

**Entangled Histories for Indeterminate Futures: Racial Capitalisms, Resistances, and
Space in Central Virginia**

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Chapter 1: Introduction	6
Statement of Topic	
Theoretical Framework/Literature Review	
Useful Analytical Lenses: Connecting Racism, Economic Systems, Culture, and the Environment	
How Has Spatial Change Supported Racializations? How Design and Planning Theory and Practice Racialize Space	
Who has not counted? Building on the Project to Addressing the Racialized Excisions of Spatial Histories and Forms	
How Do Racial Categories Change? Tracing Racial Projects across Time, Spatial Scales, and Variant Settings	
Research Questions	
Methods - Overall Approach: Charlottesville as Relational Case Study	
Activist + Collaborative Approaches	
Centering Flows to Study Systems	
Metaphors for Spatial Flows and Systems, and Critical Landscape Analysis	
Chapter Structure and Summary	
Section I: Antebellum Virginia	46
Chapter 2- Early 1850s: Plantation as Town	46
Setting the Scene: Social-Spatial Background before 1850	
Central Virginia Plantations as Global Social-Spatial Networks	
Cash Crop Production	
The Ideology of the Field: Delegating Care as War	
Agricultural Societies, Publications, and Fairs	
Plantation Urbanisms.	
Plantations as towns: nodes of domination connected by railroads and roads	
Regional nodes: University of Virginia and Courthouse Square	
Seeds of Resistance: Rival Geographies in Plantation Landscapes	
Conclusion	
Section II: Post-bellum Central Virginia	85
Introduction: Setting the scene	
Chapter 3- 1865-1876: Emancipation and the Recombinant traditions of “Redemption”	94
Institutional trends: National and State Politics, Race, and Virginia’s “Redemption”	
Culture: Post-Civil War Sociability and Celebration	
Fraternal orders: masons as prototype	
Post-bellum popularity of fraternal orders and other associational forms	

Spatial-Technological
 Charlottesville-Albemarle County’s Plantationary Emancipation + Industrial
 Continuities
 Railroad Development
 Disjointed Networks of Virginia and Nation: 1876 Philadelphia Exposition and
 Southern Commemoration

Chapter 4: 1877-1889 Country for Sale126

1877: Philantro-capitalists and Virginia institutions- the Case of Brooks Hall
 Hiding Systems behind Objects
 “The City”: Emergent Spatial Exchange Value as the “Public Good”
 “The Philanthropist”: Wealth, Intellectual Networks, Capitalist Power, and
 Morality
 “The Field”: Defining Disciplines
 “Men’s Age in the World:” Attempting to fix man’s place
 Braiding Spaces and Interests
 Bridging tensions across geographies and economic sectors
 Selecting facts to build useful trajectories of power through time
 1881 Yorktown Exposition
 Parallel Organizations: Local, State, and National
 Picturing Yorktown: Neocolonial imaginaries
 Historic, Sleepy, and Awakened: Racial Constructions
 Self-valorized Subjects and Places: Virginia’s “Important” histories in
 stone and print
 Hotels, Railroads, and Histories- Emergent Spatial Exchange Value for
 Public Consumption
 Charlottesville late 1880s-1889: County for Sale
 Fraternal Organizations and Hidden Confederates
 Fair Premiums for Place Recognition
 1888 Albemarle County and The Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical, and
 Tobacco Exposition: County (and City) for Sale

Chapter 5: Building the Neo-Plantation Necropolis.....162

Setting the Scene
 Charlottesville Real Estate Boom + Organizational Structures
 Marrying Neo-plantationary and Necropolitical Spatial Logics to Sell the City
 1890: Connectedness and Club membership: Sociality, Celebration, and Ritual
 UVA as a Node of Power
 Democratic Clubs and Political-Institutional Crossovers
 Hereditary Organizations, History, Social Boundaries, and Place
 A Few Men Wearing all the Hats: Land Companies as networked institutions
 building early 20th Century Charlottesville
 1890: Building the Neo-Plantation Necropolis
 1890 Selling the City by shaping the Neighborhoods: Land Company Imaginaries
 and collectivizing land control among elites

- 1890-1904 the University of Virginia and Saint Louis: Spanning the Monumental and Cultural
 - Fayerweather Hall, Lawn Renovations, and Razing Canada
 - 1901 Pilgrimage to Monticello
 - Legal Milestones (Plessy v. Ferguson, 1902 constitution)
 - 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Teleologies of Nationhood
- 1905-1929 Bringing the World’s Fair back to the City
 - 1904-1913 Public Commemoration at University of Virginia and Court Square
 - 1912 Racial Zoning
 - 1915 Jefferson Statue + A School Announcement
 - Late 1910s and 1920s McIntire’s Philanthropic Campaign in Context
 - 1920s Legal Structures
 - 1915-1925 The Threat of Extralegal Violence in the Name of Law and Order
 - 1923 Buying Monticello and Monticello Hotel
 - 1927-1929: The Neo-Plantationary Necropolis and The Monticello Hotel
 - Spotlight
- Conclusions and Openings

Section III: Telling the Terrain Again.....232

Chapter 6: Genealogies of entanglement as lenses for wider futurities.....2322

- Introduction: Situated Entanglement
- Genealogies of blood and money and working at cross-purposes

Bibliography.....245

5

Appendix- Figures.....284

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of Topic

This project stems from a life-long set of questions. Why does the world look like it does? Why does it seem that as soon as I join in on any aspect of American daily life: eating, sleeping, celebrating, working, I am drawn immediately into relations of cruelty that differentially allocate life and death, wealth and poverty, freedom and confinement?

I pick up a carton of milk at the store (figure 1.1) and see the dairy, beef and poultry farms I grew up around in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the grassy views, but also the smell of the river as it crossed from fresh to fecal in the summers, and the e-coli warnings in the creeks I tramped in. The package calls me with its images of happy cows, green fields, and the display promising a “pure and wholesome” product inside. Alongside these images I hold the knowledge of disproportionate danger of injury and death in dairy workers’ lives.¹ The environs around my home are orchestrated to resemble the images on the milk carton, but I hold this vision alongside knowledge that polluting agro-industrial facilities that produce the food on these shelves are clustered in communities of color.²

The milk carton itself tells a number of stories that are common in the U.S.’s present-day dominant culture.³ It associates the milk inside as part of the favored end of a plethora of cultural binaries. It is pure (not polluted), the cows are happy (not suffering), it is healthy and wholesome (not diseased), its setting is pastoral (not polluted), and the substance itself is white (not Black).

¹ Bruce Goldstein, “Opinion: Dairy Farm Safety Needs to Improve,” *The Washington Post*, April 10, 2018.

² Jayson Maurice Porter, “Agrochemicals, Environmental Racism, and Environmental Justice in U.S. History” (The Organic Center, 2022), https://organic-center.org/sites/default/files/agrochemicals_racism_and_justice_in_us_history.pdf; J. T. Roane, “Black Ecologies, Subaquatic Life, and the Jim Crow Enclosure of the Tidewater,” *Journal of Rural Studies* 94 (2022): 227–38.

³ T.R. Bates, “Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, no. 2 (1975): 351–66.

These associations are meant to draw on a potential buyer's reservoir of cultural and spatial meanings- the milk packages pushes me towards seeing this particular carton of milk as valuable and worth purchasing. It invites me into a healthful, bright and pleasant future as an earthly being that drinks "pure and wholesome" milk.

My daily life in the US in 2023 is underpinned by hundreds of such messages every day, more subtly by fear and threat of the consequences of any choice. What I eat. What I read. Where and how I work. Where I sleep. And the stakes of such choices over the long term feel very high. Will I stay healthy? If I become unhealthy, will I be able to pay for my medical care? If I cannot pay for medical care, will I be able to work? If I cannot work, will the society that sells me milk with the promise of health allow me to die and blame the "bad choices" that "caused" my unhealth? My relative economic privilege short-circuits the spiral and I just buy the milk.

Across these everyday experiences, I began to think connectively about these stories. Wynter and McKittrick to the ways cultural stories permeate and constrain our imaginations, and train us to act as handmaidens to capital, that

discourses of natural scarcity, the bell curve, and so forth, together with the 'planet of slums' reality that is before us- which is nevertheless *made to appear, in commonsense terms*, as being *naturally* determined. This common-sense naturalized story is cast as the only *possible* realization of the way the world must be, and 'is.'⁴

In other words, I'd been had, but I could not think myself outside these systems, as they are the only systems I could presently see. So I asked questions about what I could see. The idea of choice permeates our society: all the citizens of the US are supposedly "free" to "choose" life

⁴ Katherine McKittrick, ed., *Sylvia Wynter: On Being Human as Praxis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 11.

paths that point us toward “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”⁵ Why does our dominant culture seem to constantly sort ideas, places, objects, and acts, into endlessly conflicting and overlapping binaries that point us both towards and away from these three goals simultaneously? Whose “life liberty and happiness” is prioritized, and who is always cast on the ‘undesirable’ sides of these binaries of valuation? Who has choice and whose choice is taken away to sustain others’ paths?

As I observed more stories in the everyday over time, certain patterns laid out pathways for investigation. First, these stories centered around binaries. Second, the stories were spatialized, or told through images and narratives that connected people, places and ecologies, and assigned value or un-value through associations with poles of binaries. Third, the stories drew on historical imageries that added weight and credibility to narratives that pertained to assignments of relative value. Finally, as I began to look in a more layered manner at the past, I found that stories both changed significantly over time,⁶ and also stayed fundamentally the same.⁷

As the project evolved and the shiftiness of stories about value became clear, I turned to a relational approach to history. I turned to frameworks and methods from ecological and landscape theory and subaltern spatial frameworks. I focused less on nouns, objects, and static arrangements with periods of significance. I focused more on verbs and flows, and spatial change over time.

⁵ Thomas Jefferson et al., “In Congress, July 4, 1776, a Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled.” (John Dunlap, 1776), <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003576546>.

⁶ In the example of milk, I found that until the early 20th century, fluid milk was not broadly considered an appropriate food for adults in the US. Kendra Smith-Howard, *Pure and Modern Milk: An Environmental History since 1900* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁷ For a much longer trajectory of European history, ideas about food, health, race, and perfecting bodies have been closely entwined. Sabrina Strings, *Fearing the Black Body: The Racial Origins of Fat Phobia* (New York: New York University Press, 2019),.

What emerged was a project that reads social-spatial conditions in Charlottesville through the lens of sedimented⁸ and spatialized racial histories. I started to see the Charlottesville area as a base from which to track the material, political, and monetary flows that passed through this place over time. I started to see it as a node where many flows crossed, not as a discrete “city” with a particular trajectory. I found that networks are an underexamined aspect of how consolidation of power occurs, and how particular stories come to seem like “common sense.” I also found that over time, many people worked opportunistically to build networks that consolidated control over, manipulated stories about, and extracted outrageous and changing types of exchange value from spaces and people.

Foundational stories⁹ are central to society’s framing of the ongoing and everyday actions that pertain to our collective futures. Public memory is not a fixed collection of facts, but instead ever-changing bundles of remembrances and forgettings that structure popular understandings of our current realities.¹⁰ Cultural stories are constantly made and remade, and dynamics of power and interest are as constituent of these stories as the “facts” themselves. In many cases, celebratory and linear stories serve the interests of elites and those seeking to consolidate histories around particular interests.¹¹

⁸ Anna Livia Brand, “The Sedimentation of Whiteness as Landscape,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 40, no. 2 (April 2022): 276–91; Tao Leigh Goffe, “‘Guano in Their Destiny’: Race, Geology, and a Philosophy of Indenture,” *Amerasia Journal* 45, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 27–49, Alexander G. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

⁹ Leonie Sandercock, “Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice,” *Planning Theory & Practice* 4, no. 1 (January 2003): 11–28, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1464935032000057209>.

¹⁰ Michel-Rolph Trouillot and Hazel V. Carby, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015).

¹¹ Andrea Roberts, “The End of Bootstraps and Good Masters: Fostering Social Inclusion by Creating Counternarratives,” in *Issues in Preservation Policy - Preservation and Social Inclusion*, ed. Erica Avrami (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), 109–22.

This work seeks to destabilize and reorganize historical facts through a *relational* approach to history: probing the gaps, unraveling constructed certainties, ticking between and connecting across various historical, spatial, and social positionalities, reorganizing seemingly unconnected stories across time and space. I hope this work will be one of many responses to Katherine McKittrick's spatial analog to foundational stories: what she terms "transparent space," or the frame of perceiving the world that makes current relations of power and material assignation seem normal or natural.¹² What she calls for instead is exploring "demonic grounds," or an outlook of spatial indeterminacy, instability, and curiosity: challenges to the frames of traditional histories to "make visible social lives which are often displaced, rendered ungeographic."¹³

This effort explores three approaches in its mission to destabilize founding narratives: first, I work to make the desired trajectories and the spatial logics of the powerful visible and denaturalize them by outlining their bizarre specificity and fragility. I also strive to show the mechanisms of their working through space, scrutinizing who benefits and how. Second, I attempt to recover and point to some of the multiple alternative trajectories and social-spatial logics that have existed alongside dominant modes of spatial practice through various points in the past and present. This recovery is premised on the idea that many of the tools and approaches for making the world we want may not be new at all. Third, the work seeks political and physical spaces for realignments, reprioritizations and alternative connectivities and solidarities across

¹² Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

¹³ *Ibid.*, x.

disciplines, social categories, and geographies rendered “separate” or “unrelated” by our current dominant modes of thought and practice.

I begin by examining Charlottesville as a case study from various positions in time, to excavate, enliven, and reveal the obscured relevancies of these histories to the present day. I use a varied set of research methods, including archival, genealogical, field observational, and activist research methods to probe the relational histories of Charlottesville across geographical scales and through time.

Through this approach, I aspire to engender real shifts in perception and action in the lived, embodied world, opening up possibility for surprise and the ongoing politicization of perception. As McKittrick notes: “surprise does not end after it has been encountered. Rather, it is followed by an experiential curiosity, wonder, which is inevitably attached to new sensations, new ideas, that were previously unavailable.”¹⁴ I hope this work will open doors to politicizing space, exploring parallel presents¹⁵ and dreaming new futures¹⁶ for the everyday, through the spatial-social-racial relations in Charlottesville area and beyond. I hope this study opens some crack to broader questions and entanglements. Perhaps we will leave the question of what milk to buy and find modest portals to alternative worldings that are available, but eclipsed by the stories have been trained to see.

¹⁴ Ibid, 93.

¹⁵ Thank you to Prof. Kwame Otu for coining this term in my proposal defense. It resonates with the work of other scholars including Quito Swan, who in his job talk at UVA in February 2019 spoke about the Black Pacific, and his fieldwork on parallel anticolonial engineering practices in Oceania that emerge from Black Power politics’ manifestations in systemic environmental self-sufficiency. I’m paraphrasing here, but he noted: *I made the mistake of asking if they had power, and I meant narrowly, electrical power for my devices, and they didn’t. But of course they had power, it just wasn’t compatible with my things. Everything there worked on solar and other types of power that weren’t legible to me. People go there and describe this as a place that is lost to time, that it is primitive, but really it’s the future.* His book is now published: Quito Swan, *Pauulu’s Diaspora: Black Internationalism and Environmental Justice* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2020).

¹⁶ Robin D. G Kelley, *Freedom Dreams* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u3857728>.

Theoretical Framework/Literature Review

Useful Analytical Lenses: Connecting Racism, Economic Systems, Culture, and the Environment

In order to explore the ongoing construction of racializing and rival assemblages, I draw on design and spatial history and theory, Marxist, environmental, and black and race-radical historians of the systems and spaces of modernity. Race radical traditions and Marxist ecological histories provide analytical tools that trouble these omissions and draw together disparate areas of spatial history through the lens of racial construction. Robinson's theory of *racial capitalism* lays out a clear framework for understanding the material basis for racialization. He identifies *race* as the philosophical invention that enacts the division of humanity into favored/disfavored or white/black. This definition of race is further elaborated by Ruth W. Gilmore who defines race as "the state-sanctioned and/or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to premature death, in distinct yet densely interconnected political geographies."

¹⁷ In other words, processes that racialize in turn facilitate brutal practices of extraction and exploitation from differentially racially categorized peoples across geographies. Robinson traces the project of intra-European racialism (at first directed toward oppressed people in Europe like the colonized Irish) and nationalism, and their translation into the systems of chattel slavery and expansion of the plantation-based mercantile economic system that become the basis for the emerging economic and social systems of the United States.

I combine Robinson's orientation toward race and nation with Moore's Marxist-environmental concept of *oikeios*, which describes capitalism as a particular system for organizing human and extra-human natures. He sees the invention of a *nature/culture divide* as

¹⁷ R.J. Johnston, Peter J. Taylor, and Michael J. Watts, eds., "Race and Globalization," in *Geographies of Global Change: Remapping the World*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 20261–74).

the key philosophical invention that enables the appropriation and exploitation of various aspects of ecological systems, including human relations. He sees the history of modernity as environmental history.

Ferdinand's thinking can help bridge Robinson and Moore's two approaches, which claim different organizing dualities for capitalist modernity (black/white or nature/culture). He outlines a "double fracture," wherein the binary logics of modernity beget both an "animal fracture" that produces hierarchy across a human/non-human divide, and a "colonial fracture" within the category of "human" that places colonizer above colonized.¹⁸ He argues that currently dominant ways of inhabiting the earth amount to a practiced mode of "colonial inhabitation," characterized by three principles- making some spaces *geographically subordinate* to others, exploitation of land for extraction of *products*, and *othercide*, or "the refusal of the possibility of inhabiting the earth in the present of another, of a person who is different from a 'self' [...] in their appearance, in the social affiliations, or their beliefs."¹⁹ Extending Ferdinand's bridging across the connected binaries of nature/culture and black white, we can begin to observe the uses of these binary-producing logics: good/bad, rural/urban, low/high, body/mind, devil/angel, ruined/pristine, female/male, and as they are produced and attached by shifting sets of players to bodies, systems, and spaces in order to attempt to organize the world into complex, inconsistent, and minutely calibrated hierarchies that guide and structure action for economic gain under capitalist systems.

Alexander Weheliye's term *racializing assemblages* is a powerful tool for its ability to draw the above frames into spatial realms. Drawing heavily on black feminist theories of Sylvia

¹⁸ Malcolm Ferdinand, *Decolonial Ecology: Thinking from the Caribbean World* (Fakenham, Norfolk: Polity Press, 2022), 3-5.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 28.

Wynter, Hortense Spillers, and others, Weheliye describes racializing assemblages as ongoing efforts to visually ascribe historically sedimented and racialized meaning to bodies.²⁰ This logic can be extended beyond human bodies to non-human life, places and objects, and in doing so, I use *racializing assemblages* as a term to denote how racial meaning is constructed through both the material and ideological, the ecological and built, the embodied and global. I argue that underexplored in the histories of design and spatial articulation are the persistent efforts to divide countless features of the world into binaries or polar arrangements with spectra between. At the same time, I hypothesize that study of efforts to survive and resist these regimes can open avenues for uncovering and supporting ongoing *rival assemblages*²¹, assignment of meaning that supports action that contests, resists, and lives through and around these attempted dominations. Such a search may provide useful approaches to imagining and enacting alternative socialities.

How Has Spatial Change Supported Racializations? How Design and Planning Theory and Practice Racialize Space

In terms of making visible the ongoing construction of human hierarchies and racialized “common sense” in the service of racial capitalism, planning and landscape studies have large areas of useful scholarship. Planning histories often begin at the cusp of the 19th and 20th centuries, with the dramatic industrialization in cities, and urbanization of formerly rural

²⁰ Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus*.

²¹ This idea of rival assemblages is a reworking of Stephanie Camp’s use of the term *rival geographies*, which she draws from the work of Dana Outram and Edward Said. I argue that while keeping a search for alternate conceptions of space is important, equally important is the relational and embodied nature of these rival spatial logics. I feel the term rival assemblages is a more apt one for this question, as it better characterizes the ever-shifting and opportunistic nature of these alternative relations, and acknowledges that any object or actor can at once be part of a racializing assemblage *and* a rival assemblage, getting at the ambiguity, ambivalence, and blurrings of relations to power under coercive and violent systems like those in play in the US. Stephanie M. H. Camp, “A Geography of Containment,” in *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*, Gender and American Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 13–34.; Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*, Race and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

populations in Europe and the US. Many planning and design historians critically examine the social-racial ideologies and commercial entanglements of the traditional founding figures of City Beautiful and utopian city propositions, like Daniel Burnham,²² Worlds' Fairs Organizers,²³ Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier,²⁴ and Frank Lloyd Wright.²⁵ Planning and design historians are also beginning to address the ways that these frames of thinking translated in highly racialized ways to later conceptions and implementations of Urban Renewal and neighborhood unit development projects.²⁶

²² In her introduction to the 1993 edition of the Plan of Chicago, Kristin Shaffer argues that Daniel Burnham actually held a much larger vision for the social functions of the city than was included in the final version after negotiation with the industrial interests that commissioned the plan. Kristin Shaffer et al., "Introduction," in *Plan of Chicago* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993).

²³ Robert Rydell makes an eye-opening argument connecting the spatial organization of World's Fairs directly to industrial-imperial interests, and an orchestrated image of the US organized around idealized whiteness and a propaganda campaign for a vision of American industrial-imperial capitalism. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, Paperback ed (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987).

²⁴ Mabel Wilson, using literary analysis frames from Toni Morrison, thoughtfully exposes the racialized and gendered imagination of Le Corbusier as he was envisioning utopian city prototypes that were widely applied in the early to mid 20th centuries. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).; Mabel O Wilson, "Dancing in the Dark: The Inscription of Blackness in Le Corbusier's Radiant City," in *Places through the Body*, ed. Heidi J. Nast and Steve Pile (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998), 133–52.

²⁵ Robert Fishman, "Urban Utopias in the 20th Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier," in *Readings in Planning Theory*, ed. Susan S Fainstein and Scott Campbell, Fourth edition (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley/Blackwell, 2016). Outlines the social ideologies driving the various city plans of these three founding figures

²⁶ Daniel Bluestone argues that in the South, City Beautiful forms were also leveraged to enact segregation and propagate white supremacy, and Mehaffy et. al. and Mark Benton argue both that the work of Clarence Perry and Harland Bartholomew is indebted to City Beautiful lineages, and both tie these ideas to ideologies of racial separation and hierarchy. Mark Benton, "'Just the Way Things Are Around Here': Racial Segregation, Critical Junctures, and Path Dependence in St. Louis," *Journal of Urban History*, 2007, 1–18; Mark Benton, "'Saving' the City: Harland Bartholomew and Administrative Evil in St. Louis," *Public Integrity* 20, no. 2 (March 4, 2018): 194–206; Daniel M. Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory: Case Studies in Historic Preservation*, 1st ed (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2011); Michael W. Mehaffy, Sergio Porta, and Ombretta Romice, "The 'Neighborhood Unit' on Trial: A Case Study in the Impacts of Urban Morphology," *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 8, no. 2 (April 3, 2015): 199–217..

Other historians are examining racialized spatial histories in US cities, and their connections to the practices of urban planning and design. Some study the emergence of zoning and spatial regulation²⁷ and its connection to home and project financing²⁸ in order to highlight the mechanisms behind racial segregation. Some track the spatial regulation of the body as a racialized aspect of urban governance.²⁹ Other scholars track the connections between racially disproportionate subjugations, displacements, and takings, and their connections to financial structures and gains.³⁰ Still other scholars track the racial-spatial effects of policy

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- ²⁷ Charles M Haar, Jerold S Kayden, and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, *Zoning and the American Dream: Promises Still to Keep* (Chicago, Ill: Chicago, Ill. : Planners Press, American Planning Association, 1989; Ruth Knack, Meck Stuart, and Israel Stollman, “The Real Story Behind the Standard Planning and Zoning Acts of the 1920s,” *Land Use Law and Zoning Digest* 48, no. 2 (1996): 3–9; Douglas S Massey and Nancy A Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993; Christopher Silver, “The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities,” in *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows*, ed. Thomas Manning, June Manning, and Marsha Ritzdorf (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997); Henry Louis Taylor and Walter B. Hill, eds., *Historical Roots of the Urban Crisis: African Americans in the Industrial City, 1900-1950*, *Crosscurrents in African American History*, v. 7 (New York: Garland Pub, 2000).
- ²⁸ John H Denton, *Race and Property*, University of California. University Extension Series on Public Issues, 2; University of California, Los Angeles University Extension University Extension Series on Public Issues (Berkeley, Calif: Diablo Press, 1964; “Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America,” University of Richmond Scholar’s Lab, accessed September 18, 2019, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/>; Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*, First edition (New York ; London: Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W. W. Norton & Company, 2017); Taylor and Hill, *Historical Roots of the Urban Crisis.*; Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership*, Justice, Power, and Politics (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019; Thomas and Ritzdorf, *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows.*; Clement E Vose, *Caucasians Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP, and the Restrictive Covenant Cases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).
- ²⁹ Risa Lauren Goluboff, *Vagrant Nation: Police Power, Constitutional Change, and the Making of the 1960s* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016); Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York: Guilford Press, 2003); Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law* (New York: Association Press, 1910).
- ³⁰ Matthew Desmond, *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*, First Edition (New York: Crown Publishers, 2016); Richard E Foglesong, *Planning the Capitalist City: The Colonial Era to the 1920s* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986; Andrew W. Kahrl, “Capitalizing on the Urban Fiscal Crisis: Predatory Tax Buyers in 1970s Chicago,” *Journal of Urban History*, May 28, 2015; Andrew W. Kahrl, *The Land Was Ours: How Black Beaches Became White Wealth in the Coastal South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Andrew W. Kahrl, “Investing in Distress: Tax Delinquency

implementations and urban megaprojects,³¹ environmental regulation (or lack thereof),³² and the uses of violence, incarceration, surveillance and spectacle for racialized subjugation.³³ A growing group of scholars across planning and landscape studies fields study the contributions of Historic Preservation practices to white supremacist storytelling.³⁴ This project builds on these bodies of literature by exploring what institutions, practices, and policies have been in developed in Charlottesville that support the project of capital accumulation through spatial racialization.

and Predatory Tax Buying in Urban America,” *Critical Sociology* 43, no. 2 (March 2017): 199–219 Samuel Stein, *Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State*, The Jacobin Series; Jacobin Series (London: Verso, 2019).

³¹ Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America and What We Can Do About It*, second (New Village Press, 2016); K. Ian Grandison, “The Other Side of the ‘Free’ Way: Planning for ‘Separate but Equal’ in the Wake of Massive Resistance,” in *Race and Real Estate*, ed. Adrienne R. Brown and Valerie Smith (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 195–236.

³²R.D. Bullard et al., “Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty: 1987-2007” (United Church of Christ, 2007), <http://www.ucc.org/assets/pdfs/toxic20.pdf>; Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, “Principles of Environmental Justice” (Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, Washington DC: United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, 1991); Laura Pulido, “Geographies of Race and Ethnicity 1: White Supremacy vs White Privilege in Environmental Racism Research,” *Progress in Human Geography* 39, no. 6 (December 2015): 809–17; Laura Pulido, “Geographies of Race and Ethnicity II: Environmental Racism, Racial Capitalism and State-Sanctioned Violence,” *Progress in Human Geography* 41, no. 4 (August 2017): 524–33; Yale Rabin, “Expulsive Zoning, the Inequitable Legacy of Euclid,” in *Zoning and the American Dream: Promises Still to Keep*, ed. Charles M Haar, Jerold S Kayden, and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (Chicago, Ill: Chicago, Ill. : Planners Press, American Planning Association, c1989, 1989).

³³ Michelle Alexander and Cornel West, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, Revised edition (New York: New Press, 2012); Angela Y. Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?*, Open Media Book (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003); Ruth Wilson Gilmore, “Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography,” *The Professional Geographer* 54, no. 1 (2002): 15–24; Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*, American Crossroads 21 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Sherrilyn Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn* (S.l.: BEACON, 2018); Achille Mbembe, “Necropolitics,” *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11–40; Mitchell, *The Right to the City*; Rashad Shabazz, *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of Confinement and Black Masculinity in Chicago*, New Black Studies Series (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015); Nicole Gonzalez Van Cleve, *Crook County: Racism and Injustice in America’s Largest Criminal Court*, 2017.

³⁴ Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory*; Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts, *Denmark Vesey’s Garden: Slavery and Memory in the Cradle of Confederacy* (New York: The New Press, 2018).

Who has counted as designer/planners? Revealing Specificities of Canonical Tellings of the History of Design

Taking up the lens of *racial and rival assemblages* brings particular areas of design and planning history and theory to the fore due to their participation in producing racializing logics and spaces. Canonically told design histories often focus on the intentionally designed spaces of the powerful.³⁵ These lineages closely follow the moving center of capitalist development that scholars like Jason Moore and Cedric Robinson outline: From the Iberian/Italian-led period in the 14th through 16th Centuries, the English-led capitalism from the 17th through the 19th centuries, and American-led capitalism in the 19th century through the present.³⁶

Division of design disciplines further segments these histories in space and time across lines of rural (Landscape/Vernacular Architectural History) and urban (Urban Planning/Architecture), Western and non-Western, and antebellum and post bellum time periods. They often also show Western Classical, Neoclassical, and modern architecture in opposition to the design histories of non-Western cultures. Oft-repeated lineages of design thought begin with Greek and Roman antecedents, move to the “premodern” representational interventions of Alberti, Palladio, and Descartes and other Renaissance-era thinkers. From here, these lineages develop into the design languages of industrializing England, France, and Germany. In typical accounts, landscape studies diverge from the history of urban planning, dividing rural and urban settings, and both largely ignore issues of race and power. These teleologies follow design

³⁵ Examples of such texts include: Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, 3rd ed (Oxford, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001); Marvin Trachtenberg and Isabelle Hyman, *Architecture, from Prehistory to Post-Modernism: The Western Tradition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : New York: Prentice-Hall ; H.N. Abrams, 1986).

³⁶ Periodization structure from: Jason W Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (London, New York: Verso, 2015), 119-120.

thinking in Europe as they are translated into the landscape gardening traditions and urban planning traditions of the US via figures like Andrew Jackson Downing, Frederick Law Olmsted, Ebenezer Howard, and Patrick Geddes. These texts are often used to articulate a finite set of trajectories that is projected into the future: design and urban planning was articulated by design geniuses and expert planners, and by learning and studying these lineages, one can join the privileged circle of credentialed experts fit to plan the world's built future.³⁷

These tellings of design history resonate strongly with Robinson's assessment of the intellectual project of Eurocentrism.³⁸ He argues³⁹ that these intellectual productions are themselves part of racializing ideologies that do the work of erasing the racially entangled origins of modernity, and constructing non-European people as inferior beings without histories or cultures: "the exorcizing of the Black Mediterranean is about the fabrication of Europe as a discrete, racially pure entity solely responsible for modernity on one hand, and the fabrication of the Negro, on the other."⁴⁰ Based on Robinson's perceptive assessment of the cultural projects of modernity, we can begin to examine relevant literature from design history and theory environmental histories of capitalism, and Black radical and subaltern thought in terms of challenging these efforts to construct racial hierarchies in ongoing ways and to excise histories of racialized people. This project contributes to the project of understanding how racist ideas about

³⁷ Baird and Szczygiel speak about the discriminatory and exclusionary aspects of credentialization that emerged in the late nineteenth century in: Timothy C. Baird and Bonj Szczygiel, "The Sociology of Professions: The Evolution of Landscape Architecture in the United States.," *Landscape Review* 12, no. 1 (2007): 3–25.

³⁸ Scholars within the fields of architectural and design history are also arguing that architectural history and theory as traditionally taught are highly exclusionary: Meltem O Gurel and Kathryn H Anthony, "The Canon and the Void: Gender, Race and Architectural History Texts," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2006, 66–76.

³⁹ Along with many other scholars including: Edward W Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1st ed (New York: Knopf, 1993); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁴⁰ Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), xiv.

what constitutes “good” design have emerged over time and gained wide credence in the design fields and the popular imagination. Further, this investigation reveals ways these design traditions are historically contingent, specific, and questionable, and explores the consequences they have for the futures available for U.S. cities.

Who has not counted? Building on the Project to Addressing the Racialized Excisions of Spatial Histories and Forms

In terms of the excision of non-white male spatial histories, many planning and design scholars are working to revise planning and design histories to consider and highlight the efforts and contributions of hitherto unrecognized figures. In planning and design theory and practice, ongoing concern with participation, communication, democracy, correction of power imbalances, process, and justice in planning has been the field’s response to the demands raised in the era of the Civil Rights Movement and the urban uprisings of the late 1960s.⁴¹ While some

⁴¹ Many design histories note Whitney Young Jr.’s damning address to the American Institute of Architects Convention in 1968 as a watershed moment in the emergence of participatory design. Barbara B Wilson, *Resilience for All: Striving for Equity through Community-Driven Design*, 2018.; Whitney M. Young, Jr., “Keynote Address at The 1968 AIA Convention in Portland, Oregon,” 1968. Literature on these approaches to planning: Sherry R. Arnstein, “A Ladder of Citizen Participation,” *AIP Journal*, 1969, 216–24; Susan Fainstein, “Spatial Justice and Planning,” in *Readings in Planning Theory*, ed. Susan S. Fainstein and Scott Campbell, Fourth edition (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley/Blackwell, 2016); Paul Davidoff, ed., “Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31, no. 4 (1965): 331–38; Raphael Fischler, “Reflective Practice,” in *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance, and Reflective Practice*, ed. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence J. Vale, and Christina D. Rosan (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2012); Bent Flyvbjerg, “Bringing Power to Planning Research: One Researcher’s Praxis Story,” *Journal of Planning Research* 21, no. 4 (2002): 353–66; John Forester, “Planning In the Face of Conflict: Negotiation and Mediation Strategies in Local Land Use Regulation,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 53, no. 3 (September 30, 1987): 303–14; John Forester, *The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999); Patsy Healey, “Communicative Planning: Practices, Concepts, Rhetorics,” in *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance, and Reflective Practice*, ed. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence J. Vale, and Christina D. Rosan (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2012), 332–58; Margo Huxley, “The Limits to Communicative Planning,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19 (2000): 369–77; Norman Krumholz and John Forester, *Making Equity Planning Work: Leadership in the Public Sector, Conflicts in Urban and Regional Development* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); June Manning Thomas, “Social Justice as Responsible Practice: Influence of Race, Ethnicity, and the Civil Rights Era,” in *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance, and Reflective Practice*, ed. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence J. Vale, and Christina D. Rosan (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2012).

scholars have pointed out that few of these efforts for planning reform have specifically addressed race as a main topic in calls for planning justice,⁴² a number of scholars are attempting to do that from within the design fields.

Lipsitz introduces a spatial corollary to Robinson's intellectualized black radical tradition. Termed the *black spatial imaginary*, Lipsitz explicates this spatial orientation as qualitatively opposed to the white imaginary's conceptualization of land in terms of monetized property. He notes that this orientation toward space "privilege[es] use value over exchange value, sociality over selfishness, and inclusion over exclusion."⁴³ Systems of domination are never complete, as alternate versions of interpreting and inhabiting space always exist in practical and lived experience within, alongside and in opposition to attempts to claim and dominate space.

Within the field of planning history, many scholars are exploring the excised histories within the design fields. Sandercock's influential volume argues for and models attention to "insurgent planning histories" that make "counterplanning" traditions visible in the field's literature.⁴⁴ Wirka exhumes the history of women's social work as a precursor to formal urban planning, and Weisman examines the roots of gendered space and modern feminist response.⁴⁵ In architectural history and preservation, scholar-practitioners like Bates, Hayden and Wilson have

⁴² Rashad Akeem Williams, "From Racial to Reparative Planning: Confronting the White Side of Planning," *JOURNAL OF PLANNING EDUCATION AND RESEARCH*, August 5, 2020.

⁴³ George Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race," *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1–07 (2007), 61.

⁴⁴ Leonie Sandercock, ed., *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, California Studies in Critical Human Geography 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Susan Marie Wirka, "The City Social Movement: Progressive Women Reformers and Early Social Planning," in *Planning the Twentieth Century American City*, ed. Mary Corbin Sies and Christopher Silver (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1996).

⁴⁵ Leslie Weisman, "Home as a Metaphor for Society," in *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (1992: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 190; Wirka, "The City Social Movement: Progressive Women Reformers and Early Social Planning."

explored public and social histories as a basis for spatial practice, and the fields of preservation and cultural landscapes evidences an emerging concern with interpreting diverse social histories and honoring the everyday.⁴⁶ In architectural and landscape design, writers like Lokko, Wilkins, and Barton have called for and demonstrated alternative conceptions of design practice that draw on black spatial practice and knowledge.⁴⁷

More broadly across academic history, a new wave of scholarship on the intellectual and activist legacy of early black scholars like Du Bois, Woodson, and Jones is challenging the idea that the fields of graphic design, data visualization, modern sociology, literary-spatial analysis, historiography, and myriad other fields originated solely in historically white institutions and scholarship.⁴⁸ This work on historically Black institutions and scholarship is unwinding some of the excised histories of many fields.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Niya Bates, “Blurred Lines: African American Community, Memory, and Preservation in the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District” (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Department of Architectural History, 2016.; Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, 4. print (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn.*; John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984; Maggie H Roe, *New Cultural Landscapes* (New York: Routledge, 2014; Mabel Wilson, *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012)

⁴⁷ Craig Evan Barton, *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race*, 1st ed (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001); Kofi Boone, “Black Landscapes Matter,” *Ground Up: Journal of the Department of Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning- UC Berkeley*, accessed November 28, 2018, <http://groundupjournal.org/blacklandscapesmatter/>; Lesley Naa Norle Lokko, ed., *White Papers, Black Marks: Architecture, Race, Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Craig L. Wilkins, *The Aesthetics of Equity: Notes on Race, Space, Architecture, and Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

⁴⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois, Whitney Battle-Baptiste, and Britt Rusert, *W.E.B Du Bois’s Data Portraits: Visualizing Black America*, First edition ([Amherst, Mass.] : Hudson, NY: The W.E.B. Du Bois Center At the University of Massachusetts Amherst ; Princeton Architectural Press, 2018); Carole Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Jacqueline Anne Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History*, Southern Biography Series (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993); Joyce King, “Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and the Miseducation of Teachers,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 60, no. 3 (Spring 1991): 133–46; Alexander Weheliye, “Diagrammatics as Physiognomy: W.E.B. DuBois’s Graphic Modernity,” *The New Centennial Review* 15, no. 2 (2015): 23–58; Francille Rusan Wilson, *The Segregated Scholars: Black Social Scientists and the Creation of Black Labor Studies, 1890-1950*, Carter G. Woodson Institute Series (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006); Wilson, *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and*

Scholars like Alves, Miraftab, Roy and Ha are examining practices of insurgency and informality that work simultaneously within and around legal structures in order to effect spatial and systemic change.⁵⁰ And areas of public interest and participatory design, are emerging to both modify spatial relations and redistribute power.⁵¹ All of these areas of study broaden the idea of spatial and social planning to well beyond the arena of credentialed “experts.”

A useful complement to these approaches from inside planning and design is a growing literature on the planning practices of hitherto unrecognized figures and grassroots organizations. Planning historians like Andrea Roberts are examining the spatial practices that bridge ante and post-bellum periods in her work on Black freedom colonies in Texas. Through this effort, she raises regulator and citizen consciousness of historic Black communities, continuities of culture, and land dispossession that have gone largely unaddressed by planning history.⁵² In a related

Museums; Carter Godwin Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Washington DC: Associate Publishers, 1933).

⁴⁹ In relatively recent times, disciplines have performed their own excisions of non-white contributions to intellectual and academic literatures, effecting the type of mis-education Carter Woodson so perceptively indicted in 1933. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*.

⁵⁰ Jamie Amparo Alves, “From Necropolis to Blackopolis: Necropolitical Governance and Black Spatial Praxis in Sao Paulo, Brazil,” *Antipode* 46, no. 2 (2014): 323–39; Kristina Graaff and Noa Ha, eds., *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalized Economy* (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015); Faranak Miraftab, “Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South,” *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1 (2009): 32–46; Ananya Roy, “Urban Informality: The Production of Space and the Practice of Planning,” in *Readings in Planning Theory*, ed. Susan S Fainstein and Scott Campbell, Fourth edition (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley/Blackwell, 2016).

⁵¹ “DJDS | Designing Justice + Designing Spaces,” accessed September 17, 2019, <http://designingjustice.org/>; Wilson, *Resilience for All.*; Wilkins, *The Aesthetics of Equity.*; David de la Peña et al., *Design as Democracy: Techniques for Collective Creativity*, 2017.

⁵² Andrea R. Roberts, “The Farmers’ Improvement Society and the Women’s Barnyard Auxiliary of Texas: African American Community Building in the Progressive Era,” *Journal of Planning History* 16, no. 3 (August 2017): 222–4; Andrea Roberts, “The Texas Freedom Colonies Project,” accessed September 17, 2019, <http://www.thetexasfreedomcoloniesproject.com/>.

strain, environmental justice principles, emerging from Black grassroots organizing in North Carolina are coming to be discussed as part of design history.⁵³

These revisionist planning and design histories can be productively paired with scholarship of alternate environmental and epistemologies and spatial practices tracing to early American history and beyond. Both Carl Anthony and Jeffery Hantman call for a consideration of deep time, in the range of thousands and millions of years rather than the recent history of “modernity” in order to contextualize the history and possible futures of human habitation.⁵⁴ Stephanie Camp, Nick Estes, Diane Glave, Saidiya Hartman, Walter Johnson, Mark Leone, Carolyn Merchant, Jennifer Morgan, Tony Perry, Stephanie Smallwood, Mart Stewart, and many others have outlined the ways that subjugated people have used their bodies and environmental knowledges derived from physical circumstances as resources in the struggle for freedom, autonomy, and self-determination.⁵⁵

⁵³ Bullard et al., “Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty: 1987-2007.”; Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, “Principles of Environmental Justice.”

⁵⁴ Carl Anthony, “Reflections on African American Environmental History,” in *To Love the Wind and the Rain: African Americans and Environmental History*, ed. Dianne D. Glave and Mark Stoll (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Jeffrey L. Hantman, *Monacan Millennium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018).

⁵⁵ Monique Allewaert, *Ariel's Ecology: Plantations, Personhood, and Colonialism in the American Tropics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap, 2004); Stephanie Camp, “The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830-1861,” *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 3 (August 2002): 533–72; Stephanie M. H. Camp, “A Geography of Containment,” in *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South, Gender and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 13–34; Nick Estes, Bill Andrew Quinn, and Tantor Media, *Our History Is the Future Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance* (Old Saybrook, Conn.: Tantor Media, 2019); Dianne D Glave, *Rooted in the Earth: Reclaiming the African American Environmental Heritage*, 1st ed (Chicago, Ill: Lawrence Hill Books, 2010); Dianne D. Glave and Mark Stoll, eds., *To Love the Wind and the Rain: African Americans and Environmental History* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*; Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013); Carolyn Merchant, “Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History,” *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (July 2003): 380; Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery, Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Stephanie E Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A*

The great potential in the over-riding concept of *racialized and rival assemblages* is its ability to link the racialized body (in aggregate, the central focus of Robinson's critique of Marxism) to physical and ideological systems of the production of society in and through the web of life in a search for strategies for relating to the world beyond constructs of monetized wealth and resource appropriation (the focus of Moore's theory). A rich genealogy of black geographical, environmental, and ecological thought works to do exactly this kind of examination. Like Moore, scholars in black ecologies like JT Roane and Justin Hobsey seek to "offer alternative entry points for historicizing and interrupting mounting ecological crisis."⁵⁶ They draw on geographers like Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods⁵⁷ who see geography as both a historicized sedimentation of unjust spatial arrangements, but also a critical resource for resistance, the development of subaltern spatial knowledges and embodied practice that operates within, against, and beyond the racialized profit logics of the dominant modes of societal organization. This critique engages not only with the content of spatial-racial critique, but with myriad forms of representation and practice leveraging and transcending those of visibility and abstraction emerging from capitalist thought systems. They move in realms from the embodied, to the musical, to the relational, and globally ecological.

In sum, the concept of assemblages is a rich metaphor through which to rearrange scholarship on race, bodies, objects, and space in ways that probe the complexity and lived

Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2008).

⁵⁶ Roane, J.T., and Justin Hosbey. "Mapping Black Ecologies – Current Research in Digital History." *Current Research in Digital History* 2 (2019). <http://crdh.rrchnm.org/essays/v02-05-mapping-black-ecologies/>.

⁵⁷ McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*; Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Adrian Woods, eds., *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place* (Toronto, Ont. : Cambridge, Mass: Between the Lines ; South End Press, 2007); Clyde Adrian Woods, *Development Arrested: The Blues and Plantation Power in the Mississippi Delta*, The Haymarket Series (London ; New York: Verso, 1998).

experiences of spatial-social relations. An open-ended framework of assemblages acknowledges that no such story will ever be closed or complete but signals a non-linear approach to historic investigation that relies on the social connectedness of actors (both human and non-human) through time, to draw disparate objects of study into relevance. This framing of assemblages also makes space to complicate the binary constructions of black/white, nature/culture, good/bad, etc. Actors can be associated with rival and racial assemblages, and the multitudinous and changeability suggested by the term assemblage signals that both the meaning and physical form may change significantly over time and space. And the ambiguity of actors is a useful reminder that though I have set up a binary frame of racializing and rival constructs, that does not mean that there are not useful ideas, strategies, or formations that might bridge, trouble, or explode these categories through the course of this examination.

How Do Racial Categories Change? Tracing Racial Projects across Time, Spatial Scales, and Variant Settings

Scholarship of urban constructions of race provides crucial insights into the inequitable social workings of American cities, and how those dynamics were developed and have come to seem “natural” in today’s world. But a significant bias in planning and design scholarship is its concentration on the urban and the industrialized, with the narration of the history of “modernity” starting with 18th century London and moving to the megacities and contexts of the United States and Global North. With concentration on a narrow band of professional design lineages and relatively short time spans, much traditional design history runs the risk of depicting spatial-racial categories as relatively fixed, or a simple progression toward increasing justice.

But if we take the lessons from Moore, Robinson, and Weheliye seriously, we would look further back to the formation of the US in its global context in order to understand the

historically sedimented and continuously shifting constructions of race and capitalism as they emerge through spatial intervention. We might draw connections going back to the beginning of European colonization of North America, which have the potential to trouble today's frames and standards of racialization rather than naturalize them through examination of only in terms of hierarchies most obvious today. Many urban design scholars neglect histories of native dispossession, global commodity trades, slavery, rurality, and the formation of legal and social systems in the US as crucial antecedents to contemporary racialized systems and spaces.

Sociologists Omi and Winant offer the theory of *racial formation*, which can be useful to scholars who seek to recognize the many faces of racialization, and the flexibility of racializing systems as they change over long time periods. They explain why race is an intransigent yet slippery category, at once completely fictive, and at the same time with real implications for any lived experience of the United States. They argue race is a set of evolving meanings, a “concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies... Selection of these particular human features [phenotypes] for purposes of racial signification... always and necessarily a social and historical process.”⁵⁸

They argue that race is a *linked system of cultural representation and social structures*. Racial formation becomes an ongoing process of “historically situated *projects* in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized, [and is linked] to the evolution of *hegemony*, the way in which society is organized and ruled.”⁵⁹ They observe that racial meaning is always “contested and unstable,”⁶⁰ historically situated in a long line of

⁵⁸ Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed (New York: Routledge, 1994), 55.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 55.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 58.

conflicts over identity and the distribution of resources that are enforced hegemonically through consent and/or violent domination. This refiguring and re-application of racial meaning has meant that for the United States, race plays an “enduring role...in social structure- in organizing social inequalities of various sorts, in shaping the very geography of American life, in framing political initiatives and state action.”⁶¹

Extending this analysis of racial projects, the work of George Lipsitz on the racialization of space and the spatialization of race⁶² is instructive. He links examines the driving force of the encoding of racial ideologies in space as economic. He argues that the physical structure of the city is imbricated and implicated in a sedimented web of social structures that over time have produced “cumulative disadvantages for African Americans, but provide ‘locked in’ advantages for whites.”⁶³ He pointedly foregrounds the fact that “social relations take on their full force and meaning when they are enacted physically in actual places.”⁶⁴ He points to spatial segregation as one major manifestation of these dynamics, and posits “a white spatial imaginary based on exclusivity and augmented exchange value [that] forms the foundational logics behind the prevailing spatial social policies in cities and suburbs today.”⁶⁵

Scholars of rural cultural landscapes, environmental histories, and embodied stories of early American history can be usefully incorporated in a longer-span examination of the dynamics of American racial formation and its relationship to capitalism. Some scholars study the ongoing manipulation and changing nature of categories of race over time. Nell Irvin

⁶¹ Ibid, viii.

⁶² Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race.”

⁶³ Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place*, 3.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 5.

⁶⁵ Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place*, 28.

Painter, in her tome *The History of White People* ties major intellectual figures to their racial ideologies (often neglected in celebratory narratives of individual “genius), and also traces the flexibility of the category of “white” people over the course of modern history.⁶⁶ At the same time, scholars like Jennifer Morgan, Stephanie Camp, Saidiya Hartman, Hortense Spillers, and Sarah Haley explore the ways that “blackness” or “otherness,” is a shifting set of associations and available imageries that have migrated between different bodies and visual cues, and the ways that race has been articulated through and with constructions of gender and labor.⁶⁷ Other scholars, like Diane Ramey Berry, Cheryl Harris, Stephanie Smallwood, Christina Sharpe, GT Stephenson, and Gross and Fuente tie the realities of the legal system and other rules governing systemic commodification of human bodies to foundational concepts of property and the American legal system across spatial scales and locales. All argue that frames exhibited in legal structures and drawn through official documentary record are unable to “see” alternative spatial and cultural epistemologies of othered groups, and that these archives and structures can be read rebelliously in order to unearth new truths about the humanity and experiences of the enslaved.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Theodore Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 2012.; Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890 - 1940*, 1. ed (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1999); Hantman, *Monacan Millennium*; Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, Routledge Classics (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009); Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* (New York, New York: Penguin Books, an imprint of Penguin Random House LLC, 2017); Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011); McKittrick, *Sylvia Wynter*; Katrina M Powell, *Anguish of Displacement: The Politics of Literacy in the Letters of Mountain Families in Shenandoah National Park*. (Charlottesville: Univ Of Virginia Press, 2015); Said, *Culture and Imperialism*.; Sylvia Wynter, “Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–337.

⁶⁷ Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 13–34; Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*, Justice, Power, and Politics (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*.; Morgan, *Laboring Women*. Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Vincent Woodard, Justin A Joyce, and Dwight A McBride, *The Delectable Negro: Human Consumption and Homoeroticism Within U.S. Slave Culture*, Sexual Cultures (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

⁶⁸ Diana Ramey Berry, *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved from Womb to Grave in the Building of a Nation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2017); Kimberlé Crenshaw, ed., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton & Co,

At the scale of the landscape, building, and site, scholars including Dell Upton,⁶⁹ Rebecca Ginsberg, Stephanie Camp, Camille Wells, and Clifton Ellis usefully analyze the articulation of the plantation landscape and its associated architecture as communicating and providing venue to perform the master's desired domination of and status in the social and physical world.⁷⁰ On the agrarian aspects of the landscape, several scholars note the ecological entanglements of the slave economy, the everyday labors, violences, and power dynamics on plantations bent to commodity production, and the ties between atrocious labor conditions, monocultures, and toxicity.⁷¹

A few scholars effectively draw out the continuities between the antebellum schemes of racialization, and post-bellum or “modern” racial schemas often addressed in critical planning and design scholarship. Saidiya Hartman's work is especially crucial, as she argues that the reality of emancipation required the large-scale reconceptualization (but not negation) of racial

1995); A Gross and A De La Fuente, “Slaves, Free Blacks, and Race in the Legal Regimes of Cuba, Louisiana, and Virginia: A Comparison,” *North Carolina Law Review* 91, no. 5 (June 2013): 1699–1756; Shannon Joyce Prince, “Green Is the New Black: African American Literature Informing Environmental Justice Law,” *Journal of Environmental Law and Litigation* 32, no. 1 (2016): 33–70; Dorceta E. Taylor, “American Environmentalism: The Role of Race, Class, and Gender in Shaping Activism 1820-1995,” *Race, Gender, and Class* 5, no. 1, Environmentalism and Race, Gender, Class Issues (1997): 16–62.

⁶⁹ His concept of the articulated processional landscape is especially useful: Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁷⁰ Camp, *Closer to Freedom*. 13–34; Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*.; Dell Upton, “Architectural History or Landscape History?,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 4 (August 1991): 195–99; Dell Upton, *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Camille Wells, *Material Witnesses: Domestic Architecture and Plantation Landscapes in Early Virginia* (Charlottesville, London: University of Virginia Press, 2018).

⁷¹ Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, a member of the Perseus Books Group, 2014); Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*; Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster, “Ecological Imperialism and the Global Metabolic Rift: Unequal Exchange and the Guano / Nitrates Trade,” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology (Sage Publications, Ltd.)* 50, no. 3/4 (2009): 311–34; Jason Moore, “‘The Modern World-System’ as Environmental History? Ecology and the Rise Of Capitalism,” *Theory and Society* 32, no. 3 (2003): 307–77; Carolyn Merchant, “Tobacco and The Cotton South,” in *The Columbia Guide to Environmental History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Morgan, *Laboring Women*.; Philip D Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

ideologies. In these emerging constructs, Hartman argues that the Black subject, previously constructed as subhuman and insensate to facilitate their enslavement, was rhetorically transformed into a *burdened individual* in order to continue their subjugation under new tactics of contract law and discourses of debt.⁷² She argues Black people were laden with a new and ambivalent form of citizenship after 1865, a “paradoxical construction of the freed both as self-determining and enormously burdened individuals and as members of a population whose productivity, procreation and sexual practices were fiercely regulated and policed in the interests of an expanding capitalist economy and the preservation of a racial order on which the white republic was founded.”⁷³ Hartman highlights this rhetorical move in the discourses of government as setting the scene for the coming appropriations and exploitations of Black people under the systems of debt peonage, vagrancy laws, segregation, sharecropping and other economic arrangements based on mechanisms and customs examined by contemporary scholars and urban historians.

This crucial insight on the shifting yet persistent nature of racialization across the divide of emancipation can be usefully connected to critical planning and design scholars of the late 19th and 20th centuries, but also to critical readings of the present. Jodi Melamed outlines the creation of official state anti-racisms and liberal multiculturalisms since World War II, which eschew blatantly racist logics but “partner with, and exceed the capacities of white supremacy without replacing or ending it.”⁷⁴ Jin Haritaworn and Jasmine Puar extend these logics, arguing that old racist tropes exist alongside new forms of privileged citizenship that elevate the multicultural, the

⁷² Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*, 115-17.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 117.

⁷⁴ Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism*, Difference Incorporated (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2011), 7.

mixed, and the heterogenous⁷⁵ and pathologize the homogenous, the non-mixing, and culturally “backward” in ways that exacerbate old schemas of racialization while seeming to transcend them. This project builds on this body of scholarship to identify and analyze new forms of hierarchical conceptions of humans as they emerge, and help researchers find new insights into whether base logic, or just the outward appearances of systemic racialization are shifting through time.

Research Questions

Drawing on the theoretical lenses outlined above, I seek to explore Charlottesville (and other geographic regions entangled with Charlottesville) through the following question:

1. How have actors used space to produce racial categories in Charlottesville?

This question is probed through two sub-questions:

- a. What systems support the production of racial categories?
- b. Who has benefitted or suffered from racialization and how?

While the bulk of this document answers the questions pose above, I also touch upon two further questions that persistently haunted⁷⁶ my tracings of the production of racialized power:

⁷⁵ Haritaworn explores experiences of mixed-race subjects, drawing out multicultural narratives as extensions of eugenical logics. She explains that in interviewing Thai/European descended mixed race subjects, she uncovered that, multi-racial subjects are at once haunted by pathological tropes of the past, subjected to racialized gaze in everyday interactions *and* inhabit a new privileged subjecthood where their supposed superior beauty, health, and multiple cultural knowledge call them into participation in a worldview of genetic superiority on slightly adjusted terms. Relatedly, Puar explores the idea of homonationalism, wherein the non-mixing, culturally homogenous and “backward” cultures are posed against neoliberal constructs of LGBT liberation, enfolding some queer subject into racial-national projects of exclusion, while racializing as culturally inferior; Jin Haritaworn, *The Biopolitics of Mixing: Thai Multiracialities and Haunted Ascendancies* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, Second edition, Next Wave (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

⁷⁶Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, New University of Minnesota Press ed (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Andrea R. Roberts, “Haunting as Agency: A Critical Cultural Landscape Approach to Making Black Labor Visible in Sugar Land, Texas.,” *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 19, no. 1 (January 1, 2020).

- c. What kinds of everyday resistances and “rival geographies” emerge under these particular conditions of racialization?
- d. How can contemporary actors approach spatial histories to support strategic intervention in inequitable systems of power and space in the present?

Methods - Overall Approach: Charlottesville as Relational Case Study

Since my primary concern is how actors co-create and disrupt racial meaning through space and action, I am adopting a hybrid constructivist/feminist/critical theory paradigmatic approach to this research.⁷⁷ This dissertation is a *historical comparative case study* of the Charlottesville area.

Charlottesville is mid-sized city in Central Virginia with a current population of around 45,000 and is part of a five-county metropolitan statistical area of around 235,000 people. Charlottesville is surrounded by but governmentally distinct from Albemarle County and serves as the County seat of Albemarle. The Charlottesville-Albemarle area is home to University of Virginia, the flagship institution of the state post-secondary school system, and Charlottesville became an independent city in 1888. The area a clear *instrumental case*⁷⁸ for the study of racialized and rival assemblies. As numerous historians have pointed out, Charlottesville is tied to major figures of racial ideology and propaganda,⁷⁹ and has been the site of various types of racial planning⁸⁰ that mirror practices common in the United States more broadly.⁸¹ The city is

⁷⁷ Guba, E.G. and Y.S. Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research,” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 1994), 105–17.

⁷⁸ Stake, “17: Qualitative Case Studies,” 445.

⁷⁹ Claudrena N. Harold and Louis P. Nelson, eds., *Charlottesville 2017: The Legacy of Race and Inequity* (Charlottesville ; London: University of Virginia Press, 2018); Jalane Schmidt, “Excuse Me, America, Your House Is on Fire: Lessons from Charlottesville on the KKK and ‘Alt-Right,’” *Medium.Com*, June 27, 2017, <https://medium.com/resist-here/excuse-me-america-your-house-is-on-fire-lessons-from-charlottesville-on-the-kkk-and-alt-right-84aafddca685>; Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*.

⁸⁰Williams, “From Racial to Reparative Planning: Confronting the White Side of Planning.”

firmly enmeshed in racialized traditions and practices in the antebellum period: permanent Anglo-European settlement and displacement of Monacan people began in the early 18th century and extensive chattel-slavery fueled the plantation economy through the 18th and 19th centuries. As a small city, Charlottesville did not use formal mechanisms for racial spatialization common to larger cities, but its fabric and history evidence racialized patterns nonetheless.⁸² A comparative case study approach to this place will allow a particularly fine-grained attention to the ways the “forms and expressions of racism can vary greatly and need to be examined from multiple viewpoints.”⁸³

Charlottesville’s racialized landscapes are also an *intrinsic case*⁸⁴ for my scholarship. Studying my immediate environs is a useful way to model research from an embedded perspective, and to challenge claims of research objectivity, “expert” knowledge, and professional impartiality. By studying a place that I have personal ties to but have also been considered a social “outsider” to, I demonstrate that all researchers, despite attempts to bracket out our histories and personal stories, are positionally integral to the situations we observe and study. I am a mixed-race woman of Japanese and Euro-American descent and have spent the majority of my life living in rural and semi-urban Virginia, and have a plethora of personal

⁸¹ Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory*; Laura Smith, “In 1965, the City of Charlottesville Demolished a Thriving Black Neighborhood,” Timeline, August 15, 2017, <https://timeline.com/charlottesville-vinegar-hill-demolished-ba27b6ea69e1>; Jordy Yager, “Charlottesville Tomorrow • The Reimagining of Friendship Court,” Charlottesville Tomorrow, accessed August 23, 2019, <https://www.cvilletomorrow.org/specials/friendship-court/>; Jordy Yager, “Jordyyager | Mapping Racial Covenants, Property Ownership & Equity,” accessed May 2, 2019, <https://mappingville.home.blog/author/jordyyager/>.

⁸² Dustin Cable, “The Racial Dot Map | Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service,” July 2013, <https://demographics.coopercenter.org/racial-dot-map>.

⁸³ Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*, American Crossroads 19 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 9.

⁸⁴ Stake, “17: Qualitative Case Studies,” 445.

attachments and meanings associated with local spaces. I have been trained and practiced as an architect and landscape architect previous to my return to this doctoral program (B.S. Architecture from UVA 2002, MLA from UVA 2008), and have often had questions about the disjuncture between my own canonically-driven and formally focused design education and my own partly non-Western background and persistent observations of spatial inequality.

As Robert Stake notes, a case study is a mix of methods deployed in order to probe the particularity of a case or set of cases. **Figure 1.1** outlines the set of sources and approaches I use for this particular case of study Charlottesville as a space of racialization and resistance. In general, I combine contextual research, direct spatial observation, qualitative analysis of archival sources, and genealogical research.

Activist + Collaborative Approaches

To help draw out an approach to understanding how studying historic racialization and resistance could impact the present, I also drew *on activist/action research* methods. My approach for this aspect of the project draws from Ruth Gilmore and Carole Boyce Davies' definitions of activist scholarship. Given my current frequent interactions with local circles of lay, genealogical, public historians, designers, housing activists, local governmental activists and journalists, the theoretical framework and research questions outlined above are informed by the "the work encountered in everyday activism 'on the ground.'"⁸⁵ Gilmore notes that academic and activist research often serve different goals that do not always overlap: "in scholarly research, answers are only as good as the further questions they provoke, while for activists, answers are as good as the tactics they make possible. Where scholarship and activism overlap is in the area of how to

⁸⁵ Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*, 26.

make decisions about what comes next.”⁸⁶ I supplement Gilmore’s guidance with Davies’ use of Said’s explanation of the orientation of the *secular intellectual*. She notes Said lays out an orientation for activist intellectual work through the following axes:

1. Providing *counter information* in an age where the media have the resources to manage and manipulate reality
2. A *reinterprete* function of communicating ideas
3. A *demystification* by articulating basic issues of justice and human good and evil surrounding these issues
4. Interfering and *intervening across lines of specialization* that attempt to privatize knowledge
5. An insurgent and *resistant position* when consensus is reached by domination
6. ‘exerciz[ing] a moral function of deploying the *irreconcilable* and irreducible oppositions between ideas, peoples, societies, histories, and claims.’⁸⁷

At my project’s outset, I planned to engage three community partners and had begun talks with them on how to collaboratively produce mutually beneficial research. However, the onset of the COVID pandemic in spring 2020, shortly after the approval of my proposal foiled these plans. The version of collaboration I took on was much more limited, consisting of work conducted with my Architectural History Field Methods 1 class in spring of 2021. Our class worked with Jordy Yager at the Jefferson School African American Heritage Center’s Mapping Cville Project. At the time, Yager was conducting a digital humanities project that engaged the public to comb local deeds toward co-producing a data set that connected racially exclusionary language in real estate contracts with parcel-based spatial data in Charlottesville. This effort was part of a larger project to “map inequities in Charlottesville from past to present,”⁸⁸ in support of a future exhibit and programming at the Center. Our class worked in parallel to and in

⁸⁶ Ibid, 27.

⁸⁷ Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*, 9.

⁸⁸ Jordy Yager, “Mapping Inequities,” Mapping Albemarle – Mapping Cville, January 20, 2019, <https://mappingcville.com/2019/01/20/racial-covenants/>.

conversation with Mapping Cville to explore the spatial history of the Locust Grove neighborhood, and use, develop, and illustrate field and digital methods to help contextualize Mapping Cville’s ongoing findings. Some of the methodological approaches and primary sources used in this dissertation emerge from this semester of collaborative work. Also in parallel to this dissertation work, I served as a researcher on the Charlottesville Regional Equity Atlas,⁸⁹ which sought to prototype data-driven spatial tools for social equity in Charlottesville. While the scope and output of activist and community-engaged scholarship that I conducted as a researcher in parallel to this dissertation are beyond the scope of this particular piece and documented elsewhere,⁹⁰ it is important to note that the core questions addressed in this dissertation derive in part from that related work.

Centering Flows to Study Systems

To frame how one place can be seen comparatively, I draw heavily on Kristina Hill’s definitions of “site” as I decided what objects and sources I would consider for this study.⁹¹ Hill argues that design fields must take up frames from ecological study that have emerged in the past several decades that see “landscapes as composed of shifting nodes of interaction, driven by dynamic, temporal relationships.”⁹² Rather than constraining my study to a bounded notion of a fixed place, I took her urging that “sites can be thought of as nodes of interaction among flows [...]

⁸⁹ Michele Claibourn et al., “Regional Equity Dash-Board Prototype,” The Equity Center, August 16, 2021, https://virginiaequitycenter.shinyapps.io/cville_equity_atlas/.

⁹⁰ Alissa Ujie Diamond, Barbara Brown Wilson, and Siri Russell, “Rethinking the Equity Atlas: Mapping Platforms as Constellations for Social Change,” *Planning Theory and Practice*, 202X. Forthcoming article presently under review with journal editors.

⁹¹ Here I reference her published work as the basis for this process, but it was in her design studio at UVA in Spring 2007 that many of the questions posed in this dissertation became of interest to me. She led us through numerous exercises that required us to look at spatial history through the lens of material and social “flows,” and has informed my cross-scalar approach to site histories ever since.

⁹² Kristina Hill, “Shifting Sites: Everything Is Different Now,” in *Site Matters: Strategies for Uncertainty through Planning and Design*, ed. Andrea Kahn and Carol Burns, 2nd edition (London: New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 131.

this conceptual shift placed greater emphasis on the processes of exchange and movement than on the definition of bounded places.”⁹³

This approach allowed me to focus on historical flows that shaped life in Charlottesville, rather than objects, de-emphasizing an “historical idea of place [that] implies fixity.”⁹⁴ Flows are vectors with magnitude and direction, and since my research questions center how actors use the spatial production of racial categories for extractive benefit, I read potential sources for the interaction between racial-spatial systems and “capital (the most fundamental flow in economics).”⁹⁵

This allowed me to use the concept of *bundles* in Truillot and Moore’s approaches to history and historical natures. Truillot asserts that history is never a matter of simple facts, but that “any historical narrative is a particular *bundle of silences*, the result of a unique process, and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly.”⁹⁶ (emphasis added) Moore, an environmental historian, uses a similar metaphor to clarify the ways humans interact with the extra-human world: “agency is a relational property, of specific *bundles* of human and extra-human nature [...] human agency is not purely human at all. It is *bundled* with the rest of nature [...] the world-ecological alternatives takes the *bundles* of human/extra-human activity as its starting point.”⁹⁷ Connecting these two frameworks, this project pays attention to these two sets of bundles. First, I attend to how actors in Charlottesville attempt to shape human and extra-human worlds into particularly arranged bundles that produce value. Spatial arrangements, the

⁹³ Ibid, 135.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 132.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 142.

⁹⁶ Michel-Rolph Trouillot and Hazel V. Carby, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015), 28.

⁹⁷ Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*, 37.

development of institutions, and events that aligned spatial arrangements with trajectories of overlapping institutions were often ways these physical-cultural “bundles” would appear over time. Second, I investigated the way shifting actors selected “facts” and packaged them into seemingly coherent historical narratives that support their current capital-accumulating aspirations.

To pay this dual attention, I return to Hill, and her assertions on how designers, and by extension design histories, could shift ways of conceptualizing place. Hill argues that to understand places as particularly dense nodes of interactions of capital flows, we must understand them as open (not closed or materially isolated) systems. She observes that flows at any scale should be considered in their context: “influences of these larger flows should be considered integral to local systems.”⁹⁸ So, as I embarked upon this project that I started look for signals in physical spaces and archives that started to point to those larger contextual relations: repeated connections to other places,⁹⁹ important transport networks¹⁰⁰ that connected this locality to larger systems, actors who popped up in multiple localities connected to Charlottesville,¹⁰¹ and materials that appear as critical to the workings of local systems of land management or development, but clearly had distant origins.¹⁰² Early in the research project, I

⁹⁸ Hill, “Shifting Sites: Everything Is Different Now,” 133.

⁹⁹ This was how ephemeral events became so important in this project- while they were short-lived, events like fairs were densely connected to networks of power that related closely to networks that held power in developing local spaces.

¹⁰⁰ Early observation: canals sure seemed important in the 18th and early 19th centuries but are irrelevant now as a transport network in the area. I started to ask questions about spatial adjacencies and their connections to layers of historical networks.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Nelson Page was everywhere.

¹⁰² Like why were all the planters in the 1850s obsessed with bird poo from Chile?

treated these signals as trailheads,¹⁰³ or as points of entry for a deeper understanding of the flows intersecting locally at any given moment. I often began with full read-throughs of archival and primary source materials, and plotting actors, places, and dates on Miro boards (**figures 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5**) to explore who was involved where and when, with attention to players, places, and ideological and spatial themes that seemed to repeat or change. These diagrams amounted to a kind of network or power mapping,¹⁰⁴ and helped me identify major players, alliances, trends and themes in Charlottesville’s evolving environs. These maps helped me visualize the shifting assemblages of players and political forces that act upon the spaces of the city. Densities and synchronicities in these mappings pointed to avenues to explore and major themes and periodizations that structured the project.

Second, I took up Hill’s assertion that “historical events produce enduring temporal legacies in ecosystems.”¹⁰⁵ This approach not only engaged Moore’s concept of historical natures, but also allowed engagement with thinkers like Donella Meadows, who viewed social-spatial systems like cities as “a set of things [...] interconnected in such a way that they produce their own pattern of behavior over time.”¹⁰⁶ She argued that effective interventions in current systems demand a historic lens, because “its long-term behavior provides clues to the underlying

¹⁰³ This is a term Richard Schwartz uses in a different context- how in one’s own psyche, certain sub-personas emerge and demand attention via an emotion that emerges and re-emerges. I found that these trailheads in the archive and in site observation similarly demanded attention in ways that might have been suppressed had I not centered attention to the locality’s embeddedness in wider systems of material and ideological formations. Richard C. Schwartz, *No Bad Parts: Healing Trauma & Restoring Wholeness with the Internal Family Systems Model* (Boulder, Colorado: Sounds True, 2021).

¹⁰⁴ David J. Marshall and Lynn Staeheli, “Mapping Civil Society with Social Network Analysis: Methodological Possibilities and Limitations,” *Geoforum* 61 (May 2015): 56–66; “Bonner Curriculum: Power Mapping: Tools for Utilizing Networks,” accessed January 19, 2018, <http://bonner.pbworks.com/w/page/105851790/Training%20and%20Enrichment%20-%20Curriculum>; Darren Noy, “Power Mapping: Enhancing Sociological Knowledge by Developing Generalizable Analytical Public Tools,” *The American Sociologist* 39, no. 1 (March 2008): 3–18.

¹⁰⁵ Hill, “Shifting Sites: Everything Is Different Now,” 142.

¹⁰⁶ Donella H. Meadows, *Thinking in Systems: A Primer* (London: Earthscan, 2009), 2.

system structure. And structure is the key to understanding not just what is happening but why.”¹⁰⁷ Haslanger adds that social structures “are networks of social relations. These include relations *between* people [...] they also include relations to *things* [...] Social relations, in turn, are constituted through practices. Our practices relate us to each other and to the material world; they situate us at nodes in the structure.”¹⁰⁸ Outcomes within a particular social structure (in this case the emergent social structures of racial capitalisms) are constrained and organized by relationships between *schemas*, “clusters of culturally shared concepts, beliefs, and other attitudes that enable us to interpret and organize information and coordinate action, thought, and affect,”¹⁰⁹ and *resources*, in this case the concept of “exchange value,”¹¹⁰ attention to which reveals different ways the production of racial categories through spatial intervention support capital accumulation. In this way, I could trace how ideological and cultural continuities and ruptures informed and co-evolved with material and physical change in the spaces of Charlottesville.

Metaphors for Spatial Flows and Systems, and Critical Landscape Analysis

In thinking through the relationships within and between spatial and social systems of racialization, two structural metaphors became useful ways to understand archival evidence. First, contemporary activist scholars are increasingly drawing on the metaphor of *fractal forms* to explain the nested and repeating nature of social arrangements. Adrienne maree brown draws on ferns in her book *Emergent Strategy*: “ferns are a form of fractal. A fractal is an object or

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 89.

¹⁰⁸ Sally Haslanger, “What Is a (Social) Structural Explanation?,” *Philosophical Studies* 173, no. 1 (January 2016): 113–30, 125.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 126.

¹¹⁰ I am using George Lipsitz’ adaptation of Marx’s exchange value, which connects racial schemas to ideas about land valuation, but in my case I am tracing these valuations to the era of enslavement, where “exchange value” applied to land and people in different ways than they do in the modern city. George Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race,” *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1–07 (2007).

quantity that displays self-similarity, which means it looks roughly the same at any scale.”¹¹¹

This metaphor is useful in examining the social change through a spatial lens, revealing that social relations are nested, connected structurally, and repeating across scales from the embodied to the architectural, urban, regional and global.¹¹² Social arrangements and hierarchies can be manipulated at any one of these scales, and social action is constantly occurring within and interacting across them.

A second useful metaphor is the gestalt concept of holism as it relates to figure/ground relationships. “A specific sensory whole is qualitatively different from what one might predict by considering only its individual parts, and the quality of the part depends upon the whole in which this part is embedded.”¹¹³ This attention to the relationships of part to whole across fractal scales allows spatial research to transcend the perceptual trap of studying spatial relationships as discrete and context-independent, and instead allows the reading of social relations at any scale as parts of a complex whole that relies on interdependent readings of its parts. This framing is related to my concrete observations in studying Charlottesville, Virginia as a case study in spatial racialization. Public discourse, from activist sparks ignited by players like Zyahna Bryant,¹¹⁴ to official studies like the City’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public

¹¹¹ Adrienne M. Brown, *Emergent Strategy* (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2017),45.

¹¹² This connectedness of systems across scales is also pressed on in various system thinkers’ models. Examples include: B. H Walker and David Salt, “Chapter 4- In the Loop: Phases, Cycles, and Scales—Adaptive,” in *Resilience Thinking: Sustaining Ecosystems and People in a Changing World* (Washington: Island Press, 2006), <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4475379>; Lance H. Gunderson and C. S. Holling, eds., *Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2002); Stephen L. Vargo, Melissa Archpru Akaka, and Heiko Wieland, “Rethinking the Process of Diffusion in Innovation: A Service-Ecosystems and Institutional Perspective,” *Journal of Business Research*, no. 116 (2020): 526–34.

¹¹³ Johan Wagemans et al., “A Century of Gestalt Psychology in Visual Perception: II. Conceptual and Theoretical Foundations.,” *Psychological Bulletin* 138, no. 6 (2012): 1218–52, 1219.

¹¹⁴ Zyahna Bryant, “Petition · Charlottesville City Council : Change the Name of Lee Park and Remove the Statue in Charlottesville, Va · Change.Org,” 2016, <https://www.change.org/p/charlottesville-city-council-change-the-name-of-lee-park-and-remove-the-statue-in-charlottesville-va>.

Spaces,¹¹⁵ often focus on objects and discrete sites like the city’s Confederate monuments as objects of study and concern. But what is the “ground,” or the field conditions that give these sites their meaning?

Finally, the project uses methods of annotating maps with information gleaned from multiple time periods and archival research as *critical landscape analysis*.¹¹⁶ I found it useful to trace the ways actors were elaborating narratives about “good” and “bad” spaces and spatial arrangements alongside the physical arrangement of the Charlottesville area as it appeared in official mappings, descriptions, and studies over time. These mappings helped tie spatial logics expressed verbally to the arrangement of Charlottesville’s urban development and further delve into understanding if the spatial and segregating outcomes seen across the U.S.¹¹⁷ were also in operation locally over time. Extension of this method beyond planimetric views, for example to sections and diagrams, allowed me to consider the repetition of spatial logics across scales, and in three dimensions to consider factors like topography and movement as ways racial ideologies were translated into spatial realities.

Chapter Structure and Summary

The resulting study is structured roughly chronologically. Section One starts with the Charlottesville-Albemarle Area about ten years before the American Civil War. In Chapter Two,

¹¹⁵ Don Gathers et al., “Report to City Council: Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces” (City of Charlottesville, December 19, 2016), <http://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=49037>.

¹¹⁶I first encountered these methods in K. Ian Grandison’s class “Race and American Space,” in fall 2018, where he taught and elaborated these methods in class. He also uses and explicates these methods in the following pieces: K. Ian Grandison, “Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America,” in *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race*, ed. Craig Evan Barton, 1st ed (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001), 55–96; Grandison, “The Other Side of the ‘Free’ Way: Planning for ‘Separate but Equal’ in the Wake of Massive Resistance.”

¹¹⁷ As an example, sociologists Ueland and Warf have Jeff Ueland and Barney Warf, “Racialized Topographies: Altitude and Race in Southern Cities,” *Geographical Review* 96, no. 1 (2006): 50–78.

I examine planter record books, local newspapers, planter magazines and enslaved peoples' accounts of Virginia during this time. I make the case that the locality was, even in its agricultural state, an important node in commodity exchanges that brought significant wealth to white plantation and merchant classes from across the globe. I then show how the spatial logics and of commodity crop growing permeated the everyday lives of Virginians across scales from the landscape all the way down to the individual human body. Finally, I explore a few prominent institutional nodes, the Courthouse Square and University of Virginia to show how spatial logics manifest across spaces where the spheres of power of multiple plantations meet.

Section 2 turns toward post-bellum Charlottesville after the Civil War, and traces how Charlottesville was entangled with the institutional, cultural, and spatial shifts that moved from racial indeterminacy soon after emancipation to the rigid codification and spatialization of racial differences through urbanization by 1929. Chapter Three explores Virginia during Reconstruction, and explores the institutions, cultural forms, and infrastructural developments that emerged in 1865-1876. In many ways, the phenomenon I highlight were bridges, providing continuities between antebellum and postbellum society at a local and regional level.

Chapter Four examines the ways philanthro-capitalists and the increasingly reconciliatory tone of national commemorative events reinforced north-south collaborations to steer industrial and urban development in ways that produced the idea of "the City." This chapter looks at commemorative publications, newspapers, maps, and other print media to understand how an emerging class of "business citizens" pictured exchange value as *the* goal for urban development, and selected bundles of historical facts and lineages in order to prefigure historical trajectories that supported these modes of development and urban elaboration.

Chapter Five moves from the national and regional back to the local, following how the modes of valuing and describing space rehearsed in the 1880s and drawing on the antebellum imageries of the 1850s become dominant modes of civic self-promotion and suburban development in Charlottesville in the context of a real estate boom years in the late 1880s and early 1890s. It goes on to trace projects of memorial-building and civic commemoration that accompanied installations of Jim Crow legal and spatial structures before the Great Depression. It culminates in major monumental constructions that celebrate the project of spatialized white supremacy for capital accumulation, and calls by civic boosters to institutionalize these logics through emerging fields of planning and design.

Section Three deliberately turns away from these invented and singular trajectories that insist that spaces, humans, and people are most valuable in their ability to produce differential valuations for capital accumulation. It uses the now common practice of composing a positionality statement for qualitative research to model how designers and planners might access alternative trajectories to envision futures beyond racial capitalism. In this chapter I use my own historical situatedness to explore what possibilities my antecedents “put down” in order “succeed” in the context of the racial capitalist city. I explore a few avenues and frameworks that point toward alternative relationalities and entanglements that exist in parallel to dominant logics. I term these options hiding in plain sight *genealogies of entanglement* and argue for designers and spatial thinkers to “pick up” these available threads, long suppressed because of the danger they pose to systems of accumulation. I speculate as to where these explorations might move our social-environmental trajectories if explored collectively amidst the collapses of our current systems.

Section I: Antebellum Charlottesville

Chapter 2- Early 1850s: Plantation as Town

This chapter examines the Charlottesville-Albemarle area in the 1850s, in the moment when the area's economy was dominated by the production of commodity crops like wheat and tobacco, and the labor system revolved around the system of chattel slavery. I make the argument that Charlottesville at this point was already a dense network of physical and social flows, and I track and highlight a few important commodity circuits to make that case. This exploration makes the point that even in its moment as a relatively small and rural locale, elite actors are already positioning themselves as coordinators and beneficiaries of network connections, spatial articulations, and institution building in support of building wealth through exchange value. Charlottesville-Albemarle is already an important node. I then move to highlight examples of planterly design and spatial tactics that helped planters draw value from people and land, and legitimated violent modes of extraction across human and extra-human ecologies. I combine thematic readings of planter journals, critical landscape analysis of planterly spaces, and verbal accounts of plantation spaces to support these interpretations. I find an ideological through-line of *care through war*, expressed by fractal arrangement of spaces that geometrically reinforced and performed power differentials and planter status. The chapter concludes with an exploration of alternative visions for ethical and ecological relations that emerge from the activities of self-provisioning and relationships to “weedy” spaces at the margins of monocropped fields.

Setting the Scene: Social-Spatial Background before 1850

The area of Charlottesville/Albemarle County was a physical reality, where planters and enslaved people interacted with myriad human and extra-human natures. The ever-shifting systems of land

use, as Moore argues, were the creators of their own conditions and limits.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the limits to such regimes were not a function of an imagined external “Nature,” but were co-produced with and through arrangements of the human and ecological world. I begin by tracing the origins of Euro-American Charlottesville-Albemarle through these processes of human and extra-human co-production and expansion from the coastal areas settled by the English in the 1600s.

By the 1850s, Charlottesville was already a product of several thousand years of eco-social relations involving humans. Monacan peoples had inhabited fertile river plains in the region in stable patterns of semi-agricultural life since at least AD 1000, though other systems of human habitation had extended to several thousand years before that.¹¹⁹ The coastal Native American communities figure visibly in the oft-told white histories of colonial Virginia due to their heavy interactions with, conflicts with, and enslavement by the English colonists. But as these dynamics raged in the East, the Monacan people of the Piedmont adapted their ways of life to minimize contact with the first round of settlers like Peter Jefferson, who arrived in Albemarle County beginning around the 1730s.¹²⁰

Throughout the late 17th and early 18th century, the land requirements of commodity tobacco production drove territorial expansion of English colonists West beyond the fall line,¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*.

¹¹⁹ Hantman, *Monacan Millennium*.

¹²⁰ Though the later parts of this project focus less on indigenous people, in Central Virginia, Monacan people have maintained a culturally continuous tradition and population that today considers Bear Mountain in Amherst, VA its spiritual and physical center.

¹²¹ The fall line is the geological line across the state where rivers crossed from navigable to unnavigable, based on coastal areas being made of sediments and gentler slopes accumulated from the mountainous regions to the west. These areas of what is termed the “coastal plain” region of Virginia had waterways that tended to be passable by cargo boat, while waterways in the Piedmont and Mountainous areas to the west tended to have harder, older rock that produced falls, steeper grades, and required major infrastructural intervention for shipping to move goods along waterways. Fall line cities were east of Charlottesville-Albemarle, and

the first permanent European settlers traveled to the Piedmont by river. Earle and Hoffman use the illustrative example of the Carrollton family plantation in Maryland in the 18th century to demonstrate the processes that spurred planter expansion to the West. There, planters adopted “scientific” and “high” farming practices based on imported fertilizers, plow-based tilling, and full forest clearing. This shift, away from lower impact agricultural strategies like long land fallow times, hoe-based tilling and tree girdling, arose from planter desires to hasten the pace of tobacco production. These practices caused widespread soil erosion and nutrient depletion in eastern Virginia that pushed tidewater planters into Piedmont lands like Albemarle County.¹²²

The English also brought with them a suite of plant selections and animals that they considered useful in the “improvement” of land. While particular farming practices changed over time, the attached moral values that they associated with the care and control of crops and animals stayed more consistent:

farming with animals was one important hallmark of a civilized society [...] using domestic animals to improve the land helped legitimize English rights to New World territory. By bringing livestock across the Atlantic, colonists believed that they provided the means to realize America’s potential, pursuing a goal that Indians who lacked domestic animals had failed to accomplish.¹²³

Through these logics, settlers aligned the conceptual binaries of *improved/waste land*, *inhabited/uninhabited space* and *savage/civilized* to land management practices and places, and connected these binaries to human groups of *English/non-English* that legitimated displacement

included (from north to south) Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg. Sites of falls tended to become settlements due to early shipping techniques: goods needed to be shifted from water transport to some other mode of transport, so necessitated a stopping point along trade routes. Early colonial settlements clustered around the coast, as transport of planterly produce was easy from these spaces, but the limits to production produced by the system of plantation tobacco production drove expansion westward to beyond the fall line.

¹²² Curtin, Philip D, Grace Somers Brush, and George Wescott Fisher. *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, 279-295.

¹²³ Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*, Oxford University Press pbk (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 8.

of and violence against Native American peoples. Though these settlers and their descendants knew that people lived in what is now Central Virginia, in their maps and narratives they affected a convincing denial of Native American presence in the parts of the James River watershed they took over (figures 2.1 and 2.2).¹²⁴ Following the logics of mass crop production, they took up residence on the most valuable agricultural lands in river valleys at the sites of known “Indian Camps.” Hantman notes that this practice, enacted by Jefferson and others was a common tactic: “stealing this most productive land had been the practice in English Virginia since the early 17th century.”¹²⁵

At the same time, the European-descended planter class consolidated power over labor and government by writing race-laws into the Virginia statutory record throughout the century between 1660 and 1760 that “celebrated the equation of black with slavery”¹²⁶ in the colonial Chesapeake. These laws would have overwritten earlier racial mores that had allowed creole freedmen to gain considerable wealth in the Virginia Chesapeake,¹²⁷ and produced and ossified a *white/Black* binary that culturally equated Blackness with a condition of servitude. These efforts continued into the 19th century, and produced a rigid system that produced the Virginia Chesapeake as a slave society, where

¹²⁴ As an example, in 1612, John Smith’s map of Virginia depicted the locations and names of Native American sites in Virginia as he understood them, but by the Fry-Jefferson Map of 1755, map-makers depicted “inhabited” parts of the state. Features like rivers were now labeled with Anglo-names and dots representing early land patents to players like Fry, Walker, Lewis, Meriwether, and plantation names like Shadwell and Edgehill. Joshua Fry, Peter Jefferson, and Thomas Jefferys, *A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia Containing the Whole Province of Maryland with Part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina* (London: Thos. Jefferys, 1755), <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3880.ct000370/?r=-0.167,-0.097,1.546,0.698,0>; John Smith and William Hole, *Virginia* (London, 1624), <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3880.ct000377/?r=0.261,0.323,0.312,0.149,0>.

¹²⁵ Hantman, *Monacan Millennium*, 142.

¹²⁶ Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*, 67.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 36-39.

slavery stood at the center of economic production, and the master-slave relationship provided the model for all social relations: husband and wife, parent and child, employer and employee. From the most intimate connections between men and women to the most public ones between ruler and ruled, all relationships mimicked those of slavery.¹²⁸

By 1850, Berlin argues that Virginia had reverted to a society with slaves,¹²⁹ one where slavery no longer stood at the absolute center of economic production. But many of the most powerful players in town still traced their roots back to planter families of the Chesapeake, meaning allegiance to the slave system and to the master-slave relationship as a model for other social relationships remained central to everyday life for elites.

Charlottesville the town was established shortly after an administrative shift of Albemarle County's current boundaries in 1761¹³⁰ that split Buckingham and Amherst counties to the south from Albemarle. One thousand acres was bought from Richard Randolph of Henrico County, near Richmond. The land was put in the care of a Trustee, Dr. Thomas Walker, who "was empowered to sell and convey it to purchasers."¹³¹ Walker partitioned 50 lots on the site in 1761-62 (figure 2.3), and the Virginia General Assembly incorporated Charlottesville as a town in November of 1762.¹³² Earlier, the county seat had been at Scottsville, south of the site of Charlottesville and adjacent to the James River, which bisected the County by running west to east (see figure 2.2). But with Charlottesville now geographically closer to the center of the

¹²⁸ Ibid, 8-9.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 224.

¹³⁰ The County was later split from Fluvanna County in 1775. All the accounts I have found so far talk about this partition as a "thing that happened," and do not cover the political machinations that must have accompanied these boundary changes. Given that the Virginia government at the time was literally made up only of people who owned property and therefore had a financial investment in the economic productivity of the state, there is probably a thread to be followed how the politics of the county boundary changes had to do with who held what interests in what pieces of land that would become more valuable from this change.

¹³¹ Edgar Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA: Michie Company Printers, 1901), 27.

¹³² James Alexander, *Early Charlottesville: Recollections of James Alexander, 1828-1874*, ed. Mary Rawlings (Charlottesville, Va: The Michie Company, Printers, 1942), 2.

County, it was made the County Seat. By the late 1760s, the “spirit of speculation began to operate,”¹³³ and many of Walker’s lots in the town were bought up by various players.

Purchasers set about working to fulfill the purpose of the town as set out by the Virginia General Assembly in the act that established Charlottesville: “that fifty acres of land contiguous to the courthouse had already been laid off into lots and streets, and as it would be of great advantage to the inhabitants of the county if established a town for the reception of traders.”¹³⁴

By the 1850s, Charlottesville connected to transport networks that allowed agricultural goods to travel to increasingly distant destinations. The James River and Kanawha Canal connecting Richmond to Lynchburg to the southwest of Charlottesville was completed by 1840, and the 1850s saw the Rivanna Navigation Company expend significant funds to improve shipping navigation of along the Rivanna River to Milton, near Charlottesville.¹³⁵ This system of riverine transport had been an ongoing effort promoted by the planter elite since the late 18th century¹³⁶. Numerous stagecoach lines traversed the area along a system of roads. Three-notched Road connected Charlottesville from west to east from the Shenandoah Valley to Richmond. A north-south road led to Gordonsville and Alexandria to the North, and Lynchburg to the southwest. The Staunton-Rockfish gap turnpike connected river shipping hub Scottsville, south of Charlottesville on the James River, across Rockfish Gap to the Shenandoah Valley. And other turnpikes like the James River Turnpike, and the Brown’s Gap turnpike also traversed the county. These river and road-based transport networks saw increasing competition from railroads. Once built, rail offered cheaper transport costs and faster shipping times. The Virginia

¹³³ Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia*, 27.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 27.

¹³⁵ Edward Tayloe Wise, “Albemarle County 1850-1860” (Graduate Research Paper, University of Richmond, 1989), 12.

¹³⁶ Gibson Langhorne Jr, *Cabell’s Canal: The Story of the James River and Kanawha* (Richmond, VA: The Commodore Press, 2000).

Central Railroad connected Charlottesville to Richmond. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad started service to Charlottesville in 1852. And the Blue Ridge Railroad incorporated in 1849, and was in the process of building the first of four tunnels in 1853 that would connect Charlottesville across the Blue Ridge mountains to the West in 1858.¹³⁷

Central Virginia Plantations and Global Social-Spatial Networks

This introduction gives a sense of the historically sedimented processes embedded in the environment and planter world views around Charlottesville. By 1850, the physical and social arrangement of the area was primarily distorted by the valuation of the commoditized life of wheat, tobacco¹³⁸ and captive humans.¹³⁹

Rood notes that amid the increasingly competitive Atlantic market in tobacco and grain, and the improving modes of transporting goods in and out of Virginia, the wealthiest farmers

literally plowed all available capital into the fields. Peruvian guano, new seed varieties, ‘improved’ livestock breeds from Europe, and machines from northern and southern iron-making firms altered the ‘agro-ecosystems’ of Virginia farms, which came to depend on the world market for both inputs and consumers.¹⁴⁰

Sociologist John Bellamy Foster uses Marxist frames to term these new relationships and increasingly distant divisions of labor *metabolic rift*.¹⁴¹ Planter economy boosters had been developing ideas about “scientific” agriculture and their supporting transport networks since the

¹³⁷ Wise, “Albemarle County 1850-1860,” 11-12.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 4.

¹³⁹ Ira Berlin notes that during this time, “the internal slave trade became the largest enterprise in the South outside of the plantation itself...” Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*, 168.

¹⁴⁰ Daniel Rood, “Bogs of Death: Slavery, the Brazilian Flour Trade, and the Mystery of the Vanishing Millpond in Antebellum Virginia,” *Journal of American History*, June 2014, 37.

¹⁴¹ Foster, John Bellamy, and Karl Marx. *Marx’s Ecology: Materialism and Nature*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 2000.

pre-Revolutionary period,¹⁴² and in general, Moore notes that any changes in shipping times and speed of flows also produced a “simultaneous restructuring of space.”¹⁴³ Charlottesville connected to a number of commodity circuits that allowed spatially separated but logistically connected regions to transcend their compounding localized socio-ecological limits.

Figure 2.4 outlines some important circuits in operation in the 1850s, which connected regions that each produced particular racialized assemblies that shifted in relation to one another. These systems conjoined *and* differentiated intellectual and embodied practices of land management across geographies. While the terms of racialization were very different between places, the basic logic of the devaluation of particularly constructed categories of humans was a commonality between these locales, and what became “logically” evident or possible in one place is closely linked with changes in distant places.

The first flow concerns flour and coffee. By the 1850s, wheat was increasingly cultivated on Virginia lands formerly planted in tobacco, and the grain was becoming a mainstay in Albemarle County’s economy.¹⁴⁴ This transition was ongoing starting from the late 18th century due to market fluctuations in tobacco prices, and widespread soil exhaustion in the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont.¹⁴⁵ While some of the wheat grown in Charlottesville was sold locally or regionally to consumers in Virginia, at a regional scale, an increasing proportion of the wheat produced in central Virginia shipped to Brazil.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Schley, David. “A Natural History of the Early American Railroad.” *Early American Studies, an Interdisciplinary Journal*, Spring 2015, 443–66.

¹⁴³ Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*, 10.

¹⁴⁴ Jones, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1819-1860,” 151

¹⁴⁵ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*.

¹⁴⁶ It would be a separate exercise to attempt to understand how much flour grown in Albemarle County was milled and sold here versus shipped to Richmond for use there, or unmilled for Richmond milling and transport to

By the mid 19th century, “the emergence of a robust city-hinterland transport system between Richmond and Piedmont areas of Virginia was deeply entangled with an emergent geographic division of labor in southeast Brazil reshaping the built landscape in each region”¹⁴⁷

In earlier days, wheat was part of a long-standing tradition of rural localized flour milling in Virginia,¹⁴⁸ where large planters would have their laborers run mills that ground grains into flours for the local population. In Central Virginia, the newly developed systems of regional transport made it feasible to treat wheat as a cash crop for export, rather than a localized

Brazil. Newton notes that by 1860, 34 grist and flour mills across the county produced \$373,485 worth of goods, and says flour milling was also a major industry for Charlottesville. Was this flour going to Brazil?

Local plantation records are inconclusive. Locust Grove was a plantation just north of Charlottesville, and in the farm book from 1853 show wheat sales a few times directly from the plantation. On August 11th and 12th 1853, the farm manager notes, “Sent 120 (above written in 125.8/60 lbs) measured bu wheat to depot... Finished cleaning wheat, sent to depot 15040 lbs,” which suggests that a large portion of the crop is be headed for railroad transport unmilled. Another entry on December 8th notes that “F A + Co settled today for 480 33/60 bu wheat Delivd July 22”¹⁴⁶. While this passage suggests a sale of a large quantity of unmilled wheat¹⁴⁶, the identity of F A + Co remains a mystery. Other passages from the Farm book suggest local milling is still going strong in Charlottesville in 1853. The first several days of the book refer to repairs to a mill race and installation of a new mill stone, likely at the Sinclair mill at the intersection of Meadow Creek and the Rivanna. While other passages mostly refer to the local milling of corn or rye, one passage on November 10th records: “sent to Cochran’s Mill one load containing 15 18/60 bu wheat and one 15+ 53/60 bu And brought home 4 barrels of extra flour”¹⁴⁶. This is the only instance in the book where the wheat is milled locally, with the reference to the return home of “extra” flour, suggesting this wheat was divided for sale to the local mill, with four barrels returned to the plantation. Who did the local mill sell wheat to? Locals? Brazilians? Despite the lack of conclusive information on the destination of Locust Grove flour, specific coverage of Richmond’s Gallego brand of flour and its associated milling facility, is found in the Southern Planter’s September 1853 issue. This publication was subscribed to by George A. Sinclair, the son of Locust Grove’s owners George and Ruth Ann Sinclair¹⁴⁶, and was edited by Albemarle County’s own Frank G. Ruffin who lived on the Shadwell Plantation below Monticello (figure 22). This article suggests that the emerging centralized wheat milling facilities were of more than passing concern to Charlottesville’s planters.

While the I do not know how much of the wheat in Albemarle actually went Brazil, Rood insists the influence of the Brazil on the state’s culture and agricultural practices was widespread, and had a big impact on Central Virginia in particular.

Jones, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1819-1860,”²⁰¹; Rood, “Bogs of Death: Slavery, the Brazilian Flour Trade, and the Mystery of the Vanishing Millpond in Antebellum Virginia”; George Sinclair, “Journal of George Sinclair 1851-1853.,” 1851, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4335191>; “The Progress of Railroads,” *The Southern Planter*, September 1853, 277; “Payments to the Southern Planter From 25th September to 1st November 1853,” *The Southern Planter*, November 1853, 348.

¹⁴⁷ Rood, “Bogs of Death: Slavery, the Brazilian Flour Trade, and the Mystery of the Vanishing Millpond in Antebellum Virginia,” 23.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 22.

subsistence staple, and wheat could now be sold in bulk to milling facilities of increasing scale and mechanical sophistication in Richmond. The proprietors of these facilities, in turn, effectively became commercial middlemen selling high quality flour to a newly emerging Brazilian urban commercial baking industry in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁴⁹ Under recognizable brand names like *Gallego* and *Haxall and Crenshaw*, Richmond and Baltimore-milled flour came to dominate the Brazilian market. For central Virginia, these changes meant a dramatic decrease in the number of small rural mills, increases in lands cultivated in wheat, and more mixed cereal grain farming to support the livestock needed for plough-based cultivation.¹⁵⁰

These new configurations of Virginia's landscape of enslavement co-arose with a twin landscape of labor and land exploitation in Brazil. Buying bread baked with Virginia flour, Brazilian planters converted large swaths of their arable land from wheat to coffee fields. Merchant companies who shipped Virginia flour to Brazil¹⁵¹ also shipped captured Africans to Brazilian ports, and were the main exporters of Brazilian coffee to international markets. These families mixed through marriage and social relationships to Richmond millers,¹⁵² solidifying their social and logistical networks through familial relationships.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Rood notes that "91% of the imported flour that found its way to the tables of residents of Rio de Janeiro and the surrounding coffee estates was made in the United States, and it appears that the millers of Richmond, Virginia, and Baltimore, Maryland, supplied nearly all of it." Ibid, 21.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Maxwell, Wright and Co., Phipps Brothers & Co., and Roston Dutton & Co. were British merchants who supplied 60% of Rio's wheat flour in 1858 according to Rood. Ibid,33.

¹⁵² Ibid, 33.

¹⁵³ Given the many overlapping social threads between Richmond and Charlottesville in this paper, I would guess that there are connections to these merchant families in Charlottesville as well.

With their sights set on tobacco and wheat as commodities, Virginia planters attempted to supercharge their yields per acre with fertilizers¹⁵⁴ like imported guano,¹⁵⁵ which drove a second global commodity connection. Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster tie the guano boom to labor exploitation. They argue increasing scientific studies of soils and agricultural nutrient dynamics by European chemists like Alexander Coche and Justus von Liebig began to address the exhaustion of European soils due to export of nutrients through grain exports of agricultural crops from the countryside to major cities for food, and the potential for guano and other manures to revive the fertility of those soils.¹⁵⁶ These scientific findings, along with the discovery of huge guano deposits with high levels of soluble nitrates on the Chincha Islands off the coast of Peru spurred a guano boom that lasted from the 1840s to the 1880s. The boom catalyzed the United States' first extra-continental imperial expansion efforts, resulting in the passage of the 1856 Guano Island Act that facilitated the US annexation of 59 Pacific and Caribbean islands by 1863.¹⁵⁷

Guano, in turn benefitted British interests that orchestrated a system of intensive exploitation of Chinese workers and rapid depletion of the thousands-year old guano deposits off the coast of Chile.¹⁵⁸ From a labor perspective, European merchants orchestrated guano

¹⁵⁴ Other fertilizers like manure, plaster, and lime were also important in this time period, but guano expensive and popular with planters, and had the farthest transport distance of the inputs. It would, though be interesting to understand the processes that were used as fertilizer. Manure, of course was produced more locally with livestock, but it's an interesting question of where limes and plasters were sourced.

¹⁵⁵ Accumulations of bird excrement found on islands, most useful when those islands are in climates that with little rain, and nutrients remain in the deposits. Guano was most often found in large quantities on Pacific and Caribbean islands.

¹⁵⁶ Clark and Foster, "Ecological Imperialism and the Global Metabolic Rift: Unequal Exchange and the Guano / Nitrates Trade.", 317-18.

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: The History of the Greater United States*, First Picador paperback edition (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020), 49-51.

¹⁵⁸ Clark and Foster, "Ecological Imperialism and the Global Metabolic Rift: Unequal Exchange and the Guano / Nitrates Trade." In Charlottesville in the 1850s, guano was a coveted commodity. *The Southern Planter*, the local planter's magazine ran no less than ten articles solely about the use of guano during 1853, and the

extraction through systematic importation of Chinese labor to the Peruvian guano islands through the mechanism of contract-based indenture. Seizing on the unrest fomented by the Taiping Rebellion, “tens of thousands of Chinese ‘coolies’ were contracted in ports like Macao and Hong Kong.”¹⁵⁹ Goffe argues that indenture of ostensibly “free” laborers from China was “distinct legally from enslavement, though it had similar infrastructure, methods and material.”¹⁶⁰ Guano miners in the Chincha Islands often arrived to their new workplace in the hold of a ship, “free” by law, but practically unable to escape from isolated islands and horrific working conditions.¹⁶¹ This system emerged at the very cusp of Black emancipation in the Americas, part of a larger global shifts from formally enslaved labor to ostensibly “free” labor systems based on contracts.¹⁶²

A third flow of exports emerged from Virginia’s decreased need for enslaved labor. Given the seasonal nature of wheat growing and mixed crop production compared to earlier tobacco economies, Virginia began massive exports of commoditized people. Berlin notes that in the decade of the 1850s alone, slaveholders in the Seaboard South sold over 250,000 people west,¹⁶³ to labor in the cotton kingdom of the interior South. Land in that region was newly “available” due to the active denial of Native American claims on that territory, and massive killing and displacements of indigenous people. Albemarle County’s enslaved population stayed

proper use and application of the substance is mentioned in passing in many others. Advertisements for the local sale of guano also appear in *The Jefferson Republican* during this period. Local planter records, like George Sinclair’s farm diary for the plantation at Locust Grove also specifically mention guano use.

¹⁵⁹ Clark and Foster, “Ecological Imperialism and the Global Metabolic Rift: Unequal Exchange and the Guano / Nitrates Trade.”, 322.

¹⁶⁰ Goffe, “‘Guano in Their Destiny.’”, 43.

¹⁶¹ The novel *God of Luck* is cited by Goffe, and speculates on the inner life of an indentured laborer Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *God of Luck* (New York: Soho Press, 2007).

¹⁶² For a much more robust discussion of the connections between systems of labor in the Americas and in Asia and Africa, see Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

¹⁶³ Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*, 169.

about the same between 1850 and 1860, growing by only 578 people. In 1850, Albemarle County's total population stood at 25,800, and over half that number were the County's 13,338 African-descended captives, and 587 free black residents.¹⁶⁴ Participation in the institution of slavery was prevalent among Virginia agriculturalists: from those listed as "farmers" in Albemarle County in the 1850 census, 78% owned at least one enslaved person.¹⁶⁵ Edward Tayloe Wise notes that Charlottesville's overall population only grew by 825 people during this period, but according to typical rates of increase for the area, population growth should have been more than 3000 people, and concludes that the difference is likely a "result of excess slaves being sold to other sections of the South."¹⁶⁶ Numerous advertisements from two issues of Charlottesville's newspapers of that time, *The Jeffersonian Republican*, attests to the common practice of selling enslaved people in the Charlottesville area.¹⁶⁷ A survey of WPA narratives, a collection of over 3,500 interviews with formerly enslaved individuals conducted in the mid-1930s, shows that Virginia, and especially Central Virginia loomed large in the memories of formerly enslaved people across the U.S. South.¹⁶⁸ Snovey Jackson, interviewed in Georgia in 1936, notes several places where this system impacted her life:

You see we didn't raise no cotton in Virginia.... De [white] people in Virginia heerd 'bout how cotton was growed down here and how dey was plenty or labor and dey come by the hund'eds to Georgia...Of course Virginia was a slave breedin' state, and n*****s was sold off jes' like stock. Families was all broke up

¹⁶⁴ Wise, "Albemarle County 1850-1860,"4.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 7.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 29.

¹⁶⁷ "For Sale," *The Jeffersonian Republican*, December 23, 1852; "Land and Negroes for Sale," *The Jeffersonian Republican*, December 23, 1852; "Negroes for Sale," *The Jeffersonian Republican*, December 23, 1852; "Valuable Land and Slaves for Sale at Auction," *The Jeffersonian Republican*, December 23, 1852; "Sale of 16 Negroes," *The Jeffersonian Republican*, October 12, 1854.

¹⁶⁸ From a content analysis I conducted on WPA narrative recordings of formerly enslaved people, 27% of interviewees in Maryland, 10-19% of interviewees in Ohio, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, and Georgia, and 3-9% of interviewees in Kentucky, Alabama, Tennessee, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Indiana mention either they or their ancestors lived on plantations in Virginia.

and never seed one ‘nother no mo’. Me and my two little brothers was lef’ in Virginia when Captain Williams come to Georgia. De specalators got hol’ o’ us, and dey refugeed us to Georgia enduring’ o’ de war... I never knowed what ‘come of my brothers¹⁶⁹

Across these interviews, there is not only a strong memory of Virginia as a place of origin, but also of relations scattered across the South consumed by a demand for labor across the interior South. Jackson’s statement is one among many that shows that the industry of slave sale was common knowledge among enslaved people, as was its connection of that industry to cotton agriculture.

Raw cotton grown, picked and processed in the interior South in turn shipped to New England and England, where emerging gendered and classed labor forces produced textiles in industrializing mills. Madelyn Shaw notes that in Rhode Island by 1845, 70% of the textile manufacturers listed in that state’s directories specialized in the production of “negro cloth” shipped back south as provisions for the growing enslaved population, and England was also a major of exporter of cotton textiles to the Southern U.S. states.¹⁷⁰

From this non-exhaustive set of examples, we can begin to see that Central Virginia was a node of globally entangled flows that produced a wide-ranging set of racializing assemblages elsewhere. By tracing some of these parallel systems, we can “think in connection like an island chain, to see the connected suffering caused by various institutions of racial capitalism.”¹⁷¹

During this period, given the ever-increasing logistical, physical, and cultural connectedness of these spatially separated regimes of exploitation, we can begin to see a growing repertoire of modes of governance and labor control that emerge co-temporally across the landscapes linked

¹⁶⁹ “Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 4, Georgia, Part 2, Garey-Jones” 1936, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn042/>, 304-5.

¹⁷⁰ Madelyn Shaw, “Slave Cloth and Clothing Slaves: Craftsmanship, Commerce, and Industry,” *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, no. 33 (2012).4.

¹⁷¹ Goffe, ““Guano in Their Destiny.””, 44.

to Albemarle County and Charlottesville. Lowe relates these relations of “free market” indenture to enslavement through the distinct but linked frames around liberal rights:

liberalism comprises a multifaceted, flexible and contradictory set of provisions that all at once rationalizes settler appropriation and removal differently than it justifies either the subjection of human beings as enslaved property, or the extraction of labor from indentured emigrants, however much these processes share a colonial past ¹⁷²

These violent forms of indenture or exploitation through contract echo Hartman’s reading of burdened individuality¹⁷³ that emerged after emancipation in the US South, and the ways capital-producing systems moved and reordered racializing terms of power.

Cash Crop Production

As demonstrated above, Charlottesville’s connections to global capital and logistical networks revolved around the production of commodity crops. This production required modes of thinking, spatial practices, and localized network-building activities that I describe in this section.

The Ideology of the Field: Delegating Care as War

These globally connected circuits of products and capital flows required localized production that maximized exchange value in as many ways as possible and practicable. In describing these plantation systems as coordinated racialized assemblages, this section examines how the racial bifurcations of the “social” world were accompanied by an attendant functional bifurcation of the “natural” world that played out in the world of everyday farm management. Planters saw the world as myriad Manichean battles, and planterly attitudes reflected in planterly magazines towards almost all aspects of life center on the mirrored actions of *care through war*.

¹⁷² Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, 9-10.

¹⁷³ Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*.

In these systems that ordered everyday life, the activities of war and care were each embedded in the other. Proper “care” of the land involved the eradication and destruction of unwanted pests, weeds, water, and any other environmental factor detrimental to the single-minded production of staple crops. In this paradigm, human and non-human actors in the landscape could only be legible through their relationships, neatly sorted into categories of beneficial and harmful to the systems of agricultural commodity production and more broadly to capital accumulation.

These attitudes are heavily evidenced in the articles of *The Southern Planter*, a regional publication commonly subscribed to by major planters in Charlottesville.¹⁷⁴ One article entitled “Another Enemy to the Wheat Crop” expounds on these relationships with respect to known and unknown insects:

our farmers have all the *plagues of Egypt* upon them at once. Their corn crop is injured by the *cut and bore worm*, the wheat by *fly*, *joint worm*, and this **stranger**, who has found ‘local habitation,’ but is still without a ‘name’... This is a *wormey* age we live in, and we know of **nothing better for a man to do than carry about with him a bottle of M Lane’s Vermifuge** to protect himself against the *prevailing epidemic*.¹⁷⁵

[italicized emphasis in original, bold emphasis by author]

In this passage and many others, weeds, pests, and diseases are metaphorically constructed as out of place “others” to be identified, isolated, and destroyed with the newest technologies on offer from the “experts” of scientific farming. Even the amendment of soils, which arguably seems to be an action of pure care through adding nutrients to deprived soils, is couched in war-like terms. One farmer writes to the editor about the application of lime: “...I looked confidently for this effect, viz: the **annihilation of broomstraw** [a weedy native grass], but, as I said before, I was

¹⁷⁴ Many major Charlottesville landholders like George Sinclair, William Minor, the Duke Family, and others are listed as subscribers in the magazine between 1851 and 1853.

¹⁷⁵ “Another Enemy to the Wheat Crop,” *The Southern Planter*, August 1853.

disappointed- the field, in another year, put up as thick a growth as ever.” [emphasis added]¹⁷⁶

The worldview consistently allowed for only these two possibilities that meant care through inputs and encouragement, or targeted annihilation.

While this over-riding structure of bifurcation was constant, specific creatures often slipped back and forth between categories of beneficial and reviled. For example, one article discussed evolving proper planter attitudes towards red-winged blackbirds:

Red-winged Blackbird [...] has long been known to farmers as a **sad thief** [...] Mr. Williams says [...] are great devourers of the Indian corn, as soon as it appears out of the ground [but...] grub-worms, caterpillars, and various other larva- the **silent but deadly enemies of all vegetation**, and whose **secret and insidious attacks** are more to be dreaded by the husbandman than the **combined forces of the whole feathered tribes** together [...] If we suppose each bird on an average to **devour fifty of these larva in a day** [...] I cannot resist the belief that the **services of this species, in spring, are far more important** and beneficial than the value of all that portion of corn which a careful and active farmer permits himself to lose by it [...] we may justly claim for them the **exemptions from the cruel assaults** of idle gunners, truant schoolboys, and from the necessity of witnessing the vain attempts of honest farmers to frighten them with scarecrows.¹⁷⁷ [emphasis added in bold]

Here, the formerly “proper” actions towards red-wing blackbirds was to kill them (with idle gunners, truant school boys, etc.), but the writer argues for moving these birds into the protected category of beneficial animals given they ate creatures (like worms, caterpillars, etc) that were the *true* garden pests. Crop and livestock species’ value and worthiness for care was never in question, but all other human and non-human relations were understood in relationship to the desired products, and dealt with via blunt choice between the logics of “protect it,” or “annihilate it.” Metaphors also slipped between human and non-human worlds, with birds personified as thieves, tribes, and servicers of corn.

¹⁷⁶ G.F.H, “Lime,” *The Southern Planter*, August 1853, 243.

¹⁷⁷ “Red-Winged Blackbird,” *The Southern Planter*, September 1853, 281-282.

This ideology also mobilized an array of metaphorical images that connected the “care” of human bodies, animal bodies, plant bodies, and landscapes as analogous productive systems to be managed. “Health” was signified by the optimization of any of these bodies’ ability to contribute to the monetized production of commodities. Plants, animals, and humans needed to be properly “fed.” Inter and intra-body cycles required coordination. Precise removal of unhealthful bodies and influences was required in this model of sociality completely distorted by the short-term ability to produce monetizable, transportable, and exchangeable items. This “health” was produced through specific practices and technologies that easily crossed between the management of human, non-human, and land-based “bodies.” Thus, the same chloroform used to anesthetize humans was also became a way to harvest honey from cranky bees,¹⁷⁸ flocks of birds became armies, and the constant threat of war from enemies at all scales, from insects to weeds to global powers, became the dominant management paradigm for everyday life.

This ideology translated, through transfers of delegated power to deputize¹⁷⁹ figures not actually at the ideological apex of the imagined spatial-social hierarchy to preside in lieu of the master in temporarily or conditionally bounded spaces within the larger plantation system. The overseer’s role in the field was one of conditional supervision, or nested hierarchy within the spatial system of the landscape. The figure in the field of the man on the horse could be filled by any number of interchangeable characters- lower-class white men, free Black men, or enslaved men. Conceptually and spatially “below” them were the enslaved labor force, conditionally deputized and forcibly coerced to extract short-term monetizable goods from the land through

¹⁷⁸ “Chloroform for Bees,” *The Southern Planter*, September 1853, 279.

¹⁷⁹ This is an important word, and I’d like to return to frames from other scholars who use it. At the moment, I am reading Walcott’s observations about how all people in today’s world are deputized via today’s prison-industrial complex’s workings into the past. Walcott asserts we are currently all deputized “as watchers responsible for detecting potential harm in public spaces.” Rinaldo Walcott, *On Property: Policing, Prisons, and the Call for Abolition*, 2021, 44.

management of seeds, water, soil, pests, and “beneficial” beings. Evidence from planter books and account show how enslaved people spent most of their time plowing, seeding, tending, weeding, grubbing, grading, and maintaining various parts of the land, and digging, shucking, threshing, cleaning, and hauling the varied products that the discretely monocultural fields produced (Figures 2.5- 2.6).

These deputizations also served elaborated and hardened gender categories. White women were assigned the subordinate task of presiding over the ornamental landscape as an extension of the home and domestic sphere. One of the few contributions by a woman to the *Southern Planter* is a letter to the editor about roses. The author complains of the lack of content in the magazine directed at women, appealing to the editor to address the “numerous lady readers ... [and] occasionally cease from ‘guano’, ‘joint worm’, ‘tobacco’, and McCormick’s reaper’ and freshen themselves with a few flowers culled by the way.”¹⁸⁰ Though the object of the appeal is to address ornamental plants, the basic content of the article is in other ways identical to many others having to do with staple crops, starting with the author’s “perpetual hostility to the *rose bug*,” and seeking scientific advice to “aid in this war of extermination.”¹⁸¹ Though the piece is about flowers, the subtext of war through care is heavily affirmed.

In another example of women’s participation in domestic husbandry through everyday war, formerly enslaved woman Kate Flanagan Coles records as one of her earliest memories of the mistress of the house:¹⁸²

after A good rain she had every child that was big enough to carry a basket and an old knife plucking up weeds, white and collard [colored]. After the job was over we had a party, molasses, lightbread and A dish full of ginger cakes. If there was

180 “Put Not Your Trust in Damask Rose Bushes,” *The Southern Planter*, September 1853, 277.

181 Ibid, 276.

¹⁸² Kate Flanagan Coles was a woman enslaved by the Minor Family at Gale Hill, just north of Charlottesville

any ladies visiting her they was called out to look at the green carpet as they called the yard.¹⁸³ (spelling and capitalization from original manuscript)

This recollection describes the plantation mistress presiding over a cadre of children in war against weeds, just old enough to hold knives and receive their sugared reward for joining the army who maintained the “green carpet.”¹⁸⁴ And these daily practices, along with many others created a spatial-political environment that naturalized and legitimated planter power and the man of the house’s place at the pinnacle of a household-scale microcosm of planter society, but empowering and aligning white women through emerging ideas around domesticity. These elaborations of social roles placed white women in charge of the spatial and social management “domestic” spaces¹⁸⁵ of the ornamental yard and the home’s interior, while also further articulating the separated and distinct spheres that kept women’s roles circumscribed to these acceptably feminine domains of home and family.¹⁸⁶

Finally, the logic of class also functioned through the logic of care and war.

Edmund Ruffin, editor of the well-circulated *Farmer’s Register*, in an address to the Virginia Agricultural Society spoke on the power dynamics of slave vs. free labor:

¹⁸³ Kate Flanagan Coles, “Papers of Kate Flanagan Coles” (African Americans, Slaves, Manuscripts, Photographs, 1936 1892), Special Collections Stacks.

¹⁸⁴ Clara R Freeman et al., “Impact of Sugar on the Body, Brain, and Behavior,” *Frontiers in Bioscience* Landmark, no. 23 (June 1, 2018): 2255–66. Write about the dopamine and serotonin releases triggered by the ingestion of high fat and sugar foods. It would be interesting to pursue this line of thinking a little further and look at the ways that sugar is connected both as a product of its own set of complex racialized assemblages, and its role in producing physiological reward systems that can be used to train people to act in situationally “appropriate” ways. I’m thinking of the experience of my own parents bribing me with candy to go hiking, my aunties offering me illicit before-meal candy to make their visits memorable or threatening the denial of dessert as a mild disciplinary mechanism. Where do these intra-family tactics come from reverberations of past systems of reward and punishment? What have we been trained to desire?

¹⁸⁵ For further elaboration of these ideas, see: Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989); Weisman, *Discrimination by Design.*, 190.

¹⁸⁶ Another avenue of further investigation is the ways that the logics of care through annihilation opened a door to the increasing toxification of human living spaces. Why is it we treat our food, our homes, even our skin with literal poisons, and that makes logical sense somehow?

This is the condition from which we are saved, and immeasurably exalted, by the subjection and slavery of an inferior race. The superior race here is free. In the so-called free countries, the far greater number of the superior race is, in effect enslaved and thereby degraded to a condition suitable only for a race made inferior by nature....In the so-called free countries...there is the slavery of class to class- of the starving laborers to the paying employers.¹⁸⁷

In Ruffin's view, there is no question that someone will be abused. The only alternative to enslaving a "naturally inferior" race which deserves enslavement is the "unjust" enslavement of white labor, held as the ultimate specter of free labor regimes. The implicit message to the white underclass living alongside the planter elite was, sustain the enslavers, or be effectively enslaved yourselves. Care for the systems of slavery or become the internal enemy that is warred upon and whose lives are appropriated.¹⁸⁸ Much like the slippage of red-wing blackbirds from foe to friend, human categories, too, could be placed under threat of "enslavement" based on a reformulations of the same logics where systems *required* included and excluded categories.

Spatializations of Care as War: The field and the figure

Planters designed spaces that enacted these ideologies through physical and social interactions in the context of the landscape. While by the 1850s, the planters' experimentations with various potential commodity products occurred,¹⁸⁹ wheat and tobacco for sale and corn for feeding laborers and livestock were still the main pillars of Charlottesville's economy.¹⁹⁰ The logic of monoculture and homogeneity within sub-areas of a farm were the norm. Planters by the cusp of

¹⁸⁷ Edmund Ruffin and Willoughby Newton, "Supplement to the Southern Planter," *The Southern Planter*, no. Supplement to the Southern Planter (December 1853): 1-16, 12-13.

¹⁸⁸ Interestingly, this was happening after what Nell Irvin Painter calls the first enlargement of American whiteness, when non-property holding white men were granted the right to vote. Ruffin's direct engagement with the potential white working class indicates that he does to some extent need to appeal to a wider audience who was not slave-owning. Painter, *The History of White People*.

¹⁸⁹ Jones notes that hemp at Midway in Whitehall, and silkworm at Morea and Hydraulic Mills were two examples of experiments that never took off in a big way. Jones, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1819-1860," 160.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 151.

the Civil War celebrated the wealth generated by agricultural pursuits, and the “improvements” in land quality, especially soils, that also drove an increase in the value of land itself.¹⁹¹ One wrote in 1860: “no other profession in this area over the past fifteen years had offered the same financial return as that of agriculture.”¹⁹²

The spatial articulation of the monocropped field was central to daily life in the Charlottesville area. Walter Johnson describes the horse “as a tool that converted grain into policing”¹⁹³ (Figure 2.7) in the cotton South, but this spatial configuration would have been one familiar to people in Virginia’s mixed-crop economy as well. The horse conferred racialized power in several ways: first, a mounted figure could view larger portions of the landscape from the height atop of a horse’s back, allowing one overseer to surveil a large area, and control a whole crew of laborers. Second, horses offered an advantage of speed, where a horse could outrun a person easily over the open land of a field. Third, the unpredictability of the horse highlighted the vulnerability of the human body.¹⁹⁴

It can be tempting describe this enactment of power as the simple relationship between a mounted figure and a worker on foot, but Johnson usefully turns our attention to the field condition of the field itself, or the wider *ground* articulated as an open field as of at least equal importance in this configuration. (figure 2.7) A mounted rider was of limited advantage in swampy or densely forested land, so articulation of the land itself as an open space subject to surveillance was crucial to the workings of these systems. The status of enslaved people and the landscapes that they worked in “constituted each other, the labor of the slave refashioning the

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 160.

¹⁹² Ibid, 159.

¹⁹³ Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*.

¹⁹⁴ Local plantation books highlight the reality of this threat to enslaved people: the November 23 entry in the Locust Grove Plantation Farm book ends with “Horses run off and hurt Armistead,” an enslaved laborer on the plantation. George Sinclair, “Journal of George Sinclair 1851-1853.,” 1851.

land into an agro-capitalist landscape even as the transformed landscape made the human being into a visible-and thus vulnerable- slave.”¹⁹⁵

Johnson’s insights are translatable to varying scales of space in Charlottesville through time, in the mode of Barbara and Karen Fields’ concept of *racecraft*.¹⁹⁶ these landscapes produced racialized social relations that *seemed* to have everything to do with the inherent qualities of the racialized bodies, or *figures* involved. But this appearance conjured race through ritualized enactments of power. Relations of domination possible by spatial manipulations of the figures’ context in order to make particular hierarchical relations between invented categories of people seem self-evident and natural. The articulation and maintenance of the *field* where everyday activity occurred across visually identifiable human racial categories was what crystallized and enabled bodily dynamics of violence and domination.

Agricultural Societies, Publications, and Fairs

The prevalence and wealth-making capacities high-input farming was due in part to a high degree of planter organizing to share knowledge, coordinate across agricultural, transport, and industrial sectors, and influence policy across the state and the nation. In 1817, the Agricultural Society of Albemarle was founded.¹⁹⁷ It was the first local society in the state, and served not only as a knowledge-sharing venue, but as an organization where elites could network: early members included Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, a Baltimore fertilizer importer, and the minister of Brazil alongside various elected officials and judges from five counties.¹⁹⁸ Early societies shared research papers on experiments in farming methods, In 1843, the Agricultural

¹⁹⁵ Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*, 221.

¹⁹⁶ Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life* (London: Verso, 2014).

¹⁹⁷ Jones, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1819-1860,” 26.

¹⁹⁸ Charles W. Turner, *Virginia’s Green Revolution* (Waynesboro: The Humphries Press, Inc, 1986), 4.

Society was replaced by the Hole and Corner Club of Albemarle,¹⁹⁹ a highly exclusive group made of only twelve members. Activities of the group included monthly a monthly rotating inspection of one of the members' farms, where he would exhibit his systems of management and experiments in new techniques for review by his fellow members.²⁰⁰ Hole and Corner clubs from localities around the state also lobbied the state and national governments heavily in favor of internal improvements like canals and railroads, for agricultural education at state colleges, and against tariffs on European manufactured goods that southern planters consumed.²⁰¹

Over the early 19th century, local societies began to coordinate across the state. By 1852, the General Assembly chartered a state society after a mass meeting in Richmond with delegates from 70 counties, 15 of whom were from Albemarle. Membership in the state society was expensive, in 1853 individual memberships were \$100 each, reflecting that this type of agricultural organizing was only open to the wealthy. The Society became a major social force in the 1850s, as it organized major events and advising the state government on policies that would benefit farming elites. Virginia's prominent agriculturalists were also involved in the organization of the national-level United States Agricultural Society, which existed from 1852 to 1860, and was highly influential in the passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act, and the Act creating the US Department of Agriculture.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Jones, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1819-1860," 149.

²⁰⁰ The use of the word "critique" is mine, and intentionally loaded. It would be interesting to understand if there is a relationship between the rituals of these clubs and the kinds of critiques that occurred in southern design schools in the early 1900s, the language of putting a member's farm "under review" was used in accounts of these meetings, which piques my interest. Charles W. Turner, *Virginia's Green Revolution* (Wayneboro: The Humphries Press, Inc, 1986), 9.

²⁰¹ Charles W. Turner, *Virginia's Green Revolution*, 13.

²⁰² Lyman Carrier, "The United States Agricultural Society, 1852-1860: Its Relation to the Origin of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Land Grant Colleges," *Agricultural History* 11, no. 4 (October 1937): 278-88.

Turner argues that “the significant institution in American rural life which societies established in Virginia was the fair,”²⁰³ which was an important institutionalized ephemeral event that Agricultural Associations put on in Albemarle and elsewhere across the state. The Albemarle Agricultural Society organized its first agricultural fair in November of 1819, where it offered premiums for the livestock, crops, and techniques that were judged the best in the county.²⁰⁴ In 1828, the society’s fair contracted with the Eagle Tavern near the courthouse to use a lot for exhibiting livestock, and domestic manufactures produced by women were shown and judged in the courthouse.²⁰⁵

In 1853, Albemarle’s local fair was partially replaced by the statewide fairs organized by the Virginia State Agricultural Society and held in Richmond (figure 2.8).²⁰⁶ These fairs were huge popular draws: the 1853 event counted 20,000 visitors on its day of highest attendance.²⁰⁷ Announcements for the fair aimed to popularize the planter’s zealous valuation of productivity: “Farmers of Virginia![...] come prepared to show what the agriculture of our State now is, and what you design it to be in that splendid future, in which, sloth will be a crime, mediocrity a reproach and ignorance a disgrace; and when knowledge and virtue, industry and abundance, wealth and happiness shall cover our goodly land ‘as the waters cover the great deep!’”²⁰⁸ These fairs continued the tradition of awarding premiums to the “best” products in the state, and these premiums publicized and popularized ideas about what qualities of various creatures should be valorized. They were unfailingly those that supported commodity production. Fairs awarded the

²⁰³ Turner, *Virginia’s Green Revolution*, 12.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 111-13.

²⁰⁵ Jones, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1819-1860,”45.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 63.

²⁰⁷ Turner, *Virginia’s Green Revolution*, 14. At this time, this number was almost equivalent to the whole population of Richmond.

²⁰⁸ Philip St. George Cocke, “Virginia State Agricultural Society To the Farmers of Virginia,” *The Southern Planter*, June 1853, 178–79.

“quickest draft horses,” the livestock that physically embodied its finest “blood stock,” and highest crop yields per acre.²⁰⁹

As commentators attended the fairs, they noted the usefulness of such mass events for shaping the wider American imagination about the state in a moment when debates over abolition raged:

The great Agricultural Fair of Virginia is producing a deep impression not only in our own State, but abroad. Intelligent men in nonslaveholding States witness with astonishment [...] The slave institutions of the South give leisure to the landed proprietors for intellectual culture, and render the rural districts pre-eminent in intelligence, in dignified and manly bearing, and in the refinements and courtesies of social life."²¹⁰

So, fairs became a way to not only mainstream practices useful to commodity production and sales of yield-maximizing inputs, but also served as a way to display and demonstrate the success of the elites’ Virginian “way of life” to the nation.

Plantation Urbanisms

Locally, Charlottesville planters were working hard to elaborate their own set of racialized assemblies to organize the production of wheat, tobacco, cereals, and people, and to communicate the success and prevalence of these systems. Planters attempted in myriad ways to arrange their landscapes, ideologies, and everyday lives in consonance with the requirements of crop monocultures and the coerced labor regimes of enslavement. This section describes and diagrams sites where these arrangements were most prominent and visible in the Charlottesville area, and reads into these spaces the general spatial logics that guided elite approaches to the formation of settlements in this moment of the 1850s.

²⁰⁹ “State Agricultural Fair,” *Daily Dispatch*, November 1, 1854.

²¹⁰ “The Great Agricultural Fair of Virginia,” *Daily Dispatch*, November 10, 1854.

Plantations as towns: nodes of domination connected by railroads, roads

The Campbell Map of 1864²¹¹, (Figure 2.9), the 1867 Hotchkiss map²¹² (Figure 2.10), and the Green Peyton map of 1875²¹³ (Figure 2.11) show the regional spatial arrangements of the Albemarle County and Charlottesville before and after the moment of the Civil War, along with features map-makers of the time saw as important.²¹⁴ The maps generally show similar classes of features, towns and plantation owner homes as dots, roads and waterways as lines, landcover as hatches, and topography through hachures. These maps are representations of actual physical spaces by actors who desired to sustain a successful commodity cropping based in a system of race-based chattel slavery, in accordance with Nancy Fraser's description of mercantile/commercial capitalism.²¹⁵ The plantations that dot these maps structured the landscape as the dominant unit of land ownership and land management during this period.

The dispersed and nodal nature of plantation power can be read into the period maps, with the predominant human-built features being dots mostly locating named plantation homes. Within the space of Albemarle County as territorialized through these maps, these dots evidence a cellular structure of power across the larger landscape, with each planter visually represented as claiming an implied domain around their home. Albemarle county itself is the only territory shown as explicitly bounded, its edge representing extent of the jurisdiction of the County

²¹¹ Confederate States of America. Army Dept. of Northern Virginia. Chief Engineer's Office and Albert H Campbell, *Map of Albemarle: Made under the Direction of Maj. A.H. Campbell Capt. Eng. in Charge of Top. Dept. D.N.V. from Surveys and Reconnaissances* (Albemarle County: S. !: Chief Engineer's Office D. N .V, 1864).

²¹² Jedediah Hotchkiss, *Albemarle County, Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA: 1867, 1867).

²¹³ Green D. Peyton and Worley & Brachter, *A Map of Albemarle County, Virginia* (Philadelphia: Engr. by Worley & Brachter, Phila, 1875), UVA Special Collections.

²¹⁴ A whole dissertation could be written on who these map-makers were and how they connected to networks of power, but this exploration is beyond the scope of this project.

²¹⁵ Nancy Fraser, "Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism: A Reply to Michael Dawson," *Critical Historical Studies*, Spring 2016, 163–78.

government, which by the mid-19th century was seated at the courthouse at Court Square in Charlottesville.

By examining the relatedness of the emerging city of Charlottesville to the plantations around it, we can begin to understand it *not* as a city formed in contradistinction to a vague and evenly undeveloped rural landscape. Instead, Charlottesville would have been one heavily exchange-based node of power among many villages, with each plantation house shown on these maps experienced as its own village with a distinct internal hierarchy of spatial relations. Kathrine McKittrick observes as much, noting “the plantation is often defined as a ‘town,’ with a profitable economic system and local political and legal regulations.”²¹⁶ Dell Upton observes that the plantation often locally usurped the function of towns: “In effect, the plantation *was* a village, with the planter’s house as its town hall.”²¹⁷ This rhetorical equivalence of spatialized governmental and private landowner power was consciously chosen by plantation masters as they planned their estates. Camille Wells has laid out the shifts in the siting and spatial logics of plantation in colonial and early national Virginia, and by the late 18th century, plantation owners demonstrated their status through construction of larger homes that often dwarfed courthouses and churches, and emphasized vertical prospect and visual command of the surrounding landscape rather than earlier homes’ proximity to waterways.²¹⁸

The map shown in figure 2.12 juxtaposes the sites of the plantation homes that are named on all three of the 19th century maps of Albemarle County (figures 2.8-2.10)²¹⁹ layered with a

²¹⁶ McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, 75.

²¹⁷ Dell Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia,” in *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, ed. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2010), 127.

²¹⁸ Wells, *Material Witnesses: Domestic Architecture and Plantation Landscapes in Early Virginia*, 30-35.

²¹⁹ For the clarity and readability of the graphic, I did not venture to map all the plantation nodes that are shown on these maps, but worked under the assumption that sites that appeared on all three maps were of greater

depiction of the general topography of the spaces around Charlottesville. Owners who sited and commissioned these homes placed them along the prominent ridgelines that striped the area, allowing each master to spatially imply a domain of control around and below their home. A further overlay (figure 2.13) with the general locations of roads (red), railroads (black and white), and waterways (black) show the ways that prominent households sited themselves in ways that “invited respectful attention to the mansion as the ultimate destination,”²²⁰ and gave them proximity to channels for the movement of their commodities to market. These sitings in and of themselves demonstrate a position of power and dominance, with homes on hills above and likely visible from major roads. They also expressed a general sense of relative social position of the planters as compared with each other. Thomas Jefferson’s home at Monticello²²¹ overlooked the city at a much higher elevation than the less prominent, but still elite farmers. This was likely no accident, as Jefferson was part of a generation of planters for whom “this domination over the landscape was a matter of conscious concern [...] suggested by the wealthy planters’ frequent praise for the extent of vistas and prospects.”²²² At this time, planters often also controlled strategic low points for manufacturing along confluences of water, taking advantage of both the motive power of dam sites and the proximity to waterways that were still an important mode of shipping.²²³

importance in the consciousness of map-makers over this time period, and that by showing those, I would show the sites that served as consistent landmarks and points of reference for the planter class.

²²⁰ Wells, *Material Witnesses: Domestic Architecture and Plantation Landscapes in Early Virginia*, 35.

²²¹ Its location is shown in the Lower Right corner of figure 2.11

²²² Wells, *Material Witnesses: Domestic Architecture and Plantation Landscapes in Early Virginia*, 34.

²²³ Hartman’s Mill, John Cochran’s Millhouse, Sinclair’s Mill (all grain milling sites) and Woolen Mills (an early wool carding and fabric manufacturing site) are examples on this map.

At the scale of property, Upton notes that “the great planter intended that his landscape would be hierarchical, leading to himself at the center.”²²⁴ He describes a system of site design the *articulated processional landscape*. He goes on, “The great planter’s landscape was both articulated and processional. It was articulated in the sense that it consisted of a network of spaces... that were linked by roads that had their own particular character but that worked together to embody the community as a whole, “ and was processional in the sense that it derived meaning from “movement through this micro-landscape that had the individual planter at its center.”²²⁵ So, a visitor would travel through a set of physical barriers that were also social barriers, gradually ascended to the master’s home, asserting “status as he or she passed through it.”²²⁶

Once inside the home, the procession led to the oft-used space of hospitality and entertaining, the planter’s dinner table. At the scale of the body, Byrd writes about the plantation dining table as a performance of power.²²⁷ While Byrd’s piece addresses the dynamics of table fans, a more general analysis of the space of the table shows the owner class of plantation masters and white family seated at the table, Black enslaved people standing at the edges, operating ceiling fans, and serving food (Figure 2.14). In plan, the spatial arrangement of the table symbolized and enacted a particular social order, with the host prominently seated at the head of the bilaterally symmetrical space of the table, the plantation mistress at the other end, and guests seated along the sides, all facing inward, away from the laborers serving dinner.

²²⁴ Dell Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia,” 128.

²²⁵ Ibid, 130.

²²⁶ Ibid, 130.

²²⁷ Dana E. Byrd, “Motive Power Fans, Punkahs, and Fly Brushes in the Antebellum South,” *Buildings & Landscapes* 23, no. 1 (2016): 29–51. In this piece, Byrd writes about the dynamics of fans, and the ways they both demonstrated spatial hierarchy and social order, but also provided opportunities for enslaved people to gain power through listening in on planter dinner conversations and other subversive activities made possible by the arrangement.

Regional nodes: University of Virginia and Courthouse Square

At the scale of the larger community, Upton also contends that the articulated processional landscape was applied in spaces that planters related to each other beyond their own estates:

the largest meanings of the articulated processional landscape, however, were perceived in the continual dissolutions and reformulations of social groups that occurred as many planters moved from one place to another within the public landscape of which the great plantation was a part. A planter moved from being the planter-among-his-family-and-slaves, for instance [...] to the courthouse village [...] as planter-among-his-fellow-magistrates. Each grouping had a specific character and particular physical manifestation that was integrated within the articulated processional landscape.²²⁸

Two major nodes along the east-west corridor of Main Street, Courthouse Square to the east and University of Virginia to the west, serve as spatial examples of two such settings. These two sites were inter-plantation sites where many landowners interacted, and the site arrangements tested modes of planterly interaction when the spheres of power of multiple plantation masters overlapped.

Dr. Thomas Walker located the site for the County Courthouse in his plat of 1763, and designated the land for the square as a gift to the town at that time.²²⁹ A small courthouse was built on the square 1762 and rebuilt at a larger scale in 1803.²³⁰ In the plat, Walker situated the Courthouse square topographical high point just north and uphill (figure 2.15) from the major East-West throughway, Three Chopt Road/Main Street,²³¹ a major overland route that connected to the Shenandoah Valley to the west, and to the state capitol in Richmond to the east. Walker

²²⁸ Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia," 130-1.

²²⁹ Alexander, *Early Charlottesville: Recollections of James Alexander: 1828-1874 Reprinted from the Jeffersonian Republican by the Albemarle County Historical Society*, 1.

²³⁰ "National Register of Historic Places Inventory- Nomination Form for Albemarle County Court House Historic District" (National Park Service, 1972), https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/104-0057_Albemarle_County_Courthouse_HD_1972_Final_Nomination.pdf, 5.

²³¹ Known as Three-chopt road, or locally, Main Street as laid out in Walker's plat. Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia*, 63.

and the founders of the town had purchased 1000 acres,²³² so the choice of this spot from that wider acreage echoes the way planters situated their homes at high points that communicated topographical command of the surrounding lands. The town was meant, according to the General Assembly's act of incorporation to be "of great advantage to the inhabitants of the county if established a town for the reception of traders,"²³³ and multiple sets of players, like the town government, individual land purchasers, renters, and collectives of property owners developed parcels in alignment with this goal.

By the 1850s, various additions to the court apparatus were added (figure 2.16), and various proprietors had established businesses, law offices, and hotels around Courthouse Square and in the larger street grid laid out by the Walker Plan. James Alexander recalled in 1874 that "the Square till about 1840 was the principal business mart, but from that time the old merchants one by one removed to the Main Street, which has since grown up and extended its whole length with stores and other places of business."²³⁴ So, anyone traveling to Richmond from the West was likely to pass through a collection of business-oriented buildings along Main Street before they turned up the street to rise up toward the façade of Courthouse.

At University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson combined architectural arrangements that attempted to visually disavow slavery with dominant thinking about penal reform and social discipline through surveillance then emerging in Europe. Lucia Stanton notes Jefferson's affinities with the then-popular architectural experiments of Jeremy Bentham. Panoptic forms

²³² Ibid,27.

²³³ Ibid, 27.

²³⁴ Alexander, *Early Charlottesville: Recollections of James Alexander: 1828-1874 Reprinted from the Jeffersonian Republican by the Albemarle County Historical Society*, 36.

pervaded his designs, from the use of venetian blinds at Monticello and the Virginia penitentiary, to the naming of one of his quarter farms, Pantops, after the Greek word for “all-seeing.”²³⁵

The building complex at University of Virginia is articulated to enact and communicate a complex tiered hierarchy of power. First, the planimetric arrangement of the lawn echoed the smaller-scale spatial arrangement of the planter’s dining table (Figure 2.17), with the Rotunda library, fount of collegiate knowledge at the North end, at the head of the figurative table. A sweeping view to the Southwest mountains at the South end implied that like the planter’s relation to the dinner co-host/wife, the larger (and often feminized) American landscape was pulled into the spatial system of the lawn, under the paternal “eye” of the Rotunda at the head. The length of the lawn was flanked on the inside and outside edges with student rooms, professors’ homes in the pavilions, and hotels on the outside edges that served, along with the broad grassed lawn in the center, to serve as a visible center of the kind of idealized “democratic” education that Jefferson envisioned for the privileged citizens of Virginia. Students were not allowed to bring enslaved people with them to school. But this arrangement of “independent” educational and student figures was only possible through the logistical support and labor of enslaved people who lived alongside the white inhabitants of the lawn. The “gardens,” which in the Maverick plan shows as empty spaces, served as work yards, isolated by tall serpentine walls, where enslaved people labored on food preparation, butchering, laundry, and other messy work.²³⁶ This separation of spaces echoes, in a fractal manner, the arrangement of enslaved workers around a planter’s dinner table.

²³⁵ Lucia C. Stanton, “*Those Who Labor for My Happiness*”: *Slavery at Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello*, Jeffersonian America (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 84-5.

²³⁶ Maurie Dee McInnis and Louis P. Nelson, eds., *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson’s University* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 49.

The lawn in section (Figure 2.18) exhibits a set of vertical relationships expressing the power differential between the institution, its professors, its students, and enslaved workers. The main grassed space of the lawn occupies a modified ridgeline centered on its length, capturing the topographical high ground, and providing clear views of the mountains to the Southwest, metaphorically ruling over the larger landscape. At the same time, internal views from Rotunda to main lawn, from the pavilions to hotels and lawn and work yard, and from the hotel to work yard, produced a heavily articulated social hierarchy of knowledge (as enshrined in the temple-like library), professor, student/hotel keeper, and laborer. The geometric advantages of height seen in the bodily scale relations of the enslaved field worker and the mounted rider appear here, but in a multi-level configuration of tiered social hierarchy.

With these two nodes at the eastern and western edges of town, we can begin to read the articulation of the East-West road through town, as the most publicly and regionally visible instantiation of the articulated processional landscape system that Upton describes, and roads leading from these major thoroughways to individual plantations as smaller processions opportunistically and improvisationally connected and re-connected through investment to the flows of major transportation thoroughfares as the county and country continued to change.

Reading this level of consistency and patterning across the county can make this landscape coordination and design can make existent and historical arrangements seem predestined or given, based on the insistent repeated logics of topography, access, and procession that seem to order major spaces in and around Charlottesville. But I argue that elite players who held key and multiple positions in networks of power, and were heavily connected with each other locally, using investments (both individual and collectivized) to attempt to produce new kinds of urbanisms that served their class interests in accumulation. It was through this social and

spatial networking that elites marshalled the power to coordinate spatial articulation across the seemingly separate domains of governmental, institutional, business, manufacturing, and agricultural sectors.

Though the modes of production change over time,²³⁷ the overriding goal of the dominant Anglo-American approach to space has been to produce *emergent spatial exchange value*, using strategies that reverberate and are later taken up again by actors after the Civil War. Vargo et. al. define emergence as “structural characteristics that can be observed at one level in a system that are not present in its constituents.”²³⁸ The combined successes in the 1850s of Charlottesville/Albemarle’s agricultural spaces, milling facilities, transport systems, mercantile networks, and knowledge-sharing institutions together produced emergent exchange value that exceeded the capabilities of any of its parts alone. And actors often benefitted based on their power to coordinate adjacencies and differentiate the spaces of the region based on their investments.

While many historiographies focus on railroads, road development, canal development, institutional development, residential development, agricultural development, and industrial development separately,²³⁹ I argue that by seeing these “separate” domains through the ways

²³⁷ Nancy Fraser usefully periodizes these, and Sam Stein talks contemporarily about the dominance today of the real estate state, wherein 2/3 of global capital is invested in land and real estate. Fraser, “Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism: A Reply to Michael Dawson.” ; Stein, *Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State*.

²³⁸ Vargo, Akaka, and Wieland, “Rethinking the Process of Diffusion in Innovation: A Service-Ecosystems and Institutional Perspective,” 520.

²³⁹ Many mid-century dissertations have sectors divided in these ways, as are the sub-disciplines of history and other fields, but early in my research process, I noticed how often a small set of names repeated over and over in the different settings. Even relatively simple networks become complex very quickly when one attempts to track them over any significant duration, which led me to attempting to map a sampling of the most often repeated institutions, business entities, clubs, and other formations over time on Miro boards. This paper selects a few of these prominent networks and explain their connectedness through space and time.

they intersect through literally the same very small set of decision-making actors, we can better understand some of the ways that conceptions of “good” urban design and organization became inextricably fused with the shifting goals of capitalist market systems. This analysis helps reframe to a longer lineage of planning thought unearths a longer trajectory to design and planning’s historic roles as professionalized disciplines. In her introduction to a reference book *Readings in Planning Theory*, Fainstein similarly states the central question of the field as “What role can planning play in developing the good city and region within the constraints of a capitalist political economy and varying political systems?”²⁴⁰ This project asks, how did the constraints of the capitalist political economy become the “rails” beyond which our field cannot cross? How is it that we take the workings of racial capitalist systems, and its global scale of entangled sufferings as a given today? What institutional, physiological, physical, and ideological *work* went into, and continues to go into understanding our space-making worlds as bounded in this way? How can we begin to see racialized inequity as a systems-inherent quality of U.S. market and cultural systems? And how must we understand reality in order to undermine these foundations?

Seeds of Resistance: Rival Geographies in Plantation Landscapes

Within these seemingly all-encompassing social-spatial-ideological systems, however, there is copious evidence of competing conceptions of environmental and human sociality evidenced by both the written historical record and recollections of the formerly enslaved. Stephanie Camp insightfully terms the combined workings of plantation systems as “geographies of containment,”²⁴¹ and Walter Johnson uses slightly different language to describe the landscape of

²⁴⁰ Susan S. Fainstein and Scott Campbell, eds., “Introduction,” in *Readings in Planning Theory*, Fourth edition (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley/Blackwell, 2016) ,2.

²⁴¹ Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, chapter 1.

fields, violent mechanisms of plantation discipline, and surveillance of Black life as a “carceral landscape.”²⁴² But both Camp and Johnson note a world of enslaved life and practice that carved space for autonomy, control, and even pleasure from within, through, and around these confining structures.

Johnson notes that enslaved peoples’ covert uses of space, under the cover of darkness, in the uncleared wood, in the impenetrable swamp, in the thicket, all tell us “something about the landscape of slavery: it was not in a steady state”²⁴³. These systems were under constant contention. The descriptions in the farm books of landscapes around Locust Grove suggest “the geography of slaveholding power...characterized by its visibility”²⁴⁴ through documentation of spaces that suggest planterly order: the town field, the shop, the brickyard, the icehouse field, the University. But the 1850 census’s recording of hundreds of acres of “unimproved” lands on the area farms, and the innumerable cords of wood hauled by Sinclair’s wagons suggests the presence of large swaths of forested areas where the horse-patrolled mechanisms of surveillance would have proved far less effective. In this way, the field of plantation control was incomplete—steep, uncultivable, wet, forested, and overgrown areas and other “edges” surrounded and connected plantationscapes, providing opportunity hidden in plain sight for subaltern spatial practices (figure 2.18).

Kate Flanagan Cole’s recollections suggest the kind of night meetings that camp covert sociality that scholars like Camp document in other plantation contexts: “... her grandmother was aunt Beckey’s husband. He was a self made preacher. A good old man would have night

²⁴² Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*, chapter 8.

²⁴³ Ibid, 232.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 232.

prear meetings around home and he being one of Mr. Terrells servants he was allowed to have night prear meetings by most of the farms.”²⁴⁵ J.T. Roane characterizes night meetings like the ones described as events that “rend an opening in the temporality and spatial dynamics of mastery and dominion...”²⁴⁶.

Coles also describes enslaved people’s uses of plantationscapes as spaces for self-provision. In her recounting of Minor’s delivery of the news of emancipation to a group of enslaved men, she notes one of the group gifted the master a pair of gloves: “he showed the mistress the way he hooked them as he called it now be called croshaded [crocheted] one boe needle that he made himself...he had a sister named Becky. She spund the yarn the gloves was hooked with. Used the wool that the sheep lost”²⁴⁷. This recollection resonates with Lucinda Elder’s memory of her enslavement in Central Virginia, years before her WPA interview in Texas:

Back dere in Virginy it sho’ git cold in winter... de women make quilts and dey is wool quilts... Marse John have lots of sheep and when dey go through de briar patch de wool cotch on dern briars and in de fall de women folks goes out and picks de wool off de briers jes' like you picks cotton.²⁴⁸

These passages suggest a collectivized, and rival conception of the environment. Briars, which are the eyes of the southern planter, a sign of weedy slovenliness, become part of multi-step and multi-actor productive act that provides localized and communally produced material support in the cold Virginia winters.

²⁴⁵ Kate Flanagan Coles, “Papers of Kate Flanagan Coles 1892, 1936.,” 1892, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u3513275>, 6.

²⁴⁶ J. T. Roane, “Plotting the Black Commons,” *Souls*, January 2, 2019, 1–28.

²⁴⁷ Kate Flanagan Coles, “Papers of Kate Flanagan Coles 1892, 1936.,” 1892, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u3513275>, 3.

²⁴⁸ “Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 16, Texas, Part 2, Easter-King” 1936, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn162/>, 18.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated Charlottesville's antebellum landscape as a node in global capital accumulation. I also showed how ideologies and spatial design supported agro-capitalist aspirations. From here, we leave the time period of institutionalized chattel slavery, turning our attention to the postbellum era. We will follow some of the continuities and discontinuities between the mostly rural world of plantation life in the 1850s through to the increasingly industrial and urbanizing world of Charlottesville by 1929. In section two, the spaces of the Charlottesville area are rearranged significantly from the agricultural landscapes we saw in chapter 2, but the production of racializing spatial arrangements and ideologies legitimating systems of accumulation continued.

Section II: Post-bellum Central Virginia

Introduction: Setting the scene

This section examines the Charlottesville-Albemarle area's political, institutional, and spatial development from 1865 to the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929. I draw connections between local space-making, the construction of racial categories, and the nationalization of racial ideologies through the use of ephemeral celebrations like fairs and monument dedications. Through examination of contemporary newspaper and popular press coverage, printed recordings of event proceedings, historic photographs, and period maps, this section traces how coalitions of actors mobilize historical narratives to racialize politics and spatialize these racializations through installation of monuments and segregating structures in the spaces of Charlottesville, and realize political gain from these moves.

Vann Woodward summarized the ambiguity and fluidity of racial mores in the period between 1865 and 1900:

what the new status of the Negro would be was not at once apparent, nor were southern white people themselves so united on the subject as has been generally assumed. The determination of the Negro's 'place' took shape gradually under the influence of economic and political conflicts among divide white people- conflicts that were eventually resolve in part at the expense of the Negro.²⁴⁹

So at the end of the Civil War, the social status of Black people in the South broadly and in Charlottesville specifically were by no means fixed. In chapters three, four and five, I focus on the political, institutional, and spatial formation of social boundaries around race. Gerson and Peiss define boundaries as “the complex structures- physical, social, ideological, and

²⁴⁹ C Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, Third Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 6.

psychological which establish the differences and commonalities”²⁵⁰ between socially constructed categories of people. While their arguments attend to gender rather than racial categorizations, I find its centering of the reciprocal processes of boundary formation useful. This focus on process allows a loosening from the reification of racial boundaries as dominant society understands them in any particular point in time, instead holding room to illuminate the ever-shifting political, social, spatial, and interpersonal relations that pushed and pulled on these categorical definitions. Watching boundary-making also allows for acknowledgement of multiple boundaries interacting with one another in various ways. One cannot attend to race, gender, or class in isolation, and attention to intersectional²⁵¹ boundary formation across categories allows us to understand where hardening and division in one area may interact with confluence and broadening inclusion in others. This inter-relational approach to boundary study allows us to loosen our conceptual grip on the idea of linear progress and instead recognize where social “progress” and “inclusion” with respect to one boundary may necessitate acute and violent expulsion in others.

In this section, I also return to a key structural throughline in these dynamics: the ideological structure of *care through war* as the key mode of relating to both human and extra-human worlds evidenced in the plantationary agricultural and social practices outlined in chapter 2. While countless shifts in alliances, acceptances, and expulsions within and across various social boundaries occur in this time period, what remains constant is the continual reinvention of the divide across favored and unfavored categories of humans and landscapes. This period sees constant redefinition of ideas about who was pictured by dominant cultures as “with us,” worthy

²⁵⁰ Judith M Gerson and Kathy Peiss, “Boundaries, Negotiation, Consciousness: Reconceptualizing Gender Relations,” *Social Problems* 32, no. 4 (1985): 317–31, 318.

²⁵¹ Crenshaw, *Critical Race Theory*.

of protection and care, and who is “against us,” worthy of annihilation with respect to the context’s dominant cultures. This organizing principle is repeated in many forms during this time period, emerging as a key organizing construct of American social and spatial relations to this day. In many ways, emancipation and the end of the Civil War were dramatic ruptures with the ordering lifeways of antebellum period, both in Charlottesville and across the nation. But, this period also sees many continuities with the past, a kind of “changing same”²⁵² repeating structural devaluations of Blackness. I draw on various scholars, both those who attend to racial indeterminacy and breaks from the past, and those who focus on the continuities between the period of enslavement and post-bellum “freedoms.”

I periodize this long half-century through attention to boundary-making via three areas during this time period: institutional-associational, political-cultural, and spatial-technological. First, I trace institutional shifts and development. Hargreaves and Van De Ven define institutions as “humanly defined schemas, norms, and regulations that enable and constrain the behavior of social actors and make social life predictable and meaningful.”²⁵³ I recognize ephemeral forms of commemorative celebration as critical to building and elaborating institutional values and structures. I build this case by tracing nested scales of organizational development. On the national scale, I follow the emergence of World’s Fairs as used by coalitions of powerful actors to build popular consent for a specific set of developmental and cultural agendas. This mass recruitment served the interests of a new combination of entrepreneurial elites and cultural power players who used social proximity to historical figures for political gain.

²⁵² Deborah E. McDowell, *“The Changing Same”: Black Women’s Literature, Criticism, and Theory* (Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 1995).

²⁵³ Timothy J Hargrave and Andrew H Van De Ven, “The Collective Action Model of Institutional Innovation,” *Academy of Management Review* 31, no. 4 (2006): 864–88, 866.

At the scale of the state, I use the example of the majoritarian political formation, the Conservative Party, which later becomes the Democratic Party, which dominated state and local politics from the 1880s into the mid-twentieth century. I argue that political and social clubs serve as the conduits to bridge and combine forms, rhetorics, and spatial traditions from across the country into locally and nationally resonant manifestations. In the case of the Democrats, the changing terms of white identity formation are in constant conversations with association-level allegiances to values, forms, and traditions, and are built both top-down and bottom-up across the many regions and localities from which the national Democratic party drew its constituencies over time. As such, the party emerges as a shifting container, drawing in and expelling various sub-categories of players at any given time.

At the local level, this kind of institutional work “aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions”²⁵⁴ centered on two major institutions: the City of Charlottesville, which separated from Albemarle County in 1888, and the University of Virginia, which while it had existed since 1817, became increasingly woven into national networks of power and influence during this time.

Second, from a political-cultural perspective, I trace emerging constructions of nationhood and civic belonging during this time period. At the national scale, World’s Fairs serve as moments of articulation and mass enactment of both the desires of emerging elites, and demonstrations of critiques and tensions within these dominant logics. I read these events alongside regional and local space-making projects in the Charlottesville area, and find a

²⁵⁴ Vargo, Akaka, and Wieland, “Rethinking the Process of Diffusion in Innovation: A Service-Ecosystems and Institutional Perspective,” 528.

reciprocal relationship between localized cultures, traditions, and mores, and the mass cultural symbolic universes²⁵⁵ and practices reflected in World's Fairs.

In mass culture across scales from national to local, fraternal organizations, political clubs, and myriad other nested and ephemeral associations emerge as important social structures for organizing human action, dispersed sites for developing ideologies, and as a critical resource for instantiating the broad racial-spatial changes enacted in the Charlottesville area and beyond during this period. I show how shifting sets of organizations form the connective tissue between national institutions and ideologies, and local institutions and racializing spatial development.

Also, during this period through a cultural-political lens, Thomas Jefferson emerges as a powerful symbolic figure. Many players identified him as a man whose legacy was sufficiently capacious and internally contradictory to be useful to the political coalitions they hoped to build. Tracing the use of Jeffersonian imagery, ritual, and rhetoric during this time period demonstrates that cultural construction is both consensual and conflictual,

discourse, while shared is not unitary but inflected with the differing perceptions and interests of its participants. Indeed the power of a cultural product may depend precisely on its ability to engage people at different levels of meaning, to resolve symbolically the contradictory experiences of daily life.²⁵⁶

Jefferson's utility as a central Democratic and increasingly nationally resonant symbolic figure can help reveal how "cultural constructs shape how we view the world and what we can know."²⁵⁷ The slipperiness of his image helped to both bind and dissolve identity-based coalitions within the party as the scene changed dramatically both locally and nationally.

²⁵⁵ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*.

²⁵⁶ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 12.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 11.

Finally, from a cultural perspective, I trace the various social entities across scales whose meanings change significantly during this time: “The Nation,” “The State,” and “The City.” At the largest scale, the ideological construct of “America” as a nationalist project is reunified, retooled, and revised during this period. Bodnar perceptively notes:

in modern America no cultural expression contains the multivocal quality of public commemorations better than the idea of the nation-state and the language of patriotism. On a cultural level it serves as a symbol that coerces the discordant interests of diverse social groups and unites them into a ‘unitary conceptual framework’ which connects the ideal with the real.²⁵⁸

While this reading of the idea of “the nation” notes its unifying cultural power as a mental construct shared broadly across the U.S., it is important to keep in mind Cedric Robinson’s observations about the historical origins nation as co-arising with modern market systems and racialisms. In his view no modern Western nation ever neatly corresponded with ethnic, class, or other categorizations of people. “Nations” instead depended on their internal heterogeneity and internal tensions and hierarchies to function as a unit that serves particular motives of accumulating wealth and power. Robinson explains that the “state is a bureaucratic structure, and the nation for which it administers is a more convenient construct than a historical, racial, culturally and linguistic entity than the term ‘nation’ signifies.”²⁵⁹ He argues that the heterogenous nature of the nation belies ideas about national unity, and in order to function as a unit of governance, administration and identity, it must incorporate but also hold separate the standing human ‘reserves’ of potentially dis-selected peoples like immigrants and internal minorities.

²⁵⁸ John E. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992), 16.

²⁵⁹ Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 24.

In the US, from a bureaucratic and cultural level, the “state” is the next level down in scale. In the context of Charlottesville, the container of “Virginia” interacts in multiple ways with the overarching functioning and idea of “the nation,” and tracing these connections over time helps illuminate the ways racial ideologies and spatializations travel both top-down from nation to locale and bottom up from locale to nation.

Finally, at the smallest scale, the idea of “the city” emerges in this period as a clearly defined entity pictured in contradistinction to “the country.” Wachsmuth observes the city as an idea is itself an ideology: “the city is an *ideological representation* of urbanization processes rather than a *moment* in them.”²⁶⁰ He joins a lineage of thinkers that asserts that the idea of the city helps obscure the power relations “*the ‘urban ideology’* – the belief that the city, along with its generalization within an ‘urban society,’ is the causal force for social transformations that are in fact driven by class antagonism.”²⁶¹ While Charlottesville existed as a town since the 18th century, antebellum maps and narratives tended to picture it as one of many nodes within a networked plantation landscape. In the late 19th century, many actors do heavy ideological and representational lifting to picture Charlottesville as a space economically and spatially distinct from its environs and use the unity of the image of the City of Charlottesville to create an “urbanized capitalism [that] persistently appears simply as urbanism,”²⁶² to produce a City image that “distorts what it presents.”²⁶³

For this study, tracing all three scales of ideological containers is important, as they are deeply connected through time and constantly shifting in relation to each other in the spatial and

²⁶⁰ David Wachsmuth, “City as Ideology: Reconciling the Explosion of the City Form with the Tenacity of the City Concept,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 32, no. 1 (February 2014): 75–90, 77.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 79.

²⁶² Ibid.,80.

²⁶³ Ibid, 80.

cultural formation of Charlottesville after the Civil War. I demonstrate through this study that Charlottesville is part of a nested system of spatial imaginaries, or “ideas about spaces and places shared collectively.”²⁶⁴ These shared ideas about the institutional, cultural, and physical order of Charlottesville in its context as part of the nation were always under contest. But popular depictions of the city’s spaces, public ritual around urban development and monuments, and the ways that Charlottesvilleans used physical space in their everyday lives helped weave these ideologies into the very fabric of everyday life. As such, symbols, ceremonies, and everyday practices helped embed habits of this order into life across scales: “the symbolic language of patriotism is central to public memory in the United States because it has the capacity to mediate both vernacular loyalties to local and familiar places and official loyalties to national and imagined structures.”²⁶⁵

Third, I attend to spatial-technological changes during this time. Railroad and transport development contributed to the social dynamics I describe in this chapter in two ways. First, rail became a mode of regional and national interconnection, as local and national leaders both extended the geographical reach and density of railroads, and all economic classes increasingly used them for physical travel across the nation’s spaces. But they were also a site of spatial elaboration and change that connected discrete experiences of various cities through the embodied experience of train travel. Though trains have declined in importance with the contemporary popularity of auto and air travel, attention to the then-dominant mode of transportation can elucidate how the racializing regulation of everyday practices related to the

²⁶⁴ Josh Watkins, “Spatial Imaginaries in Research Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions,” *Geography Compass* 9, no. 9 (2015): 508–22, 509.

²⁶⁵ Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14-15.

racializing spatial elaborations of cities both through the increasingly common experience of riding the train, and in the structural systems of power that supported the escalating racialization public spaces during this time period.

At a simultaneously local and national scale, I also look to symbolic sites and monuments as key spatial technologies that reached peak popularity during this time period. I take up Graeber and Wengrow's observations that monuments often reflect the "totalitarian impulse [...] to effectively make the ritual last forever."²⁶⁶ I argue that monuments indeed were an attempt to fix useful ideologies and symbols to the lived spaces of the city, and are key examples of attempts preclude spatial, institutional, and political outcomes that ran counter to the interests of those involved in monument-making. I build on Trouillot's assertion that "any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process."²⁶⁷ It is through a recovery of the narratives, examination of the dedication rituals of the objects, and specifically material interests of monument-makers, that we can begin to understand how the field of who "counted" as a citizen of the locality of and the nation both narrowed and widened along racial, gendered, and class lines, and open space for a re-evaluation and re-imagination of the symbolic usefulness of the city. Finally, from a spatial perspective, symbolic sites and monuments cannot be understood independently of the urban fabric that orchestrated how visitors would experience them, and gave them symbolic meaning and lived resonance.

²⁶⁶ David Graeber and D. Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*, First American edition (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021), 430.

²⁶⁷ Trouillot and Carby, *Silencing the Past*, 28.

Chapter 3- 1865-1876: Emancipation and the Recombinant traditions of “Redemption”

This chapter specifically focuses on the era of Reconstruction as a moment of deep destabilization of racial and economic structures, both in Virginia and nationally in the wake of the Civil War. It introduces some of the institutional, cultural, and spatial trends and threads that later actors build on to re-organize American spaces as cities built to serve industrial-capitalist ends, and the increasing commodification of land. Party politics, fraternal orders and associations, proto-industries, railroads, and the US’s first national fairs emerge as conduits and containers for networks of power.

The immediate aftermath of the Civil War was a time of profound change and struggle in Virginia. Locally, the Civil War instigated movements and heightened shifts in racial dynamics in the state. As Ira Berlin notes, these shifts were the combined results of forces and struggles both sectional and local: “slavery collapsed under the founding of federal troops from the outside and the subversion of plantation-bound black men and women from the inside.”²⁶⁸ The Civil War had already prompted the movement of many of Albemarle County’s Black residents, both free and enslaved, to Union-controlled areas and in some cases to join the Union Army.²⁶⁹ General Sheridan’s troops’ arrival in early March 1865 marked the beginning of Northern occupation of the Charlottesville area, and the local emancipation of enslaved people. These huge shifts are noted the official record in later historical designation documents as footnotes- for example, in the Historical American Buildings Survey text for Locust Grove plantation house, the movement of formerly enslaved people with the Union army is described: “soldiers carried off horses,

²⁶⁸ Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*.259.

²⁶⁹ William Kurtz, “Black Virginians in Blue,” The Nau Center for Civil War History at the University of Virginia, 2021, <http://community.village.virginia.edu/usct/>.

servants, and other valuables owned by the Sinclairs.”²⁷⁰ But the very course of the Civil War had shifted in large part due to the resistance of enslaved people through withdrawal of labor and widespread escape that brought the South’s plantationary support systems to their knees.²⁷¹

Stephanie Camp describes the spatial and social continuities between Black social and institutional practices before and after the war: “out of the major social institutions formed under slavery, they were able to create the beginnings of a genuine black public sphere,”²⁷² and many free people explored “one of the same principles that had guided slaves’ antebellum rival geography: motion.”²⁷³ These shifts pointed to the coming of serious respatializations and reordering of social relations with the close of the Civil War.

At the same time, major continuities and structures of dominance remained. The Green Peyton Map of 1875 shows the names of the masters who owned the estates deemed significant enough to be named on official images of the County.²⁷⁴ Many antebellum planters families, including the Sinclairs at Locust Grove, and the Ficklins at Belmont retained their lands through the Civil War. Other plantations, like the former Craven plantation at Pen Park, changed hands, but still were controlled by large landholders and put to agricultural use.²⁷⁵ In Charlottesville and

²⁷⁰ Robert R Hillier, “HABS No. Va-1022 Locust Grove Kitchen 810 Locust Ave Charlottesville Virginia” (Historic American Buildings Survey National Parks Service, 1981), 2.

²⁷¹ William E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860 - 1880*, 1. ed (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace, 1935), 55–83.

²⁷² Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 139.

²⁷³ *Ibid* 117.

²⁷⁴ Green Peyton and Worley & Brachter, *A Map of Albemarle County, Virginia* (Philadelphia: Engr. by Worley & Brachter, Phila, 1875), <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u2959145>.

²⁷⁵ In 1866, a German owner, William Hotopp began to operate a vineyard on this property. K. Edward Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country: Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 62.

across the nation, “it soon became evident that the revolutionary nature of the Civil War would not include the distribution of land to freedmen.”²⁷⁶

Institutional trends: National and State Politics, Race, and Virginia’s “Redemption”

In 1870, under the new Underwood Constitution and after the state's ratification of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, the US readmitted Virginia as a state. During the negotiation of the new constitution, the Conservative Party emerged as an alliance of the planter elites’ party, the Democrats, and the former Whigs, known before the Civil War as the party of “railroads, corporations, and business interests and their support of financial and monetary doctrines of the Northeast.”²⁷⁷ As the constitutional convention deliberated on the proposed constitution in 1868, many former Democrats and Whigs in the state saw the new constitution as a radical document, drafted, as it was, by “33 conservatives and 72 radicals, of whom 25 were Negroes.”²⁷⁸ Conservatives from “all sections and from both the Whig and Democratic parties”²⁷⁹ convened in Richmond in December of 1867 to form the Conservative party, organizing around what they saw as the two most dangerous provisions of the proposed constitution: the extension of voting rights to freedmen, and the denial of suffrage rights to former confederates.

In the time leading up to the ratification of the Underwood Constitution, it appeared that both these provisions would become state law. In late 1868, prominent white Virginians including local men like B.H. Magruder of Albemarle County, worked across party lines to form the “Committee of Nine” to travel to Washington to appeal to the Federal government to

²⁷⁶ Gilbert C Fite, “Southern Agriculture since the Civil War: An Overview,” *Agricultural History* 53, no. 1 (1979): 5.

²⁷⁷ Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 57.

²⁷⁸ Allen W Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd 1870-1925* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 6.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 7.

intervene in Virginia's constitutional vote in late 1868 and early 1869. This committee and their allies visited all branches of the Federal government, begging for an approach that would guarantee "universal suffrage and universal amnesty,"²⁸⁰ through a separate state-wide vote on the clauses which would take voting power from former confederates. While most of these men would have preferred Black Virginians not be allowed to vote at all, they saw the trade of allowance of Black voters and for the allowance of former confederate voters as a last-ditch compromise solution that would find fertile consideration with Federal decision-makers eager for sectional reconciliation. They indeed found in President-elect Grant a man who "understood and appreciated the injustice and oppression which would be done to the people of Virginia by adopting the Constitution without amendment."²⁸¹ A. H. H. Stuart, one of the leaders of the committee of nine, remembered Grant's main objections to the narrowing of white male suffrage as having consequences for the racial distribution of populations across the state. Grant predicted that in majority-Black counties in southeastern Virginia,

[...] no decent white man can afford to live in that part of the State, and they will be compelled to move away. In the western part of the State, where whites predominate, the condition of things will be reversed, and the negroes will have to remove. In this way the two races will be segregated by a geographical line, which is greatly to be deplored, and what is more, the *labor* of the State will be separated from the *capital*, and the productive power of the State will be greatly impaired, if not destroyed.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart, *A Narrative of the Leading Incidents of the Organization of the First Popular Movement in Virginia in 1865 to Re-Establish Peaceful Relations between the Northern and Southern States, and the Subsequent Efforts of the "Committee of Nine," in 1869, to Secure the Restoration of Virginia to the Union* (Richmond, VA: W.E. Jones, Printer, 1888), 32.

²⁸¹ *Ibid*, 45.

²⁸² *Ibid*, 45.

This language reveals the racial ideologies and assumptions President Grant and the committee of nine shared when it came to the social structure²⁸³ of emancipation. Grant's prediction resonates with Hartman's analysis of the language used in deliberations on the reconstruction amendments to the US constitution and pedagogical handbooks aimed at freedmen. She illuminates the theme of "burdened individuality," or the "double bind of freedom [...] being free to exchange one's labor and free of material resources."²⁸⁴ Implied in Grant's prediction are assumptions that while Black people were free, they still were predominantly laborers, not owners of anything but their own capability to work.

Grant appealed to congress, who passed a bill in April 1869 that allowed now-President Grant to separate clauses of the Virginia constitution for popular vote apart from the main body of new constitution. In July 1869, voters in Virginia ratified the constitution, but rejected the clauses that would have disenfranchised former confederates. Both Black Virginians and former confederates would have the vote.

Moger notes that the result of these dealings was that "Virginia would live under the 'reconstruction constitution' which had been framed by radicals for a political democracy, but Conservatives would control its application and determine state policies. Negro suffrage had been accepted, but the Negro voter would either be used or frustrated."²⁸⁵ Through this compromise, much of the proposed shift in voting power and public-decision making toward the Freedmen population was neutralized, putting Conservative elites in control of state government as Virginia entered the 1870s. The stage was set for a state government controlled by Conservative "Redeemers."

²⁸³ Haslanger, "What Is a (Social) Structural Explanation?"

²⁸⁴ Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*, 115.

²⁸⁵ Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd 1870-1925*, 12.

Culture: Post-Civil War Sociability and Celebration

At the same time at a broader popular level, many scholars highlight the explosion in both membership in and sheer number of fraternal organizations, characterizing the time between 1865 and World War I as the “Golden Age of Fraternity.”²⁸⁶ I build on Mary Ann Clawson’s contention that “the fraternal order, like any other structure comprising a set of relationships represents a resource- of organization, of coordination, and of the potential capacity for desired ends.”²⁸⁷ In this era before mass popular press and media, fraternal organizations were a key cultural phenomenon: an important way that men performed their statuses in society, negotiated their identities, organized to make spatial and social change, and performed their identities and positions in the post-bellum social world through public ritual and ceremony.

Fraternal orders: masons as prototype

Many scholars argue that Freemasonry was the prototypical fraternal form in the early US, and the many later fraternal orders that emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries based on their institutional structures, ritual forms, and terms of belonging around the Masonic model. Freemasonry, as an associational form, crossed the Atlantic with English colonists, and was popular among the colonial and Revolutionary-era elite and was by the mid-19th century an established way to demonstrate one’s respectability.²⁸⁸ The order, which emerged from English Craft guilds, was by the 19th century was a voluntary organization that white men joined across bounds of religion, organized into local lodges that by the later 18th century had organized into federations under Grand Lodges at the state level, and were “almost unique in America as a

²⁸⁶ Miguel (Historian) Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities, Fascism and the Far Right* (London, New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 25.

²⁸⁷ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 7.

²⁸⁸ Nationally, the cadre of American’s “founding fathers” was laden with masons, including George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin. Locally, Masons counted President James Monroe as a member, and prominent local men formed Albemarle Widow’s Lodge No. 60 in 1799 at Milton, east of Charlottesville.

secular, trans-local organization.”²⁸⁹ Masonic orders in Albemarle County and Charlottesville trace their roots back to the late 18th century.²⁹⁰ Clawson defines fraternal orders, with Masons as a model for later orders, as having three major features: a corporatist idiom, identity-based solidarity based on ideals of masculinity and proprietorship, and ritual.²⁹¹

The three features of Masonic and Masonic-derived fraternal orders have influence on and overlaps with the social workings of spatial racialization in Charlottesville. First, Freemasonry subscribed to an epistemological mode termed “corporatism.” Clawson draws on William Sewell Jr.’s definition of this worldview:

Corporatism explains social relations through the metaphor of the body
 [...]The corporate metaphor expresses not just the mechanical interdependence of people, but the indissolubility of human ties. It sees social institutions as being like bodies. [...] A corporate concept of society assumes that groups, not individuals, are the basic units of society, and that people act, not primarily as individuals, but as members of collectivities. It assumes, moreover, that social institutions are governed not only collectively, but hierarchically. **Corporatism is the social metaphor that most forcefully asserts that the unity of interest is compatible with hierarchy and inequality.**²⁹²

This outlook on the general order of the universe, with the populus as a functioning “body” with natural partitioning of organs and functions was resonant with the emerging Newtonian thinking of the 18th century. Newtonian thinking rested on a “machine imagery [...] a belief that studying the parts is the key to understanding the whole.”²⁹³ Both Corporatism and Newtonianism were

²⁸⁹ Pamela A. Popielarz, “Moral Dividends: Freemasonry and Finance Capitalism in Early-Nineteenth-Century America,” *Business History* 60, no. 5 (July 1, 2018), 656.

²⁹⁰ Robert Simpson, “Widow’s Sons’ Lodge No. 60, Charlottesville, VA,” accessed March 2, 2023, <https://wsl.avenue.org/history.php>.

²⁹¹ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 4.

²⁹² *Ibid*, 38.

²⁹³ Margaret J. Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science: Discovering Order in a Chaotic World*, 3rd ed (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc, 2006), 10.

legitimizing ideologies of the English enlightenment, and bridged between the “laws” of behavior of both the physical and social world: “Just as matter in Newton’s terms seemed to operate independently but was actually moved and governed by God and his law to produce a harmonious universe, so men might act in their individual interests yet produce a social and economic world that was a harmonious totality.”²⁹⁴ This was a world view that saw humans as parts of a machine, categorized and differentially valued by their “place” in society, pictured as active agents in their own “improvement” within this hierarchy, and valued for the particular role they played as part of a capital-accumulating machine.

Clawson goes on to note that “as a social paradigm, Freemasonry offered a complex of values and assumptions that can be characterized as those of an emergent bourgeoisie- a detachment from inherited social identities, a belief in social mobility, an acceptance of market relations, and property-based authority, and a positive evaluation of science, technology, and productive labor.”²⁹⁵ Other scholars observe that the institution of Freemasonry both took on and legitimated emerging logics and institutional practices of finance capitalism. Popielarz examines Freemasonry in the US, and finds both that “the material processes and symbolic orientations of finance capitalism become transposed into Freemasonry [... and] the symbolic moral standing of Freemasonry became transposed onto finance capitalism as undertaken by its members and other white men like them.”²⁹⁶ So, these organizations took up capitalist modes in their institutional practices. At the same time, their established venerability gave institutional weight and

²⁹⁴ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 67.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 73.

²⁹⁶ Popielarz, “Moral Dividends: Freemasonry and Finance Capitalism in Early-Nineteenth-Century America,” 655. This paper does not explore the parallel world of Black Freemasonry, which was a social force in its own right from colonial times on. Black men, barred from entry to white orders, formed separate orders, among the most notable are the Prince Hall Masons. The world of Black Fraternal orders is a rich and varied history, which I do not study here.

legitimacy to the practices of finance capitalism. During the 19th century, the morality of practices of investing, pursuing profits, and the joint stock corporations were under question for their resemblance to gambling: “not only was finance capitalism novel, but it was unclear whether participating in it was appropriate behavior.”²⁹⁷ Freemasonry stood as a form of social organization whose mission centered around the “moral improvement” of their members, and Popielarz argues that Masonic Lodges “conferred legitimacy onto the practices of financial investment and contributed to a positive meaning for the role of profit-oriented finance capitalist,”²⁹⁸ and helped publicly position capitalist practices and players as “both moral and civic-minded”²⁹⁹ as the 19th century progressed.

Second, scholars of masonry point out the role of the Masons and other fraternal organizations in solidifying social boundaries, especially around whiteness and masculinity. In its European origins, Masonry emerged from both the craft guilds of pre-industrial life, and religious societies which stressed mutual support and resource pooling for the spiritual well-being of members.³⁰⁰ As such, Clawson argues by the 19th century, Masonic and quasi-Masonic both enshrined the logics of capitalism and served as critiques of the same. On one hand, their rituals and internal promotions valorized a hierarchy of human value and encouraged the use of Masonic identity to prove respectability in social settings. On the other hand, Masonic lodges institutionalized brotherly mutual support, brothers supporting brothers in need, effectively highlighting, and filling the cracks of the market-based society. But as an institution “that maintained and idealized solidarity among white men, it offered gender and race as the most

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 665.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 665-666.

²⁹⁹ Ibi 666.

³⁰⁰ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*.

logical and legitimate categories for the organization of collective identity.”³⁰¹ The institution may have critiqued capitalism’s moral shortfalls and cracks, but only remedied these failings amongs those deemed “worthy” of brotherhood.

In terms of identity, by late 19th century, Freemasonry and Fraternal Order membership more broadly was a key mode of self-categorization that helped individuals articulate their understanding of both the social world and their place within it. Clawson goes on to express that

cultural configurations, the cognitive maps, that people bring to their struggles are crucial in their understanding of who they are and what they want. Class formation then becomes an interactive process that includes structural position, the development of organizational capacities, and the creation of a class culture that interprets class experiences and thus contributes to the construction of a class as a perceived category.³⁰²

Clawson here is discussing class, but the same logic can also apply to the invention, maintenance, and transformation of racial categories. At the moment of initiation, Masons entered at the lowest rank, and rose through study and initiation through higher ranks of the order. These rituals both legitimated a hierarchy of human beings, and emphasized an idea of meritocracy that served the market and contractual logics of the Post-Civil War moment that Hartman articulates with the concept of burdened individuality.³⁰³ So, the proliferation of Fraternal Organizations in the late 19th century can in part be read as a window into the “organizational means for creating symbolic networks.”³⁰⁴ Fraternal organizations and their activities are a key social space where boundaries within and between categories are negotiated, articulated, and solidified.

³⁰¹ Ibid, 254.

³⁰² Ibid, 108.

³⁰³ Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*.

³⁰⁴ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 110.

Third, Clawson notes the importance of Masonic ritual as an early form of entertainment, mass media, and a way for white men to join themselves into nested scales of kin-like relationships with other men. While many scholars focus on the internal rituals of initiation and promotion that happened inside lodges and were attended only by lodge brothers, I argue that attention to the public activities of fraternal orders, especially as connected to monument and building dedications, can provide a window into cultural bridging and continuities between plantation logics of the early 19th century, and the racializing and segregating logics of the early 20th century.

Post-bellum popularity of fraternal orders and other associational forms

Fraternal orders in the post-bellum context rose in significance after the Civil War. After the war, “not only did membership of existing orders increase exponentially, but fraternal organizations seemed to proliferate with a type of luxurious abandon.”³⁰⁵ Hernandez notes: “Americans had been fascinated with fraternities and their mysteries since the Colonial Era, [but] it was only really after the Civil War that they became a phenomenon that concerned all classes.”³⁰⁶ A few Masonic-derived national orders emerged before the Civil War, namely the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (1819) and the Improved Order of Red Men (1850). But for the most part, most major orders were chartered between the tail end of the Civil War and the mid 1880s, including the Knights of Pythias (1864), the Benevolent and Protective Order of The Elks (1866), the Knights of Honor (1873), the Royal Arcanum (1877), and the Knights of the Maccabees (1878). In a moment where antebellum social relations were upended by the war’s destruction, mass migrations, and emancipation, fraternal belonging expanded as a way to signal one’s class status, allegiances, and trustworthiness. They also provided a pathway to sectional reconciliation. Older

³⁰⁵Ibid, 123.

³⁰⁶ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities*, 24.

orders like the Odd Fellows had maintained a neutral position during the war, and at a national convening even held empty seats for their Southern brothers.³⁰⁷ Among the new orders, most organized themselves in a federated structure, mirroring the US government's structure with nested national, state, and local associational bodies. Clawson speculates that after a war of "brother against brother," men across the nation may have become "joiners" in "the search for ritual and organizational means by which men could *become* brothers again, could recreate the fraternal relationship severed by War."³⁰⁸ Kaufman builds on her work to argue that "self-segregation between different races and social classes, as well as the two sexes... is the true motive for the rise of fraternalism in nineteenth-century American society."³⁰⁹ It is clear across the scholarship that membership homogeneity was an important feature of club composition in this time period, but the terms of homogeneity (whiteness and maleness) were far from static.

In terms of the category of whiteness, Painter describes the shifting terms of white identity during this period. She calls the late 19th century in America a time of the "second enlargement of American whiteness."³¹⁰ She notes that the mid-19th century saw demographic shifts in the United States, with Catholic immigrants from Germany and Ireland becoming more established, gaining citizenship, fighting in the Civil War, and voting in large numbers in American elections. This increasing recognition of established European immigrant populations formed in contradistinction both with emancipated Black people and the newer waves of southern and eastern Europeans beginning to enter the country.³¹¹ Painter points to Thomas

³⁰⁷ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 124.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 125.

³⁰⁹ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities*, 26.

³¹⁰ Painter, *The History of White People*.

³¹¹ Ibid, 203-206.

Nast's famous 1868 cartoon "This is a White Man's Government" (figure 3.1),³¹² to tie this new coalition of whiteness to the politics of the emerging Democratic party. In the image, a caricatured Irishman on the right joins hands with a former Confederate, and Democratic presidential candidate Horatio Seymour, "a New York Democrat plutocrat" on the right.³¹³ The caption to the image reads "'We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void' - Democratic Platform." In his depiction, Nast identified the ways that new political allegiances around whiteness and the violent suppression of Freedmen's rights were coalescing into a political force behind Democrats across the country.

In Charlottesville, this white coalition building also appears, but with a distinctly regional variant. Here, high-class newcomers from both northern cities and northern Europe are welcomed as part of the "in" group by former planters. George C. Gilmer, a former planter³¹⁴ writing in 1874, described those he saw as working against the good of the region as those who had authored the Underwood Constitution: "then came the convention of jack asses of every hue and color [...] miserable selfish plundering carpet baggers decoyed into politics for their own

³¹² Thomas Nast, "'This Is a White Man's Government' 'We Regard the Reconstruction Acts (so Called) of Congress as Usurpations, and Unconstitutional, Revolutionary, and Void' - Democratic Platform" *Harper's Weekly*, September 5, 1868, 569.

³¹³ Painter, *The History of White People*, 203.

³¹⁴ The 1860 census shows Gilmer as head of a wealthy household, a "farmer" with over \$30,000 in real estate assets and owner or renter of 33 enslaved people https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/33898735:7667?tid=&pid=&queryId=79ba88bfdd75b8411cf2889d82cac89b&_phsrc=CKg1395&_phstart=successSource; https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7668&h=90927492&tid=&pid=&queryId=159fc1ff82cc676fba67ed547419285d&usePUB=true&_phsrc=CKg1398&_phstart=successSource&_gl=1*1p450gf*_ga*MjA2Njc5MjkyNC4xNjcyODYzNDM1*_ga_4QT8FMEX30*MTY3ODkxNTg5MC4yMC4xLjE2Nzg5MTYyMTguNjAuMC4w*_ga_B2YGR3SSMB*NmMxNmM4ODktNThiZC00NzFILTkwNDktOGM5ODhhMGI3MWQyLjE4LjEuMTY3ODkxNjIxNC40LjAuMA..

advancement, and the ruin of both us and our former faithful slaves.”³¹⁵ In contrast to northern “carpetbaggers,” and southern “scalawags,” Gilmer pictured the kinds of newcomers that he welcomed: “A good many most worthy citizens from the Northern and Western Southern States, and from old England and Germany, have located in our county...”³¹⁶ These were the men like “a most intelligent gentleman from the North, who made a large purchase in our county a year ago,”³¹⁷ who would contribute to Gilmer’s vision that the way forward for the county was to shift to smaller scale farmers: “It is the large unwieldy estates which have to be kept up by too much hired labor that are not doing so well. They must be cut up into smaller farms or pass into other hands.”³¹⁸

Gilmer’s description also describes a relationship between the “better” class of white people and Black citizens that varied somewhat from Nast’s characterization of the national Democratic political coalition. Rather than articulating the violent nature of Black subjugation depicted in the Nast cartoon, Gilmer describes an assumed alliance between his class of white people and former slaves in his evocation of “former faithful slaves.” In using this term, Gilmer’s letter reflects an ideology that Woodward describes as the quintessential Southern middle road policy of racial conservatism between the “radical” left and the “negrophobe” right.³¹⁹ This framework sought to ally the old planter class with the formerly enslaved in a relationship of paternalism, where “negro degradation was not a necessary corollary of white supremacy in conservative philosophy.” Gilmer’s evocation of the “former faithful slaves” also

³¹⁵ Gilmer, G. C. (1874). Messrs T.G. Erhard and Many Others from the North, Northwest, South, and Southwest. *The Southern Planter*, 5, 224-5.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 226.

³¹⁷ Ibid, 226.

³¹⁸ Ibid, 227.

³¹⁹ Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 47.

at the time served to distinguish between classes in white society, as “an excessive squeamishness of fussiness about contact with Negroes was commonly identified as a lower-class white attitude, while the opposite attitude was popularly associated with ‘the quality.’”³²⁰

Maleness, too, was a contentious category, with definitions shifting during this time period. Traditional Freemasonry emerged from paternalistic relations of precapitalist economies, with the household as the unit of production, and the “father” as the sovereign ruler of his household. But by the post-bellum era, Clawson argues that fraternalism co-evolved alongside and against the cult of domesticity that emerged in the early 19th century. In this ideology, the white woman was pictured as the protector of morality in the household, and the home was designated as a private, feminine space that countered the morally corrupting influences of markets and the masculine “public” world.³²¹ So, at one valence, the masculine-exclusive of the pseudo-Masonic fraternal orders were making a counter-claim to domesticity, agreeing that the amoral tendencies of the market must be tempered, but that moral improvement could occur in male-only space of the lodge.³²²

On another level, the entry of new members to the Orders at the lowest rank, and progress to higher ranks through study and successive initiations helped efface class distinctions within lodges. As Clawson notes, “the fraternal order claimed to define brotherhood as the liberal state defined citizenship: without regard to economic position.”³²³ It created a micro-world where “brothers” were bound in mutual obligation that helped mitigate the lack of institutionalized social support in economic market system, but only within a preselected body of “worthy” men.

³²⁰ Ibid, 51.

³²¹ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood.*, 173; Weisman, *Discrimination by Design.*

³²² Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 174.

³²³ Ibi 176.

And its rituals highlighted an ideology of social mobility, the idea that success (and therefore failure) were the prerogative of the individual, and that all that was needed for success was effort and the development of good character.

Scholars also note other trends outside of the quasi-Masonic forms of fraternity. First, military organizations bridged formal governmental defense and social life. In Charlottesville, the prime example of this trend was the Monticello Guard, the local organization of military volunteers that pre-existed the Civil War, fought as confederates during the war, and reorganized as a company in 1866.³²⁴ This company continued to be the formal military unit of volunteers originating in Charlottesville, and continued to publicly drill and was a main feature of civic processions throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Related to military histories and social impacts, associations emerged in Charlottesville shortly after the Civil War. The Ladies' Memorial Association was founded in 1866, and organized events for the commemoration of 'confederate holidays' especially Memorial days, at which time the graves of confederate soldiers were decorated. These occasions often illustrated the differentiated but connected spheres of social responsibility of white male and female associational groups. For example, in 1870, the Knights of Pythias and Knights Templar joined the Ladies' Association in processing publicly for Memorial Day.³²⁵ Second, a Soldier's relief association formed in 1866 and was active at least through the 1860s and ran an asylum for confederate orphans and held a benefit fair every fall.³²⁶

Agricultural and rurally based organizations were also important to civic life. Farmer's Clubs were another important set of groups in the county, and Webb notes that while various

³²⁴ Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 143.

³²⁵ Ibid, 141.

³²⁶ Ibid, 142.

County-wide associations came and went, local farm clubs like the Southside, Keswick, and Belmont Associations boasted “a much larger membership and sponsoring a much more active program.”³²⁷ Various hunt and jockey clubs promoted races and hunt events around the county.

Spatial-Technological

This time period also saw the emergence of three sets of spatial trends that provided continuity of networks of power from before to after the Civil War. First, even as the area’s economy diversified in terms of agriculture and industry, plantationary modes of land and labor management continued. Second, railroads continued to be a mode through which players gained power and assigned value to particular cities and regional hubs. Finally, the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition is an example of how localized networks connected to the emerging national movement of World’s Fairs.

Charlottesville-Albemarle County’s Plantationary Emancipation + Industrial Continuities

In terms of its spatial articulation and land use patterns, the period of 1865-1875 saw much stay the same in the Charlottesville-Albemarle Area. The biggest change with the end of the Civil War was of course the end of slavery as the dominant labor system. Webb cites R.G.H Kean, who observed the area in late 1865 and noted that “many Negroes quit work in a body, and many others were released from their labors. On the whole there was a tendency [by landowners] to get along with as small a force as possible.”³²⁸ Webb notes that “land transfers were quite frequent and were usually accomplished by means of sales negotiated by the various local land agencies in operation at the time.”³²⁹ He also notes that between 1860 and 1870 farm size stayed fairly

³²⁷ Ibid, 69.

³²⁸ Ibid, 52.

³²⁹ Ibid, 54

static, and there was actually a decrease in the number of farms in the county.³³⁰ The implications are that while individual landowners were turning over, the overall landscape was still structured in large plantation units for agricultural production.

There also were both continuities and shifts in the kinds of agriculture happening on these plantations. The older staple crops of tobacco and wheat were still important products of Albemarle County's farming economy, and many of the same rhetorics of "care through war" in antebellum planter periodicals continue into the 1870s, pointing to what Malcolm Ferdinand terms "plantationary emancipation" or "an abolition of slavery on the condition that the colonial plantation continues."³³¹ While chattel slavery was outlawed, other exploitative labor forms arose to continue the monomaniacal production of commodity crops through agriculture, ultimately failing to recognize that "Changing politics entails changing ecology [... and] Changing ecology entails changing society."³³² Albemarle planters continued to concern themselves with how to wheat of wild onions,³³³ and "cheat,"³³⁴ a type of bromegrass that infiltrated crops of wheat.

At the same time, fruit growing and livestock husbandry became bigger segments of Albemarle's mix of farm products than they had been before the Civil War. These growing sectors shifted farmers' focus toward valuing particular fruit selections³³⁵ or animal breeds for their appropriateness for the various soils and conditions in Albemarle County. It was through

³³⁰ Webb notes the census shows 935 farms in 1860, and 824 farms in 1870. Ibid, 55.

³³¹ Ferdinand, *Decolonial Ecology: Thinking from the Caribbean World*, 121.

³³² Ibid, 124.

³³³ T A Michie, "How to Rid Wheat of Wild Onions," *Southern Planter* 39, no. 11 (November 1, 1878): 598.

³³⁴ Shepherd, "Wheat Turning to Cheat," *Southern Planter* 38, no. 11 (November 1, 1877): 704–5.

³³⁵ J Fitz, "List of Standard Apples for Albemarle County, Virginia," *Southern Planter* 37, no. 12 (December 1, 1876): 824–25.

developing “good” farm products with recognizable selection or breed names, that the County made a name for itself. Livestock farmers like Slaughter Ficklin of Belmont was among those who orchestrated “highly specialized production of a few individuals that won for the county its outstanding reputation in the field of livestock production.”³³⁶

Despite the shift in the composition of production, the ways white farmers talked about the business of farming sounded very similar to discussions before the Civil War. Articles and letters to agricultural periodicals obsessed over the relative quality of both land and the various selections of plants and animals that might be grown on it. Racial metaphors abounded in the ways large farmers discussed land, plants, and animals. In an 1870 letter to the editor, Hill Carter of Shirley (a plantation south of Richmond) described “how to discriminate the different qualities of land,” and outlined the relative profitability of various kinds as a potential investment: “I would say to young and old farmers, never settle on poor land because it is cheap. Good land at \$100 per acre is more profitable than poor land as a gift....But I will tell how to know good land.”³³⁷ He goes on to describe the “brown, or red, or even mulatto”³³⁸ lands as recoverable for cultivation with clover and plaster, and “White Pipe Clay, and White Sand” lands as only profitable “very near a city, or accessible to large deposits of manure. They are reclaimable, but at great cost.”³³⁹ The letter goes on to describe in detail the many inputs like lime, plaster (gypsum), marl, manure, and growing techniques like cover crops of clover, that reveal an obsession with the peculiarities of altering various “types” of land to improve crop yields.

³³⁶ Webb, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900,” 59.

³³⁷ Hill Carter, “Results of Fifty-Four Years’ Experience in Farming,” *Southern Planter and Farmer* 4, no. 5 (May 1, 1870): 257–62, 257.

³³⁸ *Ibid*, 257.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, 258.

Carter also underlined the changes in attitudes toward topographical conditions that planter magazines documented earlier in the 19th century that he felt still applied in 1870. He writes of changing attitudes toward ridgetop lands with the discovery of various soil amendments:

[...] Berbecks report of this country in 1816 [...] He said [...] in Europe, the river lands of the tide water Virginia would have been cleared, but the ridge lands were not worth clearing and would have been left in forest. But since the use of marl, some of our forest lands are very fine lands, and from their being rolling, are less liable to wet, and more easily drained, and perhaps more valuable, being generally accessible to marl, and most of them good plaster lands.³⁴⁰

This excerpt illustrates how planter attitudes to the cultivation of topographically high land changed over the 19th century based on the ability to add amendments to make upland soils previously considered not worth cultivating more profitable.

Later in the piece, Carter discusses topography and laborers' living quarters as related to their health:

I employed an Irishman unaccustomed to our climate, and he employed twenty negro men, and they all lived on the margin of the swamp in shanties, and worked in the mud and mire of the swamp during the whole summer and fall, and they were perfectly healthy. My negroes lived on the high land in very comfortable quarters, and they were sickly, that is, they had ague and fever as usual in our climate at that day. The Irishman's habit was to make his hands cook their breakfast every night [...] and warm it over in the morning, and eat their breakfast before they went to work in the swamp, and he never allowed them to go out at night [...] My people went to their work in the morning without their breakfast, the usual habit in the country, and run about a great deal at night, the usual habit also of the country, as it was the visiting time of slaves before the war, and I attribute the difference in health, to the breakfasting in the morning before exposure to the miasma of the climate."³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Ibid, 260.

³⁴¹ Ibid, 262.

This passage illustrates multiple attitudes. First, Carter presses on the widely held understanding that topographically high, dry land was more “healthful” for human occupation. Second, he added that the relative “health” derived from the living conditions could and should be altered by controlling laborers in particular ways: by changing when they ate, and if and when they moved for social reasons.

From these detailed descriptions, it becomes clear that the job of the responsible landowner was to develop, coordinate, and share with the broader field of farmers the timing of application of inputs, the rates of application of these inputs and crops, and “scientific” observation and management of land and laborers. For new farmers, success depended on considering various factors to select land: the color and physical properties of soils, the topography, and favorable location close to transport centers or input sources. For all farmers hoping to turn a profit, planterly control of laborers’ movement and social lives also continued as a prime area of concern for the goal of optimizing the productive capacity of land.

Numerous industrial concerns also emerged immediately after the Civil War, but the largest and earliest were closely tied to agricultural money-making systems. For instance, in the emerging field of table and wine grape production, German immigrant William Hotopp bought Dr. George Gilmer’s plantation at Pen Park in 1866,³⁴² and began a vineyard that keyed other planters into the profitability of grapes as a market crop. Other German transplants and many local planters like W.W. Minor and Professor John B. Minor followed suit to add grape-growing as “an adjunct to general agriculture.”³⁴³ A collective of grape growers in 1873 established the

³⁴² Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country*, 64.

³⁴³ Webb, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900,” 57.

Monticello Wine Company as a joint stock corporation that would use their fruits to produce wines and assure a local market for planters growing grapes.³⁴⁴

Another major agro-industrial concern was Charlottesville Woolen Mills (CWM), on a site at the confluence of Moore's Creek and the Rivanna River where various owners had operated mills and wool carding operations of increasing scales since the 1790s. Before the Civil War, the operations had processed cotton for coarse or medium quality jeans and linsey cloths for servants and enslaved laborers, and carded wool produced by local planters for those doing home spinning for farm-produced cloth.³⁴⁵ Poindexter characterizes CWM as an "interesting example of Southern middle-class manufacturers."³⁴⁶ Marchant came from a family of French Huguenots fleeing Europe after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the late 17th century who entered transportation and dry goods mercantile businesses in the US and arrived in Central Virginia by the 1820s.³⁴⁷ In the 1850s, Henry Clay Marchant's father, John Adams Marchant moved from mercantile concerns to investing in the factory and owned the mill until 1864. While Union forces burned the factory at the end of the war, Henry Clay Marchant and other investors built a factory on the site and organized a company there 1868 as the Charlottesville Woolen Mills. Poindexter described the company as "sired by the union of the Marchant Factory with banking and commercial interests of the community."³⁴⁸ Indeed, the company's first board of directors in 1868 combined men from Charlottesville's planterly, mercantile and commercial scenes. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the favorite grandson of Thomas Jefferson, his son

³⁴⁴ Ibid, 59.

³⁴⁵ Harry Edward Poindexter, "A History of Charlottesville Woolen Mills 1820-1939" (Charlottesville VA, University of Virginia, 1955), 17.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, 23.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, 23.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, 45.

physician W.C. Randolph,³⁴⁹ and William Wardlaw Minor, of the Albemarle County plantations Windieknowe and Gale Hill, sat on the board. R Harris, who ran a large agricultural implement retailer in town did as well. N H Massie, a lawyer and Democratic politician as well as William Hotopp, of the Pen Park vineyard operation who both sat on boards of local banks also were part of Charlottesville Woolen Mills' first board.³⁵⁰ Indeed Poindexter highlights that CWM "early became tied to an intimate financial system," and continued to be enmeshed with local financial institutions well into the 20th century.³⁵¹ Though these men were not always agriculturalists as was more common of elites in pre-war times, the governance of the county and its institution was still controlled by a very small cadre of well-connected wealthy white men.

Company agents developed markets for the factory's goods in uniform and retail cloth, sending fabrics to regional centers like Richmond, and maintaining a sample room on Main Street that catered to local merchants.³⁵² While the Wine Company and the Woolen Mills were two of the largest concerns in the county right after the war, various other kinds of companies emerged or continued business from before the war to capitalize on the various resources of the County.³⁵³

³⁴⁹ https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/107658579/wilson-cary_nicholas-randolph

³⁵⁰ Poindexter, "A History of Charlottesville Woolen Mills 1820-1939," 52.

³⁵¹ Ibid, 55.

³⁵² Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 73.

³⁵³ Webb provides much detail on concerns including R. F Harris and Son agricultural implements which existed before the war, Rio Mills and Charlottesville Milling and Manufacturing, Monticello Cigar Factory, Piedmont Cigar Factory, Wingfield and Utz and L W. Cox (both carriage and wagon makers), mining ventures, and numerous grocery/dry goods stores, hotels, and banks. Ibid, Chapter 4.

Railroad Development

Railroad development after the Civil War had a huge impact on the markets available more broadly for Charlottesville's agricultural and industrial products. Locally, at the end of the Civil War, the railroad infrastructure was in shambles. The Chesapeake and Ohio station burned in the war and was rebuilt in 1870. Multiple railroads consolidated in the late 1860s and early 1870s, resulting in Charlottesville emerging as a node with both east-west connections to Richmond and West Virginia via the Chesapeake and Ohio (C & O) and north-south to Alexandria and Danville via the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Webb notes that "the relative importance of Charlottesville as a railroad center was firmly established by the beginning of this period and did not decline with the passing years."³⁵⁴

Disjointed Networks of Virginia and Nation: 1876 Philadelphia Exposition and Southern Commemoration

A look into the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition, the first national level commemorative Exposition in the U.S. provides a useful glance into the levels of network coordination between local, state, and national entities at this moment of profound change after the Civil War. While well-connected individuals are deeply involved in the planning and management of the event, institutions like local, state and national governments appear to be working independently, and sometimes at cross purposes at this time.

During this period, architectural historian Bluestone describes Virginia's leaders, with the Civil War so recent, as in political tension with the nation-building projects of the Worlds' Fair Movement, so much so that the Virginia state legislature refused to fund a Virginia pavilion at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. He recounts that Governor Kemper, out of respect for the position of the legislature also "refused to issue an executive proclamation

³⁵⁴ Ibid, 100.

declaring a ‘Virginia Day’ at the Centennial,”³⁵⁵ and spoke of the sectional bitterness that underlied these decisions, describing the war and Reconstruction as a period of trial for white Virginians, and succinctly summed up the opposition to official participation in the Fair: ‘So long as the sections stand in the relation of conqueror and conquered [...] the representatives of all cannot honestly unite in the common rejoicings of a national festival.’”³⁵⁶

Closer examination of the relationships between Charlottesville, the state of Virginia, fair-type events, and the nation paints a more complicated picture. First, during this period, Fairs at a more localized level were proving their usefulness in terms of differentiating particular products in an increasingly crowded consumer market. Agricultural fairs had long been events that awarded prizes or premiums for goods, animals, and crops deemed of standout quality, and by the late 1860s, Charlottesville industries were seeking that kind of recognition. For instance, at the 1869 Rockbridge County Fair, Charlottesville Woolen Mills were “judged to have displayed the best kersey, white flannel, and general factory goods,”³⁵⁷ which Poindexter points to as a key factor in the company acquiring a state-wide reputation for quality that helped agents sell the factory’s products.

Second, according to later newspaper coverage, it seems that the lack of an official Virginia building did not prevent influential Virginians from going to Philadelphia for elbow-rubbing with national networks. Virginias used a structure called “the Centennial House- the building which Mr. Booth erected for use as a Virginia *rendezvous* at the Philadelphia

³⁵⁵ Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory*, 45 and 273.

³⁵⁶ Here Bluestone cites Kemper’s words from a published version of his address to the legislature in the *Norfolk Virginian* of December 7, 1875. Ibid, 45.

³⁵⁷ Poindexter, “A History of Charlottesville Woolen Mills 1820-1939,” 74.

Centennial.”³⁵⁸ The building’s benefactor, Edwin Gilliam Booth, was a Virginia-born Whig whose family roots traced to Virginia and the nation’s founding fathers. Like many plantation-sons, Booth was tutored by southern educators, and instructors from prominent northern schools, so was well connected to trans-regional networks of power.³⁵⁹ By mid-life, he held a seat in the Virginia Legislature, where he was tremendously influential, working in the late 1840s and early 1850s “with the best legal talent of the State”³⁶⁰ on the first revision of the state constitution and code of Virginia since the American Revolution, an effort completed in 1852. And like many pre-war Whigs, he worked with industrial interests, serving as a lawyer for the Norfolk and Western Railroad (a company later consolidated into the Southern Railroad). During the war, his claim to fame was “running the blockade,” leaving his home state of Virginia for Philadelphia to marry his second wife Miss Henrietta Chauncey. Henrietta was herself a product of north-south aristocratic marriages, as her father Elihu Chauncey was a Connecticut-born Philadelphian who had amassed tremendous wealth as an attorney, editor of the *North American Gazette* and President of the Reading Railroad. He was also a Director of the Banks of the United States and of Pennsylvania,³⁶¹ and a prominent Republican³⁶² who financed Daniel Webster’s political career in the 1830s³⁶³ before his death in 1847. Henrietta Chaucey’s mother was Henrietta

³⁵⁸ “Foreign Friends,” *The Daily Dispatch*, October 22, 1881, Morning edition.

³⁵⁹ Dwight lists among his teachers preceptor Daniel G. Hatch of Harvard College, who later taught at the Winfield Academy in Dinwiddie, VA, and teachers at the University at Chapel Hill North Carolina which included Dr. Joseph Caldwell who studied at Princeton, Dr. E. Mitchell, and Dr. Dennison Olmsted, both of whom graduated from Yale. He also underwent legal studies at University of Virginia, and studied of theology at both Union Seminary in Virginia, and at Princeton in New Jersey..Henry E. Dwight, *The Life and Character of Edwin Gilliam Booth: A Prominent Lawyer, Legislator, and Philanthropist* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1886).

³⁶⁰ Ibid, 23.

³⁶¹ <https://househistree.com/people/elihu-chauncey>

³⁶² “National Republican Convention,” *The Adams Sentinel*, August 21, 1832.

³⁶³ Mark Meredith, “Elihu Chauncey (1779-1847),” House Histree, September 2, 2023, <https://househistree.com/people/elihu-chauncey>.

Teakle of the venerable Teakle family of Accomack County Virginia, and Booth's marriage to Henrietta was to both personal and economic advantage: "I became connected by marriage with property in as many as nine different Northern States."³⁶⁴

Soon after the war, Booth worked quickly to re-constitute north-south financial alliances that pre-dated the conflict. By his own telling, Booth came out of the war pronouncing: "'The times are changed and we must change with them!' How otherwise can there be any *improvements*?"³⁶⁵ He did this in several ways, most easily with advice to his southern brethren. Addressing southerners generally in a section titled "Response to Solicitation by Southern Friends," he suggests several moves for the increased profitability of the region. As a large landowner, he sings the praises of dividing his large Virginia farm into smaller management units for larger profits: "placing different sections under the management of industrious white men, who hired hands to *follow* them, and the result was a larger net income than I perhaps had made in 30 years."³⁶⁶ Subdivided in this way, Booth insisted that his new practices of deputizing managers of freed laborers brought him more wealth than his lands did under the regime of enslavement. Next, as a landholder with ties to the North, he advised that southern agriculturalists would benefit from bringing those with experience with smaller farms using free labor from North to South:

by exchange of Virginia lands I have come in possession of several Northern farms- bringing the comparison I might say in juxtaposition. The largest contains but 58 acres. The most profitable, perhaps, but 20 acres. Much is due to locality; but something to management and arrangement, and still more to the 'dignity of labor' [...] many [northern farmers] are inclined to sell or exchange and go South

³⁶⁴ Edwin Gilliam Booth, *Two Years in the Confederacy and Two Years North: With Many Reminiscences of the Days Long Before the War* (Philadelphia: John D. Avil & Co. Printers and Publishers, 1885), 12.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 98.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 100.

in pursuit of cheaper lands, and as previously intimated, this presents my brightest hope of future Southern prosperity.³⁶⁷

In this passage, Booth also vouches for the character of Norther farmers, insisting “they generally have no prejudices against the South, and excite no reason why the South should be prejudiced against them, and chiefly from the Democratic States of New Jersey and Delaware, but not necessarily from any particular locality.”³⁶⁸ Booth’s mention of Democratic states in this writing from 1886 is also a nod to how the southern elite could leverage their north-south connections to recruit new settlers to their places who would vote with the dominant party in Virginia.

Booth however, did not stop with advising his southern neighbors but also worked directly to patch and strengthen north-south economic and social alliances. In May of 1867, at the invitation of the railroad authorities of Virginia (who would have included Booth), a “brilliant party of ladies and gentlemen left Philadelphia [...] on an excursion through their State.”³⁶⁹ This cohort of “chiefly Philadelphians, regarded as one of the most wealthy, important, and brilliant that ever left the city”³⁷⁰ traveled via special train through Virginia from the Potomac River to Bristol Tennessee, elaborately wined and dined along with way to observe the spaces where “The Philadelphia investments on that region and connections have been more tens of millions than accessible calculations can estimate.”³⁷¹

³⁶⁷ Ibid, 100-101.

³⁶⁸ Ibid, 101.

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 101.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 96.

³⁷¹ Ibid, 96.

Booth's post-war efforts toward suturing north and south for mutual economic benefit give his "philanthropic" act in constructing the Centennial House at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition a deeper meaning. Despite the description of Booth's biographer, the construction of the "Old Virginia Building" was more than the product of "a purely patriotic spirit."³⁷² This "rendezvous point" for Virginians was a key social space where Booth held court. Both "welcomed all, not only from this State, but all of all shades, from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and the islands of the sea. He entertained them with that genial hospitality with which he receives his own guests at Nottoway."³⁷³ Over the course of the exposition, which ran from May through November 1876, tens of thousands of visitors visited the Booth's structure, and important regional figures like "General Hawley of Connecticut, General Fitz Lee, of Virginia, Hon. Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, and Senator Withers, of Virginia partook of his hospitality at the 'Virginia Building.'"³⁷⁴

Booth also used the occasion of the Centennial in Philadelphia to channel philanthropic funds toward southern institutions. He gave a speech at Independence hall on October 10, 1876, "in behalf of the better endowment of Washington and Lee University at Lexington Virginia 'an effort made by patriotic citizens throughout the country to restore the feelings of harmony and love which once prevailed, and to make them perpetual."³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶The effort to raise this money was

³⁷² Ibid, 35.

³⁷³ Dwight, *The Life and Character of Edwin Gilliam Booth: A Prominent Lawyer, Legislator, and Philanthropist*, 36.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, 37.

³⁷⁵ Ibid, 28.

³⁷⁶ Too much of a digression to get into here, but there is a paper to be written about the sectional reconciliation dimensions of the school's name change from Washington College to Washington and Lee University after Robert E. Lee's post-war presidency at the college and his sudden death from a stroke in 1870. For a summary of those events, see Brian C Murchinson et al., "Report of the Commission on Institutional History and Community" (Lexington, VA: Washington and Lee University, May 2, 2018), 79-80.

successful both ideologically and financially, with Booth's biographer noting that various major national figures across the north and south supported the effort, which ultimately raised over \$700,000 for that institution.³⁷⁷

To put Booth's oration in context, work at Washington College/Washington and Lee was one origin point for a parallel and particularly southern strand of public commemoration of confederate figures that ran alongside the national-level project commemorating the Centennial of American independence in Philadelphia in 1876. The summer after surrender, the trustees of Washington College invited Robert E. Lee to serve as president of the institution, resparking the former General's careers both as a civil engineer/spatial planner and as an educator that had started with his serving as superintendent of the US Military Academy at West Point in the early 1850s.³⁷⁸ School histories paint him as a skilled administrator, campus developer and booster for southern education, but Lee died abruptly only 5 years into his administration in 1870. On the day of his funeral on October 15, "a large number of ex-Confederate soldiers assembled in the court-house at Lexington [... and] formed the Lee memorial Association"³⁷⁹ with the express purpose of erecting "a monument in honor of their great leader."³⁸⁰ When the Virginia Legislature passed an act incorporating the Association in 1871, the leadership of the organization included prominent men from across the state, including Charles S. Venable, a

³⁷⁷ Dwight, *The Life and Character of Edwin Gilliam Booth: A Prominent Lawyer, Legislator, and Philanthropist*, 29.

³⁷⁸ There is also a paper to be written here on the connectedness of Lee's post-civil war campus building activities, the proximity of West Point to of Andrew Jackson Downing's practice in the Hudson River Valley of New York, and trans-Atlantic ideological and cultural connections between English landscape gardening traditions and American campuses and historic sites. Lexington landscape architect Arthur Bartenstein's work covers some of this ground- he shared a powerpoint he presented at the Lexington Historic Foundation in 2017. Bartenstein, Arthur. email message to author, August 26, 2017.

³⁷⁹ W Allan, "Historical Sketch of the Lee Memorial Association," in *Ceremonies Connected with the Inauguration of the Mausoleum and the Unveiling of the Recumbent Figure of General Robert Edward Lee at Washington and Lee University* (Richmond, VA: West, Johnston & Co., 1883), 3.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 3.

former aide-de-camp to Lee, and then chair of mathematics at the University of Virginia. Following this event, groups moving to commemorate Lee via monumentalization proliferated across the state. Efforts to organize commemorative advocates, raise money, and generally drum up elite and popular support for these monuments became a part of daily public life in many southern cities. Allan's account outlines the many prongs of organization-building that supported monument-building in the case of Lexington, and similar groups sprung up all over the state with similar goals. Organizers pressed on both local spatial connections and far-flung social alliances to draw support for the monument. In this case, locally, "the ladies of Lexington promptly responded by having a fair and a cantata in the winter of 1872-'3, the proceeds of which, amounting to over \$800, were turned over to the Association,"³⁸¹ making public monument-boosting the momentary center of local social life. Ward's account suggests that this kind of events-based fund-raising also happened across the state and beyond: "the ladies of Leesburg, VA., of Alexandria, VA., and of Palmyra, Missouri, sent handsome contributions."³⁸² Regionally, the Lee Memorial Association joined forces with the newly formed Association of the Army of Northern Virginia of Richmond to publicize the effort.³⁸³ And nationally, the organizations pulled down big donations from the prominent and wealthy across the country and world.³⁸⁴

These few examples of commemorative efforts at a national and regional level demonstrate the emerging and increasingly densely networked system of capitalist-philanthropy

³⁸¹ Ibid, 6.

³⁸² Ibid, 6.

³⁸³ Ibid, 6.

³⁸⁴ See Allan's account for a fuller list, but the list reads as a who's who of industrial tycoon/philanthropists, he recounts contributions from donors in New Orleans, Cyrus McCormick of Chicago, W.W. Corcoran, prominent Philadelphians, and even Scotland. Ibid.

right after the Civil War. These efforts also demonstrate the ways that changing labor systems and the reunification of the nation after the Civil War intersected with the changing class structure of American society. Haydu observes that this period saw the development of a new “generalized identity [...] ‘business citizenship.’”³⁸⁵ I argue that the efforts behind public commemoration served as settings through which a new class of civic elites could “tell a common story and link their personal biographies to this collective narrative,” and through these interactions created a trans-local class consciousness that “center[ed] on businessmen as leading citizens of the community.”³⁸⁶ From here, I trace the development of this class formation, and the ideological visions of “the city” that helped enable this class of actors to benefit materially from controlling changes across American urban and rural contexts.

³⁸⁵ Jeffrey Haydu, “Business Citizenship at Work: Cultural Transposition and Class Formation in Cincinnati, 1870-1910 .,” *American Journal of Sociology* 107, no. 6 (May 1, 2002): 1424–67, 1424.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 1428.

Chapter 4: 1877-1889 Country for Sale

This chapter tracks the institutional, cultural, and spatial elaboration of Charlottesville through its connections to wealth across the nation. I focus on the cases of the philanthropically donated Brooks Hall at University of Virginia in 1877, and national and state-level commemorative and commercial exhibitions in the 1880s. Through these happenings, we can see a rising and increasingly nationally connected cadre of capitalists, ideologues and politicians who produce imageries that draw on particular historical narratives and spatialize “important” sites to encourage and popularize travel, retail consumption, and public patriotic celebration. Also emergent in this time period are racializing frameworks around “good” spatial development and a city/country distinction that helps encase various kinds of value in land itself (rather than in mostly in commodities).

1877: Philantro-capitalists and Virginia institutions- the Case of Brooks Hall

Bluestone characterizes the 1870s and 1880s as a relatively quiet time in the building histories of Charlottesville’s major institutions, and this is true compared to the later periods of rapid of expansion in the city, county, and at University of Virginia by the end of the century. But a look at a landmark building from this time period provides several ways to frame spatial interventions by philanthro-capitalist individuals and networks emerging as a major force in spatial development in this time period.

The Brooks Hall case can be understood in terms of how the objects of philanthropic giving both facilitated and then effectively hid the circuits of power they help create. Two sets of useful frameworks come from this reading of the giving of Brooks Hall. First, the publicity

around the donation helped hide systems behind objects. Connecting threads of actors sutured together by emerging urban development, threads of inherited wealth, threads of power over emerging institutions, and threads of racialization of appropriate “place” for various categories of humans were hidden behind the objects of “the city,” “the philanthropist,” “the field,” and “the science.”

Hiding Systems behind Objects

Ideas about “the city,” “the philanthropist,” the “field,” and “man’s place” helped both foment and make invisible the very networks and actors that made the definition of these supposed “things” possible.

“The City”: Emergent Spatial Exchange Value as the “Public Good”

One of the new buildings erected on UVA grounds after the Civil War was the Lewis Brooks Hall of Natural Science, which was completed in 1877. (Figure 4.1) Lewis Brooks, the donor and namesake for the building, died suddenly before construction was complete, and was pictured in the popular press as an isolated recluse without a history:

Lewis Brooks was a peculiar man, and one of his peculiarities was his unwillingness to say anything about himself. He was exceedingly modest and retiring in his disposition, and rarely confided anything to anyone. He had no family and no relatives in this city, and hence very little regarding his life can be given.³⁸⁷

Press accounts did speak of his early career “in the manufacture of woolen cloth and afterward [...as] a merchant, doing business in a store west of the present Arcade entrance”³⁸⁸ in

³⁸⁷ This article quotes the *Rochester Democrat*’s death announcement for Lewis Brooks. “What the Mails Bring: Death of Lewis Brooks. A Generous Man Who Gave Away Over \$200,000 Secretly for Educational and Charitable Purposes.,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1877.

³⁸⁸ “A Modest Philanthropist - Reprint from the Rochester (NY) Express,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 16, 1877.

Rochester, New York.³⁸⁹ Lewis Brooks retired from these pursuits before the Civil War, and by the 1870s when he was considering donating to UVA, “his investments were in good railroad and like securities and he also owned much valuable property in Rochester, his last years being devoted to his investments and the supervision of his real estate.”³⁹⁰

While newspapers covering the development of Brooks Hall at the University of Virginia showed Lewis Brooks as an isolated and self-made recluse, his personal history places him in a class of those moneyed enough to emerge as entrepreneurs in the 19th century. Lewis Brooks in fact came from prosperous families who migrated from England to New England in the 17th century and counted themselves as some of the founding families of several Connecticut and Massachusetts towns.³⁹¹ Lewis Brooks’ parents moved to a farm east of Rochester, New York from Connecticut by 1824,³⁹² and Lewis himself immigrated to Rochester from Connecticut in 1822 at the age of 29.³⁹³ It is reasonable to posit that his entrée to woolens manufacturing and his other business interests would have relied on his family’s wealth as capital,³⁹⁴ and he and his

³⁸⁹ As a side note the institutional history of the city before the entrée of the Brooks family would be really interesting to get into- Nathaniel Rochester, Col. William Fitzhugh, and Maj. Charles Carroll, noted by many as early investors who bought the 100-acre tract that later became the center of Rochester’s milling industry, were all from Hagerstown, MD, and from less “important” branches of prominent slaveholding/founding in Maryland families, and were officers by the Hagerstown Bank by 1807. This unravels further questions- was William Fitzhugh related to Fitzhugh Lee, or to Thomas Fitzhugh who was Latin Professor at UVA in early 20th c? Robert F McNamara, “Charles Carroll of Belle Vue Co-Founder of Rochester,” ed. Joseph W. Barnes, *Rochester History* XLII, no. 4 (1980): 1–28.

³⁹⁰ *Rochester and Monroe County New York* (New York and Chicago: The Pioneer Publishing Co, 1908), 163.

³⁹¹ Towns/cities mentioned as connected to and shaped by the Brooks/Brookes family are Wallingford, Brookfield, Stratford, New Haven, Farmington. Ibid, 160-1. Towns and cities connected to Lewis Brooks’ mother’s family, the Beers include Watertown, Massachusetts. Ibid, 163.

³⁹² Ibid, 162.

³⁹³ Ibid, 163.

³⁹⁴ This would be an interesting story to follow. Some clues are that Lewis Brooks’ father emigrated to Penfield, NY in either 1806 or 1824 (the source below conflicts with itself though the 1810 Census puts a Samuel Brooks still in Litchfield CT), and Penfield is a town just north of the current railroad alignment that goes from Rochester East to the Wayne County Line. Were the Lewis brothers able to make deals due to their access to family land their parents held in the area? His father died in 1849, which might mean that he and his brothers would have been in a position to inherit land right around the time that railroad development

family's moves to the area would have coincided closely with "boom" in Rochester's development that accompanied the development of the Erie Canal. The canal was a piece of connective infrastructure that tied the motive power generated by the series of falls along the Genesee River to the wheat-growing regions of the adjacent Genesee Valley to market for milled flour in New York City (Figure 4.2). Lewis Brooks' and his family's arrival in town would have been part of "a remarkable tide of immigration; improvement was the order of the day, the population increased with unprecedented rapidity and the value of property was greatly enhanced."³⁹⁵

In addition to his family wealth and fortunate timing, Lewis Brooks became a man with serious influence on the overall form of the city of Rochester. Histories show him as one of the city's first aldermen in 1834 when Rochester became a city, making him part of the locality's first governance structures.³⁹⁶ In 1844, he and a partner built the Congress Hall (figure 4.3),³⁹⁷ a hotel³⁹⁸ near the town's the mill district.³⁹⁹ He was also involved in railroad development (figure

occurred east of Rochester. This would add a large dash of luck in terms of timing to the family story that by the early 20th century is presented as pre-destined greatness. Ibid, 162. Other evidence of the family's wealth is from a publication from the Phillips Academy of Andover, MA where Lewis' brother Lemuel attended from 1818-1821 that states he "inherited a large fortune, and left it to educational institutions and missionary societies" *Biographical Catalogue of the Trustees, Teachers and Students of Phillips Academy Andover 1778-1830* (Andover, MA: The Andover Press, 1903), 94.

³⁹⁵ *Historical and Descriptive View of the Industries of Rochester. 1885. Trade, Commerce, and Manufactures, Manufacturing Advantages, Business and Transportation Facilities, Together With Sketches of the Principal Business Houses and Manufacturing Establishments in the City* (Rochester, N.Y.: Thomison & Co., 1885), 27.

³⁹⁶ Maine, Henry C, ed. *Rochester in History with Portraits and Our Part in the World War*. Rochester, NY: Wegman-Walsh Press, Inc, 1922, 16.

³⁹⁷ *Rochester and Monroe County New York*, 163.

³⁹⁸ John Hayward, *Gazeteer of The United States of America Comprising A Concise General View of the United States, and Particular Descriptions of the Several States, Territories, Counties, Districts, Cities, Towns, Villages, Their Mountains, Valleys, Islands, Capes, Bays, Harbors, Lakes, Rivers, Canals, &c.; With the Governments and Literary and Other Public Institutions of the Country; Also, Its Mineral Springs, Waterfalls, Caves, Beaches, And Other Fashionable Resorts; To Which Are Added Valuable Statistical Tables* (Philadelphia: James L. Gihon, 1854), 550.

4.4) during the early 1850s with his two brothers, Lemuel and Gary: “at the time of the construction of what is now the main line of the New York Central into Rochester was contemplated, the three brothers became interested in the project and were instrumental in securing most of the right of way for the proposed railroad between Rochester and the Wayne County line.”⁴⁰⁰

Mapping these two major investments in the Rochester area shows two of the connected interventions that Lewis Brooks and his collaborators used to expand their fortunes over time. Shortly before Lewis Brooks’ arrival in town in 1820, Rochester was still a relatively small community of about 1500 residents,⁴⁰¹ with building civic and trade functions concentrated around Main Street. (figure 4.5) With the new Erie Canal, the population exploded to 11,000 by 1830,⁴⁰² and development continued to increase in density around Main Street, and the parts of the city closer to the new canal (figure 4.6). As the city’s population continued to balloon in the 1840s to 40,000 by 1853,⁴⁰³ Lewis Brooks was involved both with the siting of the railroad line that connected to the East from town, and in the development of the Congress Hall hotel directly adjacent to the railroad depot (figures 4.7, 4.8, 4.9). Brooks was likely to have held influence over the siting of both the Hall and the Railroad line/depot in his multiple roles over time as city

³⁹⁹ I.J. Issacs, *The Industrial Advance of Rochester. A Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive Review* (Rochester, NY: National Publishing Co. Ltd, 1884), 144.

⁴⁰⁰ *Rochester and Monroe County New York*, 164-5.

⁴⁰¹ *Historical and Descriptive View of the Industries of Rochester. 1885. Trade, Commerce, and Manufactures, Manufacturing Advantages, Business and Transportation Facilities, Together With Sketches of the Principal Business Houses and Manufacturing Establishments in the City*, 29.

⁴⁰² *Historical and Descriptive View of the Industries of Rochester. 1885. Trade, Commerce, and Manufactures, Manufacturing Advantages, Business and Transportation Facilities, Together With Sketches of the Principal Business Houses and Manufacturing Establishments in the City*. Rochester, N.Y.: Thomison & Co., 1885, 29.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid*, 29.

official, and investor/developer. Coordinating the adjacency of the Congress Hall and railroad depot would have enhanced the value of both these features beyond what they would have achieved singularly. After all, what use was a hotel without travelers? And what use was passenger rail without an appealing destination? By the 1880s, the Congress Hall was out of Brooks' hands, but the area in Rochester continued to generate value as a cluster of hotels,⁴⁰⁴ a landmark in Rochester's cityscape,⁴⁰⁵ and a place of accommodation close to railroad and city streetcar lines.⁴⁰⁶ (Figure 4.10)

Lewis Brooks could be seen as a successful producer and beneficiary of emergent spatial value. Scholars define emergence as “structural characteristics that can be observed at one level in a system that are not present in its constituents.”⁴⁰⁷ The combined successes of transit systems and strategically located edifices providing interdependent services produced emergent value that exceeded the capabilities of any of its parts alone. And investors benefitted based on their power to coordinate adjacencies and differentiate the spaces of the city based on their investments.

By the 1880s, at least in Rochester, individual players working in the mode of building emergent spatial value in cities coordinated with each other to speak in one voice in the name of “the city.” In the example of Rochester, civic boosters worked together to publish a book that would bring to the attention of the public the *truth* about Rochester, a locale “in its varied phases, its trade and commerce, its importance, advantages and resources,” which had until this moment

⁴⁰⁴ The Brackett House, immediately to the East of Congress Hall was another well-known place of accommodation in the 1880s shown on this map.

⁴⁰⁵ Issacs, *The Industrial Advance of Rochester. A Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive Review*, 144.

⁴⁰⁶ It would be interesting to get more into the siting, timing, and leadership of Rochester streetcar companies, which according to multiple sources began streetcar development in town in the 1860s.

⁴⁰⁷ Vargo, Akaka, and Wieland, “Rethinking the Process of Diffusion in Innovation: A Service-Ecosystems and Institutional Perspective,” 520.

“had its light hid under a bushel!”⁴⁰⁸ This book “objectively” laid out the city’s history, its prospects, its transport facilities, its trading sectors, its manufacturing facilities, all framed as a document to serve the collective benefit of the City of Rochester: “Our purpose has been not to advertise the parties whose names appear individually, but *to advertise the city itself; the benefit, if any to result, to be general.*”⁴⁰⁹ (emphasis added by author). This publication pictured the city as a discrete entity developed for general benefit that ostensibly served everyone and masked the specific interests of particular players who invested in and profited from the articulation of emerging urban spaces. What was beneficial to the capitalist system was pictured as beneficial to “the city itself.”

“The Philanthropist”: Wealth, Intellectual Networks, Capitalist Power, and Morality

But why would a man concerned with producing emergent exchange value turn to philanthropy in his later life? Was this effort connected to the project of producing spatialized value?

Hantman has documented the reasons that a New York State businessman would donate to the University of Virginia. He argues that donor Lewis Brooks was part of the Pundit Club, one elite club amid the rising tide of associational and fraternal organizations that boomed after the Civil War. The Pundit Club was a social and scientific club held in the home of Lewis Henry Morgan in Rochester. Morgan was a lawyer “who had made a substantial amount of money on railroad investments and mining,” and later became known as “the Father of American Anthropology.” Hantman argues that it was at Morgan’s Pundit Club, whose goal was “to find man’s place in a

⁴⁰⁸ *Historical and Descriptive View of the Industries of Rochester. 1885. Trade, Commerce, and Manufactures, Manufacturing Advantages, Business and Transportation Facilities, Together With Sketches of the Principal Business Houses and Manufacturing Establishments in the City*, 17.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 17.

world full of change and new discoveries” that Lewis Brooks would have met Henry Ward, who became the supplier of geologic specimens to the Brooks Museum.⁴¹⁰

Henry Ward was a key figure at the time in the nascent field of museum building.

According to Hantman, he was:

[a] scholar of great repute [...] but he was also an entrepreneur in every sense of the word. He recognized that there was a potential fortune to be made in supplying museums with the artifacts and replicas of natural history. As an entrepreneur, he took the risk of accumulating his collections from throughout the world first, and then returning to the United States to sell them to interested museums.⁴¹¹

This approach of acquiring specimens first was of course tremendously financially risky, and required Ward to position himself to find wealthy individuals or institutions who would fund the purchase of his wares. In the early to mid-1870s, Ward was in dire financial straits after money-losing projects at various institutions.⁴¹² But by 1877, Brooks had donated a funds for a natural history displays both at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, VA, and University of Virginia.⁴¹³ Henry Ward noted in a letter to Smithsonian Assistant Secretary Spencer Baird that he had been paid significant sums from Brooks’ donations for this work on the natural history displays at each of these schools:

The Virginia University gift- \$66,150.00- has all been paid except the \$2,500 still due to me which I believe is quite safe.

⁴¹⁰ Jeffrey Hantman, “Brooks Hall at the University of Virginia: Unraveling the Mystery,” *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 47 (1989): 62–92.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² University of Rochester, Vassar College, and Allegheny College. Hantman highlights letters Ward wrote to Brooks appealing to him to donate a natural history museum for the city of Rochester, and increasingly desperate letters between Ward and Spencer Baird, the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian in an attempt to broker a deal between the donor and the emerging institution. These projects never came to fruition, as Brooks died suddenly in August of 1877. Ibid.

⁴¹³ “Lewis Brooks’ Gifts- Some of His Charitable Donations- Probable Distribution of His Property,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1877.

The Washington and Lee University he had given (alike through me) \$25,000.00. To both these institutions as well as to others in the South he was planning additional largesse in the way of improving their appointments for Natural Science purposes.

Unfortunately Mrs. Swift of this city [Rochester]- the astronomer- will now not get the powerful telescope that Brooks has agreed to and all was settled but the payment.⁴¹⁴

Comparing the figures listed in this letter as monies that went specifically to Ward's museum-making practice, it seems that Ward saw tremendous financial benefit from Brooks' gifts to these two universities. Figures in the popular press for the sums given to Washington and Lee vary from \$12,000⁴¹⁵ to \$25,000.⁴¹⁶ Accounts of the gift to University of Virginia ranged from \$50,000⁴¹⁷ to \$120,000.⁴¹⁸ Using the higher estimates of the gift totals, Ward would have received ALL of the monetary donation to Washington and Lee, and more than half of the donation to UVA.

This hidden benefit to Henry Ward, who is scarcely mentioned in the newspaper articles of the day, provides an important lens through which to examine later philanthropic gifts to institutions. These gifts of course raised the profile of both the donors and institutional recipients. They allowed institutions to boast more cutting-edge facilities and intellectual resources, and wealthy donors to claim their motivations and huge wealth aligned with and benefitted the "public good." In this way, they contributed to the formation of a national-level class category of

⁴¹⁴ Henry Ward to Spencer Baird, August 17, 1877, cited in Jeffrey Hantman, "Brooks Hall at the University of Virginia: Unraveling the Mystery," *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 47 (1989): 62-92.

⁴¹⁵ "Lewis Brooks," *New York Times*, August 10, 1877.

⁴¹⁶ "Lewis Brooks' Gifts- Some of His Charitable Donations- Probable Distribution of His Property."

⁴¹⁷ An underestimation, or perhaps a partial sum toward a larger total given Ward's account of getting paid more than this by Brooks for his work at UVA, Ibid

⁴¹⁸ "A Modest Philanthropist - Reprint from the Rochester (NY) Express," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 16, 1877; "What the Mails Bring: Death of Lewis Brooks. A Generous Man Who Gave Away Over \$200,000 Secretly for Educational and Charitable Purposes.," *New York Times*, August 13, 1877.

“business citizenship” through the writing of “institutional scripts”⁴¹⁹ for a class culture of business philanthropists who trained at or otherwise allied themselves with elite educational institutions like University of Virginia, and “give back” to society through their improvement. This badge of “philanthropist” served as a parallel to Popielarz’s characterization of the badge of “mason” as it transposed onto modern business actors, in that it offered a set of actions that identified individuals with acting morally, and through that interpretation of the act of donation legitimated the workings and actors of finance capitalism.⁴²⁰ Indeed, at the opening, rector A.H.H. Stuart applauded: “the museum itself stands, and I hope, will forever stand,- a noble *material monument* of his munificent contribution to the cause of science.”⁴²¹

“The Field”: Defining Disciplines

Third, these philanthropic building projects helped propel nascent fields of study, expanding the reach of academic knowing through the ongoing division of knowledge into separated “fields.” The very structure of fields and disciplines emerged from the same Newtonian cosmological views that the universe is a rational machine that can be understood by the study of its constitutive parts that governed the structures of various institutions and social relations during this period.⁴²² Physically, these building projects provided the spaces, equipment, archives, and objects for the elaboration and development of particular fields. But the traditions of “philanthropic” giving also served as channels through which philanthropic actors exercised tremendous power over which fields were prioritized, what questions they asked, and how

⁴¹⁹ Haydu, “Business Citizenship at Work: Cultural Transposition and Class Formation in Cincinnati, 1870-1910,” 1425.

⁴²⁰ Popielarz, “Moral Dividends: Freemasonry and Finance Capitalism in Early-Nineteenth-Century America.”

⁴²¹ James Cocke Southall and A.H.H. Stuart, *Opening of the Lewis Brooks Museum at the University of Virginia June 27th 1878. Address on Men’s Age in the World.* (Richmond: Clemmit & Jones Printers, 1878), 8.

⁴²² Recall discussion of the connection between Newtownianism and the structure of fraternal organizations discussed in the previous chapter.

divisions and synergies between fields of official knowledge played out in the connected worlds of academia, governance, and industry.

In the case of Brooks Hall, the terms of the gift were hammered out via correspondence between the museum-maker Henry Ward and Professor Francis H Smith. Ward dangled Brooks' gift on the "condition that other friends of the institution would raise the sum of \$12,000 to provide for the necessary cases, mounting, transportation, &c."⁴²³ Before the deal was even passed to the Rector, the Board of Trustees of the Miller Agricultural Department at UVA "promptly pledged \$10,000 of the required amount, and Professor W.B. Rogers⁴²⁴ and other alumni furnished the remaining \$2,000 of the required sum."⁴²⁵ The Miller Agricultural Department was in turn a product of earlier philanthropic giving: it had been established in 1869 by the \$100,000 gift of local wealthy business-man Samuel Miller. And so, an earlier philanthropically funded branch of the school's institutional structure begat another emerging branch of the school's areas of "expertise." Similarly, soon after the dedication of the building, W.W. Corcoran, the Washington philanthropist provided an endowment for \$50,000 that provided for the hire of the first Professor of Natural History, William Fontaine.

Brooks Hall is but one example, but in many ways, the physical and institutional structures of the University of Virginia are an aggregate entity that held together many layers of influence of economically successful entities and individuals. Donations produced tangible projects that aligned the structure of the university with the interests of the dominant capitalist

⁴²³ Southall and Stuart, *Opening of the Lewis Brooks Museum at the University of Virginia June 27th 1878. Address on Men's Age in the World*, 5.

⁴²⁴ W.B. Rogers was a former Professor of Natural Philosophy at UVA who now served as President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

⁴²⁵ Southall and Stuart, *Opening of the Lewis Brooks Museum at the University of Virginia June 27th 1878. Address on Men's Age in the World*, 5.

class interests of the day. To use words from the building's dedication speeches, actors saw the building as a living monument, in many ways more permanent because of its ability to facilitate knowledge production: "our benefactor has erected here one of those imperishable monuments, which, in comparison with the cold and pulseless marble, is like some beautiful fountain, sleeping and breathing in the silent rock, and sending forth forever its pure and unsullied waters."⁴²⁶

"Men's Age in the World: Attempting to fix 'man's' place

The dedication speeches for Brook Hall provide insights into how the addition of a facility for the study of natural history was intended to shape the University of Virginia as an educational and research institution. In introductory remarks, the rector highlights the dedication speech as "*intellectual monument*," which through its recording and publication would "perpetuate the memory of our munificent benefactor, by inscribing his name, in letters of living light, on the archives of the institution, and by associating it with a noble intellectual contribution to the store of human knowledge."⁴²⁷ So introduced, speaker James Cocke Southall⁴²⁸ began his lengthy oration entitled "Man's Age in the World," which focused between the relationship between the new museum's prize artifact, a stuffed mastodon (figure 4.11), and contemporary humans, and reads like an interminable recounting of the state of paleontological evidence clarifying the relationship in time and space between the mammoth specimen and "modern man."

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁴²⁷ Ibid, 9.

⁴²⁸ J C Southall was born in Charlottesville, an alumnus of UVA, and a lawyer turned newspaper editor who founded *the Charlottesville Review* around 1860, owned the *Daily Chronicle* from 1865-8, and Edited the *Richmond Enquirer* from 1868-1874. He bought the *Central Presbyterian* in 1880 and served as editor until 1889. He was assistant to superintendent of public instruction 1874. https://prabook.com/web/james_cocke.southall/1080830 ; "Dr. Southall Dead," *The Roanoke Times*, September 15, 1897.

But seeing past the details of the oration, both the speech and the addition of the building to the UVA campus can be read as part of an intellectual project that contemporary critics like Sylvia Wynter point to as the ideological rise of Man₂, or the production of an idealized genre of humanity that served capital accumulation:

liberal monohumanism's *homo oeconomicus* [a.k.a. Man₂...] inflected by powerful knowledge systems and origin stories that explain who/what we are. These systems and stories produced the lived and racialized categories of the rational and the irrational, the selected and the dysselected, the haves and the have-nots as asymmetrical naturalized racial-sexual human groupings [... and] signal the processes through which the empirical and experiential lives of *all* humans are increasingly subordinated to a figure that thrives on accumulation.⁴²⁹

Southall's oration can be seen as part of this building and dissemination of human origin stories and knowledge systems that produced both differential valuation of humans, and accumulation of capital through these value distinctions.

Early in the dedication, Southall frames the purpose of his oration: "If we can fix the Mammoth's 'place in nature'- to use the words of the gifted Huxley- we can fix that of man [...]." ⁴³⁰ Both this description of the main thrust of the oration's content and the talk's title refer to the then-recent work of biologist and anthropologist Thomas Huxley.⁴³¹ Huxley was one of many scholars who worked to translate Darwin's emerging theory of evolution to the human sphere, developing logics of scientific racism that examined the geometries of human skulls to "discern between the lowest and highest forms of the human cranium [...]." ⁴³² He propagated a social Darwinist view of race, writing about US emancipation in 1865 that:

⁴²⁹ McKittrick, *Sylvia Wynter*, 10

⁴³⁰ Southall and Stuart, *Opening of the Lewis Brooks Museum at the University of Virginia June 27th 1878. Address on Men's Age in the World*, 17.

⁴³¹ Thomas H. Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1863).

⁴³² *Ibid*, 174.

the highest places in the hierarchy of civilisation [SIC] will assuredly not be within the reach of our dusky cousins[...] But whatever the position of stable equilibrium into which the laws of social gravitation may bring the negro, all responsibility for the result with henceforth lie between Nature and him.”⁴³³

This “scientific” denial of the ongoing socially produced injustices towards freed people after the Civil War buttressed the burdened individuality of freedom observed by Hartman in post-emancipation policy discourses.⁴³⁴ If post-bellum social inequity was just a matter of the relationship between “the negro” and “Nature,” and not the result of social systems, then the results of racial minoritization could be pictured as the fault of the racialized subject, not the multiple systems that fixed formerly enslaved people in a particular “place” in society.

In referring to Huxley’s project of “fixing” man’s place in his introduction, orator J C Southall connected the emerging natural sciences represented by Brooks Hall to the local landscape, reinforcing and localizing a cultural “script, therefore, whose macro-origin story calcifies the hero figure of homo economicus who practices, indeed normalizes accumulation in the name of (economic) freedom. Capital is thus projected as the indispensable, empirical, and metaphysical source of all human life.”⁴³⁵

Braiding Spaces and Interests

The donation of Brooks Hall had a second set of functions beyond facilitating then hiding the connections of wealthy actors. They also helped publicly align seeming points of tension across geographies, political factions, and histories.

⁴³³ Thomas H Huxley, “Emancipation in Black and White [1865],” in *Collected Essays: Volume III Science and Education*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893), 67.

⁴³⁴ Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*.

⁴³⁵ McKittrick, *Sylvia Wynter*, 10.

Bridging tensions across geographies and economic sectors

The north-south alliances evidenced in these gifts helped practically and ideologically re-align potentially disparate sectional interests and economies across the country through these charitable projects. At Brooks Hall, Lewis Brooks' Rochester industrial fortune-based gift was received by A.H.H. Stuart who served as Rector of the University of Virginia by 1877. This is the same A.H.H. Stuart who was a pre-war Whig politician, and post-war Conservative who led the Committee of Nine who successfully appealed to Grant to separate (and ultimately defeat) the Confederate disenfranchisement clauses in the draft Underwood Constitution.⁴³⁶ Stuart pointed to the north-south reconciliation meanings of the gift of Brooks Hall in his introduction at the building's dedication in 1878:

The two great sections of our country were inflamed and exasperated against each other by all the angry feelings and prejudices engendered by the than recent fierce sectional conflict, the extraordinary spectacle was presented to the public, of an old gentleman, of one of the northern states [...] rising above the infirmities of human nature, and animated by that spirit of Christian charity [...] becoming the generous founder, at the oldest university of the Southern States, of the splendid Museum, which we are now about to dedicate to its appropriate uses.⁴³⁷

Beyond this first level of actors and institutions directly involved in the gifting, the form of the donation monies also aligned the interests of institutions across public and private sectors and across east-west geographies in the US. In the case of Brooks Hall, in the notification of the gift, Ward brokered the first piece of the gift in the form of “forty-five bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company of one thousand dollars each- \$45,000.”⁴³⁸ So, the

⁴³⁶ Stuart, *A Narrative of the Leading Incidents of the Organization of the First Popular Movement in Virginia in 1865 to Re-Establish Peaceful Relations between the Northern and Southern States, and the Subsequent Efforts of the “Committee of Nine,” in 1869, to Secure the Restoration of Virginia to the Union*, 4.

⁴³⁷ Southall and Stuart, *Opening of the Lewis Brooks Museum at the University of Virginia June 27th 1878. Address on Men's Age in the World*, 7-8.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid*, 3.

donation was in the form of an investment, not cash, so the Railroad also appeared as benevolent via the announcement of this gift, and financial benefits to the “public” university and the private utility that covered much of the Midwest United States were aligned. In this case, the growth of the railroad resulted in “proceeds of the bonds mentioned in this letter amounted to \$50,000,”⁴³⁹ so the increased value of the company’s bonds benefitted the University’s coffers as well.

Selecting facts to build useful trajectories of power through time

These gifts continued to layer new strands on the braided cultural, institutional, and philanthropic networks already established by earlier players across space and time. In the case of Lewis Brooks, his gifts at various institutions were but one contribution of many donations from elite players to particular institutions over the course of history. With the example of his gift to Washington and Lee, newspapers pictured Brooks’ gift of a new natural history cabinet (again procured and designed by Henry Ward) as part of a legacy of charitable giving by venerable historical players and contemporaries. An 1881 article in the *Baltimore Sun* syndicated in papers across the country looked to the past to picture Brooks among a long line of donors to that school, starting with “its first important donation was one of \$50,000 from [George] Washington in 1796.”⁴⁴⁰ The article also pictures Brooks as part of a cadre of influential charitable “citizens” from across the country in the present:

Donations to the funds began now to pour in thick and fast, principally from citizens of Philadelphia and New-York. Mr. Peabody, it will be remembered, gave \$60,000, the Hon. Cyrus McCormick, \$20,500; Mr. Warren Newcomb, \$10,000; Mr. W.W. Corcoran, \$30,000; Col. Thomas A. Scott, \$60,000; Mr. R. H. Bayley, \$70,000; Mr. Rathmell Wilson, \$6,000; Mr. Lewis Brooks, \$25,000; Mr. H.H.

⁴³⁹Ibid,3.

⁴⁴⁰ “A Growing Endowment: Nearly Half a Million Dollars Bestowed Upon Washington and Lee University,” *New York Times*, September 12, 1881.

Houston, \$7,000; Col. F.O. French, \$50,000; James Wilson, \$5,000, and a gentleman in Philadelphia, who withholds his name, \$20,000”⁴⁴¹

Finally, the piece looks to the future, stating “it will be seen that it has been the recipient of over \$431,500, and has much to hope from the warm interest taken in its fortunes by wealthy Philadelphians and New Yorkers.”⁴⁴² This effort clearly continued to see rolling success, as by 1886, funds raised for the school had topped \$700,000.⁴⁴³

1881 Yorktown Exposition

The example of the Yorktown Centennial Exposition of 1881 Yorktown Centennial shows that national-level commemorations behind the targeted philanthropic efforts at Southern institutions in aligning the various threads of power, culture, and place. But examining this celebration is useful in understanding the state of organizational coordination between local, state, and national players in the project of producing spectacular events and the relative coherence of the ideological and cultural messages promulgated at the event.

This exposition was the last of the national celebrations marking the centennial of Revolutionary War milestones, commemorating the decisive Battle of Yorktown that preceded British surrender. Planning for the Yorktown Centennial began with public calls for a commemorative event from a Norfolk newspaper man, Michael Glennan, the editor of the *Norfolk Virginian* in 1875 and 1876.⁴⁴⁴ A localized convening at the Yorktown Courthouse in 1879 that constituted a local committee for planning the commemoration and issued a call to the Governor of Virginia to invite the President, his cabinet, and the governors and dignitaries of the

⁴⁴¹ Ibid

⁴⁴² Ibid

⁴⁴³ Dwight, *The Life and Character of Edwin Gilliam Booth: A Prominent Lawyer, Legislator, and Philanthropist*, 29.

⁴⁴⁴ Julie Anne Sweet-McGinty, “Virginia Celebrates the Yorktown Centennial of 1881” (Richmond, VA, University of Richmond, 1996), 11.

original 13 states to the exposition, and to hold a meeting of delegates from the original 13 states in Philadelphia to form a national committee for planning the Centennial.⁴⁴⁵ Virginia Governor F W M Holliday⁴⁴⁶ heard the request, and officially requested that Pennsylvania Governor Henry M. Hoyt provide a space in Philadelphia for the meeting of state delegates. Governors of all original states met in Philadelphia in October of 1879, and supported the idea of a Centennial, with multiple speakers emphasizing the potential for the occasion to foster north-south sectional reconciliation. South Carolina's Governor Simpson imagined that the event "will do much to seal the bloody chasm that had been opened by the conflict of arms which a few years ago took place."⁴⁴⁷

Parallel Organizations: Local, State, and National

The organizational structure was a far cry from the 1876 Exposition in Philadelphia, in which the state and local governments of Virginia refused to participate in any official way. Local, state, and national bodies formed and worked in parallel to plan for the Exposition, to limited success.

Sweet-McGinty argues "because of the relatively depressed financial state of affairs within the town of Yorktown, the local population created the Yorktown Centennial Association (YCA) as a joint stock company [in Virginia] to secure the funding necessary to acquire proper accommodations for the military personnel and the private citizens who would be in

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 13.

⁴⁴⁶ Governor Holliday hired the International Exposition Company to "build the main central building," asked the company to bring models and plans to the meeting in Philadelphia, and authorized a preliminary celebration in Yorktown in 1879, two years in advance the Centennial in 1881. Julie Anne Sweet-McGinty, "Virginia Celebrates the Yorktown Centennial of 1881" (Richmond, VA, University of Richmond, 1996), 13. The International Exposition Company seems in 1879 to be both maintaining and managing the Exhibition as it remained in Fairmount Park in 1879, and must also be consulting on this project as part of its other activities. It would be interesting to trace the relationships between this company and other practices like Henry Ward's Museum and Exhibit-developing practices, and to the development of Museums as institutions and exhibit design as a sub-field of architecture. *International Exhibition Company: Official Bulletin of the International Exhibition*, vol. Number 5 (Philadelphia: International Exhibition Company, 1879).

⁴⁴⁷ Sweet-McGinty, "Virginia Celebrates the Yorktown Centennial of 1881," 14.

attendance.”⁴⁴⁸ In actuality, the leadership of the organization had no representation from the town of Yorktown:

Appendix A: Officers of the Yorktown Centennial Association

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>
Hon. John Goode	President	Norfolk, VA
Hon. Thomas Cochran	1st Vice-President	Philadelphia, PA
Hon. Alexander H. Rice	2nd Vice-President	Boston, MA
Gen. J.S. Preston	3rd Vice-President	Columbia, SC
Edward Everett Winchell	Secretary	New York, NY
Isaac Davenport, Jr.	Treasurer	Richmond, VA
Col. J.E. Peyton	Gen. Superintendent	Haddonfield, NJ

Source: *The Centennial Anniversary of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and the British Forces under his Command on the 19th Day of October, 1781, Virtually the Closing of the Struggle for American Independence, to be Appropriately Celebrated on the field of Yorktown, VA., in October 1881.* New York: American Banknote Company, 1880, 13.

Sweet-McGinty’s reproduction of the list of officers for the “local” Yorktown Centennial Association ⁴⁴⁹

At first glance, the officers of the Yorktown Centennial Association (YCA), formed in 1881⁴⁵⁰ in the few months before the celebration, appears an unlikely and motley group of prominent men from across the east coast. Two, Goode and Preston, were former confederate officers, while Peyton was a union quartermaster during the Civil War. Three of the northerners, Cochran, Rice, and Everett, were players in paper manufacturing or journalistic trades. The group did not share a party politics, as officers of the YCA allied with both major political parties.⁴⁵¹

But closer examination of their family histories and personal interests in the Centennial begin to point to the emergent alliances of “business citizenship” as a social formation during

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, 22.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, 106.

⁴⁵⁰ “To the Public,” *Norfolk Landmark*, March 13, 1881.

⁴⁵¹ Examples: Goode- Democrat, Cochran-Republican, Rice- Conservative Republican, Preston- Democrat

this time period, and its connections to the emerging World's Fair Movement. Richmond's Davenport who served as Treasurer of the YCA was a titan of entrepreneurship, boasting a central role in the economic development of Richmond since well before the Civil War through his involvements in paper manufacturing,⁴⁵² banking, and wholesale grocery⁴⁵³ businesses. He served as director of the Richmond's Board of Trade during the 1850s and as director and officer of its successor, the Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁵⁴ Alongside his material interests in trade-based urban development, he also held interests in the supporting infrastructure of transportation, having run packet boats, served on various railroad company boards, and in the 1850s orchestrated direct international shipping of Richmond flour to Brazil and return imports of coffee guano and other goods to Virginia, cutting out middlemen in Northern ports. At the time of the Centennial, he had just served on the reorganization committee that restructured the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway in 1878 after its fall into receivership after the Panic of 1873. The newly consolidated railroad had just completed its Peninsula Connection between Richmond to Hampton Roads, and the Centennial served to publicize this new rail connection as well as commemorate the Revolutionary War.

Compare Richmonder Davenport's biography with that of the General Superintendent of the YCA, Jesse Enlow Peyton. While Peyton would seem to come from northern geographies and interests that would conflict with a Richmonder's so shortly after the Civil War, alignments can be noted if one peels back sectional conflict to look at business concerns. Peyton was a

⁴⁵² Biographies note him as on the board of the Albemarle Paper Manufacturing Company, later the Ethyl Corporation

⁴⁵³ <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=40675> Is this site one of his? A question for a future pap

⁴⁵⁴ https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.asp?b=Davenport_Isaac; John Reid Blackwell, "Richmond Chamber's Role Has Broadened with Time, Become More Regional Hammer," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, June 15, 2017.

merchant Kentuckian⁴⁵⁵ in the Greater Philadelphia area. Peyton traced his colonial family roots to Virginia, where his grandfather received a Kentucky land grant for Revolutionary War service.⁴⁵⁶ Born in Kentucky, J E Peyton moved to North in 1841 with letters of introduction from his society friends who were the Philadelphia merchant class's customers in Kentucky. In this way, Peyton entered the business scene in his new northern setting by leveraging social connections to buyers in his southern home state.

After his arrival in the Philadelphia area, Peyton worked across sectors of business and politics to “if possible, avert the Civil War”⁴⁵⁷ by joining larger efforts to revive the Whig party across the two locales. Through his connections, he was put⁴⁵⁸ in the position of quartermaster in New Jersey with the idea improving sectional relations through finding New Jersey youths to serve in Kentucky, but the Civil War began before the newly mustered regiment reached Washington. Peyton continued to serve as a quartermaster and recruiter for the Union through the war. This position would have leveraged Peyton's mercantile expertise and connections to orchestrate the provisioning of troops, and likely benefited the merchants involved.

Quartermasters of the period “purchased clothing, equipment, animals and services [...and]

⁴⁵⁵ U.S. Census Bureau; United States Census, 1850; database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M4CV-BQF> : 24 December 2020), Jese Peyton, Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States; citing family , NARA microfilm publication (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

⁴⁵⁶ Jesse Enlow Peyton, *Reminiscences of Philadelphia During the Past Half Century* (Philadelphia: Press of Dewey & Eakins, 1888), 3.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 11.

⁴⁵⁸ He was authorized for this position by Major Anderson, later commander of Union forces in the first battle of the war at Fort Sumter. Jesse Enlow Peyton, *Reminiscences of Philadelphia During the Past Half Century* (Philadelphia: Press of Dewey & Eakins, 1888), 12.

operated a system of field depots and a transportation network to deliver the goods to soldiers.”⁴⁵⁹

After the war, Peyton became a leading booster for commemorations of historic events, and he later claimed that as early as an October 1865 trip to Richmond, he “mentioned to old friends and relatives that the thing to do was to start a movement, looking to a grand re-union of the descendants of the old American families, in 1876. Some of them thought it premature.”⁴⁶⁰ But he claimed the idea “to remind us of what our ancestors had endured to secure independence, and to unite the people under Constitutional Government for their welfare and protection”⁴⁶¹ met with good reception from figures like A.H.H. Stewart⁴⁶² in Virginia. Peyton subsequently became a wheeler and dealer working behind the scenes to push for commemorative events like these, and helped align governmental and private action to organize the Battle of Bunker Hill Centennial in Boston in 1875, and the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876.⁴⁶³

For the 1876 event in Philadelphia, Bank Officers and Bankers of the United States “formed an organization to participate in the Centennial Exhibition,”⁴⁶⁴ and chose Peyton to manage the Bankers’ Pavilion for the duration of the Fair.⁴⁶⁵ At the end of the fair, the Bankers’ group presented the building and furniture to Peyton, and though he claims the sale of the

⁴⁵⁹ “Quartermaster History,” U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps, accessed March 24, 2023, <https://quartermaster.army.mil/history/>.

⁴⁶⁰ Peyton, *Reminiscences of Philadelphia During the Past Half Century*, 21.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, 21.

⁴⁶² A.H.H. Stewart who both led the committee of nine to DC in 1868/9 and who later became rector at University of Virginia.

⁴⁶³ Peyton, *Reminiscences of Philadelphia During the Past Half Century*, 21-24

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 21-24

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 24.

building “did not quite cover the expenses incurred in, working up the State Days,”⁴⁶⁶ but the event in toto surely produced more densely networked connections for Peyton and his ilk.

It was also through the Philadelphia Centennial that Peyton met F.W.M. Holliday, who served as Commissioner for the State of Virginia in the United States Centennial Commission.⁴⁶⁷ Peyton’s account provides a window into the behind-the-scenes dealings that prompted now-Governor Holliday’s actions in calling for the convening of governors that would lead up to the creation by congress of the national-level Yorktown Congressional Centennial Committee (YCCC). Peyton records that in 1879, Holliday “desired my view on the subject of an appropriate centennial celebration of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.”⁴⁶⁸ And Peyton advised him that the site was appropriate, and that “facilities could be furnished for a very complete celebration of the occasion, by the Army and Navy and State Militia,”⁴⁶⁹ and that he should indeed call a meeting of the 13 original states’ governors to begin talks on such an event. Upon his return to Philadelphia, Peyton pressed on his connections there: “I had Carpenters Company extend to him the use of their hall, the city government the use of Independence Hall, and the Governor of Pennsylvania extended the courtesy of the state, all of which were accepted.”⁴⁷⁰ The Governors convening indeed occurred in Philadelphia in October 1879.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid, 24.

⁴⁶⁷ James Dabney McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition, Held in Commemoration of the One Hundreth Anniversary of American Independence* (Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis: National Publishing Company, 1876), 175.

⁴⁶⁸ Peyton, *Reminiscences of Philadelphia During the Past Half Century*, 26.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid, 26.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid, 26-27.

⁴⁷¹ Peyton’s account says October 1880, but I choose to rather trust the timelines in other sources as they are more multiple and consistent with each other, suggesting this is a mistake on Peyton’s part.

On June 7, 1880, the US Congress created the Yorktown Centennial Committee (YCC), nominating one senator and one representative from each of the thirteen original states to this decision-making body. So, to the public, this adoption of the idea of a fair in Yorktown in 1881 likely looked like a spontaneous public consensus (Figure 4.12), emerging from public calls from a Norfolk newspaper, leading to a meeting of locals at the Yorktown Courthouse, inspiring the Governor and Congress to Act on the will of the people. But Peyton's account shows one window into the pre-existing connections and entrepreneurial interests that various power players leaned on to allow the quick adoption and realization of such an idea.

Despite this high level of quiet coordination to make the Centennial a reality, the YCA, the YCC and the State of Virginia did not work closely with each other to actually plan the activities or logistics of the Fair itself. Sweet-McGinty argues that the YCA and YCC worked essentially in parallel, each inviting different dignitaries from Revolutionary-era allies France and Germany and planning separate parts of the event. The actual events were largely a disaster, especially those planned by the YCA. The YCA took charge of the first five days of the event, from October 13 to October 17th, 1881, and accounts of these picture an almost complete failure of logistics, with events canceled, and buildings and infrastructure unfinished.⁴⁷² The second part of the Fair at Yorktown, from October 18th through 20th, was orchestrated by the Federal authorities and YCC, and were somewhat more successful. October 18th saw the arrival of the President and his Cabinet, and Masonic ceremonies to lay the cornerstone of the Yorktown

⁴⁷² "Yorktown's Anniversary," *New York Times*, October 15, 1881.

Monument. October 19th through 20th held an address by President Chester A. Arthur, and various military revues.⁴⁷³

Richmond, the capitol city of Virginia, had its own celebrations of the occasion, starting with a public ceremony in Richmond on October 17th, before the events at Yorktown, where former Confederate General Fitzhugh Lee commanded the entire Virginia militia which was reviewed in a public ceremony by Governor Holliday, Mayor W.C. Carrington and the Richmond City Council before they left for Yorktown.⁴⁷⁴ After the proceedings at Yorktown, French and German delegations came to Richmond to be entertained with carriage tours, a visit to the capitol, and lunch at the Ballard Hotel. In the afternoon, they gathered at the state fairgrounds, where they were met with champagne by the Virginia Agricultural Society at the Centennial House. This visit illustrates the ways that the distribution of objects from earlier fairs legitimated and supported later celebrations and became braided into the daily life of everyday urban America. The Centennial house was the same structure erected by E G Booth at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876 “as a Virginia *rendezvous* at the Philadelphia Centennial,”⁴⁷⁵ which he presented the edifice to the Virginia Agricultural Society who installed the building at the fairgrounds in Richmond in time for the structure to be used in the Virginia State fair of 1877.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷³ F.T. Wilson, *The Official Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration 1881 October 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st* (Washington DC: Published by the Authority of the Yorktown Centennial Commission, American BK Note Co. N.Y., 1881).

⁴⁷⁴ Sweet-McGinty, “Virginia Celebrates the Yorktown Centennial of 1881,” 67.

⁴⁷⁵ “Foreign Friends,” *The Daily Dispatch*, October 22, 1881, Morning edition.

⁴⁷⁶ “Local Matters,” *The Daily Dispatch*, October 9, 1877.

Picturing Yorktown: Neocolonial imaginaries

Beyond the network-building utility of the Yorktown events, the Exposition served a second function. Popular descriptions about the setting and event reveal some of the spatial logics and themes emerging at the time that organizers used to picture Yorktown as an appropriate site for a large commemorative event, a temporarily bustling city. Frames around value can be read into the publications that surround this event in terms of racial, historical, and consumerist trends and the ways this event sought to popularize ideologies around significance and value around place and constructions of history.

Historic, Sleepy, and Awakened: Racial Constructions

First, fair organizers and journalists pictured Yorktown as a place frozen in time, and the ways they picture its “awakening” through the descent of a national commemorative and commercial juggernaut in the area reveals some of the racial imageries and cultural narratives that underlied the emergence and self-display tactics of the “New South.” Sweet-McGinty notes that Yorktown at the time of the Centennial was a very small community, whose population of 251 was 65.3% Black or “Mulatto,”⁴⁷⁷ and the racial demographics for town roughly mirrored those for surrounding York County.⁴⁷⁸ Journalistic accounts of the scene at the Centennial’s construction and events erase long-standing Black habitation and life in the area in favor of images of then present-day Black labor, and military and historical narratives of white colonial histories.

Descriptions from the event and its preparation focused on the contrast between the “backwardness” of the town, and the optimistic bustle surrounding preparation for the Centennial. An article in *Scribner’s* describes the town as one “which has for a century lain as if

⁴⁷⁷ Sweet-McGinty, “Virginia Celebrates the Yorktown Centennial of 1881,” 15.

⁴⁷⁸ Bradley Michael McDonald, “African-American Family and Society of the Lands of the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, 1862-1880” (Williamsburg, VA, William and Mary, 1994), 25.

under a spell, awakes with a start to find itself the center of interest.”⁴⁷⁹ Another highlights “already the hamlet that is called Yorktown is lost among the booths and skeleton buildings that have spring up on all sides.”⁴⁸⁰ Literal whiteness is pictured alongside the bustle of the temporary development of the military encampment: “from the deck of an approaching steamer is somewhat suggestive of the ‘pomp and circumstance of war.’ Up on the heights away to the left of the wharves, the white tents of the military dot the fields like snowy pebbles on a verdant lawn.”⁴⁸¹ (figure 4.13 for similar imagery in *Harper’s*) Black actors, in contrast, appear as laborers installing the infrastructure for the fair: “presently a row of brand-new telephone poles are descried approaching from the southeast, and at their feet gangs of negroes leveling and filling in, grading and laying ties.”⁴⁸²

Self-valorized Subjects and Places: Virginia’s “Important” histories in stone and print

Another way the publications around the Exposition shaped public consciousness around relative place value was through the careful construction of historical trajectories that benefitted their writers. Thomas Nelson Page, then a Richmond lawyer, wrote an account of the town in the October 1881 issue of *Scribner’s Monthly* that described the historical significance of the Exhibition site and its physical environs to the broader public. On its surface, the piece is a useful window into the significant historical events that transpired across three wars and what sites from the land around Yorktown evidenced the area’s “importance.” But a closer look at Page’s biography and family history reveals his personal a class interests in aggrandizing and highlighting particular places and lineages as “significant.”

⁴⁷⁹ Thomas Nelson Page, “Old Yorktown,” *Scribner’s Monthly*, October 1881, 802.

⁴⁸⁰ “A First View of the Field: The Problem of Supplies and Accommodation- An Excuse for Laziness,” *New York Times*, October 15, 1881.

⁴⁸¹ “Yorktown,” *Norfolk Landmark*, October 15, 1881, Morning edition.

⁴⁸² “A First View of the Field: The Problem of Supplies and Accommodation- An Excuse for Laziness.”

Thomas Nelson Page⁴⁸³ was a son of two prominent Virginia families, the Nelsons and the Pages,⁴⁸⁴ and could trace his families' presence in the Americas back to pre-revolutionary Virginia. This meant that on both sides, Page came from ancestors who were part of a class of planters who wrote race-laws into the Virginia statutory record in colonial Virginia.

Page's article in *Scribner's Monthly* and the Yorktown Centennial Celebrations were amid an explosion of Gilded-Age genealogy which Moore argues was closely related to formal and informal racial politics: "Genealogy underwent its first popularity during the Gilded Age, between the 1880s and the 1920s, when Americans became ever-more convinced that heredity explained their own and others' physical and mental characteristics, in keeping with the scientific racism that Americans at leading universities and in the most educated circles touted."⁴⁸⁵

Throughout the 19th century, "documenting aristocratic descent was sufficiently difficult that it constituted a formidable social barrier between those Americans who achieved documentation and those who could not."⁴⁸⁶ Institutions sprang up to support the drawing of these social lineages, with hereditary organizations flourishing in the late 1870s to World War I, in parallel with contemporaneous the explosion in the number and popularity of fraternal organizations.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ As a side note, he married Florence Lathrop Field in 1893, widow of Henry Field of Chicago in 1893 H.L. Motter, *Who's Who in the World 1912* (New York City: International Who's Who Publishing Co, 1911), 829. Henry Field was Marshall Field's little brother, and she was a rich widow who gave to tons of money to nursing organizations, associated charities of DC and the Page-Barbour lectures at UVA.

⁴⁸⁴ Richard Channing Moore Page, *Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia. Also, a Condensed Account of the Nelson, Walker, Pendleton, and Randolph Families, with References to the Bland, Burwell, Byrd, Carter, Cary, Duke, Gilmer, Harrison, Rives, Thornton, Welford, Washington, and Other Distinguished Families in Virginia*, Second Edition (New York: Press of the Publishers' Printing Co, 1893).

⁴⁸⁵ Francesca Morgan, *A Nation of Descendants: Politics and the Practice of Genealogy in U.S. History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 2-3.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 23.

⁴⁸⁷ Morgan lists the first of these Post-War hereditary organizations as the Sons of Revolutionary Sires, founded in San Francisco in 1876. *Ibid*, 27.

This context puts the people and places that Page chose to describe in his “Old Yorktown” article in a particular light. Thomas Nelson, who Page describes as Yorktown’s founder, is the author’s family patriarch. The “Nelson House,” which he describes in detail, is the author’s own ancestral manse in Yorktown:

Its founder was Thomas Nelson, a **young settler from Pernith** [...Here] dwelt a race which grew to wealth and power noted even in that age, when in the mere lapse of years, opening up the broad wild lands to the westward, and **multiplying the slaves, doubled and quadrupled their possessions without care or thought of the owners**. Here have been held receptions at which have gathered **Grymeses, Digges, Lees, Carters, Randolphs, Burwells, Pages, Byrds, Spottswoods, Harrisons**, and **all the gay gentry** of the old Dominion [...] Coming down to a later period, a more historical interest attaches itself to the mansion. **George Mason and Washington and Jefferson** have slept here; **Cornwallis** established his head-quarters here during the last days of the great siege [...] **Lafayette**, no longer the boyish adventurer with a mind wild with romantic dreams of the Cid, and chased like a fugitive by his sovereign, but the honored and revered guest of a mighty nation, returning in his old age to witness the greatness of the New World toward which his valor had so much contributed, slept here and added another to the many associations which already surrounded the mansion.⁴⁸⁸ (emphasis added)

In this passage, he does three things to situate himself and Yorktown’s historical significance. First, he notes Thomas Nelson’s family origin in England. Second, he pictures Nelson as the patriarch of a “race” of people who became powerful. Third, he traces a set of relationships between the Nelson family and other families of this class of influential Virginians, and notes the physical presence of various historical figures (Mason, Washington, Jefferson, Cornwallis and Lafayette). This passage mirrors what Thomas Nelson Page and his contemporaries were doing organizationally and spatially through these events to consolidate cultural power. Page and other voices in Yorktown publications do their best to draw themselves into spatial and temporal networks that effaced boundaries between past and present, between founding colonial

⁴⁸⁸ Page, “Old Yorktown.”

leadership, and contemporary networks of power. Images from the commemorative publications juxtaposed historical and contemporary mappings of events. It placed new monuments alongside the “venerable” homes of Page’s ancestors as parts of a public constellation of valorized sites.

(figure 4.14)

Hotels, Railroads, and Histories- Emergent Spatial Exchange Value for Public Consumption

Finally, the ephemera produced for Yorktown also shows the ways that Fair organizers worked to use these events to embed historical narratives into the cognitive maps⁴⁸⁹ and ritualistic habits of the American public. Maps showed the physical accessibility of the celebration to other cities, picturing the event as part of a constellation of connected cities (4.15). The history tied to these cities through Yorktown and other public commemorations made their physical connectedness seem self-evident, but as we have seen in this project, each connection emerged through the strategic (and even competing) efforts of various actors aspiring to accumulate through exchange and siting of railroads, hotels, and other urban features.

While the maps are packaged as routes for historical and nationalist pilgrimage, they were also origin and destination points that served actors in sites outside of Yorktown who hoped to braid their investments into the consciousness of the American public. For instance, the “Official Programme” for the Centennial was produced by the Yorktown Centennial Commission, made up of national representatives based in Washington. The majority of advertisements for steamers, rail lines, hotels, and retail establishments in this publication were in Washington and Baltimore, not Yorktown. Names of steamboats and trains that conveyed

⁴⁸⁹ It would be an interesting article to explore the spatial typologies that Lynch claims as universal ways that humans understand cities: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks and understand their consonance with the modes of urban planning- arterial/transportation plans, zoning, coordinating for emergent extractive value, and monuments. Are these structures that are inherent to human cognition, or are they, as Wynter suggests, be ways that our historical traditions have taught us to storytell and perceive cities for particular ends? Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Nachdr., Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT PRESS, 2005); McKittrick, *Sylvia Wynter*.

visitors to the centennial mashed up names of contemporary philanthro-capitalists (W.W. Corcoran- figure 4.16) with conveyance to Yorktown. The steamer was pictured not only as a way to get to the centennial, but also as a gateway to Mount Vernon (then held by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association as a site of veneration),⁴⁹⁰ and the Tomb of Washington, showing the ways fair organizers hoped that the mass movement of people to visit the Centennial would also benefit their investments in other, regionally proximate cities. Major hotels were also given historically associational monikers (figure 4.16). The Arlington, in Washington, referred to Arlington VA, which was both the ancestral plantation of the Custis-Lee family, which spawned George Washington and Robert E. Lee. The Carrollton in Baltimore carried the name of the colonial-era mega-wealthy family in that city. Across the Centennial's publications, we can see the increasing and self-conscious connections being made by organizers between history, money-making, and place value.

Charlottesville late 1880s-1889: County for Sale

This section turns back to the locale of Charlottesville-Albemarle to understand how the fractured organizations and imageries from Yorktown began to connect to social life and an increasing focus on embedding value in land itself.

Fraternal Organizations and Hidden Confederates

During this time period, fraternal organization proliferation continued across the country in ways that appeared in national commemorations. Membership in the Freemasons continued to explode nationally, and military associations appeared as constituent parts of national celebrations.

⁴⁹⁰ Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, [D.C.]: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

Back in Charlottesville by the 1880s, fraternal organizing was taking on a decidedly neo-confederate flavor. Locals worried about the aging of those with direct memory of the Civil War, and the waning of community events remembering the local confederate war dead.⁴⁹¹ Elder members of the Monticello Guard formed a veterans' organization that held annual reunion dinners starting in 1880, and this group's organization served as a model for later veterans groups.⁴⁹² On April 9, 1884,⁴⁹³ county veterans organized themselves at a court-day mass-meeting into a veteran's group under lawyer and former confederate Commandant RTW Duke, First Lieutenant J C Culin, Adjutant Col. C C Wertenbaker, Quartermaster William Fretwell, Chaplain T A Ware, and Surgeon W C N Randolph.⁴⁹⁴ A month later, the group met to make a constitution based on the one used by R E Lee Veterans' Camp of Richmond and issued a resolution "authorizing the chair to 'appoint a committee of two from each magisterial district whose duty it shall be to solicit membership from all ex-Confederate soldiers and sailors in their respective districts and also honorary memberships from those not soldiers.'"⁴⁹⁵ Through organizations like these, Charlottesville's fraternal organizations joined larger flows of neo-confederate commemorative and advocacy groups across the state.

It was through fraternal organizations and active military units that representatives from Charlottesville officially joined national celebrations like the Yorktown Centennial of 1881. None of the representative groups were outwardly neo-confederate, but a closer look at the individuals sent from Charlottesville tell a different story. The Monticello Guard appeared as

⁴⁹¹ Webb notes the May 18, 1881 issue of the *Jeffersonian* Republican complained that "the community has grown negligent in the matter of decorating the graves of the dead." Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 141.

⁴⁹² Ibid, 145.

⁴⁹³ An intriguing question is if this event was consciously aligned with Jefferson's birthday/Founder's Day.

⁴⁹⁴ Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 145.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, 145.

Company D of the Third Regiment Virginia Infantry under former Confederate General Fitzhugh Lee in Richmond on October 17, 1881, as part of the Yorktown Centennial. The unit consisted of 64 enlisted men led by many of the same officers who would be chosen to lead the confederate veterans' group in 1884: **Col. Charles Wertenbaker**, Commissary officer **Captain J.C. Culin**, Captain Micajah Woods, Lieutenants James Blakey, Poindexter Drane, and T.S. Keller.⁴⁹⁶ Charlottesville's **R T W Duke** appeared as a Marshall in the procession to the Yorktown Monument cornerstone dedication ceremony.⁴⁹⁷ He would, in 1884 serve as commandant of the newly formed confederate veterans group, but his appearance as a Mason in 1881 allowed him to serve as a marshall in a declaredly patriotic order.

Fair Premiums for Place Recognition

Meanwhile, localities were connecting themselves to the place-bolstering aspects of fair events in various ways. First, local industries continued to seek and find recognition for the quality of their products at national and state-level events: Monticello Wine Company won a first prize for a Cynthiana wine in 1876, a silver medal at the Paris Exposition in 1878,⁴⁹⁸ first premiums at the 1884 Virginia State fair, and first-class medals at the national New Orleans Worlds' Fair in 1885.⁴⁹⁹ Meanwhile, the company was using the constantly improving rail infrastructure to sell wine in bulk to customers in New York and other Major Cities. R. T. W. Duke served as the company's vice president in the 1880s. New industrial and mercantile startups proliferated

⁴⁹⁶ Wilson, *The Official Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration 1881 October 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st*, 81.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, 116.

⁴⁹⁸ W. H. Seamon (William Henry), ed., *Albemarle County (Virginia ; A Hand Book Giving a Description of Its Topography, Climate, Geology, Minerals, Fruits, Plants, History, Educational, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Advantages, and Inducements the County Offers the Industrious and Intelligent Farmer and Manufacturer* (Charlottesville, VA: William H. Prout, The Jeffersonian Book and Job Printing House, 1888), 60.

⁴⁹⁹ Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 77.

alongside fraternal organizations in this period, and by 1885, Webb quotes the *Jeffersonian Republican* observing that entrepreneurial “establishments had greatly increased in number and become more specialized in character.”⁵⁰⁰ Livestock producers continued to eagerly display their “best” animals and products at State and local agricultural fairs. Belmont’s Slaughter Ficklin alone showed 9 horses, one fine saddle stallion, one utility horse, and 14 shorthorn cattle in the 1878 Virginia State Fair.⁵⁰¹ The wins of elite farmers at these fairs were pictured as benefitting the rapidly proliferating smaller farms in the county. The number of farms jumped from 935 to around 2,100 in the county between 1870 and 1880, and trends toward the subdivision of larger land holdings into smaller parcels continued into the 1890s. Individual winnings at fairs were couched as benefitting the reputation of Albemarle County broadly, and its many new farmers by extension.⁵⁰²

1888 Albemarle County and The Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical, and Tobacco Exposition: County (and City) for Sale

Around this time period, actors in Charlottesville-Albemarle began to consciously self-publicize the locale, both to boost sales of locally produced commodities, and increasingly to recruit transplants to buy land in the area. In 1888, the Virginia General Assembly passed a charter that made Charlottesville a city, an action that “followed close upon the heels of a mass meeting in the same month which had gone on record as approving the city government provided that it would be financially beneficial.”⁵⁰³ In March 1888, the newly formed City Council issued a

⁵⁰⁰ Webb here quotes the *Jeffersonian Republican* December 16, 1885 issue. Ibid, 84.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, 64.

⁵⁰² Ibid 61.

⁵⁰³ Ibid, 160. In this piece, Webb notes the *Jefferson Republican* from 2/29 and 2/8 1888 cover this story- it would be helpful to find these for more context.

number of resolutions on city management including on the new city government's "readiness to render all aid and encouragement possible to any new business enterprise," and set the boundaries of the four wards for city elections.⁵⁰⁴

In a related effort to push institutional and spatial development for economic gain, 1888 was the year of the Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical, and Tobacco Exposition (VAMTE). Organizers of that Fair produced copious paper ephemera to favorably picture the places that they had economic interests in. At one level, publications boosted the profile of Richmond as a futuristic city with modern transportation and elaborate display facilities that served as cutting edge educational clearinghouse for the region. At the same time, the VAMTE organizers reached out broadly to localities to invite them to exhibit at the Exposition be "properly represented" to the visiting public.⁵⁰⁵ (figure 4.17) The Board of Supervisors in Albemarle County saw fit to appropriate "a sum of money for the purpose of making a creditable display of the county's resources at the Exposition [...] and to publish a pamphlet descriptive of the resources of the county"⁵⁰⁶ for the occasion. Much of the leadership of Albemarle County government had participated in past Expositions: Micajah Woods, who commanded the Monticello Guard at Yorktown served as Commonwealth's Attorney, and R W Duke, marshal of the masonic procession at Yorktown, served as the Clerk of the Circuit Court.⁵⁰⁷ The resulting pamphlet

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, 162.

⁵⁰⁵ Seamon's pamphlet from Albemarle County notes this invitation, but other form letters from the VAMTE leadership pointed toward localities in the Carolinas, so the effort to recruit localities to exhibit at least transcends the borders of Virginia. George D Thaxton, "Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical & Tobacco Exposition, Richmond, Va. May 31st 1888.," May 31, 1888, <https://repository.duke.edu/dc/broadsides/bdsval03740>.

⁵⁰⁶ Seamon, *Albemarle County (Virginia ; A Hand Book Giving a Description of Its Topography, Climate, Geology, Minerals, Fruits, Plants, History, Educational, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Advantages, and Inducements the County Offers the Industrious and Intelligent Farmer and Manufacturer*.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, inside front cover.

packages Albemarle County and Charlottesville City as one of many place-exhibits and pamphlets a visitor to the VAMTE would examine and perhaps take home to his associates

The ways that Charlottesville and Albemarle County are pictured in this pamphlet point show the resonances with neocolonial imaginaries used at Yorktown into the ways that American popular culture pictured localities as desirable for investment and immigration. The title page of the pamphlet (figure 4.18) announced the purpose of publication: “Settlers Will Find in Albemarle: Good Schools, Churches, Settled Society; Good Markets and Easy Transportation; Plenty of Water; A Soil that Yields Abundant Crops if Property Treated; and A HEARTY WELCOME.”⁵⁰⁸ In some ways, the pamphlet is a transitional document, picturing the area’s diversification in money-making enterprises through agro-commodities, industrial and real estate economies that presaged the developmental frenzy covered in the next chapter. Above all, it signaled the area was for sale in all possible ways and ready for business:

“We offer these inducements, and will say that we need immigration, our farms are too large, our population is too sparse, our resources are yet undeveloped. There is room and abundance for all, we want new ideas of progress to encourage us in our developments, new capital, new industries; and all may be assured that they will find a welcome, what is known as ‘a real old Virginia welcome.’ COME AND SEE FOR YOURSELVES. WE CORDIALLY INVITE YOUR PERSONAL INSPECTION.”⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid, title page.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid, 107.

Chapter 5: Building the Neo-Plantation Necropolis

This chapter peers into the time period of 1890-1929, a period of dramatic urbanization and spatial change both locally in Charlottesville and across the nation. It is during this period that many disparate threads represented by the cases in earlier chapters begin to crystallize in the urban and suburban development of Charlottesville. This chapter covers two big speculative booms, in the late 1880s up to the panic of 1893, and the 1920s ending with the great stock crash that marked the beginning of the Great Depression. I set the scene in the early 1890s, when institutions and spatial practices cluster around organizing the sale and development of rural plantation lands for suburban residential development. It is through networks braided and tightened from antebellum times through the 1890s that space itself (rather than commodities) becomes a major generator of exchange value, and racial stories rehearsed in more ephemeral ways become encased in institutions, places, and laws. As the century turned, Charlottesville-Albemarle in general and University of Virginia in particular became institutions through which direct control of land allowed a spurt of public commemoration, which festooned the campus with monuments, and provided occasions for increasingly dense national networks to work directly and profitably with local government and local actors. Finally, between World War I and 1929, a second development boom and philanthropic civic “improvement” campaign transcribed the messy and violent logics of racializing space making to the physical structure of the city of Charlottesville. This chapter points both at the prevalence and success of these logics into the present, but also their incompleteness, holey-ness, and fragility.

Setting the Scene:

In this section, I return to the physical and institutional landscape of Charlottesville Albemarle, to touch back in with the networks of power and institutions now congealing around the development and subdivision of rural lands for suburban residential development.

Charlottesville Real Estate Boom + Organizational Structures

In terms of Charlottesville's economy, by 1890, agricultural and mercantile concerns continued to be an important feature of the area's economy, but landholdings continued to trend toward smaller holdings (rather than large-scale farms), and farmers continued to diversify their products toward fruits and livestock raising as a greater proportion of the area's production compared with older traditional staple crops like tobacco, corn, oats, and wheat.⁵¹⁰ Also by 1890, extant industries like woolens manufacturing, wine producers and milling companies "continued to enjoy a reasonable degree of success,"⁵¹¹ and merchant enterprises expanded in town.⁵¹² New industrial concerns including a steam laundry, an ice plants, and a knitting mill⁵¹³ emerged in town in the late 1880s,⁵¹⁴ but "extensive negotiations on the part of the improvement and development companies to bring other new industries to the Charlottesville and Albemarle community do not appear to have been too successful" by 1900.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁰ Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 180-193.

⁵¹¹ Ibid, 200.

⁵¹² Ibid, 208-209.

⁵¹³ Why is a guy from Utica (James A. Armstrong Jr.) starting a knitting mill in Charlottesville? Is he related to Cville-NY connections via Rochester and Lewis Brooks who was also a woolens manufacturer? Leads in obituary of his father James A. Armstrong Sr. https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/204039462/james-armstrong?_gl=1*159qdbw*_ga*MjA2Njc5MjkyNC4xNjcyODYzNDM1*_ga_4QT8FMEX30*MDRmODBiOTktY2JINy00MDVklTg1YmItZTYyZWlwODU2ODY1LjQzLjEuMTY4MjYwODUxMi4xOC4wLjA.

⁵¹⁴ Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 200, 208.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid 200.

Charlottesville was seeing gradual urbanization and industrialization, but the biggest change in the local economy was a boom in real estate in the late 1880s up to the panic of 1893. During this period, Charlottesville saw the emergence of a number of land improvement companies including the Charlottesville Industrial and Land Improvement Company (CILIC- chartered April 3, 1889),⁵¹⁶ the Piedmont Industrial and Land Improvement Company (chartered April 22, 1889),^{517 518} the Minneapolis Improvement Company (chartered May 29, 1889),⁵¹⁹ Charlottesville West End Land Company (chartered March 26, 1890),⁵²⁰ The Belmont Land Company (chartered July 21, 1890),⁵²¹ the Locust Grove Investment Company (chartered December 17, 1892),⁵²² The Development Company of Charlottesville (chartered July 9, 1890)⁵²³, the Jefferson Park Hotel and Land Improvement Company (Chartered August 29, 1890),⁵²⁴ the Charlottesville Land Company (CLC- chartered November 29, 1890),⁵²⁵ the Washington-Charlottesville Construction Company (chartered July 8, 1891),⁵²⁶ the Dawson

⁵¹⁶ D Q Eggleston, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia for the Year Ending September 30, 1903* (Richmond: H. H O'Bannon Superintendent of Public Printing, 1903), 125.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid, 229.

⁵¹⁸ This early land improvement company was one of the only started by Black officers, and in its charter not only defined its mission as dealing in real estate, but also “to extend aid and assistance, financial or otherwise, to persons of limited means in purchasing homes.” <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/olympus-digital-camera-9/>

⁵¹⁹ Eggleston, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia for the Year Ending September 30, 1903*, 199.

⁵²⁰ Ibid, 125.

⁵²¹ Ibid, 110.

⁵²² Ibid, 187.

⁵²³ Ibid, 143.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Ibid, 125.

⁵²⁶ Ibid, 294.

Investment Company of Virginia (Chartered Dec 30, 1892)⁵²⁷ and the Piedmont Construction and Improvement Company (chartered January 11, 1896).⁵²⁸

This era also saw many consolidations of interests in real estate, especially with the formation of the Charlottesville Land Company (CLC), which combined the holdings of four of the area's five large land development companies, including the Charlottesville Industrial and Land Improvement Company,⁵²⁹ and the Belmont Land Company,⁵³⁰ in 1890.⁵³¹ By 1890, this company held much of the rural land in that nearly encircled the newly formed city of Charlottesville. (Figure 5.1).

These land companies bought up land and options on lands, often making acquisitions of large tracts upon the deaths of elder members of antebellum plantation-owning families. Examples include Confederate Captain Thomas Farish, owner of *The Farm*'s death in 1885, which enabled his heirs to sell his land near the Rivanna River to the Charlottesville Land Company in 1891,⁵³² Ruth Anne Sinclair's death in 1891 that allowed the majority of her property at *Locust Grove* to be acquired by The Locust Grove Investment Company,⁵³³ and

⁵²⁷ Ibid, 142.

⁵²⁸ Ibid, 229.

⁵²⁹ Lydia Mattice Brandt, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Martha Jefferson Historic District, Locust Grove Addition 104-5144" (Virginia Department of Historic Resources, July 22, 2007), 89.

⁵³⁰ "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: North Belmont Neighborhood District" (United States Department of the Interior, 2017), section 8 p. 43.

⁵³¹ It could be useful later to trace this history more carefully- for example, the Locust Grove Investment Company's holdings show on this map, but the company also seems to exist as an independent entity into the early 20th century according to the deed chain, which shows it dispensing the land as payment to stockholders in 1903 (example- Albemarle County Deed Book 125 page 307). Also, which are the four of the five big land companies? Is this consolidation/collaboration of all but one of the land companies including or leaving out the Piedmont Industrial and Land Improvement company, the only one of these companies started by Black stockholders?

⁵³² Daniel Bluestone and Steven G. Meeks, "Paul Goodloe McIntire's Rivanna: The Unexecuted Plans for a River City," *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 70 (2012): 67.

⁵³³ Hillier, "HABS No. Va-1022 Locust Grove Kitchen 810 Locust Ave Charlottesville Virginia."2.

Slaughter Ficklin of *Belmont's* death in 1886, whose land served as the main basis for the formation of the Belmont Land Company in 1890.⁵³⁴ In other cases, it was heirs and younger members of plantation families who started land development companies based on envisioning suburban futures for their land. Jefferson Park Hotel and Land Improvement Company is one example of a company formed in this way, with President S. P. Maury returning to Albemarle County from Texas to start the company once his father deeded him a large tract.⁵³⁵

The formation of these land development companies were accompanied and followed by a number of other development-related companies that worked in various ways to explore modes of increasing the worth of land: Charlottesville and University Street Railway Company (chartered March 30, 1887),⁵³⁶ Albemarle Fair and Racing Association (chartered July 21, 1890),⁵³⁷ River-View Cemetery Company (chartered January 4, 1893),⁵³⁸ Vandergrift Construction Co (chartered April 24, 1894),⁵³⁹ and Belmont Construction Company (chartered March 6, 1895).⁵⁴⁰ These companies worked along side land development companies, often with overlapping members of directorships and officers, to develop infrastructural, entertainment, events-based and leisure programming and other systems that helped boosted the attractiveness of properties held by the various land companies.

⁵³⁴ James H Jr. Buck, "Belmont the History of a Neighborhood," May 1980, 4.

⁵³⁵ Maral S Kalbian, and Margaret T Peters, "Fry's Spring Historic District, Charlottesville, VA Nomination Document 2014" (National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2014), section 8, 60.

⁵³⁶ Eggleston, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia for the Year Ending September 30, 1903*, 125.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid*, 96.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid*, 246.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid*, 282.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 110.

Marrying Neo-plantationary and Necropolitical Spatial Logics to Sell the City

During and after the real estate boom of the late 1880s and early 1890s, elite actors in Charlottesville banded together to experiment with new spatial orders that incorporated agricultural, industrial, and residential uses of emerging urban spaces in new ways. On one hand, new ways of articulating urban space as a landscape of necropolitics were emerging across the world. At the same time, in Charlottesville, actors aligned necropolitical tactics with an effort to revive and repurpose plantationary spatial practices in ways that resonated with, reinforced, and gave historical credence to the racializing logics they used to organize Charlottesville's urban and suburban development.

Political theorist Achille Mbembe's concept of necropolitics is useful for connecting racial hierarchies to their specific manifestations to space in late modern colonial spaces. In western contexts, he argues, sovereignty was defined by the ability to decide who lives and dies. He further observes that "the politics of race is intimately linked to the politics of death."⁵⁴¹ He extends Foucault's ideas of biopower into areas of race and argues "the function of racism is to regulate the distribution of death and to make possible the murderous functions of the state."⁵⁴² That sovereignty, in turn, depended on the construction of an enemy "other" that gave dominant powers their legitimacy. Mbembe notes that through the construction of this enemy, "power, (and not necessarily state power) continuously refers to and appeals to exception, emergency, and a fictionalized notion of the enemy. It also labors to produce that same exception, emergency, and fictionalized enemy."⁵⁴³ In the case of Charlottesville, this internal enemy was constructed through a black/white binary, wherein Thomas Jefferson was re-purposed to

⁵⁴¹ Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 17.

⁵⁴² Ibid, 17.

⁵⁴³ Ibid, 16.

represent the original, perfected white male “ideal” man, ideologically placed in binary opposition with Blackness as a social category (figure 5.2).

Mbembe goes on to note that in the late modern context of the early 20th Century, these formations of power were realized through:

the writing of new spatial relations and territorializations...tantamount to the production of boundaries and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the subversion of existing property arrangements; the classification of people according to different categories; resource extraction, and finally, the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries⁵⁴⁴

He outlines three common spatial strategies that enacted these racial hierarchies and otherings.

First, *territorial fragmentation* to “implement separation along the model of the apartheid state”⁵⁴⁵ separated racially categorized people. Second, the production of dominance relied on a

concept drawn from Weizman, the “*politics of verticality*” wherein height was associated with “strategic assets not found in valleys (effectiveness of sight, self-protection, panoptic

fortification that generates gazes to many different ends).”⁵⁴⁶ In the case of Charlottesville,

vertical prospect recalled earlier expressions of planter power: the figure of the man on the house, and the purposeful location of plantation houses on the tops of hills. As a result of this

emphasis on verticality and social separation, visual prospect took on central importance, and

“settlements could be seen as urban optical devices for surveillance and the exercise of

power.”⁵⁴⁷ Third, Mbembe notes that the construction of a “legitimate” state opposed to an

internally racialized enemy were leveraged to create a state that relied on *violence* for its solidity:

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid, 26.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid, 27.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid, 28.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, 28.

“in modern philosophical thought and European political practice and imagery, the colony represents the site that sovereignty consists fundamentally in an exercise of power outside the law... and where ‘peace is more likely to take on the face of a ‘war without end.’”⁵⁴⁸ In this system, spaces associated with racialized “others” become targets of state-sanctioned violence:

the underground as well as airspace are transformed into conflict zones...everywhere the symbolics of the *top* (who is on top) are reiterated. Occupation of the skies therefore acquires real importance, since most of the policing is done from the air...Killing becomes precisely targeted.⁵⁴⁹

In Charlottesville, this delimiting of racial zones relied heavily on racial violence to reinforce and construct social relations through white dominance, and Mbembe’s frames around colonial city design can be translated as a useful lens through which to read the spatial development of Charlottesville.

Actors revived the articulated processional landscape from the antebellum plantation, carefully designing the ways visitors and dignitaries would move through space upon arriving in the city. Rituals, pilgrimages, and processions were staged in ways that performed the relative social positions of actors in emerging spatial hierarchies and used new transport and construction technologies like passenger rail travel, streetcars, and automobiles to amplify, heighten, and broaden their effects. Further, as developed, or developable land became itself a major commodity, usurping the agricultural products of land as a major generator of exchange value and continued economic growth, plantationary spatial logics of matching inhabitants (in this case human or institutional “residents” rather than commodity crop selections) to an “appropriate” place within topographical and proximal relationships within the emerging fabric of the city became a paramount concern. Complex layered legal, spatial, and physical mechanisms were

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, 23.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid, 29.

invented and tried in order to move people and institutions to their ever-evolving “rightful place.” Finally, a neo-plantationary symbolic language of surveillance and control: the man on the horse, the geographic prospect of the house on the hill, the bilateral symmetry and inside/outside of the plantation master’s table were all recycled in new contexts and at larger scales to produce modes of urban “order” that reproduced the racializing dynamics of power and violence toward the new ends of urban development and the articulation of the American imperial nation-state.

1890: Connectedness and Club membership: Sociality, Celebration, and Ritual

During this era, spatial development was highly entangled with social organizations. Hernandez notes that prominent fraternal orders like the Freemasons continued to be a key marker of social status:

Because Freemasonry had such stringent entry requirements and elevated fees, membership in the order became a valuable demonstration of respectability when meeting strangers. Belonging to the Craft [the Masons] almost became a prerequisite for politicians and businessmen in the period between the 1890s and 1930 as the Masonic ring or lapel pin proved that the wearer was a dependable and upstanding man.⁵⁵⁰

So, the “Golden Age” of fraternal membership and organizations was continuing to grow across the nation and locally during this time period. This trend was true in Charlottesville as it was in other places, and those men participating in City-boosterism and players in economic development seem to have participated in the proliferating fraternal orders of the day at a higher rate than the general population.⁵⁵¹ The Charlottesville area also seems typical of cities across

⁵⁵⁰ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities*, 17.

⁵⁵¹ Hernandez notes that in a 1896 piece in the *North American Review*, W. S. Harwood estimated that about every 5th to 8th man in America was a fraternalist.. The proprietors and business leaders specifically named in the Charlottesville *Daily Progress* Historical and Industrial Magazine in 1906 were almost always identified with their multiple fraternal affiliations. Ibid, 24; Albert E. (ed. and comp) Walker, *The Daily Progress*:

the nation, where the number and variety of fraternal orders continued to explode beginning in the late nineteenth century up to the 1920s.⁵⁵² Clawson reads this trend as part of “a larger commodification of social life,” where lodges increasingly sold increasingly particular brands of “ready-made sociability,” that tempered high rates of geographic mobility, sometimes provided death and sickness benefits to members, and organized “entertainment that was afforded by the enactment of rituals and parades.”⁵⁵³

In the context of increasing American imperialism and extra-continental ambitions that fueled the Spanish-American War, quasi-masonic “patriotic orders” also increased in number, and rallied around “nativism, opposition to the alleged designs of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the public school system in the United States, ‘America for Americans,’ and loyalty to country,”⁵⁵⁴ (Figure 5.3) and became increasingly militant and extremist during and after World War I.⁵⁵⁵ In Charlottesville, Masonic and Quasi-masonic societies proliferated,⁵⁵⁶ but other associational forms overlapped with and reinforced the networks produced in these societies. Three categories of such organizations beyond Masonic groups important to the spatial-ideological development of Charlottesville’s urban spaces are explored below.

Historical and Industrial Magazine: Charlottesville, Virginia, “the Athens of the South” (Charlottesville, Va: Progress Publishing Co, 1906).

⁵⁵² Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 241.

⁵⁵³ Ibid, 220.

⁵⁵⁴ Albert C Stevens, *Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* (Hamilton Printing and Publishing Company, 1907), 291.

⁵⁵⁵ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities*.

⁵⁵⁶ In a 1906 city magazine, local leaders and proprietors are listed as members of at least 30 societies and associations. Walker, *The Daily Progress: Historical and Industrial Magazine: Charlottesville, Virginia, “the Athens of the South.”*

UVA as a node of power: Alumni Societies

Earlier chapters in this piece cover the ways UVA was a key point of inter-institutional and interregional collaboration between established leaders via philanthropic giving in the 1870s and 1880s. But during this period of 1890-1929, the student and alumni clubs of the University of Virginia grew in importance both in terms of direct support and social networking for the development of spaces and institutions both locally and nationally. Alumni societies had existed since at least as far back as the Civil War, with the 1865-66 Catalog noting the Society of Alumni, composed of:

former students of the University as, having finally left the Institution, have been elected members at the annual meetings [...] the Society holds its meetings at the close of the session. An orator or an essayist is annually appointed by the Society from among its members, and the oration or essay is delivered in the Public Hall on the day preceding the Public Day.⁵⁵⁷

By the 1890s, the faculty began to recognize both the wider availability of print media and the usefulness of a self-conscious connection to one's alma mater for attracting investment and support from former students in the continued "progress" of UVA. In 1894, the University of Virginia faculty founded *The Alumni Bulletin*, an organ self-described as a "medium through which [...] the Alumni may from time to time bear witness to their loyalty."⁵⁵⁸ It urged alumni to help steer the direction of the institution and increase its reach: "use this channel to transmit to us your views about the University's future. Suggest to us how her urgent needs may be met and how the circle of her influence may be enlarged." The magazine described the reach and influence of alumni. Even in its first issue, the magazine heralded the power that alumni held in

⁵⁵⁷ *Catalogue of the University of Virginia: Session of 1865-'66 (With Catalogues of Sessions 1861 to 1865, Prefixed)* (Richmond: Chas H Wynne, Printer, 1866), 41

⁵⁵⁸ "Editorial," *The Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia* 1, no. 1 (May 1894), 9.

the world beyond the University. As an example, issue 1 covers “The Virginia Bench,” and notes that 30% of Virginia County Judgeships, 60% of Corporation Judgeships, 55% of Circuit Judgeships, 60 to 80% of the Court of appeals, and a seat on the Supreme Court of the United States were then held by University of Virginia Alumni.⁵⁵⁹ The first issue of the *Alumni Bulletin* also shows that by 1894, alumni were not returning each year to the University, but instead relating to their alma mater primarily through a nationally dispersed network of Alumni clubs, who sent designated delegates back to UVa at the end of the academic year. The first bulletin covers a sampling of these organizations, sending news of banquets celebrating Thomas Jefferson’s birthday thrown by Alumni Clubs across the nation, in Washington DC, Richmond, Galveston (TX), Nashville (TN), Knoxville (TN), Baltimore, New Orleans, St. Louis, Covington (KY), San Francisco, and New York, reflecting an emerging and national network of men who identified with the University as a formative institution in their lives.⁵⁶⁰

Democratic Clubs and Political-Institutional Crossovers

During this same period, political clubs across the nation also boasted increasing membership. Early Democratic clubs in large cities included the 1882 formation of the Iroquois Club in Chicago,⁵⁶¹ the Young Men’s Democratic Club of New York in 1871.⁵⁶² These clubs not only supported Democratic politicians, but also helped steer the course of city promotion and boosterism in the late 19th century. In 1888, Chicago’s Iroquois Club issued a resolution

⁵⁵⁹ Raleigh C Minor, “The Virginia Bench,” *Alumni Bulletin Published by the University of Virginia Faculty* 1, no. 1 (May 1894), 5. Percentage calculations by author based on numbers provided in this article.

⁵⁶⁰ Many of these banquets hosted current professors and dignitaries from UVA and perform rituals of inter-institutional bonding and reverence- organization building and continuing the ball and the dinner as social bonding moments. A whole article could be written about this.

⁵⁶¹ *Charter and By-Laws of the Iroquois Club of the City of Chicago* (Chicago: Culver, Page, Hoyne & Co., Printers, 1882).

⁵⁶² Frederick Clifton Pierce, *Whitney. The Descendants of John Whitney, Who Came from London, England, to Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1635* (Chicago: The Author, Press of W.B. Conkey Co., 1895), 633.

“inviting the co-operation of six other leading clubs of that city in ‘securing the location of an international celebration at Chicago of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus”⁵⁶³ and later credited with this action of catalyzing further actions that led President Harrison to choose Chicago as the site for the World Columbian Exposition of 1893.

By 1886, the Young Men’s Democratic Club of the City of New York helped lead the way in establishing a national federation of democratic clubs by issuing a circular to ask similar organizations for a meeting to plan “promoting the formation and affiliation of similar clubs throughout the country.”⁵⁶⁴ Clubs who answered the call met in New York in 1888 and issued a call to yet more clubs who convened on July 4th of that year. Over 500 clubs were represented at this convening, and the National Association of Democratic Clubs was formed then and adopted a constitution.⁵⁶⁵ In New York, in 1890, the local Democratic Club officially incorporated under a state charter as the Democratic Club of the City of New York. In its early years, it counted several prominent Virginians as members, suturing together national and local networks of Democratic party-allied players. Jefferson M. Levy (1852-1924), scion of a prominent Jewish naval family, New York real estate developer and speculator and by then owner of Thomas Jefferson’s former home and estate at Monticello⁵⁶⁶ was a charter member of the club,⁵⁶⁷ and served on both the Club’s Board of Governors and the House Committee that managed the Club-

⁵⁶³Newton LL. D. Bateman and Paul Selby A.M., eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, Cook County Edition, vol. II (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, Publishers, 1905),600.

⁵⁶⁴ *National Association of Democratic Clubs* (New York: Journal Job Print, 1900), 8.

⁵⁶⁵*Ibid*, 9.

⁵⁶⁶ Levy bought Monticello at public auction on March 20, 1879, though a lawsuit held up the sale until 1882. The purchase reclaimed the estate for the Levy family. Uriah Levy, the first Jewish commodore in the U.S. Navy and a real estate investor in New York City in the late 1820s until his death in 1862, owned Monticello from 1836 until his death, and was Jefferson M. Levy’s uncle. It would be interesting to get further into the history of Jefferson Levy’s motivations for buying Monticello. Could it have been personal reasons? Might he understood have understood the potential of the site as a politically useful touchstone?

⁵⁶⁷ *Certificate of Incorporation, Constitution, Rules and List of Members of the Democratic Club of the City of New York* (New York: Douglas Taylor, 1892), 5.

House in 1892.⁵⁶⁸ R T W Duke, prominent Charlottesville landowner, businessman, lawyer, confederate veteran, and head of the masonic procession for the laying of the cornerstone at the Yorktown Centennial was part of the New York club as a non-resident member.⁵⁶⁹ As we shall see in the happenings in Charlottesville between 1890 and 1929, these men leveraged their power over local landscapes in Charlottesville to forward the political causes they held dear.

Hereditary Organizations, History, Social Boundaries, and Place

Alongside the development of national and local associational infrastructures around educational institutions and Democratic politics, actors during this time period also used hereditary organizations to consolidate social power. In 1887, Wyndham Roberts, a lawyer, former antebellum governor of Virginia, and part of the 1869 Committee of Nine, published a history of Pocahantas and her recognized descendants.⁵⁷⁰ This book, *Pocahantas, Alias Matoaka, and Her Descendants Through Her Marriage Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, Gentleman*, is commonly cited as an originary document explicating a category of descendants of prominent colonial era English-descended families that increasingly self-identified as the “First Families of Virginia.” Though an official association using that moniker did not emerge until 1912, the term “First Families of Virginia” was in common usage in the late 19th century as a badge of southern social prestige.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid, 3.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, 67.

⁵⁷⁰ Wyndham Robertson and R A Brock, *Pocahantas, Alias Matoaka, and Her Descendants Through Her Marriage Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, Gentleman; Including the Names of Alfirend, Archer, Bentley, Bernard, Bland, Bolling, Branch, Cabell, Catlett, Cary, Dandridge, Dixon, Douglas, Duval, Eldridge, Ellett, Ferguson, Field, Fleming, Gay, Gordon, Griffin, Grayson, HArrison, Hubard, Lewis, Logan, Markham, Meade, McRae, Murray, Page, Poythress, Randolph, Robertson, Skipwith, Stanard, Tazewell, Walke, West, Whittle, and Others* (Richmond, VA: J W Randolph & English, 1887).

⁵⁷¹ Morgan, *A Nation of Descendants: Politics and the Practice of Genealogy in U.S. History*, 28.

By the 1890s, participation in this elite form of genealogical storytelling was expanding to include the testimonies of prominent men across the county. For instance, by the second edition (1893) of the *Genealogy of the Page Family*, R.T.W. Duke Jr., Thomas Nelson Page and six Albemarle men were added to the list of players “who have furnished valuable information.”⁵⁷² Wealthy researcher-genealogists like these men could afford to trace their English ancestries back to British vestry records and burial grounds through physical travel, and sometimes used trips to international expositions to conduct their searches. As one example, in August 1889, three Page family descendants unearthed the headstone of a British ancestor at Church of St. Mary’s, Bedfont Parish, Middlesex County, England: “Dr. R.C.M. Page, of New York, and his two cousins, Thomas Nelson Page, the author, and his brother, Rosewell Page, of Virginia, who had gone to Europe during the Paris Exposition.”⁵⁷³ So, players like Thomas Nelson Page, who was already conducting this type of family self-aggrandizing historical storytelling around the Yorktown Centennial in 1881 continued this work of documenting his and others’ connections to the British Isles during this period.

After the Civil War, hereditary organizations emerged that expanded genealogical research beyond elites: “Middle-class inclusion, in this context, shows the heightened ability of whiteness and race to bring together people whom class differences would otherwise separate. Genealogy activity- especially successful documenting of lineages- joined manners, dress, foodways, and home furnishings in the toolboxes of Americans who wished to rise in society.”⁵⁷⁴ Often separate organizations emerged to support both elite and wider popular self-storytelling on

⁵⁷² Page, *Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia: Also, a Condensed Account of the Nelson, Walker, Pendleton, and Randolph Families, With References to the Bland, Burwell, Byrd, Carter, Cary, Duke, Gilmer, Harrison, Rives, Thornton, Welford, Washington, and Other Distinguished Families in Virginia*, vi-vii

⁵⁷³ Ibid, 40.

⁵⁷⁴ Morgan, *A Nation of Descendants: Politics and the Practice of Genealogy in U.S. History*, 32.

parts of one's ancestry that provided social cache and usefully nationalistic meaning. For example, the more popularly oriented Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) required proof of only one line of descent from any revolutionary soldier, allowing the group "to build a large, truly national membership, when compared to other hereditary groups."⁵⁷⁵ In contrast, the two Colonial Dames Organizations were invitation-only, and admission committees screened numerous aspects of any prospective member's bona fides for ancestors' prominence.⁵⁷⁶

Groups also emerged that coalesced around ethnic categories beyond Anglo-Saxon descent: " [for] whites in the middle classes, and white progeny of colonial-era Dutch, Scots-Irish, German, and Huguenot (French populations), the hereditary organization became the principal medium by which they began to conduct genealogy publicly."⁵⁷⁷ So, the proliferation of hereditary organizations during this time period allowed both an expansion of the categories of descent that conferred useful social "worth," but also allowed the maintenance of intra-categorical distinction that preserved elite supremacy within broader construction of whiteness across the differentiating lines of class, religion, and gender.⁵⁷⁸

Morgan also notes that these popular hereditary organizations often sprang up in settings where white anti-immigration grievances ran hot, noting the mass demonstrations for Chinese exclusion in San Francisco around the time of the formation of the Sons of Revolutionary Sires in 1876,⁵⁷⁹ and the formation of the Sons of the Revolution in 1883 in New York, a major entry

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid, 32.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid, 33.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid, 28.

⁵⁷⁸ This resonates with Painter's analysis of the enlargements of whiteness during this time period. Painter, *The History of White People*.

⁵⁷⁹ Morgan, *A Nation of Descendants: Politics and the Practice of Genealogy in U.S. History*, 29.

point for the rising tide of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe.⁵⁸⁰ So, while hereditary groups broadened access to particular kinds of social status, they also served as a mechanism of exclusion: “hereditary groups and genealogy cultures drew ever firmer racial boundaries against people of non-European descent.”⁵⁸¹

In Virginia and more locally in the Charlottesville area, the expansion and articulation of these variously bounded hereditary organizations were playing out in ways that related to the gradual re-integration of the region into the body of the nation. Prominent men rehearsed these tactics right after the Civil War, by nationally showing their allegiance to nation by taking on leadership roles in older and declaredly nationally loyal organizations like the Freemasons or U.S. military units directly after the war⁵⁸² while more locally working on building associational structures around neo-confederate commemoration. By the late 1880s and early 1890s, the proliferating hereditary groups often first coalesced around drawing on nationally acceptable colonial and Union histories before groups emerged organizing around touchier southern allegiance during the Civil War. By leveraging colonial histories as tied to American nationalism first, actors in the South were able to develop the respectability and acceptability of neo-plantationary images and lineages, then set to work using the venerability of hereditary status to lift confederate histories into the repertoire of nation-building imaginaries.

Nationally, neo-colonial and Union-based gender-separated heredity groups led the way with a wave of organizational foundings in the late 1870s into the 1890s. An partial list includes the Grand Army of the Republic (made up of veterans of the Union Army- 1866), Sons of the

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid, 43.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid, 32-3.

⁵⁸² Consider examples from the section “Fraternal Orders and Hidden Confederates” in Chapter 4

Revolution (1876), Sons of the American Revolution (1889),⁵⁸³ the Colonial Dames of America (1890), Daughters of the Revolution (1891), U.S. Daughters of the War of 1812 (1892). A temporally overlapping second wave, composed of neo-confederate groups emerged slightly later. A partial list of these groups includes the United Confederate Veterans (1889), United Daughters of The Confederacy (1894), and Sons of Confederate Veterans (1896).

At least in the case of Charlottesville, the national orders listed above seemed to have drawn membership from local groups established first. As examples, the local and informal confederate veterans' association, the John Bowie Strange Camp of Confederate Veterans commanded by Micajah Woods, pre-existed its affiliation with the statewide Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans of Virginia in 1889.⁵⁸⁴ And the local Ladies' Memorial Association, formed shortly after the Civil War, became an auxiliary of the John Bowie Strange Camp. In 1894, Mrs. James M. Garnett established another women's group she named the Daughters of the Confederacy in 1894, shortly before the establishment of the national association:

“According to Mrs. Garnett, the founding of her branch of Daughters antedated by some five months the establishment in Nashville, Tennessee, of the Southern-wide association bearing its name.”⁵⁸⁵

At the same time, in the late 19th and early 20th century saw an expansion of the role of white women in associational politics and organizing, but within the bounds of acceptable roles proscribed by the doctrine of domesticity that pictured women as keepers of household morality and reproductive keepers of the “purity” of the white race.⁵⁸⁶ In other words, “women's interest

⁵⁸³ Ibid, 30.

⁵⁸⁴ Webb, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900,” 260.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid, 261.

⁵⁸⁶ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 173.

in ancestry resembled an extension of family responsibilities, and also illustrated some of the benefits of white supremacy to white women.”⁵⁸⁷

A Few Men Wearing all the Hats: Land Companies as networked institutions building early 20th Century Charlottesville

To return to the influential nexus of Charlottesville’s urban and suburban development, I return to the example of the Charlottesville Land Company, established in 1890. Management and ownership of these large land development companies mirrored and amplified small circles of power in Charlottesville’s small social community. The officers and boards of these companies reflected a cadre of men who emerged from and expanded their influence through a organizational focus on expanding emergent spatial exchange value in Virginia’s landscapes. The Charlottesville Land Company listed the following men as its officers in the 1890 city directory:

President	Thomas S. Martin
Vice President	Micajah Woods
General Manager	Micajah Woods
Secretary	John M. White
Treasurer	Frank A. Massie

From this list, company president, Thomas Staples Martin (1847-1919) was a lawyer and confederate veteran who was born in nearby Scottsville as son of a local merchant.⁵⁸⁸ By the 1880s, he served as district counsel to the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, and was emerging as a

⁵⁸⁷ Morgan, *A Nation of Descendants: Politics and the Practice of Genealogy in U.S. History*, 30.

⁵⁸⁸ The 1850 census lists John S. Martin as a retail merchant <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/14799171:8054> .

player in the state's Democratic part wherein: "served as an effective behind-the-scenes man, dispensing essential railroad campaign contributions to Democratic candidates who promised to support legislation beneficial to the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad."⁵⁸⁹ Vice President Micajah Woods (1844-1911) was a confederate veteran and a prominent lawyer. He served as Charlottesville's Commonwealth's attorney starting in 1870 and sat on the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia in 1872-1876, so was part of the school's major governance body at the time of the construction of the Lewis Brooks Museum. He was a key Democratic party booster, having headed the Charlottesville Tilden-Hendricks Club for the 1876 election,⁵⁹⁰ and delivered public orations in support of 1884 presidential candidate Grover Cleveland.⁵⁹¹ He held important symbolic roles including serving on the vestry of Charlottesville's Christ Episcopal Church,⁵⁹² commanding the Monticello Guard at the 1881 Yorktown Centennial,⁵⁹³ and sitting as the first commander of the John Bowie Strange Camp of Confederate Veterans, which he helped establish in 1889.⁵⁹⁴ His daughters served as feminine icons in local and national celebrations: Maud Woods became the model for North America personified in the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition of 1901 in Buffalo, NY, (figure 5.5) and Sallie Stuart Woods unveiled the Confederate monument dedicated in Charlottesville's Courthouse Square in 1909.⁵⁹⁵ Company Secretary John M. White (1846-1913) was a transplant from Norfolk, a graduate of UVA Law,

⁵⁸⁹ Ronald L. Heinemann, "Thomas Staples Martin," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, December 22, 2021, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/martin-thomas-staples-1847-1919/>.

⁵⁹⁰ Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 48.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid*, 50.

⁵⁹² Walker, *The Daily Progress: Historical and Industrial Magazine: Charlottesville, Virginia, "the Athens of the South,"* 11.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid* 7.

⁵⁹⁴ Webb, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900," 260.

⁵⁹⁵ "Monument Is Unveiled Today," *The Daily Progress*, May 5, 1909.

who in 1886 became the judge of the Albemarle County Court.⁵⁹⁶ He served as chairman of the county Democratic organization during the 1884 presidential campaign,⁵⁹⁷ served as president of People's National Bank starting in 1894,⁵⁹⁸ was Vice President of the Michie Company,⁵⁹⁹ and was on the vestry of Christ Episcopal Church by 1906.⁶⁰⁰

Wiess has termed this class of actors “community builders.” He asserts that unlike earlier speculators on lots, these men concerned themselves with:

the land pattern in which structures are placed and the relationship of the structures to one another. A community builder designs, engineers, finances, develops, and sells an urban environment using as the primary raw material rural, undeveloped land. In the parlance of the real estate industry, such activity is called the planning and improvement of subdivisions.⁶⁰¹

This chapter's study period parallels Weiss's examination of the “first phase” of community building when he contends these types of investors “performed the function of being private planners for American cities and towns,” developing the spatial rules of thumb, typical arrangements and layouts, setbacks, lot coverage requirements, planned separation of uses, design of amenities and utilities that were “later adopted as rules and principles by public planning agencies” by the 1940s. I will emphasize, however, how this class of actors not only prototyped these regulations through subdivision, but also drew on, recombined, modernized,

⁵⁹⁶ “Judge John M. White Dies at Charlottesville,” *The Virginian-Pilot*, March 7, 1913. Note: he also became the Judge of the Eighth Judicial from 1904 to his death in 1913.

⁵⁹⁷ Webb, “Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia 1865-1900,” 50.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 216.

⁵⁹⁹ A local printing company

⁶⁰⁰ Walker, *The Daily Progress: Historical and Industrial Magazine: Charlottesville, Virginia, “the Athens of the South,”* 11.

⁶⁰¹ Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning*, The Columbia History of Urban Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 1.

adapted and translated extant racial imaginaries and practices to the modern materiality, industry, technologies, and densities of the 20th century city.

1890-1929: Building the Neo-Plantation Necropolis

1890 Selling the City by shaping the Neighborhoods: Land Company Imaginaries and collectivizing land control among elites

By 1890, Charlottesville’s class of elite men were banding together as discrete class of business citizens who held multiple levers of lending, governmental, legal, and capital-based power and were connected to local, state, and national-level networks. At the same time this small class of players also orchestrated a broadening of who could “buy in” on the structures of spatial development. Much like the joint stock companies that funded the infrastructural and major building improvements at commemorative regional and world expositions, the Charlottesville Land Company publicly advertised the sale of stock to fund its operations and acquisitions. A broadside from March 31, 1891 solicited new subscribers, and noted that since its charter in November 1890, the company had sold “\$649,7000- on basis of \$100 per share [... representing] on a cash basis at \$50 per share, \$324,850” to “all classes and conditions of people; and holding from four to one hundred and fifty shares.”⁶⁰² At this time, \$50 was a significant sum,⁶⁰³ but the company offered a subscription plan to spread the cost of investment out over time,⁶⁰⁴ effectively

⁶⁰² “The Charlottesville Land Company: Its Properties. Its Plans and Purposes. Charlottesville! Its Industry and Attractions,” March 21, 1891.. It would be useful to trace who the actual stockholders were to understand who exactly actually had a financial stake in this company. At the time of the printing of the pamphlet, it looks like \$187,000 of the \$50 per share value stockholders, almost 60% of the stock was from landowners accepting company stock in exchange for the 900 acres of the company’s land “settled for in full.” Could it be that this broadside was as much about the appearance of broad investment as it was to solicit future investment?

⁶⁰³ The U.S. Bureau’s CPI Inflation Calculator translates \$50 in 1913 to \$1,495 in 2023 spending power. “CPI Inflation Calculator,” U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed May 3, 2023, https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.

⁶⁰⁴ The pamphlet spelled out the terms: \$3 (\$90 1913 to 2023 CPI Inflation Calculator dollars) per share at the time of subscription, and \$5 (\$150 1913 to 2023 CPI Inflation Calculator dollars) per share at the first month,

encouraging those with disposable income to literally “buy in” to the company’s faith in Charlottesville’s prospects for expansion and in increase in land values held by the company.

This section reads publications from the Charlottesville Land Company from around 1890 aimed at selling investment in the company (and therefore its land) alongside the imagery produced by contemporary southern fiction writers. It also highlights the mechanisms and networks of power used to racially reorder and segregate the residential spaces of Charlottesville. What emerges is a neo-plantationary racial project that aimed to picture the plantation system as a “near-utopia, [with] the wealthy slaveholder reimagined as a lordly hero fit to take his place alongside the royals and aristocrats who populated certain strains of European Romanticism.”⁶⁰⁵ Elite players like leaders of the Charlottesville Land Company officers and other investors in land and city infrastructure built public consensus and a spatial language around the visual, physical, and racial cues that coded spaces according to their relative “quality” for investors and potential owners. The Company’s holdings “belt[ed] the City of Charlottesville [...] Our properties must become more and more valuable, and must eventually, even the most remote pieces, be in demand.”⁶⁰⁶ Indeed, the company owned or held options on many acres of land that nearly encircled the city by 1890. (figure 5.4) Company officers of land companies held control

then \$3 per share per month until the whole \$50 share cost was paid, and wishy-washily promised that it looked unlikely that subscribers would need to pay in the full \$100 face value of the stock. Was this an early investment/lending scheme that would have promised subscribers land for investment up front? How successful was the appeal? It would be fascinating to see how many people got land because they held stock, but that would require an examination of property records that is well beyond the scope of this project. It would be fascinating to understand the way local structures around lending (and therefore power) changed and developed before the democratization of home loans before and during the New Deal. Similar to the ways Weiss tracks spatial practices and regulatory means, it would be useful to understand spatial power wielded via debt, how those mechanisms of land ownership developed locally before the FHA, and if local structures were adopted by governmental agencies later.

⁶⁰⁵ Peter Templeton and Andrew Dix, “‘Old,’ ‘New,’ and ‘Problem’ Souths: Historical Change and Ideological Instability in Thomas Nelson Page’s *In Ole Virginia*,” *Mississippi Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (July 1, 2021), 314.

⁶⁰⁶ Quoted from a Report to the Stockholders of the Charlottesville Land Company on page 70 of Bluestone and Meeks, “Paul Goodloe McIntire’s Rivanna: The Unexecuted Plans for a River City.”

over many of the former plantation homes that already existed around the city's edges,⁶⁰⁷ and could opportunistically use these well-known structures as part of a new spatial-social power network that pictured the histories of the powerful as valuable, and old homes as symbols of that value. Their documents also show them betting on the economic growth of the city, and hoping to orchestrate kinds of development that would increase the value of the land that they held as their largest tangible asset.

The first set of documents we will examine are prospectuses, marketing books, pamphlets, and maps produced by the Charlottesville Land Company around 1890. These publications combine to produce a set of imageries around desirability of the company's real estate holdings for investment. The second set of sources come from an emerging genre of southern historical fiction. Thomas Nelson Page became one of the most well-known authors who trafficked in this type of southern nostalgia. After his writing around the Yorktown Centennial in 1881, he was making a name for himself as a prolific writer of historical fiction that cast the plantation system in a rosy and benevolent light. One of his earliest and best-known books, *In Ole Virginia* published in 1887,⁶⁰⁸ was a compilation of short stories including some that had been previously published, including "Marse Chan: A Tale of Old Virginia" which appeared in *The New Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* in April 1884.⁶⁰⁹ I will look at resonances and common imagery across these two sets of sources to draw out the emerging visual and spatial language of the neo-plantation necropolis.

⁶⁰⁷ Locust Grove is one example- it is a rectangular "cut out" in the holdings of the land companies, but by the 1890s was held by John M. White, 1890 secretary of the CLC, as his personal home.

⁶⁰⁸ Thomas Nelson Page, "In Ole Virginia" (1887), University of Virginia Special Collections.

⁶⁰⁹ Thomas Nelson Page, "Marse Chan," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, April 1884.

“Marse Chan” is piece of fiction is set in 1872, and introduces the narrator, an unnamed white man who is visiting the countryside of eastern Virginia. The story goes on to introduce a formerly enslaved character, Sam, who tells the story of his former master “Marse Chan”’s star-crossed love with the neighbor Master’s daughter Miss Anne, and their untimely deaths during the Civil War, concluding with “some one or nudder brought our place, but his name done kind o’ slipped me [...] I jes’ steps down of a evenin’ and looks arfter the graves”⁶¹⁰ This story holds much in the way of romanticization of the patriarchal social relations of chattel slavery. Author T. N. Page uses the freedman character Sam, written in dialect, to wrap nostalgic depictions of these relations in the voice of the emerging stock character of the faithful slave.⁶¹¹

Underneath the story’s plot and the emerging racial tropes it helped popularize, the story uses spatial descriptions that resonate with the ways that Charlottesville Land Company’s publications were working to picture the land in Charlottesville as valuable. At the beginning of “Marse Chan,” the narrator is:

riding leisurely down the sandy road that winds along the top of the water-shed between two of the smaller rivers of eastern Virginia. The road I was traveling, **following ‘the ridge’** for miles, had just struck me as most significant of the character of the race whose only avenue of communication with the outside world it had formerly been. Their once **splendid mansions**, now fast falling to decay, appeared to view from time to time, set **back far from the road, in proud**

⁶¹⁰ Ibid, 933.

⁶¹¹ While this is not the focus of this particular study, Templeton covers the debates about the politics of Page’s frequent use of African-American characters as narrators, and notes the connections with other white authors’ practices, most notably, Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris’s *Nights with Uncle Remus* which was published fairly contemporaneously in 1881. While, as later scholars like Keith Cartwright suggest, it is important to uncover and highlight the huge impact African-derived stories and folk traditions had on American literature more broadly, for the purposes of this paper, I tend to draw more on modes of analysis that suggest white representation of Black inner and emotional life are often heavily threaded with white motives. See Saidiya Hartman’s analysis of white empathy in abolitionism, and the destructive ways these images of Black people produced erasures and reinscribed the centrality of white humanity over the actual inner lives of Black people. Templeton and Dix, “‘Old,’ ‘New,’ and ‘Problem’ Souths: Historical Change and Ideological Instability in Thomas Nelson Page’s *In Ole Virginia*,” 3 20-321; Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*.

seclusion among groves of oak and hickory now scarlet and gold with the early frost.”⁶¹² (emphasis added)

The rest of the story goes on with Sam describing life before the Civil War to the equestrian narrator. The Charlottesville Land Company, collected, developed, and depicted its holdings in ways that echo this exhuming of the plantation landscape.

Just as Page’s narrator finds himself “following the ridge” and admiring former plantation homes, Charlottesville Land Company and others strategically used topography and established structures and roads to associate the lands they owned with quality and social status. (figure 5.4) A new generation of prominent men went out of their way to install themselves in historic planters’ homes, communicating their power through positioning themselves as inheritors of planterly spaces and histories. As one example, in 1893 John M. White, secretary of the CLC, bought the Locust Grove plantation house to make his home.⁶¹³ By taking up residence in the historic house, he symbolically installed himself as the Old South patriarch of the neighborhood he was working to develop and market.

The land around White’s parcel was controlled by the Locust Grove Investment Company, which built 11 homes on speculation in the 1890s. Most of these first homes were on Locust Avenue, situated along on a ridgeline and road that emanated north from the city.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹² Page, “Marse Chan,” 932.

⁶¹³ It would be a useful exercise to find out who owns all the major historical plantation homes during this era, and see if they are key players in the money-power networks of the city. I know anecdotally that the Duke Family continues to own their plantation house at Edgehill and continue to be local power players as lawyers, etc, and on the map, some of the major plantation home sites are not shown as under the control of the land companies, which suggests that they might be owned by “independent” players who are orchestrating this land boom like White.

⁶¹⁴ These homes included 509, 619, 710, 708, 711, 716, 717, and 867 Locust Avenue. Other addresses are on Lexington Avenue, slightly west and downhill from Locust Avenue. Brandt, “National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Martha Jefferson Historic District, Locust Grove Addition 104-5144,” section 7 page 3.

These homes were built in a similar size and setback to the oldest home in on the stretch of road, the former plantation home for Locust Grove, now White's home at 818 Locust Avenue. Brandt notes that the plantation house set the spatial language for the area, and other homes mimicked the feel, scale, and materiality of the home to echo their "stately neighbor."⁶¹⁵ While much of this early development along Locust Avenue was controlled directly by the land company, later conformity with the spatial language of wealth-signaling was regulated through deed restrictions, which often specified minimum costs, distance from the street and other spatial restrictions on future structures along the Avenue as the lots were dispensed to land company stockholders.⁶¹⁶

These parcels along Locust Avenue, and many other across the city were put under racial covenants: "it is also agreed that the herein conveyed, is not at any time to be sold to, or owned by negroes."⁶¹⁷ This type of restriction in areas planned to achieve land high values through identities as wealthy neighborhoods would have contractually prevented any future owner from selling a parcel with this wording in its deed chain to a person of color until the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision that rendered these restrictions unenforceable. This type of tactic became common practice in Charlottesville and across the nation during this time period.⁶¹⁸

At the same time, the imagery that CLC used to sell investment in their venture to out-of-town investors matched their tactics of development on the ground. Their 1891 circular depicts

⁶¹⁵ Ibid, section 7 page 2.

⁶¹⁶ An example is in Albemarle County Deed Book 125 page 305 in 1904 saying that "any dwelling or business house when erected on any land fronting on Locust Avenue is not to be less than \$1,000 [...]; Vose, *Caucasians Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP, and the Restrictive Covenant Cases*.

⁶¹⁷ This excerpt is also from the 1903 transfer of property from Locust Grove Investment Company to its stockholders in 1903 from Albemarle County Deed Book 125 page 305.

⁶¹⁸ *The Mapping Cville Project has found racial covenants in Charlottesville going back to at least 1897. Jordy Yager, "1897-1948: Charlottesville's First Racially Restrictive Covenants (UPDATED)," Mapping Albemarle- Mapping Cville, January 28, 2019, <https://mappingcville.com/2019/01/28/1903-1948-charlottesvilles-first-racially-restrictive-covenants/>.*

numerous homes of prominent Charlottesville figures in the pages (figure 5.6), and much like Page's narrator's description, the homes are pictured as "set far back from the road, in proud seclusion among groves of oak and hickory." One page (figure 5.7) features the Albemarle County courthouse alongside a collection of prominent homes, reinscribing the equivalence between the County seat as the center of authority, and the network of planters (and now contemporarily real estate players) that supported that authority.

The houses chosen for depiction on these pages were mostly not on land that the company controlled but were selected to cast Charlottesville in a prosperous light. They juxtaposed the homes of contemporary prominent Charlottesville residents with homes of historic import and often crowning highly visible physical topographies. For example, the Castle Hill Home of Amelie Rives and Chanler was outside of town, and "one of the oldest plantations in Albemarle County [with] an unusually rich history" going back to the colonial era.⁶¹⁹ Mention of Amelie Rives and Chandler associated Charlottesville with contemporary American royalty, as Rives was goddaughter to Robert E. Lee and a child of antebellum senator William Cabell Rives, and her husband J A Chanler descended from the multigenerationally mega-rich Astor family. The residences of Judge W.J. Robertson and John D. Watson on this page were both situated on Park Street,⁶²⁰ long a road associated with residences of the wealthy. Rosser's home was an antebellum construction on a prominent hill, an estate called Rugby north of UVA.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country*, 59-60.

⁶²⁰ Wm. H. Prout, *Prout's Business Guide for the City of Charlottesville, Virginia for the Year 1890-91* (Charlottesville, VA: Chronicle and C.B. Brand, Steam Book and Job Printers, 1890), 83,93.

⁶²¹ K. Edward Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country: Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 197. This also notes the site was a boarding house for UVA students and a dairy farm. Also, Rosser was the city engineer for Minneapolis??

1890-1904 the University of Virginia and Saint Louis: Spanning the Monumental and Cultural

The imaginaries produced by local real estate developer-power brokers emerged alongside early development of monumental landscapes of institutionally controlled land at University of Virginia. The repertoire of neo-plantationary imageries in UVA's landscapes re-employed Thomas Jefferson both as designer of UVA's Academical Village and a national founding father and used neo-classical architecture as an expression of the connectedness of the formation of national polity and the specifics of the South. The years between 1890 and 1904 saw emerging networks of local and national players using the image of Thomas Jefferson and experiments in campus and neighborhood development to attempt to attach new forms of value to the University of Virginia as an institution, and to Charlottesville/Albemarle as an emerging node in a set of spatialized historical narratives and pilgrimage sites.

Fayerweather Hall, Lawn Renovations, and Razing Canada

University of Virginia, its campus and related adjacent neighborhood development in the late 19th century evidences these connections. In 1893, the year of the famed Chicago Columbian Exposition, UVA built philanthropically funded Fayerweather Hall as its new gymnasium. The architect of the building, Kevan Peebles expounded on his connections to both the classical architectural traditions and the contemporary grandeur of World's Fair architecture's selection of the classical style.⁶²² Campus designers also began to use the figure of Thomas Jefferson and his "architectural genius" to suture Charlottesville into a national pantheon of regionally based founding fathers. Nationally at the time, Jefferson was "at best a 'forgotten man,' at worst, a

⁶²² John Kevan Peebles, "Thomas Jefferson, Architect," *The Alumni News Bulletin*, May 15, 1894.

scoundrel in the public mind” nationally,⁶²³ but Charlottesville-associated players like Peebles began to utilize the image of Jefferson to argue for the venerability of the UVA campus and Charlottesville City/Albemarle County. Peebles, for one, published an article in the *Alumni Bulletin* that argued that recent buildings in styles other than neo-classical, including Brooks Hall “violate[d] Mr. Jefferson’s scheme most flagrantly.”⁶²⁴ Peebles’ Fayerweather Hall, in its form and daily use as a gymnasium and ceremonial center (figure 5.8), gave institutional and physical form to ideologies connecting the “ideal” man, neoclassical architecture, and eugenical evaluations of human “fitness.”⁶²⁵ Further, Peebles’ other work, including an unbuilt triumphal arc to Confederacy⁶²⁶ he designed for the south end of the Academical Village, evidence his stake in Lost Cause narrative North/South cultural bridging through architectural form.⁶²⁷ Peebles, for his part, used this early commission to position himself as an authority on appropriate architectural forms for other spaces, often serving as architect for other monumental buildings in Virginia cities,⁶²⁸ and a consultant in later fairs.⁶²⁹

⁶²³ West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America’s House Museums*, 112.

⁶²⁴ Peebles, “Thomas Jefferson, Architect.”

⁶²⁵ For more on the connections between physical fitness, anthropology, evolutionary theory and scientific racism, see Susan Brownell, ed., *The 1904 Anthropology Days and Olympic Games: Sport, Race, and American Imperialism*, Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). For the connections between fatphobia and white supremacy, *Fearing the Black Body: The Racial Origins of Fat Phobia* (New York: New York University Press, 2019).

⁶²⁶ “The Romantic Picturesque,” From Village to Grounds; Architecture after Jefferson at the University of Virginia, University of Virginia Library, 2009, <https://explore.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/show/architecture-after-jefferson/the-romantic-picturesque/9>.

⁶²⁷ University of Virginia, *Corks and Curls* (University of Virginia, 1895).

⁶²⁸ An excerpt from H. F. Withey and E.R Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles, 1956) notes he worked as a member of the architectural committee on the restoration of the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond in 1902-3 and served as a designer on Methodist churches in Richmond and Norfolk, the National Bank Building at Roanoke, The Monticello Hotel In Norfolk, and the Hotel Elliot in Suffolk. Excerpt found in: Bernard Mann Peebles, *John Kevan Peebles, Born November 3, 1866: A Centenary Scrapbook* (Charlottesville, Va: [Charlottesville? Va.] 1966, 1966).

⁶²⁹ An excerpt from H. F. Withey and E.R Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles, 1956) notes he was appointed “chairman of the Architectural Board responsible for the design of

Peebles was an early player in a burgeoning crowd of neoclassical architects who made names for themselves designing neoclassical edifices, and pushed for the hire of Stanford White of McKim, Meade and White after the destruction of the Rotunda by fire in 1895.⁶³⁰ That firm, in turn, designed a renovation and elaboration of the Academical Village. Three new buildings, Rouss, Cocke, and the fortress-like Cabell Hall (Figure 5.9 & 5.10) enclosed the Academical Village to the South, and purposely blocked views to the neighborhood of ‘Canada’ south and downhill of the academical village, which had existed as a free Black settlement since before the Civil War. University administrators had discussed this neighborhood as “unsightly” and undesirable since before the Civil War,⁶³¹ and by the time of the Lawn renovation, the Rector directed the architects to block “the area immediately to the south of the University’s land and in full view ... filled with unsightly houses.”⁶³²

While the University was making these decisions about the appearance of the campus, members of its faculty were busy working with local land companies to displace Black residents of Canada. In 1890, the Charlottesville Industrial and Land Improvement Company bought about 15.5 acres of land in the neighborhood, transferred the land to Charlottesville Land Company, then sold it to the Dawson Improvement Company in 1893.⁶³³ The Dawson Improvement Company was composed nearly exclusively of University faculty members, including John B.

buildings at the Exposition held at Jamestown, VA in 1907.” Excerpt found in: Peebles, *John Kevan Peebles, Born November 3, 1866: A Centenary Scrapbook*.

⁶³⁰ Peebles, *John Kevan Peebles, Born November 3, 1866: A Centenary Scrapbook*.

⁶³¹ “National Register of Historic Places Registration” The Foster Site” (Charlottesville, VA: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2016), https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/104-5140_FosterSite_2016_NRHP_FINAL.pdf.

⁶³² Richard Guy Wilson, Joseph M. Lasala, and Patricia C. Sherwood, eds., *Thomas Jefferson’s Academical Village: The Creation of an Architectural Masterpiece*, Rev. ed (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 57.

⁶³³ “National Register of Historic Places Registration: The Foster Site,”32.

Minor, James M. Garnett, Charles Venable, J. Edgar Chancellor, Robert L. Carter, Paul B. Barringer, A.P. Bibb, Frances H. Smith, and G. Tucker Smith with the sole purpose to “*buy the Kennedy tract or Canada near the University of Virginia and other such adjacent lands as may seem expedient for the object of the Company and to improve and sell for improvement said property.*”⁶³⁴ Through this action, professors positioned themselves among the class of people who were investing in, and benefitting from orchestrating the arrangement of urban spaces. Between 1894 and 1899, the company sold off many of these lots, many with racial covenants,⁶³⁵ demonstrating that these deed agreements were not just used to prevent Black people from buying suburban parcels, but also served as a mechanism to displace Black residents and ensure land that transferred to white investors stayed in white hands ever after. Paul Barringer, one of the professor-investors in the Dawsons Improvement Company, built a large home in the area in 1897. His papers at UVA show him not only profiting as a real estate investor, but also as a major proponent of the pseudoscience of eugenics,⁶³⁶ and as an enthusiastic attendee of World’s Fairs. Among his photographs (figure 5.11) are snaps of the Nashville Centennial Exposition of 1897, a fair Rydell characterizes as part of an effort to demonstrate that the South “possessed the solution to the ‘Negro question.’”⁶³⁷ Prominent in Barringer’s photographs are his snapshots of the Centennial’s Parthenon, which Rydell counts as a “tribute to the efforts by southern oligarchs to promote national unity around a cluster of ideas about progress defined as Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and international economic expansion.”⁶³⁸

⁶³⁴ Ibid, 32.

⁶³⁵ Ibid, 32.

⁶³⁶ This is a commonly known fact which led to the rededication of the Barringer Wing as Pinn Hall in 2017, but Barringer’s archives even reveal that he named his daughter Eugenia.

⁶³⁷ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 74.

⁶³⁸ Ibid, 104.

1901 Pilgrimage to Monticello

In 1901, a well-publicized “pilgrimage” event brought 250 of the Jefferson Club of St. Louis’s members to Charlottesville, and a reading of the rituals of this event show both how networks collided and joined, and how racializing spatial logics were being spread to the general white public through spectacular events. The Jefferson Club, whose members made the pilgrimage to Monticello in 1901, was an explicitly political club. Chartered in 1892, its goal was “to preserve, defend, and advance the essential principles of pure government as formulated by Thomas Jefferson and embodied in the history of the Democratic Party.”⁶³⁹ From a commemorative book that records proceedings of this event in 1901, and from trip and fair rosters, it is clear that many of the men who made this pilgrimage to Charlottesville were at once alumni of the University of Virginia, Democrats, and major players in planning and financing the coming Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis of 1904.⁶⁴⁰ This trip was a powerful ritual that solidified Democratic political coalitions under the image of Jefferson as an ideal man and leader of the masses, and highlighted and drew on the spatial logics of Charlottesville’s historical landscapes for spatial metaphors that would structure the Fair Grounds of St. Louis.

The activities and rhetoric of the occasion underscore the importance of the ritual fusing of three interest groups depicted in Nast’s cartoon of the Democratic coalition (figure 3.1): the Lost Cause white man, and the Northern German or Irish Catholic immigrant, and the American

⁶³⁹ St. Louis Jefferson Club Association, *The Pilgrimage to Monticello: The Home and Tomb of Thomas Jefferson* (St. Louis: Con. P. Curran printing company, 1902), <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/009589295>.

⁶⁴⁰ Speakers and several men listed in the roster of participants and donors to the Pilgrimage fund appear as organizers of the St. Louis Exposition, or in the list of subscribers to the World’s Fair Fund. David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904* (St. Louis: St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exhibition Company, 1913), Appendix B; St. Louis Jefferson Club Association, *The Pilgrimage to Monticello: The Home and Tomb of Thomas Jefferson* (St. Louis: Con. P. Curran printing company, 1902), 73-78. The connection between UVA, the Jefferson Club and the St. Louis fair are also noted in Paul Barringer’s speech at the Pilgrimage event calling the St. Louis fair a “move originated by the University of Virginia alumni in St. Louis” Jefferson Club Association, *The Pilgrimage to Monticello: The Home and Tomb of Thomas Jefferson*, 80.

elite. At the pilgrimage, Jefferson is positioned as the central symbolic figure of this coalition of whiteness. The introduction to the Pilgrimage's commemoration book highlights the importance of Jefferson's image in uniting people with disparate interests:

This club **has gathered together, in Jefferson's name**...the rich and poor, the foreign born and the native born, the young man and the old, the highly educated and uneducated, and it has welded them into a whole that aims at nothing more than that **the best men possible shall be chosen to serve the people in public office.** [emphasis added]⁶⁴¹

The popularity of the Jefferson Club, which boasted over 6,000 members at the time of the 1901 pilgrimage to Monticello,⁶⁴² reflects the utility of Jefferson as symbol of unity for these unlikely allies.

On October 12, the delegation traversed key symbolic landscapes of Charlottesville. (figure 5.12) Arriving by motorcade to Monticello, they were welcomed by the estate's owner Jefferson Levy, and surveyed the house, grounds, and visited Jefferson's tomb. The group then moved to the lawn near Monticello, to dedicate the granite monument by the house. The inscription reads as follows;

THOMAS JEFFERSON
CITIZEN – STATESMAN – PATRIOT
THE GREATEST
ADVOCATE OF HUMAN LIBERTY
OPPOSING SPECIAL PRIVILEGES
HE LOVED AND TRUSTED
THE PEOPLE
TO COMMEMORATE HIS PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA
ERECTED BY
THE JEFFERSON CLUB
OF ST. LOUIS, MO
ON THEIR PILGRIMAGE OCT 12, 1901
TO EXPRESS THEIR
DEVOTION TO HIS PRINCIPLES

⁶⁴¹ Jefferson Club Association, *The Pilgrimage to Monticello: The Home and Tomb of Thomas Jefferson*, 4-5.

⁶⁴² *Ibid*, 4.

Speeches by numerous dignitaries at the monument dedication featured governmental officials from Missouri and Virginia, former Confederate officers, and prominent local citizens conveying the message of political connectedness across national geographies and across Civil War era North-South divides.

Speeches at this event also introduced two related metaphors that would later structure the spatial ideologies that would accompany Jefferson's installation at the top of a white-black racial/spatial hierarchy: physical height and visual prospect. Henning W. Prentis, chairman of the monument committee noted in his speech at the monument's dedication on the mountaintop:

Standing now upon Monticello, with this vast and beautiful panorama of field and farm, of stream and valley—girt round with sapphire skies and mountains blue— spreading like an artist's dream before our melting eyes—I cannot but feel that these men—**Washington, Jefferson, and Lee, and their peers—who built their homes upon the mountain tops**, and who **daily saw** the majesty and loveliness of our Maker's handiwork—**had a breadth of vision**, a singleness of purpose, a loftiness of ideals, a love of humanity, **a moral fibre, a grace of life, a chivalry of deeds**—that we who must live in crowded cities and upon the **low places of the earth do not oft attain**.⁶⁴³
[emphasis added]

This statement clearly associated elevation with powerful men across the North-South divide: Washington, Jefferson, Lee, and their peers. The mention of Confederate General Robert E. Lee also tied this cadre of men with explicit connection to slavery and racial subjugation. It also tied visual prospect to closeness to divine power, and a moral superiority that not attainable to those who inhabited the “low places of the earth.” Braided through this statement were descriptors of natural or scenic beauty that suggest a cosmological harmony. This beauty implied that with these elite white men inhabiting high places, all was right with the world.

In orchestrating this rite, the pilgrims, themselves a part of a small cadre of industrial, intellectual, political, elite, white men, were physically re-marking the hill, thus inscribing

⁶⁴³ Ibid, 118.

themselves as the inheritors of a supposedly divinely given world order. Conjuring a mythic past to justify their own social positions, this act also promised the same legitimacy to future leaders who could claim this tradition based on the terms that they set in 1901. The ceremony prefigured a future dominated by “great” men like themselves who would rule with the consent of the masses based on their position of social height and vision.

After the conclusion of the ceremony, the pilgrims moved to the University, where they took to “inspecting the libraries of the institutions, and the Jefferson papers and relics there enshrined.”⁶⁴⁴ The pilgrims would have seen the newly constructed Cabell Hall, by McKim, Meade, and White, which enclosed the Lawn, and blocked views to the adjacent black neighborhood of Canada south of the academical village. The festivities continued with a banquet in Fayerweather Hall, UVA’s new neoclassical gymnasium, festooned with American flags and with “ladies and interested parties” observing from an upper gallery.

This banquet concluding the pilgrimage to Monticello illustrates how the event also served to cement social ties between men present: “the gathering immediately elected all members of the faculty of the University members for life of the Club.”⁶⁴⁵ This shoring of exclusive social relations took place at the physical and symbolic high points of Charlottesville’s landscape, allowing the men to physically perform their closeness with God-given prospect at every turn (Figure 5.12). And as soon as the banquet concluded, the 250 guests boarded their train and took the Chesapeake and Ohio and Baltimore and Ohio railroads home to St. Louis.

Legal Milestones (Plessy v. Ferguson, 1902 constitution)

The hierarchical arrangements of space touted at the 1901 pilgrimage were easy to read into the site of Jefferson’s former home, but translating these frameworks of value more broadly

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid, 35.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid, 64.

into the rules about the form and arrangement of the city required the participation of the voting public. As more actors saw the utility of racialization for generating value and consolidating political power, attacks on Black voting and spatial rights escalated. The 1883, Supreme Court ruling on a collection of cases concerning of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, effectively gutted that legislation finding large portions of that law unconstitutional.⁶⁴⁶ In 1896, the landmark case *Plessy v. Ferguson* officially sanctioned the principle of “separate but equal.” In 1902, Virginia voters passed a new constitution that enacted mechanisms like poll taxes, literacy requirements, handwriting requirements, and the requirement for voters to answer registrar questions. “Two of Charlottesville’s most powerful voices for white supremacy leading up to the 1902 Constitutional Convention were James H. Lindsay, owner and editor of the *Daily Progress* and Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Chairman of the Faculty at the University of Virginia.”⁶⁴⁷ Lindsay was Albemarle County’s delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention. The new provisions of the Virginia Constitution of 1902 effectively halved the Black voting population between 1900 and 1904.⁶⁴⁸ These moves made it much easier for white-dominated governments to make selective decisions about the provision of infrastructure and to control local spatial planning.

New laws in the wake of the *Plessy* decision also increased the regulated performance of racial hierarchies in Charlottesville’s public spaces. In 1900, the Virginia legislature, under Governor J Hoge Tyler signed in its first statewide segregation law requiring railroads to furnish

⁶⁴⁶Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America.*; Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law*,118.

⁶⁴⁷ From page 4 of the section “1917-1924: A Timeline, The McIntire Statues and Charlottesville’s African American Community Based on Contemporary Reports from *The Daily Progress*, Gathers et al., “Report to City Council: Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces.”

⁶⁴⁸ Brent Tarter, “Disfranchisement,” Encyclopedia Virginia, accessed May 20, 2019, <https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Disfranchisement>.

separate cars, or partitioned cars for the two races.⁶⁴⁹ In 1904, segregation on the railroads was tightened with a new law that “authorized railroad operators to refuse admittance of any colored person to the dining, Pullman, parlor, chair or compartment cars.”⁶⁵⁰ In 1906, segregation on streetcars was broadened from those near Richmond to streetcars all over the state.⁶⁵¹

1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Teleologies of Nationhood

Robert Rydell argues that Fairs, including the Louisiana Purchase Exposition St. Louis in 1904 served to construct “ideologically coherent ‘symbolic universes’ confirming and extending the authority of the country’s corporate, political, and scientific leadership.”⁶⁵² The goals of these fairs were threefold. First was long-term economic development through building large-scale popular support for the American capitalist imperial project.⁶⁵³ Second, exposition organizers and promoters “saw fairgoers as vehicles for maintaining or raising their own status as regional or national leaders and for winning broad acceptance across class lines for *their* priorities and *their* decision-making authority.”⁶⁵⁴ Third, the exposition organizers sought to “diffuse the perception of class domination [within white lower classes], and evolutionary ideas about race played a key role in this process.”⁶⁵⁵ These fairgrounds, and the activities within them were carefully orchestrated to appeal to a white public,

to alleviate the intense and widespread anxiety that pervaded the US, the directors of the expositions offered millions of fairgoers the opportunity to reaffirm their

⁶⁴⁹ Charles E Wynes, “The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia,” *Phylon* 28, no. 4 (1967): 416–25, 417.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 418.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid*, 418.

⁶⁵² Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 2.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid*, 235.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 235.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 235.

collective national identity in an updated synthesis of progress and white supremacy that suffused the blueprints of future perfection offered by the fairs.⁶⁵⁶

In inventing these worlds, the fair directors, who at least in the case of St. Louis were partly comprised of alumni produced by the University of Virginia, sought to recruit the popular support of the nation for their particular racialized-industrial-imperialist utopia with themselves at the helm.

These events were at once crystallizations of logics of power, and prototypes for an vision for an America that served industrial elites. And this ideological recruitment would come both from the association of contemporary elites with constructed lineages of American “great men,” and by debasing non-white populations to recruit the white working classes to see themselves as only slightly below their “natural” leaders through social-spatial ritual and racial violence. These ideologies would be the foundation for the growing rejection of Reconstruction-era reforms, and underlied the elaboration of racial capitalism and widespread use of necropolitics as a governing strategy.

We can trace these two themes, the construction of white “great men” lineages, and the non-white population as inferior groups through the spatial and social structures designed for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 in St. Louis. Rydell notes that exhibit coordinator F. J. V. Skiff arranged the fair to build physical arguments for a teleological, idealized, whitened, imperialist American humanity “in ‘a sequential synopsis of the developments that have marked a man’s progress.’”⁶⁵⁷ These developments were depicted as crossing sixteen categories, “illustrating an ideal, ‘composite type of man,’” depicted through the sixteen departments of the

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid, 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid, 159.

fair.⁶⁵⁸ These categorizations traversed from departments in the highest division, Education, Art, Liberal Arts, and Applied Sciences (Manufactures, Machinery, Electricity, and Transportation), to the division of departments displaying of raw materials, in Agriculture, Horticulture, Mining, Forestry, Fish and Game, and a last division containing three departments: Anthropology, Social Economy and Physical Culture, which hosted the Western Hemisphere's first Olympic games. In sum, this event was seen by contemporary intellectual elites as the "University of the Future"⁶⁵⁹ transmitting this culturally specific knowledge to uneducated masses, and augered the proliferation of disciplinary divisions that order the fields of knowledge housed in the contemporary University.

Within that broader spatial arrangement, Jefferson became a central organizing forefather of the symbolic landscape of the idealized "white city." (figure 5.13) In these areas, grand neoclassical buildings were placed in axial arrangements, and punctuated by symbolic figures. One page of a commemorative book, (Figure 5.14) showed Jefferson, George Rogers Clark, a stereotypical American Indian Figure, and winged Victory.⁶⁶⁰

These images of idealized white humanity would have been strongly contrasted with anthropological exhibits contrived by fair designers. In these,

carefully designed exhibits of non-whites left little doubt that the same set of ideas that had been used to validate the economic repression of Native Americans, Afro-Americans, and Asian Americans were being used to validate American Imperial policy overseas. The emphasis on white supremacy as utopian agency, moreover, muted class divisions among whites, providing them with a shared sense of national purpose⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid, 159.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid, 155.

⁶⁶⁰ Almost all these figures appear in the Paul McIntire's monument donations to the city of Charlottesville in the 1910s and 1920s.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid, 236.

These exhibits recruited white crowds to see themselves as a higher order of human, and racially debased groups as under-evolved sub-humans.

Space designated for these exhibits was isolated in three areas at the edges and in the spaces between axially arrangements of Neoclassical exhibition spaces (figure 5.13). The Pike, South of the main body of the Fair, the Boer War exhibition space in the middle of the fairgrounds, and the Indian and Philippine Reservations in the Eastern portion of the park all served the purposes of displaying a hierarchy of racial-ethnic otherness and inferiority. The Pike provided ethno-cultural difference as entertainment and carnival display, much like the Midway in the 1893 Chicago Exposition. The exhibits of the Boer War, Jerusalem, and Japan in the center of the Fairgrounds depicted societies seen as exhibiting racial “progress.” The Philippine reservation was grouped on the east portion of the site with the Indian Reservation, to connect America’s continental expansion with its recent extra-territorial expansion in the South Pacific, creating a seamless image of the rightness of American expansionism. A crucial aspect of these ethnological exhibits was how they came to life via social use and the centrality of spatial height, visual prospect, and violence. First, these constructed environments orchestrated spatial segregation through site design of contrived exhibits that demonstrated the supposed degeneracy of non-white races. Elite anthropologists from major institutions and Universities also used the exhibits to produce serious academic research by to academically document and “prove” the inferiority of non-white peoples. The exhibits also served to “educate” the broader public, including schoolteachers, who “saw” the superiority of the white race with their own eyes.⁶⁶²

⁶⁶² Ibid.

Boundaries between these racial categories were enforced both spatially through separation and through racial violence and threat. Rydell notes the police force, known as the Jefferson Guard, was mostly composed of southern whites.⁶⁶³ These authorities patrolled the fair as everyday representatives of the moral force of Jefferson. They also policed racial boundaries: Rydell notes one instance that the guard threatened to arrest female white schoolteachers, and beat their Filipino escorts for appearing together in pairs on the Fair Grounds. In a familiar social ritual, the guard then formed a mob, “shooting revolvers into the air and shouting, ‘Come on, boys! Let’s clean the Gu-Gus off the earth!’”⁶⁶⁴ While none of the Filipino men were killed that day, this development and use of racialized police power mirrors larger trends in American cities, where joining municipal police forces was a pathway to acceptance and ‘true American’ identity for many northern immigrants.⁶⁶⁵

Finally, the observation wheel positioned at the center of the fair (figure 5.13) provided visitors with an experience of mass-observation and prospect. From the top of the wheel, one could see the arrangement of the whole fair, recalling the Jefferson Club’s reading of the social-spatial position of the top of Monticello. This object and its use physically and conceptually connected the everyday visitor to the power of riding along with the as part of the racial hierarchy articulated by the Fairgrounds.

Exhibit coordinator F. J. V. Skiff explained that the fair “is the record of the social conditions of mankind, registering not only the culture of the world at this time, but indicating

⁶⁶³ Ibid, 177. An article could explore the connectedness of these uniformed forces at fairs, the rise of police forces as “essential services” in cities, and the business strategies of Charlottesville’s Woolen Mills, which made steady profits through the fabrication of uniform cloth used by many municipalities, and the cloth that became the standard for the police uniform at the 1893 Chicago Exposition.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid, 177.

⁶⁶⁵ Rashad Shabazz, “Policing Interracial Sex: Mapping Black Male Location in Chicago during the Progressive Era,” in Shabazz, *Spatializing Blackness*.

the particular plans along with which different races and different peoples may safely proceed, or in fact have begun to advance towards a still higher development.”⁶⁶⁶ In describing the fair in this way, as simply a record rather than an elaborately orchestrated construction, the visual and linguistic rhetoric of the fair served to obfuscate the social motivations of the powerful. Organizers framed contrived physical constructions as living “proof” of the logic of racial subjugation. The Missouri Historical Society estimates that 20 million people visited the St. Louis fair.⁶⁶⁷ This event, in part organized and fiscally supported by alumni of UVA, was part of a much broader system of spectacular racial imagery, which included zoological gardens, minstrel shows, circuses, and Wild West Shows. These events were both a physical crystallization of racial logics of the time but were also highly influential prototypes for future modes of City Planning and development. As a study of Charlottesville will evidence, each Fair had its own resonant suite of imagery and symbols, to buttress the future consolidation of power under a select industrial elite.

1905 to 1929: Bringing the World’s Fair back to the City

Examining the development of historical and monumental sites in tandem with changes in Charlottesville’s city fabric in the years following the Jefferson Club’s visit to Monticello, uncanny patterns emerge. The invented racial logics of the St. Louis World’s fair come to life in the physical spaces of Charlottesville. Many planning and architectural historians have made the connection between the “White City” of the World’s Fair and later City Beautiful interventions

⁶⁶⁶ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 159.

⁶⁶⁷ “1904 World’s Fair: Looking Back at Looking Forward,” Missouri Historical Society, accessed October 12, 2018, <http://mohistory.org/exhibitsLegacy/Fair/WF/HTML/Overview/>.

of major symbolic axes and statuary installations in American Cities, and an increased emphasis in City Planning on the importance of public space in disciplining governable citizens.⁶⁶⁸

An examination of Charlottesville's post-exposition history highlights that these fairs *also* prototyped effective mechanisms for recruiting a white voting public to implement racial-spatial hierarchy, expressed through the social-spatial mechanisms Mbembe highlights.

Throughout the development of Charlottesville's symbolic and residential landscapes and the language surrounding these changes, the spatial mechanisms of separation, elevation and visual power, and violence emerge again as key themes.

Public Commemoration at University of Virginia and Court Square 1904-1913

After the St. Louis Exposition, Charlottesville saw a flurry of public commemoration on public and institutional lands, and familiar players continued to network with new actors through the donation of art objects to ornament institutions in events of increasing grandeur and public pomp. At the UVA, administrators pumped up annual ceremonies around Thomas Jefferson's birthday on April 13, termed "Founder's Day," as part of the local schedule of commemorative dates. Public processions drew objects together metaphorically and ritualistically across the two anchor institutions.

At University of Virginia in 1905, a statue of James Monroe was donated by the 1904 World's Fair management⁶⁶⁹ and can be seen images of President Edwin Alderman's inauguration as the first president of the school on the Lawn. (figure 5.15) In 1909, the Daughters of the Confederacy, "seconded with steady purpose and enthusiasm by the John Bowie Strange Camp of Confederate Veterans, the R .T.W. Duke Camp of the Sons of

⁶⁶⁸ Margaret Garb, "Race, Housing, and Burnham's Plan: Why Is There No Housing in the 1909 Plan of Chicago?," *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 2 (May 2011): 99–113; Burnham et al., "Introduction."

⁶⁶⁹ "A List of Gifts to the University- Continued," *University of Virginia Record* 1, no. 9 (May 1908): 1–4, 3.

Confederate Veterans, and by the general public,"⁶⁷⁰ dedicated a monument of a Confederate soldier in front of the courthouse. (Figure 5.16) A huge procession headed by mounted police included multiple confederate veterans' and hereditary groups, and 1200 local school children, who paraded from near the University down Main Street to the event.⁶⁷¹ The event conscripted a huge number of participants to walk the connection between the University and the Courthouse. The first speaker, Captain Carlton McCarthy⁶⁷² of Richmond railed:

touching upon emancipation as one of the great results commonly claimed for the war, Captain McCarthy contended that slavery was not abolished, but changed in form and degree in its victim [...] it is a change from the blacks to all and from one section to thee whole land. The real freedom is to come out of the past through re-establishment of the public virtues which unhallowed and wicked power has destroyed [...] we are the minority, but the majority is not necessary in possession [sic] of the sum of virtue or truth or justice. The majority needs restraining. It needs law [...] when the majority revels against that, it is a tyrant.⁶⁷³

Both the imagery of the monument and speeches pointed to anti-democratic rhetoric that advocated for narrowing the spheres of power in the city. In 1907 and 1910, large public ceremonies marked the dedication of statues of Homer and of Thomas Jefferson on the lawn in front of Old Cabell Hall and to the North of the Rotunda, respectively. Thomas Nelson Page (now a famous moonlight and magnolias celebrity-writer), worked to gather support from alumni, and also marshalled financial support from prominent regional industrialists and

⁶⁷⁰ "Monument Is Unveiled Today."

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² McCarthy was another ex-confederate who had finished his term as Richmond's mayor in 1908, and had also been an orator at the unveiling of Richmond's Confederate Soldiers and Sailor's Monument. *Souvenir Unveiling Soldiers and Sailors Monument* (Richmond, VA: J. L. Hill Printing Co, 1894), <https://archive.org/details/souvenirunveilin00conf/page/n1/mode/2up>.

⁶⁷³ "Monument Is Unveiled Today," *The Daily Progress*, May 5, 1909.

businessmen like Richmond's Joseph Bryan,⁶⁷⁴ and George C. Thomas of Philadelphia.⁶⁷⁵

Senator Thomas Staples Martin, who had been president of Charlottesville Land company in early 1890s,⁶⁷⁶ had law offices at 220 Court Square,⁶⁷⁷ and now was a U.S. Senator for Virginia, accepted the Jefferson Statue on behalf of the University. In 1913, John Thomas Lupton, who had made a fortune on Coca-Cola Bottling facilities across the South, donated a replica of Jean-Antoine Houdon's late 18th century statue of George Washington⁶⁷⁸ which the University installed on the southeast side of the Lawn.

1912 Racial Zoning

These spatial changes and celebratory events were accompanied by state and local governments' repeated attempts to officially regulate the racial arrangement of urban development, especially residential spaces. In 1912, a state residential segregation law empowered cities and towns to designate districts as "white" or "colored" on the basis of whether 50 percent of the inhabitants were white or negro. While one could not be forced to move out of a district designated for the opposite race, beginning twelve months after such a

⁶⁷⁴ According to Lindgren, Bryan was a railroad man and premier citizen of Richmond who "battled populists, workers, and radicals in order to promote conservative reform, protect the gold standard, and assure dominance by a capitalist elite." James M Lindgren, "First and Foremost a Virginian: Joseph Bryan and the New South Economy," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 96, no. 2 (April 1988): 157–80, 157.

⁶⁷⁵ Thomas was a New York based investment banker who worked with JP Morgan in New York, Drexel and Company in Philadelphia, and Morgan, Harjes & Co. in Paris. "Retirement of George C. Thomas," *Wall Street Journal*, November 7, 1904.

⁶⁷⁶ Charlottesville Land Company (Charlottesville and South Publishing Co, *Charlottesville, Virginia* (New York: Charlottesville Land Company, 1891).

⁶⁷⁷ Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country*, 123.

⁶⁷⁸ This statue was originally created for the Virginia State Capitol, and the then-governor of Virginia requested that Thomas Jefferson choose the sculptor, as he was then ambassador to France. Numerous copies of the sculpture were made by foundries from the 19th to 21st centuries, so at least 26 Houdon Washington statue casts decorate sites all over the country. It would be an interesting investigation to understand the various ways these objects related to networks of power and politics through various times. It would also be interesting to explore the material: the original was Carrera marble, as are the capitols of the columns at the Rotunda. Carrera, Italy, where this oft-used monumental material was mined, was also a hotbed of Italian anarchism due in part to organizing around working conditions in the mines.

designation, persons of the opposite race were forbidden to move into the district.”⁶⁷⁹ Following suit later that year, Charlottesville City passed a racial zoning ordinance prohibiting individuals from moving into neighborhoods that contained a majority of the opposite race, and prohibited builders from building new integrated housing.⁶⁸⁰ While this statute would have been unenforceable after the 1917 the Supreme Court decision of *Buchanan v. Warley*, many planning scholars note that municipalities still used comprehensive planning and zoning as a tool for orchestrating racial residential segregation in its wake.⁶⁸¹

1915 Jefferson Statue + A School Announcement

On April 13, 1915, President Edwin Alderman dedicated a statue of Jefferson on the southwest side of the Lawn that still stands there today. (figure 5.17) The statue, donated by New York businessman Charles Richard Crane,⁶⁸² is a copy of a statue by Karl Bitter, a sculptor who served

⁶⁷⁹ Wynes, “*The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia*,” 418.

⁶⁸⁰ Karen Waters-Wicks, ““An Ordinance to Secure for White and Colored People a Separate Location of Residence for Each Race”: A History of de Jure Residential Segregation in Charlottesville and Richmond, Virginia,” *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 72 (2014): 106–46; “Charlottesville City Council Minutes” (City of Charlottesville, February 15, 1912).

⁶⁸¹ Charles M Haar, Jerold S Kayden, and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, *Zoning and the American Dream: Promises Still to Keep* (Chicago, Ill: Chicago, Ill. : Planners Press, American Planning Association, c1989, 1989), <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u3296275> in his chapter, Yale Rabin notes the common practice of “expulsive zoning”, or allowing industrial uses in African American neighborhoods ; Sonia Hirt, “The Rules of Residential Segregation: US Housing Taxonomies and Their Precedents,” *Planning Perspectives* 30, no. 3 (n.d.): 367–95. Discusses the way that the U.S. used single family zoning to segregate neighborhoods by considering multi-family housing (affordable to many working class people) an industrial use, while considering single family homes a protected use, and the ways these zoning practices interacted and reinforced private land restrictions like racial covenants; Christopher Silver, “The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities,” in *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows*, ed. Thomas Manning, June Manning, and Marsha Ritzdorf (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997) explains early uses of Racial zoning and points out that even though early models of racial zoning fell to legal challenges, that comprehensive planning and indirect uses of zoning ordinances still effected racial residential segregation in many American cities. Marsha Ritzdorf’s chapter outlines how restrictive definitions of “single family” served to exclude non-nuclear family arrangements from areas zoned for single family use.

⁶⁸² It would be fascinating to get more into Crane’s overlapping political, industrial, and philanthropic lives. He was a major donor in the restoration of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, which was stressed as an important world heritage site in my architectural history classes in my undergraduate degree. His money was also key in establishing the Byzantine Institute in 1930 along with Rockefeller, which suggests connections to Dumbarton Oaks, where I spent last summer on research fellowship. For me, it also brings up questions

as Director of Sculpture at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair.^{683 684} The original statue had just been installed two years before in the new Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis, built with proceeds from the 1904 Fair. Crane was a major donor to Democratic President (1913-1921) Woodrow Wilson's campaign,⁶⁸⁵ and his memoirs provide a window into how densely Democratic party networks, industrial networks, educational institutions, and business interests were imbricated by this time. One reminiscence in from his memoirs draws the following connections:

After the [1912 Democratic Presidential] Convention, he [Uva **President Edwin Alderman**] called the students of the university together [...] and closed his remarks with a beautiful little sketch of Wilson's career, his inheritance, his character, and the contributions that various institutions and individuals had made in his development [...] I took it to the Democratic headquarters where it was received with much enthusiasm. **Rolla Wells** [mayor of St. Louis during the 1904 World's Fair], the Treasurer had it printed on the margin of the stationary he used in appealing for funds in the campaign[...] The comparatively few large contributions that come to us were from old Princeton friends of Mr. Wilson- **Cleveland Dodge, Cyrus McCormick** [brother of Leander McCormick who funded UVA's observatory in 1884], and the **Jones Brothers** of Chicago. [emphasis added]⁶⁸⁶

In this short anecdote, we see an intense braiding of geographies, biographies, genealogies, and channels of power. Leadership at the University was intimately connected to the President of the United States, and this was a good thing for a few actors.

about the channels of history that brought so many Turkish international students to UVA during my time as an undergraduate. .Apparently his son, Richard T. Crane also owned Westover Plantation in Virginia. Mehmet Hasan Bulut, "Charles R. Crane: Millionaire from Chicago That Inspired Spy Novels | Daily Sabah," October 26, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/portrait/charles-r-crane-millionaire-from-chicago-that-inspired-spy-novels>.https://findingaids.library.georgetown.edu/repositories/15/archival_objects/1289679

⁶⁸³ Ferdinand Schevill and National Sculpture Society (U.S.), *Karl Bitter: A Biography* (Chicago, Ill: The University of Chicago press, 1917.

⁶⁸⁴ "More Money for University: Gifts Announced by President Alderman at Today's Celebration," *The Daily Progress*, April 13, 1915.

⁶⁸⁵ "Crane Gave Ten Thousand to Wilson in Two Contributions," *The Daily Progress*, October 7, 1912.

⁶⁸⁶ Charles Richard Crane, *Memoirs of Charles R. Crane [Manuscript]*, accessed April 25, 2023, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_10973088_000/page/2/mode/2up, 251-253.

Meanwhile, like the localized celebrations at Court Square, the dedication ceremony of Crane's seated Jefferson statue legitimated these small networks of power. David F. Houston, the Secretary of the US Department of Agriculture and Democratic politician presented the statue. At the ceremony, President Edwin Alderman announced gifts totaling \$110,000 from two wealthy New Yorkers.⁶⁸⁷ Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railway gave that day's Founder's Day address entitled "The Place of Industry in Modern Life." In it he went out of his way to argue that industrial interests were the real interests of the people:

industry is daily becoming more responsive to those moral and intellectual needs of man...Men who conduct the destinies of great and conspicuous industries...recognize that they are subject to the control of public opinion almost as much as if they held public political office⁶⁸⁸

These proceedings at the dedication ceremony highlight the continuing connections between private New York industrial interests, Southern institutions, and the Democratic Party in consolidating a 'white man's government'. Much like the Jefferson Club's monument installation in 1901, this ceremony signaled white industrial elite's claims to an authority derived from "the people" marshalled under the image of Thomas Jefferson.

At the same time, the imagery surrounding event reveals that the construction of a class of "enlightened" capitalists and political leaders depended on articulating the threat of the "masses" in contradistinction to that leadership. The Jefferson monument's dedication occurred just months after the screening of *Birth of a Nation*, a film adaptation of Thomas Dixon Jr's 1905 novel *The Clansman*, a film often called the first "blockbuster" movie and connected in many historiographies to the rise of the 2nd Ku Klux Klan in the early 1920s. The unveiling of the

⁶⁸⁷ "More Money for University: Gifts Announced by President Alderman at Today's Celebration," *The Daily Progress*, April 13, 1915.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

Jefferson Statue from underneath a white sheet (figure 5.18) was not a new tradition, but given the context of the imagery pervading popular culture at that moment, would have signaled Jefferson's symbolic and historical alignment with militant white protestant ethno-nationalist currents on the rise⁶⁸⁹ at the beginning of World War I. These imageries continued to pervade print culture at UVA, with the Jefferson statue appearing on the cover, and Klan imagery appearing as the title page of the "Clubs and Associations" page of the 1922 yearbook,⁶⁹⁰ *Corks and Curls*. (Figure 5.19) The threatening "masses" who needed controlling were increasingly pictured as "other," with the ultimate signs of "otherness" aligning with Blackness.

Finally, the dedication rhetorically joined monument with the emerging fields of fine art, city planning, and design. President Alderman called for the founding of a department of art and architecture at the University,⁶⁹¹ echoing earlier currents from sites like Brooks Hall, where power-players used philanthropic means to define what legitimate disciplines of knowledge and study would include. Alderman's call for a department of architecture and art picked up currents that were building in the wake of World's Fairs and their emphasis on art, design, and urban arrangements as a measure of civilization. Actors like Thomas Nelson Page were writing contemporarily about the greatness of arts of the "ancient civilizations which successfully dominated the world,"⁶⁹² and argued for the importance of the US developing its own style of art. By then, Page served as the President of the Washington Society of Fine Arts,⁶⁹³ and spoke at major city planning conferences, where the means for "the extension of the idea of 'beautiful,

⁶⁸⁹ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities*.

⁶⁹⁰ I first learned of this image in Harold and Nelson, *Charlottesville 2017*.

⁶⁹¹ Lay and Coons, "The Early Years of Architectural Education at the University Part I."

⁶⁹² Thomas Nelson Page, "The Spirit of a People Manifested in Their Art," *Art and Progress* II, no. 4 (February 1911): 103–6, 103.

⁶⁹³ "American Civic Association's Convention," *Art and Progress* II, no. 4 (February 1911), 117–18.

coupled always with the idea ‘practical,’ in making beautiful and efficient community life,”⁶⁹⁴ were hammered out among the various classes of “civic-minded” players across the country.

Late 1910s and 1920s McIntire’s Philanthropic Campaign in Context

While many recent tellings of Charlottesville’s spatial development picture Paul G. McIntire (1860-1952) as a seminal thinker in emplacing racial-spatial symbolism in Charlottesville through monuments, this study sees him as only one well-connected man in a longer lineage of spatial actors who contributed to building institutions and intervening in space. McIntire was a businessman and philanthropist. McIntire spent his youth in the Charlottesville area, the son of Charlottesville mayor and druggist, George M. McIntire,⁶⁹⁵ and Catherine A. Clarke, who was descended from the family that produced George Rogers⁶⁹⁶ and William Clark.⁶⁹⁷ McIntire left UVA after one term to begin a career in trading, eventually holding a seat on the Chicago Stock Exchange.⁶⁹⁸ Bluestone speculates that McIntire’s residence in Chicago during the World Columbian Exposition of 1893 may have been one factor in his adoption of City Beautiful strategies for his landscape interventions and monument campaign.⁶⁹⁹ He moved back to Charlottesville in 1918, and is best known today for donating land for segregated parks, a whites-only public library, and multiple monuments to the City of Charlottesville.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid, 117–18. It is worth noting that a huge part of this conference is dedicated to the eradication of the typhoid fly in cities, and there’s an article somewhere in connecting children’s and enslaved peoples’ flyswatting duties at plantation dinner tables and these discourses about flies in modern cities.

⁶⁹⁵ “George Malcolm McIntire (1817-1884) - Find a Grave Memorial,” accessed May 16, 2023, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/219179737/george-malcolm-mcintire>. An article could emerge from the ways men who were merchants at the end of the antebellum period leveraged their connections to benefit their kids, who then often became wealthy as part of an up-and-coming investor capitalist class.

⁶⁹⁶ A.k.a. “Conqueror of the Old Northwest” for his acts in the Northwest Indian War in the northern Midwest

⁶⁹⁷ Of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

⁶⁹⁸ “Paul Goodloe McIntire (1860-1952) - Find a Grave Memorial,” accessed May 16, 2023, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/178134602/paul-goodloe-mcintire>.

⁶⁹⁹ Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory*, 222.

But before these more spectacular interventions, McIntire quietly worked with local institutions to support the project of civic “beautification” through Black residential displacement and institutional endowments. One example was Court Square. Before McIntire’s return to Charlottesville, the area immediately to the West of the square, McKee Row, transitioned in the 1880s to the 1910s from white to Black working-class housing.⁷⁰⁰ In the midst of this transition, area whites debated the location of a Confederate soldier memorial, ultimately sited in its current location on the South side of the Courthouse. In discussions of the site both during and after the statue installation, racial animosity fueled claims that the area was “unbecoming”⁷⁰¹ to the memorial. In 1914, the County Board passed a resolution outlining a plan to raze the buildings on McKee Row to make room for a school for white children.⁷⁰² While this resolution was not executed, it was the first attempt to clear Court Square of its Black inhabitants in the name of a public, but whites-only use. In 1918, McIntire quietly bought and demolished buildings along McKee Row⁷⁰³ (figure 5.20).

In another piece of groundwork in 1919, McIntire donated \$155,000 to UVA, founding their School of Fine Arts.⁷⁰⁴ This move, of funding a School of Arts before even endowing a School of Commerce (which he did later in 1921) speaks to the centrality in McIntire’s mind of art, spatial practice, and aesthetics in the project of city building. McIntire’s donations across the city supported an already rolling racializing agenda made physical through design:

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid, 218.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid, 217.

⁷⁰² Ibid, 222.

⁷⁰³ Ibid, 222.

⁷⁰⁴ John S Patton, “Paul Goodloe McIntire, 79, Founder of the School of Fine Arts,” *University of Virginia Alumni News*, April 1919, 182–84.

City Beautiful aesthetic vision merged seamlessly with a dominant racial ideology... The pattern of racial separation in McIntire's provision of public [facilities]... lends credence to the idea that improvements... supported the white ideals of racial separation in the structure and embellishment of the civic landscape⁷⁰⁵

McIntire's gifts are often lauded in Charlottesville history as selfless acts, but these two examples show that bequests to local institutions also supported and furthered ideologies and social networks that constrained power to particular channels. While McIntire now best known for his monuments, earlier accounts break his contributions into "four major categories: schools, scholarships, parks, and the library."⁷⁰⁶ So, his philanthropic efforts did not concern simply objects and monuments but were part of a larger picture of institutional resource flows, definitions of professional knowledges and practices that benefitted men of his ilk.

In example of pedagogy in Architecture that was part of the McIntire School of Fine Arts, early faculty used teaching methods adapted from the Ecole de Beaux-Arts in Paris. UVA used this curriculum into the early 1950s.⁷⁰⁷ The system's French-derived terms, including *charette*, *parti*, still appear in design studios today. Other aspects of this system reveal the centrality of design curriculum and learning spaces in the inculcating future designers into logics of particular human hierarchies. Advanced students were Class "A", and more novice students were "Class "B." Beginner students were required to do rendering and other work for advanced students, and this practice went by the verb form of a racial epithet: n*****ring. Mirroring paternalist justifications for racialized labor exploitation in societal discourse, design textbooks of the time

⁷⁰⁵Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory*, 223.

⁷⁰⁶ William R. Wilkerson and William G Shenkir, *Paul G. McIntire: Businessman and Philanthropist* (Charlottesville, VA: McIntire School of Commerce, University of Virginia, 1988), 18

⁷⁰⁷ Lay and Coons, "The Early Years of Architectural Education at the University Part I."

insisted this type of unpaid work was “good” for younger students: “Do not think that ‘n****ring’ is doing a favor for someone else. They good in it is largely to you...”⁷⁰⁸

Sociologists note that at this time, the design fields were entangled with an ongoing project of narrowing recognized expertise to those in racial, economic, and gendered power:

the need for standardized credentials kept those who were socially marginalized from professional rank, their adoption as the basis for entry to a profession can be understood as an acquisition of social power... by keeping the ‘irregulars out of competition...(women and amateur gardeners in landscape architecture [not to mention racial minorities]), a controlled base of operation could be delineated, and power firmly established over not only the market, but also over the production of future professionals.⁷⁰⁹

In this way as well, the field’s originators built the design fields to consolidate their own power through exclusion of rival forms of spatial knowledge.

McIntire, like earlier gift-givers, was also not the only philanthropic interest on the scene. As earlier monuments had served as occasions to connect networks of elite actors, campus development at UVA attracted the agglomerated donations of businesses, white supremacist organizations, and regional cultural institutions. In 1921, President Alderman accepted monetary pledges from three entities: J.P. Morgan, an infant (then the youngest) descendant of Thomas Jefferson represented by his father, a rector at a Roanoke, Virginia church, and the Ku Klux Klan.⁷¹⁰ That Centennial fund paid for Memorial Gymnasium, a larger edifice than Fayerweather Hall, for the perfection of white male bodies through athletics.

After these institution-building and spatial organizational moves, McIntire launched into a full-blown high profile collection of monument donations. (Figure 5.21) His gifts lined the

⁷⁰⁸ John F Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design, with Special Reference to the Program of the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design*, vol. 1926 (New York: The Pencil Points Press, 1926), 177.

⁷⁰⁹ Baird and Szczygiel, “The Sociology of Professions: The Evolution of Landscape Architecture in the United States,” 6.

⁷¹⁰ “Several Gifts to University,” *Daily Progress*, March 23, 1921.

well-travelled east-west thoroughfare of Main Street, which was gaining importance as an everyday processional space with the increasing popularization of automobile travel. To any visitor to town moving east to west along Main street by 1924, the monuments told a particular linear story starting with Jefferson (colonial and Revolutionary history) at UVA, Native American dispossession and genocide (George Rogers Clark), Westward Expansion (Lewis and Clark and Sacajawea), and culminating with glorious war and sectional reconciliation (Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and the confederate statue downtown). The imagery was recycled almost verbatim from the anchoring figures at the St. Louis Exposition (figure 5.14) and attempted to suture Charlottesville into a nationally recognizable iconography that had long been used to buttress industrial-capitalist visions for racialized and profitable urban futures.

1920s Legal Structures

As white supremacist symbols became more prevalent across Virginia, and circles of power and franchise increasingly narrowed across racial lines, well-connected actors could re-double their influence on state politics. What resulted was an escalation of the encoding of race through law across Virginia and more broadly across the US. Segregation laws of the 1920s “seem to have come largely in response to the demands of a small but powerful pressure group- the Anglo-Saxon clubs.”⁷¹¹ This club was founded in Richmond in 1922, and within a year had spread to eleven states, with its purpose as “preservation and maintenance of Anglo-Saxon ideals in America,”⁷¹² and was concerned with the “negro Problem,” and greater selectivity around immigrants entering the US.

⁷¹¹ Wynes, “The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia,” 419.

⁷¹² Ibid, 419.

May 15, 1924, Ernest Sevier Cox⁷¹³ of Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America spoke at UVA's Anglo-Saxon Club on "'New Radical Laws: Their History and Importance.' In his address Major Cox will give an explanation of the recent State law defining what constitutes a negro in the eyes of the law, and at the same time he will discuss the foreign race question in America."⁷¹⁴ This is shortly after the passage of the Racial Integrity Act (SB 219) and the Eugenic Sterilization Act (SB 281) by Virginia's governor on March 20 of this year.

In 1926, Virginia passed a state law, the Massenburg bill, requiring separate seating of the races at public functions even though this was a custom already in most places.⁷¹⁵ This act started with the Anglo-Saxon Club's response to an incident of mixed-race seating at the Hampton Institute in 1925. This bill had heavy opposition from the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, and several Virginia newspapers.

Planning mechanisms were also elaborated and advanced at the national level. Presidents Coolidge and Harding directed Herbert Hoover, then director of the Federal Department of Commerce, to form committees to draft standard enabling legislation for states to use to allow localities to write comprehensive plans, write building codes, and enact planning and zoning statutes. Susan Knack and others argue that this effort was one intended to both address housing shortages and bolster real estate profits, especially through sales of housing and real estate.⁷¹⁶ These two model acts, the Standard Zoning Enabling Act (SZA, 1924-6) and the Standard City Planning Enabling Act (SCPEA, 1928), set out the structure for typical planning commission

⁷¹³ Cox was also involved in real estate after he moved to Richmond in 1920, and fell in with John Powell, a composer and professor at UVA. In 1922, together they founded the Anglo-Saxon Club of Virginia in September 1922.

⁷¹⁴ Daily Progress. "University News." May 14, 1924.

⁷¹⁵ Wynes, "The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia," 419.

⁷¹⁶ Knack, Stuart, and Stollman, "The Real Story Behind the Standard Planning and Zoning Acts of the 1920s," 3-9.

structures that still exist in many cities today. Virginia passed its state-level enabling legislation in 1926, and Charlottesville passed its first zoning ordinance and map in 1929.⁷¹⁷

1915-1925 The Threat of Extralegal Violence in the Name of Law and Order

At the same time, the threats of racial violence and terror appear in the frequent coverage of KKK activities in the late 1910s and early 1920s in the local *Daily Progress*. Just as newspapers and commemorative publications had amplified narratives, imaginaries, and histories that benefitted particular actors through the popular press in the past, J.H. Lindsay's *Daily Progress*' coverage of the KKK in Charlottesville reveals the publisher's desires to picture the Klan as menacing, successful, and deeply interwoven with the cultural fabric of the city.

From a thematic reading of the coverage, the language used resonated with the spatial logics of racial domination Mbembe identifies. The language of KKK missives in this local paper draw again and again upon connections to Jefferson as an exalted figure, and metaphors of an internal Black enemy other, height, vision, and threats of violence (figure 5.22). They deployed the politics of verticality and vision by picturing themselves as all-seeing and omnipotent. They named their officers with combinations of visual metaphors and social height, with titles like "Exalted Cyclops,"⁷¹⁸ highlighting the eye as an organ of dominance. KKK speakers also seemed to have proximity to power and hold events in significant spaces. The paper covered KKK speakers receiving warm receptions in the Court House on Court Square on more than one occasion. An appearance by the KKK at the local sheriff's funeral made clear the

⁷¹⁷ "The Impact of Racism on Affordable Housing in Charlottesville: A Report by the Charlottesville Low-Income Housing Coalition" (Charlottesville, VA: Charlottesville Low Income Housing Coalition, February 2020), 24.

⁷¹⁸ "U. of VA. Klan No. 5: Severs Connection with Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.," *The Daily Progress*, November 6, 1922.

ties between local law enforcement and the Klan,⁷¹⁹ echoing the Jefferson Guard's policing of racial boundaries at the St. Louis Exposition. Finally, their repeated emphasis on law and order signals that, as Mbembe observes, this group was part of a socially sanctioned apparatus where "the violence of the state of exception is deemed to operate in the service of 'civilization.'"⁷²⁰ Black spaces and bodies had become zones marked as spaces and objects of race-based disorder, "where the controls and guarantees of juridical order can be suspended."⁷²¹ Klan violence was pictured in Lindsay's *Daily Progress* as synonymous with the rule of law.

However, a closer look at the motivations of J H Lindsay, the *Daily Progress*' owner and context on the inner workings of the Klan in the early 1920s provides some useful perspective. The City's Blue Ribbon Commission Report notes that Lindsay was one of Charlottesville's "most powerful voices for white supremacy,"⁷²² and had been publishing opinion pieces he authored that "came out boldly in favor of disenfranchising the negro as far as possible,⁷²³" since as early as the run-up to the 1902 constitutional convention. So, Lindsay was a man with his own bullhorn, ready to trumpet for white supremacist governance and systems. He was also a staunch Democrat and wrote about Monticello for patriotic supplement for the *Chicago Tribune* in 1900.⁷²⁴ Hernandez, who studies the KKK's activities and membership nationally during this time period, argues that the Klan was in some ways a widespread popular movement, but was

⁷¹⁹ "Ku Klux Klan at Thomas Funeral," *The Richmond Planet*, February 18, 1922.

⁷²⁰ Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 24.

⁷²¹ *Ibid*, 24.

⁷²² Gathers et al., "Report to City Council: Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces.," timeline page 4.

⁷²³ "Franchise Comes First," *The Daily Progress*, July 3, 1901.

⁷²⁴ J H Lindsay, "Monticello Preserved as Its Great Builder Intended His Home to Be," *The Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1900. There may be an article here about the rise of Democratic clubs, and how this supplement comes out right as W.R. Hearst becomes president of the Association of Democratic Clubs in Washington and declares "it will print; it will sow the country with documents..." *National Association of Democratic Clubs* (New York: Journal Job Print, 1900), 26.

also an elaborate pyramid scheme that needed to recruit members to survive.⁷²⁵ He argues that the Klan was a fraternal organization whose leaders in Atlanta benefitted handsomely by selling militant ethno-nationalist hate. In 1920, the Klan's leadership hired the Southern Publicity Association⁷²⁶ who modern pioneered sales and marketing techniques that:

“carved up the nation into territories, and established an organized, almost bureaucratic, pyramid system [...] the country was divided into Domains [...] which were headed by a Grand Goblin [...] Realms, each directed by a **King Kleagle** [...] each **Kleagle** was assigned a territory, and it was up to him to set up as many klaverns as possible, traveling around his territory to different locations [...] by September 1921 [...] the Propagation department had over 200 kleagles working for them[...] it was not unlike the system used by dozens of national companies to sell their products. The traveling salesman had been a staple of American business life for decades, but rather than sell books or insurance, these salesmen were selling a unique fraternal experience.⁷²⁷ (emphasis added)

Seen in this light, all J H Lindsay's coverage in the *Daily Progress* likely helped the Klan in a common goal to exaggerate “the KKK's size, the scope and nature of its activities, and the fraternity's influence on politics and society.”⁷²⁸ In fact, reading through Hernandez' description of common recruiting practices, incidents of Klan intimidation in Charlottesville and Albemarle start to look like a verbatim account of the Klan's playbook which Hernandez explains:

All across the country, kleagles were using the same sorts of techniques to infiltrate communities. Usually **arriving quietly**, announcing their presence to only a few, kleagles found an **initial base of recruits** from which to grow from, usually garnered at the local fraternal lodge or veteran's organization. The Propagation Department's agents then tried to **recruit locals in leadership positions**, men such as mayors or policemen, before moving on to important **community figures** such as local ministers. After a solid group of loyal

⁷²⁵ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities*.

⁷²⁷ Ibid, 96.

⁷²⁸ Ibid, 100.

Klansmen had formed in the community, what followed was typically a series of **escalating and conspicuous publicity stunts**, such as the burning of a fiery cross or a donation to a local church during service. As the Klan become more and more powerful, their recruitment efforts became more and more visible. **Huge parades** would follow, as well as public initiations and **Klan rallies and barbecues**. This pattern was replicated in hundreds of communities across America, and became a familiar sequence to many observers of the order.⁷²⁹

In Charlottesville, June 1921, the Klan organized at Jefferson's grave, bolstering their connection to the ideal figure of Jefferson. Just as the St. Louis Jefferson Club had in 1901, in 1921 the KKK announced their presence with a visit to Monticello. They burned a cross on the high ground of Jefferson's tomb.⁷³⁰ After this "conspicuous publicity stunt" and others the next month,⁷³¹ Klan speaker Hon. J.Q. Nolan spoke at the Courthouse on Wednesday July 20.⁷³² Nolan was a Kleagle⁷³³, part of the sales force for the Klan.⁷³⁴ Nolan seemed to be on a sales tour, he spoke at the Opera House in Alexandria just a few nights later on July 22, 1921.⁷³⁵ On February 9, 1922, the KKK appeared at Cameron M. Thomas, Albemarle County Sherriff's funeral. The four robed men appear at the burial, "immediately following the Masonic ceremonies," and deposited a floral arrangement of three Ks and a card expressing brotherly friendship from his fellow Klansmen (recruiting locals in leadership positions).⁷³⁶ In 1922, UVA's Corks and Curls yearbook ran a spread depicting a white-hooded figure as the cover page

⁷²⁹ Ibid, 109.

⁷³⁰ "Ku Klux Klan Organized Here," *The Daily Progress*, June 28, 1921.

⁷³¹ "Ku Klux Klan Issues 'Warning,'" *The Daily Progress*, July 19, 1921.

⁷³² "Ku Klux Klan Public Address," *The Daily Progress*, July 19, 1921.

⁷³³ "Roll of Kleagles," *The Chicago Defender*, September 25, 1937. In this reprint of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Field Force, from the Propagation Department on April 21, 1921, Nolan is listed as a Kleagle under the Headquarters Staff, Lectureres, and Charter Deliverers woking out of Atlanta.

⁷³⁴ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities*,96.

⁷³⁵ "Will Speak for Ku-Klux Klan," *Washington Post*, July 22, 1921.

⁷³⁶ "Ku Klux Attend Burial of Sheriff," *The Daily Progress*, February 10, 1922.

for its Clubs and Organization Section,⁷³⁷ and UVA had its own chapter,⁷³⁸ pointing to the Klan becoming more embedded and widespread at this time. And by 1924, at the time of the dedication of the Lee Statue, the Klan⁷³⁹ was holding mass parades down Main Street. However, John West, a prominent local Black businessman, barber, and landowner is pictured as puncturing the air of mystery and intimidation the parade meant to illicit. His family later recalled his reaction: “‘I recognized every single one of them!’ He was their barber and knew them all by their shoes!”⁷⁴⁰ West’s reaction underscores that white supremacist organizers desired to appear to be more influential, more formidable, more all-seeing than they ever were in reality, pointing to gaping cracks in the appearance of consensus around showings like the parade.⁷⁴¹

1923 Buying Monticello and Monticello Hotel

Coinciding with these efforts, Patricia West, in her book *Domesticating History* argues that Monticello was an explicitly Democratic symbolic and economic project. She highlights that with the collapse of the Wilsonian coalition in the 1920 Presidential election, “the Democratic party struggled to find a centripetal mechanism to draw together extremes represented by urban

⁷³⁷ Harold and Nelson, *Charlottesville 2017*, 10.

⁷³⁸ “Ku Klux Klan Rescinds Action,” *The Daily Progress*, November 21, 1922.

⁷³⁹ “Klan Parade Drew Big Crowd,” *The Daily Progress*, May 19, 1924.

⁷⁴⁰ Julian Burke, *Tenth Anniversary Cookbook* (Palmyra Virginia: African American Genealogy Group of Charlottesville/ Albemarle County Virginia, 2005).

⁷⁴¹ Another side note that may be worth pursuing later is that this parade was happening amid a slew of national-level parades, shortly before the quick collapse of the Klan-as-pyramid scheme around 1925. A Klan parade in DC in 1925 was similarly ridiculed by a critic there, who claimed the crowd was made of “mostly folk who wanted to come to Washington as part of their vacation.” This pattern points to how closely historic sites and tourism were enmeshed with the business of tourist travel promotion, and also points to both the pervasiveness and ridiculousness of white supremacist frameworks. “Outpouring of Klan of No Big National Import, Evans Says,” *The Washington Post*, August 9, 1925.

immigrant machines and an increasingly jeremiad-oriented faction tinged by the KKK.”⁷⁴² The Party once again seized on Jefferson, and identified his Charlottesville home as the locus of a

full-blown Jefferson revival in which the Founding father stood as a link between an agrarian bloc touting an All-American heritage identified with Jefferson’s beloved countryside and a culturally diverse urban constituency responsive to the Jeffersonian principle of freedom of religion⁷⁴³

The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation (TJMF), then, formed as a group comprised of Democratic lawyers and businessmen based in New York, elite women like Maud Littleton, and the women’s society networks of Washington and Richmond.⁷⁴⁴ The group bought Monticello in 1923, and opened it to the public as a house museum in 1924. West observes that “the house museum as a direct political agent was recognized by male leaders.”⁷⁴⁵ Upon buying the property, the Foundation embarked on a national fund-raising campaign to publicize Jefferson and raise funds to pay for the property. Events included a large fundraising dinner at Grand Central Station in New York, contrived as a “Pilgrimage to Monticello.”⁷⁴⁶ They also launched nationally, “Jefferson week” in schools and churches in April 1924, and sent a relic from Jefferson’s riding apparatus to the Democratic National Convention in June of 1924.

Rehabilitation of Jefferson’s image accompanied a promotion of Monticello as a pilgrimage site. West notes that nationally at the time, Jefferson was “at best a forgotten man (at worst a scoundrel) in scholarship and in the public mind, such that the organization had to generate not only support for their particular project, but basic veneration for Jefferson as well.”⁷⁴⁷ All these

⁷⁴² West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America’s House Museums*, 112.

⁷⁴³ Ibid, 112.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid, 107.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid, 108.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid, 110.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid, 112.

events reinforced the use of Jefferson as ideal man and rallying leader across regional boundaries and political interests, and used a historic site on a topographic peak as its anchoring geography.

In tandem with the redevelopment of Monticello as a political symbolic site, this era saw the development of commercial endeavors to capitalize on landscape changes. The house itself became not only a Democratic political tool, but also a means to promote and sell furnishings that inspired middle class American women to arrange their homes in an image of American perfection embodied in Monticello's interiors. West notes that in 1923, Fisk Kimball was appointed chair of the TJMP Restoration Committee,⁷⁴⁸ and stood at the helm of directing the renovation and museum conversion efforts on the mountaintop. West argues Monticello was part of a new trend in house museums inspired by art collector and historian R.T.H Halsey's 1924 period rooms at the American wing of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁷⁴⁹ Both Halsey and Kimball saw house furnishings and interiors as another way of training the wider public in "refined judgement."⁷⁵⁰ In fact, art historian Wendy Kaplan notes how as early as 1918, Halsey wrote explicitly about the influence of these displays of decorative arts on "many of our people of foreign ancestry who are attempting to become good Americans."⁷⁵¹ A TJMP-produced book from 1928 highlights the Jefferson-era reproductions for sale through Monticello,⁷⁵² and underscores a mode of consumerist assimilation to "American" values and aesthetics. Much like the residential developments in Charlottesville at the turn of the century,

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid, 121.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid, 124.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid, 125.

⁷⁵¹ Wendy Kaplan, "R.T.H. Halsey: An Ideology of Collecting American Decorative Arts," *Wintherthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (43-53): Spring 1982, 49.

⁷⁵² Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, *Treasure From Monticello: The Charm and Beauty of Thomas Jefferson's Mansion Are Reproduced for the Modern Home* (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Harrisonburg, Virginia Virginia craftsmen inc. [1928?], 1928).

these efforts to sell an image of legitimate American-ness based in antebellum values and aesthetics, but extended that logic to the business of crafting a home's interiors. New consumer industries blossomed, and further consolidated cultural norms of whiteness.

1927-1929: The Neo-Plantationary Necropolis and The Monticello Hotel Spotlight

By 1929, numerous hotels dotted the vehicular procession between Charlottesville's landmarks, including the 11-story Monticello Hotel, constructed on the topographic high point of Court Square, which opened to the public in 1926 (figure 5.23). These constructions reflected, as Daniel Bluestone notes, that "Charlottesville business leaders recognized that the economic future of the city would be bound up with tourism and residential settlement tied in large part to the region's scenic and historical heritage."⁷⁵³ These hotels showed the desire of city leaders to draw "auto-tourists of the better class...demanding better hotel accommodations."⁷⁵⁴ The hotel was part of a larger system of regional infrastructural developments that facilitated tourist travel and mobility for the classes of people who could afford private automobiles. A 1924 tourist map, shows Charlottesville sites in relation to other tourist attractions whose draw was based on a wide cohort of white male historical figures (Figure 5.24). A Virginia Public Service Company Map⁷⁵⁵ from 1929 (figure 5.25) shows expanding electrical service to many of these same cities. The Monticello Hotel, then Charlottesville's only skyscraper, integrated an object with great physical height into the new tourist precinct of Court Square. Contemporary press coverage of the events notes the hotel as one of a complex of attractions, including the Old Court House, the Old Swan Tavern, and the Stonewall Jackson sculpture.

⁷⁵³ Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory*, 228.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 228.

⁷⁵⁵ Virginia Public Service Company is one organizational precursor to today's Dominion Power. In 1929, this company only controlled a portion of Virginia's electrical infrastructure, which accounts for blank areas in this map.

Figure 5.23 is a diagrammatic map showing the results of these dispersed but colossal efforts of the first three decades of the 20th Century in respatializing Charlottesville as a neo-plantationary necropolis, and what tourists who visited the new hotel would have seen. Strategic high points were cleared of non-white residents and the major ridge following Main Street through the city was punctuated by symbolic objects that told a story of “progress” towards impending civic greatness. The Black business district was situated along Main Street between the University and the Courthouse, giving credence to the success of “separate but equal” approaches to the racial spatialization of social spheres and everyday life. Intersecting North-South ridges were occupied by mostly white middle class residential enclaves. “Colored” residential areas, as described by graduate student Marjorie Irwin in a Phelps-Stokes funded social scientific report on the Black community of Charlottesville,⁷⁵⁶ are shown as sorted into the slightly topographically lower spaces between.

Almost like a white supremacist victory lap, in the hills above these neighborhoods, a ceremony on August 16, 1927 dedicated a searchlight (figure 5.27) on the top of the Monticello hotel, a crowning symbol for this landscape of founding-father worship with broad public appeal. In New York city, Constance Gibboney, daughter of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Fund’s president, Stuart Gibboney, stood before a crowd in the Aldermanic chamber of New York’s City Hall and pushed a button that shined a floodlight on a large photograph of Monticello (Figure 5.27). Through a device purpose-built and operated by the Westinghouse Corporation, Western Union Telegraph Service Company, and UVA engineering professors specifically for this occasion, the “light” simultaneously illuminated the outrageously powerful 1.38 billion candle power searchlight on the roof of the Monticello hotel in Charlottesville. The light was

⁷⁵⁶ Marjorie Felice Irwin, “The Negro in Charlottesville and Albemarle County” (Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia, 1929), <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/proffit/documents/irwin/>.

ceremonially shone on the former homes of five presidents: Monticello, James Madison's Montpelier, James Monroe's Ash Lawn, Teddy Roosevelt's Pine Knot hunting lodge (near Keene, VA), and 31 West Range of the Lawn, where Woodrow Wilson had lived while a student at the University.⁷⁵⁷ The activation of the light coincided with a military parade in Charlottesville, and the light played over a blimp flown in from Langley Field in Hampton. A third venue for festivities was a large ceremony at the University, host to a plethora of dignitaries including the mayor of Charlottesville, the Tax Commissioner of New York State, members of the TJMF, Board of Visitors members, executives from telephone and electric utilities, Paul McIntire, Academics from major Universities across the nation, military officers, and newspaper publishers.⁷⁵⁸

Amidst all this jubilation, the light had an explicitly threatening connotation. It was provided by Virginia Public Service Company and was originally designed as equipment for the Sperry Army for military use in spotting airplanes. Articles offered a physically threatening fact: "the light beam is of 1,380,000,000 candle power, is strong enough to produce artificial sunburn 2 miles away, and blister the skin of a person coming within a 1,000-foot radius."⁷⁵⁹ This statement, and the light itself, amidst the numerous acts of racial terror involving explosions and burning crosses perpetrated by the KKK throughout the region can be seen as a thinly veiled racial threat to any "inferior peoples" who existed in the City's spaces.

The ceremonies synthesized the capitalist forces, racial hierarchies, spatial tools of height and vision, and threats of violence. Like the Klan's "Exalted Cyclops," the image of the

⁷⁵⁷ "Jefferson Light Glows in Virginia," *The New York Times*, August 17, 1927; "Jefferson Light, World's Greatest Beacon Dedicated," *The Washington Post*, August 17, 1927.

⁷⁵⁸ "Will Dedicate Big Searchlight Next Tuesday," *The Daily Progress*, August 13, 1927.

⁷⁵⁹ "Jefferson Light, World's Greatest Beacon Dedicated," *The Washington Post*, August 17, 1927.

powerful, divine, morally perfect all-seeing eye was invoked again in this moment. The poetic waxings of the St. Louis Jefferson Club's speeches relating Jefferson's position of prospect from the mountain were fused through the searchlight with the mass view from the top of the St. Louis observation wheel, and the memorial landscape on Charlottesville's high ground. Depictions of the light on tourist pamphlets invited the broader public to experience the divine vision of the invented originating figure (figure 5.28). Echoing the racial imagery of the World's Fairs, the *Boston Globe* ran a sheet of cartoons on "the Advantages and Disadvantages of the New Searchlight in Charlottesville." One showed stereotypical Eskimos in Alaska under the light, saying "Darn it, there's that Charlottesville Light again."⁷⁶⁰ The light jokingly and symbolically extended to the furthest corner of American continental reach, consolidating the nation under white supremacist rule.

The range of the light, and the involvement of military forces (an air force blimp), civic governments (New York's Aldermanic chamber and government dignitaries), corporate leaders (Westinghouse and VA Public Utility Service) and cultural elites (academics) had loud symbolic import. The event and the enduring figure of the searchlight on top of the Hotel brought into physical reality the fantasy of an all-powerful popular white consciousness led by divine elites, who would see, know and control all. It attempted to transcribe the imaginary of racial capitalism in Charlottesville (figure 5.2) onto the literal space of the city as it nested in the context of its state and nation. (figure 5.29) And if you cared to taste that power, you could come visit and stay just downstairs, through a landscape organized by the automobile and other sites of significance

⁷⁶⁰ Bill Edwards, "Mystery Photo Solved," *Lighthouse Digest*, September 2005, www.lighthousedigest.com/Digest/Storypagecfm?StoryKey=2298.

in this global order. While you likely couldn't direct the light yourself, you could at least sleep in the edifice holding it up.

Coda: Conclusions and Openings

This paper so far has focused attention on the consolidations of networks of racial capitalist power as it manifested in Charlottesville area and across the nation. These networks of power continue into the present. It was at this moment of the 1920s that the small circles of influential capitalists turned the work of coordinating and elaborating the neo-plantationary necropolis over to professionalized planners and designers. In its 1921 newsletter, the Charlottesville Chamber of Commerce educated its readership on what professional planning was, and why it was important:

Definition: City planning is **good sense, forethought, and science applied to the building of cities**...City planning determines the layout of a city, the location of things, and the types and characters of permanent structures so far as these are matters of public interest. Now is the time to act. Charlottesville is now small, but has a promising future. Why not begin to build with a view to the future? Why not do what hundreds of American Cities are now doing? Why not have a program worked out, and **avoid the blunders that will later be so hard to repair, and which will cost so much money and inconvenience?**⁷⁶¹

At the same time, as if to directly echo practices of the World's Fair, academics and social scientists used the newly re-arranged city as a site for sociological study. In 1929 a Phelps-Stokes Fellow at the University of Virginia, Marjorie Felice Irwin, published her thesis, *The Negro in Charlottesville and Albemarle County*. In it she describes a post-bellum landscape of racially integrated neighborhoods.⁷⁶² She then describes a history of voluntary white flight leaving black people in degenerate spaces where "poverty, dirt, and vice live..."⁷⁶³ In doing so

⁷⁶¹ "City Plan," Community Interests University Centennial Edition, May 1921, UVA Special Collections.

⁷⁶² Irwin, "The Negro in Charlottesville and Albemarle County," 18.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid*, 18

she obscured the intentional creation of Black residential districts, and associated the physical dereliction of black neighborhoods' built forms with the character of the people who lived there. These are the plannerly modes of Fields' *racecraft*, that conscript us as "professionals" to pathologizing entire invented categories of people and spaces to facilitate extraction.

This paper has shown that much of the "good sense" held at the core of planning thought emerged from the spatial practices and ideologies of the plantation and are therefore only "good" for those positioned or attempting to position themselves to profit. The modes of representation, design, and storytelling that underpin our design fields, and the structures of power that underpin our current modes of civic decision-making continue to emerge from this profit motive, and prioritize benefit to a select few at the expense of the many.⁷⁶⁴ Foglesong's reading that planning has emerged to "identify, organize, and legitimate the interests of capital in the field of urban development, providing a critical mediating link between capital and the state,"⁷⁶⁵ is one story that I find to be true.

But no story is closed or complete, nor should it be. In fact, my attachment to the line of inquiry about circles of power originates from the same anxiety I feel when I choose a carton of milk. Which milk must I buy to be protected? Which milk will make me worthy of life? None of them do, and that is the power of the set of stories I have excavated so far. I am made precarious and discardable by the same systems that promise me safety which it ultimately can never provide. These systems require my participation, as the fears that I will be rendered outside the sphere of protection (see the flexible whiteness boundary in figure 5.29) loom over every "choice." And all the choices provided by this system and its fear can seem like the only ones if this is the only story I consider. But even this story has big cracks that could be attended to. The

⁷⁶⁴ Kevan Klosterwill et al., "Constructing Health Representations of Health and Housing in Charlottesville's Urban Renewals," *Journal of Architectural Education* 74, no. 2 (2020): 222–36.

⁷⁶⁵ Foglesong, *Planning the Capitalist City: The Colonial Era to the 1920s*, 33.

circles of power are so small. The organs of these stories are so loud, but also so narrowly controlled.

Solnit expresses that storytelling can be like hopscotch, where you gather a path from the stones you find, the stones you throw, and pass across a terrain one way. But you can gather new stones, and chart a different path across the very same terrain, which can lead to different ends, wider conclusions, and test possibilities not available when a story is told just one way.⁷⁶⁶

Another stone that has been whispering in my ear is the question of my connectedness. The premise of my research methods has been to leave the nouns for the verbs, to tend the flows instead of the objects, and to see how things that seem separate are connected. Unearthing the networks of power has been critical to me, but is not the only story available to me, and a singular focus on the how the constriction of possibility has been achieved runs the risk of perpetuating that constriction. What happens if we tell this terrain again?

⁷⁶⁶ Rebecca Solnit, *Recollections of My Nonexistence* (New York: Penguin Books, 2021).

SECTION III: Telling the Terrain Again

Chapter 6: Genealogies of entanglement as lenses for wider futures

Introduction: Situated Entanglement

In recent years, qualitative and historical research discourses have increasingly problematized objectivist notions of scholarship and knowledge. These criticisms have emerged in the post-modern era, bringing to light the importance of researcher positionality and situatedness with respect to research, and inviting various fields to denaturalize the “God trick”⁷⁶⁷ of seemingly objective rationality. Disclosure of specificities in relationship to one’s research has become codified through the positionality statement:

A good strong positionality statement will typically include a description of the researcher’s lenses (such as their philosophical, personal, theoretical beliefs and perspective through which they view the research process), potential influences on the research (such as age, political beliefs, social class, race, ethnicity, gender, religious beliefs, previous career), the researcher’s chosen or pre-determined position about the participants in the project (e.g., as an insider or an outsider), the research-project context and an explanation as to how, where, when and in what way these might, may, or have, influenced the research process (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Producing a good positionality statement takes time, considerable thought, and critical reflection.⁷⁶⁸

Reflexively plumbing one’s situatedness⁷⁶⁹ is now accepted as critical to the clarity and evaluation of “new knowledge” generated by scholarly processes and is framed as one way to

⁷⁶⁷ Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (October 1, 1988).

⁷⁶⁸ Andrew Gary Darwin Holmes, “Researcher Positionality- A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research - A New Researcher Guide,” *Journal of International Education* 8, no. 4 (2020), 4.

⁷⁶⁹ John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*, Fourth edition (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2018), 228.

approach the ethics of action in spatial design.⁷⁷⁰ However, these practices can effectively become an exercise of self-categorization that leans on currently accepted social definitions. Further, these self-categorizations can shortcut deeper examination of categories themselves by reinforcing “common sense” assumptions about the social dynamics and experiences associated with these labels. The process of elaborating the social categories a researcher “belongs to” can counterproductively ossify and reify the socially produced “types” a researcher supposedly inhabits.

Rather than invoke these categories to define myself as a knowledge-producing agent, this chapter elaborates a heuristic framework of *entangled genealogies* to model ways to trouble, complicate, and leverage the multiple positions any researcher lives in and works with through their scholarly processes. In this context, I define genealogies as a tentative and flexible mapping of the multiple sets of lineages we are part of as actors particularly situated in time and space. I work on the premise that tracing these constellations can productively shift and elaborate our moral commitments, political responsibilities, potential alliances, and opportunities for action by rearranging the myriad traditions, histories, and ways of knowing that are available to us. This approach illuminates relationships already in existence or available for existence that racializing capitalisms do their best to dislocate and bury. Society’s current racializing algorithms disconnect and reconnect our existences in terms of “dominant comparative logics [that] create ‘certainties’ of discreteness, distinctness, and discontinuity- of discrete identities, distinct territorializations and sovereignties, and discontinuities between the political and the economic, the internal and the external, and the valued and the devalued.”⁷⁷¹ The approach of genealogies of entanglement is to plumb our dense social connectedness through time, both in the past and

⁷⁷⁰ Heather Campbell, “Just Planning: The Art of Situated Ethical Judgement,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 26, no. 1 (2006): 92–106.

⁷⁷¹ Jodi Melamed, “Racial Capitalism,” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1 (Spring 2015): 76–85, 79.

into the present and future. It can also give us ways to understand the mechanisms of capital's disconnection and reconnection of our social lives in ways that draw us into relations of domination in the course of our everyday lives. Finally, this practice aims to give us tools for rebuilding worlds of productive entanglement: worlds where we can redefine our connectedness in terms that allow us to live beyond the limiting and alienating terms that our current economic systems channel our energies toward.

This chapter seeks to elaborate, challenge, and explore beyond the positionality statement to begin to leverage personal histories, everyday landscapes, and trans-locational trajectories for generating “previously unavailable”⁷⁷² directions for research and action. It builds on the work of Sultan and others who define heuristic inquiry as a trans-individual framework that plumbs personal experience to “radiate from the personal domain of experiencing a phenomenon into the realm of the universal [... with a] focus on holism and personhood, essentially, on what it means to be human.”⁷⁷³ Through these multiple practices, I hope to move toward uncertain, entangled, and complicating futures.

I embark from some of the categories typically elaborated in a positionality statement: I am a woman. I am a social constructivist. I am a landscape architect. I am a Japanese-Euro-birthright American citizen. I am a property owner. I am a parent/child/future ancestor. I am a consumer. I am a producer. But rather than name and explore these categories as parallel threads, I remix⁷⁷⁴ them through exploring historical of entanglements. First, I examine the past through genealogies of blood and money to understand my own connection to the stories of power I have told so far by exploring the origins of my family's wealth. I recombine “expert” knowledge,

⁷⁷² McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*.

⁷⁷³ Nevine Sultan, *Heuristic Inquiry: Researching Human Experience Holistically* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2019), 5.

⁷⁷⁴ Andrea Roberts and Grace Kelly, “Remixing as Praxis: Arnstein's Ladder Through the Grassroots Preservationist's Lens,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 85, no. 3 (July 1, 2019).

family histories explored through interviews with my parents, personal experiences, and archival findings to explore my lineages of wealth, of place, and of knowledges. Unexpectedly, this exploration becomes a meditation less on what I would “lose” through decentering profit, and more on what I have already lost by the choices of my antecedents. This piece aspires to model for using one’s own experience, histories, and locational entanglements to develop specific practices for situating ourselves as actors in place and history and de-coupling from the flows and imperatives of racial capitalism, and re-coupling with life-sustaining networks that area already existing, already accessible around us.

Genealogies of blood and money and working at cross-purposes

What histories can situate my state of relative material wealth? At present, most of my household’s wealth is held in my single-family home in the Locust Grove neighborhood of Charlottesville. My partner and I bought this home in 2009. We spent our early years in Charlottesville renting apartments and worried by the constant rise of the price of housing. My fear of getting “priced out” of the places I lived, and my desire to stabilize and “make predictable” my housing costs spurred my decision to buy a home. In this way, I can see that the looming threat of the deprivation of shelter, structured by my husband’s and my participation (and involuntary non-participation through a round of layoffs at his office) in architecture and construction industries that shrunk significantly with the onset of the “great recession” of 2008 was enough to convince our household to buy into the institutions of homeownership as indebted mortgage holders and ostensible property “owners.”

In terms of the value of the land I purchased, I can trace the passings of this land through multiple ownerships, all the way back to a land grant from the King of England to Nicholas

Meriwether in 1735.⁷⁷⁵ When bought this house and became a property owner, I joined this legal lineage of property owners that goes back to this first generation of powerful men who had been “stealing this most productive land [...] the practice in English Virginia since the early seventeenth century.”⁷⁷⁶ I joined the genealogy of property, which directly connects me through acquisition of this plot to the relatively recent Euro-North American tradition of territorial expansion through violent seizure,⁷⁷⁷ and the holding and leveraging of land held at the household level for the exclusive use of the property owner.

My decision to become a homeowner in 2009, then, is evidence of my elective participation in the stratigraphy of white supremacy.⁷⁷⁸ Not only is my ownership of this parcel a direct transfer of land held with questionable authority since the beginnings of English colonization, but the amount the house and land were “worth” in 2009 were a momentary net result of the multiple historical acts and processes that pre-date its appraisal and sale to me. Looking back at its history, I can, as I have explored in previous chapters, understand how this particular .2-acre parcel’s value has been negotiated, layered and elaborated through successive systems of chattel slavery, monocultural agricultural production, residential segregation, and suburbanization that expanded structures of wealth-building through homeownership to a broader segment of the American populace. My community, my neighborhood is still called “Locust Grove,” continuing to mobilize the pastoralist overtones of its plantation past to signal its relative favor. From racial covenants,⁷⁷⁹ to the neighborhood’s relative invisibility in mid-

⁷⁷⁵ Hillier, “HABS No. Va-1022 Locust Grove Kitchen 810 Locust Ave Charlottesville Virginia,” 1.

⁷⁷⁶ Hantman, *Monacan Millennium*, 142.

⁷⁷⁷ Meriwether Lewis, of the famed Lewis and Clark Expedition was Nicholas Meriwether’s nephew. Hillier, “HABS No. Va-1022 Locust Grove Kitchen 810 Locust Ave Charlottesville Virginia,” 1.

⁷⁷⁸ Brand, “The Sedimentation of Whiteness as Landscape.”

⁷⁷⁹ Strictures against sales to non-caucasians appear in the deed chain of my home at 1021 St. Clair Ave in 1903: Albemarle County, “Albemarle County Deed Book 98, Page 266,” January 20, 1903.

century planning documents documenting and proposing remedies to urban “blight,”⁷⁸⁰ I can see that the relative value this space holds today, and my real estate agent’s emphasis on the “good” schools, the “solid” character of the neighborhood, and the “smartness” of this investment derive from these space-racializing practices.

To elaborate my genealogy of blood and money at deeper levels, what historical processes enabled me to consider homeownership in the first place? One side of my biological lineage (my mother’s side) is Euro-American, and one side (my father’s side) is Japanese American, meaning the histories of my economic position quickly leave Charlottesville. My family’s social positions have undergirded my material stability, funded my education, and amended my down payment for home ownership. So what is exhumed when I trace these lineages back through the past?

I can read my family history on mother’s side as a process of the sedimentation of the layered constructions of whiteness through inheritance, and actively enforced spatial practices of racial boundary-making. This sedimentation echoes the processes at work in the spatial history of Locust Grove in Charlottesville, layering back through time, from present-day homeownership to Post-War Policy, to New Deal Politics, to chattel slavery and violent land seizures.

My mother was born in Rockport Missouri in 1952 to a middle-class family who saw themselves as white. As with many families living in Charlottesville’s Locust Grove in the 1950s, my mother describes her upbringing, and her family’s upward mobility as evidenced in a move from a rental in Rockport to their own home in Kansas City as:

very modest, you know, I can’t even remember how much that house cost. Maybe \$5,000? Something like that, and they took a mortgage out on it, I know they had to have a job to have a mortgage, we actually had to have at least one good

⁷⁸⁰Klosterwill et al., “Constructing Health Representations of Health and Housing in Charlottesville’s Urban Renewals,” 231.

running car, you know, to do your work and stuff, it was real typical, we were a classic wasp family post-World War II. Both my parents had graduated from college, we became a nuclear family.⁷⁸¹

Her parents were both teachers, with skills gained from GI bill funded education after World War II,⁷⁸² programs that systematically and disproportionately benefitted white veterans in education, home loans, and unemployment insurance.⁷⁸³ My mother's paternal grandfather, as Sheriff of Grant City, served as an enforcer of racial-spatial rules in their small Missouri town:

They're tough guys... talking bad about all kinds of different people, if you were Jewish, if you were Catholic, if you were Black, if you were Hispanic...if you were anything other than like a white protestant, you were getting, you know. There was one Irish Catholic in the family who married my grandfather Clouse's sister. He was a very sweet man, but he was also extremely prejudiced, OK? I mean this was... you know. And Grant city was definitely, definitely, and your grandfather used to emphasize this. When he was a kid, EVERYBODY. Everybody knew that places like Grant City were called sundown towns. That meant that if you were in that town and people didn't know who you were, if you looked funny to them, you had to get your ass out of town by sundown, or they could take care of it themselves. And my uncle Ray who was an Irish Catholic and had become kind of part of the group? [...] he had a very dark very macho side to him too [...] I remember him bragging about that kind of stuff. He had a gun and yeah. He'd say, yeah if there's somebody that comes through here, and we don't like him? We'll take care of that. You know? And as I said, your great-great-grandfather was the sheriff in Grant City so I bet you there was a lot of stuff and they didn't have to say much, you know, it was all set up that way.

This passage speaks to the dynamics of my family, where connections to older ethnicized traditions like the mantle of a questionably ethnic "Irishness" were actively cast off, and social networks reconstituted through racializing processes. The price of belonging became assimilating into the ranks of the enforcers who policed the color line. Before this, on my mother's mother's side, my family were claimants in the Oklahoma land rush of the 1890s. My Great Aunt explains they "were not 'Sooners,'" ⁷⁸⁴ divorcing our family stories from the

⁷⁸¹ Author interview with Deborah Ujie on April 13, 2020, 6.

⁷⁸² Author interview with Deborah Ujie on April 13, 2020, 13.

⁷⁸³ Hilary Herbold, "Never a Level Playing Field: Blacks and the GI Bill," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 6 (Winter -1995 1994): 104–8.

⁷⁸⁴ Durie Pat, "Dear Debbie," June 12, 2007.

“illegitimate” end of the white settler class divide. Regardless, my family gained property through the relentless waves of genocide and displacement of Native Americans, especially in the last wave that Daniel Immerwahr calls “the final extirpation of Indian Country.”⁷⁸⁵ Looking even further back, I find the 10 generations of Duries in the Americas, the first wave expelled from various parts of Europe for their Protestantism in what Cedric Robinson calls Europe’s originary racialisms.⁷⁸⁶ They settled in a French Huguenot colony in what is today known as Bergen County New Jersey in the late 17th century. In the 19th century became the largest slaveholding county in the State of New Jersey,⁷⁸⁷ and my lineages on this side are shot through with slaveholding white men.⁷⁸⁸

On my father’s side, the family tells stories of family wealth derived from the ways my third great-grandfather positioned himself to sell silk eggs to foreigners⁷⁸⁹ after Commodore Perry’s forcible “opening”⁷⁹⁰ of Japan by gunboat diplomacy in 1853. Japan opened its markets to the West via treaty ports like Yokohama, spatializing the uneven treaty agreements between the US and Japan. The treaty of Amity and Freedom negotiated with the US in 1854 and the Harris Treaty signed in 1858 reflected the US’s position of military power: American nationals who committed crimes in Japan were granted extraterritoriality, and the treaties denied Japanese tariff authority, effectively denying its ability to protect its domestic manufactures from overseas

⁷⁸⁵ Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: The History of the Greater United States*, 44.

⁷⁸⁶ Robinson, *Black Marxism*.

⁷⁸⁷ Henry Scofield Cooley, “A Study of Slavery in New Jersey,” *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* IX–X (October 1896); William A Stuart, “Negro Slavery in New Jersey and New York,” *Americana Illustrated* XVI, no. 4 (October 1922).

⁷⁸⁸ These men include Samuel Durie who emigrated to Kentucky with 2 enslaved people from New Jersey in the late 18th c., my 5th great grand-father David Durie, who farmed and owned enslaved people: Howard Ira Durie, *The Durie Family* (Pomona, NY: Howard Ira Durie, 1985), 25, 42.

⁷⁸⁹ Ken’ichi Ujie, trans., “The Life of Jokichi Ujie, A Big Landowner” (Kakuda Hometown Museum, unknown.);

⁷⁹⁰ Between the 1630s and 1854, the shogunate in Japan had ruled over a ‘sasoku’ or closed country policy to allow it to monopolize trade with the Chinese and Dutch. Commodore Perry’s Yasuhiro Makimura, *Yokohama and the Silk Trade: How Eastern Japan Became the Primary Economic Region of Japan, 1843-1893*, New Studies in Modern Japan (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), xv.

competition. But while these treaties were signed under the threat of US Naval force, they nonetheless put Japan in a negotiating position that preserved greater internal sovereignty than treaties that Western governments forced with other Asian states.⁷⁹¹ Yasuhiro Makimura cites Kato's theory on the four tiers of East-West International Diplomacy within Asia at this time. According to this order, Western Countries articulated themselves as fully independent and sovereign nations. Siam and Japan were in the next tier: through negotiation and avoidance of protracted military conflict, these nations forced concessions that gave them more power than other Asian nations over their own affairs. The West articulated a third tier when Britain forced Qing China to allow the incursion of opium into its borders after the Second Boxer War. Finally, Western diplomacy of the time rendered India and Indonesia as fully colonized with no internal sovereignty: domains governed directly by foreign powers. In Japan, foreign presence was only allowed in the five treaty posts, and two open cities, only diplomats (no missionaries!) were allowed to travel to the countryside, and Japan banned the opium trade which was ravaging the social fabric in China while making huge profits for western powers.

The timing of these treaties was fortuitous for a second son of a landowning family in a traditionally sericultural region. My third great grandfather's silk egg operation, which entailed selling "seeds of silkworms to foreigners in Yokohama [...] made a big profit. His workers put silkworms seeds in carts and carried them from Kakuda to Yokohama by horse."⁷⁹² My ancestors happened to ride a rapid boom in the Japanese silk egg industry. This boom was a result of twin supply crises that were crippling the European silk industries in France and Italy: the pebrine crisis, caused by a silkworm-killing parasite plaguing European eggs in the mid-19th Century, and the Taiping Rebellion in China that disrupted Asian raw silk production and cut the

⁷⁹¹ Ibid, 38.

⁷⁹² Ujie, "The Life Of Jokichi Ujie, A Big Landowner."

European supply to pebrine-free silkworm eggs.⁷⁹³ These two disruptions meant that “Japan became the sole supplier of the whole Mediterranean sericulture”⁷⁹⁴ for a brief moment in the mid to late 1860s, taking my family to a level of wealth that wasn’t whittled away until my lifetime. This period in Japan, and in my family’s history, meant disconnections and reconnections at interlinked global-to-local scales: silk egg growers who had until this era grown silk for domestic use were disconnected from their intra-Japanese destinations and re-connected in terms of global markets and manufacturing processes in Europe. Socially and politically, Japan’s leadership turned from internal power struggles to the newly emerging arena of global Western-style diplomacy: “by signing the treaty Japan had entered a global system structured by the powers and principle of Western International Law.”⁷⁹⁵

My third great-grandfather’s early success in silk eggs positioned his sons and grandsons to become leaders in local industrial development⁷⁹⁶ and political leadership. My second great-grandfather was the President of Kakuda Ice Manufacturer, CEO of Tohoku Ice Maker, and a major landlord. He sat on both town and city councils. My great Grandfather was a large landlord, art collector, and local “philanthropist,” in the Kakuda area, and the family’s main home is now a museum. These stories, while still out-of-focus and incomplete without further research in Japanese archives, still eerily signal to the parallel lifeways my Japanese ancestors were turning toward that mirror the actions of powerful local leaders here in Charlottesville. They turned toward liberal democracy, toward industrialized supply chains and long-distance

⁷⁹³ Giovanni Federico, *An Economic History of the Silk Industry, 1830-1930*, Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 36.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid, 38.

⁷⁹⁵ Makimura, *Yokohama and the Silk Trade*, 56.

⁷⁹⁶ Ujie, “The Life of Jokichi Ujie, A Big Landowner.”

foods, toward the self-aggrandizement of lineages that pointed toward high “culture” and “art,” and the claiming of culturally “high” ground in social dynamics of urban formation.

In tracing the more recent histories of this side of the family, I see not the sedimentation of whiteness, but a sedimentation of a position of in-between-ness in an emerging global order. Japan’s articulation as a “second tier” nation of relative autonomy in the Pacific World in many ways positioned it to become a dominant power in the region under the aegis of Western backing. Japan was an early adopter of multicultural and neoliberal forms of racial capitalism, hiding and disavowing its own colonial brutalities and violences under the umbrella of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It was under this banner of co-prosperity, that Japanese imperialists before World War II claimed they were “freeing” colonized nations from Western influence, and “civilizing” “backward” nations and remaking them in the image of the Asian-“superior” Yamato Race. These rhetorics too find their echoes in the heirarchicalizing visions of the American World’s Fairs of the period, and the white ethno-centric symbolic landscapes of Charlottesville. It was under this regime of Yamato supremacy that my grandfather served as an officer in the Japanese Army that occupied Manchuria, part of the campaign of Japanese-Asian imperialism that had its roots in the 19th century. A stern wall of silence surrounds his experiences and his participation as a colonizer. And it was Japan’s position as a major axis power, and many scholars contend, the reading of its populations as devalued “little brown men,” that drove widespread firebombing of civilian targets, including the city of Sendai, where my Grandmother then lived. So while my grandfather fought to enforce a racial hierarchy, my grandmother and the others remaining in Japan experienced the ‘casual nature of the destruction that took place in Asia...shaped not simply by the operational considerations or even by the enemy’s nature and the lust for revenge it aroused, but by the lower value Americans put on

Asian lives whatever their nationality or allegiances.”⁷⁹⁷ In the American-led post-war building and industrialization boom that defined my father’s coming of age, it was my family’s silk-threaded wealth that allowed him to go to college where he studied with my mother, and to join the American professoriate, teaching Japanese to American business majors in the 1980s when I was born.

On both sides of my family, my ancestors have benefitted, in terms of quantifiable wealth, from our relatively privileged subject positions in the United States and in Japan. My history is bound up with oppressive systems. My antecedents inhabited entire nations that progressively reoriented to the structures, economies, and productive logics of western industrial capitalisms. And they in turn aligned themselves with the anti-relationalities, alienations, and the violences of racializing market systems. They have, out of the same fear I see in my milk choices, *already given up* so much of their humanity to these systems. I turn to Ballestro’s reading of our current situation, on the pervasive stories about apocalypse, and what work this framing does:

Apocalyptic thinking highlights temporal disorientation, but not in relation to a lost future as one might think. Instead, it signals a ‘hyperbolic anxiety that the future may now be unattainable because the present fails to bring the past to utopic completion.’ (Wiegman 200, 809) The apocalyptic instills a sense of end of times that depends on the existence of a previous definition of what is or should have been in the future. It depends on an implicit certainty about the existence of some vision from the past that has ended, that will not become.⁷⁹⁸

And are there fragments my antecedents kept that I can gather, lineages of resistances, rival geographies that I can join with to facilitate the non-becoming of the trajectories that my antecedents made the only things I could see?

⁷⁹⁷ Michael S. Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 284-85.

⁷⁹⁸ Andrea Ballestro, *A Future History of Water* (Durham ; London: Duke University Press, 2019).

I remember that I learned about white mulberries in landscape architecture plants class, and how they are “exotic Asian invasives” that require extermination. I return to the images that thread through the racializing images that pathologize and valorize particular people and place categories through time that I’ve traced in chapters one through five. I see connections between the various categories of people pictured as perpetually foreign, perpetually invading, and at the extreme worthy of eradication in the political rhetoric of the 19th and 20th centuries. I learn that mulberries exist in Virginia because of the early silk-growing aspirations of Euro-Virginian planters.⁷⁹⁹ Like red-winged blackbirds, like the pathologized “slum” communities of 20th century cities, like my antecedents to the US military state, they were servants of capital until they were deemed “the enemy.” But they are still here and have been working at cross-purposes to the intentions and aspirations of *war as care* for as long as they have been living in spite of edicts proclaiming the necessity of their extermination. How do we live gregariously, opportunistically, beyond the logics of extermination? How do we redefine “life, liberty, and happiness” as care⁸⁰⁰ and love⁸⁰¹ as a transformative force? How can we, working collectively, realign ourselves with the endlessness of our connections to imagine new-old worlds of possibility?

⁷⁹⁹ J. H. (Jonathan Holmes) Cobb, *A Manual Containing Information Respecting the Growth of the Mulberry Tree, With Suitable Directions for the Culture of Silk* (Boston: Carter, Hendee and Co, 1833), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007646995>; John Bonoel, *Observations to Be Followed, for the Making of Fit Roomes, to Keepe Silk-Wormes In, As Also, for the Best Manner of Planting of Mulbery Trees, to Feed Them. Published by Authority for the Benefit of the Noble Plantation in Virginia, Early English Books, 1475-1640* (At London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, 1620), <http://proxy01.its.virginia.edu/login?url=http://wwwlib.umi.com/eebo/fullcite?id=99845783>.

⁸⁰⁰ Nora Samaran, *Turn This World inside out: The Emergence of Nurturance Culture* (Chico, GA: AK Press, 2019).

⁸⁰¹ bell hooks, *All about Love: New Visions*, First William Morrow paperback edition (New York: William Morrow, 2018), xix.

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Appendix- Figures



Figure 1.1 Milk Carton and “Pure and Wholesome Milk” display at Safeway in Georgetown, July 2022
photo by author

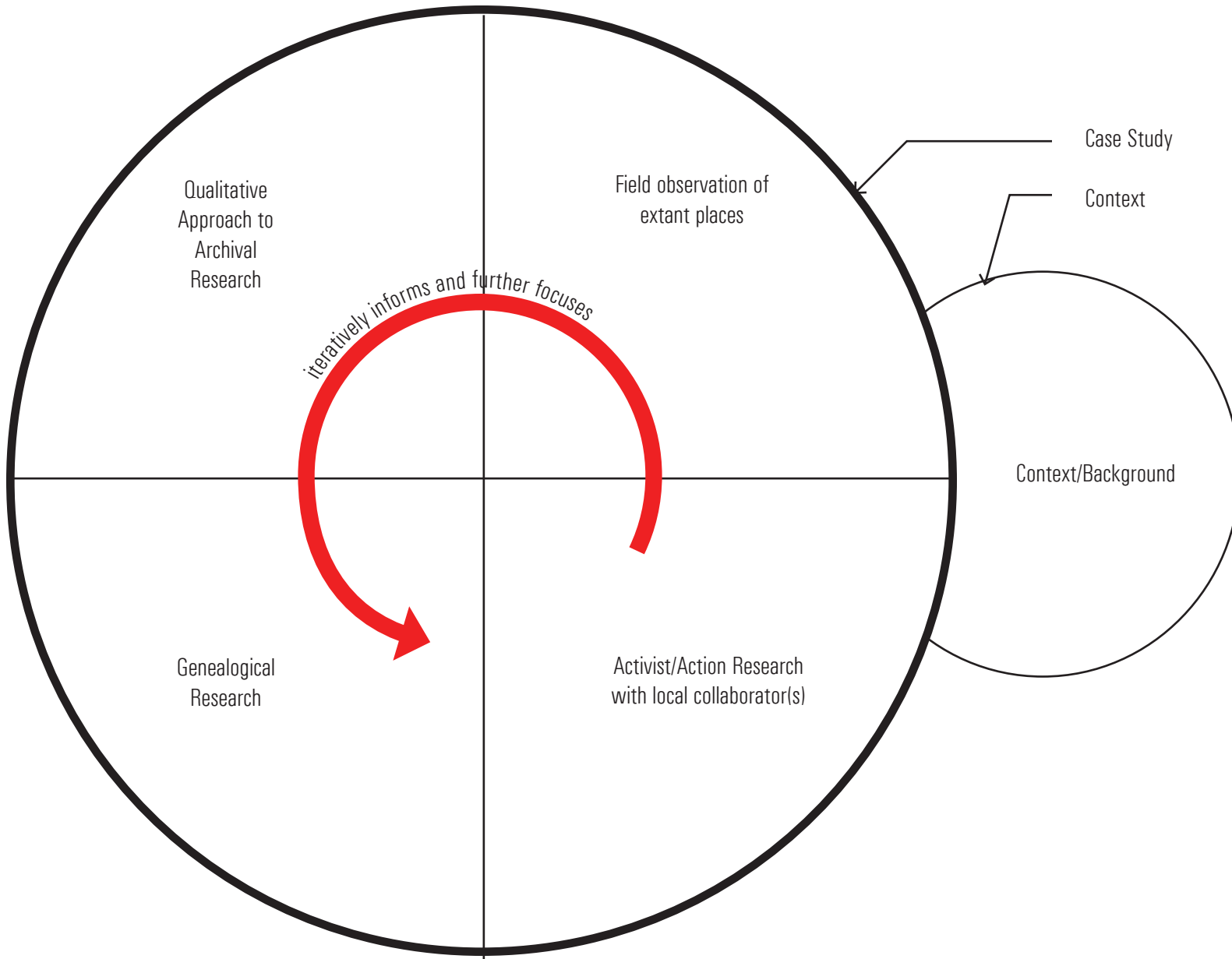
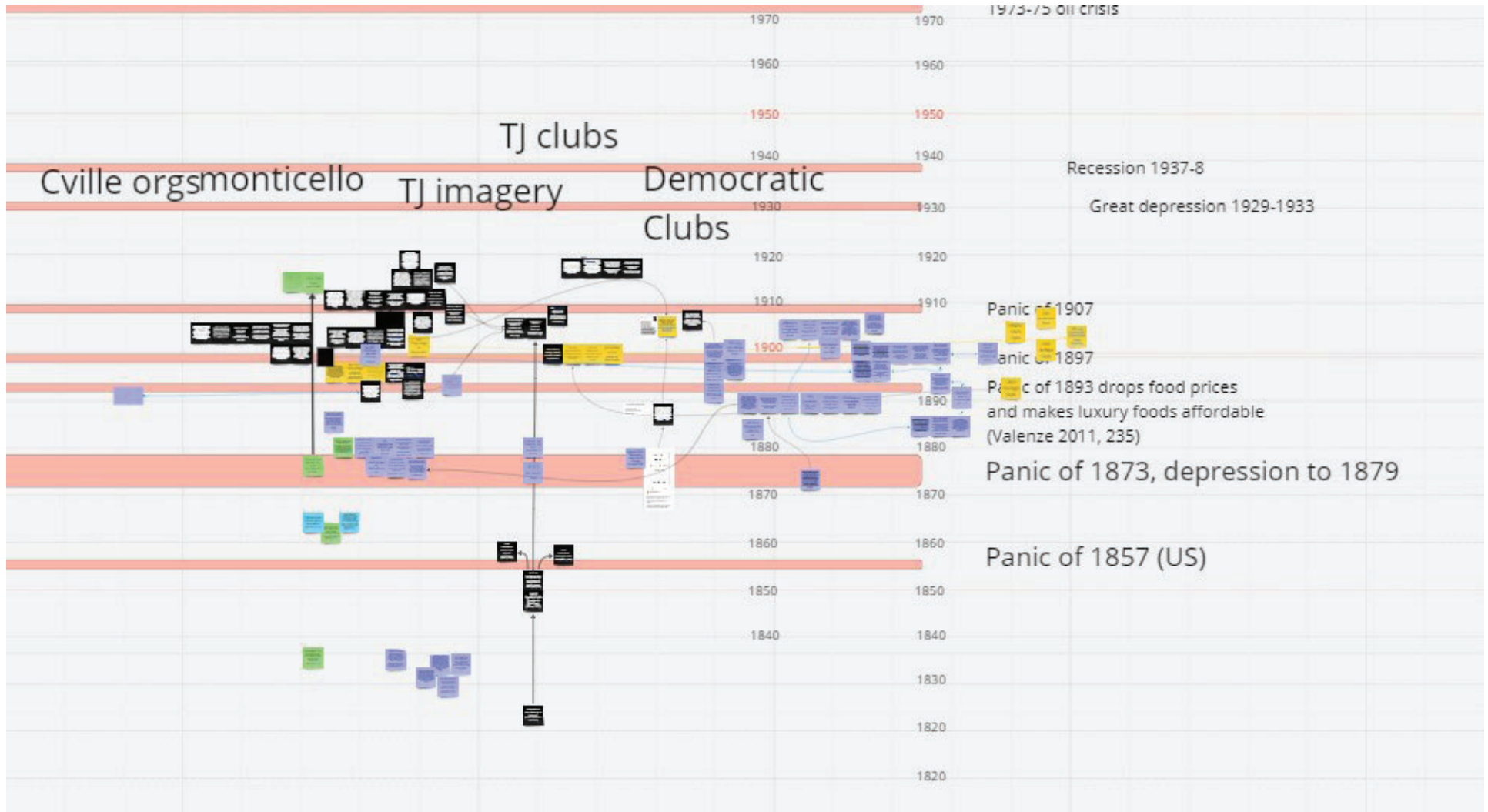


Figure 1.2 Case Study Approach and Sources



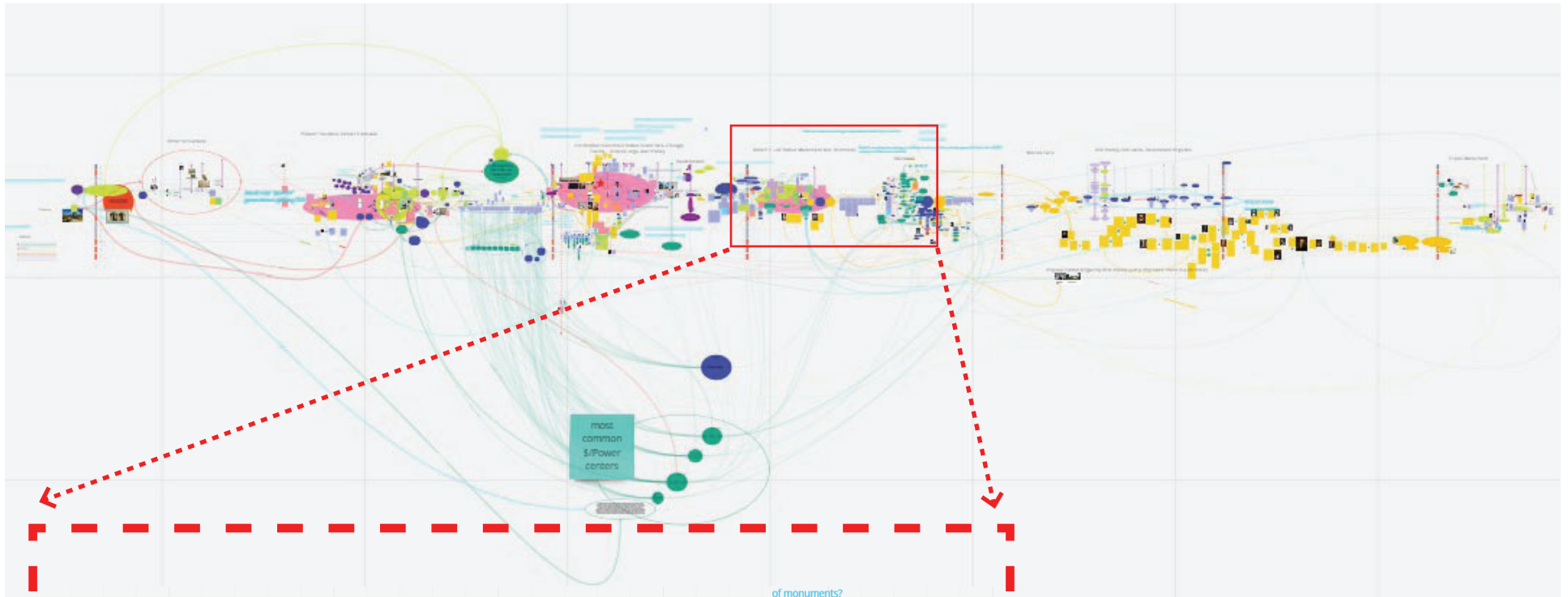
Charlottesville in National Context Miro Board and detail

Figure 1.3 Miro Boards re-arranging data from archival, primary + secondary sources



Monticello Miro Timeline

Figure 1.4 Miro Boards re-arranging data from archival, primary + secondary sources

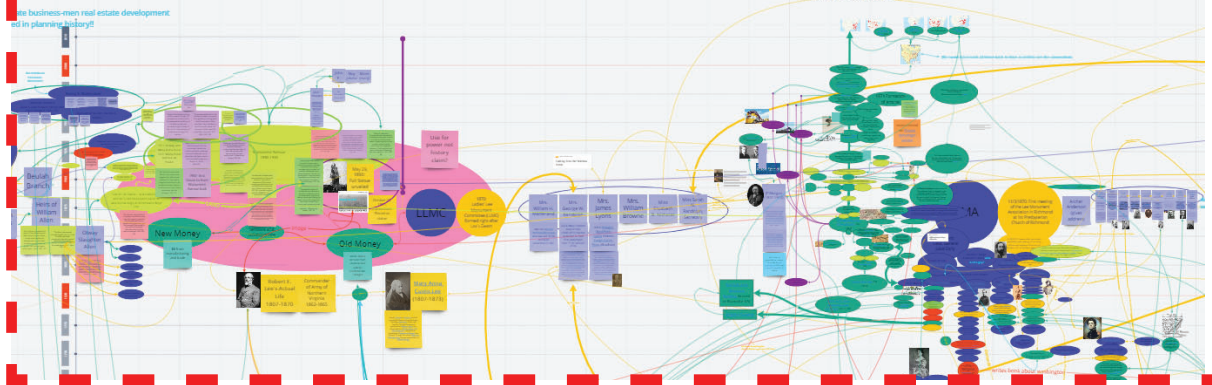


of monuments?

Robert E. Lee Statue Monument Ave, Richmond

Should we always be asking, in addition to who paid for and who gave the money on these monuments?

Railroads



"Follow The Money" Timeline for 5 Prominent Monuments Across the Nation

Figure 1.5 Miro Boards re-arranging data from archival, primary + secondary sources



The Smith map of Virginia of 1624 shows Virginia with anglicized versions of Native American Place Names

Source: John Smith and William Hole, Virginia (London, 1624), <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3880.ct000377?r=0.261,0.323,0.312,0.149,0>.

Figure 2.1 1624 John Smith Map



Approximate Location of James River, Richmond, and Scottsville, and Charlottesville highlighted by author

Source: Joshua Fry, Peter Jefferson, and Thomas Jefferys, A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia Containing the Whole Province of Maryland with Part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina (London: Thos. Jefferys, 1755), <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3880.ct000370?r=-0.167,-0.097,1.546,0.698,0..>

Figure 2.2 1755 Fry-Jefferson Map



Source: William [d. Woods, A Plan of the Town of Charlottesville (Charlottesville? Va: s.n., 1818), Special Collections. (north is to the Left in this image)

Figure 2.3 1818 Depiction of the 1762 Platting of the Town of Charlottesville

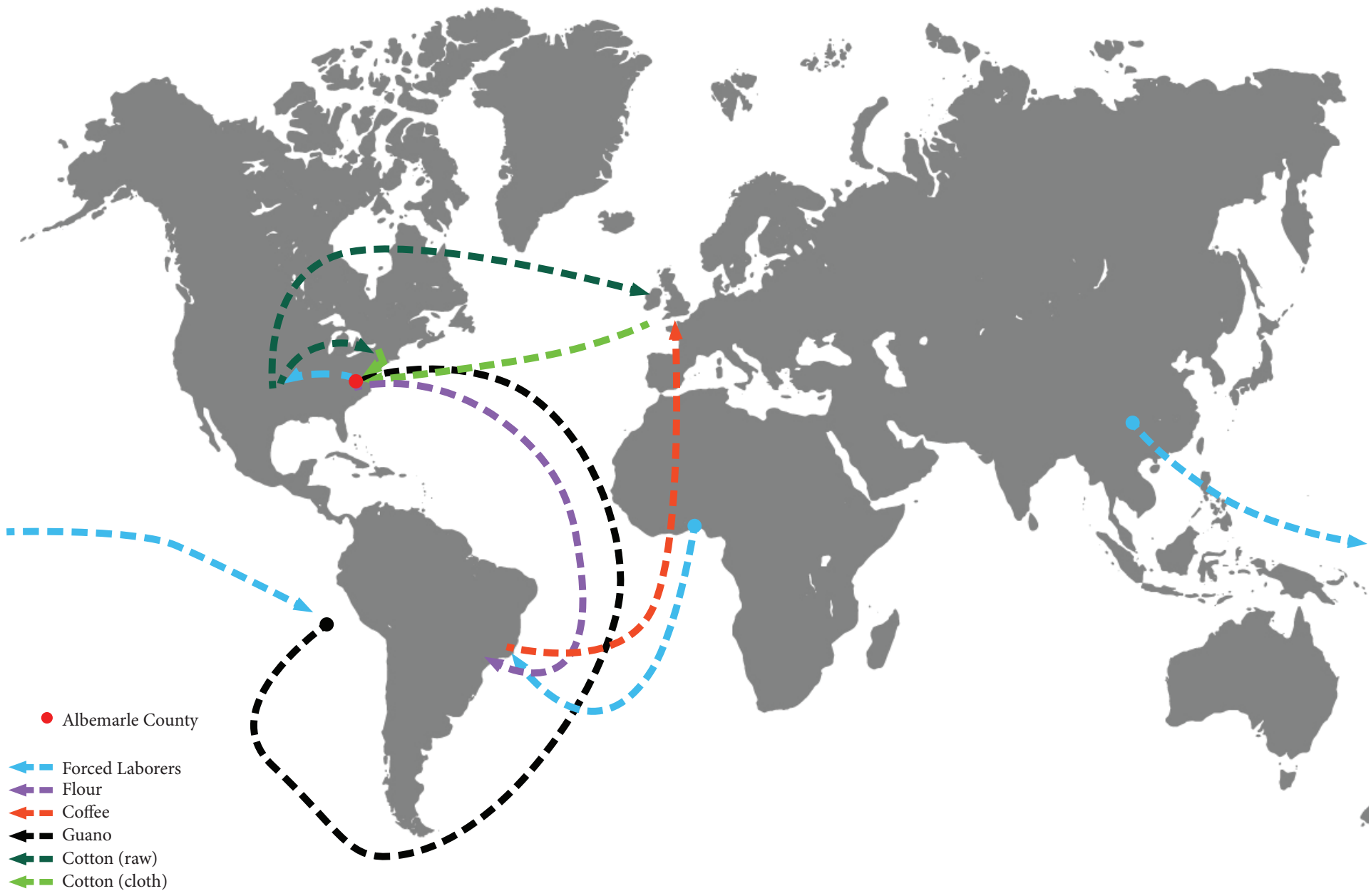
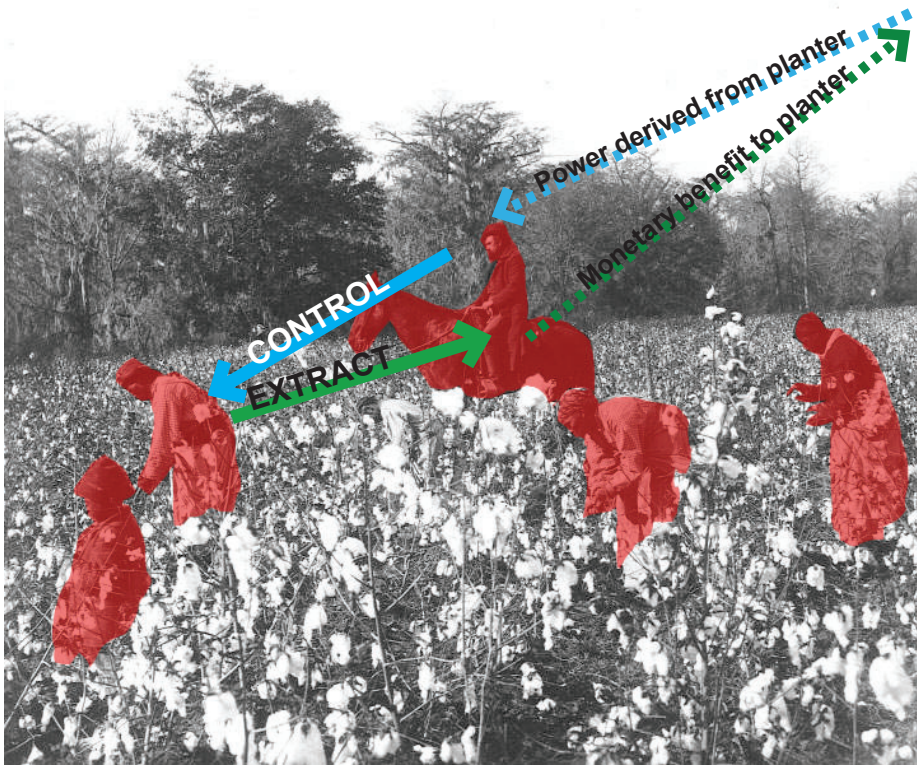


diagram by author (routes and locations are not exact, but meant to indicate the general movement of commodities across global regions)

Figure 2.4. Diagram of Some of Charlottesville/Albemarle County's Global Entanglements - 1850s



Figures



Field

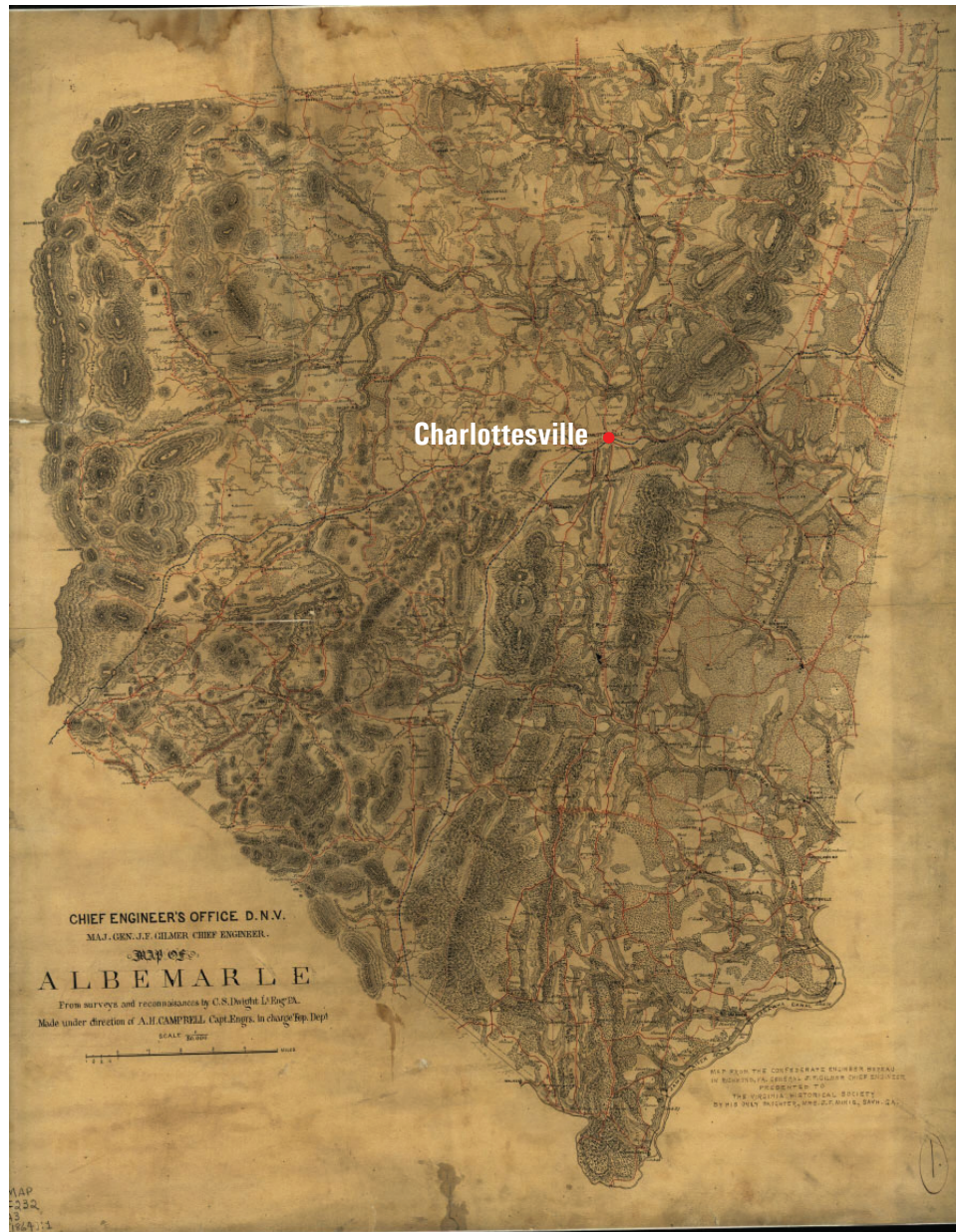
Author highlights in red over image from 1850 from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cotton_pickers_and_overseer_around_1850.jpg

Figure 2.7 Figures and Field



Image found in Charles W. Turner, "Virginia State Agricultural Societies 1811-1860," *Agricultural History* 38, no. 3 (July 1964): 167-77.

Figure 2.8 Engraving of the 1854 Cattle Show and Fair of the Virginia State Agricultural Society in Richmond



Approximate Location of Charlottesville Highlighted by author

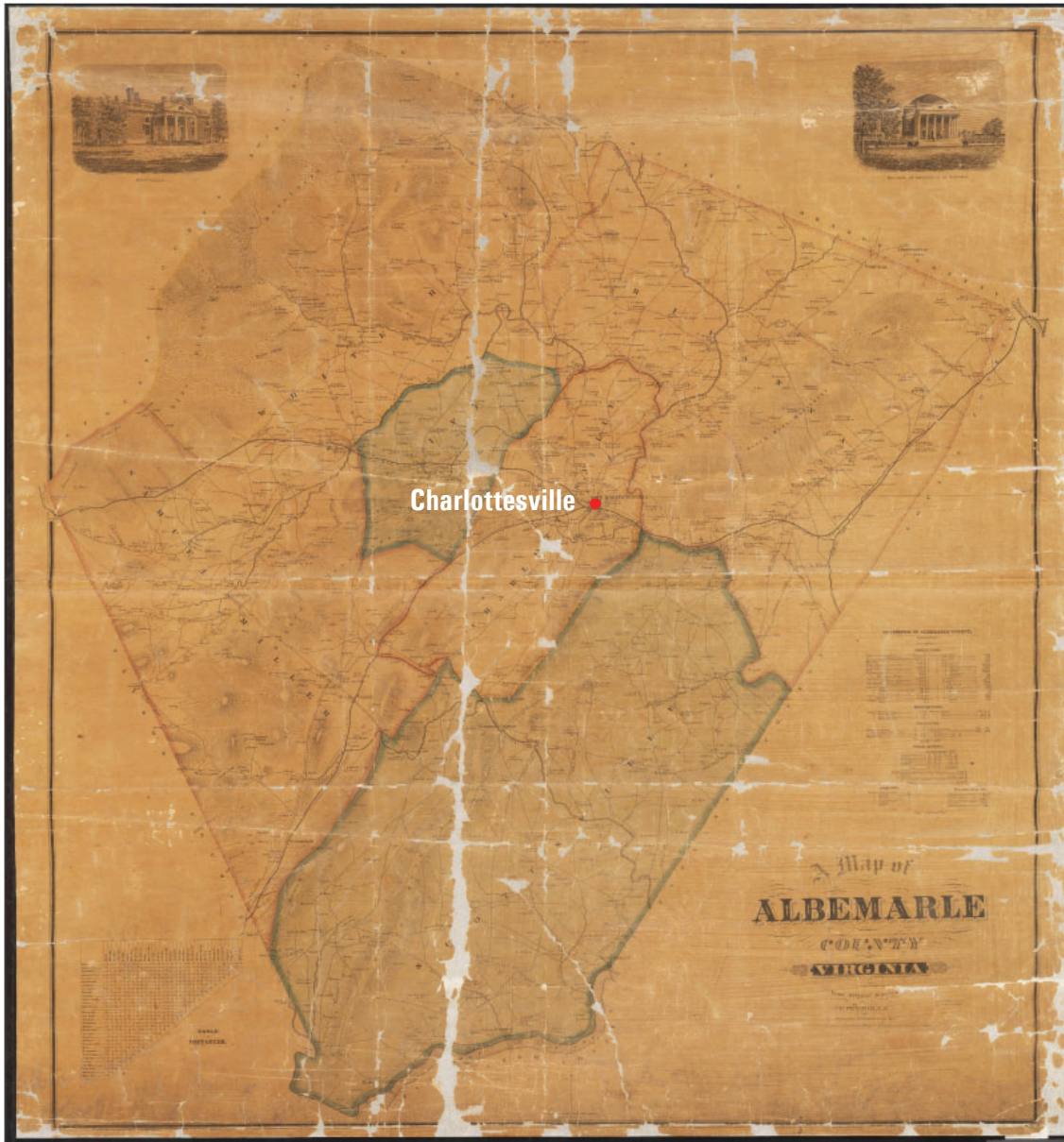
Source: Confederate States of America. Army Dept. of Northern Virginia. Chief Engineer's Office and Albert H Campbell, Map of Albemarle : Made under the Direction of Maj. A.H. Campbell Capt. Engrs. in Charge of Top. Dept. D.N.V. from Surveys and Reconnaissances (Albemarle County: S. !: Chief Engineer's Office D. N .V, 1864), <https://www.loc.gov/item/gvhs01.vhs00317/>.

Figure 2.9 1864 Albemarle County, Campbell Map



Approximate Location of Charlottesville Highlighted by author
Jedediah Hotchkiss, Albemarle County, Virginia (Charlottesville, VA: 1867, 1867), <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4350941>.

Figure 2.10 1867 Albemarle County, Hotchkiss Map



Approximate Location of Charlottesville Highlighted by author

Source: Green D. Peyton and Worley & Brachter, A Map of Albemarle County, Virginia (Philadelphia: Engr. by Worley & Brachter, Phila, 1875), UVA Special Collections.

Figure 2.11 1875 Albemarle County, Green Peyton Map

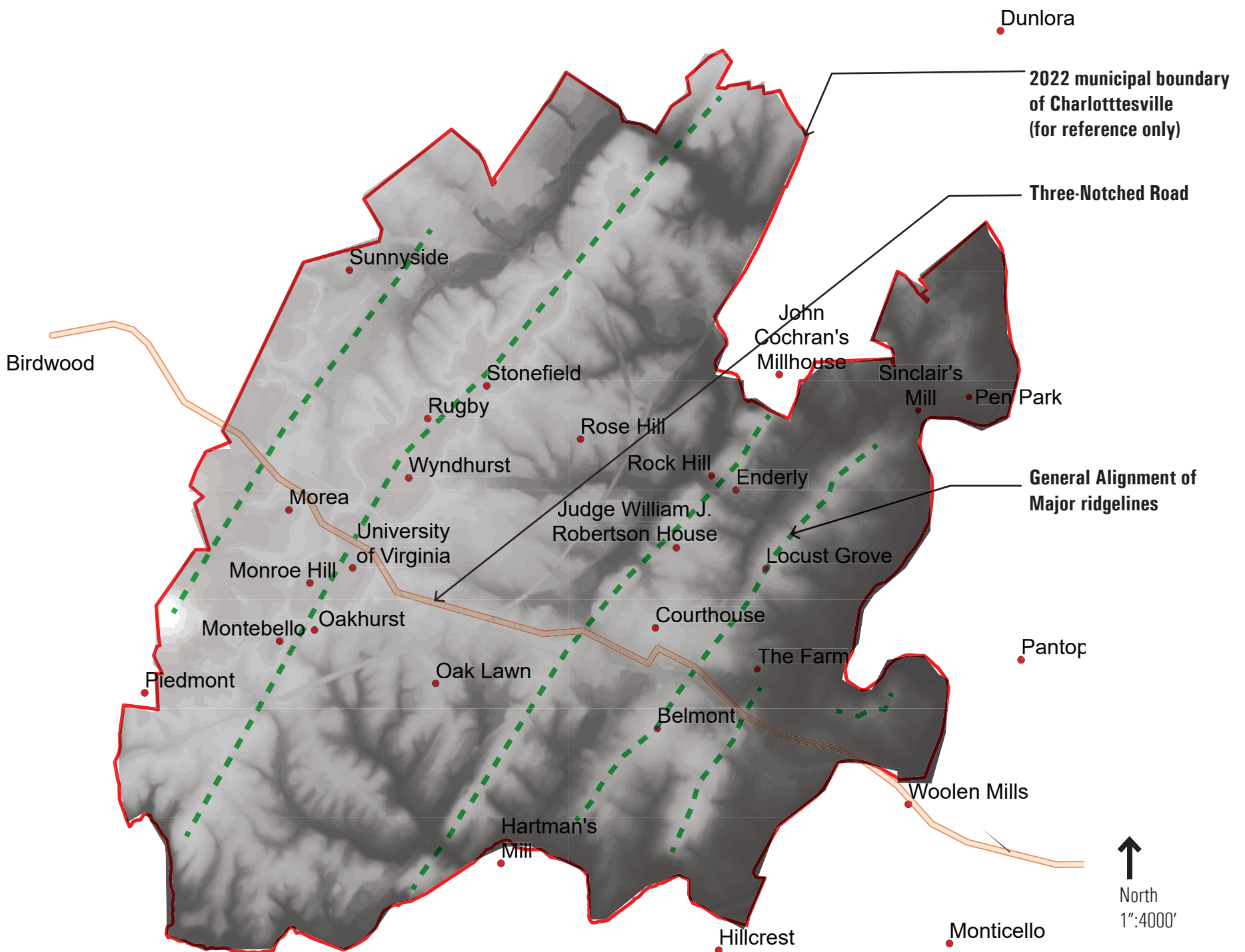


Figure 2.12 Charlottesville area Topography and Plantation Estates shown on mid 19th C. Maps
 Shown over current topographical hillshade derived from Charlottesville 2018 2 ft contours, home locations consolidated from Virginia
 Historic Landmark Registry documentation <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/>



↑
 North
 1":4000'

Figure 2.13 Charlottesville area Topography and Plantation Estates shown on mid 19th C. Maps
 Shown over 1864 Hotchkiss Map with 2022 Charlottesville boundary for reference only

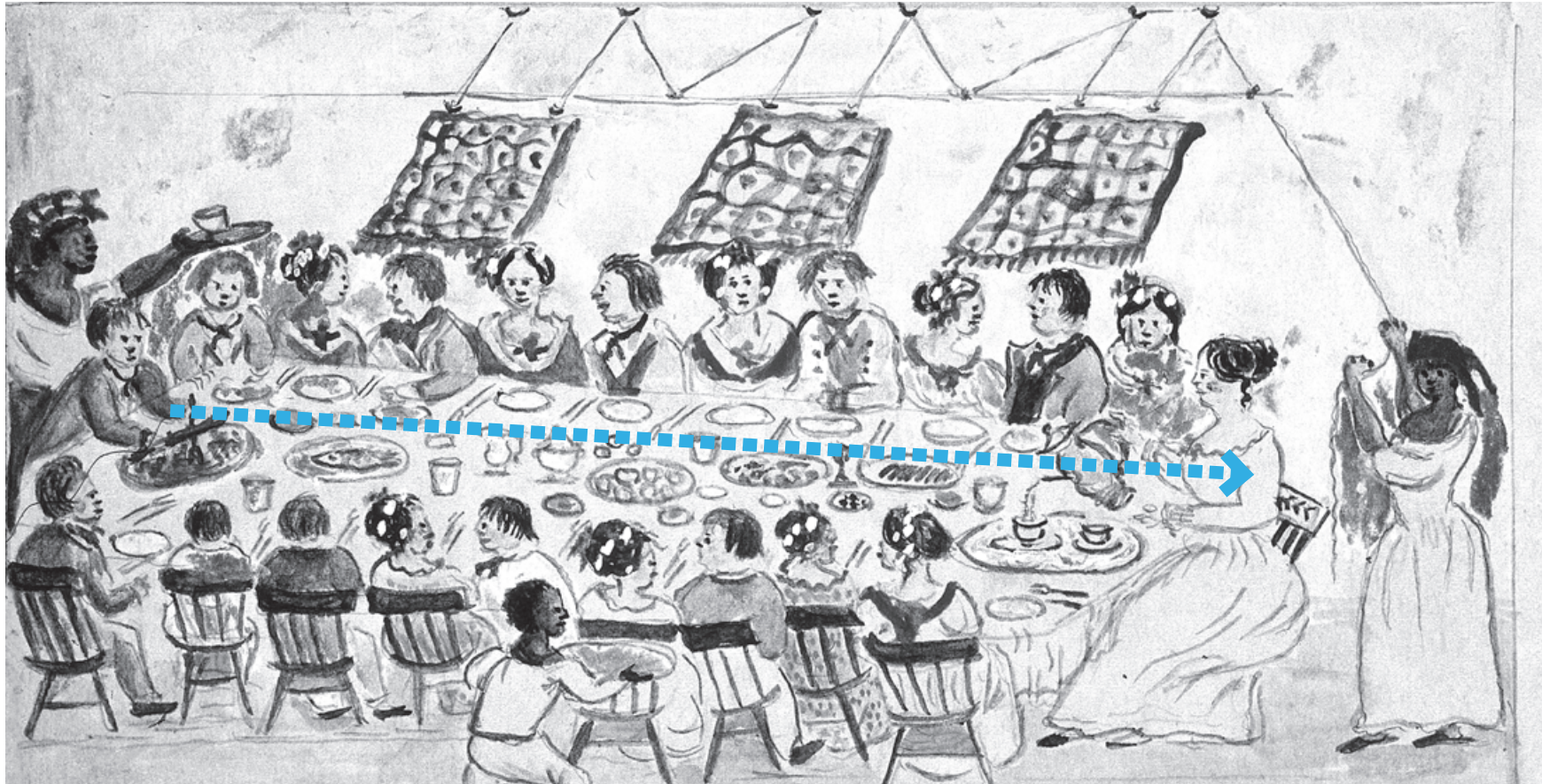
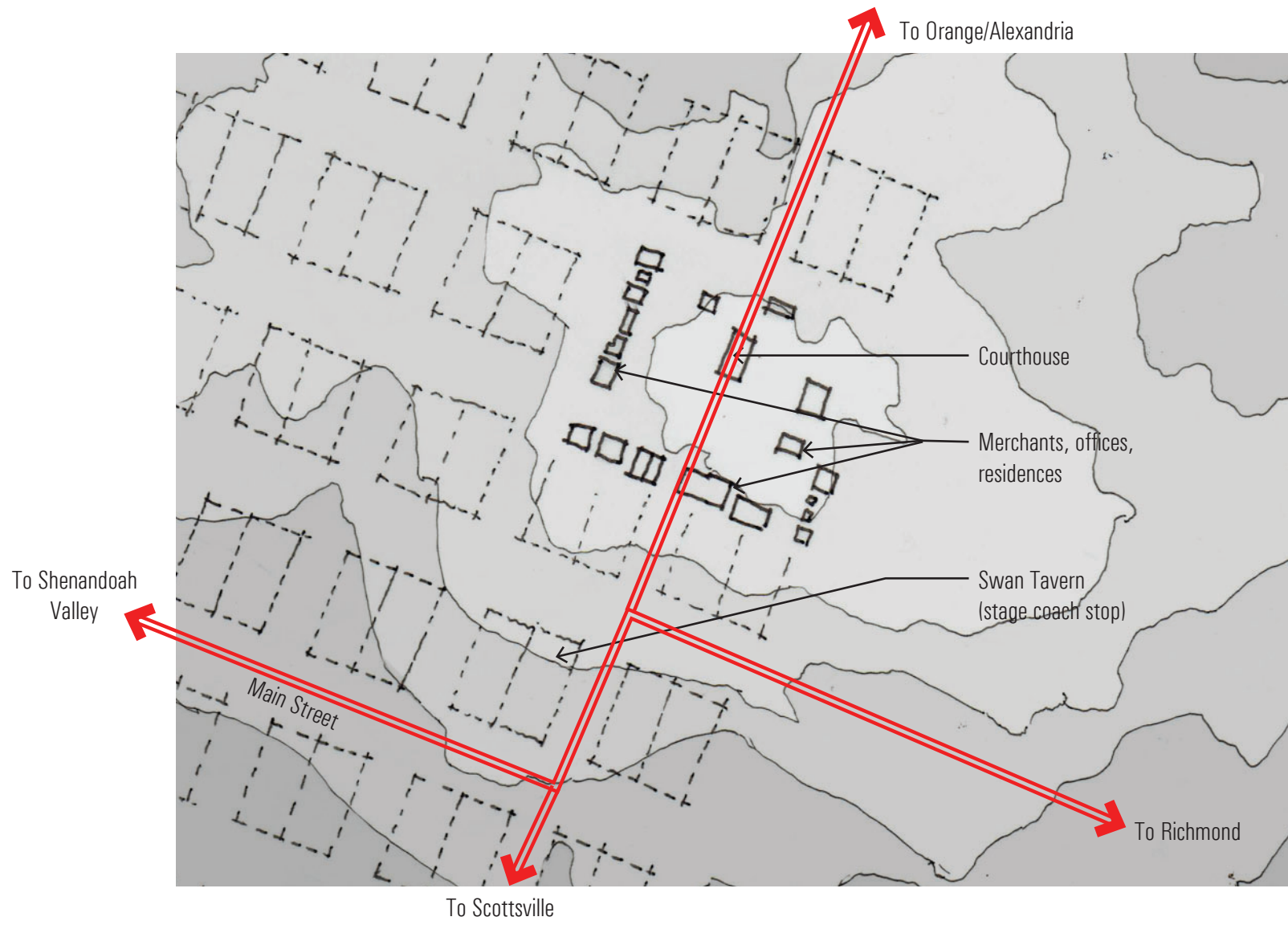


Image cited in Dana E. Byrd, "Motive Power Fans, Punkahs, and Fly Brushes in the Antebellum South," *Buildings & Landscapes* 23, no. 1 (2016): 29-51, <https://doi.org/10.5749/buildland.23.1.0029>. original image by Lewis Miller, *The Party at Supper and Brekfast*, in *Sketchbook of Landscapes in the State of Virginia*, 1853-67. from Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Richard M. Kain in memory of George Hay Kain.

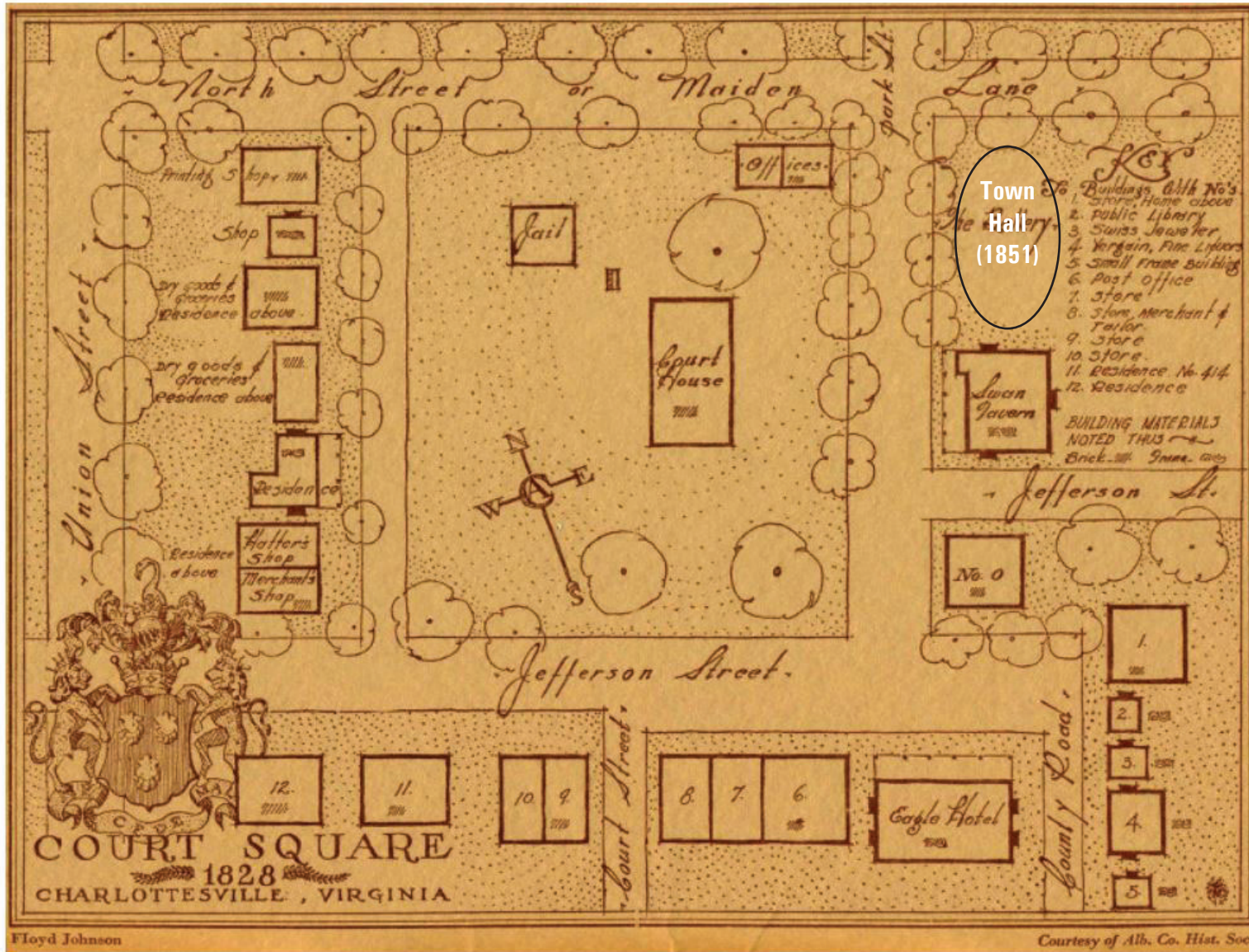
Figure 2.14 Planter Dinner Table, bilateral symmetry, and spatial expression of gendered and racial power



Author Diagram combines Source: William [d. Woods, A Plan of the Town of Charlottesville (Charlottesville? Va: s.n., 1818), Special Collections, Mary Rawling's 1942 drawing of Court Square in 1828 based on the Recollections of James Alexander published in James Alexander, Early Charlottesville: Recollections of James Alexander, 1828-1874, ed. Mary Rawlings (Charlottesville, Va: The Michie Company, Printers, 1942), verbal descriptions of antebellum Charlottesville's roads, and 2018 2' contours for general elevation data

↑
North
1":300'

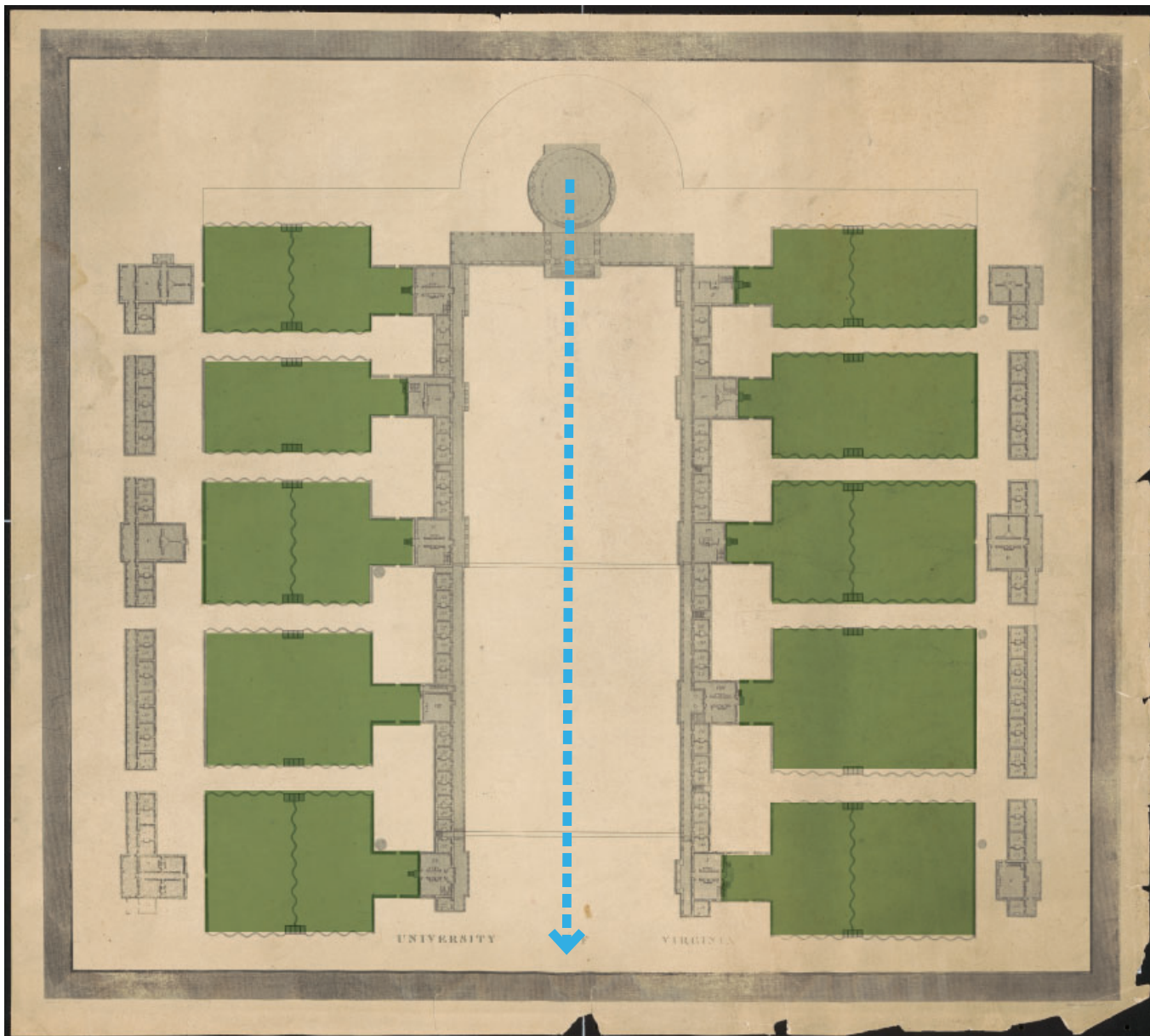
Figure 2.15 Spatial Diagram of General layout and topography of Court Square in relation to major regional roads



Town Hall (1851)

Author Diagram over Mary Rawling's 1942 drawing of Court Square in 1828 based on the Recollections of James Alexander published in James Alexander, Early Charlottesville: Recollections of James

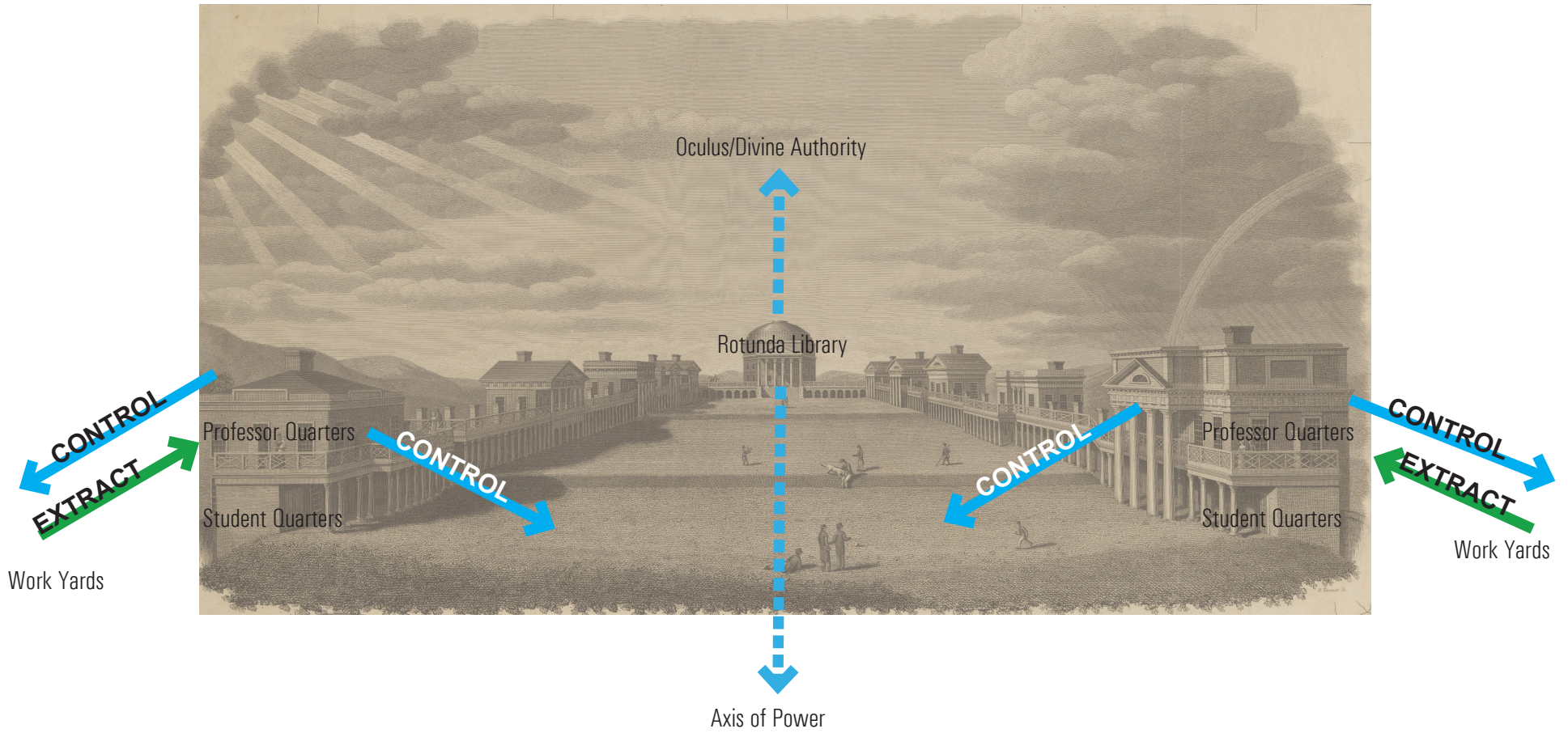
Figure 2.16 Proprietors at Court Square



Plan of University of Virginia Lawn with bilateral symmetry, hidden work yards highlighted by author in green

Source: Peter Maverick and Thomas Jefferson, *University of Virginia*, second Edition 1825, Engraving, 18 1/4 x 20 3/8 in., second Edition 1825, <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/university-virginia-maverick-engraving>.

Figure 2.17 UVA Lawn and Fractal Repeatings of the Planter's Table



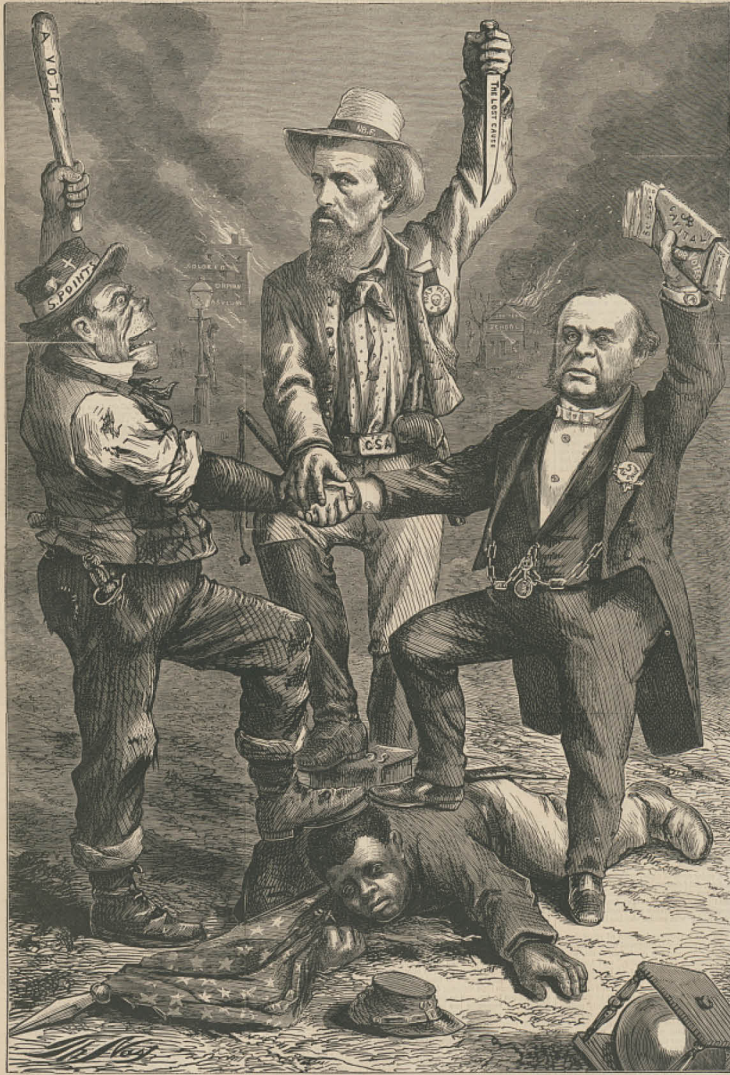
Author diagram over historic engraving. Work Yards not shown in original, but would have been topographically below and planimetrically behind main Lawn space
 Source: Rotunda and Lawn, B. Tanner Engraving From Boye's Map of Virginia, 1827

Figure 2.18 UVA Lawn Sectional Relationships



Figure 2.19 Edges

"THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT."



"We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."—Democratic Platform.

925
70

Source: Thomas Nast, "This Is a White Man's Government" 'We Regard the Reconstruction Acts (so Called) of Congress as Usurpations, and Unconstitutional, Revolutionary, and Void' - Democratic Platform," Harper's Weekly, September 5, 1868.

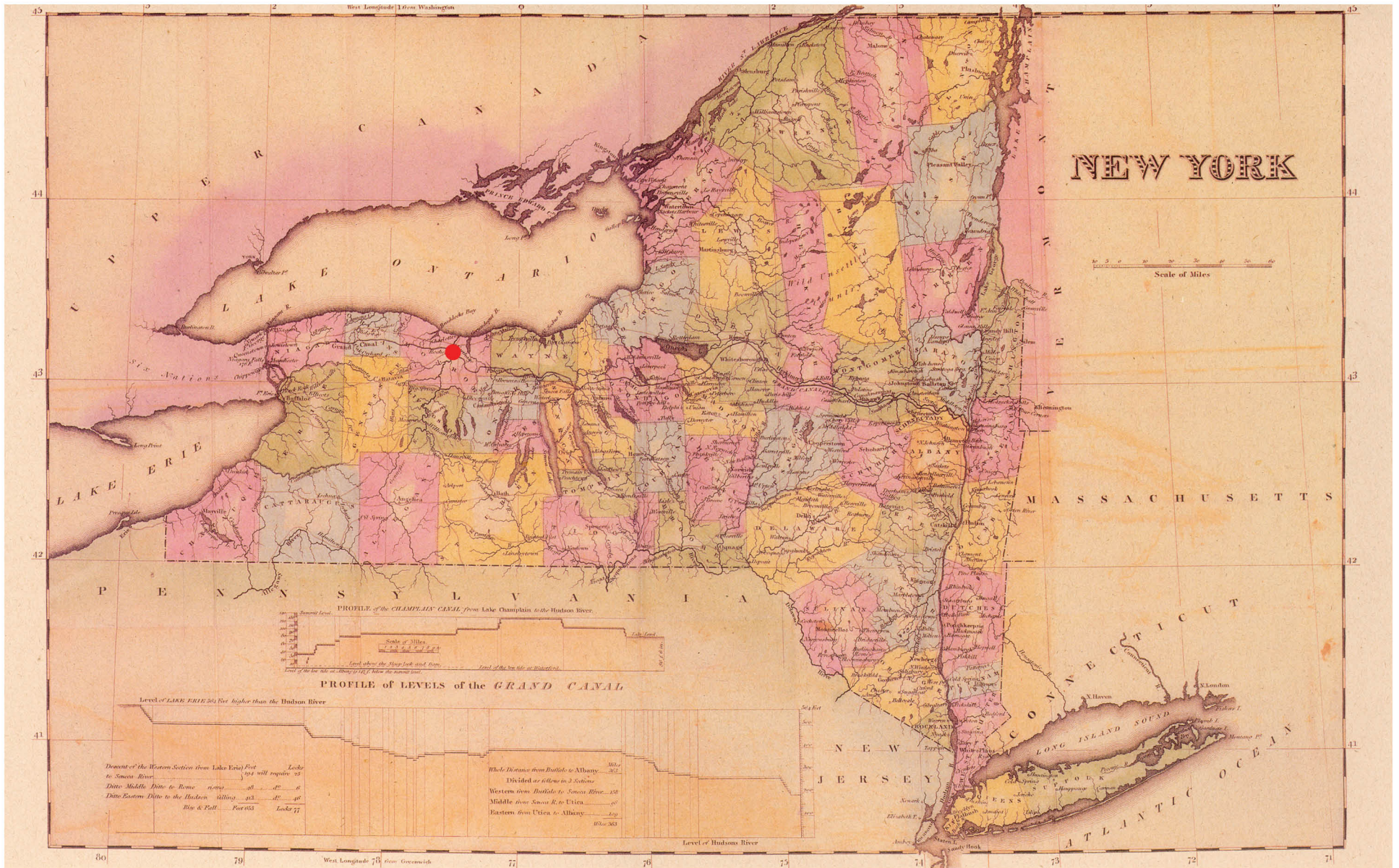
Figure 3.1 1868 Thomas Nast's "This is a White Man's Government"



Brooks Hall. University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.
<https://search.lib.virginia.edu/items/uva-lib:2160762>

Source: unknown. Brooks Hall. 1890. University of Virginia Visual History Collection. UVA Special Collections. <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:2160762?idx=0&x=0.522&y=0.402&zoom=0.9>.

Figure 4.1: Brooks Hall University of Virginia here pictured in 1890, 12 years after its dedication in 1878



Erie Canal Path is the dark line that traverses cities between Buffalo and Albany, Location of Rochester added as red dot by author

Source: "New York: Profile of the Champlain Canal from Lake Champlain to the Hudson River" Profile of Levels of the Grand Canal." Albany: New York State, 1825.

<https://www.eriecanal.org/maps.html>.

Figure 4.2: 1825 Map of Erie Canal



CONGRESS HALL,

CORNER CENTRAL AVENUE AND MILL STREET, J. A. MAXWELL, PROPRIETOR.

The above house has been in existence for over forty years, but has been conducted under the proprietorship of Mr. Maxwell only since the past year. It is conducted by him in a first-class manner and since his incumbency has largely gained in popularity.

The accommodations of the house are of the best. Sixty-two sleeping rooms are available, although as many as one hundred and twenty-five can be housed. The table is excellent and the force of help is so organized that every detail of the routine of the house proceeds with the regularity of clockwork.

Mr. Maxwell is a gentleman who knows "how to keep a hotel." He is a native of Jefferson county and was for fifteen years connected with the Waverley House in this city. He is a genial and popular landlord and in conjunction with Major F. P. Eagle, the courteous and obliging clerk constitutes a management which makes the house one of the best two-dollars-a-day hotels in the state.

1884- Congress Hall advertisement

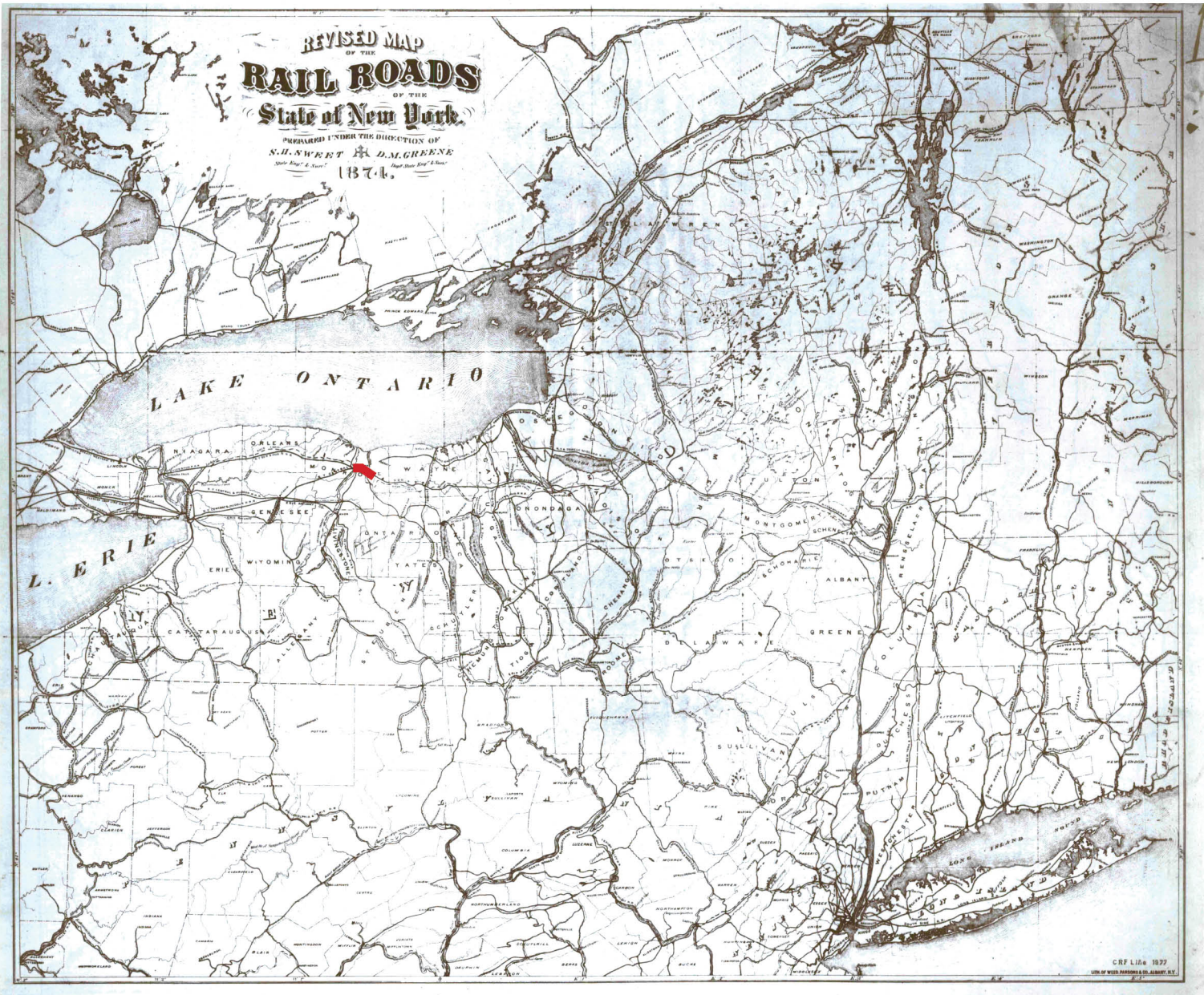
Issacs, I.J. *The Industrial Advance of Rochester. A Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive Review.* Rochester, NY: National Publishing Co. Ltd, 1884, 144.

Figure 4.3: Congress Hall Images



late 19th C. Congress Hall Postcard

Shows the proximity of the Congress Hall to railroad infrastructure as part of its appeal



Location of New York Central Rail line alignment "secured by" the Brooks brothers traced in red by author
 Source: Sweet, S.H., and D.M. Greene. "Revised Map of the Railroads of the State of New York." State Engineer and Surveyor, Department of State Engineering and Surveying, 1874. https://www.dot.ny.gov/divisions/operating/opdm/passenger-rail/passenger-rail-service/history-railroads/1874%20NYS_RailMap.pdf.

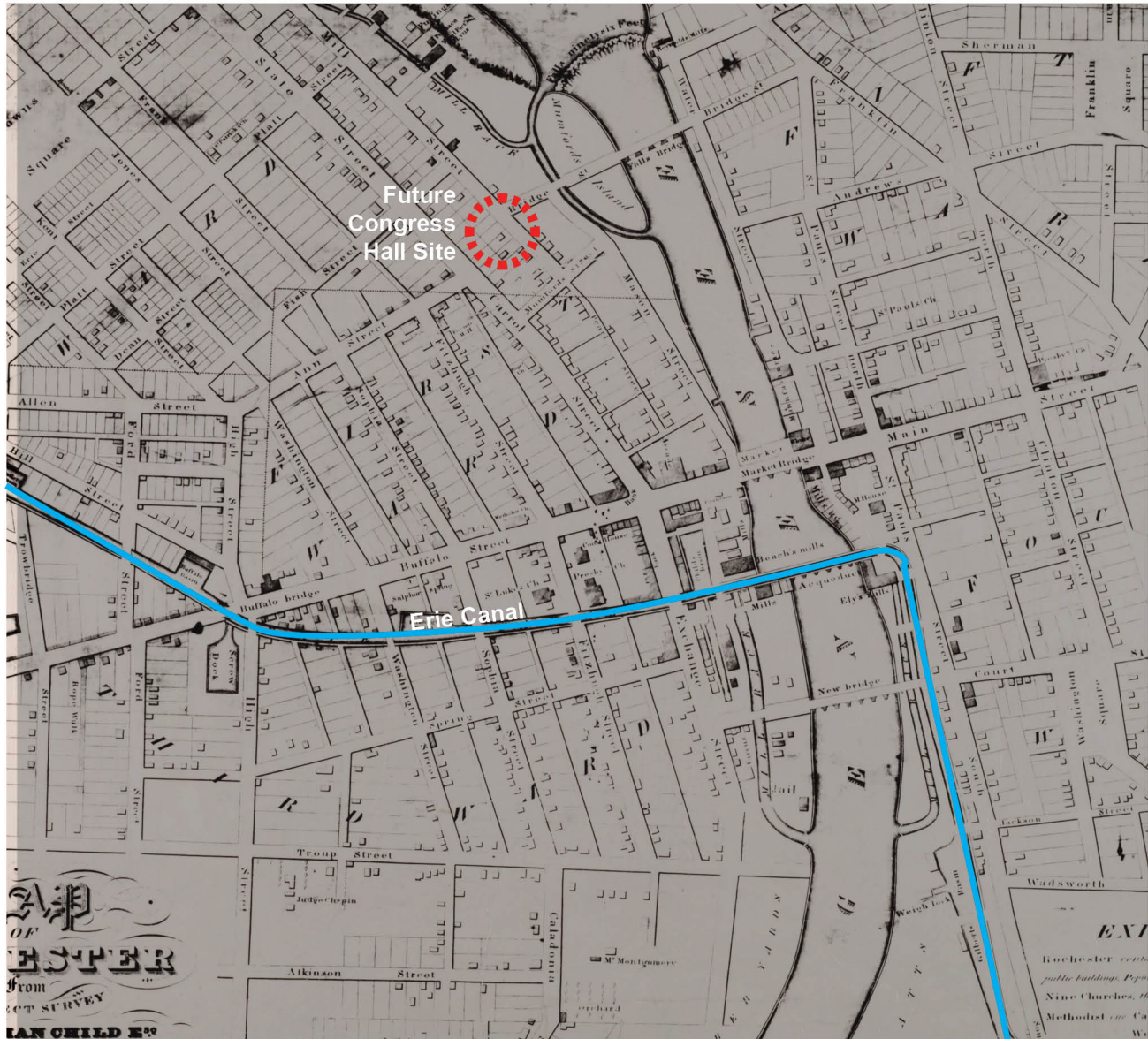
Figure 4.4: 1874 Railroad Map of New York



Rochester around the time of Brooks' arrival in town as a young man, future location of Congress Hall added by author

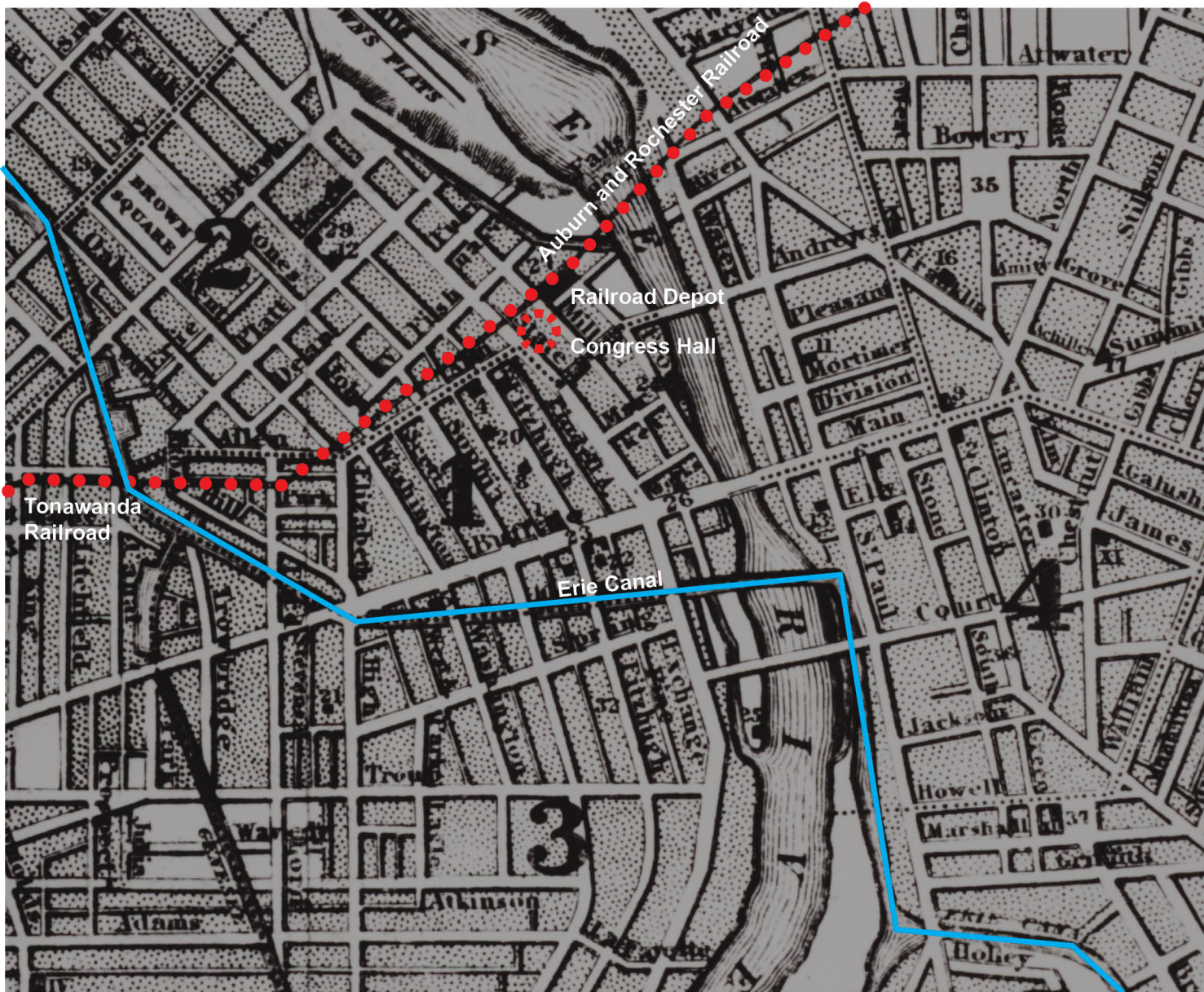
Source: Fenn, Horation N. "A Map of the Village of Rochester in 1820: As Drawn by the Publisher from Actual Survey." Horation N Fenn, 1856. <https://catalogplus.libraryweb.org/?-section=search&term=bid:2269653&dbTab=ls2pac>.

Figure 4.5: 1820 Map of Rochester NY



Rochester in 1832, showing the course of the Erie Canal that connected Rochester to
Source: Valentine Gill, Map of Rochester from a Correct Survey to Jonathan Child Esq. of This Village (Rochester, NY: J. M Morin, NY, 1832), <https://catalogplus.libraryweb.org/?section=search&term=bid:2269680&dbTab=ls2pac>.

Figure 4.6: 1832 Map of Rochester NY



Map shows the town 5 years after the construction of Congress Hall, location and labels added by author

Note the proximity of the Hall to the new Railroad Depot for the Auburn and Rochester Railroad that runs diagonally through the center of the map
Cornell, S. "Map of the City of Rochester." Jerome & Bro: Rochester, 1849. <http://photo.libraryweb.org/rochimag/rpm/rpm00/rpm00004.jpg>.

Figure 4.7: 1849 Map of Rochester New York



Railroad expansion continued, and consolidations and ownership changes alter names of railroads

Labels and tracing of canal and railroads by author

Cornell, S. "Map of the City of Rochester." Rochester: D.M. Dewey, 1855. <http://photo.libraryweb.org/rochimag/rpm/rpm00/rpm00019.jpg>.

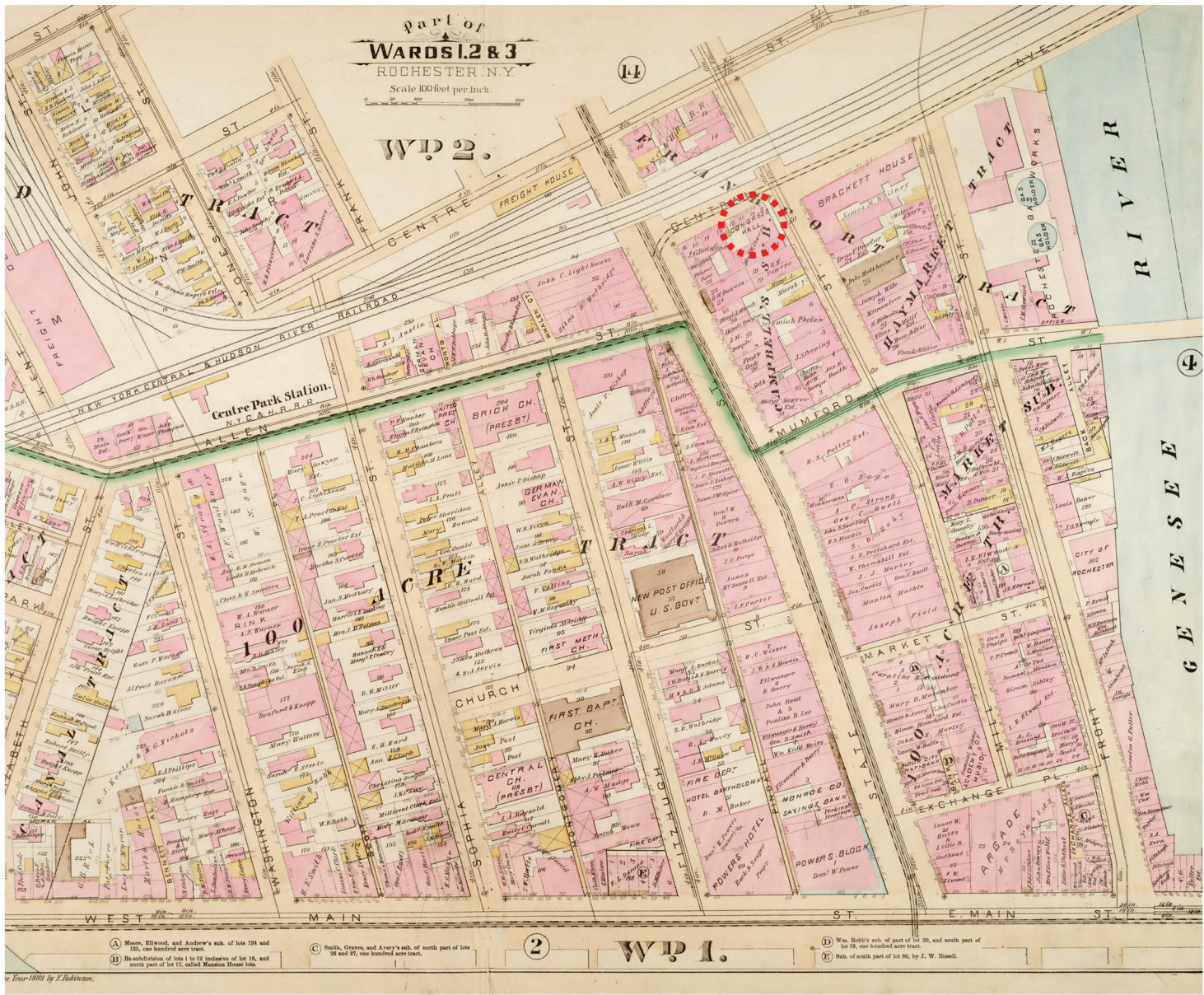
Figure 4.8: 1855 Map of Rochester, NY



All railroads are part of the NY Central Railroad system, Congress Hall is adjacent to the NY Central passenger depot labels added by author

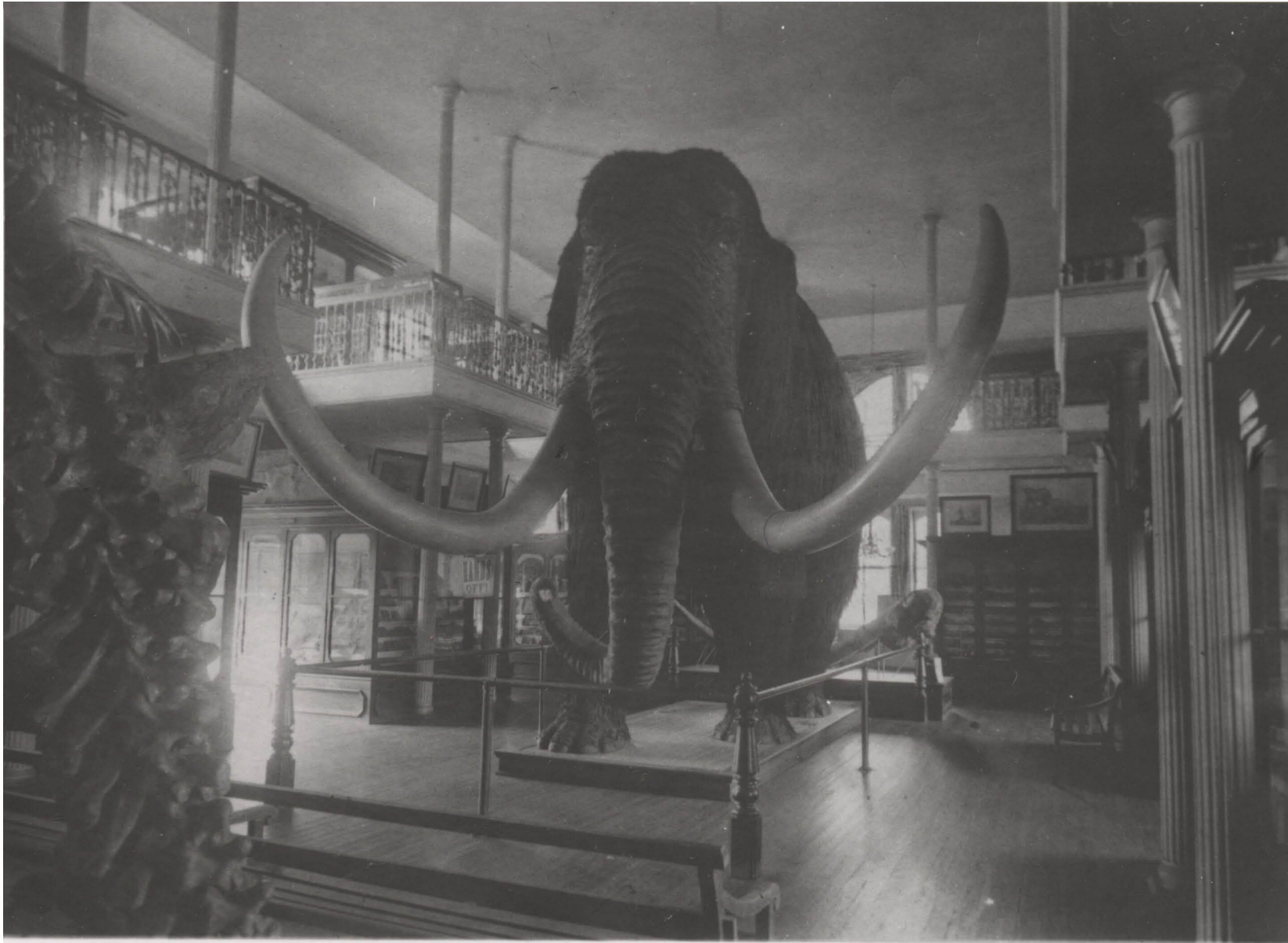
Source: "Map of the City of Rochester from the Latest Surveys Prepared for the Rochester Directory." Drew, Allis & Co, 1874. <https://catalogplus.libraryweb.org/?section=resource&resourceid=1116150645¤tIndex=0&view=fullDetailsDetailsTab>.

Figure 4.9: 1874 Map of Rochester, NY



By this time, the Congress Hall is no longer adjacent to the main passenger station, but is very proximate to streetcar lines that lead to key points in the city. Congress Hall's location shown with red circle added by author
 Source: Robinson, E. "Robinson's Atlas of the City of Rochester, Monroe County, New York." New York: E. Robinson, 1888. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a8fd8c01-259c-ea8a-e040-e00a180659f7>.

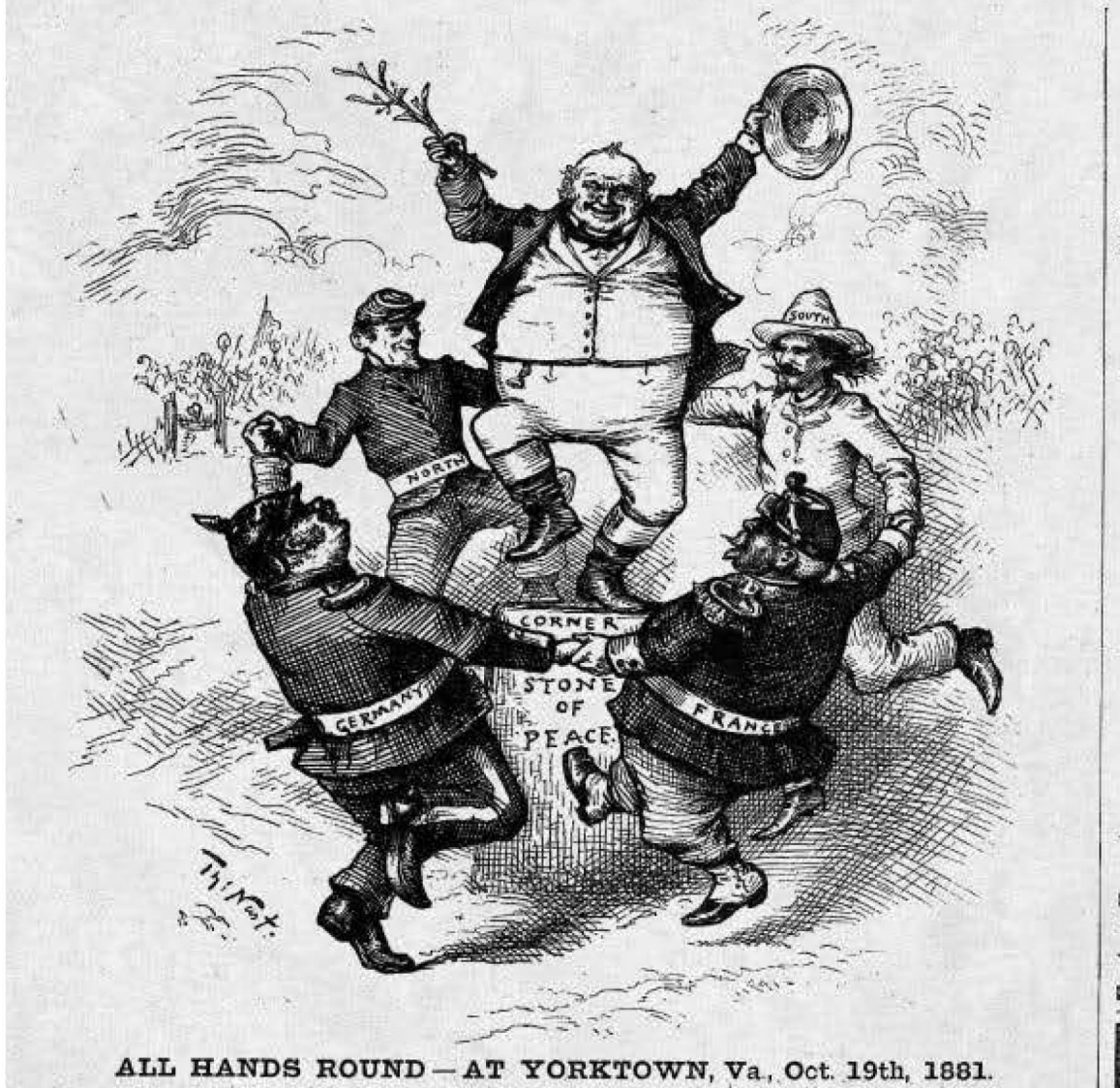
Figure 4.10: 1888 Map of Rochester, NY



The stuffed Mammoth held in the Lewis Brooks Museum of Natural History

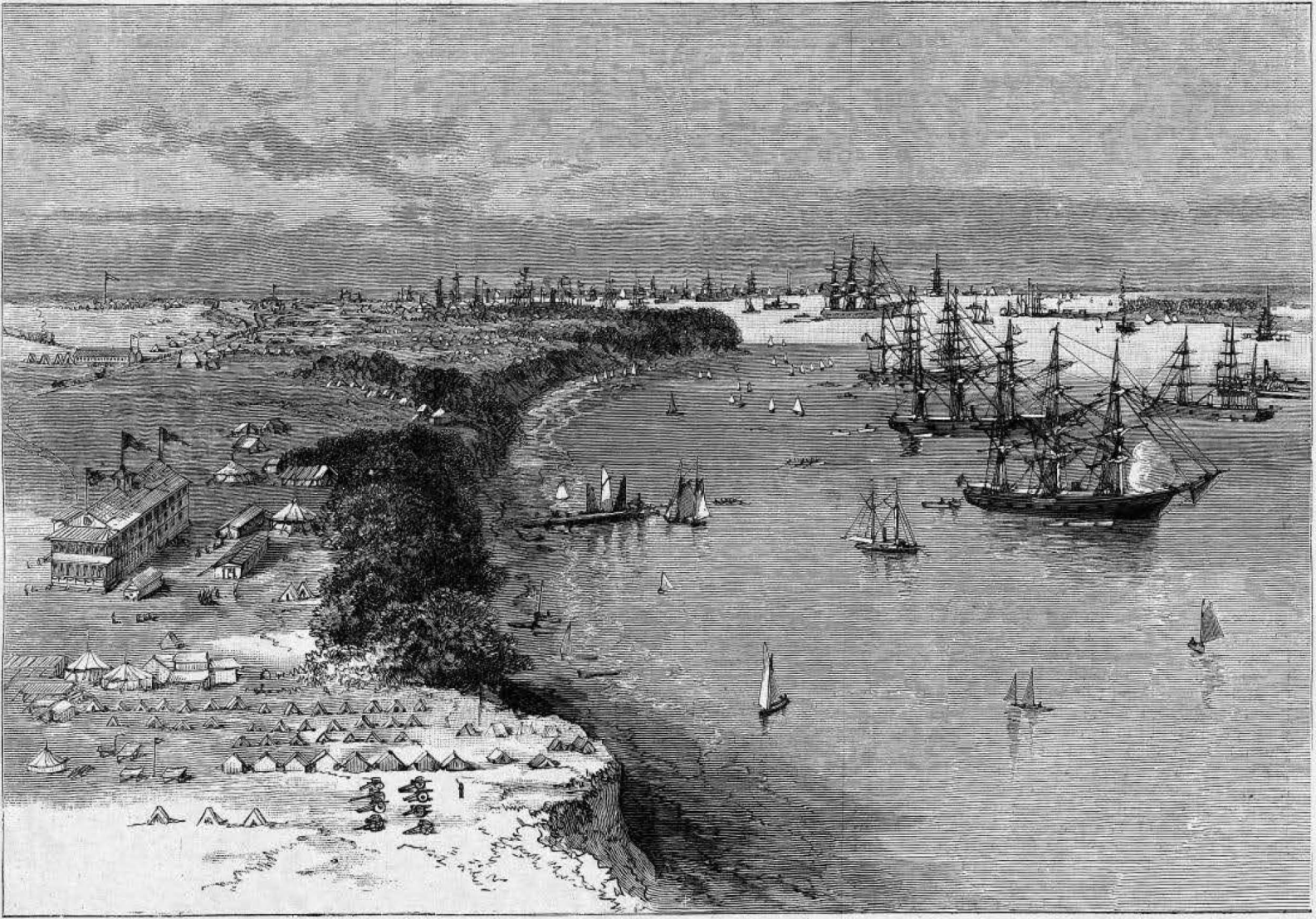
Source: Inside Brooks Hall When It Was the Lewis Brooks Museum of Natural History. 1900. Negative. Special Collections, University of Virginia Library. <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:2160764?idx=0&page=1>.

Figure 4.11: 1900 Mammoth in Brooks Hall



Source: "The Yorktown Centennial," Harper's Weekly, October 29, 1881.

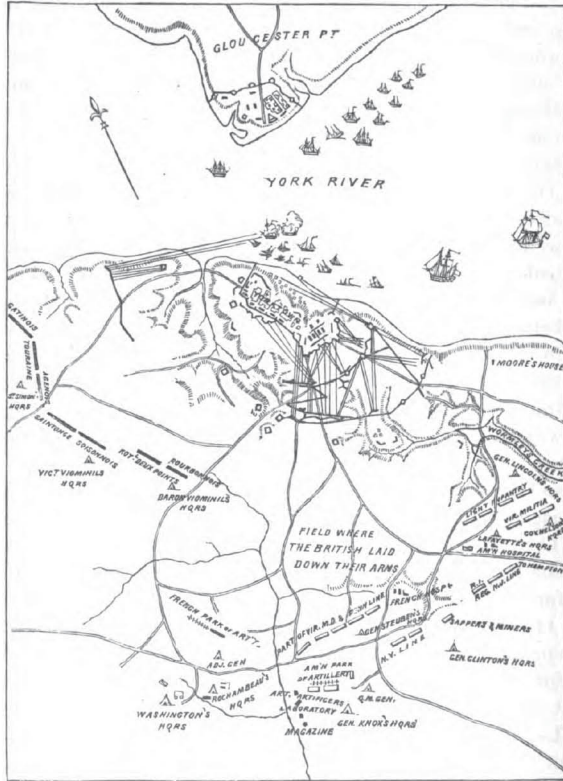
Figure 4.12: 1881 Cartoon Showing Allegiances Represented by Yorktown Centennial



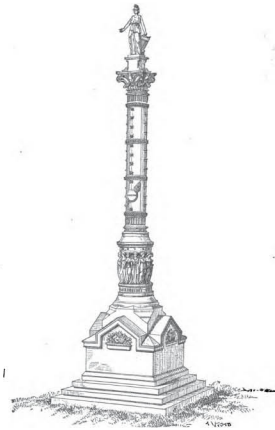
GENERAL VIEW OF THE EXHIBITION GROUNDS.

The stuffed Mammoth held in the Lewis Brooks Museum of Natural History
Source: "The Yorktown Centennial," *Harper's Weekly*, October 29, 1881.

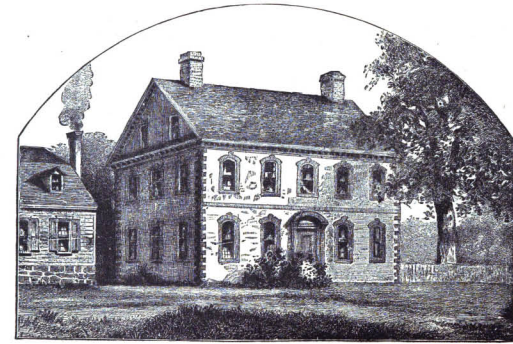
Figure 4.13 1881 *Harper's Weekly* Feature on the Yorktown Centennial



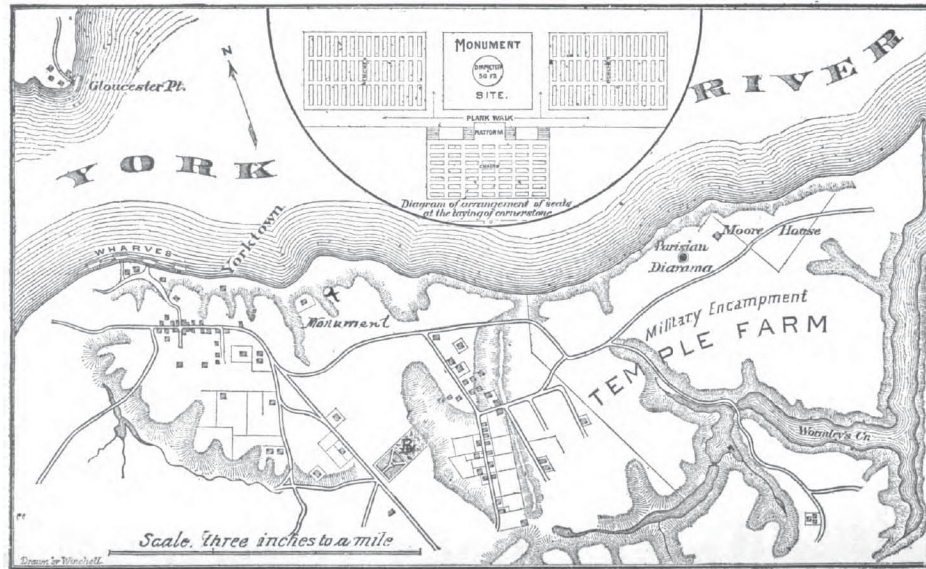
MAJOR BAUMAN'S MAP OF THE SIEGE OF YORK



THE YORKTOWN MONUMENT (FROM THE ACCEPTED MODEL)



THE NELSON HOUSE

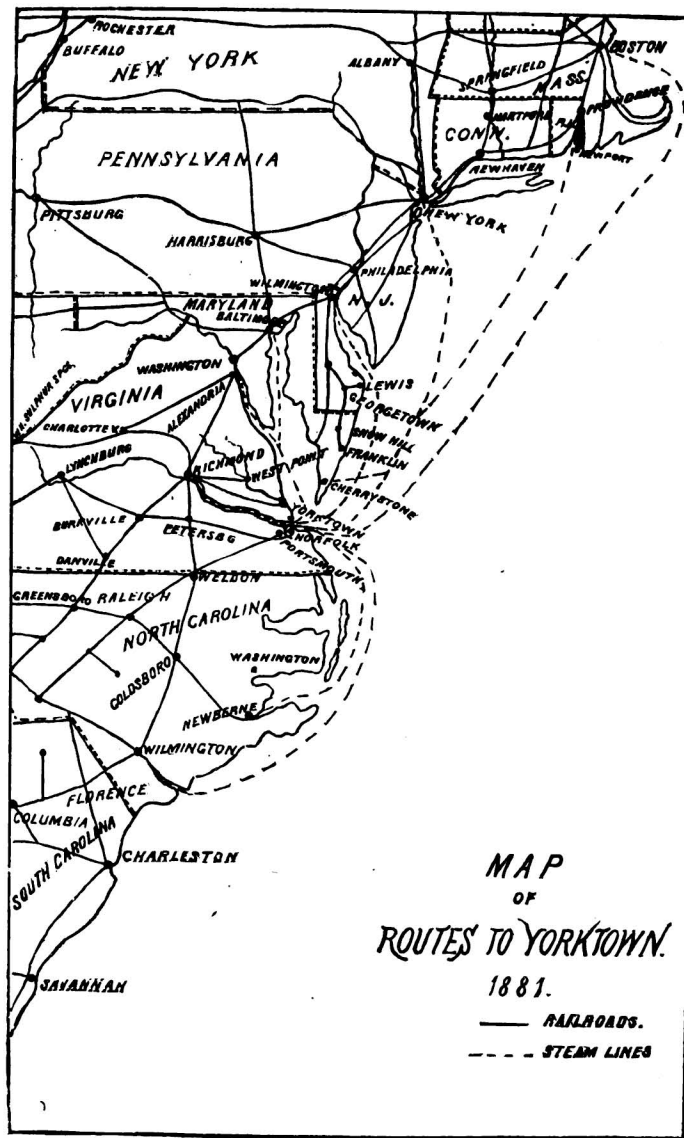


PLAN OF YORKTOWN AND TEMPLE FARM

Sources :John Austin Stevens, *Yorktown Centennial Handbook: Historical and Topographical Guide to the Yorktown Peninsula*, Richmond, James River and Norfolk (New York: C.A. Coffin and Rogers, 1881). The Official Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration 1881 October 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st (Washington DC: Published by the Authority of the Yorktown Centennial Commission, American BK Note Co. N.Y., 1881).

Figure 4.14 1881 Yorktown Centennial Ephemera

MAP OF JAMES RIVER—RICHMOND TO JAMESTOWN.



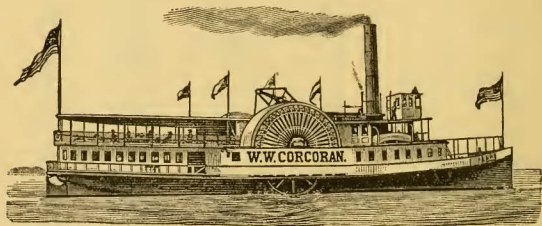
OUTLINE MAP OF WATER AND LAND ROUTES TO YORKTOWN

Source: John Austin Stevens, *Yorktown Centennial Handbook: Historical and Topographical Guide to the Yorktown Peninsula*, Richmond, James River and Norfolk (New York: C.A. Coffin and Rogers, 1881).

Figure 4.15: Map to Yorktown

MT. VERNON.

Comb of Washington.



STEAMER

W. W. CORCORAN

Leaves foot of Seventh Street at 10 A. M., returning at 3:30 P. M., Sundays excepted, allowing passengers

TWO HOURS AND A HALF

to visit the Mansion and Grounds.

L. L. BLAKE,
Captain.

"The Arlington,"

WASHINGTON, D. C.



Cor. Vermont Ave. & La Fayette Square,

OPPOSITE THE
WHITE HOUSE.

HEADQUARTERS

FOR THE

Invited Guests of the United States,

AND THE

GOVERNORS OF STATES.

—First Class in all its Appointments.—

T. ROESSLE & SON,
Proprietors.

CARROLLTON HOTEL,



BALTIMORE, LIGHT, AND GERMAN STREETS,
BALTIMORE, MD.

Rates Reduced to \$3 & \$2.50 Per Day,
according to location of rooms,
FOR ALL ABOVE PARLOR FLOOR.

Extra Charges for Parlors, Bath, and Double Rooms,
according to size.

The most Convenient & Latest Built in the City.

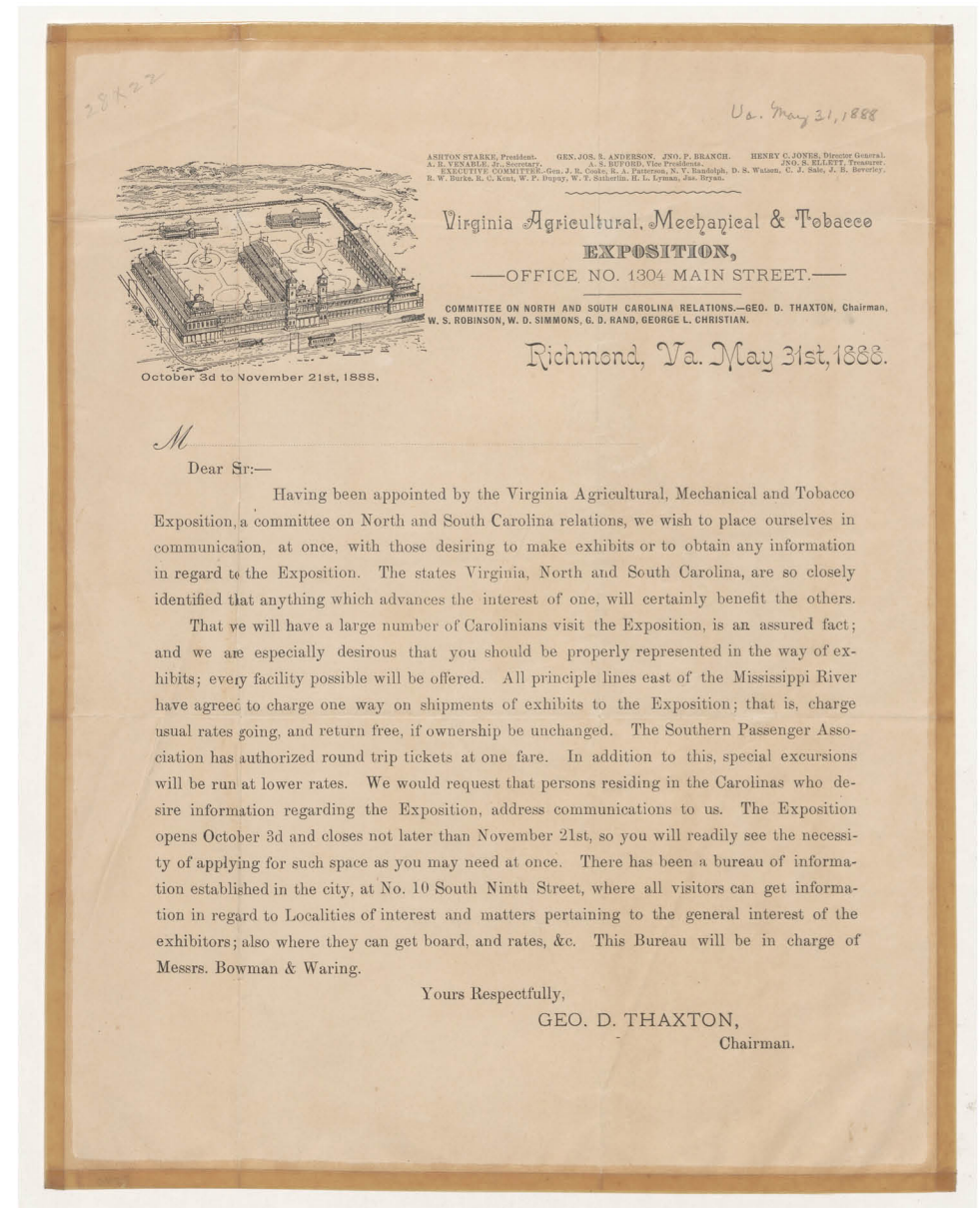
ELEVATOR runs continuously to all floors.
All lines of city passenger cars pass its doors.
ELECTRIC LIGHT RECENTLY INTRODUCED. -
F. W. COLEMAN, Manager.

BALTIMORE, Md., October 1, 1881.

(114)

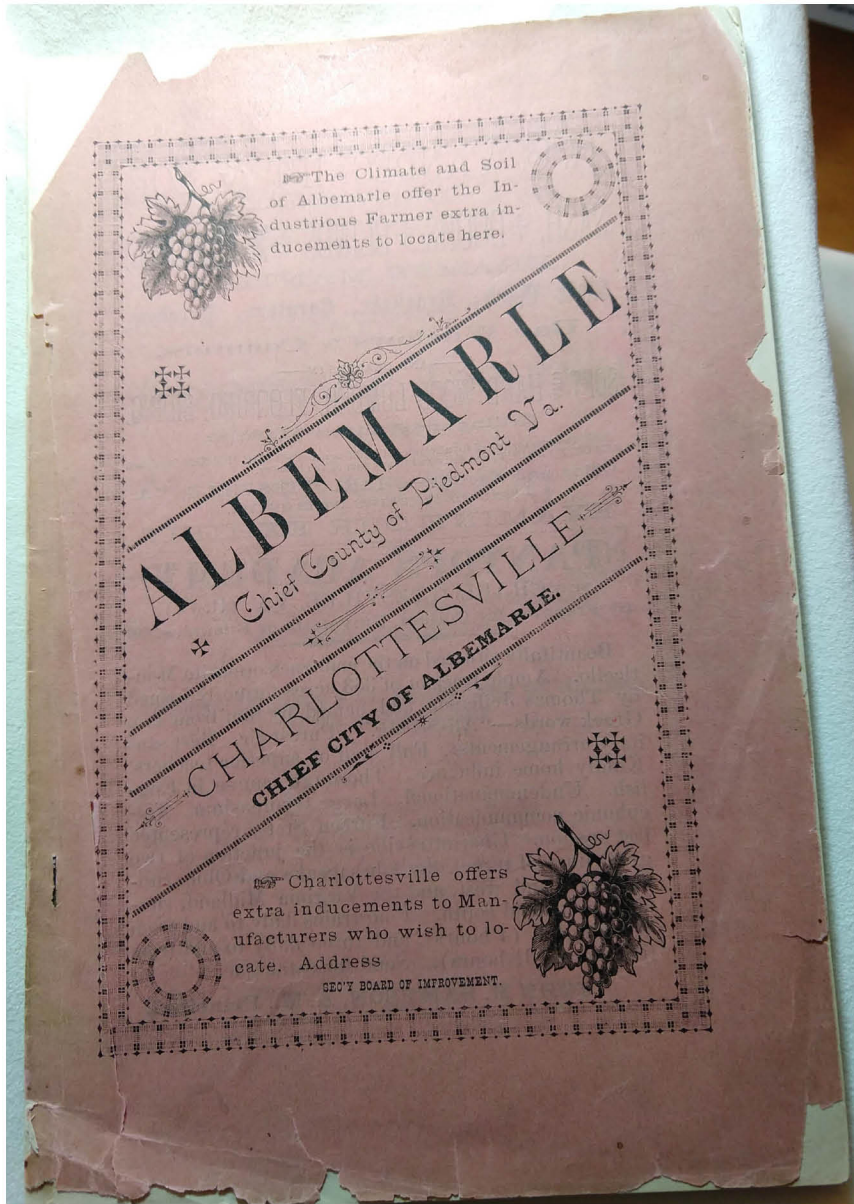
Source: F.T. Wilson, The Official Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st (Washington DC: Published by the Authority of the Yorktown Centennial Commission, American BK Note Co. N.Y., 1881).

Figure 4.16: Philanthro-capitalist Historicisms: Networked Relationships to Yorktown



Source: unknown, Illustrated Envelope: Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical, and Tobacco Exposition Envelope, 1888, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/10702hpr-1bb26dfa2fccfcf/>; George D Thaxton, "Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical & Tobacco Exposition, Richmond, Va. May 31st 1888.," May 31, 1888, <https://repository.duke.edu/dc/broadsides/bdsva103740>.

Figure 4.17: Envelope for 1888 Virginia Agricultural Mechanical and Tobacco Exposition (VAMTE) and Form letter to leaders in regional localities



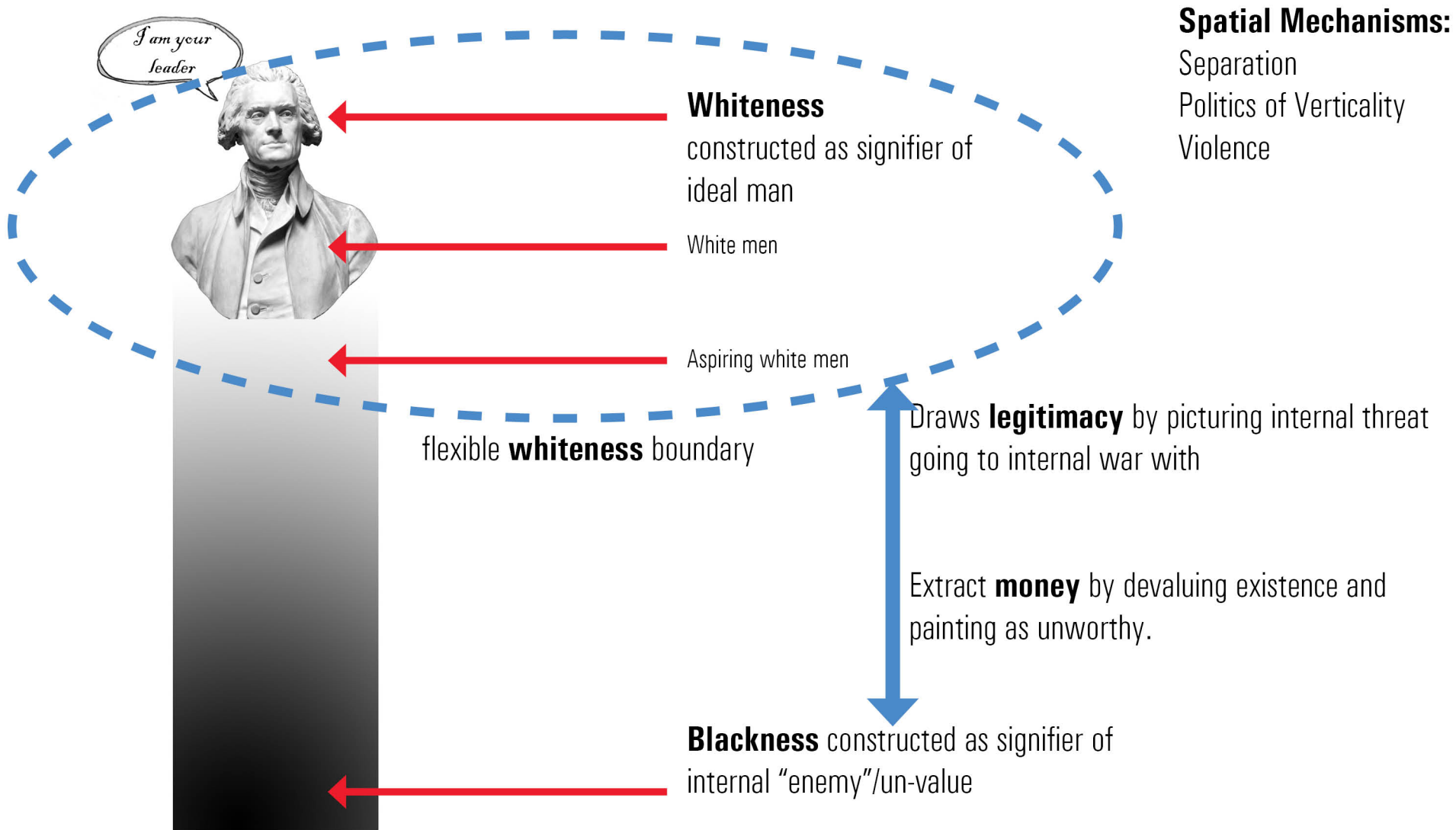
Source: W. H Seamon, ed., "Albemarle County (Virginia): A Handbook Giving a Description of Tis Topography, Climate, Geology, Minerals, Fruits, Plants, History, Educational, Agricultural and Manufacturing Advanctages, and Inducements the County Offers the Industrious and Intelligent Farmer and Manufacturer" (Wm. H Prout, Jeffersonian Book and Job Printing House, Charlottesville, 1888).

Figure 4.18: Envelope for 1888 Virginia Agriculutral Mechanical and Tobacco Exposition (VAMTE)



Source: R. E. Shaw and Va.) Charlottesville Land Company (Charlottesville, Map of Property Owned or Controlled by the Charlottesville Land Co., Charlottesville, Nov. 29th, 1890 (Charlottesville, Va: Charlottesville Land Company, 1890).

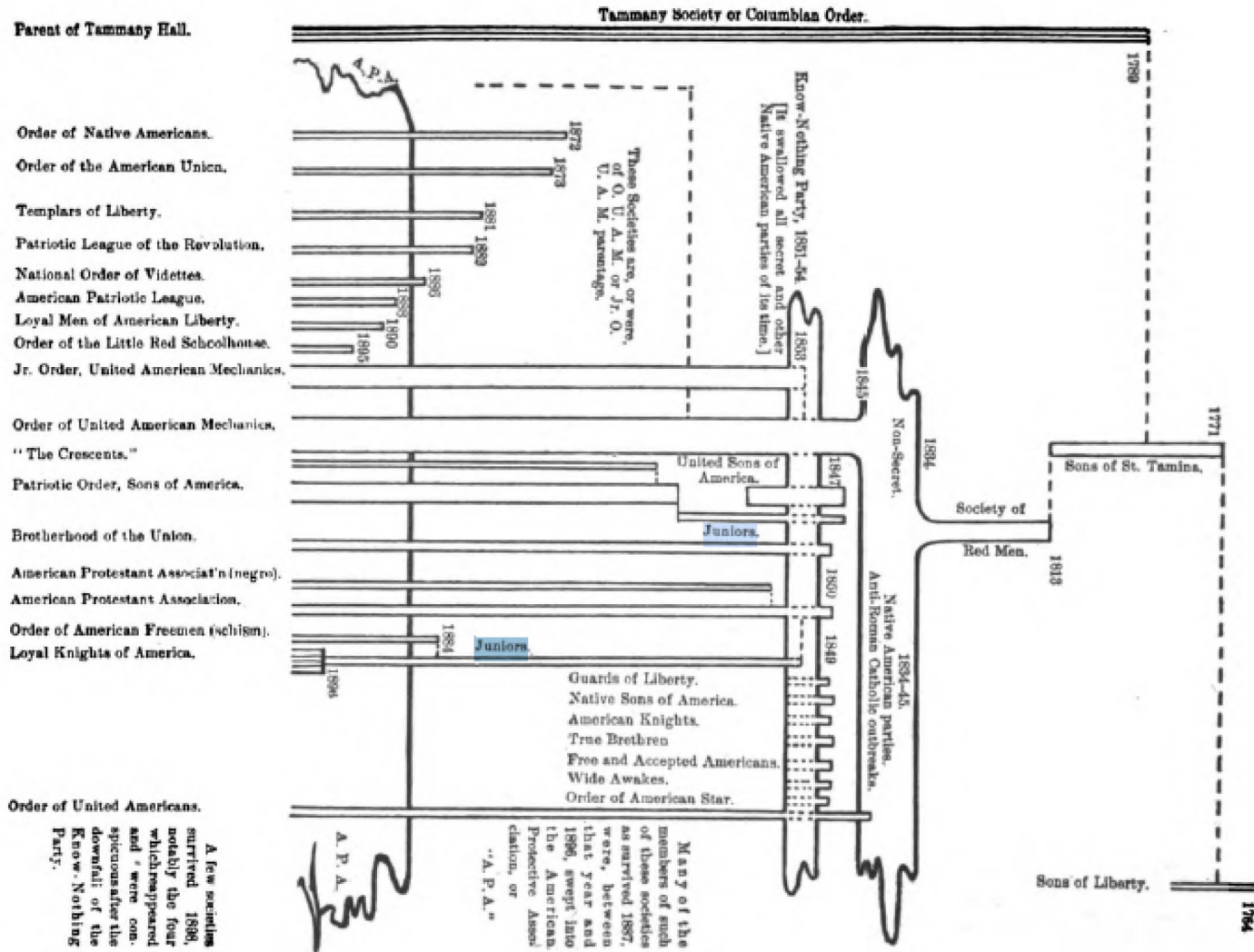
Figure 5:1: 1890 Map of the Holdings of the Charlottesville Land Company



By author, combining frames from Mbembe and Robinson

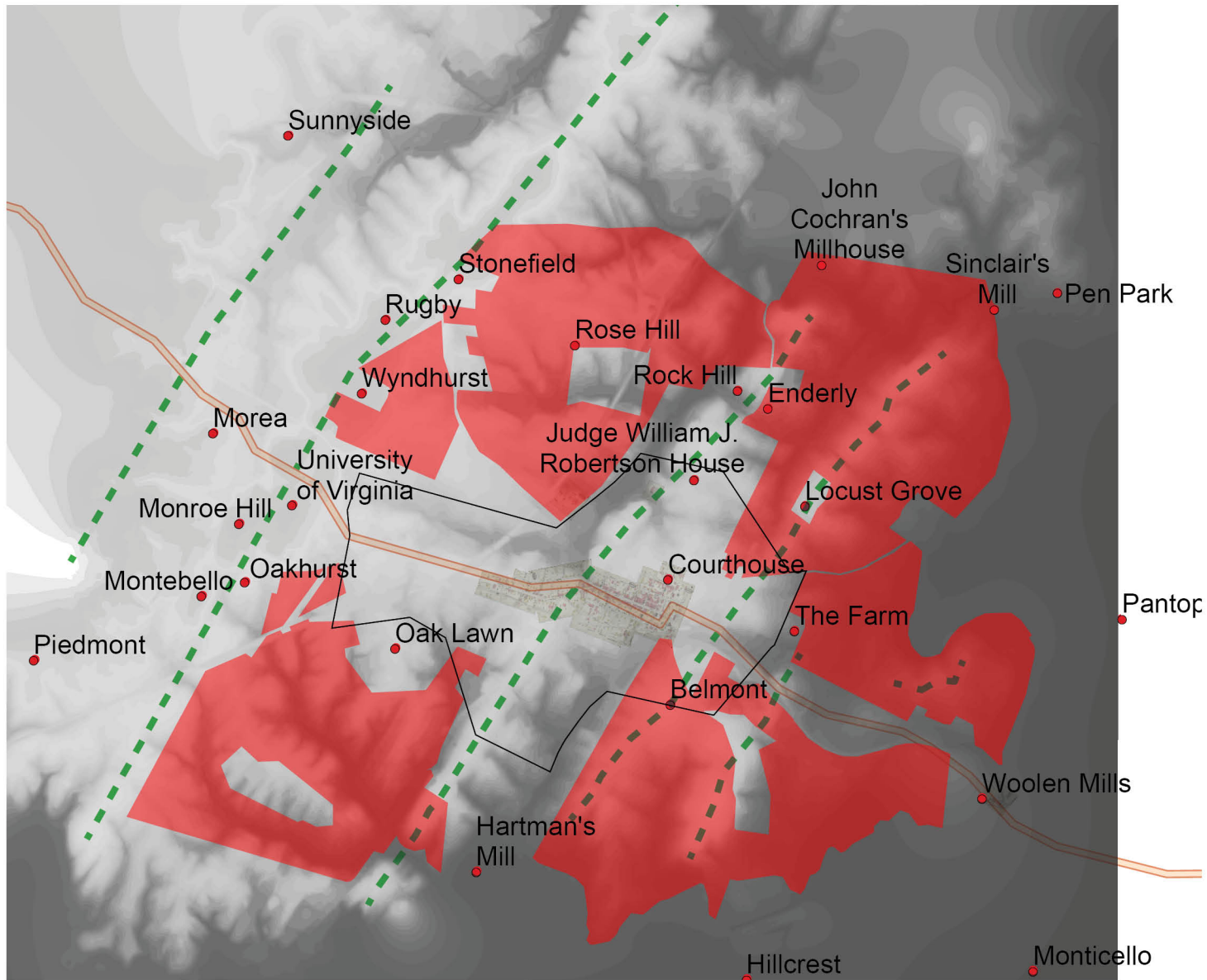
Figure 5:2: Dynamics of imaginary of racial capitalism in Charlottesville

FAMILY TREE OF LEADING PATRIOTIC AND POLITICAL SECRET SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1764 TO DATE.



Source: Diagram of the "Family Tree" of "Patriotic Orders" Albert C Stevens, Cyclopaedia of Fraternities (Hamilton Printing and Publishing Company, 1907), 291

Figure 5.3: 1907 "Family Tree" Diagram of "Patriotic Societies" development and lineage in the US



Charlottesville Land company holdings from 1890 (red polygon overlay) over an topographical representation of town (grayscale), the 1891 sanborn map showing major urban development in the city, and the city boundary established in 1888 (black line) approximate ridgelines shown in green, major E-W road shown in orange

Overlay map created by author

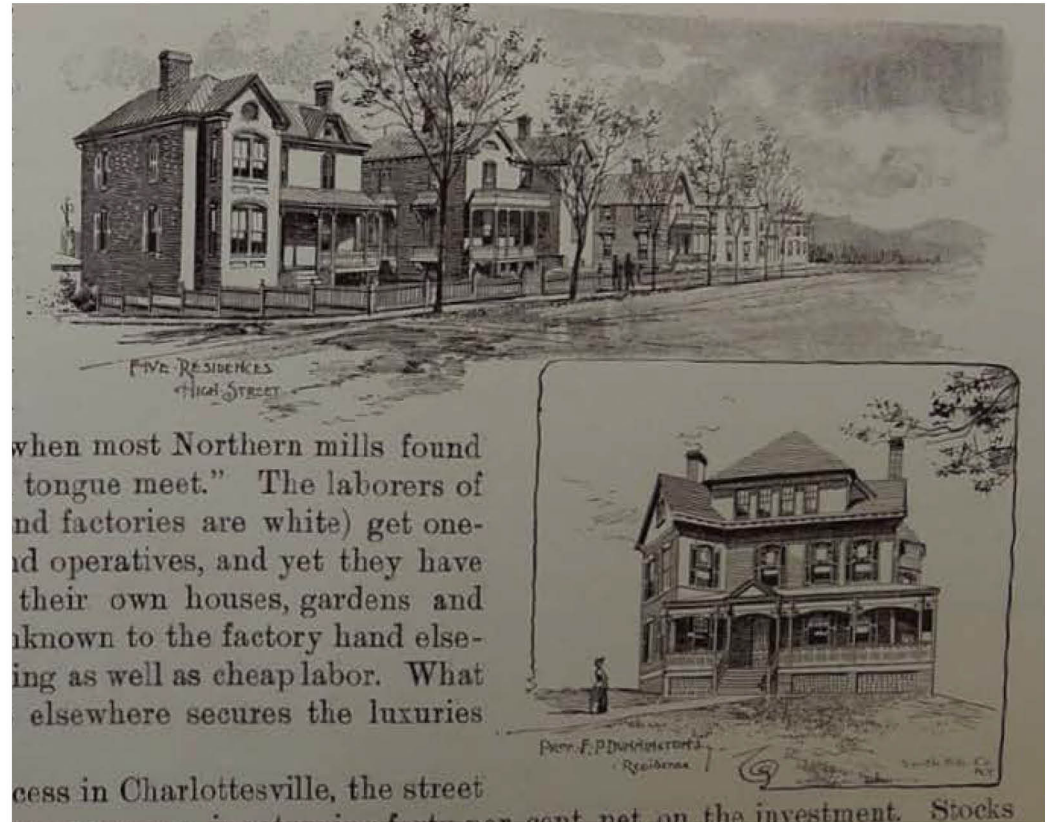
1": 4000'

Figure 5:4 1890 Composite Map



Source: "Pan-American Exposition - Wikipedia," accessed May 18, 2023, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-American_Exposition.

Figure 5.5 Maud Woods, Micajah Woods' daughter served as the model for "North America" in the logo for the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, NY in 1901.



Source: Va.) Charlottesville Land Company (Charlottesville and South Publishing Co, Charlottesville, Virginia (New York: Charlottesville Land Company, 1891).

Figure 5:6: Homes depicted in an 1891 Charlottesville Land Company Promotional Book



Source: Va.) Charlottesville Land Company (Charlottesville and South Publishing Co, Charlottesville, Virginia (New York: Charlottesville Land Company, 1891).

Figure 5:7: Courthouse and Homes depicted in an 1891 Charlottesville Land Company Promotional Book



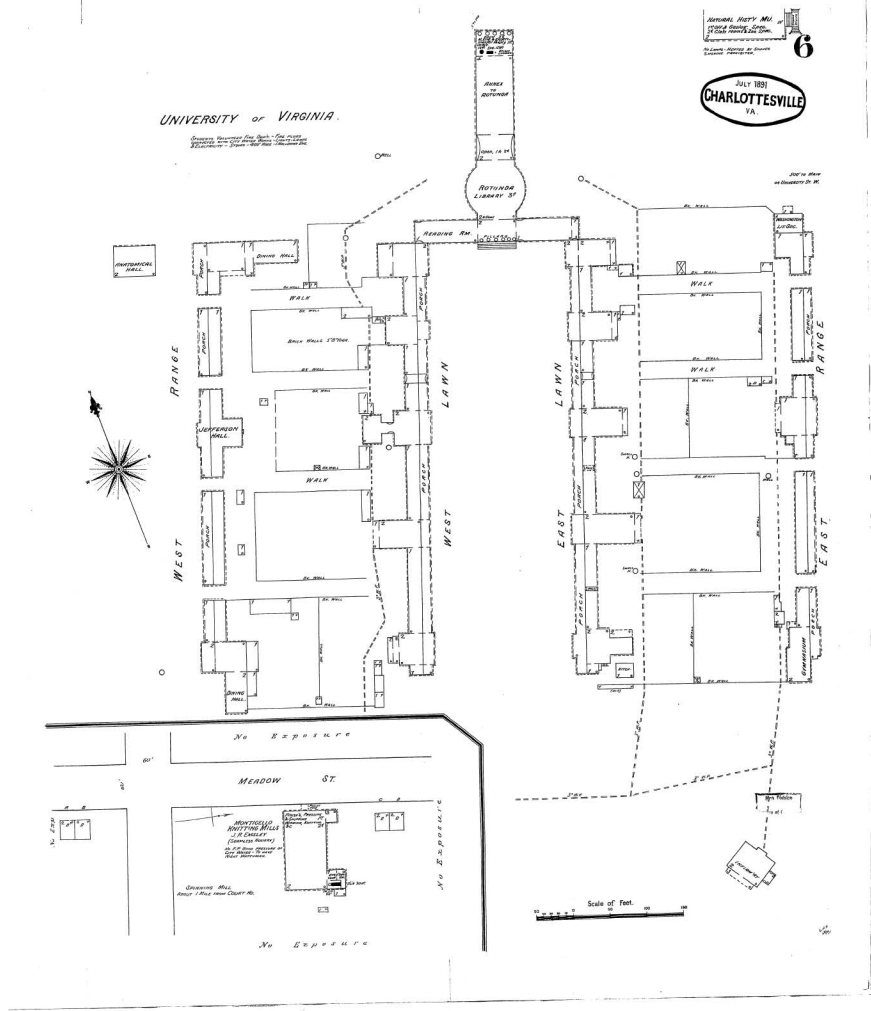
Gymnastics Team in 1913

Source: Rufus W. Holsinger, Gymnastics Team University of Virginia, 1913, Photograph, 1913, Holsinger Studio Collection, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:1041522?idx=0&x=0.471&y=0.409&zoom=1.29&page=1>.

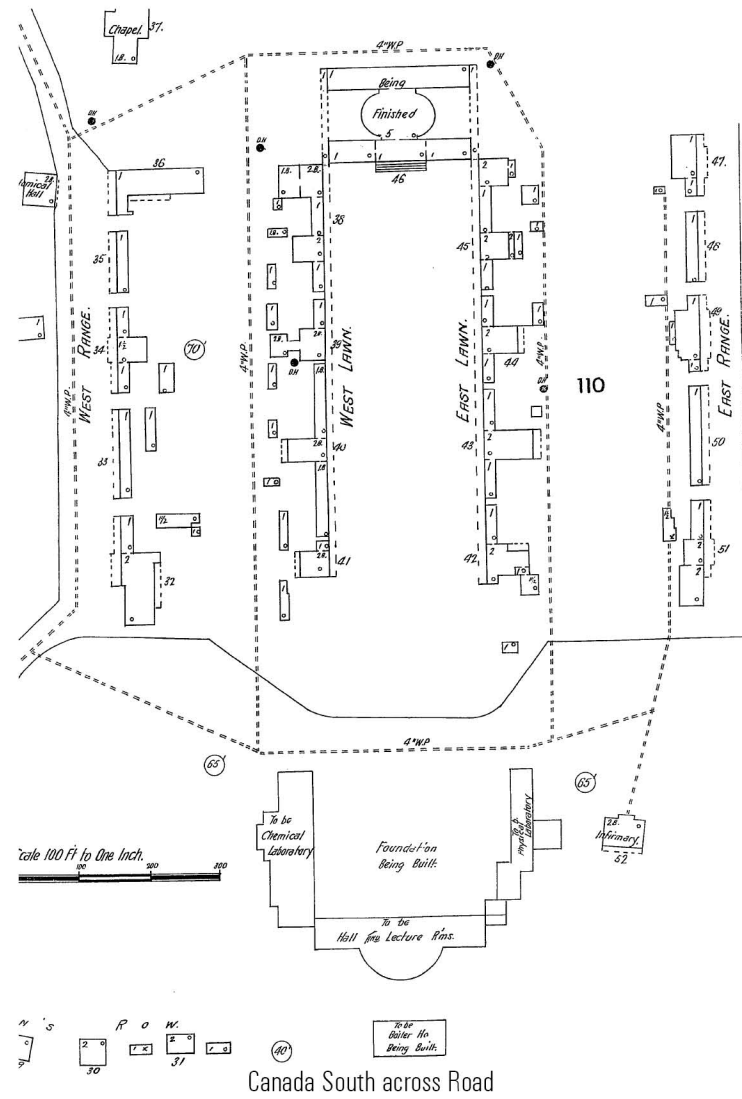
4th of July Pageant (Author conjectures this is a pageant representing Christopher Columbus), 1913

Source: Rufus W. Holsinger, Fourth of July Celebration, 1913, 1913, Holsinger Studio Collection, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:1041270>.

Figure 5:8 Fayerweather Hall and associated events

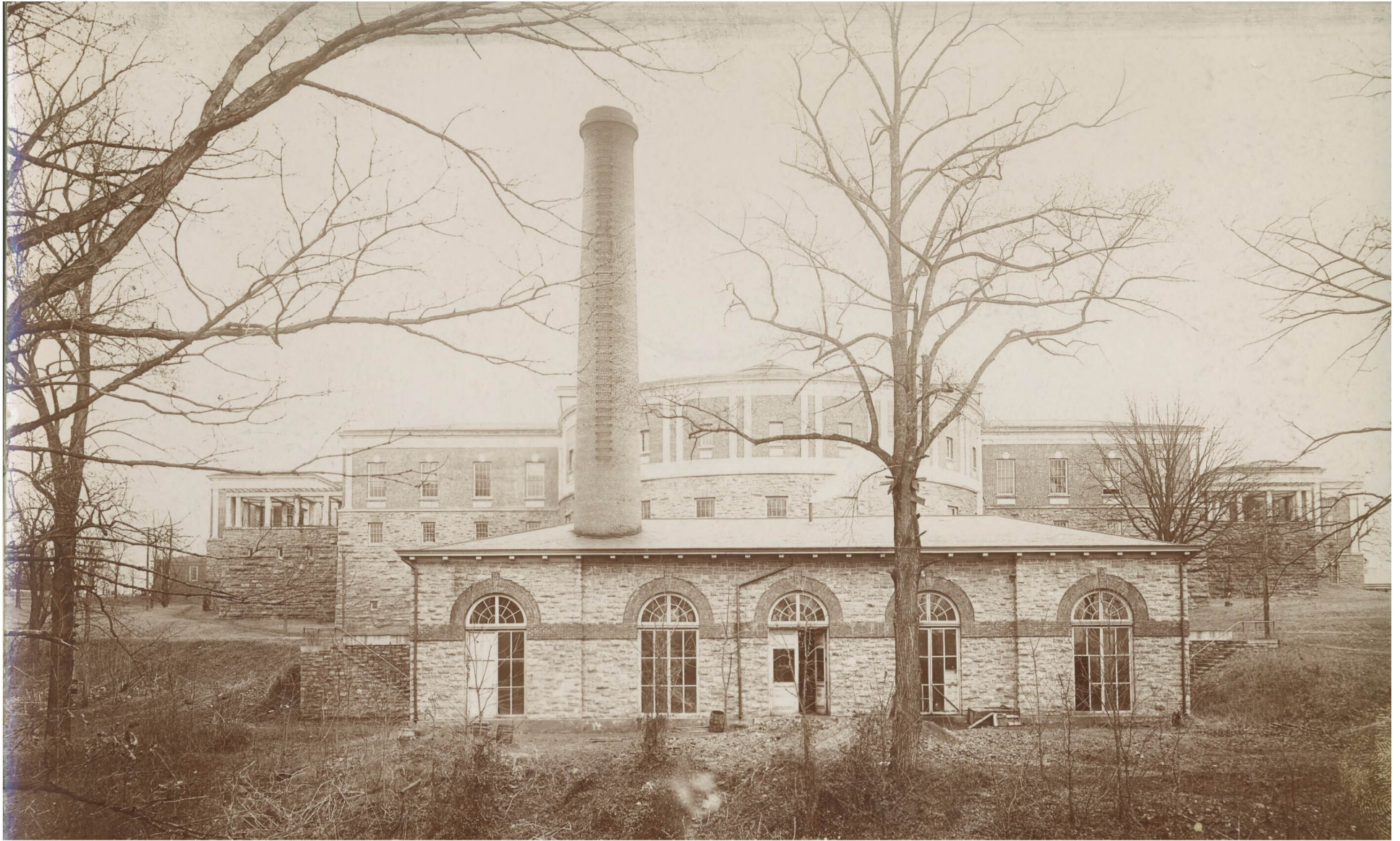


1891 Sanborn Map



1896 Sanborn Map

Figure 5:9 University of Virginia 1891 and 1896 Sanborn Maps show addition of Rouss, Cocke, and Cabell Halls, and addition of Power House adjoining Canada neighborhood to south
Labels added by Author



Source: Power House Behind Old Cabell Hall, 1920 1900, 1920 1900, University of Virginia Special Collections, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:2160839?idx=0&x=0.466&y=0.348&zoom=0.9&page=1>.

Figure 5.10: Cabell Hall, view from the South side the predominantly African-American neighborhood of Canada

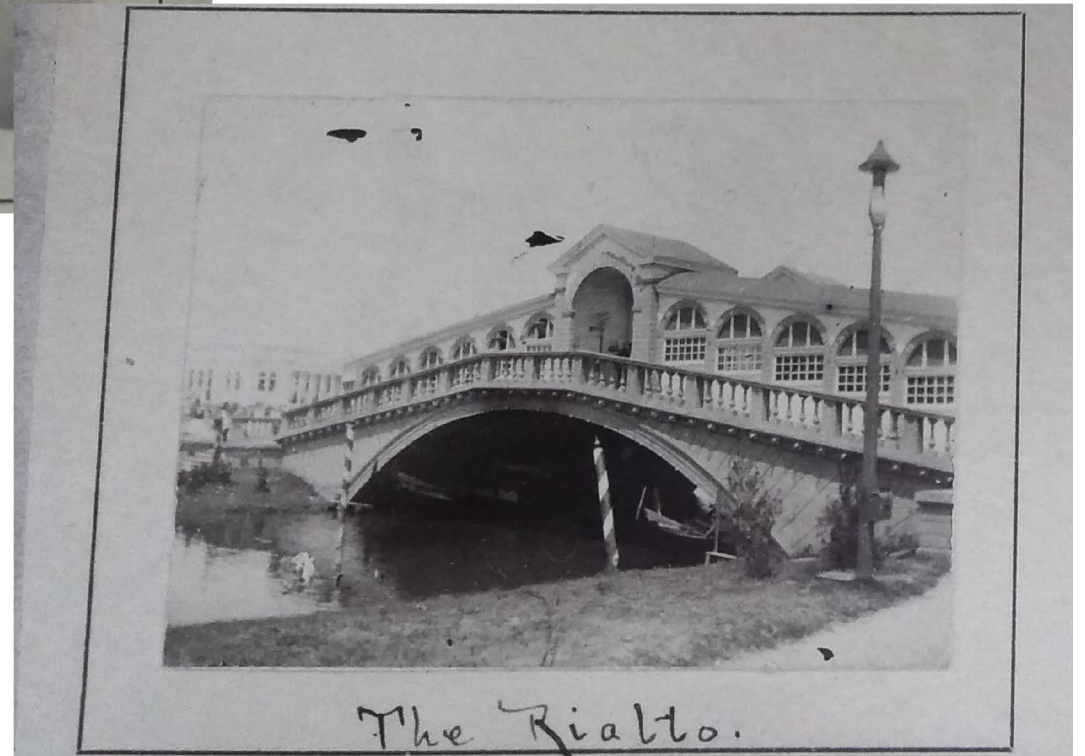
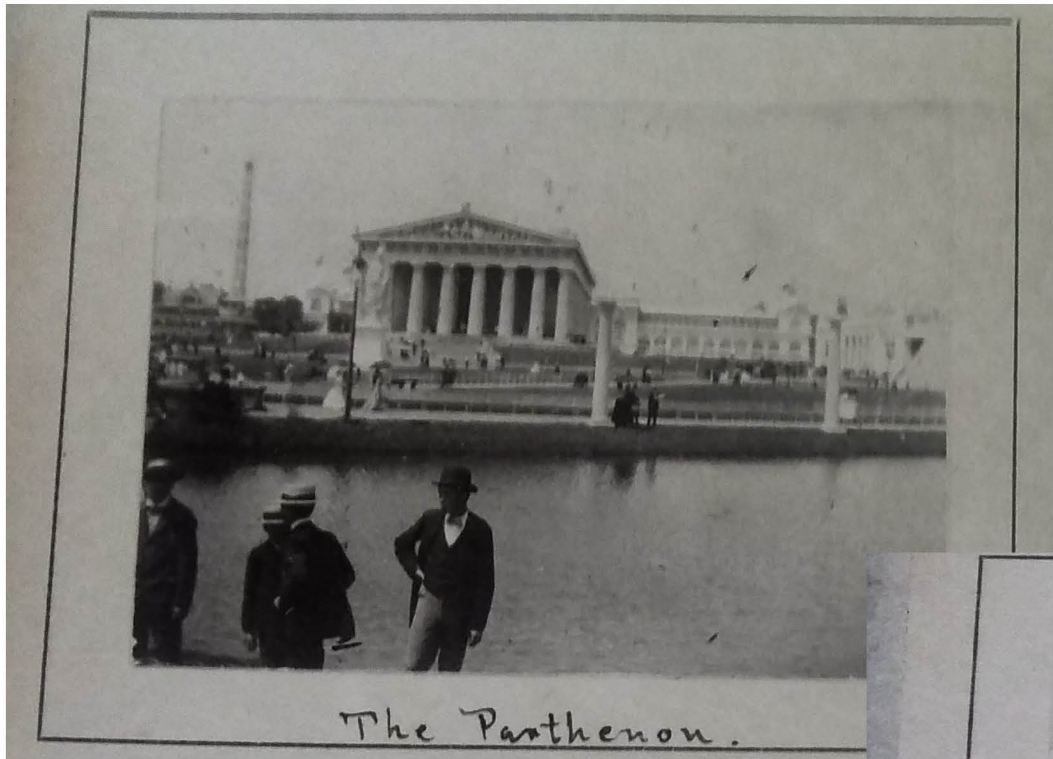
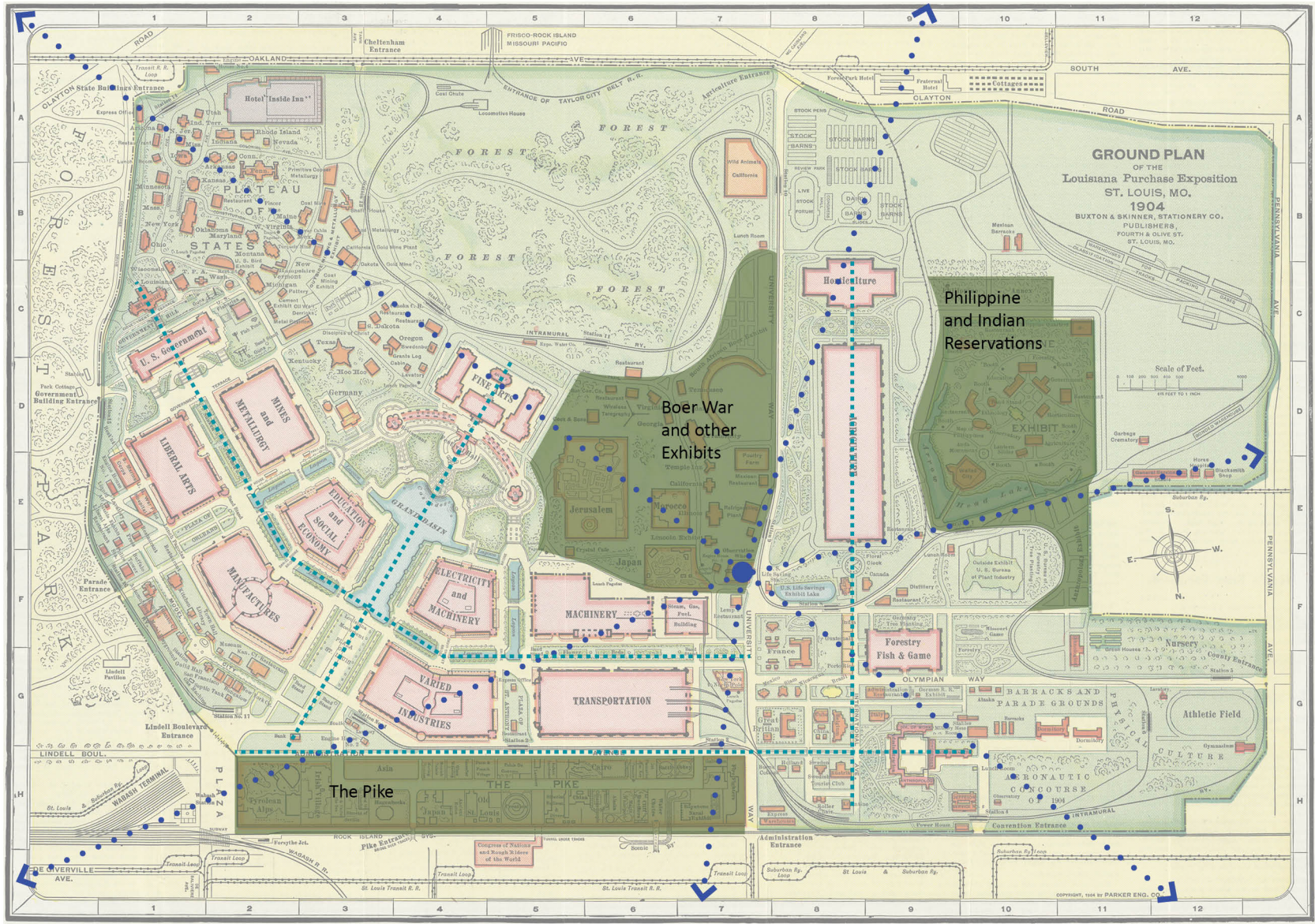


Figure 5.11 Photographs from the Barringer Papers held at UVA Special Collections
the Parthenon and The Rialto Bridge were prominent features of the 1897 Tennessee Centennial Exposition



Spatial Strategies digrammed by author

Source: <http://www.bigmapblog.com/maps/map04/STLouiswFFORestp.jpg>

Racially "othered" exhibit areas

Symbolic axes

Ferris Wheel

Lines of Sight give access to fairgrounds

Figure 5.13: Spatial Layout of St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition 1904



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.



VICTORY.



PROTEST OF THE SIOUX.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Source: David Francis R, *The Universal Exposition of 1904* (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913), 93.

Figure 5:14 Sculptures at 1904 World's Fair



Source: Jane Kelly, "Pomp and Circumstance: Look Back at UVA's Previous Eight Presidential Inaugurations," UVA Today, October 8, 2018, <https://news.virginia.edu/content/pomp-and-circumstance-look-back-uvas-previous-eight-presidential-inaugurations>.

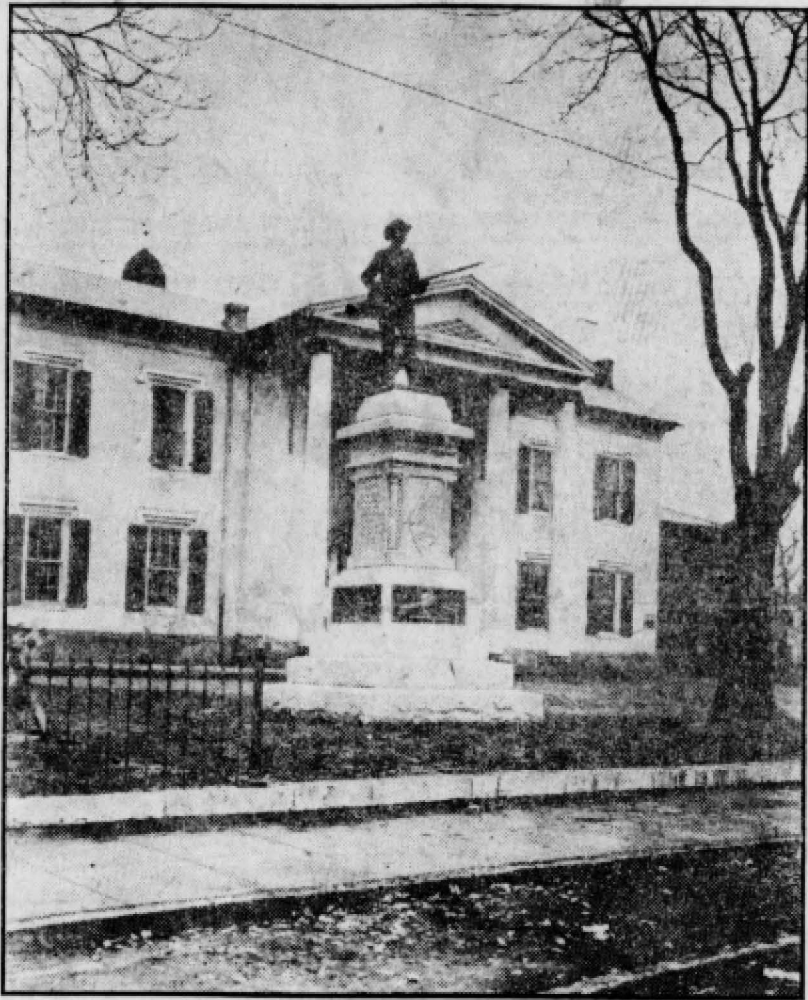
Figure 5:13 James Monroe Sculpture on UVA Lawn at Edwin Alderman's Inauguration Ceremony on Founder's Day 1905

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CONFEDERATE MONUMENT UNVEILED TODAY.

Source: "Monument Is Unveiled Today," The Daily Progress, May 5, 1909.

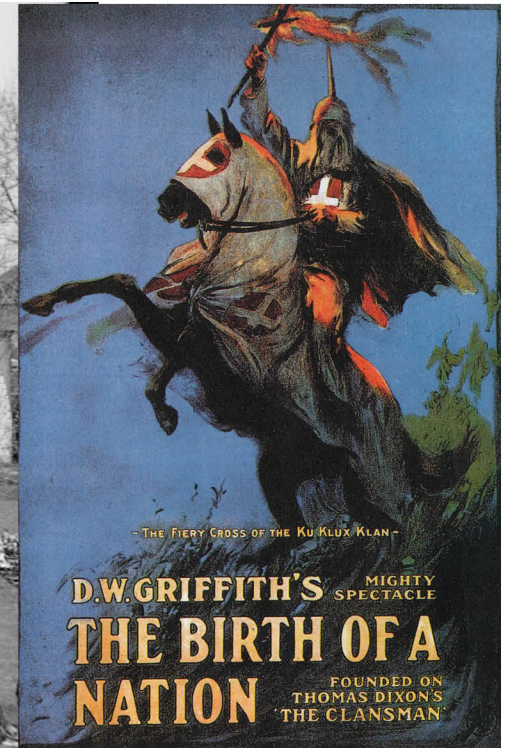
Figure 5:16 Confederate Statue in front of the Courthouse on its Dedication on May 5, 1909



STATUE OF JEFFERSON, UNVEILED APRIL 30, 1913.

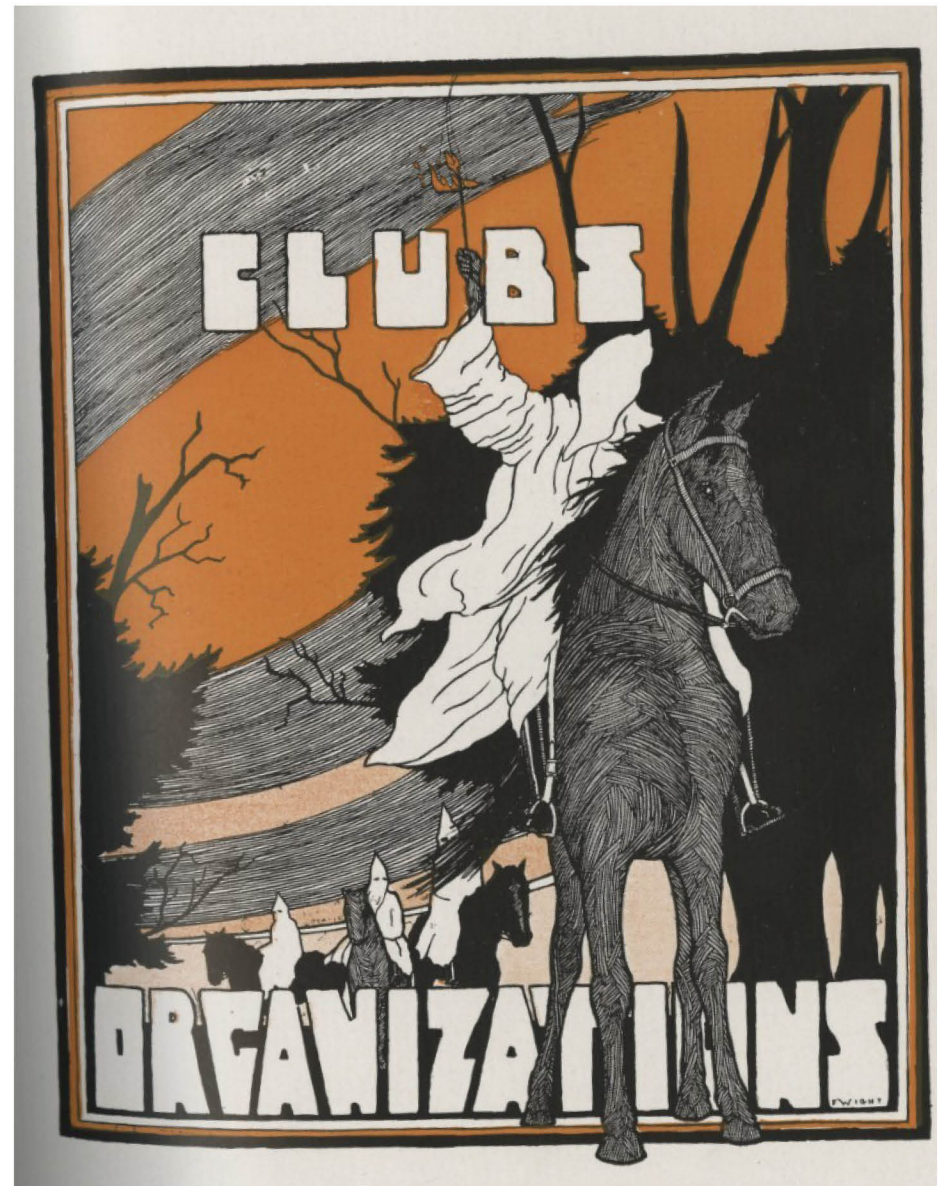
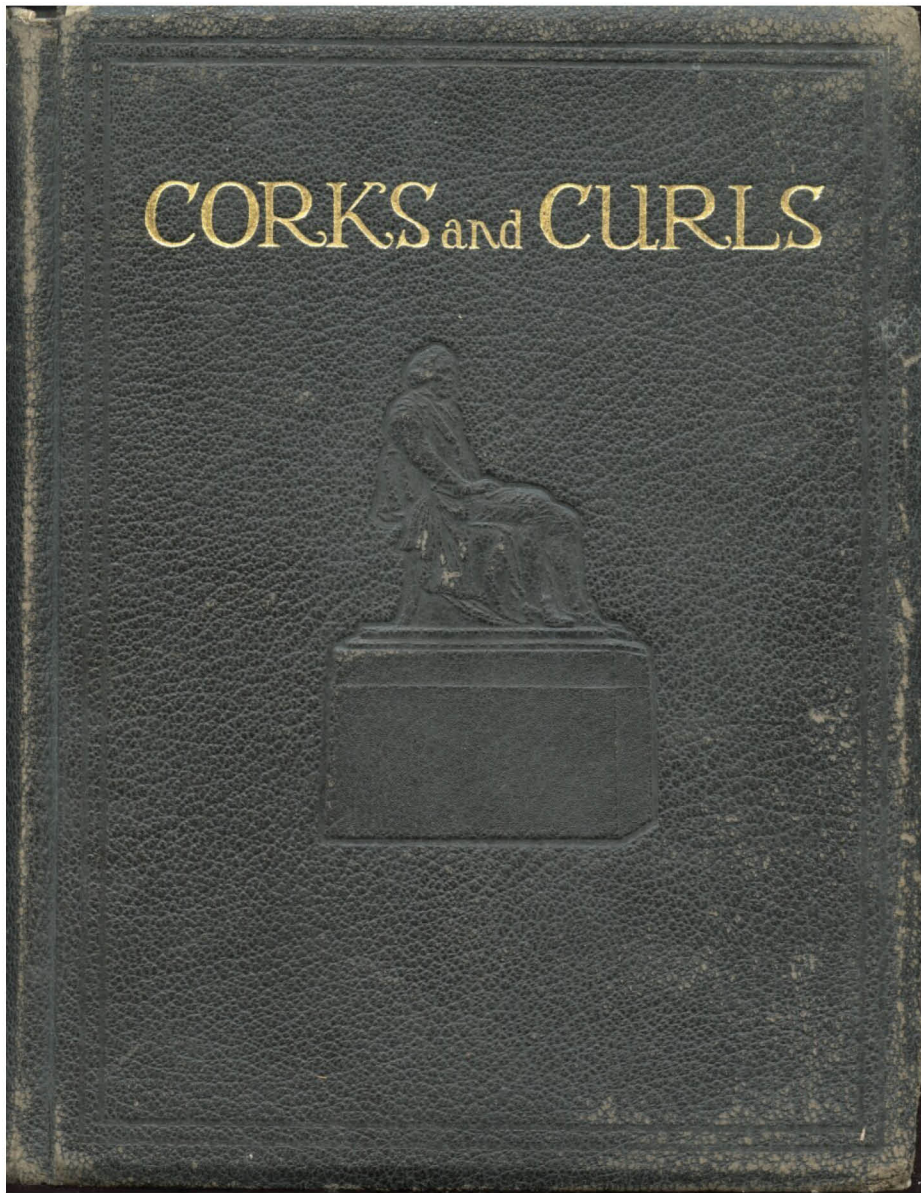
Sources: Rufus W. Holsinger, Jefferson Statue, April 14, 1915, photograph, April 14, 1915, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:1043211?idx=0&page=1>; David R. Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904 (St. Louis: St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exhibition Company, 1913), 1.

Figure 5:17 Jefferson Statue at UVA (left), and Jefferson Statue at Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis (right)



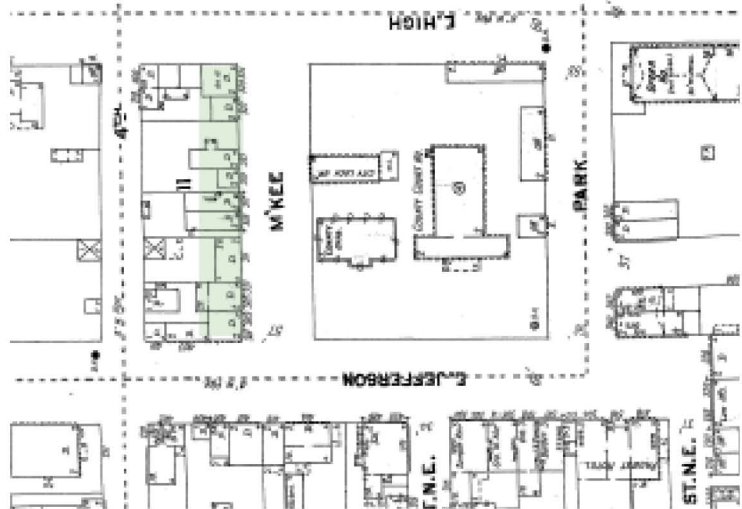
Sources: Rufus W. Holsinger, Jefferson Statue University of Virginia, April 14, 1915, photograph, April 14, 1915, Holsinger Studio Collection, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:1043206?idx=0&x=0.5&y=0.417&zoom=0.9&page=1>; "File:Birth of a Nation Theatrical Poster.Jpg - Wikimedia Commons," accessed May 16, 2023, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Birth_of_a_Nation_theatrical_poster.jpg.

Figure 5:18 Jefferson Statue Dedication Founder's Day Ceremony 1915 and 1915 Birth of a Nation Movie Poster



Sources:University of Virginia, Corks and Curls (Buffalo, NY: Baker, Jones Hausauer, Inc, 1922), cover, 359

Figure 5:19 1922 Corks and Curls Cover and "Clubs and Associations" Title Page

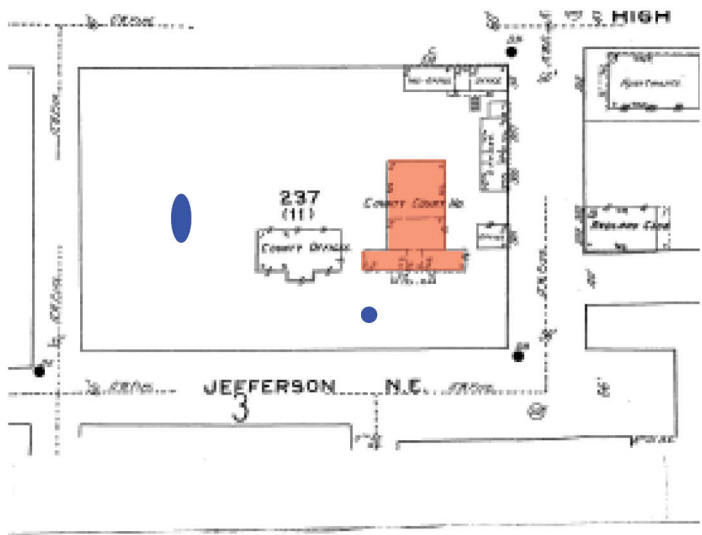


1902



1913

- Courthouse
 - Inter-racial Residential Area
 - Black Residential Area
 - Confederate Monument
 - Jefferson Hotel
 - Major Vehicular Approach
- North is top of page



1920



1929

Figure 5:20 Physical Reconfigurations of McKee Block/Court House Square area
 Author color-coding over Sanborn Fire Insurance maps



Figure 5:21 Monuments installed in Paul McIntire's campaign closely mirror the iconography of the St. Louis World's fair shown in figure 5.14.

In the midst of all, a gay battalion of the Ku Klux Klan came thundering down from the heights of Midway, recalling other days. Many a dusky denizen of "the bottom" was seen to shrink instinctively back into the shadows of Preston Avenue, as they swept along, the realism of the suggestion controlling their adventurous efforts to see.

It was a strictly orderly and well behaved outpouring of the spirit world last night, and afforded much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to the merry participants.

from
 "Hallowe'en Is Duly Observed"
 THE DAILY PROGRESS
 Wednesday November 01, 1916
 Page 1

KU KLUX KLAN
PUBLIC ADDRESS
COURT-HOUSE, WEDNESDAY, JULY 20---8 P. M.
 By **Hon. J. Q. Nolan, of Atlanta, Ga.**
 ADMISSION FREE BRING FAMILY AND FRIENDS
 You Have Heard Criticism—Now Hear the Truth.

* * * * *

* **KU KLUX KLAN**
 * **ORGANIZED HERE**
 * * * * *

The spirit of Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest hovered over Charlottesville recently, and the fiery cross, symbol of the Invisible Empire and of the unconquered and unquarable blood of America, cast an eerie sheen upon a legion of white roused Virginians as they stood upon hallowed ground and renewed the faith of their fathers.

Which is by way of saying that the Ku Klux Klan has been organized in this city. Hundreds of Charlottesville's leading business and professional men met around the tomb of Jefferson at the midnight hour one night last week and sealed the pledge of chivalry and patriotism with the deepest crimson of red American blood. It is said that the reorganization of the Klan is proceeding rapidly throughout the State, the South and the Nation.

* * * * *

KU KLUX KLAN
ISSUES "WARNING"

Various bulletin boards about the city today contained the following notices, signed "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

WARNING

Law and Order must prevail at Charlottesville, Va. All individuals must leave town. The eye of the beholder has been and is constantly observing Gamblers, Bootleggers, High Speeders, Thieves, Crooks, Grifters, Houses of Ill Fame and Profrigators THIS IS THEIR LAST WARNING.

BEMARE

Protection for the good and needy, especially for women. Pariahment Swift and Sure for the Unlawful.

We See All, We Hear All, We Know All.

Invitation to Join

If you are a **MAN**, we respect you. If you are **50 per cent American** we want you. Only native-born white Americans who hold no allegiance to any government, sect, ruler, person or people that is foreign to the United States.

Do you believe in the sanctity of the Christian Religion, Free Schools, Free Speech, Free Press, Law Enforcement, Liberty and White Supremacy?

Can you take a **MAN'S OATH** Drop a line to M. K. V., General Delivery, Charlottesville, Va. State age, profession, religion, present employer, etc.

KU KLUX KLAN

Grand Dragon of the State Visits Charlottesville.

Charlottesville Klan No. 5 of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, at its regular convocation on last Saturday night, elected delegates to a State conference which will be held on August 26th "Somewhere in Virginia" for the purposes of discussing matters affecting the order in Virginia and at large.

The Grand Dragon, or chief executive officer in the State, outlined briefly the many problems that confront the order and urged that clear-thinking Klansmen be chosen to aid in their solution. He further pointed out the necessity for close co-operation of all real Americans in "carrying on" the Gospel of real American citizenship, based on principles that are as firm and enduring as the everlasting hills. No man can

(Continued on third page)

KU KLUX KLAN
 (Continued From First Page.)

subscribe to tenets like the following and fail to become a better and bigger and more patriotic citizen of the greatest country on earth.

"Respect for and obedience to duly constituted authority, that law may be enforced and justice administered.

"Protection to our women, that their honor may be preserved, and the racial purity of our descendants may be kept unimpaired.

"The preservation of our Free Public Schools, that our children may be taught American history, American traditions and American ideals, by Americans.

"Eternal separation of Church and State, that religious liberty may be preserved, and that we may be spared a debauched Church and a degraded State.

"Allegiance to our country, absolute and undivided, that we may never have to attempt to reconcile civil and political allegiance to America with ecclesiastical allegiance to an alien. It is still fundamental truth that no man can serve two masters.

"Rigid preservation of white supremacy. The destinies of America shall remain with the white race; they shall never be entrusted to the black, the brown, or the yellow, or to the unclean hands of hybrids and mongrels.

"These are the American principles and those who oppose them are not Americans. But are enemies to our country."

Charlottesville-Klan is not the largest in Virginia, but it numbers among its members many of our able and influential citizens, and it is here to stay. It is now and proposes to remain a power for good in this community, one whose influence will increase as it gradually finds its place in and duty to Charlottesville and vicinity.

U. OF VA. KLAN NO. 5

Severe Connection With Knights of Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

The following is a duplicate of the letter sent out by the University of Virginia Ku Klux Klan as Imperial Wizard Simmons, of Atlanta:

October 23, 1922.

Mr. William Joseph Simmons, Imperial Wizard, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. Imperial Palace, Atlanta, Ga.

RE: The University of Virginia Klan Number Five, Realm of Virginia, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc., has directed me to communicate to you, as the nominal head of the national organization, its decision to sever completely all connection with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., as propagated from Atlanta, Ga.

This action is due to various acts on the part of certain officers and representatives of the national organization, such as misconduct, misrepresentation, broken promises, financial ambitions contrary to the professed principles of the Order, and general evidence that the characters of those officers and representatives does not measure up to the high standards incalculated in the principles of the Order.

To serve Honor and Duty "without fear and without reproach" is incompatible with membership in the Order under its present leaders. This step was deferred twelve months in the hope that the order would be put on a democratic basis and officers elected who, in personal character and fitness for duty, would be worthy of their positions at the head of such an Order.

In accordance with the Constitution of the Order, we discontinue any use whatsoever of its name, ritual, or insignia, and hold ourselves in readiness to turn over to the local Klingle or other designated representative, all properties of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., upon receipt of the sums deposited for the robes now in our possession.

Yours truly,
 Ezzell C. Cripps,
 KNO 5, Realm of Virginia.

Attest:
 E. Cripps pro tem.

- Jefferson, ideal man, white supremacy
- Internal enemy
- Vertical Politics
- Vision

Figure 5:22 Accounts of Racial Intimidation in the Daily Progress, highlighted for themes of height, vision, and internal enmity
 Author color-coding over Daily Progress clippings



Figure 5:23 The Monticello Hotel Constructed at Courthouse Square in 1927

Source: Monticello Hotel, "All the Charm of Old Virginia," Charlottesville, Va. - Digital Commonwealth, ca. -1945 1930, Postcard, ca. -1945 1930, The Tichnor Brothers Collection at the Boston Public Library, <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:th83m1550>.

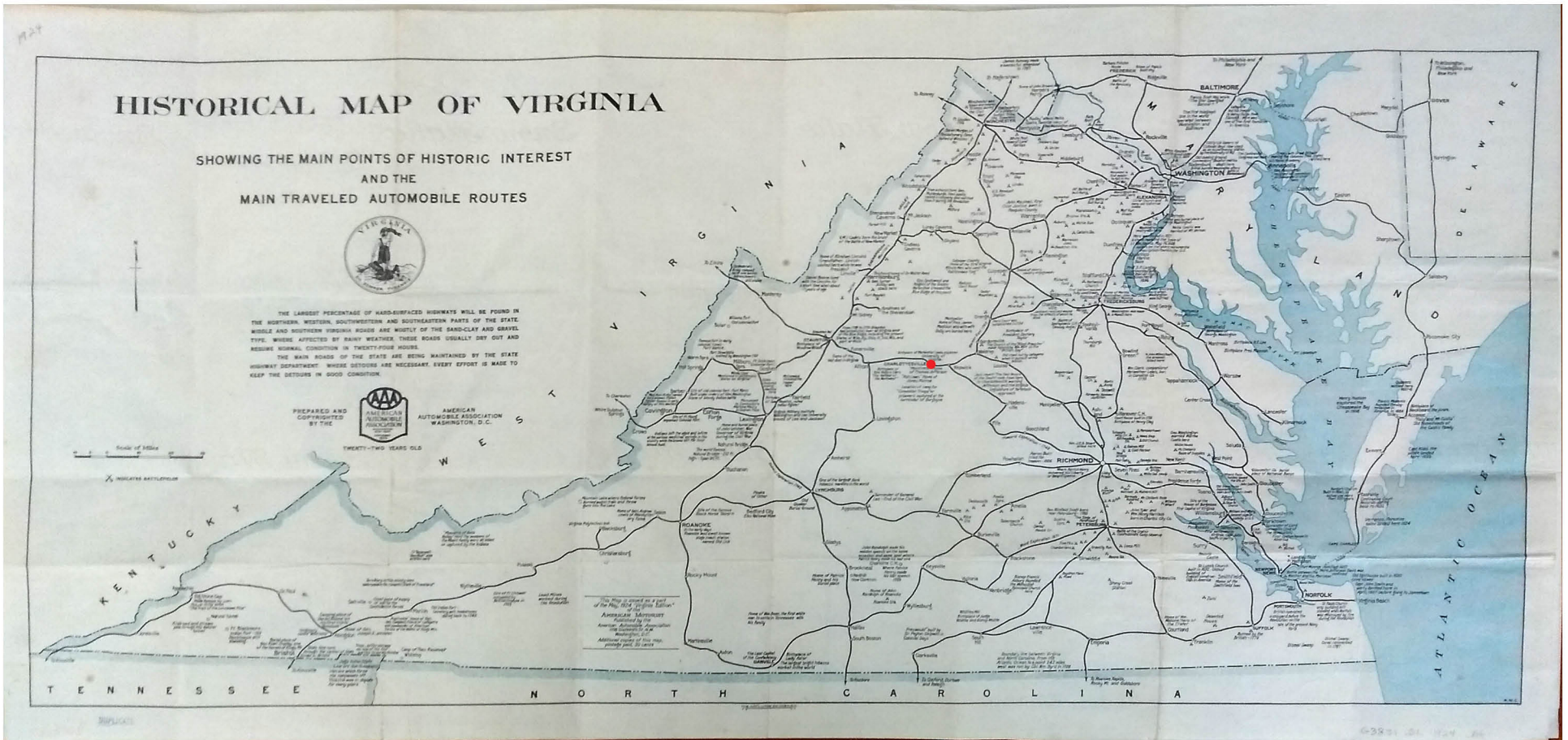


Figure 5:24 1924 AAA Historical Map of Virginia Showing the Main Points of Historic Interest and the Main Traveled Automobile Routes
Charlottesville Marked in Red by Author, map from UVA Special Collections



Figure 5:25 1924 AAA Historical Map of Virginia Showing the Main Points of Historic Interest and the Main Traveled Automobile Routes
Charlottesville Marked in blue by Author, map from UVA Special Collections

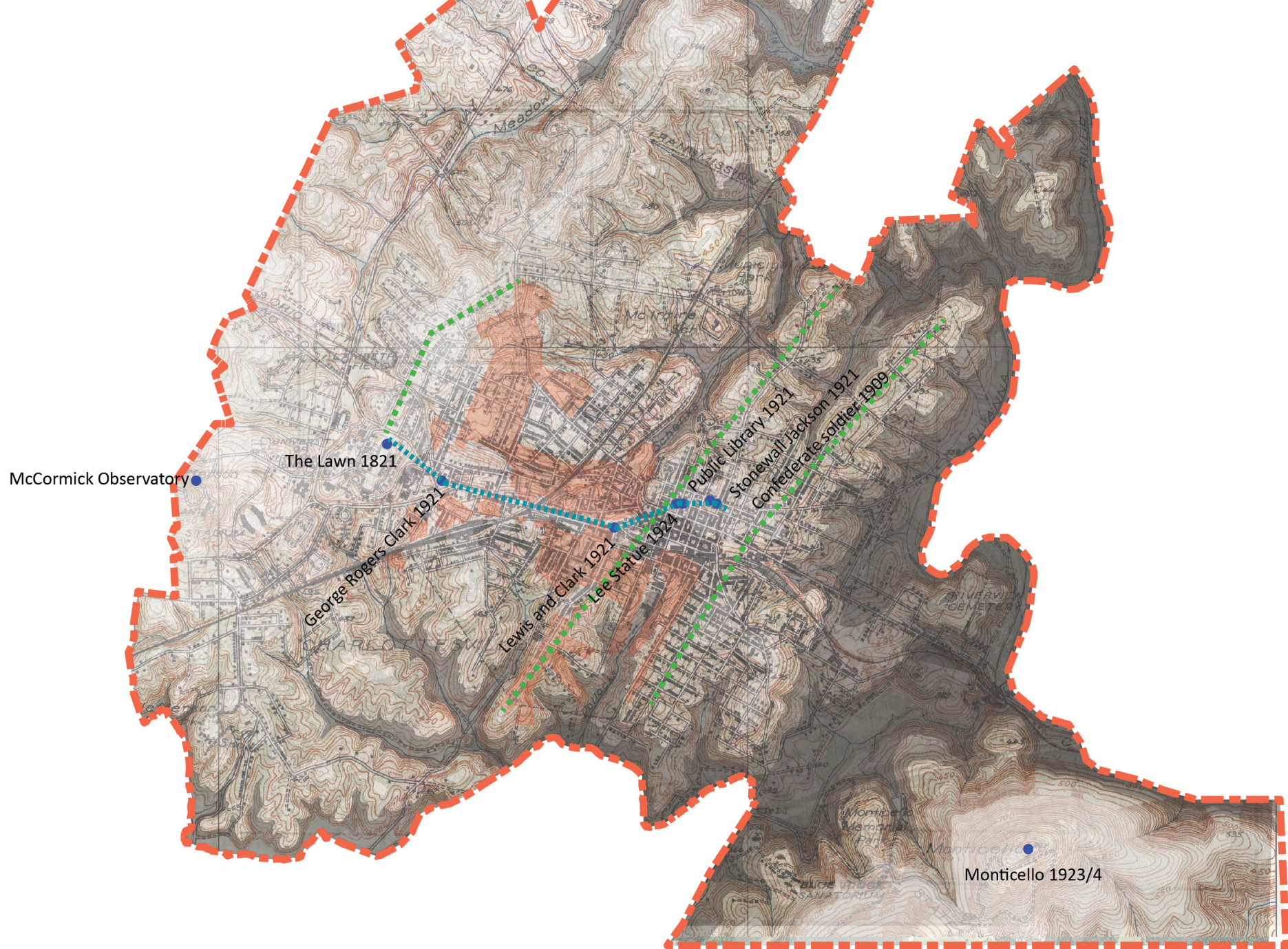
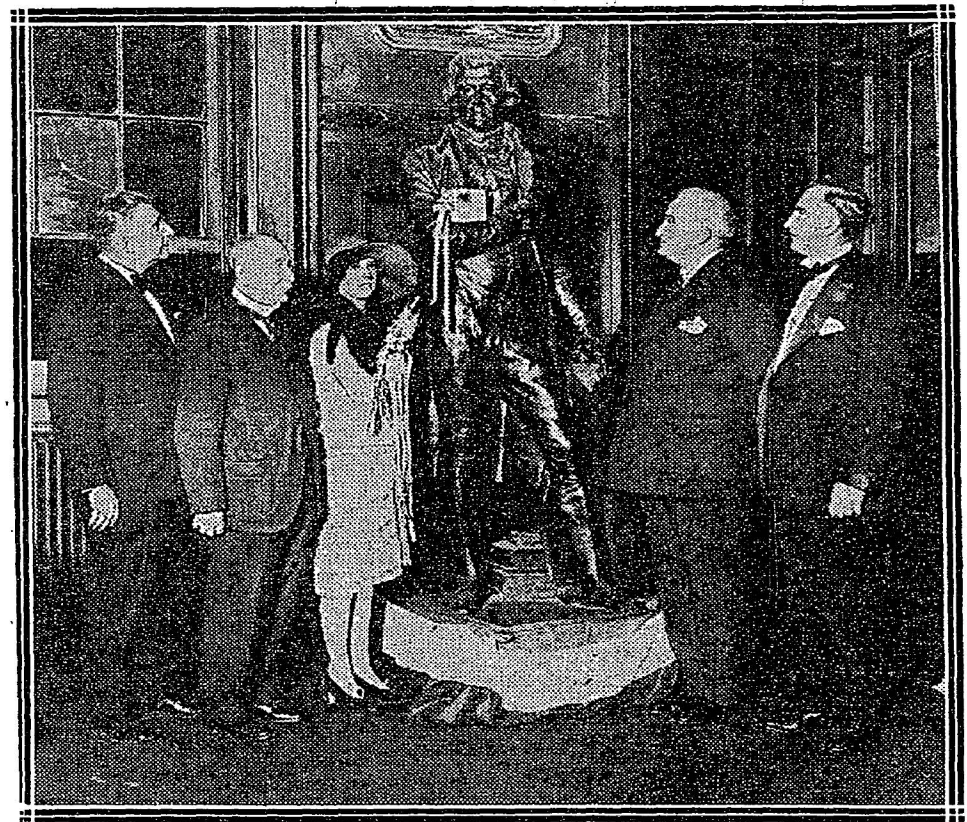
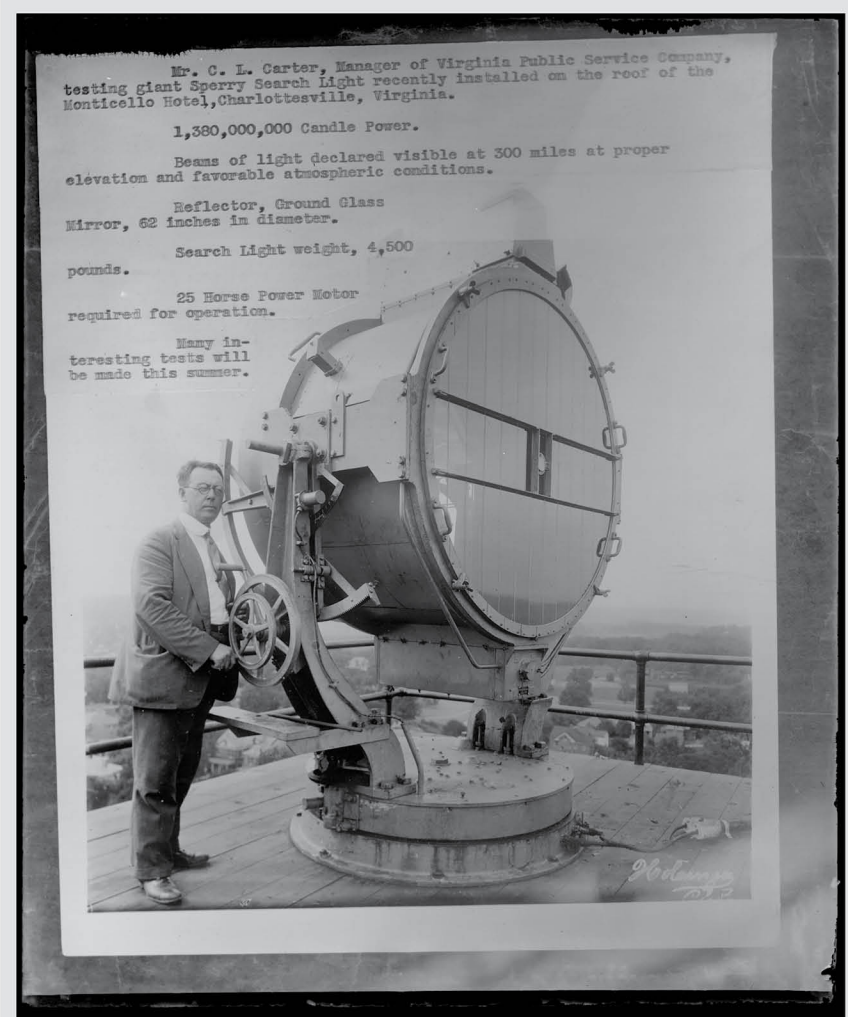


Figure 5:26 1929 Topography, Symbolic Landmarks, residential ridges, and black neighborhoods
 Figure generated from City GIS layers, 1935 USGS map topography, 1929
 Phelps-Stokes report accounting of landmarks and black neighborhoods

- Black Neighborhoods
- Historic sites/monuments
- Symbolic Axis
- Residential Ridges



LIGHT BY LIGHT. A one candlepower ray from a pocket flashlight shown upon an apparatus attached to the statue of Thomas Jefferson in the City Hall in New York lighted the giant 1,380,000,000 candlepower light in Charlottesville, Va. Left to right—Stewart Gibboney, president of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation; John R. Voorhes, Constance Gibboney, George Gordon, Battle and Montross Strausberger.

Wide World.

Figure 5:27 Jefferson Spotlight and Ceremony in New York

Sources: Rufus W. Holsinger, Agnes Boxley, 1927, photograph, 1927, University of Virginia, Holsinger Studio Collection, <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/images/items/uva-lib:1051023?idx=0&x=0.782&y=0.455&zoom=0.863&page=1>. ; "Camera Records News Events," *The Washington Post*, August 19, 1927.

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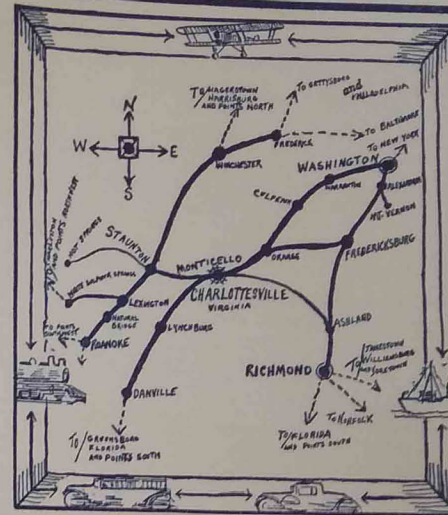
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Designed and built by

THOMAS JEFFERSON

AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION
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	Roanoke, Va.	119	

Figure 5:28: 1931 Tourist Pamphlet shows Monticello Light

Sources: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Monticello: Visit the Historic Home on the Mountain Top : Designed and Built by Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence, Champion of Religious Freedom and of Universal Education : Monticello, Always Open to the Public. Sundays and Weekdays All Year, 8 A.M. To 4:30 P.M (New York, N.Y.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1931).

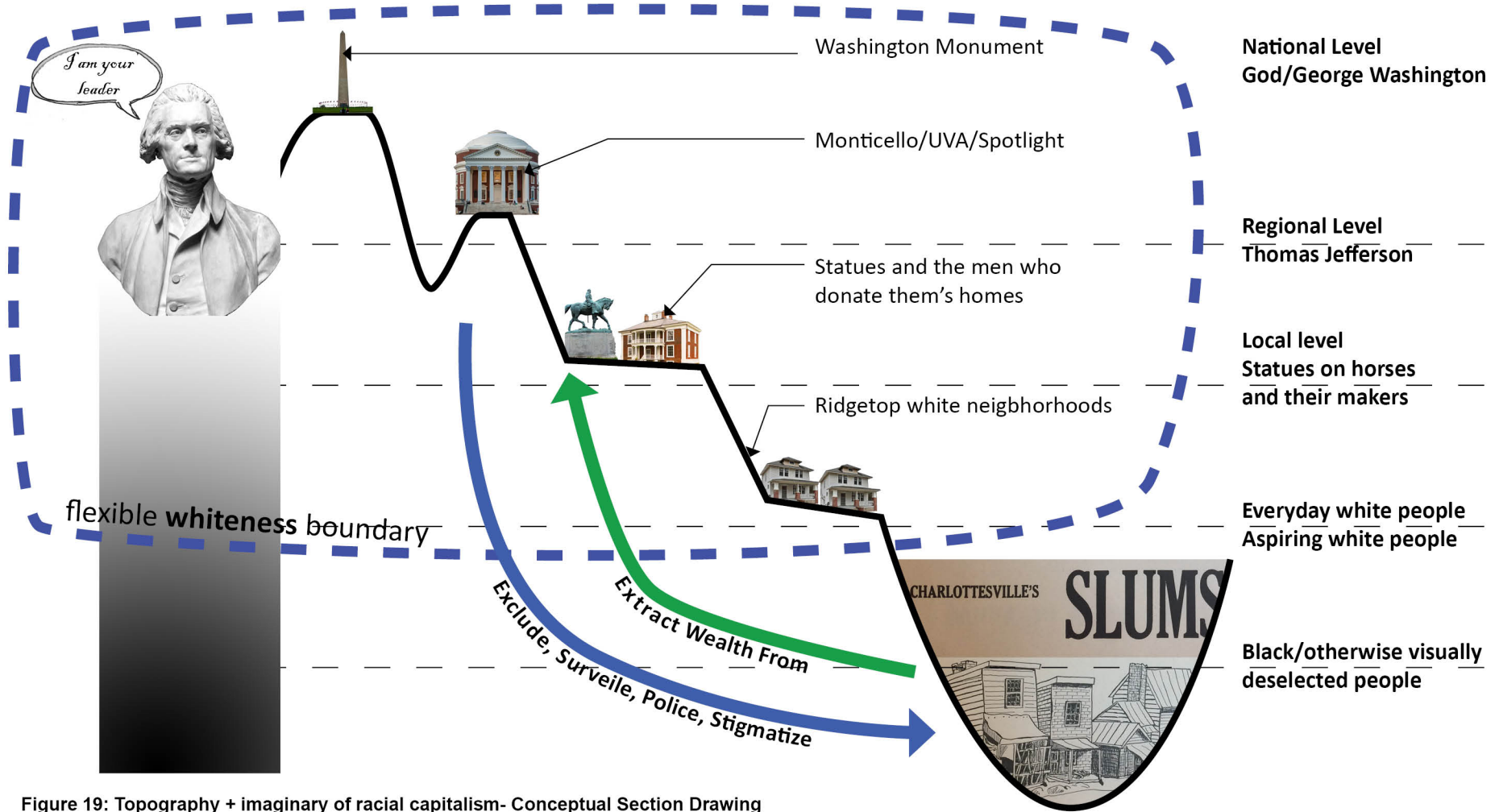
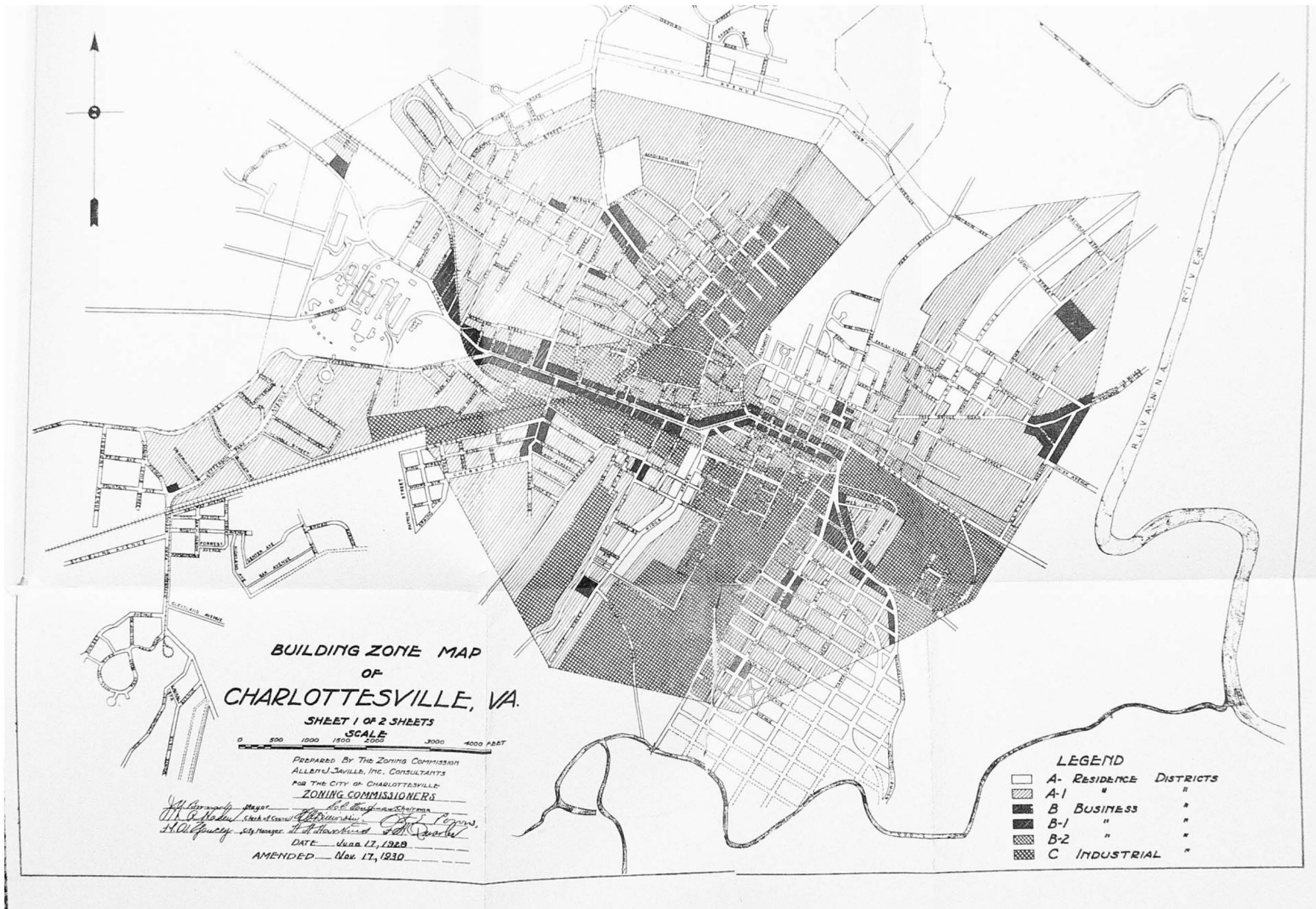


Figure 19: Topography + imaginary of racial capitalism- Conceptual Section Drawing by author

1920 city directory- addresses of residents and proprietors (red is white, black are "Colored") over an topographical representation of town (grayscale), the 1920 sanborn map showing major urban development in the city, and the city boundary established in 1916 (black line). Green polygonal overlay is Marjorie Irwin's outline of "Colored areas" in her 1929 Phelps-Stokes Report. This map does not spatialize all addresses in the directory (it only locates 95% of the 5670 addresses listed in the directory, and does not eliminate duplicate listings). Overlay map created by author 1": 4000'

Figure 5.29: Topography and Spatialized Racial Binary- Conceptual Section of Charlottesville's Racial-capitalist imaginaries



Source: Map obtained via FOIA request of Nicole Scro, "Charlottesville's First Zoning Ordinance," June 6, 2021, <https://twitter.com/nmscro/status/1401987477683019776>.

Figure 5:30 Allen Saville's 1929 Charlottesville Zoning Map