

HOW THE
MONUMENTS
CAME DOWN

CURRICULUM GUIDE



Photo by Timothy Nuthall

A MESSAGE FROM THE AUTHOR

Dear Teachers,

Thank you for taking a moment in your busy day to consider this curriculum guide for *How the Monuments Came Down*, an essential film for viewing — and teaching.

How the Monuments Came Down is a fascinating documentary that tells a 160 year struggle for suffrage, political power, and respect for Black Richmonders. It combines great storytelling with outstanding primary sources to reveal narratives that have widely been dismissed in many documentaries.

I have taught history in Richmond more than 20 years, and this film captures so much of the history of the city, the struggle, the political strife, the systemic racism, and the determination of the people to overcome. All students and teachers should watch this film and have deep, thoughtful discussions about systemic racism and how it appears in everything from legislation passed by the state lawmakers to statues to police and public interactions. I challenge teachers and students to watch and have respectful, open, and honest conversations about power and race in the city of Richmond.

The guide is organized into two sections: the first presents **graphic organizers** for use with document analysis; the second offers **document based questions**. Each learning opportunity within is supported by a clip from the film and a primary source for students and teachers to analyze, in order to develop a deeper understanding of the film and the historical eras it explores. There is also a list of project-based activities to tap into deeper learning for your students. And every element of this guide is connected to the relevant Virginia Standards of Learning and Common Core State Standards.

I hope that you find this guide as meaningful to teach as it was to create.

My best wishes for your work,

Rodney Robinson
Richmond Public Schools
2019 National Teacher of the Year

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This guide breaks the film into 3–5-minute clips for teachers and students to watch and analyze. Each clip is supported by a primary source for students and teachers to analyze using graphic organizers in order to develop a deep understanding of the film and the historical eras it explores.

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1:18:28	Marcus-David Peters and Systemic Racism	Image from Marcus-David Peters Circle	VS.9,10 USII.9 CE.3,4,8,10 VUS.13 GOVT.6,11,16	CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-12.1,2,3,8,9,10

VIRGINIA STANDARDS OF LEARNING SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES AND GRADE LEVEL

VS – Virginia Studies 4th Grade

USII – United States History 1877 – Present 7th Grade

VUS - Virginia and United States History 11th Grade

GOVT - Virginia and United States Government 12th Grade

THE NEW SOUTH 03:26

Use the S.O.A.P.S. Document Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following source.

The following article was printed in *The Daily Dispatch* in Richmond in 1871 in response to Congress' attempts to enforce the 14th Amendment.

The kuklux bill which has been prepared by a few Republicans in Congress is, in some of its provisions, a subterfuge and a delusion, and in others a palpable violation of the Constitution. It purports in its title to be a bill to enforce the fourteenth amendment; but it cautiously adds, "and for other purposes." The first three sections pretend to come under the first branch of the title. Now, the fourteenth amendment, after declaring that all persons are citizens of the United States, goes on to say that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law;" and it winds up by providing that Congress, by appropriate legislation, may enforce the amendment.

The pretext for the passage of this new bill of pains and penalties is to put down what are called the kuklux outrages. Assume, for the argument's sake, that they are as numerous as the advocates of this bill assert, does anybody pretend that they are committed under and in pursuance of any law passed by any southern State? Everybody knows they are not, but, on the contrary, that they are violations of the laws of those States. Consequently, the legislation proposed is not justified by the 14th Amendment.

But these first three sections, while they pretend to be enforcing the provisions of the 14th Amendment, and to that extent are a cheat, confer upon the President powers for the suppression of violations of law in the southern States which belong exclusively to the local authorities of those States, and not to Congress or the Federal Executive; and therefore these sections are a clear infringement of the Constitution and the rights of the States.

But it is the fourth section that is the most objectionable and dangerous. Without the slightest warrant in the Constitution, without a precedent in our history, it confers powers upon the President which no Parliament since the days of the First Charles has ever entrusted to a King, and the exercise of which by that arbitrary monarch cost him his head. The States in question have been, and now are, with scarcely an exception, under the absolute control of the party that proposes to pass this bill. Whenever violations of law in any State have reached such a formidable stage that they deserve to be called an insurrection or a rebellion, then, according to the Constitution and the precedents, it is the duty of the Governor to notify the President of that fact and call for his assistance; and then, and not till then, the President has the right to interfere. But this bill utterly ignores this line of procedure, and thereby utters the severest condemnation of the carpet-bag administration of the States in question. Ignoring them as inefficient and worthless, it bestows upon the President, in the first instance, the authority to proclaim any portion of those States in insurrection and rebellion, and thereupon to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* and declare martial law therein, and then proceed to arrest, try at the drum-head, and shoot or hang, according to the rules and articles of war, anybody who has the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of General Grant. Stripped of its verbiage, this is the fourth section of the proposed law.

Does any man in his senses believe that there now exists in the South a condition of affairs which warrants such summary, unprecedented, and unconstitutional proceedings as these? It will not do for the advocates of this dangerous policy to shelter themselves under acts deemed necessary during the red heat of our late civil war.

The Daily Dispatch, April 10, 1871

DECORATION DAY 09:40

Use the Image Analysis Questions to study the following image.

Source: Library of Congress



The Battle of Fort Wagner on Morris Island was a Union attack on July 18, 1863, led by the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. The infantry was one of the first major American military units made up of Black soldiers.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE 11:53

Use the S.O.A.P.S. Document Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following source.

Resolution drafted by conference of African American leaders gathered in Richmond on December 17, 1889, to protest voter suppression in recent elections, as printed in *Richmond Dispatch* on December 18, 1889.

Whereas the election as held in the State of Virginia November 6, 1888, for the selection of President of the United States and members of the Fifty-first Congress, and the one held November 5, 1889, for the selection of a Governor of the State of Virginia and members of the State Legislature, some members of which will hold over and take a part in the selection of a United States senator, were characterized by fraud, reinforced by a wholesale disfranchising of colored men, and denial to them the right of suffrage as guaranteed by the plain provisions of the Constitution of the United States; and whereas this fraud consisted in the striking of bona-fide colored Republican voters' names from the registration - books, posting live men as being dead, intimidating by threats and discharging from work colored men who desired to vote the Republican ticket, obstructing colored men by unnecessary challenging as well as a refusal to hear evidence in the cases of the men thus blacklisted until too late to secure redress prior to an election; and whereas the public schools and churches were made the vehicle for the dissemination of Democratic doctrine by indirectly coercion teachers into voting the Democratic ticket or remain away from the polls; and whereas these outrages were further perpetrated by the enlisting of the public officials in this unholy warfare, Democratic club-men being sworn in as special police, and thus being licensed to carry firearms with which to shoot down inoffensive colored Republicans, should the occasion require it, by the Democratic majority not appearing to have risen above the "danger line"; and whereas the militia companies of the State were enlisted to aid in thus terrorizing the Republican voter in the exercise of those God-given rights as guaranteed by the Constitution; and whereas threats against the life of the Republican candidate if a "certain malign influence" should elevate him to the office for which he had been nominated; and whereas by the aforesaid grievances as set forth, the life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, so far as it applies to United States citizens, have been made insecure, and thousands and tens of thousands of colored people are reduced to a serfdom unbecoming a free people; and whereas by the action hereon set forth the State government in allowing these outrages and apparently abetting them has demonstrated its lack of interest in securing to United States citizens the rights as guaranteed in the Constitution, as well as its fitness for the discharge of a great trust—that of throwing the proper safeguards around the ballot-box and securing a fair national election by the allowing of every citizen the right to cast one ballot and have it counted as it cast it: therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon the Fifty-first Congress to enact some legislation for the remedying of these evils as herein set forth.

Resolved, That we heartily recommend the passage of a national registration and election-law and an appropriation sufficient to allow every colored person who so desires free transportation to the lands in the West.

Resolved, That we discountenance African emigration and recommend that every Afro American remain in this land of his birth, the home of his adoption.

Resolved, That we heartily endorse the Blair education bill when surrounded by the proper safeguards as the most potent measure for the solving of the most momentous problems which agitate this section of the country.

Respectfully submitted,
 John Mitchell, Jr., (Chairman),
 W.W. Evans, (Secretary),
 J. Wesley Jones, William Custalo Booker Ellis
 J.R. Dungee,
 B.F. Lewis William Maxwell,
 C.C. Steward,
 Committee.

LEE MEMORIALIZATION 16:23

Use the S.O.A.P.S. Document Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following source.

Excerpt from the testimony of Robert E Lee before the United States Congress, from the *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* (1866), Part II, Page 134.

By Mr. BLOW :

Question. Do you not think it would turn a good deal, in the cotton States, upon the value of the labor of the black people—upon the amount which they produce?

Answer. In a good many States in the south, and in a good many counties in Virginia, if the black people now were allowed to vote, it would, I think, exclude proper representation; that is, proper, intelligent people would not be elected; and rather than suffer that injury they would not let them vote at all.

Question. Do you not think that the question, as to whether any southern State would allow the colored people the right of suffrage in order to increase representation, would depend a good deal on the amount which the colored people might contribute to the wealth of the State in order to secure two things: first, the larger representation, and, second, the influence derived from these persons voting?

Answer. I think they would determine the question more in reference to their opinion as to the manner in which those votes would be exercised, whether they consider those people qualified to vote. My own opinion is, that, at this time, they cannot vote intelligently, and that giving them the right of suffrage would open the door to a great deal of demagogism, and lead to embarrassments in various ways. What the future may prove, how intelligent they may become, with what eyes they may look upon the interests of the State in which they may reside, I cannot say more than you can.

JOHN MITCHELL, JR., AND MAGGIE L. WALKER 19:42

Use the S.O.A.P.S.
Document Analysis
Graphic Organizer
to examine the
following source.

Political flyer printed in 1901

Source: *Special Collections
Department, University of
Virginia* (Broadside 1901.N68)

NO WHITE MAN TO LOSE HIS VOTE IN VIRGINIA.

This Assurance Given by Men Who Are Most Competent to
Speak with Authority.

A Meeting was Held in Richmond on October 17, 1901, at which Chairman Ellyson
Presided and Hon. John Goode and Mr. Montague Made Speeches—All Three
Declared the Policy of the Convention in Language That Cannot Be
Mistaken. Great Enthusiasm Aroused.

STATE CHAIRMAN ELLYSON.

“The best men in this Commonwealth have been selected as the representatives of their people in the convention. They will not fail to be responsive to the wishes of their constituents, for every Democrat in that convention knows that the convention would never have been held but for the desire of the white people of this Commonwealth to have enacted such a constitutional provision as would take away from the negro the right to vote, and at the same time preserve to the white men of the Commonwealth their right of suffrage.

“I have enjoyed the best opportunities for frequent conferences and consultation with the members of the convention on this question. I think I know their views as well as any other man in the State, and I do not hesitate to give to you and through you to the white men of this Commonwealth both my personal and official assurance that that convention has the fixed and unalterable intention of enacting a clause which will accomplish the end I have just mentioned and which will forever remove the negro as a factor in our political affairs and give to the white people of this Commonwealth the conduct and control of the destinies which they have the right to shape and determine.

“The Democrats of Virginia have always kept the pledges made to the people and they will not fail to do so in this instance.”—Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson, Chairman of the State Democratic Committee.

HON. JOHN GOODE.

“The Democratic party is pledged in its platform to eliminate the ignorant and worthless negro as a factor from the politics of this State without taking the right of suffrage from a single white man, and speaking for my colleagues in the convention, I solemnly declare to you that they will keep that pledge to the letter.”—President Goode of the Constitutional Convention.

HON. A. J. MONTAGUE.

“The Democratic party, through its representatives in the convention, is slowly, but surely, framing a law that will so effectually exclude the idle, shiftless and illiterate of the negro race from the suffrage that the gates of republican wrath cannot prevail against it. The trouble with our opponents is that they realize now that we will accomplish this and keep the pledge that no white man will be disfranchised. I stand here and declare it, for I do know it is the truth.”—Hon. A. J. Montague, Democratic nominee for Governor.

LOST CAUSE NARRATIVE AND BUILDING MONUMENT AVENUE 25:48

Use the Image
Analysis Questions
to study the
following image.

Unveiling of the J.E.B.
Stuart Monument

Source: *The Valentine*



CARICATURES OF AFRICAN AMERICANS

32:40

Use the Image Analysis Questions to study the following image.

Image from
a minstrel show

Source: Getty Images



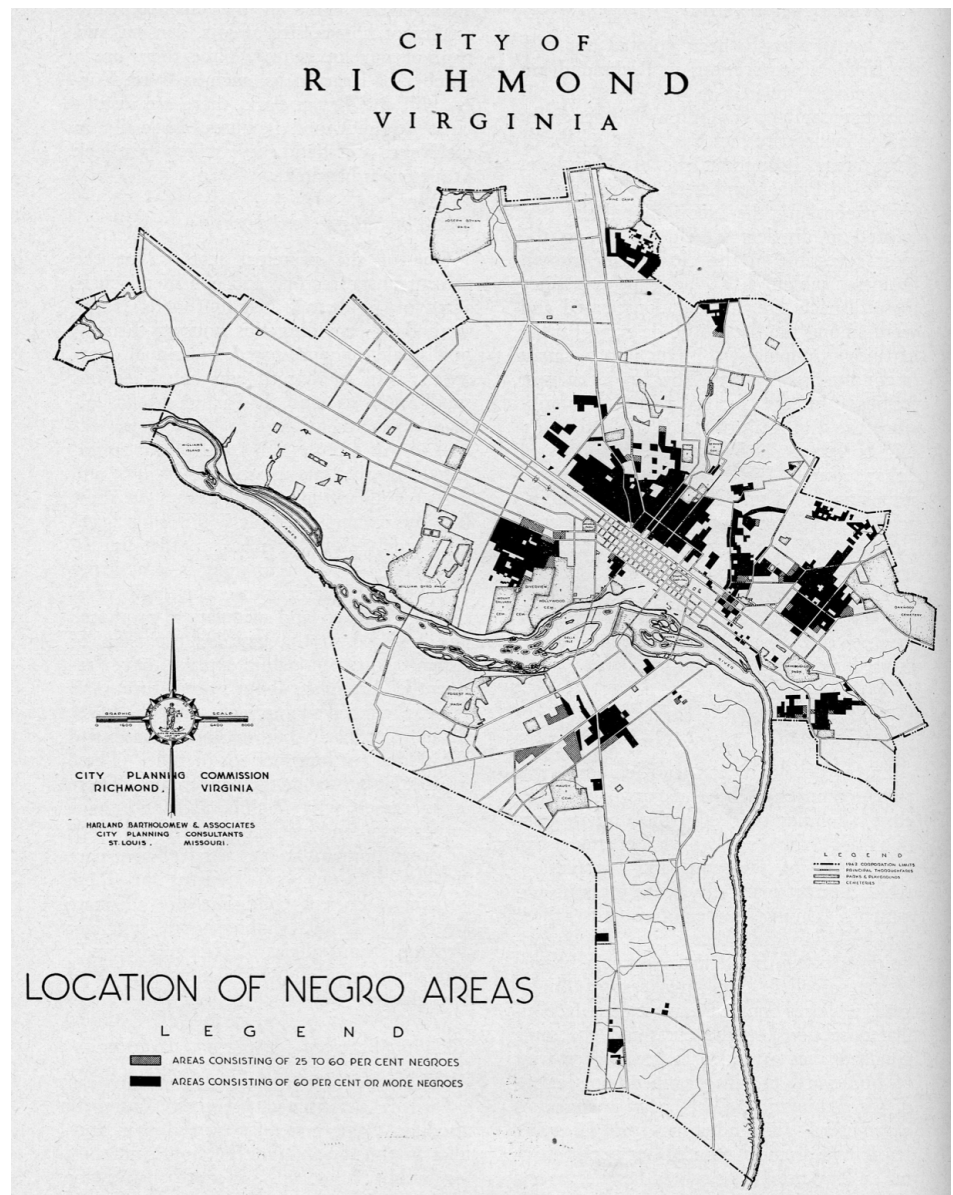
INTERSTATE 95 AND THE DESTRUCTION OF JACKSON WARD

35:12

Use the Map Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following map.

Map from "A Master Plan for the Physical Development of the City," 1946

Source: Richmond City Planning Commission via the University of Richmond



CRUSADE FOR VOTERS 39:30

Use the S.O.A.P.S. Document Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following source.

Crusade for Voters pamphlet

Source: *Crusade for Voters* via VCU Library

The black vote could be vital in many councilmanic elections, congressional elections and even in the presidential election.

If there is one who has not seen the value of the vote, take him by the hand and get him registered. He could be your next door neighbor, your husband, your wife, a member of your church, club or organization. Wherever you find him get him registered!

By using our votes wisely — voting for the right people — impossible doors will be opened. The power of the people is at the Ballot Box — Vote.

CRUSADE FOR VOTERS OFFICERS

<i>President</i> , Ralph E. Johnson, 3819 Baronet Dr.	233-9970
<i>V-President</i> , Lola H. Hamilton, 1516 Southampton Ave	359-6513
<i>Secretary</i> , Delores Richardson, 3204 Brook Road	358-0688
<i>Treasurer</i> , Arthur F. Brown, 2721 Garland Avenue	329-7742
<i>Chaplain</i> , A. N. Johnson, 2814 Fendall Avenue	321-2346
<i>Sgt.-at-Arms</i> , Herman Miller, 3007 Barton Avenue	321-9182
<i>Consultant</i> , William S. Thornton, 206 E. Clay Street	648-0131
<i>Voter Registration Chairman</i> Collins H. Howlette, 3204 Lawson St.	233-0866
<i>Voter Education Chairman</i> Lawrence Hutchins, 3314 Fendall Ave.	329-0688
<i>Executive Board Chairman</i> M. Philmore Howlette, 316 W. Leigh St.	643-5185

* * * * *

Happiness is oooo the right to Vote. It opens unseen doors and unheard of opportunities. It give you a sense of belonging and being a part of a vital struggle to Smile. When our children ask "Are you a Voter?" We can truly S-M-I-L-E and say yes I am a registered Voter.

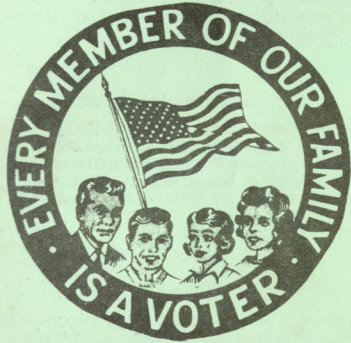
Happiness is oooo Action! Action! Action! on the part of every man and woman to get another registered.

* * * * *

There are 18,000 youth needed to register between 18 and 21. There are 190,000 persons eligible to vote but only 108,000 have done so. Be a first REGISTER NOW.

Published by the Crusade for Voters - a non partisan organization in the interest of increasing the Voter Registration and Education.

CRUSADE FOR VOTERS



"YOU GOTTA
BELIEVE IT"
YOUR ONE VOTE
DOES COUNT

IN UNITY THERE
IS STRENGTH

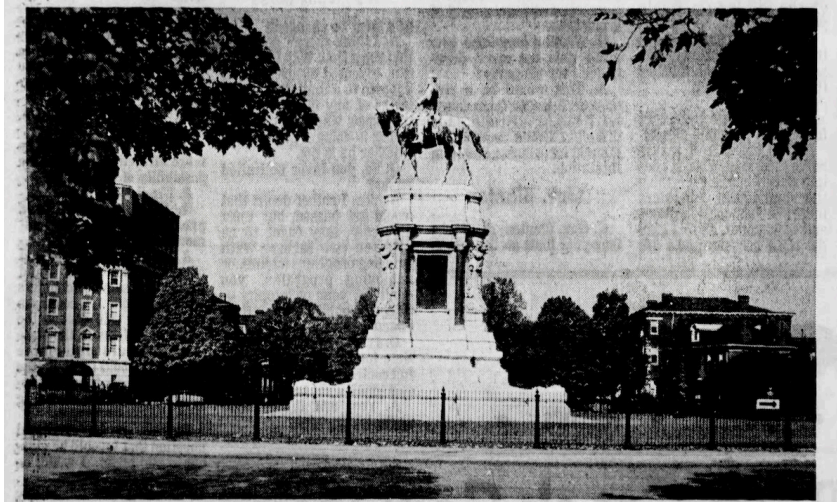
FIRST MAJORITY-BLACK CITY COUNCIL

47:42

Use the S.O.A.P.S. Document Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following source.

B.D. Ayres, Jr., "Confederate Heroes Ride, but Blacks Run Richmond"

Source: *The Tennessean* (Nashville), July 31, 1977, page 19



"Marse Robert" E. Lee serenely sits his horse in Richmond.

Confederate Heroes Ride But Blacks Run Richmond

By B. D. Ayres Jr.
The New York Times

RICHMOND, Va. — Six months after blacks took political control of this old Confederate capital, the statues honoring Confederate Civil War heroes still stand along Monument Avenue.

There had been dire predictions, not all facetious, that Lee and Stuart and Jackson would be yanked from their saddles once blacks gained a majority the nine-member City Council and moved into the mayor's office. But the generals continue to ride tall.

For the sons of the slaves who now run Richmond are too busy with the problems of the present to worry much about cast-metal symbols of a war-long past. As the new mayor, 43-year-old Henry L. Marsh 3rd put it: "We've taken over a city that is at a crossroads. A lot of people are watching closely to see how we handle it."

AS A WHOLE, the seven-county metropolitan area is strong and growing steadily, particularly outlying suburbs. There is a good mix of manufacturing and jobs, and in the last recession the area fared better than most.

But, like Atlanta, New Orleans and several other major Southern cities, Richmond's inner city, the area under Marsh's jurisdiction, is begin-

ning to suffer Northern-style urban pains. It is becoming blacker, poorer and older.

Metropolitan population now exceeds 580,000 persons and is growing at an annual rate of about 2%. One of every four residents is black. The average age is 28.8 years. The average family income is \$10,028 annually. Unemployment is below 5%.

ON THE other hand, inner-city population is down to 225,000 and is falling almost 2% annually. One of every two residents is black. The school system, constantly in court, has an 80% black enrollment. The average inner city resident is 30.2 years old. Average family income is \$9,669. Unemployment exceeds 15% in many black sections.

A few years ago, the city achieved some downtown construction and restoration and managed to annex some suburbs in an effort to slow white flight and expand an overworked tax base. But the fight soon resumed, and infuriated suburban officials subsequently persuaded the state General Assembly to begin construction of a perimeter highway around Richmond, a project that city officials contend will hasten the loss of business and population in the downtown areas.

"There is still time to turn things around," Marsh said of Richmond, the ninth major United States city to have a black mayor. "But we've got to get to work and we've got to

work together, black and white. We've got to find more sources of revenue for our government. Don't expect any overnight miracles."

IN HIS first month in office, Marsh has made a strong effort to set up good relations with the city's conservative old-line white establishment, particularly the bankers, brokers, merchants and manufacturers who ran Richmond until white flight and redistricting orders from federal judges made it possible for blacks to take political control.

"I've made speeches, written letters, sent messages and held meetings with most white business leaders," White said. "I've told them that we need their help and that they need ours. It won't work otherwise."

The businessmen have responded, for the most part, with a wait-and-see attitude, though there has been some mumbling about reverse racism and some allegations that the new order lacks not only governmental expertise but governmental style, the latter being as important as the former to many members of the old order.

"Henry is talking a good game here at the start," Carlton Moffatt, the president of the Metropolitan Richmond Chamber of Commerce, said. "But it's too early to pass any real judgment. The new

crowd hasn't made all that many decisions yet."

There are five blacks and four whites on the new council, each elected from a separate ward. On a number of occasions, council votes have divided along black-white lines, but the mayor contends that race was not the issue.

"This is now a people-oriented council, not an establishment-oriented council," he said. "For example, we split five to four on whether to spend more money on schools, with the blacks wanting to spend more. Then we split five to four on whether to put money into a drug control program, with blacks again voting to spend. Those are people issues, not race issues. We're trying to help all the folks."

Henry L. Valentine 2nd, a white who serves as vice mayor, sees matters somewhat differently. One of Richmond's leading stock brokers and a member of one of the city's oldest families, he said:

"Sometimes it seems the new crowd is doing to us what they said we did to them. Sometimes it's as if the rules weren't made for them.

"They reassure the business community on the one hand. But then they don't show up at an important meeting or miss some occasion and think that won't make any difference. We've still got some things to work out."

ARTHUR ASHE

51:08

Use the Image Analysis Questions to study the following image.

Source: *Field Studio*



AFRICAN AMERICAN MONUMENTS

57:10

Use the Image Analysis Questions to study the following image.

Eyre Crowe, *After the Sale: Slaves Going South from Richmond*, an oil painting depicting a scene the artist witnessed on 8th Street in Richmond, Virginia, in 1853.

Source: *Chicago History Museum*



MAGGIE L. WALKER

1:00:37

Use the Image Analysis Questions to study the following image.

Maggie L. Walker Monument dedication ceremony

Source: *Americans for the Arts*



MONUMENT AVENUE COMMISSION

1:03:30

Use the S.O.A.P.S. Document Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following source.

Excerpts from the Monument Avenue Commission Report, July 2018

To solicit input on changing the face of Monument Avenue by adding new monuments that would reflect a broader, more inclusive story of our history.

- F. Create new contemporary works that bring new and expanded meaning to Monument Avenue by immediately engaging artists locally and internationally. Richmond is blessed with a vibrant and diverse creative community. Independent artists can create works to be installed along several stretches of the Avenue on a permanent or rotating basis. The approach allows for new and powerful interpretations. In addition, VCU's MoB Studio has received a significant grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to re-imagine Monument Avenue. Solicitation for design concepts has begun with submissions expected fall 2018.
- G. Commission a monument that commemorates the resilience of the formerly enslaved. However, the Commission suggests taking the concept further by creating a work dedicated to soldiers of the United States Colored Troops. These troops were predominately formerly enslaved men who seized the opportunity to free themselves, their families and millions of other by shouldering arms. The juxtaposition to the Confederate Statues could be a powerful statement. In particular, many respondents strongly suggested honoring the 14 Medal of Honor winners noted for their bravery at New Market Heights—seven of whom were Virginians. Individuals recommended in large numbers for new monuments include Maggie L. Walker (a statue was installed at Broad and 2nd in July 2017), Doug Wilder, Elizabeth Van Lew, Gabriel, John Mitchell, Jr. and Oliver Hall.
- H. Partner with Initiatives of Change to submit the next phased proposal to the Kellogg Foundation's Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation (TRHT) program. Richmond is one of only ten cities/regions across the nation to be chosen for this major funding and programmatic opportunity. At the core of the TRHT is a charge to dismantle notions of a hierarchy of race and white supremacy through substantial narrative change. TRHT's commitment acknowledges modern social, political, education and economic disparity and injustice are rooted in these supremacist notions which have built into the virtually every institution. Kellogg funding could be used to support a number of the options presented. This goal is more long term, but reflects aspirational goals expressed best by Mayor Stoney:
- "...the legacy that will endure, are the people we build, the minds we enlighten and the hearts we open on both sides. When we do that, we will not just have a few new monuments. We will have thousands—LIVING monuments to understanding, inclusiveness, equality and promise"
- I. The Commission strongly recommends the City take a proactive and holistic approach to Richmond's monuments and statuary in order to rectify the historical silences in the city's landscape. The memorialization and historical interpretation of Shockoe Bottom are key to an honest reckoning with this aspect of the city's past. Many citizens urged us to support efforts to create a robust and thorough telling of Richmond's key role in the domestic slave trade. The Commission agrees that this should be a priority for our community.
- J. Pending litigation or changes in state law—which the City may choose to initiate or support—remove the Jefferson Davis Monument. Of all the statues, this one is the most unabashedly Lost Cause in its design and sentiment. Davis was not from Richmond or Virginia. The statue of Davis was created by Edward Virginius Valentine at his studio on Clay St. which is part of the Valentine Museum. The Vindicatrix statue which sits at the very top can be relocated to a cemetery—perhaps with Davis's grave at Hollywood Cemetery. The plaques adorning the columns may be held in storage or returned to the United Daughters of the Confederacy which is the organization that raised funds to construct the piece. The remaining pedestals and mounts could be repurposed for a new monument or artistic work.

SUMMER 2020

1:09:59

Use the Image Analysis Questions to study the following image.

Marcus-David Peters Circle

Source: VPM



REMOVAL OF MONUMENTS

1:13:38

Use the S.O.A.P.S. Document Analysis Graphic Organizer to examine the following source.

Law regarding monuments and war memorials, as amended by the General Assembly in 2020.

Source: Code of Virginia

§ 15.2-1812. Memorials for war veterans.

- A. A locality may, within the geographical limits of the locality, authorize and permit the erection of monuments or memorials for the veterans of any war or conflict, or any engagement of such war or conflict, to include the following : Algonquin (1622), French and Indian (1754-1763), Revolutionary (1775-1783), War of 1812 (1812-1815), Mexican (1846-1848), Civil War (1861-1865), Spanish-American (1898), World War I (1917-1918), World War II (1941-1945), Korean (1950-1953), Vietnam (1965-1973), Operation Desert Shield- Desert Storm (1990-1991), Global War on Terrorism (2000-), Operation Enduring Freedom (2001-), and Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003-). Notwithstanding any other provision of law, general or special, a locality may remove, relocate, contextualize, or cover any such monument or memorial on the locality's public property, not including a monument or memorial located in a publicly owned cemetery, regardless of when the monument or memorial was erected, after complying with the provisions of subsection B.
- B. Prior to removing, relocating, contextualizing, or covering any such publicly owned monument or memorial, the local governing body shall publish notice of such intent in a newspaper having general circulation in the locality. The notice shall specify the time and place of a public hearing at which

interested persons may present their views, not less than 30 days after publication of the notice. After the completion of the hearing, the governing body may vote whether to remove, relocate, contextualize, or cover the monument or memorial. If the governing body votes to remove, relocate, contextualize, or cover the monument or memorial, the local governing body shall first, for a period of 30 days, offer the monument or memorial for relocation and placement to any museum, historical society, government, or military battlefield. The local governing body shall have sole authority to determine the final disposition of the monument or memorial.

- C. A locality may, prior to initiating the provisions of subsection B, petition the judge of a circuit court having jurisdiction over the locality for an advisory referendum to be held on the question of the proposal to remove, relocate, contextualize, or cover any monument or memorial located on the locality's public property. Upon the receipt of such petition, the circuit court shall order an election to be held thereon at a time that is in conformity with § 24.2-682. The ballots shall be prepared, distributed, and voted, and the results of the election shall be ascertained and certified, in the manner prescribed by § 24.2-684.
- D. The governing body may appropriate a sufficient sum of money out of its funds to complete or aid in the erection, removal, relocation, contextualizing, or covering of monuments or memorials to the veterans of such wars or conflicts, or any engagement of such wars or conflicts. The governing body may also make a special levy to raise the money necessary for the erection or completion of any such monuments or memorials, or to supplement the funds already raised or that may be raised by private persons, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, or other organizations. It may also appropriate, out of any funds of such locality, a sufficient sum of money to permanently care for, protect, and preserve such monuments or memorials and may expend the same thereafter as other funds are expended.

MARCUS-DAVID PETERS AND SYSTEMIC RACISM 1:18:28

Use the Image Analysis Questions to study the following image.

Marcus-Davis Peters Circle

Source: Field Studio



PROJECT-BASED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

R.A.F.T. activities promote student engagement by empowering students to choose the format in which they will demonstrate knowledge of a subject. R.A.F.T. assignments encourage students to use their own voices and skills to present ideas about content information they are studying. The acronym stands for Role, Audience, Format, and Topic. The strategy was developed for literature and writing classes, but the model has been adapted by other subjects to incorporate a range of student learning styles. R.A.F.T. assignments are graded using a teacher based rubric that sets guiding questions for the project.

R.A.F.T. IS AN ACRONYM

ROLE OF THE STUDENT

What is the student's role: reporter, observer, eyewitness, object?

AUDIENCE

Who will be addressed by this raft: the teacher, other students, a parent, people in the community, an editor, another object?

FORMAT

What is the best way to present this information: in a letter, an article, a report, a poem, a monologue, a picture, a song?

TOPIC

Who or what is the subject of this writing: a famous mathematician, a prehistoric cave dweller, a reaction to a specific event?



The following is a list of R.A.F.T. projects you can assign students to complete by drawing on the knowledge gained by watching the film or various film clips.

ROLE	AUDIENCE	FORMAT	TOPIC	GUIDING QUESTION(S)
Citizen	Public	Newspaper Editorial	Write an editorial detailing African American frustration with obtaining voting rights.	What can the Virginia Legislature do to protect the voting rights of all citizens in Virginia?
City Planner/ Architect	Zoning Commission	Map Design	Draw/design a new I-95 through Richmond during the 1950s without disrupting Jackson Ward.	Where would the interstate be placed? Which neighborhoods would be displaced? What modern buildings and areas would be affected?
Political Cartoonist	Newspaper Readers	Political Cartoon	Draw a cartoon that shows knowledge of the treatment of African Americans after the Civil War in 19th century Richmond.	What obstacles did African Americans face when trying to vote?

PROJECT-BASED LEARNING ACTIVITIES *CONTINUED*

ROLE	AUDIENCE	FORMAT	TOPIC	POSSIBLE GUIDING QUESTION(S)
Citizen	Friend	Letter	Write a letter describing the emotions you are feeling as you watch the unveiling of the Lee Monument in 1907.	What is the mood of the day as expressed in the film and by your image analysis? How does it make you feel?
Member of the Crusade for Voters	Neighbors	Flyer	Create a flyer encouraging your neighbors to register to vote in 1966.	How can you inspire people to register to vote?
Mayor	Public	Bill of Rights	Create a citizen Bill of Rights necessary for 21st century living in Richmond, VA.	What are the main issues in your neighborhood? What are possible solutions to these issues?
Citizen	Monument Avenue Commission	Letter	Write a letter to the commission expressing your support for the removal or non-removal of the confederate statues on Monument Avenue.	Do you think the monuments should be removed or remain? What feelings are generated inside you when you see the monuments?
Political	Newspaper Readers	Political Cartoon	Make a political cartoon describing the protests during the summer of 2020	What did you experience during the summer of 2020? Do people have a right to protest or do police have a right to maintain order?
Citizen	Public	Newspaper Editorial	Write an editorial describing police misconduct in your neighborhood.	What has been your experience with police in Richmond? How have these experiences shaped your views on policing in America?

GALLERY WALK ACTIVITY

Gallery Walk activities ask students to examine and analyze historical images in order to develop an understanding of the social, political, and economic characteristics of the time and place in which the images were created.

There are several ways teachers can direct this activity. The most common way is to place the images around the classroom, as if in a museum, and ask students to tour the room with sticky notes of three different colors. Each color will represent one type of question or comment a student may offer—referring to social, political, or economic themes. Students will study an image at one stop on the tour, add a question or comment with one of their sticky notes, and then continue to the next image.

At the end of the Gallery Walk, students and the teacher should discuss what the tour revealed about the images and research the questions raised by the students.

Teachers can adapt the Gallery Walk by putting students in groups, or by leading the classroom through the images and collecting questions and comments on the board. Teachers may also ask students to write a story based on the images.

GALLERY WALK ACTIVITY

Gallery Walk 1 images – The Building of Monument Avenue



GALLERY WALK ACTIVITY

Gallery Walk 2 – 21st Century Monument Demonstrations



GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS

The graphic organizers will be used to study the primary sources that accompany the clips from *How the Monuments Came Down*. Each graphic organizer is designed to guide the student through an in-depth study of the primary sources.

S.O.A.P.S. (ELEMENTARY)

DOCUMENT	REVIEWERS
<p>Subject</p> <p><i>Think about the information the document conveys. Form an overall impression and then examine individual items or specific parts.</i></p> <p>1. What are three things the author/creators said that you think are important?</p>	<p>Occasion and Audience</p> <p>What type of document is it?</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> Newspaper <input type="radio"/> Poster <input type="radio"/> Letter <input type="radio"/> Advertisement <input type="radio"/> Drawing <input type="radio"/> Diary entry <input type="radio"/> Leaflet <input type="radio"/> Map <input type="radio"/> Memorandum <input type="radio"/> Flyer <input type="radio"/> Photograph <input type="radio"/> Legal record <input type="radio"/> Speech <input type="radio"/> Other _____ </p> <p><i>Support each answer with document evidence:</i></p> <p>1. When was the document created or circulated?</p>
<p>Purpose</p> <p>1. Why do you think this document was created?</p>	<p>Speaker</p> <p>1. Who created the document? And how do you know?</p> <p>2. What position or title did they hold? And how do you know?</p>

S.O.A.P.S. (SECONDARY)

DOCUMENT	REVIEWERS
<p>Subject</p> <p><i>Think about the information the document conveys. Form an overall impression and then examine individual items or specific parts.</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the general topic? 2. What are three things the author said that you think are important? 	<p>Occasion and Audience</p> <p>What type of document is it?</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> Newspaper <input type="radio"/> Poster <input type="radio"/> Letter <input type="radio"/> Advertisement <input type="radio"/> Drawing <input type="radio"/> Diary entry <input type="radio"/> Leaflet <input type="radio"/> Map <input type="radio"/> Memorandum <input type="radio"/> Flyer <input type="radio"/> Photograph <input type="radio"/> Legal record <input type="radio"/> Speech <input type="radio"/> Other _____ </p> <p>What are the unique physical qualities?</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> Handwritten <input type="radio"/> Typed <input type="radio"/> Signature <input type="radio"/> Picture, Symbols <input type="radio"/> Seal(s) <input type="radio"/> Notations <input type="radio"/> Letterhead <input type="radio"/> Stamps <input type="radio"/> Caption <input type="radio"/> Official stamp: i.e., date, "RECEIVED," "PAID" <input type="radio"/> Other _____ </p> <p><i>Support each answer with document evidence:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Who was the intended audience? 2. When was the document created or circulated?
<p>Purpose</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why do you think this document was created? 2. What specific evidence in the document helps you know why it was created? 3. What does the document convey about life in the United States at the time it was created? 4. What questions does the document raise? 5. What questions do you have for the author of this document? 	<p>Speaker</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Who created the document? and how do you know? 2. What position or title did they hold? And how do you know? 3. What biases might they have? And how can these biases influence the document? 4. Whose voice is not represented in the document? 5. Why do you think that voice was left out?

MAP ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

TYPE OF MAP	
<input type="radio"/> physical map (shows natural features like rivers, lakes, etc)	<input type="radio"/> political map (shows the location/boundaries of cities, counties, etc)
<input type="radio"/> economic map (shows products like crops, minerals, etc)	<input type="radio"/> population map (shows where people live and how many live in each area)
<input type="radio"/> other kind of map	

PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE MAP (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)	
<input type="radio"/> handwritten	<input type="radio"/> compass
<input type="radio"/> date	<input type="radio"/> population map
<input type="radio"/> title	

DATE OF MAP	CREATOR OF MAP
WHERE WAS THE MAP PRODUCED?	

MAP INFORMATION:

A. List three things on this map you think are important:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

B. Why do you think this map was made?

C. What conclusions can you make about the information on this map?

D. Does this map support any information you have read about this event or subject or saw in the film? Explain.

E. Write a question to the mapmaker that is left unanswered by this map.

IMAGE ANALYSIS QUESTIONS

PEOPLE/OBJECTS IN PICTURE		
Primary	Secondary	A.P.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Who is in the picture? What kinds of clothing are they wearing? What does their clothing say about them? What people/things do you recognize in this painting? What can you tell me about the person in this painting? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are their unique physical characteristics? (clothing, size, facial expressions) What do these characteristics say about the persons in image? What can you tell me about how this person lived? How did you arrive at that idea? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What can you tell me about how this person lived? How did you arrive at that idea? Does the positioning of characters suggest a power structure? Who is in charge? Who or what gives that person or group power? What people are not included in this picture and why do you think they were left out?
ACTIONS		
Primary	Secondary	A.P.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is happening in the picture? What relationships/interactions are taking place? How do people communicate? What do people do together? How is the group organized? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How is the group organized? What social structures of society are being represented by the actions in the image? (race, class, gender, family relations) What actions are emphasized in the image? Are there social classes? How are they represented? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are there inequalities? How is social structure being altered or challenged in this instance? Do the actions reveal any social or cultural norms? How does the action reflect the social, political, aesthetic, psychological, or cultural ideas of its time?
PLACES		
Primary	Secondary	A.P.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where do you think the picture takes place? Are there any places or geographic symbols you recognize? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the unique physical characteristics? (natural vs human structures) What do the physical characteristics say about society? What role does geography play in the picture? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do the physical characteristics say about society? What role does geography play in the picture?

NOTE: NOT ALL QUESTIONS APPLY TO ALL IMAGES.

IMAGE ANALYSIS QUESTIONS

SOURCES		
Primary	Secondary	A.P.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who created the document? And how do you know? • Who was the intended audience? • When was the image created or circulated? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What position or title did they hold? And how do you know? • What biases might they have? And how can these biases influence the document? • Whose voice is not represented in the image? • Why do you think that voice was left out? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you know of other images during this time period? • Are the images part of a theme or agenda?
IMAGE SUMMARY		
Primary	Secondary	A.P.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you think this image was important? • What specific evidence in the image helps you determine its importance? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does the image convey about life in the United States at the time it was created? • What is the cultural meaning? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What questions does the image raise? • Where would you find more information on this image?
CRITICAL THINKING (SECONDARY AND A.P.)		
Interpretation		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What title would you give to this image? What made you decide on that title? • What other titles could we give it? • What do you think is happening in this image? What else could be happening? • What do you think is going on in this picture? How did you arrive at that idea? 		
Evaluation		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think is good about this image? What is not so good? • Do you think the person who captured this image did a good or bad job? What makes you think so? • Why do you think other people should see this image? • What do you think other people would say about this image? Why do you think that? 		

NOTE: NOT ALL QUESTIONS APPLY TO ALL IMAGES.

DOCUMENT-BASED **QUESTIONS**

Advanced Placement Exams use Document-Based Questions, or D.B.Q.s. For each of the following D.B.Q.s, students should write an essay that answers an essential question. Students should support their answers by drawing on knowledge gained from the film and the documents provided.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

DIRECTIONS: The following question requires you to write a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. Some of the documents have been edited, and wording and punctuation have been modernized.

QUESTION: Historians say that the construction of Confederate statues on Richmond's Monument Avenue was intended to intimidate and suppress African Americans living in the city. Evaluate the accuracy of this statement using these documents and your knowledge of the social, political, and economic history of Richmond that you learned in the film.

Document A

Unveiling of the J.E.B. Stuart Monument, 1907

Source: *The Valentine*

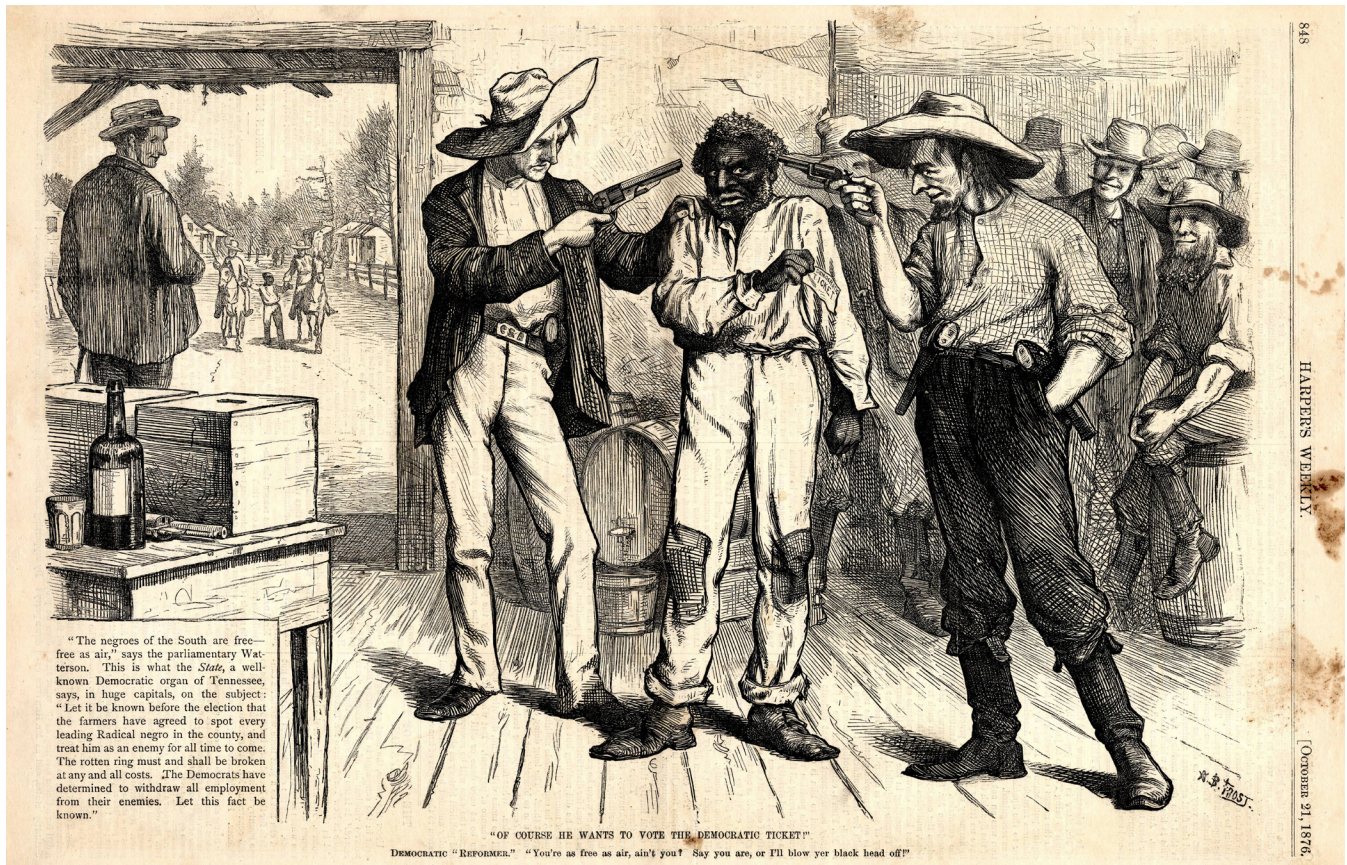


DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

Document B

Thomas Nast, political cartoon published in *Harpers Weekly*, October 21, 1876.

Source: *Harpers Weekly* via *Tennessee Virtual Archive*

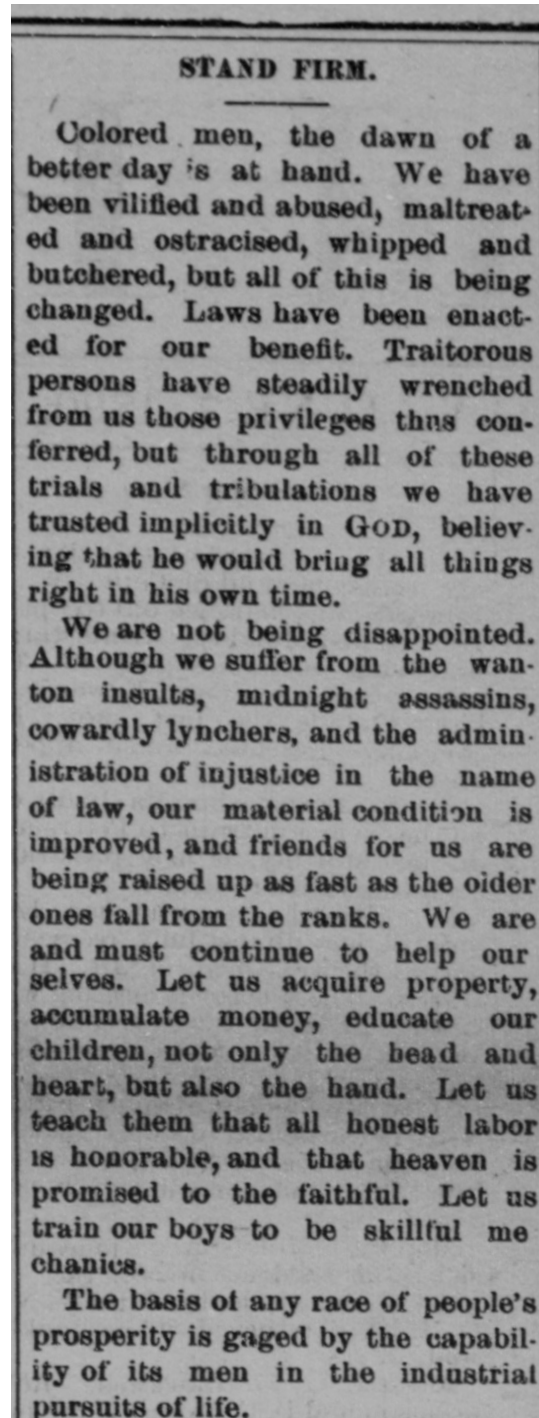


DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

Document C

John Mitchell, Jr., editorial published in the *Richmond Planet*, June 7, 1890.

Source: *Richmond Planet* via the Library of Congress



DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

Document D

Unveiling of the Jefferson Davis Monument, 1907.

Source: *The Valentine*



DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

Document E

Remarks by John Mitchell, Jr., made during a meeting of Richmond City Council, March 3, 1890, when he and his fellow council members discussed whether to fund activities related to the installation of the Lee Monument.

Source: Richmond Planet via Library of Congress

UNVEILING APPROPRIATION.

The report of the Finance Committee stated that they did not feel authorized in the present state of the city's finances to recommend the appropriation of \$7,500 asked for to defray the expenses of the unveiling of the Lee monument.

Mr. Higgins moved that the sum of \$7,500 be appropriated as asked, to be spent by the committees of Lee Camp and Lee Monument Association.

Mr. W. L. White made a strong speech, and hoped there would be no dissenting voice.

Mr. Stratton offered an amendment placing the disbursing of the money with the two above committees and also in a committee of three from the Common Council and two from the Board of Aldermen.

John Mitchell, Jr., a colored member from Jackson Ward, made a speech, which he began by saying that he was a great admirer of General Lee and ended by asking that those who wore the "clanging chains" should be allowed to keep silent and not vote.

The resolution as amended was adopted, the vote being 22 in the affirmative—the three Jackson-Ward councilmen not voting.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

Document F

Press release of the Jackson Monument Corporation, 1912

Source: American Civil War Museum

Release for Morning and Evening Papers, Thursday February 1st, 1912.

Richmond, Va., January 8, 1912.

*To the People of the South and to the Admirers of
"Stonewall" Jackson Everywhere:*

"THE THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON MONUMENT CORPORATION" has been chartered and organized for the purpose of erecting, in the city of Richmond, an equestrian statue to commemorate the virtues and achievements of "Stonewall" Jackson, one of the greatest of military heroes, and one of the noblest and most patriotic of Christian soldiers and gentlemen.

The above organization was the outcome of a meeting of representative Confederate veterans and their sons and daughters held at R. E. Lee Camp Hall, in this City, on the 29th of November, 1911, at which the feeling was freely expressed that while the people of the South have done a noble and patriotic work in erecting monuments to their great leaders, such as those to President Davis, General Lee, General Albert Sidney Johnston, General Hampton, General Stuart, General Forrest, and others, yet there has been no adequate monument erected to General "Stonewall" Jackson, among the greatest of these, and the man whose marvelous skill and matchless achievements in arms have "belted the world with his fame" and shed lustre and renown on the cause for which he gave his life. The only monument in Richmond, the late Capital of the Confederacy, in defence of which Jackson fell, is the statue standing in the "Capitol Square" erected solely by admiring Englishmen, the only tribute of the kind from foreigners to any Confederate leader, thus evincing the exalted opinion in which he was held by people of foreign lands. It was also the expressed opinion of those at this meeting that the work of erecting an equestrian statue in Richmond to General Jackson has already been too long delayed, and that the time was now ripe for the performance of this patriotic duty—a duty which we owe alike to ourselves and to those who come after us.

It is the purpose of this Association to do this, and to appeal to the Legislatures of Virginia and the other Southern States to aid us in the accomplishment of our task. But since no one had a stronger claim or a firmer hold on the affections of all of our people than "Stonewall" Jackson, the Association now appeals to all those who admire his virtues, his patriotism and achievements, to help us in our "labor of love" by sending their contributions to Mr. E. D. Hotchkiss, our Treasurer, at Richmond, Virginia.

We wish to make this subscription as popular as possible, and to that end, and that the young people may be honored by sharing in our work, the Association has set apart the 10th day of May, 1912 (the 49th anniversary of General Jackson's death), as "Jackson's Statue Memorial Day," on which it earnestly asks that each child in the schools of the South will contribute ten cents to the erection of this monument. We also appeal to all Confederate camps and comrades, and to all admirers of General Jackson everywhere, especially throughout the South, to aid us in this movement by sending their contributions, great or small, to our Treasurer. If all will do their part, our task will be a light one and soon accomplished; and we feel sure that this, our appeal, will not be in vain.

By order of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee.

JAMES P. SMITH, President,
GEORGE L. CHRISTIAN, 1st Vice-President,
MRS. E. D. TAYLOR, 2nd Vice-President,
W. WITCHER KEENE, 3rd Vice-President,
E. D. HOTCHKISS, Treasurer,
WM. M. MYERS, Secretary.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

Document G

Confederate Bazaar Fundraiser Advertisement, Jefferson Davis Memorial Association, 1903

American Civil War Museum



DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #1

Document H

Richmond Dispatch Confederate Souvenir Issue, 1896

Source: American Civil War Museum



DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

DIRECTIONS: The following question requires you to write a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. Some of the documents have been edited, and wording and punctuation have been modernized.

QUESTION: African Americans have always had to fight for voting rights and civic freedom in Richmond, Virginia. Evaluate the accuracy of this statement using these documents and your knowledge of the social, political, and economic history of Richmond that you learned in the film.

Document A

United States Constitution, Amendment XV

Passed by Congress February 26, 1869. Ratified February 3, 1870.

SECTION. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

Document B

Excerpt from testimony of Robert E. Lee before the United States Congress, from the *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* (1866), Part II, Page 134.

By Mr. BLOW :

Question. Do you not think it would turn a good deal, in the cotton States, upon the value of the labor of the black people—upon the amount which they produce?

Answer. In a good many States in the south, and in a good many counties in Virginia, if the black people now were allowed to vote, it would, I think, exclude proper representation; that is, proper, intelligent people would not be elected; and rather than suffer that injury they would not let them vote at all.

Question. Do you not think that the question, as to whether any southern State would allow the colored people the right of suffrage in order to increase representation, would depend a good deal on the amount which the colored people might contribute to the wealth of the State in order to secure two things: first, the larger representation, and, second, the influence derived from these persons voting?

Answer. I think they would determine the question more in reference to their opinion as to the manner in which those votes would be exercised, whether they consider those people qualified to vote. My own opinion is, that, at this time, they cannot vote intelligently, and that giving them the right of suffrage would open the door to a great deal of demagogism, and lead to embarrassments in various ways. What the future may prove, how intelligent they may become, with what eyes they may look upon the interests of the State in which they may reside, I cannot say more than you can.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

Document C

Editorial

Source: *Richmond Planet*, 1890

The action of certain Democratic leaders in Jackson Ward should be sufficient to damn them in the eyes of all right thinking people for years to come.

In the First Precinct Jackson Ward, the regular Republican ticket was not allowed any representation at the count. Men who were to represent that side of the contest were ordered out by burly policemen. And this is the way politics is conducted in Richmond city. It is almost as bad as the Mississippi plan.

Messrs. PRESTON BELVIN, GEORGE BAILEY, ———— FELTHAUS, LEWIS STEWART, CLARENCE PEYTON and HENRY MOORE were present at the count in the First Precinct Jackson Ward. Who stuffed the ballot-box?

Mr. PRESTON BELVIN resorted to tactics which were a disgrace to any man and yet he stands sworn to recognize the "civil and political equality of all men before the law."

When men can proceed upon such lines they are beyond all hope of religious redemption.

Colored men, be true to your race. Be honest. Cast out men who deceive you, and can't be trusted about anything.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

Document D

John Mitchell, Jr.

Source: *Richmond Planet*, 1890

STAND FIRM.

Colored men, the dawn of a better day is at hand. We have been vilified and abused, maltreated and ostracised, whipped and butchered, but all of this is being changed. Laws have been enacted for our benefit. Traitorous persons have steadily wrenched from us those privileges thus conferred, but through all of these trials and tribulations we have trusted implicitly in GOD, believing that he would bring all things right in his own time.

We are not being disappointed. Although we suffer from the wanton insults, midnight assassins, cowardly lynchers, and the administration of injustice in the name of law, our material condition is improved, and friends for us are being raised up as fast as the older ones fall from the ranks. We are and must continue to help ourselves. Let us acquire property, accumulate money, educate our children, not only the head and heart, but also the hand. Let us teach them that all honest labor is honorable, and that heaven is promised to the faithful. Let us train our boys to be skillful mechanics.

The basis of any race of people's prosperity is gaged by the capability of its men in the industrial pursuits of life.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

Document E

Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended, “The Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 2006.”

SEC. 2. CONGRESSIONAL PURPOSE AND FINDINGS.

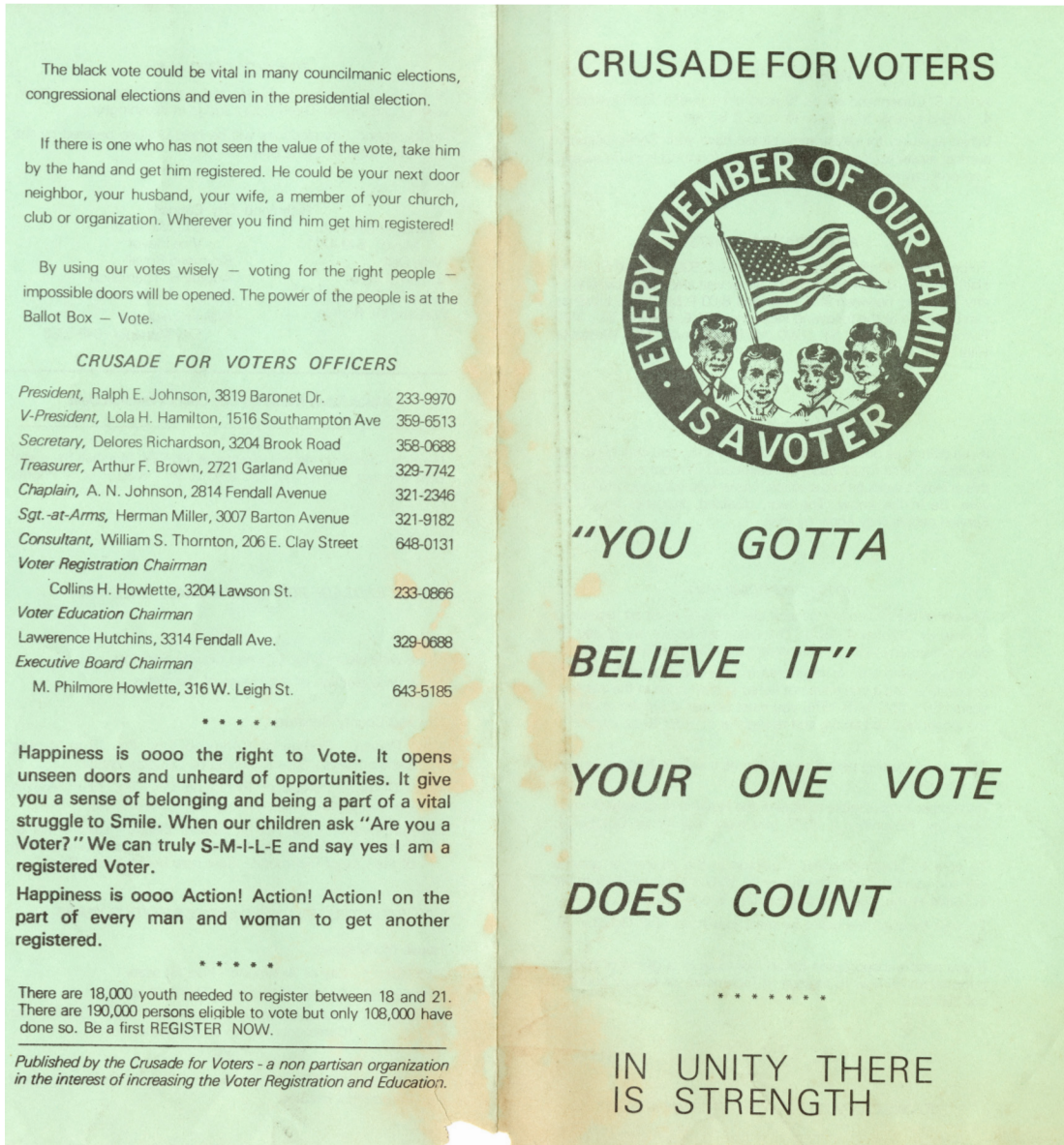
- (a) Purpose — The purpose of this Act is to ensure that the right of all citizens to vote, including the right to register to vote and cast meaningful votes, is preserved and protected as guaranteed by the Constitution.
- (b) Findings — The Congress finds the following:
 - (1) Significant progress has been made in eliminating first generation barriers experienced by minority voters, including increased numbers of registered minority voters, minority voter turnout, and minority representation in Congress, State legislatures, and local elected offices. This progress is the direct result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
 - (2) However, vestiges of discrimination in voting continue to exist as demonstrated by second generation barriers constructed to prevent minority voters from fully participating in the electoral process.
 - (3) The continued evidence of racially polarized voting in each of the jurisdictions covered by the expiring provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 demonstrates that racial and language minorities remain politically vulnerable, warranting the continued protection of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
 - (4) Evidence of continued discrimination includes—
 - (A) the hundreds of objections interposed, requests for more information submitted followed by voting changes withdrawn from consideration by jurisdictions covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and section 5 enforcement actions undertaken by the Department of Justice in covered jurisdictions since 1982 that prevented election practices, such as annexation, at-large voting, and the use of multi-member districts, from being enacted to dilute minority voting strength...

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

Document F

Crusade for Voters pamphlet

Source: Crusade for Voters via VCU Library



DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

Document G

Associated Press,
"Annexation Violated
Rights of Black
Voters, Judge Says," as
published in *The Bee*
(Danville, Virginia),
September 29, 1971.

Source: *The Bee*
(Danville, Virginia)

Annexation Violated Rights Of Black Voters, Judge Says

RICHMOND (AP)—The city of Richmond has been told it violated the rights of its black voters by annexing 23 square miles of Chesterfield County last year — but unanswered is the question of whether the territory should be returned to the county.

In fact, U.S. District Court Judge Robert R. Merhige indicated a strong leaning Tuesday in a "finding of facts" against deannexation if any other means can be found to provide atonement.

He declined to offer a specific remedy, but suggested a first step might be the convening of a three-judge federal court to consider the legality of the city's post-annexation election procedures under the federal Voting Rights Act.

Tuesday's session, which consisted of the judge reading from typewritten notes for 50 minutes, was simply Merhige's summation of what the facts were in the case after reams of testimony last week.

Now attorneys for the city and the plaintiff, black antipoverty figure Curtis Holt, are to prepare new briefs on what should be done about those facts. The judge asked them to do so "within a few days."

Merhige said the testimony convinced him that Richmond's initial 1961 annexation effort against the predominantly white suburb was not racially motivated, but by the time the matter reached a climax in 1969, "the compromise boundary agreement was for the purpose of thwarting Negro control of the city."

This was exactly what Holt's suit contended—that black voting strength was deliberately watered down by the influx of

the 47,000 residents, almost all white, who live in the annexed area.

Merhige noted that many blacks have opposed annexation and merger and that three Richmond councilmen supported by the black Crusade for Voters—Henry L. Marsh III, Howard H. Carwile and James G. Carpenter—were excluded from the negotiations.

In his suit, Holt asked that last year's Richmond council election be voided and a new one ordered and that, in the meantime, city government be turned over to a court-appointed receiver.

The judge took no action on any of these demands.

He said a violation of constitutional rights, under normal circumstances, calls for immediate remedies, but added that in some cases such remedies are not practical.

As an example, Merhige cited controversial school busing cases in which some districts were unable to obtain buses to begin immediate transporting of children.

During the five-day trial, city officials had insisted that the annexation was prompted by a need for a larger tax base and new industrial property and that race was not a significant factor.

City Manager Alan F. Kiepper also testified that de-annexation would create most difficult fiscal problems for the city, which has put large sums of money into the merged area since it was taken over Jan. 1, 1970.

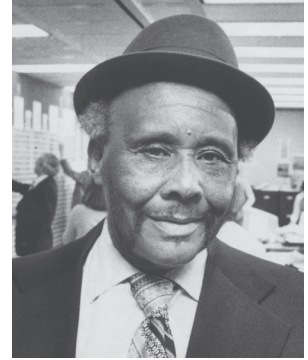
Whatever the remedy turns out to be, Merhige said he hoped it would not "further the polarization of the races in this city."

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION #2

Document H

Lawrence Brown, "Holt Has Won Place in Richmond's History,"
Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 23, 1974, page B1

Source: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*



Holt Has Won Place In History of City

By Lawrence Brown

Curtis Holt Sr. is everybody's idea of what a public figure should not be, yet he is not only a public figure but one who is not taken lightly.

He burst onto the scene, apparently from nowhere, and has been there since — sometimes dominating it.

He believes that if it had not been for his enemies, he would not be more than he appears to be today. "They made me what I am," he said.

A "Tar Heel," Holt is an unemployed high school dropout. He is a huge man at 6 feet, 3 inches, and 282 pounds. Sometimes when he speaks, what comes from his round, bearded face would puzzle even Casey Stengel.

It is not what Holt says that makes him a force, however, it is what he does, and if he never does another thing he has already won an everlasting place in Richmond's history.

HE IS THE REASON there hasn't been a local election here since 1970. He is trying to win a reversal of the city's 1970 annexation of a portion of Chesterfield County. He maintains that that annexation violated the voting strength of blacks in the city and he has won a court order blocking local elections in the city until the issue is settled.

Intervention in that annexation case is perhaps what Holt is best known for, but politicians recognize him as the man who conceived the idea of organizing government housing projects, and Holt has done it with marked success.

Holt came to Richmond with a construction crew from Rocky Mount, N.C., in 1940.

The following year he was

working at Virginia Union University when a large smokestack toppled and fell on him. It left him unconscious for 11 months and he was hospitalized for two years.

The accident left Holt disabled, and since then his only source of income has been a Social Security disability pension.

HE MOVED HIS FAMILY into Creighton Court, a housing development run by the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, and there began to emerge as Curtis Holt, the public figure.

When he got there, Holt said he found there was "no community leadership, no civic organization and the rules and regulations were so tough that the tenants could hardly live with them."

He did some arithmetic and found out that there were nearly 3,000 people living in the project's 504 units.

"I decided I would get a group of people and organize a citizens' group in the community," Holt said. But he found that "everyone was very much afraid to get involved in any type of organization."

Holt said when the group's first efforts began, there were threats from the RRHA that anyone who joined the organization would be evicted.

He wrote to the U.S. attorney general's office and received a

Continued on Page 4, Col. 3

Continued From First Page

letter spelling out his constitutional rights.

Armed with that letter, Holt was able to convince residents of the project that their rights would be protected, and he was on his way.

HE ASKED THE RRHA to permit the Creighton Court Civic Association to meet in the project's recreation building, but was turned down.

Finally, his pastor at Fourth St. Baptist Church said the group could meet there.

Through the use of sound system cars and printed literature, Holt got the message across that the group was formed and had a place to meet and everyone was invited.

The civic association would meet and draw up lists of grievances and Holt would present them to the RRHA. There were many confrontations, and Holt said there were many threats that if he didn't stop his "foolishness," he would be evicted.

Finally, Holt was given 14

days to get out. He took his problem to the NAACP and its lawyers took it to U.S. District Court and Holt won an injunction against eviction.

In 1966 he got out his pencil again and did some more arithmetic. He figured out that there were 4,500 units in nearby public housing projects which should contain about 15,000 people.

"It was a beautiful sight," he said.

Holt saw what he had done by organizing in Creighton Court and multiplied it by what could be done by organizing in the others.

"IN THAT FIRST YEAR," he said, "we registered over 3,000 new voters — most from the projects."

Holt and his group endorsed candidates in a City Council race in 1966. They backed Howard H. Carville, who had run for 18 years and never won, and Henry L. Marsh III, a young black lawyer and political novice. They both won by large margins.

Holt ran for council himself in 1970 and received more than

13,000 votes in his first effort. He is attempting now to get the results of that election voided in the courts.

He figures he can deliver between 23,000 and 25,000 votes now, and politicians at all levels deal with him.

Candidates pay Holt for his efforts in their behalf, but he said he pays it all out to his precinct workers.

Asked if he makes any money scrape up a dollar's worth of pennies the other night to get gas to go to a meeting."

WHEN CANDIDATES come to Holt and ask him for his support, Holt said they have to first win the endorsement of his groups.

"Then," he said, "I ask him what he wants and we sit down and figure what it will cost."

For instance, Holt said, he pays each poll watcher \$30 a day. If a candidate wants one or more at each precinct, he pays \$30 for each of them.

There are drivers who must be paid to get voters to and from the polls and workers are paid for door-to-door canvasses on behalf of the candidates.

One behind-the-scenes politico, who described himself as a "bag man," admitted that he delivered money to Holt on behalf of a statewide candidate.

Why do they go to Holt? "Because he delivers," the man said.

VIRGINIA STANDARDS OF LEARNING

VIRGINIA STUDIES (4TH GRADE)

- VS.7 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the issues that divided our nation and led to the Civil War by**
- identifying the events and differences between northern and southern states that divided Virginians and led to secession, war, and the creation of West Virginia;
 - describing Virginia's role in the war, including identifying major battles that took place in Virginia;
 - describing the roles played by whites, enslaved African Americans, free African Americans, and American Indians.
- VS.8 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the reconstruction of Virginia following the Civil War by**
- identifying the effects of Reconstruction on life in Virginia;
 - identifying the effects of segregation and "Jim Crow" on life in Virginia for whites, African Americans, and American Indians;
 - describing the importance of railroads, new industries, and the growth of cities to Virginia's economic development.
- VS.9 The student will demonstrate knowledge of twentieth- and twenty-first-century Virginia by**
- describing the economic and social transition from a rural, agricultural society to a more urban, industrialized society, including the reasons people came to Virginia from other states and countries;
 - identifying the impact of Virginians, such as Woodrow Wilson and George C. Marshall, on international events;
 - identifying the social and political events in Virginia linked to desegregation and Massive Resistance and their relationship to national history;
 - identifying the political, social, and/or economic contributions made by Maggie L. Walker; Harry F. Byrd, Sr.; Oliver W. Hill; Arthur R. Ashe, Jr.; A. Linwood Holton, Jr.; and L. Douglas Wilder.
- VS.10 The student will demonstrate knowledge of government, geography, and economics by**
- identifying the three branches of Virginia government and the function of each;
 - describing the major products and industries of Virginia's five geographic regions;
 - explaining how advances in transportation, communications, and technology have contributed to Virginia's prosperity and role in the global economy.

US HISTORY 1877 – PRESENT (7TH GRADE)

- USII.3 The student will apply social science skills to understand the effects of Reconstruction on American life by**
- analyzing the impact of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and how they changed the meaning of citizenship;
 - describing the impact of Reconstruction policies on the South and North; and
 - describing the legacies of Abraham Lincoln, Robert E. Lee, and Frederick Douglass.
- USII.4 The student will apply social science skills to understand how life changed after the Civil War by**
- explaining the reasons for the increase in immigration, growth of cities, and challenges arising from this expansion;
 - describing racial segregation, the rise of "Jim Crow," and other constraints faced by African Americans and other groups in the post-Reconstruction South;
- USII.9 The student will apply social science skills to understand the key domestic and international issues during the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries by**
- examining the impact of the Civil Rights Movement, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), and the changing role of women on all Americans;

- b) describing the development of new technologies in communication, entertainment, and business and their impact on American life;
- c) analyzing how representative citizens have influenced America scientifically, culturally, academically, and economically

CIVICS AND ECONOMICS

- CE.2 The student will apply social science skills to understand the foundations of American constitutional government by**
- a) explaining the fundamental principles of consent of the governed, limited government, rule of law, democracy, and representative government;
 - b) examining and evaluating the impact of the Magna Carta, charters of the Virginia Company of London, the Virginia Declaration of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom on the Constitution of Virginia and the Constitution of the United States, including the Bill of Rights;
 - c) describing the purposes for the Constitution of the United States as stated in its Preamble; and
 - d) describing the procedures for amending the Constitution of Virginia and the Constitution of the United States.
- CE.3 The student will apply social science skills to understand citizenship and the rights, duties, and responsibilities of citizens by**
- a) describing the First Amendment freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition, and the rights guaranteed by due process and equal protection of the laws;
 - b) describing the duties of citizenship, including obeying the laws, paying taxes, defending the nation, and serving in court;
 - c) examining the responsibilities of citizenship, including registering and voting, communicating with government officials, participating in political campaigns, keeping informed about current issues, and respecting differing opinions in a diverse society; and
 - e) evaluating how civic and social duties address community needs and serve the public good.
- CE.4 The student will demonstrate personal character traits that facilitate thoughtful and effective participation in civic life by**
- a) practicing trustworthiness and honesty;
 - b) practicing courtesy and respect for the rights of others;
 - c) practicing responsibility, accountability, and self-reliance;
 - d) practicing respect for the law;
 - e) practicing patriotism;
 - f) practicing thoughtful decision making; and
 - g) practicing service to the school and/or local community.
- CE.5 The student will apply social science skills to understand the political process at the local, state, and national levels of government by**
- a) describing the functions of political parties;
 - b) comparing and contrasting political parties;
 - c) analyzing campaigns for elective office, with emphasis on the role of the media;
 - d) evaluating and explaining the role of campaign contributions and costs;
 - e) examining the history of and requirements for voter registration, and participating in simulated local, state, and/or national elections;
- CE.8 The student will apply social science skills to understand the American constitutional government at the local level by**
- a) describing the structure and powers of the local government;
 - b) explaining the relationship of local government to the state government; and

- c) explaining and/or simulating the lawmaking process.

CE.10 The student will apply social science skills to understand how public policy is made at the local, state, and national levels of government by

- a) examining the impact of the media on public opinion and public policy;
- b) describing how individuals and interest groups influence public policy; and
- c) describing the impact of international issues and events on local decision making.

VIRGINIA AND UNITED STATES HISTORY - 11TH GRADE

VUS.7 The student will apply social science skills to understand the Civil War and Reconstruction eras and their significance as major turning points in American history by

- a) describing major events and the roles of key leaders of the Civil War era, with emphasis on Jefferson Davis, Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, and Frederick Douglass;
- c) evaluating and explaining the impact of the war on Americans, with emphasis on Virginians, African Americans, the common soldier, and the home front;
- d) evaluating postwar Reconstruction plans presented by key leaders of the Civil War; and
- e) evaluating and explaining the political and economic impact of the war and Reconstruction, including the adoption of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

VUS.8 The student will apply social science skills to understand how the nation grew and changed from the end of Reconstruction through the early twentieth century by

- b) analyzing the factors that transformed the American economy from agrarian to industrial and explaining how major inventions transformed life in the United States, including the emergence of leisure activities;
- d) analyzing the impact of prejudice and discrimination, including “Jim Crow” laws, the responses of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, and the practice of eugenics in Virginia;
- e) evaluating and explaining the social and cultural impact of industrialization, including rapid urbanization; and
- f) evaluating and explaining the economic outcomes and the political, cultural and social developments of the Progressive Movement and the impact of its legislation.

VUS.13 The student will apply social science skills to understand the social, political, and cultural movements and changes in the United States during the second half of the twentieth century by

- b) evaluating and explaining the impact of the Brown v. Board of Education decision, the roles of Thurgood Marshall and Oliver W. Hill, Sr., and how Virginia responded to the decision;
- c) explaining how the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the 1963 March on Washington, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) had an impact on all Americans;
- e) evaluating and explaining the foreign and domestic policies pursued by the American government after the Cold War;
- g) evaluating and explaining the changes that occurred in American culture.

VIRGINIA AND UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GOVT.2 The student will apply social science skills to understand the political philosophies that shaped the development of Virginia and United States constitutional government by

- e) analyzing the natural rights philosophies expressed in the Declaration of Independence; and
- f) evaluating and explaining George Mason’s Virginia Declaration of Rights, Thomas Jefferson’s Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, and James Madison’s leadership role in securing adoption of the Bill of Rights by the First Congress.

GOVT.3 The student will apply social science skills to understand the concepts of democracy by

- a) recognizing the fundamental worth and dignity of the individual;
- b) recognizing the equality of all citizens under the law;
- c) recognizing what defines a citizen and how noncitizens can become citizens;
- d) recognizing majority rule and minority rights;
- e) recognizing the necessity of compromise; and
- f) recognizing the freedom of the individual.

GOVT.6 The student will apply social science skills to understand local, state, and national elections by

- a) describing the nomination and election process, including the organization and evolving role of political parties;
- b) analyzing the influence of media coverage, campaign advertising, public opinion polls, social media, and digital communications on elections;
- c) investigating and explaining the impact of reapportionment and redistricting on elections and governance;
- d) describing how amendments have extended the right to vote; and
- e) analyzing voter turnout in local, state, and national elections.

GOVT.10 The student will apply social science skills to understand the federal judiciary by

- a) describing the organization, jurisdiction, and proceedings of federal courts;
- b) evaluating how the Marshall Court established the Supreme Court as an independent branch of government through its opinion in *Marbury v. Madison*;
- c) describing how the Supreme Court decides cases;
- d) investigating and evaluating how the judiciary influences public policy by delineating the power of government and safeguarding the rights of the individual.

GOVT.11 The student will apply social science skills to understand civil liberties and civil rights by

- a) examining the Bill of Rights, with emphasis on First Amendment freedoms;
- b) analyzing due process of law expressed in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments;
- c) explaining how the Supreme Court has applied most of the protections of the Bill of Rights to the states through a process of selective incorporation;
- d) investigating and evaluating the balance between individual liberties and the public interest; and
- e) examining how civil liberties and civil rights are protected under the law.

GOVT.16 The student will apply social science skills to understand that in a democratic republic, thoughtful and effective participation in civic life is characterized by

- a) exercising personal character traits such as trustworthiness, responsibility, and honesty;
- b) obeying the law and paying taxes;
- c) serving as a juror;
- d) participating in the political process and voting in local, state, and national elections;
- e) performing public service;
- f) keeping informed about current issues;
- g) respecting differing opinions and the rights of others;
- h) practicing personal and fiscal responsibility;
- i) demonstrating the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that foster the responsible and respectful use of digital media; and
- j) practicing patriotism.

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

HISTORY/SOCIAL STUDIES (GRADE 6-8)

Key Ideas and Details:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.1

Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.2

Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.3

Identify key steps in a text's description of a process related to history/social studies (e.g., how a bill becomes law, how interest rates are raised or lowered).

Craft and Structure:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.4

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary specific to domains related to history/social studies.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.5

Describe how a text presents information (e.g., sequentially, comparatively, causally).

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.6

Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author's point of view or purpose (e.g., loaded language, inclusion or avoidance of particular facts).

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.7

Integrate visual information (e.g., in charts, graphs, photographs, videos, or maps) with other information in print and digital texts.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.8

Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.9

Analyze the relationship between a primary and secondary source on the same topic.

Range of Reading and Level of Text Complexity:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.10

By the end of grade 8, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 6-8 text complexity band independently and proficiently.

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

HISTORY/SOCIAL STUDIES (GRADE 9-10)

Key Ideas and Details:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.1

Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.2

Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.3

Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

Craft and Structure:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.4

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social science.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.5

Analyze how a text uses structure to emphasize key points or advance an explanation or analysis.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.6

Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.7

Integrate quantitative or technical analysis (e.g., charts, research data) with qualitative analysis in print or digital text.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.8

Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.9

Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.

Range of Reading and Level of Text Complexity:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.10

By the end of grade 10, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 9-10 text complexity band independently and proficiently.

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

Key Ideas and Details:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1

Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.2

Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.3

Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

Craft and Structure:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.4

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including analyzing how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term over the course of a text (e.g., how Madison defines faction in Federalist No. 10).

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.5

Analyze in detail how a complex primary source is structured, including how key sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text contribute to the whole.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.6

Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7

Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.8

Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.9

Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

Range of Reading and Level of Text Complexity:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.10

By the end of grade 12, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 11-CCR text complexity band independently and proficiently.

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