

# NORTH CAROLINA STATE CAPITOL MEMORIAL STUDY COMMITTEE REPORT

Submitted to the  
North Carolina Historical Commission

May 2010

North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources

Linda A. Carlisle, Secretary



NORTH CAROLINA  
DEPARTMENT OF  
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# NORTH CAROLINA STATE CAPITOL MEMORIAL STUDY COMMITTEE REPORT

## Executive Summary

Submitted to the North Carolina Historical Commission, May 2010:

The committee concurs with the widespread observation that the memorials in the Capitol and on its grounds do not sufficiently represent the diversity of North Carolina's population.

The Commission in August 2009 appointed a committee to study alternatives. The committee met four times and held three public hearings in February 2010, in Asheville, Raleigh, and Greenville. A blog attached to the Capitol website permits additional feedback.

It is the consensus of the committee, after deliberation and site visit, that the moratorium on the placement of additional memorials on Union Square should be lifted but that exceptions should be limited to this purpose only. It is the view of the committee that, contrary to popular assumptions, the grounds are not completely filled and that appropriately sized memorials will fit in very well with the present grouping.

North Carolina has lagged behind its neighboring states in creating an inclusive set of memorials in the Capitol or upon its grounds.

The committee does not recommend the removal of any existing monuments or memorials in the Capitol or on the Capitol grounds.

The recommended location for placement of additional plaques inside the Capitol is the wall opposite the staircase in the west wing. The focus of interior plaques should be rights of citizenship, specifically the Thirteenth Amendment (abolition of slavery), the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (citizenship and voting rights), and the Nineteenth Amendment (voting rights for women).

The recommended locations for one or more monuments on the grounds are the northwest, southwest, and southeast corners. The committee proposes that African Americans, women, and American Indians all be commemorated in some fashion on the grounds.

It is the recommendation of the committee that the American Indian memorial be nonfigurative, inclusive of all native peoples, and fabricated from appropriate and culturally relevant materials. The committee recommends use of an American Indian artist who is a resident of North Carolina.

It is the recommendation of the committee that the women's memorial be a depiction of either 1) the first female legislator, Lillian Exum Clement or 2) civil rights leader Ella Baker.

The committee recommends as the African American memorial either 1) a memorial to the North Carolinians who took part in the Civil War as part of the United States Colored Troops or 2) the White-Baker memorial, designed to commemorate the achievements and public statements of U.S. Representative George Henry White (1852-1918) and Ella Baker (1903-1986), who has been called "the mother of the civil rights movement."

The committee recommends that public funds should be used to purchase the interior plaques. In the case of outdoor monuments, private funds must be sought but it is suggested that funds provided by the General Assembly be used in a matching fashion.

The interests of the Historical Commission and the interests of the Freedom Monument Project coincide. It is imperative that, as fundraising efforts go forward and as approaches are made to the legislature and to other potential funding sources, the two groups cooperate. The full report is at [www.ncdcr.gov/capitolmemorial.pdf](http://www.ncdcr.gov/capitolmemorial.pdf).

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## The Committee and Its Charge

Patricia Timmons-Goodson, Associate Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court and the first African American female to sit on the state's high bench, officiated at the swearing-in ceremony for the members of the new North Carolina African American Heritage Commission. In the course of the brief program, held in the State Library reading room on February 27, 2009, the Justice took note of the fact that the monuments on the grounds of the State Capitol, visible from her office window, are lacking in terms of inclusiveness. The situation, she pointed out, is especially regrettable in light of the fact that schoolchildren visit the Capitol and its grounds every day and a high proportion of those students do not find reflected in the statuary or other memorials faces like their own. She expressed her personal hope that the new board would be of assistance in making the representations more inclusive. **The committee concurs with the widespread observation that the memorials in the Capitol and on its grounds do not sufficiently represent the diversity of North Carolina's population.**

The 1840 State Capitol, Greek Revival in form and stark in its beauty, is sacred ground for North Carolinians. All branches of state government once were housed in the building, which stands on Union Square, upon the site of the original capitol, destroyed by fire in 1831. The state legislature met in the building through the 1963 session. The Governor retains an office in the building. Its grounds traditionally host demonstrations and celebrations, citizen protests and holiday gatherings. It has been the prime central space where North Carolinians have commemorated individuals and events important to their history, primarily their political and military heroes.

Justice Timmons-Goodson's call for making the memorials at the Capitol in Raleigh more inclusive was not the first such call, nor would it be the last. The North Carolina Freedom Monument Project (NCFMP), with the objective of developing a monument about African American history, directed its attention to the grounds before unveiling in 2005 a more expansive plan for the corner of Lane and Wilmington Streets. Mr. Eddie Davis of Durham, former president of the North Carolina Association of Educators, on August 27, 2009, presented a formal proposal to the North Carolina Historical Commission to

install in the rotunda of the second floor of the Capitol a “Hall of Inclusion,” a set of plaques to commemorate milestones in the expansion of rights for African Americans, women, and American Indians. The presentation came four months after he made a similar appeal on the op-ed page of the *Raleigh News and Observer* (April 4, 2009). At the same meeting where Mr. Davis spoke, Mr. John Sanders of Chapel Hill, formerly director of the Institute of Government, argued that the architectural integrity of the Capitol would be compromised by such intrusions.

The Historical Commission, which has responsibility for the review of all monuments on state property, thanked Mr. Davis and Mr. Sanders for their presentations and appointed a committee to study options. The formal charge to the group was to:

- assay the present assemblage of plaques, memorials, and statues in the Capitol and upon its grounds;
- evaluate the merits or advisability of additional plaques, memorials, or statues dedicated specifically to addressing a perceived underrepresentation of women and of racial and ethnic minorities, including but not limited to African Americans and American Indians;
- seek public input in their deliberations; and
- present the Commission with alternatives with respect to new memorials at the Capitol or elsewhere in the state government complex, with these recommendations to address location, subject matter, likenesses, and funding sources.

The seven-member committee, chaired by former Archives and History director William S. Price, Jr., met four times and held three public hearings. In a hearing in Greenville, Historical Commission member David Dennard, professor of history at East Carolina University, noted that the memorials now in place are limited to military and political history and said that, if a visitor dropped down from outer space onto Union Square, he or she would have a strange conception of what is important to North Carolinians.

### The Capitol and Its Grounds

Union Square (Appendix A) was part of the original plan for Raleigh prepared by William Christmas in 1792. The Capitol, situated thereon since 1840, presently houses fourteen memorials (Appendix B), the majority of those on the first floor of the rotunda. Exceptions, both located in the House Chamber, are the Thomas Sully portrait of George Washington (ca. 1818) which predates the building, and the plaque commemorating the 1963 session of the General Assembly, the last to meet in the building. The most recent additions to the plaques in the rotunda are memorials to the signers of the United States Constitution, erected in 1979 by the Colonial Dames of the XVII Century; members of the Continental Line, erected in 1983 by the Society of the Cincinnati; and the Halifax Resolves, erected in 2000 by the Historic Halifax Restoration Association. With those placements all alcoves and other logical spots for memorials in the first-floor rotunda were taken.

The grounds presently host fourteen monuments (Appendix C). The oldest is the 1857 bronze statue of George Washington, the third memorial to the First President after the Sully portrait and the Canova statue. The heyday for memorial placement on Union Square was between 1895, when the Confederate Monument was dedicated, and 1924, when the statue of Governor Charles B. Aycock was erected. The most recent additions to the grouping were the 1987 Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the 1990 North Carolina Veterans Memorial. All of the exterior monuments are bronze or granite or some combination thereof.

**In weighing options for additions to the interior spaces, the committee respects the proposal conceived by Mr. Eddie Davis for a “Hall of Inclusion” and, in its recommendations, incorporates several of his ideas. The committee concurs with the views regarding architectural integrity as presented by Mr. John Sanders and proposes no changes to the second floor of the Capitol.**

In weighing options for additions to the grounds, the committee took note of the often commented upon crowding of memorials on the grounds. Observers have compared the assemblage to game pieces on a chessboard and to the landscape in *Alice in Wonderland*. Indeed the Historical Commission, largely for this reason, for over twenty-five years has had in place a moratorium on the placement of additional monuments or memorials on the grounds. That moratorium notwithstanding, the Vietnam and World Wars/Korea

veterans memorials were erected through the intervention of members of the General Assembly and over the objections of the Historical Commission. By comparison with other capitols, in Richmond and Columbia for instance, space in Raleigh for this purpose is at a premium.

**It is the consensus of the committee, after deliberation and walk-through, that the moratorium should be lifted but that exceptions should be limited to this express purpose.** It is the view of committee members that, contrary to popular assumptions, the grounds are not completely filled and that appropriately sized memorials will fit in very well with the present grouping. **Furthermore, the committee does not recommend the removal of any existing monuments or memorials in the Capitol or on the Capitol grounds.**

**The committee commends the work of the North Carolina Freedom Monument Project and seeks to complement, not supplant, their ambitious plan for a public art project.** Early in the planning by the NCFMP, organizers sought space on Union Square but were advised by the Department of Cultural Resources of the moratorium and guided to other spaces within the downtown state government complex. Ultimately, the NCFMP selected a site bounded by Lane Street, Wilmington Street, the State Records Center, and the Archives and History Building (a tree-shaded site that informally has been tagged “Freedom Grove”). In a public competition Chapel Hill artist Juan Logan and his team designed an ambitious plan (Appendix D) for the site, one whose size far exceeds the capacity of any available space on Union Square.

Early in the deliberations by the present committee, **it became apparent that North Carolina has lagged behind its neighboring states in creating an inclusive set of memorials in their Capitol or upon its grounds** (Appendix E). South Carolina, with much fanfare and public attention, in 2001 dedicated a large, multi-panel African American memorial adjacent to the Capitol in Columbia. Tennessee commemorates the Fourteenth and Nineteenth Amendments with interior bas relief depictions. Other depictions in the Capitol include a bust of Sequoyah and his depiction alongside Andrew Jackson and David Crockett among the state’s heroes. Memorials on the Nashville grounds commemorate the Holocaust and the Middle Passage. Virginia in 2008 dedicated an impressive African American memorial depicting



students and parents in Prince Edward County, scene of early protests against segregated schools in the Old Dominion. The \$3.2 million Richmond monument, made of granite and bronze, includes a quotation by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. In the recommendations that follow, the committee seeks to draw from our neighbors some of the features that might best represent the diverse population in North Carolina.

### Public Feedback

Part of the charge to the committee was to seek public feedback. A press release, through the Department of Cultural Resources public affairs office, facilitated this process. E-mails were directed to the North Carolina Commission on Indian Affairs, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Center for Diversity Education at UNC-Asheville, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, General Federation of Women's Clubs of North Carolina, North Carolina Council for Women, Phoenix Society of Rocky Mount, and members of the Federation of North Carolina Historical Societies. The African American Heritage Commission endorsed the goal in a petition (Appendix F). Committee members Michael Hill, Michelle Lanier, and Deanna Mitchell attended the quarterly meeting of the Indian Unity Conference at the North Raleigh Hilton on March 11 and laid out the committee charge.

**Public hearings took place at the Young Men's Institute Cultural Center in Asheville on February 15, in the House Chamber of the State Capitol in Raleigh on February 18, and at East Carolina University in Greenville on February 22 (Appendix G). Comments were wide-ranging and various but, notably, none of the presenters spoke in opposition to the plans (Appendix H).**

Ms. Mitchell created as an extension of the State Capitol website ([www.nchistoricsites.org/capitol](http://www.nchistoricsites.org/capitol)) a blog for public feedback. Those wishing to post a comment were required to register a name and place of residence. The blog went live on February 4. Since that time, fifteen people have posted comments. Of those, nine were opposed to additional memorials. The flurry of negative comments were posted within a short time frame about one week after the blog appeared, suggesting the possibility of an organized e-mail

effort to skew the results. All comments are appended (Appendix I). The blog will remain in place as the project progresses.

Other communications were received by direct e-mails, phone calls, and personal contact. An especially detailed and incisive critique of the existing memorials came from John Coffey, curator at the North Carolina Museum of Art and Raleigh native. The opinions in his extended treatise regarding aesthetic concerns and art history are his own, of course, but are offered in full (Appendix J).

### Recommendations: Interior

The North Carolina Historical Commission asked the committee to return a set of options for consideration. The recommendations which follow are presented in two parts, first for the interior space and then for the grounds. In conceiving designs for the interior and exterior, scale should be a prime consideration. The objective remains to commemorate the achievements of American Indians, women, and African Americans, both inside and outside. The recommendations regarding the outside space are important since many visitors to the Capitol do not go inside the building, either by choice or because they visit after hours.

With the first-floor rotunda at capacity and a consensus that the second floor should remain untouched, the committee looked to other spaces within the Capitol for the addition of plaques or other appropriately sized memorials. **The recommended location for placement of additional plaques inside the Capitol is the wall opposite the staircase in the west wing.** Every effort should be made to retain and enhance the visual appeal of the Capitol's interior. Materials and design should be selected for interior plaques that are consistent with the look of existing memorials. Design and placement of interior plaques should be consistent with the look and scale of existing plaques in the rotunda and consistent with the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The number and design of plaques should be determined by the space available and by compatibility with existing memorials in the rotunda.

**The focus of interior plaques should be on the extension of voting rights and other rights of citizenship.** Amendments to the United States Constitution paraphrased in brief form, with relevant passage dates including indication as to when each was approved in North Carolina, should be at the center of such display, to wit:

- Thirteenth Amendment (abolition of slavery)
- Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (citizenship and voting rights)
- Nineteenth Amendment (voting rights for women)

Disfranchisement should be treated in succinct language culminating with the passage of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 did not have a direct effect on North Carolina Indians. Rather, state recognition of tribal groups and the creation of the Commission on Indians Affairs are appropriate milestones for those communities. The committee does not recommend use of “Hall of Inclusion” and suggests that the display stand without title.

To offer some variety and to create a more reader-friendly display, the legal milestones should be interlaced with related events. Strong consideration should go toward commemoration of the freedmen’s convention which met, September 29 – October 3, 1865, a few blocks northwest of the Capitol. The commemoration might include depictions of the church building where the convention members met or the sanctuary with the bust of Abraham Lincoln at the front. Consideration should go toward bas relief depictions of one or more decorative elements or relevant images such as a ballot box or depiction of a suffragette. The balloting by freedmen as depicted in an iconic 1867 *Harper’s Weekly* image might be the centerpiece for a plaque.

A kiosk with video screen should be developed as part of the display in order to more fully explain the significance of the events commemorated. Such a display, likely not permanent, properly should be the responsibility of educators within the Division of State Historic Sites and Properties. As such it would not require review by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

## Recommendations: Exterior

**The recommended locations for one or more monuments on the Capitol grounds are the northwest, southwest, and southeast corners.** The northwest corner offers the prime opportunity (the Vietnam memorial occupies the northeast corner.) Modestly sized space for new memorials can be found behind and just north of the Aycock and Vance statues. Another site to consider, depending on the design of the memorial(s), is the bank alongside the southeast corner.

A case can be made for depiction of individuals who have contributed in significant ways to North Carolina history. The majority of the existing memorials on the grounds depict specific individuals and it can be argued that the underrepresented should not be denied the chance to have their champions honored. Alternatively, a case can be made that events rather than individuals be commemorated. While the tradition has been to depict persons, other ways might be sought to commemorate groups or landmark historical events.

Whereas the proposed interior displays relate to the extension of rights, the proposed exterior memorials might relate to restriction of rights (slavery, Jim Crow legislation) and/or efforts to remove those restrictions (military service, women's suffrage, civil rights). The monuments should be appropriate in scale but need not be uniform or of similar design. Use of quotations will be important to any new memorials. Traditional materials used in the exterior memorials at the Capitol are bronze and granite; one or the other, or both, are used in all fourteen existing memorials. The form of the new memorials might include statuary, busts, bas relief, or cenotaph (defined as a memorial to a person who is buried elsewhere). Many of the calls as to the form, design, and materials should be left to the artist(s) with appropriate input from the North Carolina Historical Commission.

**The committee recommends that American Indians, women, and African Americans all be commemorated in some fashion on the grounds.** The committee, with public input, seeks to offer a set of choices to the Historical Commission, with suggested priorities.

## *American Indians*

**It is the recommendation of the committee that the American Indian memorial be nonfigurative, inclusive of all native peoples in North Carolina, and fabricated from appropriate and culturally relevant materials such as copper, stone, wood, and wampum (beads or decorative elements carved from shells).** Further, the American Indian memorial should take the form of an appropriately sized area for contemplation, perhaps incorporating a bench. The memorial should reflect a spiritual element and denote the enduring influence that native people have had on the state's history. The committee strongly recommends the use of an American Indian artist who is a resident of North Carolina. The North Carolina Commission on Indian Affairs has requested that its members be kept informed as the project progresses. However, that commission should not be the arbiter with respect to artist, form, or content; that responsibility remains with the North Carolina Historical Commission.

During the course of the public hearings, the committee heard a number of suggested topics including the native people encountered by the Roanoke colonists and depicted by John White, particularly the chief, Wingina; the Trail of Tears, the removal of many Cherokee from western North Carolina in the 1830s; Thomas's Legion, the Confederate regiment of Cherokees and mountaineers; and the establishment of what is now UNC-Pembroke, to serve the Lumbees and other people in southeastern North Carolina. In the end, it was the consensus of the committee that the American Indian memorial should not focus on a single tribal group or event but rather be inclusive of all native people.

## *Women*

During the course of the public hearings, the committee heard a number of suggested topics including Lillian Exum Clement, the first female member of the General Assembly; Gertrude Weil, leading advocate of women's suffrage; Ella Baker, civil rights advocate; Harriet Jacobs, fugitive slave and abolitionist; Charlotte Hawkins Brown, educator; Anna Julia Haywood Cooper, feminist and scholar; the Delany sisters, like Cooper affiliated with Saint Augustine's College; and Mary Wyche and the nursing profession. **It is the**

**recommendation of the committee that the women’s memorial be a depiction of either 1) Lillian Exum Clement or 2) Ella Baker (see below).**

### *African Americans*

With respect to individuals, groups, or topics related to African American history, the committee heard a wide range of suggestions, including the following: George White, Congressman; Charlotte Hawkins Brown, educator; United States Colored Troops; Anna Julia Haywood, scholar; David Walker, abolitionist; Harriet Jacobs, abolitionist; Charles Chesnutt, writer; Friday Jones, author of a slave narrative; Robert Jervay, newspaper publisher; Daniel Sadgwar, inventor; James Shober, physician; the Delany sisters, affiliated with Saint Augustine’s College; Montford Point, where black Marines trained during World War II; Richard Etheridge and the Pea Island Lifesaving Station; Princeville, town founded by blacks; sit-in or Student Nonviolent Coordinating (SNCC) protesters; Ella Baker, civil rights advocate; Thelonious Monk and John Coltrane, musicians; Leonard Medical School; and black inventors generally.

**A consensus developed to recommend two options to the Historical Commission as the African American memorial for placement on the Capitol grounds. The first would be a memorial to the North Carolinians who took part in the Civil War as part of the United States Colored Troops (Appendix K).** Such a monument, depicting an African American soldier who fought on behalf of the Union (likely a freedman from northeastern North Carolina) would take the form of a life-size bronze statue atop a granite base. In that respect, it would be in keeping with other memorials already in place on Union Square and would be a counterbalance to the 1895 Confederate monument.

Two outstanding examples of memorials to the United States Colored Troops can be cited. The monument to the Massachusetts 54<sup>th</sup> Regiment designed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens sits in the corner of Boston Common across from the State House. The large bas relief sculpture is widely known and was given prominence in the closing frames of the film “Glory.” A more recent example is the African American Civil War Memorial, otherwise known as “Spirit of Freedom,” by sculptor Ed Hamilton at the intersection of U and 10<sup>th</sup> Streets in Washington, D.C.

In the course of the committee's work, former North Carolina House of Representatives member Thomas Hardaway, who now resides in Atlanta, drew attention to his work in 1997 to enact House Bill 1724, specifying "the establishment of a commission to study the contributions of black troops from North Carolina in the American Civil War and other conflicts and to develop plans for the appropriate commemoration of the contributions of those troops." That proposed legislation, never enacted, called for the study and recognition of black troops in the Civil War, Spanish-American War, and other conflicts and for the "construction of a memorial or memorials in appropriate locations." Mr. Hardaway contacted the Legislative Library in March 2010 to recover a copy of the bill and commended it to the committee.

**The second option for review by the commission would be the White-Baker memorial, designed to commemorate the achievements and public statements of U.S. Representative George Henry White (1852-1918) and Ella Baker (1903-1986), who has been called "the mother of the civil rights movement." (Appendix L)** The lives of the two North Carolinians bookend the Jim Crow era. Rep. White's two terms in the U.S. House culminated in 1901 in a fiery speech predicting that African Americans one day would rise "Phoenix-like" to regain a role in public life. The timing coincided with the disfranchisement of black voters across the South and White, who resided in Tarboro, would be the last African American to serve in Congress from the South until 1973 and the last from North Carolina until 1993. Six decades after White's speech, Ella Baker, raised in Littleton, culminated a life dedicated to civil rights work by organizing the meeting to establish the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at her alma mater, Shaw University, five blocks south of the Capitol.

Both White and Baker are figures of national significance and, in many ways, representative of their era. While the form and content of the proposed memorial would be left to the discretion of the artist, it can be imagined that it might take the form of a cenotaph with depiction of a phoenix atop the granite form and with bronze bas relief depictions of White and Baker, and appropriate quotations, on either side. Placement of such a memorial would, in some respects, acknowledge the overall achievements of those who took part in the civil rights movement. As such recognition would come about fifty years after the events, it would be

meaningful to African Americans just as the Confederate monument was to veterans in 1895, thirty years after the close of the Civil War. In the case of Ella Baker, it should be pointed out that she died in December 1986 and would be eligible for commemoration on state property as of December 2011 or twenty-five years after her death.

In the committee's discussions, it was observed that both options, the United States Colored Troops memorial and the White-Baker memorial, would commemorate expressions of defiance.

### Next Steps

The committee does not discount the difficulties involved in making any or all of these recommendations reality. Development, contingent upon funding, should take place in stages. First priority should go toward placement of memorials inside the building. With respect to outdoor memorials, the North Carolina Arts Council is willing to advise the North Carolina Historical Commission and to engage in public competitions involving Requests for Qualifications and Requests for Proposals. In addition, the committee recommends that the Commission and the staff of the State Capitol rely upon counsel from John Coffey of the North Carolina Museum of Art on matters pertaining to aesthetics and selection of the artists.

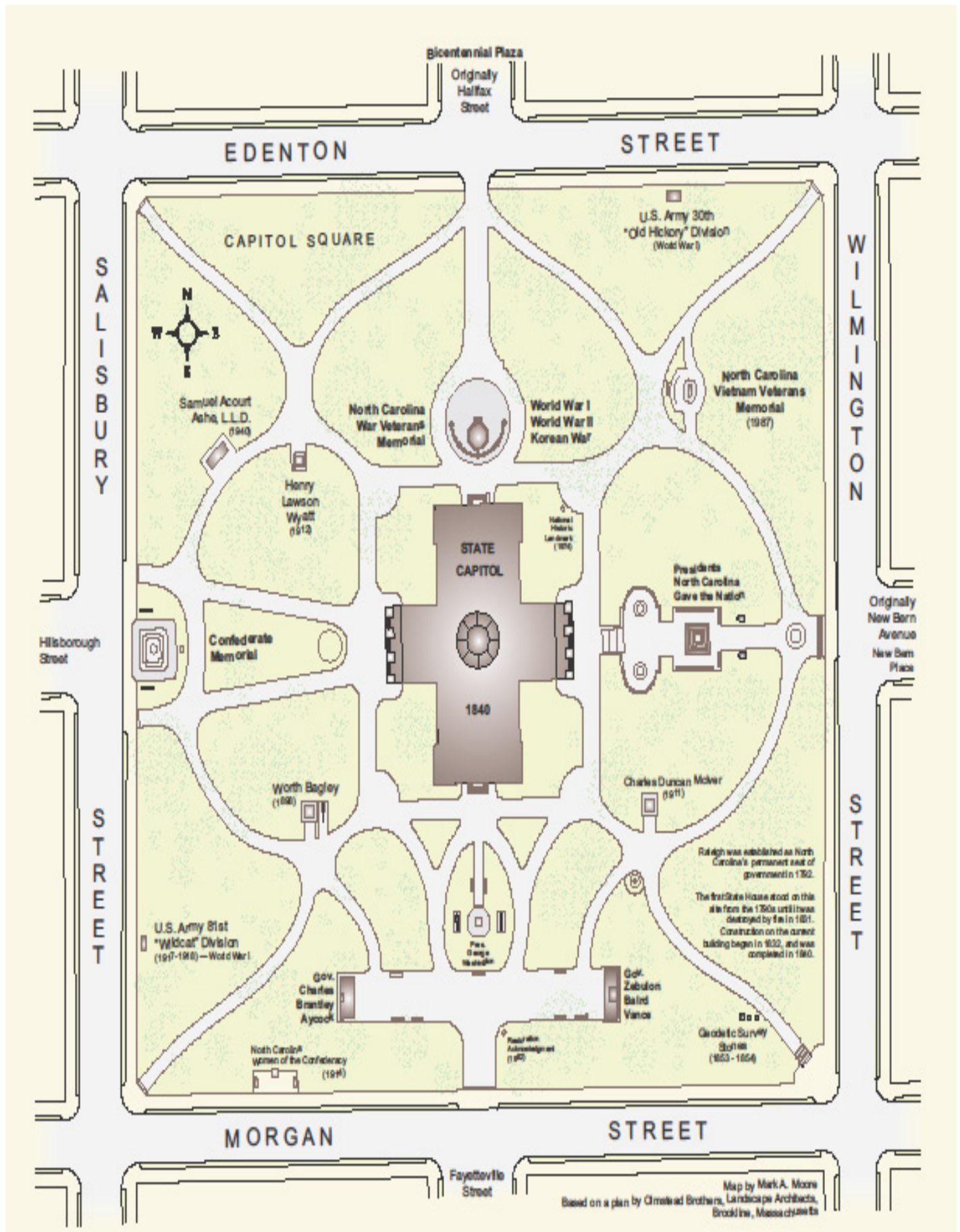
The committee recommends that public funds should be used to purchase the interior plaques. In the case of outdoor monuments, private funds must be sought but it is suggested that funds provided by the General Assembly be used in a matching fashion. It is conceivable that corporations or private foundations and other nonprofits will find the prospect of supporting this project attractive and will step forward and respond to the appropriate appeal.

As the work on this report proceeded, it became apparent that the interests of the Historical Commission and the interests of the Freedom Monument Project coincide. The officers of the NCFMP have followed closely the progress of this initiative. The co-chairs attended, and spoke at, the public hearing in Raleigh on February 18. It is imperative that, as fundraising efforts go forward and as approaches are made to the legislature and to other potential funding sources, the two groups cooperate and consult regularly.



# APPENDIX A

## UNION SQUARE



## APPENDIX B

### INTERIOR PLAQUES

Subject	Year Erected	Location	Sponsor/Architect	Note
George Washington portrait	ca. 1818	House Chamber	Thomas Sully	
George Washington Statue	Orig. 1820; copy 1970	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Antonio Canova	
Edenton Tea Party	1908	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	DAR	
William A. Graham bust	1909	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Frederick Ruckstuhl	
Matt Whitaker Ransom bust	1910	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Frederick Ruckstuhl	
Samuel Johnson bust	1911	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Frederick Ruckstuhl	
Declaration of Independence signers	1912	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	DAR	
Lower Cape Fear	1933	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	DAR	
Virginia Dare	1940	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Daughters of the American Colonies	
1963 Session Plaque	1963	House Chamber	General Assembly	
Revolutionary Governors	1976	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor		
Constitution Signers	1979	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Colonial Dames of XVII Century	
Continental Line	1983	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Society of Cincinnati	
Halifax Resolves	2000	Rotunda, 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	Historic Halifax Restoration Assoc.	

APPENDIX C  
MONUMENTS ON UNION SQUARE

Subject	Year Erected	Materials	Architect	Note
George Washington	1857	Bronze	Jean Antoine Houdon William J. Hubbard	Marble original at Richmond
Confederate Monument	1895	Bronze, Granite		75 Ft. tall obelisk
Zebulon Vance	1900	Bronze, Granite	Henry Jackson Elliott	Moved 1948 to present site
Worth Bagley	1907	Bronze	Francish Erman Packer	Spanish naval deck gun added 1908
Charles Duncan McIver	1912	Bronze	Frederick Wellington Ruckstahl	Educator Funded by teachers, students
Henry Lawson Wyatt	1912	Bronze, Granite	Gutzon Borglum	First NC Confederate Casualty
Women of the Confederacy	1914	Bronze	Henry Augustus Lukeman	Only depiction of woman; gift of Ashley Horne
Charles B. Aycock	1924	Bronze Granite	Gutzon Borglum	American Indian depicted in small relief
Old Hickory Highway Monument	1930	Granite		Name designated NC10; funded by American War Mothers
Samuel A'Court Ashe	1940	Bronze, Granite	Ben Johnson	Writer, Historian
Wildcat Division Memorial	1941	Granite		WWI
Presidents NC Gave the Nation	1948	Bronze, Granite	Charles Keck	Truman spoke at dedication
Vietnam Veterans Memorial	1987	Bronze	Abbe Godwin	African American, American Indian depicted
NC Veterans Memorial	1990	Bronze, Granite	Richard H. Amlung	WWI, WWII, Korea

## APPENDIX D



Bird's Eye View toward Lane Street and Bath Building

**North Carolina Freedom Monument**  
Raleigh, North Carolina  
June 2008

Design Team of  
Juan Logan, Artist  
Lynese Williams, Art Historian  
David Swanson, Landscape Architect



## APPENDIX E

### African American Memorial at South Carolina State Capitol



**Planning a Revolt**



**Reconstruction Era**



**Civil Rights Era**



**Achievements in law, music,  
athletics, space & science**

## Memorials at the Tennessee State Capitol





## Civil Rights Memorial at Virginia State Capitol



## APPENDIX F

December 11, 2009

### A RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT FOR PROPOSED ADDITION OF MEMORIALS IN STATE CAPITOL BUILDING AND ON UNION SQUARE

WHEREAS, the North Carolina Historical Commission has been asked to enlarge the scope of the monuments and memorials in the State Capitol and upon its grounds, otherwise known as Union Square; and

WHEREAS, members of the African American Heritage Commission at their meeting on October 19, 2009, heard a proposal to add new plaques, statues, and/or other representations to remedy the present lack of diversity; and

WHEREAS, the African American Heritage Commission wishes to bring to the attention of the North Carolina Historical Commission the vital and central role played by African Americans in North Carolina's long history, from the appearance of the first imported bondsmen in the seventeenth century to the Civil Rights Movement of the twentieth century and still ongoing struggle for equal rights; and

WHEREAS, the North Carolina General Assembly established the African American Heritage Commission in 2008, in part, to coordinate the promotion of the history of racial minorities in this state; and

WHEREAS, at the swearing-in of the African American Heritage Commission on February 27, 2009, state Supreme Court Justice Patricia Goodson-Timmons noted the lack of diversity among the Capitol memorials; and

WHEREAS, aside from the representation of facial features on one of the individuals depicted in the Vietnam War Memorial, no black face appears on Union Square; and

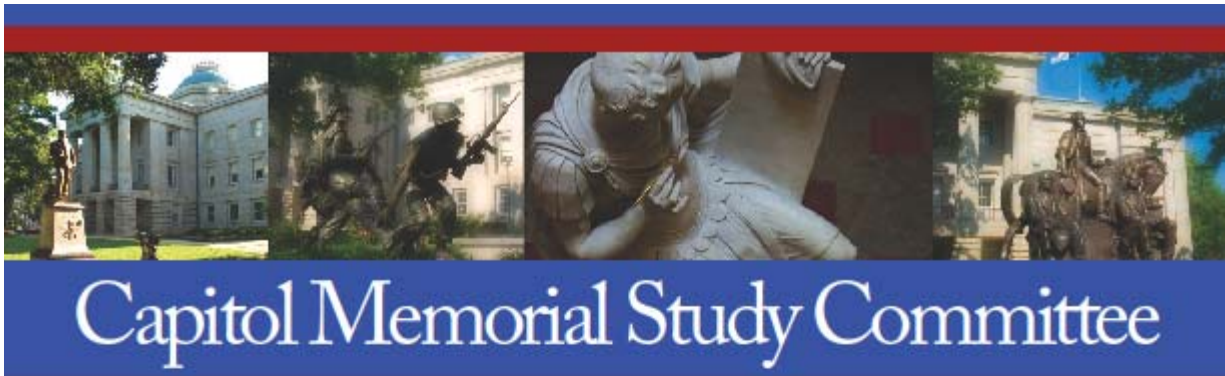
WHEREAS, the absence is tragically apparent and must be remedied;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the African American Heritage Commission urges the North Carolina Historical Commission to make every effort to bring racial balance to the history depicted within the State Capitol and on Union Square.

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Jean G. Spaulding, M.D.  
Chair  
African American Heritage Commission





**Public hearings scheduled for:**

YMI Cultural Center, 39 S. Market St., Asheville, February 15, 7:00 PM

State Capitol, 1 Edenton St., Raleigh, February 18, 7:00 PM

Carol G. Belk Building (Room 1503), St. Charles Blvd. at Greenville Blvd.

East Carolina University, Greenville, February 22, 7:00 PM

For more information see

<http://www.nchistoricsites.org/capitol> or call 919-807-7290.



A memorial can serve to recall the past, to commemorate people and events that brought us to the present moment, to create a cause for contemplation or a sense of awe.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has proposed to examine alternatives with respect to diversifying the memorials at the Capitol, to address the underrepresentation of minorities (including African Americans and American Indians) and of women.

The Department of Cultural Resources has endorsed a "culturally diverse presentation" at the Capitol. We seek your help in deciding how to proceed.



## APPENDIX H

### HEARINGS FEEDBACK

#### **State Capitol Memorial Committee Public Hearing, Asheville, Feb. 15, 2010 Summary**

Venue: Young Men's Institute Cultural Center  
Presiding: Michael Hill  
Attendees: 18 including five Asheville High School students

Kay Myers, Western Office, expressed concerns about aesthetics and space on Union Square.

Rep. Jane Whilden (D-Buncombe) regretted the absence of a map in the Powerpoint presentation and had difficulty imagining what is presently in place.

Deborah Miles, Center for Diversity Education, UNC-Asheville, noted the "painful" lack of diversity among the existing monuments. She compared the grounds to the courthouse squares across the South adorned with Confederate monuments. That said, she did not endorse the removal of the 1895 monument to the Confederate but rather preferred to see an interpretive plaque placed nearby. Describing herself as "all worked up," she extended her analysis to the use of street names in Asheville, where many routes bear the names of former slaveowners. She had praise for the "Unsung Founders" monument at UNC-Chapel Hill.

Brenda McCauley asked the committee to decide on its objectives before committing to particular depictions.

Marcus Gray asked whether local officials such as the Asheville mayor, Terry Bellamy (who is African American), had been invited.

Harry Harrison, director, YMI Cultural Center, pointed to the need to honor and commemorate artists from North Carolina such as Thelonious Monk, John Coltrane, and John Biggers.

Michael Hill posed to the group the question of whether late nineteenth political participation by African Americans or the modern civil rights movement should be the focus of memorials. The consensus was that both should be commemorated.

Deborah Miles called for an extensive series of monuments, plaques, and memorials in and around the Capitol, terming such additions a form of mitigation for past omissions. She noted the future need for inclusion of Latinos. She further drew the group's attention to the power of quotation saying that depictions were not required for appropriate memorials.

Brenda McCauley asked about the use of docents and educators at the Capitol.

Anthony Alexander, director of the Cultural Artistic Ensemble of Asheville, recommended black inventors as the subject of a memorial, stating that he wrote a play for young people on the topic.

#### **State Capitol Memorial Committee Public Hearing, Raleigh, Feb. 18, 2010 Summary**

Venue: House Chamber, State Capitol

Presiding: William S. Price Jr. with all members of the committee in attendance

Attendees: 42 including graduate history class of 10 from North Carolina Central University and Historical Commission member Valerie Johnson

Reginald Hildebrand, UNC-Chapel Hill history professor and James Clark, retired North Carolina State University English professor, represented the Freedom Monument Project. They made the case for inclusion, rather than exclusion and stated that the monuments on Capitol Square should look like the State of North Carolina. They emphasized the importance of education and said that the Freedom Monument Project will be complemented by curriculum materials.

Betsy Haywood Foard noted that she had a lifelong familiarity with Union Square, having grown up just one block away. She suggested the addition of a statue of Anna Julia Cooper, educator at St. Augustine's College.

Betsy Buford, former director of the North Carolina Museum of History and an advisory board member of the Freedom Monument Project, commended the effort to diversify memorials and voiced her view that it is "tragic" that many young people cannot connect with the Capitol. She cautioned against overcrowding Union Square, warning of an "Alice in Wonderland" effect. Her candidate for inclusion was Lillian Exum Clement, the first female member of the state legislature.

Eddie Davis, retired educator from Durham and proponent of the "Hall of Inclusion" plan presented to the Historical Commission, complimented the agency for the round of public hearings. He referred to the blog entries, which were predominated by voices opposed to additional monuments and said that "politically correct" is okay with him. He referenced acts passed in the House Chamber resulting to the exclusion of citizens from the political process.

Eric Richardson, North Carolina Central University graduate student, issued a call to "interrupt the narrative" represented by the Confederate monument and endorsed the addition of new memorials. He noted the central role American Indians have played in the history of the state and said that even Cherokees in Oklahoma consider North Carolina home. He suggested additional hearings in Swain, Robeson, and other counties with sizable Indian population.

David Kalback of the North Carolina Board of Nursing noted that the Tar Heel State was the first in the nation to have such a board and suggested its chief organizer, Mary Wyche, as the subject of a memorial. He said that the monument implicitly would endorse caring and giving. He took note of a "great opportunity" to raise awareness as well as funds from nursing schools and hospitals.

An unidentified woman from Raleigh said that her daughter is in active service in the U.S. Army and noted that both of them admire the state's medical facilities, its respect for the environment, and its arts programs.

Marsha Warren, affiliated with the Freedom Monument Project, inquired about the status of the moratorium regarding placement of additional memorials on Union Square. Committee member Harry Watson replied that the committee likely will endorse lifting it for this sole purpose. Chairman Price noted the support for the study by Secretary of Cultural Resources Linda A. Carlisle.

A discussion ensued about the new civil rights memorial on the Capitol grounds in Richmond, Virginia.

An audience member completed a comment form endorsing a depiction of Anna Julia Cooper.

Marcus Nevius, student at North Carolina Central University, completed a comment form and therein made three points. Eastern North Carolina, he wrote, was a “melting pot of marginal peoples,” a place where runaway slave, poor whites, and Native Americans were harbored. He recommended memorials to David Walker, author of *An Appeal to the Colored People*, and to Harriet Jacobs, author of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Finally, he commended the story of North Carolina’s maroons as the story of their encampments in the state’s coastal regions would highlight its multicultural history.

**State Capitol Memorial Committee**  
**Public Hearing, Greenville, Feb. 22, 2010**  
**Summary**

Venue: Carol G. Belk Building, East Carolina University

Presiding: William S. Price Jr. assisted by Michael Hill

Attendees: 36 including four ECU professors, among them Historical Commission member David Dennard, and public history class of ten

Mildred Council, former member of the Greenville City Council now affiliated with the Greenville African American Heritage Museum, noted the presence in the audience of other Shaw University graduates and described her alma mater as the mother school for the other historically black colleges and universities in North Carolina. She named all eleven and noted that two are in Raleigh, calling attention as an aside to the Delany sisters at St. Augustine’s and to the establishment of Leonard Medical School and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at Shaw. She called for all to “work together and have a more productive future.”

Malcolm Beech, director of the Cultural Heritage Museum of Kinston, called for a memorial dedicated to the U.S. Colored Troops assembled in North Carolina. He counted their total numbers as roughly 9,000, organized into five regiments. He recalled that they took part in battles at Plymouth, Forks Road, and Fort Fisher, and were present in Raleigh at the close of the Civil War.

Dream Weaver, a member of the Haliwa Saponi tribal group, acknowledged the difficulties in determining which person from the Native community would be the best representative. As an alternative, he proposed that an artwork with cultural significance (“something universal”) be erected on the grounds (he mentioned an eternal flame and a medicine wheel as possibilities) and that copper, owing to its association with American Indians, be among the principal materials used.

Susan Pierce, professor of sociology at East Carolina University, noted that North Carolina has some proud chapters in its history and others in which many take less pride, counting the Equal Rights Amendment debate of the 1970s in the latter category. She suggested Gertrude Weil of Goldsboro, advocate from women’s suffrage, as the subject of a memorial.

Gerald Procopowicz, chairman of the History Department at East Carolina University, took issue with the stated objective in the Powerpoint display that additional memorials could “represent all North Carolinians.” He contended that the committee’s task, rather, should be to identify which values it wishes to capture. He questioned whether all memorials should be dedicated to military and political topics, suggesting education as an alternative and the use of inscriptions instead of statuary.

Mildred Council spoke again, mentioning the training of black Marines at Montford Point, the establishment of a black town at Princeville, and the Pea Island Lifesavers as potential topics.

LeRae Umfleet nominated George White, last African American member of Congress before the wide adoption of Jim Crow legislation, as the subject of a memorial.

Derek Alderman, professor of geography at East Carolina University with a professional interest in public commemoration, encouraged the committee to widen its hearings and extend its call to all sections of the state. Memorials, he contended, promote a sense of belonging. Further, he noted, their presence can have positive economic benefits as tourists will schedule visits around cultural landmarks. He noted the good job Alabama has done in instituting a civil rights trail.

Michael Hill described in some detail the objectives of the Freedom Monument Project and directed attendees to the website [www.ncfmp.org](http://www.ncfmp.org).

David Dennard, professor of history at East Carolina University and member of the North Carolina Historical Commission, said that if a visitor dropped down from outer space onto Union Square would have a strange conception of what is important to North Carolinians. He asked about the source of funding for the existing monuments and the moderator described the mix of public and private monies.

Robert James of the East Carolina University Library asked about next steps.

An unidentified party stated that he was an American by adoption but could appreciate the “psychic benefit” of monuments. He commended the U.S. Colored Troops idea.

Malcolm Beech also inquired about the process and the moderator outlined the delivery of the committee report in the spring, its review by the Historical Commission in May, recommendations sent to the Secretary of Cultural Resources, and the same forward on to the Governor and then to the legislature. Ultimately, private or corporate entities likely would be approached about funding.

## APPENDIX I

### BLOG FEEDBACK

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Posted by nccapitolblog

**Categories:** [Uncategorized](#)

The North Carolina Capitol Memorial Study Committee has been charged by the North Carolina Historical Commission with assessing the collection of current plaques and monuments at the State Capitol and grounds.

Without disturbing the existing memorials at the Capitol, the North Carolina Historical Commission would like to diversify them to address the underrepresentation of American Indians, African Americans, and women.



We seek your input on how to proceed. In addition to this blog, we have planned a series of public hearings in Asheville, Raleigh, and Greenville, on February 15, 18, and 22, all at 7 PM. More details can be found in this press release:

<http://news.ncdcr.gov/2010/02/01/cultural-resources-holds-hearings-in-raleigh-asheville-and-greenville/>

Anyone wishing to speak at one of the hearings can register by clicking on the “About” page and responding by blog, indicating which hearing they plan to attend. Time permitting, anyone who registers that evening will be heard but priority will go toward those who have preregistered.

This task is important and we welcome you to attend and to share your ideas. If you cannot attend any of the three meetings, you may elect to share your thoughts by posting to this blog by clicking on the “About” section and entering your comments.

Thank you for your contributions to this process.

**Comments:** [15 Comments](#)

I would like to make a nomination of an African American North Carolinian whom I believe is the perfect person to be immortalized with a statue on the State Capitol grounds. That person is Hiram Rhodes Revels, the nation's first African American Senator. He was born in Fayetteville and lived in North Carolina through his teenage years. The first African American statue belongs to the first African American U.S. Senator. [Leisa Greathouse]

The entire idea of this commission is faulty. The state should not seek "diversity" of its monuments simply for diversity's sake. Monuments are to mean something. Monuments should be placed to promote the remembrance of important historical events or very important people, not to promote an agenda, fad or political concept such as "diversity". The premise that this commission is working from can be seen to be flawed in that it views any ethnic minority as being underrepresented. All ethnic groups in North Carolina are at least represented by one monument at the capital, the Confederate monument. All ethnic groups sent members to support the Confederacy therefore that monument represents ALL ethnic groups of the state. If other events or people warrant a monument fine, but do not place monuments for the misguided political concept of "diversity". [Greg Pearson]

Our Old Capitol grounds are sacred and any additional memorials should be very carefully selected. Only those North Carolinians who have honorably served, defended, and led the Old North State and its republican form of government should be eligible for such a great honor.

As it stands, there is no underrepresentation of any group as those now honored could have come from any racial, gender or ethnic identity. There was no ideology of diversity or race guiding our legislators in the past, only merit and honorable service.

To merely "diversify" the grounds with the suggested groups is baldly racist, sexist, and classically Marxist, the last being in conflict with the republican virtues of our Constitution. Outstanding merit and honorable service to this State, regardless of color, race or sex, will tell North Carolinians who to so honor.

To simply scatter plaques and statues only on the basis of modern identity groups will make a mockery of our historic values and the leaders already honored. To do this would bring true meaning to the saying that "when everybody is somebody, nobody is anybody." [Bernhard Thuersam, Director, Cape Fear Historical Institute]

Adding diversity for the sake of diversity is misguided. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. addressed this issue in his book, *The Disuniting of America*:

No one in the nineteenth century thought more carefully about representative government than John Stuart Mill. The two elements that defined a nation, as Mill saw it, were the desire on the part of the inhabitants to be governed together and the "common sympathy" instilled by shared history, values, and language. "Free institutions," he wrote, "are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. Among a people without fellow feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist. . . . It is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of government should coincide in the main with those of nationalities."

Later Schlesinger adds:

The militants of ethnicity contend that a main objective of public education should be the protection, strengthening, celebration, and perpetuation of ethnic origins and identities. Separatism, however, nourishes

prejudices, magnifies differences, and stirs antagonisms. The consequent increase in ethnic and racial conflict lies behind the hullabaloo over “multiculturalism” and “political correctness,” over the iniquities of the “Eurocentric” curriculum, and over the notion that history and literature should be taught not as intellectual disciplines but as therapies whose function is to raise minority self-esteem.

Watching ethnic conflict tear one nation after another apart, one cannot look with complacency at proposals to divide the United States into distinct and immutable ethnic and racial communities, each taught to cherish its own apartness from the rest. One wonders: Will the center hold? or will the melting pot give way to the Tower of Babel? [poleemicscat]

Please do not move or remove any existing plaques or monuments. I am Scot and Cherokee and honour my Confederate ancestors and do not honour the momentary American views of socialism with its French view of Marxist equality. Do not disturb things Confederate in any manor. Please oppose all things communist in the Democrat Party. [Timothy D. Manning]

It's fine the way it is, so please leave it alone. [Brock Townsend]

The monuments on the State House grounds already represent significant events in North Carolina's history and need neither additional monuments nor any change or removal of current ones. [Gene Brooks]

I find myself confused. There appear to be two conflicting ideas at work. Perhaps this is what Orwell meant by doublethink? On the one hand women and minorities were brutally shut out of leadership in the State of North Carolina. But now hand we need to commemorate those women and minorities who have shown themselves leaders for the State. [Harold Crews]

The memorials at the capitol are good, they represent history that has been and is still significant. Please do not remove these, nor add to them, if updates need to be done, please do them elsewhere— in Raleigh. [Cynthia M. Smith]

Doing a whole package of changes at once is what looks suspiciously like a move to placate minority discontent rather than to recognize genuine achievement. The monuments now on the grounds were placed there after being considered on the basis of individual merit. I am opposed to adding monuments wholesale for the purpose of enhancing the self esteem of ethnic or other groups. [poleemicscat]

The memorial monuments that are in place at this time all represent North Carolina history. I in no way see what the addition of more monuments will add to our state history. And I also am in favor of leaving up all the monuments that are now in place. To take any one monument down would be sacrilege to the men and women of all races which fought for this state in all wars. Especially monuments for the the Confederate States of America all our history and heritage need preserving. [Ken Meeks]

As a native Tarheel, I would like to say first and foremost, I would prefer the Commission not to alter, move or change any existing monument on the State Capitol grounds. The existing monuments have stood the test of time.

Secondly, I would suggest the Commission would not “try to diversify” the monuments on the Capitol grounds for the sake of being “politically correct.” If someone, whether they be white, black, native American, male or female, is worthy of this honor, then solicit private funds only to erect a monument in his/her memory. If they are deemed worthy of a monument on the State Capitol grounds, then the public, corporations excluded, should be able to donate to such and finance the monument completely. No tax payer monies should be used for such. [Dr. Arnold M. Huskins]



One of the purposes for consideration of new monuments is to show the diversity of our state which, at present, is not evident on the capitol grounds. At this stage it is, for the most part, a celebration of the Confederacy, or of white males. The suggestion is that women, Blacks, and first Americans be represented in some way. I support this endeavor because of the children that visit the old capitol. Children should be able to see persons like themselves as a part of the affirmation of their own self-worth. I would like to suggest that the members of the Commission consult with someone knowledgeable in regard to the history of Hispanics in North Carolina and consider memorializing this important segment of our population as part of the project. [Robert L. Yoder]

I would like to see a monument that reflects all the things that North Carolina has excelled in and would represent what makes a North Carolina proud to call their home state. It should reflect what created our many citizens of North Carolina and is still important to them in such things as Education, Cultural activities and a vast history of many “peoples”. I would like to see a mirage and meshing of all races that represents these accomplishments in one very good piece of work with representation of all of these many “persons” equally represented. I have not listed all the areas of exception by our dear North Carolina and others definitely should be added since we have excelled in many. [Arlene Sanders]

The University of North Carolina at Pembroke (UNC Pembroke) is pleased that the North Carolina Historical Commission is considering the addition of new memorials on the State Capitol grounds to honor the contributions of ethnic minorities. UNC Pembroke is proud of its history and its 2005 recognition by then-N.C. Gov. Mike Easley as North Carolina’s Historic American Indian Serving Institution. Per this communication, we respectfully request that a plaque or an appropriate historical marker representing UNC Pembroke be placed on the State Capitol grounds as part of the N.C. Historical Commission’s worthy initiative.

We recommend that the plaque read as follows:

The University of North Carolina at Pembroke was founded as the Croatan Normal School in 1887 for the education of American Indians. The General Assembly changed the institution’s name to the Indian Normal School of Robeson County in 1911, and again in 1913 to the Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County. After college classes were offered by the institution, the General Assembly changed the school’s name in 1941 to Pembroke State College for Indians. Until 1953 it was the only state-supported four-year college for Indians in the nation. In 1949, the General Assembly shortened the institution’s name to Pembroke State College, and again in 1969 to Pembroke State University. In 1972, the institution became a constituent of the University of North Carolina system, and its name was changed once more to The University of North Carolina at Pembroke in 1996. Sincerely, Charles R. Jenkins, Chancellor

I think that it is very appropriate for North Carolina to implement new historic markers that reflect the diversity of the populations that have been integral parts of North Carolina. Dating as far back as ten years ago, or more, there has been an outcry for diversification of the markers to appropriately reflect the invaluable contributions of people of color including African Americans, Native Americans and those of mixed ancestry including the vast population of tri-racial (European, African-American, Native American and or African mixtures) who have monumentally impacted North Carolina history. I look forward to being a part of this exciting development as it unfolds! I would like to respectfully ask that in the future, hearings and/or meetings be publicized over thirty days in advance, and hopefully to the masses at large via established community organizations, community service radio and television announcements, etc. Thanks for your efforts to balance the representation of individuals who have been a part of North Carolina history! Keep up the good work Michelle! [Carolyn Green Boone, J.D.]

## APPENDIX J

### CRITIQUE OF MONUMENTS ON UNION SQUARE BY JOHN COFFEY, NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

[The opinions below are solely those of the writer.]

February 15, 2010

Dr. Jerry C. Cashion  
Chair, North Carolina Historical Commission  
c/o North Carolina Office of Archives and History  
4610 Mail Service Center  
Raleigh, NC 27699-4610

Dear Dr. Cashion,

For a number of years I have taken long, looping walks around downtown Raleigh. I usually stroll through the grounds of the State Capitol and have come to know all of the statues and other monuments.

As an art historian and Curator of American and Modern Art at the North Carolina Museum of Art, I am always questioning how well these sculptural representations function as works of art. Do they engage the eye? Do they stimulate the imagination? Do they do anything? Or do they stand (or sit) like addled aunts and uncles we'd rather not talk to?

As one who is a native of Raleigh and reasonably well-versed in the history of this state, I am also fascinated by these sculptures as expressions of ideas and sentiments now sometimes hard to appreciate or even comprehend. With the exception of the two recent war monuments, the statuary on Union Square seems frozen in amber. The monuments commemorate events and people long gone, some worthy of remembrance, others less so.

If one believes that the commemorative monuments on Union Square should honor the most important events and the most praiseworthy men and women of North Carolina, then the present disparate group of monuments fails in many respects. Collectively, they convey to the visitor an abiding reverence for the Confederacy, for war and warriors, and for politicians and civic leaders of decidedly mixed legacies. The monuments present a patrician white man's version of North Carolina history, circa 1925. The prevailing attitude towards the State's history—and history in general—is outmoded and romantic. Unless that attitude itself is deemed worthy of preservation, serious consideration should be given to a wholesale reimagining of the way the State commemorates its past.

What follows is my own personal meditation upon the sculptural program of Union Square as it was, is and what it can be. You can receive it as the opinions of an art curator or as the ruminations of a local crank. Both are probably true. In any case, the time I put into this has been an enjoyable exercise and I hope at a later date to resume my research into the civic art on Union Square.

Sincerely,

John W. Coffey  
Deputy Director for Art  
Curator of American and Modern Art

cc: Dr. William S. Price, Michael R. Hill

## Commemorative Program of Union Square

When the City of Raleigh was laid out, there was no provision made for public statuary. However, the strict geometry of the city plan offered at least the potential for civic ceremonial and commemoration. The building of the present Capitol, a hybrid not only of Greek and Roman architectural tropes but also of Greek democracy and Roman republicanism, can be considered the first public monument on Union Square. (I am for the necessity of this argument ignoring Antonio Canova's marble statue of "Giorgio Washington" which was commissioned for the rotunda of the previous Capitol and was destroyed when that building burned in 1831.) The imposing grandeur of the Capitol, set at the center of Union Square, itself at the center of the city's grid, argued for a formal civic space, one that would be animated, even sanctified, by monumental sculpture.

The earliest permanent monument erected on the Capitol grounds was, appropriately enough, the bronze replica of Houdon's famous marble statue of Washington. This was dedicated in 1857, at the height of the antebellum mania for Washington, the "Pater Patriae." (Mount Vernon was acquired as a national shrine a year later.) However, almost half a century passed before another monument was added to Union Square.

The decades between the end of the Civil War and the nation's entry into World War I were the halcyon days of American civic sculpture. The searing experience of the Civil War cried out for commemoration. Seemingly every statesman or military commander, whether deserving or not, was immortalized in bronze or marble. The prestige and volume of these public commissions, not to say the financial reward, attracted the country's top sculptors—men like Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Daniel Chester French—and encouraged a burgeoning younger generation of sculptors. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century virtually every courthouse square had a bronze soldier standing sentinel, and the public spaces of major cities were organized around grand, if not grandiose monuments honoring important events or personages of "the War."

North Carolina's Civil War monument was dedicated in 1897. Positioned at the head of Hillsborough Street, the monument dedicated "to our Confederate Dead" marks the beginning of the commemorative sculpture program for Union Square. Apart from the Houdon bronze and the two recent war memorials, all of the statuary surrounding the Capitol dates from 1897-1948. More than half of the sculptural monuments—7 out of 12—were erected in the first quarter of the last century. It was during this period that a concerted effort was made to honor the great names and events in North Carolina history with sculpture on the Capitol grounds, as well as portrait busts and plaques in the Capitol Rotunda, and portrait paintings in government buildings.

In 1911, at the unveiling of the marble bust of Matt Ransom in the Rotunda, J. Bryan Grimes, Chair of the Historical Commission admitted that "it has long been a reproach to North Carolinians that we have been careless of the memories of our great men. As a State, we have always been poor, but we have been rich in men—high-minded men, who knew how to do and die if necessary, in the crises that confronted them." [*Addresses at the Unveiling of the Bust of Matt W. Ransom*, Raleigh, 1911.]

By the time of Grimes' speech, Union Square was already beginning to be populated with statues commemorating notable politicians (Zebulon Vance, 1900) and the glorious dead (Worth Bagley, 1907). More soon followed. The final monument in this campaign was the tribute to the three "Presidents North Carolina Gave the Nation," dedicated in 1948. Almost forty years elapsed before another monument was added, the *Vietnam Veterans' Memorial*, dedicated in 1987. This apparently provoked the awkward realization that there was no equivalent commemoration of either the First or Second World War or the Korean Conflict. In a clear case of overcompensation, the grotesquely Soviet-style *North Carolina Veterans' Memorial* was commissioned and dedicated in 1990. Since then, no monument has been added to the twelve now sited on the Square.

## General observations

Leaving aside the two recent war monuments, the sculptural program of Union Square is largely the creation of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In its choices of subject the program reflects the historical perspective of the State's political and cultural elite during the height of the Jim Crow era. The vision of North Carolina's history as expressed in the program is not only outmoded, it is also unbalanced, occasionally erroneous, and staggeringly incomplete. Aside from the wars of the Twentieth Century, the last one hundred years of North Carolina history are without commemoration. It is as if our history was fixed in amber circa 1930.

As has been pointed out repeatedly, there are only two women in this company and neither represents a real woman. One exemplifies the stoic "Mothers of the Confederacy" who raised their sons on the Bible only to send them off with swords. The other personifies "Triumphant Victory," perched atop the monument to the World Wars and the Korean conflict. In Grecian gown, she raises a palm of victory—just like her sister on the Red Army monument in Budapest.

An African-American and Native American appear only in the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial.<sup>1</sup> Is it pertinent to note that the black soldier is the wounded one? I'm not sure.

The only two governors commemorated are Zebulon Vance, the "Civil War Governor" and Charles B. Aycock, the "Education Governor." They face each other, assuming the self-important pose of statesmen in mid-oration. Admittedly, these two men stand out in a field of otherwise lackluster chief executives. However, from perspective of more than a century neither is wholly deserving of praise, especially Aycock whose admirable achievements in public education are substantially undercut by his complicity in a virulently white supremacist regime. The question must be asked whether Aycock merits a singular monument when more recent and enlightened governors are nowhere commemorated. On Union Square, the political history of the State, as commemorated by monuments, ends in 1905 with Aycock's term in office.

Is the Civil War the *only* memorable event in North Carolina history? It would certainly appear so to anyone wandering among the statues of Union Square. The war receives more bronzed commemoration than any other event: five of twelve monuments. In addition to the *Confederate Memorial*, there are separate monuments to the Women of the Confederacy and to Henry Wyatt Lawson, whose claim to immortality derives not from conspicuous valor but from being a conspicuous target—he was the first to take a bullet at the Battle of Bethel. Also, Zebulon Vance would not have been honored with a statue had he not been the State's "Civil War Governor." And the Samuel Ashe was not only a war veteran but an inveterate apologist for the war (see his *A Southern View of the Invasion of the Southern States and War of 1861-65*, published in 1935.) The predominance of Civil War monuments is explicable if not justifiable by early 20<sup>th</sup>-century nostalgia for the "Lost Cause" and by the overtly racist political culture of the time. However, such a singular emphasis upon the Civil War, expressing a one-sided (pro-Confederate) interpretation of that war, is ludicrously unbalanced.

Returning to the statue of Henry Lawson, is it not curious to accord special honor to a soldier for being the first killed? Similarly, Worth Bagley was set on a pedestal because he was in the wrong place at the wrong time.

### **As works of art...**

Judged solely as sculpture, as works of the plastic arts, the statuary on Union Square is largely an undistinguished lot. Leaving aside the two most recent and still living artists, the sculptors commissioned to execute the statues and reliefs—Gutzon Borglum, Henry Jackson Ellicott, William J. Hubbard, Charles Keck, Henry Augustus Lukeman, Francis Herman Packer, and Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl—were all solid if uninspired professionals. They delivered no more than they were asked.

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<sup>1</sup> This is not quite true. A feathered Indian makes a walk-on appearance in one of the reliefs on the Aycock Memorial, representing the "primitive" population of the Carolinas before the European ascendancy.

Their names and reputations have suffered near total eclipse. The one exception is Borglum who is now remembered only as the megalomaniacal creator of the Mount Rushmore monument.

Arguably the finest sculpture on Union Square is Borglum's figure of the unfortunate Henry Lawson Wyatt (1911). Though obviously indebted to Daniel Chester French's *Minute Man* (1875), Borglum's young soldier conveys both a wariness and resolve that is neither mawkish nor mock-heroic.

Though most of the monuments are artistically bland, a few deserve harsher judgment, if only because of their outsized ambition. Charles Keck's monument to the three *Presidents North Carolina* (supposedly) *Gave the Nation* is an absurd contrivance (see my comments below). In mitigation, Keck was handed an impossible task: the creation of a unified composition featuring an incongruous trio of chief executives.

The two recent war monuments exemplify the dilemma of artists working within the centuries-old tradition of civic art for a contemporary culture no longer accepting of that tradition. The ancient language of heroic art—larger-than-life figures, sometimes draped in togas and wreathed in laurel, or astride a horse or standing forthright and supremely confident—that lionizing of the great man no longer rings true. Abbé Godwin understood that when she conceived of her memorial as a testament to the anguished bravery of the common soldier, not the commanding general. She does not justify the war, but instead honors the self-sacrifice and humanity of the men forced to fight it. It is worth noting that she does not elevate her figures on a pedestal but sets them on the ground—on our level. What a contrast to Richard Amlung's bizarre retro-monument with its mélange of clichés: the goddess-like figure atop the pillar, the bronze eternal flame, the pseudo-Classical arcade, etc., etc. In a country given to tasteless and overwrought war monuments, this is a topper.

### **Possible remedies...**

Union Square is presently well-populated with monuments. While there would seem to be several sites still available for future use, the addition of more than one or two sculptural projects would risk the appearance of overcrowding. Merely adding monuments would not address the larger conceptual problem with the monument program, namely the selective and unbalanced commemoration of the State's history. Correction of this problem can only be accomplished by editing the existing twelve individual monuments and thoughtfully adding sculptural projects designed to fill the gaps of the existing program.

Disregarding the obvious political difficulties in tampering with the present program and ignoring the financial costs involved, I will offer a few options for consideration.

- 1.) Develop a conceptual plan for the commemorative sculpture outside—and inside—the Capitol. The plan would define objectives and establish aesthetic criteria.
- 2.) Evaluate the existing monuments according to that plan. Identify deficiencies and develop a remedial strategy.
- 3.) Extend the area for sculpture by annexing and redesigning Centennial Plaza. This plaza connecting the Capitol to the Legislative Building and flanked by the museums of history and natural science is now little more than a pedestrian alley—an impersonal tract of concrete—that diminishes the surrounding architecture. It could be transformed into a handsome civic space with sites for commemorative sculpture.
- 4.) Relocate the lesser monuments: the Ashe Memorial to a site proximate to the Department of Cultural Resources, the McIver Memorial to a site adjacent to the Department of Public Instruction.
- 5.) Reduce by half the number of the Civil War-related monuments on Union Square.

6.) Correct the most grievous mistake on Union Square by rethinking the *North Carolina Veterans Memorial*, devising a suitably imposing, and far more aesthetically compelling alternative, preferably on another part of the square.

And finally...

7.) Instead of a static "graveyard of history," re-imagine Union Square (and Centennial Plaza) as a slowly changing canvas of people and events, the whole subject to periodic revision. Our perspectives of history change, why not our commemorations? Under this scheme, None of the sculpture would be permanently fixed (except for a few set pieces like the *Confederate Monument* and the "*Three Presidents*"), but would be subject to rotation, as new sculptures are added or the historical and/or artistic value of individual works is reevaluated. A statue that stood on the Square for ten years might move to Centennial Plaza for another ten. In this way, the Capitol and its grounds would convey a living sense of history.

[Note: The following are my *somewhat* organized notes on each of the twelve sculptural monuments on Union Square. They were assembled with the benefit of only minimal archival research and should only be treated as a polished rough draft.]

## 1. **GEORGE WASHINGTON (1722-1798)**

US President

Sculptor: William J. Hubbard (1807-1862), AFTER Jean-Antoine Houdon (French, 1741-1828)

Date: Original marble 1788; cast in bronze from mold ca. 1856

Dedicated: 1857

Bronze on granite pedestal

About the artist...Houdon was the most celebrated sculptor in 18<sup>th</sup>-century France. His statue of Washington, based on studies from life, is generally regarded as one of his masterpieces. It still stands in the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond. William J. Hubbard was a Richmond sculptor, now known only for producing the six bronze replicas of Houdon's famous marble.

Houdon depicts Washington as a modern-day Cincinnatus, the Roman general who defeated the Carthaginians, and then voluntarily surrendered power and returned to his farm. Washington rests his hand on a fasces of thirteen reeds, emblematic of the new union.

As a work of art...even as a replica of the original, this sculpture sets a standard of excellence that was never matched by the later monuments on the Capitol grounds. The effortless gentility of pose, restrained modeling, literate iconography, and overall sophistication of design is unequalled.

## 2. **CONFEDERATE MONUMENT**

Designer:

Dedicated: 1897

Granite obelisk on stepped base, surmounted and flanked by three bronze figures

The large monument "To Our Confederate Dead" at the foot of Hillsborough Street resembles countless other similar ensembles of classical architecture and statuary erected as the memory of the Civil War was beginning to fade. The highest position goes to the infantry soldier perched atop the pillar like a stylite. He is flanked by an artilleryman and a sailor. Cannons and cannon balls complete the ensemble.

As a work of art...this monument is impressive only in its height. Its concept is unimaginative: variants of the war column or obelisk with its echo of both mortuary art and Roman triumphalism are found throughout the US. The three figures are equally generic, off-the-shelf, frozen in descriptive poses.

### 3. **ZEBULON VANCE (1830-1894)**

Civil War Governor and US Senator

Sculptor: Henry Jackson Ellicott (American, 1848-1901)

Date: 1900

Dedicated: 1900

Bronze set within granite architectural setting with two bronze bas-reliefs

Sponsored by the Vance Memorial Association.

About the artist...Ellicott was a major producer of heroic Civil War commemorative sculpture though his reputation is now eclipsed by greater talents—Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French. Among his best known works are equestrian statues of Union Generals George C. McClellan (1894, Philadelphia) and Winfield Scott (1896, Washington, DC).

The figure of Vance assumes a standard orator pose that in many variants can be traced back to Greco-Roman models. The great man (literally since the sculptor does not disguise Vance's girth) is seen holding forth, his left hand resting on an open book—very likely the Bible given how often Vance appealed to religion in his speeches.

As a work of art...this sculpture is barely serviceable as a portrait. It adopts the heroic realism expected of public memorial sculptures of the post Civil War period. The two unsigned bas-reliefs narrating scenes of Vance's life are clumsily modeled.

### 4. **WORTH BAGLEY (d. 1898)**

Ensign, U.S. Navy

Sculptor: Francis Herman Packer (American, born Germany 1873-1957)

Date: 1907

Dedicated: 1907

Bronze on granite pedestal

About the artist...German-born, F.H. Packer served an apprenticeship under Daniel Chester French before embarking on a career as a sculptor of public statuary. After the Bagley monument, he executed a number of significant commissions elsewhere in North Carolina, notably the equestrian monument to Revolutionary War General Nathanael Green (1915) in Greensboro and *Gabriel James Boney Confederate Monument* (1924) in Wilmington. However, he never attained eminence among the sculptors of his generation.

The figure of Bagley...is shown in naval dress uniform. The resolute young man, who was reportedly the first American naval officer killed in the Spanish-American War, is portrayed with an abundance of detail, both military (the naval paraphernalia) and personal (the ring on the left hand)

As a work of art...the quantity of finicky detail, like an over-dressed theater stage, proves a distraction, diminishing the overall presence of the figure. The statue is memorable only by its association with a captured Spanish naval gun.



5. **CHARLES DUNCAN McIVER (1860-1906)**

Educator

Sculptor: Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl (American, b. Alsace 1853-1942)

Date: 1911

Dedicated: 1911

Bronze on granite pedestal

"ERECTED BY / THE SCHOOL CHILDREN, / THE TEACHERS / AND HIS OTHER FRIENDS / AND ADMIRERS / A.D. 1911"

Plaque: "FOUNDER AND / FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE / STATE NORMAL / AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE / FOR WOMEN"

About the artist...F.W. Ruckstuhl (or Ruckstull) of New York was Paris-trained and a lifelong proponent of the academic tradition in sculpture. He executed major commissions for sculpture commemorating both the Union and the Confederacy. Among his best-known works is the *Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Memorial* (1903, Baltimore). Ruckstuhl held to no fixed style. Depending upon the commission, he could produce an idealized marble bust (such as the four busts in the Capitol Rotunda) or a bronze figure exhibiting a straightforward realism.

McIver stands forthright, one hand on hip, the other holding a book—a stock attribute of a man of learning.

As a work of art...this sculpture rises only to the level of bland portraiture. (Ruckstuhl once insisted that he "stroved to produce works, which should be impersonal.") The figure's stiffness and inexpressive demeanor might convey the McIver's forthright character, but it just as likely signals Ruckstuhl's limitations as a plastic artist. McIver's street attire is required by the dictates of realism. A nice touch is McIver's finger in the book.

6. **HENRY LAWSON WYATT (d. 1861)**

Confederate soldier

Sculptor: John Gutzon Borglum (American, 1867-1941)

Date: 1911

Dedicated: 1912

Bronze on granite pedestal

About the artist...see under Aycock Memorial

The figure of the young Confederate soldier grasps his rifle and steps forward warily.

As a work of art...this sculpture is arguably the most successful of all the statuary on Union Square. In spirit it is a more animated variant of the citizen-soldier in Daniel Chester French's *Minute Man* (1875) (right). The action is direct and purposeful. There is an authenticity to the moment depicted. In contrast to the stiff figures on the Confederate Monument, Borglum endows his figure with a sense of individual life, yet we understand that this is less a portrait of a single soldier—the first casualty in the Civil War—than a stand-in for a generation of southern warriors.



7. **NORTH CAROLINA WOMEN OF THE CONFEDERACY**

Sculptor: Henry Augustus Lukeman (American, 1871-1935)  
Date: 1913  
Dedicated: 1914  
Bronze on granite pedestal with two bronze bas-reliefs

Presented to the State of North Carolina by Col. Ashley Horne

About the artist...Augustus Lukeman was a student and studio assistant of Daniel Chester French, the sculptor of the colossal seated Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC). He also received academic training in Paris. Like French, Lukeman specialized in public sculpture. Among his finest projects is the Prospect Park War Memorial, Brooklyn, NY (1924). He is also credited with the design and initial carving of the Confederate Memorial on Stone Mountain, GA.

A seated middle-aged woman with careworn face cradles in her lap a large open book, obviously the Bible. At her side kneels a young man, presumably her son. He draws a cavalry saber from its sheath. The face and eyes of the dutiful young man are fixed and determined. His stoic mother stares beyond him. Themes of sacrifice and loss are represented on the two accompanying bas-reliefs. In one a woman bids farewell to her husband who marches off to war. In the other relief a woman welcomes home a soldier while another woman receives the body of her dead son.

As a work of art...This is the most literary of the monuments in Union Square. A story is told and amplified by the melodramatic scenes depicted on the bas-reliefs.

## 8. **CHARLES B. AYCOCK (1859-1912)**

Governor

Sculptor: John Gutzon Borglum (American, 1867-1941)  
Date: 1924  
Dedicated: 1924  
Bronze set within granite architectural setting with two bronze bas-reliefs

About the artist...Gutzon Borglum is best-known as the impresario/sculptor for the Mount Rushmore monument (1927-1941). Although he created sculptures all over the country, Borglum was a particular favorite in the South where he received numerous commissions for statuary commemorating Confederate leaders. One of his more successful Southern commissions is the North Carolina state monument at the Gettysburg (1929).

The figure of Aycock echoes that of Vance in that both men are portrayed in the act of public address. One of the two accompanying reliefs depicts the education of children by teachers and parents. The other seems to link the South and North Carolina in particular to the grand panoply of Western civilization. It goes without saying that the viewpoint expressed reinforces Aycock's white supremacist philosophy.

As a work of art...the figure is handicapped by poor anatomy, the head out-sized in proportion to the man's bantam body. As with the Vance figure, Aycock's pose and gestures are standard issue and add nothing that would distinguish this figure from a crowd of similar statesman statues. On the plus side, the surfaces are modeled with a liveliness lacking in the Vance figure. The two reliefs are more expertly managed than the pair on the Vance monument.

## 9. **SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE (1840-1938)**

Civil War officer, legislator, newspaper editor and historian

Sculptor: Ben Johnson  
Date: 1940

Dedicated: 1940  
Bronze bas-relief affixed to granite block

About the artist...Ben Johnson does not appear in the usual art historical sources. More research is required.

As a work of art...the bas-relief presents a likeness of Capt. Ashe, but in concept and execution it is pedestrian work derivative of the earlier and far more expert relief portraiture of Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Daniel Chester French.

#### **10. *PRESIDENTS NORTH CAROLINA GAVE THE NATION: ANDREW JACKSON, JAMES K. POLK AND ANDREW JOHNSON***

Sculptor: Charles Keck (American, 1875-1951)  
Date: 1948  
Dedicated: 1948  
Bronze on granite pedestal

About the artist...Charles Keck was a competent if uninspired sculptor who specialized in public monuments. Having spent several years in the studio of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, he continued working in the tradition of heroic realism, his style derivative and characterized by a weakness of invention and a formal stiffness that often passed for gravitas. His work is found all over the country. Closer to home, he modeled the monument to James B. Duke at Duke University and carved the tomb effigies for the Duke family at Duke Chapel.

The assertion that Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk and Andrew Johnson were "Presidents North Carolina Gave the Nation" is open for debate. (Jackson was almost certainly born in South Carolina and all three men had to move to Tennessee to make something of themselves.) Even accepting the parochial premise, the bringing together of these men is highly contrived.

As a work of art...this figural group is marked by an insistent frontality that robs it of visual interest from any other viewpoint. This is a serious fault. Sculpture created in the round should engage the viewer not only from its primary angle but from a multiplicity of views. Then there is the forced pyramidal composition of Gen. Jackson astride a horse while the two (lesser?) presidents calmly sit in Grecian chairs perilously close by the horse's flanks. No one has much to do with the other two. The resulting ensemble is certainly odd, even preposterous.

#### **11. *VIETNAM VETERANS' MEMORIAL ("AFTER THE FIREFIGHT")***

Sculptor: Abbé Godwin (American, North Carolina, born ?)  
Date: 1982 (copyright)  
Dedicated: 1987  
Bronze, variable patination

About the artist...Abbé Godwin currently teaches part-time on the art faculty of UNC-Greensboro. Among her other major commissions is the *Beirut Memorial* near Camp LeJeune (dedicated 1988). Her work is characterized by a photo-realism as expressed in her attention to the minutiae of costume and setting and in the "snapshot" informality of composition that owes far more to photography, film and video than to the academic traditions of monument sculpture.

This ensemble depicts two GIs rescuing a wounded comrade "after the firefight."

As a work of art...this ensemble has undeniable power, partly because the action depicted is traumatic and claims something of the crying ("you-are-there!") immediacy of photo-journalism.

That immediacy is communicated through the poses, frozen as if by the click of a shutter; by the scrupulously observed uniforms and kit of the soldiers; and by the placement of the action at ground level, not elevated on a pedestal. The *Vietnam Veterans' Memorial* is undeniably heroic in that it honors the courage and self-sacrifice of the common G.I. However, in contrast to the other war monuments on Capitol Square, it does not speak to valor or the honor of the war itself. The Greco-Roman trappings of traditional war monuments—pedestals, obelisks, swaggering poses—are deliberately missing. What is left is an eerie 3-D film still from 'Nam.

## 12. **NORTH CAROLINA VETERANS' MEMORIAL**

Sculptor/designer: Richard H. Amlung (American, born ?)

Date: 1990

Dedicated: 1990

Bronze figure surmounting a granite obelisk at the base of which is a bronze "eternal flame" and three bas-reliefs descriptive of World War I & II and the Korean Conflict. The ensemble is embraced within a semicircular granite arcade.

"Erected by Veterans' Memorial Commission"

About the artist...Richard Amlung does not appear in the usual art historical sources. More research is required.

The figure, identified somewhat informally as "Lady Liberty," stands atop the obelisk, holding aloft a palm frond.

As a work of art, this sculpture has already received robust criticism, much of it deserved. The scale of the ensemble overwhelms the site and injures the appreciation of the Capitol. Against the Capitol's elegantly proportioned neoclassical façade, the *Memorial* looks crudely commercial, like an oversized cemetery monument. It also looks arrogant and unnervingly Soviet. The twin of the figure of "Lady Liberty" stands atop the *Liberation* (now *Freedom*) *Monument* (1947) on the Gellért Hill overlooking Budapest (right). The close relationship of the *North Carolina Veterans' Memorial* to post-World War II Soviet Bloc monuments is well-established and perplexing. Who was advising the Veterans' Memorial Commission?



## Appendix K

### United States Colored Troops Memorial



Monument to 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment on Boston Common by A. Saint-Gaudens



“Spirit of Freedom,” U and 10<sup>th</sup> Streets, Washington, DC, by Ed Hamilton

North Carolina provided over 5,000 of the 179,000 blacks who enlisted in the United States Colored Troops during the war.

Resulted in part from the Union occupation of eastern North Carolina. Abolitionist governor John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts first developed the idea of raising a regiment from the freed blacks in North Carolina in the late 1862.

The First North Carolina Colored Volunteers was authorized to be formed in the spring of 1863 as part of Wild’s African Brigade, led by Colonel Edward A. Wild, formerly of the 35<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts. Wild had helped raised the 54<sup>th</sup> and 55<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts regiments, two African-American units.

The African Brigade was organized in New Bern and Elizabeth City. While the enlisted men were nearly all black, the officers were white, recruited from abolitionists serving in mostly Massachusetts regiments. The women and children, dependents of the enlisted men, settled into freedmen’s colonies on Roanoke Island and at what became known as James City near New Bern.

By the fall of 1863, three full regiments had been raised and inducted into the United States Colored Troops organization. From then on they were known as the 35<sup>th</sup>, 36<sup>th</sup>, and 37<sup>th</sup>

USCT regiments. In 1864-1865, two additional regiments were raised from North Carolina freedmen, the 14<sup>th</sup> US Colored Heavy Artillery and the 135<sup>th</sup> USCT.

The 35<sup>th</sup> fought at Olustee, Florida in February 1864, and took part in operations against Charleston, while the 36<sup>th</sup> and 37<sup>th</sup> took part in operations in southeastern Virginia and the Fort Fisher campaign. At the conclusion of the war, the 35<sup>th</sup> mustered out in June 1866.

The 36<sup>th</sup> mustered out of service along the Rio Grande in Texas in October 1866. The 37<sup>th</sup> ended their service in March 1867 in North Carolina.

The 14<sup>th</sup> USCT Artillery spent the entire war as garrison of New Bern, where they mustered out in December 1865.

The 135<sup>th</sup> was organized in Goldsboro in March, 1865 mostly from refugees following Sherman’s army. It saw no action, and was mustered out the following October in North Carolina.

Corporal Miles James and Private James Gardiner, 36<sup>th</sup> USCT, were awarded the Medal of Honor for their bravery at Chaffin’s Farm, VA in 1864.

ref. Richard M. Reid, *Freedom for Themselves: North Carolina’s Black Soldiers in the Civil War Era* (2008)

## Appendix L

### White-Baker Memorial: Beginning & End of Jim Crow Era



George Henry White (1852-1918)

Born Rosindale, Bladen County

Graduated, Howard University, 1877

Served in N.C. House, 1880; N.C. Senate, 1884

Moved from New Bern to Tarboro, 1894

Represented “Black Second” in Congress, 1897-1901

“This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the negroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress; but let me say, Phoenix-like he will rise up some day and come again. These parting words are in behalf of an outraged, heart-broken, bruised, and bleeding, but God-fearing people, faithful, industrious, loyal people-rising people, full of potential force.” –White’s farewell address to Congress (Phoenix Speech), Jan. 29, 1901

The speech came one year after legislation passed by the N.C. General Assembly denied most African Americans the right to vote.

White was the last black member of Congress for 28 years, the last black Southerner until 1973, and the last black North Carolinian until 1993.

After 1901 he lived in Washington and Philadelphia. He was the major investor, along with Paul Laurence Dunbar and Booker T. Washington, in Whitesboro, New Jersey, a self-reliant community for blacks, named for him.

ref. Benjamin R. Justesen, *George Henry White: An Even Chance in the Race of Life* (Louisiana State University, 2001)



Ella Baker (1903-1986)

Born Norfolk, VA; family moved to Littleton, 1910 (her family’s roots are in Warren County)

Graduated, Shaw University, 1927

Moved to New York and in 1930 joined Young Negroes Cooperative League, with aim to develop black economic power through collective planning

In 1940 began work for National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as field secretary, and rose to director of branches, 1943-1946

In 1957 joined with Martin Luther King Jr. and others to organize Southern Christian Leadership Conference

After sit-ins in Greensboro, beginning Feb. 1, 1960, and regionwide movement that followed, organized the meeting at Shaw in April 1960 that gave rise to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

In retirement in Harlem, she was a mentor to the next generation of civil rights leaders.

“Give light and people will find the way. . . . The struggle is eternal. The tribe increase. Somebody else carries on.” – Ella Baker

Died December 13, 1986, therefore deceased for 25 years as of 12/13/11

William Chafe of Duke University calls Ella Baker “the mother of the civil rights movement.”

ref. Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker & the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003).