



MAYOR'S TASK FORCE ON CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS MEETING MINUTES

Thursday, September 7, 2017

6 p.m.

Dallas City Hall, Council Chambers

1500 Marilla Street, 6EN

Dallas, Texas 75201

PRESENT: [18]

Frances Cudjoe Waters, Buddy Apple, Coymelle Murchison, Jesse Hornbuckle, Ervin Seamster, Jr., Marilyn Mayse, Frederick Haynes, Norma Minnis, Coy Poitier, Jo Trizila, Maggie Murchison, Michael Waters, Barvo Walker, Rene Martinez, Joli Robinson, Larry Schoenbrun, Bryce Weigand, Arman Rupani

ABSENT: [3]

Terrance Perkins, Glenn Newman, Sara Mokuria

CITY STAFF PRESENT:

Tammy Palomeno (CAO), Juan Garcia (CMO), Jennifer Scripps (OCA), David Fisher (OCA), Clifton Gillespie (OCA), Kay Kallos (OCA), Lynn Rushton (OCA), Rhonda Ivery (OCA), Glenn Ayars (OCA), John Jenkins (PKR), Neva Dean (DEV), Patricia Blasquez, (MCC)

I. Call To Order

A quorum of the task force members being present, the Chair called the meeting to order at 6:00 p.m.

II. Public Comments

The task force provided "open microphone" opportunities for individuals to comment on matters pertaining to Confederate monuments, symbols and names.
[EXHIBIT A]

III. Approval of Minutes of the August 31, 2017 Meeting

Mr. Rupani moved to adopt the minutes as presented.

Motion seconded by Mr. Apple and unanimously adopted.

IV. Briefing on Historical Context of Confederate Monuments, Symbols and Names

Presented by Jennifer Scripps, Director of Cultural Affairs, and Kay Kallos, Public Art Program Manager, Office of Cultural Affairs

EXHIBIT B: Briefing on Historical Context of Confederate Monuments,
Symbols and Names

EXHIBIT C: Questions and Responses – September 7, 2017

EXHIBIT D: The Lee Memorial Dedication Program

EXHIBIT E: The Myth of the Kindly General Lee

EXHIBIT F: How the Cult of Robert E. Lee Was Born

V. Discussion and Prioritization of Task Force Work

a. *Robert E. Lee and the Confederate Soldier Statue*

b. Robert E. Lee Park (renaming)

Mr. Poitier moved to recommend removal of the Robert E. Lee Park name.

Motion seconded by Mr. Martinez.

Following discussion, the Chair called the vote and declared the motion unanimously adopted.

c. *Confederate Monument*

d. Confederate Cemetery (renaming)

Mr. Martinez moved to recommend removal of the Confederate Cemetery name and request the Park Board rename it in a proper context.

Motion seconded by Ms. Mayse.

Following discussion, the Chair called the vote and declared the motion adopted on a divided vote.

e. Confederate Street Names (renaming)

MAYOR'S TASK FORCE ON CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS
MEETING RECORD – SEPTEMBER 7, 2017

f. Fair Park Art

VI. Upcoming Meetings and Agenda Items (dates, times, and locations)

The Chair announced that the next meeting of the task force would be September 15, 2017, 2 p.m., in the Council Chamber at Dallas City Hall.

VII. Adjournment

After all business properly brought before the task force had been considered, the task force adjourned at 8:56 p.m.

Frances Cudjoe Waters, Chair

ATTEST:

Clifton Gillespie, Office of Cultural Affairs

Date Approved

**MAYOR'S TASK FORCE ON CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS
PUBLIC COMMENTS**

Thursday, September 7, 2017
6 p.m.

Dallas City Hall, Council Chambers
1500 Marilla Street, 6EN
Dallas, Texas 75201

EXHIBIT A

William Murchison
4625 Greenville Ave, Dallas
Position: Opposed

Beth Biesel
3608 Southwestern Blvd, Dallas
Position: Opposed

Arnold R. Mozisek, Jr.
3708 Brown, Dallas
Position: Opposed

Bill Ames
2015 Town Bluff Dr., Dallas
Position: Opposed

Dee Holley
3401 Lee Pkwy, #503, Dallas
Position: Opposed

Bill Betzen
6717 Cliffwood Dr, Dallas
Position: In Favor

Charles Mann
4515 Live Oak St, Dallas
Position: In Favor

Deloris Phillips
3101 Luxav Way, Dallas
Position: In Favor

Yolanda F. Williams
Position: General Information

Sean House
1001 Bellview St, #607, Dallas
Position: General Information

Briefing on Historical Context of Confederate Monuments, Symbols and Names

**Mayor's Task Force on
Confederate Monuments**

September 7, 2017



City of Dallas

**Jennifer Scripps, Director
Kay Kallos, Public Art Program Manager
Office of Cultural Affairs**

Purpose

This briefing has been prepared by City Staff in response to Task Force Members' requests and is not intended to be an exhaustive survey of history from 1865-1940. However, it is intended to give you essential historical context.

- Review the primary documents related to the Confederate Monuments in Dallas
- Define “The Lost Cause” movement
- Share statement from American Historical Association



City of Dallas

Findings from City Archives

- The City Archivist pulled all relevant primary documents related to the Confederate monuments in Dallas
- Program memorializing the June 12, 1936, Dedication of the Robert E. Lee Sculpture (see handout):
 - 27 pages
 - Speakers and participants included:
 - President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who unveiled the statue in the company of Dallas VIPs
 - Chairwoman of the fundraising efforts of the Southern Memorial Association
 - Dallas Mayor, George Sargeant
 - Congressman Hatton W. Sumners, who introduced Jesse Jones, the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation



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Excerpts

- According to the Foreward, the memorial
 - “is in accordance with the objective of the (Southern Memorial) Association, which is to, honor the memory of the those who served the Confederacy, and to preserve the traditions and history of the South. It is the hope of the Association that these inspiring figures will arouse in present and future generations of young men and women to emulate the virtues of the great American, Robert E. Lee, whose name continues to shine brighter on the pages of history, with the passing of the years”
- Mayor George Sargeant of Dallas quote:
 - “This magnificent monument to General Robert E. Lee, the greatest soldier of all times, is gratefully accepted by me in behalf of the citizens of the City of Dallas. It shall stand here on this busy corner of our city as a perpetual memorial to the character, valor and achievements of this matchless leader of our own Lost Cause.”



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The Lost Cause

- Name commonly given to a movement and myth that sought to help the traditional Southern white society reconcile the defeat of the Confederate States of America in the Civil War
- First appeared in 1866, and by the 1870s it was widely used - up until the 1960s
- White Southerners sought consolation in attributing their loss to factors beyond their control and to betrayals of their heroes and cause
 - the movement tended to portray the Confederacy's cause as noble and most of the Confederacy's leaders as exemplars of old-fashioned chivalry, defeated by the Union armies not through superior military skill, but by overwhelming force
 - they also tended to condemn Reconstruction
- Taken up by memorial associations such as the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy

Multiple Sources: http://civilwarjourneys.org/the_lost_cause.htm, "Monuments to a Myth" – August 2017, "The Pernicious Myth, Of the 'Loyal Slave' Lives on in Confederate Memorials", SmithsonianMag.com – August 2017, "Confronting Slavery and Revealing the 'Lost Cause'" - 2011, <https://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm%3Fid%3D217>



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The Lost Cause

- The Lost Cause became a widely accepted and propagated myth that....
 - helped Southerners to cope with the social, political, and economic changes after the Civil War, especially in the Reconstruction era
 - focused on the defense of states' rights, rather than preservation of slavery as the primary cause that led eleven Southern states to secede
 - viewed secession as a justifiable constitutional response to Northern cultural and economic aggressions against the Southern way of life
 - presented slavery as a benign institution in which the slaves were treated well and cared for and loyal and faithful to their benevolent masters
 - adopted and spread via popular cultural (“Gone with the Wind” (1939) is seen as the pinnacle of this adoption of The Lost Cause in popular culture)



The Lost Cause provided the justification and support for the Jim Crow system of rigid segregation which dominated the South for 100 years after the Civil War

Multiple Sources: http://civilwarjourneys.org/the_lost_cause.htm, “Monuments to a Myth” – August 2017, “The Pernicious Myth, Of the ‘Loyal Slave’ Lives on in Confederate Memorials”, SmithsonianMag.com – August 2017



City of Dallas

Texas Secession

Texas abandoned her separate national existence and consented to become one of the Confederate States to promote her welfare, insure domestic tranquility [sic] and secure more substantially the blessings of peace and liberty to her people... She was received as a commonwealth holding, maintaining and protecting the institution known as negro slavery — the servitude of the African to the white race within her limits — a relation that had existed from the first settlement of her wilderness by the white race, and which her people intended should exist in all future time. Her institutions and geographical position established the strongest ties between her and other slave-holding States of the confederacy. Those ties have been strengthened by association.

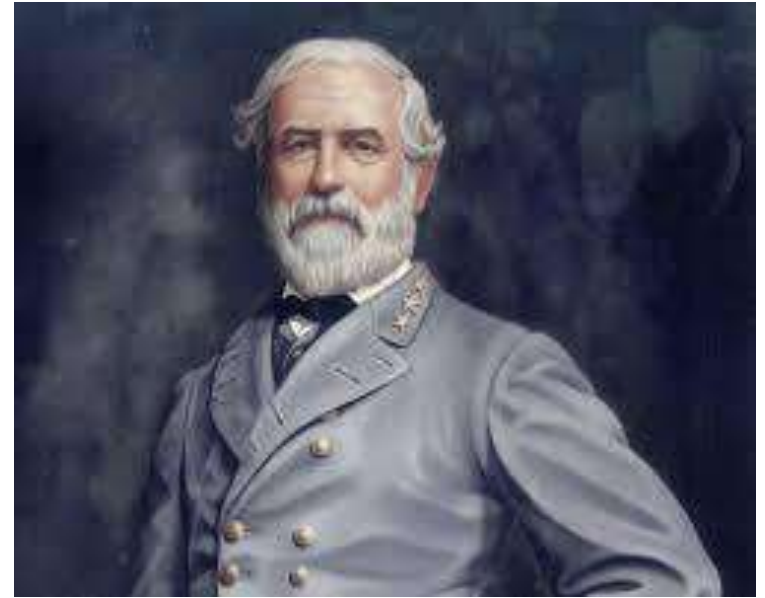
— Texas Declaration of Causes, Feb. 2, 1861



City of Dallas

The Cult of General Lee

- Central to The Lost Cause, is reverence for Confederate military leaders, such as Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson
- Narrative emerged that Confederates were never truly defeated on the battlefield – they were only overwhelmed
 - In Lee's farewell order to the Army of Northern Virginia, Lee spoke of the "overwhelming resources and numbers" that the Confederate army fought against
- Confederate generals represented the virtues of Southern Christianity, nobility, honor and chivalry
 - The Northern generals, were characterized as men with low moral standards who engaged in vicious campaigns against Southern civilians such as in the case of Sherman's March to the Sea
- Lee's death five years after the Civil War cemented his prominence, many began to idolize him as the "ultimate Christian soldier"
- Mythology regarding Lee's biography emerged, most importantly that he never owned slaves, which is not factual



Sources: "How the Cult of Robert E. Lee was Born", *History.com* - August 2017, and "The Myth of the Kindly General Lee", *TheAtlantic.com* – June 2017



City of Dallas

The Lost Cause

- "History comprises both facts and interpretations of those facts.
- To remove a monument or to change the name of a school or street, is not to erase history, but rather to alter or call attention to a previous interpretation of history.
- A monument is not history itself; a monument commemorates an aspect of history, representing a moment in the past when a public or private decision defined who would be honored in a community's public spaces."
- Communities need to decide what is worthy of civic honor and those decisions will change over time as the communities values shift.
- "Nearly all monuments to the Confederacy and its leaders were erected without anything resembling a democratic process."
- "African Americans had no voice and no opportunity to raise questions about the purposes or likely impact of the honor accorded to the builders the Confederate States of America."



The American Historical Association recommends that it's time to reconsider these decisions

Sources: American Historical Association Statement:
<http://blog.historians.org/2017/08/aha-statement-confederate-monuments/>



City of Dallas

Briefing on Historical Context of Confederate Monuments, Symbols and Names

**Mayor's Task Force on
Confederate Monuments**

September 7, 2017



City of Dallas

**Jennifer Scripps, Director
Kay Kallos, Public Art Program Manager
Office of Cultural Affairs**

GENERAL QUESTIONS:***Does city staff receive anti-racist training and/or racial equity training?***

HR offers diversity, ethics, workplace discrimination and workplace violence training. All City of Dallas employees receive diversity and ethics training as part of our new employee orientation. Discrimination, workplace violence and workplace harassment trainings are part of supervisor development training and are also offered on demand.

The Dallas Police Department training is as follows:

Recruit officers receive the following in the Academy:

- Professionalism and Ethics – 8 hours
- Multiculturalism and Human Relations Courses covering topics regarding the African-American Community, Asian Community, Hispanic Community, Native American Community, GLBT Community, and Hearing/Visually/Mobility Impaired – 19 hours
- Racial Profiling – 4 hours
- Penal Code – to include hate crimes / racial profiling
- General Order / Code of Conduct – training regarding treatment of the citizens we serve

In-service officers received the following training during our last Core training cycle:

- Procedural Justice & Police Legitimacy – 8 hours
 - 8 hour block of instruction based upon the process by which the police and community groups interact with each other. The procedural justice perspective argues that the legitimacy of the police is linked to public judgement about fairness of the processes through which the police make decisions and exercise authority. It is a procedural justice based approach to police allowing the police to focus on controlling crime without alienating the public.
- Personal Perspectives
 - 2 hour block of instruction that provides information that enables officers to recognize their own personal bias and perspectives. This allows officer's effectiveness to create a safer environment for citizens and the officer.

In the next Core cycle to start in October, 2017 we will include:

- Ethics training as required by Ordinance amending Ch12A
- Section 1701.253, Occupations Code training regarding Senate Bill 30 – creating additional requirements for law enforcement training regarding the role of law enforcement and duties of a police officer during traffic stops, proper behavior for police officers during interactions, laws regarding questioning and detention by police officers, etc.

We do not offer a topic titled “anti-racist training” and/or “racial equity training”.

Do appointed board members receive anti-racist and/or racial equity training?

No.

What is the current ethnic and racial composition of the city of Dallas?

Citywide	Ethnicity	Count	%
	African American	4251	33.75%
	American Indian	101	0.80%
	Asian	376	2.99%
	Causian	4421	35.10%
	Hispanic	3326	26.41%
	Other	120	0.95%
	Grand Total	12595	100.00%

Please provide a briefing on the Daughters of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause movement.

A briefing on the historical context of the Dallas monuments will be presented.

Please provide details of all forms of segregation in policy and practice for the City of Dallas. (Specifically in the 1930's)

The briefing mentioned above will delve into on our city's history from this period, although it likely will not provide "details on all forms of segregation in policy and practice for the City of Dallas" due to the vast nature of this request and the limited time available to this Task Force work.

For further context for the time periods of the two Confederate Monuments

Texas History online is a respected source:

Antebellum Texas- <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/npa01>

Civil War in Texas- <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qdc02>

Slavery- <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/yys01>

Late 19th Century Texas <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/npl01>

Texas Centennial- <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/lkt01>

Fair Park- <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ggf03>

Hall of Negro Life <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pkh01>

African Americans in Texas <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wmafr>

Segregation <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pks01>

Civil Rights <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pkcf1>

Additional information

American Historical Association

AHA statement: <http://blog.historians.org/2017/08/aha-statement-confederate-monuments/>

The Lost Cause Movement

http://civil-war-journeys.org/the_lost_cause.htm

<https://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm%3Fid%3D217>

History of Jim Crow

<http://www.crf-usa.org/black-history-month/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow>

Daughters of the Confederacy:

<https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vsu01>

What input did people of color, specifically Black people have in the naming of the streets associated with the confederacy, naming of Lee park and the erection of the monuments?

It is safe to say that the input from Black citizens was minimal to non-existent due to the disenfranchisement and segregation that predominated our City when these monuments were erected and Lee Park was named.

As all of the recommendations we will provide have financial implications, please provide detailed budgets for each department impacted by possible recommendations from this Task Force as well as rules governing private donations.

We will develop estimated costs once we have guidance from the Task Force as to the areas of recommendations and which options are being considered. This is clearly in the scope of the work and something staff has already done for the Lee Statue vote on September 6th.

With respect to private donations, those are governed by City of Dallas Administrative Directive 2-13 which can be found in **ATTACHMENT A**.

STREETS:

How many streets have been named for abolitionist and/or the formally enslaved?

- + Wheatley Place is named for an enslaved African poet, Phillis Wheatley.
- + Bonton Street is named for the former freedman's community – now neighborhood, Bon Ton.

Are there any streets named to commemorate emancipation and or Juneteenth?

- + We have not been able to identify any.

Which streets are considered historic street names?

An historic street name commemorates:

- A person who significantly contributed to the cultural, economic, social, religious, or political heritage of the city
- A site or area where there occurred historic events which significantly contributed to the cultural, economic, social, religious, or political heritage of the city
- A person or family founding or traditionally associated with the area where the street is located

If the street name meets one of the criteria above, the street is deemed an historic street.

An historic street requires three-fourths vote of City Council to rename.

Do we have any written policies around ethical standards for street names?

The guidelines for street names are:

- A street name may be based upon physical, political, or historic features of an area.
- The name of a subdivision and names thematically related to the name of a subdivision may be given to a street within the subdivision.

Other rules regarding street name changes relate to similarity to an existing street, configuration of the roadway, the length of the name of the street.

On average, how many streets are renamed in Dallas annually?

- City Council approved 47 street name changes in the past 20 years.
- On average, two street name changes per year.

How expensive was it to name Central Expressway and George Bush Expressway? Or is it just another name for Central Expressway?

The "George W. Bush Expressway" moniker for Central Expressway was implemented by TxDOT and is ceremonial in nature. The official name, as far as the City is concerned, remains "North Central Expressway".

Street Naming: Please provide further clarity on Jefferson and Davis. Stonewall St and Junius and Peak are not on the list, please explain why and/or add them to the list to be discussed.

Please see the updated list of streets that have been researched as part of this ongoing effort to document any Confederate ties.

Street Name	Named for (or presumed)	On Plat	Renamed	Notes
Beauregard	Pierre G.T. Beauregard	1/22/1948		Confederate General
Cabell	William L. Cabell		1923	Confederate General *"For General W.L (Old Tige) Cabell, Confederate commander, mayor"
Clark	Edward Clark			*"For Edward Clark, governor of Texas, 1861-63" Need to verify if Confederate Colonel
Coit				Still researching - D Magazine article not verified
Davis (Oak Cliff)	A.E. Davis			*"For A.E. Davis, developer of an addition in 1890"
Forest	Suggested as variant of FORREST, for Nathan B. Forrest.			Forest Avenue renamed Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd in 1981; "Believed to have been named originally for the Confederate General Nathan B. Forrest. Present spelling, adopted sometime during the 1880s, suggested by the trees which lined the street." Archivist not convinced named for NB Forrest
Gano	Richard Montgomery Gano			Confederate Brigadier General *For General R.M. Gano, rancher, physician, and noted Confederate soldier"
Gaston	William Henry Gaston	1885		Confederate Captain; purported model for Confederate Memorial; moved to Dallas after the Civil War. *"For Captain W.H. Gaston, early-day banker and developer. Originally Wallace Street, for Wallace W. Peak"
Good	John Jay Good			*For John J. Good, lawyer, landowner, mayor, 1880-81" need to verify Confederate Captain
Jefferson (Oak Cliff)	Thomas Jefferson			*"For U.S. President Thomas Jefferson" Considered an extension of the Jefferson Street in CBD named by John Neely Bryan. (Ord 866, 1922)

Junius				"one of the earliest residents/land owners of the area/town of East Dallas. They moved to the area in the mid-1850s. The Peaks had several children, whose names, including Junius, are reflected in street names. In his lifetime, Junius served as City Marshal and as superintendent of White Rock Lake."
Lee Parkway	Lee Park - and by extension, Robert E Lee		1904	Confederate General
Lemmon	William H. Lemmon	1886 and 1887		Confederate Captain *"For W.H. Lemmon, realty developer"
Peak	Jefferson Peak			"one of the earliest residents/land owners of the area/town of East Dallas. They moved to the area in the mid-1850s. The Peaks had several children, whose names, including Junius, are reflected in street names. In his lifetime, Junius served as City Marshal and as superintendent of White Rock Lake."
Stonewall				Still researching
Young				*For the Reverend William C. Young, district clerk, 1867-68: Still researching - D Magazine article not verified

*The WPA Dallas Guide and History, published by the Dallas Public Library and the University of North Texas Press, 1992 (written and compiled from 1936 to 1942 by the workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the City of Dallas)

**City Archives staff

***Please also see Attached estimate for cost of renaming streets with Confederate names
[ATTACHMENT B]***

PARKS:

Question: What is the process for changing the plaques and narrative associated with artwork in Fair Park?

Any new signage at Fair Park would need a Certificate of Appropriateness approved by the Landmark Commission and approval from the Park and Recreation Board.

Are there Confederates buried at Pleasant Mount Cemetery?

The Park and Recreation Department does not have any records on whether individuals buried at the Pleasant Mound Cemetery served in the Confederate Army. Records in the file indicate that there are 741 bodies interred in this cemetery.

What is the green space next to Confederate Cemetery?

The park adjacent to Confederate Cemetery is considered part of Opportunity Park. An aerial map of both Opportunity Park and Confederate Cemetery are enclosed with these responses [\[ATTACHMENT C\]](#).

What documentation is available regarding the naming of Lee Park?

A timeline of the actions taken by the Park and Recreation Board and City Council is enclosed with these responses [\[ATTACHMENT D\]](#).

What documentation is available regarding the City's ownership of Confederate Cemetery?

Staff researched the records of the Park and Recreation Department. In 1901, J. A. Crawford and his wife Mattie sold six acres adjacent to Oakland Cemetery to Dallas County. In 1907, the Dallas County Commissioners Court set aside .75 acres of the tract for the burial of ex-Confederate soldiers "under the direction and the control of Sterling Price Camp [United Confederate Veterans] No. 31." In 1936 the Sterling Price Camp wrote to the Park and Recreation Department giving the cemetery to the Park and Recreation Department to operate and maintain. While there is mention in the board minutes of the Confederate Cemetery being given to the Park and Recreation Department on November 17, 1936, there is no official board action accepting this cemetery. Staff has reached out to Dallas County to determine if the county has any records pertaining to the transfer of the Confederate Cemetery to the Park and Recreation Department. Attached to this document is the 1907 deed [\[ATTACHMENT E\]](#).

Please provide the Department's O&M cost for Lee Park. Please also identify the responsibilities of the Park and Recreation Department and the Lee Park/Arlington Hall Conservancy.

In FY15-16 the Park and Recreation Department's O&M costs for Lee Park was \$36,674.

The Lee Park/Arlington Hall Conservancy performs the following at Lee Park:

- Manages and maintains Arlington Hall
- Maintains developed portions of the park to the west and north of Arlington Hall
- Manages reservations and events at Lee Park and Arlington Hall
- Performs enhance maintenance on horticulture beds at Lee Park

The Park and Recreation Department:

- Mows open lawn areas and performs litter pick up
- Performs Turtle Creek clean up and maintenance
- Maintains the historic roque courts
- Performs forestry work at Lee Park

A map of Lee Park is included with these responses [\[ATTACHMENT F\]](#).

What rules govern structural changes to Arlington Hall?

Since 1998, Arlington Hall has been managed by the Lee Park/Arlington Hall Conservancy per agreement with the Park and Recreation Board. Any structural changes to Arlington Hall would be require approval from the Park and Recreation Board.

LANDMARKS:

If monuments were removed, will Fair Park lose its historic status?

More than likely not. Even though the Confederate statue along the Esplanade and other allegorical representations in the Hall of State are part of a larger narrative and context, the removal or changes to just those particular items wouldn't necessitate the removal of the Local, SAL, or National Historic Landmark status.

What would be the economic impact if it were to lose that status?

The historic status of Fair Park is a main selling point in promotional materials and source of pride for the City of Dallas, so any loss of historic status would certainly affect that prestige factor. Loss of National Landmark status could possibly impact the ability to apply for grants for maintenance, etc. since that status is sometimes required.

Clarification on Timing for Landmark Commission:

To clarify when a Certificate for Appropriateness or a Certificate for Demolition or Removal could be applied, since the Council will give the final direction and recommendations, OCA would apply after Council has given that final direction and recommendations. If Council is expected to make those on November 8th, then the next submittal date would be NOON, Thursday, December 7th for the January 8th Landmark Commission meeting.

PUBLIC ART:***Which states have laws prohibiting the removal of Confederate Art?***

Alabama	Monument Preservation Law
Georgia	Monument Preservation Law
Louisiana	Louisiana Military Memorial Conservation Act, the bill bars all structures, plaques, statues or monuments that mark certain US wars, including the Civil War, from being altered or removed. It allows local governments to take down a memorial only if voters approve the action at "an election held for that purpose." The bill also allows for the state to take action to protect, preserve or repair a memorial.
Mississippi	State law prohibiting removal or alterations of statues or memorials honoring military including civil war
North Carolina	State law passed two years ago barring governments from removing any "object of remembrance" on public property.
South Carolina	Heritage Act: 2/3 vote in legislature to remove
Tennessee	State historical commission control and State Heritage Act
Virginia	In Virginia, where a lawsuit is proceeding over the Charlottesville City Council's proposal to remove the Robert E. Lee statue, a state law bans cities that attempt to "disturb or interfere" with historic monuments and memorials.

When was the last piece of public art for the City of Dallas commissioned?

The Public Art commissioning process is on-going and there are currently 30 projects in various stages from development, community input, artist selection through fabrication and installation.

How many works of art have been donated by African Americans?

Freedman's Memorial, Martin Luther King Jr. sculpture, Murals at the Martin Luther King library. No works were commissioned by African Americans prior to 1990.

Who funded Fair Park? The State of Texas and the federal government. See <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ggf03>

What role did African Americans play in the selection of art at the Hall of Negro Life at Fair Park?

The Hall of Negro Life was funded by the federal government at the urging of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce and other black groups. The Negro Advisory Committee, chaired by Eugene K. Jones who planned the exhibition and Jesse O. Thomas of the National Urban League. Other involved included Antonio Maceo Smith, leader of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce; Willette Rutherford Banks, Samuel Walker Houston, and A.E. Holland.

<https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pkh01> see also: <http://hallofnegrolife.org/>

Hall of Negro Life was lead by high profile members of the Dallas African American Community and the work was not only notable, but highly prominent in its time and by current evaluation.

The works by Aaron Douglas stand as high points in the Harlem Renaissance and the other artists are also of art historical note. Two of the murals by Aaron Douglas are in prominent American Art Museums.

This link has images of the Hall of Negro Life and work by Aaron Douglas:

<https://flashbackdallas.com/2014/06/19/juneteenth-at-the-texas-centennial-1936/>



Juneteenth at the Texas Centennial — 1936 | Flashback : Dallas

flashbackdallas.com

The federally-funded Hall of Negro Life was dedicated Juneteenth, 1944 at Fair Park.

What is the process for contextualizing the works containing Confederate imagery?

The Park and Recreation Department will develop specifications for new signage and will issue a request for proposals to vendors for wayfinding and information signage

Who has to approve changes at Fair Park?

Park Board

Administrative Directive 2-13

SUBJECT: GIFT AND TRUST ADMINISTRATION

1. POLICY

Gifts of money, artifacts, tangible assets, and real estate will be administratively managed in accordance with this Directive. All donations received by the City will be managed in conformance with the City's budget and accounting systems.

2. PURPOSE

To establish policies and procedures for the acceptance and proper investment and accounting of gifts and trusts by City departments.

3. SCOPE

This directive applies to all City departments. It does not apply to the Employees Retirement Fund and the Police and Fire Pension Fund.

4. DEFINITIONS

4.1 Endowment. See Nonexpendable Trust.

4.2 Expendable Trust. A trust in which all money (principal and interest) is spent in the course of the designated operation.

4.3 Nonexpendable Trust. Funds whose principal must be preserved intact. (Interest and dividend earnings are appropriated and spent for the intended purpose.)

5. RESPONSIBILITIES

5.1 Budget and Management Services is responsible for:

Establishing appropriations based on estimated revenues and ORG numbers for trust funds and maintaining centralized files of all trust documents and this directive.

5.2 Finance is responsible for:

Providing investment assistance to maximize the earnings on trust funds, counseling with departments regarding most advantageous methods for establishing new trust fund management, and providing support for the disposition of donated stocks and bonds.

Administrative Directive 2-13

SUBJECT: GIFT AND TRUST ADMINISTRATION

Assigning fund numbers, recording accounting transactions and reporting on trust activities in conformance with Governmental Auditing Accounting and Financial Reporting (GAAFR) requirements.

Receiving and disposing of tangible assets, such as stocks and bonds. Entering donated artifacts and their fixed assets on the fixed asset inventory and assigning departmental responsibility.

5.3 Property Management is responsible for:

Processing all gifts of real estate for all departments, conferring with the City Attorney as needed regarding real estate donations, and notifying the Finance Department/Controller so that appropriate accounting for taxes may be made.

5.4 Departments (recipients of gifts) are responsible for:

Accepting for gifts, preparing budgets for submission to Budget and Management Services, securing trust documents, expending in compliance with the terms of the trust fund provisions and requirements, and coordinating with Finance and Property Management, as required.

6. PROCEDURES

6.1 Expendable Trusts

6.1.1 Each department receiving miscellaneous monetary gifts shall establish a general gift fund though the Department of Finance. Generally, gifts of less than \$10,000 will be placed in the general gift fund.

Gifts over \$10,000 may also be placed in a general gift fund if no departmental need exists to separately manage such gifts. Only when necessary will a separate fund be established for large gifts. ORG numbers may be established if needed, to budget and account for separate activities.

6.1.2 To the extent possible, departments shall estimate gift revenues and request appropriations of gifts as part of the annual budget process. No additional action by the City Council is required for departments to accept gifts. An exception requiring City Council approval is gifts establishing contractual or large purchase obligations. A second exception would be actions of the Park Board required under Chapter 17, Section 4 of the City Charter.

6.1.3 For gifts in excess of the appropriation, the expenditure of such gifts can be deferred under the next year, or an appropriation adjustment can be made for expenditure in the current year.

6.1.4 At any time, the recipient department may only expend to the amount of the cash balance in any trust fund.

6.1.5 Gift revenues will not be used to reduce operating budgets for the services for which the gift was given or for related services except as specified by the donor.

- 6.1.6 The expenditure of appropriated gift revenues should comply with regular City procurement and contracting procedures.
- 6.1.7 At the department's discretion and for purposes of public recognition, the City Council may be asked to accept any gift. However, there is no requirement that Council approve acceptance of gifts and donations, as long as a contractual relationship is not created. An exception should be Park Board actions subject to Chapter 17, Section 4 of the City Charter.
- 6.1.8 Expendable trusts should be set up as City funds to ease transference of money to expenditure accounts and to insure having funds to cover encumbrances for large construction projects.
- 6.1.9 To fully disclose responsibilities, liabilities, and continuing maintenance costs, gifts which may create a burden to the City should be approved in advance by the City Attorney and appropriate City management. Council approval will be required where a donation results in the need for expenditure of other City funds or where some contractual obligation is incurred by the City.

6.2 Endowments

- 6.2.1 Departments wishing to establish an endowment will consult with the Finance Department which will provide guidance on the type of investments available and the most appropriate type of investment for any particular trust fund.

The Finance Department can assist in inclusion in suggesting appropriate investment guidelines for the trust document. Proper instruction to the trustee regarding types of investments and income needs of the trust can maximize benefits to the City.

- 6.2.2 Endowments can be established with the City as trustee or with an outside trustee. In any case, the City must account for the trust in its annual financial statement.

6.3 Other Gifts

- 6.3.1 Upon receipt of tangible assets such as stocks and bonds, the receiving department shall immediately contact the Finance Department to properly accept such assets and liquidate, as appropriate.
- 6.3.2 Artifacts and other fixed assets are frequently donated to the City and need to be properly managed and accounted for. For all gifts with an assumed value in excess of \$100.00, the receiving department or official will contact the Finance Department which will place the artifact or fixed asset on the fixed asset inventory and will assign departmental responsibility

for custody and maintenance of the item. If the item is presented to the City Council, the City Secretary shall notify the Finance Department.

- 6.3.3 Gifts of services only, which do not result in financial or fixed asset transactions with the City, need not be accounted for under this directive.
- 6.3.4 All gifts of real estate, without exception, will be processed through Property Management so that accurate records are kept of the ownership. Property Management will check the surveys and field notes and will examine all deeds, liens, and other title records in consultation with the City Attorney and will file all County recordings. Property Management will be responsible for notifying the Department of Finance so that appropriate accounting may be made.
- 6.3.5 Where donor anonymity is necessary, an appropriate method for acceptance of the gift is through a nonprofit organization associated with the particular City service. The nonprofit organization can then donate the funds to the City, thus protecting donor anonymity.
- 6.3.6 Original Trust Agreement documents will be maintained in the recipient department, and a copy will be provided to Budget and Management Services which will maintain the complete City file.

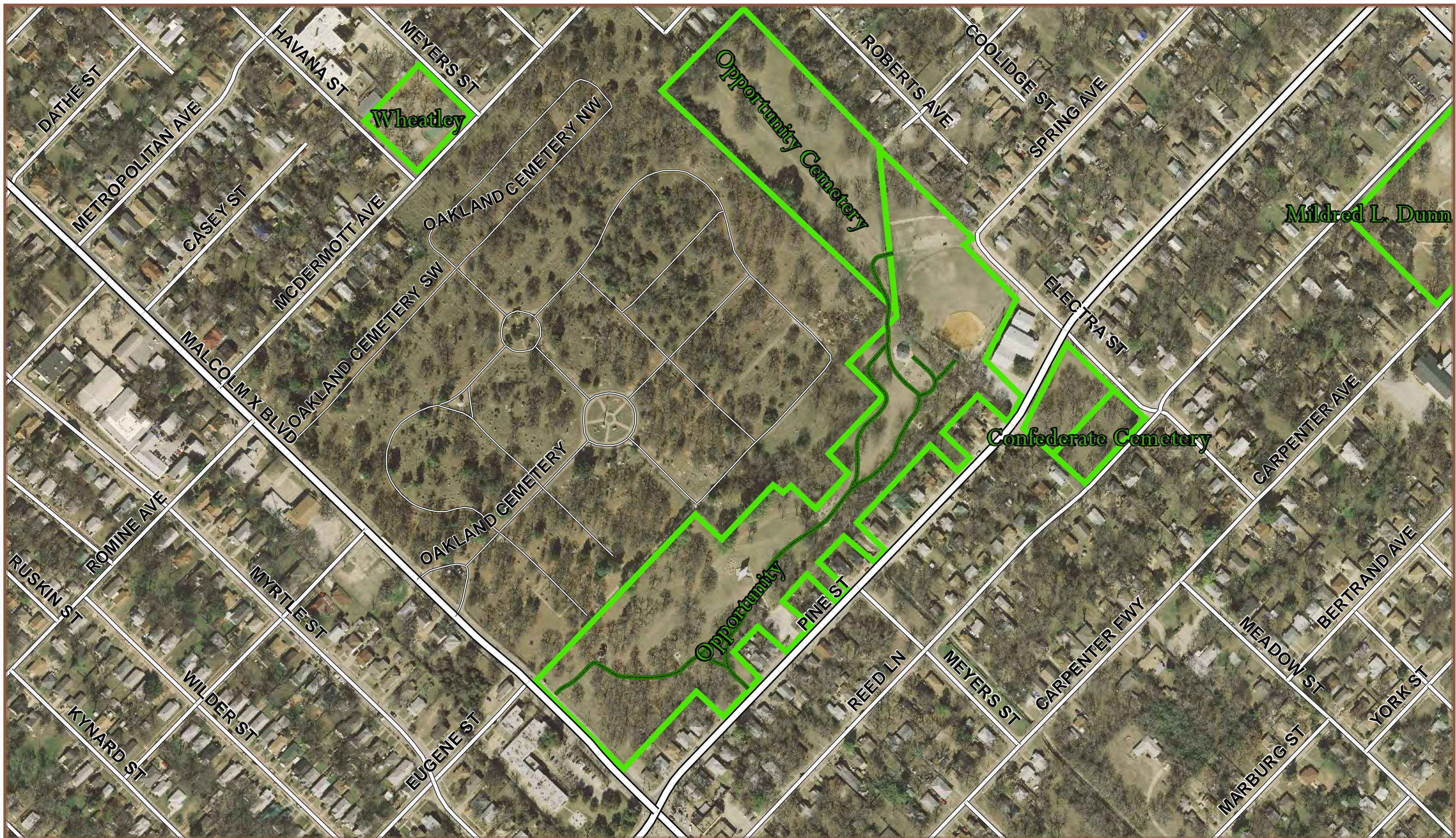
7. PRIOR ACTION

- 7.1 Latest Revision Date: October 2, 1995
Effective Date of Revised AD: October 2, 1995
- 7.2 Revisions made to reflect departmental re-organizations.

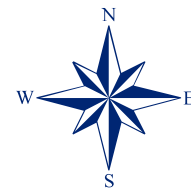
8. ISSUING DEPARTMENT: Budget & Management Services

Confederate Street Names Estimate

City of Dallas Streets	Street Type	Street Segments	Cross-Streets	Signalized Intersection	Highway Signs						Ground-Mounted Street Name Signs		Signal-Mounted Street Name Signs		Total Cost	
					# of Overhead Guide Signs	Cost @ \$25,000	# of Ornamental Bridge Identifier	Cost @ \$10,000	# of Service Rd Gantry Sign	Cost @ \$500	# of	Cost @ \$100	# of	Cost @ \$500		
Beauregard	DR	1	2	0		\$0		\$0		\$0	4	\$400	0	\$0	\$400	
Cabell	DR	12	12	0		\$0		\$0		\$0	24	\$2,400	0	\$0	\$2,400	
Clark	RD/ST/Ramp	78	78	1	8	\$200,000		\$0		\$0	154	\$15,400	2	\$1,000	\$216,400	
Gano	ST	8	19	0		\$0		\$0		\$0	38	\$3,800	0	\$0	\$3,800	
Gaston	AVE/PKWY	111	123	21		\$0		\$0		\$0	204	\$20,400	42	\$21,000	\$41,400	
Lemmon	AVE	242	219	27	11	\$275,000	2	\$20,000	2	\$1,000	384	\$38,400	54	\$27,000	\$361,400	
Lee	PKWY	2	2	0		\$0		\$0		\$0	4	\$400	0	\$0	\$400	
Goode*						NA		NA		NA	NA	NA	0	NA	NA	
Total # Signs					19		2		2		812		98			
Total Cost						\$475,000		\$20,000		\$1,000		\$81,200		\$49,000	\$626,200	
*In Wilmer/Hutchins and Unincorporated Dallas County															With 25% Contingency	\$782,750



0 125 250 500 750 Feet



Event/Subject/Site	Notes	Date	Source
Lee Statue	DMN reports that Dallas Southern Association (DSA) may campaign for a Lee statue to give to the City.	4/13/1928	DMN
Lee Statue	As of this date, the DSA had raised over \$22K for the statue DMN	10/24/1929	DMN
Lee Statue	Committee requested that the "laying of the foundation for the REL Memorial in Oak Lawn Park be included in the program of park development under the Civil Works Administration. Park Board agrees to "cooperate with the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association in this project insofar as possible provided funds are secured through the CWA for park improvement projects."	12/29/1933	Park Board Minutes Book 8 page 223
Lee Statue	Committee requests Park Board's cooperation in acquiring an \$18K grant for the base of the statue, which is proposed for Oak Lawn Park. Park Board suggests a downtown location (Dealey Plaza). Funds will be secured.	5/28/1935	Park Board Minutes Book 8 page 362
Lee Statue	"Robert E. Lee Memorial will be erected on one of the plazas on the east side of the Commerce-Main-Elm underpass " [Dealey Plaza]	6/19/1935	DMN
Lee Statue	Park Board tells committee WPA funds were secured to put the monument in Dealey Plaza and asked the committee to agree to change in location.	1/13/1936	Park Board Minutes Book 8 page 577
Lee Statue	Recommendation from Park Board that Lee Memorial be located in Oak Lawn Park at corner of Turtle Cree and Lemmon.	1/16/1936	Park Board Minutes; Vol 45 - page 577
Lee Statue	City ratifies purchase of plant materials for Oak Lawn Park	1936	Council Minutes Vol 46 -page 174
Lee Statue	City ratifies action to pay JW Cearley and Sons \$500 for work on the Lee Statue	1936	Council Minutes Vol 45 - page 931
Lee Park	Park Board votes to change name from Oak Lawn Park to Lee Park	5/5/1936	Council Minutes Vol 45- page 106
Lee Statue	Program: Dedication of The Lee Memorial	6/12/1936	Archives Collection 1995-039
Lee Statue	Southern Memorial Association requested that the wording on the bronze name plate on the Lee statue be changed to specifically designate that the Park Board sponsored the erection of the base of the monument instead of the entire project.	10/27/1936	Park Board Minutes Book 9 page 233

Lee Park Timeline

9/6/2017

Event/Subject/Site	Notes	Date	Source
Lee Statue	Park Board discussion with Southern Memorial Association about the wording on the statue's plaque. Board unanimously carried that the wording be "Honoring General Robert E Lee, and in recognition of the gift of this statue to the City of Dallas, by the Dallas Southern Memorial Association, the Dallas Park Board has provided the location and erected this base." WPA Project No 4017	11/24/1936	Park Board Minutes Book 9 page 246
Lee Park/Arlington Hall	Replica Arlington Hall opened at Lee Park	Groundbreaking January 19, 1938, dedicated October 24, 1939	
Lee Park/Arlington Hall	Park Board requests that Southern Memorial Association be requested to officially dedicate all furniture, fixtures, rugs, drapes, and all other exhibits now on display in the Arlington house to the Park Board for the benefit of the public to be retained for exhibit and museum purposes.	7/9/1941	Park Board Minutes Book 10 page 288
Lee Statue	Park Board grants Southern Memorial Association permission to place plaque to read as follows: The soldier accompanying General Lee in this statue represents the entire youth of the South to whom General Lee became a great inspiration. He was not intended by the sculptor to be an aide-de-camp."	6/6/1955	Park Board Minutes Book 12 page 212

M. Pickson his heirs and assigns forever. Witness my hand this
12 day of February, A.D. 1907

R. Kenly.

The State of Texas }
County of Dallas } Before me, H.C. Jarrell a Notary Public in
and for said County. On this day personally appeared R.
Kenly, known to me to be the person whose name is sub-
scribed to the foregoing instrument, and acknowledged and swore
that he executed and delivered the same for the purposes
and consideration therein expressed. Given under my hand
and seal of Office, this 12th day of February, A.D. 1907.
H.C. Jarrell.

Notary Public, Dallas Co., Texas.
Filed for record, Sept. 25-1907, at 3³⁰ P.M.

Recorded Sept 28-1907.
By J.E. Record Deputy
Jacks M. Gaston County Clerk

By J.D. Humphreys Deputy

23425 } Dallas County }
20 } Certified Copy of Order
Sterling Price Camp No. 31 U.C.W. Wednesday July 20th 1904
Be it ordered by the Commissioners Court of Dallas County, that
the following parcel of land be set aside for the burial
of Ex-Confederate soldiers under the direction and con-
trol of Sterling Price Camp No. 31 and the County Surveyor
is hereby directed to survey and stake off the same. To-wit:
112 feet off of the south end of the six acres land convey-
ed by J.G. Crawford and wife of the County of Dallas on May 1st
1901 and recorded in Book 245, Page 208 and Records of Dallas County
and being a part of the Lagoon League. The land here set aside be-
ing 13 feet and containing about 3/4 of an acre. J.M. Gaston Clerk
of the County Court in and for the County of Dallas in the State
of Texas do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true Copy of an
Order made by the Commissioners Court of said Dallas County on the
20th day of July, A.D. 1904 as appears of Record in my Office on page
204 Book 10 Commissioners Court Minutes, Dallas County. Given under
my hand and seal of Office at Dallas Texas, this 9th day of August, A.D.
1907. } SS }

Jacks M. Gaston Clerk
County Court, Dallas County, Texas
By D.C. McArthur, Deputy

Filed for Record Sept 25th 1907 at 9⁰⁰ P.M.

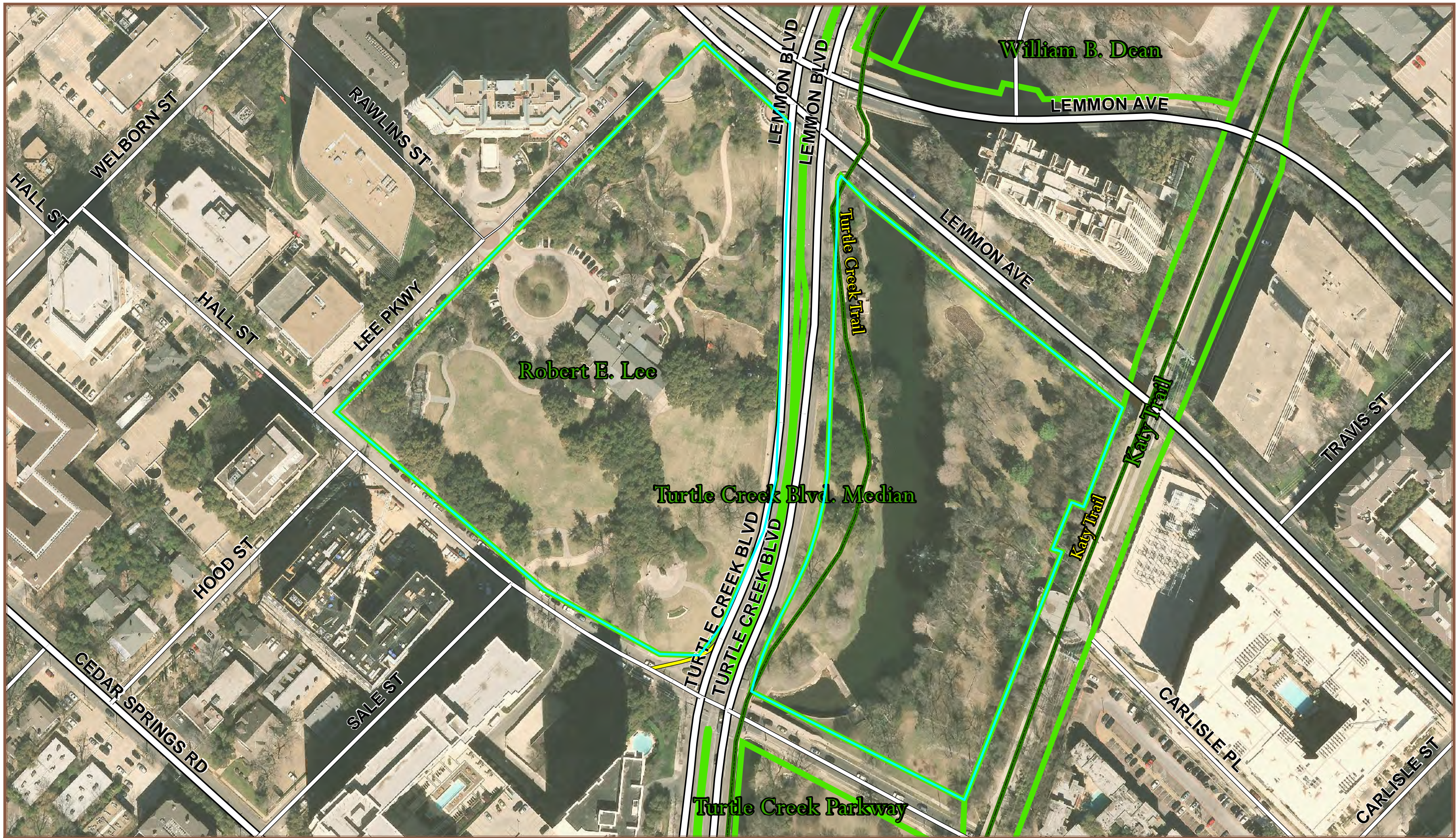
Jack M. Gaston County Clerk
By J. E. Record Deputy

Recorded Sept 28 1907.

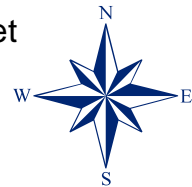
Jack M. Gaston County Clerk
By J. E. Record Deputy

23488

G. C. Zugua et ux }
201 General warranty deed } The State of Texas
W. T. Strong } County of Dallas }
Presentor, That we, H. C. Zugua & Maggie Zugua his wife of the County
of Dallas, State of Texas, for and in consideration of the sum of Eleven
Thousand Four Hundred & Twenty Seven Dollars \$11,427.00 in hand
paid to us by W. T. Strong, of the City and County of Dallas, Texas
receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, have granted, bargained, sold
and conveyed and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell
and convey unto the said W. T. Strong, his heirs and assigns forever,
the following described property, lying and being situated in
the County of Dallas, State of Texas, being more particularly de-
scribed as follows: Lying and being situated in Dallas County,
Texas, being about three miles north 84 west from the County
Court House in the City of Dallas and being part of the J. P. Cole
Original 480 acre survey, beginning at a stake on the West line
of said survey 407 feet North of its original S.W. Corner and 397
feet North of Dallas and Eagleford County wagon road Center,
said stake being where the middle of Crawford Avenue if
produced or extended West would intersect the West line of
said Cole Survey according to the record map of Zugua's West
Dallas Addition thence East with Center of said Crawford Avenue
180 feet to its intersection with Center of Seneschal Avenue of
said Addition thence South with Center line of said Avenue 220
feet to stake on a straight line between the N.W. Corner
of lot 1, block 2, and N.E. Corner of lot 3, block 1, of said Addition
thence East as 335 feet past the N.E. Corner of lot 1, block
2 of said Addition in all 355 feet to Center of Barton Street thence
South with Center of said Street 150 feet to stake 20 feet East
of the S.E. Corner of said Street 150 feet to stake 20 feet East
of the S.E. Corner of said lot 6, block 2, thence East 465 feet to
stake, which stake is 27 feet North of said County wagon road
Center, this stake being 100 feet East of the West line of said
Cole Original Survey thence North parallel with the



0 70 140 280 420 Feet



Robert E. Lee Park
3400 Turtle Creek Blvd

35 X

District
14
6/24/2014

THE LEE MEMORIAL



A RECORD OF THE
CEREMONY OF THE
UNVEILING OF THE
MEMORIAL STATUE
PRESENTED TO THE
CITY OF DALLAS BY
THE DALLAS SOUTHERN
MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

PROPERTY PARK BOARD
CITY OF DALLAS



THE LEE MEMORIAL

DEDICATION OF

THE LEE MEMORIAL

AN HEROIC STATUE IN BRONZE
ERECTED IN LEE PARK
DALLAS, TEXAS

BY

THE DALLAS SOUTHERN
MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

JUNE 12, 1936

Foreword

THIS heroic statue of General Robert E. Lee and the Confederate soldier, the product of the genius of A. Phimister Proctor, was unveiled by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Lee Park, and presented to the City of Dallas, by the Dallas Southern Memorial Association, on June 12, 1936, in the presence of approximately twenty-five thousand spectators.

The memorial is in accordance with the object of the Association, which is, to honor the memory of those who served the Confederacy, and to preserve the traditions and history of the South. It is the hope of the Association that these inspiring figures will arouse the ambition in present and future generations of young men and women to emulate the virtues of the great American, Robert E. Lee, whose name continues to shine brighter on the pages of history, with the passing of the years.

Unveiling Ceremony

JUNE 12, 1936, AT 1:30 O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON

Mrs. Osce Goodwin

President Dallas Southern Memorial Association, Presiding

Concert--1:00 to 1:30 p. m. - - - - - 23rd Infantry Band
Conductor: Warrant Officer Muller

Invocation - - - - - Dr. Frank C. Brown
First Presbyterian Church, Dallas

Presentation of Monument to the City of Dallas - Mrs. Russell V. Rogers
Chairman Lee Memorial Committee

Unveiling of the Statue - - - - - Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
Assisted by Robert E. Lee, IV

Address of Acceptance - - - - - Mr. George Sergeant
Mayor of Dallas

Introduction of Mr. A. Phimister Procter

Introduction of Dr. George Bolling Lee

Address - - - - - Honorable Jesse H. Jones
Chairman Reconstruction Finance Corporation
Introduced by Congressman Hatton W. Sumners

Music - - - - - 23rd Infantry Band

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Invocation

By Dr. Frank C. Brown

O God, our Help in ages past, our Hope for years to come, we invoke Thy blessing upon this company of people gathered to do honor to the memory of one who, as a great patriot, made a supreme sacrifice to serve his beloved Southland. We thank Thee that his greatest work was not in the destruction of men's lives and bloodshed, but in the development of the lives of young men and in Christian leadership.

Bless, we pray Thee, those within whose minds and hearts this beautiful memorial was conceived and their unselfish service in making it possible, and bless the one who shaped with his hands this work of art in the gift that God gave to him.

We plead Thy blessing upon our country, and that the faith and virtue of its past leadership and those who laid down their lives for a great cause may be emulated in our lives in the building up of a strong Christian nation.

God bless our President, who honors us with his presence today. We thank Thee that his God is the Lord and can guide and keep him in his vast responsibilities of this crisis.

Ascribing to Thee, O God, all honor and glory, we make our prayer in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen!

Introducing Mrs. Rogers

By Mrs. Osce Goodwin

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Dallas Southern Memorial Association is very happy to have as our guests today the most distinguished citizens of our country, the President of the United States and the First Lady of the Land, the prominent officials from our national capital and from our state and city governments, and the many friends from our own Centennial city. To each of you we extend a most cordial welcome, and assure you of our pleasure in having you join us in honoring the memory of a great American.

We consider it an honor to have the President of our country assist in dedicating this memorial to a great Southern leader. It is my privilege to present to you now the chairman of the Lee Memorial Committee, whose enthusiastic and unselfish efforts have made possible the erection of this heroic memorial, Mrs. Russell Rogers.

Presentation Address

By Mrs. Russell V. Rogers,

Chairman, Lee Memorial Committee

Madame President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This day marks the fulfillment of a desire that has existed in the hearts of the members of the Dallas Southern Memorial Association for more than eight years.

During that time the members of the Lee Memorial Committee have worked unceasingly to bring about the culmination of this desire.

To the members of this committee I, as chairman, wish to extend my sincere gratitude, for their faithful devotion to the

task they set themselves to do; to the three hundred and fifty subscribers to the Lee Memorial Fund; to Mr. Mark Lemmon, who designed the beautiful base of the statue, and who has given freely of his time and talent toward its completion; to the members of the Dallas Park Board, Mr. Dan Sullivan, Mr. Harry Gordon, Mr. Robert T. Sheils, Mr. Martin Weiss and Mr. George Chestnut, who obtained Government funds that made the base possible; to Mr. A. L. Simpson, engineer; and to all others who contributed to the success of this day.

It has been our purpose as we worked towards this day of attainment, to perpetuate the memory of a great American, General Robert E. Lee, although we know that we cannot add to his honors, since history has placed his name so high in her annals that none can add to his fame, neither can any man detract therefrom. Perhaps a greater ideal than this, however, has been ours, during these years of labor, and that has been a desire to present to the City of Dallas a work of art that should, for many generations, hold before the eyes of the young men and women of this city a pattern of life toward which they might strive to mold their own lives. A pattern of life that emphasizes devotion to duty, service to one's fellow-man, and faith in a divine Providence—a pattern woven by the sixty-three years of the life of General Robert E. Lee.

It is with this hope that I, now, present to the City of Dallas this memorial, which will be unveiled by Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, assisted by Robert E. Lee IV.

Unveiling Address by Franklin D. Roosevelt

President of the United States of America

I am happy to take part in the dedication of this memorial to General Robert E. Lee. All over the United States of America we recognize him as a great leader of men and a great general, but also all through the United States, I believe, that we recognize him as something even more important than that; we recognize Robert E. Lee as one of the greatest American Christians and one of our greatest American gentlemen.

The Unveiling

The unveiling and presentation ceremonies were graced by the presence of the following distinguished guests: Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt; Dr. Bolling Lee of New York City, a grandson of General Lee; Robert E. Lee, IV., son of Dr. Bolling Lee; Honorable Jesse H. Jones, Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, an honored citizen of Texas; Hon. Hatton W. Sumners, Congressman and a native son of Dallas County; Mr. A. Phimister Proctor and Mrs. Proctor; Mr. David W. Griffiths, producer of "The Birth of a Nation," and Mr. George Sergeant, Mayor of Dallas.

On the platform, at the base of the statue, were seated the members of the Lee Memorial Committee, officers of the Dallas Southern Memorial Association, members of the Dallas Park Board, members of the City Council and speakers on the program. Grouped about the steps of the platform were the children and grandchildren of members of the Association, the girls wearing pastel-colored colonial costumes and the boys wearing white linen suits. They were, Tommy Obenchain, Betty Turner, Mark Lemmon, George Lemmon, Martin M. Crane III, Mary Virginia Prehn, Adele Chambers, Fanito Chambers, Kenneth Foree, Ernest Tuck Foree, Robert L. Foree, Jr., Louis Touchstone, E. H. Witt, Francis Carrington, Henry Exall, Jr., Betty May Exall, Dorothy Exall, Phyllis Exall, C. W. Newman, Jr., Patsy Newman, W. H. Clark III, Doris Irion, Virginia Phelps, Bobbie Phelps, Denys Slater, Fred Brannon, William Humlong, Margaret Humlong, Annie Crain, Jules E. Schneider III, Betty Lander, Betty Long, Charles Proctor and Joann Proctor.

At the base of the statue six flags, representative of six periods of the history of Texas, were held by Boy Scouts. Young ladies dressed in costumes of the periods stood beside the flags.

Three flags, the American, the Confederate and the Lone Star, made entirely of flowers, were presented to the President in behalf of the Park Board by, Margaret Talbot, Amelia Cristol, Francis Gordon, Margaret Sullivan, Jane Etheidge, Mary Murphy, Rose Nell Copley, Elizabeth Cullam, Beulah Bishop, Paggy Nesbitt, Margaret Wells, Helen Grayson, Marie Harris, Johanna Cristol, Henriette Gordon, Sarah Catherine Anderson, Beronica Sullivan, Jane Sloan, Meryl Murphy, Natalie Sprague, Sybil Yonack, Ester Haftor, Maurine Morton, Mary Francis Knowles, Rena Mary Gunn and Mary Ann Collins.

On the arrival of President Franklin D. Roosevelt the band played "Hail to the Chief," and the ribbons of the veil that covered the statue were handed to the President by Robert E. Lee IV, great grandson of General Robert E. Lee, who also presented Mrs. Roosevelt with a bouquet of cape-jasmines.

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Address of Acceptance on Behalf of the
City of Dallas

By Mayor George Sergeant

Madame President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This magnificent monument to General Robert E. Lee, the greatest soldier of all times, is gratefully accepted by me in behalf of the citizens of the City of Dallas. It shall stand here on this busy corner of our city as a perpetual memorial to the character, valor and achievements of this matchless leader of our own Lost Cause.

Introducing Mr. Proctor, Sculptor

By Mrs. Russell V. Rogers

Madame President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It now becomes my privilege to introduce to you the one whose artistic talent is responsible for this beautifully executed memorial.

I wish to pay a tribute, not only to Mr. Proctor's great genius as an artist, but also to his character as a gentleman, and to his patient endurance with a committee inexperienced in the work it had undertaken to do.

It seems that Mr. Proctor has embodied in this memorial something of his own idealism of life.

The fine expression in the face of General Lee, and the look of adoration in the face of the young soldier indicate this.

As the years come and go, this memorial will stand, not only as a tribute to General Lee, but also as a tribute to a distinguished sculptor's conception of life.

It gives me much pleasure to present to you Mr. A. Phimister Proctor.

Address by A. Phimister Proctor

Madame President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since sculpture has been my life work and not words, I will not bore you with many words. To begin with, I want to pay a tribute to President Roosevelt for the great work he has done for art in the United States. He is the first President to recognize painting and sculpture on a large and comprehensive scale. It is a great compliment to the committee and the statue that the President has so graciously unveiled it.

The ladies of the Lee Memorial Committee deserve great credit, unless they made a mistake in the choice of the sculptor,

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for the heroic work they have done in carrying through this project under almost insurmountable difficulties.

Right here I want to compliment the architect of the pedestal, Mr. Lemmon, for the beautiful design he has given the statue. I also want to pay tribute to the Park Board of Dallas and City authorities for securing funds for the pedestal.

Since the Lee committee began negotiations with me for the statue, I have made a very intensive study of General Lee's life and character. In all my studies of the subject, my wife's help and encouragement have made it possible for me to carry on. After several months of thought by day as well as wakeful nights, the vision that I sought began to crystalize.

In all this time I have not been able to express in words the ideas I wanted to give "life" in my statue until a few days ago I read in a book by W. E. Woodward these lines (I quote): "General Lee believed that life had a purpose. To him duty was the sublimest word in the English language. One begins to think of him as not a person, but a force like God or electricity."

Address by Dr. George Bolling Lee

Introduced by Mrs. Russell V. Rogers

Madame President, Mrs. Rogers, Chairman of the Lee Memorial Committee of the Dallas Southern Memorial Association:

I wish to thank you for the invitation to myself, as grandson of General Robert E. Lee, my son as a great-grandson of General Robert E. Lee, my wife and my daughter, to attend these ceremonies on this auspicious occasion, and I regret that it was impossible for my wife and my daughter to be present, but my son and myself took a great pleasure in accepting your invitation to be here today.

I want to congratulate you on this beautiful statue of General Robert E. Lee. My son and I have taken part in many unveiling ceremonies in different parts of the country.

I can assure you that this handsome monument in bronze, is one of the greatest monuments that I have ever seen of General Robert E. Lee.

Moreover, so far as I know, this is the only monument of General Lee in which he is not the sole figure, with the exception of Stone Mountain Monument. That monument has not been completed yet. It is a very tremendous thing, including many Southern leaders and many soldiers.

The Lee Memorial Committee was very wise in choosing a soldier to accompany General Lee, as he was so often accompanied by soldiers in his campaigns in Virginia and elsewhere.

I want to read you a short letter from General Lee himself, and in this letter he will tell you, better than I can, his opinion of the Texans as soldiers, and if you will excuse me, I will give you, in General Lee's own words, his opinion of Texas soldiers:

"Headquarters Army of Virginia Near Martinsburgh,

September 21st, 1862.

General Louis T. Wigfall,

General:

I have not yet heard from you with regard to the new Texas Regiments which you promised to endeavor to raise for this army.

I need them very much. I rely upon those we have in all tight places, and fear I have to call upon them too often. They have fought grandly, nobly, and we must have more of them. Please make every possible exertion to get them in and send them onto me. You must help me in this matter; with a few more such regiments as those which Hood now has, as an example of daring and bravery, I could feel much more confidence in the result of the campaign.

Very respectfully yours,

R. E. LEE, General.

Official: C. S. VENABLE, Maj & A A G."

Introducing Congressman Hatton W. Sumners

By Mrs. Osce Goodwin

The speaker to be presented to you now needs no introduction, for he is widely known as the able representative of this district in Congress, as the Chairman of the important Judiciary Committee, as an outstanding constitutional lawyer, Mr. Hatton W. Sumners. He will introduce the principal speaker for the dedicatory exercises, Mr. Jesse Jones.

Introducing Honorable Jesse H. Jones

By Congressman Hatton W. Sumners

Madame President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are rapidly reaching a crisis when it will be determined whether the free institutions we cherish shall live or whether we shall go into a system such as some countries of Europe have gone into. One thing will determine it. If we are fit as a people to win through we will win. But no people unfit to govern shall win. It isn't written in the book of destiny that any but the greatest generation shall live through.

"I take great pleasure in presenting to this organization the Hon. Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, who may be considered as the financial wizard of this Administration. He came into the picture at a time when the whole economic structure appeared to be tottering for the fall. Many things had to be done very quickly. He did them well. He had to do with the loaning of between ten and eleven billions of dollars, and it is my information from those in a position to know that the Federal Government will not lose on the total of these loans. He is to speak of General Lee and the crisis in which he served.

Address by Honorable Jesse H. Jones

*Madame Chairman, Members of the Lee Memorial Committee,
Mr. Sumners, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

First let me acknowledge the very flattering introduction of my life-long friend, your Congressman, Hatton Sumners. And I should like to add, that the President has no truer friend in the Congress than Hatton Sumners. And that we in Texas are deeply indebted to him for his timely assistance and strategy in preserving the three million dollar appropriation for our Centennial when a motion was offered on the floor of Congress to cut it in half. The Texas delegation, of which there is no more influential in Congress, chose Hatton Sumners to make the fight against this motion to cut our appropriation, and he did it successfully. And now, my friends, and particularly the members of the Lee Memorial Committee, let me say that no honor has ever come to me that has stimulated my sentiments, or aroused my Southern pride, as much as the privilege of taking part in this tribute to the South's great hero, Robert E. Lee, a man who, in the opinion of many world figures, was greater in defeat than most men are in victory.

Great orators, great poets and great writers have told of the genius, the simple virtues, the high sense of citizenship, the unselfish patriotism and the benevolence, of the great chieftain of the Confederacy. But no orator or poet or writer has ever overpraised Robert E. Lee, so outstanding was he in war and in peace.

So much has been said and written about Lee that there is nothing new to add. But, like the story of love, it grows sweeter with the telling, especially as the temples begin to gray.

We are honored to have the President of the United States unveil this memorial. His presence here means much to all of us, especially to these women of the Lee Memorial Committee, whose efforts have made this monument possible. We appreciate your performing this rite, Mr. President, join-

ing with us of the South in this tribute to our great hero.

We know something of your admiration for Lee, and for Sam Houston, with whom Lee, then a Colonel in the United States Army, was associated as commander of the United States forces at San Antonio, during Houston's last term as Governor of our State.

These two great characters had much the same views with reference to secession; both were strongly opposed to it and did everything within their power to prevent war. Lee especially abhorred the thought of civil strife. He loved the United States Army, of which he had been a part for thirty years, yet he felt his first allegiance was to his native State, Virginia.

Seventy-one years ago, after four long years of bitter conflict, over principles for which both sides were willing to spill their blood, and to give their lives, Lee offered his sword to General Grant, under the apple tree at Appomattox. Grant knew Lee's mettle better than anyone. He knew the great man that he was, and the great soldier, and refused to accept his sword.

The men of the two armies who had faced each other across bayonets, met and fraternized. Lee's thoughts were of his loyal and hungry soldiers. Grant thought of them, too. "Let them take their horses; they will need them for spring plowing," said Grant.

Grant also permitted Lee's officers to retain their side arms, and provided some of his men with rations.

Grant went on to the White House, Lee to his boys at Washington College, at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars a year, and this the college was sometimes unable to pay him promptly.

There Lee remained for the last five years of his life, and made of this college a leading university, with a national influence.

As we look back on the life of Lee, nothing in all his career is more revealing of his greatness than these last days of

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comparative poverty, in which he contributed so much to rehabilitation. Offer after offer he refused. For the very use of his name he declined a king's ransom. His labor still belonged to the people.

With noble restraint, amidst all the bitterness of the early reconstruction period, he labored to erase the scars of war and to rebuild the physical and spiritual South. Animosity toward his adversaries was foreign to his nature, and the young men under his tutelage were molded to the task of reconstructing a great nation.

We of the South believe, and in this we are supported by the writers of history, that by any measure Robert E. Lee was the equal of any leader, civil or military, the world has ever known.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he was the outstanding officer of the United States Army, and no other man was thought of as its Commander for the approaching conflict. But would Lee take it? The North wondered! The South wondered! Lincoln made the offer. Lee's friends and associates for thirty years were in the Army of the Union.

He had distinguished himself in every post of assignment since his graduation with honors from the United States Military Academy, where he led the Cadet Corps as Senior Cadet Officer, and to which he was to return later as Superintendent with such marked success.

He had been a gallant soldier in the Mexican War. He had added to his fame in repressing Indian outbreaks and by other military feats in Texas from 1856 to 1861. He commanded at least six military posts in Texas, and was ordered to Washington by the War Department in February, 1861, arriving there only a few days before Lincoln took office.

Lee acted promptly on Lincoln's offer. He would not draw the sword against his native Virginia. He refused the command of the Northern Army and resigned his commission on April 20, 1861. Soon thereafter he accepted the commission of

Commander-in-Chief of the military and naval forces of Virginia. He had no other course.

In the four terrible years that followed, Robert E. Lee rode high the tide of victory, and drank deep the dregs of defeat. But defeat could not dim his luster. It continues to grow brighter.

Lee has had many characterizations. One that I like was by Woodrow Wilson: "... a celebrated American general, a national character, who won his chief celebrity in the service of a section of the country, but who was not sectionalized by the service, is recognized now as a national hero; who was not rendered the less great because he bent his energies towards a purpose which many men conceived not to be national in its end."

Wilson also said of him: "... a man whom you remember, not as a man who loved war, but as a man moved by all the high impulses of gentle kindness. A man whom men did not fear, but loved; a man in whom everybody who approached him marked singular gentleness, singular sweetness, singular modesty,—none of the pomp of the soldier, but all the simplicity of the gentleman ... a gentleman who loved his fellowmen and sought to serve them by the power of love, and who yet, in serving them with the power of love, won the imperishable fame of a great soldier! A singular contradiction!"

Theodore Roosevelt said of him, "Lee will undoubtedly rank as, without any exception, the greatest of all the great captains that the English-speaking people have brought forth."

Lord Wolseley, the great British field marshal and writer of military histories, said of Lee, "He was the ablest general and, to me, seemed the greatest man I had ever conversed with."

From my office window in Washington I can look across the Potomac to the hills of Virginia and see a national shrine, second only in historic interest to Mount Vernon, the home

of George Washington, It is the famous old Lee Mansion in Arlington National Cemetery.

This old mansion, with its massive Doric portico and immense stone pillars dominating the Virginia hills, is visited by half a million people every year. It was in this home in the summer of 1831—five years before the Alamo and San Jacinto battles were fought—that Robert E. Lee married Mary Custis. And let it be said that no home was ever presided over by a kindlier or more gentle husband and father than was this Lee home. It was here thirty years later that Lee made his decision to go with the South. From these pleasant surroundings he plunged into the furnace of civil war.

When Congress voted funds to restore the Lee Mansion, the legislation carrying out this restoration included in part the following reference to Lee: "Whereas, the era of strife among the states has yielded to one of better understanding, and of a more perfect Union; and whereas, now, honor is accorded to Robert E. Lee as one of the great military leaders of history, whose exalted character, noble life, and eminent services are recognized and esteemed, and whose manly attributes of precept and example have been compelling factors in cementing the American people in bonds of patriotic devotion and action against common external enemies, . . . be it resolved, that the Secretary of War is directed to restore the Lee Mansion to the condition in which it existed immediately prior to the Civil War."

Today that home has been restored to such a home as it was when Southern chivalry and Southern hospitality found in it their highest development.

Seventy-one years have passed since Appomattox. Time has softened, if it has not entirely dissolved, the bitterness of that day. Issues that seemed big enough to divide a Union have disappeared. The boys who marched in the 60's have, for the most part, gone to the final bivouac. A gallant few of the Army of the South are now meeting in Shreveport. We

regret they cannot be present in person—we know they are here in spirit. Soon those remaining who followed Grant will have a reunion in Washington. . . .

I should like to see those remaining of the two armies meet here, together, before the final chapter is written, and there can be no more appropriate time or place than here in Dallas during our Centennial, upon the invitation of and as guests of our Centennial.

Today all sections claim a heritage of pride in Robert E. Lee. He was an American of the finest stock and of a nation which, although young, we like to feel is the leading nation of the world. We are glad there is no longer any North or South, nor East or West, insofar as the unity of our people rests.

The decision of Lee to go with the South, notwithstanding his position in the Army of the United States, clearly marks his character. He must have known better than anyone that the likelihood for success lay with the North. Expediency and chance of almost certain success, and the probability of later becoming the nation's first citizen, as did Grant, could not outweigh the fact that in the last analysis he belonged to Virginia and the South, and he knew it.

The luster of Robert E. Lee will shine brighter from generation to generation. He gave us an example of the noblest traits of man—righteousness, fidelity, gentleness, humility, and the courage to do what he conceived to be right. Long will live the memory of Robert E. Lee, and people everywhere join with you here in Dallas, you women of the Lee Memorial Committee, who, through a labor of love, have made possible this lasting manifestation of high regard for this noble character.

We lift our eyes to meet yours, Robert E. Lee, as you look down upon this gathering of your own people, assembled to pay you homage, and we consecrate ourselves to emulate your ideals.

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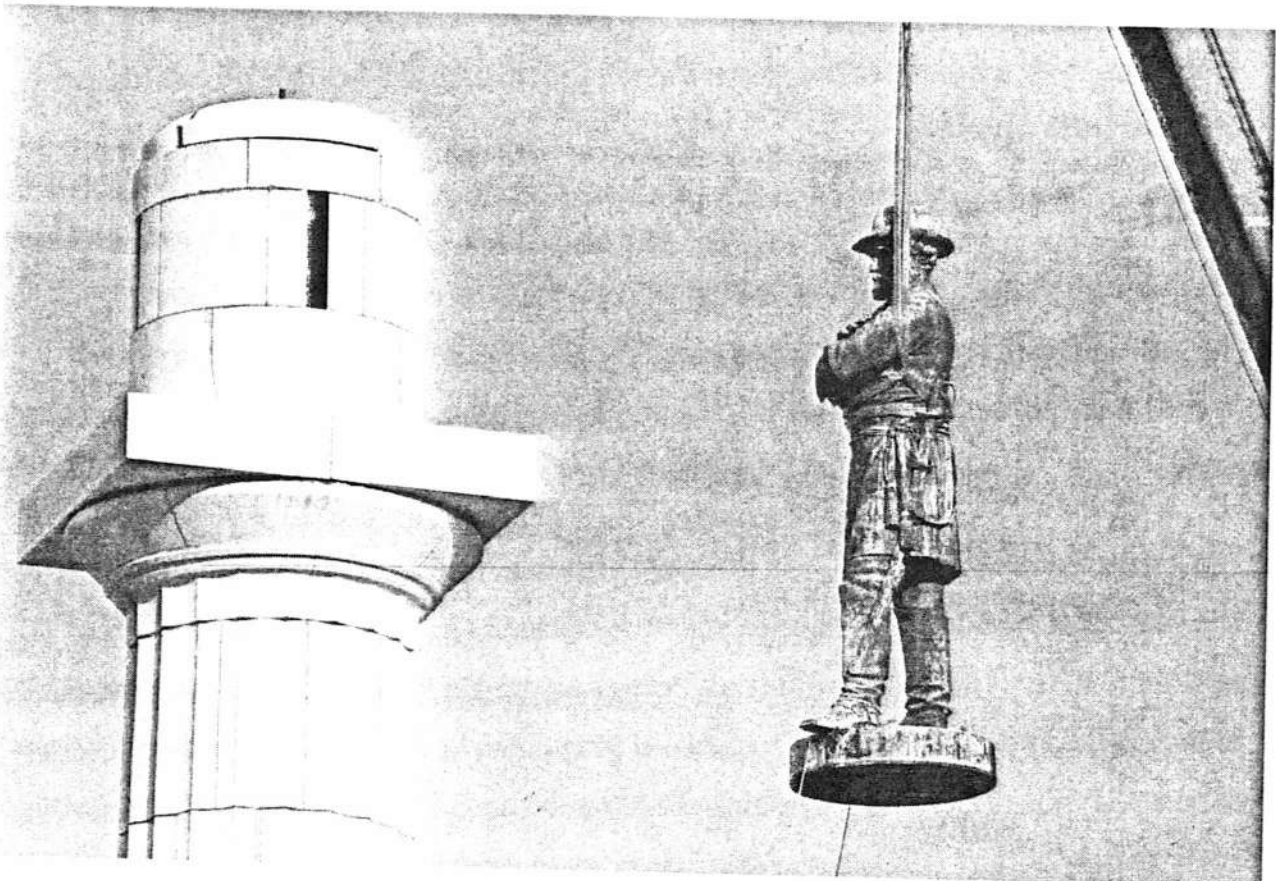
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The Myth of the Kindly General Lee

The legend of the Confederate leader's heroism and decency is based in the fiction of a person who never existed.



ADAM SERWER

Jonathan Bachman / Reuters

JUN 4, 2017 | POLITICS

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The strangest part about the continued personality cult of Robert E. Lee is how few of the qualities his admirers profess to see in him he actually possessed.

Memorial Day has the tendency to conjure up old arguments about the Civil War. That's understandable; it was created to mourn the dead of a war in which the Union was nearly destroyed, when half the country rose up in rebellion in defense

of slavery. This year, the removal of Lee's statue in New Orleans has inspired a new round of commentary about Lee, not to mention protests on his behalf by white supremacists.

The myth of Lee goes something like this: He was a brilliant strategist and devoted Christian man who abhorred slavery and labored tirelessly after the war to bring the country back together.

There is little truth in this. Lee was a devout Christian, and historians regard him as an accomplished tactician. But despite his ability to win individual battles, his decision to fight a conventional war against the more densely populated and industrialized North is considered by many historians to have been a fatal strategic error.

But even if one conceded Lee's military prowess, he would still be responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Americans in defense of the South's authority to own millions of human beings as property because they are black. Lee's elevation is a key part of a 150-year-old propaganda campaign designed to erase slavery as the cause of the war and whitewash the Confederate cause as a noble one. That ideology is known as the Lost Cause, and as historian David Blight writes, it provided a "foundation on which Southerners built the Jim Crow system."

There are unwitting victims of this campaign—those who lack the knowledge to separate history from sentiment. Then there are those whose reverence for Lee relies on replacing the actual Lee with a mythical figure who never truly existed.

In the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, R. David Cox wrote that "For white supremacist protesters to invoke his name violates Lee's most fundamental convictions." In the conservative publication *Townhall*, Jack Kerwick concluded that Lee was "among the finest human beings that has ever walked the Earth." John Daniel Davidson, in an essay for *The Federalist*, opposed the removal of the Lee statute in part on the grounds that Lee "arguably did more than anyone to unite the country after the war and bind up its wounds." Praise for Lee of this sort has flowed forth from past historians and presidents alike.

This is too divorced from Lee's actual life to even be classed as fan fiction; it is simply historical illiteracy.

White supremacy does not "violate" Lee's "most fundamental convictions." White supremacy was one of Lee's most fundamental convictions.

Lee was a slaveowner—his own views on slavery were explicated in an 1856 letter that it often misquoted to give the impression that Lee was some kind of an abolitionist. In the letter, he describes slavery as "a moral & political evil," but goes on to explain that:

I think it however a greater evil to the white man than to the black race, & while my feelings are strongly enlisted in behalf of the latter, my sympathies are more strong for the former. The blacks are immeasurably better off here than in Africa, morally, socially & physically. The painful discipline they are undergoing, is necessary for their instruction as a race, & I hope will prepare & lead them to better things. How long their subjugation may be necessary is known & ordered by a wise Merciful Providence. Their emancipation will sooner result from the mild & melting influence of Christianity, than the storms & tempests of fiery Controversy.

The argument here is that slavery is bad for white people, good for black people, and most importantly, it is better than abolitionism; emancipation must wait for divine intervention. That black people might not want to be slaves does not enter into the equation; their opinion on the subject of their own bondage is not even an afterthought to Lee.

Lee's cruelty as a slavemaster was not confined to physical punishment. In *Reading the Man*, the historian Elizabeth Brown Pryor's portrait of Lee through his writings, Pryor writes that "Lee ruptured the Washington and Custis tradition of respecting slave families," by hiring them off to other plantations, and that "by 1860 he had

broken up every family but one on the estate, some of whom had been together since Mount Vernon days.” The separation of slave families was one of the most unfathomably devastating aspects of slavery, and Pryor wrote that Lee’s slaves regarded him as “the worst man I ever see.”

The trauma of rupturing families lasted lifetimes for the enslaved—it was, as my colleague Ta-Nehisi Coates described it, “a kind of murder.” After the war, thousands of the emancipated searched desperately for kin lost to the market for human flesh, fruitlessly for most. In *Reconstruction*, the historian Eric Foner quotes a Freedmen’s Bureau agent who notes of the emancipated, “in their eyes, the work of emancipation was incomplete until the families which had been dispersed by slavery were reunited.”

Lee’s heavy hand on the Arlington plantation, Pryor writes, nearly led to a slave revolt, in part because the enslaved had been expected to be freed upon their previous master’s death, and Lee had engaged in a dubious legal interpretation of his will in order to keep them as his property, one that lasted until a Virginia court forced him to free them.

When two of his slaves escaped and were recaptured, Lee either beat them himself or ordered the overseer to “lay it on well.” Wesley Norris, one of the slaves who was whipped, recalled that “not satisfied with simply lacerating our naked flesh, Gen. Lee then ordered the overseer to thoroughly wash our backs with brine, which was done.”

Every state that seceded mentioned slavery as the cause in their declarations of secession. Lee’s beloved Virginia was no different, accusing the federal government of “perverting” its powers “not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but to the oppression of the Southern Slaveholding States.” Lee’s decision to fight for the South can only be described as a choice to fight for the continued existence of human bondage in America—even though for the Union, it was not at first a war for emancipation.

During his invasion of Pennsylvania, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia enslaved free blacks and brought them back to the South as property. Pryor writes that "evidence links virtually every infantry and cavalry unit in Lee's army" with the abduction of free black Americans, "with the activity under the supervision of senior officers."

Soldiers under Lee's command at the Battle of the Crater in 1864 massacred black Union soldiers who tried to surrender. Then, in a spectacle hatched by Lee's senior corps commander A.P. Hill, the Confederates paraded the Union survivors through the streets of Petersburg to the slurs and jeers of the southern crowd. Lee never discouraged such behavior. As the historian Richard Slotkin wrote in *No Quarter: The Battle of the Crater*, "his silence was permissive."

The presence of black soldiers on the field of battle shattered every myth the South's slave empire was built on: the happy docility of slaves, their intellectual inferiority, their cowardice, their inability to compete with whites. As Pryor writes, "fighting against brave and competent African Americans challenged every underlying tenet of southern society." The Confederate response to this challenge was to visit every possible atrocity and cruelty upon black soldiers whenever possible, from enslavement to execution.

As the historian James McPherson recounts in *Battle Cry of Freedom*, in October of that same year, Lee proposed an exchange of prisoners with the Union general Ulysses S. Grant. "Grant agreed, on condition that blacks be exchanged 'the same as white soldiers.'" Lee's response was that "negroes belonging to our citizens are not considered subjects of exchange and were not included in my proposition." Because slavery was the cause for which Lee fought, he could hardly be expected to easily concede, even at the cost of the freedom of his own men, that blacks could be treated as soldiers and not things. Grant refused the offer, telling Lee that "Government is bound to secure to all persons received into her armies the rights due to soldiers." Despite its desperate need for soldiers, the Confederacy did not relent from this position until a few months before Lee's surrender.

After the war, Lee did counsel defeated southerners against rising up against the North. Lee might have become a rebel once more, and urged the South to resume

fighting—as many of his former comrades wanted him to. But even in this task Grant, in 1866, regarded his former rival as falling short, saying that Lee was “setting an example of forced acquiescence so grudging and pernicious in its effects as to be hardly realized.”

Nor did Lee’s defeat lead to an embrace of racial egalitarianism. The war was not about slavery, Lee insisted later, but if it was about slavery, it was only out of Christian devotion that white southerners fought to keep blacks enslaved. Lee told a *New York Herald* reporter, in the midst of arguing in favor of somehow removing blacks from the South (“disposed of,” in his words), “that unless some humane course is adopted, based on wisdom and Christian principles you do a gross wrong and injustice to the whole negro race in setting them free. And it is only this consideration that has led the wisdom, intelligence and Christianity of the South to support and defend the institution up to this time.”

Lee had beaten or ordered his own slaves to be beaten for the crime of wanting to be free, he fought for the preservation of slavery, his army kidnapped free blacks at gunpoint and made them unfree—but all of this, he insisted, had occurred only because of the great Christian love the South held for blacks. Here we truly understand Frederick Douglass’s admonition that “between the Christianity of this land and the Christianity of Christ, I recognize the widest possible difference.”

Privately, according to the correspondence collected by his own family, Lee counseled others to hire white labor instead of the freedmen, observing “that wherever you find the negro, everything is going down around him, and wherever you find a white man, you see everything around him improving.”

In another letter, Lee wrote “You will never prosper with blacks, and it is abhorrent to a reflecting mind to be supporting and cherishing those who are plotting and working for your injury, and all of whose sympathies and associations are antagonistic to yours. I wish them no evil in the world—on the contrary, will do them every good in my power, and know that they are misled by those to whom they have given their confidence; but our material, social, and political interests are naturally with the whites.”

Publicly, Lee argued against the enfranchisement of blacks, and raged against Republican efforts to enforce racial equality on the South. Lee told Congress that blacks lacked the intellectual capacity of whites and “could not vote intelligently,” and that granting them suffrage would “excite unfriendly feelings between the two races.” Lee explained that “the negroes have neither the intelligence nor the other qualifications which are necessary to make them safe depositories of political power.” To the extent that Lee believed in reconciliation, it was between white people, and only on the precondition that black people would be denied political power and therefore the ability to shape their own fate.

Lee is not remembered as an educator, but his life as president of Washington College (later Washington and Lee) is tainted as well. According to Pryor, students at Washington formed their own chapter of the KKK, and were known by the local Freedmen’s Bureau to attempt to abduct and rape black schoolgirls from the nearby black schools.

There were at least two attempted lynchings by Washington students during Lee’s tenure, and Pryor writes that “the number of accusations against Washington College boys indicates that he either punished the racial harassment more laxly than other misdemeanors, or turned a blind eye to it,” adding that he “did not exercise the near imperial control he had at the school, as he did for more trivial matters, such as when the boys threatened to take unofficial Christmas holidays.” In short, Lee was as indifferent to crimes of violence toward blacks carried out by his students as he was when they were carried out by his soldiers.

Lee died in 1870, as Democrats and ex-Confederates were commencing a wave of terrorist violence that would ultimately reimpose their domination over the Southern states. The Ku Klux Klan was founded in 1866; there is no evidence Lee ever spoke up against it. On the contrary, he darkly intimated in his interview with the *Herald* that the South might be moved to violence again if peace did not proceed on its terms. That was prescient.

Lee is a pivotal figure in American history worthy of study. Neither the man who really existed, nor the fictionalized tragic hero of the Lost Cause, are heroes worthy

of a statue in a place of honor. As one Union veteran angrily put it in 1903 when Pennsylvania was considering placing a statute to Lee at Gettysburg, "If you want historical accuracy as your excuse, then place upon this field a statue of Lee holding in his hand the banner under which he fought, bearing the legend: 'We wage this war against a government conceived in liberty and dedicated to humanity.'" The most fitting monument to Lee is the national military cemetery the federal government placed on the grounds of his former home in Arlington.

To describe this man as an American hero requires ignoring the immense suffering for which he was personally responsible, both on and off the battlefield. It requires ignoring his participation in the industry of human bondage, his betrayal of his country in defense of that institution, the battlefields scattered with the lifeless bodies of men who followed his orders and those they killed, his hostility toward the rights of the freedmen and his indifference to his own students waging a campaign of terror against the newly emancipated. It requires reducing the sum of human virtue to a sense of decorum and the ability to convey gravitas in a gray uniform.

There are former Confederates who sought to redeem themselves—one thinks of James Longstreet, wrongly blamed by Lost Causers for Lee's disastrous defeat at Gettysburg, who went from fighting the Union army to leading New Orleans's integrated police force in battle against white supremacist paramilitaries. But there are no statues of Longstreet in New Orleans.* Lee was devoted to defending the principle of white supremacy; Longstreet was not. This, perhaps, is why Lee was placed atop the largest Confederate monument at Gettysburg in 1917, but the 6-foot-2-inch Longstreet had to wait until 1998 to receive a smaller-scale statue hidden in the woods that makes him look like a hobbit riding a donkey. It's why Lee is remembered as a hero, and Longstreet is remembered as a disgrace.

The white supremacists who have protested on Lee's behalf are not betraying his legacy. In fact, they have every reason to admire him. Lee, whose devotion to white supremacy outshone his loyalty to his country, is the embodiment of everything

they stand for. Tribe and race over country is the core of white nationalism, and racists can embrace Lee in good conscience.

The question is why anyone else would.

** This article originally stated that there are no statues of Longstreet in the American South; in fact, there is one in his hometown of Gainesville, Georgia. We regret the error.*

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR



ADAM SERWER is a senior editor at *The Atlantic*, covering politics.

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**EXHIBIT F**

HOW THE CULT OF ROBERT E. LEE WAS BORN

History is usually written by the victors, but not in this case. The reason the South fought the American Civil War has been contested ever since the Confederacy surrendered in 1865. An odd turn of events, considering that when 11 Southern states seceded from the Union at the war's outset, they were very clear about why they were doing it.

In declaration after declaration, Confederate states explicitly said that they had seceded in order to preserve slavery.

South Carolina, the first to secede, cited "an increasing hostility on the part of the non-slaveholding States to the institution of slavery" in its declaration of secession. Mississippi's declaration argued "There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union."

It was only after the war that many former Confederates changed course, creating an alternative narrative that historians refer to as the "Lost Cause."

"It began right at the end of the Civil War as Southerners tried to explain their own defeat to themselves," says David W. Blight, an American history professor at Yale and author of *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Writers, journalists, and former soldiers began "to fashion this series of ideas, one of which was their belief that they were never truly defeated on the battlefield; that they were only overwhelmed."

They also argued, in direct contradiction to their secession statements, that the war was never about slavery.

Lost Causers argued "they had only fought for state sovereignty, states' rights, national independence," Blight says. "They also fashioned a set of ideas and arguments that they were fighting to hold back the massive industrialization of America, they were trying to preserve rural agrarian civilization."

In addition, they gave the cause a hero. When Robert E. Lee died five years after the war ended, many of his former officers "created a kind of a Lee legend and a Lee cult," he says. It promoted the "idea that Robert E. Lee was the ultimate Christian soldier," who fought to preserve his home state rather than the institution of slavery—which is false.

"Make no mistake, Lee fought for the Confederacy, and he knew that the Confederacy existed to preserve slavery—there is no question about that," Blight says.

To further bolster their hero, the Lost Causers also gave Lee a villain: Former Confederate General James Longstreet, who was already a "scalawag" for joining the northern Republican party and deploying black and white officers to defend New Orleans against the militant White League during Reconstruction. According to this new hero-villain narrative, Lee had lost the Battle of Gettysburg because Longstreet betrayed him. (Blight says this "does not hold up historically").

Over time, the narrative morphed as more people—including former President of the Confederate States of America Jefferson Davis—wrote about and memorialized the war.

"By the 1890s, the Lost Cause arguments had become really a racial ideology, they had become a set of arguments for white supremacy," he says. The idea that slavery had been a gentle institution that benefitted both masters and slaves, and that freedmen could not handle their emancipation, was a foundation upon which Jim Crow laws were built.

And as the South began to beat back Reconstruction policies with these Jim Crow laws, the narrative actually stopped being about loss.

It became "a victory narrative," Blight says. "And the victory they're telling is the victory over Reconstruction: That they had defeated the North's effort to reconstruct the South, that they had defeated black rights and black suffrage."

Confederate veterans and Southern organizations worked to make sure that school textbooks portrayed the Confederacy's goal as righteous and Lee as a noble hero, effectively changing the way that the war and its causes were understood. This strategy worked so well that it influences education today. In recent years, Texas has adopted school textbooks and lesson plans that incorrectly teach students that slavery was not a major cause of the war.

"It's endlessly necessary in this country to keep explaining the Civil War," Blight says. "There's a great distance between public memory and the scholarly history that historians write. And we just have to keep trying to make that distance shorter."

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Becky Little

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