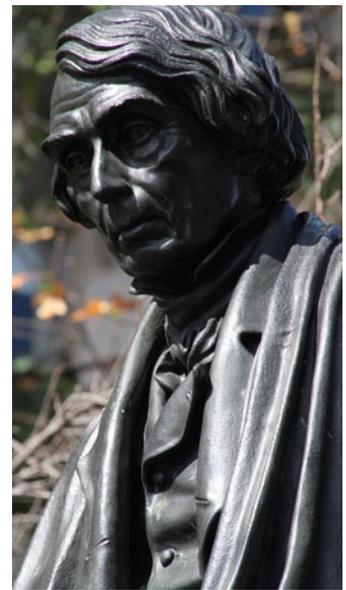

Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments



Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake

Submitted August 16, 2016

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STEPHANIE RAWLINGS-BLAKE
Mayor
250 City Hall, 100 North Holliday Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21202



September 2016

Every day thousands of residents and visitors experience the rich, diverse history and culture of Baltimore City. My administration, through the Public Art Commission and the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, has preserved and maintained the City's public art collection, which includes pieces that reflect our rich history and culture. Baltimore's public art includes several monuments that raise difficult questions about our history and have engendered recent debate about the appropriateness of such monuments in the City's public realm.

Nevertheless, we also must have honest and sometimes difficult discussions about our history and culture. For Baltimore, Confederate sympathies and memory is part of our history that extends well beyond the years of the Civil War. Many citizens have shared that certain public monuments do not accurately represent Baltimore's history and heritage and questioned the messages that these monuments represent to citizens today. I believe it is important for us to take a thoughtful and reasoned approach to considering the future of these monuments.

With this in mind, I created a special commission to review four of Baltimore's monuments: Roger B. Taney monument (1887), Confederate Soldiers and Sailors monument (1902), Confederate Women's monument (1915-1916), and the Lee and Jackson monument (1948). Because of the considerable expertise and knowledge of the Public Art Commission and the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP) I appointed members from these two commissions to address this important task of providing specific recommendations on the future of these monuments.

The report of the Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments contains information regarding each monument which is placed into historic context, providing a thorough and nuanced understanding of why these monuments were created and what messages they convey today.

The report concludes with determinations from each commissioner, with specific recommendations for each monument. I look forward to reviewing the document and responding to each recommendation.

Sincerely,

Stephanie Rawlings-Blake
Mayor
City of Baltimore

phone: 410.396.3835 fax: 410.576.9425 e-mail: mayor@baltimorecity.gov

A Message from Commission Chairman Aaron Bryant

Dear Mayor Rawlings-Blake:

On behalf of the Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, it was an honor to facilitate community discussions on Confederate sculptures currently housed on City property. Following a series of public hearings, the Commission respectfully submits the enclosed report on proceedings and recommendations for your consideration.

Commissioners evaluated four sculptures: the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument on Mount Royal Avenue near Mosher Street; the Confederate Women's Monument at Bishop Square Park; the Roger B. Taney Monument at Mount Vernon Place; and the Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson Monument in Wyman Park Dell.

As part of the review process, the Commission held four public hearings to invite expert testimony, as well as input from the community. The Commission also invited the public to participate in discussions by mail, email, and online through a web-based form. Opening dialog in this way yielded civic insights that were invaluable to the Commission as it considered potential recommendations for your review.

In addition to honoring the role that Baltimore's diverse communities played in our review proceedings, the Commission acknowledges the invaluable contributions made by the team of City personnel who administered the process on behalf of the Commission and City. Their commitment to Baltimore, its history, and its people, is both commendable and inspiring. The Commission relied on their efforts and expertise of our team City personnel, and we are indebted to their commitment.

I also would like to personally recognize the commitment and leadership displayed by my fellow members of the Commission, as well as the governance of Baltimore City. It takes considerable courage and thoughtfulness to lead public discussions on matters that some might consider personal, sensitive, or painful. This is particularly true with public discussions regarding a community's complex relationship with history and race. The thoughtful, impartial discernment demonstrated by members of the Commission was crucial to ensuring a fair, democratic process. It is hoped this process has a positive impact on the City and its future.

With Sincere Regards,



Aaron Bryant, Chair
Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments

Members of the Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments

Members

Aaron Bryant, Ph.D ABD, Commission Chair, Andrew Mellon Foundation Curator of Photography at National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian Institution, and member of the Baltimore City Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation

Elissa Blount-Moorhead, Partner in TNEG films, independent curator, cultural advisor to The Contemporary, and member of the Baltimore City Public Arts Commission

Donna Cypress, Director of library services at Lincoln College of Technology, member of Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture, and member of the Baltimore City Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation

Mary Demory, Representative of the City Council President's office and member of Baltimore City Public Arts Commission

Larry Gibson, JD, Professor of Law at the University of Maryland at Baltimore, author of *Young Thurgood: The Making of a Supreme Court Justice*, and member of the Baltimore City Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation

Elford Jackson, prominent civil engineer and member of Baltimore City Public Arts Commission

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The Commission thanks everyone who participated in this process
and who shared their testimony with us.

Introduction

Throughout Baltimore, approximately 150 monuments and 550 public art pieces adorn public buildings and landscapes. These outdoor monuments and artworks express a wide range of sentiments ranging from the celebration of city life to the somber remembrances of terror and holocaust. There is a difference, however, between outdoor art and monuments. Art invokes ideas, feelings and experiences. Monuments primarily ask the viewer to remember. The word “monument” originally derives from the latin root *monere*, which simply means “reminder”.¹ Cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky (1921-2013) broadly defines monuments as “objects that celebrate or perpetuate the memory of particular events, ideals, individuals or groups of persons.”²

Monuments express memory through symbols, artistic representation, and deliberate inscriptions. The intentions of donors, artists, and the beliefs of the times in which these works were created add layers of meaning, often expressing collective memory, nostalgia, and even political ideologies. Although monuments mark history and provoke remembrance, they are also art pieces, historical objects, and representations of past and current values.

Creation of the Commission

The impetus for this Commission’s review of Baltimore’s Confederate monuments arose out of local and national debate about symbolism and racism. On June 17, 2015, self-proclaimed white supremacist Dylann Roof massacred nine African Americans during a worship service at their historic church, Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Following the massacre, evidence revealed that Dylann Roof was proudly affiliated with his Confederate ancestors, their cause, and their flag as well as the ideologies of the Ku Klux Klan. 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 role of Confederate symbols in America today.³ Legislation at the federal level, as well as select state and local jurisdictions has since banned the Confederate flag from being flown. Following a Supreme Court ruling in June 2015 that Confederate flag license plates were government speech that could be subjected to regulation, several states including Maryland recalled the Sons of Confederate Veterans license plates. Citizens also took action, holding protests, removing flags, and marking Confederate monuments with graffiti. 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.

Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake recognized that a determination of what to do with these monuments is layered with complexity, both ideological and legal. She also recognized that it was important to respond to this national debate about Confederate monuments and symbols with an informed and thoughtful approach with the input of scholars, artists and

citizens. The Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments was created to engage in a public process that would result in recommendations on how to address the current messages that The Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, The Confederate Women's Monument, and the Lee Jackson Monument send to residents and visitors of Baltimore. The Commission was also asked to make recommendations regarding the Roger B. Taney monument, which honors the author of the infamous Dred Scot Decision (1857). The Commission, comprised of three members of the Baltimore Public Arts Commission (PAC) and four members of the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP), was tasked with providing a careful and deliberate process to understand the historical, artistic, political and cultural meaning of these monuments.

Commission Process

The Commission held its first meeting on September 17, 2015, where commissioners reviewed histories and descriptions of the monuments and approved a process for outreach and general outline for the report. The Commission's staff created a website and an email address in order to provide information to the public and receive comments from the public about the monuments. On October 29, 2015, the Commission held its second hearing where it heard from nationally and locally recognized experts on contextual history of Confederate monuments. On December 15, 2015, the Commission held a hearing exclusively for public testimony, where 42 citizens provided a wide array of recommendations for the monuments. In addition, the Commission has collected comments from over 230 citizens throughout Baltimore and the country. The final public hearing was held on January 14, 2016, where each commissioner expressed their expert and lay opinions, engaged in discussion about the monuments, and voted on specific recommendations for each monument. The following report captures the findings of the Commission by first providing an historical context that influenced the creation of these monuments. Second, the report goes into detail about the history and description of each monument. Third, it captures the recommendations of the Commission on how to address each monument.

The Commission has studied these monuments through several prisms – artistic, historical, and political – and has gained a nuanced understanding of these complex pieces. These monuments are expressions of personal and collective memories, ideologies, statements about our country's history, and past and current values. These monuments make judgments – founded or unfounded – about history. They are also historical objects. As historical objects, they can be studied within various historical contexts such as Civil War history, Baltimore history, and art history.

Overview of Public Confederate Monuments in Baltimore City

Historical Context

During the Civil War, approximately 65,000 Marylanders fought for the Union, and close to 22,000 fought for the Confederacy.⁴ Nearly half of all Maryland units for the Union formed in Baltimore, and the total number of Union units outnumbered the Confederate Units from Maryland approximately three to one.⁵ Nevertheless, Baltimore has three public monuments to the Confederacy and only one to the Union. The question is often posed: if Maryland, particularly Baltimore, produced three times more Union soldiers and regiments than Confederate soldiers and regiments, why does Baltimore have only one monument to the Union and three monuments to the Confederacy?

The answer can be found in the history that followed the Civil War. This section of the report documents the history of the four monuments – Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Confederate Women’s Monument, the Lee Jackson Monument, and the Roger Brooke Taney Monument – and places their creation in an historical context. These monuments were forged by the efforts of several organizations that helped create and spread a movement known as the Lost Cause, a movement that argued for and perpetuated a pro-Confederate historical interpretation of the events and reasons that led to the Civil War. This historical interpretation also included a romanticized and distorted view of slavery as a benign institution run by benevolent masters.

A century of professional historical research – which asked new questions, reviewed previously known historical resources and scrutinized new primary sources – has overwhelmingly refuted the primary assumptions of the Lost Cause.⁶ Moreover, significant historical research about the Lost Cause Movement reveals its white supremacist elements that helped to perpetuate Jim Crow, racial segregation and violence against African Americans.

It will never be known with certainty the reasons why pro-Confederate Southerners began as early as 1866 to script the Lost Cause narrative and to ritualize their loss. What is known is that pro-Confederate Southerners felt that “to know that those glad, bright spirits [Confederate soldiers] suffered and toiled in vain, that the end [of the war] is overwhelming defeat... is unendurable.”⁷ Southerners soon after the War began to express their mourning by creating cemeteries, erecting monuments in honor of their dead, and establishing Confederate Memorial days.⁸ These activities were organized by hundreds of memorial societies that were quickly established in small towns and cities throughout the South. Between 1869 and 1885, 70% percent of all Confederate memorials were placed in cemeteries and 75% were designed for individual graves.⁹

Interestingly enough, women led the vast majority of these societies.¹⁰ Pro-Confederate women in Baltimore were decidedly more active in the War effort. During the Civil War, they actively supported the Confederacy in direct, clandestine ways:

In their attics, lofts, basements and stables, they [Confederate women] conceded contraband and provided refuge to rebel sympathizers and soldiers. They helped fashion and conduct what they dubbed an “underground railroad” that carried passengers, messages and people across the lines. These manly deeds that Baltimore’s women performed in the Civil War were replaced after the conflict by more traditional female services.¹¹

Shortly after the War, these Baltimore women formed the Ladies’ Southern Relief Association, an effort to provide basic goods and materials for destitute pro-Confederate Southerners. In 1866, they sponsored their first (and largest) bazaar to raise funds to help with relief efforts. At the bazaar, they sold everything, including “paintings, pianos, opera cloaks, breakfast jackets, bibles, clocks, champagne bottles, etc.,” raising \$160,000 for their effort.¹²

Around the same time, the Loudon Park Confederate Memorial Association formed in Baltimore.¹³ In 1861, “a sanitary commission had selected Loudon Park for the Burial of Union Casualties.”¹⁴ By 1862, prominent Baltimore families began burying their Confederate dead in a separate section of Loudon Park.¹⁵ In 1870, a large imposing marble statue of a Confederate soldier was placed in Loudon Park at what has become known as Confederate Hill.¹⁶ Ultimately, almost 650 Confederate veterans were buried on Confederate Hill.¹⁷ In addition to memorialization at Loudon Park Cemetery and raising funds, in 1888 the Ladies Southern Relief Association helped to open a home for ailing Confederate veterans. This closed forty-four years later in 1932.¹⁸

In 1871, the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland was formed, which became the Sons of Confederate Veterans in the early 20th Century.¹⁹

In May of 1895, The Ladies Memorial Association of Maryland joined the newly created United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), becoming Baltimore Chapter No. 8.²⁰ From the beginning of its national ties, the UDC Baltimore Chapter No. 8 worked within a highly organized national movement to perpetuate and expand the Lost Cause ideology through the creation of monuments to the Confederacy, contributing to the popular *Confederate Veteran* magazine and providing pro-Southern educational materials for schools in and around the Baltimore City. This organization still exists today.²¹

Baltimore’s efforts of creating cemeteries, decorating graves, erecting monuments, and celebrating Confederate Memorial Day paralleled the efforts of other memorialization associations throughout the South. These ceremonial activities provided a platform to shape public memory and to spread the Lost Cause ideology, whereas, former Confederate military and governmental leaders among others created the intellectual arguments that became the tenets of the Lost Cause.

Within five years after the Civil War ended, several books were written and helped form a foundation for the Lost Cause ideology. In 1866, Edward Pollard, journalist and editor for the Richmond Examiner, published *The Lost Cause* and in 1868 he followed up with *The Lost Cause Regained*. These two books argued for white supremacy in general and

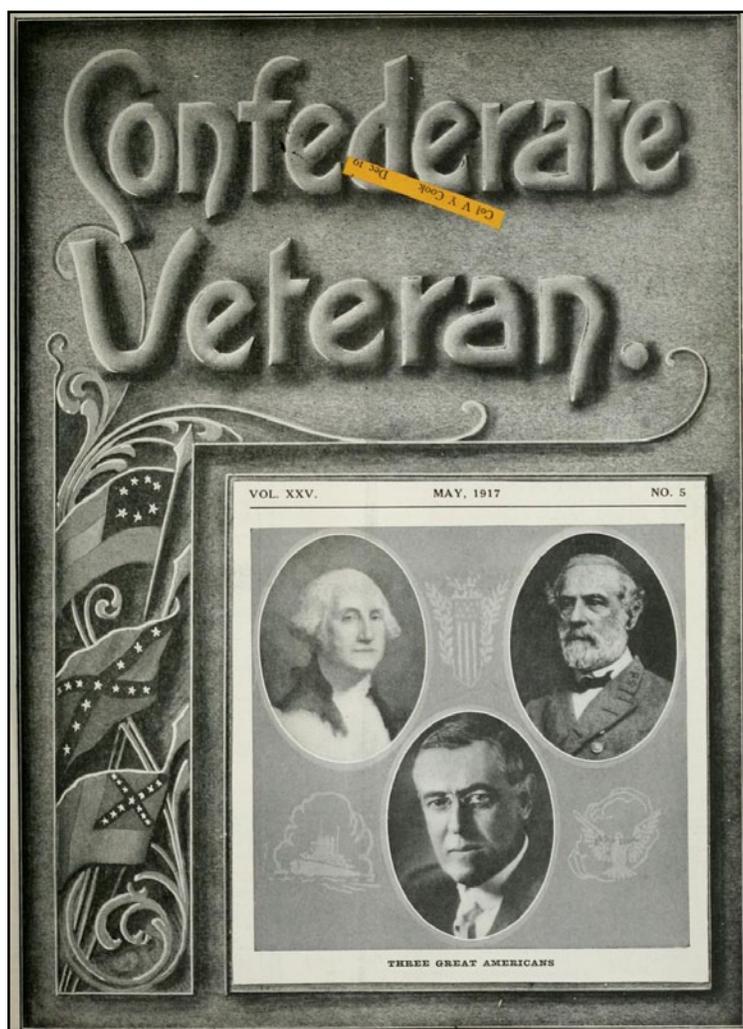
as governmental policies downplayed slavery as the primary cause of the Civil War, and revised the memory of not only the Civil War, but also the grandeur and the sacredness of Southern culture. Pollard summarizes his view, “to the extent of securing the supremacy of the white Man and the traditional liberties of the country... she [the South] really triumphs in the true cause of the war.”²² Three other books had profound impacts on reshaping the memory of the Civil War and Southern culture: Albert Taylor Bledsoe’s *Is Davis a Traitor: Or Was Secession a Constitutional Right Prior to the War* (1866), Robert Dabney’s *A Defense of Virginia* (1867), and Alexander Stephens’ two-volume history *A Constitutional View of the Late War*.

Magazines and periodicals were also outlets for Southerners to create their group rationalization. Two early leading magazines in this genre were published in Baltimore. *The Southern Review* was published between 1867 and 1879 by Albert Taylor Bledsoe and others.²³ *The New Eclectic*, later titled the *Southern Magazine*, was published in

Baltimore between 1869 and 1875.²⁴ The *Southern Historical Society Papers*, which originated in Virginia from such Confederate leaders as Jubal Early in 1876, superseded the Baltimore-based magazines to become the most influential journal of Lost Cause ideas.

These groups and their literary outlets created a voluminous body of literature addressing the causes of the Civil War and the reasons why the war was lost. While in Baltimore, Albert Taylor Bledsoe wrote his book *Is Davis a Traitor*, which addressed the constitutionality of secession. Robert Lewis Dabney’s 1867 book, *A Defense of Virginia, and Through Her, of the South, in Recent and Pending Contests Against the Sectional Party*, provided a biblical defense of the morality of slavery and a justification for secession. Alexander Stephens’ *Constitutional View of the Late War* became the most influential in its argument(s) that the South had a constitutional right to secede. All of these books contested slavery as the main cause of secession, changing the purported cause to states’ rights.

Confederate sympathizers also began to create legendary heroes. The three most revered were Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson, and Jefferson Davis.



The May 1917 edition of the Confederate Veteran magazine presents Robert E. Lee with first President George Washington and then-current President Woodrow Wilson as “Three Great Americans.” (*Confederate Veteran* 25:5, May 1917, Cover page, in *Confederate Veteran [Serial] Volume XXV*, (Nashville: S.A. Cunningham, 1917), 188, accessed December 6, 2015, <http://archive.org/stream/confederateveter25conf#page/188/mode/2up>)

Robert E. Lee received the most honor and attention. When he died on June 28, 1870, a mere five years after the end of the Civil War, mourners founded the Lee Memorial Association.²⁵ Three years later, on the campus of Washington and Lee College in Lexington, VA, the Lee Memorial Association unveiled a statue of Lee resting peacefully over his tomb. Eight to ten thousand spectators witnessed the unveiling as John W. Daniel, a former Confederate Army Major, was the keynote speaker. He detailed Lee's career and praised Lee's military genius and "personal character."²⁶

Seventeen years later, this exuberance matured into a larger-than-life legend of Lee. In 1890, as the culmination of a several-day long celebration, a statue of Lee (sitting on his horse atop a grand marble base) was unveiled to a crowd of between 100,000-150,000 people in Richmond, Virginia.²⁷ The rise of Lee from a defeated Confederate general to the legendary military hero of impeccable honor had occurred in the span of twenty-five years. The erection of monuments such as these helped Lee solidify his place in the Lost Cause mythology.

Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, too, was quickly made into a legend. Undefeated in battle, Jackson received his moniker at the First Battle of Manassas (Bull Run) in 1861 when "General Barnard Bee of South Carolina ... pointed to Jackson's men and shouted something like 'Look at Jackson standing like a stonewall'."²⁸ Shot by friendly fire at the Battle of Chancellorsville on May 2, 1863, Jackson died eight days later.²⁹ He was portrayed as a highly spiritual figure, a military genius, and as late as 1997, he was described in a biography as "a spiritual prince."³⁰

By the 1890s, the tenets of the Lost Cause were firmly established. These tenets not only rationalized the Confederacy and its loss, but also helped to ground and rationalize the Jim Crow Laws and lynchings that flourished from the 1890s to WWII. In *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War's* introductory essay, Alan T. Nolan spells out claims of this movement:

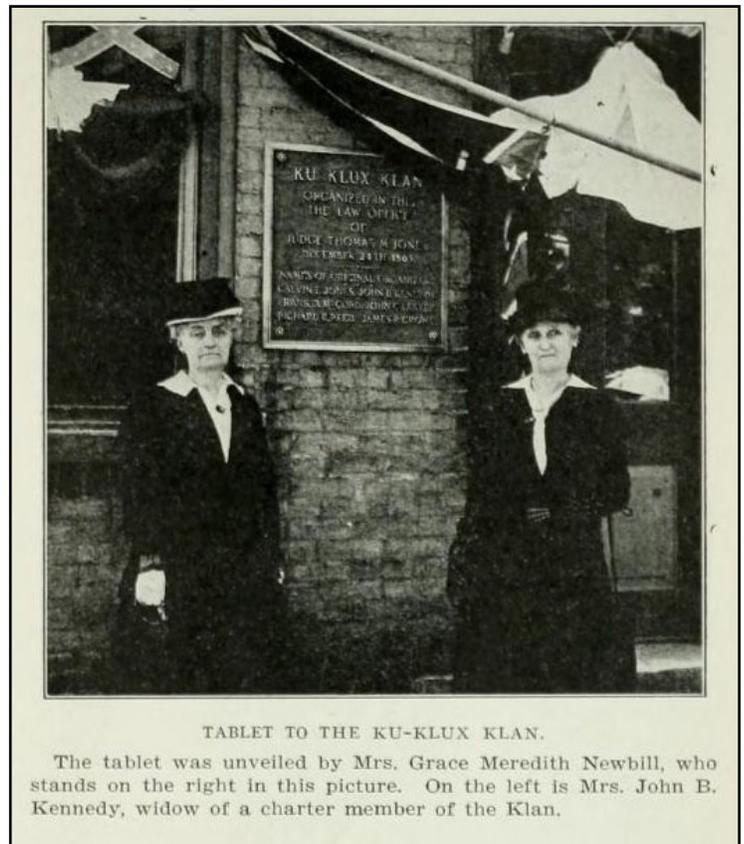
1. Slavery was not a sectional issue.
2. Abolitionists as Provocateur.
3. The South would have given up Slavery.
4. Slavery was a benign institution.
5. There was a Nationalistic and Cultural difference between the North and the South. This theory suggested that Northerners were descended from "Anglo Saxons" and Southerners from "Norman Barons of William the Conqueror".
6. Military Loss occurred because of the overwhelming Men and Power of the Union Army.
7. Idealized Home front of Plantation Life as depicted by the fiction of Thomas Nelson Page, James Dixon, and in movies like *Birth of a Nation* and *Gone With The Wind*. This lifestyle was touted as morally superior than the lifestyles associated with the industrialized urbanized north.
8. Idealized Confederate Soldiers. Here, The Confederate Soldier fought gallantly and courageously.
9. Lawfulness of Secession.
10. Saints Go Marching In. This notion suggested that Confederate military leaders were Christian Soldiers.³¹

All of these claims have been partly or fully disproven by professional historians.³² Nevertheless, these claims contributed to and continue to shape memory of the Confederacy today.

By the 1890s, the regional Ladies Memorial Associations and Confederate Veteran groups grew into national organizations that became powerful guardians and advocates of the Lost Cause ideology. Their reach stretched far and wide as new magazines and journals sprouted and carried the Confederate message throughout the country and abroad. The United Confederate Veterans (UCV) formed in New Orleans in June of 1889. By the end of the year, 188 “camps” or chapters had formed.³³ By 1904, the number of UCV “camps” increased to 1,595.³⁴ In 1894, the National Association of the Daughters of the Confederacy was created in Nashville, Tennessee, and changed its name a year later to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.³⁵

In addition to the organization of the aforementioned groups, the *Confederate Veteran* magazine was created in 1893. In 1895, the magazine became the official voice of the UCV and shortly afterwards the voice of the UDC and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV).³⁶ The *Confederate Veteran* magazine gained a far wider readership than the previous leading journal of Lost Cause ideology, *Southern Historical Society Papers*. The *Confederate Veteran* ceased production in 1932.³⁷ In 1984, with renewed membership and interest, the Sons of Confederate Veterans started publishing the Confederate Veteran magazine again.³⁸

In Maryland, the SCV organization dwindled in membership and became essentially defunct by the 1920s, and ended with the death of the final living member in 1945. In 1966, a new Sons of Confederate Camp was formed in Montgomery County, and today twelve Confederate Veteran camps exist throughout Maryland.³⁹



An article in the July 1917 edition of the *Confederate Veteran* covered the unveiling of a plaque commemorating the Birthplace of the Ku-Klux Klan in Pulaski, TN. The plaque was installed by the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. (Mrs. Grace Meredith Newbill “Birthplace of the Ku-Klux Klan”, *Confederate Veteran* 25:7, July 1917, 335, in *Confederate Veteran [Serial] Volume XXV*, (Nashville: S.A. Cunningham, 1917), 188, accessed December 6, 2015, <http://archive.org/stream/confederateveter25conf#page/335/mode/2up>)

Baltimore's Confederate Monuments

Early efforts for a Confederate monument began in Baltimore in the 1880s when the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland organized a committee to raise funds for a monument “to the memory of Marylanders who died in the service of the Confederate States.”⁴⁰ This effort advanced quickly and on March 24 1880, the First Branch of the City Council passed a resolution supporting the Society to “Erect a monument on Eutaw Place near Lanvale Street.”⁴¹

In the Second Branch of the City Council, opposition to the monument was expressed. Dr. J. Pembroke Thom, a city councilman opposed the monument because “residents on Eutaw Square and vicinity and elsewhere [were] against allowing the erection of a Confederate Monument.” They opposed the monument because it may “disturb harmony and good feeling between citizens of all shades of opinion.”⁴² A petition expressing opposition signed by several hundred veterans of the Union Army was also presented to the City Council. Mayor Ferdinand C. Latrobe returned the resolution to the First Branch of the City Council stating clearly:

The public highways and squares of the city are common property of all, and we who are temporarily entrusted with their control, whatever our personal opinions may be, are not, in my judgment, justified in dedicating any portion of them to a purpose which would be in direct opposition to the sensibilities and wishes of large numbers of citizens.⁴³

Yet nineteen years later, in 1899, through the efforts of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Mayor and City Council passed the resolution supporting a monument to the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors to be located in Druid Hill Park. When the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Baltimore Chapter No. 8 was officially recognized in circa 1898, these Ladies began a campaign to erect a monument to the Confederacy in Baltimore.⁴⁴ After several years of fundraising and political consensus building, on May 2, 1903, the UDC Baltimore chapter held an event unveiling the Soldiers and Sailors Monument to thousands of spectators which included speeches from prominent citizens. Thirteen years later in 1915, they began creating the Confederate Women's Monument, and in 1928 a large sum of money was left to the City for the creation of the Lee Jackson monument, which was dedicated in 1948. In the aforementioned context, the three Confederate monuments in Baltimore were created.



The Soldiers and Sailors Monument

The Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument sits in the median of Mount Royal Avenue near the corner of Mosher Street in the neighborhood of Bolton Hill. Mount Royal Avenue now connects to I-83 at the intersection of North Avenue. Prior to 1888, North Avenue was the boundary line for Baltimore City. When the monument was dedicated, Mount Royal Avenue was one of the major streets in the city, and served as the main entrance into Druid Hill Park. It was a broad boulevard with a wide planted median. When the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument erected here in 1902-1903, this was a prominent location in a tony neighborhood at the entrance of Baltimore's most important park.

Sculpted by F. Wellington Ruckstuhl (also spelled Ruckstull), a French-born sculptor based in New York, the monument depicts a winged figure that represents Glory as an angelic figure. Descending from the heavens, she grabs a dying Confederate soldier, clutching him tightly with her right arm, as she prepares to ascend back into the heavens. The soldier clutches his heart with his left hand and in his right tightly hangs onto to the Confederate Battle Flag. Glory, while descended and present in the earthly realm, makes a clear statement. High above her head in her left hand, she holds a laurel wreath, a symbol of eternity, glory and victory. Thus, the monument demonstrates that the cause to which the soldier lost his life will be lifted up by Glory.



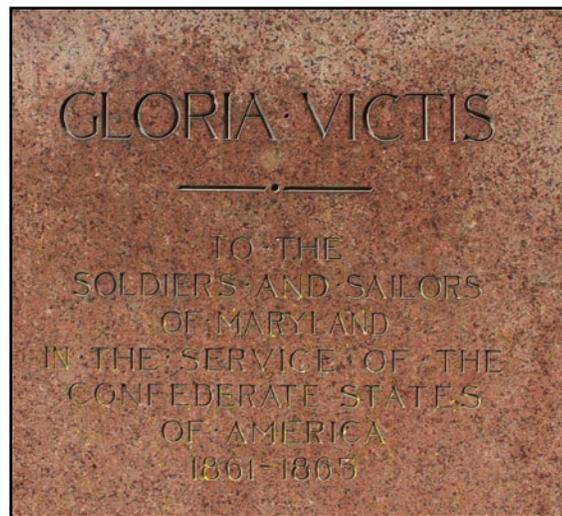
The Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument soon after it was erected. (Detroit Publishing Co., Publisher. [Confederate Monument, Baltimore, Md.]. [between 1900 and 1906, 1900] Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/det1994000708/PP/>)

Inscriptions on the base provide further understanding of the monument:

In front: GLORIA VICTIS [Glory to the Vanquished] / TO THE/SOLDIERS AND SAILORS/OF MARYLAND/IN THE SERVICE OF THE/CONFEDERATE STATES/OF AMERICA/1861 1865
 Right side: DEO VINDICE [God our Vindicator, this was also the motto for the

Confederate States of America]
 Left side: FATTI MASCHII/PAROLE FEMINE [The Maryland motto, literally stating “Manly deeds, Womanly words”, now translated as “Strong deeds, gentle words”]

Back: GLORY/STANDS BESIDE/OUR GRIEF/ERECTED BY/THE MARYLAND DAUGHTERS/OF THE/CONFEDERACY/FEBRUARY 1903



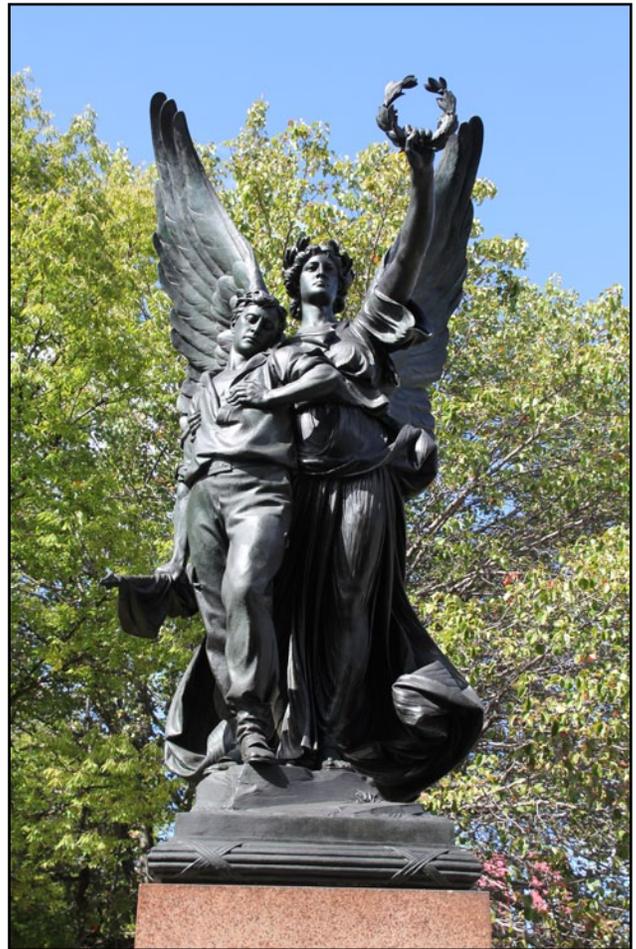
The inscription on the front of the monument.

Gloria Victis clearly refers to the soldiers and sailors, but as a statement sectioned off by a horizontal line, it can also refer to more than the soldier. Not only were the Confederate soldiers and sailors defeated, so too was the Confederacy.

Deo Vindice, which literally means “God our Vindicator,” also has a double meaning, as it was the motto for the Confederate States of America. The phrase suggests that God will justify the actions of the Confederate soldiers and sailors. As the Confederate motto, however, it also represents the Confederacy. God will also justify the Cause.

Etched on the left side, the use of the Maryland motto does several things. It identifies the monument as representing the Maryland Confederate soldiers and sailors. It also references the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Baltimore Chapter No. 8. This monument signifies their gentle word to the soldiers’ and sailors’ strong deeds.

“Glory stands beside our grief” represents grief clearly owned by the UDC Baltimore chapter as shown by the use of the possessive pronoun *Our*. Because of the nature of monuments, the meaning is open-ended, *Our* can also refer to Marylanders, Southerners, and even U.S. citizens. Glory, however, is altogether different.



Detail of the CSA belt buckle worn by the soldier.



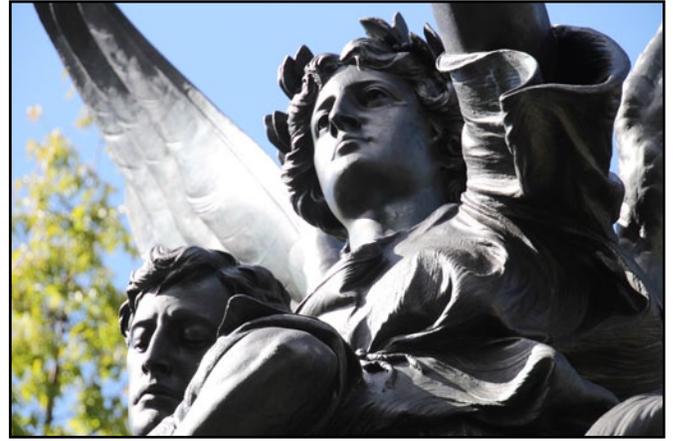
Detail of soldier, depicting the pants ripped by a bullet.



Detail of Glory’s wing.



Detail of the Confederate battle flag held by the soldier. While only the stars are visible, the flag is identified as the Confederate battle flag in contemporary sources.



Detail of Glory holding the dying soldier.

The inscription does not say *Our Glory*. Glory is independent, seemingly objective, and chooses this cause. It is Glory's choice to descend and "stand" by the UDC's grief. Glory and grief describe the Confederate acts of the Civil War.

Several articles in the *Confederate Veteran* covered the creation and unveiling of this monument. These articles further describe its meaning and intentions. Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, President of the Maryland Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, describing the model of the monument as follows:

See him [the Confederate Soldier] as he stands at bay, face to the foe-- alone. No arm outstretched to save. One hand is pressed to the brave young heart in mortal pain; the other grasps even in dying the dear crimson banner, the tint of whose ensanguined folds deepened with his blood. To him that flag is the cause for which he dies, and even in the throes of death he never falters, never yields the principles for which he fought ...Glory descends. Her eye has pierced the darkness, and, seeing her beloved in such straits, on swift pinions she swoops from the skies and, ere he falls, with one mighty arm she draws him to her side. Aloft she holds the laurel wreath- fit emblem of the glory of the South -- and with calm, unruffled majesty she stands defying the world to match his valor or to take him from her side; while he, like a tired child safe in his mother's arms falls asleep on Glory's breast.⁴⁵

Today, the monument asks those who interact with it to remember the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors that lost their lives in the Civil War; it also asks us to view their service to the Confederacy as glorious. Through sculpture and inscriptions, the monument also glorifies the Confederacy itself as evidenced by the Confederate flag, laurel wreath, and use of the Confederate motto as an inscription. These messages cannot be separated from each other.



The Confederate Women's Monument

The Confederate Women's Monument is located at Bishop Square Park, at the intersection of E. University Parkway and N. Charles St., in between the neighborhoods of Guilford and Tuscany-Canterbury, and just north of the Johns Hopkins University Homewood Campus. The monument was dedicated in 1917. It was funded by the United Confederate Veterans, the Maryland Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the State of Maryland. The erection of the monument was part of a larger movement spearheaded by Confederate veterans beginning in 1906 to place a monument to honor the sacrifices of Confederate women in the capital of each of the thirteen Southern states. The original plan was for the states to erect a replica of the Confederate Women's Monument located in Richmond, Virginia. However, by 1910 the Maryland Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy decided to create their own design for the monument. After raising funds for several years, they requested additional funding from the State. In 1914, the Maryland General Assembly passed a bill that donated \$12,000 for the monument.

The sculpture was created by J. Maxwell Miller, a Baltimorean, who taught at the Maryland Institute College of Art, and eventually became the director of the Rinehart School. The Confederate Women’s Monument depicts a woman standing tall and looking out into the horizon, typifying the devoted women of the Confederacy. In front of her, a kneeling woman cradles within her arms a dying Confederate soldier who holds tightly onto a tattered Confederate Battle Flag. This position of dying soldier and young woman resembles a pieta, a representation of the Virgin Mary holding the dying body of Christ.⁴⁶ The soldier is lying on a bed of wheat, a symbol of resurrection and self-sacrifice.⁴⁷

The inscription on the front reads: TO THE/ CONFEDERATE WOMEN/OF MARYLAND/ 1861-1865/ “THE BRAVE AT HOME.” The inscription on the back reads: IN DIFFICULTY AND DANGER/ REGARDLESS OF SELF/ THEY FED THE HUNGRY/ CLOTHED THE NEEDY/ NURSED THE WOUNDED/ AND/ COMFORTED THE DYING.



The tattered Confederate Battle flag.



The sheaves of wheat, a symbol of resurrection.





The Lee Jackson Monument

The Lee and Jackson Monument is located on the west side of the Wyman Park Dell, near the intersection of Wyman Park Dr., Art Museum Dr. and N. Howard St. in the Charles Village neighborhood. It is one of the first double equestrian monuments in the United States. The funding for the sculpture was provided by J. Henry Ferguson, a banker who organized the Colonial Trust Company. In his will, he left specific instructions for a monument to his childhood heroes, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, which was to be gifted to the City of Baltimore. Although Ferguson died in 1928, the sculpture was not dedicated until 1948 due to numerous factors, including World War II.



The large base of the monument includes the stairs up to the monument itself.



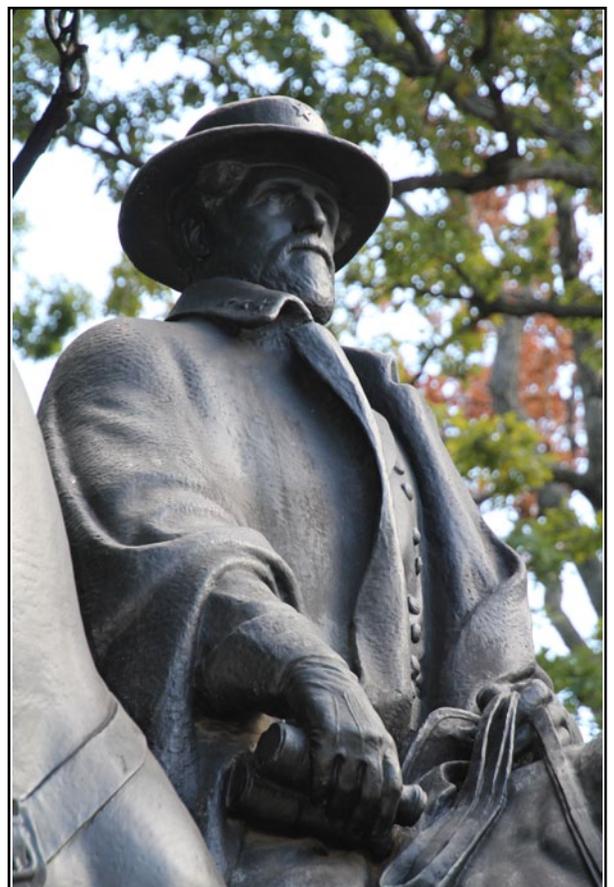
View of monument from the south.



View of monument from the northwest.

The monument depicts the two men on their horses right before departing for the Battle of Chancellorsville. While Jackson was fatally wounded in the battle, the Confederate army ultimately won, and the battle was later considered to be Lee's greatest victory.

The sculpture was made by Laura Gardin Fraser, who won the design competition for the commission in 1935. She commissioned the architect John Russell Pope (who designed the Baltimore Museum of Art directly north of the monument) to design the base of the monument. The sculpture was cast in 1946 and the monument was dedicated on May 1, 1948, the eighty-fifth anniversary of the eve of the Battle of Chancellorsville.



The details on the sculpture of Lee range from the seams in his gloved hands, to buttons, and binoculars.

The monument features several inscriptions:

Base, around top: SO GREAT IS MY CONFIDENCE IN/ GENERAL LEE THAT I AM WILLING TO/
FOLLOW HIM BLINDFOLDED / STRAIGHT AS THE NEEDLE TO THE POLE/ JACKSON ADVANCED
TO THE EXECUTION/ OF MY PURPOSE



West steps: THE PARTING OF GENERAL LEE AND/
STONEMALL JACKSON ON THE EVE/ OF CHANCELLORSVILLE



East steps: GIFT OF J. HENRY FERGUSON OF MARYLAND.



North steps: THEY WERE GREAT GENERALS AND/
CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS AND WAGED/ WAR LIKE
GENTLEMEN./

Inscriptions on the steps the monument.



Roger Brooke Taney Monument

Baltimore's Taney monument resides in Mount Vernon Place because of Taney's close relationship to Francis Scott Key - they were brothers-in-law. Key frequently visited and eventually died in Mount Vernon. The Taney monument is located in the North Square of Mount Vernon Place, directly north of the Washington Monument.

The Roger Brooke Taney Monument is not explicitly a Confederate monument. However, Taney is most famous for his decision in the Dred Scott case, which advanced slavery in America and is tangentially tied to the Confederate cause. Taney served as the chief justice of the Supreme Court for nearly 30 years beginning in 1836. During that time, Taney oversaw the ruling of the Dred Scott decision that stated that African Americans could not be considered citizens, and by extension could still be considered property even if they were in a free state.

This sculpture is an 1887 copy of an 1872 original that was made by William Henry Rinehart. Rinehart was one of the first well-known sculptors in Baltimore, and the Rinehart School of Sculpture was established after his death. The original sculpture was commissioned by William T. Walters for the Maryland State House in Annapolis, where it is still located today. Fifteen years later, Walters had this copy made and gifted it to the City of Baltimore.



Left to right: Decorative details of the rear of the monument; the Constitution held in Taney's left hand; the location of the monument facing south towards the Washington Monument in Mount Vernon Place.

Commission Findings

Legal and Procedural Requirements

The Commission investigated the legal requirements that would need to be addressed to remove, relocate or reinterpret these monuments. The Commission confirmed that the Maryland Historical Trust holds historic preservation easements on the Lee Jackson Monument, the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, and the Confederate Women's Monument. On March 14, 1984, the City of Baltimore and the Maryland Historical Trust entered into a Deed of Easement, a signed legal document that grants the right for the MHT to review changes to the monuments. The Deed of Easement was given in return for funding under the cyclical outdoor bronze sculpture maintenance program, administered by the CHAP staff. These easements are for both the sculptures themselves and their surrounding sites, and the term of the easement is perpetual. The easement also states that the monuments must be accessible to the public. 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 Department of Recreation and Parks as stated in Article 7 Section 67 of the Baltimore City Charter.

In summary, any changes to the monuments, installation of new signage and other artworks, or relocation would need to occur with the permission of the Maryland Historical Trust or a modification to the easement and adhering to the City Charter.

Public Testimony

During their initial meeting on September 17, 2015, the commissioners acknowledged that it would be important to identify transparent options and a process for the public to provide opinions and testimony throughout the review process. The commissioners and staff deliberated on which methods would be most accessible and fair to engage the public and useful to the commissioners. The following methods were determined to be the official means for any member of the public to provide their personal views on the matter:

- 1) Physical mail: addressed to Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments □ Eric Holcomb 417 E. Fayette St. 8th Fl, Baltimore, MD 21202
- 2) Electronic mail or a digital message submitted via the website: a dedicated email address, monuments.review@baltimorecity.gov was created for this task and all messages were available to staff.
- 3) Allocated time during a Public Hearing: The third meeting of the Commission was dedicated to hearing in-person public testimony. The meeting was held on December 15,

2015 in the Board of Estimates Room on the 2nd Floor of City Hall. The public was asked to prepare a thoughtful statement in advance and limit their testimony to approximately 3 minutes to allow everyone who wished to, time to speak.

Staff requested copies of everyone's testimony to be kept on file, and many submitted their testimony via the previously described means above if they did not provide a copy in-person at the meeting.

The three options were advertised via the Commission website: <http://baltimoreplanning.wix.com/monumentcommission>, and on physical signs placed at the base of each monument.

In total, 188 pieces of public testimony were submitted by 165 individuals either speaking in person or submitting a written text. Approximately 86% of the testimony received came from Baltimore City residents. In addition, more than half a dozen letters were sent directly to the Mayor.

The content of and viewpoints expressed by the public through testimony range from firm opinions on how or how not to address the monuments, to open-ended questions and observations about them.

Recommendations

Lee Jackson Monument

Commissioner Gibson made a motion that in its entirety, the Lee Jackson monument be removed, deaccessioned and offered to the National Park Service to be placed in Chancellorsville Battlefield

Commissioner Nix seconded the motion

Cypress, Nix, Gibson and Demory voted in favor

Elford and Moorhead voted against the motion

The motion to recommend the removal, deaccessioning, and offer to the National Park Service for placement on the Chancellorsville Battlefield carried.

Roger B. Taney Monument

Commissioner Nix made a motion to deaccession the Roger B. Taney Monument and move it from Mount Vernon Place.

Commissioner Gibson seconded the motion.

Cypress, Nix, Gibson and Jackson voted in favor.

Demory and Moorhead voted against.

The motion to deaccession the Roger B. Taney Monument and move it from Mount Vernon Place carried.

Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument and Confederate Women's Monument

Commissioner Jackson moved to retain the other two monuments.

Commissioner Moorehead amended the motion to include the addition of financial support and a very serious recontextualization

Commissioner Jackson accepted the amendment

Jackson, Demory, Moorehead, Gibson, Nix voted in favor
Cypress voted against.

The motion to retain the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument and Confederate Women's Monument with the addition of financial support and recontextualization, carried.

Conclusion

Today, careful stewardship of our historic and cultural resources is essential to a vibrant, dynamic Baltimore. Monuments are part of the City of Baltimore's history and culture and help define our diverse neighborhoods. Each generation adds to, redefines and shapes the communities in which we live. This process has invariably shaped and reshapes our understanding of the past and creates our current vision of Baltimore. This report is a culmination of that process and a product of this generation's vision of a just and equitable Baltimore.

One hundred years ago, the City of Baltimore was one of many jurisdictions that adopted laws and policies that re-established white supremacy and racial segregation. This racist vision was implemented in innumerable ways, such as Baltimore's segregation ordinances, deed covenants, and Jim Crow policies that led to deep inequity in school budgets, infrastructure improvements, transportation, and access to public spaces and amenities. The monuments studied by this Commission were yet another tool used to glorify white supremacy and that vision is indefensible today. This report provides recommendations on how to address these monuments that are beautiful works of art, historical artifacts, but also propaganda.

In order to implement the recommendations made by this Commission, a deliberate and transparent process should be put into place. The Commission suggests that a small working committee of city officials headed by the Mayor's office be charged with this task. This group should have members from the staff of The Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, Baltimore Office of Promotion and the Arts, and the Department of General Services' Historic Properties Program Coordinator. This working committee will address the many logistics of implementing this Commission's recommendations, and will coordinate with other City agencies and partners. The recommendations of this report suggest keeping two monuments in place and moving – not destroying – two other monuments. Various tasks that still need to be completed include identifying legal requirements for deaccession, negotiating and executing agreements with potential recipients of the Lee Jackson and Roger B. Taney monuments, procuring funding, and receiving approval from the Maryland Historical Trust Easement Committee for moving the Lee Jackson monument.

A record of this Commission's process, including the minutes and testimony received, should be permanently archived and accessible to the public. The conversation surrounding the issue of what should be done with these monuments is in many ways as important as the final recommendations produced here. This report documents a civil discussion about an important and painful topic, and provides a model for how local governments can engage with the public to discuss similarly painful subjects. The accessibility of this information is also important because this report adds to the historical record of these monuments and of this administration. The goal is to ensure that this process does not erase, hide, or misinterpret history. This Commission's decision-making process should be preserved and accessible, allowing citizens now and in the future to understand and analyze how these conclusions were reached. This committee can also explore ways to

better utilize Baltimore's monuments in order to engage its residents in fruitful, healing and inclusive dialogue.

It is not the responsibility of each generation to judge past generations. It is, however, every generation's responsibility to clear the way for truth to be heard. Theodore Adorno, a 20th century philosopher, has said that "The condition of truth is to allow suffering to speak." We hope that the Mayor's Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments has done just that.

Endnotes

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- ² Michael Martinez and Robert M. Harris, "Graves, Worms, and Epitaphs: Confederate Monuments in the Southern Landscape," in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, ed. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson and Ron McNinch-Su. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 133. First quoted in Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundation of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).
- ³ "Attorney General Lynch Statement Following the Federal Grand Jury Indictment Against Dylann Storm Roof" The United States Department of Justice, last modified July 22, 2015, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/attorney-general-lynch-statement-following-federal-grand-jury-indictment-against-dylann-storm>
- ⁴ William S. Shepard, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Uncle Seth Cutler Press, 2011) Kindle edition.
- ⁵ Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1961). In Chapter 11, "Maryland Units in the War," Manakee lists the units both Union and Confederate that were predominantly made up of Marylanders. Their brief descriptions also tell of their origin.
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- ⁷ Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 37. See also Elizabeth P. Allan, *The Life and Letters of Margaret Junkin Preston* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1903), accessed February 15, 2016, <https://archive.org/details/lifelettersofmar00alla>.
- ⁸ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 37.
- ⁹ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 40-41.
- ¹⁰ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 37.
- ¹¹ Claudia Floyd, "Baltimore's Confederate Women: Perpetuating a Culture of War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 106: 1 (Spring 2011): 39.
- ¹² Floyd, "Baltimore's Confederate Women," 49.
- ¹³ Robert I. Cottom, Jr. and Mary Ellen Hayward. *Maryland in the Civil War: A House Divided* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society Press, 1994), 115.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 115.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 115-116.
- ¹⁷ Eli Pousson, "Baltimore's Confederate Monuments: Historic Context and Related Resources" accessed September 15, 2015, http://media.wix.com/ugd/ce643a_a063ec079904456e9a873f3ed468b671.pdf
- ¹⁸ Floyd, "Baltimore's Confederate Women," 49.
- ¹⁹ Jessica Deane, "Glory Stands Beside Our Grief: The Maryland Division of the daughters of the Confederacy's Commemoration and Memorial Efforts in Baltimore" (Masters Thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2015), accessed September 15, 2015, http://media.wix.com/ugd/ce643a_0319a2914f6449d68db7b4ed2e190441.pdf; Pousson, "Baltimore's Confederate Monuments"; "About Us," Maryland Sons of Confederate Veterans, accessed December 14, 2015, <http://mdscv.org/about-us/>
- ²⁰ "Maryland Division: A Brief History" Maryland United Daughters of the Confederacy, accessed November 17, 2015, <http://www.mdudc.org/Maryland-Division-History.html>
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, "Maryland Division"
- ²² Edward Pollard, quoted in David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 260.
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- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

- ²⁷ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 267.
- ²⁸ James McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 342.
- ²⁹ McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 642; Biography.com Editors, "Stonewall Jackson Biography", accessed March 15, 2016, <http://www.biography.com/people/stonewall-jackson-9351451>
- ³⁰ Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth" in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 18.
- ³¹ Nolan, "Anatomy of the Myth", 15-17.
- ³² One of the best places to begin a cursory review of the history that challenges and nullifies most of the Lost Cause claims is the *Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War*, edited by Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan.
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- ³⁴ Ibid.
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- ⁴¹ Ibid., 7.
- ⁴² Ibid., 8.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 9.
- ⁴⁴ Deane, "Glory Stands Beside Our Grief," 44.
- ⁴⁵ "The Defeated South Idealized in the Maryland Confederate Monument, Baltimore" *Confederate Veteran* 10:10, October 1902, 1, in *Confederate Veteran [Serial] Volume X*, (Nashville: S.A. Cunningham, 1902), 433, accessed December 6, 2015, <http://archive.org/stream/confederateveter10conf#page/433/mode/1up>
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- ⁴⁷ Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Abundance", in *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art*, ed. Helene E. Roberts. (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), 20.