





MEMORANDUM

To: Mayor and Council Members

Through: Susana Carbajal, Chief of Staff 

From: Tamela Saldaña, Interim Chief Equity Officer 

Date: January 19, 2024

Subject: **Renaming City Assets Dedicated to the Confederacy and White Supremacy (Resolution No. 20200729-091)**

This memo provides the final staff response and report to [Resolution No. 20200729-091](#), relating to City assets with names tied to the Confederacy and white supremacy. The resolution directed staff to support an educational process and collaborate with residents to identify City assets for renaming.

Background

In July 2018, the Equity Office issued a [memo](#) in response to [Resolution No. 20171005-031](#) identifying assets slated for review, along with associated remedies such as removal, interpretive signage, and renaming. The Equity Office further recommended for Council to take action to rename streets and public assets that are identified in the list for “Assets Slated for Initial Review” and collaborate with residents to identify a person or other entity desired to be honored in the renaming of the asset.

Response to Resolution No. 20200729-091

The Equity Office worked with community members, including the Equity Action Team, to identify alternative names for City-owned assets. Community input was also encouraged via a SpeakUp Austin! page that went live on April 29, 2022. The Equity Office made available online an initial [database](#) of these names. Council and City departments can consult this list when renaming City-owned assets, so that future names reflect the values of our City by recognizing “esteemed state and local heroes, places, and concepts that uphold the noble ideals of liberty, democracy, and self-determination” that the Austin community wishes to honor, as directed by the resolution.

The attached final report by Dr. Theodore Francis, *Whose Streets? Our Streets! The Historical Documentation of Confederate-Named City Assets in Austin, Texas and Considerations for Their (Re-) Naming*, outlines a historically informed equity framework for the City to utilize for renaming assets, with a focus on historical and cultural context.

Dr. Francis’ report provides guidelines for how the City may move forward with renaming processes. The framework consists of the categories of People, Place, and Process that explicitly considers the impacts of racism and racialized identities.

If you have additional questions, please contact equity@austintexas.gov or 512-974-8707.

cc: Jesús Garza, Interim City Manager

Attachment: *Whose Streets? Our Streets! The Historical Documentation of Confederate-Named City Assets in Austin, Texas and Considerations for their (Re-) Naming*

A large crowd of people at a protest, many holding 'Black Lives Matter' signs. The image is a black and white photograph of a dense crowd of people, mostly young adults, holding up various protest signs. The signs are predominantly 'Black Lives Matter' and 'I Can't Breathe'. The crowd is diverse in age and appearance. The image is used as a background for the report cover.

DECEMBER 2022

WHOSE STREETS? OUR STREETS!

THE HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF
CONFEDERATE-NAMED CITY ASSETS IN
AUSTIN, TEXAS AND CONSIDERATIONS
FOR THEIR (RE-) NAMING

RESEARCHED AND WRITTEN BY

Theodore Francis, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History and Global Studies
Abilene Christian University

PREPARED FOR
City of Austin
Equity Office

Photo by Teemu Paananen on Unsplash

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Acknowledgements

This report is presented to the Equity Office of the City of Austin in fulfillment of the contract MA 4400 NA 210000120, April 21, 2021. It was initiated during the challenging time of public health lockdowns and other travel limitations by city, state, and federal government responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to the pandemic, changes in City staff involved in the project, alongside other professional transitions, delayed its completion. However, these challenges were overcome by excellent leadership from the Equity Office. I would like to thank the following individuals and organizations for their assistance in the completion of this project. These members of the Equity Office played key roles in leadership and supervision of this work – Amanda Jasso, Kellee Coleman, and Brion Oaks. Thank you for your guidance, patient flexibility. Beyond the scope of this project, these members of the Equity Office are charged with carrying out an important mandate that often places them in the position of receiving criticism from members of the public and City administration. Yet from my vantage point, I have only seen them handle these difficulties with grace coupled with an unwavering commitment to the goals of equity and racial justice. Consequently, I hope that the City of Austin continues to support them in their work.

The Austin History Center (AHC) archives was a vital repository for sources on the City's history and Confederate named sites, and I would like to thank Molly Hults, the AHC Collections Manager and Jacqueline Smith-Francis, Ph.D., the AHC African American Community Archivist, for their assistance and prompt responses to with a wide range of questions and document requests – this project could not have been completed without your help. In addition, I would like to thank Freda Hamric for her proxy research skills while I was unable to get to archives, especially for her help obtaining several document images that are featured in this report. Ultimately, this report is dedicated to the people of Austin working in formal, unofficial, and activist roles to research, teach,

and share difficult truths, all while challenging people in authority to make this city, state, and country, a better, more antiracist place. Forward ever, backward never!

Introduction

*Colonialism's legacies remain with us today... . traces that are apparent in the forms of mundane objects such as fences and hedges, names of streets and constellations....*¹

In June 1776, Thomas Jefferson and his committee of delegates (John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Benjamin Franklin) drafted the Declaration of Independence.² In addition to stating reasons why the thirteen North American colonies were breaking away from Britain, the document made another powerful claim with far-reaching consequences. Its opening line stated: *In congress July 4, 1776, the unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America...*³ Although this statement seems rather ordinary to many Americans in the twenty-first century, it held great weight to its eighteenth-century audience, because it articulated a new name for the territory, the United States of America. Yet at the time when this document was being signed, and publicized, the thirteen states remained part of the British empire – a status that most European and Native American powers acknowledged, even if they disliked the empire. Meanwhile, King George III and Parliament dismissed the new name, alongside any claims of political independence stated in the declaration. Instead, they chose to refer to the thirteen states by the designation they already knew – Great Britain's North American colonies. It would take several years of warfare and political negotiation before the name United States of America was accepted as an international political reality. Evidently, colonists understood they would have to fight to make their new name and republic into a reality, since they notified George Washington, the commander of the continental army, soon after the declaration was announced. In spite of this fact, they chose to issue a public

¹ P. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession In Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 15.

² J. Lepore, *These Truths: A History of the United States* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2019), 98-99.

³ "The Declaration of Independence" *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States - House Document No. 398 - Selected, Arranged and Indexed by Charles C. Tansill* (U.S.A.: Government Printing Office, 1927).

political statement under a new national name, long before their country and political system became a globally recognized reality. Americans knew that the new name they had selected was aspirational, characterizing the political status they hoped to achieve, rather than the reality in 1776 when they initially made their claims.

This historical episode from the founding of the United States sheds light on the importance of naming – a concept that is central to this report. Naming is a way of marking possession of an entity and declaring hopes, dreams, and goals for the person, place or thing. Appreciating the deeper meaning of names and naming-practices, helps us to appreciate how names are part of the body of information that communicate legacies, as historian Patricia Seed noted: *Colonialism's legacies remain with us today... .. traces that are apparent in the forms of mundane objects such as fences and hedges, names of streets and constellations*⁴ The renaming of the thirteen colonies was an act that signaled possession and aspirations. Regarding the former, the name United States of America indicated that a new political community and system were taking control over the territory that was once claimed by the British empire. The name was also aspirational in that it asserted a level of unity among the states. Indeed, Britain would not recognize the territory as the United States until their armies surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781, and then more formally in the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

However, external acknowledgement by their former colonizer was only one part of manifesting their new name; the other task involved the internal work of unifying a diverse collection of states under a single legislative agenda. The preamble of the U.S. Constitution captures the ongoing work of bringing the states together more closely: *We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union...*⁵ This process commenced with the Constitutional Convention in 1787

⁴ P. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession In Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁵ "The United States Constitution" The National Constitution Center
<https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution>

and continues to the present as Americans aspire to achieve the lofty goals described in the republic's foundational political documents. Yet, the new name of the United States that helped to establish American independence was also flawed. On face value, the United States of America seems to be an inclusive designation; however the men who defined this new political entity in 1776 constructed citizenship and belonging in ways that did not include, nor welcome, everyone equally into the thirteen states. The most prominent examples include the following: the refusal to include Native Americans whose land had been colonized by the European colonial predecessors of the U.S., and whose land the newly formed U.S.A. was in the process of occupying; the continuation of racial chattel slavery of Africans and Native Americans; the acceptance and growth of anti-Black racial discrimination; as well as, the failure to incorporate women as equal political citizens.⁶ It would take decades of critique, debate, social and political activism, as well as warfare, to compel the United States of America to begin to change the aforementioned list of exclusions so that the United States of 2022 has several noticeable differences over its 1776 iteration, even though complete belonging and equal citizenship for all are not yet fully realized. These and other changes indicate the capacity for names to allow room for aspirational growth over time, rather than simply memorializing a historical idea, person, or value, from the past.

At the heart of this discussion, are the concepts of history and commemoration. History is the study of the past and how things change over time. Good histories explain and describe the past using narratives told from various perspectives, alongside relevant contextual information, to provide knowledge, understanding, and deeper meanings from the experiences of the people and worlds that existed before. On the other hand, commemorations are not history, although they are informed by it. Commemorations select and draw attention to certain individuals, entities, and events, highlighting their significance, and other qualities. Commemorations are about promoting

⁶ I.X. Kendi, *Stamped From the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Nation Books, 2016).

someone, or something, as being worthy of memorialization and recognition. Consequently, it requires intention and power. The naming of sites such as city parks, streets, and public buildings are examples of the practice of commemoration. And while these sites are often named after historical events or figures, these place-names are not history in and of themselves. Therefore, as names are marked on public places, the individuals or societies that do so, are enacting aspirational claims and indicating possession. Recognizing this process helps us to appreciate the problematic nature of Confederate-named sites. In other words, what kinds of aspirational claims are being articulated when a public building, street or park is named for the Confederate States of America, or a specific Confederate soldier, or official? Likewise, what does it say about a city when it chooses to declare ownership (or possession) of a public site in the name of the Confederacy? Such questions compel us to grapple with the Civil War and whether the Confederacy was an entity worthy of commemoration? Also, these questions cause us to think about what these place-names say about the places, time periods, and societies that did the naming, as well as the values of the societies that choose to let these kinds of place-names to remain.

Reflecting on American history, and the power of naming, is critical for the work that is facing the City of Austin, Texas as it figures out what to do with the legacies of the Confederacy that are found on public buildings and spaces. As the previous historical snapshot indicates, (re)naming a place can sometimes provoke sharp reactions from individuals and organizations who are invested in the status quo. Also, new names – or the way it is defined and/or applied – might perpetuate pre existing forms of exclusion and discrimination. Therefore, it is critical to engage with history, meet and talk with members of Austin's communities, as well as interrogate our collective aspirations for the city. This report enlists the historical record on Confederate Avenue, Plantation Road, Dixie Drive, and Hamilton Metz Park and Pool, to evaluate how Austin can proceed with addressing Confederate named public properties. Each section contains a historical survey of the City asset,

with a historical analysis of the name itself, and a conclusion that poses reflective questions relevant to the specific asset, as well as future decisions regarding similarly themed/named sites.

Confederate Avenue - District 9

On July 28, 2022, Confederate Avenue was renamed to Maggie Mayes Street to honor the public educator in the Clarksville freedom community.

Historical Survey of the Site

Maggie Mayes Street - formerly Confederate Avenue - is located in West Austin in 78703 within Clarksville, the historical post emancipation African American community. The community began in 1865 when former governor Elisha Pease began permitting emancipated slaves (some of his former 'property') to purchase and settle on parcels of land south of his Woodlawn plantation estate. In August 1871, a free man named Charles Griffin Clark purchased a two-acre plot from former Confederate general Nathan Shelley, in the vicinity of what would become West 10th Street when the area was later encompassed by city limits. Clark built a home on the 1600 block of West 10th street and his land became the heart of the Clarksville community. Over the ensuing years, Clark sold pieces of land to freed people, while other African Americans purchased land from white landowners in the surrounding area. Clark envisioned a community where those formerly enslaved would be able to control their own lives, freely practice their own religion, as well as reunite with family and friends.⁷ To this end, Clarksville residents formed the Sweet Home Missionary Baptist Church in the late 1870s under the pastorship of Rev. Jacob Fontaine who lived in the area with his family. Members and residents were able to raise funds and purchase a plot of land for the church building in the 1880s.⁸

⁷ Clarksville Community Development Corporation, "The Origins of Clarksville"

<http://www.clarksvillecdc.org/origins-of-clarksville>

Pease Park Conservancy, "Black History Month – Clarksville: From Reconstruction to Jim Crow"

<https://peasepark.org/news/2021/2/20/black-history-month-clarksville-from-reconstruction-to-jim-crow>

⁸ G. A. Burd, "Jacob Fontaine 1808-98" - Texas State Historical Association

<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/fontaine-jacob>

Prior to 1900, Clarksville had grown into a vibrant community with its own church, school and farms. However, this community was not really acknowledged in any of the City's formal documentation. For example, the 1886 R.W. Ford map of the city (below) shows empty unmarked space south of Governor Pease's plantation in the region that should have included the Clarksville community. Despite the lack of cartographical recognition in the Ford map, significant city figures resided in the area, such as Texas legislator Elias Mayes and educator, Maggie Mayes, for which Confederate Avenue was recently renamed. One of the state's prominent post reconstruction African American lawmakers, Elias Mayes served in the House of Representatives for the 16th Session from January 1879 to January 1881 and resided in Clarksville on West 10th street, within walking distance of what would later be called Confederate Avenue. Maggie Mayes has been credited with founding the first school in Clarksville. Approximately four years after the publication of the map, the settlement of Clarksville was home to 900 residents with a school and Sweet Home Missionary Baptist Church.⁹

Michael Gross, "Historical Churches – Sweet Home Missionary Baptist Church, Austin (Clarksville), Texas" <https://www.mgrosshistoricalchurches.net/sweet-home-mbc-austin>

⁹ Pease Park Conservancy, "*Black History Month – Clarksville From Reconstruction to Jim Crow*" February 20, 2021 <https://peasepark.org/news/2021/2/20/black-history-month-clarksville-from-reconstruction-to-jim-crow>



Clarksville's relegation by City leaders to the outskirts of Austin began changing as the nineteenth century closed and the twentieth century began. There were two instrumental developments in this process; the first was the growth of the University of Texas campus expanding on the east side of Shoal Creek. As the university's campus grew with the construction of the old main building in the 1880s, Brackenridge Hall in 1890, and the women's building in the 1900s,

residences for staff, faculty and service workers, as well as various businesses, sprang up around the campus.¹⁰ The financial and sociopolitical value attached to the university by City leaders and state legislators, alongside the project of segregated higher education, raised the importance of the area.

The other development occurred on the west side of Shoal Creek and it was the establishment of the Confederate Men's Home.¹¹ Funds raised by the John B. Hood camp of United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) were used to purchase sixteen acres and a home for elderly Confederate veterans was opened in 1886. The United Daughters of the Confederacy established an Austin chapter in 1897, named in honor of CSA soldier Albert Sidney Johnston.¹² The organization engaged in memorializing the Confederacy, by spreading the lost cause narrative and supporting monuments in honor of CSA soldiers, battles and affiliated organizations like the Ku Klux Klan (the white supremacist racial terror organization established by former Confederate Nathan Bedford Forrest).¹³ For example, the UDC was involved in fundraising and lobbying for Confederate monuments at the state capitol, and they maintained a Confederate Museum until the 1980s in the Old Land Office building in the southeast corner of the state capitol grounds.¹⁴ In addition to these activities, the UDC also sought to aid Confederate veterans who were indigent or experiencing financial struggles. The UDC also played a key role in fundraising for the

¹⁰ W.J. Battle, "The University of Texas at Austin" Texas State Historical Association
<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/university-of-texas-at-austin>

¹¹ A.S. Kirchenbauer, "The Texas Confederate Home for Men 1884-1970" M.A. Thesis, The University of North Texas, August 2011; Historical Marker Database, "The Confederate Men's Home Austin TX"
<https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=79396>

¹² United Daughters of the Confederacy Albert Sidney Johnston #105 official website, "Our Chapter History"
<http://www.asj105.org/ChapterHistory.html>
 B.L. Clayton, "Lone Star Conspiracy: Racial Violence and Ku Klux Klan Terror in Post-Civil War Texas, 1865-77" Masters Thesis Oklahoma State University, July 1986.
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/215246912.pdf>

¹³ United Daughters of the Confederacy Albert Sidney Johnston #105 official website, "Our Chapter History"
<http://www.asj105.org/ChapterHistory.html>

¹⁴ R. Preston, "The Texas Confederate Museum" Texas State Historical Association, October 1, 1995.
<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texas-confederate-museum>
 "The Old Land Office Building" Texas State Historical Association, 1952 & April 2019.
<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/old-land-office-building>

Confederate Women's Home established off West 38th Street in 1908, which provided shelter for elderly wives and widows of Confederate veterans without means of support.¹⁵

Between its establishment in 1886 and its close in 1954, the site of the Confederate Men's Home grew from 16 acres to 26 acres and housed over 2,000 veterans – including many from other wars like the Spanish American and World War I.¹⁶ The presence of the Confederate Men's Home on the edges of an African American community established as a safe haven for emancipated people was an occasion for tension on multiple levels. Twentieth century oral histories of former Clarksville residents recall sporadic conflicts between the men of the home and Black residents occurring in the streets surrounding the home. For Black people who managed to avoid physical altercations, the Confederate home was viewed as an ominous site, with Clarksville residents being warned at church to avoid the place.¹⁷ Such recollections demonstrate the presence of de facto racial segregation and/or the racialization of urban social geography based on changing inhabitants. Street altercations can be interpreted as a means for different groups to contest for dominance in an area. Thus, Confederate veterans were possibly expressing their perceived racial and/or social control in the area. In addition, these accounts about relations between African Americans of Clarksville and white Confederate veterans, illustrate the ways that the social climate and informal rules governing the spaces in and around Clarksville began to change in ways that were not always under the control of Black Austinites.

It was during this context that the name Confederate Avenue first emerged on City documents in 1924. For example, the City of Austin Directory of 1924 (pictured below) shows the name Confederate Avenue for the street extending off Robertson and in between West 9th and West 9 ½

¹⁵ Historical Marker Database, "The Confederate Women's Home Austin TX"
<https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=194092>

¹⁶ Historical Marker Database, "The Confederate Men's Home Austin TX"
<https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=79396>

¹⁷ A.S. Kirchenbauer, "The Texas Confederate Home for Men 1884-1970" M.A. Thesis, The University of North Texas, August 2011, 57-60.

Streets. City Council records, and related sources available at this time, do not record an individual or group as responsible for naming the street, therefore it is hard to identify the individual who named the street. Still, the selection of the name ‘Confederate Avenue’ and its subsequent acceptance by City authorities seems to be strongly informed by the context of pro-Confederate social and political activities occurring in Austin around the time of the naming. It would be unreasonable to claim that African Americans of Clarksville chose this name considering the aforementioned conflicts between Black residents and white Confederate veterans. In the absence of a specific document that identifies the individual or group who named the street it is reasonable to conclude that the name was devised by white residents and/or landowners in the area.

Prior to the name’s emergence, the Confederate home had recently undergone important political shifts that indicate the importance of the site in the minds of state legislators and city leaders. Initially, the Confederate Men’s Home was run with support from the UDC, the Veterans Camp and public donations; however, in 1891, oversight was assumed by the state of Texas. This continued until 1920 when legislators created a board of control to operate the home, a decision which coincided with its highest occupancy since its establishment - 441.¹⁸

In the listing of significant state officials contained in the Austin City Directory of 1927, a Kit Robsion¹⁹ was identified as the Chief Clerk over the State Confederate Pension Bureau. Historians of the south have shown how Confederate pensions were deployed as means of consolidating individual and public support for the Confederacy after the fact, as well as reinforcing white racial solidarity.²⁰ In the same year, North Carolina enacted a policy of granting certain pension benefits to African Americans who had been enslaved by Confederate servicemen as body servants or laborers.

¹⁸ Historical Marker Database, “The Confederate Men’s Home Austin TX”
<https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=79396>

¹⁹ NB – possibly a typographical error for Robson or Robinson

²⁰ A.H. Domby, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020).

This move was intended to maintain white patriarchal dominance over African Americans during an era of segregation (i.e., casting white enslavers as ‘benevolent masters’ who superintended over an allegedly benevolent institution of slavery). In the years that followed, these records were used to justify the fallacious claim that there were loyal Black Confederates who allegedly fought to save the Confederacy.²¹ And while the activities of ‘Texas’ Confederate Pension Bureau exceed the scope of this present report, the fact that such organizations were adjacent to the City’s leadership during an era when the street was named is a significant contextual factor; especially since the Bureau was politically affiliated with the constituencies that engaged the Confederate Men’s Home.

²¹ A.H. Domby, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), chapters 3-4.

CONFEDERATE AV—From
900 Robertson av ext 1
blk w bet W Ninth and
W Nine and One-Half
1704 Turner J E (o)
1706 Nivens C T (o)

POLK'S MORRISON & FOURMY'S
MISCELLANEOUS DIRECTORY
AUSTIN, TEXAS

1927

STATE GOVERNMENT

(Capital at Austin)

Election for State Officials are held on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November of each alternate even year

State Officials Elected 1926

STATE CAPITOL

Executive Department

Hon Dan Moody, Governor
Hon Barry Miller, Lieutenant-Governor
W Boyd Gatewood, Sec to Governor
J D Hall, Asst Sec to Governor

Attorney-General's Department

Brig-Gen Dallas J Matthews, Adjutant-General
Lieut-Col Neill H Banister, Asst Adjutant-General
Lt-Col Julius Dorenfield jr, Asst Quartermaster-General
Lt.-Col Julius Dorenfield jr, Asst Quartermaster-General Ranger Force

Attorney-General's Department

Claude Pollard, Attorney-General
C L Stone, L C Sutton, R J Randolph, Geo Christian, Weaver Moore, Ernest May, R B Cousins jr, Paul D Page jr, C W Trueheart, Assts

Board of Control

H H Harrington, Chairman
R B Walthall, Roy I Tennant, Members
S M Ramsey, Sec

State Confederate Pension Bureau

Kit Robsion, Chief Clerk

Commission of Appeals

Section A—J D Harvey, Presiding Judge; W R Bishop, Luther Nickels, Associate Judges
Section B—B H Powell, Presiding Judge; Ocie Speer, H B Short, Associate Judges
F T Connerly, Clerk

Comptroller's Department

S H Terrell, Comptroller
J M Edwards, Chief Clerk
Eugene Sanders, Sec to Comptroller

State Tax Commissioner

Edward Edwards, Commissioner

Court of Criminal Appeals

W C Morrow, Presiding Judge
O S Lattimore, F L Hawkins, Judges
S D Stinson, State Atty; R M Lyles, Asst State Atty; O W Finger, Clerk

Department of Education

S M N Marrs, Supt of Public Instruction
L W Rogers, Mary J Popplewell, A M Blackwell, Assts

**CONFEDERATE AV—From 900
Robertson av ext 1 blk west,
bet W 9th and W 9½**

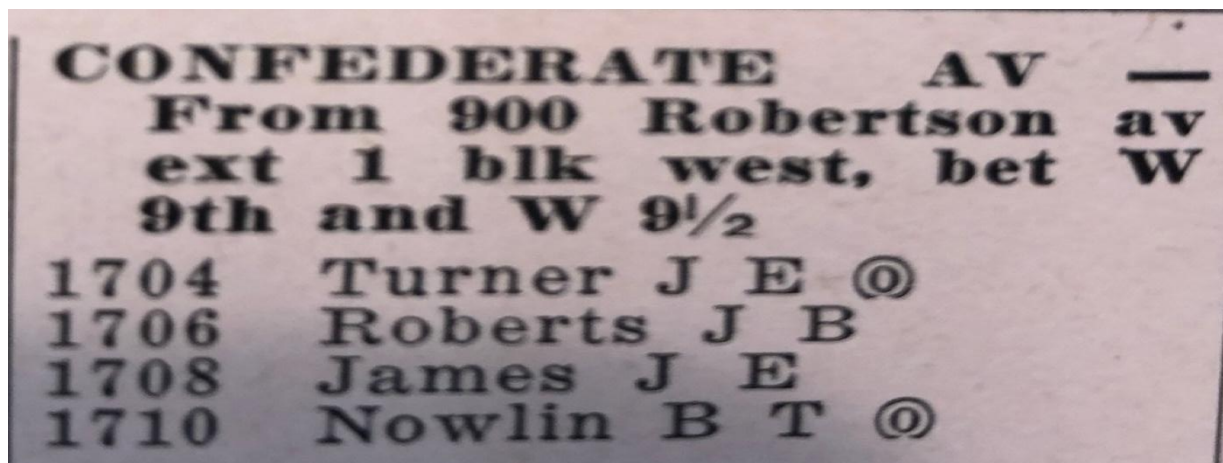
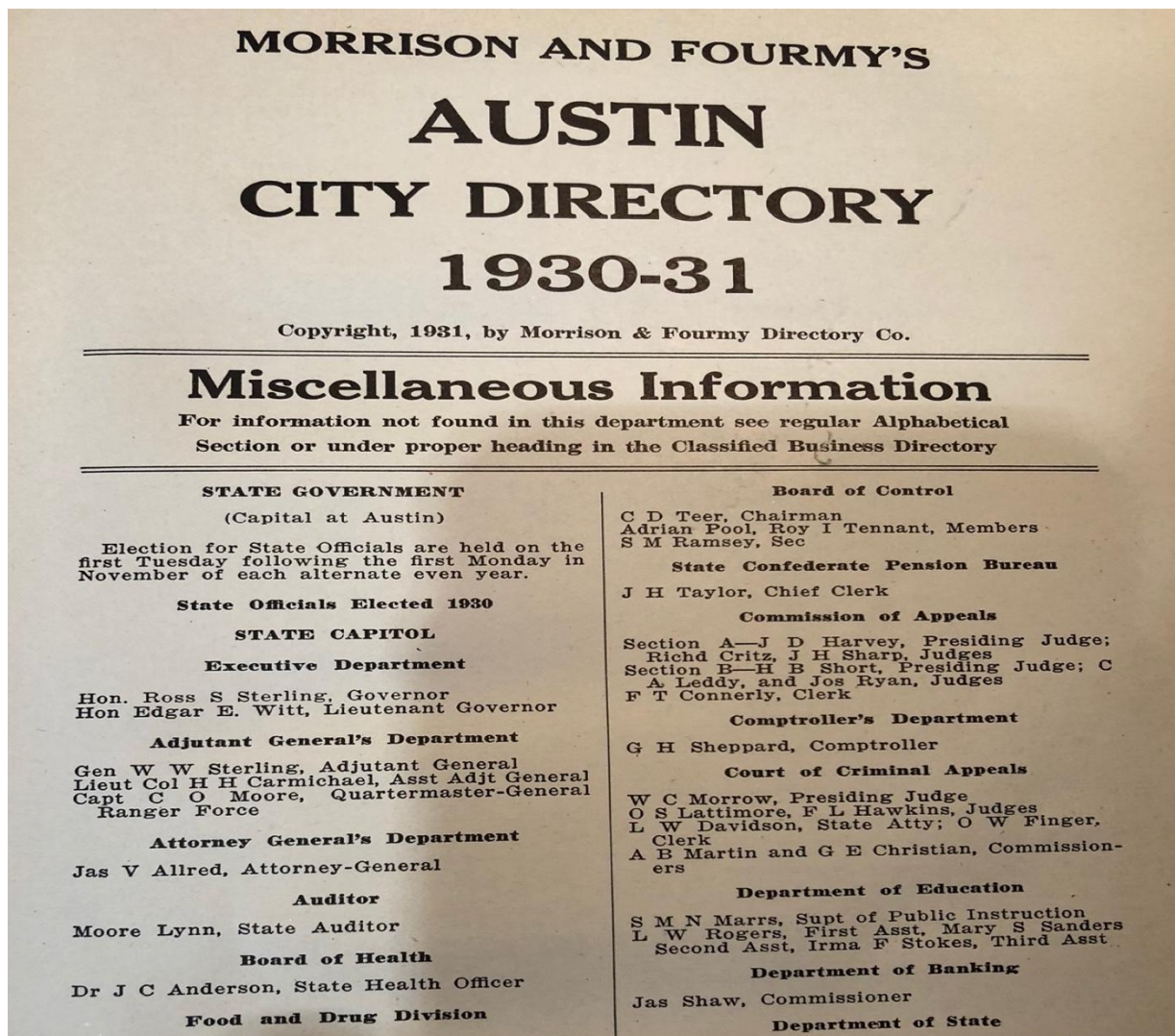
1704 Turner J E (o)

1706 Mobley E M Rev (r)

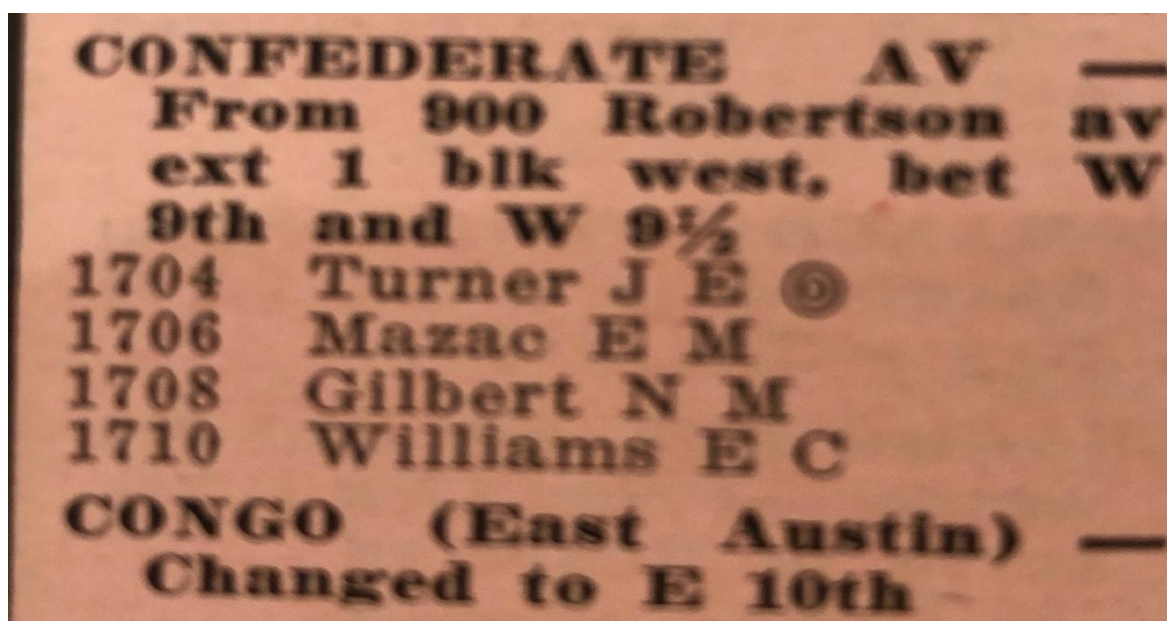
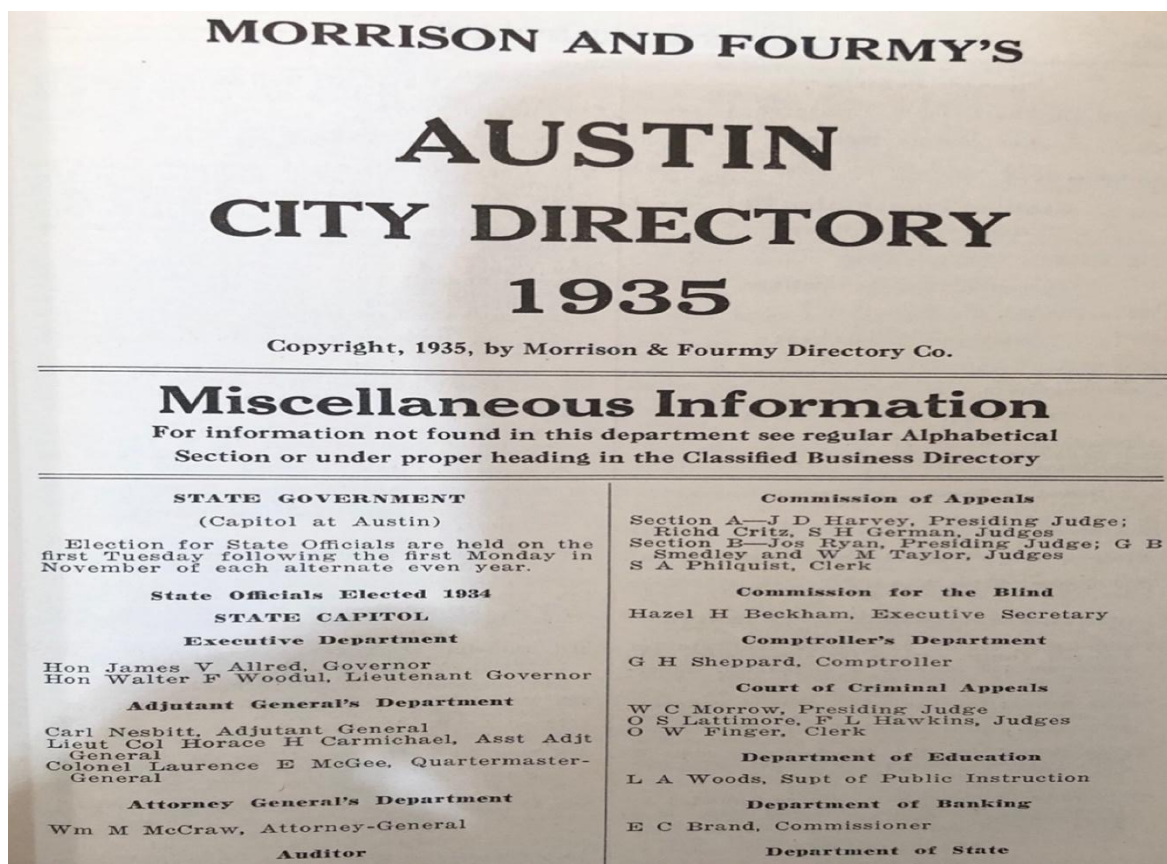
1708 Schmidt K H (o)

1710 Nowlin B T (o)

In the listing of significant state officials in the Austin City Directory of 1930-31 (below), a JH Taylor was identified as the Chief Clerk over the State Confederate Pension Bureau.



In the listing of the Austin City Directory 1935 below, Congo Street was changed to E 10th or East Tenth street, indicating the City's capacity to change place names in ways that conformed to its values and/municipal vision.



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AUSTIN**
(TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS)
CITY DIRECTORY

VOL. 1960 XLIII

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and a Complete CLASSIFIED LIST**

**FOR CONTENTS SEE INTRODUCTION AND
GENERAL INDEX**

97

CONFEDERATE AVENUE
—From 908 Robert-
son av west 1 blk
1614△Turner Jas E ©
1615△Conaway Robt W ©
1616△Friske Mary ©
1618△Ross Wm H ©
1710△Perkins Pauline ©



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7168 Envoy Court, Dallas, Texas 75247

127

**CONFEDERATE ST —FROM 908
ROBERTSON AV WEST 1 BLK**

ZIP CODE 78703

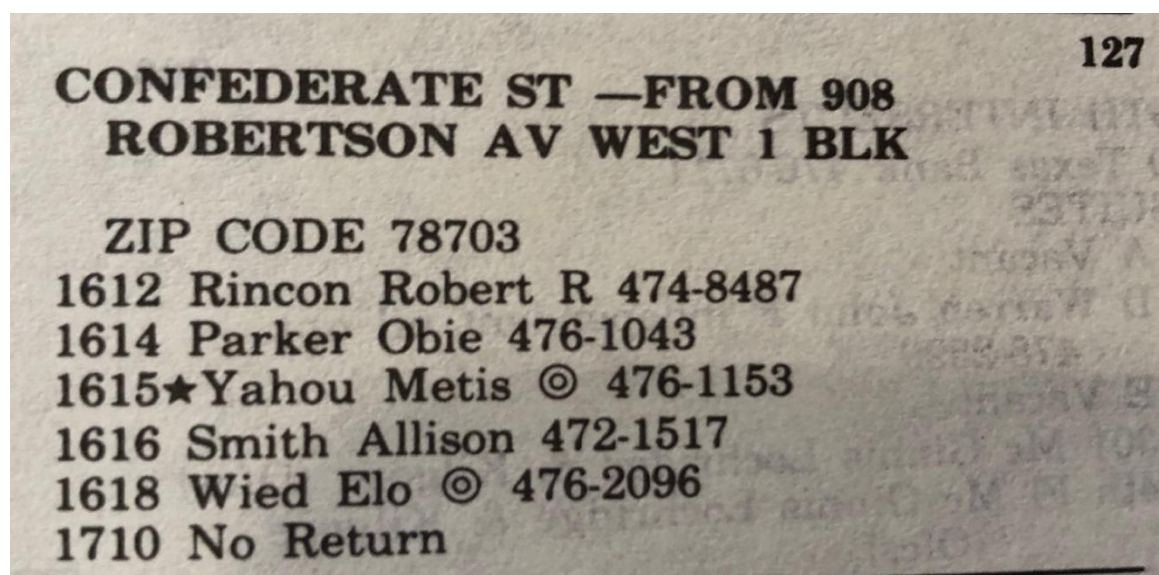
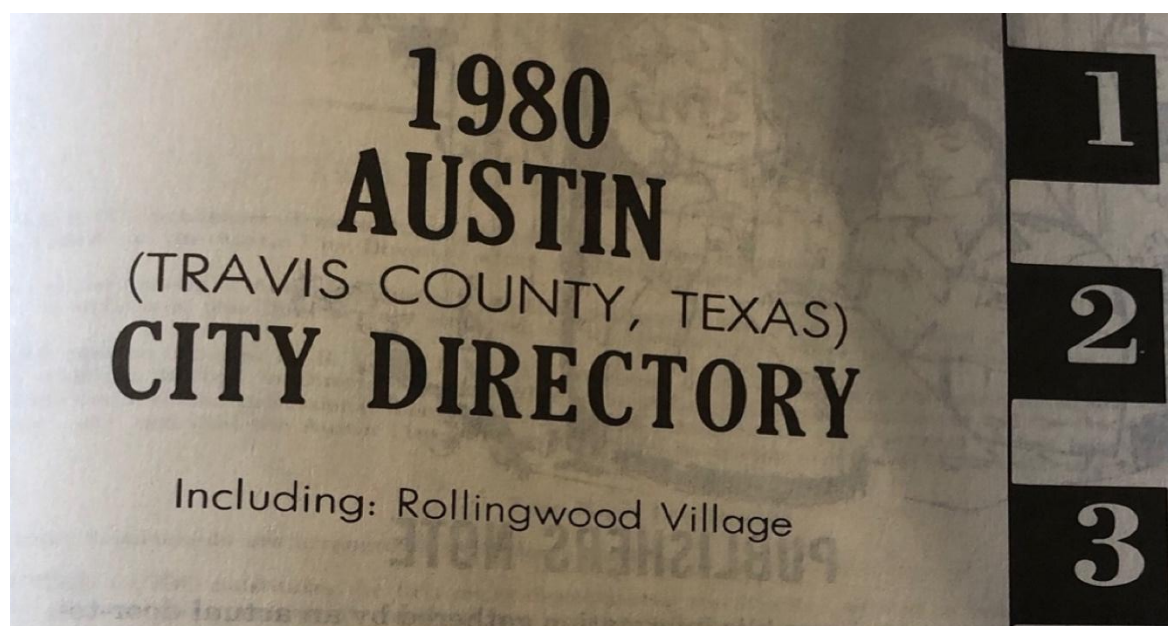
1614 Parker Robt © 476-5893

1615 Wied Elgin 476-0181

1616 Kelly John A 476-0533

1618 Wied Elo ©

1710 Perkins Pauline © 477-4867



Champion Map of Austin circa 1985 (Austin History Center) showing Confederate Avenue²²



Historical Survey of the Site-Name 'Confederate'

The noun 'confederate' can be simply defined as an 'ally or accomplice', yet within the context of the United States, and Texas specifically, the word is often associated with the Confederate States of America (CSA), the short-lived government of secessionist states that was established and defeated during the American Civil War. To more fully appreciate the term 'confederate' and its meanings, the following survey will address the term using the following historical subtopics: race and reasons for Texan secession; the beliefs of executive Confederate leaders; the CSA constitution; political foundations of the CSA; Civil War and Texan surrender; the postwar years of lost cause narratives and myth.

Race & Reasons for Texas Secession

Texans voted to secede from the United States government in February 1861 and join the other secessionist states to form the Confederate States of America. In the document titled, "A Declaration of the Causes which impel the State of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union," Texans stated their reasons for separating from the United States of America which included: the belief that the U.S. constitution protected the rights of slaveholders and that the actions of abolitionists, certain anti-slavery states in the north, and members of the Republican Party (e.g., the new president Abraham Lincoln) were undermining the rights of Texan slaveholders. Texans also stated that they believed African-descended (i.e., Black) people were racially inferior to whites/European-descended Americans, and that slavery was the 'proper' position for Black people. Indeed, they even claimed this ideological position was endorsed by Christianity, and that antislavery politicians and abolitionists were attempting to force Texans, and southerners, to accept racial and political equality between whites and Blacks. These and related points are evident in the following excerpts from the "Declaration of Causes":

We hold as undeniable truths that the governments of the various States, and of the Confederacy itself, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity; that the African race had no agency in their establishment; that they were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependent race, and in that condition only could their existence in this country be rendered beneficial or tolerable.

That in this free government all white men are and of right ought to be entitled to equal civil and political rights; that the servitude of the African race, as existing in these States, is mutually beneficial to both bond and free, and is abundantly authorized and justified by the experience of mankind, and the revealed will of the Almighty Creator, as recognized by all Christian nations...

In all the non-slave-holding States... the people have formed themselves into a great sectional party, now strong enough in numbers to control the affairs of each of those States, based upon the unnatural feeling of hostility to these Southern States and their beneficent and patriarchal system of African slavery, proclaiming the debasing doctrine of the equality of all men, irrespective of race or color--a doctrine at war with nature, in opposition to the experience of mankind, and in violation of the plainest revelations of the Divine Law. They demand the abolition of negro slavery throughout the Confederacy, the recognition of political equality between the white and the negro races....

For years past this abolition organization has been actively sowing the seeds of discord through the Union, and has rendered the federal congress the arena for spreading firebrands and hatred between the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States...

*By the secession of six of the slave-holding States... Texas has no alternative but to remain in an isolated connection with the North, or unite her destinies with the South.*²³

²³ "A declaration of the causes which impel the State of Texas to secede from the Federal Union, February 2, 1861" Winkler, Ernest William, ed. "Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas 1861", Edited from the Original in the Department of State (Austin: Texas Library and Historical Commission, 1912), 61-65.
<https://www.tsl.texas.gov/ref/abouttx/secession/2feb1861.html>

Texan secession was the formative political act which initiated its new identity as a Confederate state. Consequently, the racially problematic reasons underlying secession are inextricably linked to its subsequent Confederate statehood.

Confederate Vice president Alexander Stephens & President Jefferson Davis

At a meeting in Montgomery Alabama, a handful of secessionist states established the provisional government of the Confederate States of America, days after Texas seceded. Contemporaneously, there was a separate meeting in Virginia among southern opponents of the new president that investigated how to prevent more states leaving the U.S. government. The Virginia conference failed to stem the tide, and four more states seceded in 1861. The Montgomery convention established the foundations of the Confederacy, initiated a committee to draft the new republic's constitution and elected the Confederacy's leaders, President Jefferson Davis and Vice President Alexander H. Stephens. Texas representatives joined the Montgomery convention before its close and participated in many of its proceedings.

In March, at a meeting in his home state of Georgia, Vice President Stephens delivered a speech outlining the establishment of the new republic and its reasons for leaving the U.S. stating that: *The [United States] Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last and hence no argument can be justly urged against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when the "storm came and the wind blew." Our new government [the Confederate States of America] is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery - subordination to the superior race - is his natural and*

*normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.*²⁴

Stephens made several claims, such as that the U.S. Constitution was based on the idea of racial equality, a concept he and his new government believed to be fundamentally erroneous. In contrast, Stephens argued that the Confederate States of America was founded on the opposite idea – that Black people were racially inferior to white people and that the enslavement of Blacks in the service of whites was a normal and natural condition. Stephens doubled down, asserting that the ideas of Black racial inferiority and white racial superiority were a “*great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.*”

Secessionist states had separated from the United States to form the Confederacy in part because they believed that the U.S. was promoting the equality of the races too strongly. This claim seems at odds with the realities facing African Americans in 1861, such as the widespread enslavement of millions; private and government plans to emancipate then deport enslaved African American to colonies overseas; the looming threat of recapture for runaways living in free states; periodic racial violence and persecution of Black people in free states; widespread voter disenfranchisement and restrictions against the free Black electorate; bans on Black immigration in some Midwest states; the threat of kidnapping (i.e., the reverse underground railroad); free Black citizens being rejected for, and/or experiencing difficulties obtaining passports; racial segregation in the U.S. military; as well as the segregation of transportation services, schools, businesses, and churches in many northern free states.²⁵

²⁴ Alexander H. Stephens. ““Cornerstone” Speech”. Speech, March 21, 1861. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/cornerstone-speech/>

²⁵ D.C. Hine, W.C. Hine, S. Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History* (New Jersey: Pearson Education Press, 2009); E.S. Pryor, *Colored Travelers: Mobility and the Fight for Citizenship before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016)

In spite of such conditions, Vice President Stephens believed that the U.S. was supporting racial equality to the point that justified secession and the formation of a new government. In similar fashion, the President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis stated that: “*African slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a moral, a social, and a political blessing.*”²⁶ And regarding racial equality Davis asserted that: “*We recognize the negro as God and God's Book and God's Laws, in nature, tell us to recognize him - our inferior, fitted expressly for servitude... You cannot transform the negro into anything one-tenth as useful or as good as what slavery enables them to be.*”²⁷ Consequently, Texas, along with all the other states that formed the Confederacy, willingly joined, and fought for, a republic that was founded upon the belief that racial inequality, white supremacy, Black enslavement, and subordination, were factual conditions based on sound biblical teachings, and fundamentally good.

The Confederate Constitution

In light of its racist pro-slavery foundations, it was unsurprising that the Confederate Constitution treated slaveholding as a protected right. Some of these examples included: Article I Section 9, Clause 4 that prohibited the CSA Congress from passing any law that denied the right of citizens to hold enslaved Black property, stating: *(4) No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed.* Another section of the constitution, Article IV Section 2, enshrined the right of interstate travel and residence with and/or while transporting enslaved Black people, in the following words: *Sec. 2. (1) The citizens of each*

²⁶ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Here’s why the Confederate monuments in New Orleans must come down” January 13, 2016.
<https://www.splcenter.org/news/2016/01/13/here's-why-confederate-monuments-new-orleans-must-come-down#davis>

²⁷ A. Glass, “Jefferson Davis chosen to lead Confederacy, Feb. 10, 1861” *Politico* February 10, 2019
<https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/10/this-day-in-politics-february-10-1157699>

State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired

Likewise, Article IV Section 3 ensured that Black enslavement would be permitted in any new territories that the CSA acquired in the future. *(3) The Confederate States may acquire new territory; and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States, lying without the limits of the several States; and may permit them, at such times, and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.* The Confederacy's foundational legislative document was endorsed by these Texan delegates and signatories: John Hemphill, Thomas N. Waul, John H. Reagan, Williamson S. Oldham, Louis T. Wigfall, John Gregg, and William Beck Ochiltree.²⁸

Civil War and Texan surrender

Secession and the formation of the Confederacy descended into armed conflict with the U.S. government in April 1861. The Confederate states raised their troops and Texas sent between 60,000 and 70,000 men to war. At the conclusion of the war, approximately 620,000 had lost their lives, and when combined with devastating injuries and other losses, the war's total casualty rate rises to 1.5

²⁸ J.D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy Including the Diplomatic Correspondence 1861-1865* (Nashville: United States Publishing Company, 1905). Yale University Law School – The Avalon Project. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_csa.asp

It is important to note that the last names of the Confederate delegates are familiar for Austin residents (as well as other Texas residents and visitors) and the locations that they are connected with might be connected to these men however additional research would be necessary to determine if this is factual.

million.²⁹ And while all of these deaths were not directly caused by Confederate troops, secession and the formation of the Confederacy set in motion the events leading to this devastating American war. According to the U.S. Army, “*the American Civil War claimed more lives than the U.S. lost in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War, the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and all other conflicts prior to the Vietnam War ... COMBINED.*”³⁰

The final battle of the Civil War occurred in Texas a month after Confederate forces had signed a surrender to the Union military in Appomattox Virginia on April 9, 1865. Despite the news reaching the region, Texan forces would not relent and the Battle of Palmito Ranch was fought on May 12-13, 1865. In the days that followed the battle, the Confederates negotiated terms of surrender and General Edmund Kirby Smith and his Trans-Mississippi forces assembled in Galveston to lay down their arms to Union soldiers on June 2, 1865. Texan soldiers, and other southerners comprising the Trans-Mississippi forces, were actually fighting for almost a month after the Confederate republic was formally dissolved by Jefferson Davis on May 5, 1865. The Confederate surrender at Galveston opened the door for Union General Granger to declare the famous Juneteenth proclamation of slave emancipation on June 19, 1865.³¹ Texas’ commitment to the political and military goals of the Confederacy was demonstrated by the fact that it was the last to surrender, and their actions slowed the pace of Black freedom stemming from former President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation.

²⁹ National Parks Service, *The Civil War: An Introduction*, August 2013 authored by James McPherson, Ph.D.

<https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/overview.htm>

American Battlefield Trust, Civil War Casualties

<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/civil-war-casualties>

³⁰ The U.S. Military Naming Commission, *The Naming Commission Final Report to Congress Part I: United States Army Bases* (United States: August 2022), 3. Capitalization of the word ‘combined’ in the original text.

³¹ Texas State Library and Archives Commission, “The End of the Ordeal Part 2”

https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/civilwar/1865_2.html

American Battlefield Trust: Battle of Palmito Ranch

<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/civil-war/battles/palmito-ranch>

Postwar Years of the Lost Cause Narrative

In the years following the war, the political causes of the conflict and the overtly racist foundations of the Confederacy were masked over by a false but popular narrative known as the Lost Cause. The Lost Cause was a theory of the war and its origins that was authored by a Virginian named Edward Pollard in 1867.³² The myth has multiple details, however a core element was that secession had little or nothing to do with slavery and that southern states seceded to protect their ‘states rights’ from an overreaching and tyrannical federal government. Consequently, southern secessionists were motivated by constitutional grievances and were in fact patriots in line with the American revolution, instead of traitors and rebels.³³ Although the myth developed among Confederates and their sympathizers, it was spread nationally by literature during the postwar periods of Reconstruction and national reunification. In response to the growing demand for reading material, American publishers printed all sorts of writings, from periodicals to memoirs. Two genres of literature which enjoyed considerable popularity during the post war 19th century and early 20th century, were war stories and travel writings. Literature of various genres appealed to the escapist desires of American readers, many of whom were in the midst of resolving the contradictions and challenges unleashed by the wartime fracturing of the Union; the defeat of the South; the emancipation and political enfranchisement of millions of African Americans; the destruction of Southern infrastructure; and urbanization and industrialization, as well as the labor unrest which accompanied these developments. The literature which rose to prominence was

³² E. A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause; A New Southern History of the war of the Confederates. Comprising a full and authentic account of the rise and progress of the late southern confederacy--the campaigns, battles, incidents, and adventures of the most gigantic struggle of the world's history* (New York, E. B. Treat & Co. Publishers, 1867). <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.lostcausenewsout03poll/?st=gallery>

³³ American Battlefield Trust - The Lost Cause: Definition and Origins October 30, 2020 • Updated July 14, 2021 <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/lost-cause-definition-and-origins>

nostalgic about the war, or what historian David Blight has described as “sentimental reconciliationist literature.”³⁴

This style of war literature embraced the Lost Cause narrative of the defeated South and the mutual ‘good faith’ of Union and Confederate soldiers. The thorny political divisions over slavery which caused the war were downplayed, excused, or altogether ignored. Closely associated with these romanticized narratives was the plantation school of literature, which extolled the antebellum world of the Southern plantation, particularly its white supremacist race relations and enslaved Black laborers. Plantation literature offered an implicit critique of emancipation and reconstruction as a disruption of the existing social order, that was unwanted by whites, as well as enslaved Blacks who (according to ‘plantation school’ authors) had loved their masters and slavery.³⁵ Despite literary distinctions, both sentimental-reconciliationist and plantation school styles became popular among northern and southern readers. Authors of both genres depicted the Confederacy as a defender of southern society, while critiquing emancipation as a reckless project that undermined ‘proper’ race relations. The Confederacy’s racist foundations and historical support for slavery and violent secession were reframed by these forms of Lost Cause literature. Therefore, by the early twentieth century, the factual basis of the Confederacy’s origins had become less-known by many Americans both north and south, and in its place were the racist and romanticized narratives of the reconciliationist, plantation tradition, and Lost Cause.

Conclusion: ‘Confederate’

This brief sketch of ‘Confederate’ begins to illuminate its Civil War origins, and postwar meanings. According to its members and/or participants cited above, the Confederate political

³⁴ David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2001), 211-254.

³⁵ David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2001), 211-254.

project cannot be disentangled from the endorsement of racial chattel slavery of Black people, as well as ideologies of white supremacy and racial inequality. And while some may argue that the term invokes the Civil War, there are many ways to remember the sacrifices of this important four-year period in American history without memorializing the political republic that fought to maintain slavery and white supremacy and defy the authority of the United States government and its Constitution. Indeed, claims that using the term ‘Confederate’ for place-names is just an objective and historical way of remembering Civil War heroes, have been proven to be incorrect. According to W. Fitzhugh Brundage, a historian and university professor who has studied race and Confederate monuments in the south for over twenty years, most monuments (and place names) were raised long after the war and had as much to do with white supremacist politics, as they had to do with remembering fallen soldiers. Professor Brundage states the following: *The timing of the proliferation of the monuments themselves illustrates this point. In the years immediately after the Civil War, North Carolina Confederates understandably mourned their dead, yet the state erected fewer than 30 memorials between 1865 and 1890. Then, during the next half century, they dedicated more than 130. It is hardly a coincidence that the cluttering of the state’s landscape with Confederate monuments coincided with two major national cultural projects: first, the “reconciliation” of the North and the South, and second, the imposition of Jim Crow and white supremacy in the South.*³⁶

Since the Confederacy was defeated by the U.S. government, and the values of secession and racial inequality were subsequently repudiated by U.S. Supreme Court rulings (e.g., Texas vs White in 1868; and Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka, KS in 1954), it is unreasonable to claim that the designation ‘Confederate’ is appropriate to utilize for public Civil War remembrance. The Austin City Council’s 2018 efforts to remove Confederate associated names from various public sites

³⁶ W. Fitzhugh Brundage, “I’ve studied the history of Confederate memorials. Here’s what to do about them” Aug 18, 2017, Vox News online

underscores this reality.³⁷ As mentioned in the introduction, naming sites often indicates ownership, possession, authority, and aspirations, therefore Austinites should reflect seriously on the unspoken messages communicated by the name ‘Confederate.’ For example, does the title ‘Confederate’ declare Austin’s symbolic rejection of political allegiance to the United States’ government and Constitution; does it express support for the racial chattel enslavement of African Americans; does it uplift ideals of white supremacy and racial inequality; does it articulate hopes that such ideas will be realized in the future? If any of these suggestions make Austinites uncomfortable because they do not align with the City’s values of accepting diversity, confronting racial discrimination, and being a welcoming place for both visitors and residents, then it is time to give serious consideration to these place names.

³⁷Audrey McGlinchy, “Austin City Council Votes To Rename Two Streets Named For Confederate Figures” KUT 90.5 April 25, 2018
<https://www.kut.org/austin/2018-04-25/austin-city-council-votes-to-rename-two-streets-named-for-confederate-figures>
 Andrew Weber, “Equity Office Proposes Renaming 7 Confederate Streets – And Maybe Austin Itself” KUT 90.5, July 26, 2018
<https://www.kut.org/austin/2018-07-26/equity-office-proposes-renaming-7-confederate-streets-and-maybe-austin-itself>

Plantation Road - Districts 5 & 8



Historical Survey of the Site

Plantation road is located in south Austin in 78745, near the historical postemancipation African American settlement of Kincheonville. The community was established approximately in June 1865 by an African American farmer and landowner named Thomas Kincheon. Several formerly enslaved people settled in the area during Reconstruction and the ensuing years. Kincheon and his wife Mary operated a dairy farm that supplied products to Tillotson College (a historically Black college in East Austin now known as Huston-Tillotson University). In addition, the community's founder stamped his name on the land, naming several streets after his children/relatives e.g. Blumie, Elijah, James, Minnie, etc.³⁸ Kincheon's son, Thomas II, began promoting its development enabling Mexican American settlers and a few white people to establish themselves in the community. The area

³⁸ Historical Marker Database, "Kincheonville – Austin Travis County"

<https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=166857>

Texas States Historical Association, "Kincheonville"

<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/kincheonville-tx>

Austin History Center – Austin Public Library, Kincheonville resources on website.

E.M. Tretter, "Austin Restricted: Progressivism, Zoning, Private Racial Covenants, and the Making of a Segregated City" - Final Report Prepared and Submitted by Eliot M. Tretter to the Institute for Urban Policy Research and Analysis, The University of Texas at Austin Jan. 2017.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301225882_Austin_Restricted

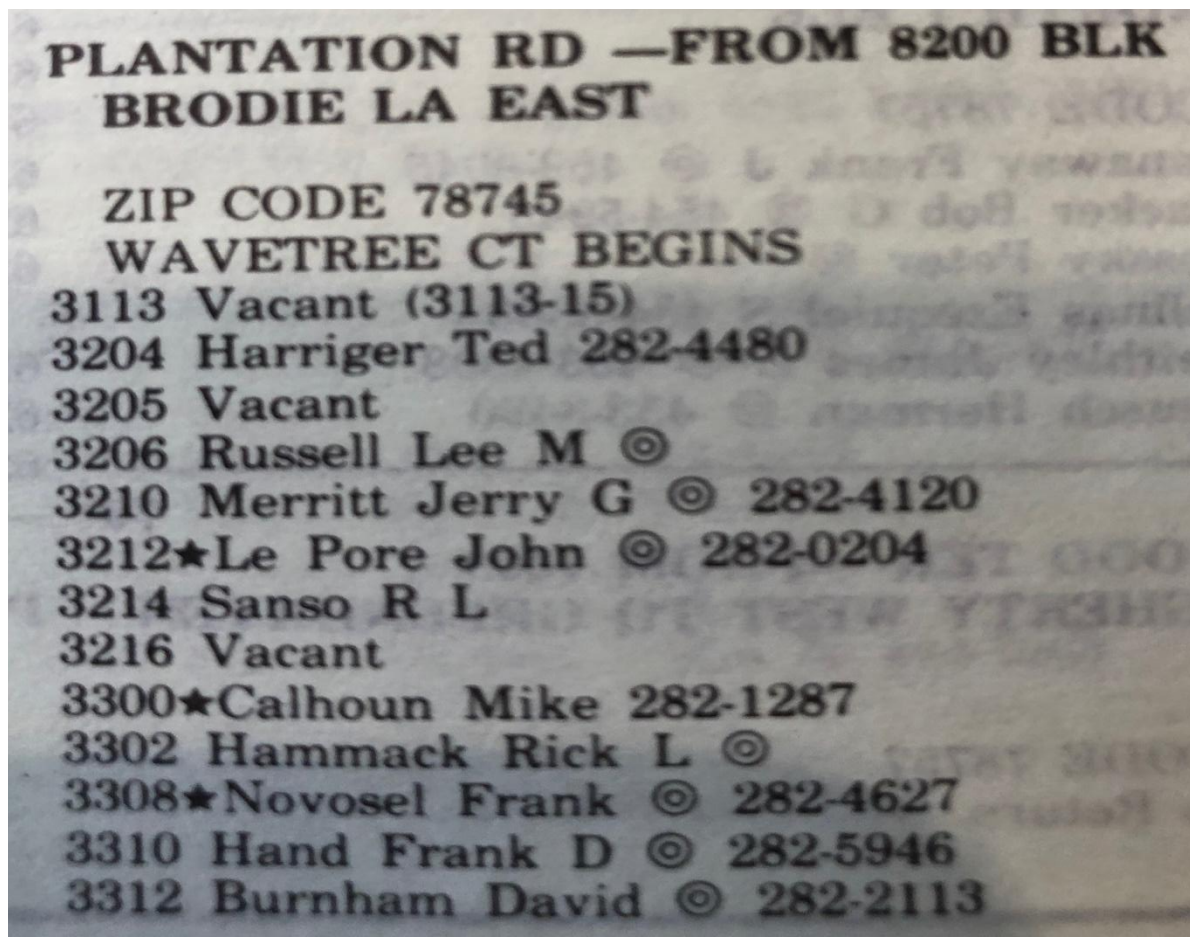
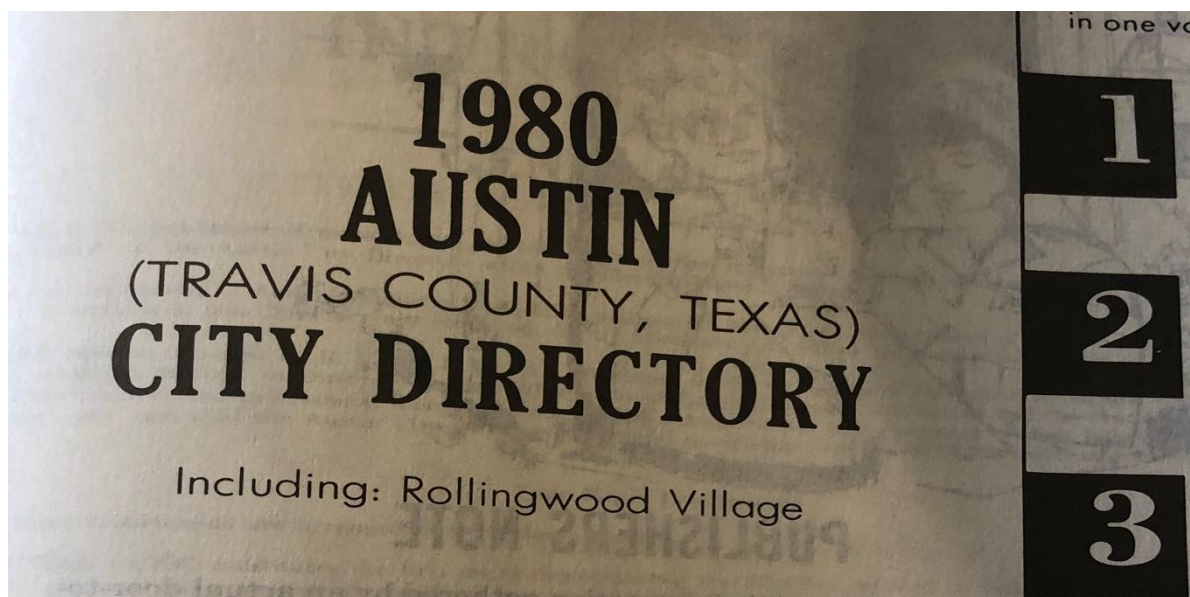
remained a farming community operating on the outskirts of the city until the late 1920s when Austin officials enacted their 1928 Koch and Fowler master plan facilitating the formal segregation of the city. The plan included the restriction of utilities that ultimately forced Black landowners and residents to relocate to designated segregated areas. This City action was a key factor leading to the break-down of Kinchoenville as a multi-racial community space for African American and Latine development – as well as other Black and Latine communities around Austin.³⁹ In light of the racist restrictions of municipal services and other sociopolitical factors trending towards greater segregation, the Kincheon family began selling portions of the family's land in the 1950s and is believed to have relocated out of the area by the 1960s.⁴⁰

In December 1972, a parcel of land to the south of Kincheonville was subdivided into a housing estate called 'Oak Plantations' by Nelson Puett Jr. of the Barrow real estate corporation (see Austin History Center Plat map below). Plantation road first appears on record in maps and other formal documentation after the land became a subdivision as indicated by its entry in documents such as the 1980 Austin City Directory and the Champion Maps of Austin circa 1985 (see images below). Given that Kincheonville residents had displayed a practice of naming streets after family and/or community members, it is likely that the name did not originate with the Kincheonville community. Furthermore, as of the date of this report, no city records have been found showing any official application, ceremony, or event, to name Plantation Road. Therefore, it was likely named prior to, or at the time of, its subdivision. Considering the fact that Puett and the Barrow Corporation believed that it was appropriate, and commercially viable, to name their development 'Oak Plantations,' then it is possible to conclude that they also selected the name 'Plantation Road.'

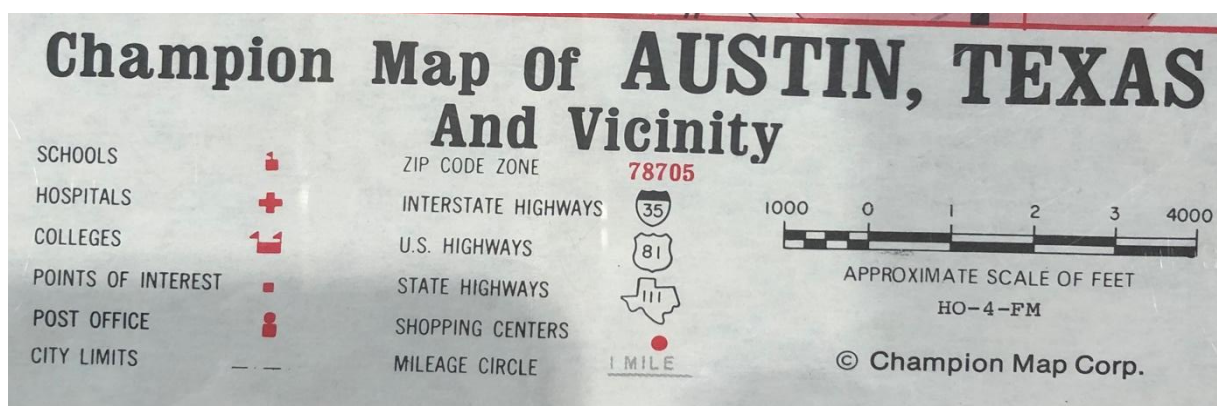
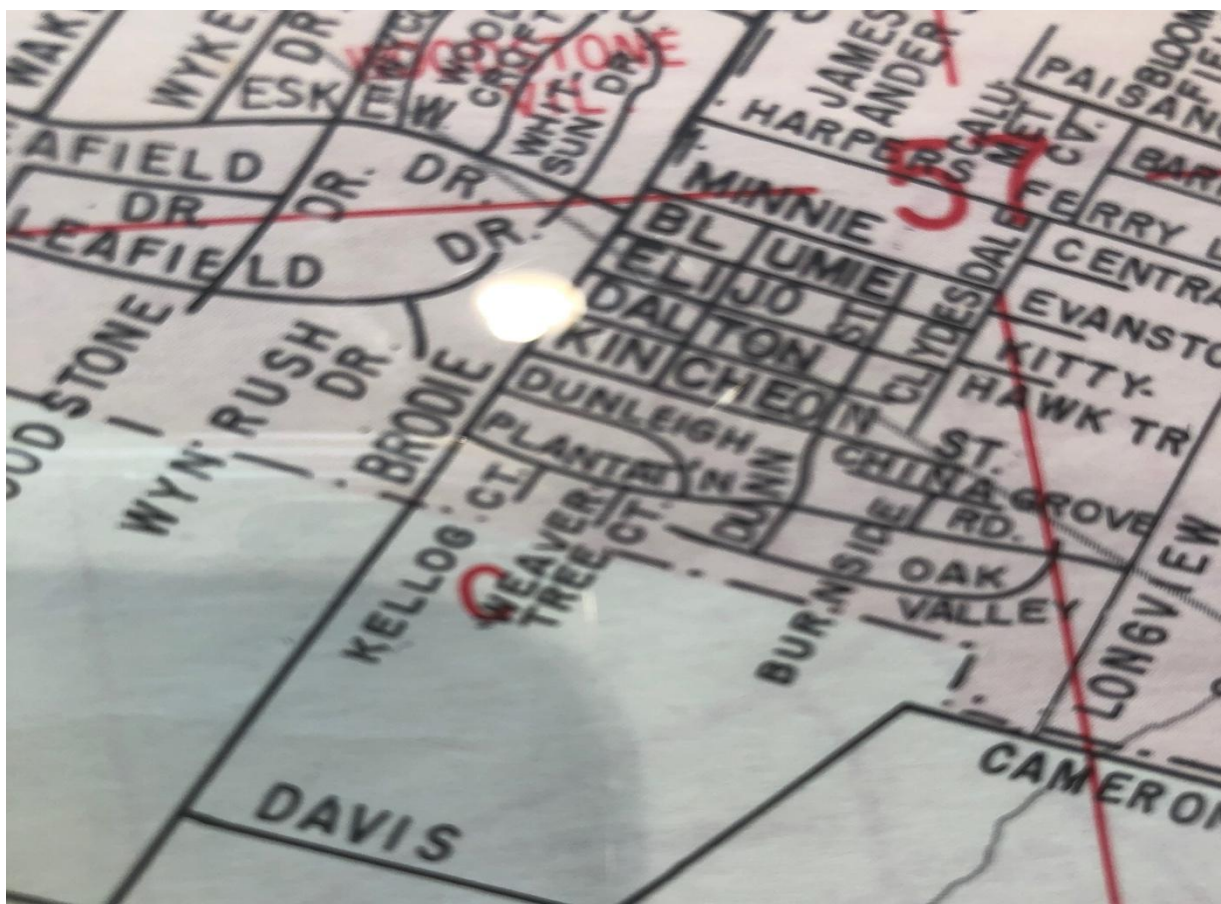
³⁹ E.M. Tretter, "Austin Restricted: Progressivism, Zoning, Private Racial Covenants, and the Making of a Segregated City" - Final Report Prepared and Submitted by Eliot M. Tretter to the Institute for Urban Policy Research and Analysis, The University of Texas at Austin Jan. 2017.

⁴⁰ Texas States Historical Association, "Kincheonville"
<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/kincheonville-tx>





Champion Map of Austin circa 1985 – Austin History Center archives showing Plantation Rd



Historical Survey of the Site-Name 'Plantation'

According to Philip Curtin, a renowned historian of the topic, plantations in the Americas were large scale intensive farming operations defined by the following six characteristics: the majority of productive labor was carried out by enslaved people; the population was not self-sustaining (usually due to low birth rates &/infant survivability); the relations inside plantations were often feudal (i.e., the dominance of a lord-figure/slaveholder over serf-like individuals/the enslaved); created to supply a distant market with a specialized product (e.g., cotton, sugar, coffee, tobacco, etc.); the agricultural work was highly organized to serve a capitalist market; usually controlled politically by a distant/overseas government (colonial context).⁴¹ Therefore, plantations were more than generic large scale farming units, rather they were a specific kind of highly-productive farm, distinguished by the use of large quantities of enslaved Black people, laboring under harsh conditions that often affected birth rates.

The overwhelming consensus of historical literature concludes that plantations played a critical role in the economic growth and sociopolitical development of colonies of the Americas (i.e., North, South, Central, and Caribbean) and the United States specifically.⁴² Although dominant narratives typically praise Texas for its frontier freedom, adventurous cowboys, and pioneering settlers, the historical record clearly shows that slavery was significant in the origins and development of the state. A brief survey of African enslavement in Texas dates back to the period of Spanish colonization with examples such as Estevanico, the enslaved African who was a part of the expedition of Cabeza de Vaca in the 1530s, as well as the handful of enslaved Africans comprising

⁴¹ P.D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* Cambridge University Press, 1998.

⁴² E. Baptist, *Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* Basic Books 2016

the journeys of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado in the 1540s.⁴³ Beginning in the 16th century, Spain introduced thousands of enslaved Africans to develop the Viceroyalty of New Spain colony.⁴⁴

Under Spanish colonialism, the region that would become the state of Texas was mostly a northern colonial hinterland, sparsely settled and retaining a significant Native American presence of Apache and Comanche peoples. The region did not see major development of plantations using enslaved African labor until after Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821. The Anglo-American colonists that followed Stephen F. Austin into Tejas y Coahuila state, introduced cotton and sugar plantations using enslaved African labor.⁴⁵

Because the economic development of plantation owners in Texas grew dependent on enslaved labor, they rejected Mexican government attempts to abolish slavery and this dispute was one of Texas' reasons for seceding from Mexico in 1836.⁴⁶ After the formation of the Texas Republic, slavery was legally supported and protected, with the Texans going as far as to ban the immigration of free Black people in 1840.⁴⁷ And by 1850, the use of enslaved labor was so widespread in Texas that a portion of the state's 154,034 whites held 58,161 Blacks in bondage.⁴⁸

A practical example of these broad historical facts is found in the Waldeck Sugar plantation and it shows how African slavery was central to the wealth of white Texans and northerners. Waldeck

⁴³ Jesus Frank de la Teja, "Blacks in Colonial Spanish Texas" Texas State Historical Association website <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/blacks-in-colonial-spanish-texas>

⁴⁴ G. R. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America 1800-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁵ R. B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865* LSU Press, 1991; A.J. Torget, *Seeds of Empire: Cotton, Slavery, and the Transformation of the Texas Borderlands, 1800-1850* University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

⁴⁶ P. Lack, "Slavery and the Texas Revolution" S.W. Haynes, C.D. Wintz, *Major Problems in Texas History* (U.S.A.: Wadsworth, 2002), 140-144.

⁴⁷ D.A. Williams (author & editor), *Bricks Without Straw: A Comprehensive History of African Americans in Texas* (Austin, Texas: Eakin Press, 1997), 37; "An Act February 5, 1840" H.H. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897 in 12 Volumes* (Austin: Gammell Books Co., 1898), 2:325-327.

<http://www.texaslaveryproject.org/sources/LawsOfTexas/display.php?f=TSP0156.xml>

⁴⁸ Reynolds, William C, and J. C Jones. *Reynolds's political map of the United States, designed to exhibit the comparative area of the free and slave states and the territory open to slavery or freedom by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise*. New York: Wm. C. Reynolds and J.C. Jones, 1856. Map.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3701e.ct000604/?r=0.415.0.717.0.262.0.112.0>

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2003627003/>

was a 1,255-acre industrial farm purchased by Morgan L. Smith and John Adriance in 1841 – two New York natives who resettled in Texas during the period of secession from Mexico. In addition to the plantation, they owned a general store and regularly shipped sugar and other products to merchants in New York, New Orleans, Cuba and Matamoros, Mexico.⁴⁹ Powered by over one hundred enslaved Africans, it became the “largest and most efficient sugar plantation in Texas” producing an annual harvest worth more than \$70,000. Adriance and Smith parted ways leaving Smith running the operation for several years before he sold it to Hamblin Bass in 1859. The financial productivity of Waldeck’s captive African workforce was underscored by the 1860 census, when Bass registered himself as the owner of 1,450 acres of real estate valued at \$163,830 along with personal property valued at \$97,705 – that included 215 enslaved Africans.⁵⁰ The estate’s natural productive capacity was increased by its captive unpaid African laborers whose full efforts were extracted by the violent incentive system of beatings with the whip, as well as other cruel and legally-sanctioned punishments.

Examples of how the owners of Waldeck plantation profited from enslaved labor beyond mere farming, include the fact that it had its own brick-kiln, where the enslaved would make bricks that were used to build and repair edifices such as the sugar mill building, smokehouses for meat, barns for storing corn, sugar and other products, a church, as well as their own slave cabins. Furthermore, spinning wheels and looms were provided so that the enslaved would be able to make, or repair, their clothing. They even maintained cottage gardens to supplement their rations with homegrown vegetables. The example of Waldeck plantation demonstrates how enslaved African laborers on plantations not only engaged in uncompensated productive labor to enrich white Texan slaveholders

⁴⁹ Mary Beth Jones, “Sweet Architecture Marked Plantation” The Facts Brazoria County Online news, May 8, 2006. https://thefacts.com/article_3bfb7395-d7d4-570f-9eeb-b3b853fd8559.html

⁵⁰ D.J. Kleiner, “Waldeck Plantation”; “Hamblin Bass” Texas State Historical Association website <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/waldeck-plantation>
<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/bass-hamblin>

(i.e., the planting, watering and harvesting of sugar, cotton, and other cash crops) but were further exploited by several forms of maintenance labor (i.e., growing supplementary food and repairing their own clothes) as well as reinvestment labor (i.e., firing bricks and helping build infrastructure) that saved slaveholders money and compounded their wealth. Plantations also benefited the Confederate war effort. During the war, Waldeck plantation owner, Hamblin Bass, complained that: “Many of his slaves, mostly men, had been conscripted by the Confederate government to help the military construct and repair forts especially along the coast, resulting in his loss of their labor in sugar production.”⁵¹ Another prominent example was located in Austin at the site of governor Elisha Pease residence at Niles Road on the west side of the city. The Pease plantation was also known as ‘Woodlawn’ and extended over 350 acres. Elisha Pease was an enslaver holding a number of Black people in bondage to work the gardens and maintain the household.⁵²

Conclusion: ‘Plantation’

It is evident, (from this very brief survey of Texas history), that 19th century plantations were places of enslaved Black labor, intense workloads, and violent punishments designed to produce profits for their owners, slave traders, and the plethora of American and foreign businesses that traded in the cash crops produced at these sites. Unfortunately, American history has often chosen to focus its attention on the wealth and opulence created by these sites, rather than the suffering of the enslaved people that facilitated their splendor. Indeed, it is not unusual to see exclusive high-priced residences – often in de facto racially segregated neighborhoods – advertised as

⁵¹ Mary Beth Jones, “Brazos Tales: Illnesses, blockage impact Waldeck Plantation” The Facts Brazoria County Online news, June 5, 2021.

https://thefacts.com/living/article_4bd09c1d-5b23-560b-be1e-60845f962072.html

⁵² Bill of sale for purchase of slave by E.M. Pease

<https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph712463/>

A letter to Governor E.M. Pease from J.A. Corker regarding possession of a slave. J.A. Corker to E.M. Pease March 12, 1857. <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph712644/>

Pease Park Conservancy – “Enslaved People Lived and Labored on this Land” Black History Month February 9, 2021 <https://peasepark.org/news/2021/2/8/enslaved-people-lived-and-labored-on-this-land>

‘plantation style’ homes, alongside entire housing estates named ‘plantation homes, apartments, gardens, estates, trails, resort, etc.’⁵³ The prevalence of the term ‘plantation’ in contemporary real estate discourse, anesthetizes many Americans from the painful and exploitative history of the term. Historian Edward Baptist references these problematic contradictions in his book on American slavery: *The idea that the commodification, and suffering, and forced labor of African Americans in what made the United States powerful and rich is not an idea that people are necessarily happy to hear. Yet it is the truth.... Millions of people each year visit plantation homes where guides blather on about furniture and silverware. As sites, such homes hide the real purpose of these places, which was to make African Americans toil under the hot sun for the profit of the rest of the world. All this is the “symbolic annihilation” of enslaved people...*⁵⁴

The choice to remember the wealth of plantations while ignoring the violence and exploitation that made them possible is more than a historical blind spot. Could it be that the unspoken aspiration of naming a place ‘plantation’ requires the deliberate ignoring and/or forgetting of Black suffering? Likewise, under whose symbolic ownership does a site come under when society chooses to name it ‘plantation’ - the mistress, the master, the slave drivers, capitalist trade partners, or the enslaved? Possibly the people of Rhode Island wrestled with similar questions in 2020 when they voted to change the state’s official name from ‘Rhode Island and Providence Plantations’ to simply Rhode Island.⁵⁵ Considering the historical baggage of race, slavery, and capitalist exploitation

⁵³ These property names are actual examples drawn from Texas properties easily found in an internet search circa October/November 2022.

⁵⁴ E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Book, 2016), xxi-xxiv.

⁵⁵ Tom Mooney, “We’re just Rhode Island now: Voters decide to drop ‘Plantations’ from state name” *The Providence Journal* Nov. 4, 2020.

<https://www.providencejournal.com/story/news/local/2020/11/04/close-vote-ri-does-away-plantations-state-name/6159803002/>

Rhode Island voters chose to drop ‘Plantation’ from state’s name. A year later it remains on display” PBS NewsHour November 22, 2021.

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/rhode-island-voters-chose-to-drop-plantation-from-states-name-a-year-later-it-remains-on-display>

associated with the term plantation, Austinites would be wise to give serious thought to whether they wish to keep it as a public place name.

Dixie Drive - District 2

Historical Survey of the Site

Dixie Drive is located in southeast Austin in 78744, on the southern side of Onion Creek. Settlement in the region can be traced back to the 1850s when white Texan colonizers clashed with Native Americans. For example, one of the oldest non-Indigenous settlements is the Onion Creek Ancient Free and Accepted Masons Masonic Lodge (AF & AM), which was chartered in 1858 just a few miles north of Dixie Drive. The lodge's initial lodgings were destroyed by Native Americans who undoubtedly took exception to what they likely considered to be an unauthorized white settlement in their ancestral lands.⁵⁶ The masonic lodge was rebuilt by 1860 and settlement on Onion Creek, as well as the adjacent communities of Boggy Creek and Pleasant Hill, continued after the Civil War. In addition to masonic meetings, the lodge was home to the Pleasant Hill school house until 1935.⁵⁷

Indeed, Pleasant Hill was reported to have had two schools in 1903 – one for whites and another for African Americans – demonstrating that Pleasant Hill and its neighbor Onion Creek housed viable communities.⁵⁸ However, development of the land south of these communities came during the 1970s following the City's plan to create a new golf course. In December 1971, Mayor Butler's administration announced a \$500,000 budget allocation for the new golf course in Onion Creek.⁵⁹ The Onion Creek Club was established in 1974 by Austin native Jimmie Connolly, and

⁵⁶ L.E. Jasinski, "Onion Creek, TX (Travis County)" Texas State Historical Association website

<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/onion-creek-tx-travis-county>

Official Blog of the Onion Creek Masonic Lodge No. 220 AF & AM

http://onioncreeklodge220.org/?page_id=419#

Historical Marker Database, "Onion Creek Lodge 220, AF & AM"

<https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=26188>

⁵⁷ Historical Marker Database, "Onion Creek Lodge 220, AF & AM"

<https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=26188>

⁵⁸ V.E. Smyrl, "Pleasant Hill, TX (Travis County)" Texas State Historical Association website

<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/pleasant-hill-tx-travis-county>

⁵⁹ "City Projects Budget Forwarded to Council" Austin American Statesman Dec. 30, 1971, 1 & 6.

famous pro golfer and Houston native, Jimmy Demaret.⁶⁰ The development of the golf club helped to raise the profile of the area and it was actively referenced as a selling point by developers. This was demonstrated by advertisements from the major developer in the area, Lumbermen's Investment Corporation and C&D Investments. For example, their adverts in the 1975 Austin American-Statesman reference the golf course directly and make reference to the upper socioeconomic class status of residents and potential buyers in Onion Creek – see image below.⁶¹

*Onion Creek is more
than just a place to live.
Much more.*



Onion Creek is indeed a place to live. A magnificent place. But one look quickly tells you that this is only the beginning.

Because Onion Creek is more than just a residential community of luxury homes and condominiums.

Onion Creek is a community completely in harmony with its natural environment. All 960 acres of it. Meandering creeks, towering oaks and cypress trees included.

Some of the finest social and recreational facilities in the Southwest are featured in Onion Creek as well. Like an 18 hole golf course professionally designed by Jimmy Demaret. And the Onion Creek Club with its 33,000 square foot clubhouse.

A homeowners' association exists too, providing such extras as seven-day-a-week security service and landscape maintenance.

Many Austinites are already living in Onion Creek. However, beautiful homes and choice lots with fairway views on attractively winding streets and privacy-oriented cul-de-sacs are still available.

Golf, tennis and social memberships are also available to both community residents and non-residents.

Destined to become a standard for luxury and beauty, Onion Creek is an entirely new way of life. And it's ready today, just 15 minutes South of downtown on IH 35.

For information on available homesites call 282-2162 or 477-6561. For membership information on the Onion Creek Club call 282-2150.

ONION CREEK

Obtain HUD Property Report from developer and read it before signing anything. HUD neither approves the merits of the offering nor the value, if any, of the property.

a joint venture of Lumbermen's Investment Corporation and C & D Investments

⁶⁰ Onion Creek Club Website – Club History page <https://www.onioncreekclub.com/club-history#>

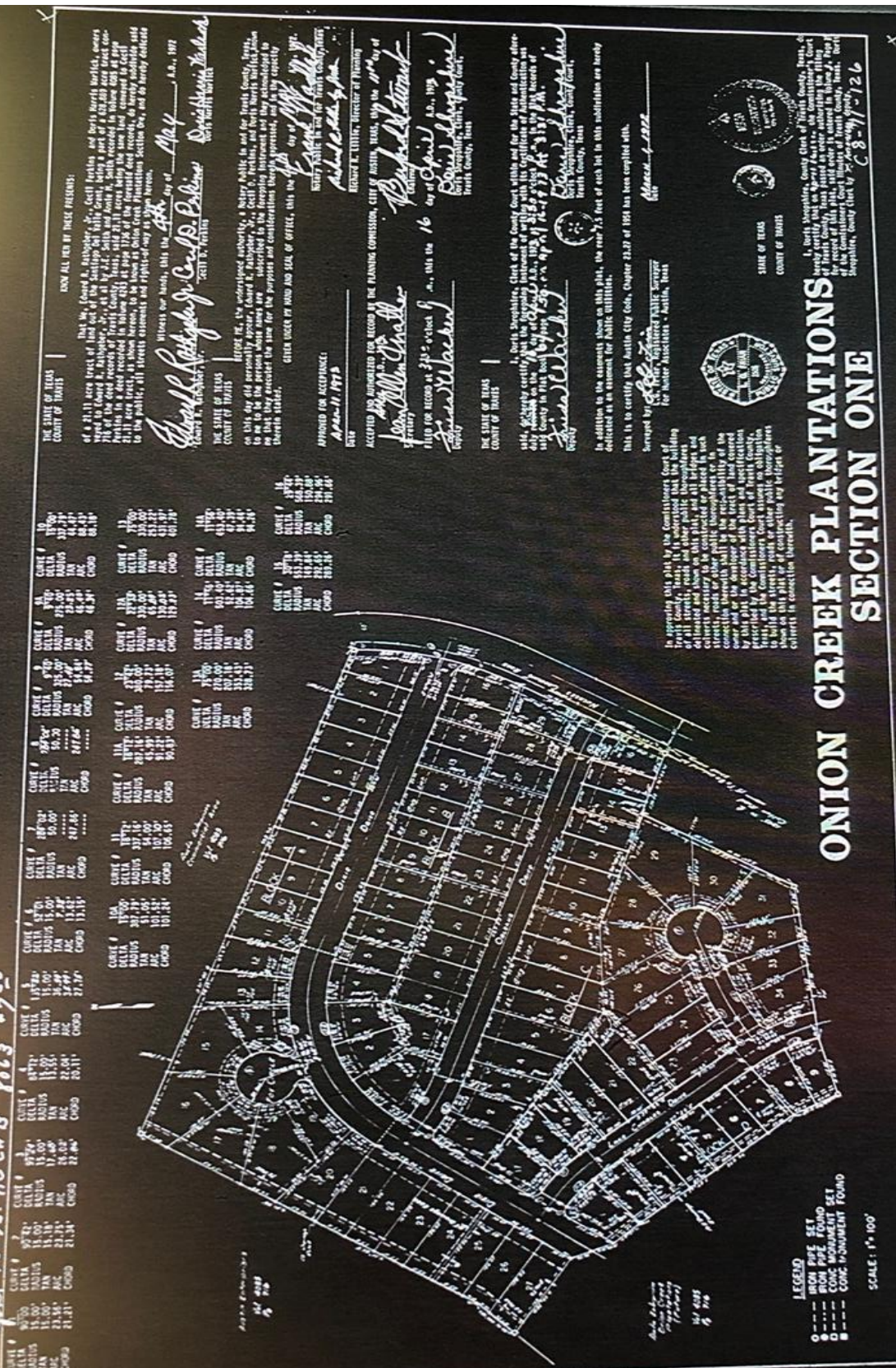
⁶¹ Austin American-Statesman March 9, 1975.

The golf course and markers of 'exclusivity' are also referenced in the History page of the Onion Creek HOA Website – <https://www.onioncreekhoa.org/history/>

In a similar vein, the section of land containing Dixie Drive is located in a nearby housing development that was first documented in 1972. The 21.11 acre property was subdivided by Edward R. Rathberger, Cecil D. Perkins, and Doris Harris Warlick in 1972. The plat map below shows Dixie Drive as part of the housing subdivision known as ‘Onion Creek Plantations Section One.’ Although the area was subsequently annexed by the city after 1973 (see city hearings about the planned annexation in the Austin American-Statesman), there aren’t records that the City named the streets contained in the subdivision.⁶² Furthermore, the same plat map shows that Dixie Drive was already named when its papers were submitted to Travis County for approval in 1972. Consequently, because this was a new development, the name Dixie Drive most likely originated with Rathberger, Perkins, and Warlick or someone on their planning/real estate development team. Given that the group of developers considered the name Onion Creek Plantations as an appropriate designation for their new subdivision, that they believed would be marketable, it is not unreasonable to attribute the street’s origin to Rathberger, Perkins, and Warlick. After this period, Dixie Drive in the Onion Creek Plantations subdivision was occupied by the 1980s, attested by the City Directory entries listed below; and it was considered part of the City of Austin and included in the Champion Map (see below) and other City business documents.

⁶² “Notice of Annexation Hearing” Austin American-Statesman June 16, 1973.

April 16-78. NCENB 1063 0750



1980 AUSTIN

(TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS)

CITY DIRECTORY

Including: Rollingwood Village

1

2

3

DIXIE DR —FROM 7100 NUCKLES CROSSING RD WEST

ZIP CODE 78744

7100 Vacant

7102 No Return

7103 Cruz Deborah R 282-4344

7104 No Return

7105 Willette Bruce R © 282-4955

7106★Martinez Ray 282-3000

7107 Painter Gene

7108★Mc Lean A C 282-1105

7110★Prest Mc Colly

DIXIE DR—Contd

7111 Scott Ray M © 282-3174

7112★Tevis Mercedes 282-2368

7113 Torres Dominga 282-3041

7115 Salazar Jack

7117 Hiscoe Kenneth B Jr © 282-3164

7119 Mullen Mark

7122★Garanzuay Alfonso

7123★Opsahl M

7125★Buzz Ken

7127 No Return

7129 Holt Freddie E 282-4907

7131 Culver Richd B © 282-3357

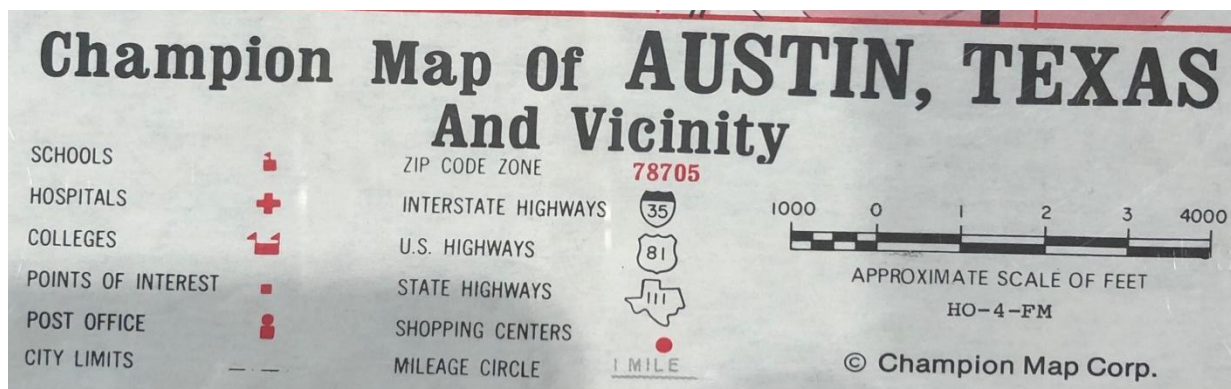
7132★Schadler James 282-5161

7140 Vacant

7201 Jones Robt L 282-3178

7202 Vacant

Champion Map of Austin circa 1985 – Austin History Center archives showing Dixie Drive



Historical Survey of the Site-Name 'Dixie'

The term 'Dixie' is a historical designation that refers to the former slaveholding southern states of the U.S. that seceded during the Civil War. However, the term has several origin stories. Its most direct beginnings derive from a reference to the Mason-Dixon line, a boundary line marking the border between Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Delaware. The line drew its name from the surveyors, Jeremiah Dixon and Charles Mason, who charted the boundary in the 1760s during the process of resolving border disputes between these colonies. Following the American Revolution, Pennsylvania and other states north of the line began to abolish slavery more frequently while their neighbors south of the line tended to maintain it. Debates about the presence and expansion of slavery into new territories and states became a recurring feature of American politics from the early republic until the Civil War. This was attested by events such as the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, the Missouri Compromise in 1820, the 1845 annexation of Texas as a slave state, the 1850 admission of California as a free state, as well as the quasi war over slavery's potential legalization in Kansas territory in 1854. With these and other nineteenth century events as a backdrop, the Mason-Dixon line or the 'Dixie', and/or 'Dixie Land' became informal references for the division of slave and free states.⁶³

Another account traces the term to the southern port city of New Orleans, Louisiana. Prior to the Civil War, the Bank of New Orleans issued ten-dollar notes stamped with the French term 'dix' meaning ten, on the notes. The bank's currency circulated widely to other states and became informally known as Dixie notes – a term that later was used to reference New Orleans, Louisiana, and then later, generically, the south.⁶⁴ An apocryphal narrative claims that 'Dixie' came from the

⁶³ K. DeVan, "Our Most Famous Border: The Mason Dixon Line" Pennsylvania Center for the Book <https://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/literary-cultural-heritage-map-pa/feature-articles/our-most-famous-border-mason-dixon-line>

⁶⁴ B. Zimmer, "What Dixie Really Means" *The Atlantic* June 26, 2020; Jenifer Conerly, "A Minstrel's Song Forever Changed the American South by Inspiring its New Nickname, "Dixie" *The History Collection*, Nov. 2, 2018.

former slaves of a northerner named Johann Dixie of Manhattan, New York, who sold his chattels when New York outlawed slavery. Many of Dixie's formerly enslaved workers ended up on Southern plantations and claimed that they wished to return to "Dixie's land" where they allegedly received comparatively better treatment. This story has never been substantiated by historians and is most likely false, however it remains in circulation as an origin story.

These accounts provide some history for the term's origins but do not account for its spread. The historical record is in strong agreement that the term 'Dixie' received its greatest promotion through an 1859 minstrel song. Daniel Decatur Emmet was a songwriter and singer that performed with the Bryant's Minstrels. Minstrel bands of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were often white men who darkened their faces with paint to caricature African Americans, depicting them using derogatory and racist mannerisms. While touring in New York in 1859, Emmet wrote the song "Dixie" or "Dixie Land" using the imaginary, and racially-stereotyped, perspective of a 'loyal slave' who was disappointed by his mistress' remarriage to a man of poor moral character that inherited the plantation. The loyal slave declared his intention to remain on the plantation – 'Dixie Land' until he died.⁶⁵ The song was a hit with both northern and southern audiences, rocketing Emmet and the Bryant Minstrels to considerable success.

However, the Civil War launched the song to even greater popularity, a testament to its 'catchy' musical arrangement and its racist lyrical content. In February 1861, Confederate President Jefferson Davis requested "Dixie Land" at his inauguration in Montgomery, Alabama. Afterwards, southern newspapers promoted the song as an anthem for the Confederacy and it later became a popular rallying song for CSA troops as they drilled and carried out attacks. In 1860, candidate Abraham Lincoln heard it while in Chicago and reportedly loved the song so much that he had it

<https://historycollection.com/a-minstrels-song-forever-changed-the-american-south-by-inspiring-its-new-nickname-dixie/3/>

⁶⁵ Ibid.

played on his presidential campaign trail. On April 8th 1865, (the night before Confederate General Lee surrendered to Union General Grant at Appomattox in Virginia), President Lincoln requested the band to play “Dixie Land” as he traveled aboard the steamboat *River Queen*.⁶⁶

During the postwar years when Reconstruction was resisted by white southern redemption and then followed by Jim Crow segregation, ‘Dixie’ became a reference for the unbroken pride of the former Confederate states and the term often circulated with the Lost Cause narrative. As the twentieth century dawned, several businesses and institutions throughout the south incorporated the term in their business and place names, as well as in other markers of material culture. During the post-Civil War decades, the term ‘Dixie’ was also deployed in common vernacular such as “whistling dixie” a reference to idle and unrealistic daydreaming and fantasizing. However, the term is also an oblique reference to the supposedly ‘lazy’ emancipated African Americans whose alleged idleness was to blame for the south’s postwar economic decline.

Over time, the terms, ‘Dixie’ and/or ‘Dixieland’ became symbolic references that invoked more than a geographic region of the United States below the Mason-Dixon line, but also the attendant sociocultural and political conditions that prevailed at the time when the song was written and enjoyed its initial popularity. These conditions include, but are not limited to: secession, the Confederacy, racial chattel slavery – specifically the enslavement of Black people, racial segregation, the ‘traditional Christian’ family structure and values – specifically the leadership of white male patriarchs alongside a rejection and/or critique of gay, lesbian, bisexual, trans, queer and any other sexual and gender identities outside of white male heterosexuality. As Tammy Ingram, professor of history at the College of Charleston, South Carolina, emphasized in a 2020 interview: **“Most**

⁶⁶ Jenifer Conerly, “A Minstrel’s Song Forever Changed the American South by Inspiring its New Nickname, “Dixie” *The History Collection*, Nov. 2, 2018.

*historians would agree that Dixie is a word people understand as obviously a reference not just to a place, but a certain kind of ideology..”*⁶⁷

White segregationists deployed the term ‘Dixie’ all across the south and north as they fought against government efforts to desegregate schools, transportation, and other public facilities during the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century. Segregationists uttered the term as they struggled to maintain segregation, or resurrect the bygone years of Jim Crow color bans, alongside African American marginalization and sociopolitical subservience.⁶⁸ Scholars have acknowledged the close association between the word ‘Dixie’ and the racist regimes of the southern past, as they chronicled the changes in American politics over the years following the progressive legislation of the civil rights period.⁶⁹

Still, some white southerners argue in favor of using the term by asserting that ‘Dixie’ simply references “home” as one Florida author remarked: *For instance, when I say Dixie, I mean a Sunday afternoon on my grandfather's farm at a family reunion.*⁷⁰ Unfortunately, such claims (even from the well-intentioned) avoid the ways that language can, and does, carry multiple contradictory meanings. A term that is relatively harmless within one community context, might be inflammatory in another. Still, basic language rules and dual meanings do not fully account for the controversy over the term ‘Dixie.’ Because the term originated as a marker of different kinds of American space (i.e., slave states vs free states), then its original meaning was intended to mean

⁶⁷ A. Elasaar, “How the Term Dixie came to Define the South” CNN June 27, 2020
<https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/27/us/dixie-term-south-racism-black-lives-matter-trnd>

⁶⁸ E.G. McRae, *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Glenn Feldman, editor, *Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004).

⁶⁹ John Egerton, *The Americanization of Dixie: the Southernization of America* (New York: Harpers Magazine Press, 1974); Peter Applebome, *Dixie Rising: How the South Is Shaping American Values, Politics, and Culture* (New York: Mariner Books, 1997).

⁷⁰ L.A.B. Davis, “Southern Perspective: What does Dixie mean? For many Southerners, it means home” *Pensacola News Journal* March 30, 2018.
<https://www.pnj.com/story/news/neighborhoods/characters/2018/03/30/southern-perspective-what-does-dixie-mean-many-southerners-means-home/467257002/>

different things to different people in the U.S. For most whites living in pre-Civil War America, 'Dixie' was simply a geographic marker to designate where slavery was legal and where it was not.

However, for African Americans, the term indicated legislative factors and experiential dangers because the system of racial chattel slavery marked even free Black people as potential targets of enslavement (e.g., the case of Solomon Northup). Indeed, 'Dixie' was simultaneously a reference of home for some white Americans, while being a marker of horror for Black Americans. This is further complicated by the fact that both Black and white folks called the south 'home' before and after the ending of slavery. However, 'Dixie' was not devised to reference a homeland with a sociopolitical system that was friendly to the interests of African Americans, but rather one that venerated white racism and political dominance. These divergent meanings were indexed to racial identity and thereby encoded in the term from its origins. Therefore, if a place-name is applied to a location that is paid for, maintained, and used by members of the public (consisting of the aforementioned diverse communities) then it might be wiser to avoid the term given its divergent meanings and potential for inciting and justifying racial hostility. Indeed, these and other considerations informed the conversations that ultimately led southern institutions like the University of Mississippi to stop playing the Dixie Land song at its football games in 2016.⁷¹

Conclusion: 'Dixie'

The term 'Dixie' has a history laden with connections to southern secession, racial chattel slavery, Jim Crow segregation, white supremacy, and racial intolerance, especially anti-Blackness. It has, and continues to be deployed in this manner even recently. For example, when the remains of Nathan Bedford Forrest (a Confederate officer, who led an infamous attack and massacre of African

⁷¹ Jenifer Conerly, "A Minstrel's Song Forever Changed the American South by Inspiring its New Nickname, "Dixie" *The History Collection*, Nov. 2, 2018. <https://historycollection.com/a-minstrels-song-forever-changed-the-american-south-by-inspiring-its-new-nickname-dixie/3/>

American Union soldiers at Fort Pillow, and then went on to lead the notorious white supremacist racial terror group, the Ku Klux Klan, after the war) were being removed from a public site in Memphis Tennessee, an irate bystander was documented using 'Dixie' in the following manner: *As workers prepared to dig up his* [Confederate officer & KKK leader, Nathan Bedford Forrest] *grave earlier this month, a white man waved a rebel flag, sang "Dixie" and launched an expletive-laced tirade at Shelby County Commissioner Tami Sawyer. Sawyer, who is Black, plucked Confederate flags off a chain-link fence surrounding the site...*⁷² In light of the term's problematic history and contemporary associations with racial discrimination and violence, Austinites should think seriously about the kinds of beliefs, and behaviors, they are implicitly condoning by the decision to allow the place-name of 'Dixie' to remain unchanged.

⁷² NPR News, "A Confederate General's Remains Are Being Moved Out Of Memphis" June 19, 2021 <https://www.npr.org/2021/06/19/1008371491/confederate-general-remains-memphis-moved>

Metz Park and Pool - District 3

In the summer of 2020, Metz Recreation Center was renamed Rudolfo “Rudy” Mendez Recreation Center, in honor of the dance teacher/mentor and the founder of the Ballet East Dance Company. Metz Park and Metz Pool have not yet been renamed as of December 2022.

Historical Survey of the Site

The Metz Recreation Center opened in the summer of 1973 with the City hosting an open house on August 19th 1973.⁷³ The recreation center had been planned by City Council during the previous years with Council considering a construction bid of \$87,778 to build the center from the Canyon construction firm in December 1971.⁷⁴ The recreation center provided important community services such as bilingual education for youth, teen councils, athletic events, outdoor skills training, swimming lessons, and public meetings to discuss civic developments and hold public hearings.⁷⁵ The name of the center originated with the city and honored a former Confederate and civic leader Hamilton Metz.

⁷³ Austin American Statesman August 17, 1973.

⁷⁴ Austin American Statesman December 27, 1971.

⁷⁵ Austin American Statesman September 12, 1973.

Metz Open House Announcement – Austin American Statesman August 17, 1973

**Open House Set Sunday
At New Recreation Center**

A Sunday open house at Metz Center, the city's newest recreation center, will inaugurate fall activities. The open house is from 4-6 p.m.

Members of the Austin City Council, the Model Cities Commission, the Parks and Recreation Board, and representatives from the city manager's office and the Parks and Recreation Department have been invited to join community members for the occasion.

Refreshments will be served and entertainment provided, including organized activities for children.

Metz Center, 2300 Canterbury, will offer a community-oriented program of classes and activities for pre-school children, older children and teenagers, adults and senior citizens.

Registration for fall classes will be held Sept. 13 and 14, for classes which begin Sept. 17.

The center will be open weekdays 9 a.m.-noon and 3-10 p.m., Saturdays 9 a.m.-6 p.m., and Sunday's 1-6 p.m.

Funds for constructing the \$99,000 center were provided by a Model Cities grant. An additional \$45,000 in Model Cities, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and City of Austin funds made possible such outdoor additions and improvements as a softball field, wading pool, playscape and rest rooms for the junior pool.

Metz Center is operated by the Austin Parks and Recreation Department.

Historical Survey of the Site-Name 'Metz'

Hamilton Metz was born in South Carolina and brought to Texas as a child by his parents Henry and Nancy Metz. They first resided in Galveston before moving to Austin in 1845 just prior to the vote on Texas' admission to the United States. The Metz family purchased land on Congress Avenue near 7 and 8th streets, establishing a family homestead where they raised six children – three girls and three boys. Hamilton's father died in 1848, leaving Nancy to raise the children. She acquired several other plots of land in the Congress Avenue area before the war.⁷⁶ Consequently, the family was rather prominent even before the Civil War military service of Hamilton raised the family's notoriety. After Texas joined the Confederacy and war broke out in 1861, Hamilton joined the CSA military, signing up for Colonel John H. Robinson's 33rd Texas Cavalry, rising to the role of captain and serving to the conclusion of the war. After, he returned to Austin.⁷⁷ There is no record of

⁷⁶ Austin American Statesman May 8, 1976.

⁷⁷ Sons of Confederate Veterans MGWL Camp 59 Records (Oakwood Cemetery project) - Box 3 – Austin History Center Archives; Austin American Statesman February 25, 1900.

veteran Metz ever renouncing his Confederate beliefs, and he remained involved in public commemorations of the Confederacy alongside other Texas veterans. For example, he accepted the ‘cross of honor’ award at a celebration of CSA General Robert E. Lee’s birthday sponsored by the United Daughters of the Confederacy at Hancock’s Opera House.⁷⁸ Following his return to Austin, Hamilton Metz rose to become a popular civic figure serving as firefighter, tax assessor and member of the school board, rising to the Office of the President by the mid 1910s, and even served as treasurer of the city’s Oddfellows Lodge. Metz was first elected to the Office of Tax Assessor in 1884 and held the office for several years.⁷⁹ Metz died on March 17, 1915 at his home at 1806 Brazos Street, after a period of illness. His popularity among white Austinites was evident by newspaper articles following his death and the fact that a new elementary school on Canterbury Street was named in his honor in 1916.⁸⁰

His roles in local governance placed Metz on the front lines of enforcing Texas’ post-Civil War laws of racial discrimination. For example, the Texas Legislature passed a constitutional amendment making the poll tax a required precondition for voting in 1902. The law was first enforced during elections in 1903 with potential voters presenting their poll tax receipt before voting.⁸¹ When the law was finally overturned by the federal government in 1966, the U.S. Attorney General described the poll tax law in the following manner: “*The United States seeks to show that the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition for voting in Texas is a device conceived primarily to deprive Negroes of the franchise and that it has continued to have that effect because the inadequate and disparate educational opportunity given Negroes until recent years by the State has placed them at an economic disadvantage and made the payment of the*

⁷⁸ Austin American Statesman Jan. 19, 1902.

⁷⁹ Travis County Minutes of Commissioners Court records Volume E (Book 2) Aug 13 1883- Feb 6 1888 – Austin History Center Archives.

⁸⁰ Austin American Statesman April 16, 1916; March 18, 1915.

⁸¹ Austin American Statesman April 6, 1903; May 2, 1903.

\$1.75 poll tax a heavier burden on the Negro than on whites, in violation of the Equal Protection Clause. The United States also alleges that the Texas poll tax deprives Negroes of the right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment'⁸² Tax assessor Metz determined various property and business taxes, and was responsible for their collection, including the aforementioned poll tax. Similarly, in his duties as a member and later president of the school board, Metz and his associates worked to maintain segregated schooling alongside racial discrimination against African American teachers. For example, in 1903 a delegation of African American teachers, led by Principal L.C. Anderson, petitioned the school board for additional payment for African American teachers who were required to conduct the board's required scholastic census. Anderson stated that the process of enumerating African American students was twice as arduous as doing it for white students (probably due to the wide dispersal of African American homesteads around the city) and required the assistance of eight teachers each month. Anderson asserted that the amount the board paid them that last year was insufficient to cover their labor and so he was requesting additional funds for the extra time and efforts of Black teachers.

⁸² UNITED STATES of America, Plaintiff v. The STATE OF TEXAS et al., Defendants. 252 F. Supp. 234 (1966) United States District Court W. D. Texas, Austin Division. February 9, 1966. Quoted from Justia US Law website <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/252/234/1410599/>

Poll tax notification & the electoral candidacy of Metz - Austin American-Statesman, May 2, 1903

**AN ELECTION OF
SCHOOL TRUSTEES**

IT WILL BE HELD IN AUSTIN
TODAY—FOUR TO BE
CHOSEN.

**LIST OF CANDIDATES
WHO HAVE OFFERED**

**Polling Places and Judges of the Elec-
tion—Must Show a Poll Tax
Receipt Before Voting.**

The election for school trustees will be held today between the hours of 9 a. m. and 4 p. m. Every male inhabitant of the city qualified to vote for state and county officers of Travis county who shall have resided six months or over in the city shall be eligible to vote in this election, providing he shows his poll tax receipt. This poll tax receipt is just as important as in the municipal election and no one shall be allowed to vote who shall be without one. Each voter must vote in the ward in which he resides.

The candidates who are before the public are as follows. N. O. Brenizer, Geo. A. Brush, P. H. Gerhard, D. B. Gracy, J. A. Jackson, Ham M. Metz, William H. Stacy.

Of these four are to be elected.

The polling places and the judges to govern the election are the following:

First Ward—South Austin Fire hall; Judge, A. N. Foteet.

Second Ward—Barge's Stable; Judge, W. E. Armstrong.

Third Ward—Protection Fire company's hall; Judge, George Ash.

Fourth Ward—Alexander's store; Judge, J. W. Hill.

Fifth Ward—Wellmer's store; Judge, J. W. Hornsby.

Sixth Ward—County court house; Judge, W. W. Harris.

Seventh Ward—Walker's residence, 309 East Third street; Judge, L. H. Kreble.

The school board will meet Monday night to canvass the returns and declare the victors. The installation of the new board will likely occur at the same time.

School Board denies petition of African American teachers Austin American Statesman, May 1903

THE SCHOOL BOARD HAD A MEETING	
A REPORT OF THE FUNDS ON HAND SUBMITTED BY TREAS- URER JACKSON.	
THE COLORED TEACHERS ASKED FOR MORE PAY	
Amount Allowed for Taking the Census Was Not Sufficient for Time Re- quired—Monthly Report.	
<p>The school board met last night in Professor Harris' office in the high school with Dr. Matthews absent. President Brush presided over the meeting. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, after which the report of Treasurer J. A. Jackson for the month of April was submitted. It is as follows:</p>	
Balance on hand April 1, 1903	\$ 7322.06
Collections during the month of April	10,942.40
Disbursements during the month of April	5699.99
Balance on hand May 1, 1903	12,564.47
The Allen Fund—	
Balance on hand April 1	\$10,430.77
Collections during the month of April	138.32
Disbursements during the month of April	2676.08
Balance on hand May 1, 1903	8883.01
The treasurer's report was approved and filed.	
<p>A delegation of colored teachers appeared before the board to ask an increase in the amount of remuneration given them for taking the colored scholastic census. It was composed of L. C. Anderson, principal of the colored high school; C. M. White, teacher in the same school and A. J. Jackson, superintendent of the Wheatville colored school. Principal Anderson stated that he thought the labor of taking the census among the colored people was twice as arduous as among the whites and for that reason he had come before the board to ask an increase. It would require his entire time and the assistance of eight teachers the entire month to ascertain and enumerate the colored children who by their inaccessibility were extremely hard to find. He stated that the amount received by them last year was inadequate to pay them for services rendered.</p>	
<p>When they had finished and retired, Mr. Brush moved that they be allowed 10 cents for every pupil enrolled by them. He said that last year they had been allowed six cents per child with a bonus of 25 cents for every one they secured in excess of the number returned by the enumerators the year prior. The sum realized by this method had been hardly enough to pay each enumerator \$15 for the month's work, which was laborious in the extreme.</p>	
<p>After several minutes' discussion of the matter, a vote was taken and the motion was lost by a vote of 3 to 2.</p>	
<p>Judge Fulmore then moved to pay the colored enumerators at the rate of 8 cents per pupil enrolled by them. The motion was carried.</p>	
<p>The report of Superintendent Harris, of the public schools, was then read and adopted. The report with reference to the attendance for the past month is as follows:</p>	
Enrolled. Attend.	
High school	595 503
Huckler school	596 520
Pease school	462 371
Palm school	592 299
Woodruff school	280 245
Baker school	159 125
Fulmore school	160 125
Total white	2644 2188
Enrolled. Attend.	
Robertson Hill school	118 98
Gregorytown school	394 323
West Austin school	230 174
Wheatville school	85 67
South Austin school	75 46
Total colored	902 718
Grand total	3547 2906

Unfortunately, the board denied their request.⁸³ And while this situation may have also been informed by budgetary factors, it illustrates the discretionary powers of the board held over certain payment matters concerning African American teachers at segregated schools. Furthermore, historians have long noted that a key element of segregated education in southern states like Texas involved the systemic defunding and/or underfunding of Black and Latine schools.⁸⁴ These practices attempted to use the funds collected by Texas taxpayers in unequal ways to ensure racial disparities in education that favored whites and disadvantaged Blacks. Therefore, Metz actively maintained the operation of this discriminatory system throughout his tenure.

In consideration of these kinds of aspects of the life of Hamilton Metz, the City of Austin was justified in its decision to rename the recreation center in 2020. In July 2020, the City chose to honor the former Metz Recreation Center with the name of Rodolfo ‘Rudy’ Mendez, an Austinite whose values and civic contributions were representative and inclusive rather than those of the Confederacy. Mendez was a program Specialist for PARD at Metz Recreation Center from 1978 to 2000 and also established the Folklorico Dance and Mentoring Program for school-aged youths in East Austin.⁸⁵

⁸³ Austin American Statesman May 2, 1903.

⁸⁴ M. Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (Boston: South End Press, 1983), chapter 8 Destruction of Black Education; R. Duff Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools: Eisenhower, Shivers, and the Crisis at Mansfield High* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

⁸⁵ Community Impact News

<https://communityimpact.com/austin/central-austin/impacts/2020/07/14/metz-recreation-center-could-be-renamed-in-honor-of-rodolfo-rudy-mendez/>

Austin Monitor News

<https://www.austinmonitor.com/stories/2020/06/city-gets-parks-board-blessing-to-rename-metz-recreation-center/>

CBS Austin News

<https://cbsaustin.com/news/local/austin-parks-rec-moves-forward-with-plan-to-rename-metz-pool-and-rec-center>

Conclusion

Over the summer of 2020, there were widespread protests and demonstrations in response to viral videos of the law enforcement murders of Blacks and Latinos such as George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and Austinite Mike Ramos. The viral videos of these events triggered global demonstrations and social unrest, thrusting the problem of violent anti-Black (as well as anti-Latino and anti-immigrant) racism to the front and center in American public life. During the protests that occurred in Austin, the statement “Whose streets? Our streets!” was one of the slogans chanted by protestors as they called for an end to racism, and demanded accountability from the police and City authorities regarding the aforementioned murders, and related injustices. The words of the Austin demonstrators contain an important question that extends beyond their specific concerns to touch the issues of this report. This question – who do the streets of Austin belong to? – gets to the heart of place-names and naming rituals, because it interrogates symbolic ownership, seeking to determine who, or what, is in possession of the streets of Austin at an experiential level that transcends simplistic answers that would claim ‘X city department’ as the registered owner of a particular site.

Part of the process of declaring ownership involves street and site-names – a point that this report has made clear – as well as the civic actions that city officials and institutions allow, or prohibit. Concerning the latter, demonstrators were asking who truly owned the streets of Austin if and when it appeared that City officials promoted, condoned, or ignored the racial profiling and harming of Black, Latino and non-white residents. The question could be rephrased as follows, “Did African American, Latino, and other non-white residents, have any meaningful collective ownership of Austin’s streets?” Or deeper still, are these racialized communities even a part of the collective that is being referenced by the term ‘the City of Austin’? And if so, what are some practical ways that City officials, institutions, and properties can demonstrate their commitment to equitable racial

inclusivity and the rejection of the forms of whites-only segregation and exclusion that dominated Austin's past?

Still, demonstrators did not only pose a question, but they also included a response 'our streets,' indicating that marchers (many of whom were local residents) were making a claim about their ownership of public space. Their response was predicated on the fact that many demonstrators lived, worked, played and built their lives in, and around, Austin. Their assertions were underscored by the reality that they paid taxes and engaged in various activities of civic life (i.e., voting, running for office, attending PTA and school board meetings, supporting their religious or cultural communities, contributing to the campaigns of city/state/national candidates, etc.). According to the social contract that undergirds American political institutions, governments are required to respond to the concerns of the citizens and in this case, provide safeguards for their lives and liberty in ways that are amenable to citizens and government. Furthermore, the declaration of independence, referenced in the introduction of this report, endorses the basic idea of a social contract in its opening lines. Collective ownership (i.e., being a community stakeholder), includes the right to safety while moving through the streets, and being treated in a lawful, fair, and humane manner by law enforcement and other authorities. Unfortunately, the context of the protests showed that demonstrators' claims of ownership were actually aspirational – not yet a reality; because the kinds of civic safety and antiracist consideration that they demanded was not being provided equitably by City officials – particularly by law enforcement and the judicial system. Indeed, the cruel irony of their claims of street-ownership was probably not lost on several marchers when they gathered in front of the capitol building with its Confederate monuments on the lawn.

These matters relate to the issue of place and street names since they should ideally allow all members of a society to feel a sense of ownership and invest in these collectively held places with various communal aspirations. The names of public sites can either assist or undermine efforts to

create a city/community that is racially and socioeconomically equitable because certain names (i.e., Confederate, Dixie, Plantation and Metz) are historically linked to the practice and defense of racial chattel slavery in the past, and symbolically tied to white supremacy in the present. Regarding the latter, the history of Austin has shown this to be true. In 1993, members of the white supremacist terror organization, the Ku Klux Klan, gathered at the Austin Capitol to protest the fact that Martin Luther King Jr. Day had become a state holiday, and to rally in support of keeping racist symbols like the Confederate flag flying in public places. In response, about 5,000 counter-protestors gathered to show that the KKK and the Confederate flag were unwanted in Austin. The AP News organization interviewed a Klan member about the meaning of the flag, and related Confederate symbols: *A former Klan grand wizard, Stanley McCollum of Tuscumbria, said, “the battle over the flag is a battle for power and control,” adding, “the Blacks are constantly trying to get more.”*⁸⁶

In the same vein, research has shown that supporters of right-wing political violence often rally around the defense of Confederate flags, monuments, and place-names as symbols of the white racial heritage and white political dominance, they believe to be threatened by racial equality and inclusive interpretations of American constitutional governance. For example, a 2020 study from the Center on American Progress verified this connection, stating that: *“The glorification of the Confederacy and of a time in American history that sought to oppress and erase people of color is part of a project to redefine true Americans as only those with European heritage”*⁸⁷

Therefore, the place-names documented in this report are more than innocuous relics of the past, but rather active tools in the hands of individuals and groups seeking to promote racist ideologies and violence. If the City of Austin is serious about addressing white supremacy, anti-Black racism, anti-immigrant rhetoric (i.e., particularly xenophobia against Americans of Hispanic, Tejano,

⁸⁶ Scott Rothschild, “Klan, Opponents Face Off at Texas Capitol” AP News Jan. 16, 1993 <https://apnews.com/article/60c99721a7644e3fd866153db8086856>

⁸⁷ Center on American Progress report, “How White Supremacy Returned to Mainstream Politics” July, 1, 2020 <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/white-supremacy-returned-mainstream-politics/>

Latinx/e heritage, etc.) as well as the extremist political ideologies and anti-government violence which are often connected to these beliefs; then it behooves City Council members to partner with Austinites in their districts to address these place names. Doing this will answer the question of, “whose streets?” with a clear statement that the streets and public spaces of Austin do not belong to individuals and groups that espouse racial intolerance and violence, but rather to us, ‘we the people’ who aspire to ‘secure the blessings of liberty’, or freedom, from the names, symbols, and practices that maintain racism.

APPENDIX: FRAMEWORK FOR RENAMING

Questions from the report to be considered in renaming prioritization:

- What kinds of aspirational claims are being articulated when a public building, street or park is named for the Confederate States of America, a specific Confederate soldier or official, or with ties to white supremacy and settler-colonialism?
- Likewise, what does it say about a city when it chooses to declare ownership (or possession) of a public site in the name of the Confederacy, white supremacy, and/or settler-colonialism?
- Do titles related to ‘Confederate,’ white supremacy, and settler-colonialism declare Austin’s symbolic rejection of political allegiance to the United States’ government and Constitution?
- Do they express support for the racial chattel enslavement of Africans and genocide of Indigenous communities?
- Do they uplift ideals of racism and anti-blackness ?
- Do they articulate hopes that such ideals will be realized in the future?
- Did African American, Latino, and other non-white residents have any meaningful collective ownership of Austin’s streets?
- Or deeper still, are these racialized communities even a part of the collective that is being referenced by the term ‘the City of Austin’?
- And if so, what are some practical ways that City officials, institutions, and properties can demonstrate their commitment to equitable racial inclusivity and the rejection of the forms of whites-only segregation and exclusion that dominated Austin’s past?

Considering these questions, this framework offers guidance as we think about People, Place, and Process in the renaming of assets that have ties to the Confederacy, white supremacy, and settler-colonialism.

People	Place	Process
<p>Priority Populations: BIPOC; current residents in close proximity to the asset, as well as former residents who have since been displaced from area</p> <p>Center those most impacted: ensure that solutions are grounded in and emerge from the experience of communities of color</p> <p>Prioritize Black, Indigenous, Latine and other non-white</p>	<p>Which district is the asset in?</p> <p>Consider the historical and cultural context of the asset’s location.</p> <p>Prioritize assets located in areas that have been or will be evaluated in the Black Dispossession study, in which we are able to quantify what Black residents lost due to the 1928 Plan.</p>	<p>Community centered and City supported</p> <p>Consult database of alternative names generated by community</p> <p>Prioritize a commitment to racial equity and rejection of whites-only segregation and exclusion that dominated Austin’s past</p> <p>Consider updating PARD</p>

residents' meaningful collective ownership of Austin's streets		<p>renaming ordinance and street name change application to include explicit focus on priority populations and eliminate barriers to participation</p> <p>Recommend Council-initiated process when assets are street names</p> <p>Recommend processes to be initiated by relevant departments, such as PARD, when assets are City buildings and property such as parks and pools. Alleviate cost implications for both residents and department.</p>
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