

*Judged by the Generations:*

Baltimore's Confederate Monuments and the Shaping of Historical Memory

by

Anne Louise Hollmuller

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Abstract: In August 2017, the death of anti-racist protestor Heather Heyer in Charlottesville, Virginia lead to an American reckoning regarding the prominence of Confederate symbols in public spaces. Cities across the country began finding ways to remove the statues of Confederate soldiers and statesmen, and to reexamine other statues dedicated to controversial historical figures. In Baltimore, Maryland, the city's mayor chose to remove four statues located on public land associated with the Confederacy in an overnight operation. This removal followed two years of debate stirred by tragic events in early summer 2015: the death of Freddie Gray in the custody of the Baltimore Police Department and the Charleston A.M.E. shooting. This paper offers a review of the historical context under which these four memorial statues were erected on public property and an examination of the period from 2015 to 2017 during which the city and its citizens engaged with questions of historical memory in the local setting. This permits an examination of the change in political power dynamics within the city of Baltimore and the nation more broadly, as well as a deeper understanding of how the nation has chosen to reckon with the symbols of a painful past.

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
Introduction.....	Page 1
The Four Monuments.....	Page 5
Roger. B Taney Monument.....	Page 5
The Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument.....	Page 8
The Confederate Women’s Monument.....	Page 13
Lee and Jackson Monument.....	Page 16
Events of 2015 and the Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments.....	Page 22
The Time in Between.....	Page 29
Charlottesville and the Time to Act.....	Page 32
The Removal and the Questions Remaining.....	Page 35
Bibliography.....	Page 43
Curriculum Vitae.....	Page 46

In the early morning hours of August 16, 2017, four memorial statues associated with the Confederate States of America were removed from public land in the City of Baltimore on the orders of Mayor Catherine E. Pugh.<sup>1</sup> The ultimate catalyst for the removal of these statues was the violence that had occurred days before in Charlottesville, Virginia during protests surrounding the planned removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee. The removal of the Baltimore statues followed an extensive debate regarding the proper place, if any, of these monuments within the city. This discussion had been reignited by the unrest following Freddie Gray's death in police custody in Baltimore and by the mass shooting at a historic African American church in Charleston, South Carolina. The death of Heather Heyer in Charlottesville at the hands of a violent white supremacist prompted a new, more urgent review of Confederate symbols across the country. In Baltimore, it brought four memorials tumbling from their pedestals.

The four monuments removed in August of 2017 were all located on public land within the City of Baltimore. The Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, the Confederate Women's Monument and the Jackson-Lee Monument were all specifically dedicated to the Confederacy and to Confederate notables, while a fourth statue stood in honor of Maryland jurist and Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (1777-1864). These monuments were each constructed at a different time following the Civil War: the Taney monument was unveiled in 1887, the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument in 1899, the Memorial to Confederate Women in 1917 and the Jackson-Lee Monument in 1948.<sup>2</sup> The extended period over which these

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<sup>1</sup> "Citing 'safety and Security,' Pugh Has Baltimore Confederate Monuments Taken down - Baltimore Sun," accessed October 9, 2017, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-monuments-removed-20170816-story.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Confederate Monuments. Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake. August 16, 2016.

Confederate memorials were erected speaks to the lengthy survival of the Lost Cause ideology which spurred the erection of these statues in Baltimore.

The myth of the Lost Cause was an ideology subscribed to and promoted by former Confederates and Confederate sympathizers and that consisted of a series of interlocking arguments about the American Civil War and its aftermath. The Lost Cause romanticized the Antebellum South as an agrarian, pastoral realm with paternal masters and contented slaves, eliding the violence and brutality that had been a constant presence on the plantation. Rejecting the political advances of African Americans during Reconstruction, Lost Cause writers often promoted demeaning stereotypes of newly freed black Americans. Central to the ideology of the Lost Cause was a denial of slavery as the primary cause of the American Civil War, and an emphasis upon states' rights as the justification for Southern secession.<sup>3</sup> The organization that was most successful in transmitting the myth of the Lost Cause and in constructing monuments to Confederate notables was undoubtedly the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Drawing upon their political connections and social position within Southern cities and towns, these women raised funds for monuments and other activities through pageants, concerts, teas and other events, as well as by demanding monetary appropriations from states and municipalities. These women sought to vindicate and to justify the actions of Confederate men, and to elevate the cause for which they had fought into a narrative of courage, sacrifice and honor.<sup>4</sup>

Maryland was a border state during the American Civil War and was one of the most crucial territories of which Abraham Lincoln and the Union army sought to maintain control.

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<sup>3</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), [https://catalyst.library.jhu.edu/catalog/bib\\_2185080](https://catalyst.library.jhu.edu/catalog/bib_2185080).

<sup>4</sup> Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), [https://catalyst.library.jhu.edu/catalog/bib\\_2313962](https://catalyst.library.jhu.edu/catalog/bib_2313962).

Marylanders divided on the question of secession, as the heterogeneous regions of the state held different economic and cultural attachments to the North and the South, and agitators on both sides were active in the months following the election of Abraham Lincoln.<sup>5</sup> It was in Baltimore in 1861 that the first blood of the American Civil War was shed, as a mob of Confederate sympathizers attacked a convoy of Massachusetts troops traveling from one train station to another along Pratt Street. The resulting melee left four soldiers and twelve Baltimoreans dead, while many on both sides were injured.<sup>6</sup> Following this bloody day in Baltimore, Abraham Lincoln made a series of swift military decisions that secured Maryland firmly within the Union camp. On April 27, 1861 he issued an unprecedented order that suspended the writ of habeas corpus along the line between Washington D.C. and Philadelphia, offering federal soldiers the ability to seize and detain any person suspected of disloyalty. On May 13, 1861, General Benjamin Butler entered Baltimore and occupied Federal Hill. This would be the end of any possibility that Maryland would secede from the Union, as Butler would train cannon from the heights of Federal Hill upon the City of Baltimore and prevent any armed uprising by the citizens of the city. Maryland would remain a part of the Union by the force of arms.<sup>7</sup>

In the present day, more and more Americans have come to consider the presence of monuments to the Confederacy increasingly offensive. Recent acts of violence committed by white supremacists have gathered support for a movement to remove Confederate flags and symbols across the Southern United States. This re-examination gained momentum in June 2015, following the mass shooting at the Emanuel A.M.E. Church in Charleston, South Carolina as the nation began to reassess the meanings of Confederate symbols, and to call into question decades

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<sup>5</sup> Brugger, Robert J. *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. The Johns Hopkins University Press and the Maryland Historical Society. 1988. 272-273.

<sup>6</sup> Brugger, 274-276.

<sup>7</sup> Brugger, 279.

of myth and misinformation about the American Civil War.<sup>8</sup> When this tragedy occurred in South Carolina, Baltimore had been recently roiled by the unrest following the death in police custody of Freddie Gray, a young African American man. This social upheaval and the Charleston massacre occasioned the formation in 2015 of a commission to assess the city's four Confederate symbols.<sup>9</sup> The Commission's recommendation for the removal of two of Baltimore's Baltimore statues was ignored by city leaders for over a year, as a regime change at City Hall and a lack of political will stymied any further action.<sup>10</sup> However, the death of an anti-racist protestor in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017 during demonstrations surrounding the anticipated removal of a monument to Robert E. Lee, spurred Baltimore officials to action. Seeking to prevent violence around the sites of these monuments and citing safety and security, Mayor Pugh had Baltimore's monuments removed in the early hours of August 16, 2017.

The value of a discussion of the context under which these monuments were erected and the context under which they were removed permits an understanding of the historical power dynamics that have shaped and continue to shape the City of Baltimore. In his seminal work *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot discusses the ways in which power operates to produce both history and historical silences.<sup>11</sup> The monuments that were erected with the permission and approval of Baltimore's social and political elites expressed a sympathetic vision of Confederate history and were imbued with the symbolic power

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<sup>8</sup> "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed March 17, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>.

<sup>9</sup> "Status of Confederate Statues under Review in Baltimore - Baltimore Sun," accessed October 9, 2017, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-confederate-statues-20150630-story.html>.

<sup>10</sup> "Baltimore City Commission Recommends Removal of Two Confederate Monuments - Baltimore Sun," accessed October 9, 2017, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-confederate-monuments-20160114-story.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the past: power and the production of history*. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press.

of white supremacy and white domination through aesthetics and ritual.<sup>12</sup> The erection and removal of these monuments traces a change in the concentration of power within Baltimore as well as marking an attitudinal change in American society more broadly, and a reassessment of our long-held understandings about the American Civil War, Reconstruction, and the endurance of American racial tensions. The contribution of this paper is its discussion of how one city and its government chose to alter its public landscape to reflect a new way of understanding and envisioning the past in the midst of a national reckoning with public symbols of white supremacy.

### *The Four Monuments*

#### *Roger. B Taney Monument*

On November 12, 1887, a statue of Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney was unveiled in the north square of Mount Vernon Place, a prominent city park designed around the landmark column of the Washington Memorial.<sup>13</sup> The Taney memorial included a granite base and a bronze sculpture of the jurist seated in his robes, a scroll in his right hand and his left hand resting upon a bound copy of the Constitution.<sup>14</sup> The statue was an 1887 copy of the 1872 original designed and cast by William Henry Rinehart that had been commissioned by William T. Walters for the Maryland State House in Annapolis. When the Annapolis monument had been installed in 1872, *The Baltimore Sun* published a biography of the Supreme Court Justice that discussed the events of his long career, his time living in Baltimore, and what they referred to as “the Great Dred Scott Case” and “the celebrated Dred Scott Case.” The biographic portrait

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<sup>12</sup> Kirk Savage. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Reported for the *Baltimore Sun*, “THE TANEY STATUE: Unveiling of a Magnificent Bronze in Mount Vernon Place,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, November 14, 1887.

<sup>14</sup> Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Confederate Monuments. Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake. August 16, 2016.



argued that Taney had been unfairly slandered in the midst of partisan arguments over the decision and its consequences, writing “Partisan passion was excited almost to frenzy by this decision, and it has since been reversed by a great civil war and its stern logic.”<sup>15</sup>

William Henry Rinehart, commissioned to execute the monument, was a sculptor who had been born in rural Maryland in 1825. In 1855 he had sailed to Rome to learn the art of sculpting. When Rinehart returned to Baltimore in 1857, he gained the patronage of some of Baltimore’s most prominent citizens, including William Walters. After Rinehart died in October 1874 of pulmonary consumption, he left the princely sum of \$45,000 to a trust to help Baltimore’s students of sculpture, a trust managed by William T. Walters.<sup>16</sup> This fund would later endow the Rinehart School of Sculpture at the Maryland Institute College of Art.

The proceedings surrounding the installation of the Taney monument were overshadowed by rivalry between Severn Teackle Wallis and Ferdinand Latrobe. The pair were political rivals within the Democratic party. Wallis, a reform Democrat, had partnered with Republicans in the most recent mayoral campaign, nearly unseating Latrobe and the Democratic machine. To protest the fact that Wallis would be permitted to speak at the occasion, Latrobe withdrew from the unveiling ceremony. The unveiling of the monument was then held in a more restrained manner on November 12, 1887, instead of the formal ceremony that had been planned for the 10th.<sup>17</sup> William Walters, irritated by the mayor’s refusal to share the stage with Wallis, elected not to be present at the ceremony, with *The Baltimore Sun* noting that he had been detained in his office downtown. The statue was unveiled by Taney’s great-grandson, Roger Brooke Taney

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<sup>15</sup> Reported for the *Baltimore Sun*, “THE TANEY STATUE: Inauguration of the Maryland Memorial to Chief Justice Taney--Programme of the Ceremony--Biographical Sketch, &c.,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, December 10, 1872.

<sup>16</sup> Reported for the *Baltimore Sun*, “THE TANEY STATUE: Unveiling of a Magnificent Bronze in Mount Vernon Place,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, November 14, 1887.

<sup>17</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine. Sculpting Memories of the Slavery Conflict.*

Anderson, then nine years of age, and Mayor Latrobe was present in the crowd at the unveiling. Latrobe spoke to the city's leading newspaper regarding the monument. "He wished to testify his respect for the memory of Taney and for the genius of the Maryland sculptor, and to show his high appreciation of the noble gift made by Mr. Walters."<sup>18</sup> The Baltimore Sun praised the statue as a work of great artistic merit and gave special civic praise for its prominent siting. "The statue is heroic, or larger than life size, sitting on the seat of Justice and clothed in the robes of office. It is precisely a replica of the statue at Annapolis, but it has the advantage of better situation. The north Mount Vernon Place Square, with its carefully laid out grass plots and walks and its fine surroundings, could not well be surpassed as a spot for this beautiful work of art." What was important to the author of this article was that the statue was visible from all sides, and heroically composed. "It can be approached from any direction, and the grandeur of the figure strikes the beholder, even from a distance."<sup>19</sup>

Efforts to build a monument to the Confederacy itself within the City of Baltimore first arose in the 1880s, two decades after the end of the American Civil War. In 1880, Baltimore Mayor Ferdinand C. Latrobe vetoed a City Council resolution that would have permitted the erection of a monument to Confederate dead at Eutaw Place and Lanvale Street. Mayor Latrobe authored a veto message arguing that the painful divisions between the city's citizens over the war would only be aggravated by the construction of a monument to either side.

"During the late civil war the people of Baltimore were divided in sentiment and action on the questions which, after a prolonged and embittered struggle, were finally decided by the sword...But while the issues involved in the war have been settled by its result, in most cases the convictions of those who as actors or sympathizers took part in the contest continue to exist. Under these circumstances the erection at this time in one of the public

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<sup>18</sup> Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun, "MAYOR HAYES THE ORATOR: He Addresses Pittsburg Association Of Southerners AN INVITATION TO BALTIMORE Dedication Of Confederate Monument Here Will Be Hailed By All Who Cherish The Memory Of Lee," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, January 20, 1903.

<sup>19</sup> Sun.

squares of a memorial monument commemorative of those fought upon either side would not fail to be repugnant to the opinions and sentiments of very many people.”<sup>20</sup>

Latrobe also argued that it was not within the rights of a city government to make major decisions regarding the dedication of public land to partisan, not broadly popular causes. “The public highways and squares of the city are the common property of all, and we who are temporarily intrusted (sic) with their control, whatever our personal opinions may be, are not, in my judgement, justified in dedicating any portion of them to a purpose which would be in direct opposition to the responsibilities and wishes of large numbers of citizens.”<sup>21</sup> The stated opposition of this city hall notwithstanding, the cause of Confederate commemoration advanced in the City of Baltimore over the coming years. The city possessed an increasingly active chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Association that held the annual convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in November of 1897. This annual gathering was held at Lehmann’s Hall, the location of most Baltimore UDC meetings, with the state of Maryland represented by twenty-three delegates.<sup>22</sup> Soon, those sympathetic to the Confederate memory would erect a monument in which directly honored the Confederate cause.

### *The Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument*

On January 9, 1899, the petition of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was presented to the First Branch of the City Council requesting the right to erect a memorial to the Confederate soldiers and sailors of Maryland in Druid Hill Park or an intersection of Mount

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<sup>20</sup> Reported for the Baltimore Sun, “Baltimore City Council Proceedings: PROPOSED CONFEDERATE MONUMENT--MAYOR LATROBE VETOES THE RESOLUTION--PASSAGE OF THE ORDINANCE FOR OPENING CATHEDRAL STREET--AMENDING THE DOG LAW--PURCHASE OF LIGHT-STREET BRIDGE,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, April 6, 1880.

<sup>21</sup> Sun.

<sup>22</sup> “WOMEN OF THE SOUTH: Annual Convention Of The United Daughters Of The Confederacy WILL MEET HERE TOMORROW Mrs. Fitzhugh Lee, Of Virginia, Will Act As President Sessions Will Be Held At Lehmann’s Hall And Will Probably Last Three Days--Maryland To Be Represented By Twenty-Three Delegates--Entertainments Planned,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, November 9, 1897.

Royal Avenue.<sup>23</sup> The request was referred to the Baltimore Joint Standing Committee on Parks, which on January 23, 1899 discharged its duty and sent the petition back to the Baltimore City Council.<sup>24</sup> On February 20, 1899, a resolution was passed “authorizing the Mayor to grant a permit to the President and Board of Directors of the Daughters of the Confederacy to erect a monument in Druid Hill Park upon a spot to be selected by him.”<sup>25</sup> On March 13, 1899, the Mayor’s office informed the City Council of the passage of this resolution by Mayor Malster.<sup>26</sup> The United Daughters of the Confederacy also advocated for their cause with the city’s Department of Recreation and Parks, who had control over the city’s public parkland. On December 8, 1898, the Board of the Department of Recreation and Parks recorded the receipt of a letter from Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, representing the United Daughters of the Confederacy, “asking for permission to erect in Druid Hill Park a monument to the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors of Maryland.”<sup>27</sup>

Following the political maneuvering that had occurred in the City Council and the passage by the mayor of their positive resolution, the Department of Recreation and Parks permitted the placement of a Confederate monument on the city’s public land. On April 12, 1900, the Board of the Department of Recreation and Parks approved the application for the Daughters to construct a monument in the “raised and enclosed space at the corner of North and Mount Royal Avenues, called “Frick’s Triangle”.”<sup>28</sup> The Board later authorized the daughters to construct a brass railing around the monument in what they now referred to as Mount Royal

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<sup>23</sup> First Branch of the City Council of Baltimore, Minutes, January 9, 1899.

<sup>24</sup> First Branch of the City Council of Baltimore, Minutes, January 23, 1899

<sup>25</sup> First Branch of the City Council of Baltimore, Minutes, February 20, 1899

<sup>26</sup> First Branch of the City Council of Baltimore, Minutes, March 13, 1899.

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of the Board of Recreation and Parks, Baltimore, Maryland. December 8, 1898.

<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Board of Recreation and Parks, Baltimore, Maryland. April 12, 1900.

Square.<sup>29</sup> This railing is visible in a photograph from an August 1912 edition of *The Baltimore Sun*.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time as the United Daughters of the Confederacy were making these approaches to city hall and the parks department, the Maryland chapters of that same group were conducting fundraisers in cities and towns across the state for the anticipated memorial project. While the monuments to the Confederacy were to be erected in the City of Baltimore, Maryland's largest and most prominent town, efforts were made on a statewide level in order to ornament the monumental city. According to the *Baltimore Sun* of June 6, 1899, a Confederate group based in Cambridge, Maryland hosted a ball on June 15 to raise funds for a Baltimore monument to Confederate Soldiers.<sup>31</sup> The *Baltimore Sun* then reported upon the success of that ball, and noted all of those present and the materials of which the young ladies' gowns were made.<sup>32</sup> In Jessup, Maryland, an entertainment was given to help support the fund, including children reenacting various theatrical scenes, followed by an "old-time minstrel performance" and "original darky sketch" in which several women of the chapter were participants.<sup>33</sup> A bazar was also held in Baltimore to benefit the monument, A performance of a concert entitled "In A Persian Garden," including singers and pianists from both New York and Baltimore, was also performed in honor of the Confederate monument at Lehmann's Hall.<sup>34</sup> These various efforts

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<sup>29</sup> Brass Railing for Confederate Monument. Minutes of the Board of Recreation and Parks, Baltimore, Maryland.

<sup>30</sup> "To The Bravery Of Marylanders In Three Wars: Mount Royal Avenue Ornamented With Four Monuments Commemorating The Revolution, The Mexican War And The Struggle Between The States," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, August 4, 1912.

<sup>31</sup> "A Confederate Monument," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, June 6, 1899.

<sup>32</sup> Special Dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun*, "BRILLIANT BALL: In Cambridge For Benefit Of The Confederate Monument Fund," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, June 19, 1899.

<sup>33</sup> Special Dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun*, "CONFEDERATE MONUMENT: Gen. Frank A. Bond Chapter Gives An Entertainment For It," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, July 11, 1901.

<sup>34</sup> "IN A PERSIAN GARDEN: Admirable Performance For The Confederate Monument Fund," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, October 31, 1899.

involved the participation of large groups of Maryland women engaged in the cause of construction a Confederate monument in Baltimore to represent the state's contributions to the cause.

Following the legislative and fundraising success of the Daughters, Mrs. D. Giraud Wright delivered a speech in 1902 that reveled in the glory of success in this undertaking. "The sculptor, with a happy felicity and a poetic interpretation simply marvelous, has portrayed in this group the spirit of our motto-'Glory stands beside our grief!' It is veritably an apotheosis of the Confederacy." Wright hailed the valor of Confederate, "They displayed a sublime courage that compelled the admiration of the world, and which has made the name of the Confederate soldier the synonym for incomparable valor." Wright described the monument and its composition at length and extolled the nobility of the statue and those whom it represented. "The subject embraces and typifies the sentiment lying deep in all our hearts; that which we feel but cannot express is here expressed for us, and better than that, for all to see that our beloved south, though conquered, was never humiliated."<sup>35</sup> This speech also displayed the wish of many Marylanders sympathetic to the Confederate cause: that Maryland be viewed as a Southern state that had contributed to the war effort despite considerable obstacles.

The Baltimore Sun, in an article dated to March 3, 1903, recorded the placement of the monument in the presence of a delegation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Following the placement of the statue on its pedestal, the monument was covered until the anticipated May unveiling. The statuary group was described as "beautiful and extremely impressive" and as standing twenty-four feet in height. The statue was a figural group of three

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<sup>35</sup> "TO SOUTHERN VALOR: Mrs. D. Giraud Wright Describes Confederate Monument DAUGHTERS FIX INSCRIPTION Shaft To Be Unveiled In December-Delegates Chosen To The General And State Conventions," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, October 24, 1902.

bronze figures atop a granite pedestal, an angel of glory descending to carry away a young, dying Confederate soldier held by a young woman as he grasps the Confederate flag in one hand.<sup>36</sup>

The base of Missouri granite “blending harmoniously” with the bronze statuary group. The composition of the sculptures was praised for their commemoration of “the valor, suffering and patience of the heroes of the Confederacy and the place given them by fame.” The figures were cast by the Henry Bonnard Bronze Company of New York.<sup>37</sup>

The unveiling of the monument was scheduled to take place on the afternoon of May 2, 1903, as a grand civic occasion. The monument was presented to the city on behalf of the United Daughters of the Confederacy by George W. Booth and Mayor Hayes accepted this gift. The speaker for the day was McHenry Howard, a Confederate veteran and a grandson of Francis Scott Key. Margaret Lloyd Trimble, the great-granddaughter of Confederate Major General Isaac Trimble, and Nannie Young Hardcastle, great-granddaughter of the Confederate Admiral Franklin Buchanan, unveiled the monument. A platform had been constructed near the monument with room for seven hundred people, and instructions made so as to prevent overcrowding. A group of young women received offerings of flowers and palms placed at the base of the monument during the course of the unveiling.<sup>38</sup> Marching that day were several divisions of former Confederate soldiers and sailors, including those housed at the Confederate soldiers’ home in Pikesville, as well as those members of Confederate Veterans’ camps in gray uniforms with banners from various infantry and cavalry regiments. Southern tunes such as

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<sup>36</sup> Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments. Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake. August 16, 2016.

<sup>37</sup> “BRONZE GROUP IN PLACE: Confederate Monument Is Now Ready For Unveiling MAY 2 DATE OF CEREMONY Delegation Of ‘Daughters’ Gathers To See The Statue Raised On The Pedestal--The Inscriptions,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, March 3, 1903.

<sup>38</sup> “TO BE UNVEILED TODAY: Confederate Monument Will Stand Forth In Its Beauty VETERANS WILL MARCH AGAIN Capt. Geo. W. Booth, Mayor Hayes And Capt. McHenry Howard To Be The Speakers,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, May 2, 1903.

“Dixie” were played as the crowds gathered around the monument and Confederate flags waved. The two young women removed the canvas sheets over the monument, and the crowd applauded the sight of the new memorial.<sup>39</sup>

This monument was intended to underline the contributions of Maryland, a slaveholding state that had remained within the Union, to the cause of the Confederacy. In a speech given to the people of Pittsburgh by Baltimore’s Mayor, Thomas Hayes, several months after the raising of the memorial, he described the monument in soaring tones of sectional unity. “I bring to you the greetings of the Southern people of Baltimore; they are very nearly 600,000 strong. They cherish as you do the memories of the south. There is to be erected shortly in a selected spot on one of our boulevards leading to our beautiful park the Confederate monument. This monument is beautiful in design and conception; it is a young confederate soldier as he appears after having received his death wound in battle. There descends above him a female figure representing Glory. She bears a laurel wreath to be placed upon his brow. The face of the soldier is expressive of firmness, courage and resignation, and with his left hand still he clings to the Southern flag.”<sup>40</sup>

#### *The Confederate Women’s Monument*

The Confederate Women’s Monument was located at Bishop Square Park at the intersection of University Parkway and North Charles Street, just north of the Johns Hopkins University Campus.<sup>41</sup> The erection of the monument to Maryland’s Confederate Women was part of a larger initiative to commemorate the sacrifices of Confederate women across the South

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<sup>39</sup> “TO CONFEDERATE VALOR: Monument On Mount Royal Avenue Is Unveiled MUSIC, ELOQUENCE; FLOWERS Veterans March Again With The Old Flags And Are Greeted With Cheers Along The Line,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, May 3, 1903.

<sup>40</sup> Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun, “MAYOR HAYES THE ORATOR: He Addresses Pittsburg Association Of Southerners AN INVITATION TO BALTIMORE Dedication Of Confederate Monument Here Will Be Hailed By All Who Cherish The Memory Of Lee,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, January 20, 1903.

<sup>41</sup> Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments. Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake. August 16, 2016.



which took place between 1912 and 1926.<sup>42</sup> The Sons of Confederate Veterans intended to build an identical monument to Confederate women in each former Confederate state, and in Baltimore, the United Daughters of the Confederacy were anxious to build their own. One woman in the chapter, Mrs. Rosenberg, even offered a personal donation of \$500.00, though the chapter elected to wait until a quorum was achieved and further information became available.<sup>43</sup>

The first of these monuments to Confederate women was erected in the state of South Carolina, where a statue at Columbia had been designed by F. Wellington Ruckstuhl, the designer of the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Baltimore. The Baltimore Sun opined on the sacrifice of Confederate women, and upon the need to honor them in memorial form. “The women of wartime added to the courage of the Spartan mother, the gentleness and tenderness, the warm-heartedness of the sweet South. The veterans will not rest until a monument stands in every southern State to commemorate their lives and virtues, the service they rendered to their section and the priceless heritage they have handed down to their descendants.”<sup>44</sup>

The monument to Confederate women was initially the project of the Maryland chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, before the leader of that group, Andrew C. Trippe, requested the cooperation of the Maryland division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in constructing such a monument. Trippe presented a resolution from the Sons of Confederate Veterans that praised the service of Maryland women who had been sympathetic to the Confederacy and its soldiers. “Among the noble women of whom history tells that have gone

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<sup>42</sup>Mills, Cynthia, and Pamela Hemenway Simpson. 2003. *Monuments to the lost cause: women, art, and the landscapes of southern memory*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

<sup>43</sup> “TO CONFEDERATE WOMEN: Replica Of Monument May Be Erected In Maryland MRS. ROSENBERG’S FINE OFFER Tells United Daughters Of Confederacy She Will Contribute \$500n Election Of Delegates,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, November 6, 1907.

<sup>44</sup> “Honoring the Women of War Time,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, December 17, 1911.

about doing good none have a fairer or brighter record than the women of our city and state who were devoted to the Confederate cause... Their names live in blessed memory all through our Southern land with the veterans for whose welfare they gave such labor and service.” According to *The Baltimore Sun* issue of December 8, 1911, the Baltimore chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, led by Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, enthusiastically acceded to this request for assistance.<sup>45</sup>

In 1914, a delegation representing the United Daughters of the Confederacy appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the Maryland House of Representatives appealing for an appropriation of \$12,000.00 for the monument. This 12,000.00 dollars would be added to the funds that Confederate veterans associations had been collecting for such a monument. On February 11, 1914 the Committee responded favorably to the request, and the General Assembly of Maryland authorized \$12,000.00 for the monument as part of a bill entitled “An act to erect a suitable monument in the city of Baltimore to commemorate the heroism, devotion and self-sacrifice of the women of Maryland in their service to the wounded Confederate soldiers who came under their care in the war between the states.”<sup>4647</sup>

Following a competition that attracted the designs of artists from New York and Baltimore, the design of J. Maxwell Miller was chosen for the site.<sup>48</sup> Miller pursued discussions with the Baltimore Department of Recreation and Parks, as well as the Olmstead Brothers firm,

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<sup>45</sup> “Daughters Asked to Aid: Confederate Veterans Want State Division To Help On Memorial,” *The Sun (1837-1991): Baltimore, Md.*, December 8, 1911.

<sup>46</sup> “Ask \$12,000 for Monument,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, February 11, 1914.

<sup>47</sup> Baltimore Heritage, “Confederate Monuments in Wyman Park Dell,” Baltimore Heritage Open Tours, accessed March 17, 2018, <http://baltimoreheritage.github.io/2015/12/05/wyman-park-dell-confederate-monuments/>.

<sup>48</sup> “SATURDAY DATE OF UNVEILING: Monument To Confederate Women Of State To Be Dedicated,” *The Sun (1837-1992); Baltimore, Md.*, October 28, 1918.

in order to have the proposed site for the monument approved, leveled and graded.<sup>4950</sup> The monument was contracted for completion in May 1918, however wartime scarcities prevented the arrival of needed materials and transportation, delaying the installation of the monument until late Fall of 1918.<sup>51</sup>

*The Baltimore Sun* reported upon the unveiling of the monument to the Confederate Women of Maryland on November 3, 1918, describing a crowd of several hundred persons gathered in the bitter cold to witness the ceremony. J. Maxwell Miller's statue included three figures: a woman holding a dying soldier in her arms, while a second woman stood alert and erect. The *Baltimore Sun* editorialized on the noble figures enshrined within the statue, calling the Confederate soldier "a dying hero" and describing the standing woman as "a figure typifying the devoted women of the Confederacy." The monument was inaugurated by Mary Ringgold Trippe, the granddaughter of the late Andrew Trippe, who pulled aside the Confederate and American flags to reveal the new memorial. Played at the dedication were a number of songs, including: "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Dixie," "Maryland, My Maryland" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag."<sup>52</sup>

#### *Lee and Jackson Monument*

The last monument to the Confederacy to be constructed within the City of Baltimore was the Lee and Jackson Monument, located on the west side of the Wyman Park Dell, at the intersection of Wyman Park Drive, Art Museum Drive and North Howard Street in Charles Village. The Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson monument was a double equestrian

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<sup>49</sup> Minutes of the Board of Recreation and Parks, Baltimore, Maryland. June 15, 1917.

<sup>50</sup> Minutes of the Board of Recreation and Parks, Baltimore, Maryland. November 14, 1918.

<sup>51</sup> "SATURDAY DATE OF UNVEILING."

<sup>52</sup> "MONUMENT UNVEILED: "Confederate Women Of Maryland" Typified In Marble Statue," *The Sun (1837-1992); Baltimore, Md.*, November 3, 1918.

monument depicting the two generals in talks just before the Battle of Chancellorsville, where Jackson was fatally wounded. The large base of the monument includes a set of stairs approaching the monumental sculpture and was designed by architect John Russell Pope, who also designed the nearby Baltimore Museum of Art. There are inscriptions on the East, West and North Steps of the monument's base. The North step memorializes Lee and Jackson in the following terms, taken from the last will and testament of the man who had funded the memorial. "They were great generals and/Christian soldiers and waged/war like gentlemen."<sup>53</sup> Following his death, J. Henry Ferguson gave a bequest to the Baltimore Municipal Art Society in the amount of \$100,000.00 for the purpose of a monument to the two generals who had been his childhood heroes.<sup>54</sup>

J. Henry Ferguson was a businessman and philanthropist in early twentieth century Baltimore. In 1898, he founded the Colonial Trust Company, and was a member of the Maryland Club, living at his estate, Glenmir, on Edmondson Avenue. The Baltimore Sun elaborated at length on his dignity, refinement and gourmet tastes, as well as how his enjoyment of sporting was cut short by an accident and the subsequent amputation of a leg.<sup>55</sup> In addition to his own proper affinity for the two generals, J. Henry Ferguson was the son of James Henry Ferguson, a leading businessman of Baltimore and the inventor of the Merrill Rifle. This military innovation acquainted the elder Ferguson with Jefferson Davis during Davis' as Secretary of War of the United States. The two remained close, and according to the obituary of the elder Ferguson that

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<sup>53</sup> "\$100,000 Lee-Jackson Statue May Be Ready Within Year: Municipal Art Society Gets Report On Memorial Considered One Of Finest In World," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, April 7, 1939, 00.

<sup>54</sup> "The Lee-Jackson Statue And Mr. Ferguson's Motive," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, October 29, 1947.

<sup>55</sup> "The Lee-Jackson Statue And Mr. Ferguson's Motive."

appeared in the Baltimore Sun, “Mr. Ferguson was one of the few allowed to visit Mr. Davis when he was confined at Fortress Monroe.”<sup>56</sup>

A November 19, 1934 article discussed two bequests for statues of Confederate figures that presented a legal challenge for the city of Baltimore. J. Henry Ferguson’s 1928 will had provided \$100,000 for a statue of Lee and Jackson just before Chancellorsville, to be placed not more than ten miles from City Hall, while the will of Elizabeth White had provided that the sale of her estate, around \$40,000.00 should be used for an equestrian statue of Lee in Druid Hill Park. Robert Garrett, the great-nephew of Mrs. White and her executor, suggested that it might be possible to combine the funds, as the money from Mrs. White’s estate “would not be sufficient to carry out my aunt’s will.”<sup>57</sup> The desire to publically commemorate Confederate generalship was an impulse shared by at least two members of the Baltimore elite who chose to leave sizeable bequests to the city. Following much negotiation, White’s bequest would ultimately be utilized not for a statue of Robert E. Lee, but for a park dedicated in his name within Baltimore County.

Besides their interest in constructing monuments, Baltimore citizens also performed rituals celebrating both Lee and Jackson. *The Baltimore Sun* published a brief preview of a birthday celebration to be held by the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1936. The Baltimore chapter of the organization hosted an afternoon event at the Alcazar and open to the public, featuring a Goucher history professor speaking on the lives of the two generals.<sup>58</sup> In April

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<sup>56</sup> “Obituary James Henry Ferguson,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, November 20, 1899.

<sup>57</sup> “Bequest For Lee-Jackson Statues Present Problem: Legal And Art Experts Seeking Way To Carry Out Terms Of Wills Of J. Henry Ferguson And Mrs. Elizabeth B. White,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, November 19, 1934.

<sup>58</sup> “Ceremony To Honor Lee And Jackson: Birthdays Of Two Rebel Generals To Be Celebrated Tomorrow Afternoon By United Daughters Of The Confederacy, Chapter 8,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, January 19, 1936.

of 1939, *The Baltimore Sun* published an update on the completion of the double equestrian statue, eagerly anticipating the arrival of the “at least eleven feet high” monument at Wyman Park, “its permanent home.” A prediction was made that the memorial would go to a bronze foundry for casting in June of that year, so that the bronze statuary could join with the base which had already been finished by John Russell Pope. The inscriptions on the base of the monument were in place by this time.<sup>59</sup>

In October 1947, the bronze statue arrived in Baltimore after many years of waiting, halted by war shortages and constraints, as well as transportation difficulties. The artist, Laura Gardin Fraser, remained pleased and optimistic as she expressed her feelings over the chosen site for her monumental bronze sculpture. “The site for this memorial is the most wonderful in the country. This wide sweep of drive in front of the statue is similar to the turning road where Jackson and Lee said farewell before the battle of Chancellorsville. That street is like the road over which Lee watched Jackson depart to visit his troops. I have visited the site and I know.”<sup>60</sup> Yet others involved in the installation were preoccupied by less rosy thoughts. Peter Guertin, a representative of the Gorham foundry, spoke with *The Baltimore Sun* about how World War II had exponentially increased the costs of the work, saying “Everybody connected with this has lost money.” He added that “Everything connected with the statue from the bronze up or down, has increased tremendously in price over the cost when the contract was let.”<sup>61</sup>

The inauguration of the monument to Jackson and Lee took place on May 1, 1948, the anniversary of the day when the two men said their final farewells at Chancellorsville.

Descendants of both men were present, and over three hundred cadets of the Virginia Military

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<sup>59</sup> “\$100,000 Lee-Jackson Statue May Be Ready Within Year,” 000.

<sup>60</sup> “Statue Of Lee And Jackson Arrives Here After 11 Years,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, October 25, 1947.

<sup>61</sup> “Statue Of Lee And Jackson Arrives Here After 11 Years.”

Institute marched in full dress uniform, along with units of the Maryland National Guard and the U.S. Army. Over three thousand people gathered for the ceremony in Wyman Park, and a litany of invited guests, mainly members of the military, were present at the unveiling. A grandstand was mounted, and Governor Lane and Mayor D'Alesandro each offered a long discourse.<sup>62</sup> In his speech at the unveiling of the monument, the mayor described the two generals as renowned for their military prowess. D'Alesandro also made clear some of the real intention behind this memorialization of the long-dead Southern generals: the maintenance of law and order within his city and across the country. "Today, with our nation beset by subversive groups and propaganda which seeks to destroy our national unity, we can look for inspiration to the lives of Lee and Jackson to remind us to be resolute and determined in preserving our sacred institutions."<sup>63</sup> The generals were commemorated within the context of the postwar era, as concerns about civil rights agitation, as well as Communist infiltration, left many political leaders feeling anxious over American tradition, culture and values.

Reactions to the erection of the monument among the white community were generally positive. One letter to *The Baltimore Sun* from an anonymous citizen spoke unfavorably about certain of the other monuments throughout the city in order to more highly praise the statue designed by Laura Gardin Fraser. "Baltimore has many monuments commemorative of heroes and great events. A few of them are good but, to be candid about it, most of them hardly merit a second glance as works of art. If they were to be carted away, it would be no great loss."<sup>64</sup> In words that prove surprisingly prophetic, this writer spoke of the judgment of future generations and how posterity would have the power to review past choices in public art. "The new double

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<sup>62</sup> "Lee And Jackson Monument Dedicated As 3,000 Look On," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, May 2, 1948, 000.

<sup>63</sup> "Lee And Jackson Monument Dedicated As 3,000 Look On."

<sup>64</sup> "The Memorial To Lee And Jackson," *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, May 1, 1948.

equestrian will be finally judged by the generations which follow this one. As of now we can only guess what the verdict will be...Here is one memorial which raises the average of our public art and helps support our reputation as the Monumental City.”<sup>65</sup>

However, the wishes of elite Baltimoreans to memorialize these two Southern generals did meet with the opposition of the vocal African American community, as represented by its leading newspaper, the Baltimore Afro-American. A writer for this journal excoriated both the Mayor and the Governor for their participation in the unveiling of this monument and for the false rhetoric of healing and reconciliation that they utilized in their discourses on that day. The author targeted D’Alesandro’s notion of “sacred institutions,” writing “The ‘sacred institution’ which Lee and Jackson sought to wreck was this Federal union of ours. The ‘sacred institution’ they sought to preserve was slavery.”<sup>66</sup> The author also cited recent history in seeking to emphasize the insidious racism of men like Jackson and Lee: “Hitler killed Jews. Lee and Jackson exploited colored people as animals and property.”<sup>67</sup> To this author, the two Confederate generals were more traitors than heroes. “Jackson and Lee, rebels, conspirators, were responsible for the sacrifice of a million lives and the out-pouring of the nation’s wealth to fight a four-year war.”<sup>68</sup> The author also upbraided all of the notables who had assembled at the inauguration to celebrate two such infamous men. “These traitors are today held up before us by the Governor of the State, the Mayor of the city, and Bishop Noble C. Powell of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, and Brother Douglass Freeman of Richmond, Va., editor of the News Leader, as

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<sup>65</sup> “The Memorial To Lee And Jackson.”

<sup>66</sup> “Opinion: Why Not Benedict Arnold?,” *Afro-American (1893-1988): Baltimore, Md.*, May 15, 1948, sec. First News Section.

<sup>67</sup> “Opinion: Why Not Benedict Arnold?,” *Afro-American (1893-1988): Baltimore, Md.*, May 15, 1948, sec. First News Section.

<sup>68</sup> “Opinion: Why Not Benedict Arnold?,” *Afro-American (1893-1988): Baltimore, Md.*, May 15, 1948, sec. First News Section.



characters to whom we can look for ‘inspiration’? This is pure drivel and tommyrot.”<sup>69</sup> *The Baltimore Afro-American* contested the positioning of Jackson and Lee as heroes and authored a passionate argument about the damage which these men had inflicted upon the country as a whole and upon African Americans in particular.

*Events of 2015 and the Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments*

In the Spring and Summer of 2015, the death of Freddie Gray and the mass shooting at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal church in Charleston, South Carolina would prompt a review of Confederate monuments within the City of Baltimore. The death of Freddie Gray in Baltimore and the unrest that followed would mark a major event in the history of the city and prompted a reexamination of existing dynamics and inequities. The mass shooting at Emanuel A.M.E. church, an attack by a white supremacist on innocent black worshippers, would occasion a review of Confederate monuments and symbols throughout the United States. In Baltimore, these two events led to the founding of the Mayor’s Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments.

On April 12, 2015, Freddie Gray was arrested by police officers on bicycle patrol at 8:40 am, when they saw him walking with two friends. Gray had made eye contact and then fled, and the officers caught up with him at the 1700 block of Presbury Street. As a cellphone camera recorded the arrest, Gray was loaded into a police van, though his seatbelt was left unhooked. When the van arrived at the Western District precinct forty-five minutes later, after making six stops, Gray was found unconscious in the back of the van, his spine severed. Gray was taken to the hospital and remained in a coma for a week. Protests surrounding Gray’s injuries began in

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<sup>69</sup> “Opinion: Why Not Benedict Arnold?,” *Afro-American (1893-1988); Baltimore, Md.*, May 15, 1948, sec. First News Section.

the District on 18 April, and when he died the next day, protests grew still larger.<sup>70</sup> On April 20, city officials announced that the six officers involved in the arrest had been suspended, but that they had each denied the use of excessive force during Gray's arrest. On April 21, the Justice Department announced a federal investigation into Gray's death.<sup>71</sup> On April 25, a crowd of several thousand Baltimoreans marched from the Western District to City Hall, demanding that the officers involved in the death of Freddie Gray be prosecuted. The crowd dispersed following a series of speakers, however brawls broke out between sports fans near Camden Yards and protestors.<sup>72</sup> A police car's windows were smashed, the windows of nearby businesses were broken, and there was a standoff between protestors and police. Twelve people were arrested and five officers were injured.<sup>73</sup>

On April 27, the day of Freddie Gray's funeral, the tensions between police and community members reached a boiling point. Baltimore police announced that there were credible threats against police officers by gangs and that high school students were readying for a day of violence. As a result, they made the decision to shut down public transport at Mondawmin mall, where students were forced from buses and police arrived in riot gear. Students and police soon began scuffling, with both groups throwing rocks and police using teargas. The unrest spread to the corner of Pennsylvania and North Avenues, where a CVS drugstore and other stores were looted. Next, rioters set flame to a police car and to the CVS.<sup>74</sup> Throughout the night, there was chaos, violence, looting and fire, and Governor Larry Hogan declared a state of

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<sup>70</sup> Baynard Woods and Madhvi Pankhania, "Baltimore Timeline: The Year since Freddie Gray's Arrest," *The Guardian*, April 27, 2016, sec. US news, <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/27/baltimore-freddie-gray-arrest-protest-timeline>.

<sup>71</sup> Erik Ortiz, "Here's What We Know About the Freddie Gray Case," NBC News, May 1, 2015, <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/baltimore-unrest/timeline-freddie-gray-case-arrest-protests-n351156>.

<sup>72</sup> Woods and Pankhania, "Baltimore Timeline."

<sup>73</sup> Ortiz, "Here's What We Know About the Freddie Gray Case."

<sup>74</sup> Woods and Pankhania, "Baltimore Timeline."

emergency and deployed the National Guard.<sup>75</sup> The next day, the City released the totals: there had been fires in 144 vehicles and 15 buildings, 235 arrests overnight and twenty officers injured. A weeklong citywide curfew was instituted by Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake.<sup>76</sup> Over the coming days, there were small protests, and 100 protesters who had been arrested during the riots were released without charges on April 29. On May 1, the state's attorney for Baltimore City, brought charges against six officers involved in the arrest and transport of Freddie Gray, causing celebration throughout the city.<sup>77</sup> All charges against the officers were later dropped in July 2016.<sup>78</sup> The six officers have returned to the Baltimore Police Department, though none are assigned to patrolling the West Baltimore, where Freddie Gray was arrested.<sup>79</sup>

On June 17, 2015, white gunman Dylann Roof murdered nine members of the historic Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. These nine victims, six women and three men, were all African American, and the gunman's racist motives in this attack were soon clear. A friend who had tipped off the Federal Bureau of Investigation described Roof as complaining about how "blacks were taking over the world" and rambling that "someone needed to do something about it for the white race."<sup>80</sup> The shooting would reignite a debate about the power of Confederate symbols, as a photo emerged of Roof posing in front of a

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<sup>75</sup> "Riots in Baltimore," Washington Post, accessed February 13, 2018, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/local/baltimore-riots/>.

<sup>76</sup> Jessica Anderson, "Baltimore riots lead to 235 arrests, 20 injured officers" The Baltimore Sun, accessed February 13, 2018. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-riots/bs-md-ci-baltimore-riots-what-we-know-20150428-story.html>

<sup>77</sup> Woods and Pankhania, "Baltimore Timeline."

<sup>78</sup> Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Jess Bidgood, "All Charges Dropped Against Baltimore Officers in Freddie Gray Case," *The New York Times*, July 27, 2016, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/28/us/charges-dropped-against-3-remaining-officers-in-freddie-gray-case.html>.

<sup>79</sup> Tim Prudente, "With Prosecutions over, Six Baltimore Officers Back at Work after Death of Freddie Gray," [baltimoresun.com](http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/crime/bs-md-ci-officers-back-to-work-20171128-story.html), accessed January 4, 2018. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/crime/bs-md-ci-officers-back-to-work-20171128-story.html>.

<sup>80</sup> "Suspected gunman caught in shooting of 9 at historic black church - Baltimore Sun" accessed November 10, 2017, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/nation-world/ct-charleston-shooting-20150617-story.html>

car with Confederate license plates.<sup>81</sup> In South Carolina, where the Confederate flag was flown outside the state’s capitol, a 30-year old black activist named Bree Newsome scaled a thirty-foot high flagpole to take down the flag. Both Newsome and another activist were arrested, then later released, for the misdemeanor charge of defacing of a monument.<sup>82</sup> Following the massacre, the Southern Poverty Law Center launched an investigation into of all of the Confederate symbols and monuments across the country in order to provide a resource for municipalities seeking to review their public monuments.<sup>83</sup>

The new national discussion about Confederate monuments and symbols that had arisen after the Charleston A.M.E. shooting now spread to Baltimore, where the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument was vandalized in June 2015. Five days after the shooting, the words “Black Lives Matter” were scrawled in yellow paint upon the monument. *The Baltimore Sun* noted that the message of “Black Lives Matter” had been one of the important messages of the protests following the death of Freddie Gray in Baltimore.<sup>84</sup> Black Lives Matter is both a phrase as well as the name of an activist movement that emerged in 2013, and which protests against the undervaluing of black life in American society as well as violence and institutional racism against black people.<sup>85</sup>

Baltimore Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake announced the appointment of a Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments, a committee of experts in

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<sup>81</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/20/us/charleston-shooting-reignites-debate-about-confederate-flag.html>

<sup>82</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2015/06/27/woman-takes-down-confederate-flag-in-front-of-south-carolina-statehouse/?utm\\_term=.ecad6e5179f0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2015/06/27/woman-takes-down-confederate-flag-in-front-of-south-carolina-statehouse/?utm_term=.ecad6e5179f0)

<sup>83</sup> Whose Heritage?: Public Symbols of the Confederacy. The Southern Poverty Law Center. [https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/whoseheritage\\_splc.pdf](https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/whoseheritage_splc.pdf)

<sup>84</sup>Kevin Rector. “National conversation on Confederate symbology lands in Baltimore, scrawled in yellow paint” *The Baltimore Sun*. June 22, 2015. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bal-black-lives-matter-spray-painted-on-confederate-statue-in-baltimore-20150622-story.html>

<sup>85</sup> “Herstory,” *Black Lives Matter* (blog), accessed March 26, 2018, <https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/herstory/>.

history and art, to study the monuments and their history and offer recommendations as to their future place in the City of Baltimore.<sup>86</sup> "It is important that we recognize the delicate balance between respecting history and being offensive. I believe that by bringing together representatives from the art community and historians, and gathering public testimony, we have a better chance of understanding the importance of historic monuments—not only the significance they have in our history, but the role they should play in our future."<sup>87</sup> On September 4, 2015, Mayor Rawlings-Blake named the seven members of this commission, which included members of the Baltimore City Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, members of the Baltimore City Public Arts Commission, museum experts and historians.<sup>88</sup> The Commission's final report directly links the creation of the Commission with the violence that had taken place in Charleston, South Carolina. "The connection of the flag of the Confederacy with the massacre - which was identified as a racially-motivated hate crime by a Federal grand jury - led to an eruption of debates across the country about the role of Confederate symbols in America today." The report also noted that Baltimore citizens had engaged in a new artistic debate surrounding the meaning of monuments. "Baltimore's Confederate Soldiers and Sailors monument was tagged with "Black Lives Matter" in yellow paint, demonstrating that some citizens associate these monuments not only with historic white supremacy, but with the current issues of systemic injustice for African Americans today. In Baltimore and across the nation, there have been debates on whether to take down the Confederate monuments."<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>"Status of Confederate Statues under Review in Baltimore - Baltimore Sun."

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Yvonne Mayor names Confederate monument review Commission. September 4, 2015. The Baltimore Sun. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-ci-confederate-commission-20150904-story.html>

<sup>89</sup> Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments. Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake. August 16, 2016.

The first Commission meeting took place on September 16, 2015, and during this meeting guidelines were established for the incorporation of public opinion and testimony into the process. Citizens could submit written testimony or speak to the Commission during a public hearing on December 15, 2015.<sup>90</sup> Over the course of six months, the Commission conducted intensive research on the monuments and their history, solicited public testimony from Baltimore citizens, and held four public meetings. The Commission sought information on other cities and how they had dealt with questions regarding controversial monuments and looked to other examples from around the world.<sup>91</sup> The Commission consulted a variety of scholars, including local experts on Baltimore's Civil War history and monuments. Eli Pousson, of the Baltimore National Heritage Area, supplied the necessary historical context for understanding Baltimore during and after the American Civil War in his working paper "Baltimore's Confederate Monuments: Historic Context and Related Resources."<sup>92</sup> Both Pousson and sociologist and writer James Loewen presented testimony at the second meeting of the commission in November 2015. Loewen suggested the removal of all statues as well as the removal of a statue to Maryland politician and secessionist Severn Teackle Wallis.<sup>93</sup> Local art historian and monument specialist Cindy Kelly offered testimony regarding the historical and artistic significance of the statues.<sup>94</sup>

On January 14, 2016, the Commission recommended the removal of two of the statues that it had studied, the Roger B. Taney monument and the Jackson and Lee monument. The

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<sup>90</sup> Commission Report.

<sup>91</sup> "Confederate Monuments." Committee For Historical and Architectural Preservation <https://chap.baltimorecity.gov/confederate-monuments>

<sup>92</sup> Eli Pousson [http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ce643a\\_a063ec079904456e9a873f3ed468b671.pdf](http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ce643a_a063ec079904456e9a873f3ed468b671.pdf)

<sup>93</sup> Nate Croll and Brandon Soderberg, "Differing Strategies: Experts and Activists Weigh in on Confederate Monuments in Baltimore," citypaper.com, accessed March 18, 2018,

<http://www.citypaper.com/news/mobtownbeat/bcp-110415-mobs-confederate-monuments-20151103-story.html>.

<sup>94</sup> Cindy Kelly, Some Comments on the Historical and Artistic significance of Baltimore's Four Civil War Monuments. [http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ce643a\\_46dc48602c3649869166be75f7e11bf3.pdf](http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ce643a_46dc48602c3649869166be75f7e11bf3.pdf)

Commission suggested that the Jackson and Lee monument could be potentially relocated to Chancellorsville National Battlefield and placed under the aegis of the National Park Service. The Taney monument was recommended for removal, with no suggested relocation, as it is a bronze copy of the State House statue and commission members viewed it with particular scorn due to Taney's involvement in the Dred Scott decision.<sup>95</sup> The Commission issued its formal report on August 16, 2016, wherein it reviewed each of the monuments and their context, the larger history of the myth of the Lost Cause, the legal requirements surrounding a potential removal, and the grounds on which it had made its decision.<sup>96</sup>

Dealing with the legal protections surrounding three of the monuments was part of a collaborative partnership between the City of Baltimore and a state preservation agency. Historic easements were held by the Maryland Historical Trust on the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, the Confederate Women's Monument and the Lee and Jackson Monument. There was an agreement between the City of Baltimore and the Maryland Historic Trust dating to March 14, 1984, wherein the two bodies had legally agreed that the Trust would have the right to review changes to the monuments, while the city would fund the cyclical maintenance of these sculptures. The easements included not only the sculptures themselves, but also the surrounding sites. The Commission was explicit regarding the steps required of the City if it wished to carry forth the relocation of the monuments. "Changes and alterations to these monuments cannot occur without written permission of the Director of the Maryland Historical Trust. In addition, de-accessioning these monuments would have to follow a process to dispose of Baltimore city property (AM 306 and AM 306-1). Under the City Charter all monuments are in the care of the

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<sup>95</sup> Luke Broadwater, "Panel: Remove Pair of Statues: But Two Confederate Monuments Should Stay, Commission Says," *The Baltimore Sun; Baltimore, Md.*, January 15, 2016, sec. LOCAL.

<sup>96</sup> Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments. Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake. August 16, 2016.

Department of Recreation and Parks as stated in Article 7 Section 67 of the Baltimore City Charter.”<sup>97</sup>

*The Time in Between*

On September 5, 2016, the Baltimore Sun reported that Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake had developed an interim solution to the monument question, the installation of interpretive signage to add historical context to each of the monuments. Unwilling to make a firm decision on the monuments during the final months of her term, Rawlings-Blake felt that adding signs offered a “practical solution to a complicated issue.” To answer her critics, she pointed out the fiscal difficulties that the City faced. “There’s a vote to remove it, and then there’s the ability to remove it. You need the funds and you need the relocation. Everyone can say, ‘You should remove them all and put them in one big Confederate monument park, but who’s paying for it?’”<sup>98</sup> The text of these interpretive signs attempted to place the erection of these monuments into the broader story of racism and segregation in the City of Baltimore, stating “In the same period that this monument was installed, Baltimore City continued to enforce racial segregation housing ordinances and deed covenants, continued to support segregation policies in public spaces and programs, and unequally funded African American school budgets, infrastructure improvements and public programs.” The text also shared information about the founding and the conclusions of the Commission regarding these monuments. “In 2015, Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake appointed a Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments to provide recommendations based on informed decisions and citizen input on how to address Baltimore’s monuments that honor the Confederacy and the Lost Cause movement. This

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<sup>97</sup> Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments. Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake. August 16, 2016.

<sup>98</sup> Yvonne Wegner and Luke Broadwater, “Rawlings-Blake Delays Decision on Confederate Memorials-The Baltimore Sun” September 15, 2016.



Commission concluded that this monument was part of a movement to perpetuate the beliefs of white supremacy, falsify history, and support segregation and racial intimidation.” The sign text was developed by the Baltimore City Commission on Historical and Architectural Preservation, and the design was offered by the Baltimore National Heritage Area.<sup>99</sup>

On December 6, 2016, Catherine Pugh became Baltimore’s fiftieth mayor, replacing Stephanie Rawlings-Blake at Baltimore City Hall. Rawlings-Blake had chosen not to run for reelection, her career ended by her inability to quell the unrest of April 27, 2015.<sup>100</sup> For the first several months of her time as Mayor, Pugh made no public announcements regarding the fate of the monuments. In the meantime, other cities across the country were taking actions to confront the problem of these monuments. In New Orleans, Mayor Mitch Landrieu, facing the last months of his final term, removed statues of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee and Pierre Gustave Toutant Beaufort, as well as an obelisk commemorating an act of white racial terror, the Battle of Liberty Place.<sup>101</sup> The Liberty Place monument commemorated the fallen members of the Crescent City White League, a white supremacist organization that in 1874 fought with police, state militia and federal troops in an effort to overthrow the Republican state government.<sup>102</sup>

A speech that Landrieu gave upon the removal of these monuments offered a powerful and influential rebuttal to those who claimed that the city was erasing its history in removing these monuments from its streets. Landrieu first explained the way in which the commemoration

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<sup>99</sup>Special Commission to Review Baltimore’s Public Confederate Monuments. Lee Jackson Monument, 1948. <http://baltimoreplanning.wixsite.com/monumentcommission/leeandjacksonmonument>

<sup>100</sup> “Catherine Pugh Sworn in as Baltimore’s 50th Mayor - Baltimore Sun,” accessed October 9, 2017, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/politics/bs-md-ci-mayor-inauguration-20161206-story.html>.

<sup>101</sup> “Pugh to Explore Removing Confederate Monuments in Baltimore - Baltimore Sun,” accessed October 9, 2017, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/blog/bal-pugh-to-explore-removing-confederate-monuments-in-baltimore-20170527-story.html>.

<sup>102</sup> Ed Kilgore, “New Orleans Pulls Down a Monument to Post-Civil War White Terrorism,” Daily Intelligencer, accessed March 18, 2018, <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2017/04/new-orleans-removes-monument-to-white-terrorism.html>.

of these Confederate figures had been fundamental to the Lost Cause and its revision of the real history of slavery and the American Civil War.

The historic record is clear, the Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and P.G.T. Beauregard statues were not erected just to honor these men, but as part of the movement which became known as The Cult of the Lost Cause. This ‘cult’ had one goal — through monuments and through other means — to rewrite history to hide the truth, which is that the Confederacy was on the wrong side of humanity. First erected over 166 years after the founding of our city and 19 years after the end of the Civil War, the monuments that we took down were meant to rebrand the history of our city and the ideals of a defeated Confederacy.<sup>103</sup>

As had the writer of the *Afro-American* editorial, Landrieu stated that the Confederates who were commemorated through these statues were not men who deserved such an august honor, and that within these statues was imbued an immense distortion of the facts of history.

It is self-evident that these men did not fight for the United States of America, They fought against it. They may have been warriors, but in this cause they were not patriots. These statues are not just stone and metal. They are not just innocent remembrances of a benign history. These monuments purposefully celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy; ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, and the terror that it actually stood for.<sup>104</sup>

For this May 19, 2017 speech, Landrieu would gain widespread praise and be quoted in numerous media outlets. The New York Times ran a full transcript of his remarks as well as an opinion editorial that extolled the Mayor’s eloquence and courage.<sup>105106</sup> Ten days after this speech in New Orleans, *The Baltimore Sun* reported that Mayor Pugh was now interested in the removal of the Confederate monuments located in Baltimore. “The city does want to remove these. We will take a closer look at how we go about following in the footsteps of New Orleans.” At this stage, Pugh’s thinking on the monuments had not fully evolved, and research had not yet

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<sup>103</sup> “Mitch Landrieu’s Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans - The New York Times,” accessed October 9, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieu-speech-transcript.html>.

<sup>104</sup> “Mitch Landrieu’s Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans - The New York Times.”

<sup>105</sup> “Mitch Landrieu’s Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans - The New York Times.”

<sup>106</sup> Frank Bruni, “Opinion | Mitch Landrieu Reminds Us That Eloquence Still Exists,” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2017, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieu-new-orleans-mayor-speech.html>.

been conducted upon the cost of potential removals. Pugh said, "New Orleans has taken on this issue. It costs about \$200,000.00 a statute to tear them down. ... Maybe we can auction them?"<sup>107</sup> This was a signal of a change in the mayor's mindset, but there was no alteration made to the monuments or their circumstances until tragedy struck later that summer.

### *Charlottesville and the Time to Act*

In February of 2017, the Charlottesville City Council voted to remove a statue of Robert E. Lee from a city park. Opposing groups filed lawsuits against this measure, but white supremacists opposing the decision took the matter a step further, holding a torch-lit rally on the grounds of the University of Virginia on May 13. Several months later, a white nationalist group planned to hold a "Unite the Right" rally on Saturday, August 12, 2017.<sup>108</sup> On the night of Friday, August 11, 2017, over two hundred white supremacists carrying tiki torches marched across the University of Virginia campus in Charlottesville, Virginia. This group, made up mainly of young white men, chanted slogans intended to strike terror in those who heard them: "Blood and soil!" "You will not replace us!" "Jews will not replace us!" They were met by thirty University of Virginia students, both people of color and white students, and the white supremacists began shouting "White Lives Matter!" Scuffles began between protestors and counter protestors, and it took the police some time to intervene and break up the fighting.<sup>109</sup> This initial skirmish, as well as the videos and photographs of it that were posted online, threatened to escalate tensions the following day.

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<sup>107</sup> Luke Broadwater, "Pugh to explore removing Confederate monuments"

<sup>108</sup> "Timeline: What Led to the Violence That Unfolded in Charlottesville - ABC News," accessed March 18, 2018, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/timeline-led-violence-unfolded-charlottesville/story?id=49207428>.

<sup>109</sup> "How a Rally of White Nationalists and Supremacists at the University of Virginia Turned into a 'Tragic, Tragic Weekend,'" Washington Post, accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/>.

A rally on August 12 was intended to begin at noon, but the park that held the Lee monument was fast filling at eight in the morning. Rally-goers carried nationalist banners, chanted slogans, and held shields, clubs and guns. Counter protestors, including locals, nearby church groups, civil rights leaders, and some anti-fascists, were also gathering at the park. For the first few hours, both groups exchanged only slogans, the rally-goers chanting “Our blood, our soil” and the counter protestors shouting, “Fuck you, Nazis!”<sup>110</sup> At around 11 am, a contingent of white nationalists approached the park, and when they were blocked in their path by counter protestors, the marchers charged at the anti-racist protestors with sticks and chemical irritants, causing an outbreak of violence between the two groups. Bottles, rocks and punches flew until the police declared an unlawful assembly at 11:22 am, forcing both groups to disperse. As the white supremacists walked towards another city park, they exchanged words with an African American woman, with one man telling her “Dylann Roof was a hero!”<sup>111</sup> Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe declared a state of emergency shortly before noon, bringing an end to the planned rally.<sup>112</sup>

Yet Charlottesville would witness still more bloodshed on that day. Early that afternoon, a man rammed his car into a crowd of counter protestors, resulting in the death of 32-year-old Heather Heyer and the injury of nineteen others. Two state troopers also died that Saturday when the helicopter they were piloting to monitor the demonstrations fell and burst into flames. The murder of Heather Heyer outraged many across the nation, and the violent, heavily armed white

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<sup>110</sup> “[How a Rally of White Nationalists and Supremacists at the University of Virginia Turned into a ‘Tragic, Tragic Weekend.’](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/)” [Washington Post](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/), accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/>.

<sup>111</sup> “How a Rally of White Nationalists and Supremacists at the University of Virginia Turned into a ‘Tragic, Tragic Weekend.’”

<sup>112</sup> “Timeline: What Led to the Violence That Unfolded in Charlottesville - ABC News.”

supremacists drew swift condemnation from across the country.<sup>113</sup> One important figure who remained equivocal was President Donald J. Trump, whose statement on the day's events sought to blame both opposing groups for the violence, as he condemned the "egregious display of hatred, bigotry and violence on many sides." Commentators were appalled at the President for his failure to name the white nationalists and white supremacists as the cause of the violence and bloodshed that had taken place at Charlottesville.<sup>114</sup>

That same day, several dozen Baltimore demonstrators rallied at the intersection of Pennsylvania and North Avenues in solidarity with the antiracist protestors who had been attacked in Charlottesville. Featured at the event were several Baltimoreans who had been present in Charlottesville that weekend during the confrontations with white nationalists. Some present called for Baltimore to "finish what Charlottesville started" and remove its own Confederate monuments, while others connected these events to what had happened in 2015. "What we experienced today is no different than what we experienced in 2015 when the police murdered Freddie Gray. We have a moral obligation to join the resistance."<sup>115</sup>

A second solidarity rally took place the following night, August 13, 2017, originating near the Lee and Jackson monument in Wyman Park Dell and then tracing a route through Charles Village. Speeches were given from the monument, and then one thousand Baltimoreans marched through the streets, led by members of Baltimore Bloc, a local activist group, before returning to the park. Following this rally, a protest statue entitled Madre Luz, that had once before been placed beside Lee and Jackson in 2015, was installed in front of the Lee and Jackson

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<sup>113</sup> "Timeline: What Led to the Violence That Unfolded in Charlottesville - ABC News."

<sup>114</sup> Maggie Astor, Christina Caron, and Daniel Victor, "A Guide to the Charlottesville Aftermath," *The New York Times*, August 13, 2017, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/charlottesville-virginia-overview.html>.

<sup>115</sup> Sarah Meehan, "Demonstrators in Baltimore Rally in Solidarity with Charlottesville," *baltimoresun.com*, accessed March 17, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/dining/baltimore-diner-blog/bs-md-ci-charlottesville-rally-20170812-story.html>.

monument. The following day, two of the city's Confederate monuments were defaced. The Jackson and Lee Monument was spray-painted with "Black Lives Matter" and "Remember C-Ville", while the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors monument was covered in red paint.<sup>116</sup>

On August 14, 2017, Mayor Catherine Pugh made a public promise to remove Baltimore's Confederate monuments, saying "It's my intention to move forward with the removal of the statues." She said that she was planning to go further than the Commission's report had suggested, that she was considering the removal of all four statues. She noted that two obstacles remained: finding money to pay for the work and receiving permission from the Maryland Historical Trust. Pugh suggested that perhaps the monuments could be moved to Confederate cemeteries located in other portions of the state.<sup>117</sup> That same day, a resolution passed the City Council unanimously calling for the "immediate deconstruction" of the monuments within the City and it specifically mentioned the events that had taken place in Charlottesville. The resolution also made reference to the time that had passed since the Monuments Commission had reported its findings. "Following the acts of domestic terrorism carried out by white supremacist terrorist groups in Charlottesville, Virginia this past weekend, cities must act decisively and immediately by removing these monuments. Baltimore has had more than enough time to think on the issue and it's time to act." The activist group Baltimore Bloc responded to this declaration with a call for urgent action, tweeting "Does immediate have a date?"<sup>118</sup>

### *The Removal and the Questions Remaining*

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<sup>116</sup> Maura Callahan Weigel Brandon Soderberg, and Brandon, "Councilmembers Pass Resolution to Deconstruct Confederate Monuments; Two Monuments Defaced by Activists," citypaper.com, accessed March 18, 2018, <http://www.citypaper.com/blogs/the-news-hole/bcpnews-councilmembers-move-to-destroy-confederate-monuments-hundreds-rally-in-solidarity-with-charlottesvill-20170813-story.html>.

<sup>117</sup> Luke Broadwater. "Mayor Pledges to Remove statues-Baltimore Sun" August 15, 2017.

<sup>118</sup> Weigel, "Councilmembers Pass Resolution to Deconstruct Confederate Monuments; Two Monuments Defaced by Activists."

In the dark of night and the early hours of the morning on August 15 and 16, 2017, the four Confederate monuments that had stood in Baltimore's public parks for decades came tumbling from their pedestals. From 11:30 pm to 5:30 am, crews of workers from Whiting-Turner removed each of Baltimore's Confederate monuments and loaded them onto trucks. Beginning with the Taney monument and working northwards to the removal of the Jackson and Lee monument, workers worked quietly and unannounced to execute the wishes of city officials.<sup>119</sup> News of the removal spread through the activist network of Baltimore Bloc, and a crowd ultimately gathered around Wyman Park Dell to watch the statue of Jackson and Lee come down. The *City Paper* account of the night's events included an anecdote about the ambiance of the occasion that speaks to the moment. "The mood was jovial with the group applauding each step of the removal. Even the police seemed to be in the mood. Capt. Sean Patrick Mahoney of the Baltimore Police joked with the crowd and warned them to be safe. 'Take selfies,' he said. 'Enjoy it, all right? But be very careful, once that thing starts moving, start taking a walk for me, will you?'" Mayor Pugh, standing near her car, watched in silence as the monument was removed from its pedestal.<sup>120</sup>

Mayor Pugh was later interviewed by the *New York Times*, where she explained her decision to remove the monuments. Mayor Pugh described her decision in this matter as a safety measure and explained her desire to protect Baltimore from the bloodshed that had transpired in Charlottesville. "The mayor has the right to protect her city. For me, the statues represented pain, and not only did I want to protect my city from any more of that pain, I also wanted to protect my city from any of the violence that was occurring around the nation. We don't need that in

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<sup>119</sup> "\$100,000 Lee-Jackson Statue May Be Ready Within Year," 00.

<sup>120</sup> "[Baltimore's Confederate and White Supremacist Monuments Removed by City Overnight - Baltimore City Paper](http://www.citypaper.com/blogs/the-news-hole/bcpnews-baltimore-s-confederate-and-white-supremacist-monuments-removed-by-city-overnight-20170816-htmlstory.html)," accessed March 18, 2018, <http://www.citypaper.com/blogs/the-news-hole/bcpnews-baltimore-s-confederate-and-white-supremacist-monuments-removed-by-city-overnight-20170816-htmlstory.html>.

Baltimore.”<sup>121</sup> This explanation allowed Pugh to avoid making a moral argument about the place of the statues in the city as well as to deflect criticism on the grounds that her act was an emergency measure. In this interview, Pugh also said that in consultation with her legal team, she had chosen to bypass the Maryland Historical Trust and remove the statues in the interest of public safety. Pugh said that the city was prepared to fight a legal challenge to the removal, although she did not expect a suit to be forthcoming.<sup>122</sup>

The monuments were later placed within a city-owned parking lot under tarps and police protection somewhere within the boundaries of the City.<sup>123</sup> Though the monuments had now been removed from public display, they were not removed from the broader conversation happening both in print and online. The day after the monuments were taken down in Baltimore, President Donald Trump tweeted, obliquely, about their removal. “Sad to see the history and culture of our great country being ripped apart with the removal of our beautiful statues and monuments. You can’t change history, but you can learn from it. Robert E Lee, Stonewall Jackson- who’s next, Washington, Jefferson? So foolish!”<sup>124</sup> Trump was criticized for this repeated defense of Confederate monuments by historians and scholars of the American Civil War, who questioned his conflation of the founding fathers of the country with those Confederate generals who had tried to destroy it.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> “Baltimore Mayor Had Statues Removed in ‘Best Interest of My City’ - The New York Times,” accessed October 9, 2017, [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/16/us/baltimore-confederate-statues.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/16/us/baltimore-confederate-statues.html?_r=0).

<sup>122</sup> “Baltimore Mayor Had Statues Removed in ‘Best Interest of My City’ - The New York Times.”

<sup>123</sup> “Baltimore’s Confederate Statues under Tarps as Trump, Stonewall Jackson Descendants Weigh in - Baltimore Sun,” accessed April 4, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-monuments-found-20170817-story.html>.

<sup>124</sup> “Baltimore’s Confederate Statues under Tarps as Trump, Stonewall Jackson Descendants Weigh in - Baltimore Sun,” accessed April 4, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-monuments-found-20170817-story.html>.

<sup>125</sup> Jennifer Schuessler, “Historians Question Trump’s Comments on Confederate Monuments,” *The New York Times*, August 15, 2017, sec. Art & Design, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/arts/design/trump-robert-e-lee-george-washington-thomas-jefferson.html>.



Baltimore remains a city containing a profusion of monuments and other pieces of public art, including some sculpture and statuary that continue to be the subject of controversy. The city's monument to Francis Scott Key, the author of the Star-Spangled Banner, who died in Baltimore, was defaced in the Bolton Hill neighborhood in September 2017. The monument was covered with red paint and the words "racist anthem" spray-painted on it in black. On the base of the monument were scrawled the lines of the little-known third stanza of the poem "No refuge could save/ Hireling or slave/ From terror of flight/ Or gloom of grave." This stanza was in reference to the slaves and various mercenary forces who fought with the British during the Battle of Baltimore and the War of 1812, as American slaves had joined the fight on the British side in the hope of gaining final emancipation.<sup>126</sup> Another monument related to Key and to the Star-Spangled Banner was vandalized some months later. In January of 2018, a monument in Patterson Park to the Star-Spangled Banner was defaced by red paint. The 1914 statue, of two school children holding a scroll commemorating the centennial of the Star-Spangled Banner, was the work of sculptor J. Maxwell Miller. The words "Racist Anthem" also appeared sprayed on the sidewalk near the statue, suggesting a political motivation for these actions.<sup>127</sup>

One week after the removal of Baltimore's Confederate monuments, a 1792 monument to Christopher Columbus located in Herring Run Park was badly damaged by an act of vandalism. The monument consisted of a tall obelisk upon a base and is believed to be the first monument in the country to honor Columbus. Erected by Chevalier d'Anemours on his estate at the current intersection of Harford road and North Avenue, the obelisk was moved to its current location in

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<sup>126</sup> "Francis Scott Key Monument Vandalized - Baltimore Sun," accessed February 5, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/bal-francis-scott-key-statue-vandalized-in-bal-003-photo.html>.

<sup>127</sup> Jacques Kelly, "Patterson Park Statue Honoring National Anthem Is Defaced, Found Sprayed with Red Paint," [baltimoresun.com](http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-statue-20180115-story.html), accessed February 5, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-statue-20180115-story.html>.

1963 and rededicated by Mayor McKeldin the following year. On August 21, 2017, the Baltimore Sun reported that this monument had been vandalized, large pieces of stone having been hacked away from the front of the monument. A video posted on YouTube by a user named “Popular Resistance” showed the destruction of the monument as it occurred. A man striking the monument’s base several times with a sledgehammer while a person nearby holds a sign reading “Racism, tear it down.” A sign taped to the monument reads “The future is racial and economic justice.” The narrator of the video, who says he is a Baltimorean named Ty proclaimed that “Columbus initiated a centuries-old wave of terrorism, murder, genocide, rape, slavery, ecological degradation and capitalist exploitation of labor in the Americas. That Columbian wave of destruction continues on the backs of Indigenous, African American and brown people.”<sup>128</sup> The city recovered \$4,500.00 in insurance money from the smashing of the Columbus monument.

There are two other statues to Christopher Columbus in Baltimore, including one statue located in Druid Hill Park since 1892 and another located in Harbor East and dedicated in 1984 by President Ronald Reagan. The director of the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, Eric Holcomb, said that the City planned to repair and rededicate the monument, although it was seeking community opinion on the matter, and was open to the possibility that the monument be rededicated to include Native Americans.<sup>129</sup> The commemoration within Baltimore of Christopher Columbus has previously been at question in municipal politics. In October 2016, the Baltimore City Council had considered a bill that proposed a change of name

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<sup>128</sup> “Christopher Columbus Monument Vandalized in Baltimore - Baltimore Sun,” accessed February 5, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-columbus-monument-20170821-story.html>.

<sup>129</sup> Luke Broadwater, “Baltimore official says damaged Columbus monument will be repaired, rededicated. baltimoresun.com, accessed February 6, 2018. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-pugh-columbus-20171009-story.html>

from Columbus Day to Indigenous Peoples Day within the Baltimore City limits.<sup>130</sup> This bill failed in the final meeting of the departing City Council in December of 2016, despite objections from protesters who were present in the council chambers. The Baltimore Italian-American community had lobbied council members to maintain the existing designation of the holiday, arguing that the holiday was a celebration of Italian culture and Italian heritage more broadly, rather than a veneration of the Genoese explorer.<sup>131</sup>

Following the act of vandalism at Patterson Park in January, the Baltimore Sun reported that city officials concerned with parks as well as historic preservation were searching for solutions to protect civic monuments. Though they declined to name these solutions, the city expressed concern that other statues within the city could be vandalized as the Columbus monument and the anthem-associated monuments had been.<sup>132</sup>

The removal of the Confederate monuments came with a series of consequences to be faced by the mayor and the City of Baltimore. Mayor Pugh announced that the cost of the removals had been less than twenty thousand dollars, yet she pointed out that there were several issues that remained to be addressed, most obviously, the relocation of these statues. She claimed that interest had already been shown by certain parties. "We've gotten several inquiries (sic) with regards to one of the statues. We've gotten a call from a lady who wants to buy them." Pugh appointed a task force with the goal of determining where the statues should be relocated to and

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<sup>130</sup> Luke Broadwater, "Baltimore City Council to Consider Changing Columbus Day to Indigenous Peoples Day," [baltimoresun.com](http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/politics/bs-md-ci-columbus-day-20161020-story.html), accessed February 5, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/politics/bs-md-ci-columbus-day-20161020-story.html>.

<sup>131</sup> Yvonne Wenger, "In Final Meeting of Term, Baltimore City Council Votes to Keep Columbus Day," [baltimoresun.com](http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/politics/bs-md-ci-final-council-20161205-story.html), accessed February 5, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/politics/bs-md-ci-final-council-20161205-story.html>.

<sup>132</sup> Ian Duncan, "Baltimore Officials to Consider How to Protect Statues after Vandalism Incidents," [baltimoresun.com](http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-anthem-statue-protection-20180116-story.html), accessed February 5, 2018, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-anthem-statue-protection-20180116-story.html>.

what “creative ideas” should replace them. Residents of Baltimore were encouraged to submit possible creative responses to a dedicated city website.<sup>133</sup>

In October, the Maryland Historical Trust concluded that Baltimore’s officials had not had the legal authority to remove the three Confederate monuments that were under Trust protection. The Trust also stated that while it did not plan to do so, the Trust reserved the right to order the City to return them to their pedestals if the city and the trust could not cooperate on a resolution. The Trust asked that a new location for the monument be found within nine months, and a reinstallation secured within eighteen months, however the search for a new location was proving challenging. Documents requested by *The Baltimore Sun* through a Public Information Act request reveal the City’s struggle to relocate their removed monuments.<sup>134</sup> Lincoln Memorial University in Tennessee had previously expressed interest in two of the monuments, but since changed their minds. The city had approached the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture, however the director of the museum, Wanda Draper, had responded negatively via email. “We do not have the capacity either in our building or outside to accommodate a monumental statute. We believe that the story needs to be told, but this statute would be the largest artifact in our collection.”<sup>135</sup>

Empty pedestals remained at the sites of the former monuments, leaving city officials with the question of what to do with these sites once dedicated to controversial works of public art. In February of 2018, the City Council approved legislation to rededicate the part of Wyman

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<sup>133</sup> Luke Broadwater, Pugh seeks ‘creative ideas’ for replacing monuments. August 31, 2017.

<sup>134</sup> Ian Duncan. “Baltimore lacked authority to take down Confederate statues, and state says it could-but won’t-order them restored.” October 26, 2017. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-confederate-monuments-letter-20171026-story.html>

<sup>135</sup> Duncan “Baltimore lacked authority to take down Confederate statues, and state says it could-but won’t-order them restored.”

Park Dell where the statue of Jackson and Lee had stood in honor of Harriet Tubman, the Underground Railroad conductor and Union spy from Maryland's Eastern Shore.<sup>136</sup>

On March 10, 2018, the rededication of the empty pedestal and grounds in Wyman Park Dell took place in the presence of over two hundred local residents and elected officials. In a small, wooded corner of the park, several activists and politicians spoke about the efforts to have the Confederate monuments removed and hailed the creation of a new community space dedicated to an African American hero. The ceremony took place on the 105th anniversary of Harriet Tubman's death, and several descendants of the Tubman family were present at the rededication. Mayor Pugh, though she had planned to attend, was not present, nor was Maryland Governor Lawrence Hogan.<sup>137</sup> Two hundred Baltimoreans gathered together on this cold and sunny Saturday morning, some with children and pets, some posing for triumphant photographs upon the empty pedestal of the Jackson and Lee Monument. There was no marching band of military cadets, no playing of "Dixie" or the Star-Spangled Banner, no lengthy pontifications from the governor or the mayor: only citizens gathered together to write a new story-without fanfare and without talk of valor or glory-to build a new vision of the past for the future.

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<sup>136</sup> Luke Broadwater, "Baltimore City Council expected to confirm Darryl De Sousa as new police chief" February 26, 2018. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-council-desousa-20180223-story.html>

<sup>137</sup> Kevin Rector. "Baltimore park space where Confederate statue once stood is rededicated to Harriet Tubman" March 20, 2018. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-harriet-tubman-grove-20180309-story.html>

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**ANNE LOUISE HOLLMULLER**  
**ahollmuller@gmail.com**

**EDUCATION**

**2014-present**      **Krieger School of Arts and Sciences of the Johns Hopkins University**  
**Baltimore, Maryland**  
**BA/MA Candidate in History; Minor in the Program in Museums and**  
**Society; Minor in French Cultural Studies**  
**Dean's List Fall 2014-Present**  
**Cannes Film Festival JHU Study Abroad Program May-June 2017**

**Spring 2017**      **Columbia University Office of Global Programs:**  
**Semester at Reid Hall in Paris**

**2010-2014**      **Locust Valley High School**  
**Locust Valley, New York**  
**Salutatorian of the Class of 2014**

**Recently accepted into the NYU PhD program in History and French Studies beginning in**  
**Fall of 2018**

**AWARDS AND HONORS**

**Recipient of the Hugh Hawkins Fellowship for the Study of Hopkins**  
**History, Summer 2017**  
**Presenter, Student Forum, Mid-Atlantic Renaissance and**  
**Reformation Seminar 2016, Paper: John Caius and the "Sweate,"**  
**Scholarship Winner, Civil War Trust Conference 2017**

**INTERNSHIP/WORK EXPERIENCE**

**January 2018-Pres.**    **WETA**  
**Arlington, VA**  
**Digital Media Intern**  
***Paid intern writing entries for the Boundary Stones blog of DC, MD***  
***and VA history.***

**September 2015-Pres.**    **Evergreen Museum and Library**  
**Baltimore, MD**  
**Student Docent and Fall Research Intern**  
***The compilation of a permanent exhibition relating to Alice Warder***  
***Garrett's collection of fine art; conducting tours of the historic house***  
***and its collections.***

**June-November 2017**    **National Park Service, National Capital Region**  
**Washington, D.C.**  
**National Council of Preservation Education Intern**

*Assisted the Chief Historian of the National Capital Region with a variety of ongoing research projects on African American life.*

- June-August 2017** Johns Hopkins University Department of Special Collections  
Hugh Hawkins Fellow in the Study of Hopkins History  
*Production of a digital exhibition, **Activist Campus: Johns Hopkins University in the Age of Protest.***
- June-August 2017** Homewood Museum  
Baltimore, Maryland  
*Compilation, Production and recording of a mobile audio tour of the historic house museum and outlying university campus.*
- June-August 2016** American Museum of Natural History  
New York, New York  
Summer Intern in the Department of Anthropology  
*Digital Repatriation Project of Malagan Masks from New Ireland, Papua New Guinea*
- May-August 2016** JHU Program in Museums and Society  
Baltimore, MD  
Paid Summer Intern  
*Compilation, Production and Recording of two audio guides, **JHU: Homewood Histories** and **JHU: Archaeology of Knowledge***  
<https://izi.travel/en/2d36-jhu-archaeology-of-knowledge/en>  
<https://izi.travel/en/db4b-jhu-homewood-histories/en>
- June-August 2015** Holocaust Memorial and Tolerance Center of Nassau County  
Glen Cove, NY  
*Work on 3D replicated object guides*