IN SUPPORT OF A RECONSIDERATION OF THE SEAL, MOTTO, & FLAG OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

A timeline detailing the story of the Mississippi flag, from Confederate imagery to voter-approved redesign,

is one part of a multi-faceted research and design initiative produced by the Community Design Studio at Lesley University College of Art and Design in partnership with Senator Jason Lewis, the North American Indian Center of Boston, and Mass Humanities.

Introduction

In the midst of a challenging time when BIPOC communities are among the most deeply impacted by increasing socio-economic, cultural, and health disparities, the Community Design Studio at Lesley University College of Art and Design (Lesley Art + Design) has responded by pairing a team of design students with legislative staff, historians, and Native leaders to support the reconsideration of the seal, motto, and flag of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

How does design harm or heal communities? How can design help forge a path forward?^{*}

These are some of the questions that the Community Design Studio has addressed in its approach to the current Massachusetts seal, whose composite design includes the head of Thomas Little Shell, a Chippewa Chief from Montana; the body proportions derived from the excavated bones from an archaeological dig in Winthrop; and the sash of Native leader Metacomet (King Philip) whose severed head was displayed by British colonizers as a war trophy in Plymouth for twenty years. The design, as indicated by Jean-Luc Pierite, Board President of the North American Indian Center of Boston (NAICOB), "is evocative of the intergenerational trauma and colonial violence which our communities have endured for the past 400 years." The symbolism itself continuing to harm the residents of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. With Pierite, Raquel Halsey, Executive Director of NAICOB, further emphasizes that since 1984, former Representative Byron Rushing, with the support of the Massachusetts Commission on Indian Affairs, has repeatedly introduced legislation to recommend changes to the seal, motto, and flag. For more than thirty-four years bi-annually, this legislation, that aims to change the flag's offensive and scarring symbolism of the historical oppression of Native people, has been stalled in committees and not passed.

The story of the Mississippi State flag, from harmful Confederate imagery to voterapproved redesign, provides a precedent for Massachusetts and symbolizes the potential for a positive and more unified future. The annotated timeline presented in this document offers a chronological overview of the State of Mississippi's process to update their flag while highlighting some of the key voices and opinions that both challenged and contributed to their success.

By acknowledging, listening to, and repeatedly consulting the expertise of Native partners, advisors, and members of our own studio, the Community Design Studio offers a path forward for a process that allows for undoing and healing^{**} and outcomes that reconcile the symbols of a hurtful colonial past with the cultural, political, environmental, and social priorities of Native communities in the present and future.



O CLICK HERE / Listen to a statement from Jean-Luc Pierite, President of the Board, North American Indian Center of Boston (NAICOB)

* **Joseph Kunkel,** Executive Director, Sustainable Native Community Collaborative, MASS Design Group, Obama Foundation Fellow

**** Governor Brian Vallo,** Pueblo of Acoma

PRECEDENT

1861

1894

1906

— "Magnolia Flag" created

— Early protest against carrying the flag

- University of Mississippi bans use of flag

1982

1983

2000

- 2001

PRECEDENT / STEPS & MISSTEPS

"I will agree that this is a government by the people and for the people, but what people? When this declaration was made by our forefathers, it was for the Anglo-Saxon people. That is what we are here for today—to secure the supremacy of the white race."

- Flag with Confederate symbols adopted

- Flag adoption inadvertently repealed

-J. H. McGehee, Mississippi senator; from his speech at the state Constitutional Convention, 1890

"Black students on campus view the flag as a racist symbol, and I personally cannot separate it from the Klan and what they stand for."

—Lydia Spragin, *President of the University* of Mississippi's Black Student Union



1988, 1990, 1992, 1993

- Bills to change flag proposed and rejected

IN DEPTH / Timeline 1861-2020





March 30

The original "Magnolia Flag" was adopted and the "Ordinances and Resolutions" in the Journal of the Convention described: "A Flag of white ground, a Magnolia tree in the centre, a blue field in the upper left hand corner with a white star in the centre, the Flag to be finished with a red border and a red fringe at the extremity of the Flag."

1894/

February 7

The Mississippi Legislature adopted a replacement to the Civil War era flag that included the Confederate battle flag in its canton (shown in the next column). The design, with minor adjustments, was officially recognized by the state until 2020.

1906/

Legislation inadvertently repealed the adoption of the 1894 flag. This was the subject of a Mississippi Supreme Court decision in 2000 that opened the door to the formation of a commission.



1982/

John Hawkins, The University of Mississippi's first Black cheerleader, refused to carry the state flag at Ole Miss sporting events, as was traditional.

October 23

A group of Ku Klux Klan members rallied before a crowd of 450 to support the continued use of the Confederate flag at Ole Miss. One speaker said the Rebel flag must be defended because "It is more sacred than anything else in the South. Destroy it and the American flag will soon go."

1983/

April 21

Chancellor Porter L. Fortune Jr. banned the official use of the Confederate flag as a University of Mississippi symbol.

1988/ 1990/ 1992/ 1993/

Bills were introduced to replace the state flag and were rejected.

1993/

July 6

The Mississippi chapter of the NAACP filed a lawsuit to prohibit display of the state flag. The lawsuit alleged that the use of Confederate symbols in the state flag violated the plaintiff's constitutional rights to free speech, due process, and equal protection.

2000

divided opinions.

2001/

April 17

Notes:

O CLICK HERE / Listen to Laurin **O CLICK HERE / Listen to excerpts** from the public hearings. Stennis's statement regarding her flag.

MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

- A commission was founded to reconsider the flag design

2014

— "Hospitality Flag" created

- Governor Musgrove urged placing options (no change vs. alternative) on the ballot — The referendum to change the flag failed



The state Supreme Court ruled the inclusion of Confederate symbols in the flag did not violate any constitutionallyprotected rights, but the court also found that the state flag requirements were not codified in law and thus Mississippi did not have an official state flag.

Prompted by the decision, a nine-member commission, led by the former Governor William Winter and businessman Jack Reed, was founded.

The commission held five public hearings across the state that exposed deeply

The commission recommended to the legislature that a choice between the 1894 flag and an alternative (shown above) be placed on the ballot, a position Governor Ronnie Musgrove supported.

More Mississippians went to the polls than in a previous gubernatorial election. 64% of referendum voters supported continued use of the 1894 flag.

Co-chair Jack Reed's department store was boycotted. **Musgrove later said that putting** the flag on the ballot was a mistake.

Georgia reduced the size of Confederate symbols on its flag, which had been adopted in 1956 after the Supreme Court ruled in Brown v. Board of Education to desegregate schools, and then revised the flag again in 2004.

2014/

An alternate flag was created by Laurin Stennis and flown unofficially by businesses and citizens. Known by several names, it was commonly referred to as the "Hospitality Flag." Though her flag design was popular, Stennis stepped back from the effort to change the 1894 flag due, in part, to the painful segregationist record of her grandfather, the late U.S. Senator John C. Stennis.



2015

- Charleston Church Massacre occurred
- House Speaker Gunn pushed for removal of Confederate symbols

2017

— Bicentennial flag created by the Mississippi Economic Council

2019

- Vanity license plate with "Hospitality Flag" introduced

"We must always remember our past, but that does not mean we must let it define us. . . I believe our state's flag has become a point of offense that needs to be removed."

-Philip Gunn, Mississippi House Speaker

"For too long, we were blind to the pain that the Confederate flag stirred in many of our citizens... For many, black and white, that flag was a reminder of systemic oppression and racial subjugation. We see that now."

-Barack Obama, U.S. President

2015/

June 17

The Charleston Church Massacre took place at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Dylann Storm Roof, who posed for photographs with the Confederate flag, murdered nine people.

June 22

Mississippi House Speaker Philip Gunn stated the Confederate emblem in the state's flag should go. It was the first time an elected Mississippi Republican official called for its removal publicly.

June 26

President Barack Obama offered a eulogy for the Reverend Clementa Pinckney of Mother Emanuel in which he called for the removal of the Confederate battle flag.

June 27

In a high-profile gesture, activist Bree Newsome climbed atop the South Carolina State House flagpole and removed the Confederate flag. She was arrested and the flag was replaced.

July 9

South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley signed legislation to remove Confederate flags from official sites. Alabama Governor Robert Bentley had ordered them lowered in the state two week earlier.

2017/

A flag was created by the Mississippi Economic Council to celebrate the state's bicentennial and thereafter it joined the list of flags suggested to replace the controversial state flag.

2019/

April 17

Seen by some as a subtle move toward more significant change, Governor Phil Bryant signed a bill that introduced a novelty license plate that featured the Hospitality Flag. More than 300 were pre-ordered.

O CLICK HERE / Listen to excerpts from Obama's eulogy.

2020

- George Floyd murdered
- Black Lives Matter protests swell
- NASCAR banned use of Confederate flag Association of Educators and Teachers' Union called for flag change
- Senate Democrats file resolution
- Lieutenant Governor Hosemann disadvantages legislation
- College athletes took a stand
- Commissioner Sankey released a statement
- NCAA banned Mississippi from hosting

"A flag's sole purpose is to unite a people

proven that the Mississippi flag no lon-

ger unites, but divides us unnecessarily."

"It is past time for change to be made to" the flag of the State of Mississippi. Our students deserve an opportunity to learn and compete in environments that are inclusive and welcoming to all." -Greg Sankey, SEC Commissioner

around a common cause. Reality has

-Representative Trey Lamar (R),

Mississippi lawmaker and former

Ole Miss football player

important events

- Growing list of corporations, institutions, and governmental entities called for change
- Legislation was still unlikely to pass — Two "Separate but Equal" flags proposed
- and rejected

June 23

PRECEDENT / BUILDING MOMENTUM

June 8

June 10

June 11

change the state flag.

2020/

April 1

Without mentioning slavery as a central issue of the Civil War, Governor Tate Reeves declared April as Confederate Heritage Month.

April 25

Derek Chauvin, an officer of the Minneapolis Police Department, murdered George Floyd for allegedly using a counterfeit bill which sparked nationwide protest.

June 6

A Black Lives Matter protest attracted thousands of people to Jackson Mississippi. Protesters chanted: "Change the flag!"

A bipartisan group of lawmakers, with

the support of House Speaker Philip Gunn,

began whipping votes and drafting a reso-

NASCAR banned the use of the Confed-

Wallace, the only Black full-time Cup

Series driver, called for such a move.

The Mississippi Association of Educators

powerful lobbies to call on lawmakers to

and the Teachers' Union were the first

Senate Democrats filed a resolution to

change the flag after earlier action by

deadline had passed, thus requiring a

House members. A rule suspension reso-

lution was required because a legislative

two-thirds vote in both chambers to pass.

erate flag at its events shortly after Bubba

lution to change the state flag.

Lieutenant Governor Delbert Hosemann, who later was open to changing the flag, assigned the legislation to a little-used committee where it had only a remote chance of passing.

June 18

June 17

College athletes asked the NCAA to ban the state from hosting college baseball regionals until the state flag changed.

Commissioner Greg Sankey released a statement that the Southeastern Conference would consider barring league championship events in Mississippi until the state flag was changed.

June 19

The NCAA banned Mississippi from hosting championship events unless it abandoned the Confederate flag, including college baseball.



June 21

Mississippi Today released a list of 188 businesses, 32 colleges/universities, 32 cities, 6 counties, and 36 associations that had, at the time of publication, removed or called for a change of the flag.

Businesses included:

- AT&T Blue Cross Blue Shield
- of Mississippi
- **Chevron Products Company Corinth Coca-Cola Bottling**
- Hancock Whitney
- State Street Group
- **Tovota North America**
- Viking Range
- Walmart
- Weyerhaeuser

June 22

Legislative leaders announced that they were still short of necessary votes to change the state flag.

Representative Ken Morgan (R), longtime opponent of flag change, proposed the adoption of two official state flags deemed the "Separate but Equal" proposal. The action was not supported by the governor and was subsequently dropped.

 Religious leaders attended a meeting with elected officials at Mississippi College — Baptist Convention declared a "Moral Issue" Walmart confirmed the removal of the flag from store displays

- "In God We Trust" compromise proposed Governor Reeves agreed to sign the bill
- Influential coaches lobbied lawmakers
- Lawmakers passed procedural measure with required two-thirds majority
- Mississippi Today released poll on House and Senate Members suggesting shift in positions
- Legislature passed House Bill 1796
- Governor Reeves signs the bill

is in a history museum."

Mississippi retires state flag to a museum

"It's an artifact, and where it should be

- The Honorable Reuben Anderson,

Mississippi Supreme Court in the modern era

first African American member of the

Capital Building / photos by Ashton Pitt

Leaders representing Baptists, Roman Catholics. United Methodists and Pentecostals attended a meeting at Mississippi College with Gunn and Hosemann to discuss changing the state flag.

The Mississippi Baptist Convention denounced the state flag and characterized its position as "a moral issue," calling for change.

A Walmart spokesperson confirmed that the state flag had been removed from stores two weeks earlier.

Lieutenant Governor Delbert Hosemann and Attorney General Lynn Fitch, top elected Republicans, proposed that any replacement to the flag must include the words, "In God We Trust;" a move that garnered support.

June 25

Governor Reeves maintained that the people should vote on whether to change the flag rather than the legislature but later agreed to sign a bill if it reached his desk. The legislature had the votes to override a potential veto.

Described as a pivotal moment, influential coaches from all eight of the state's public universities visited the Mississippi Capitol to lobby lawmakers.

Schools represented:

- The University of Mississippi (Ole Miss)
- Mississippi State University
- The University of Southern Mississippi
- Jackson State University
- Alcorn State University
- **Mississippi Valley State University**
- Delta State University
- Mississippi University for Women

The Republican-led House of Representatives and Senate voted by a two-thirds majority (36-14) on a procedural measure to clear the path for a vote that would remove the flag and replace it with a new design free of Confederate iconography.

Mississippi Today released a poll of all House and Senate members' positions regarding a change of the flag.

House:

- 53 members want the legislature to change the flag
- 3 members want to keep the current flag
- 25 members want voters to decide
- 41 members provided no comment ۲

Senate:

- 24 members want the legislature to change the flag
- 4 members want to keep the current flag
- I9 members want voters to decide
- 6 members provided no comment
- 2 members are undecided

June 28

Legislature passed House Bill 1796 that relinguished the Mississippi state flag, removing it from public buildings within fifteen days of the bill's effective date, and constituted a nine-member commission to design a new flag. The commission was required to submit a design for the ballot by September 14, 2020 which had to contain the words "In God We Trust" without Confederate battle symbols.

92 of 115 Representatives and 37 of 51 Senators voted in favor.

June 30

Joined by government leaders as well as Reena Evers, daughter of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, Governor Tate Reeves hosted a ceremony at the Governor's Mansion and signed the bill.

July 1

The former Mississippi flag was raised a final time over the state Capitol and then was lowered as a crowd of 100 people applauded. It was retired to a museum where it was given historical context.

O CLICK HERE / Listen to the vote tally.



— Officials launched public campaign for design proposals

- Commission members appointed

Meeting 1

- Work plan adopted
- Submission deadline moved to August 1
- 600 design entries received

"I look forward to working with the

and represent our state proudly on

commission to honor our history

behalf of the Mississippi Band of

-Tribal Chief Cyrus Ben, Chief,

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

Meeting 2

- Work plan adjusted
- Presentation made by flag expert
- 1,000 design entries received Commissioners advanced 147 entries
- Design submission process closes

PRECEDENT / A COMMISSION SUCCEEDS



July 13

Officials solicited flag design proposals as part of a public process. The deadline for submissions originally was set for August 13 but later moved to August 1 to allow time to prepare ballots.

Notes:

- Consider holding public meetings to identify appropriate symbols ahead of launching a public design process.
- In setting up entry guidelines for a public design process, Mississippi advisors suggest: (1) require each participant to sign a release of rights and guarantee they have the right to use any visuals included in their entry (no clip-art), (2) limit the number of designs an individual can enter, (3) once established, do not change deadlines or rules, (4) create a portal to receive entries.

Commission appointments made by Lieutenant Governor **Delbert Hosemann:**

- The Honorable Reuben Anderson, Former Supreme Court Justice; President. MDAH Board of Trustees
- Sherri Carr Bevis, Community Relations Liaison to the Singing River *Health System; former teacher* • J. Mack Varner, Attorney

By House Speaker Philip Gunn:

- Dr. Mary Graham, President, Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College
- **Robyn Tannehill,** Mayor, Oxford
- **TJ Taylor,** Policy advisor for House Speaker Philip Gunn



By Governor Tate Reeves:

- Tribal Chief Cyrus Ben, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; Representative, Mississippi Economic Council • **Frank Bordeaux,** Vice President,
- Mississippi BXS Insurance; Representative, Mississippi Arts Commission • **Betsey Hamilton,** Real estate broker and appraiser; Representative, Mississippi Department of Archives & History

Note:

• Commission members included those connected to the governor who were able to ensure buy-in as well as others with marketing and legal expertise.

Choctaw Indians."

July 22, MEETING 1

Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) appointed by legislature to serve a managerial and clerical role to assist the commission.

On contract at MDAH: Holly Lang, planner; Dominique Pugh, designer who adjusted entries for clarity, digitized paper submissions, and worked with commission to combine elements from various submitted designs.

First of five meetings of the flag commission in Jackson developed a work plan with only six of nine members appointed. Presentation made by House Speaker and Katie Blount, Director of MDAH.

600 design submissions had been received. Submission deadline moved to August 1.

Essential support:

- . Coordination of the commission's effort and the public design submission process was a full-time two-month endeavor for Katie Blount, her assistant, the Deputy Director, and IT staff.
- In addition to a logistical consultant and a graphic designer, **MDAH** also hired an IP/Property **Rights attorney. A flag expert** consulted throughout the process on an honorarium. It is strongly advised that IT
- consultants and attorneys are in place from the outset.
- The budget for administration and operations was set at 50K (this was exceeded by 14K).

July 28, MEETING 2

Adjusted work plan approved. Mississippi vexillologist Clay Moss, outlined "Best Practices" for flag design advocated by the North American Vexillological Association and used throughout the process.

1,000 submissions had been received.

147 entries selected to advance to the next round.

Notes:

- Entries were first presented to the commission and public on a platform without the possibility of comment, just votes of support. From the outset, the working of
- the commission was transparent and communicated to the public via the MDAH website, frequent press releases, and news coverage.

O CLICK HERE / Watch the first meeting.

O CLICK HERE / Watch the second meeting.

Voters approve new flag design

Meeting 3

— Intellectual Property Rights Agreement presentation made by attorney - Voter Education Initiative discussed - 3,700 eligible design entries received - Commissioners advanced nine entries

Meeting 4

- Consultation by flag expert and designer - Public participates in a non-binding poll
- 3,700 eligible design entries received
- Commissioners advanced five entries, fabricated, and flew them from Old Capital

Meeting 5

- Commission debated fairness of poll Commissioners advanced the "New Magnolia Flag," then voted to name it the "In God We Trust" flag as the finalist for a November 3rd vote

"MDAH was proud to support the Flag Commission in its historic work. We were especially gratified to see the public engage so significantly in the process. The commissioners worked hard, listening to the experts and to the people, and they came up with a great design to present to voters on November 3."

-Katie Blount, MDAH Director

"Our flag should reflect the beauty and good in all of us. The New Magnolia Flag represents the warmth and strength of the good people of Mississippi."

-Rocky Vaughan, flag designer

August 14, MEETING 3

Public comment period moved earlier than previously proposed. Presentations made of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement by Whit Rayner, and Voter **Education Initiative.**

A total of 3,700 eligible entries had been received at close of submission process.

Nine flag designs selected to advance to lectual property rights.

Notes:

Entries were moved to a departmental website ahead of a public comment period.

The budget for a public information campaign, launched after the flag design was approved by the commission, was set at 150K with a 30K cap for the work of the

advertising agency. An Economic Council raised funds for its own separate ad campaign to support the initiative.

August 18, MEETING 4

Advice was offered by the consulting flag expert and design revisions were made during meetings by a graphic designer as requested by the commission members.

Five finalist flag designs selected and fabricated.

August 25

Commission met at the Old Capital to the next round pending clearance of intel- raise and fly the five finalist flags.

Note:

The public (both within Mississippi and beyond) participated in a nonbinding poll through September 1. Total filtered U.S. respondents on public poll: 74,411.

September 2, MEETING 5

Some commission members questioned the qualifications of commenters and considered delaying the vote before proceeding to preserve the overall schedule.

What was initially referred to as the "New Magnolia Flag" was designed by Rocky Vaughan and approved by the commission to go before Mississippi voters in November 2020. The commission voted to officially call the design the "In God We Trust" flag.

Notes:

The commission's schedule was extraordinarily compressed. Though she noted its challenges, Blount advised that this may have also fostered energy and ultimatel ensured success.

November 3

Mississippi Ballot Measure 3: Voters approve the "In God We Trust" flag. The legislature will enact it into law during its regular session in 2021.

As of 11/9/2020:

- YES: 580,039 (71.80%)
- NO: 227,856 (28.20%)

O CLICK HERE / Watch the third meeting.

O CLICK HERE / Watch the fourth meeting.

O CLICK HERE / Watch th fifth meetin

O CLICK HERE / Listen to Judge nderson's closing remarks

Onward!

Together with Native and non-Native partners and advisors, the Community Design Studio at Lesley University College of Art and Design (Lesley Art + Design) continues to develop a suite of materials that supports a legislative initiative to reconsider the symbolism in the Massachusetts state seal, motto, and flag.

Our relational design and research process upholds past successes and best practices, as well as difficult lessons learned. We enact a communityinformed process that begins with empathy and encourages respectful, culturallyresponsive, and reciprocal inter-governmental relationships that reconcile a painful past with a more hopeful and just present and future.

In the coming months, watch for additional HOIST materials, including advice from flag design experts, more process-based histories, a podcast series about tribal-state inter-governance, and a built "listening environment" in which a visitor will have the opportunity to listen, look, and learn while accessing portable podcasts

We want to thank each person who has, and will, contribute to this effort, starting with our partners who entrusted us with this important work. We are grateful for the generous gift of perspective, insight, and precedent offered by many advisors including Joseph Kunkel, Jennifer Himmelreich, Megan Hill, Governer Brian Vallo, Stuart Rockoff, as well as Katie Blount, who guided the Commission to Redesign the Mississippi State Flag. Their knowledge was invaluable in the preparation of this document as was local reporting in the *Mississippi Free Press*, *Mississippi Today*, the *Clarion-Ledger* and the scholarship of Clay Moss, vexillologist.

THANK YOU / MEEGWETCH

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State/Territory Historical Societies, Humanities Councils, and Tribal Historic Preservation Officers

Community Design Process

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Governor Brian Vallo, Pueblo of Acoma

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Council Members and Leaders of Native Nations in the northeast region

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