate', which had led to a finer society based upon 'veracity and honor in man, chastity and fidelity in women.' Like tragic heroes, Southerners had waged a noble but doomed struggle to preserve their superior civilization. There was an element of chivalry in the way the South had fought, achieving noteworthy victories against staggering odds. This was the 'Lost Cause' as the late nineteenth century saw it, and a whole generation of Southerners set about glorifying and celebrating it. Glorification took many forms, including speeches, organizations such as the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, reunions, publications, holidays such as Lee's birthday, and innumerable memorials.

The six main assertions of the Cult are:

Secession, not slavery, caused the Civil War; African Americans were "faithful slaves," loyal to their masters and the Confederate cause and unprepared for the responsibilities of freedom; the Confederacy was defeated militarily only because of the Union's overwhelming advantages in men and resources; Confederate soldiers were heroic and saintly; the most heroic and saintly of all Confederates, perhaps of all Americans, was Robert E. Lee; and Southern women were loyal to the Confederate cause and sanctified by the sacrifice of their loved ones.

This was the "Lost Cause" as the late nineteenth century saw it, and a whole generation of Southerners set about glorifying and celebrating it. Glorification took many forms, including speeches, organizations such as the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, reunions, publications, holidays such as Lee's birthday, and innumerable memorials.

The Cult of the Lost Cause continued to dominate Southern cultural history in the early twentieth century, and it is indeed still alive and well today. If the Court has the occasion to review the public hearings held by the City of New Orleans over the removal of these statues, it will find nearly every one of the core assertions of the Cult of the Lost Cause was repeated, often more than once, by the white southerners who objected to the removal of these monuments.

Moreover, three of the statues at issue in this case have been described by the Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism as THE major monuments in New Orleans representing the Cult of the Lost Cause—the monuments of Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and P.G.T. Beauregard. It is not by accident that these three monuments were erected and venerated. They were elevated to honor the violent, treasonous war to retain white supremacy and to legitimize those who continue to seek it.

The Cult of the Lost Cause is not, as its past and present advocates contend, a benevolent historical tribute to Confederate veterans. Rather, the Cult of the Lost Cause was at the heart of the ideology of the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups that portrayed the emancipated African American as a threat to democracy and white womanhood. It also sought to return Louisiana to its pre-Civil War days of total white

control and supremacy.

This is the historical context in which these monuments to white supremacy were erected and are maintained. This context is essential to this court's evaluation of whether these monuments should continue to stand in New Orleans.

Robert E. Lee: Slave Owner, Slave Abuser, Confederate General And Leader Of Violent War To Maintain White Supremacy, Traitor

The statue of Robert E. Lee epitomizes the glorification and celebration of white supremacy and the elevation of false myths about the Civil War that romanticize the Confederacy and mute the horrors of slavery.

Lee was "loyal to slavery and disloyal to his country." As a decades-long slave-owner who physically abused his slaves and used them as servants throughout the Civil War, Lee decided to leave his post with the United States Army in 1861 to become a leader of the cause of white supremacy. Lee chose to join the Confederacy despite the fact that many members of his own family supported the United States and honored their oaths of office to the military. Thus, pursuant to Article III, Section 3, Clause 1, of the U.S. Constitution, Lee engaged in treason against the United States. Far from being a revered figure, Robert E. Lee has been condemned for his "racist and dishonorable conduct" even by students of Washington and Lee University in Virginia, a school once presided over by Lee himself.

Robert E. Lee Monument closeup, Lee Circle, New Orleans, Louisiana

The Lee Monument was erected to propagate the Cult of the Lost Cause and its desire to remake the image of the Civil War as "a great heroic epic" wherein the South "waged a noble but doomed struggle to preserve their superior civilization." Conceived between 1870 and 1876, when the trauma of defeat was still fresh in the South, a monument honoring "the most heroic and saintly of all Confederates, perhaps of all Americans . . ." was wholly consistent with the tenets of the Cult of the Lost Cause.

In the historical documents filed with the National Register of Historic Places regarding this statue, the record is clear that the Lee monument was constructed and honored as a central aspect of the Cult of the Lost Cause:

The Lee Monument is of regional significance in the cultural history of the South because it is a tangible symbol of the views of the majority of southerners during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In general, the monument represents what is known as the Cult of the Lost Cause. More particularly, it stands for a central aspect of the cult -- the deification of General Robert E. Lee.

The National Register document concludes by saying:

In many ways Robert E. Lee was the centerpiece of the cult. He was arguably the most venerated Civil War figure in the South, and by the twentieth century had become a national hero. Indeed, he assumed an almost Christ-like stature. Monuments to Lee embody the highest aspirations of the Lost Cause cult. They, along with monuments to other southern Civil War figures, are the most tangible reminders of this extremely important and pervasive phenomenon.

Erecting statues to Robert E. Lee and others was part of the Lost Cause in all its myths, rituals, and symbols and helped Confederates deal with the trauma of defeat. These symbols of white supremacy helped reinstitute unity among ex-Confederates. Admiration of Lee and others was at the heart of the movement to reclaim mythologized glories and power.

## Jefferson Davis: Slave Owner, Racist, President Of The Confederacy, Traitor

Jefferson Davis was a slave-owning racist and traitor who led an unsuccessful insurrection against the United States. He is quoted as saying, "African slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a moral, a social, and a political blessing." According to Davis, "its origin was Divine decree," and the slave trade had been a blessing for the African, bringing him out of ignorance and degradation to a land of Christian enlightenment where the slave "entered the temple of civilization." It was all by divine ordination that the black man had been made "a servant of servants." Davis was also adamant that white supremacy over African Americans was key to the identity and place of white people:

You too know, that among us, white men have an equality resulting from a presence of a lower caste, which cannot exist where white men fill the position here occupied by the servile race. The mechanic who comes among us, employing the less intellectual labor of the African, takes the position which only a master-workman occupies where all the mechanics are white, and therefore it is that our mechanics hold their position of absolute equality among us.

Davis owned dozens of slaves, and as a U.S. Senator, he was an ardent defender of slavery and the rights of southern states to allow it. Davis argued in Congress that the Missouri Compromise threatened to take away his constitutional right as a slave owner to move about the country with his property.

Davis was elected president of the Confederate states on February 8, 1861. Under Article III, Section 3, Clause 1, of the U.S. Constitution, Davis engaged in treason against the United States. Davis defended slavery as a moral and social good, and he fought a monstrous war to maintain it.

His writings demonstrate that he remained racist and pro-slavery to the end of his life. Davis, like Robert E. Lee, became a hero of the Lost Cause in the post-Civil War south. To further demonstrate the nefarious purpose of this statue, one must only look at the fact that, as Plaintiffs themselves point out, the Davis monument association was organized in 1898, immediately after the disenfranchisement of African American voters, and was erected on the fiftieth anniversary of Davis' inauguration as president of the Confederacy. From its inception, the monument was intended to broadcast white opposition to the advancement of rights for African Americans.

## P.G.T. Beauregard: Confederate General, Slave Owner, Deserter, Traitor

P.G.T. Beauregard, born in St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana, was the Confederacy's first hero when he presided over the surrender of United States troops at Fort Sumter. He is probably best known as the designer of the Confederate flag, the Southern Cross, in 1861.

Under Article III, Section 3, Clause 1, of the U.S. Constitution, Beauregard engaged in treason against the United States. After the war, Beauregard asked for a pardon, but only after writing Robert E. Lee and complaining "it is hard to ask pardon of an adversary you despise." He subsequently signed a loyalty oath to the U.S. to retain his citizenship and make sure he was not prosecuted or charged with deserting his post at West Point.

Beauregard's family owned slaves and he rented slaves to serve him during his time in the military. Though he later was an advocate for equal rights, his monument honors him as a Confederate general. The monument, completed and dedicated in 1915, bears the inscription "GT Beauregard, 1818-1893, General CSA 1861-1865."

Documents filed with the National Register of Historic Places Database indicate that the statue is another of three Louisiana monuments to the Cult of the Lost Cause:

The General Beauregard Equestrian Statue is of statewide cultural significance as one of three major Louisiana monuments representing what is known by historians as the Cult of the Lost Cause. The other two statues, both also located in New Orleans, depict Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis. Statues of this type are tangible symbols of a state of mind which was powerful and pervasive throughout the South well into the twentieth century (and some would say even today).

The National Register further states, "the deification of Southern heroes such as Beauregard and Robert E. Lee has continued to the present."

When the Beauregard statue was dedicated, the glorification of Beauregard's white supremacist past was exemplified by the following remarks from Judge John St. Paul: "Well, indeed, may they worship at his shrine, for he was one, and not the least, of that galaxy of heroic men whose glorious deeds have placed their age and the struggle in which they took part among the grandest that adorn the annals of all times." As these remarks illustrate, the Beauregard statue lionizes one of the main champions of the Confederacy.

#### "Liberty" Monument: Violent Terrorist Resistance To Integrated Government

The so-called Liberty Monument honors the violent post-Civil War White League, a Louisiana white supremacist paramilitary terrorist organization. The White League, closely connected to the Ku Klux Klan, was the military arm of the Lost Cause movement in Louisiana which sought to reverse the loss of white supremacy. As eminent historian Eric Foner explains: "[t]he White League was formed with the avowed purpose of restoring white supremacy, by violent means if necessary." The White League spread terror and assassinations across Louisiana before attempting to overthrow the lawful government of New Orleans in September 1874 by murdering New Orleans police officers and seizing government buildings.

The Louisiana White League emerged as "one of the most brutal white supremacist organizations in all of Reconstruction," assassinating officeholders in Ouachita, Red River, Caddo, Natchitoches, and East Baton Rouge Parishes and engaging in several massacres across Louisiana. In April 1873, the illegal white militia attacked and murdered a hundred black Louisiana soldiers, half in cold blood after they had surrendered, in the Colfax Massacre in Grant Parish, Louisiana. Following another attack in Natchitoches, in August 1874, the White League murdered four blacks and six whites in the Coushatta Massacre in an attempt to overthrow the Republican government in northwest Louisiana. In 1875, U.S. General Philip Sheridan wrote a telegram to the U.S. Secretary of War describing the violence and terror of the White League: "I think the terrorism now existing in Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas could be entirely removed and confidence and fair dealing established by the arrest and control of the ringleaders of the armed White Leaguers."

On September 14, 1874, in what has been called the Battle of Liberty Place, thousands of members of the Crescent City White League, including many Confederate veterans, challenged Louisiana's integrated Reconstruction government by attacking and killing New Orleans police officers and inflicting 100 casualties. They captured the statehouse, the armory, and downtown New Orleans for days until retreating in the face of newly arrived federal troops.

The Liberty Monument was erected in 1891 to commemorate the Battle of Liberty Place and honor the members of the White League who murdered police officers and took over the City of New Orleans all in an attempt to undo the effects of the Civil War. At this time, the White League was so powerful that it had a member on the U.S. Supreme Court, and in 1891 veterans of the White League Liberty Place battle openly lynched eleven Sicilian men and used the lynching as a way to raise money to build the monument.

The Monuments Have Kept Alive The Confederacy's Legacy Of Racial Oppression

Far from inert structures honoring a dead past, the monuments at issue have continuously served as a rallying point in efforts to entrench white political power and reaffirm the values of white supremacy. For example, in 1896, former members of the White League and young members of the city's white elite staged mass rallies at the Liberty monument, repeatedly invoking the memory of the men who had fought there. Three days later, they led a procession that began at Lee Circle and ended at Liberty Monument. This show of power succeeded in pressuring local political representatives to negotiate with White League leaders, eventually allowing for the election of Walter Flower, the son of a White League veteran, as mayor. Additionally, in 1904, there were further rallies at the Liberty Place Monument to replace nominating conventions with a "white primary" that would have allowed only white voters to participate.

In 1932, a new inscription was added to the monument which read: "United States troops took over the state government and reinstated the usurpers but the national election in November 1876 recognized white supremacy and gave us our state."

As one historian has noted, "[a]s rhetoric, the September Fourteenth tradition persisted well into the latter half of the twentieth century." Celebrations of the monument grew particularly fervent during the civil rights movement. For example, in 1948, a large group of arch-segregationists gathered at the monument on the battle's anniversary, and Congressman Eddie Herbert stated, "[i]t is one of history's tragedies that we are gathered here at a time when the ideals for which the men of 1874 fought are being viciously attacked again on all fronts," and exhorted that "the struggle for home rule must be won again."

In 1955, a year after the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* to desegregate public schools, a book entitled *The Battle of Liberty Place*, written by Stuart Landry and funded by many prominent white families in New Orleans, was published, characterizing the terrorism of 1874 as one of the highest achievements of the white race. Dedicated to "The Memory of the Heroes of the Fourteenth of September, whose Patriotism should be an Inspiration, not only to their Descendants, but to all Louisianans of Good Intent," the book justified the organization of the Ku Klux Klan and other secret societies as a legitimate way to protect the rights of white people against the "carpetbaggers, scalawags, ignorant freedmen and rascally Southerners who joined in with these others to direct and control the newly enfranchised colored people for plunder and power."

More recently, in the early 1990s, the monument became a rallying point for the Ku Klux Klan and David Duke when one of Duke's supporters sued the City of New Orleans to restore the monument after it had been removed and placed in storage due to street repairs.

The Lee monument has also provided a site for white supremacists to celebrate their cause well into the twentieth century. In 1922, a poem published in the *Times-Picayune* sang the statue's praises, reading: "He stands calm and firm. . . / watching with prophetic eyes / His beloved Southland: seeing in her / Cleaner American stock the saving strain / Which yet will right the balance / 'Twixt conflicting alien hordes / And hold straight the course / Of America's Ship of State / Toward the ultimate goal / Of a homogenous people. . . ." In 1972, several prominent Louisiana segregationists, including Addison Roswell Thompson, who had previously run for state governor and mayor of New Orleans, celebrated Lee's birthday by draping a Confederate flag at the foot of the monument and setting out their Klan robes. The incident escalated into a racial confrontation with several black passersby. David Duke was among those jailed for "inciting to riot."

These episodes show that by designating multiple places throughout New Orleans to publicly honor those that championed racism and oppression, the monuments have and continue to perpetuate belief, support, and pride in the Confederacy's "Lost Cause," and its vision of white supremacy.

If there is any more need to prove that this matter is about preservation of white supremacy, the Court should take note that Beauregard Camp No. 130, Inc. is a named plaintiff in this case.

Plaintiff is a chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, which describes the Civil War as an honorable fight for liberty and freedom to such an extent that they call it the Second American Revolution.

In the complaint, Beauregard Camp describes itself as "an autonomous, local chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans," and was "chartered in 1899 to preserve the memory and good name of General P.G.T. Beauregard, General Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and all Confederate veterans and elected civil servants who served honorably in the Civil War." Plaintiff admits it played an active leading role in creating, funding, and erecting the Beauregard and Jefferson Davis monuments.

The Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) is a membership-based organization consisting of local chapters called "camps" that are located across the country. The group valorizes the service of Confederate veterans and their cause, writing that they "personified the best qualities of America" and that the "[t]he preservation of liberty and freedom was the motivating factor in the South's decision to fight the Second American Revolution." Founded in 1896 in Richmond, Virginia, the SCV reports that it has approximately 30,000 members. There are over thirty camps in Louisiana. Membership is open to any male who can provide documentation proving he is a descendant of a Confederate soldier or sailor.

The SCV states publicly that it has a "strictly enforced 'hate' policy" which requires that anyone with ties to any racist organization or hate group must be denied membership or immediately expelled. Prohibited organizations include the Ku Klux Klan, American Nazi Party, the National Alliance, or any organization expressing racist ideals or violent overthrow of the United States government.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center ("SPLC"), however, in the past fifteen years the SCV has been riven by an "internal civil war" which continues to this day between those espousing racist beliefs (many of whom are closely aligned with white supremacist groups and individuals) and "history clubbers" whose primary interest is preserving and celebrating the history of the Confederacy.

For instance, Kirk Lyons is an active and prominent member of the SCV, holding a leadership position in the SCV's youth camp and recently represented the organization in a failed lawsuit to prevent the removal of a statue of Jefferson Davis from the campus of the University of Texas. Mr. Lyons is also the chief trial counsel for the Southern Legal Resource Center, a pro-Confederate organization that he and his brother-in-law founded in 1996 that has defended the flying of the Confederate flag in a number of court disputes. Lyons previously defended a former Klan leader and the leader of an anti-Semitic group called Posse Comitatus, in addition to having been married in an Aryan Nation compound. Lyons has led efforts to turn SCV towards extreme-right political activism. The SPLC reports that in 2000 he stated alongside former Klan leader David Duke that the SCV needed to get rid of its "Grannies" and "bed-wetters" and said: "[t]he civil rights movement I am trying to form seeks a revolution. . . . We seek nothing more than a return to a godly, stable, tradition-based society with no 'Northernisms' attached, a hierarchical society, a majority European-derived country."

Another such extremist is Ron G. Wilson, who was elected in 2002 to serve as SCV's commander in chief—the group's highest office. During his two years in office, Wilson suspended around 300 members for publicly criticizing racism within the group. Many of these members had been associated with an anti-racist offshoot of the SCV, called Save the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Wilson appointed Lyons to the SCV's Long-Range Planning Committee. His election set off a struggle over the SCV that has reportedly led to the loss of thousands of its more moderate members.

In 2004, Denne Sweeney took over as national leader and continued Wilson's policies and also permanently expelled the 300 men suspended by Wilson. Sweeney implemented measures that favored the influence of radical elements of the SCV. After Sweeney prevailed over moderates who challenged his

decisions in a lawsuit, the rift between radical and moderate members of the SCV deepened, and some former members started new groups meant to be non-racist history clubs.

Despite its official rejection of overtly racist ideology, the group's work and the legacy it seeks to preserve is deeply intertwined with white supremacy. To illustrate this point, in 2000, the SVC's Selma, Alabama, chapter erected a monument to noted KKK member and Confederate general, Nathan Bedford Forrest. The monument is located in a large cemetery in Selma—a site that is deeply significant in the Civil Rights Movement—in a part of the cemetery dedicated to Confederate soldiers. A picture of the monument is available online.

After the shooting of unarmed African Americans in Charleston, the group issued a public statement condemning the act and decrying racism (while also accusing its "politically correct opponents" of attempting to politicize the tragedy). However, despite these initial statements, the SCV has played a prominent role in organizing other pro-Confederate flag movements in the wake of the Charleston killings.

Although the Sons of Confederate Veterans has disavowed racism in its official pronouncements in recent years, the group is still deeply invested in elevating and legitimizing its version of the Confederacy's "history" and "traditions," which implicate an inherently racist, white supremacist vision of society.

This plaintiff is a living current example of the Cult of the Lost Cause and the glorification of the violent racist Civil War which was fought to preserve the enslavement of millions of African Americans. They call the Civil War the "Second American Revolution" and praise as honorable the people who committed treason.

The fact that the plaintiff in this case is a chapter of the SCV demonstrates why the City of New Orleans not only has the right to take down these statues, but why they must.

## Conclusion

The statues at issue in this case honor and glorify treasonous white supremacists who would likely be charged as terrorists today. Their violent actions supported white supremacy and the continued enslavement of millions of people. The monuments erected in their "honor" were constructed and maintained in a deliberate effort to perpetuate historical myths of southern glory when black people were property to be used and abused. By enshrining a patently false version of history, the monuments have helped keep these myths and the oppression they justify alive.

These statues fit exactly into Section 146-611 (b) of the New Orleans Code of Ordinances which authorizes the City Council to remove statues from public property when those statues are a nuisance:

The thing honors, praises, or fosters ideologies which are in conflict with the requirements of equal protection for citizens as provided by the constitution and laws of the United States, the state, or the laws of the city and gives honor or praise to those who participated in the killing of public employees of the city or the state or suggests the supremacy of one ethnic, religious, or racial group over any other, or gives honor or praise to any violent actions taken wrongfully against citizens of the city to promote ethnic, religious or racial superiority of any group.

The monuments foster ideologies which are in direct conflict with the requirements of equal protection of our citizens. They honor the killing of public employees. And they honor and praise violent actions that were taken to promote white supremacy, the racial superiority of a group of whites who fought our nation's most violent and bloody war.

Not only can the City of New Orleans remove these statues, it must.

For a full listing of footnotes and references please see the amicus brief (PDF) as it was filed.  
<https://www.splcenter.org/news/2016/01/13/here%E2%80%99s-why-confederate-monuments-new-orleans-must-come-down>

**2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.**

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Prince

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Richard Prince's Journal-isms

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Feb 05, 2016 13:21:02 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Being a born and raised Alexandrian, family before me also, I am concerned about what is happening to our history within our beloved city. In particular is the honoring of Robert E. Lee, George Washington, and others, and our most beloved statue, Appomattox. He is and has been always the symbol of our southern heritage, to honor all of our brothers and sisters, who lost their lives defending their beloved state of Virginia.

Like many Alexandrians, I have an ancestor whose name is engraved on that statue, and have always been proud that he gave his life in honor of Alexandria and the state of Virginia. There are many others who did the same, in every city and state. The statue does not in any way, belittle anyone.

I would like to ask the group on Confederate Memorials & Street Names, please NOT to consider removing this statue, renaming the streets of Alexandria, nor prohibiting our heritage celebrations of flying our flags in their honor. This is our heritage, and we would be appreciative to be able to express such. Please leave the streets, statues, school names, building names and whatever, as they are. They were named after people who made an honorable difference or mark in Alexandria's or our nation's history. Name the new things, don't change the history.

Thank you for your time. It means a lot to those of us whose southern heritage and Alexandria is a deep part of ourselves.

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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Emerson

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Feb 05, 2016 13:57:44 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I ask your support for HB 587. I am hopeful that despite all the people that don't like (or hate if you will), various positions with respect to:

- God (and removing god and nativity scenes etc.),
- Jews (Anti-Semitism),
- Muslims (extremists/ISIL),
- Christians,
- Pro-Life or Pro-Choice positions,
- Gays and Lesbians and trans-gender,
- Human trafficking and slavery (present and past which was a national issue in the 1800s with owners in the north and south and the north profiting from the ships and their sale of slaves),
- Southern History and symbols from various perspectives, etc.

that the State and City Legislatures would keep an open mind and vote in support of HB 587.

It's a crazy world where groups of people think they are superior to others and their rights have more weight than others. Hate is exhausting. Please protect our American History and the memorials to our veterans of all wars.

The Nazis tried to eradicate the Jews and their history and it didn't work despite their efforts to exterminate millions and denial of the holocaust. We need to keep an open mind and protect our history (warts and all) or else we are no better than ISIS or other groups that want to distort or destroy history given their own distorted views, biases, bigotry, and sense of entitlement or superiority.

Please keep an open mind and take a balanced and sensible approach despite the many soap boxes people want to climb up on and vote in favor of HB 587.

James Becker  
820 Gibbon Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
and  
8001 Gina Place  
Vienna, VA 22182

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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7th generation American

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Feb 05, 2016 15:36:06 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

1. Please provide your feedback:

2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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Last Name

Title

Organization

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City

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Feb 05, 2016 19:13:04 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Do not make changes to Any existing memorial!

RESCIND the decision to prohibit the flying of the First National Flag on General Robert E. Lee's birthday and on Confederate Memorial Day!

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

**First Name**

Karen

**Last Name**

Harris

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Feb 05, 2016 23:46:33 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

NO changes to Any existing Confederate memorial!!!

RESCIND the decision to prohibit the flying of the First National flag on Robert E. Lee's birthday and on Confederate Memorial Day!

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

**First Name**

Louis

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Weisd

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Feb 05, 2016 23:54:37 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I have a mixed reaction to the potential list of considerations:

\* The flying of the Confederate Flag on City property seems like an "in your face insult" and should be prohibited.

\* Also, the Jefferson Davis Highway seems to show a particular bias to the Confederacy that many people have to travel

\* However, our history is as important in shaping all of us as art. I would retain the Appomattox statue if it merely describes a crucial event in our history.

\* In addition, some (say) half a dozen key Confederate leader named streets should be retained to draw interest to the history of the Country and Virginia.

Thank you.

**2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.**

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Feb 06, 2016 08:03:56 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

1. I find it interesting and very short-sighted that no confederate heritage groups are represented on the Ad Hoc Advisory Group. There are several such groups in the City of Alexandria and in the local area, such as the Mary Custis Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the 17th VA Fairfax Rifles, the Bull Run Civil War Round Table, the Washington DC Civil War Round Table, etc., who are devoted to preserving the City's history, irrespective of political views or personal causes. In the spirit of being inclusive and gaining the appropriate insight and input from all potentially affected Alexandria residents and organizations, representatives from these groups should be members of this Ad Hoc Advisory Group.

2. So far I have not seen any agenda item that includes providing a financial assessment/impact on any recommendations the Ad Hoc Group may make. Any infrastructure modification undertaken as a result of recommendations by this Ad Hoc Group will come at a cost to Alexandria residents - these costs must be a consideration in any recommendations proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee.

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

**First Name**

Blake

**Last Name**

Myers

**Title****Organization**

Bull Run Civil War Roundtable

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Feb 06, 2016 08:05:21 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

As a local historian, author, and tour guide, it is my hope that the City of Alexandria not engage in any historic revision efforts, including the desecration of memorials and changing of street names. Any attempt to do give credence to today's political correctness movement and deny the obvious, i.e., the City of Alexandria was associated with the State of Va. during the American Civil War, hence the name nomenclatures.

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

#### First Name

Jim

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Historian, Author, Tour Guide

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Personal feedback, although associated with numerous historical organizations

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Feb 06, 2016 10:10:53 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Members of Advisory Group

As President of the BRCWRT and local CW historian I believe that removing statues and memorials is wrong and should never happen in a democracy. If we destroy our history and fight to preserve it, we will never remember the past and learn from those who came before us. We will be doomed to repeat it! I will address the following items:

- the status of the Appomattox statue on South Washington Street- Please keep
- the name of Jefferson Davis Highway in the City of Alexandria- Please keep
- the names of the many streets within the City that are named after Confederate generals and military leaders- Please keep
- a specific policy on flying of any flags on property owned or under the control of the City\* (\*On September 8, 2015, City Council voted unanimously to prohibit the flying of the Confederate flag on City property on Robert E. Lee's Birthday and on Confederate Memorial Day.) - Up to the folks of Alexandria to decide

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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President

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Feb 06, 2016 11:13:44 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

RE: Membership on Committee: I noted there were no members from any of the history or heritage commissions or groups with interest in Civil War matters. It is important to have all sides of the issue represented.

RE: Civil War Monuments : American history is filled with events that, in hindsight, appear to be biased when considering current views. Historical sites, such as monuments, were installed by local governments or groups that had a legitimate and valid reason for erecting it to commemorate the loss of families, friends, or to commemorate an event or incident so that it is not lost over time. Monuments should not be arbitrarily removed simply because of the names, events or persons represented. They are history and a vibrant part of the local community. I do recognize that some events commemorated by monuments - like the commemoration of a massacre of blacks in New Orleans during Reconstruction - and the monument should be removed.

RE: Flags: I do not believe that Confederate flag should be flown at all. Those flags, particularly the battle flag, should be relegated to museums and private collections. There are two key exceptions, however. (1) As a former soldier, I support the use of such a flag during burial ceremonies when the remains of discovered Confederate soldiers are re-buried. It is a soldier's right to be buried under the flag he fought for. (2) The commemoration and dedication of historic Civil War sites, battles, historical signs, erection of monuments, etc., are positively affected by the appearance of living history or re-enactors. At a dedication ceremony at Wolf Run Shoals, I arranged to have both Union and Confederate honor guards portrayed as both sides occupied the grounds where the Civil War Trails marker was installed and dedicated. The ceremony was attended by local politicians - Fairfax County Chairman Bulova and Delegate David Albo as well as 125 other interested persons. Confederate and Union flags were appropriate during that ceremony and should be allowed at similar ceremonies in the future.

RE: Removal of names from government buildings. I believe this is a local matter and should be left to the communities choice. After all, we change names on government buildings often enough - i.e. National Airport to Reagan National Airport, seemingly at the whim of what political party is in the majority.

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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**Confirmation Email**

Feb 06, 2016 11:29:04 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

It is historical genocide to destroy the history of Alexandria. It is something done by Totalitarian regimes. Roads and monuments are to be reminders of a city's heritage. No city or people should ever destroy the heritage of some or many. You add to history, not destroy it. You should interpret and re-interpret, but never destroy historical artifacts, nor destroy statues which commemorate the thousands of Virginia's sons who fought bravely for their homes and families. Even Gen U. S. Grant revered the dedication of the Virginia soldiers and donated money to an old soldiers home in Richmond, money, by the way, which he could ill afford at that time. When did we become so petty as to denigrate those long dead and the thousands of Virginians who are descended from these men? Charlotte Clinger

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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Feb 06, 2016 12:14:13 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Please DO NOT make Any changes to

Any existing memorials!

Please RESCIND the decision to prohibit the flying of the First National flag on

Robert E.Lee's birthday and on

Confederate Memorial Day!

Thank you

Tanisha Thomas

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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Tanisha

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### Confirmation Email

Feb 07, 2016 01:24:26 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Please do not make any changes to any existing memorials and

Please rescind your decision that prohibits the flying of the First Nation Flag on Robert E. Lee's birthday and on Confederate Memorial Day.

Thank you for listening

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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Feb 07, 2016 01:47:55 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

As a former resident of Alexandria and a 1965 of George Washington High School, I was always proud of the city's rich history, both good and bad. The Confederate States only lasted four short years and to erase that is to erase ones' own past. After all, the evil of slavery unfortunately has existed on all continents throughout all of human history.

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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Feb 07, 2016 09:13:39 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Dear Sirs,

I was born on March 30, 1914 and am 101 years young and will be 102 very soon. I am sorry that I am unable to be present to voice my discontent about the possible removal of the Confederate Statue at the intersection of South Washington Street and Prince Street in Old Town Alexandria. I have always known this statue and even played around it as a girl.

First, please do not take this statue away. My grandfather, Richard Norris Roland was a prominent Alexandrian after the war ended. I think we forget our Alexandrian citizens and the contribution they once gave to our great city, the city of my birth. I was born and lived in Alexandria until I became 95 years old, but I still consider Alexandria my home. My parents were also very prominent, my sisters and their husbands important to this city.

Yes, my grandfather was a confederate soldier and was at the dedication of this lone Confederate Soldier that was held on May 24, 1889. The meaning of this dedication meant alot to him and his friends who saw this "lone confederate soldier" as a friend who was viewing the aftermath of the war, and the loss of family and friends. My grandfather was captured during the war, injured greatly but was able to be by Lee's side when the war ended. After the war he was instrumental in the rebuilding of our city. He was saught after to run for public office, but never did. After the war, he choose to work for the railroads and became a cabinetmaker. I remember the conversations in my girlhood home at 505 S. Lee Street, now where Senetor Warner makes his home. I remember two of his brothers faught in the Union Army. This divided our family and one brother never spoke to my grandfather again because of it. I have always been told that my grandfather only faught for the Confederacy because all of his boyhood friends joined the Confederacy.

I have lived through many controversies during my lifetime, even the depression. I think there are so many other important issues that deserve time rather than the removal of a part of history. I know many folks simply say this is not erasing history but it is erasing my history, what I grew up hearing and seeing in the city I love. I would ask that you not remove this statue and allow it to stay where it has been home to since the end of the 19th century. I feel that it is my responsibility and future generations, even many of you to make sure our future generations know the story of the lone man overlooking the land and remembering many of his fallen comraides as well as thoughts of rebuilding our great city.

Thank you for taking the time to listen to my thoughts.

Sincerely,  
Marion Roland Conrad  
1709 Styron Lane  
Virginia Beach, Va.  
23464

(transcribed by my granddaughter, Therese DeSanto)

**2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.**

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Feb 07, 2016 19:06:52 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Public comment on the website up to Jan. 27 reflects the depth of passion felt by those with connection through family or friends or professional association with the cause and the soldiers of the Confederacy. Concern is reflected in those comments regarding attempts to erase a portion of history, and what they believe would be the consequences of such effort.

The body of comment does not reflect the same first-person passionate commitment to the memory of the hundreds of thousands of slaves who passed through the history of Virginia and the city of Alexandria before and during the Civil War era; from this, it is possible to assume that those offering comment have erased those people from their memories.

I have attached a piece written in the New York Times Magazine on Sunday, Feb. 7, regarding the "painful consequences of erasure" of any individual or group from a historical record or, by implication, from the memory of a community. I call it to the attention of the Group.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/07/magazine/the-painful-consequences-of-erasure.html?ref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fmagazine>

I respectfully reiterate my previous suggestion that the Group, among its recommendations to the City Council, include the formulation of a policy going forward - one that will govern the designation of memorials in the public spaces of Alexandria that will reflect the city's commitment to its diverse and expanding population. How the city includes in that policy the deserved recognition of veterans and honored citizens from all eras in its history should be determined by such a policy. Changing the name of a street, while not an irrelevant gesture, lacks much significance.

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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Feb 07, 2016 23:20:28 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

My grandmother, age 101 has dictated this to me regarding the Confederate Statue. She would like the letter read or distributed to the committee.

Thank you,

Therese DeSanto  
.....

Dear Committee Members,

I was born on March 30, 1914 and am 101 years young and will be 102 very soon. I am sorry that I am unable to be present to voice my discontent about the possible removal of the Confederate Statue at the intersection of South Washington Street and Prince Street in Old Town Alexandria. I have always known this statue and even played around it as a girl.

First, please do not take this statue away. My grandfather, Richard Norris Roland was a prominent Alexandrian after the war ended. I think we forget our Alexandrian citizens and the contribution they once gave to our great city, the city of my birth. I was born and lived in Alexandria until I became 95 years old, but I still consider Alexandria my home. My parents were also very prominent, my sisters and their husbands important to this city.

Yes, my grandfather was a confederate soldier and was at the dedication of this lone Confederate Soldier that was held on May 24, 1889. The meaning of this dedication meant alot to him and his friends who saw this "lone confederate soldier" as a friend who was viewing the aftermath of the war, and the loss of family and friends. My grandfather was captured during the war, injured greatly but was able to be by Lee's side when the war ended. After the war he was instrumental in the rebuilding of our city. He was saught after to run for public office, but never did. After the war, he choose to work for the railroads and became a cabinetmaker. I remember the conversations in my girlhood home at 505 S. Lee Street, now where Senator Warner makes his home. I remember two of his brothers faught in the Union Army. This divided our family and one brother never spoke to my grandfather again because of it. I have always been told that my grandfather only faught for the Confederacy because all of his boyhood friends joined the Confederacy.

I have lived through many controversies during my lifetime, even the depression. I think there are so many other important issues that deserve time rather than the removal of a part of history. I know many folks simply say this is not erasing history but it is erasing my history, what I grew up hearing and seeing in the city I love. I would ask that you not remove this statue and allow it to stay where it has been home to since the end of the 19th century. I feel that it is my responsiblity and future generations, even many of you to make sure our future generations know the story of the lone man overlooking the land and remembering many of his fallen comraides as well as thoughts of rebuilding our great city.

Thank you for taking the time to listen to my thoughts.

Sincerely,  
Marion Roland Conrad  
1709 Styron Lane  
Virginia Beach, Va.

23464

(transcribed by my granddaughter, Therese DeSanto)

**2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.**

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Feb 07, 2016 23:29:57 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

A SUBMISSION TO  
THE AD HOC ADVISORY GROUP ON CONFEDERATE MEMORIALS AND STREET NAMES

#### THE PRESENT TASK

As the Alexandria Times reported last July, and as referenced in your memo to the City Council in late August, the question is whether memorials erected during the decades after the Civil War give disproportionate emphasis to values no longer in sync with those of Alexandria's diverse 21st century population. The number and location of emblems, plaques, street names and statues reflect the aim of previous generations to memorialize those who suffered losses or were killed in battle. They also implicitly pay tribute to the cultural traditions and military purposes of the secessionist and slave-holding Confederate States of America.

Those pressing for changing this profile are critical of public memorials to those who fought to break up the nation, and of symbols long associated with white supremacy and the institution of slavery. Tacit acceptance by the city government, they say, runs against the tide of today's legal and ethical norms, and the contemporary cultural and social values of the community. A counter-argument is made by those who wish to continue to honor the soldiers and civic leaders of the Civil War era who were notable figures in their time. This reasoning holds that – whatever we may think of the cause that motivated their actions – those among our ancestors who fought honorably and died on the battlefields of that era should not be forgotten.

The immediate task is to decide whether to change the status of particular memorials and the names of places and streets – a decision that will define the city's values and draw a contrast with values of earlier eras in Virginia's history. Longer term, the City Council's decision will govern future placement of symbols and memorials in Alexandria's public spaces and shape the public profile of our community for coming generations.

The challenge is to honor the past while building for the future, to memorialize values that symbolize what we want Alexandria to become. What follows are reflections on the importance of symbols – in Alexandria, the U.S., and around the world – and examples showing the context in which our debate takes place.

#### MEMORIALS AS SYMBOLS

From the beginning of life children learn the meaning of symbolic images and how to respond to them – what should draw them closer, what should make them be cautious, what should make them run away. The lessons learned in childhood about the meaning of images and sounds and sensory perceptions stick with us for a lifetime. Those lessons become part of our identity and are not easily changed; it takes significant effort and external influence for them to be un-learned. With the passage of time they are blurred or forgotten by new generations.

Symbols are everywhere, all around us, all the time. They are used to remind us of history, but also to sell products, inspire the faithful, urge us to take action or control an impulse. They warn of imminent danger or make us feel secure, spark a memory of our past or make us think about the future. They are not accidental; most often they are created with a purpose – to stimulate awareness, to draw attention, to make us think. Government, business, and civic institutions combine to push out to the community those symbols they

believe will stimulate thoughts and actions.

Obvious are the traffic controls and reminders of local laws, the logos and signs of commerce and banking, the symbols for food and exercise and faith in a deity defining ways and means to sustain body and soul. These give us direction in our daily lives, reminding us of our needs and frailties and ways to stay safe.

Less obvious are other symbols that engender a more passive response, a reminder of identity, a level of understanding, a cultural framework that provides a historical and social context for the lives we lead. These symbols and the words associated with them – including statues, memorial plaques, street names and flags – were once intended to be reassuring and, for some, they still are. But to later generations they can also be confusing or irrelevant, unsettling or perhaps repelling, thereby creating a response unlike the one their creators intended.

Unsettled emotions and blurred intentions can be most pronounced when the focus of a symbol is on past conflict – between neighbors over fence lines, sects over deities, nations over questions of sovereignty. When one group dominates another, inflicting mortal wounds and crushing hopes, bitterness remains. The conflict may have ended but if old issues are unresolved, new ones are added. These wounds won't heal without efforts by all sides to address seminal issues and lingering bitterness with new energy and new ideas.

Letting go of old symbols reminiscent of combat is easy to prescribe and hard to do. Many of them were used to seize attention and warn of danger, rally soldiers and citizens to battle, stimulate fear among enemies – and to maintain order by requiring obedience on "our" side and submission from "their" side. After the battle, symbols of loss and painful change are used to promote public mourning of losses too difficult to absorb.

Such public mourning prompts the building of memorials, the erection of statues, the dedication of monuments and hallowed grounds. Public mourning sometimes requires that a nameplate or plaque be affixed to a thing or a place so that people passing by will think about the deeds of those who are honored. Curious passersby may have such thoughts; others may take no notice. And some – perhaps the losers of a conflict or of a wider struggle to gain independence, respect, and dignity – may be offended. Such responses are seen in Alexandria.

## CONTEXT

Alexandria's consideration of the monuments and symbols of an era long past takes place as the nation engages in a renewed period of self-examination – a review of progress and remaining frictions in relationships between racial and ethnic groups. This ongoing and difficult process has roots in America's centuries-long history of slavery and its catastrophic Civil War. Though the war ended 150 years ago, freeing four million slaves and reuniting the warring states, wounds from that period remain visible – and in certain moments are re-opened.

In mid-June last year in Charleston, South Carolina, a deeply troubled young man, burdened with anger and resentment and a loaded handgun, walked into the historic Emanuel AME Church. He sat with a group of African-Americans at prayer, then shot and killed nine of them.

On his website, Dylan Roof had voiced his intention: to strike a blow reflecting the muted grievances of those resentful white Americans who mourn the loss of supremacy over black Americans. "I have no choice", he said, adding, "we have no skinheads, no real KKK, no one doing anything but talking on the internet. Well, someone has to have the bravery to take it to the real world, and I guess that has to be me." In his choice of victims and venue, Roof hoped to start a race war. He acted on his own and had planned to kill himself afterward, but didn't; instead, he fled, and was caught, and was arraigned on charges of murder.

His act shocked the nation. In the days that followed, at funerals and solemn demonstrations, Americans grieved. Mourners – black and white – voiced their sorrow and anguish on national television, expressing disbelief that someone would murder worshippers at a prayer meeting in church. Public outrage directed at the killer contrasted with the willingness of grieving families to forgive him. President Obama eulogized the black preacher, Rev. Clementa Pinckney, and cited what he called "the uncomfortable truths" of racism in America. He urged that the nation not "go back to business as usual...once the TV cameras move on."

During this period, people everywhere – in classrooms and legislatures, editorial pages and pulpits, private homes and the public square – struggled to understand why this young white man had killed nine black people, and what it meant for all of us. The consciousness of the country struggled with the President's admonishment against indifference, and with a terrible consequence of America's original sin of slavery and its oppression of African Americans.

Our consciousness was jarred further when pictures were brought to light showing a young Dylan Roof surrounded by the symbols, and draped in a flag, of the Confederacy. For many, these symbols – of breakaway southern states that had lost the bloodiest conflict in American history – spoke more loudly and more clearly than his words on a website accompanied by a picture that showed him, according to news reports, "posing with wax figures of slaves." For most Americans, his words had made little sense – but gained awful clarity in the context of the symbols of the "lost cause."

In the weeks afterward the story became less about Dylan Roof and his frame of mind, and more about the need to take a fresh look at the old wounds and scars left behind by slavery, southern secession, and the Civil War. South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley, with the approval of the state legislature, ordered the Confederate battle flag removed from its honored place at the State Capitol in Columbia. There was symbolism in this action, as it was taken in the state where the Civil War had begun. Governor Haley spoke for many when she said, "Today we are here in a moment of unity in our state, without ill will, to say it is time to remove the flag from our Capitol grounds. This flag, while an integral part of our past, does not represent the future of our great state."

#### ACROSS THE NATION

The lowering of the Confederate flag in South Carolina caused renewed discussion across the nation, particularly in the South, about the display of monuments and symbols associated with the values of the Confederacy. In some instances leaders of public and private institutions have been prompted to take action. I cite some examples from different parts of the country to help gauge the depth of feeling and the complexity of racial issues as they have been debated in legislatures and the media, on campuses and street corners, and most of all, in local communities. In considering the placement of Civil War memorials, Alexandria is not alone.

At the University of Texas officials moved a statue of Jefferson Davis from a central spot on campus in Austin to a publicly available exhibit dedicated, in the words of the university's Center for American History, to "the role of symbolism, statuary, and public memory."

- In Alabama, a Confederate battle flag – moved from the State Capitol dome in 1994 to a Confederate memorial on the Capitol grounds – was ordered taken down by the Governor, who cited the South Carolina murders. Reaction in the legislature was mostly positive.

- In Louisiana, the New Orleans City Council voted to remove a statue of Gen. Robert E. Lee from a traffic circle named after him; three other monuments were designated for removal from prominent places along city thoroughfares. Citizens filed a lawsuit to stop the action.

- In Mississippi, the state flag honors the Confederate battle flag by placement, since 1894, in its upper left corner. A coalition of business executives, civil rights leaders, and ministers is lobbying for a new design.

Two-thirds of Mississippi voters rejected such a move in 2001.

Beyond disputes prompted by Civil War memorials, other discussions have started since the murders in Charleston. It is relevant to the question in Alexandria to note that students at campuses across the country have demonstrated against other symbols from America's racial history. Focused accusations of racial bias have prompted wider discussions of racism.

- At Princeton University, students demanded a change in the name of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs – acknowledging Wilson's role as president of the University, but criticizing his efforts to re-segregate the Federal government after becoming the 28th U.S. President. A New York Times editorial called Wilson an "unapologetic racist."

- At Yale, students – with the backing of New York Mayor Bill DeBlasio, whose son attends Yale – demanded that the university rename a dormitory honoring John C. Calhoun, a South Carolina Senator and U.S. Vice President during the pre-Civil War era. His vocal support of slavery and states' rights contributed to support in the South for secession from the Union.

- At the University of Missouri, a petition urged removal of a statue of Thomas Jefferson. The former President is criticized as a racist former slave owner, and – because he fathered a child by a slave – a rapist. The Economist reports that "the statue was installed in 2000 by members of the University's Jefferson Club, reserved for the most generous donors."

- At the University of Kentucky black students complained that a large campus painting from the Depression-era Public Works of Art program was "painful and degrading." The fresco, created before African-Americans were enrolled at UK, shows blacks working in tobacco fields and playing music for white audiences. The painting was shrouded in November.

Perceptions of racism on campus have also aroused students to demonstrate their general opposition to policies and practices that, they feel, put minority groups at a disadvantage. As with protests over memorials and the names of buildings, such protests have brought changes in school approaches to diversity among administrators, faculty, and student bodies. The most dramatic and well known such instance – following the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson Missouri by a white police officer – resulted in nationwide protests and creation of the "Black Lives Matter" movement. Against this backdrop, University of Missouri students demonstrated against what they charged was tolerance for racism on campus, and in the climax to a series of increasingly tense and widespread protests the University football team announced it would not practice or play its scheduled games until the University President resigned. Both the President and University Chancellor announced their resignations within 48 hours.

At other campuses since the Charleston murders, localized demonstrations against perceived racial injustices made headlines, and colleges and universities made changes.

- In New York, Ithaca College's President announced his retirement following months of escalating student criticism over "insufficient response to racial incidents on campus." Ithaca students now object to delays in his retirement, set for June, 2017.

- In Maryland, the President of Towson University agreed to address demands by African American students for greater campus diversity and a no-tolerance policy on racial, sexual and homophobic epithets. The President pledged to resign if he didn't address these issues.

- In California, the Dean of Students at Claremont McKenna College resigned over language in reference to Latino students and diversity among students and faculty. A distinguished African American educator was named president of a nearby Claremont college.

- In Massachusetts, Amherst's liberal arts college has polled students and alumni on their unofficial mascot,

Lord Jeff, named in the 1920s for colonial Governor Lord Amherst – who recommended in 1763 the use of smallpox-infected blankets to kill native Americans. 83% of students voted to do away with the mascot; one-third of alumni agreed.

Closer to home – in Northern Virginia and nearby Maryland suburbs – school administrators or local lawmakers have addressed complaints, some of them long-standing, regarding the naming of public buildings after political figures once honored but now seen as less than honorable.

- The Fairfax County School Board has voted to permit consideration of name changes at schools honoring Confederate generals. Actions await decisions as the debate continues.

- The Board of Regents at the University of Maryland voted to change the name of Byrd Stadium in College Park, citing the segregationist policies and practices of former University President Harry "Curly" Byrd. The current president called the name of the stadium "a racial message hidden in plain sight." Byrd had rejected enrollment by black students.

- Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, unrelated to the Maryland University president, was widely known in the mid-20th century as an architect of the "Massive Resistance" movement against school desegregation. Henrico County's School Board has asked its Superintendent to determine the impact of changing the name of the Harry F. Byrd Middle School.

- A state advisory panel in Maryland has called for changes to the State Song – the sixth such recommendation – citing lyrics that urge the state to join the Confederacy and spurn "the Northern scum." The first effort to reject "Maryland, My Maryland" dates to the 1930s because of the song's racial overtones. Similar concerns have prompted lawmakers to make changes to state songs in Kentucky (1986), Florida (1978 & 2008), and Virginia (1997).

## AROUND THE WORLD

Alexandria's consideration of historic markers is important to its citizens as a local social and cultural issue – and, as we see by the above examples, the same is true in other American cities. In no case is this discussion without friction or emotion; any effort to change a community's symbolic relationship with its past is unsettling, especially when there is an attachment to those who either succeeded or failed, or fought and died, for a cause.

In countries other than the United States, depending on the tolerance of a government for public opinion and its willingness to poll the electorate – if there is one – changes are made in a deliberate fashion or in the blink of an eye. Some monuments that come and go are created by people who came in victory and left in disgrace; their symbols are tarnished and, once replaced in power, their depictions of greatness fade quickly.

- In Iraq, citizens aided by U.S. forces pulled down a triumphal statue of Saddam Hussein in 2003, beating on it with their shoes – a traditional and emphatic sign of disrespect.

- In Libya, citizens in Tripoli toppled Muammar Qaddafi in 2011 and chopped the head off his statue – a fate he had decreed for thousands of Libyans during his brutal reign.

- In Venezuela, a new legislature pulled down public portraits of the late strongman Hugo Chavez. His one-time ruling cohort, now the back-bench opposition, called it unpatriotic.

- In South Africa, Capetown students succeeded in gaining removal of a statue of 19th century colonialist Cecil Rhodes, who had proclaimed Anglo Saxons the "finest race in the world."

- In other countries, eras of devastation and repression may have passed, along with the people who presided over them, while memories – and monuments – linger on.
- In Ghana, ancient dungeons that held men and women sold as slaves were to be replaced by tourist hotels, but have been preserved as a lesson for future generations of Africans.
- In China, Mao Tse-tung led a revolution resulting in millions of deaths and historic change in Asia. In Tiananmen Square, young Chinese who never saw him walk beneath his portrait.
- In Russia, revolutionary leader Vladimir Lenin lies in a glass-enclosed tomb, and his successor, Josef Stalin, is buried in the Kremlin Wall. They created the Soviet Union and caused massive human dislocation and death, leaving an indelible stamp on modern history. There is no indication that their memorials will go away any time soon.

#### ALEXANDRIA AND ITS FUTURE: WHERE ARE WE GOING?

Examples on the preceding pages show that the task in Alexandria is far from unique. People everywhere redefine themselves and their cultures as events unfold, and as they are affected by the influences of greater or lesser forces for change.

With redefinition and changes in government or culture come new symbols – new icons to inspire hope, new logos to attract commerce, new celebrations of the living and new questions about the dead. People once admired and symbols once revered are looked at by historians in a new light as each generation offers up its own heroes, symbols, and values. Wars are won or lost, rulers and leaders – benign or despotic – come and go. Time moves on, things change, and the soft glow of adoration fades in the light of a new dawn. With the passage of time, future generations are left to sort things out.

#### SUGGESTIONS

As we focus on the question before the City Council, it should be decided what Alexandria wants to become – as a diverse community, as an urban commercial center, as a civil society that complements order and purpose with determination to reach goals for a better life.

As 2016 begins preparations are being made to draft an updated five-year plan for the city that will be implemented by the newly elected City Council, School Board, and Mayor. It is appropriate to look at Confederate memorials and street names in that light – especially in the context of Goal #7 in the current Strategic Plan: "Alexandria is a caring and inclusive community that values its rich diversity, history and culture, and promotes affordability."

It seems certain that this statement of intent will carry over in some appropriate form to the Strategic Plan that will be drafted this winter. The key phrase that stands out in the above Goal reflects a pledge to be a "community that values its rich diversity, history and culture." The fact that those commitments are linked in the same goal indicates a clear relationship between that which has gone before, the conditions that currently exist, and the characteristics that are desired for the community in years to come.

As the Ad Hoc Advisory Group and the City Council deliberate on a course to take regarding Confederate memorials, the question is likely to turn on the way in which all memorials in the city's public spaces will reflect the Vision for Alexandria as it was written in 2010: "Alexandria is a Vibrant, Diverse, Historic, and Beautiful City with Unique Neighborhoods and Multiple Urban Villages Where We Take Pride in Our Great Community... (and which) is always looking toward the future and ... for ways to become better."

Combined with this strategic community-oriented approach should be an evaluation of Alexandria's traditional support – both literal and symbolic – for our nation's military forces and posture. In that context it

is reasonable to decide that it will always be appropriate for our community to reflect the significance of the people and events that made history in Alexandria during the Civil War period. It should also be an element in that evaluation to determine if Civil War memorials are in disproportion to the honors and recognition of those who served in other American conflicts. What is the appropriate symbolic representation of Alexandria's contributions to our nation's military services?

Such a discussion would take the Advisory Group and the City Council beyond their current task. It could, however, result in a recommendation to consider alternative and established models including memorial parks, gardens, and museums, and the updating of histories of Alexandria from its founding to the present. Such an effort could draw funding and support from Federal and state agencies, as well as a host of private and public organizations.

The third and last suggestion is less one of substance, and more one related to process: don't be in a hurry. As with most issues that are fraught with emotion and ingrained sentiments, this one should certainly be undertaken with a deadline in mind – but one that allows for thorough examination of alternatives, and the composition of a plan that will speak to the future while respecting the past. There are sure to be strong views presented that will argue for unequivocal resolutions to this complex problem. To base findings and recommendations on such views would be easy and quick, but counter-productive. Local newspaper letter-writers provide us with opinions from opposite ends of the spectrum.

From the Washington Post: "The Confederates took up arms against our nation. They fought to destroy the Union... According to Article III of the Constitution, they were traitors. ... They don't deserve to have public buildings or other public places named for them."

From the Alexandria Times: "General Robert E. Lee is an imminent (sp) and essential character in our nation's history...but a yearning for political correctness could remove his name from...markers in Alexandria. ... If we decide to remove these markers and reminders, we are discarding both the good and the bad that we can learn from history."

In his eulogy at the church in Charleston where Rev. Pinckney and eight other African Americans had been murdered, President Obama wasn't concerned about political correctness as much as where the nation is headed. He said it was time for the Confederate flag to be lowered from American flag poles. Such action, he said, would "not be an insult to the valor of Confederate soldiers" but would be "one step in an honest accounting of America's history, a modest but meaningful balm for so many unhealed wounds."

The fact that wounds remain unhealed is evident in cited examples from the Washington region, the U.S., and around the world, in headlines and stories about efforts to re-name parks, buildings, and public spaces. Those efforts address labels that some see as anachronistic and out of sync with modern times, as offensive, even painful. Others say that history can't be rewritten, that the Civil War was a bloody and painful period for everyone, and that its lessons should not be forgotten. This debate will go on long after the City Council makes its decisions and, in so doing, writes the next chapter in our community's conversation.

John E. Lennon  
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January 18, 2016

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Toward the end of the January 27th meeting of the Ad Hoc Group on Confederate Memorials, a point was made regarding the importance of knowing the historical context in which streets were named in commemoration of Civil War soldiers loyal to the Confederate cause. Such information will shed light on the reasoning and motivation of local government leaders at the time streets were named. As it reviews the context for civic decisions made in that earlier era, the Group will also expand its awareness of the current context in which recommendations will be made to the City Council – and the impact on future generations of Alexandrians who may look back in wonder at the decisions made in 2016.

It was mentioned at the January 27th meeting, and is spelled out in further detail in the City Council's August 28th memo, that City authorities in the early 1950s established guidelines for the newly-annexed West End that included naming north-south streets after Confederate military leaders. More than five dozen streets are included in the current City Council inventory – about half cited as having been so named, with the other half cited, with less certainty, as possibly falling into that category.

In terms of establishing the context for those decisions it is important to note that after World War II, Virginia and other states – particularly in the South – wrestled in earnest with long-standing racial issues. Steps, some of them faltering, had been taken domestically as the nation battled facism in Europe and Asia, and as Americans increasingly confronted injustices on the home front. As the country took new jobs and raised families and looked forward to the benefits of peacetime, many states and local communities wanted to pick up where they had left off, to maintain the old order, the certainties of their previous lives. But for black Americans that meant that Jim Crow was alive and well, memories of midnight riders and violence were fresh, and second-class citizenship was the only kind of citizenship available. Within cities and towns where returning veterans told of rescuing whole populations from dictatorships, Americans took a measure of injustice at home – the separate and unequal facilities set aside for blacks – and resistance to segregation began mounting throughout the South. As Congress and the courts grappled with calls for justice and equality local governments and citizens' groups pushed back in an effort to preserve a way of life that was harder and harder to justify.

The result of this standoff, in a broad sense, was resistance in the late 1940s and the 1950s to changes that would bring about desegregation of public schools and facilities throughout the nation. In Virginia, separate facilities and unequal educational opportunities had been the rule for decades, and remained so, at least for a while. Civil rights lawyers and public demonstrations pressed for change, and after years of tumultuous legal battles in the courtroom and standoffs in the public square, the Supreme Court issued a ruling in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* which put an end to racially separate schools. The battle for equality was not yet over, however, as for the next several years state and local governments dragged their feet. Standing firmly on a states' rights platform, Virginia Governor Lindsey Almond declared he would close schools rather than permit black and white students to sit in the same classrooms: "we must," he said, "marshal a massive resistance." Federal troops oversaw the integration of public schools in other parts of the South, and at the end of the decade, faced with similar intervention, Prince Edward County closed its public schools. They did not open again until 1964.

Much more can be said about that period, but my only purpose here has been to identify the historical context in Virginia and the South – the generation of racial turmoil between the end of World War II and the civil rights legislation of the mid-1960s. It was during that period when Alexandria's civic associations, citizens' groups, and elected leaders named streets and other public spaces after Confederate heroes of the Civil War.

Jumping ahead to the present, we find that the forces and institutions that motivated civic action 65 years ago have largely faded. But agendas and debates on desegregation during the post-war era have given way to issues that are equally complex and time-consuming. Though the economy is healthier, the nation is stronger, individual rights are more secure, and technology has brought us all closer, these conditions have also brought us face to face with each other. We see in our mirrors and prisms and selfies and media the similarities and differences and clashing cultural values and distinctive preferences and dislikes more so now than ever before. Contrasting values and clashing differences are brought to us with stark and startling digital clarity; nothing is left, anymore, to the imagination. And of all of the issues we face in the context of our modern lives, one that remains prominent – dominant at times – is race: fundamental distinctions between human beings that can get in the way of myriad efforts to live in harmony. Racism, a problem like none other in American history, is with us as much in 2016 as it was in the mid-20th century, during the Civil War era, at the founding of the nation, and in the long period of colonial rule. As the Ad Hoc Group on Confederate Memorials pursues an agenda narrowly defined by the City Council, it must work within the context of today's cultural conflicts.

Racism and its effects are all around us, a part of our social foundation, an element in our daily lives; it is inescapable. We see its results in headlines, on placards and t-shirts, in books and at the movies, in politics. Black actors protest the whites-only prizes at the Emmy Awards, while counterparts celebrate diverse winners of awards from the Screen Actors' Guild. The National Book Award goes to Ta-Nehisi Coates for his stark appraisal of the perils his son will face while growing up black in white America. Schools, long integrated, grapple with achievement gaps for non-white students. A school-to-prison pipeline alarms educators; enormous demographic disproportions among inmates confound law makers and law enforcers. Four times as many black Americans are murdered as whites; demonstrators chant "Black Lives Matter"; President Obama's vitriolic critics deny racial intent; the leading Republican candidate to succeed him gains white support by criticizing Mexicans, Arabs, and Muslims from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. The words of Chief Justice John Roberts – "the way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race" – ring hollow.

This is not meant to suggest that the task at hand is too complex, the underlying social pressures too confounding, the questions requiring resolution too difficult. In fact, the task before the Ad Hoc Group is, in relative terms, simple enough. What I am proposing is something the Group has no obligation to consider but which, clearly, I hope it will.

With respect, I am asking the Group to look up from its bare agenda, its sparse mandate, and look to the neighborhoods and skyline and horizon above the Port City, and to imagine the future, and the impact its recommendations should have. When the streets were being named and the memorials were being placed decades ago, in an effort to commemorate the actions and values of Confederate war heroes, the men and women who led that effort were crystal clear in their intent: to ensure future generations of Alexandrians would have an opportunity to remember what those men stood for, and why they served. The civic associations and governing officials of mid-20th century Alexandria had the future as much in mind as the past – they knew what was important to them about the awful Civil War era, and why it was important for the future. Whether their virtue was sound or their wisdom tainted, it is without irony that I note the success of their initiative, as measured by the attentions of the City Council and the Ad Hoc Group on Confederate Memorials these many years later, during the wintry months of 2016.

I am respectfully requesting that the Group, once its mission is complete, include an addendum to its recommendations to the City Council proposing that no action be taken until the 21st century leaders of Alexandria can attest that their decision regarding memorials, street names, designations of public spaces and the general profile of urban life reflect the values, character, achievements – and, most of all, aspirations – of this generation of Alexandrians. There is no question in my mind that such outcome should be in sync with the goals and objectives of the City's strategic plan, soon to be updated in draft. We should hope that new statements of principle and value will attract residents and tourists, businesses and institutions, good will and respect for at least the next 65 years or so... maybe even until the end of this

century.

Respectfully submitted,  
John E. Lennon  
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January 31, 2016

Ps... I note that the Group moved the deadline for submission of its recommendations forward to April 29, 2016. It's a coincidence of timing that that comes four days after Confederate Memorial Day, marked by four Southern states, Virginia not among them.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I am writing to add my protest of the scrubbing of my city's history. I say my city because my family has been here since the 1700's! My family has helped to build this city, 4 houses on N. Royal St.; worked in this city; firefighter, nurse, museum curator, business owner, and was educated in this city. Most people in this city are not from here and couldn't care less about the historical aspects of Alexandria. I for one do! I have attended public schools in Alexandria, saw the dark side of the '68 riots, experienced the bussing and animous of the student population in the early 70's. I saw the progress and triumph over these events when our high school brought the youth and the community together, "Remember the Titans"? I saw the men and women and the youth of this town go through the process of healing with heads held high and again be proud of what it was to be called an Alexandrian. Now, you are prepared to turn this progress upside down and again isolate a portion of its citizens by renaming streets, eliminating statutes, and creating controversy where there was none, all because of political correctness and expediency. Well you can't erase history, good or bad. This city, and this country, has had its share of black eyes, bruises and hurts. But the citizens overcame them through dialog and discourse. Not through knee jerk reactions. To expunge the historical significance of my heritage is as unjust as trying to over-promote someone else's and reeks of tyranny and oppression. The city has continued to make itself proud by adding to its history, not rewriting or eliminating it! Just as the discovery and recovery of the cemetery at Ft. Ward, just as the discovery of the ships remains on the waterfront. The achievements made by all citizens of color should be celebrated, but the slights of racism, slavery, prejudice and indignity are part of every history. Not something to be proud of, but history nonetheless. And if we don't acknowledge and learn from those tragedies, they continue to perpetuate themselves. Embrace our history, good and bad, because if it is wiped out by this commission's decisions, we will live it again! This commission is NOT serving the public good, it is perpetuating the past wrongs. You want to correct a perceived wrong (street names, statutes, flags, etc.) , by wiping it out instead of using the opportunity to educate! The aim of this commission is just as prejudicial, alienating and insidious as that which it is trying to correct.

Do I have just cause to call this commission hypocritical, I do indeed. My great uncle's name is on the Appomattox statute, and he died fighting for a perceived injustice, federal over-reach, and states rights. He did not own slaves, he did not fight for slavery; he fought for the ideal that a man should pursue his own destiny and fortune, black or white, without federal mandates. Which is tyranny when applied to only a segment of the populace. He died at the age of 21. I am proud of this city's ability to look past the hurts and slights and rise above the pettiness of what was.

So again, I am expressing my protest at what you are really trying to do. Alienate, prejudice, and devalue a part of this city's history, and its residents, all in the name of political correctness.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." So said Spaniard Santayana in *The Life of Reason* (1905). Winston Churchill is said to have paraphrased it with something like, "Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it".

Be that as it may, history is history and one cannot change the past, for whatever reason. So why would one try to expunge parts of it? You can find numerous examples of this, none of them good -- from the Soviet Communists erasing from photographs those who fell from favor to ISIS destroying statues and Aramaic, Greco-Roman and Persian artifacts and architecture.

The City of Alexandria and its citizens have played a very special and unique role in the history of the United States and contributed significantly at every step to the nation's creation. In particular, key events in support of U.S. history took place on our streets -- including the French and Indian War, War of Independence, War of 1812, Civil War, WWI, and WWII. Her Civil War history is particularly unique as the longest Union occupied Southern city during that war, and started with the landing on our waterfront of Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, U.S. Army, and troops, to his death and that of Confederate sympathizer James Jackson at the Marshall House Hotel. They are the first two martyrs of the entire Civil War. On the day of their deaths, Alexandria citizens mustered and marched from the site of Statue Appomattox to join the Confederate States Army and form the 17th Virginia Infantry.

The story of Alexandria during the Civil War cannot be told without telling the story of both sides.

So down what kind of bunnyhole is the city wanting to crawl? What seems to be an obsession with Statue Appomattox has now morphed into Confederate street names, POSSIBLE Confederate street names and other issues. Where does it stop?

As I see the city rightfully capitalizing on the PBS documentary "Mercy Street," I wonder how that series would go if the Confederate part of it was deleted. And reading Visit Alexandria's masterfully done Official Visitors Guide "Extraordinary Alexandria", there are multiple references to Robert E. Lee. So are these references at risk of deletion?

If the city, through Visit Alexandria, is promoting "Mercy Street" tourism, and expecting an increase in business receipts and resulting tax receipts from Union and Confederate history, more power to you. But if the city wants to "change" history and the facts selectively, that's hypocrisy.

At the first meeting of the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names, one of the group members said friends would not move here because of Confederate street names and possible Confederate street names. I say "Good". We do not need such narrow-minded people in the City of Alexandria.

I encourage this group to think long and hard about the implications of any possible action, and the unintended consequences.

Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

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Feb 08, 2016 09:59:03 Success: Email Sent to: craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov

## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

As proud descendant of a Confederate Veteran of the 17th Virginia Infantry and the 7th Virginia Infantry I strongly object to the plan to rename streets, highways or anything else simply because they are named in memory or honor of a Confederate officer or soldier.

The idea of ignoring history to satisfy "political correctness" defies logic.

Lee Hubbard  
10412 Cleveland St.  
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### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Please do not make any changes to ANY existing memorials.

Please RESCIND the decision to prohibit the flying of the First National Flag on Robert E. Lee's birthady and on Confederate Memorial Day.

I hope you will respond to this request.

Thank you

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Please do not make any changes to Any existing Memorials.

Please RESCIND the decision to prohibit the flying of the First National Flag on Robert E. Lee's Birthday and Confederate Memorial Day.

Your attention is appreciated

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

please don't make changes to any of the monuments

please reverse your decision that prohibits flying the First National flag on Robert E Lee's birthday and confederate memorial day

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I believe this attempt to erase the history and established traditions of the City of Alexandria by this so called Ad-hoc committee is just one additional attempt to deprive the LEGAL citizens of the City of Alexandria, the county of FAIRFAX and the Commonwealth of Virginia their Constitutional rights. Any and all proposed actions of the so called committee need to be placed on a general election ballot, fully explained and then voted upon.

David James  
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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Please don't change any monuments

Please reverse the decision that forbids flying the 1st National flag on General Robert E Lee's birthday and Confederate Memorial Day

Thank you for listening

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

Please don't change any of our monuments

Please reverse your decision about flying the first National flag on Robert E Lee's birthday and

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### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I sincerely hope you will Not consider making Any changes to Any existing monuments or street names. This would be a terrible waste of public funds! Please RESCIND the ridiculous decision that prohibits the display or flying of the First National Flag on General Robert E.Lee's birthday and on Confederate Memorial Day. I hope you will carefully consider how important history is. Thank you for your attention

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

To Whom It May Concern

I am urging you to Rescind the decision to prohibit the display of the First National Flag

On Confederate Memorial Day and on

Robert E.Lee's birthday. They should fly!

Also please do not consider making any changes to Any existing Confederate or any other memorial. The street names should remain the same as well!

This is what makes our town charming!

Thank you for your consideration

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## 1. Public Feedback for Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Confederate Memorials and Street Names

### 1. Please provide your feedback:

I support renaming/removing.

We all know the broad arch of slavery and the war. And for some, that is when the real 'history' ends. To me, the most egregious fault in this debate is the 'white-washing' and 'lost cause' stuff around the late 1800 and early 1900 that was a DELIBERATE attempt to "RE-WRITE" history of slavery and the war. The north won the war, but the south won the public-relations battle. The naming of the streets and the construction of the statue occurred during this period of 're-imagining ' the role of the South in the war to make is something 'glorious'. Some argue that naming the streets for Confederates preserves 'their' history. Well, one could argue that since Alexandria remained in UNION hands the ENTIRE war, that perhaps all the streets should be named for UNION generals who ACTUALLY SERVED THERE!! Now that is history! Wouldn't this make more sense if we really, really wanted to 'preserve' the history of Alexandria during the war?

So, yes I support re-naming some streets for UNION officers and perhaps preserving some for Confederates, for true balance. But as a Civil War buff, when we see the nonsense perpetuated on the public in the name of 'the lost cause' and somehow claiming that the Confederate side of the debate represents 'true' history, I say enough!

.. al wallace

### 2. Please provide any contact information you would like the Advisory Group to receive. All fields are optional.

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#### Organization

SELF ( WORK /ATTEND CHURCH IN ALEX)

#### Street Address

11803 Maher Drive

#### Apt/Suite/Office

#### City

Ft. Washington

#### State

MD

#### Zip

20744

#### Email Address

awallace@ida.org

#### Phone Number

(301) 292-9412

## 2.

#### Confirmation Email

Feb 08, 2016 17:19:53 Success: Email Sent to: [craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov](mailto:craig.fifer@alexandriava.gov)