

---

Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

---

10-11-2019 10:30 AM

## Trial by Space: Lost Cause Monuments and Public Controversy through Bruno Latour and Henri Lefebvre

Wil Patrick  
*The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor  
Franke, Mark  
*The University of Western Ontario*

Graduate Program in Theory and Criticism  
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Master of Arts  
© Wil Patrick 2019

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd>



Part of the [Human Geography Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Patrick, Wil, "Trial by Space: Lost Cause Monuments and Public Controversy through Bruno Latour and Henri Lefebvre" (2019). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 6665.  
<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/6665>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact [wlsadmin@uwo.ca](mailto:wlsadmin@uwo.ca).

## Abstract

This thesis is a discussion of the discourse monuments erected by Neo-Confederate organizations on Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia through the political work of Bruno Latour and Henri Lefebvre. In response to framing the controversy surrounding monuments as conflicts over historical interpretation, this thesis asks how re-orienting the Confederate monument controversy through the intersection of Latour and Lefebvre's theorization of politics and monumentality alter the approach to addressing Lost Cause spaces. My first chapter addresses the current framing of the controversy as one of imbalanced narratives, where a pedagogical solution is proposed to educate and contextualize Confederate statues. In my second chapter critiques the MAC's framing of Lost Cause controversies as conflicts over different interpretations of history by examining monument sites as political arenas through Latour's cosmopolitics. My final chapter analyzes how counter-monuments intervening onto Monument Avenue provoke controversies for marginalized groups to make themselves heard through a conversation between Latour and Lefebvre's theorization of the trial.

## Keywords

Lost Cause, alt-right, monumentality, political geography, cosmopolitics, Bruno Latour, Henri Lefebvre.

## Summary for Lay Audience

Why are groups fighting over Confederate monuments and how do we solve these conflicts? Two French political theorists attentive to the role public objects play in politics, Bruno Latour and Henri Lefebvre suggest that monuments hold a pivotal function in spreading political ideas. These two theorists have frequently been placed in opposition since they come from different traditions—Actor-Network-Theory and Marxism—although they both share a certain concerns that cause their theories to intersect on several important issues. My project brings Latour and Lefebvre into conversation to explore the controversy surrounding Confederate monuments on Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia. Built following Reconstruction between the 1890s and 1940s, Monument Avenue is a commemoration of the Confederacy and represents the Lost Cause, a political movement that institutionalized white supremacy in the American South after the end of slavery. Recent events have prompted municipal governments across the United States to reconsider the place of Lost Cause monuments on their grounds. By examining the addresses, speeches and texts of the Monument Avenue Commission (MAC) established to solve the controversy in Richmond, this thesis shows how the MAC uses language of community and multiculturalism while excluding most residents from participating and keeping Lost Cause monuments in public. The MAC's strategy is to contextualize monuments by providing signage that displays the historical conditions that produced these monuments and the people who erected them. My project argues that this strategy does not address the role of monuments as political anchors for contemporary groups like the Alt-Right that use them to project white supremacy in public. Introducing the political theories of Latour and Lefebvre help to understand the significance of holding public spaces with monuments is to political groups, and through a comparative reading of Richmond's controversy with those in Baltimore, Charlottesville and New Orleans, I argue that suppressing these controversies and excluding participation only serves to continue the presence of white supremacy in public.

## Acknowledgments

First I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Mark Franke to whom I owe an immense debt of gratitude and without whom this thesis would not have been possible. I am obliged to Dr. Franke for his criticism, guidance, and patience, which made this thesis project a rewarding and humbling learning experience.

I would also like to thank my second reader Dr. Michael Gardiner for his indispensable feedback and conversation.

I must also thank those who lead the seminars where I developed my ideas: Drs. Allan Pero, Joshua Schuster Julian Halydan, Martin Horak, Mireya Folch Serra, and Pauline Wakeham.

Dr. Alain Goldschläger was gracious enough to have me as a Teaching Assistant for two years and gave me a wonderful experience. Dr. Goldschläger was kind enough to let me borrow several books about the far-right in Canada.

The Centre of Theory and Criticism would certainly fall a part if not for Melanie Caldwell. I am very thankful for her support and assistance throughout my academic career at the University of Western Ontario.

To my partner Suraia, this project comes from our shared passion and experiences struggling to build a better common world.

To my family, thank you for your love and support throughout my endeavours. I am lucky to be your son; you have faith in my abilities even when I doubt myself.

Finally, I would like to thank the local journalists who reported on the cases studies I covered, both those I cited and those I did not. Their invaluable work is the foundation of this thesis.

To the anonymous vandals of Robert E. Lee monuments.

# Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Summary for Lay Audience .....	iii
Acknowledgments .....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures .....	viii
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. The South Rises.....	1
1.2. The Lost Cause.....	7
1.3. A Second Civil War? .....	10
2. Chapter One: The False Unity of One Richmond.....	14
2.1. Introduction: .....	14
2.2. Monuments and their Publics.....	18
2.3. Monument Avenue: A History of Black Segregation .....	24
2.4. Latour and the Superficial Community .....	30
2.5. Lefebvre and the Abstract Community .....	35
2.6. Declaring War on Monument Avenue .....	41
3. Chapter Two: Lost Cause Monuments as White Supremacist Cosmograms .....	43
3.1. Introduction .....	43
3.2. Monumental Sites as Arenas for Political Struggle.....	48
3.3. Cosmograms: Monuments in Cosmopolitics .....	51
3.4. Charlottesville .....	55
3.5. New Orleans.....	57
3.6. The Spatio-Political Struggle of the Alt-Right.....	60
3.7. Pedagogical Warfare in Richmond.....	67

4. Chapter Three: Counter-Monumentality as Spatial Trials .....	71
4.1. Introduction .....	71
4.2. Controversy, Public Art, and Counter-Monumentality.....	75
4.3. Building a Common World .....	80
4.4. Trial by Space.....	84
4.5. Graffiti on Monument Avenue As Counter-Monumental Practice.....	87
4.6. What Do You Stand For?.....	94
5. Conclusion.....	101
Bibliography .....	105
Curriculum Vitae.....	116

## List of Figures

Figure 1: <i>What Do You Stand For?</i> beside Robert E. Lee Monument on Monument Avenue in Richmond, VA 4.6.....	66
---	----

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. The South Rises

On August 14, 2017, anti-racist protestors in North Carolina pulled down the Confederate Soldiers Monument at the old Durham County Courthouse while chanting “no Trump, no KKK, no fascist USA” days after the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia—where in the shadow of the Robert E. Lee statue in Emancipation Park an anti-racist demonstrator was killed when a white supremacist drove down a crowded street. The white supremacists had come to Charlottesville in a show of strength to protest the city’s decision to remove the Lee statue following a young black woman’s petition, which read: “As a younger African American resident in this city, I am often exposed to different forms of racism that are embedded in the history of the south and particularly this city. My peers and I feel strongly about the removal of the statue because it makes us feel uncomfortable and it is very offensive.”<sup>1</sup> Amid condemnations of the white supremacist rally attended by Neo-Nazis, the KKK, and neo-Confederates in the succeeding days, President Donald Trump joined the conversation denouncing “violence on both sides” and decrying the removal of Confederate statues in a series of tweets.<sup>2</sup> This weekend set off a public debate, but the powder had been laid and the fuse had been lit long before.

Despite recent awareness, this debate about Confederate monuments is not a novel discourse. Before Charlottesville, a renewed national discussion was caused by the Charleston Church massacre in the summer of 2015. This shooting of a black church sparked a nation-wide conversation about the place of Confederate symbols on public grounds that led to the removal of the Confederate battle flag from South Carolina’s state capital, in addition to a series of movements in cities across the South to remove

---

<sup>1</sup> B Zyahna. “Change the name of lee Park and Remove the Statue,” Change.org, last modified Mar 21, 2016, <https://www.change.org/p/charlottesville-city-council-change-the-name-of-lee-park-and-remove-the-statue-in-charlottesville-va>.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), “Sad to see the history and culture of our great country being ripped apart with the removal of our beautiful statues and monuments. You.....,” Tweet, Aug 17, 2017, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/898169407213645824>.

local Confederate monuments.<sup>3</sup> On February 25, 2017, Richmond held a American Civil War Museum conference entitled “Lightning Rods of Controversy: Contemporary Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future” where five historians discussed the campaigns to address Confederate monuments. During his lecture at the conference, James Loewen, author of the popular history book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, recounted how he has participated in three of such campaigns in Rockville, Baltimore, and at Yale University following the publication of his article “Five myths about why the South seceded” in 2011.<sup>4</sup> Since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, groups like the NAACP and local coalitions have been actively seeking the removal of Confederate monuments from their communities. Speaker Christy Coleman, CEO of the American Civil War Museum, contrasted these recommendations in Southern cities with Richmond, Virginia, the one time capital of the Confederacy: “When many Richmond civic and community leaders decided to tackle this question they chose a slightly different route. They decided that what was most important was not taking away but enhancing and adding to. That our stories are vast and each of them worthy.”<sup>5</sup> Coleman has since become a co-chair of the Monument Avenue Commission (MAC) that was established to address the five Confederate monuments on Richmond’s historic promenade, which released a final report recommending removal of the Jefferson Davis monument, broadening the monumental landscape and providing materials to recontextualize the remaining statues—following through on Coleman’s notion that the monumental landscape in Richmond is big enough for everyone. Are these

---

<sup>3</sup> Nicole Lewis. “Violence again spurs cities to remove Confederate monuments, but many find hurdles to doing so.” *Washington Post*, Aug 17, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/08/17/violence-again-spurs-cities-to-remove-confederate-monuments-but-many-find-hurdles-to-doing-so/?utm\\_term=.2b0d134da167](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/08/17/violence-again-spurs-cities-to-remove-confederate-monuments-but-many-find-hurdles-to-doing-so/?utm_term=.2b0d134da167).

<sup>4</sup> James Loewen. “Confederate Monuments: Modest Proposals.” CSPAN, filmed Feb 25, 2017 at Lightning Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future, Richmond, VA video, 2:21, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?423748-104/confederate-monuments-memorials>.

<sup>5</sup> Christy Coleman. “Monuments, Markers, Museums, and the Landscape of Civil War Memory,” CSPAN, filmed Feb 25, 2017 at Lightning Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future, Richmond, VA video, 36:00, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?423748-1/controversy-civil-war-monuments-memorials>.

stories equally worthy and even assuming the landscape is big enough, should Confederate monuments remain in public spaces?

This discussion about the role of monuments in the public stretches back further into Richmond's past, and so does the examination of how public space should be built. Bruno Latour and Henri Lefebvre are theorists determined to understand the contours of controversies about the composition of the common world and how to properly resolve them with similar yet distinct understandings of the what a desirable world entails. The model of politics Latour outlines in *Politics of Nature* has several requirements for ensuring those most affected by decisions are consulted and that the positions of all actors is well-articulated, otherwise the suppression of speech and lack of consultation is bound to produce violent outcomes:

How many seconds does it take to understand that the scientific ambitions of the Nazis did not respond to any of the requirements of perplexity, consultation, publicity, or closure? To suppress by violence all the slow down of the procedure of the sciences and politics in order to produce indisputable laws of history and race in the name of which they could kill *en masse* and with clear conscience is not exactly the goal pursued by science studies.<sup>6</sup>

The justifications for white supremacy by the Confederacy and their successors to justify institutionalized anti-black racism followed procedures of scientific racism and excluded those most affected by their regime of violence. In his “Cornerstone Speech”, vice-president of the Confederacy Alexander Stephens said of this new State that “its foundations are laid, its cornerstone 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 moral condition. This, our new Government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.”<sup>7</sup> To compose a good common

---

<sup>6</sup> Bruno Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences Into Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Harvard University Press, 2004) 269.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Stephens, “African Slavery” The Corner-Stone of the Southern Confederacy” in *The Confederate and the Neo-Confederate Reader* eds. James Loewen and Edward Sebesta (University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 188.

world, Latour demands the work is put in so every actor is fully articulated—especially in the case of iconoclasm by encouraging situations to be explored to understand how destroying a mediator affects those who rely upon it:

the concept of the iconoclasm allows us to extract Western history from its obsession and begin to listen equally to those who weep over what was lost in destroying them. The idea is to take seriously the cry of those whose mediations are broken by accusing them (wrongly) of being mere idols when they take aim, in fact, at something else entirely.<sup>8</sup>

The decisions to be made about whether any given monument should stand and how their removal may affect actors is a necessary procedure. The answer to “should Confederate monuments remain in common?” depends on who is taken into account and what world communities want to build.

Lefebvre’s pursuit of a city is characterized by the inclusive participation of residents in the creation of the place they inhabit. Throughout his career Lefebvre engaged with questions about how architecture could be used to affirm individuals and the community through socialization and participation, what he deemed *the right to the city*. Lefebvre locates the structures of power that erect monuments: “The monument is essentially repressive. It is the seat of an institution (the church, the State, the university). Any space that is organized around the monument is colonized and oppressed. The great monuments have been raised to glorify conquerors and the powerful.”<sup>9</sup> Monuments created by the State are a form of architecture of power, where a minority of those who control the State represent their power through public works as a way to dominate the space and the lived experiences of its inhabitants.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> “Iconoclasm,” *An Inquiry into modes of Existence. An Anthropology of the Moderns*. Ed. Bruno Latour. Sciences Po: Paris, 2013), <http://www.modesofexistence.org/aime/voc/237>.

<sup>9</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 21.

<sup>10</sup> To distinguish between states as constituent sub-divisions of the United States of America and the State as the sovereign, centralized collection of hierarchical institutions that govern and manage society within its differentiated territory, the latter will be capitalized in this thesis to remove any ambiguity between the two terms.

The theoretical starting point to the conversations had by historians at the conference resonates with Lefebvre’s analysis of power expressed in space. White Confederates and Neo-Confederates populated the United States with monuments to the Lost Cause imposed by state and local governments that excluded the participation of black residents. Loewen describes the period most monuments were erected as the nadir of black-white race relations in the United States post-slavery between 1890 and 1940, where institutionalized white supremacy was being cemented and white Southerners maintained their political power despite emancipation.<sup>11</sup> White elites, governing from legislatures that disenfranchised black participation, impressed decisions upon black residents without consultation. When Coleman argued that communities erected these monuments and it should be these communities who decide to take them down at her talk, a white Charlottesville resident described how the Blue Ribbon committee that decided to remove the Lee statue did not have any Republican members, and felt that the whole community had not been consulted. Coleman responded: “The idea that nobody is hearing us and they don’t represent us—that essentially is what the communities often are saying, that nobody was listening to us and nobody was hearing us when we were saying there’s something that eats at my soul.”<sup>12</sup> Who we listen to in communities—and what communities in a city are listened too are critical in the process to address monuments. This is reiterated in the Monument Avenue Commission’s final report: “It would be hypocritical for us to bemoan the lack of a democratic process in Richmond’s and Virginia’s past and then usurp the power of our present citizens by making these decisions.”<sup>13</sup> A lack of participation in the past is clear, yet a history of white supremacy accreting in State institutions and public space has also developed since the first statue was erected on Monument Avenue in Richmond. Whose concerns should be prioritized

---

<sup>11</sup> Loewen, “Confederate Monuments: Modest Proposals,” 30:00.

<sup>12</sup> Coleman, “Monuments, Markers, Museums, and the Landscape of Civil War Memory,” 47:46.

<sup>13</sup> Monument Avenue Commission, “Monument Avenue Commission Report,” uploaded July 2, 2018, 26, <https://www.monumentavenuecommission.org/sMonumentAvenueCommissionFINAL.pdf>.

when making decisions is an open question, especially when considering the relations of power embedded in local spaces through the monumental landscape.<sup>14</sup>

Public historians simultaneously acknowledge the power relations that erected Confederate monuments and the political movements that accompanied them, while also making recommendations for the monuments to remain in place, usually to educate or represent the diversity of residents's histories. Are these considerations applied with a consistent analysis of power? For the NAACP the public commemoration of the Confederacy is non-negotiable. Shortly after the Unite the Right rally, the NAACP released an article written by the President and CEO Derrick Johnson that read: "Striking down these statues, flags, and memorials will not solve all the challenges concerning race and equality in America, but it will symbolize an end to the reverence and celebration of values that have divided us for too long."<sup>15</sup> Recontextualization of a Confederate monument in public space cannot resolve concerns expressed by the NAACP nor the protestors in Charlottesville on August 14, 2017. Since the Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC) found over 1,500 Confederate memorials and 718 Confederate monuments in public spaces across the United States, this controversy is far from over.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> This thesis is particularly focused on a discussion between Latour and Lefebvre's work, though I acknowledge that this thesis engages with material that has contextual relations to works by Michael Foucault and Edward Soja theorizing the intersections of space and politics. In taking up and exploring Lefebvre's *trial by space* instead of his spatial triad, this thesis runs parallel to scholarship such as Soja's concept of Thirdspace that builds on the triad and Foucault's heterotopia. Foucault is prominent in human geography where the his concepts of governmentality, heterotopia and panopticon are frequently evoked, and Latour commentators such as Graham Harman have brought him into conversation with Foucault—however engaging with Foucault is beyond the scope of this thesis and a point of further development.

<sup>15</sup> Derrick Johnson, "Symbols of Hatred and Racism should not be venerated," NAACP, last modified August 20, 2017, <https://www.naacp.org/latest/symbols-hatred-racism-not-venerated/>.

<sup>16</sup> "Whose Heritage: A Report on Public Symbols of the Confederacy," Southern Poverty Law Centre, last modified 2016, 8, [https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com\\_whose\\_heritage.pdf](https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_whose_heritage.pdf).

## 1.2. The Lost Cause

The Lost Cause, a euphemism for the Confederacy itself, is a Southern post-war movement that manifested in public spaces through the erection of monuments and memorials.<sup>17</sup> Historians have described the Lost Cause as a civil religion, Confederate culture, and a tradition (McLean; Cox; Foster). Ann McLean compares it to a “civil religion” and animated by cultural revitalization to create a New South that, quoting Gaston, means “harmonious reconciliation of sectional differences, racial peace and a new economic order based on industry and scientific, diversified agriculture.”<sup>18</sup> McLean defines the “cause” as “a fight for the sanctity of self-determination, be it political, economic, or social.”<sup>19</sup> This cause was the creation a godly nation closely associated with Christian virtue, and the Lost Cause became a civil religion by tying together Christian churches and Southern culture.<sup>20</sup> It was out of this movement that a monumental landscape was created and through these materials that white supremacist order after the Civil War was re-established for the benefit of future white generations.<sup>21</sup> The materials produced by Lost Cause organizations are the vital component of their campaign to cement their values and ideas in the South. Gaines Foster critiques approaching the Lost Cause as a civil religion for being too simple for the complexity of Southern social identity and overemphasizing the religious symbols and metaphors present in the Lost Cause; instead, Foster prefers the term *Lost Cause tradition* because it has less “scholarly baggage.”<sup>22</sup> Karen Cox refers to “Confederate culture” as the “ideas and symbols that Lost Cause devotees associated with the former Confederacy,” of which the Confederate

---

<sup>17</sup> Ann McLean, *Unveiling the Lost Cause: A Study of Monuments to the Civil War Memory in Richmond, Virginia and Vicinity* (University of Virginia, 1998) 4; *ibid* 17.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*, 40.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*, 49.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*, 50.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*, 189.

<sup>22</sup> Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (Oxford University Press, 1987), 8.

monuments are the most visible symbols.<sup>23</sup> Though the outlook Cox takes is oriented towards the past to explore how the Confederacy and the Confederate generation is remembered and preserving Confederate culture.<sup>24</sup> However, it is impossible to ignore the political project of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and similar organizations who attempted to conserve the Confederacy: “That narrative, perpetuated most vigorously by the UDC, was, at its core, about preserving white supremacy. Reconciliation had allowed white southerners to return to the American fold as patriots, not traitors, one of the desired results of the Daughters’ work.”<sup>25</sup> Their work was not a simple memorialization or reshaping of memory; it involved the production of materials and asserting certain types of relations between North and South, men and women, whites and blacks. Ultimately the proponents of the Lost Cause succeeded in that their project and altered the political landscape through their successive campaigns to reify the Confederacy. The legacy of the Daughters is felt in the institutionalized white supremacy they propagated that continued their struggle to maintain racial hierarchy in the defence of Jim Crow and the fight against the black civil rights movement.<sup>26</sup> More than a narrative to reshape the past, the Lost Cause was oriented towards forming the future.

Kirk Savage describes the Lost Cause as a story of the Confederacy that became a “glorious military record” rather than a war to defend the institution of slavery in his book *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*.<sup>27</sup> The white South wanted to create a new history that facilitated reconciliation and therefore removed slavery from the collective memory. The Lost Cause became a myth that justified the Southern cause for succession.<sup>28</sup> Richmond was the centre of the Lost Cause and the equestrian figure of

---

<sup>23</sup> Karen Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate culture* (University of Florida, 2003), 1–2.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid*, 2–3.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*, 158.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid*, 162.

<sup>27</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monuments in Nineteenth Century America*, (Princeton University Press, 2018), 131

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*, 130.

Robert E. Lee, a paragon of Southern virtue, became the key character for anchoring the myth to the monumental landscape.<sup>29</sup> Despite Lee's own disinclination to participate in Confederate memorials and monument ceremonies, and the men under his command during the Civil War did not organize Confederate ceremonies while he lived.<sup>30</sup> Yet after his death he quickly became the leading symbol of the Lost Cause. This is illustrated by Archer Anderson, member of the Lee Monument Association, in his unveiling address for the Lee Monument:

Let this monument, then, teach to generations yet unborn these lessons of life! Let it stand, not a record of civil strife, but as a perpetual protest against whatever is low and sordid in our public and private objects! . . . Let it stand as a great public act of thanksgiving and praise, for that it pleased Almighty God to bestow upon these Southern States a man so formed to reflect His attributes of power, majesty, and goodness!<sup>31</sup>

Emphasizing personal virtue and omitting Lee's own participation in chattel slavery, the dedication addresses for monuments to Confederate figures served to lay the groundwork for the Lost Cause narrative. While the Lee Monument bridged class divisions between whites, the racial division between black and white inhabitants of Richmond was fraught from the inauguration.<sup>32</sup> Imagining the New South through the Lee Monument reinforced white mastery which in turn alienated black residents and obscured Southern slaves.<sup>33</sup> Monuments of Lee and other notable Confederate men were vehicles for the political project of reconciliation and white supremacy to project the myth of the Confederacy and its cause. From Cox, Foster, McLean and Savage's discussions, the Lost Cause is an intertwining of a political movement, their narrative, and the artifacts they built while reshaping the meaning of the South that was oriented towards the future to build what

---

<sup>29</sup> *ibid*, 130.

<sup>30</sup> Foster, 51.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid*, 100.

<sup>32</sup> Savage, 152.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*, 132.

they thought the New South ought to be.

Throughout this thesis I will be referring to these monuments primarily as “Lost Cause monuments” instead of the more popular label of “Confederate monuments” to highlight that these monuments were built to serve a particular political movement that succeeded the Confederacy as a political entity.

### 1.3. A Second Civil War?

Addressing the presence of controversial monuments in public spaces witnessed in current events shares an engagement with questions explored by Latour and Lefebvre. This thesis places them in dialogue to engage with the public discourse about Confederate monuments and how the discussion is framed by academics and politicians publicly engaging in the controversy.

I first started thinking through the presence of the Lost Cause on the Canadian side of the border in relation to discourses regarding white supremacy in Canada. Chapters of the Ku Klux Klan had been established across the country from British Columbia to Quebec in the first half of the twentieth century were far away from their roots in the post-war South.<sup>34</sup> Tracing the Lost Cause back to its origins revealed a dense monumental landscape. The Confederacy was militarily defeated, yet statues to their statesmen, soldiers, and generals are firmly entrenched across the country, some far beyond the Old Dominion in Massachusetts and Montana. Histories showed the campaigns to erect them were tied to groups committed to maintaining institutionalized white supremacy.

While neo-Confederates have flocked to defend their statues numerous times, the convergence of white supremacists in Charlottesville to rally around the Lee statue was an unprecedented gathering. During his speech under the Lee statue, primary organizer and a leading figure in the alt-right and white supremacist movements in the United States, Richard Spencer said, “We know the battlefield that this is being fought on. It is

---

<sup>34</sup> See Warren Kinsella, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*. (Harper Collins, 1994); Martin Robin, *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940* (University of Toronto Press, 1992); Julian Sher, *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan* (New Star Books, 1983).

fought on a battlefield of moralization. It is fought on a battlefield of symbolism like this statue. It is fought on these battlefields and those are the spaces that we will occupy.”<sup>35</sup> Spencer’s recognition of monuments as a battlefield strikes a chord with Latour and Lefebvre. It resonates acutely with Lefebvre’s neglected concept of trial by space, briefly mentioned in *The Production of Space*, where ideologies are placed into a state of conflict to preserve the architecture that produce their political spaces: “It is in space, on a worldwide scale, that each idea of ‘value’ acquires or loses its distinctiveness through confrontation with the other values and ideas that it encounters there.”<sup>36</sup> Groups require space to produce themselves in order to be recognized by other groups as subjects; therefore, engaging in this challenge to remain relevant is paramount for political groups.<sup>37</sup> Framing the controversy over Confederate monuments as a trial by space and analyzing them through Lefebvre’s theorization of space opens up new avenues to investigating their roles and how best to address them. In the twilight of the Civil War, the Lost Cause organizations understood the trial by space better than their contemporaries—and perhaps any group since—by creating infrastructure to plan, fund and erect hundreds of monuments.

The pairing of Lefebvre with Latour derives from their similar concerns with conflict and the role non-human mediators play in politics. Latour argues that we have always been at war, and the illusion of peaceful unity previously enjoyed has been shattered. It was a “latent war” where enemies are never recognized as such, and if one has no enemies then there can be no negotiations or diplomacy.<sup>38</sup> The “reconciliation” between the North and South following the war was not a true one, as it was only

---

<sup>35</sup> Richard Spencer, Unite the Right rally at Emancipation Park, Charlottesville, VA, Aug 12, 2017. Address.

<sup>36</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Frank Bryant (St Martin’s Press, 1976), 416.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid*, 417.

<sup>38</sup> Bruno Latour, “Who Cosmos, Which Comsopolitics: Comments on the Peace Terms of Ulrich Beck,” *Common Knowledge* 10, no 3 (2003): 240–462; Bruno Latour, *War of the Worlds: Who Wants Peace?* trans. Charlotte Bigg, ed. John Tresch, (Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002).

between elite whites, and the Lost Cause was in part a tool to achieve it—but black Southerners, and Northerners—despite emancipation—were not full participants in society. Ending the regime of Jim Crow laws lessened the suppression of black speech, and the Lost Cause began to face challenges. The Civil Rights movement was a declaration of war, and events like the Charleston Church massacre and the Unite the Right rally are reminders that puncture the strained normalcy of false peace. A declaration of war is a necessary step for Latour as it allows sides to raise three questions: “who is involved? what are their war aims? and finally, the most important one: what about peace?”<sup>39</sup> Posing these questions to the Confederate monument controversy would alter the framing of the discussion by interrogating the assumptions of the discourse.<sup>40</sup>

The primary question of this thesis, then, is: how does re-orienting the Confederate monument controversy through the intersection of Latour and Lefebvre’s theorization of politics and monumentality alter the approach to addressing Lost Cause spaces? In the first chapter I address the current framing of the controversy as one of imbalanced narratives, where a pedagogical solution is proposed to educate and contextualize Confederate statues. I will examine how this problem manifests itself in Richmond, Virginia, where a commission was established by Mayor Levar Stoney to address the Lost Cause statues on Monument Avenue. I critique the underlying assumptions of the Commission elaborated texts produced by members throughout the process and in their final report to illustrate that the mononaturalist approach taken by the State continues the pretence of latent war by depoliticizing the controversy.

Chapter two critiques the MAC’s framing of Lost Cause controversies as conflicts over different interpretations of history disconnected from the political struggles of groups for and against neo-Confederate monuments are engaged. I propose to examine monument sites as political arenas through Latour’s cosmopolitics. Drawing on the controversies in Charlottesville and New Orleans, I will demonstrate that Lost Cause monuments hold places for white supremacist groups by representing their politics in

---

<sup>39</sup> Latour, *War of the Worlds*, 3.

space to argue that relying on the pedagogical solution examined in the previous chapter does not address the political conflicts occurring around the Lost Cause.

The final chapter analyzes how counter-monuments intervening onto Monument Avenue present fertile ground for marginalized groups in the community to make themselves heard and provoke discussions about the role of the Lost Cause in public. Investigating graffiti as a transitory counter-monumental practice and the accidental controversy produced by the art installation *What Do You Stand For?* I place Latour and Lefebvre's concepts of the trial into conversation to show how counter-monumentality effectively creates public discussions and exposes the underlying alliances that support the preservation of Monument Avenue.

I see the misinterpretation of the Lost Cause as one American narrative among many that should be given space as a way for white supremacy to retain its legitimacy despite the State and official organizations espousing rhetoric to the contrary. While commissions, historians and politicians who want to take the Confederate monument controversy as an opportunity to recontextualize monuments without removing them from prominent public spaces see their tactics as confronting the Lost Cause and institutionalized white supremacy, the starting position they adopt restricts the potential for addressing the heart of the dispute that causes the conflict to re-emerge year after year across the country. Loewen contends the Confederacy won the Civil War through the work of their inheritors entrenching the Lost Cause into the common world. The reason for the South's secession—white supremacy—has yet to be resolved and is still being carried out by other means, which has transformed the monumental landscape into hundreds of battlefields.

## 2. Chapter One: The False Unity of One Richmond

### 2.1. Introduction:

The Lost Cause monument in Decatur, Georgia—a 30 foot obelisk erected in 1908 and funded by the A. Evans Camp of Confederate Veterans and the Agnes Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy—has had a muddled journey through its own process since elected officials were petitioned by the grassroots movement Hate Free Decatur.<sup>41</sup> Once it was discovered to be owned by DeKalb county, the county commissioners were given the power to decide its fate. Bill Banks raised a provocative question about the future of the Decatur monument in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* that has seen little attention in the discourse: “Who should decide if Confederate monuments stay or go?”<sup>42</sup> Instead of answering the question, responsibility falls on the particular government who owns the land on which the monument stands. Mayors and municipal commissions are determining how to address monuments and in lieu of engaging a majority of the citizens in the process, figures guiding the institutions responsible for resolving the controversies are utilizing rhetoric of a singular public.

In Richmond, Virginia Mayor Levar Stoney’s address that establishes the Monument Avenue Commission (MAC) on June 22, 2017 framed addressing Lost Cause monuments in the city in two ways. First, he makes the distinction between the Lost

---

<sup>41</sup> Tia Mitchell, “New vision, but still no takes for Confederate monument in Decatur.” *AJC*, July 12, 2018, <https://www.ajc.com/news/local-govt--politics/new-vision-but-still-takers-for-confederate-monument-decatur/kKfn6J7tAOp2Rry79uK3hM/>; Tia Mitchell, “DeKalb’s Confederate monument to receive contextualizing marker.” *AJC*, March 15, 2019, <https://www.ajc.com/news/local-govt--politics/dekalb-confederate-monument-receive-contextualizing-marker/VOFAQvN0ig5jruqZRtS6yI/>.

<sup>42</sup> Bill Banks, “At Issue: Who should decide if Confederate monuments stay or go?” *AJC*, August 26, 2017, <https://www.ajc.com/news/local/issue-who-should-decide-confederate-monuments-stay/iqWUcpkVLaXOzt5kud5F4H/>.

Cause as a false story and the history of Richmond, and presents the goal of the MAC as rectifying the incomplete narrative of the city told by statuary in the public landscape.<sup>43</sup> Second, he accentuates that telling the whole story of the monuments in question represents the inclusive values and community of One Richmond.<sup>44</sup> By utilizing the language of community and inclusivity, Stoney evokes the discourse of community-based public art and the ambiguity around terms such as “community” and “public.”<sup>45</sup> The monuments were erected to impress a certain neo-Confederate national identity on its publics,<sup>46</sup> and what the MAC address promises is the creation of a monumental landscape where different communities will be able to identify with a greater number of present public works. This relies on the assumption that community-based art works should reflect its audience and create “a culturally fortified subject, rendered whole and unalienated through an encounter or involvement with an art work.”<sup>47</sup> I wish to problematize the presentation of Richmond by the MAC as a single public. This creates a bicameral view of Richmond as a singular community composed of multiple parts where there is one history of Richmond and many stories that must be represented in the monumental landscape.

There are grounds for skepticism when this rhetoric of identificatory unity between audience-community and art work are evoked. Public art often presents a “false promise of inclusion” where the work stands in for the loss of minority presence in the public.<sup>48</sup> Historian and MAC member Julian Maxwell Hayter notes the lack of participation in the

---

<sup>43</sup> Monument Avenue Commission, “Monument Avenue Commission Report,” uploaded July 2, 2018, 34, <https://www.monumentavenuecommission.org/sMonumentAvenueCommissionFINAL.pdf>.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid*, 35.

<sup>45</sup> Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*, (MIT Press, 2004) 94.

<sup>46</sup> Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space, and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures* (Routledge, 1997) 37.

<sup>47</sup> Kwon, 97.

<sup>48</sup> Judith Baca, “Whose Monument Where? Public Art in a Many-Cultured Society,” in *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, ed. Suzanne Lacy (Bay Press, 1995) 133.

erection of statues on Monument Avenue due to black segregation and disenfranchisement then describes Richmond as a truer democracy since the 1960s,<sup>49</sup> yet the MAC only engaged 2,000 of the city's over 200,000 population. As opposed to a socially responsible art process that articulates the desires of the particular community in question through "voice giving,"<sup>50</sup> the MAC uses rhetoric of community without inclusion in their institutional process. In a city such as Richmond that has been as spatially fragmented by historical processes along racial lines premised on exclusion, the lack of participation in the process puts this rhetoric into question. Given that the MAC is minimally engaging the residents of Richmond in the process to address Lost Cause monuments, what is the purpose of framing Richmond as a holistic community and using rhetoric of community engagement?

In his discussion of community engagement with public art, Tom Finkelpearl discusses Sherry Arnstein's hierarchy of citizen participation, which is an eight-level ladder from Manipulation (1) to Citizen Control (8).<sup>51</sup> While admitted to be a simplification,<sup>52</sup> the ladder still resonates with concerns over community art project processes.<sup>53</sup> The lower rungs of the ladder describe participation as an empty ritual varying from non-participation to illusory inclusion and tokenism to placate the public: "Instead of genuine citizen participation, the bottom rung of the ladder signifies the

---

<sup>49</sup> Julian Maxwell Hayter, "Vulnerability and a Truer Democracy," *On Monument Avenue*, published on May 12, 2008, <https://onmonumentave.com/blog/2018/5/11/vulnerability-and-a-truer-democracy>; Julian Maxwell Hayter, "Confederate monuments are about maintaining white supremacy," *The Washington Post*, published on July 17, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/07/27/confederate-monuments-are-about-maintaining-white-supremacy/>.

<sup>50</sup> Baca, 137–138.

<sup>51</sup> Tom Finkelpearl, *What We Made: Conversations on Art and Social Cooperation* (Duke University Press, 2013) 11.

<sup>52</sup> Sherry Arnstein, "A Ladder Of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 35, no. 4 (1969) 217.

<sup>53</sup> Finkelpearl, 12.

distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by powerholders.”<sup>54</sup> My contention in this chapter is that the MAC is using the rhetoric of community to obscure the socio-political and spatial conflicts causing the Lost Cause controversy.

I will argue this by interrogating the rhetoric of community as presented by the MAC through the theoretical frameworks of Bruno Latour and Henri Lefebvre. While in Anglo-scholarship they are placed in opposition because of the differences between actor-network theory (ANT) and Marxism, their respective analyses partially converge and Latour has been taken up in conjunction with Marxist theorists in several fields of scholarship.<sup>55</sup> In conversation, they critique the homogenized community from distinct, yet complimentary, angles. Latour finds multiculturalism to be an expression of the Modern Constitution that separates the political struggles of people from the material truths of the world. Severing values from materials and facts suspends conflict to maintain a false peace. The rhetoric of the unified community is an abstraction of space for Lefebvre that attempts to suppress dissent and real difference through regulated alienation to fragment the city.

My approach to substantiate this argument I will first review discussions of monuments as public art in art history and visual studies alongside theorizations of the public. Monuments attempt to unify a given community or public by providing a reflection or representation of the audience’s own identity. However, the lack of an ideal homogeneous community and the diversity of co-existing publics does not stop the concept of the ideal community from being co-opted by politicians. The rhetorical

---

<sup>54</sup> Arnstein, 216.

<sup>55</sup> See Brian Gareau, “We have never been human: Agential nature, ANT, and Marxist political ecology.” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 16, no. 4 (2005) 127–40; David Tyfield, “Cultural Political Economy and the Performativity Turn” in *The Economics of Science: A Critical Realist Overview, Volume 2: Towards a Synthesis of Political Economy and Science and Technology Studies* (Routledge, 2012) 130–150; Erik Swyngedouw, *Social power and the urbanization of water: Flows of power* (Oxford University Press, 2004); Noel Castree, “False Antitheses? Marxism, Nature and Actor-Networks.” *Antipode* 34, no. 1 (2004) 111-146; Phillip Drake, “Marxism and the Nonhuman Turn: Animating Nonhumans, Exploitation, and Politics with ANT and Animal Studies.” *Rethinking Marxism* 27, no. 1 (2005) 107-122.

deployment of the homogenous community parallels the role of monuments in pacifying spaces of conflict by representing the fantasy of a monolithic public. Second, I describe the development of Monument Avenue paying particular attention to the involvement of white elites and the political and spatial disenfranchisement of black residents in Richmond. Claims that Lost Cause monuments were erected by the community and can therefore be taken down by the community are complicated by the historic exclusion of black residents from participating in local decision-making institutions. Once contextualized to the racial dynamics and material history of Richmond, the theoretical frameworks of Latour and Lefebvre may be applied to critique the images of community that the MAC present. Third, I apply Latour's critique of the Modern Constitution Mayor Stoney and co-chair Coleman's discussions of community narratives to illustrate how difference between groups is presented as superficial. I aim to show that the separation between a single history and many narratives minimizes the conflict over the monumental landscape by portraying the narratives as subordinate to an authoritative history. Fourth, I discuss the contradictions within the presentation of *One Richmond* as a homogenized city. Totalization erases the alienation of black residents at the expense of white comfort and protects racial dynamics inherent in Richmond's capitalist mode of production. The rhetoric of community that the MAC adopts for reconciling the various communities within the city obscures the conflicts rather than solving them.

## 2.2. Monuments and their Publics

As public works of art, monuments are visual artifacts that make social structures and rules legible.<sup>56</sup> They occupy public sites through their monumentality and construct public culture by visually defining the values of those in a position of power.<sup>57</sup> Malcolm Miles links monumentality to a universal public by drawing on Herbert Marcuse's essay "Affirmative Character of Culture" to describe the universal validity of cultures in the

---

<sup>56</sup> Sharon Zukin, "Spaces and Symbols in an Age of Decline," *Re-Presenting the City*, ed. Anthony King (Macmillan Press, 1996).

<sup>57</sup> Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space, and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures* (Routledge, 1997) 38.

public by bourgeois society. Since the bourgeoisie cannot openly condemn the demand for universal freedoms upon which their ideology is built, they abstract it: “bourgeois society establishes a notion of universal cultural value while denying its applicability in a divisive system of labour relations.”<sup>58</sup> Monumentality’s aesthetic dimension diverts the viewer from the impossibility of universal liberty within an unequal society to accept contradictions. National culture becomes the realm of “authentic values” separate from the “factual world of daily struggles.”<sup>59</sup> Western States utilize monumentality to memorialize past violence into a unifying abstraction that “subsume social conflicts.”<sup>60</sup> The point of power underlying the purpose of monuments is of particular interest to W.J.T. Mitchell, who examines government patronage of art in a liberal public sphere as theorized by Habermas: “This ideal realm provides the space in which disinterested citizens may contemplate a transparent emblem of their own inclusiveness and solidarity, and deliberate on the general good, free of coercion, violence or private interests.”<sup>61</sup> Public art works such as monuments are the emblems of abstraction separate from daily struggles. Mitchell critiques the idealized inclusive public sphere, highlighting the political systems that erect monuments traditionally exclude groups of people, especially women.<sup>62</sup> State monuments repress conflict by pacifying spaces despite monumentalizing past violence, depicting conquerors as men of peace: “Public art has always dared to dream, projecting fantasies of a monolithic, uniform, pacified public sphere.”<sup>63</sup> The fantasy of the monuments creating a totalizing universal culture characterizes the State-centric approach to monumentality. The possibility of community participation in shaping

---

<sup>58</sup> *ibid*, 38.

<sup>59</sup> Herbet Marcuse, “The Affirmative Character of Culture,” in *Art and Liberation: Collected Papers of Herbet Marcuse, Volume Four*, ed. Douglas Kellner (Routledge, 2007) 87.

<sup>60</sup> Miles, 41.

<sup>61</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell, “The Violence of Public Art,” in *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 31, 35.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid*, 35–36.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid*, 47.

public space also suggests a turn away from producing public art works that subsume social conflicts.

Community inclusion in art projects creates a tantalizing promise for residents of an area to participate in the creation of their own space. Returning to Arnstein's ladder model, the promise of participation is not guaranteed in public art projects that elicit the support of the community. Without institutionalized decision-making powers, such as having delegated citizen boards or agencies—or even full control over the project—the citizens being informed or consulted for a project have no way to ensure decision-makers are accountable to them.<sup>64</sup> Though Arnstein provides examples of these citizen empowered decision-making bodies, she notes that citizen groups and mayors use the rhetoric of citizen control in the absence of final approval over their own projects. Arnstein describes Community Advisory Committees as an illusory form of participation where rhetoric like “grassroots participation” is utilized while only engaging with citizens for public relations.

The rhetoric of community is easily manipulated to support art works for any political agenda and may even work against the communities projects purport to support. For Miwon Kwon, the goal of a community-based project is to create a work “in which members of a community [...] will see and recognize themselves in the work, not so much in the sense of being critically implicated but of being affirmatively pictured or validated.”<sup>65</sup> The goal is to empower the audience through self-representation instead of imposing a State sanctioned political identity onto them. The community, space and art works cannot be separated and must be “meaningfully public” by being useful to the community.<sup>66</sup> The presumed self-evident meaning in terms such as “public” and “community” lead to disagreement in the two case studies of failed public art installations Kwon examines.<sup>67</sup> Shifting to community specific public art from site-based art presents

---

<sup>64</sup> Arnstein, 217.

<sup>65</sup> Kwon, 95.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid*, 96.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*, 75.

unique problems. While “community” appears more specific, it is an “extremely elastic” term has become a tool for politicians to gather support; the language of community self-determination is co-opted for exclusionary policies or for “departicularized identities.”<sup>68</sup> Kwon unpacks some presumptions about the concept of community by examining feminist social theorist Iris Marion Young’s critique of the “ideal community” that reinforces homogeneity and represses difference.<sup>69</sup> Since there are no ideal, unified communities, Kwon finds that community-based public art has the potential to defuse tensions and obfuscate the division of resources,<sup>70</sup> which resonates with Miles interpretation of monumentality through Marcuse. However the lack of a unified community for monuments to represent problematizes the singular public sphere.

Constitutional law scholar Sanford Levinson is concerned primarily with discussing politico-legal theories that can determine which monuments are acceptable for inclusion in public spaces.<sup>71</sup> As opposed to the sharp break signalled by revolutions or regime changes that characterize Eastern Europe during the Soviet Union, Levinson argues it is more difficult to navigate the inclusion of new groups into the political sphere in a multicultural society.<sup>72</sup> He suggests the problem with multicultural societies is that the “unified public is up for grabs.”<sup>73</sup> Levinson’s main case for his discussion in *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies* is the Austin, Texas monument to the Confederate dead. As a solution Levinson prefers additional monuments commemorating the historical black experience in Texas,<sup>74</sup> or the census of Texans to move the monument to a museum—yet finding a consensus, making an *unus* from the *pluribus*, is the greatest

---

<sup>68</sup> *ibid*, 112.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid*, 150.

<sup>70</sup> *ibid*, 153.

<sup>71</sup> Sanford Levinson, *Written In Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies* (Duke University Press, 2018), 26.

<sup>72</sup> *ibid*, 20.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid*, 31.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid*, 110–111.

challenge Levinson sees facing American civil society.<sup>75</sup> Distilling a single opinion or finding common ground amongst the many American publics who all want to be validated in public space is a difficult process to undergo.<sup>76</sup>

Though by labelling the United States a society that has long been multicultural skips over the practical processes of decision-making and opinion-forming and how the public participates in these procedures. The amalgamation of settlers that founded the United States that Levinson cites are all European,<sup>77</sup> and while different waves of European migrants faced discrimination, the omission of African slaves or East Asian labourers in this mosaic shows the limits of inclusion in the American imaginary. Sociologist Jeffrey Goldfarb, writing about Charlottesville as a mediated public space following the Unite the Right rally, complicates the question by expanding the scope of participation and destabilizing the homogeneity of the public. There were a small number of people present during the Unite the Right rally compared to those who participated through the mediation of technology.<sup>78</sup> Goldfarb addresses the singular male bourgeois public sphere of Jürgen Habermas with the insight of Dayan and Katz's *Media Events* to discuss how media events create the broadest of publics.<sup>79</sup> Yet the opinions of various political publics (conservative, fascist, liberal, far left etc.) rarely overlap in these broad publics that remain "separate and decided unequal realities" both in who is included and the quality of information being shared.<sup>80</sup> The quality of information and articulation of

---

<sup>75</sup> *ibid*, 31.

<sup>76</sup> *ibid*, 113.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid*, 26.

<sup>78</sup> Jeffrey Goldfarb, "Being There, Separate and Unequal: Charlottesville in the Mediated Public Sphere," in *#Charlottesville: Before and Beyond*, eds. Christopher Howard-Woods, Colin Laidley, and Maryam Omid (Public Seminar Books, 2018), 122.

<sup>79</sup> Jeffrey Goldfarb, "Media Events, solidarity, and the rise and fall of the public sphere," *Media, Culture, & Society* 40, no. 1 (2018) 121.

<sup>80</sup> Goldfarb, "Being There, Separate and Unequal," 129–130.

controversies in the public sphere is an important facet of Habermas's political theory though this does not provide a criteria for who should participate in the decision.<sup>81</sup>

The problem of participation has been taken up by critics of Habermas who understand the public sphere as necessary to a functioning democracy. Nancy Fraser critiques the idealization of a public sphere that is open and accessible to all presented by Habermas.<sup>82</sup> Fraser describes the Habermasian conception of the public sphere as:

“a theatre in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk. It is the space in which citizens deliberate about their common affairs, and hence an institutionalized arena of discursive interaction. This arena is conceptually distinct from the state; it is a site for the production and circulation of discourses that can in principle be critical of the state.”<sup>83</sup>

While taking for granted that something like Habermas' public sphere is necessary and possesses emancipatory potential, Fraser critiques the concept to satisfactorily theorize the limits of democracy.<sup>84</sup> Habermas does not sufficiently problematize the bourgeois model of the public sphere, and this means he cannot confront the significant exclusions of persons from public discourse. Fraser, Joan Landes, Geoff Eley and Mary Ryan focus on the exclusion of women from the public sphere, though their concerns about gender exclusion may easily be extended to racial and class identities that the American public sphere suppressed.<sup>85</sup> These subaltern counterpublics have had a long history of being excluded from the public sphere in the United States. Discounting the structural exclusion of black residents in forming public opinion presents a problem for addressing who should be involved in deciding the place of Lost Cause monuments.

---

<sup>81</sup> William Outhwaite, *Habermas: A Critical Introduction* (Polity Press, 2009) 135.

<sup>82</sup> Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (MIT Press, 1992) 122.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*, 110–111.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid*, 111.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid*, 113; *ibid*, 123.

As in Goldfarb's review, Fraser suggests a theorization of the public sphere that includes multiple publics as an inclusive, egalitarian rethinking of Habermas's concept.<sup>86</sup> With multiple publics also comes the problem of public opinion translating into decision-making power. Fraser describes a distinction between *weak publics* and *strong publics* to address this problem where in the former, public discourse is purely an exercise in opinion forming, where in the latter publics influence both opinion formation and State decision-making.<sup>87</sup> Which forms of governance are best to accommodate and be accountable to publics is an open question that needs more investigation for Fraser, though this dichotomy of weak and strong publics helps describe the transition from the lower to higher rungs of Arnstein's model. Even though weak publics exclude communities from meaningful decision-making, the State still attempts to present itself as unified and participatory while oppressing subaltern counterpublics.

The production of idealized conceptions of the public or the community as homogenous and unified is assisted by monuments that project a particular universal culture. While community-based monuments may attempt to engage in building strong publics through participatory processes, the language of community engagement may be utilized for political purposes even when only weak publics exist. The MAC's use of the term "community" finds resonance in the affirmative culture of Marcuse that presents an abstraction disconnected from daily struggles. In the next section, I will give an outline of the historic exclusion of black residents during the development of Monument Avenue to illustrate how Richmond was a far from ideal democracy in Habermasian terms and to provide a background for critiquing the contemporary use of the community as homogenous suppresses conflicts between publics in Richmond.

### 2.3. Monument Avenue: A History of Black Segregation

The question of who gets to decide in the present requires an examination of the historical context in which these monuments were erected. Monument Avenue was

---

<sup>86</sup> *ibid*, 125–126.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid*, 134.

developed from the late 1880s to the 1920s as a segregated speculative venture by white elites in Richmond.<sup>88</sup> The primary goal was to create a wealthy, white neighbourhood in the city with high property values for the capitalists who owned and developed the land, but also for the residents to exclude black Richmonders from owning property. This was achieved through the local institutions, both municipal and state, and is reflected by policies constructed to disfranchise black residents in the rest of Richmond, including: neglecting services in the primarily black Jackson Ward, confining black residents to restrict their voting power, and restricting black people from owning property in new developments.<sup>89</sup>

The local State, in the form of the city government and the Virginia state government, worked to develop Monument Avenue through cooperation with local capitalists for the explicit purpose of State interest. Governor Fitzhugh Lee, Mayor J. Taylor Ellyson, and Alderman Otway Allen are key figures in the development of Monument Avenue and participated directly in the monument associations established by women, fundraising directly from private elites or appropriating government funds. The Richmond Chamber of Commerce was particularly supportive of Monument Avenue, and those who later became its residents were prominent in the municipal and state levels of Richmond's government.<sup>90</sup> This alliance between capital and the State invested in the production of a built environment that structured the Lost Cause into the spatial dynamics of Richmond.

---

<sup>88</sup> Richard Guy Wilson, *Monument Avenue, Richmond: A Unique American Boulevard* (The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) 100.

<sup>89</sup> Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Julian Maxwell Hayter, *The Dream Is Lost: Voting Rights and the Politics of Race in Richmond, Virginia* (University of Kentucky, 2017); J Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

<sup>90</sup> Esmé Howard, "Chapter 2," in *Monument Avenue: History and Architecture*, Esmé Howard and Kathy Edwards (HABS/HAER, 1992) 76.

Monument Avenue development project was a scheme concocted by Governor Fitzhugh Lee and Alderman Otway Slaughter Allen.<sup>91</sup> They were close friends who socialized in many of the same local circles and gentlemen's clubs.<sup>92</sup> Allen held land just west of the city limits purchased by his father William C. Allen between the 1820s and 1850s and left the property to his wife and four children.<sup>93</sup> He was a wealthy businessman of the New South and heavily participated in civic affairs to cement white supremacy by disenfranchising black and poor white Virginians.<sup>94</sup> Allen's reported inspiration for Monument Avenue came from Mount Vernon Place in Baltimore.<sup>95</sup> On June 19, the *Richmond Dispatch* reported on the deliberations in Governor Lee's reorganized Association, which was the first public mention of the potential development: "those who favor [the Allen] site propose that it shall be widened so as to make a grand boulevard, with room for rows of trees down the middle &c., and to intersect Reservoir avenue [the Boulevard] in the neighborhood of the Soldiers' Home."<sup>96</sup> Allen donated the land for the Lee Monument to the Lee Monument Association, knowing full well that the value of the lots would greatly inflate because of it.<sup>97</sup>

In addition to his friendship with Allen, Governor Lee wanted to reinvigorate Richmond and follow his uncle's advice to keep Virginians in Virginia by growing wealth at home.<sup>98</sup> He promoted the development to the civic community in October 1886, most notably he made a pragmatic business argument to the City Council: if the City would

---

<sup>91</sup> Kathy Edwards, "Chapter 1," in *Monument Avenue: History and Architecture*, Esmé Howard and Kathy Edwards (HABS/HAER, 1992) 15; Howard, 60.

<sup>92</sup> Howard, 60.

<sup>93</sup> Edwards, 28.

<sup>94</sup> Howard, 59; Wilson, 103.

<sup>95</sup> Edwards, 28.

<sup>96</sup> Edwards, 13.

<sup>97</sup> Ann McLean, *Unveiling the Lost Cause: A Study of Monuments to the Civil War Memory in Richmond, Virginia and Vicinity* (University of Virginia, 1998) 32–33.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid*, 82.

sponsor the \$4,000 base for the Lee Monument, then the Monument Avenue project would pay off in taxes.<sup>99</sup> The Richmond civic leaders annexed 292 acres of from Henrico county in 1892 for Monument Avenue,<sup>100</sup> then began to pave the streets and make way for development as soon as possible—though it took 16 years before major building occurred.<sup>101</sup>

The annexed land along Monument Avenue was split into three separate tracts each dominated by a single family: Allen, Branch, and Sheppard.<sup>102</sup> The Allen and Branch families drove the project and donated land to the development.<sup>103</sup> Branch gave the front 30 feet off of his lots when the city extended the name ‘Monument Avenue’ to expand the boulevard: “Branch and his fellow landholders on West Franklin stood only to profit from the congruence of their properties with the scheme of Monument Avenue, since it reinforced the perception on the part of prospective home builders that they were buying into a planned, exceptional and exclusive urban environment.”<sup>104</sup> This union of ideals between old and new monied elites in the project established a precedent for the minor landholders along Monument Avenue and in the surrounding blocks. Sheppard, the owner of the final major allotment, was not as connected to the development as a materialization of the Lost Cause and the architecture reflects a different sensibility than Allen and Branch’s standards, but he followed the city’s guidelines to pursue the highest possible property values.<sup>105</sup> The men who participated in the speculation project were Confederate Lost Causers and able, through their engagement in local politics, to design their

---

<sup>99</sup> *ibid*, 15.

<sup>100</sup> Michael Chesson, *Richmond After the War, 1865-1890* (Virginia State Library, 1981) 205; Edwards, 33; Wilson, 103.

<sup>101</sup> Edwards, 34; McLean, 86.

<sup>102</sup> Edwards, 27; Howard, 57.

<sup>103</sup> Howard, 63–66; Wilson 109.

<sup>104</sup> Edwards, 38.

<sup>105</sup> Howard, 69.

individual white supremacist views into the built environment and legal landscape of Richmond.

Black exclusion and segregation in Monument Avenue began immediately. The deeds sold by Allen for development had strict architectural standards; however, of important note here was the stipulated exclusion of blacks “or anyone of African descent” from owning or renting.<sup>106</sup> The Lee Annex Realty Corporation and other realty firms followed suit, including a stipulation in their deeds that no blacks could own or rent property on the development.<sup>107</sup> The politico-legal regime was first established informally outside State-apparatuses by private businesses in order to maintain high property evaluations and keep the black residents segregated. Richmond enacted official racial zoning laws in 1911, which were upheld in the *Hopkins v City of Richmond* case in 1915.<sup>108</sup> This scheme allows Richmond to zone entire blocks by race based on home ownership, and since whites owned more homes—especially in Monument Avenue—and this led to the widespread loss of black homeownership outside of the black majority Jackson Ward:

Even as the Black population of Richmond moved out of its scattered residential enclaves in the early 1900’s, and thereby changed the racial composition of other neighborhoods from White to Black, out-migrating Whites tended to rent rather than sell their houses to Blacks. In the absence of new housing construction, the perpetual shortage of Black housing enabled absentee landlords to profit handsomely from neighborhood turnover. In Richmond, at least, one effect of the short-lived racial zoning law and subsequent controls over black residential migration was a reduction in home ownership in the Black community.<sup>109</sup>

Through both formal and informal means, the politico-legal regime of segregation was designed to limit the political power of black residents while increasing the value of

---

<sup>106</sup> Edwards, 49.

<sup>107</sup> *ibid*, 54.

<sup>108</sup> Christopher Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities," in *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows*, eds. June Manning Thomas and Marsha Ritzdorf (Sage Publications, 1997) 4.

<sup>109</sup> Silver, 4–5.

white property, which simultaneously means the inverse: the impoverishment of black-owned property.

The Lost Cause monuments were erected by a white elite during a time when the participatory rights of black residents were being targeted. Jackson Ward, where most of the black population lived, fell far behind all others in property value,<sup>110</sup> and Richmond officials hoped to keep black people confined to Jackson to limit their political power, and succeeded at segregating 74% of Richmond by 1870.<sup>111</sup> Richmond Democrats reduced the black vote throughout the 1870s and 1880s by adding minor felonies like petty theft to the offences eligible for disfranchisement.<sup>112</sup> Hundreds of eligible black voters were rounded up by the police on fabricated charges on election days to diminish the threat of black political power.<sup>113</sup> Despite the federal government's occupation during Reconstruction, Richmond's State institutions resisted emancipation by ushering in tactics to keep black residents disenfranchised. White, conservative Democrats held control of Richmond's local politics.<sup>114</sup> Segregation and Monument Avenue was developed through the political power afforded by middle-class white voters. When long-time mayor William C. Carrington retired in 1888, James Taylor Ellyson was seen as the compromise between labour, elite and conservative whites, because he was progressive on labour issues while still being amenable to business interests and a staunch neo-Confederate.<sup>115</sup> This effectively ended socially progressive political movements for the rest of the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century by aligning racial interests against a potentially class conscious, unified labour movement.

---

<sup>110</sup> Chesson, 174.

<sup>111</sup> Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era* (University of Illinois Press, 1982) 105–106.

<sup>112</sup> Chesson, 183.

<sup>113</sup> *ibid*, 184.

<sup>114</sup> *ibid*, 183.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid*, 189.

The decision to develop Monument Avenue was never one made by the whole community. White elites worked in tandem to exclude black residents from participating in the development of the built environment. When discussing the processes to address Lost Cause monuments on Monument Avenue today, the political landscape that made the production of this space possible raises concerns about the decisions of the MAC's attempt at engaging the community at large. The small number of participants and their demographics reflect the history of white supremacy in the production of Monument Avenue. The nomenclature of New South that emerged during Reconstruction was realized in Monument Avenue as a reimagining of Southern whiteness rather than a move towards being accessible and inclusive to all Southerners.

## 2.4. Latour and the Superficial Community

Latour takes a constructivist approach to building a good common world.<sup>116</sup> His critique of the Modern Constitution is that it presupposes a common world, usually a naturalistic one, and offers no room for negotiation. From the outset of Stoney's speech and throughout Coleman's seminar, the adoption of a Modern Constitution prevents meaningful discussion by treating dissenting elements of the community as irrational actors. The community at large is not necessary for opinion formation or decision-making because their opinions are superficial values divorced from facts and the facts of history are the arbitrators of the conflict that have settled the discussion before it has begun.

Mayor Stoney makes clear that the purpose of the MAC is not to confront and challenge white supremacy at its roots, but to address the historical interpretation of Monument Avenue: "The job of this commission will be to solicit public input and make recommendations to the Mayor's Office on how to best tell the real story of these Monuments."<sup>117</sup> The primary concern of the MAC is to correct the public record and not negotiate the common world between conflicting groups. This is what Latour describes as the false peace of modernism: the presupposition that there can be no confrontations and

---

<sup>116</sup> Graham Harman, *Bruno Latour: Reassembling the Political* (Pluto Press, 2014) 73.

<sup>117</sup> Monument Avenue Commission Report, 35.

any that exist are disagreements over representations of a singular nature.<sup>118</sup> Harman summarizes the so-called “malady of tolerance” that emerges from the Modern Constitution: “multiculturalism must be tamed by mononaturalism, the underlying doctrine on which everyone should agree.”<sup>119</sup> This critical move of separation is in effect a depoliticization by placing most of what is up for dispute off the table.<sup>120</sup> Constructing a ‘truthful’ historical narrative then demanding all should adhere to it is an inherently non-neutral project.<sup>121</sup> The inclusion of Lost Cause monuments is demystified by the white supremacist history of Richmond and their presence in society, while uncomfortable, should be tolerable because due to historical fact the values expressed by the monuments are wrong—but a part of the multicultural tapestry of the city and therefore should be tolerated.

Conflicts under the Modern Constitution are universalist. Nature is the authority and Reason mediates the arbitration between opposing sides in a conflict. Latour leverages Carl Schmitt’s concept of “police operation” to describe how the dominant party that aligns itself with Nature handles conflict, not as a threat but as a pedagogical opportunity: “Westerners have not understood themselves as facing on the battlefield an enemy whose victory is possible, just irrational people who have to be corrected.”<sup>122</sup> There is a single history, which is a matter of fact, and any deviation is an opinion needing correction. The conceit that education about the complex history of the Confederacy is an effective tactic to address racism and white supremacy is stated by Stoney: “And the way to change hearts is to educate minds.”<sup>123</sup> Moderns take up police operations as a chance to gift knowledge onto those who they assume are less in tune

---

<sup>118</sup> Bruno Latour, *War of the Worlds: Who Wants Peace?* trans. Charlotte Bigg, ed. John Tresch, (Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002). 16.

<sup>119</sup> Harman, 71.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid* 72.

<sup>121</sup> Swyngedouw, 20.

<sup>122</sup> Bruno Latour, “Who Cosmos, Which Cosmopolitics: Comments on the Peace Terms of Ulrich Beck,” *Common Knowledge* 10, no 3 (2003): 455.

<sup>123</sup> Monument Avenue Commission Report, 35.

with the world. His speech carefully separates his own values from the correct process where reasoned discussion in State sanctioned spaces may take place to validate the Modern Constitution while not jostling the position of objects: “Continuing this process will provide an opportunity for the public to be heard and the full weight of this decision to be considered in a proper forum where we can have a constructive and civil dialogue.”<sup>124</sup> This speech indicates that the process of dialogue has already established the parameters of the discussion by depoliticizing the conversation. The community has been excised from participation and effectively participating in decision-making at the outset.

Coleman is the CEO for the American Civil War Museum and a co-chair of the Monument Avenue Commission.<sup>125</sup> While not unique to Coleman, her position within the MAC affords a certain degree of power as to how the commission would approach Lost Cause monuments in Richmond. Her analysis fails to recognize why there is an argument between those who want to remove Lost Cause monuments and those who want to preserve them. During her address at the American Civil War Museum’s 2017 symposium’s “Lightening Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present, and Future” mentioned in the Introduction, she discusses how the Charleston Church massacre reignited discussions of the place of Lost Cause monuments in public:

What happened two years ago in Charleston, South Carolina, a young man waving Confederate iconography set the world on fire again, and like a rippling effect in communities all over, this question of what shall we do, how shall we remember, from changing names on academic buildings to actually removing statuary from public squares, to what I consider a more reasoned approach, recognizing that the landscape is big enough to say all of who and what we are, recognizing that the same investment and care should be given, recognizing that we also have an opportunity help our current generations by answering their questions honestly. To provide the

---

<sup>124</sup> *ibid*, 40.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid*, 5.

context in many cases to these places and these statuary that may be far more difficult for them to understand.<sup>126</sup>

Coleman makes the argument that there is enough space in the monumental landscape to include statuary representative of all collectives in a given community and that communities should invest the same amount of care in sharing these varied narratives. The refusal to recognize that there are real conflicts in a given community and the encouragement of opposing collectives to set aside their impassioned differences relies on the Modern Constitution.

As discussed, the relativist position places these two distinct narratives on equal footing and does not include in its consideration the attempts of Lost Cause collectives to dominate and exclude anti-racists and black residents. This position dismisses the real enmity that exists between different collectives as superficial and ultimately agreement is always achievable since these disagreements boil down to human passions, which are never reasonable:

In this blessed era of modernism, differences, in other words, never cut very deep; they could never be fundamental since they did not affect the world itself. Agreement was in principle always possible, if not easy. There always remained the hope that differences of opinion, even violent conflicts, could be eased or alleviated if one only focused a little more on this unifying and pacifying nature and a little less on the divergent, contradictory and subjective representations humans had of it.<sup>127</sup>

Separating human subjectivity from nature prevents these conflicts from upsetting the current arrangement of objects.<sup>128</sup> And where passions create differences for us to

---

<sup>126</sup> Christy Coleman. "Monuments, Markers, Museums, and the Landscape of Civil War Memory," CSPAN, filmed Feb 25, 2017 at Lightning Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future, Richmond, VA video, 40:54, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?423748-1/controversy-civil-war-monuments-memorials>.

<sup>127</sup> Latour, *War of Worlds*, 7.

<sup>128</sup> Bruno Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences Into Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Harvard University Press, 2004), 81.

squabble over, it is reason for the modernist that unites disparate collectives.<sup>129</sup> Coleman states that her solution is “more reasoned” than the alternative examples, and this claim to reason is a move to assert a universal that pacifies this controversy without acknowledging that there is a real conflict.

That Coleman seizes on the controversy as an opportunity for pedagogy reinforces the modernist claim that the differences at the heart of the dispute are subordinate to a transcendent nature and neither side are enemies, merely “bad pupils.”<sup>130</sup> Appealing to the singular nature reveals many narratives but one History and given this reason would dictate the conflicting collectives in a community should suspend their differences to make the reasonable decision:

Our stories are vast. Today you are going to hear a number of conversations, a number of perspectives, around how we can and should remember. But here is the beautiful thing—it was communities that made these decisions for themselves, therefore it should be communities that make these decisions now. It’s just our hope that in making those decisions, with all the passion that lies underneath that we understand what we are doing and why.<sup>131</sup>

Since passions underlay the difference in perspective between monument removal and conservation, the community presupposed by the Modern Constitution would make the most reasonable choice based on their reliance on a culture-free, objective History rather than let passions effect objects.

The Modern Constitution that Mayor Stoney and Coleman adopt is reflected in the institution of the MAC in its founding documents. The “Commission Charge” announcing the guidelines of the MAC present both the singular, authoritative facts as well as affording space for the different narratives to be represented: “1) To solicit public input and make recommendations to the Mayor’s Office on how best to tell the real story of these Monuments; 2) To solicit input on changing the face of Monument Avenue by

<sup>129</sup> Latour, *War of Worlds*, 20–21.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid*, 26.

<sup>131</sup> Coleman, “Monuments, Markers, Museums, and the Landscape of Civil War Memory,” 44:15.

adding new monuments that would reflect a broader, more inclusive story of our history.”<sup>132</sup> The tacit assumptions present that there is a singular, ‘real’ story combined with the language of inclusivity to discuss the conflicting narratives tacitly affirms that these differences are superficial. The MAC reaffirms its decision to present representations of opposing collectives under the guise of a more “holistic narrative” in its “Guiding Principles,” which recognizes the easy agreement and assumption of unity at work in the modernist position.<sup>133</sup> These premises are reflected in the recommendations by proposing to add new monuments to Monument Avenue beside existing Lost Cause monuments to “rectify the historical silences in the city’s landscape.”<sup>134</sup> And while it is commendable to include memorials to the slave trade and enslaved black Virginians, the holistic narrative being advocated promotes these memorials to the same status as Lost Cause monuments and attempts to affect a false peace by equally supporting white supremacy and anti-racism.

A close reading of Coleman’s seminar and sections of the MAC through Latour’s theorization of modernity displays how the rhetoric of this debate in Richmond is being moderated by the false peace of the Modern Constitution. The insistence that the conflict is reducible to passions and that universal reason can provide a solution illustrates how shallow the differences underpins the approach being taken by the MAC towards Richmond’s Lost Cause monument controversy.

## 2.5. Lefebvre and the Abstract Community

Applying Lefebvre’s analysis of the politics of space to the MAC critiques the representation of space as the idealized community reproducing a unified community despite the evident division and difference that exist to hide the contradictions in space that compose Monument Avenue and Richmond as a city. Mayor Stoney, Coleman and the MAC report represent Richmond as homogenous in an attempt to suppress conflict

---

<sup>132</sup> Monument Avenue Commission Report, 4.

<sup>133</sup> *ibid*, 7.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid*, 33.

that would interrupt the flow of capital through Monument Avenue and instead propose the erection of more monuments. This reappropriation of space abstracts the conflict by representing the fragmentation of the city through space.

Human geographer Eugene McCann introduced Lefebvre's analysis to racial dynamics Lexington, Kentucky. McCann argues that the problematic absence of race in Lefebvre's work is an opportunity to centre the racial identity in the context of the city in the United States.<sup>135</sup> Through his examination of Lexington, McCann discovers that the reality of racialized spaces contradict traditional narratives of the city as one homogenized community: "The production of public space can be seen, then, as a continual struggle between the State and capital trying to produce and maintain a seemingly homogenous but fundamentally contradictory abstract space, on the one hand, and subaltern groups, often working through oppositional elements in the media, asserting their 'counter-spaces' and constructing their 'counter-publics' on the other."<sup>136</sup> Abstract space in the context of the American city attempts to present a cohesive ahistorical whole over urban spaces shaped by hierarchies enforced by the State and capital, and the resistance of black bodies to their oppression. The homogenization of the city's racial differences through abstract space takes on a specific character of discomfoting black bodies while minimizing the uncomfortable encounters of white bodies: "Contemporary public spaces are designed to keep the frequency of uncomfortable encounters to a minimum and to maintain a rigid power relation between White and people of color when such encounters do take place, while at the same time maintaining a veneer of unity and homogeneity."<sup>137</sup> The racial coding of space in Richmond produces exclusionary public spaces like Monument Avenue that are explicitly discomfoting towards black residents, and the discussion of the Confederacy succeeding over slavery or that Lost Cause monuments commemorate the defence of slavery is an

---

<sup>135</sup> Eugene McCann, "Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City." *Antipode* 31, no. 2, (1999), 173.

<sup>136</sup> *ibid*, 180.

<sup>137</sup> *ibid*, 179.

uncomfortable experience for white Richmonders that is located in space. McCann writes of the State's use of homogeneity to appease the fragmented publics:

Abstract space is fundamentally contradictory because while it is a space that emphasizes homogeneity, it can only exist by accentuating difference. The image of homogeneity and unity that is a central feature of abstract space can, according to Lefebvre, only be achieved and maintained through a continued state-sponsored process of fragmentation and marginalization that elides difference and thus attempts to prevent conflict.<sup>138</sup>

Monument Avenue as an abstract space was designed to accumulate capital through a commercialization of space and the homogeneity of the community is still encouraged by the State.

The establishment of the MAC is built on premise that the Lost Cause is a false ideology. Mayor Stoney's stated mission is setting the "historical record straight" to communicate the whole story of Richmond in order to express the values in *One Richmond*.<sup>139</sup> The narrative of the Lost Cause expressed by Monument Avenue is distinctly not history for Mayor Stoney: it is "ideology," "nostalgia," a "false narrative," and "alternative facts" with the purpose of keeping black residents of Richmond in bondage.<sup>140</sup> For Mayor Stoney, addressing the legacy of the Lost Cause in Richmond requires rectifying the unchallenged presence of the Lost Cause ideology. Lefebvre would find much to agree with in this description of the Lost Cause though his theory of politics must be contextualized to account for racism. Ideologies are the narratives that produce false consciousness in the working class that keep them divided and increasing the difficulty of effective proletarian class struggle.<sup>141</sup> However, the appeal to *One Richmond* and a holistic narrative reduces the differences of the community to a homogenized whole

---

<sup>138</sup> McCann, 171.

<sup>139</sup> *ibid*, 35.

<sup>140</sup> *ibid*, 34.

<sup>141</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes September 1959–May 1961*, trans. John Moore (Verso, 1995) 166; *ibid*, 168.

characterized by “principles of racial equality, tolerance and unity.”<sup>142</sup> Mayor Stoney creates a dichotomy between a story of unity and a story of division, where Richmond is currently building towards a holistic *One* by expanding the monumental landscape through the addition of a diversity of new monuments.<sup>143</sup> The attempt at representing the fragmented community as a diverse whole by accentuating differences between the history of black and white residents in Richmond. Adding monuments that commemorate the oppressed while leaving exclusionary spaces fails to address the contradiction of including white supremacy monuments in a Richmond built on the principle of racial equality.

On Monument Avenue a combined effort by white capitalists and white plantation aristocracy built five Lost Cause monuments and multi-million dollar homes over farmland. Under the strategy of domination, the public space of the promenade was organized according to the needs of private space.<sup>144</sup> The road width, boulevards, and monument circles were built at the service of maximizing allotments, strict architectural standards, and property values. The logic of white supremacy manifested through the State, since white bourgeoisie were the ruling class. However, the historical conditions that gave rise to the Confederate monuments on Monument Avenue and elsewhere are smothered by abstract space.<sup>145</sup> And what is excluded from Lost Cause monumentality—emancipation, contemporary oppression, and a history of exploitation—is expunged to the periphery of dominate space into the cracks and seams that intersect the enforcement of spatial production.<sup>146</sup> The lived experiences of black residents which are not reconcilable with the dominant logic are smothered by the abstract space that Lost Cause monuments produce, while generating acceptable differences within that conform to

---

<sup>142</sup> Monument Avenue Commission Report, 35.

<sup>143</sup> *ibid*, 37–38.

<sup>144</sup> Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 376.

<sup>145</sup> *ibid*, 370.

<sup>146</sup> *ibid*, 373.

expected types.<sup>147</sup> The pervasive mundanity of Lost Cause monuments that makes them invisible to white Richmonders' daily rhythms through those spaces is the totalizing illusion of abstract space asserting the 'true space' or abstract ideal within the dominant collectivity.

Coleman skirts the question of who should be involved in the decision-making process by gesturing at the homogenized community. Coleman specifies that "it was communities that made these decisions for themselves, therefore it should be communities that make these decisions now."<sup>148</sup> The total community is substituted for the fragments within it as representations of the whole; the community of Richmond did decide to erect the Lost Cause monuments; however it was not the *whole community*. Instead, Monument Avenue was developed through an alliance between white elites who belonged to non-governmental women's and veterans's organizations—like the Ladies Memorial Associations, United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of Confederate Veterans—local capitalists, and the local municipal and state government. The black community had no involvement and was only able to express discontent through local black-owned newspapers. Now black residents have more political power than during Reconstruction or Jim Crow, through Coleman conflates the dynamics of the community in her talk, reasserting latter when asked for her response to the decision of Charlottesville to take down their Lee Statue: "Seriously, I was surprised by that decision, but as I just said, communities decided to put them up, and as long as the conversation that is happening in that community is one that is reasoned, a community can decide to move it."<sup>149</sup> The fragments who made these decisions are conflated with much more diverse groups who are pushing to make these decisions today.

The section titled "A Complicated Legacy" details the historical disenfranchisement by black residents of Richmond and their lack of involvement in the decision to erect

---

<sup>147</sup> *ibid*, 396.

<sup>148</sup> Coleman, "Monuments, Markers, Museums, and the Landscape of Civil War Memory," 44:15.

<sup>149</sup> Coleman, "Monuments, Markers, Museums, and the Landscape of Civil War Memory," 45:00.

Lost Cause monuments.<sup>150</sup> The report indicates that a majority of participants in the public engagement process preferred some form of contextualizing the monuments,<sup>151</sup> but the issue with this result is that the majority of participants from these meetings were white.<sup>152</sup> The 2,000 respondents—of the city’s over 200,000 population—who participated either in person or through correspondence, and while 57% of the residents are black, a stark majority of participants in the MAC’s process were white. And while it is true that there are white members of Richmond’s community, the majority of residents negatively effected by the Lost Cause and institutionalized white supremacy are black. Confusing the social reality of the situation through ambiguity maintains the homogenized community that the State has power over. White elites divested black residents from participation and the MAC takes up the value of democracy to create a dogmatic moral order: “It would be hypocritical of us to bemoan the lack of a democratic process in Richmond’s and Virginia’s past and then usurp the power of our present citizens by making these decisions.”<sup>153</sup> Yet usurping power from present citizens is precisely how the MAC is operating. The important questions about appropriating space to fulfill the social needs of the most oppressed and alienated members of society is restrained in favour of an exclusionary process that pays homage to democracy without a wider process.

The representation of Richmond as a homogeneous community in time and space is an ahistorical abstraction that obfuscates the lived experience of residents in the city and their social concerns about Lost Cause monumentality. The historical repression of black residents in Richmond, and especially Monument Avenue, and the now limited engaged participation with black residents now continues the State strategy of reproducing relations for accumulating capital. While specific black participants in the commission and municipal government have decision-making power, the city at large lacks the means

---

<sup>150</sup> Monument Avenue Commission Report, 25.

<sup>151</sup> *ibid*, 9.

<sup>152</sup> *ibid*, 105.

<sup>153</sup> *ibid*, 26.

to contribute to the production of space in Richmond through the State. It was the State that erected the Lost Cause monuments then and it is the State that decides what happens to them now.

## 2.6. Declaring War on Monument Avenue

This chapter has focused on the concept of community presented by the MAC and how it obscures the participation of the publics in Richmond. Placing the responsibility for who decides on the immediate public using the language of community leaves much to be desired and often stands in as a spatial *totum pro parte* for the municipal or county government. Appeals to engage in discourse rather than real inclusion within the decision-making process reflects the concept of weak publics that Fraser describes. The addresses of Mayor Stoney and Coleman before issuing of the final report show that their opinions had already been formed prior to the MAC and the primary recommendations of the final report focus on expanding the monumental landscape rather than the removal or relocation of Lost Cause monuments. While this may be a promising solution, it was not constructed by the residents of Richmond and was controlled by a few officials and State appointees.

The first applicable observation is that the mononatural-multicultural dichotomy readily describes the use of certain historical facts by the MAC to arbitrate the discussion. Latour illuminates that through the model of the Modern Constitution the opinions of various collectives in the city cease to matter in the face of brute historical facts. Multiculturalism predetermines that any difference is superficial, tolerated, and easily suspended for the police operation that determines the terms for the false peace. Experts have already arbitrated the outcome and it excludes the possibility of constructing a common world through negotiation. This model ignores consultation with the people at the edge of collective: black residents. An engagement process designed not to give voice to the voiceless, those in the proverbial dumping ground, that by Mayor Stoney's own admission experience personal pain in the same common world as Lost Cause monuments will inevitably construct a bad common world that is uninhabitable for the most vulnerable. Mayor Stoney's suggestion to balance the historical ledger by providing

dignified public housing and a new school or community centre begin to address the exteriority of black lives in Richmond,<sup>154</sup> though by taking discussion about the future of Lost Cause monuments off the table there is no strong community involvement.

The second observation is that the representation of the community as homogenous conceals the contradictions that are preventing a participatory process through the illusion of engagement. The participation of the residents of Richmond are constrained by the strategy of the State and the necessity of accumulation possess all the decision-making power. Representing Richmond as a homogenized community deliberating on the fate of Lost Cause monuments hides a host of contradictions. The authority of the State over urban space requires fragmentation, and the city as a totality obfuscates the historical production of space on Monument Avenue. A coalition of white elites initiated the development plan at a time when black bodies were driven out of the suburb and into enclaves like Jackson Ward to limit their political potential in elections. Today, a small commission of eleven engaged with one percent of the population where the State still holds the levers of power. As a whole the community of Richmond never decided to erect the monuments and neither is the community participating in decision-making now.

I believe that, in the ongoing dialogue on Lost Cause monuments, it is important to put pressure on the concept of “the community” or “the public.” Not only must we discuss which monuments deserve to be addressed and how each space should be changed taking into account its own historical conditions, but we must also attend to the disparities between the opinions formed by the many publics in a community and the decision-making processes that occur by declaring war, to use Latour’s phrasing, begins the process of holding negotiations and requires the recognition that politics are not the enflamed passions of the unreasonable masses. Short-circuiting the conversation by taking points of discussion off the table or prematurely limiting participates in the discussion repeats the very situation that lead to the erection of the Lost Cause monuments. As it stands, the One Richmond dominating the monumental landscape is that of the Lost Cause.

---

<sup>154</sup> *ibid*, 38.

### 3. Chapter Two: Lost Cause Monuments as White Supremacist Cosmograms

#### 3.1. Introduction

The multicultural approach towards the monumental landscape put forward by the Monument Avenue Commission (MAC) in Richmond, as illustrated in Chapter One, attempts to assuage controversy within the city. Different political stances adopted by communities in Richmond are interpreted as superficial when compared to the historical record designated by the MAC. This is in contrast to monument defenders and advocates for removal who both engage with these sites as contested political spaces. The Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville to protest the removal of the Robert E. Lee statue and the toppling of the Confederate Soldiers Monument in Durham county represent either side of this conflict. The white supremacists rallied to Emancipation Park to dominate the space, and the demonstrators in Durham pulled the monument down to remove a material interpreted as representing white supremacy from a public site.<sup>155</sup>

The MAC seeks to present the diversity of narratives that exist in the city despite the conflicting political messages they present to the public, which preserves the internal tensions between socio-spatial groups. This uncritical strategy for addressing a fraught monumental landscape, termed multiplicative commemoration by Holmes and Loehwing, has been attempted by the South African government after the end of apartheid and has since caused several monument controversies. Holmes notes the similarity between the monologic commemoration of the Lost Cause and Afrikaner nationalism that allowed

---

<sup>155</sup> “October 11 Anti-Racist Freedom Fighter Statement” #DoItLikeDurham, published October 10, 2017, last updated October 12, 2017, <https://doitlikedurham.org/october-11-anti-racist-freedom-fighters-statement/>; Vincent Law, “The ‘Unite The Right’ Rally Is Going To Be A Turning Point For White Identity In America,” published August 5, 2017, <https://altright.com/2017/08/05/the-unite-the-right-rally-is-going-to-be-a-turning-point-for-white-identity-in-america/>.

white South Africans to “legitimate white rule and ground it in the space of southern Africa; and to assert a singular vision of the nation, as led by these great white men.”<sup>156</sup> South Africans have been challenging the preservation of monuments in the commemorative landscape that are figures of colonialism and apartheid.<sup>157</sup>

The analysis of monumental landscapes as arenas for struggle is often approached through the lens of examining these conflicts concerning the presentation of collective memory.<sup>158</sup> While this literature contributes to the discussion of collective memory and the political role of monuments, it foregrounds the the representation of the past rather than the active production of socio-political spaces for the present and the future.<sup>159</sup> In their examination of heritage, Tunbridge and Ashworth distinguish between the past, history and heritage. For them, the past is what has happened, which history and heritage must assume to exist. History is a means of interpreting the past by creating a narrative through an assemblage of historical facts, while heritage is a present product of what society chooses to inherit: “The present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future.”<sup>160</sup> They argue that heritage is a product crafted deliberately for a specific response assembled from varied materials including: “past events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations, surviving physical relics, together with places, whether sites, towns

---

<sup>156</sup> Carolyn Holmes and Melanie Loehwing, “Icons of the Old Regime: Challenging South African Public Memory Strategies in #RhodesMustFall,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 6 (2016) 1211.

<sup>157</sup> Carolyn E. Holmes, “Should Confederate monuments come down? Here’s what South Africa did after apartheid,” *The Washington Post*, originally published August 29, 2017, republished August 21, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/29/should-confederate-monuments-come-down-heres-what-south-africa-did-after-apartheid/?utm\\_term=.f9bc08fcb4c0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/29/should-confederate-monuments-come-down-heres-what-south-africa-did-after-apartheid/?utm_term=.f9bc08fcb4c0).

<sup>158</sup> Owen Dwyer and Derek Alderman, “Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors,” *GeoJournal* 73 (2008) 171.

<sup>159</sup> Jonathan Leib, Gerald Webster and Roberta Webster, “Rebel with a cause? Iconography and public memory in the Southern United States,” *Geojournal* 52 (2000) 309.

<sup>160</sup> John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (John Wiley, 1996) 6.

or landscapes with which they can be symbolically associated.”<sup>161</sup> Heritage sites, such as monuments, are spatial heritage products that are utilized as a political instrument linked to messages that do achieve spatio-political goals regardless of their intent.<sup>162</sup> Henri Lefebvre explores the role of sets, or ensembles, composed of things and signs in formal relations that produce space.<sup>163</sup> For Lefebvre the creation of a monument is the production of institutional space, which assumes a system or concerted actions conducted systematically.<sup>164</sup> Ensembles of sites are networks subordinated by centres of strength, which is what Lefebvre calls a site that “radiates governing political ideas outward; it organizes space politically.”<sup>165</sup> Despite denials of any connection between politics and framing the past that those defending Lost Cause monuments as Southern heritage would make, there is a strong relationship between heritage and its political role.<sup>166</sup> The Lost Cause has been discussed as neo-Confederate nationalism,<sup>167</sup> and that national heritage requires a pre-existing national history. Rather than a conflict over the representation of the past or whose history is correct, I contend that it a political struggle over centres of strength in space, where monuments are part of political systems.

The MAC operates from the position that the Lost Cause monument controversy is a primarily historical problem that has pedagogical answers through contextualization while mitigating the grievances of unrepresented communities in Richmond by

---

<sup>161</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *ibid.*, 50.

<sup>163</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Frank Bryant (St Martin’s Press, 1976) 49.

<sup>164</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (University of Minnesota Press, 2003) 79.

<sup>165</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Łukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (University of Minnesota Press, 2014) 92; 150.

<sup>166</sup> Tunbridge and Ashworth, 46.

<sup>167</sup> Jon Bohland, "Look Away, Look Away, Look Away to Lexington: Struggles Over Neo-Confederate Nationalism, Memory, and Masculinity in a Small Virginia Town," *Southeastern Geographer* 53, no. 3 (2013): 267–295.

expanding the commemorative landscape to include their narratives beside the Lost Cause. The past and history are conflated, making the historical record singular. Simultaneously co-chair of the MAC Christy Coleman claims the city is large enough for memorials to slavery and monuments to slavers. A discursive shift of fact from history to the past maintains the Modern Constitution and does not fundamentally change the arguments the MAC articulate as described in the last chapter. Efforts for interpreting the controversy that do not seriously account for the political allegiances of monuments fall back on appeasing various publics. Likewise, interpreting the controversy as an arena without overcoming the Modern Constitution reproduce the mononaturalism–multiculturalism dynamic that renders politics superficial. How can the arena approach to spatio-political conflicts be utilized without reifying the distinctions of the Modern Constitution?

The concept of cosmopolitics, a term coined by Isabelle Stengers and adopted by Bruno Latour, asserts that there is politics in nature, in facts, and the values attributed to them cannot be separated.<sup>168</sup> Unlike cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitics asks that we cannot assume we live in the same world as our political opponents:<sup>169</sup> “We perhaps never differ about opinions, but rather always about things—about what world we inhabit. And very probably, it never happens that adversaries come to agree on opinions: they begin, rather, to inhabit a different world.”<sup>170</sup> If there is going to be a common world, then it will have to be composed. For Latour, these different worlds exist other worlds of their own assemblage of materials—similar to the ensemble of Lefebvre or the resources that compose heritage for Tunbridge and Ashworth—called a cosmogram, coined by John Tresch. This concept is incorporated into Latour’s cosmopolitics to describe how actants in networks can co-constitute various cosmos:

---

<sup>168</sup> Anders Blok and Torben Elgaard Jensen, *Bruno Latour: Hybrid thoughts in a hybrid world* (Routledge, 2011) 80.

<sup>169</sup> *ibid*, 135; Gerard De Vries, *Bruno Latour* (Polity 2016), 137.

<sup>170</sup> Latour, “Whose Cosmos, Which Cosmopolitics? Comments on the Peace Terms of Ulrich Beck,” *Common Knowledge* 10, no 3 (2003) 455.

...material assemblies using words, images, numbers, songs, stories, or monuments to convey the order of the universe as a whole. These were artifacts of different scales and genres, made of different materials; some aimed at faithful representation of the world as it was, and others were intended as propositions, guideposts, anchors, or even satirical jests indicating how the world ought to be.<sup>171</sup>

A cosmogram is both the distributed components that constitute a collective's cosmology,<sup>172</sup> and specific sets of aggregated associations between things.<sup>173</sup> In this chapter I argue that cosmopolitics offers a framework to approach the Lost Cause monument controversy as an arena of spatio-political struggle and overcome the gestures of depoliticization that are invoked by the Modern Constitution.

To demonstrate this case, I will first review discussions about monument controversies and the approach to monumental spaces as arenas for political struggle in human geography. Understanding monuments as sites of political hegemony connected to understandings of the past, but ultimately oriented towards the future illustrates that monuments are places worth contesting for their political associations. Second, I will describe Latour's discussion of monuments in *Paris: Invisible City* and contextualize them within his broader political theory of cosmopolitics through the concept of the cosmogram. Third, I will describe the monumental controversies taken place in Charlottesville and New Orleans. Charlottesville was the scene of the Unite the Right rally that spurred city decisions to address Lost Cause monuments across the United States and triggered the beginning of others. Unlike Charlottesville, New Orleans managed to have its Lost Cause monuments removed in the dead of night after successive attempts to recontextualize the monuments through alteration. In both cases the outcomes

---

<sup>171</sup> John Tresch, *The Romantic Machine: Utopian Science and Technology after Napoleon* (University of Chicago Press, 2012) 6.

<sup>172</sup> Bruno Latour, *Facing Gaia: Eight Lectures on the New Climate Regime*, trans. Catherine Porter (Polity, 2017) 151.

<sup>173</sup> Bruno Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences Into Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Harvard University Press, 2004) 145.

of these controversies changed the texture of the city's monumental spaces. Fourth, I analyze the cases to show that reading controversies in the monumental landscape through cosmopolitics possesses explanatory power, especially for how the so-called Alt-Right engages in monument controversies. Utilizing the Charlottesville, and New Orleans controversies, I intend to display that the conflicts over the physical presence of materials within a territory that holds allegiance with their own political group and constitutes part of their world's cosmogram. This is in direct contrast to the conclusions of the MAC that contend that the city of Richmond is large enough to contain monuments allied to both movements, which displaces their concerns. Similar attempts to remake the monumental landscape in South Africa show that uncritical examinations of controversial monuments lead to future contestations.

### 3.2. Monumental Sites as Arenas for Political Struggle

Monumental landscapes and collective memory are co-constitutive and contribute to the production of national identity.<sup>174</sup> The urge to take down Lost Cause monuments in public spaces has been depicted as forgetting history or a loss of memory.<sup>175</sup> Approaching memorials as an arena focuses on the political struggles occurring around them as representations of collective memory that construct local identity through public connections to the past. For Owen Dwyer and Derek Aldermen, Lost Cause monuments are sites where groups contest space to shape their connections with the past.<sup>176</sup> The monument becomes a mediator for groups to display their own historical narrative to the wider public. Brian Black and Bryn Varley examine Monument Avenue as a “sacred space” in their analysis of the addition of the Arthur Ashe statue, arguing that “a

---

<sup>174</sup> See Kenneth Foote, *Shadowed ground: American's Landscapes of violence and tragedy* (University of Georgia Press, 2008); Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the transformation of the memorial landscape* (University of California Press, 2009); Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, politics, place* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

<sup>175</sup> Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson, “Confederate Monuments and the Problem of Forgetting,” *Cultural Geographies* 26, no. 1 (January 2019): 127–31.

<sup>176</sup> Dwyer and Alderman, “Memorial landscapes,” 172.

community seeking to maintain a sacred site must constantly reaffirm its attitudes toward the past.”<sup>177</sup> These readings of contesting monumental space and additions to the landscape orient their analysis towards the past, subordinating the spatial to the temporal whereas there is much to discuss regarding the the present political use of monuments.<sup>178</sup>

Monuments are politically inscribed as heritage, “imagined communities,” or “invented tradition” that possess claims to the past or representing a historical narrative but do so in order to legitimize the present politics of groups associated with that space.<sup>179</sup> The utilization of the past by traditions gives the resistance to change a precedent in history.<sup>180</sup> Political geographer Maoz Azaryahu argues that public commemoration allows regimes and elites to both legitimate rule and ensure the social cohesion of the nation by utilizing history as a resource.<sup>181</sup> Rather than focus on the claims, real or invented, to the past and struggles over collective memories, analyzing monumental space as an arena for political conflict where what present politics will be publicly visible for the future.

---

<sup>177</sup> Brian Black and Bryn Varley, “Contesting the Sacred: Preservation and Meaning on Richmond’s Monument Avenue,” in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, eds. Cynthia Mills and Pamela Simpson (University of Tennessee Press, 2003) 235.

<sup>178</sup> An early writer on the question of monument preservation was Alois Riegl, an art historian, curator and Austrian statesman. Riegl’s definition of the artifact as any artifact that “reveals the passage of a considerable period of time” illustrates how deeply ingrained the notion of the temporal is to discussions of monumentality. For more, see: Alois Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin.” Trans. Kurt W. and Diane Ghirardo. *Oppositions* 25 (1982), 20–51; Thordis Arrhenius, “The Cult of Age in Mass-Society: Alois Riegl’s Theory of Conservation.” *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 1, no. 1 (2004) 75-81; Michele Lamprakos, “Riegl’s “Modern Cult of Monuments” and The Problem of Value.” *Change Over Time* 4, no. 2 (2014) 418-435.

<sup>179</sup> See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Verso, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>180</sup> Eric Hobsbawm “Introduction: Inventing Traditions” in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge University Press, 1983) 2.

<sup>181</sup> Maoz Azaryahu, “Germany reunification and the politics of street names: the case of East Berlin,” *Political Geography* 16, no. 6 (1996) 480.

Public monuments are erected by those with the power to do so and associated with particular political allegiances.<sup>182</sup> Their erection by nation-states has been the ground work for the political hegemony of a nation,<sup>183</sup> and the hegemony expressed in these sites erases minority groups excluded from these allegiances.<sup>184</sup> The establishment of a national identity in space excludes bodies not encompassed by the national imaginary.<sup>185</sup> Adding memorials to groups excluded from the national identity, such as the Civil Rights movement in historically black neighbourhoods, to an area spatially condemns these areas to the periphery of the white imaginary.<sup>186</sup> However in some cases the utilization of places of pain possesses the potential to produce an inclusive identity, as was done in Argentina by making clandestine detention centres into visible memory sites and in South Africa turning courts that oppressed black South Africans into museums.<sup>187</sup>

Political hegemony established by the monumental landscape is never total and the monuments themselves are open to groups interpreting them differently than the hegemonic reading. Lefebvre argues that monumental works possess an infinite horizon of meanings that change due to social practices in space.<sup>188</sup> Black South African political

---

<sup>182</sup> Duncan Light, "Street Names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Post-Socialist Change." *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no. 1 (2004) 155; Nuala Johnson, "Sculpting Heroic Histories: Celebrating the Centenary of the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 19, no. 1 (1994) 78–79.

<sup>183</sup> Richard Schein, "After Charlottesville: Reflections on Landscape, White Supremacy and White Hegemony," *Southeastern Geographer* 58, no. 1, (Spring 2018) 12.

<sup>184</sup> Tovi Fenster, "Belonging, Memory and the Politics of Planning in Israel." *Social & Cultural Geography* 5, no 3 (2004) 405.

<sup>185</sup> *ibid*, 407.

<sup>186</sup> Owen Dwyer and Derek Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory* (Center books on the American South, 2008), 88–89.

<sup>187</sup> Angel David Nieves, "Places of pain as tools for social justice in the 'new' South Africa: Black heritage preservation in the 'rainbow' nation's townships," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'*, eds William Logan and Keir Reeves (Routledge, 2009) 205–212.

<sup>188</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 222.

leaders have made political visits to Afrikaner nationalist monuments, which Coombes explores as presenting the possibility to “render the structure ‘safe’ and to disinvest the Monument of the power of its oppressive legacy as a hinge-pin in the armoury of apartheid.”<sup>189</sup> While this offers the opportunity for unmooring monolithic meanings, subversive readings do not hold a monopoly of interpretation and Afrikaner nationalist monuments have been sites for white supremacist rallies since the end of apartheid. The major two factions of the Lost Cause controversy view monuments depicting Confederate figures as white supremacist while their opponents claim them as heritage. Symbols such as the Confederate Battle flag received opposing readings from black Southerners and other opponents who: “ascribe more sinister meanings to the flag, including that it is a reminder of the Confederacy and efforts to preserve the slave system.”<sup>190</sup> The flag is also used by the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi organizations as a “rallying symbol,” which has continued as is evidenced by Charlottesville.<sup>191</sup> Lost Cause monuments broadly taken on this role for white supremacists, expanding the political meanings to include contemporary white supremacist politics and included among more recognizable fascist symbols.<sup>192</sup> The horizon of possibilities allows for their contestation as political sites and the value of contesting monumental spaces is to upset their role within a political group.

### 3.3. Cosmograms: Monuments in Cosmopolitics

Latour’s political theory focuses on the inherently political character of non-human things and the necessity of re-negotiating the common world.<sup>193</sup> Latour articulates a different

---

<sup>189</sup> Annie Coombes, “Translating the past: apartheid monuments in post-apartheid South Africa,” *Hybridity and its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, eds. Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes (Routledge, 2000), 195.

<sup>190</sup> Leib, Webster and Webster, 304.

<sup>191</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “Flags and Other Symbols Used By Far-Right Groups in Charlottesville,” SPLC, published August 12, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/08/12/flags-and-other-symbols-used-far-right-groups-charlottesville>.

<sup>192</sup> John Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Harvard University Press, 2005).

<sup>193</sup> Blok and Jensen, 86.

relationship between the *cosmos* and the *politics* than cosmopolitanism, where the cosmos is the common world all entities share and politics is: “instituting order in the absence of any a priori point of agreement.”<sup>194</sup> The object of politics for Latour are the “objects of vigorous controversy” that must be negotiated among a pluriverse of different groups.<sup>195</sup> In particular, the aforementioned concept of the cosmogram plays an important role as an object of politics.<sup>196</sup>

As opposed to other non-human propositions for inclusion in the common world, cosmograms are concrete objects that act as external depictions for how the world ought to be ordered.<sup>197</sup> Tresch theorizes the cosmogram as a material that conveys a particular order of the cosmos, saying: “[a cosmogram] is not just a symbol or a representation, not a reflection or a projection; it is an instrument, a machine for founding, maintaining, and extending a specific natural and social order and the emotions that support it.”<sup>198</sup> For Latour, materials implemented in space are necessary for making social orders durable.<sup>199</sup> Cosmograms support the proposed, possible worlds of collectives and maintain their presence in the common world; however this presence in the public is also an opening for controversy: “because they are concrete and public, cosmograms are themselves continually exposed to contestations, additions, deletions, and replacements; a permanently universally valid presentation of the universe, whether by Borges or by Carnap, belongs to science fiction.”<sup>200</sup> The accessibility of cosmograms to publics allows them to be easily contested when the network of actors it assembles is incongruous with

---

<sup>194</sup> De Vries, 137–138.

<sup>195</sup> Latour, *Politics of Nature*, 111.

<sup>196</sup> Latour, “Whose Cosmos, Which Cosmopolitics?” 455.

<sup>197</sup> John Tresch, “Technological World–Pictures: Cosmic Things and Cosmograms.” *Isis* 98, no. 1 (2007) 92.

<sup>198</sup> Tresch, “Technological World–Pictures,” 96.

<sup>199</sup> De Vries, 111; Kyle McGee, *Bruno Latour: The Normativity of Networks* (Routledge, 2014), 167.

<sup>200</sup> Tresch, “Technological World–Pictures,” 93.

the “vision of unity” it presents.<sup>201</sup> Cosmograms hold space open for a particular world,<sup>202</sup> and simultaneously being placed makes them available to contestation. The theorization of cosmograms as concrete, public objects that articulate a particular normative order for the world finds resonance with Latour’s earlier discussion of monumental works.

During his ANT exploration of Paris in *Paris: Invisible City* with Emilie Hermant, Latour engages with monumentality in the city. Opposed to hegemonic readings of the monumental work, Latour argues for a less totalizing theorization of monuments in space.<sup>203</sup> Monumental works do not structure society per se and although they may purport to rule, they provide *scripts* in public space for the framing of interactions.<sup>204</sup> The monument frames actions in space not by structuring the space they are within, but by presenting themselves as visibly illustrating a particular social order: “The monumental ‘*lieux e mémoires*’ are not the metaphorical place-holder of an absent social structure; on the contrary, it is the structure that is the metaphor of all these representations, which in turn offer the only literal definitions of the social world ever to be encountered.”<sup>205</sup> Latour explains how monuments are definitions of the social world further saying that the monumental form is an attempt to compose the social world and offer “the Collective the possibility of coming together in a different form, summing up a perspective.”<sup>206</sup> When Latour describes subscribing to a monumental work, it is this definition of how the social world ought to be that actors are subscribing too.<sup>207</sup> This conception of monuments as

---

<sup>201</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>202</sup> *ibid*, 98.

<sup>203</sup> Thomas Bender, “Postscript: Reassembling the city: networks and urban imaginaries,” in *Urban Assemblages: How Actor-Network Theory Changes Urban Studies*, ed Ignacio Farias (Routledge, 2010) 314.

<sup>204</sup> Bruno Latour and Emilie Hermant, *Paris: Invisible City*, trans. Liz Carey-Libbrecht (2006) 89, [http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/downloads/viii\\_paris-city-gb.pdf](http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/downloads/viii_paris-city-gb.pdf).

<sup>205</sup> Latour and Hermant, 89.

<sup>206</sup> Latour and Hermant, 90.

<sup>207</sup> *ibid*, 91.

presenting a normative worldview is expressed by the concept of the cosmogram that Latour elicits in his discussions of cosmograms.

By identifying monumental works as cosmograms within Latour's theorization of cosmopolitics, monuments become sites of controversy for the possible world they represent to the actors who subscribe to them. Lost Cause monuments are model cosmograms, built for the purpose of producing materials to vindicate the Confederate generation through the creation of a New South and maintain white supremacist values.<sup>208</sup> Cosmograms circulated in public space may be located through different frameworks composed by the subscriptions actors hold to other cosmograms.<sup>209</sup> Subscribing to monuments allows actors to become locally competent by framing the situation,<sup>210</sup> and as a place-holder, the monument is a localizer that socially produces the local through a particular type of framing.<sup>211</sup> The multiplicity of worlds that can access Lost Cause monuments and possible inclusions when assembled in tandem with other ensembles of subscriptions creates a situation where these monuments and the social orders they represent must be negotiated as part of the process of composing the common world.

In the next section I outline the monumental controversies of Charlottesville and New Orleans, providing a brief synopsis to orient the comparison for analysis. While New Orleans may be considered subdued compared to the events in Charlottesville, both highlight the importance of the monument as a cosmogram and the spatio-political role they played by being place-holders for the Lost Cause and associated white supremacist political groups.

---

<sup>208</sup> Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate culture* (University of Florida, 2003), 67; Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (Oxford University Press, 1987), 37

<sup>209</sup> Tresch, "Technological World-Pictures," 93.

<sup>210</sup> Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford University Press, 2005) 210.

<sup>211</sup> Blok and Jensen, 123.

### 3.4. Charlottesville

The centre of the conflict in Charlottesville is the Robert E. Lee Monument, donated to the city by Paul Goodloe McIntire in 1924 along with Lee Park.<sup>212</sup> It was inaugurated on May 21, 1924 during a Confederate reunion where it was revealed from beneath a large Confederate flag by General Lee's great-granddaughter.<sup>213</sup> Almost a hundred years later in the spring of 2016, Charlottesville vice mayor Wes Bellamy called on the City Council to remove the Lee monument and rename Lee Park, and the council appointed the Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Monuments and Public Spaces to address the Stonewall Jackson and Lee statues in Charlottesville. That winter, a final vote and recommendation was given to remove the Lee monument but keep the Jackson statue.<sup>214</sup> The Charlottesville City Council voted to remove the Lee statue and rename Lee Park in April, 2017. Following a judge's order to stay the removal of the statue for six months, there were two rallies held by white supremacists in Charlottesville to protest the planned removal of the Lee statue: one by Richard Spencer on May 13, 2017 and another by the KKK on July 8, 2017, which included a speech by David Duke.<sup>215</sup>

---

<sup>212</sup> Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces, *Report to City Council*, December 19, 2016, <https://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=48999>.

<sup>213</sup> Benjamin Sutton, "The Story Behind Charlottesville's Robert E. Lee Monument," *Hyperallergic* published on August 14, 2017, <https://hyperallergic.com/395627/robert-e-lee-confederate-monument-charlottesville/>.

<sup>214</sup> "Blue Ribbon Commission Votes on Plans for Statues at Final Meeting," *NCB29*, published on November 28, 2016 and updated on November 29, 2016, <https://www.nbc29.com/story/33810797/blue-ribbon-commission-votes-on-plans-for-statues-at-final-meeting>.

<sup>215</sup> Brandon Griggs, "Protests over Confederate statue shake Charlottesville, Virginia," *CNN*, updated on May 15, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/05/15/us/charlottesville-lee-monument-spencer-protests-trnd/index.html>; Richard Lord, "Clergy stand up to Charlottesville KKK rally," *UM News*, published on July 11, 2017, <https://www.umnews.org/en/news/clergy-stand-up-to-charlottesville-kkk-rally>; Oliver Laughland, "White nationalist Richard Spencer at rally over Confederate statue's removal," *The Guardian*, published May 14, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/14/richard-spencer-white-nationalist-virginia-confederate-statue>.

The Unite the Right rally held in Charlottesville from August 11 to 12, 2017 brought protestors associated with the Alt-Right movement in the United States to show their opposition to the planned removal of the Robert E. Lee statue being removed from, as it was known at the time, Emancipation Park. A column of protestors marched carrying torches the night of August 11 and attacked a group of local university students.<sup>216</sup> On August 12, rally attendees and counter-protestors gathered in the morning and confronted one another throughout the day. Police did not step in until law enforcement declared an unlawful assembly at 11:22 am.<sup>217</sup> At 1:14 pm, an Alt-Right rallygoer James Alex Fields Jr. drove his Dodge Challenger into a group of counter-protestors, killing Heather Heyer and injuring 19.<sup>218</sup> After the rally, the Lee and Jackson statues were covered with black shrouds on August 20 by the Charlottesville City Council until a circuit court judge ruled to remove the tarps on February 14, 2018.<sup>219</sup> A second Unite the Right rally was planned, however the city denied a permit and it was held at Lafayette Park in Washington D.C.<sup>220</sup> Since August 2017, the main thoroughfare has been renamed “Heather Heyer Way” and people leave flowers & write memorials to her with sidewalk chalk on the walls and pavement.<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>216</sup> Joe Heim, “Recounting a day of rage, hate, violence and death,” *The Washington Post*, published August 14, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/>.

<sup>217</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>218</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> Amy Held, “Shrouds Pulled From Charlottesville Confederate Statues, Following Ruling,” *The Two-Way*, published on February 28, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/02/28/589451855/shrouds-pulled-from-charlottesville-confederate-statues-following-ruling>.

<sup>220</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “Almost a year after Unite the Right, Charlottesville still on edge,” *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published on July 24, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/07/24/almost-year-after-unite-right-charlottesville-still-edge>.

<sup>221</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “Gone But Not Forgotten,” *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published on May 30, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/05/30/gone-not-forgotten>.

### 3.5. New Orleans

A contentious monument to white supremacy is the Liberty Monument in New Orleans, Louisiana erected in 1891 to memorialize the capture of New Orleans by the White League in 1874 from the allied Republican and African American government.<sup>222</sup> It is a glorification of a force that attempted to overthrow the black and white coalition government imposed by the North. The Liberty Monument has been the subject of several alterations. The initial inscription of the monument: “included the names of those White Leaguers who gave their lives in attacking the hated mixed-race government, as well as the names of some of the League leaders. It goes almost without saying that the members of the Metropolitan Police and the largely black militia who died fighting the White League were unmemorialized.”<sup>223</sup> It was placed in a highly-trafficked area and streetcars destined to residential areas were routed around the Liberty Monument.<sup>224</sup> In 1934 two inscriptions were added:

On one side of the base was chiseled, ‘United States troops took over the state government and reinstated the usurpers but the national election in November 1876 recognized white supremacy and gave us our state.’ On the opposite side appeared, ‘McEnery and Penn, having been elected governor and lieutenant governor by the white people, were duly installed by the overthrow of the carpetbag government, ousting the usurpers Gov. Kellogg (white) and Lt. Gov. Antoine (colored).’<sup>225</sup>

In 1974 as an effort to distance the monument from the city government, a plaque was installed “describing the battle as an insurrection” and disowning the 1934 inscription as “contrary to the philosophy and beliefs of present-day New Orleans.”<sup>226</sup> During the

---

<sup>222</sup> Levinson, 45.

<sup>223</sup> *ibid*, 49.

<sup>224</sup> Rebecca Sheehan and Jennifer Speights-Binet, “Negotiating strategy in New Orleans’s memory-work: white fragility in the politics of removing four Confederate-inspired monuments,” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 36, no. 3 (2019) 351.

<sup>225</sup> Levinson, 48.

<sup>226</sup> *ibid*, 48.

1980's the first black mayor of New Orleans, Ernest Morial, placed granite slabs against the base to cover the inscriptions, and the second black mayor Sidney Barthelemy attempted to remove the monument, but due to the intervention of white supremacists it only ended up being moved a block away.<sup>227</sup> Barthelemy installed a second plaque recognizing the Metropolitan Police who died in the battle and included a new text: "In honor of those Americans on both sides of the conflict who died in the Battle of Liberty Place. A conflict of the past that should teach us lessons for the future."<sup>228</sup> Mayor Mitch Landrieu presented the idea of removing the monument to a forum on race on June 24, 2015.<sup>229</sup> Activists forming the Take 'Em Down NOLA Coalition encouraged a quicker, community driven process.<sup>230</sup> For the removal itself, a heavy police presence was deployed to protect the monument removal teams—who had to be hired from outside the state and were required to wear bulletproof vests—from threats made by white supremacist groups.<sup>231</sup>

The KKK and other white nationalists defended the statue since 1976, and former KKK Grand Wizard David Duke challenged the removal of the monument in 1993, holding a rededication rally with KKK members and descendants of the White League when it was restored.<sup>232</sup> Throughout the campaign for the removal of the Liberty Monument there were several rallies in defence of the site, and many white supremacists,

---

<sup>227</sup> *ibid*, 49–50.

<sup>228</sup> *ibid*, 50.

<sup>229</sup> Jeanie Riess, "Landrieu calls for removing statue from Lee Circle to reflect 'who we are today, as a people'," *The Advocate*, published on June 24, 2015, [https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new\\_orleans/news/the\\_latest/article\\_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html](https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new_orleans/news/the_latest/article_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html).

<sup>230</sup> "Leaving them Up Is Not An Option," *Take 'Em Down NOLA*, published on August 25, 2015, [https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new\\_orleans/news/the\\_latest/article\\_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html](https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new_orleans/news/the_latest/article_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html).

<sup>231</sup> "New Orleans tears down Confederate monument," *CBS News*, published on April 24, 2017, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/vigil-vs-removal-of-statue-of-confederate-president-jefferson-davis-in-new-orleans/>.

<sup>232</sup> Coleman Warner, "Reconstruction: A failed quest," *nola.com*, published on June 15, 1993, [https://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/1993/06/reconstruction\\_a\\_failed\\_quest.html](https://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/1993/06/reconstruction_a_failed_quest.html).

including Duke spoke out against the decision.<sup>233</sup> White supremacists held a rally after the Liberty Place Monument was removed they dubbed the “The Battle of New Orleans,” which brought an assortment of white nationalist, neo-Confederate and neo-Nazi protestors. They gathered under the Lee monument on May 7, 2017 to protest the removal of the remaining three Lost Cause monuments.<sup>234</sup> Outnumbered 5-to-1 by counter-protestors, the monument supporters failed to instigate a physical conflict and the so-called “Battle” amounted to shouting and arguments over police barricades.<sup>235</sup> Occurring months before the Unite the Right rally, the gathering of a wide-range of Alt-Right protestors from outside New Orleans continued the strategy of “The Battle of Berkley” and would herald the conflict in Charlottesville. “Battle of New Orleans” organizer Brad Griffin wrote in July 2017: “I think Charlottesville has the potential to be a breakthrough moment in our activism. There is so much energy which has been bottled up online over the past 15 years that the dam is close to breaking. It is only a matter of time before it finally spills over into the real world and we are getting very close to that point.”<sup>236</sup> While the four major monuments have been relocated to an undisclosed location, there are still several in the city that activists are advocating to remove.

---

<sup>233</sup> David Duke, “Dr. Duke vows to defend Liberty Monument from Soviet Style Cultural Terrorists!” DavidDuke.com, published on September 2, 2015, <https://davidduke.com/dr-david-duke-vows-to-defend-liberty-monument-soviet-style-cultural-terrorists/>.

<sup>234</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “The Battle of New Orleans (That Wasn’t),” *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published May 10, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/05/10/battle-new-orleans-wasn't>.

<sup>235</sup> Jeff Adelson and Della Hasselle, “Though tense, protests for and against removal of monuments end peacefully,” *nola.com*, published on May 7, 2017, [https://www.nola.com/news/politics/article\\_f98dff88-8176-5c2c-86ba-471ea5695801.html](https://www.nola.com/news/politics/article_f98dff88-8176-5c2c-86ba-471ea5695801.html).

<sup>236</sup> Hunter Wallace, “Unite the Right Rally” *Occidental Dissent*, published on July 3, 2017, [www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/07/03/unite-the-right-rally](http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/07/03/unite-the-right-rally).

### 3.6. The Spatio-Political Struggle of the Alt-Right

These two controversies over Lost Cause monuments are distinct yet show the priority of politically contesting monumental sites. They are still ongoing, as legal rulings are drawn out over the Charlottesville statues and activists are still attempting to agitate New Orleans City Council to remove other standing Lost Cause monuments. Throughout the controversies, leading figures in the Alt-Right movement discussed the necessity of defending materials of the Lost Cause for their heritage and historical value, but also as public sites that express their desired future and social order. Monumental sites are political place-holders for these white supremacist movements and their focus on these monuments is their role as cosmograms.

Richard Spencer, one of the primary organizers of the Unite the Right rally and a significant figure in the American white nationalist movement, gave a speech connecting the survival of the Alt-Right movement to the continued existence of their associated monuments. Spencer responded to the City Council process to remove the Robert E. Lee Monument in Charlottesville saying, “[The Lee statue] is also an expression of nothing less than a god. They are trying to take away our gods. They are trying to take away our ideals. They are trying to take away who we are.”<sup>237</sup> Spencer’s rhetoric of the statue makes a tangible associations between Lost Cause monuments of Confederate generals and current white supremacist movements by appealing to white Southern heritage. The suggestion of diversifying the monumental landscape into the “equality” of a strip-mall threatens Spencer’s sense of futurity, connecting the site of the statue with the presence of the white nationalism as represented by the Lost Cause.<sup>238</sup> The Lee statue representing their ideals and identity speaks to the normative order of cosmograms. Removal of monuments and a diversification present monuments counter to the interests of the contemporary Alt-Right movement, where the former eliminates their cosmograms and the latter increases the number of cosmograms for actors to subscribe.

---

<sup>237</sup> Richard Spencer, Unite the Right rally at Emancipation Park, Charlottesville, VA, Aug 12, 2017. Address.

<sup>238</sup> *ibid.*

The defence of Lost Cause monuments in 2017 was stressed as a public spatial demonstration of power and treating monumental sites as significant places for asserting their politics. On Spencer's website AltRight.com, prolific contributor Vincent Law discusses the importance of public street presence in defending the monument to political dominance: "Our ideas dominate the internet, despite all the censorship that we have faced. Now it's time to dominate the streets. From there, we will begin to dominate politics as well because all political power ultimately flows from the streets."<sup>239</sup> The understanding of politics expressed by the white supremacist movement is spatial and hybrid, connecting human and non-human participants, such as the Lee statue. Domination of the political arena is displayed through the public presence of white supremacists in their associated spaces. Standing opposed to a multicultural festival occurring in downtown Charlottesville during the May 7, 2017 rally, a guest writer to AltRight.com recounts,

As night approached we gathered in a nearby park and then marched on Robert E. Lee's statue. We held a flame lit vigil to pay respect to our heritage, our ancestors and to those that took a rebel stand against an anti-Southern government more than a hundred years ago. We stood 6 rows deep in a visually striking demonstration of power and control with our torches ablaze. We stood in solidarity as one. [...] We let out rebel yells and chants into the night. We felt our voices carry and echo throughout downtown Charlottesville. "Blood and soil!" "Russia is our friend!" "No more brothers wars" and "You will not replace us!" Rang throughout the town.<sup>240</sup>

Even before the Unite the Right rally, Alt-Right media and leaders made tangible connections between politics and holding space at monumental sites. The present occupation of space is associated with the past and heritage, while projecting power and ensuring the rally is known throughout the town, emanating from their neo-Nazi and neo-

---

<sup>239</sup> Law.

<sup>240</sup> Wayne Peek, "Charlottesville Is A Turning Point For The Alt-Right," AltRight.com, published 17, 5 2017, <https://altright.com/2017/05/17/charlottesville-is-a-turning-point-for-the-alt-right/>.

Confederate chants. The heritage product is linked to the demonstrators public presence, describing monumental sites as important political spaces. Influential member of the League of the South Brad Griffin, writing under the pseudonym “Hunter Wallace” on AltRight.com,<sup>241</sup> links the existence of Lost Cause monuments with the existence of the political group that it maintains: “In Charlottesville, Virginia, we see a similar effort to remove the Lee and Jackson statues. The moral of the story is the same there: Southern heritage won’t survive without the Southern people. If you import aliens and transplants who don’t share your identity, they will be empowered to transform the public landscape in their own image at your expense.”<sup>242</sup> Public space is an arena that needs to be held lest it is reshaped by another political group. The re-iteration of the association between the monument connected to a particular national heritage and the people of the nation produced—the identificatory unity of the audience with the art work described by Kwon in the last chapter—is placed in relation to the public landscape as a political space that needs to be defended.

The continued existence of Lost Cause cosmograms in the public is of paramount importance to the Alt-Right movement as a representation of aspirational white supremacy. To defend their cosmograms, Griffin encourages the political activation of Southern national identity for projecting power at monumental sites: “In order to save our Confederate monuments, we have to arouse and activate the racial, cultural and ethnic identity of the Southern people. We have to be willing to assert our identity in public spaces.”<sup>243</sup> For Latour, in order to be subjects, the actor must subscribe to *subjectifiers*.<sup>244</sup> The public monument provides a seemingly stable anchor for subscription providing the

---

<sup>241</sup> “Bradley Dean Griffin,” *SPLC*, Accessed July 3, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/bradley-dean-griffin>.

<sup>242</sup> Hunter Wallace, “New Orleans Begins Removing Confederate Monuments,” AltRight.com, published on May 27, 2017, <https://altright.com/2017/04/27/new-orleans-begins-removing-confederate-monuments/>.

<sup>243</sup> Hunter Wallace, “Confederate Monuments Vandalized Again In New Orleans and St. Louis,” Occidental Dissent, published on June 1, 2017, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/06/01/confederate-monuments-vandalized-again-in-new-orleans-and-st-louis/>.

<sup>244</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 207.

necessary social definitions for local actors. The identity of Southern nationalists is tied to Southern cosmograms, which are often resources in the construction of their heritage as well as machines, as Tresch puts it, for their politics. Griffin draws a sharp distinction between himself and groups such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans who focus the discussion on heritage and history, rather than being willing to defend monumental sites and challenge the removal of their statues from the landscape: “I don’t think the Confederate heritage crowd ever really understood that. They get hung up on slogans like ‘Heritage, Not Hate.’ They are eager to tell you about legions of ‘Black Confederates.’ Your enemy doesn’t care about these things though. They simply hate you. They want to erase you from public spaces.”<sup>245</sup> The driver for the difference between Southern nationalists like Griffin and the “Confederate heritage crowd” is failing to understand the material stakes of monument removal and ineffective strategies to support their cosmograms. The removal or relocation of Lost Cause monuments from public space constitutes an elimination of Southern identity from the public. Without publicly available cosmograms to subscribe to or represent their desired social order, the associated political identity is at risk of being erased.

Lost Cause monuments are particularly important to neo-Confederates like Griffin and the League of the South who advocate for Southern nationalism and a white Southern identity produced by memorials for the Confederacy. Heritage products are used to provide a map for the future of white supremacist politics. Discussing vandalization of Lost Cause monuments in New Orleans, Griffin writes that the vandalism brings visibility to these public monuments that have become largely invisible to white Southerners and can serve as a material basis for a possible future: “White Southerners are like the Italians living among the ruins of the Roman Empire. These monuments are reminders that we used to be a great people and can be so again. In the 19th century, the Southern people were a race of masters, explorers, settlers, statesmen, military leaders

---

<sup>245</sup> Hunter Wallace, “The Battle of New Orleans,” *Occidental Dissent*, May 5, 2017, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/05/05/the-battle-of-new-orleans/>.

and orators.”<sup>246</sup> The monuments are positioned as cosmograms that illustrate the potential of the white Southern “race” and highlight the manifest destiny of that race to be a great people. Statues of Confederate generals are place-holders in the public for the representation of the possibility for the South to rise again. While the spatial site is fixed, the cosmogram is politically trans-temporal. Regarding the May rally in New Orleans, Griffin connects the monuments with Southern identity, though in addition to drawing on the historic value of the Lost Cause monuments, he states: “As many have noted, this has less to do with the Civil War than the Second Civil War.”<sup>247</sup> The Second Civil War referring to a predicted future conflict analogue with the term race war developed by William P. Pierce, inspiration of Timothy McVeigh, spread by conservative publications from the National Review to *The Federalist*.<sup>248</sup> Organizers of the Charlottesville and New Orleans rallies are committed not merely to associating themselves with the past and challenging how historic figures and events are depicted in the public; they are oriented towards a future public whose social order is represented by Lost Cause cosmograms.

De Vries stresses that with cosmopolitics Latour is attempting to redescribe how collectives already engage in politics.<sup>249</sup> This is not to say that Alt-Right groups appreciating the significance of cosmograms in public space to their politics means they practice cosmopolitics. In opposition to Latour’s advocacy for mutually constructing an inclusive common world, the Alt-Right sees the monumental landscape as a zero-sum

---

<sup>246</sup> Hunter Wallace, “Antifas Vandalize More Confederate Monuments In New Orleans,” *Occidental Dissent*, May 24, 2017, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/05/24/antifas-vandalize-more-confederate-monuments-in-new-orleans/>.

<sup>247</sup> Hunter Wallace, “The Battle of New Orleans.”

<sup>248</sup> Dennis Prager, “America’s Second Civil War,” *Townhall*, January 24, 2017, <https://townhall.com/columnists/dennisprager/2017/01/24/americas-second-civil-war-n2275896>; Jason Wilson, “Are rightwing pundits right that America is on the brink of a civil war?” *The Guardian*, June 22, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jun/22/american-politics-civil-war-alt-right-left-wing>; Robyn Wright, “Is America Headed For A New Kind Of Civil War?” *The New Yorker*, August 14, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/is-america-headed-for-a-new-kind-of-civil-war>.

<sup>249</sup> De Vries, 145; Latour, *Politics of Nature*, 224.

game determined by the political rulers that they must dominate.<sup>250</sup> This resonates with discussions of monuments as instruments of political hegemony, where the State controlled what kinds of work would be displayed publicly. This sort of power politics, as Harman refers to it, is antithetical to Latour's *dingpolitik* or a politics of things.<sup>251</sup> By *thing* Latour is not denoting an object, rather he is evoking the Old English meaning of gathering where things are made public.<sup>252</sup> The objects of politics, the issues, create assemblies of relevant parties around themselves in public to dispute their place in the common world.<sup>253</sup> There is a normative aspect to the construction of a good common world where every member of the collective is able to thrive.

Through the contestation of the cosmogram in space over the Unite the Right rally, the space was changed through a creation of new mediators and a reorientation of attachments. While the Virginia state courts may still block the removal of the Lee statue in court, the texture of the space in Charlottesville has changed. Once, perhaps, the cosmogram of the Lee statue was more easily disentangled from white supremacy and violence, but its attachments with the Unite the Right rally and resulting association with Heyer's murder by a neo-Nazi rallygoer who came to support the statue's preservation has further entwined the space with white supremacy. As Latour writes in "*Iconoclash*," one cannot be entirely sure how any attempt to interject on behalf of a cosmogram will effect the broader network and there is no way to stop the production of new mediators and new cosmograms.<sup>254</sup> The memorialization of Heather Heyer through street-naming, chalk-drawings, and signs posted by local businesses collectively posit an alternative world and constitute their own ensemble. Locals have aligned themselves

---

<sup>250</sup> Hunter Wallace, "New Orleans Begins Removing Confederate Monuments."

<sup>251</sup> Graham Harman, *Bruno Latour: Reassembling the Political* (Pluto Press, 2014) 95.

<sup>252</sup> De Vries, 146.

<sup>253</sup> Bruno Latour, "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik: Or How to Make Things Public" in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (ZKM and The MIT Press, 2005) 15.

<sup>254</sup> Bruno Latour, "What is *Iconoclash*? Or Is There a World Beyond the Image Wars?" from *On The Modern Cult of the Factish Gods* (Duke University Press, 2010) 79.

against the white supremacists and refused the Alt-Right future permits to occupy Market Park, formerly Lee Park. For Charlottesville, the Lee statue is now attached to the violence inflicted by the Alt-Right and is a testament to the failure of the rally, recognized by its own organizers. In the video cancelling his tour of college campuses, Spencer says, “What changed was Charlottesville. There were many things about Charlottesville that were very trying. There were some things that were just simply terrible.”<sup>255</sup> The contestation of space over the Lee statue became a recognized failure, and the Alt-Right has not returned even though the monument still stands and holds space—though the site has been tainted by the attachments to the violence that occurred during the Unite the Right rally.

The Liberty Monument had a clear attachment to a particular social order inscribed into it prioritizing neo-Confederate white supremacy. The memorial’s continued allegiances to groups like the KKK, League of the South and other white Southern nationalist groups reinforce its associations with a white supremacist normative order. The struggle to remove this monument, among the other Lost Cause monuments in New Orleans, was to end its pronouncement of a white supremacist order from public space and its final removal ended attachments that white supremacists had with those sites. Lucas Gordon, or “Silas Reynolds,”<sup>256</sup> writing on the Identity Dixie website, and reposted on Occidental Dissent, encourages fellow white supremacists to abandon New Orleans.<sup>257</sup> Identity Dixie is a neo-Confederate Southern separatist group instrumental in organizing the Unite the Right rally and spreading information about monumental defence

---

<sup>255</sup> Ryan Lenz, “Richard Spencer cancels speaking tour of college campuses after speech in Michigan,” SPLC, published on March 12, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/03/12/richard-spencer-cancels-speaking-tour-college-campus-after-speech-michigan>.

<sup>256</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “Retaking Everything: The Story of Identity Dixie” *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published on July 17, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/07/17/retaking-everything-story-identity-dixie>.

<sup>257</sup> Silas Reynolds, “New Orleans, Economic Siege,” Identity Dixie, May 24, 2017 <https://identitydixie.com/2017/05/24/new-orleans-economic-siege/>; Silas Reynolds, “New Orleans, Economic Siege,” Occidental Dissent, May 24, 2017 <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/05/24/new-orleans-economic-siege/>.

campaigns.<sup>258</sup> Following the removal of the monuments from New Orleans, Gordon writes that symbols of whiteness have no place there since it has fallen to black residents and egalitarian whites, and encourages a boycott of New Orleans to teach the city “a lesson.”<sup>259</sup> Since the removal of the four prominent Lost Cause monuments, Patrick Bishop, the co-host of Identity Dixie’s podcast “Good Morning, Weimerica,”<sup>260</sup> has declared New Orleans lost.<sup>261</sup> Since then, white supremacist groups have stopped rallying in New Orleans; however since there are still five monuments on Take ‘Em Down NOLA’s list,<sup>262</sup> and activity to challenge these monumental spaces may elicit a response from white supremacist groups as they have claimed in the past.<sup>263</sup> In the meantime, where several attempts to recontextualize the monuments by successive city governments failed to disentangle New Orleans from the Liberty Monument, the outright removal of it and several others has succeeded in quelling white supremacist activity.

### 3.7. Pedagogical Warfare in Richmond

Duelling frameworks for understanding monumentality among the assembly of publics gathered around Lost Cause controversies produces a situation where the negotiations over the common world fail to appreciate the stakes at hand. The recommendations of the MAC target the production of historically inaccurate narratives, providing alternative subscriptions to those of Lost Cause monuments in public spaces and commissioning monuments to the formerly enslaved and the United States Coloured Troops to tell a more

---

<sup>258</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “Retaking Everything: The Story of Identity Dixie.”

<sup>259</sup> “Silas Reynolds, “New Orleans: Economic Siege.”

<sup>260</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “Retaking Everything: The Story of Identity Dixie.”

<sup>261</sup> Patrick Bishop, “Our Father’s Keepers,” Identity Dixie, published August 3, 2017, <https://identitydixie.com/2017/08/03/our-fathers-keepers/>.

<sup>262</sup> “The Monuments,” Take ‘Em Down NOLA, updated on January 11, 2019, <https://takeemdownnola.org/monuments>.

<sup>263</sup> Hunter Wallace, “The Battle of New Orleans.”

inclusive story on Monument Avenue.<sup>264</sup> These alternatives may create a multiplicative commemorative landscape that threaten the monologic commemoration of the Lost Cause; however as seen in South Africa, monuments of white supremacist cosmograms may re-emerge as sites of controversy. Attempts to significantly recontextualize the Liberty Monument failed to stop the KKK and Alt-Right from defending its presence in space in New Orleans and there has been nothing to suggest otherwise in Richmond.

Instead of participating in cosmopolitics, the MAC engages in what Latour terms “pedagogical war,” which misunderstands human political conflicts as superficial. As explored in the last chapter, the MAC attempts to maintain a compromise between the factuality of historical figures or events and Lost Cause interpretations.

Recommendations for added signage with historical facts and reinterpretations for passersby are less a challenge to the cosmograms than a police operation, borrowed from Carl Schmitt.<sup>265</sup> Latour describes police operations as a form of pedagogical warfare where proponents of recontextualization misunderstand their political differences with other groups as superficial.<sup>266</sup> Pedagogical warfare relies on the assumption that agreement between conflicting groups is possible despite the matter of concern being challenged:

Conflicts between humans, no matter how far they went, remained limited to the representations, ideas and images that diverse cultures could have of a single biophysical nature. To be sure, differences of opinion, disagreements and violent conflicts remained, but they all had their source in the subjectivity of the human mind without ever engaging the world, its material reality, its cosmology or its

---

<sup>264</sup> Monument Avenue Commission, “Monument Avenue Commission Report,” uploaded July 2, 2018, 33, <https://www.monumentavenuecommission.org/sMonumentAvenueCommissionFINAL.pdf>.

<sup>265</sup> *ibid*, 32.

<sup>266</sup> Latour, “Whose Cosmos, Which Cosmopolitics,” 455

ontology, which by construction—no! precisely, by nature—remained intangible.<sup>267</sup>

Separating materials from politics and relying on reason to convince political opponents treats them not as equal enemies, but "just irrational people who have to be corrected."<sup>268</sup> While Richmond has not experienced the same degree of mobilization, there have been public demonstrations to display that groups still rely on these Confederate monuments to produce their spaces.<sup>269</sup> The existence of groups willing to rally and defend the materials of the Lost Cause should not be appraised as a willingness to engage in dialogue, but a recognition that there are still proponents of a cosmogram the MAC was nominally created to challenge.

While the Charlottesville Lee statue has not seen public demonstrations since the Unite the Right rally, the cosmogram there has been marred by attachments to recent displays of white supremacist violence. This happened in combination with the memorialization of Heather Heyer, signs encouraging diversity displayed in town, and the Charlottesville City Council denying future permits for Alt-Right rallies. Framing Lost Cause monuments through cosmopolitics confronts approaching the issue through the Modern Constitution, and instead demands the controversy to be held to a different set of

---

<sup>267</sup> Bruno Latour, *War of the Worlds: Who Wants Peace?* trans. Charlotte Bigg, ed. John Tresch, (Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002) 6.

<sup>268</sup> Latour, "Whose Cosmos, Which Cosmopolitics," 455

<sup>269</sup> Brendan King, "No arrests or injuries at Jefferson Davis Monument protest," *CBS 6*, August 19, 2018. Web. [https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article\\_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html](https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html); Ned Oliver et al. "Monument Avenue rally attracts few Confederate supporters, ends peacefully," *Richmond Time-Dispatch*, published September 16 2017, [https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/monument-avenue-rally-attracts-few-confederate-supporters-ends-peacefully/article\\_470b9be6-0140-55ee-b99d-48bf7302d44a.html](https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/monument-avenue-rally-attracts-few-confederate-supporters-ends-peacefully/article_470b9be6-0140-55ee-b99d-48bf7302d44a.html); Mark Robinson "Confederate groups planning Monument Avenue rally on Sunday Aug 9," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published on August 7, 2018, [https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article\\_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html](https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html).

standards. It is not about facts or the interpretation of facts, but about an encounter between different collectives over representing their desired social order in public. Appropriations of space like the Unite the Right rally are an attempt by the Alt-Right to bring these propositions to the broader public by projecting their political power in the streets and are linked to the monumental sites they utilize to hold their space. As long as the confrontation with white supremacists is framed as pedagogical, their groups will continue to produce spaces and defend the existence of materials supporting them.

## 4. Chapter Three: Counter-Monumentality as Spatial Trials

### 4.1. Introduction

While the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church massacre in Charleston, South Carolina is often attributed with the rise in advocacy against Lost Cause monument since 2015, there is scholarship researching “long simmering resentments” against Confederate monumentality,<sup>270</sup> and in Richmond the resentment has been anything but simmering. The Lee Monument has been opposed since its erection in 1890; responding to the positive press and oration the Lee monument, John Mitchell, editor of the local black newspaper *Richmond Planet*, reported how black residents of Richmond interpreted it as a message of white domination.<sup>271</sup> The Arthur Ashe statue added to Monument Avenue in 1996 changed the monumental landscape and much has been written on this addition and the controversy it sparked.<sup>272</sup> Beyond the Arthur Ashe statue, there has been a pattern intermittent and re-emerging controversy on Monument Avenue spurred by other public art works like graffiti or installations entering the monumental landscape. Interventions on Lost Cause sites by other works provoke controversy through the dialogue they create

---

<sup>270</sup> Sarah Beetham, “Undercurrents of Opposition and the Catalyst for Change,” On Monument Avenue, published May 14, 2018, <https://onmonumentave.com/blog/2018/5/11/undercurrents-of-opposition-and-the-catalyst-for-change>; Monument Avenue Commission, “Monument Avenue Commission Report,” uploaded July 2, 2018, 3, <https://www.monumentavenuecommission.org/sMonumentAvenueCommissionFINAL.pdf>.

<sup>271</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monuments in Nineteenth Century America*, (Princeton University Press, 2018) 151–2.

<sup>272</sup> Matthew Mace Barbee, *Race and Masculinity in Southern Memory: History of Richmond, Virginia’s Monument Avenue, 1948-1996* (Lexington Books, 2013); Elizabeth Baltes, “Challenging Narratives: Arthur Ashe and the Practice of Counter-Monumentality on Richmond’s Monument Avenue,” *de arte* 53, no. 2-3 (2018) 31-50; Brian Black and Bryn Varley, “Contesting the Sacred: Preservation and Meaning on Richmond’s Monument Avenue,” in *Monuments to the Lost Cause*, eds. Cynthia mills and Pamela Simpson (The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) 234–250; Jonathan Leib, “Separate Times, Shared Spaces: Arthur Ashe, Monument Avenue and the Politics of Richmond, Virginia’s Symbolic Landscape.” *Cultural Geographies* 9 (2002) 286–312; “‘An Avenue For All The People’: How Arthur Ashe came to Monument Avenue,” On Monument Avenue, published on November 22, 2017, <https://onmonumentave.com/blog/2017/11/20/an-avenue-for-for-all-people-how-arthur-ashe-came-to-monument-avenue>.

between competing interpretations of the space.<sup>273</sup> Cities across the United States are grappling with the presence of Lost Cause monuments and the ongoing controversies over their conservation or suggested removal. Civil War historian Sarah Beetham, published on the On Monument Avenue website in partnership with the American Civil War Museum and the Monument Avenue Commission (MAC), writes: “Whether the end goal is relocation, reinterpretation or preservation, the current moment demands conversations that contest the legacy of these memorials.”<sup>274</sup> Yet as I discussed in the first chapter, the rhetoric of the MAC attempts to obscure conflict and assert a pre-determined solution to the Lost Cause controversy on Monument Avenue, and this solution is one that continues to hold space for white supremacists. Alternative ways to have these discussions should be considered.

Far from the old borders of the Confederacy, the Lee-Jackson monument stood in Baltimore from 1948 until 2017. The bronze double-statue depicting Robert E. Lee and Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson riding together visualizes the “Last Meeting” of the two Confederate commanders before Lee’s victory at the Battle of Chancellorsville. It was a Lost Cause cosmogram that produced a site for the descendants of white Southerners who held space in the form of ritual celebration on Lee and Jackson’s birthdays hosted by the Sons of Confederate Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy once a year.<sup>275</sup> Black Lives Matter activists in Baltimore commissioned local artist Pablo Machioli in October 2015 to design a counter-monument to confront the Lee-Jackson Lost Cause monument. The ten-foot tall papier-mâché Madre Luz statue of a pregnant African American woman with a baby on her back and her fist raised was installed at the base of the Lee-Jackson monument and passersby were encouraged to write on her skirt. Without a permit, it was removed the following day. In August, Mayor Pugh had the Lee-Jackson

---

<sup>273</sup> Quentin Stevens, Karen Franck and Ruth Fazakerley, “Counter-monuments: The anti-monumental and the dialogic,” *The Journal of Architecture* 23, no. 5 (2018) 729.

<sup>274</sup> Sarah Beetham, “From Spray Cans to Minivans: Contesting the Legacy of Confederate Soldier Monuments in the Era of Black Lives Matter,” *Public Art Dialogue* 6, no 1, (2016) 27.

<sup>275</sup> James Osborne, “Counter-monumentality and the vulnerability of memory,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (2017) 170.

monument removed to prevent any violence between white supremacist and anti-racist protestors following the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville.<sup>276</sup> Madre Luz became the symbol at the centre of the anti-racist protest movement, triumphantly placed on the Lee-Jackson pedestal as soon as the Lost Cause monument was taken away.<sup>277</sup> Machioli dedicated the monument to the crowd of protestors who agitated for the removal of the four Lost Cause monuments in Baltimore: “Addressing the crowd, Machioli denied that the sculpture he crafted in 2015 with help from activists was his to take credit for. It ‘goes to everybody, everything,’ he said. ‘It’s from all of you’.”<sup>278</sup> The dialogic qualities of the Madre Luz counter-monument, designed to be a mother of life in opposition to a glorification of white supremacy,<sup>279</sup> played an important role in the controversy and presented itself as an alternative cosmogram. What is the potential for counter-monuments to hold space for discussions about the place of the Lost Cause?

In the last chapter, I argued that the MAC does not adequately challenge the presence of white supremacist cosmograms in Richmond because they fail to engage with controversies over Lost Cause monuments as legitimate political conflicts between groups. This chapter I endeavour to show that encounters between Lost Cause monuments and counter-monuments on Monument Avenue produce occasions for

---

<sup>276</sup> Christina Tkacik, “‘Madre Luz’ protest statue in Wyman Park Dell intentionally knocked over, police say,” *The Baltimore Sun*, published on August 18, 2017, updated on August 18, 2017, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-madre-luz-20170817-story.html>.

<sup>277</sup> Ethan McLeod, “Someone Toppled the ‘Madre Luz’ Sculpture that Briefly Replaced Baltimore’s Lee-Jackson Monument,” *Baltimore Fishbowl*, published August 17, 2017, <https://baltimorefishbowl.com/stories/someone-toppled-the-madre-luz-sculpture-that-briefly-replaced-baltimores-lee-jackson-monument/>.

<sup>278</sup> Ethan McLeod, “Hundreds Gather at Wyman Park Dell to Protest White Supremacism Following Charlottesville Violence,” *Baltimore Fishbowl*, published August 14, 2017, <https://baltimorefishbowl.com/stories/hundreds-gather-at-wyman-park-dell-to-protest-white-supremacism-following-charlottesville-violence/>.

<sup>279</sup> Christina Tkacik, “Meet the artist behind ‘Madre Luz’—the protest statue in Wyman Park Dell,” *The Baltimore Sun*, published on August 16, 2017, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/features/baltimore-insider/bal-meet-the-artist-behind-the-madre-luz-now-the-only-statue-in-wyman-park-dell-20170816-story.html>.

discussion by provoking controversies that act as public trials allowing residents to reevaluate the position of the Lost Cause in the world. The visual representation of opposing political groups in public for all to witness exposes the present conflicts within the city where I have argued previously the MAC would rather have them suppressed.

To make the case for this argument, I will begin the first section by reviewing discussions of the dialogic qualities of monumentality and counter-monumentality to examine the inherent controversy imbued in monumental spaces. The appearance of traditional monuments as hegemonic and static is betrayed through their interaction with the public and other monuments. Introducing other works into pre-existing monument sites shows how fragile and vulnerable to controversy cosmograms are capable of being. After exploring the ways in which counter-monuments can instigate challenges to monumental landscapes, the following two sections deal with the treatment of the trial as a concept in Latour and Lefebvre's respective work. For Latour, the trial is a fundamental feature of his flat ontology that persists from his earlier work in science and technology studies through the development of actor network theory and features prominently in his political theory. I show how counter-monumentality instigates trials and uncovers the inner-workings of "black boxes." Then I focus on Lefebvre's concept of *trial by space*, an inevitable process whereby ideas are judged by their ability to produce spaces that acts as the mechanism for disputing the appropriation of space by the State and capital. There is a difficulty for newer politics to appropriate space because they lack durable monuments; however the counter-monument acts as a partial remedy for political groups to claim spaces. These two distinct uses of the trial both highlight that the existence of political groups in space is tenuous and never stable.

Next, I analyze two cases of counter-monuments disrupting Monument Avenue. The first is the series of anti-racist graffiti tagged on the Lost Cause monuments, particularly the Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis Monuments. These intentional acts of counter-monumentality force trials into existence that question the place of black inhabitants within the commons of Richmond, and are an act of political speech by appropriating urban space that place Monument Avenue radically into question. I conclude this chapter by looking at the student art exhibit *What Do You Stand For?* that intruded onto

Monument Avenue in Spring, 2012 and faced heavy resistance from the municipal government after many complaints were filed. While an unintentional counter-monument, the installation stoked a repressed contradiction through its dialogue with the Lost Cause monuments on the boulevard and suggests that designed monuments like the Madre Luz would also be affected on Monument Avenue. The trial in Latour and Lefebvre's frameworks do not end through repression, and incidents like *What Do You Stand For?* illustrate that prematurely ending a trial only serve to suppress tensions which will inevitably return.

## 4.2. Controversy, Public Art, and Counter-Monumentality

Controversy in public art may be perceived as the expression of violence imbued in the work itself. Mitchell argues that public art is always coincides with some amount of violence and asks if public art is inherently violent or if it provokes violence.<sup>280</sup> To explore this question Mitchell develops a typology of violence associated with public art that examines the ways that violence is done to public art and how violence is inherent to them as well:

Violence may be in some sense "encoded" in the concept and practice of public art, but the specific role it plays, its political and ethical status, the form in which it is manifested, the identities of those who wield or suffer it, is always nested in particular circumstances. We may distinguish three basic forms of violence in the images of public art, each of which may, in various ways, interact with the other: (1) the image as an *act* or *object* of violence, itself doing violence to beholders, or "suffering" violence as the target of vandalism, disfigurement, or demolition; (2) the image as a *weapon* of violence, a device for attack, coercion, incitement, or more subtle "dislocations" of public spaces; (3) the image as a *representation* of violence, whether realistic imitation of a violent act, or a monument, trophy, memorial, or other trace of past violence.<sup>281</sup>

---

<sup>280</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell, "The Violence of Public Art," in *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 34.

<sup>281</sup> *ibid*, 37.

Monuments, as a form of public artwork, are often linked to all three of these examples—especially those directly referencing war as the Lost Cause statues on Monument Avenue do through their depiction of Confederate generals. Placed into the multifaceted public, public artwork is by definition accessible and vulnerable to vandalism and being challenged by counter-publics and future generations who encounter the public work in space.<sup>282</sup>

Tom Finkelpearl takes up Mitchell’s typology to discuss four controversies in his book *Dialogues in Public Art*. He engages with what he terms “dialogue-based” public art, which includes collaborative processes between artist and community members in the production of a public art work in addition to the dialogue that occurs after installation in the form of controversy.<sup>283</sup> One of Finkelpearl’s case studies are John Ahearn’s *Bronx Bronzes*; three bronze monuments erected outside the Forty-fourth Police Precinct House in the Bronx depicting a boy and his pit bull, a young woman on roller skates, and a young man with a basketball and a boombox. Though all these statues represented members of the local community who Ahearn knew, a controversy was triggered when they were recognized as racist stereotypes—first by the DGS Commissioner Kenneth Knuckles, then echoed by community activists and passersby.<sup>284</sup> Despite Ahearn’s intention to validate ordinary people, the *Bronzes* were seen as “the glorification of violent criminals” and potential subjects to vandalism or iconoclasm.<sup>285</sup> From the steps of the Forty-fourth Precinct, depictions of the community as criminals also conveys the violent relationship between the city and racialized communities in the Bronx. The dialogue produced by the controversy lead to Ahearn removing the *Bronx Bronzes*, though as Finkelpearl notes, the lessons of public art controversies cannot be taken too literally: “The problem with learning from public art controversies is that they never

---

<sup>282</sup> *ibid*, 34.

<sup>283</sup> Tom Finkelpearl, *Dialogues in Public Art* (MIT Press, 2000) 282.

<sup>284</sup> *ibid*, 83–84.

<sup>285</sup> *ibid*, 55; 59.

appear in the same guise twice.”<sup>286</sup> While violence may be encoded in a monument, the controversy that emerges is always in relation to the particular circumstances of the local space. Dialogue between communities, government and artists continues after the work is in place and does not follow a set script.

Finkelppearl and Mitchell ascribe public art with a dialogic or negotiated quality from participatory processes of community engagement to the controversies that emerge surrounding its production and existence in everyday space after installation. The *Bronx Bronzes* were engaged in negotiation and controversy that tried their appropriation of space and it was through the trials they passed that one was removed and the other became a concrete resistance of a community against development.

Monuments themselves possess dialogic qualities that emerge in relation with other monuments within the landscape. Sites where monuments are installed tend to promote the placement of others in their vicinity. Kenneth Foote, in his study of violent monumental landscapes *Shadowed Ground*, describes the practice of symbolic accretion, which is a process where monumental sites attract other efforts to erect monuments.<sup>287</sup> Monument Avenue has undergone such a process and has accumulated five Lost Cause monuments, in addition to the controversial Arthur Ashe monument. Accretion does not guarantee political coherence and antithetical accretion may be an attractive tactic for counter-monumentality. Political geographer Owen Dwyer extends Foote’s concept to identify the unexpected ways the politics of monuments interact and how activists may use the present politics of a monumental landscape to frame further monument projects:

The political condition of these interactions lie along a continuum whose extremes are marked by two oppositional moments of accretion: allied and antithetical. Allied accretion (e.g. the POW/ MIA monument) enhances and confirms the dominant discourses associated with a memorial whereas antithetical accretion (e.g. the new Liberty Monument) is counter-intentional and seeks to contradict or otherwise adjust the conventional message of the

---

<sup>286</sup> *ibid*, 59.

<sup>287</sup> Kenneth Foote, *Shadowed Ground: American’s Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (University of Texas Press, 1997) 9.

monument. Commonly, antithetical accretion is used either in conjunction with or as an alternative to the outright removal of the memorial. In both cases of symbolic accretion, activists seek to further their position *vis-a-vis* an established memorial presence.<sup>288</sup>

Rather than presenting a static politics, as was discussed in the last chapter regarding the change in interpretation of the Lee statue in Charlottesville after the violence of the Unite the Right Rally, accretion presents a landscape open to constant reinterpretation through the intervention of additional monuments. The stability of monuments grants them authority in the landscape that promote and suppress meanings in space while simultaneously being open to appropriation and conflict.<sup>289</sup> This presents a strategy for those wanting to confront the dominant meaning produced by a monumental site through the addition of subsequent monuments.

The antithetical possibility of accretion in monumental landscapes resonates with the concept of the counter-monument, which is purposefully erected to reframe the site it is introduced into. The term was coined by James Young in “The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today” to describe the monumental landscape of Germany post-WW2. Monuments were erected to neutralize or oppose the presence of Nazi monuments and crimes of the Third Reich. The counter-monument breaks down the authority of monumentality by enacting its antifascist, egalitarian principles by introducing the audience into the conversation,<sup>290</sup> and destroying the distance Malcolm and Mitchell describe of traditional monuments through Habermas and Marcuse as discussed in the last chapter:

With audacious simplicity, the counter-monument thus flouts any number of cherished memorial conventions: its aim is not to console but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be

---

<sup>288</sup> Owen Dwyer, “Symbolic Accretion and Commemoration,” *Social and Cultural Geography* 5, no. 3 (September, 2004) 421.

<sup>289</sup> *ibid*, 425.

<sup>290</sup> James Young, “The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today,” in *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 61.

ignored by its passersby but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desecration; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town's feet. By defining itself in opposition to the traditional memorial's task, the counter-monument illustrates concisely the possibilities and limitations of all memorials everywhere.<sup>291</sup>

The *Harburg Monument against Fascism*, a giant aluminum square pillar designed by Jochen and Esther Gerz, was lowered into a pit as deep as it is tall eight times since its installation in 1986 until it was flush with the pavement in 1993.<sup>292</sup> The monument does not simply disappear and produces its own monumental space.<sup>293</sup> Rather than being a simple statue in proximity to another, this “self-consuming monument” vanished into the public it was erected within, turning the tables to make the public the subject of the work, and thereby communicating the hope for a future where anti-Fascist monuments will no longer be necessary.<sup>294</sup>

James Osborne builds on Young's conception of counter-monuments as transitory works that problematize their subjects and invite audience engagement by engaging with the dialogic relationship between the Lee-Jackson Confederate monument and Madre Lutz in Baltimore.<sup>295</sup> The monument countered the acceptance of the Lee-Jackson monument presumed by its occupation of public space. Designing the Madre Lutz so it responds to an existing monument, both in its form as a black woman and the message of anti-racism, creates a dialogic coupling that critically questions the qualities of the preconceived space.<sup>296</sup> After being moved to the co-op space that it was created in following city removal for lacking proper permits, Madre Luz was damaged and

---

<sup>291</sup> *ibid*, 58–59.

<sup>292</sup> Osborne, 166.

<sup>293</sup> Thomas Stubblefield, "Do Disappearing Monuments Simply Disappear? The Counter-Monument in Revision." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 8, no. 2 (2011) 1–11.

<sup>294</sup> Young, 60.

<sup>295</sup> Osborne, 167.

<sup>296</sup> Stevens, Franck and Fazakerley, 729.

vandalized with “a notorious racist epithet” and “white power” scrawled on the statue.<sup>297</sup> Even though the Madre Luz monument was vulnerable to the same appropriation of other groups as traditional monuments like Lee-Jackson, the dialogic qualities of the counter-monument opened the opportunity for open contestation of political hegemony in public space. Counter-monuments illustrate that the meaning of any monument lay in the relationships they possess to one another and their publics and the intervention of a counter-monument onto a site reveals the vulnerability of pre-existing cosmograms holding the space for the Lost Cause.<sup>298</sup>

Monuments are subjected to constant change despite their hegemonic and authoritative appearances. Altering the monumental landscape through the addition of other works in their proximity produce an opportunity to question the interpreted meanings of the site. In this way counter-monuments create fertile grounds for putting the space on trial, whether they intend to or not. In the next section, I will describe how Latour and Lefebvre conceptualize the trial and how it fits within their broader political theories.

### 4.3. Building a Common World

The concept of the trial plays a central role in Latour’s ontology as the binding relation that holds networks of entities (termed actants by Latour) in place. For Latour what an actant is depends on its relations with other actants and attempting to make these relations may fail.<sup>299</sup> This is where Latour introduces the trial:

1.1.2 There are only trials of strength, of weakness. Or more simply, there are only trials. This is my point of departure: a verb, “to try.”

---

<sup>297</sup> Osborne, 172; Steven Harvey, “Madre Luz” *Another Chicago Magazine*, published on August 31, 2018, <https://anotherchicagomagazine.net/2018/08/31/madre-luz-by-steven-harvey/>.

<sup>298</sup> Osborne, 182.

<sup>299</sup> Gerard De Vries, *Bruno Latour* (Polity 2016), 65–66.

1.1.3 It is because nothing is, by itself, reducible or irreducible to anything else that there are only trials (of strength, of weakness). What is neither reducible nor irreducible has to be tested, counted, and measured. There is no other way.<sup>300</sup>

All actants that are must be tried to discover their relations with other actants. As Latour's commentators Gerard De Vries and Graham Harman note, the use of 'trial of strength' is not a reduction to Hobbesian power plays.<sup>301</sup> Latour's ontology places humans on the same footing as all other actants and the tyrants of the world must try to engage with the world in the same way as comets or atoms, to quote Harman, "To say that all reality involves trials of strength is to say that no actant eclipses another *a priori* and without further effort; all objects must jostle in the arena of the world, and none ever enjoys final victory."<sup>302</sup> Even when it seems an entity, or actant, is finally stable there are still ongoing trials that it resists.<sup>303</sup> Actants emerge from the controversy of a trial and establish themselves by aligning their own interests with those around them.<sup>304</sup> Subjecting an entity to a trial is an attempt to mobilize their attachment for a shared interest through a mutual relationship.<sup>305</sup> In his book introducing Latour and his philosophy to law scholars, Kyle McGee describes the process of attachment during a trial:

The more diverse or heterogeneous are the actants it encounters and with which it forms alliance, the sturdier and more coherent it is. The reason is clear: any actant that would seek to delegitimize it, to challenge its claim to truth, must somehow unbind its many allies from its coterie. A vast network populated by a heterogeneous ensemble of allies—scientists, other academics, journal articles,

---

<sup>300</sup> Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, trans. Alan Sheridan and John Law (Harvard University Press, 1988) 159.

<sup>301</sup> De Vries, 65.

<sup>302</sup> Graham Harman, *Prince of Networks: Bruno Latour and Metaphysics* (re.press, 2009) 25–26.

<sup>303</sup> Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, 159.

<sup>304</sup> Harman, *Prince of Networks*, 36.

<sup>305</sup> Kyle McGee, *Bruno Latour: The Normativity of Networks* (Routledge, 2014) 15.

textbooks and pupils, large corporations and markets, government hygiene programs, and so on—is good support indeed.<sup>306</sup>

The trial is a process whereby actants enlist other actants (human and non-human, it makes no difference) to be their allies in networks and further strengthen their own position. When actants weather enough trials and gain enough force through forging allies they become seamless in the world and transform into black boxes.

The black box is an assemblage of actants accumulated through a series of trials that are considered a single entity, which obscures its internal parts while still producing predictable outputs from inputs.<sup>307</sup> Through their complexity, the inner relations and external alignment of black boxes are sheltered from discussion.<sup>308</sup> The world forgets the crisis of trials that the actant endured and it continues its existence through constant maintenance from its allies.<sup>309</sup> Black boxes may exist at any size of assemblage, from everyday objects like car tires to massive complexes like Disneyland.<sup>310</sup> Black boxes may be strengthened or pierced through modalization. Positive modalization recruits the black box into another network further rendering the box impervious, while negative modalization represents the black box as a produced artifact: “to open a black box and reveal its constitutive assemblage, to lead it back to the process that gave rise to it to reconnect utterance to enunciation, always seems to drop us in the locus of an ongoing trial of strength.”<sup>311</sup> Monuments like the Madre Lutz reveal tensions within their surrounding communities by giving a reason to unpack the site and trace the existing relations. Madre Lutz’s presence questioned the relationships between: the Lee-Jackson monument, rituals practiced by the neo-Confederate organizations, and white supremacist vandalism of the Madre Lutz after its first installation. Opening a black box does not end

---

<sup>306</sup> *ibid*, 17.

<sup>307</sup> McGee, 7.

<sup>308</sup> Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford University Press, 2005) 140.

<sup>309</sup> Bruno Latour, *Science in Action* (Harvard University Press, 1987) 137.

<sup>310</sup> Harman, *Prince of Networks*, 46.

<sup>311</sup> McGee, 19.

the need for modalization since within it are more black boxes that have previously been legitimated by mustering allies around them. Latour's political theory engages with the proper formation of black boxes in the common world that all actants share.

The trial is central to Latour's formulation of political ecology in *Politics of Nature*. In his project of political ecology, the collective is the process of collecting actants and composing them in a common world. Entities outside of the collective that propose their candidacy for common existence are termed propositions, and in order for these propositions to join the common world they must undergo a series of trials.<sup>312</sup> There are four stages—perplexity, consultation, hierarchization, and institutionalization—that ask different questions of the proposition: the first two ask “How many are we?” to take the proposition into account and which voices shall participate and the second two ask “Can we live together?” to decide where the proposition belongs and to close the discussion.<sup>313</sup> Attempting to end the discussion of the collective too early by not taking the proposition into account, failing to consult relevant voices, or prioritizing the proposition incorrectly is a short-circuit and results in a bad common world or *kakasmōs*.<sup>314</sup> Properly instituted propositions become black boxes, though this does not mean that they are off the table for later discussion by the collective. The trial is a necessary and important mechanism in Latour's theorization of politics that acts as the experimental practice that discovers the relations that propositions have with other members of the common world.

From his early works studying the sciences and develop of technology through his theorization of ANT, the trial has played a constant and vital role as the force that maintains networks and keeps actants in relation. The encounters between propositions and the collective or the encounters between legitimized actants opens them up to being subjected to trials and redetermining the place of the actant in the common world. The consistent re-emergence of the Lost Cause triggered by controversy around Monument

---

<sup>312</sup> Bruno Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences Into Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Harvard University Press, 2004) 104.

<sup>313</sup> *ibid*, 108.

<sup>314</sup> Graham Harman, *Bruno Latour: Reassembling the Political* (Polity, 2014) 61.

Avenue by the Confederate statues is illustrative of the black box which is the Lost Cause being challenged by members of the common world to the collective.

#### 4.4. Trial by Space

In the political theory of Lefebvre, space is a social and political product.<sup>315</sup> Lefebvre suggests that capitalism has seized cities and created a social space for itself.<sup>316</sup> As urban political theorist Stefan Kipfer writes, the production of space as social and political may be read “under the rubric of hegemony” because space serves the capitalist relations in space.<sup>317</sup> Social space of everyday life is organized by the State to suit the needs of capital exchange and authority: “Having become political, social space is on the one hand centralised and fixed in a political centrality, and on the other hand specialised and parcelled out. The state determines and congeals the decision-making centres. At the same time, space is distributed into peripheries which are hierarchised in relation to the centres; it is atomised.”<sup>318</sup> The urban space is appropriated and dominated by the State, and it is reduced to fragments that are better controlled by State authority.<sup>319</sup> Opposed to the domination of space by capital and the State, Lefebvre suggests the appropriation of the city by its citizens.

The right to the city is described in the essay “Perspective or Prospective” as: “a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and *appropriation* (clearly distinct

---

<sup>315</sup> Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (Continuum, 2004) 183.

<sup>316</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism. Reproduction of the Relations of Production*, trans. Frank Bryant (St Martin’s Press, 1976) 19

<sup>317</sup> Stefan Kipfer, “How Lefebvre urbanized Gramsci: hegemony, everyday life, and difference” in *Reading Henri Lefebvre*, eds. Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom and Christian Schmid (Routledge, 2008) 200.

<sup>318</sup> Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, 84–85

<sup>319</sup> *ibid*, 85.

from the right to property) are implied in the right to the city.”<sup>320</sup> These social needs are material and inalienable, therefore any person as a right to them that are superior than the property rights that are ascribed by the State. This secondary feature of the right to the city is the appropriation of space that has been dominated by the State and capital; as Mark Purcell writes, “Lefebvre gives some idea of what he sees as the agenda of *citadins* in making decisions that produce urban space. That agenda is embedded in the second aspect of the right to the city, the right to appropriation. Appropriation includes the right of inhabitants to physical access, occupy, and use urban space.”<sup>321</sup> Space, as a social and political product, is where struggles take place and the medium of struggle. Between the hegemonic domination of space by the State for its own purpose and the attempts of a city’s inhabitants to appropriate the space for their own use is the concept of spatial political conflict that Lefebvre discusses in *The Production of Space: the trial by space*.

The trial by space in Lefebvre’s framework is described as a test that everything must undergo in history. Ideas, values and even entire cultures or systems of reference encounter one another and are threatened by dissolution in a trial by space. Lefebvre describes this concept as a process of judgement: “It is in space, on a worldwide scale, that each idea of ‘value’ acquires or loses its distinctiveness through confrontation with the other values and ideas that it encounters there.”<sup>322</sup> Groups require space to produce themselves in order to be recognized by other groups as subjects; therefore, engaging in this challenge to remain relevant is paramount for political groups.<sup>323</sup> Lefebvre stresses the practico-material basis for the trial by space since political groups require an investment in a space through the generation of appropriate morphology: “Space’s investment—the production of space—has nothing incidental about it: it is a matter of

---

<sup>320</sup> *ibid*, 173–174.

<sup>321</sup> Mark Purcell, “Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant” in *GeoJournal* 58 (2002) 102–103.

<sup>322</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Basil Blackwell, 1991) 416

<sup>323</sup> *ibid*, 417.

life and death.”<sup>324</sup> Longer-lived ideologies have invested in their own material representations and new ideas find it difficult to generate their own spaces, attributing a degree of durability to pre-existing ideas. Yet, despite this, all ideas will be tried in space and this eventually reaches an inevitable “dramatic moment” where the thing on trial is “put radically into question.”<sup>325</sup> Much like Finkelpearl’s discussion of public art controversy being particular to the circumstance and highly contextual, the unfolding of a trial by space is also rooted in historical formations and “does not occur in identical fashion.”<sup>326</sup> The trial by space is the mechanism by which dominated space and ruling ideologies may be challenged through appropriation. In discussing the concept Lefebvre also provides the means that a counter-project may gain its own force in the trial by space through appropriating its own space. Ideas are challenged by producing their own spaces through the generation of appropriate morphologies, much like the previously discussed Madre Lutz in Baltimore seizing a space. The concept of counter-monuments parallels with the counter-project as appropriations of space for the right to the city. As the use of the Madre Lutz suggestions, political groups unrepresented or erased by existing monuments may utilize counter-monuments as part of their strategies to produce space for themselves and question the material representations of prevailing ideologies in the public.

In the following sections I will analyze case studies of counter-monumentality from Richmond revolving around Monument Avenue through the concepts of the trial and trial by space in Latour and Lefebvre’s respective frameworks. What these explorations will show is that disrupting the Lost Cause by introducing counter-monumentality produced conversations about the position of Monument Avenue in Richmond and even prompted the formation of the MAC.

---

<sup>324</sup> *ibid*, 417.

<sup>325</sup> *ibid*, 417.

<sup>326</sup> *ibid*, 417.

## 4.5. Graffiti on Monument Avenue As Counter-Monumental Practice

Monument Avenue and the Lee Monument in particular have been the targets of vandalism that express the white supremacist attachments to monumental space. Instances of vandalism have occurred more frequently since the 1980s when a single incident is reported by the the Richmond Police.<sup>327</sup> In 1998 the message “This is a monument to racism” was sprayed on the monument, and “Kill White Devil” was painted two years later in 2000. Between 2012 and 2019, instances of vandalism on Monument Avenue and against Lost Cause monuments in Richmond increased.<sup>328</sup> The Robert E. Lee Monument and Jefferson Davis Monument have been regular targets, with vandals striking in the night back to back. The messages have included: “Black Lives Matter” and “BLM”, “Racist Ban KKK”, “Your vote was a hate crime”, “KKK”, and “RBGz”—though they have also been as simple as splattering the monuments with red paint, covering them in the figurative blood of their victims.<sup>329</sup>

Vandalism visibly associates Lost Cause monuments with racial oppression in space and opens them up to being contested and confronted as materials of white supremacy. Young writes of the graffiti covering the *Harburg Monument against Fascism* and the Berlin wall as counter-monumentality. As a counter-monument, graffiti preys on the vulnerability of monuments as authoritative and static artifacts to warp their meanings.<sup>330</sup>

---

<sup>327</sup> “News-20541,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published January 6, 2000, [www.richmond.com/city-life/news/article\\_5f3c4a0a-6211-5c4b-9759-f331d1fd7840.html](http://www.richmond.com/city-life/news/article_5f3c4a0a-6211-5c4b-9759-f331d1fd7840.html).

<sup>328</sup> Bob Brown, et al, “Vandalism of Richmond's Statues and Monuments in Recent Years.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published August 6, 2018, [www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/vandalism-of-richmond-s-statues-and-monuments-in-recent-years/article\\_93f0f755-b431-5f98-a724-09c991e248fe.html](http://www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/vandalism-of-richmond-s-statues-and-monuments-in-recent-years/article_93f0f755-b431-5f98-a724-09c991e248fe.html); Ali Rockett “\$1,000 Reward Offered for Tips to Who Sprayed Red Paint on Robert E. Lee Monument; Clean-up Costs Topped \$4,400,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published August 7, 2018, [www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/reward-offered-for-tips-to-who-sprayed-red-paint-on/article\\_b4e79aa1-a033-5d2e-9e95-603ee4c59ff8.html](http://www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/reward-offered-for-tips-to-who-sprayed-red-paint-on/article_b4e79aa1-a033-5d2e-9e95-603ee4c59ff8.html).

<sup>329</sup> RBGz is a reference to the colours on the African liberation flack (red, black green).

<sup>330</sup> Young, 65.

Sarah Beetham analyzes the historical relationship between Lost Cause monuments and present vandalism arguing that graffiti should be understood as a form of speech:

Confederate soldier monuments have long been associated with political and racial power structures that perpetuate violence against black bodies, and the recent graffiti and calls for removal make this association clear. The vandalism directed at Confederate symbols should be understood as serious political speech directed at objects with a strong link to America's racial history, and communities should address these concerns.<sup>331</sup>

Returning to Mitchell's typology, the Confederate soldier's monument is the representation of a violent conflict through its memorialization of the Civil War, however it also projects violence against black Southerners by claiming civic spaces.<sup>332</sup> The Lost Cause requires appropriate morphology to generate spaces for the ideology and these statues have produced anti-black spaces. The act of vandalizing the monument, while identified as violence in this paradigm, becomes a form of resistant speech through the layering of images. The transposition of phrases like Black Lives Matter on the Robert E. Lee Monument exposes the violence of racial oppression associated with the Lost Cause through what Walter Benjamin described as dialectical images, a material form of literary montage.<sup>333</sup> The interjection of vandalism on Lost Cause monuments makes the connections between contradictions emerge through their correspondence in proximity and evokes the dramatic question of a trial by space.

Lefebvre argued codes sculpted into monumental spaces are both visible and hidden; an evident intelligible message is readable from the surface, while the embodiment, production, and the lived experience in the monument's shadow are buried and must be unearthed.<sup>334</sup> The MAC discovered through their participation sessions that the

---

<sup>331</sup> Beetham, "From Spray cans to Minivans," 26.

<sup>332</sup> *ibid*, 18–19.

<sup>333</sup> Walter Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Harvard University Press, 2002) 462.

<sup>334</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 144

monuments possess a variety meanings to different groups, including claims to heritage.<sup>335</sup> The repressive space produced by Confederate monuments on Monument Avenue is hidden behind the visible claims of Southern heritage.<sup>336</sup> The horizon of meaning is a convenience depending on the situation of the collective that the monument represents—a super-coding.<sup>337</sup> While the legibility of monuments is superposed, one manifests upon inspection and becomes readable. The act of vandalism creates a montage calling attention to a specific coding of these monuments and expresses the appropriation of space by the city’s inhabitants, reclaiming urban space by speaking in the streets.

Approaching vandalisms on Monument Avenue through the right to the city centres these vandalisms as the pulse of the people’s social needs. Where the Arthur Ashe monument arguably failed to erase or mitigate the white supremacy of Monument Avenue, repeated vandalizations of Lost Cause have been a sustained practice of counter-monumentality that allows marginalized groups to make themselves heard on the ‘legitimate’ formal monuments.<sup>338</sup> It is an attempt to appropriate space and render visible the hidden political production of civic space. Elden highlights the importance of expressing politics spatially in places such as the streets and civic centres because it allows socially and spatially divided groups to communicate:

The streets become political areas, political places. This stress on the location of the struggle is important, because not only are spatial relations—marginalization and centrality, uneven development, ghettoization and so on—political in themselves, politics is played in a spatial field. What is important in the movement being on the streets is that groups who are normally kept apart—such as students and workers—are able to meet.<sup>339</sup>

---

<sup>335</sup> Monument Avenue Commission Report, 15–16.

<sup>336</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 144.

<sup>337</sup> *ibid*, 222.

<sup>338</sup> Baltes, 45–46.

<sup>339</sup> Elden, 156.

Encounters in the city interrupts the State strategy for space that fragments inhabitants and allows disparate groups to reunite and engage with one another through the provocation of a *microgestural realm*. Everyday life has its own codes, producing its own microgestural realms that create other spaces possessing their own symbolic systems, their own codes.<sup>340</sup> These gestural spaces of lived experience may come into contact with macrogestural realms like monumental spaces to create a contradiction,<sup>341</sup> breaking or interrupting the habitual reproduction of relations within the space that depends on repression.<sup>342</sup> Strategies of dominating space are designed to dissolve conflicts—*barring the accidents produced by everyday life*.<sup>343</sup> Though it is through the dissolving of these conflicts that new relations emerge in the process of reproduction.<sup>344</sup> The accident produced by the encounter of inhabitants with counter-monumental vandalism dialectically transposed on Lost Cause monuments appropriates urban space as a place of discussion: “The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become ‘savage’ and by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls.”<sup>345</sup> Vandalism is the literal inscription of speech on the walls of urban space that appropriates space outside the realms of institutions like the MAC and contests Lost Cause monumentality. Urban sociologist Andrzej Zieleniec theorizes graffiti as a form of public engagement communicating messages written by those who inhabit the space that provide alternative discourses.<sup>346</sup> Graffiti dissolves the

---

<sup>340</sup> Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 216–217.

<sup>341</sup> *ibid*, 223.

<sup>342</sup> *ibid*, 366.

<sup>343</sup> *ibid*, 421.

<sup>344</sup> Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, 91.

<sup>345</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (University of Minnesota Press, 2003) 19.

<sup>346</sup> Andrzej Zieleniec, “The right to write the city: Lefebvre and graffiti,” *Environnement urbain* 10 (2016).

singular authority of the monument and opens the site up for new dialogue that bring passersby to engage with the work.<sup>347</sup> Though transitory, the graffiti intervenes in the curated public space of Monument Avenue and marks a point of contention through the choice of targets and recurrent focus on anti-black racism to produce a clear reading that places the Lost Cause “radically into question” by targeting the spaces that produce it. The vandalisms against Lost Cause monuments in Richmond are the agitations for an escalating trial by space initiated by those who are claiming their right to the city by inscribing their speech in urban space to evoke a discussion amongst its inhabitants.

Vandalism has the potential to illuminate the invisible operations, though accidental controversies can disrupt politics and given an occasion to inspect habitual assemblages. For Latour, these vandalisms are the visible traces of the trials that the Lost Cause endures as a black box. Confederate monuments and the Lost Cause they support were long ago legitimized through a short-circuited collective process, turning them from propositions into black boxes: “Once the candidacy of the new entities has been recognized, accepted, legitimized, admitted among the older propositions, these entities become states of nature, self-evidences, black boxes, habits, paradigms.”<sup>348</sup> However, as previously stated, black boxes are not unassailable and may be opened up despite resistance by their allies. The example of gun violence is utilized by Harman as an example of a black box in an American context:

The inability of the United States to control gun violence, so appallingly mysterious to Europeans, becomes easier to grasp once we consider America’s reverence for its Constitution, whose blunt statement that ‘the right to bear arms shall not be infringed’ is a powerful counterweight even to the most subtle legal hermeneutics. The Constitution could always be reopened for amendment or thorough revision, but perhaps at a terrifying cost on other fronts.<sup>349</sup>

---

<sup>347</sup> Young, 61.

<sup>348</sup> Latour, *Politics of Nature*, 104.

<sup>349</sup> Harman, *Reassembling the Political*, 64.

The vandalisms in Richmond leading up to the current discussions about Lost Cause monuments—and therefore the place of the Civil War and institutionalized white supremacy in the United States—were trials that tested the strength of Lost Cause allies and an act of negative modalization that prompt the exploration of the inner workings of these monuments. By spray painting “Black Lives Matter” on the Jefferson Davis monument, the vandal placed doubt on the idea of the benevolent Southern slave owner and the erasure of slavery or slavery apologism inherent in the Lost Cause. It is only when given a reason to do so are black boxes open up to inspect the cause of the unexpected function:<sup>350</sup> “But the alleged technicality of a problem is no longer a veil capable of convincingly shielding inquiry; it is possible to modalize negatively, to open the black box when destructive political consequences, whether on a minor policy point or on a more profound level, are being made to follow its invocation.”<sup>351</sup> Black exclusion from civic spaces and the wider implications of the connections between the Lost Cause and anti-black violence.<sup>352</sup> Doubt in the invocations of the Lost Cause increases as incidents of anti-black violence, such as the Charleston Church massacre, escalate and the collective returns to the questions, how many are we and can we live together?

As previously discussed, the vandalisms of Lost Cause monuments exists outside State institutions and the vandals are unidentified. The decision to try these statues anonymously raises questions about collective consultation and heirarchization. De Vries summarizes these two requirements of Latour’s collective:

- (2) You shall make sure that the number of voices that participate in the articulation of propositions is not arbitrarily short-circuited. This is the requirement of *consultation*.
- (3) You shall discuss the compatibility of new propositions with those that are already instituted, in such a way as to maintain them all in the same common

---

<sup>350</sup> De Vries, 47–49.

<sup>351</sup> McGee, 80.

<sup>352</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between Confederate Soldiers monuments, civic space and lynchings, see Beetham, “From Spray cans to Minivans,” 19–20.

world that will give them their legitimate place. This is the requirement of *hierarchization*.<sup>353</sup>

The requirement of hierarchization ensures that the common world remain livable for its inhabitants, and the current hierarchy that includes the Lost Cause means that black inhabitants are deprioritized.<sup>354</sup> This occurs when inhabitants are pushed to the exterior of the common world into a *dumping ground* of the collective: “Of these excluded entities we cannot yet say anything except that they are exteriorized or externalized: an explicit collective decision has been made not to take them into account; they are to be viewed as insignificant.”<sup>355</sup> When inhabitants are purposefully left out of the collective process, not taken into account, and left out of consultation they are not included in hierarchization. The short-circuiting of consultation through omission and erasure that prematurely ends discussion by excluding participants: “we are indignant that [powerful parties] have omitted, forgotten, forbidden, renounced, or enied certain voices that, had they been consulted, would have considerably modified the definition of the facts under discussion or would have taken the discussion in a different direction.”<sup>356</sup> Black voices have historically been excluded from participation in State institutions and evidenced by the Lost Cause, subordinated in the collective hierarchy. Considering vandalism seriously as speech, as suggested by Beetham, makes it clear that from the exteriors of the collective it is still possible for the voiceless to be heard and subject the Lost Cause to a trial through negative modalization and open it up for amendment and reconstruction.

Vandalism of Lost Cause moments is a an attempt to try the Lost Cause through the appropriation of dominated space or as a negative modalizer that provokes the opening of the Lost Cause black box. Understanding these incidents as trials of strength (or weakness) or as part of a broader trial by space places them into a broader theoretical framework that interprets these trials. While the act of vandalism is intentional, there is

---

<sup>353</sup> De Vries, 140.

<sup>354</sup> Latour, *Politics of Nature*, 107.

<sup>355</sup> *ibid*, 124.

<sup>356</sup> *ibid*, 106.

also the chance that trials may occur through the accidental inclusion of a new entity or approved morphology that challenges the allies of the Lost Cause. During the spring of 2012, an exhibition of children's self-portraits presented an irruption into the normal rhythms of Monument Avenue and created such a situation.

#### 4.6. What Do You Stand For?

At the end of May in 2012, an exhibition project by Art 180 titled *What Do You Stand For?* accidentally intruded into Monument Avenue and created a flurry of controversy. The project was issued permits to exhibit twenty-five eight-and-a-half foot tall self-portraits painted by sixth-grade students on the median of Monument Avenue.<sup>357</sup> There was an immediate backlash to the exhibition that Marlene Paul, director of Art 180, expressed in an email:

Some of our fellow citizens feel that we should never have been granted permission to display the portraits on The Grand Avenue, and this is a case of people w/ money and influence vetoing City authority—where is the fairness in that? I spoke directly with one of these unhappy Monument residents, who had already contacted the Mayor's office and won over Councilman Charles Samuels (who is, conveniently, up for reelection in a hotly-contested race). This one resident is apparently not alone, as there have been other complaints to City Hall. I don't know how many, and I am struggling to understand why their voices can cause the revocation of a legally obtained permit. I am equal parts outraged, brokenhearted, exasperated, and proud that the portraits are on Monument right now, regardless of how long they stay.<sup>358</sup>

Councilman Samuels made it clear that the City Council had no power to revoke a permit though discovered "crossed wires within the Administration regarding the permitting procedures they considered the timing of this art installation and any overlap with next

---

<sup>357</sup> "Art 180 Ordered to Remove Portraits from Monument Avenue," Fan of the Fan, [web.archive.org/web/20120420132952/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/03/art-180-ordered-to-remove-portraits-from-monument-avenue/](http://web.archive.org/web/20120420132952/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/03/art-180-ordered-to-remove-portraits-from-monument-avenue/).

<sup>358</sup> *ibid.*

weekend's Easter on Parade.”<sup>359</sup> The yearly Easter on Parade was established by Zayde Dotts, founder of the Monument Avenue Preservation Society, in 1973 in order to preserve the architecture and landscape of Monument Avenue from planned demolitions of original buildings and a project to create a six-lane highway that would involve moving the monuments.<sup>360</sup> The City Council issued a press release claiming the permit was issued mistakenly and violated a permit:

It is unfortunate that an erroneous permit was issued for the display in question. I’ve met with city attorneys today as well as agency officials to review this matter. It is clear that a mistake was made and it is now incumbent upon us to uphold the law.

The Work in Streets Permit (WISP) was issued in violation of Richmond Code Section 38-113, which details unlawful signage in City medians. A review of the ordinances by which the city issues permits is underway to ensure that city employees have a clear understanding of the parameters involving the city’s right of way management.<sup>361</sup>

Despite an exception to the ordinance that exhibits may be placed on the median, the Department of Public Works revoked the original permit and required the artwork be removed by Monday, April 9, 2012—when their permit allowed for the exhibit to stay until May.<sup>362</sup> The exhibit was able to continue through Easter On Parade because

---

<sup>359</sup> “UPDATED: Charles Samuels: ‘I Support Art 180’s Project.’” Fan of the Fan, [web.archive.org/web/20121103032405/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/04/charles-samuels-i-support-art-180s-project/](http://web.archive.org/web/20121103032405/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/04/charles-samuels-i-support-art-180s-project/).

<sup>360</sup> Ellen Robertson, “Preservationist Zayde R. Dotts Dies,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 29, 2007, [www.richmond.com/entertainment/preservationist-zayde-r-dotts-dies/article\\_3eba7ef1-3a0f-5efb-b182-437f71e71a1d.html](http://www.richmond.com/entertainment/preservationist-zayde-r-dotts-dies/article_3eba7ef1-3a0f-5efb-b182-437f71e71a1d.html); “Week's End.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 29, 2007, [www.richmond.com/news/week-s-end/article\\_42105230-3e54-5238-9590-69b9613e4701.html](http://www.richmond.com/news/week-s-end/article_42105230-3e54-5238-9590-69b9613e4701.html).

<sup>361</sup> “CAO, Byron Marshall Issues Statement Regarding Art 180,” Richmond Announcements, [richmondvaannouncements.blogspot.com/2012/04/cao-byron-marshall-issues-statements.html](http://richmondvaannouncements.blogspot.com/2012/04/cao-byron-marshall-issues-statements.html).

<sup>362</sup> Harry Kollatz Jr. “Monument Avenue Rally for Art 180 UPDATED.” *Richmondmagazine.com*, published on April 4, 2012, [richmondmagazine.com/arts-entertainment/monument-avenue-rally-for-art-180-updated/](http://richmondmagazine.com/arts-entertainment/monument-avenue-rally-for-art-180-updated/).

residents volunteered their lawns to house the exhibit for the day. This *accident* introduced by the exhibition interrupted the habitual practices of Monument Avenue and revealing the relations that exist within the black box of Monument Avenue through the resultant controversy.

When placed in conjunction with the Robert E. Lee Monument, the placard for *What Do You Stand For?* intervenes within the space and punctures the black box that is Monument Avenue by placing a firmly established space under scrutiny (Figure 1). While the titular question of the exhibit is posed towards the student painters to encourage their own self-expression, the placard engages in a form of montage when placed in conjunction the Lee Monument when sharing its space and the monument reciprocally changes the exhibit through the spatial interaction to produce an impact on the broader space and the lived experience of those interpreting the changes in the code. The question—what do you stand for?—becomes directed at the figure of Lee, soliciting a response from the Lost Cause.

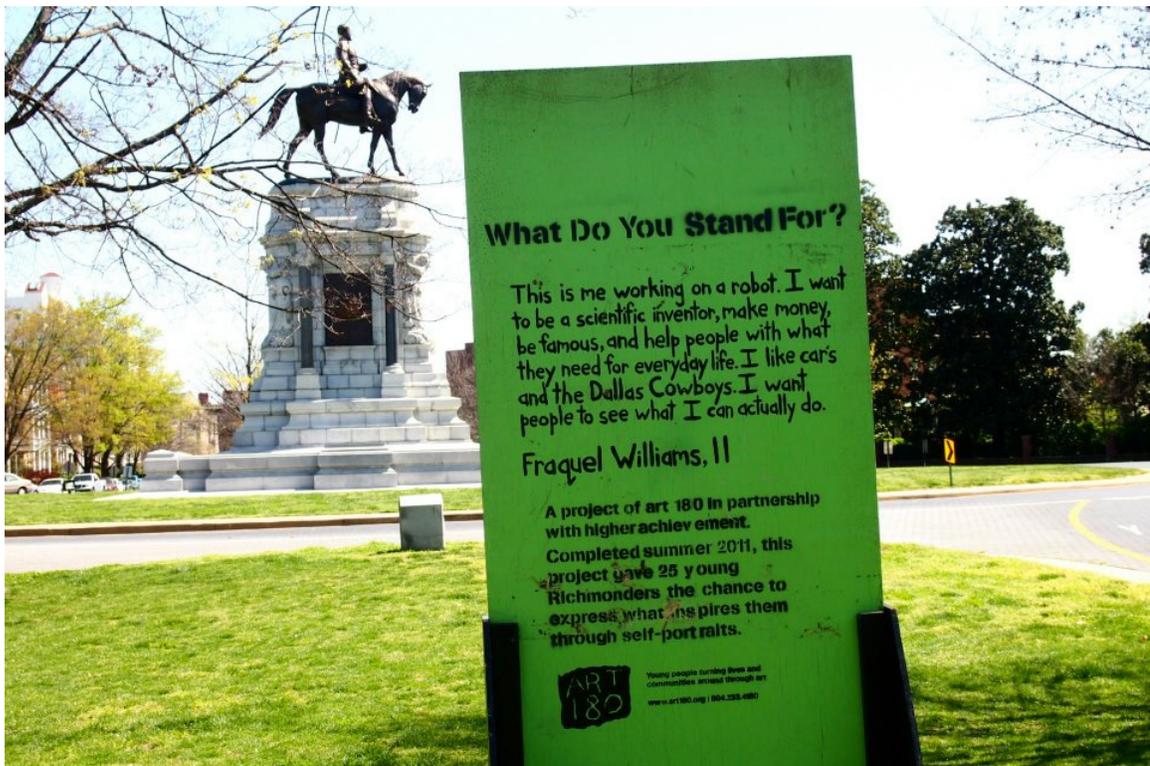


Figure 1: Maureen Egan. “80,000 Feet Forward; 1 Giant Step Backward?” NOTHING EVER HAPPENS ON MY BLOG, published April 2, 2012, [maureenegan.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/80000-feet-forward-1-giant-step-back/](http://maureenegan.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/80000-feet-forward-1-giant-step-back/).

Simultaneously, the exhibit is also changed and takes on a new meaning—gains new attachments—in the shadow of Lee; the racialized students participating in a program for at-risk youth becomes a social project challenging white supremacy and the legacy of the Confederacy in the capital of the New South. This precipitates a trial by strength where the Lost Cause and its allies attempt to resist being translated by *What Do You Stand For?* and the negative modalization that the exhibit prompts. Assembling allies in a trial is important, but so too is cutting off the allies of opponents.<sup>363</sup> The response by defenders of Monument Avenue is to pressure the municipal government into removing the exhibit despite the permit. Harman points out the necessity of actants resisting efforts to open them up: “all actants are constructed through numerous trials of strength with others, and all have an intimate integrity that partially resists any effort to disassemble them.”<sup>364</sup> Though on the surface of Easter on Parade there is nothing that prevents this ritual from sharing space with an exhibit of children’s self-portraits, the controversy allows for relationships to be traced and reveals that it is an ally of Monument Avenue established as a ritual to preserve the architectural integrity of the boulevard and its Lost Cause monuments.

Although unintentional, *What Do You Stand For?* acts as a counter-monument similar to Madre Luz through the intervention of one public artwork into the space of another. The Lee Monument’s role as a durable Lost Cause cosmogram placed into relation with the new installation provoked previously obscured relations. Neither the exhibit nor the Lee Monument constituted a controversy until the relation between *What Do You Stand For?* and the statue instigated an iconoclasm.<sup>365</sup> Latour calls iconoclasm,

what happens when there is *uncertainty* about the exact role of the hand at work in the production of a mediator. Is it a hand with a hammer ready to expose, to denounce, to debunk, to show up, to disappoint, to disenchant, to dispel one’s illusions, to let the air out? Or is it, on the contrary, a cautious and careful hand,

---

<sup>363</sup> Harman, *Prince of Networks*, 50.

<sup>364</sup> *ibid*, 63.

<sup>365</sup> “Iconoclasm,” An Inquiry into modes of Existence. An Anthropology of the Moderns, published 2013. <http://www.modesofexistence.org/aime/voc/237>.

with palm turned as if to catch, elicit, educe, welcome, generate, entertain, maintain, or collective truth and sanctity?<sup>366</sup>

The accidental collision of these two mediators produced an unexpected controversy that suddenly placed the black box under scrutiny. Nothing necessarily prevented the exhibit from showing on the median—as previously said, it is a public space and the Easter on Parade seems like an innocent enough ritual on the surface—however the interpretation of *What Do You Stand For?* by the Lost Cause and its allies was to view the exhibition as a hand that exposed and denounced. Much like the controversy that occurred after the installation of Ahearn’s *Bronx Bronzes*, Art 180 did not expect a crises to emerge from the public art work. A trial occurs and the exhibit is organized beneath Monument Avenue and the parade, only surviving because locals allied themselves with the art exhibit by offering their lawns to the show, which allowed it to resist and find a place in the common world for a short time. The concept of iconoclash is a call to resist short-circuiting the collision of mediators in order to investigate the components of the controversy.<sup>367</sup> This panicked response prompts doubt about the function of these black boxes and gives cause to pop the hood of these opaque actants and shine a light on Monument Avenue and the Easter On Parade to expose why these allies would oppose self-portraits by racialized students in their vicinity. The only wires that crossed during this *accident* were those of the Lost Cause and *What Do You Stand For?* when officials did not consider the full-blown public trial that would occur. Members of the municipal government allied to the Lost Cause moved quickly to assuage the situation by revoking the legally obtained permit and prematurely ending the exhibit.

Even though the exhibit was not in breach of the ordinance and was exhibited on Monument Avenue during the parade while not on the median, the exhibit’s place in the public, it was revoked by the State. This accident politicized a monumental space in Richmond and appropriated it for the purpose of challenging the repressive strategy of the State, which responded by attempting to force a closure on the controversy and end

---

<sup>366</sup> Bruno Latour, “What is *Iconoclash?* Or Is There a World Beyond the Image Wars?” from *On The Modern Cult of the Factish Gods* (Duke University Press, 2010) 72.

<sup>367</sup> “Iconoclash.”

the trail by space through depoliticization. The priorities of the State is to maintain its domination and the continuation of capitalism, as Elden writes: “the state needs to ensure the reproduction of the relations of production, to allow the continuation of the relations of domination.”<sup>368</sup> When spaces are politicized in a controversy, when the production of space is questioned, it is paramount that the situation be depoliticized. Lefebvre describes the act of depoliticization as the necessary management of political spaces that run counter to the strategy of the State: “No sooner has space assumed a political character than its depoliticization appears on the agenda. A politicized space destroys the political conditions that brought it about, because the management and appropriation of such a space run counter to the state as well as to political parties.”<sup>369</sup> A space that is appropriated to ask Richmond what it stands for—and indirectly ask the powers that be what they stand for—produces a counter-space that could jeopardize the super-coding that produces repression and domination. The State’s primary mode of production consists of three main dimensions: the managerial and administrative, the power to protect or secure, and the power to kill—which includes repression and the monopoly of violence.<sup>370</sup> Self-control of the city by its inhabitants—the *autogestation* in the right to the city—triggers contradictions within the State and therefore they require management and repression.<sup>371</sup>

The quick response by Richmond’s city hall to revoke the permit of the Art 180 exhibit while it was in accordance with the ordinance it was permitted under displays the limits of municipal State institutions in addressing the strategies of white supremacy built into the environment and an unwillingness to engage in the controversy. The inability of the MAC or Richmond municipal government to engage in participatory opinion forming and decision-making processes with the community, as I explored in the first chapter, is not a novel phenomena. Trials occurring outside State institutions for decades show that

---

<sup>368</sup> Elden, 225.

<sup>369</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 416.

<sup>370</sup> Elden, 224.

<sup>371</sup> *ibid*, 228–229.

voices of excluded inhabitants are attempting to be heard and questioning the status quo of public Confederacy commemoration. The 2012 exhibit is a prominent example of the municipal government rallying to defend Monument Avenue and the Lost Cause from a perceived threat. This response articulates the vast number of allies that Monument Avenue has amassed in addition to the vulnerability of the Lost Cause to transitory public art.

Counter-monumental works and practices on Monument Avenue offer opportunities for marginalized communities to make themselves heard and for the public at large to open up black boxes and tease out the associations made invisible by habit and repression. The resulting controversies examined in this chapter illustrate how in lieu of an effective institutional response from the MAC ongoing accidents or designed interventions puncture the and give voice to those who are not represented in the monumental landscape. Since the city of Richmond only engaged in token community engagement, transitory counter-monuments offer an option to claim space for other cosmograms.

## 5. Conclusion

In my thesis I have sought to recast the discourse surrounding Lost Cause monuments in Richmond as a contemporary political struggle in opposition to the framework utilized by the Monument Avenue Commission (MAC). My research focused on Monument Avenue and drew on other contemporary Lost Cause controversies to show the continuities between the spatio-political struggles of these different local contexts. On the one hand, the MAC recognized the historical exclusion of black residents from participation in Richmond decision-making bodies and the monologic character of Monument Avenue's commemorative landscape. On the other hand, figures involved in the MAC reify a homogenous, unified One Richmond that they take for granted, and they portray the current controversy as a historical problem separate from politics. The discursive practices of the MAC obfuscate the short-circuiting of a participatory process that would disrupt the State's strategy to dominate space in Richmond.

Chapter one showed that the rhetoric the MAC used in the controversy's discourse suppresses the spatio-political conflicts among the city's disparate communities. Relying on the fact-value dichotomy, the MAC separates interpretations of the past, including the Lost Cause, as false narratives that can all share the same space as long as the pre-ordained "truth" is included as context. Similarly Richmond is presented as a unified community in the past and the present where opposing political groups are expected to coexist peacefully. Paradoxically, this presentation simultaneously exists in MAC documents beside an understanding of institutional white supremacy in Richmond and recognizing the harm Lost Cause monuments cause. I contend that this framework casts the political positions of anti-racist and white supremacist demonstrators as superficial. The discursive moves are employed by the MAC to justify their lack of engagement with the concerns of historically disenfranchised residents.

In Chapter two I argued that analyzing conflicts surrounding Lost Cause sites as primarily one of competing collective historical interpretations subordinates the spatial dimension of contemporary politics. While possessing historical content, monuments are political artifacts erected by the State and act as cosmograms, which are machines that present a certain normative social order in public space that act as place-holders for

affiliated political groups. Through a comparative analysis of monumental controversies in Charlottesville and New Orleans, I argue that applying cosmopolitics to monument controversies reveals how the pedagogical strategy of regulating historical representation while creating a multiplicative commemorative landscape does not prevent Lost Cause monuments from holding space for white supremacist politics.

Chapter three looks beyond the MAC to instances where the Lost Cause monument was challenged by counter-monumental practices. Latour and Lefebvre's conceptions of the trial show how sustained vandalism and accidental interventions on Monument Avenue have effectively sparked controversies and critically questioned the presence of the Lost Cause in Richmond. With these counter-monuments I also demonstrated how the Richmond municipal government has previously pacified the public of challenges to the Lost Cause before establishment of the MAC. Since the MAC excludes the participation of much of the citizenry, counter-monuments have the potential to be an effective, alternative strategy for activists to challenge traditional monuments as their counter-parts have done in Baltimore.

While I focus on Lost Cause monuments in the United States and primarily in the South, this analysis is not limited to this context. Political struggles surrounding the presence of white supremacist monumental sites in the public is applicable in other settler colonial and post-colonial states attempting to engage with their fraught monumental landscapes. As mentioned previously, South Africa is still engaging with the development of a critical monumental landscape since apartheid ended. The intent of my thesis has not been to condemn controversies stemming from monumental sites. Conflicts emerging from contested sites force communities to enter dialogue and re-imagine their shared spaces and consider those voices marginalized from discussion that have previously shaped the common world. Where I am critical of the MAC is for their approach to the controversy and subsequent recommendations for a superficial strategy that has not proven to be effective in addressing white supremacist public spaces. In this conclusion I want to turn to a project in Richmond that gestures towards generating Monument Avenue into a different kind of space.

*Monument Avenue: General Demotion/General Devotion (GD/GD)* is an international design competition as well as the resulting exhibit of submissions that attempts to reimagine the built environment of Monument Avenue. The project is managed by a collaboration between mObstudiO, a partnership between three design departments of Virginia Commonwealth University School of the Arts, and Storefront for Community Design, a non-profit, called MoB+Storefront. A call for submissions began in Fall 2017 with a deadline for completion in December 2018.<sup>372</sup> The finalists are featured in The Valentine museum from February to December, 2019.<sup>373</sup> The MAC's recommendations lists *GD/GD* as an opportunity to offer input on the future of Monument Avenue, since MoB+Storefront are an independent group of artists. *GD/GD* is contextualized within the broader discussion of Monument Avenue and the recent controversies inspired by incidents like *What Do You Stand For?* and social justice movements.<sup>374</sup> Mirroring the international competitions held by the memorial committees for Confederate monument designs, *GD/GD* opens up a platform to include a variety of voices to participate and consult on how the proposition of Monument Avenue fits within the common world.

*GD/GD* is an innovative approach to experimentation that was imagined to facilitate a discussion about Monument Avenue that explores a greater degree of possibilities for the future of Richmond by speculating social paths. Instead of re-articulating the commonly argued tactics for approaching Confederate monuments on Monument Avenue—preservation, removal, recontextualization—this project was initiated to clear space for new approaches: “While these strategies are most often discussed, we are confident that there are hybrids of these strategies and as yet unformulated ideas to address the issues and opportunities presented by Monument

---

<sup>372</sup> “National Competition” Monument Avenue: General Demotion General Devotion, Accessed on April 9, 2019, <https://monumentavenuegdgd.com/national/>.

<sup>373</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>374</sup> *ibid.*

Avenue.”<sup>375</sup> *GD/GD* operates as a cosmogram itself, and the exhibits within it are materials-in-waiting for cosmograms yet-to-be-assembled. The proposals are attentive to the local character of their designs and how to appropriate the space by creating new morphologies that embed the right to the city and the right to difference. They reappropriate the space of Monument Avenue for alternative cosmograms by installing appropriate morphologies that materially represent them into the public space.

These designs are ambitious in scope and most will never be implemented—for example the “Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Memorial” replaces what is now Lee Monument Circle to the location of the Stonewall Jackson Monument with bronze plates spatially placed to depict the number of slaves transported to the Americas between 1516 – 1866 and would fabricate the material for the plates by melting down the existing Confederate monuments in Richmond and beyond.<sup>376</sup> Even though they may not be occupying the boulevard on Monument Avenue, the publicly accessible website and exhibition act as counter-monumental cosmograms representing different normative orders for the world.

*GD/GD* illustrates that there are other institutions in Richmond beyond the MAC exercising their capacity to hold space for composing possible worlds. Lefebvre’s right to the city exists for all Richmond’s citizens to pursue regardless of the direction the municipal government takes. As Latour points out, the formation of a good common world inclusive to all its inhabitants needs to consider the myriad future possibilities: “[Political ecology] is required to devote itself to a *meticulous triage of the possible worlds*, of the cosmograms, always to begun anew. Irreversibility has changed direction: it no longer finds itself in the abolished past, but in the future to be recommended.”<sup>377</sup> Proposing a plethora of thoughtful formulations and subjecting them to honest, inclusive trials are gestures towards the good cosmos. The work of composing the common world is not limited to the MAC, and what Latour and Lefebvre share is the inclusion of unheard voices in politics.

---

<sup>375</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>376</sup> “Entries,” Monument Avenue: General Demotion General Devotion, Accessed on April 9, 2019, <https://monumentavenuegdgd.com/entries>.

<sup>377</sup> Latour, *Politics of Nature*, 195.

## Bibliography

- Adelson, Jeff and Hasselle, Della, "Though tense, protests for and against removal of monuments end peacefully," nola.com, published on May 7, 2017, [https://www.nola.com/news/politics/article\\_f98dff88-8176-5c2c-86ba-471ea5695801.html](https://www.nola.com/news/politics/article_f98dff88-8176-5c2c-86ba-471ea5695801.html).
- "'An Avenue For All The People': How Arthur Ashe came to Monument Avenue," On Monument Avenue, published on November 22, 2017, <https://onmonumentave.com/blog/2017/11/20/an-avenue-for-for-all-people-how-arthur-ashe-came-to-monument-avenue>.
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (Verso, 1983).
- Arnstein, Sherry, "A Ladder Of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 35, no. 4 (1969) 216–224.
- "Art 180 Ordered to Remove Portraits from Monument Avenue," Fan of the Fan, [web.archive.org/web/20120420132952/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/03/art-180-ordered-to-remove-portraits-from-monument-avenue/](http://web.archive.org/web/20120420132952/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/03/art-180-ordered-to-remove-portraits-from-monument-avenue/).
- Azaryahu, Maoz, "Germany reunification and the politics of street names: the case of East Berlin," *Political Geography* 16, no. 6 (1996) 581–604.
- Baca, Judith, "Whose Monument Where? Public Art in a Many-Cultured Society," in *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, ed. Suzanne Lacy (Bay Press, 1995).
- Baltes, Elizabeth, "Challenging Narratives: Arthur Ashe and the Practice of Counter-Monumentality on Richmond's Monument Avenue," *de arte* 53, no. 2-3 (2018) 31-50.
- Banks, Bill, "At Issue: Who should decide if Confederate monuments stay or go?" *AJC*, August 26, 2017, <https://www.ajc.com/news/local/issue-who-should-decide-confederate-monuments-stay/iqWUcPkVLaXOzt5kud5F4H/>.
- Barbee, Matthew Mace, *Race and Masculinity in Southern Memory: History of Richmond, Virginia's Monument Avenue, 1948-1996* (Lexington Books, 2013).
- Beetham, Sarah, "From Spray Cans to Minivans: Contesting the Legacy of Confederate Soldier Monuments in the Era of Black Lives Matter," *Public Art Dialogue* 6, no 1, (2016) 9–33.
- Beetham, Sarah, "Undercurrents of Opposition and the Catalyst for Change," On Monument Avenue, published May 14, 2018, <https://onmonumentave.com/blog/2018/5/11/undercurrents-of-opposition-and-the-catalyst-for-change>.
- Bender, Thomas, "Postscript: Reassembling the city: networks and urban imaginaries," in *Urban Assemblages: How Actor-Network Theory Changes Urban Studies*, eds Ignacio Farias and Thomas Bender (Routledge, 2010) 303–324.
- Benjamin, Walter, *Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Harvard University Press, 2002).
- Bishop, Patrick, "Our Father's Keepers," Identity Dixie, published August 3, 2017, <https://identitydixie.com/2017/08/03/our-fathers-keepers/>.
- Black, Brain and Varley, Bryn, "Contesting the Sacred: Preservation and Meaning on Richmond's Monument Avenue," in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, eds. Cynthia Mills and Pemela Simpson (University of Tennessee Press, 2003) 234–250.
- Blok, Anders and Jenson, Torben Elgaard, *Bruno Latour: Hybrid thoughts in a hybrid*

*world* (Routledge, 2011).

- “Blue Ribbon Commission Votes on Plans for Statues at Final Meeting,” *NCB29*, published on November 28, 2016 and updated on November 29, 2016, <https://www.nbc29.com/story/33810797/blue-ribbon-commission-votes-on-plans-for-statues-at-final-meeting>.
- Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces, *Report to City Council*, December 19, 2016, <https://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=48999>.
- Bohland, Jon, "Look Away, Look Away, Look Away to Lexington: Struggles Over Neo-Confederate Nationalism, Memory, and Masculinity in a Small Virginia Town," *Southeastern Geographer* 53, no. 3 (2013): 267–295.
- “Bradley Dean Griffin,” *SPLC*, Accessed July 3, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/bradley-dean-griffin>.
- Brown, Bob et al, “Vandalism of Richmond's Statues and Monuments in Recent Years.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published August 6, 2018, [www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/vandalism-of-richmond-s-statues-and-monuments-in-recent-years/article\\_93f0f755-b431-5f98-a724-09c991e248fe.html](http://www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/vandalism-of-richmond-s-statues-and-monuments-in-recent-years/article_93f0f755-b431-5f98-a724-09c991e248fe.html).
- Castree, Noel, "False Antitheses? Marxism, Nature and Actor-Networks." *Antipode* 34, no. 1 (2004) 111-146.
- “CAO, Byron Marshall Issues Statement Regarding Art 180,” Richmond Announcements, [richmondvaannouncements.blogspot.com/2012/04/cao-byron-marshall-issues-statements.html](http://richmondvaannouncements.blogspot.com/2012/04/cao-byron-marshall-issues-statements.html).
- Chesson, Michael, *Richmond After the War, 1865-1890* (Virginia State Library, 1981).
- Coleman, Christy, “Monuments, Markers, Museums, and the Landscape of Civil War Memory,” CSPAN, filmed Feb 25, 2017 at Lightning Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future, Richmond, VA video, 36:00, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?423748-1/controversy-civil-war-monuments-memorials>
- Coombes, Annie, “Translating the past: apartheid monuments in post-apartheid South Africa,” *Hybridity and its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, eds. Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes (Routledge, 2000) 173–197.
- Coski, John, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Harvard University Press, 2005).
- Cox, Karen, *Dixie's Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate culture* (University of Florida, 2003).
- Dailey, Jane, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
- De Vries, Gerard, *Bruno Latour* (Polity 2016).
- Drake, Philip, “Marxism and the Nonhuman Turn: Animating Nonhumans, Exploitation, and Politics with ANT and Animal Studies.” *Rethinking Marxism* 27, no. 1 (2005) 107-122.
- Duke, David. “Dr. Duke vows to defend Liberty Monument from Soviet Style Cultural Terrorists!” *DavidDuke.com*. 2 September 2015. <https://davidduke.com/dr-david-duke-vows-to-defend-liberty-monument-soviet-style-cultural-terrorists/>.

- Dwyer, Owen, "Symbolic Accretion and Commemoration," *Social and Cultural Geography* 5, no. 3 (September, 2004) 403–417.
- Dwyer, Owen and Alderman, Derek, "Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors," *GeoJournal* 73 (2008) 165–178.
- Dwyer, Owen and Alderman, Derek, *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory* (Center books on the American South, 2008).
- Edwards, Kathy and Howard, Esmé, *Monument Avenue: History and Architecture*, Esmé Howard and Kathy Edwards (HABS/HAER, 1992).
- Egan, Maureen. "80,000 Feet Forward; 1 Giant Step Backward?" NOTHING EVER HAPPENS ON MY BLOG, published April 2, 2012, maureenegan.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/80000-feet-forward-1-giant-step-back/.
- "Entries," Monument Avenue: General Demotion General Devotion, Accessed on April 9, 2019, <https://monumentavenuegdgd.com/entries>.
- Elden, Stuart, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (Continuum, 2004).
- Fenster, Tovi, "Belonging, Memory and the Politics of Planning in Israel." *Social & Cultural Geography* 5, no 3 (2004).
- Finkelpearl, Tom, *What We Made: Conversations on Art and Social Cooperation* (Duke University Press, 2013).
- Foote, Kenneth, *Shadowed ground: American's Landscapes of violence and tragedy* (University of Georgia Press, 2008).
- Forest, Benjamin and Johnson, Juliet, "Confederate Monuments and the Problem of Forgetting," *Cultural Geographies* 26, no. 1 (January 2019): 127–31.
- Foster, Gaines, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (Oxford University Press, 1987).
- Fraser, Natalie, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (MIT Press, 1992).
- Gareau, Brain, "We have never been human: Agential nature, ANT, and Marxist political ecology." *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 16, no. 4 (2005) 127–40.
- Goldfarb, Jeffrey, "Media Events, solidarity, and the rise and fall of the public sphere," *Media, Culture, & Society* 40, no. 1 (2018) 118–121.
- Goldfarb, Jeffrey, "Being There, Separate and Unequal: Charlottesville in the Mediated Public Sphere," in *#Charlottesville: Before and Beyond*, eds. Christopher Howard-Woods, Colin Laidley, and Maryam Omid (Public Seminar Books, 2018) 121–130.
- Griggs, Brandon, "Protests over Confederate statue shake Charlottesville, Virginia," CNN, updated on May 15, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/05/15/us/charlottesville-lee-monument-spencer-protests-trnd/index.html>.
- Harman, Graham, *Prince of Networks: Bruno Latour and Metaphysics* (re.press, 2009).
- Harman, Graham, *Bruno Latour: Reassembling the Political* (Pluto Press, 2014).
- Harvey, Steven, "Madre Luz" *Another Chicago Magazine*, published on August 31, 2018, <https://anotherchicagomagazine.net/2018/08/31/madre-luz-by-steven-harvey/>.
- Hatewatch Staff, "The Battle of New Orleans (That Wasn't)," *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published May 10, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/05/10/battle-new->

- orleans-wasn't.
- Hatewatch Staff, "Flags and Other Symbols Used By Far-Right Groups in Charlottesville," *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published August 12, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/08/12/flags-and-other-symbols-used-far-right-groups-charlottesville>.
- Hatewatch Staff, "Gone But Not Forgotten," *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published on May 30, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/05/30/gone-not-forgotten>.
- Hatewatch Staff, "Almost a year after Unite the Right, Charlottesville still on edge," *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published on July 24, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/07/24/almost-year-after-unite-right-charlottesville-still-edge>.
- Hatewatch Staff, "Retaking Everything: The Story of Identity Dixie" *SPLC*, Hatewatch, published on July 17, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/07/17/retaking-everything-story-identity-dixie>.
- Hayter, Julian Maxwell, *The Dream Is Lost: Voting Rights and the Politics of Race in Richmond, Virginia* (University of Kentucky, 2017).
- Hayter, Julian Maxwell, "Confederate monuments are about maintaining white supremacy," *The Washington Post*, published on July 17, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/07/27/confederate-monuments-are-about-maintaining-white-supremacy/>.
- Hayter, Julian Maxwell, "Vulnerability and a Truer Democracy," *On Monument Avenue*, published on May 12, 2018, <https://onmonumentave.com/blog/2018/5/11/vulnerability-and-a-truer-democracy>.
- Heim, Joe, "Recounting a day of rage, hate, violence and death," *The Washington Post*, published August 14, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/>.
- Held, Amy, "Shrouds Pulled From Charlottesville Confederate Statues, Following Ruling," *The Two-Way*, published on February 28, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/02/28/589451855/shrouds-pulled-from-charlottesville-confederate-statues-following-ruling>.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Hobsbawm, Eric, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Holmes, Carolyn and Loehwing, Melanie, "Icons of the Old Regime: Challenging South African Public Memory Strategies in #RhodesMustFall," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 6 (2016) 1207–1223.
- Holmes, Carolyn, "Should Confederate monuments come down? Here's what South Africa did after apartheid," *The Washington Post*, originally published August 29, 2017, republished August 21, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/29/should-confederate-monuments-come-down-heres-what-south-africa-did-after-apartheid/?utm\\_term=.f9bc08fcb4c0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/29/should-confederate-monuments-come-down-heres-what-south-africa-did-after-apartheid/?utm_term=.f9bc08fcb4c0).
- "Iconoclasm," *An Inquiry into modes of Existence. An Anthropology of the Moderns*. Ed. Bruno Latour. Sciences Po: Paris, 2013), <http://www.modesofexistence.org/aime/voc/237>.

- Johnson, Derrick, "Symbols of Hatred and Racism should not be venerated," NAACP, last modified August 20, 2017, <https://www.naacp.org/latest/symbols-hatred-racism-not-venerated/>.
- Johnson, Nuala, "Sculpting Heroic Histories: Celebrating the Centenary of the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 19, no. 1 (1994) 70–93.
- King, Brendan, "No arrests or injuries at Jefferson Davis Monument protest," CBS 6, August 19, 2018. Web. [https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article\\_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html](https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html).
- Kinsella, Warren, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*. (Harper Collins, 1994).
- Kipfer, Stefan, "How Lefebvre urbanized Gramsci: hegemony, everyday life, and difference" in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, eds. Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom and Christian Schmid (Routledge, 2008) 193–211.
- Kollatz Jr, Harry, "Monument Avenue Rally for Art 180 UPDATED." Richmondmagazine.com, published on April 4, 2012, [richmondmagazine.com/arts-entertainment/monument-avenue-rally-for-art-180-updated/](http://richmondmagazine.com/arts-entertainment/monument-avenue-rally-for-art-180-updated/).
- Kwon, Miwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*, (MIT Press, 2004).
- Latour, Bruno, *Science in Action* (Harvard University Press, 1987).
- Latour, Bruno, *The Pasteurization of France*, trans. Alan Sheridan and John Law (Harvard University Press, 1988).
- Latour, Bruno, *War of the Worlds: Who Wants Peace?* trans. Charlotte Bigg, ed. John Tresch, (Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002).
- Latour, Bruno, "Who Cosmos, Which Cosmopolitics: Comments on the Peace Terms of Ulrich Beck," *Common Knowledge* 10, no 3 (2003): 240–462.
- Latour, Bruno, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences Into Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Harvard University Press, 2004)
- Latour, Bruno, "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik: Or How to Make Things Public" in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (ZKM and The MIT Press, 2005) 14–43.
- Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Latour, Bruno, "What is Iconoclasm? Or Is There a World Beyond the Image Wars?" from *On The Modern Cult of the Factish Gods* (Duke University Press, 2010) 67–98.
- Latour, Bruno, *Facing Gaia: Eight Lectures on the New Climate Regime*, trans. Catherine Porter (Polity, 2017).
- Latour, Bruno and Hermant, Emilie, *Paris: Invisible City*, trans. Liz Carey-Libbrecht (2006) [http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/downloads/viii\\_paris-city-gb.pdf](http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/downloads/viii_paris-city-gb.pdf).
- Laughland, Oliver, "White nationalist Richard Spencer at rally over Confederate statue's removal," *The Guardian*, published May 14, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/14/richard-spencer-white-nationalist-virginia-confederate-statue>.

- Law, Vincent, "The 'Unite The Right' Rally Is Going To Be A Turning Point For White Identity In America," AltRight.com, published August 5, 2017, <https://altright.com/2017/08/05/the-unite-the-right-rally-is-going-to-be-a-turning-point-for-white-identity-in-america/>.
- "Leaving them Up Is Not An Option," Take 'Em Down NOLA, published on August 25, 2015, [https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new\\_orleans/news/the\\_latest/article\\_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html](https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new_orleans/news/the_latest/article_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html).
- Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, trans. Frank Bryant (St Martin's Press, 1976).
- Lefebvre, Henri, *The Survival of Capitalism. Reproduction of the Relations of Production*, trans. Frank Bryant (St Martin's Press, 1976).
- Lefebvre, Henri, *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes September 1959–May 1961*, trans. John Moore (Verso, 1995).
- Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
- Lefebvre, Henri, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Łukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
- Leib, Jonathan, "Separate Times, Shared Spaces: Arthur Ashe, Monument Avenue and the Politics of Richmond, Virginia's Symbolic Landscape." *Cultural Geographies* 9 (2002) 286–312.
- Leib, Jonathan, Webster, Gerald and Webster, Roberta, "Rebel with a cause? Iconography and public memory in the Southern United States," *Geojournal* 52 (2000) 303–310.
- Lenz, Ryan, "Richard Spencer cancels speaking tour of college campuses after speech in Michigan," SPLC, published on March 12, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/03/12/richard-spencer-cancels-speaking-tour-college-campus-after-speech-michigan>.
- Levinson, Sanford, *Written In Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies* (Duke University Press, 2018).
- Lewis, Nicole, "Violence again spurs cities to remove Confederate monuments, but many find hurdles to doing so." *Washington Post*, Aug 17, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/08/17/violence-again-spurs-cities-to-remove-confederate-monuments-but-many-find-hurdles-to-doing-so/?utm\\_term=.2b0d134da167](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/08/17/violence-again-spurs-cities-to-remove-confederate-monuments-but-many-find-hurdles-to-doing-so/?utm_term=.2b0d134da167).
- Light, Duncan, "Street Names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Post-Socialist Change." *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no. 1 (2004) 154–172.
- Loewen, James, "Confederate Monuments: Modest Proposals." CSPAN, filmed Feb 25, 2017 at Lightning Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future, Richmond, VA video, 2:21, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?423748-104/confederate-monuments-memorials>.
- Lord, Richard, "Clergy stand up to Charlottesville KKK rally," *UM News*, published on July 11, 2017, <https://www.umnews.org/en/news/clergy-stand-up-to-charlottesville-kkk-rally>.

- Marcuse, Herbert, "The Affirmative Character of Culture," in *Art and Liberation: Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse, Volume Four*, ed. Douglas Kellner (Routledge, 2007).
- McCann, Eugene, "Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City." *Antipode* 31, no. 2, (1999).
- McGee, Kyle, *Bruno Latour: The Normativity of Networks* (Routledge, 2014).
- McLean, Ann, *Unveiling the Lost Cause: A Study of Monuments to the Civil War Memory in Richmond, Virginia and Vicinity* (University of Virginia, 1998).
- McLeod, Ethan, "Hundreds Gather at Wyman Park Dell to Protest White Supremacism Following Charlottesville Violence," *Baltimore Fishbowl*, published August 14, 2017, <https://baltimorefishbowl.com/stories/hundreds-gather-at-wyman-park-dell-to-protest-white-supremacism-following-charlottesville-violence/>.
- McLeod, Ethan, "Someone Toppled the 'Madre Luz' Sculpture that Briefly Replaced Baltimore's Lee-Jackson Monument," *Baltimore Fishbowl*, published August 17, 2017, <https://baltimorefishbowl.com/stories/someone-toppled-the-madre-luz-sculpture-that-briefly-replaced-baltimores-lee-jackson-monument/>.
- Miles, Malcolm, *Art, Space, and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures* (Routledge, 1997).
- Mitchell, Tia, "DeKalb's Confederate monument to receive contextualizing marker." *AJC*, March 15, 2019, <https://www.ajc.com/news/local-govt--politics/dekalb-confederate-monument-receive-contextualizing-marker/VOFAQvN0ig5jruqZRtS6yI/>.
- Mitchell, Tia, "New vision, but still no takes for Confederate monument in Decatur." *AJC*, July 12, 2018, <https://www.ajc.com/news/local-govt--politics/new-vision-but-still-takers-for-confederate-monument-decatur/kKfn6J7tAOp2Rry79uK3hM/>.
- Mitchell, W.J.T., "The Violence of Public Art," in *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 29–48.
- Monument Avenue Commission, "Monument Avenue Commission Report," uploaded July 2, 2018, <https://www.monumentavenuecommission.org/sMonumentAvenueCommissionFINAL.pdf>
- "National Competition" Monument Avenue: General Demotion General Devotion, Accessed on April 9, 2019, <https://monumentavenuegdgd.com/national/>.
- "News-20541," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published January 6, 2000, [www.richmond.com/city-life/news/article\\_5f3c4a0a-6211-5c4b-9759-f331d1fd7840.html](http://www.richmond.com/city-life/news/article_5f3c4a0a-6211-5c4b-9759-f331d1fd7840.html).
- "New Orleans tears down Confederate monument," *CBS News*, published on April 24, 2017, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/vigil-vs-removal-of-statue-of-confederate-president-jefferson-davis-in-new-orleans/>.
- Nieves, Angel David, "Places of pain as tools for social justice in the 'new' South Africa: Black heritage preservation in the 'rainbow' nation's townships," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'*, eds William Logan and Keir Reeves (Routledge, 2009).
- "October 11 Anti-Racist Freedom Fighter Statement" #DoItLikeDurham, published October 10, 2017, last updated October 12, 2017, <https://doitlikedurham.org/october-11-anti-racist-freedom-fighters-statement/>.

- Oliver, Ned et al. "Monument Avenue rally attracts few Confederate supporters, ends peacefully," *Richmond Time-Dispatch*, published September 16 2017, [https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/monument-avenue-rally-attracts-few-confederate-supporters-ends-peacefully/article\\_470b9be6-0140-55ee-b99d-48bf7302d44a.html](https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/monument-avenue-rally-attracts-few-confederate-supporters-ends-peacefully/article_470b9be6-0140-55ee-b99d-48bf7302d44a.html).
- Osborne, James, "Counter-monumentality and the vulnerability of memory," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (2017) 163–187.
- Outhwaite, William, *Habermas: A Critical Introduction* (Polity Press, 2009).
- Peek, Wayne, "Charlottesville Is A Turning Point For The Alt-Right," AltRight.com, published 17, 5 2017, <https://altright.com/2017/05/17/charlottesville-is-a-turning-point-for-the-alt-right/>.
- Prager, Dennis, "America's Second Civil War," *Townhall*, January 24, 2017, <https://townhall.com/columnists/dennisprager/2017/01/24/americas-second-civil-war-n2275896>.
- Purcell, Mark, "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant" in *GeoJournal* 58 (2002) 141–154.
- Rabinowitz, Howard, *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era* (University of Illinois Press, 1982).
- Rockett, Ali, "\$1,000 Reward Offered for Tips to Who Sprayed Red Paint on Robert E. Lee Monument; Clean-up Costs Topped \$4,400," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published August 7, 2018, [www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/reward-offered-for-tips-to-who-sprayed-red-paint-on/article\\_b4e79aa1-a033-5d2e-9e95-603ee4c59ff8.html](http://www.richmond.com/news/local/crime/reward-offered-for-tips-to-who-sprayed-red-paint-on/article_b4e79aa1-a033-5d2e-9e95-603ee4c59ff8.html).
- Reynolds, Silas, "New Orleans, Economic Siege," Identity Dixie, May 24, 2017 <https://identitydixie.com/2017/05/24/new-orleans-economic-siege/>.
- Reynolds, Silas, "New Orleans, Economic Siege," Occidental Dissent, May 24, 2017 <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/05/24/new-orleans-economic-siege/>.
- Riess, Jeanie, "Landrieu calls for removing statue from Lee Circle to reflect 'who we are today, as a people'," The Advocate, published on June 24, 2015, [https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new\\_orleans/news/the\\_latest/article\\_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html](https://www.theadvocate.com/gambit/new_orleans/news/the_latest/article_42ec6b4c-0a7e-5ec6-b188-9fb94f8586c2.html).
- Robertson, Ellen, "Preservationist Zayde R. Dotts Dies," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 29, 2007, [www.richmond.com/entertainment/preservationist-zayde-r-dotts-dies/article\\_3eba7ef1-3a0f-5efb-b182-437f71e71a1d.html](http://www.richmond.com/entertainment/preservationist-zayde-r-dotts-dies/article_3eba7ef1-3a0f-5efb-b182-437f71e71a1d.html).
- Robin, Martin, *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940* (University of Toronto Press, 1992).
- Robinson, Mark, "Confederate groups planning Monument Avenue rally on Sunday Aug 9," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, published on August 7, 2018, [https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article\\_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html](https://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/confederate-groups-planning-monument-avenue-rally-on-sunday-aug/article_0e03f8c0-de86-5955-86a2-d1bd565bd39d.html).
- Savage, Kirk, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monuments in Nineteenth Century America*, (Princeton University Press, 2018).
- Schein, Richard, "After Charlottesville: Reflections on Landscape, White Supremacy and

- White Hegemony," *Southeastern Geographer* 58, no. 1, (Spring 2018) 10–13.
- Sheehan, Rebecca and Speights-Binet, Jennifer, "Negotiating strategy in New Orleans's memory-work: white fragility in the politics of removing four Confederate-inspired monuments," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 36, no. 3 (2019) 346–367.
- Sher, Julian, *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan* (New Star Books, 1983).
- Smith, J. Douglas, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
- Spencer, Richard, Unite the Right rally at Emancipation Park, Charlottesville, VA, Aug 12, 2017. Address.
- Stephens, Alexander, "African Slavery" The Corner-Stone of the Southern Confederacy" in *The Confederate and the Neo-Confederate Reader* eds. James Loewen and Edward Sebesta (University Press of Mississippi, 2010) 187–190.
- Stevens, Quentin, Franck, Karen and Fazakerley, Ruth, "Counter-monuments: The anti-monumental and the dialogic," *The Journal of Architecture* 23, no. 5 (2018) 718–739.
- Stubblefield, Thomas, "Do Disappearing Monuments Simply Disappear? The Counter-Monument in Revision." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 8, no. 2 (2011) 1–11.
- Sutton, Benjamin, "The Story Behind Charlottesville's Robert E. Lee Monument," Hyperallergic published on August 14, 2017, <https://hyperallergic.com/395627/robert-e-lee-confederate-monument-charlottesville/>.
- Swyngedouw, Erik, *Social power and the urbanization of water: Flows of power* (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- "The Monuments," Take 'Em Down NOLA, updated on January 11, 2019, <https://takeemdownnola.org/monuments>.
- Till, Karen, *The New Berlin: Memory, politics, place* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
- Tkacik, Christina, "Meet the artist behind 'Madre Luz'—the protest statue in Wyman Park Dell," *The Baltimore Sun*, published on August 16, 2017, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/features/baltimore-insider/bal-meet-the-artist-behind-the-madre-luz-now-the-only-statue-in-wyman-park-dell-20170816-story.html>.
- Tkacik, Christina, "'Madre Luz' protest statue in Wyman Park Dell intentionally knocked over, police say," *The Baltimore Sun*, published on August 18, 2017, updated on August 18, 2017, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-madre-luz-20170817-story.html>.
- Tresch, John, "Technological World–Pictures: Cosmic Things and Cosmograms." *Isis* 98, no. 1 (2007) 84–99.
- Tresch, John, *The Romantic Machine: Utopian Science and Technology after Napoleon* (University of Chicago Press, 2012).
- Trump, Donald (@realDonaldTrump), "Sad to see the history and culture of our great country being ripped apart with the removal of our beautiful statues and monuments. You.....," Tweet, Aug 17, 2017, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/898169407213645824>.
- Tunbridge, John and Ashworth, Gregory, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (John Wiley, 1996).

- Tyfield, David, "Cultural Political Economy and the Performativity Turn" in *The Economics of Science: A Critical Realist Overview, Volume 2: Towards a Synthesis of Political Economy and Science and Technology Studies* (Routledge, 2012) 130–150.
- "UPDATED: Charles Samuels: 'I Support Art 180's Project.'" Fan of the Fan, [web.archive.org/web/20121103032405/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/04/charles-samuels-i-support-art-180s-project/](http://web.archive.org/web/20121103032405/http://fanofthefan.com/2012/04/charles-samuels-i-support-art-180s-project/).
- Wallace, Hunter, "The Battle of New Orleans," *Occidental Dissent*, May 5, 2017, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/05/05/the-battle-of-new-orleans/>.
- Wallace, Hunter, "Antifas Vandalize More Confederate Monuments In New Orleans," *Occidental Dissent*, May 24, 2017, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/05/24/antifas-vandalize-more-confederate-monuments-in-new-orleans/>.
- Wallace, Hunter, "New Orleans Begins Removing Confederate Monuments," *AltRight.com*, published on May 27, 2017, <https://altright.com/2017/04/27/new-orleans-begins-removing-confederate-monuments/>.
- Wallace, Hunter, "Confederate Monuments Vandalized Again In New Orleans and St. Louis," *Occidental Dissent*, published on June 1, 2017, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/06/01/confederate-monuments-vandalized-again-in-new-orleans-and-st-louis/>.
- Wallace, Hunter, "Unite the Right Rally" *Occidental Dissent*, published on July 3, 2017, [www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/07/03/unite-the-right-rally](http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2017/07/03/unite-the-right-rally).
- Warner, Coleman, "Reconstruction: A failed quest," *nola.com*, published on June 15, 1993, [https://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/1993/06/reconstruction\\_a\\_failed\\_quest.html](https://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/1993/06/reconstruction_a_failed_quest.html).
- "Week's End." *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 29, 2007, [www.richmond.com/news/week-s-end/article\\_42105230-3e54-5238-9590-69b9613e4701.html](http://www.richmond.com/news/week-s-end/article_42105230-3e54-5238-9590-69b9613e4701.html).
- "Whose Heritage: A Report on Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, last modified 2016, [https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com\\_whose\\_heritage.pdf](https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_whose_heritage.pdf).
- Wilson, Jason, "Are rightwing pundits right that America is on the brink of a civil war?" *The Guardian*, June 22, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jun/22/american-politics-civil-war-alt-right-left-wing>.
- Wilson, Richard Guy, *Monument Avenue, Richmond: A Unique American Boulevard* (The University of Tennessee Press, 2003).
- Wright, Robyn, "Is America Headed For A New Kind Of Civil War?" *The New Yorker*, August 14, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/is-america-headed-for-a-new-kind-of-civil-war>.
- Young, James, "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today," in *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 48–79.
- Zieleniec, Andrzej, "The right to write the city: Lefebvre and graffiti," *Environnement urbain* 10 (2016).
- Zyahna, B. "Change the name of lee Park and Remove the Statue," *Change.org*, last modified Mar 21, 2016, <https://www.change.org/p/charlottesville-city-council-change-the-name-of-lee-park-and-remove-the-statue-in-charlottesville-va>.

Zukin, Sharon "Spaces and Symbols in an Age of Decline," *Re-Presenting the City*, ed. Anthony King (Macmillan Press, 1996) 43–59.

## Curriculum Vitae

**Name:** Wil Patrick

**Post-secondary Education and Degrees:** University of Toronto  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada  
2009-2013 Honours B.A with Distinction

The University of Waterloo  
Stratford, Ontario, Canada  
2015-2016 M.A.

The University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario, Canada  
2017-present M.A.

**Honours and Awards:** British Columbia Graduate Scholarship  
2019

**Related Work Experience** Teaching Assistant  
The University of Waterloo  
2015-2016

Teaching Assistant  
The University of Western Ontario  
2017-2019