



CITY OF ATLANTA

KASIM REED
MAYOR

55 TRINITY AVENUE, S.W., SUITE 2400
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303-0300
TEL (404) 330-6100

November 20, 2017

Council President Ceasar Mitchell
and City Councilmembers
55 Trinity Avenue, SW
Suite 2900
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Advisory Committee on City of Atlanta Street Names and Monuments Associated with the Confederacy

Dear President Mitchell and Members of the Council:

Enclosed please find the final report of the Advisory Committee on City of Atlanta Street Names and Monuments Associated with the Confederacy (the "Committee"). This report was submitted today pursuant to City Council Resolution 17-R-4255, which formed and charged the Committee. I hereby respectfully communicate the report to Council.

I further request that President Mitchell appoint three Members of the Council to meet with me during the week of November 27, 2017 to review the enclosed recommendations. Based on this review, the appointed Members of Council and I will submit an implementation strategy for Council consideration during the week of December 4, 2017. Thank you for your attention to this request, and for your commitment to this important work.

Sincerely,

Kasim Reed

November 20, 2017

The Honorable Mayor Kasim Reed and Members of Atlanta City Council
55 Trinity Avenue SW
Atlanta, GA 30303

Dear Mayor Reed and Members of Atlanta City Council:

In accordance with the specifications of City Council Resolution 17-R-4255, and within the indicated time frame, the Advisory Committee on City of Atlanta Street Names and Monuments Associated with the Confederacy delivers the enclosed report containing recommendations as approved by the Committee on November 13, 2017.

As co-chairs of this Committee, and on behalf of its members, we appreciate the confidence that you placed in us as we considered these important issues.

Sincerely,

Sheffield Hale
President and CEO
Atlanta History Center

Derrick Kayongo
CEO
Center for Civil and Human Rights

**The Advisory Committee on City of Atlanta Street Names and Monuments
Associated with the Confederacy
Final Report**

Table of Contents

Introduction to the Committee 2

History and Context of Monuments 3

 Categories of Confederate Monuments..... 3

 Category One: Post-Civil War Era (1866-1889)..... 3

 Category Two: Jim Crow Era Monuments (1890-1930s)..... 4

 Category Three: Massive Resistance Monuments (post 1954)..... 5

 Memorialization in Atlanta: Key Groups..... 5

Atlanta Monuments..... 7

 The Confederate Obelisk Monument 7

 The Lion of the Confederacy 8

 Cease Firing – Peace is Proclaimed (Peace Monument)..... 9

 Monument to General W.H.T. Walker 11

 Peachtree Battle Avenue Monument..... 12

 Sidney Lanier Bust..... 13

Atlanta Street Names 14

Evaluating Monuments and Street Names 15

 General Considerations for the City of Atlanta 15

 Legal Considerations for the City of Atlanta 16

Recommendations of the Committee 18

Introduction to the Committee

In August 2017, following the tragic events of Charlottesville, Virginia, the Atlanta City Council created the Advisory Committee on City of Atlanta Street names and Monuments Associated with the Confederacy (the “Committee”) at the request of Mayor Kasim Reed. Mayor Reed and City Council charged the Committee with developing recommendations to resolve issues concerning city-owned Confederate-related monuments and street names for review by the Mayor and City Council. As decided by City Council Resolution 17-R-4255, the committee is composed of eleven members with six appointed by the Mayor and five by City Council, and includes community advocates, business leaders, and historians.

Resolution 17-R-4255 specified that the Committee would have 70 days from the approval of the legislation to complete its work. As the Resolution was approved on September 14, 2017, the recommendations are required to be submitted to the Mayor and City Council by November 23, 2017.¹ Recommendations encompass a range of ideas, including specific actions with respect to particular streets or monuments, opportunities for expanding the historical conversation by adding new monuments celebrating communities or populations that have not previously been recognized or commemorated, and establishing general principles for future evaluation and action related to Confederate-associated street names or monuments.

The Committee members met at Atlanta City Hall on the following dates at 6:00 p.m.:

- Wednesday, October 18
- Wednesday, November 1
- Wednesday, November 8
- Monday, November 13

At the meeting on October 18th, the committee elected Sheffield Hale and Derreck Kayongo as co-chairs of the committee.

All meetings were open to the public and announced via City of Atlanta press releases on October 13 and October 27, 2017. Public comment was heard by the Committee during the November 1, November 8, and November 13 meetings. The meetings were filmed by the City of Atlanta for broadcast. Public comment was accepted through the official Committee email address (StreetsAndMonuments@atlantaga.gov) and a Committee page was created on the City’s website. In all, the Committee received comment, either written or in person, from approximately 100 members of the public prior to the submission of this report.

Members of the Committee:

- Sheffield Hale, President and CEO, Atlanta History Center- co-chair
- Derreck Kayongo, CEO, Center for Civil and Human Rights- co-chair

¹ Atlanta City Council Resolution 17-R-4255, adopted September 7, 2017, approved September 14, 2017

- Douglas Blackmon, Senior Fellow and Director of Public Programs, University of Virginia’s Miller Center; Pulitzer Prize-winning author;
- Regina Brewer, preservation consultant;
- Larry Gellerstedt, CEO, Cousins Properties, Inc.;
- Nina Gentry, Owner, Gentry Planning Services;
- Martha Porter Hall, community advocate;
- Sonji Jacobs, Senior Director of Corporate Affairs, Cox Enterprises, Inc.;
- Dan Moore, Founder, APEX Museum;
- Brenda Muhammad, Executive Director, Atlanta Victim Assistance; and
- Shelley Rose, Senior Associate Director, Southeast Region, Anti-Defamation League.

History and Context of Monuments

Categories of Confederate Monuments

Category One: Post-Civil War Era (1866-1889)

Immediately following the Civil War, the entire country, while reunified, existed uneasily. While white Southerners coped with defeat, they also struggled with the end of the social structure that had been created and maintained through the institution of slavery. They also contended with the massive loss of life, particularly amongst military-aged men who fought in the Confederate Army. The war created many widows, many of whom became devoted to reinterring soldiers who remained buried in shallow battlefield graves. While Union soldiers were moved by the federal government to national cemeteries for re-interment, Confederate soldiers were not. Instead, ladies memorial associations in the South developed Confederate cemeteries.

Accompanying this effort was the erection of monuments and memorials to the dead. In the South, these recognized the Confederate dead. In many cemeteries throughout the country, funerary statues, including obelisks, were erected to commemorate and memorialize the Confederate soldiers buried there. In those spaces, statues were erected between the immediate end of the Civil War and 1889, principally to mourn the dead.

These monuments were often promoted by ladies memorial associations, many of which organized soon after the Civil War. The associations staged elaborate Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies, erected monuments to the dead, and “kept alive a sense of white southern solidarity.”² The associations, through their memorialization of the Confederate dead, helped to reshape the popular “Lost Cause” image of the Confederacy and develop what became the prevailing image of the Civil War by the white South during the Jim Crow era, discussed in greater detail below. Nevertheless, these early monuments remained principally funerary in nature.

² Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 2.

Category Two: Jim Crow Era Monuments (1890-1930s)

At the same time, local, city, and state officials throughout the South began to limit the ability of African Americans to participate in social and civil society through ordinances and legislation commonly referred to as “Jim Crow” laws. The monuments erected during the height of the Jim Crow era were often heroic in stature, featuring Confederate generals on horses, elaborate pillars and pedestals, and other grandiose details. They were often placed in strategic, well-traveled locations, such as public squares, courthouses, and institutions of higher education. A re-envisioned explanation of the cause and outcome of the Civil War, termed the Lost Cause, was vigorously circulated throughout the South and is exemplified in these monuments.

The mythology of the Lost Cause is an alternative justification for the Civil War that explains the Confederacy’s military loss as a moral victory, claiming, in essence, that the Confederacy was fully justified in its action.³ This myth ignores the moral atrocities of slavery. It intentionally ignores the two most important outcomes of the Civil war – reunification of the country and the freedom of 3.9 million Southerners, or 40% of the Southern population, who had been enslaved. In an attempt to gain the moral high ground, it deliberately misconstrues the cause of the Civil War by denying slavery as the principal cause of the war. Instead, the Lost Cause portrays the Civil War as a struggle caused by Northern aggression and a Southern desire to defend their homeland and states’ rights.⁴

White women often promoted the erection of the early monuments as tributes to Southern valor and the Lost Cause. Ladies memorial associations throughout the country progressed into the United Daughters of the Confederacy. This became a powerful nationwide organization that sought to promote a celebratory image of Confederate memory and the Lost Cause. This promotion of the Lost Cause activated white women's political prowess outside of the home and was highly effective in reshaping the popular narrative of the Civil War.⁵

A subset of Jim Crow-era monuments are reconciliation monuments. Emerging after the Spanish-American War and further encouraged by World War I, reconciliation monuments often focus on themes of unity between North and South. The wars that followed the Civil War united Americans against a common enemy, and acted to both increase respect among Northerners for Confederate veterans as well as offer opportunities for patriotic vindication of Southern men.⁶

These monuments represent a growing sense of nationalism in the aftermath of the Civil War, as distinct from the hardline Lost Cause monuments. Nevertheless, they are elements of the institutionalized white supremacy that characterizes Jim Crow. Their imagery and plaques represent reconciliation between white people in the North and South as the Reconstruction era

³ Cynthia Mills, *Monuments to the Lost Cause* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xvii.

⁴ Cynthia Mills, *Monuments to the Lost Cause* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xvii.

⁵ Cynthia Mills, *Monuments to the Lost Cause* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xvi.

⁶ Karen L. Cox, “The Confederate Monument at Arlington,” in Mills, *Monuments to the Lost Cause* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 150.

came to a close – but without reflecting the impact of war and its outcome on black Americans. Indeed, many of the advancements made by African Americans during the Reconstruction period were eliminated by restrictive Jim Crow laws and brutal oppression during this period. White Southerners reconciled with white Northerners at the expense of African American civil rights.

Category Three: Massive Resistance Monuments (post 1954)

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared in *Brown v. Board of Education* that separate public schools for black and white students was “inherently unequal.” As a result, white Southerners believed the foundation of their social and political order was threatened as their justification for segregation – separate but equal – was ruled unconstitutional. Federally mandated desegregation was met with massive resistance throughout the South.

In Georgia, Governor Marvin Griffin promised in his inaugural address in 1955 that “so long as Marvin Griffin is your governor, there will be no mixing of the races in the classrooms of our schools and colleges of Georgia.”⁷ In 1956, the Georgia state flag was altered to feature the Confederate battle flag and in 1958, Stone Mountain was purchased by the state and its sculpting to include Confederate iconography restarted. The Stone Mountain carving, according to historian Grace Hale, was “part of an effort to ground the white southern present in images of the southern past.”⁸

Memorialization in Atlanta: Key Groups

Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association

The Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association (ALMA), a group formed almost immediately after the end of the Civil War, was responsible for erecting several monuments around Atlanta. ALMA began in 1866 and sponsored the first Confederate Memorial Day in Georgia that year. Later in 1866, the group requested property within the Atlanta City Cemetery (later renamed Oakland Cemetery) to reinter remains of Confederate soldiers buried in battlefield graves in and around Atlanta. Atlanta City Council granted the request in 1866 and ALMA assumed responsibility for maintaining the Confederate burial grounds, and for reintering and identifying Confederate dead.⁹

ALMA erected two monuments within the Confederate burial grounds: the Confederate Obelisk and *Lion of the Confederacy*. ALMA sponsored an annual Confederate Memorial Day celebration until the 1980s. Festivities were sometimes less elaborate during World War I and World War II, but the group coordinated with other Confederate remembrance organizations, such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, to stage the celebrations. Like many other

⁷ Grace Elizabeth Hale, “Granite Stopped Time: The Stone Mountain Memorial and the Representation of White Southern Identity,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 82, No. 1, (Spring 1998), 40.

⁸ Grace Elizabeth Hale, “Granite Stopped Time: The Stone Mountain Memorial and the Representation of White Southern Identity,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 82, No. 1, (Spring 1998), 40.

⁹ Atlanta City Council Minutes, vol. V, November 2, 1866, 66.

organizations dedicated to Confederate remembrance, ALMA promoted the Lost Cause narrative of the Civil War and avidly maintained devotion to the memory of the Confederacy through reciting the pledge to the Confederate flag at every meeting.

According to preliminary research by the Committee, the organization last filed a renewal of its charter with the Georgia Secretary of State's office in 1966, but failed to renew its charter in 1984, thus dissolving the organization.¹⁰

Gate City Guard

Originally chartered in 1859 as a local militia, members of Gate City Guard fought in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. The militia enlisted with the Confederate Army in 1861, shortly after Georgia seceded from the Union. Following the war, Gate City Guard embarked on a "good will tour" to the North in 1879 to foster a spirit of reconciliation between North and South.

In 1893, older members of Gate City Guard formed the Old Guard of Gate City Guard. The Old Guard adopted the motto, "*In Bello, Paceque, Primus*," translated as "First in War, First in Peace." This is a reference to Gate City Guard volunteers fighting for the Confederate Army and their later "Peace Mission" of 1879. In 1909, the Old Guard proposed the idea of a peace monument to commemorate the Peace Mission of 1879. This resulted in the erection of *Cease Firing – Peace is Proclaimed*, the Peace Monument in Piedmont Park in 1911.^{11 12}

The Old Guard of Gate City Guard continues to annually rededicate this Peace Monument.

¹⁰ *The Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association*, charter renewal, (State of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, Fulton County, 1884; renewed 1904, 1924, 1944; revived, extended 1966). Control number: A601573.

¹¹ Franklin Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events*, vol. II, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), 576.

¹² "History," *Old Guard of the Gate City Guard*. URL: <http://oldguard-atlanta.org/history>.

Atlanta Monuments

The Confederate Obelisk Monument



Location: Oakland Cemetery

Erection/dedication date: completed 1873/dedicated 1874

The 65-foot-tall obelisk in the Confederate section of Oakland Cemetery is inscribed, “Our Confederate Dead,” and dated 1873. ALMA was responsible for the erection of this monument. Fundraising efforts by the association for the monument began as early as 1869. After some debate, the Confederate section of Oakland Cemetery was decided as the most appropriate location for the monument, leading to the resignation of Mrs. John B. Gordon as president of ALMA. Mrs. Gordon favored a more prominent location for the monument, such as Five Points. The cornerstone of the monument was laid shortly after her resignation in 1870, and the monument was completed in 1874. Donated materials from the Stone Mountain Granite Company and free transportation by the Georgia Railroad helped make expenses for the

monument manageable.¹³ In 1933, Mayor Key erected a flagpole adjacent to the Obelisk that currently flies the United States, Georgia, and Atlanta flags, as well as the first national flag of the Confederacy.

The obelisk is an example of early funerary monuments erected shortly after the end of the Civil War, primarily meant to honor the dead. Current maintenance is funded by the Historic Oakland Foundation.

The Lion of the Confederacy



Photo: J. Glover, 2005

Location: Oakland Cemetery
Erection/dedication date: 1895

The Lion of the Confederacy was erected and funded by ALMA in 1895. The memorial is located in the Confederate section of Oakland Cemetery. The monument was carved by T.M. Brady from marble quarried from north Georgia and is modeled after the *Lion of Lucerne*, a rock relief in Lucerne, Switzerland.

¹³ Robert E. Zaworski, *Headstones of Heroes: The Restoration and History of Confederate Graves in Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery*, (Nashville: Turner Publishing Company, 1998), 10.

The monument serves as a headstone for the unknown 3,000 Confederate soldiers who are reinterred from battlefield graves around Atlanta and buried in the cemetery. Current maintenance is funded by the Historic Oakland Foundation. The statue is on the Smithsonian register of historically significant funerary art.

Cease Firing – Peace is Proclaimed (Peace Monument)



Photo: Wally Gobetz, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/8988344779/in/photostream/>

Location: Piedmont Park

Erection/dedication date: October 10, 1911

Erected and dedicated by the Old Guard of Gate City Guard, the Peace Monument, *Cease Firing – Peace is Proclaimed*, is a reconciliation monument. Gate City Guard embarked on a tour of the North in 1879 as a Peace Mission meant to encourage reconciliation between former Confederate and Union foes. The Peace Monument is meant to commemorate this early attempt at reconciliation. The Spanish-American War in 1898 further encouraged reconciliation by providing a common foe against which to unite former Confederate soldiers and officers with their Union counterparts who had opposed each other in the Civil War, including, for example, former Confederate General Joseph B. Wheeler.

Reconciliation at this period of history, however, did not mean reconciliation for all Americans. Jim Crow laws were widespread during this time. In Atlanta, the Atlanta Race Riots of 1906 had occurred just a few years earlier, spurring the adoption of more draconian segregation laws. In addition, the Ku Klux Klan was revived in 1915 atop Stone Mountain.

The text of the monument reads as follows:

“The Gate City Guard, Captain G Harvey Thompson. In the conscientious conviction of their duty to uphold the Cause of the Southern Confederacy, offered their services to the Governor of Georgia and were enrolled in the Confederate Army April 30, 1861. Inspired with the same sincerity of purpose and accepting in good faith the result of that heroic struggle, The Gate City Guard, under the command of Captain Joseph F. Burke, Desiring to restore fraternal sentiment among the people of all sections of our country, and ignoring sectional animosity, on October 6th, 1879, went forth to greet their former adversaries in the Northern and Eastern states, inviting them to unite with the people of the South to heal the Nation’s wounds in a peaceful and prosperous reunion of the states. This “mission of peace” was enthusiastically endorsed by the military and citizens in every part of the union and this monument is erected as an enduring testimonial to their patriotic contribution to the cause of national fraternity. Dedicated October 10th, 1911 by Simeon E. Baldwin (Governor of Connecticut) and Hoke Smith (Governor of Georgia)”

Monument to General W.H.T. Walker



Location: Glenwood Drive near I-20 exit
Erection/dedication date: 1902

This upturned cannon tube acts as a battlefield marker for the place of death of Confederate General W.H.T. Walker, killed during the Battle of Atlanta, July 22, 1864. During the battle, Walker was shot by a Union sharpshooter and was one of the first casualties of the battle.

The unveiling ceremony was conducted July 22, 1902, the 38th anniversary of Walker's death, and attracted several thousand people. Among the guests was former Union General Oliver Otis Howard, who had succeeded General James B. McPherson as commander of the Army of the Tennessee. McPherson had been killed the same day during skirmishes prior to the Battle of Atlanta (there is a similar monument located nearby that honors McPherson). Howard knew Walker at West Point.¹⁴ The monument was moved in 1937 by ALMA to a nearby hill, which, according to the association, was the actual location of death. Currently, the local

¹⁴ "The Battle of Atlanta: Death of General Walker," *Emory Libraries & Information Technology*, URL: <https://battleofatlanta.digitalscholarship.emory.edu/tour/the-battle-of-atlanta/6/>.

commemorative organization B*ATL is raising funds for the restoration of the Walker Monument and the McPherson Monument.

Peachtree Battle Avenue Monument



Location: Peachtree Battle Avenue, near Peachtree Road Intersection
Erection/dedication date: 1935

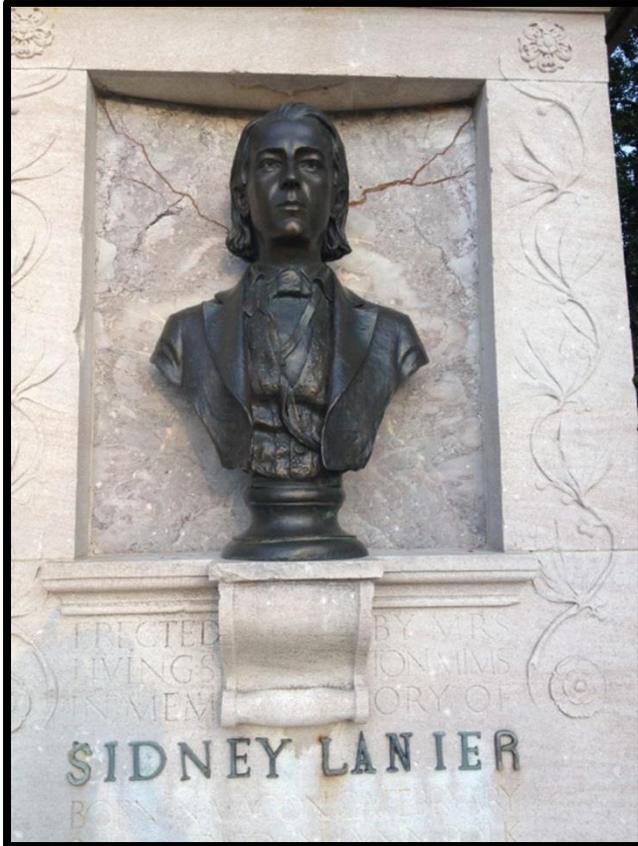
The monument at Peachtree Battle Avenue was erected by the Old Guard of Gate City Guard. It was dedicated by Atlanta Post No. 1, American Legion, in 1935. The monument features text that describes it as a “tribute to American Valor” and focuses on a reconciliation narrative. The Spanish-American War and World War I are both described as moments of reunion between North and South to fight a common enemy. Similar to the Peace Monument, the reconciliation narrative of this monument must be interpreted in the context of the Jim Crow era.

The inscription on the monument reads as follows:

“On this historic ground where Confederate soldiery, defending Atlanta, met and disputed the southward advance of federal troops along Peachtree Road, July 19th 1864. This memorial is a tribute to American Valor, which they of the blue and they of the gray had as a common heritage from their forefathers of 1776, and to the pervading spirit thereof which, in the days of 1898 and the Great World conflict of 1917-1918, perfected the reunion of the North and the South.

Erected by the Old Guard of Atlanta. Dedicated by Atlanta Post No. 1, American Legion. 1935.”

Sidney Lanier Bust



Location: Replica in Piedmont Park
Erection/dedication date: 1914

The Piedmont Park Association, with funds provided by Mrs. Livingston Mims, erected this statue in 1914. Sidney Lanier was a Confederate soldier. He enlisted in the signal corps at age 19 and later became a blockade runner. In 1864, he was captured and imprisoned in a Union prison camp. During his imprisonment, he contracted tuberculosis, which ultimately killed him on September 7, 1881. He was a successful poet, critic, and musician. He is considered the first “national poet” from the South, according to the Georgia Writer’s Hall of Fame, and is honored by several memorial recognitions named for him throughout the state, including Lake Lanier and the Sidney Lanier Bridge in Brunswick.

The bust of Sidney Lanier at Piedmont Park was regularly vandalized as a prank by local university students for over 16 years. In 1985, the original was removed from Piedmont Park for restoration. Oglethorpe University received the original bust, since Lanier attended Oglethorpe University. A replica was reinstalled at Piedmont Park in 2012.

Atlanta Street Names

Since the 1970s, the City of Atlanta has renamed several streets honoring individuals associated with the Confederacy; however, a number of streets still remain.

Figure 1: Confederate-related Street Names Already Changed by the City

Former Name	Current Name
Gordon Street	Ralph David Abernathy Boulevard
Forrest Avenue	Ralph McGill Boulevard
Ashby Street	Joseph E. Lowery Boulevard
Bedford Place	Central Park Place Argonne Avenue
Rolling Mill Street	Boulevard
Calhoun Street	Courtland Street
Jackson Street	Parkway Drive

The City of Atlanta, with input from members of the Committee and the general public, determined the following street names to be associated with the Confederacy. For some of the following streets, additional research is needed to confirm (1) that these streets were actually named for Confederate soldiers and, if so, (2) whether the street was named in order to honor their affiliation with the Confederacy. Further historical notes on some of the street names listed in the table can be found in Appendix A of this report.

Figure 2: Current Street Names Associated with the Confederacy

Street Name	Street Name
Anderson Way	Holtzclaw Street
Bartow Street	Lee Street
Bell Street	Longstreet Circle
Cleburne Avenue	Manigault Street
Cleburne Terrace	Maney Lane
Cobb Street	Memorial Drive
Colquitt Street	Miller Drive
Confederate Avenue	Pickett Street/Alley
Cumming Drive	Sayer Street

Deshler Street	Stovall Street
East Confederate Avenue	Walker Avenue
Forrest Street	Walker Street
Gartrell Street	Walthall Court
Gordon Place	Walthall Drive
Hardee Avenue	Wetzel Drive
Hardee Circle	Wilson Street
Hardee Street	

Evaluating Monuments and Street Names

This is not Atlanta’s first time grappling with these issues; as noted above, the City of Atlanta has taken proactive steps to rename several of the most prominent Confederate-named streets during the past few decades. However, the current work of the Committee places the City within a broader national conversation regarding the retention of monuments and street names linked to the Confederacy.

Other cities, universities, and institutions have considered similar questions: determining the role – if any – of Confederate monuments in contemporary society. Materials related to these efforts are attached to this report as Appendix B; the particularly helpful principles developed by the Yale University Committee to Establish Principles on Renaming is attached here as Appendix C.

General Considerations for the City of Atlanta

The Yale Principles attached to this report could form a useful foundation for the City of Atlanta to use in contemplating both the fate of Confederate-related monuments and street names, as well as problematic monuments and street names identified by the City in the future. However, contemplating removal/relocation, contextualization, and name changes within a city setting contains some key differences from a university setting.

For these principles to be useful in a city setting, a few conditions must exist. First, the mission and values of the city must be agreed upon in order to present a standard against which to compare the principal legacy of individuals in question. Secondly, it should be acknowledged that cities often contain more diverse populations than many college or university settings. It is, therefore, extremely important to have a system for public comment that extends the opportunity to register input to all members of the community.

In the case of street names and monuments in the City of Atlanta, not all monuments or street names represent a particular individual. This presents a more complicated deliberation when discussing the idea of a “principal legacy.” Instead, it becomes especially important to examine the time of monument erection and who was involved in the process to determine the purpose and placement of the monument or street naming.

Legal Considerations for the City of Atlanta

State of Georgia Law

The State of Georgia is one of several Southern states that have enacted laws protecting Confederate monuments. According to 2017 Georgia code, title 50, chapter 3, article 1:

“It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, corporation, or other entity to mutilate, deface, defile, or abuse contemptuously any publicly owned monument, plaque, marker, or memorial which is dedicated to, honors, or recounts the military service of any past or present military personnel of this state, the United States of America or the several states thereof, or the Confederate States of America or the several states thereof, and no officer, body, or representative of state or local government or any department, agency, authority, or instrumentality thereof shall remove or conceal from display any such monument, plaque, marker, or memorial for the purpose of preventing the visible display of the same. A violation of this paragraph shall constitute a misdemeanor.

No publicly owned monument or memorial erected, constructed, created, or maintained on the public property of this state or its agencies, departments, authorities, or instrumentalities in honor of the military service of any past or present military personnel of this state, the United States of America or the several states thereof, or the Confederate States of America or the several states thereof shall be relocated, removed, concealed, obscured, or altered in any fashion; provided, however, that appropriate measures for the preservation, protection, and interpretation of such monuments or memorials shall not be prohibited.”¹⁵

Streets named for Confederate-associated individuals are unaffected by the provisions of this law, as is the ability of the City to provide contextualization. Contextualization refers to the placement of reader rails, historical markers, or other appropriate signage to further explain the historical context surrounding the erection and/or subject matter of the monument.

City of Atlanta Street Names Process

The current City of Atlanta street renaming process is found in section 138-8 of the City of Atlanta code. This process begins with an application submitted to the Commissioner of the Department of Public Works that must include several components: a detailed cost estimate of city expenses to change signs, etc.; \$2,500 application fee; agreement of 75% of property owners who would be affected by the renaming; and information about the individual/organization that would be the new name.

There are also guidelines for potential new street names. If the name proposed is of a living individual, that person must be at least 75 years old. If the proposed name is of a deceased individual, then that individual must have been deceased for at least 30 days prior to the

¹⁵ O.C.G.A. § 50-3-1 (2017).

application being submitted. Finally, if the proposed name is of an individual or organization, the namesake must be of local, national, or international significance. The proposed renaming also must be for the entire length of the street.

After the initial application is submitted, the process requires review by the Urban Design Commission, Department of Public Works, City Utilities Committee, and the Atlanta City Council.

Ownership Questions

Due to restrictions on the actions that can be taken in regard to Confederate monuments, determining ownership of monuments is important to ensure that possible actions are fully understood and explored. After inquiring about ownership of monuments in the Confederate section of Oakland Cemetery, some uncertainty about ownership exists.

As previously stated, on November 2, 1866, Atlanta City Council agreed to refer a petition by ALMA requesting a donation of land for the purpose of interring Confederate dead to the Committee on the Cemetery.¹⁶ Shortly after, ALMA began the process of recovering Confederate dead from battlefield graves around Atlanta and reinterring them in the new section in Oakland Cemetery. In addition to burying Confederate dead, ALMA erected monuments in their Confederate burial section, including the Confederate Obelisk and *Lion of the Confederacy*.

Throughout its existence, ALMA cared for the Confederate section of Oakland cemetery. When ALMA sought to sell plots to raise money, Atlanta City Council sometimes refused its requests, instead offering payment to ALMA in return for not selling the plots.¹⁷ In a charter renewal request filed with the Georgia Secretary of State's office in 1966, ALMA specifically asked for its charter to be revived "so that the corporation shall have the right further to watch over, care for and protect the graves of the Confederate Soldiers buried at Oakland Cemetery in the City of Atlanta, and to preserve and beautify the grounds, and protect the Monument that has been erected to the memory of 'Our Confederate Dead.'"¹⁸

ALMA failed to renew its charter with the Georgia Secretary of State's office in 1984. Once ALMA dissolved, it is unclear who gained control of the property owned by the association. Before actions can be taken by the City in regard to Confederate monuments in Oakland Cemetery, this ownership question must be answered by the city's legal department.

¹⁶ Atlanta City Council Minutes, vol. V, November 2, 1866, 66.

¹⁷ Albert Malone, *History of the Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association* (undated), 43.

¹⁸ *The Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association*, charter renewal, (State of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, Fulton County, 1884; renewed 1904, 1924, 1944; revived, extended 1966). Control number: A601573.

Recommendations of the Committee

After deliberating over the placement, purpose, and category of the various monuments and street names associated with the Confederacy around the City of Atlanta, the committee considered principles to review.

In general, four themes emerged as a result of public comment that can be used when considering action with respect to monuments and street names: glorification, omission, education, and compassion.

Some monuments glorify the Lost Cause of the Confederacy, thus promoting a distorted view of the Civil War and supporting the restrictive laws of the Jim Crow era. These monuments primarily represent the history of white Southerners, omitting the many other narratives occurring simultaneously that played important roles in shaping history. These monuments can be valuable educational tools, but only when they are presented in such a context that corrects the misconceptions about the Civil War intrinsic to Lost Cause mythology and embodied by many of these statues.

Admittedly, the lack of education about the causes and consequences of the Civil War contributes negatively to efforts to determine the best course of action in regard to these monuments. Finally, all of these issues should be dealt with compassionately, since many people in Atlanta have emotional connections, both positive and negative, to these monuments and street names.

When considering monuments, the particular facts surrounding each monument should be considered, since monuments were erected in different time periods, by a variety of groups, and with different goals in mind. When considering Lost Cause monuments, including statues located at courthouses and other civic spaces, courses of action might be different than recommendations for monuments erected in a cemetery. While cemetery monuments still cause a visceral reaction for some individuals, those monuments were erected with a different primary purpose in mind than Jim Crow-associated monuments: mourning the dead.

In the future, the Committee recommends that the City develop and propose a set of principles to use when determining whether a street should be renamed or a monument be moved or contextualized. These principles can be developed through the creation of a committee, such as the committee created at Yale University for the purpose of developing principles on renaming. The Yale principles, also adopted by the University of Mississippi, could be a useful place to start when developing a process through which street names should be considered. In the meantime, it seems obvious to the committee that the names of any high-ranking Confederate officers that are attached to street names be considered for renaming on an expedited basis.

This assertion, however, raises further questions: what degree of connection to the Confederacy should be a consideration for removal or renaming? Should a bust of Sidney Lanier be removed

because his service as a Confederate soldier outweighs his significant contributions to literature, poetry, and art? Grant Park is named for Lemuel Grant, the engineer who designed the defensive fortifications around Atlanta during the Civil War; however, he donated the land on which Grant Park was established and was thus honored with the park naming. Should the park be renamed? The development of a set of principles can help future city councils, mayors, and residents of Atlanta discuss these difficult questions and make decisions based on a uniform process for contemplating removal/relocation, contextualization, and renaming.

In light of these reflections, the committee makes the following specific recommendations to the City Council and Mayor:

1. **Oakland Cemetery Monuments:** The Historic Oakland Foundation should continue to care for the Confederate Obelisk and *Lion of the Confederacy*, but must add contextualization to the satisfaction of the City of Atlanta. The City of Atlanta should investigate the ownership of these monuments. Depending on the results of a title search, title should be conveyed to the Historic Oakland Foundation with appropriate protective easements and covenants. This act would ensure the monuments can receive the proper contextualization, interpretation, and care. It further guarantees no taxpayer funds are used to support these monuments. The committee also recommends that the flag pole located adjacent to the obelisk be moved to another appropriate location in the cemetery and that the Confederate flag no longer be flown.
2. **Peace Monument at Piedmont Park:** Because this monument falsely depicts the character of the post-Civil War reconciliation by reflecting Lost Cause mythology in the language used in the inscription and omitting from its narrative the experience of African Americans, the Committee recommends that this monument be removed from public display and preserved in City storage. The Committee further notes that the current location of the Peace Monument may be an appropriate place for an additive monument honoring Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, or other underrepresented historical figures associated with Atlanta.
3. **Walker Monument:** Because of its close proximity to the city limits, the committee recommends that the City legal department confirm that the monument is within the City of Atlanta. B*ATL has raised a substantial amount of money to restore and care for this monument and the nearby McPherson monument. This monument represents an important companion to the McPherson monument when telling the story of the Battle of Atlanta. The committee recommends that B*ATL be responsible for appropriate contextualization of this monument. It is the opinion of the committee that this monument is a battlefield marker and does not serve a purpose of glorification, but rather is a reminder of an important historical event. Public comments indicated that the neighborhood has embraced the two monuments and its site on the location of the battlefield as an important part of its identity. The committee supports retention of the monument and its continued support by B*ATL and the adjoining neighborhoods.

4. Peachtree Battle Monument: Because this monument falsely depicts the character of post-Civil War reconciliation by reflecting Lost Cause mythology through the language of its inscription and omitting the experience of African Americans, the committee recommends that the monument be removed from public display and placed in City storage. The Committee further recommends replacing this monument with a factual marker that acknowledges the facts of the battle in an appropriate historical manner.
5. Sidney Lanier Bust: The committee determines that the bust is not a Confederate-related monument. The bust was installed for reasons unrelated to service in the Confederate Army. Its removal is not a recommendation of the committee.
6. Immediately change Confederate Avenue, East Confederate Avenue, and any street named after Nathan Bedford Forrest, John B. Gordon, Robert E. Lee, Stephen Dill Lee, or Howell Cobb. The aforementioned were significant Confederate military leaders and actively involved in white supremacist activities after the war, making them undeserving of the honor of a street name in Atlanta.
7. Establish a working group to determine which of the identified streets are named for Confederate leaders as a result of their military service and expedite a process for removal with the approval of street residents, under the streamlined process suggested below.
8. Establish a process for considering street names associated with the Confederacy, with stipulations to make the process affordable and ensure that full and appropriate research is conducted. Lower or waive the fees charged and lower the threshold required for approval of the name change from 75% of property owners to 50% of the residents or property owners approval for Confederate-related street names. Under the current process, only the input of property owners is required for approval of a name change, but the committee recommends, in the case of street names associated with the Confederacy, that this right be extended to rental residents.
9. The City of Atlanta lobby the state legislature to change the law to permit local decision-making with respect to Confederate monuments.
10. The Committee recommends that the City establish a successive process to determine future criteria and principles governing the removal/relocation, contextualization, and/or renaming of street names and monuments determined in future to glorify the Confederacy, the slave trade, or other historic atrocities. This process could take the form of a longer-standing committee, which should also identify opportunities for the conceptualization, interpretation, creation, and installation of monuments and counter monuments at prominent historical locations throughout the city; for example, a monument in the Five Points area and at Piedmont Park. The Committee also recommends that the City work with the Georgia Historical Society to support their historical marker program which has been focusing

statewide on recognizing underrepresented individuals and communities to add more diverse markers in the City of Atlanta. The Committee further recommends that the successive process or committee be comprised of recognized local and regional historians, academicians with expertise in Southern and Atlanta history from the Civil War period to Civil Rights Era, individuals with experience in public interpretation and explanation of historic events and people, and community leaders and residents from the City of Atlanta. The Committee finally recommends that the successive process or committee include robust community outreach and engagement.

Appendix A

Working Draft of EXISTING City of Atlanta Street Names Associated with the Confederacy

Current Name	Preliminary Notes
Anderson Way	
Bartow Street	
Bell Street	Presumably named after Hiram Parks Bell, a Confederate Congressman
Cleburne Avenue	Named after Patrick R. Cleburn, an Irish-born Confederate General who fought at Shiloh, Chickamauga, and throughout the Chattanooga and Atlanta campaigns.
Cleburne Terrace	Named after Patrick R. Cleburn, an Irish-born Confederate General who fought at Shiloh, Chickamauga, and throughout the Chattanooga and Atlanta campaigns.
Cobb Street	
Colquitt Street	
Confederate Avenue	Named after the former Confederate Soldier's Home, which was completed in 1900 and once stood on the current site of the Georgia Emergency Management complex - site of the former Shultz Farm
Cumming Drive	
Deshler Street	
East Confederate Avenue	Named after the former Confederate Soldier's Home, which was completed in 1900 and once stood on the current site of the Georgia Emergency Management complex - site of the former Shultz Farm
Forrest Street	Named after Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate Army General and founder of the Ku Klux Klan
Gartrell Street	Presumably named after Lewis Gartrell, a Confederate Congressman
Gordon Place	Named after the former Confederate General John B. Gordon. Gordon became the first Democratic governor of Georgia after the Civil War, bringing an end to Reconstruction Era Republican control of the state.
Hardee Avenue	
Hardee Circle	Continuation of Hardee Street, which is named after Confederate General William J. Hardee
Hardee Street	Named after Confederate General William J. Hardee
Holtzclaw Street	Named after Confederate General (and McDonough, GA native) James T. Holtzclaw who commanded forces during the Chattanooga and Atlanta campaigns
Lee Street	Most likely named after Confederate General Robert E. Lee
Longstreet Circle	
Maney Lane	
Manigault Street	Most likely named after Manigault who was a brigade commander in Brown's Division
Memorial Drive	
Miller Drive	
Pickett Street / Alley	
Sayer street	
Stovall Street	Possibly named after Brigadier General Marcellus Stovall, a brigade commander in Clayton's Division
Walker Avenue	
Walker Street	Possibly named after the Confederate General James George Walker
Walthall Court	
Walthall Drive	
Walthall Street	
Wetzel Drive	

Working Draft of FORMER City of Atlanta Street Names Associated with the Confederacy

Original Name	Current Name	Change Date	Preliminary Notes
Ashby Street	Joseph E. Lowry Boulevard	2001	Originally named after Confederate General Turner Ashby, Jr.
Bedford Place	Argonne Avenue		Named after Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate Army General and founder of the Ku Klux Klan
Bedford Place	Central Park Place		
Calhoun Street	Piedmont Avenue		Originally named after James M. Calhoun, a pioneer citizen of Atlanta and mayor of the city during the Civil War. Calhoun was a cousin of the famous slavery and "states rights" advocate, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.
Forrest Avenue	Ralph McGill Boulevard	1980	Named after Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate Army General and founder of the Ku Klux Klan
Forrest Avenue	Central Park Place		Named after Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate Army General and founder of the Ku Klux Klan
Gordon Street	Ralph David Abernathy Boulevard	1991	Originally named after John B. Gordon, a former Confederate general and Georgia governor
Jackson Street	Charles Allen Drive		
Jackson Street	Parkway Drive		
Rolling Mill Street	Boulevard		Originally named after the Confederate Rolling Mill, which once occupied the general location of the current Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill in the Cabbagetown neighborhood. The mill was exploded by the retreating Confederate Army during the fall of Atlanta in 1864.
Sewell Road	Benjamin E. Mays Drive		
Walker Street	Centennial Olympic Park Drive		Possibly named after the Confederate General James George Walker

Appendix B

The Renaming Consideration Processes of Illustrative Cities and Universities

City of Baltimore

- Timeline:
 - June 30, 2015- Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake announced creation of the commission to review all of Baltimore's Confederate statues
 - September 17, 2015- first meeting of commission
 - 8 members total
 - Final report submitted on August 16, 2016
 - December 3, 2016- plaques were installed at each monument as a short-term solution
 - August 14, 2017- Baltimore City Council voted to remove all Confederate monuments
 - August 15-16, 2017- Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Confederate Women's Monument, Lee & Jackson Monument, and Taney monument removed overnight
- 4 public commission meetings total
 - Some videos and reference materials posted online
- Commission website: <http://baltimoreplanning.wixsite.com/monumentcommission>
- Public comment taken through:
 - Physical mail
 - Electronic mail on the website, email address
 - Public hearing- third meeting of commission especially for public testimony
 - Collected copies of testimony
 - 188 public testimony submitted by 165 individuals
- Recommendations of the commission:
 - Lee & Jackson Monument- removed, deaccessioned, and offered to the NPS to be placed in Chancellorsville Battlefield
 - Roger B. Taney monument- removed from Mount Vernon Place
 - Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument and Confederate Women's Monument- retained, but with the addition of financial support for re-contextualization
- Confederate Monuments were removed overnight after the Charlottesville incident (August 16, 2017)
 - 4 monuments were removed
 - Mayor Catherine Pugh ordered the removal, saying that there were concerns about safety and security

City of Dallas

- Timeline:
 - Task force on Confederate Monuments appointed August 24, 2017
 - Concluded work on September 22, 2017
 - Robert E. Lee statues removed on September 14, 2017
 - City Council voted for removal the week prior

- Public Art Committee of the Cultural Affairs Commission considered matter on October 10, 2017
 - Cultural Affairs Commission considered matter on October 12, 2017
- 22 members total (including chair and youth commissioner)
- Website: <http://dallasculture.org/confederatemonuments/>
- Task Force Considered:
 - Robert E. Lee Park
 - Confederate Cemetery
 - Robert E. Lee Monument
 - Confederate Monument at Pioneer Cemetery
 - Fair Park symbols
 - Street names
- Task Force had five meetings total (August 31, September 7, September 15, September 19, September 22)
 - Recordings of all meeting are available online
 - Two sessions included “questions and responses” handouts (September 7, September 15)
- Task Force Recommendations Memorandum
 - Public comments were heard at two meetings and comments were received through written means throughout the process
 - 160 comments received total
 - 123 of those comments were opposed to removal
 - Both the Robert E. Lee monument and the Pioneer cemetery monument were recommended for removal to another site for interpretation and education
 - Fair Park art and architecture will remain, but suggested additional contextualization and references to other groups of people currently marginalized by exhibition
 - Add substantive commemoration of the Hall of Negro Life
 - Return to Dallas or recreate the murals which previously occupied this space
 - Rename Robert E. Lee park to Oak Lawn Park
 - Remove Confederate Cemetery name
 - Recommends that Gano, Lee, Cabell, Stonewall, and Beauregard street names be changed
 - Renaming of these streets be accomplished on a priority basis within 90 days with expanded comment process
 - Recommends that process be directed and led by paid local and regional artists, architects, preservationists, and historians
 - Recommends erecting a marker at Akard and Main streets memorializing the lynching of Allen Brooks
 - Recommends that the City of Dallas create a racial equity policy after public acknowledgement and apology for the policies and practices of the City that have furthered institutional racism and segregation
- Robert E. Lee statue removed on September 14, 2017

City of New Orleans

- Timeline:
 - June 24, 2015- Mayor Landrieu calls for removal of 4 Confederate statues
 - Justification: 1993 ordinance that gives the City Council authority to declare monuments as public nuisances and have them removed
 - July 29-30- 115 people take part in talks that lasted two days about removal. 600 people were invited, held through the Welcome Table racial reconciliation initiative
 - August 13, 2015- Historic District Landmarks Commission votes 11-1 to remove monuments
 - Two hearings offered chance for public comment
 - August 15- anonymous donor offers to fund removal
 - Part of a 60 day period of public meetings and discussion before official consideration of the topic by the City Council
 - December 8, 2015- Monumental Task Committee delivers petition in favor of keeping statues with 31,000 signatures
 - December 10, 2015- City Council public hearing lasted 3+ hours
 - December 17, 2015- City Council votes to remove the 4 monuments
 - Faces legal challenges
 - May 2- May 18, 2017- the statues are removed, the first being the monument to the Battle of Liberty Place and the last being the Robert E. Lee statue
- Outcome: All 4 statues removed and placed in storage
- Timeline of events:
http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2017/05/confederate_monuments_timeline.html

City of Richmond

- Timeline:
 - June 2017- Commission established by Mayor Stoney
 - August 2017- First meetings held
 - Ongoing commission
- 10 members, 2 advisors, 4 city staff
- Removal was initially off the table until Charlottesville, after which the commission would include examining removal or relocation of the statues
- Commission website: www.monumentavenuecommission.org
- Website contains online form to register input
 - Prompts visitors to share thoughts about the Mayor's charges to the commission: "Please share your thoughts about the Mayor's charges to the Monument Avenue Commission:
 - (1) How do you best add context and tell the whole story of Monument Avenue?

- (2) What persons or events would you like to see added on Monument Avenue?
 - (3) Do you favor removal and relocation?"
 - Another contact form also gives users the choice of choosing an option and offering a message in addition to the chosen option
 - Options are: leave the monuments as they are; remove the monuments from Monument Avenue; add context to the monuments; add more monuments to Monument Avenue; Relocate the monuments
- Meeting updates
 - Public forum on September 13th was canceled due to safety concerns, rescheduled for November 14th
- Video of public meeting on August 9th
 - Structure of meeting:
 - People wishing to speak were assigned number at check-in
 - Commissioner randomly drew five numbers at a time to speak for two minutes
 - 50 speakers minimum
- All commission work group meetings were open to the public and listed date, location, and time on website (5 meetings total from July 31– August 7)

University of Mississippi

- Timeline:
 - 2013- Recommendations from Sensitivity and Respect committee
 - 2014- 2014 action plan formed in response to above committee recommendations
 - 2015- committee to contextualize the Confederate statue
 - 4 members
 - March 2016- plaque added to Confederate statue
 - June 2016- Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on History and Context
 - 14 members
 - July 2017- Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on History and Context concludes
- Website: Contextualization at University of Mississippi- <http://guides.lib.olemiss.edu/contextualization/memorials>
 - Includes a report about the history of the Confederate monument, suggested further readings, and special collections materials related to the monument
 - Includes suggestion for improved plaque
- Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on History and Context
 - <http://context.olemiss.edu/>
 - Community input sought through online submission form, email account, and 2 in-person meetings
 - Nominations for the committee accepted via online submission as well
 - Committee’s mission was to examine other physical spaces on the campus that need to be considered for contextualization and then design content and format for contextualization
 - Includes monuments, buildings, and street names
- Committee final recommendations:

- Rename Vardaman Hall through university processes that require IHL approval;
- Clarify that Johnson Commons is named after Paul B. Johnson Sr., to be accomplished by adding “Sr.” to the building name.
- The CACHC also recommended contextualization of the following monuments, buildings, or street names:
 - Lamar Hall;
 - Barnard Observatory;
 - Longstreet Hall;
 - George Hall;
 - Barnard Observatory, Croft Hall, the Lyceum, and Hilgard Cut — plaque to be placed just west of Croft, within site of the first three buildings, noting that these four projects were all constructed with slave labor.
- Stained-glass windows in Ventress Hall, for which the committee recommended adding a plaque dedicated to the sacrifice of the University Greys;
- Confederate Cemetery and related memorial, for which the committee recommended adding individual gravestones to recognize the sacrifice of each person known to be buried there as well as a marker in an appropriate location to recognize the men from Lafayette County who served in the Civil War in the U.S. Colored Troops.

University of Texas

- Timeline:
 - 1990- Objection to monuments
 - 2003- Task Force on Racial Respect and Fairness formed
 - 2004-2005- Signage was suggested for monuments, but never made
 - 2006- President Bill Powers began administration, declined to appoint committee, accepted recommendation to not add contextualization signs
 - 2007- Statue of Cesar Chavez unveiled
 - 2009- Statue of Barbara Jordan unveiled
 - June 2015- President Gregory L. Fenves met with student leaders and formed the Task Force on the Historical Representation of Statuary
 - August 10, 2015- Task force report published
 - August 2017- Remaining statues removed in light of Charlottesville
- Link to report: http://diversity.utexas.edu/statues/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Task-Force-Report-FINAL-08_09_15.pdf
- The statues on the main mall have been controversial since the 1960s, sustained objection to the statues dates to 1990
 - 2003- in response to the vandalizing of the newly erected Martin Luther King Jr. statue, the university formed the Task Force on Racial Respect and Fairness, president Faulkner recommended contextualizing the statues with plaques but deferred action to the next president as his administration was ending
 - President Bill Powers then reviewed the findings of the Task Force on Racial Respect and Fairness and presented plaque designs to the Vice Presidents Council, who asserted that the plaques would draw more attention to the statues. No action was taken.

- 2015- Task Force on Historical Representation of Statuary at UT Austin was formed
- Task Force on Historical Representation of Statuary at UT Austin
 - Formed in June 2015
 - Three Charges:
 - Charge 1: Analyze the artistic, social, and political intent of the statuary on the Main Mall, with a particular focus on the statue of Jefferson Davis, as well as the historical context that they represent
 - Charge 2: Review the previous controversies over the Main Mall statues and factors that are similar and different today
 - Charge 3: Develop an array of alternatives for the Main Mall statues, particularly the statue of Jefferson Davis, with special attention to artistic and historical factors considering the university's role as an educational and research institution. In providing alternatives, a discussion of the pros and cons for each alternative from the perspective of students, faculty, alumni, and other important campus constituencies will be particularly useful
 - Recommendations varied from leaving all statues with contextualization to removing some statues to removing all statues
 - Public comments: gathered input through two public forums, an online submission form, emails, and phone calls
 - 3,100 individuals conveyed their opinion on the matter to the task force
 - 33% in favor of leaving statues in current locations
 - 33% in favor of relocating Jefferson
 - 27% in favor of removing all statues from the mall
 - 7% suggested other alternatives or provided comments
- After task force was completed, Jefferson Davis and Woodrow Wilson statues were moved
 - Jefferson Davis has been restored and presented at UT's Dolph Briscoe Center for American History in a scholarly exhibition about the Littlefield Fountain and the six Main Mall statues
- Post-Charlottesville: remaining four statues (Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnson, John Reagan, James Stephen Hogg) removed from main mall
 - Lee, Johnston, and Reagan to be added to the Briscoe Center collection
 - James Hogg will be considered for re-installation at another campus site

Yale University

- Timeline:
 - August 29, 2015- President Salovey and Yale College Dean Jonathan Holloway addressed incoming freshman class about memorials on Yale's campus, including Calhoun College
 - Spring 2015- President Salovey writes letter to students and faculty announcing that Calhoun College name will be retained
 - August 2016- Committee to Establish Principles on Renaming established
 - February 2017- Committee recommends changing name of Calhoun College, Grace Murray Hopper is chosen as the new person to honor

- Established Committee to Establish Principles on Renaming
 - In response to student protests and faculty protests about the naming of Calhoun college
 - Original process recommended keeping name, sparking protests, so the committee was established to figure out a more standard process
 - Charge of committee: articulate set of principles that can guide Yale in decisions about whether to remove a historical name from a building or other prominent structure or space
 - See attached sheet summarizing principles
- Community input
 - Drop-in sessions for members of the community and hospitality employees
 - Panel discussion
 - Electronic communications (which are published on the website of the committee)
- Final recommendations/actions:
 - John Calhoun's name is dropped from Calhoun College and renamed for Grace Murray Hopper

Appendix C

Yale University Principles on Renaming
Excerpted from the Report of the Committee to Establish Principles on Renaming
Yale University
November 21, 2016

The University aims to create an ethical, interdependent, and diverse community of excellence in research, teaching, and learning for today and for tomorrow. Such a community, organized around academic freedom, supports the discovery and dissemination of knowledge. A community that genuinely includes people of excellence from a wide array of backgrounds thus represents the promise of the University's future. The principles for deciding a renaming question are rooted in the values reflected in the mission.

Our inquiry has led us to conclude that in considering a name change for a building, structure, or significant space, the factors listed below ought to guide the University's decision-making.

A. Presumptions: Renaming on account of values should be an exceptional event

There is a strong presumption against renaming a building on the basis of the values associated with its namesake. Such a renaming should be considered only in exceptional circumstances.

There are many reasons to honor tradition at a university. Historical names are a source of knowledge. Tradition often carries wisdom that is not immediately apparent to the current generation; no generation stands alone at the end of history with perfect moral hindsight. Moreover, names produce continuity in the symbols around which students and alumni develop bonds with the university and bonds with one another. Those bonds often help to establish lifelong connections of great value to members of the University community and to the University.

A presumption of continuity in campus names helps ensure that the University does not elide the moral complexity often associated with the lives of those who make outsized impressions on the world. Controversy has attached to countless numbers of the most important figures in modern history. For example, Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian independence leader who inspired a worldwide movement of nonviolent protest, held starkly racist views about black Africans.

The presumption against renaming would not in itself decide any such case. But it embodies the good reasons for giving continuity substantial weight. Holding all else equal, it is a virtue to appreciate the complexity of those lives that have given shape to the world in which we live. A presumption also helps to avoid the risk of undue debate over names, when time and energy may be better directed elsewhere.

The presumption against renaming is at its strongest when a building has been named for someone who made major contributions to the University.

When buildings are named for people who have made major contributions to the life and mission of the University, either through their work or by contributing resources that help the University pursue its mission, renaming will be appropriate only in the most exceptional circumstances. Altering a name in such instances is distinctively problematic because it threatens to efface an important contributing factor in the making of the University.

This consideration means that to change a name in one institution or place, where the namesake played a relatively modest role, is not necessarily to say that the name ought to change in another, where the namesake played a larger role.

B. Principles to be considered: Sometimes renaming on the basis of values is warranted

Tradition and history are not the only factors when considering renaming a building because of the values associated with the name. There is wide agreement, for example, that certain kinds of hypothetical names would be unacceptable. The problem is to determine when a clash between a name and the University's mission makes renaming appropriate. This is a hard question. But its difficulty does not imply that there are no stopping points or no principles to distinguish a name that ought to be altered from one that ought to remain.

We begin by distinguishing three distinct time frames to which our study repeatedly led us: the present; the era of a namesake's life and work; and the time of a naming decision. Each of these offers a relevant principle for consideration. We then turn to a factor relating to the nature of the building, structure, or space at issue.

No single factor is sufficient, and no single factor is determinative. We expect that renaming will typically prove warranted only when more than one principle listed here points toward renaming; even when more than one principle supports renaming, renaming may not be required if other principles weigh heavily in the balance. We do not list the principles in order of significance because their importance may vary depending on the circumstances of the relevant name.

Is a principal legacy of the namesake fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University?

We ask about a namesake's *principal legacies* because human lives, as Walt Whitman wrote, are large; they contain multitudes. Whitman, as it happens, contained virtues and vices himself. He excoriated the Lincoln administration for insisting on equal treatment for black soldiers held as prisoners of war in the South. But his principal legacies are as a path-breaking poet and writer. Frederick Douglass contrasted African Americans with Indians, who he said were easily "contented" with small things such as blankets, and who would "die out" in any event. But his principal legacies are as an abolitionist and an advocate for civil rights.

Of course, interpretations of a namesake's principal legacies are subject to change over time. They may vary in the eye of the beholder as well.

Three factors constrain such changes or limit their significance in the analysis. First, asking about principal legacies directs us to consider not only the memory of a namesake, but also the enduring consequences of the namesake in the world. As the Oxford English Dictionary defines it, a legacy is "a long-lasting effect." Principal legacies, as we understand them, are typically the lasting effects that cause a namesake to be remembered. Even significant parts of a namesake's life or career may not constitute a principal legacy. Scholarly consensus about principal legacies is a powerful measure.

Second, even if interpretations of legacies change, they do not change on any single person's or group's whim; altering the interpretation of a historical figure is not something that can be done easily. Third, the principal legacies of a namesake are not the only consideration. They should be considered in combination with the other principles set forth above and below in this report.

Determining the principal legacies of a namesake obliges the University to study and make a scholarly judgment on how the namesake's legacies should be understood. Prevailing historical memories may be misleading or incorrect, and prevailing scholarly views may be incomplete.

A principal legacy would be fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University if, for example, it contradicted the University's avowed goal of making the world a better place through, among other things, the education of future leaders in an "ethical, interdependent, and diverse community." A principal legacy of racism and bigotry would contradict this goal.

Was the relevant principal legacy significantly contested in the time and place in which the namesake lived?

Evaluating a namesake by the standards of the namesake's time and place offers a powerful measure of the legacy today. Such an evaluation does not commit the University to a relativist view of history and ethics. An important reason to attend to the standards of a namesake's time and place is that doing so recognizes the moral fallibility of those who aim to evaluate the past. Paying attention to the standards of the time also usefully distinguishes those who actively promoted some morally odious practice, or dedicated much of their lives to upholding that practice, on the one hand, from those whose relationship to such a practice was unexceptional, on the other.

The idea that people can have unexceptional relationships to moral horrors is one of the most disturbing features in human history. Examining the standards of a namesake's time and place therefore does more than confront us with the limits of our own capacities. It helps us see people as embedded in particular times and particular places – and it helps us identify those whose legacies are properly thought of as singularly and distinctively unworthy of honor.

Renaming is more likely to be warranted (a) when insistent and searching critiques of the relevant legacy were available at the time and place in which the namesake lived, than (b) when the conduct of the namesake was unexceptional and therefore not subject to such insistent and searching critique.

Did the University, at the time of a naming, honor a namesake for reasons that are fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University?

Renaming is more likely to be appropriate when an institution, at the time of a naming, honored a namesake for reasons that conflict with the University's mission.

This principle inquires into a naming decision by asking about the reasons for the decision. It does not ask about the legacy of the namesake today. Nor does it look into the namesake's life itself. Instead, it asserts that where the University honored a person for reasons that were then, or are now, at odds with the mission of the University, the University has added reason to reconsider its naming decision. This principle may be most weighty when the University honored a person for reasons that contradicted the mission it professed at the time of the naming itself. The principle also points in favor of renaming when the naming decision rested on reasons that contradict the mission the University professes today.

An illustrative example of this principle is the change in the name of Saunders Hall at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Historians at UNC were unsure whether or not the namesake William Saunders had been a leader of the Ku Klux Klan. The university trustees nonetheless changed the name of the building when they discovered that university leaders had believed Saunders was a Klan leader and viewed this belief as reason to name the building in his honor. Another useful illustration arises out of the residential college here at Yale named for Samuel Morse. If University leaders had named the college after Morse not in honor of his invention of the telegraph, but to honor his nativist and anti-Catholic views and his support for slavery, that would be a consideration pointing in favor of renaming the college. Sometimes a naming decision will have been made when key facts about the namesake were concealed or otherwise unavailable. This, too, may be a factor weighing in favor of renaming if those facts subsequently disclose a legacy fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University.

Does a building whose namesake has a principal legacy fundamentally at odds with the University's mission, or which was named for reasons fundamentally at odds with the University's mission, play a substantial role in forming community at the University?

The physical environment of a university is made up of many different kinds of spaces. Some are strictly utilitarian. Others house classrooms, laboratories, lecture halls, and museums. At Yale, a subset of the University's buildings is designed to shape the campus community of the students and to connect them to the University and to one another. The residential colleges for the undergraduate students are the paradigm example.

In at least one respect, the community-forming character of certain building names militates against renaming. When a building with a long-standing name has helped form bonds and connections among generations of community members, the fact of those bonds and connections offers a reason to keep the name.

In two important ways, however, the community-forming character of a building name points in favor of renaming. It is difficult to encourage the formation of community around a namesake with a principal legacy fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University. Such names may fail to do the work of fostering community. Moreover, assigning students without their choice to a particular building or residential college whose namesake has a principal legacy fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University essentially requires students to form their University communities around such a name. These considerations offer strong reasons to alter a name.

C. Decisions to retain a name or to rename come with obligations of nonerasure, contextualization, and process

When a name is altered, there are obligations on the University to ensure that the removal does not have the effect of erasing history.

Names communicate historical information, but they often confer honor as well. These two features of a name can be disentangled if renaming is accompanied by creative and substantial efforts to mitigate the possible erasure of history.

Changing a name is thus not synonymous with erasing history. When removing a name leaves other existing markers of the namesake on the campus, a name's removal from any one building, structure, or significant space poses a smaller risk of erasing history because the namesake has not been removed from the campus. Such markers may themselves require contextualization. But renaming one site does not require removal of a namesake from elsewhere on the campus. To the contrary, changing a name in one place may impose obligations of preservation in others.

In many instances, renaming a building will make it incumbent on a university to take affirmative steps to avoid the problem of erasure. Such steps may include conspicuous museumlike exhibits; architecturally thoughtful installations, plaques, and signs; public art; or other such steps. Selecting a new name that is thematically connected to the old one may be one further way to prevent renaming from becoming tantamount to erasing.

The decision to change the stained glass window in Calhoun College in the late 1980s probably ran afoul of this principle of nonerasure. The University altered the window depicting John Calhoun and a kneeling slave by removing the image of the slave but leaving Calhoun intact. The result was a regrettable erasure of the history and meaning of the window. It might have been wise to remove the window from its position of honor and place it in a museum-like exhibit. Under some circumstances, it might have been an

option to add contextualizing information explaining the window's origins and its significance, but to leave the window otherwise in place. The University did neither of these things, and instead sanitized it for viewing, leaving Calhoun in a position of honor and removing the slave whose indispensable presence complicated that honor and indeed cast it into doubt. The student who pressed hardest for a change in the stained glass says that he soon came to regret the removal of the enslaved person. As he sees it, editing out the ugly history of the stained glass did not adhere to the educational mission of the University. We agree.

When a name is retained, there may be obligations on the University to ensure that preservation does not have the effect of distorting history.

When the University determines that a contested name should remain rather than change, it may have obligations of contextualization similar to those that accompany a name change. Examples already appear on the campus. A plaque recently installed in Ezra Stiles College memorializes the lives of Stiles's slave and two indentured servants.

The University ought to adopt a formal process for considering whether to alter a building name on account of the values associated with its namesake; such a process should incorporate community input and scholarly expertise.

A decision about whether to change a building's name is one that ought to be guided by a formal process that incorporates wide input and draws on scholarly expertise to ensure that the relevant history has been explored and that the relevant principles have been considered and applied. This is especially true for building names because they are meant to be enduring and to offer continuity to the intergenerational life of the University. In our study of other universities' naming controversies, we found that well-considered processes for evaluating the relevant considerations often produced constructive dialogue and debate, regardless of the particular outcome.

In our judgment, it is not within the authority of this committee to set out specific procedures to be followed. But a process would serve the University well. It has been our aim to gather information and conduct a scholarly inquiry in a way that models what such a process might look like.