

THE NATURE AND LIFE OF CONTESTED HISTORY
AND MEMORIALS: THE STORY OF
CHARLOTTESVILLE

Margaret Ann Rawls
Richmond, Virginia

Bachelor of Arts, University of Virginia, 2017

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the
Degree Master of Arts

Department of Religious Studies

University of Virginia May, 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
THE LOST CAUSE AND MEMORIALIZATION OF THE POST-CIVIL WAR	
SOUTH.....	8
CONFEDERATE MEMORIALS AS SACRED SITES	8
THE CONTESTED NATURE OF CONFEDERATE SACRED SITES.....	12
CONFEDERATE MEMORIALS AS MEMORY MAKERS: THE LOST CAUSE	13
SOUTHERN IDENTITY IS NOT NECESSARILY SOUTHERN	17
A SOUTHERN IDENTITY IN CRISIS	20
THE DEBATES OVER CONFEDERATE HISTORY TODAY AND IN	
CHARLOTTESVILLE:	23
CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL DEBATES.....	23
CHARLOTTESVILLE	26
<i>The Confederate Statues</i>	26
<i>The History Between Completion and Condemnation: Vinegar Hill</i>	30
<i>A Call to Remove</i>	33
AN EXPLOSION OF LOST CAUSE DEBATES	35
MEMORIAL’S CONTESTATION MATERIALIZED IN VIOLENCE	35
THE NATURE OF THE CONFLICT OVER CONFEDERATE SITES AND AUGUST 11 TH AND 12 TH	37
CONCLUSION	41
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	44

Introduction

The events of August 2017 in Charlottesville are not solely a condition of Donald Trump's America but a condition of America in general. They are not only about the statues, and it is not just about white supremacy. August 11th and 12th are about the contested nature of our own history and memory.

The question of the meaning and twenty-first century presence of Confederate memorials, monuments, and statues is not one with an easy explanation or answer. The events of August 11 and 12, 2017 in Charlottesville, Virginia epitomizes the complex nature of memory and the Civil War. The South, and the country, has a contentious past that any who encounter must recognize and reconcile. Propelled by the events of August 11th and 12th in Charlottesville, there was an immediate desire to cover or remove emblems of the Confederacy and white supremacy from the landscape. The statues were covered by large black tarps less than two weeks later, and the process to remove them continued. The statues had become the rallying cry for a group of "alt-right" protesters. They brought violence and ultimately death upon the small city. The desire to change the landscape to reflect those events was palpable.

The "Unite the Right" rally on August 12th was organized in response to the decision to remove of the statue of Robert E. Lee in Emancipation (formerly Lee) Park.¹ The violence and events that occurred were rooted in a debate over Confederate statues, history, and memory. Part of the larger agenda connected to the rise of white supremacy, the rally and its inception are intimately tied to the rewritten history of the Confederacy, the "Lost Cause." Charlottesville's

¹ Emancipation Park is currently in the processing of being renamed.

statues of Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson were erected in the early twentieth century as part of this cause.²

What began in 2016 as an online petition by Zyanha Bryant, a local fifteen-year-old African-American high-school student, charged residents and members of the community to investigate the symbolism of a Confederate general one hundred and fifty years after his defeat.³ In 2016, the Charlottesville City Council formed the Blue Ribbon Commission on “Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces.” It was tasked with studying, examining, and recommending a solution to the problem of Confederate statues. In response, the Commission recommended either relocation or transformation of the statues in the formerly named Lee and Jackson Parks. In February 2017, the city council voted 3-2 to remove the statue of Robert E. Lee from Emancipation Park. The reactions to the vote were euphoric, loud, and visceral; in essence, they were mixed. The Virginia division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Monuments Fund, and eleven citizens filed a lawsuit to halt the removal of the statues.⁴ Demonstrations against the council vote followed in May and July culminating in the events of August 11th and 12th.

The events began Friday night, the 11th, with the torch lite-rally through the University of Virginia to the statue of Thomas Jefferson in front of the Rotunda. The statue was dedicated in June 1910 and designed by Moses Ezekiel, the first Jewish student at the Virginia Military Institute, who placed the various names of God—God-Jehovah, Brahma, Atma, Ra, Allah, Zeus—upon a tablet held by Jefferson.⁵ The white supremacists gathered on Friday night in neat

² Also called the “New South,” this narrative perpetuated ideals of an *ancien régime*, Northern injustice, and moral superiority and will explained in greater detail in the first chapter.

³ “Teen starts petition to remove Robert E. Lee statue from Charlottesville’s Lee Park,” *NBC29*, 22 March 2016, Web.

⁴ Maggie Servais, “Lawsuit challenges removal of Robert E. Lee statue,” *The Cavalier Daily*, March 21, 2017.

⁵ W.M. Scott Harrop, “A Sermon in Stone,” *The University of Virginia Middle Eastern and South Asian Languages and Cultures Newsletter*, Vol. 2, Issue 2, Spring 2012.

rows and marched down the Lawn and around the Rotunda toward this statue, a symbol of religious diversity and freedom as the angry mob chanted, “You will not replace us. Jews will not replace us.” An image that was meant connote control instilled fear and supremacy. The white nationalists were met with counter-protestors who stood up against the intimidation and hate speech. A group of young students united around Jefferson’s statue, physically blocking the mob of angry, white men from assuming the image and history of Thomas Jefferson, an intimate part of their university. As police stood by, faculty were moved to intervene, the clash worsened, and a group of counter-protestors who had gathered for a prayer service prior to the planned activities on Saturday in St. Paul’s Episcopal Church across the street were told they could not leave. A prelude of the violence to come, August 11th was a horrific and violent example of the power groups find in statues and images. These events were continuations of narratives assumed and propagated after the end of the Civil War.

These narratives are rooted in the women of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), and other civic groups who spent decades constructing these images and narrative projects in which white supremacists find their roots under the guise of the New South. They built monuments, created school curricula, and even approved and edited textbooks that glorified and justified the South’s desire to secede. The work of these groups can be seen throughout the South and on a national and even international scale.⁶ These civic groups, and the individuals that endorsed and supported them, were instrumental in

⁶Presidents Teddy Roosevelt, Wilson and Taft all entertained the president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at the White House to discuss the Memorial to Confederate Veterans at Arlington National Cemetery. Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2003), 6.

creating the narrative used by those who wished to leave Charlottesville's Confederate statues in place. This Lost Cause narrative has deep roots in both the North and South.⁷

The Lost Cause began contemporaneously with the end of the Civil War. Reconstruction as ordered by Congress ended in 1877 after the addition of three Amendments to the U.S. constitution and twelve years of oversight that should have guaranteed full rights to former slaves and African Americans. Those twelve years fueled a desire for vindication among white Southerners who felt disenfranchised. When Federal troops left the South at the end of March of that year, the Lost Cause narrative had already begun to form. Charles Reagan Wilson demonstrates that the narrative assumed by the South was "the story of the linking of two profound human forces, religion and history."⁸ Elite white southerners, many of whom had lost much of their wealth with the end of the exploitation of black Americans for free labor, harnessed history in an attempt to wield power and assert their dominance.

Focused upon understanding how the historical narrative of the Lost Cause has shaped identity and historical perspective in contemporary Charlottesville, this project focuses on memorialization techniques and practices employed after the Civil War by the collective South. This project will show how the events of August 11th and 12th are a continuation of and caused by the Lost Cause narrative established by the post-Civil War South to sustain a supposed moral high-ground. The events are an example of the contested nature of memorials.

The post-Civil War South exemplifies the complex nature of memorializing the past. Controlling the way the war and past are remembered gave power to those left in the wake of the

⁷ When discussing the North and South we must be careful to remember state bounds of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. This division is taken up later by the country. Some states and areas assuming more "southern" descriptors others remaining "northern," colloquially other.

⁸ Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized In Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (University of Georgia Press, 1980), 1.

war. The lengthy efforts, in turn, completely shaped the physical landscape of the South, from music halls to monuments to public parks. From their inception and throughout their “lives,” Confederate statues have created complex communities and spaces of remembrance. The statues interrupt public space. This new landscape not only reaffirm a distorted history, but it also ensures that it cannot be escaped. The statues are embedded in communal memory and life, though not necessarily in the same ways. A statue cannot be ignored, but what it represents cannot also be universally dictated. The desire of the post-war South was to continue as always and ignore how the South’s economy, industry, and society was built upon the disenfranchisement of African-American slaves.⁹ Confederate iconography promoted the distorted history that had already caused so much suffering, and when it should have been defeated in a lost war it was idolized in the public sphere.

The call to remove the statues and the formation of the Blue Ribbon Commission was met with neither complete agreement nor dissent. There were complicated reactions to a twisted and deeply felt past. Some found the Commissions decisions appropriate, some not enough, and others blasphemous. To discover why these reactions occurred, the lives of these statues and the history they represent must be dismantled and studied. When the city council decided to move the statues, the reactions were visceral. Protests in May and July, always met with more counter-protesters than there were protesters, brought few in number and strength. This pattern is not the case with August 11th and 12th. Protestors showed up in the hundreds and actions were violent.

⁹ In *Baptized in the Blood*, Charles Reagan Wilson explains this: “White supremacy was a key tenet of the Southern Way of Life...Southerners insisted that they had fought for principle, not for slavery, and the Negro’s wartime loyalty was a respected part of the Lost Cause myth. The special concern of Lost Cause ministers was the obstacle that postbellum blacks presented to the preservation of a virtuous Southern civilization.” This will be expanded upon in the first chapter in “The Lost Cause” section. Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized In Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (University of Georgia Press, 1980), 100.

City Council meeting dissent was a distant memory as protestors carrying guns and shields clashed with counter-protestors.

Aimed not at fringe groups like the Ku Klux Klan, the Unite the Right Rally was meant to be a meeting of white nationalists and supremacists with differing and sometimes conflicting ideologies to show their unity and power. It attracted mostly young men. The events of those two much-discussed days resulted in more than a dozen injured, one dead, and numerous others left traumatized. Starting with the torch lit-rally and ending with a small city in confusion and mourning; citizens, counter-protestors, and the country were left asking, “Why?”.

This rally centered around a memorial that stood for years of conflict surrounding the nature of the history of slavery and American identity. As a native Virginian who was raised in the shadow of this history, I surely am a part of this story. Being keenly interested in conflicts linked to sacred sites, I saw the events of August in a personal and self-reflective light. That history and landscape is one that formed me into a thinker who examines memorials, rituals, sacred space, and conflict. Using those same skills, I was compelled to examine the events of August 11th and 12th as reactions to memorialization, memory, and conflict. While this project is rooted in the historical narrative and memory of the Civil War, I would be remiss to not acknowledge my personal stake: I need to understand and grapple with the complicated history of Southern identity and memory and to locate how the events of August 11th and 12th manifested this contested, re-narrated history.

This paper will examine contested memory and memorialization in Charlottesville. My research suggests that memorials and memorialization are an increasingly important and widespread phenomenon in American society.¹⁰ Scholars such as Erica Doss and Marita Sturken

¹⁰ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (University of Chicago, 2010).

have explored contemporary memorialization practices, temporary memorials, and the contested nature of memorials. This paper will examine the contested nature of memorialization in relation to the Confederate history in Charlottesville and events of August 11th and 12th.

This paper is rooted heavily in how the Civil War has been remembered and memorialized. Historians such as Charles R. Wilson and James Cobb have studied the ties of the Lost Cause to religion and southern identity writing upon the connection with Protestant Christianity historically and in contemporary America. Karen Cox has explored how organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of Confederate Veterans created statues and monuments to Civil War generals and soldiers to solidify the Lost Cause narrative in the physical landscape of the South and country at large. These historians have explored how the creation of the Lost Cause is not reserved for the past but is part of today's urbanized, diverse South. This description of the Lost Cause is obviously observed in the events of August 11th and 12th.

The project will begin by showing how memorialization practices were used to rewrite Civil War history that shaped identity, examine debates over that memory today, and show that the events of August were a political eruption of those debates. The events of August 11th and 12th were not incidents in a vacuum, but were instead part of a larger narrative project using memorials to rewrite history starting in 1865.

The Lost Cause and Memorialization of the Post-Civil War South

To begin to discuss the history of the Lost Cause, one must first understand the practices and methods used by the creators and those who believed it. The practices utilized by white Southerners were first and foremost part of a larger societal view that ennobled memorials to function as beacons of communal identity. The decision to use memorials as the primary instigator of the Lost Cause was not incidental. Memorials mark and change the landscape. They are sacred because they are set apart.¹¹ This section will examine the role of memorials as sacred sites that are contested. Then the role of memorials to transcribe Southern identity will be examined. The section will end by demonstrating that this southern identity and history are in crisis.

Confederate Memorials as Sacred Sites:

Not all monuments are sacred nor are all memorials monuments. However, all monuments are memorials. Kenneth Foote describes sacred sites as "a site set apart from its surroundings and dedicated to the memory of an event, person, or group."¹² This definition of sacred site will be used when describing sacred memorials and monuments. As art historian and critic, Arthur Danto states, "We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget."¹³ Monuments and memorials are not the same thing and should not be viewed as such. Monuments are a subset of memorials.¹⁴ In choosing to

¹¹ Sacred here means set apart. It is a kind sacredness that is given by others. It is not a sacredness attached to cosmological powers. Kenneth Foote's definition of a sacred site will be used and will add more context.

¹² Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Rev. and updated ed. University of Texas Press, 2003), 8.

¹³ Arthur Danto, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial" (*The Nation*. 31 August 1985).

¹⁴ James Edward Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 4. Young uses Danto's definition of memorials and monuments in his book.

remember something or someone, the builders of a monument create a historical narrative to accompany the individual or event chosen to commemorate. It is important to understand that memorials and monuments are intimately connected to memory. Public memorialization is a concerted effort to influence and control the collective memory of a community group.¹⁵

The statues of Confederate officers and soldiers were built to remember the glory of a lost cause and to never forget the supposed superiority of the antebellum South. These statues were erected by social groups, like United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), and individuals who perpetuated these myths. Charles Reagan Wilson takes up this mythology, equating the experience and embodiment of the Lost Cause in the South to a civil religion.¹⁶ He explains: “But postbellum Southerners saw their culture, rather than their society, as enduring... The South was sacred to its citizens because they saw a sacred quality to it. The religious culture in Dixie, including the Confederate memory, promoted the self-image of virtue and holiness.”¹⁷ Wilson says this led to a cohesive society postwar. Thus, religion in the south meant sacred, not profane, and was intimately attached to identity. The religion of the New South was created by those who believed the myth and wished to raise up their culture. There were ties to the Protestant Church, but the sacredness imbued upon the myth of a glorious south is what constituted the civil religion, not that it had been blessed by a god.

Therefore, the Lost Cause myth became attached to religion, civil and Protestant Christianity. The statues of the Confederacy were not, nor were they intended to be, simple images to honor the dead. By erecting statues of figures that perpetuated these desired interpretations of history, the statues acted as monuments that lauded the roles these men played

¹⁵ Private memorials cannot be described in the same ways.

¹⁶ Wilson, 15.

¹⁷ Ibid, 15.

supporting the South, white supremacy, and a narrative that was depicted as morally superior.

The Lost Cause transformed the South into a place that was not only superior to the North but was more genteel and polite. It was wronged in the Civil War and deserved no blame. The Lost Cause was not simply a re-imagining of the past but was expressed and treated as truth. Not only did the South have a robust religious culture from which Confederate memory could generate, but there was a desire to see the South as set apart, special, sacred, as stated above. The monuments and statues became the public display of this sentiment.

The connection of the Confederate memorials and monuments to the encouraged righteousness of the South marked them as sacred. The monuments were physical manifestations of the South's "virtue and holiness" and Foote's explanation of a sacred site affirms this identifier. Furthermore, meeting minutes from United Daughters of the Confederacy describe their work as sacred and the monuments of the South as "its own Westminster Abbey."¹⁸ Foote, a geographer who studies public commemoration and memory, describes four categories of sites of memory, tragedy, or remembrance: sanctification, designation, rectification, and obliteration.¹⁹ Foote's framework will be used to expound upon the nature of Confederate sacred sites.

Sanctification and obliteration are the two extremes of Foote's categories and are mutually exclusive of each other. When space is sanctified it becomes a sacred place. Obliteration, the opposite, is when a site is scoured. It is no longer used and if it were to be occupied again, it would be for a different purpose.²⁰ Foote is referring here to the actual space that a tragedy, in case of obliteration, or event has occurred. The South is a complicated

¹⁸ At the opening of their annual meeting in 1903 in Charleston, SC, the governor, Clinch Heyword, described the Civil War: "That cause and its memories will ever be sacred in our hearts." United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the 1903 Annual Meeting*, 1903, 7.

¹⁹ Foote, Kenneth E. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Rev. and updated ed. University of Texas Press, 2003) 7.

²⁰ Foote, 24.

landscape, then. On the one hand, it is a place where unspeakable tragedy and deprivation occurred in the form of the mass enslavement of African-Americans. On the other hand, post-war Southerners, to comprehend and grapple with their defeat in the Civil War, lauded the morality and ethos of the region as superior.

Foote's dichotomy between sanctified sites and obliterated sites causes more conflict when the same site is considered to be both but by different parties. It is not that one individual or cause supersedes the other, but instead, one becomes a defining characteristic for one group. For sanctified sites, the cause is what is lauded. Obliterated sites focus upon the depravity and evil of humanity and individuals. They are not memorialized or remembered. As an example, Foote notes that the house of serial killer John Wayne Gacy who buried many of his victims underneath his house was razed after excavation of the bodies.²¹ It was a site that was not desired to be remembered. Memorials to the Confederate South are an embodiment of both of these descriptors, though. They are sanctified, sacred sites because they ennoble and promote a glorious image of the South and its cause during the Civil War. The sacredness of these sites is placed upon them by the community who chose to set them apart and celebrate their supposed moral lessons. The sacredness is held by all who hold that narrative to be true. It should not be mistaken for a cosmological or supernatural sacredness but is a communal understanding and undertaking. They can also be obliterated sites because they create a space to laud a history that caused immense suffering and tragedy.

The dual nature of these sites—they were sanctified but could be considered obliterated—created contestation. This conflict continues today and will be explained in the next section.

²¹ Foote, 26.

The Contested Nature of Confederate Sacred Sites

Sacred sites, most especially those shared, may lead to conflict or contestation. Two examples are the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and Ayodhya in India. Confederate sites are especially inclined to contestation, since they can be considered sites to both sanctify and obliterate. These two descriptors and identifiers are mutually exclusive, thus contestation arises. This nature was discussed in the previous section—the postbellum Southern aristocracy that advocated creating a glorified history of the South did so to fight a narrative of a weak, wrong region. The narratives embodied in the Confederate statues, then, were in reaction to the worry of a history being placed upon the South that would have identified those who supported the Confederacy as inferior. The erectors of Confederate monuments were contesting a reconstructed history they denied.

Statues were used to propel a history that the post-Civil War South used to fight narratives employed by those who condemned the Confederacy's actions and beliefs. Historian James Cobb writes, "The architects of the New South identity had clearly understood the power of history and had used their own highly selective and carefully crafted version of the southern past quite effectively as a frontline defense against change for nearly three-quarters of a century."²² The charge to which Cobb is referring is the not uncommon one of a nation or group that has lost a war. The South, in losing the war, was declared *wrong*, but that identity was fought by creating the Lost Cause myth of a mighty and strong South that was *wronged*.

Confederate statues embodying that contested narrative, then, were also sites of conflict. Their very purpose was to contest. Beyond the debates over historical narratives, the sacred

²² James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity*, (Oxford University Press, 2005), 206.

nature of these sites marked them as problematic by those who fought over them. In *War on Sacred Grounds*, Ron Hassner elaborates on the nature of this kind of conflict: “Sacred sites are prone to conflict because they provide valuable resources for both religious and political actors.²³” Confederate statues were and are the public representation of the sacred South that Lost Cause architects advanced. While tied to a civil religion, not a cosmological one, these sites still reflect a conflict-prone nature. There were not shared sacred sites in the way Hassner describes, but with Foote we can see a manifestation of conflict over sacrality. The debates currently over Confederate memorabilia, statues, and history are evidence of this nature. It is not simply the sign of a more educated or progressive public that questions the morality of these statues. It is part of their innate definition. Questions and arguments are part of Confederate statues essence.

When sacred memorials are used for political, or religious, advantage, they can become makers of conflict, history, memory, pride, and subjugation. Once erectors of a memorial or statue promote their chosen marker to commemorate, they assume a public unanimity that does not exist. As Young notes “memorials taken on lives of their own, often stubbornly resistant to the state’s original intentions.”²⁴ Memorials cannot be predicted and to assume a unified community understanding underestimates the role of public images. Confederate memorials became emblems of the South's credence of superiority. Promoting one narrative over another is evidence of their contestation. Memorials in their independent lives represent more than one line of memory and also history. In the public sphere, they become individuated moments of memory, memory-making, and truth that are both very powerful and problematic.

²³ Ron E. Hassner, *War On Sacred Grounds* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2009), 2.

²⁴ Young, 3.

Confederate Memorials as Memory Makers: The Lost Cause

As has been shown, Confederate statues were part of the post-Civil War white, southern aristocracy's understanding of their role as the defeated in a war they had instigated. This next section will chronicle a history in greater detail than previously of the Lost Cause--an overview of methods, sources, and motivators to show with what memorials were charged to carry. As Young notes about the process of memorialization, "We might also remind ourselves that public memory is constructed, that understanding of events depends on memory's construction, and that there are worldly consequences in the kinds of historical understanding generated by monuments."²⁵ To fully comprehend how these memorials functioned, and why they are so contentious the ethos of the Lost Cause must be examined. These memorials and monuments represented, in totality, this history.

The Lost Cause birthed the cultural myth of the "Great South." Historian James Cobb takes up this theme: "The New South Creed painted an almost seamless and undeniably seductive mural in which a glorious past, a reassuring present, and a glittering future were fully integrated and virtually indistinguishable."²⁶ This "New South Creed" enabled the Lost Cause. There was a preconceived notion that the South post-war would be even better than previously. The causes defended in the Civil War were righteous and deserved to be lauded. So, it was not just that there was a past that should not be shunned, but this past would continue into the future as an example of the superiority of Southern culture. This narrative was a psychological anchor for a generation of Southerners who felt isolated and wronged by their defeat.

This vision of the future is what spurred groups and political entities to continue the chronicle of a cheated and wronged South. Proponents of the vision rested their accounts in

²⁵ Young, 15

²⁶ James C. Cobb, *Away Down South* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 98.

glorified retellings of their own experiences before the war that were shared among families and friends through succeeding generations. These children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren were taught about a once splendid and remarkable South where parties were held, gracious manners affected everyone, and society was happy, including enslaved African Americans. This myth, though, was diffused so much into society that even today there still exists a stereotype of the genteel Southerner who talks "slow" and has impeccable manners.

This myth was not just taken up by Southerners trying to justify their existence, though. There was a real financial crisis at the end of the end of the war, and the New South was a response to it. An estimated \$3 to \$4 billion was lost with the abolishment of slavery.²⁷ The economy of the South had to be completely reborn. The industrialized North had an economy that was growing, whereas the South's way of production, forced labor, had been destroyed. But, there was a surplus of labor. Cobb explains: "The postbellum economic plight seemed to underscore...the absolute necessity of capitalizing on its abundance of cheap labor and raw materials to build an industrial 'New South' whose wealth and power would soon not just rival but surpass that of the North."²⁸ The cheap labor Cobb describes was the newly freed slaves. In the quest to build this "New South" that could compete nationally, one had to take advantage of a group that had already subjugated for centuries.

As has been discussed, there were also strong ties between the Lost Cause and religion. Two dimensions of this tie are the Lost Cause's air of religiosity and the, almost always Protestant, church's support. Craig Thompson and Kelly Tian take up the former theme by

²⁷ Cobb, 67.

²⁸ Ibid, 67.

describing the adoption of the bucolic imagery as a “messianic reconstruction.”²⁹ This figurative rebirth paints the New South as an idealized vision of what the Old South was. It is the South’s own second coming, better and stronger than before.

Elaborating on the religiously inspired narrative, Wilson gives great detail about the role of Protestant denominations support for the Confederacy. He notes the important role of former Confederate chaplains following the war and establishment of the Lost Cause. He writes: “Civil War chaplains had the experiences and made the acquaintances that became the basis for the postwar emergence of an organized movement to remember the past. These chaplains logically became the main celebrants of the Lost Cause rituals after the war.³⁰” Confederate chaplains who supported not only the soldiers but the cause did it with religion at the front of their thoughts. Wilson continues, “For the chaplains themselves, as for the soldiers, the war was the greatest personal experience of their lives, and it understandably influenced their later activities.”³¹ If they, as religious figures, were supported and uplifted by God, surely the cause was too, or so they believed. It’s no wonder, then, that the chaplains adopted the Lost Cause myth. It gave justification and reasoning to their support. More than just their support, though, they gave action and granted validity to Confederate proceedings. UDC meetings would often open with a prayer from a local clergyman, and the parades and celebrations for statues and veterans were presided over by former chaplains or said clergy. The endorsement by chaplains and the churches who participated in the war propelled and granted validity to the Lost Cause, so it could continue and flourish.

²⁹ Craig Thompson and Kelly Tian, “Reconstructing the South: How Commercial Myths Compete for Identity Value through the Ideological Shaping of Popular Memories and Counter-memories” (*Journal of Consumer Research* 34, no 5, 2008), online.

³⁰ Wilson, 6.

³¹ Ibid, 6.

The flourishing of the Lost Cause, though, was not simply perpetuating a fanciful vision. It was a vehicle through which white supremacy gained approval and support. Wilson is incredibly explicit about it and the church's support: "White supremacy was a key tenet of the Southern Way of Life, and Southern ministers used the Lost Cause religion to reinforce it... The special concern of Lost Cause ministers was the obstacle that postbellum blacks presented to the preservation of a virtuous Southern civilization.³²" It was not only praying over UDC meetings; southern ministers used their pulpit to extol the virtues of an abhorrent view of African-Americans. It wasn't just that they were lesser beings in the eyes of white southerners, but their mere presence spoiled their perfect view of the South. It does not need to be elaborated the devastating consequences this view had and has today. Religious approval holds a gravitas that is synonymous with God.

White supremacy continued and became more pronounced as the Lost Cause narrative moved through time. It was more than laws; it was systematic oppression revealed in churches, schoolbooks, and subdivisions. Statues and memorials were, and continue to be, public displays of the narrative and morality it supported. These are attitudes that were connected to the identity of the South. They were adopted, placed into school curricula, marked the landscape, and passed down through generations. As will be discussed in the next section, this identity is not applied or adopted solely by those from the former Confederate States.

Southern Identity Is Not Necessarily Southern

The Lost Cause narrative was perpetuated throughout the rest of the country, as well. As Jim Crow flourished, the false reality it was built upon, the Lost Cause, also continued to spread.

³² Wilson, 100.

“Southern identity” was attached to the states that seceded during the Civil War, but as the country and racism grew it was no longer referred only to the former Confederate states. “The South” and southern evoke places like Oklahoma, “the country,” or areas with “rednecks.”³³ These colloquialisms point to the larger influence of what the Lost Cause narrative represented. The South's desire to create and safeguard a historical narrative that defended Southern values and ideals while necessarily supporting white supremacy affected the rest of the country.³⁴ These were, of course, not the only values Southerners possessed, but they easily became co-opted as indicative of southern identity. Thus, places where racism was pronounced and promoted or white supremacy was given a platform were, and are, identified as “southern.”

As the South, and the varied individuals that lived in it, began to acquire other identities not reserved to the South—fundamental religion, conservatism—“Southern” became an even more complicated term. Cobb elaborates on the complicated nature of this identity and the nation’s reactions and assumptions:

Premised on the religious fundamentalism and evangelical fervor of lower-class southern whites, derisive references to the South as the so-called Bible Belt largely ignored the strong spiritual attachments and stern fidelity to biblical doctrine that characterized perhaps an even greater majority of southern blacks... Yet such complexities simply did not register on the radar screens of many frustrated northeastern liberals who seemed to look at the thirty-one ‘red’ states... that went for Bush and see only... the exclusive province of white southerners.³⁵

³³ Christopher Cooper and H. Gibbs Knotts write, “Singers, cultural trends, and political outcomes are indicative of threads of southernness that run through these peripheral Southern states.” Cultural phenomena like country music are good examples of this ephemeral identity. Once attached closely to Nashville and Appalachia, country music is generally connected to the South. It evokes images of the country, rural society, and small towns, though. This kind of imagery is not reserved solely to the South at all but colloquially is. Christopher A. Cooper and H. Gibbs Knotts, “Rethinking the Boundaries of the South” (*Southern Cultures* 16, no. 4, 2010), 73.

³⁴ About this Cox writes, “Although the intentions of the UDC and white supremacists were to preserve and instill their values among the region’s youth, the sad reality is that those textbooks eventually made their way into the hands of black students, since they received the cast-off books of the white schools. Thus, young African-Americans were also exposed to a Lost Cause narrative, which included assertions about the inferiority of their race.” The consequences of the actions taken to support white southerners had devastating effects on future generations of African-American students. An example of how these passed down histories explicitly affected the African-American community. These were not “harmless” narratives to bolster white southerners. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 161.

³⁵ Cobb, 325-6.

Cobb is referencing the early 2000s election of George W. Bush and the South (or called South) as the “Bible Belt.” Cobb’s comments, though, illuminate the difficulty of prescribing a Southern identity. What one calls themselves and what others identify as may be very different. In actuality, “southern” connotes an identity that is not restricted to southern states. It is attached to fundamental Christians and conservatives, white supremacists, the country, and rednecks, among others. Furthermore, applying these labels to white southerners creates yet another dichotomy between black and white southerners. It creates more racialized speech and stereotypes which perpetuate the narratives of racism and white supremacy attached to the Lost Cause.

It is vital to note that this “southern” identity becomes attached to any group that represents said traits. As Cobb continues, “With the nation at large still providing such a voracious export market for ‘southern’ vices, continued insistence on pasting regional labels on national traits seems not only hypocritical but disingenuous.”³⁶ While it is certainly true that these are traits that exist in the South, “Southern” identity is often used as a catchall for these problematic characteristics. Dissemination of the Lost Cause narrative is part of this phenomenon, except it is not reserved solely for southern individuals. There is a great complexity to calling something or someone southern, and this identity is recognized as indicative of both the success of the Lost Cause narrative and the troubles of a racialized America.

The events in August 2017 in Charlottesville are not a reflection of a uniquely southern problem or conflict, then. White supremacy and the racist traits attached to those who enacted violence may be called southern, even if the individuals who inhabit them are from Oklahoma, Indiana, or Ohio. The southern identity that was created in the late 19th and early twentieth

³⁶ Cobb, 324.

century, by the Lost Cause and supported by statues like the one of R.E. Lee in Charlottesville, no longer applies to the South only. It represents the greater issues of race and racism. Because of that, this identity is in crisis, which will be discussed in the next section.

A Southern Identity in Crisis

The Lost Cause narrative exists in landscapes, histories, and towns throughout the country, but it is no longer the defining narrative of the southeastern United States. White supremacy can no longer be tied solely to the Lost Cause or the South, but those narratives have allowed and propagated these false realities.³⁷ There is still a “southern” identity, but it is now of a South tied to growing cities and metropolitanism. This amorphous southern identity becomes more confused as the South is no longer the rural, backwoods of seventy years ago. Cobb writes, “The problem here is that complex and often unwieldy identities are being reduced to trendy and attractive lifestyles which, if not exactly up for grabs, are certainly up for sale.³⁸” The generations of southerners weaned on and taught the glory of the Confederacy no longer control southernness. The South has become an attractive lifestyle marketed for those who wish to take in the slower paced life, mild climate, and growing industry, especially for retirees.³⁹ Between 2014 and 2015, the population of the South grew by 1.4 million.⁴⁰ While it will never be the metropolis of New York or Los Angeles, there is movement in and out of the South.

This growth, though, complicates long-held ideals, values, and narratives that defined the South and created at least a fantasy of a cohesive identity. Historian Edward Ayers notes that

³⁷ Wilson, 100.

³⁸ Cobb, 332.

³⁹ Steve Matthews, “New Yorkers Flock to Booming Sun Belt as Trek South Resumes,” *Bloomberg*, April 27, 2017, Web.

⁴⁰ Tim Henderson, “Americans Are Moving South, West Again,” The PEW Charitable Trust, Jan. 8, 2016, Web.

"the experience of those who now live in the South, with its confusion, complications, and compromises, seems less fully Southern than the society that came before [1865], which appears to have been more unified and coherent.⁴¹" He comments that the South, now, builds log cabins, restores plantation homes, and historical markers to try to connect with their "authentic history." The desire to reconnect to a perceived history creates a problem because this history was never as authentic as one may wish to believe. The Lost Cause was built upon a fantasy and a desire to reclaim an identity that was proven entirely corrupt in a lost war. As Ayers notes, though, there is still a desire for this kind of cohesive, defining identity in some ways. When that identity is built, at its foundation, upon ideas that are meant to subjugate others, it is unstable. It cannot function as a unifier and is divisive.

"Southern" means and represents much more than the Lost Cause in contemporary America, but that encompassing antebellum identity is still embedded in the creation of a twenty-first-century identity that uses plantation homes and log cabins as symbols. Thus, a crisis forms. That identity is attached to systematic racism which must be addressed before it can unify. "Southern" means many things to many people, and it does still represent for some the Lost Cause. About that, William Reynolds writes, "Certainly the current conservative Lost Cause political agenda does not yearn for a return to the antebellum South, but there is a yearning for some perceived past greatness."⁴² The desire is to have pride in the region, but that is possible only if the past is confronted in its entirety. Southern identity is not homogenous. It means many things to a variety of people—white, African-American, transplant, or a long established family.

⁴¹ Edward Ayers, et. al., *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 68.

⁴² William M. Reynolds, "The Southern Mist: The Shaping of American Culture and Politics" (*Counterpoints* 412 2013), 15.

When there is a movement, though, to reclaim that Lost Cause agenda and the landscape is filled with representations of it, crisis occurs.

The Lost Cause succeeded in perpetuating a false greatness. Debates over these memories are not unique to our time or space, which only affirms the need to address them. The events of August 2017 are part of this explosion of a southern/Lost Cause identity and the rise in visibility of white supremacy. To ignore the South and the identity that many of those surrounding the debate on Confederate statues possess, would be a mistake. There is a desire to have a strong identity attached to this region, especially for individuals who truly hold it as their past and history. If the complicated identity is better understood, then the debated identities can be contemplated. While the issues surrounding Confederate statues indicate larger issues surrounding race and white supremacy, they are being addressed as debates over what constitutes being called “southern” as well.

To conclude this chapter, Confederate statues are an emblem of white supremacy, but they are much more complicated than simply that. They are sacred sites imbued with the holiness southerners attached to the Lost Cause, which influenced southern identity and contemporary racism. This nature is intimately connected to the statues.

The Debates over Confederate History Today and in Charlottesville

The memorialization techniques used in the Lost Cause created a supposedly cohesive and complete southern, white identity. This identity did not, of course, represent the South in its totality. Memorialization techniques in the public landscape, though, tried to and succeeded in shaping the space to reflect the New South. The debates over Confederate memorials and statues used to rewrite history is not new. This chapter will address how conflict is indicative of these debates and contested memorials that Charlottesville manifests. I offer a history of Confederate statues, particularly R.E. Lee's, as an example.

Confederate Memorial Debates:

Confederate memorials are tangible, public displays of the Lost Cause narrative and identity. This identity, as has been noted, is built upon a fantasy of Southern superiority and white supremacy. It is not either-or but fully both. White supremacy is not necessarily southern superiority, and southern superiority is not necessarily white supremacy. The tie between identity and these public images is such that to contest the statue questions an individual's perceived history and their identity. One of the great success of the Lost Cause narrative is its ability to create a malleable identity. The cause represented different, and sometimes conflicting, interpretations of the South, the Confederacy, and the goals of the narrative.⁴³ Plantation owners and their descendants perpetuated mammy stereotypes and myths that slaves were, in fact, treated well. Former Confederate chaplains could justify their support and religious work as

⁴³ Cobb, 70-71.

well.⁴⁴ Children were raised on the stories and histories told, reinforced in textbooks endorsed by the UDC, and given reason to find pride in their ancestors.

Problems arise when individuals have the same belief or identity, the glory of the South, but for different reasons. Confederate statues became an emblem of these disparate histories. The issues materialize when examining the purpose of memorials. Young notes, “Memorials provide the sites where groups of people gather to create a common past for themselves, places where they tell the constitutive narratives, their ‘shared’ stories of the past.”⁴⁵ If memorials create a common past then the disparate groups that occupied the Lost Cause narrative should have a common past, yet they do not. The past that the memorials represent is fictionalized and manipulated. Southern plantations did not treat their slaves well; the South was not wronged by the North; and the motivating factors of the Civil War were not simply states’ rights.

Conflict, not necessarily violent, is symptomatic of Confederate memorials, then. As Young goes on to write, “They become communities precisely by having shared (if one vicariously) the experiences of their neighbors.”⁴⁶ The experiences that created the southern community post-reconstruction were disingenuous. These communities were multifaceted and could not be tied together, certainly not neatly, with a statue of Robert E. Lee and his horse Traveler. The community created through the memorials was situated for conflict and contestation. Furthermore, the past captured in the memorials wholly ignored a large portion of the Southern community, African-Americans. Any individuals who found that past to be problematic, false, or dangerous no longer fit into the community created and supported through

⁴⁴ Wilson, 6.

⁴⁵ Young, 6.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 7.

Confederate memorials. The end of Jim Crow and the Civil Rights Movement obviously upset the community.

The instability and volatility of “southern” as discussed previously is manifested in the nature of Confederate memorials. The identity and community, already dismantled when segregation was declared illegal, will continue to be contested because they represented in the public sphere these images and memorials. In 1941, W.J. Cash wrote his provocative book *The Mind of the South*. The book influenced southern writers and intellectuals and continues to do so today. In the book he highly critiques the collective South’s elite actions. He writes:

Violence, intolerance, aversion and suspicion toward new ideas, an incapacity for analysis, an inclination to act from feeling rather than the thought, an exaggerated individualism and a too narrow concept of social responsibility, attachment to fictions and false values, above all too great attachment to racial values and a tendency to justify cruelty and injustice in the name of those values, sentimentality and a lack of realism—these have been its characteristic vices in the past. And, despite changes for the better, they remain its characteristic vices today.⁴⁷

While Cash’s study is more than seventy years old, his observations remain true. We should not be remiss in thinking no work has been done to alleviate the problems Cash addresses. It has been, but the symbols, images, and public spaces that allowed the inferences Cash states still exist today. The vices that Cash points to remained embedded in a passed down southern idealism. While white supremacy was never an issue reserved solely to the South, it was intimately attached with these other characteristics to create a pervasive and powerful South. Each trait Cash lists—intolerance, aversion towards new ideas, exaggerated individualism, sentimentality, and the others—are present currently, but today, it is less about geography and more about identity.

⁴⁷ W.J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941), 428-9.

Confederate memorials and statues are conflict-prone, then, because they embody and support Cash's complex list of traits. Some became more prominent and others less so, but the Confederate memorial and monument indicates conflict. The demonstrators in Charlottesville, supposedly protesting against the removal of a Confederate statue, were and represented white supremacists. They embodied those complicated, twisted identities that the Lost Cause created, even if implicitly. It is not coincidental that they waved Confederate flags or rallied behind the R.E. Lee statue. The contested, conflict-driven nature of the Lost Cause identity attached to the South made it susceptible to this kind of manipulation. The next section discusses why Charlottesville manifests the debates over memorials and identity.

Charlottesville

This subsection will be divided into three parts to demonstrate how Charlottesville illustrates the debates and contestation over Confederate statues and the Lost Cause: the history of the R.E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson statues, Vinegar Hill and the in-between-time, and the call to remove the monuments.

THE CONFEDERATE STATUES

The phenomenon of “statue mania” marked the United States from the 1870s to 1920s.⁴⁸ Erica Doss describes it: “Statue mania was symptomatic of turn-of-the-twentieth-century anxieties about national unity, anxieties unleashed by the rapid advance of modernism, immigration, and mass culture.”⁴⁹ There was an effort to create images and art that would educate the public about “appropriate” memories and history to alleviate those anxieties. In the New South, this unity was designed by wealthy industrialists. Paul Goodloe McIntire was one

⁴⁸ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 20.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 27.

such individual. He donated four statues of Robert E. Lee; Stonewall Jackson; Meriwether Lewis, Rogers Clark and Sacagawea; and Rogers Clark to the city of Charlottesville at the height of the city beautiful movement and as part of statue mania. McIntyre was born in 1860 in Charlottesville, and his father was mayor of the city during the Civil War. He became a successful financier and donated to both the city and the university where he was raised.⁵⁰

McIntyre commissioned Henry Shrady, a member of the National Sculpture Society, in 1917 to complete the statue of Robert E. Lee and his horse Traveler on a 45,435 square foot plot he purchased on May 28th of that year.⁵¹ Leo Lentelli completed the statue after Shrady died in 1924. It was dedicated on May 21, 1924, during a Confederate reunion gala. McIntyre asked the Sons of Confederate Veterans, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and Confederate Veterans to organize its unveiling that began with an invocation by Rev. Henry B. Battle.⁵² On behalf of McIntyre, the President of Washington & Lee University, Dr. Henry Louis Smith, presented the statue, which was draped in a Confederate flag pulled away by three-year-old Mary Walker Lee, the great-granddaughter of R.E. Lee.⁵³ Edwin Alderman, President of the University of Virginia

⁵⁰ Betsy Ghodes-Baten, "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Four Monumental Figurative Outdoor Sculptures Donated by Paul Goodloe McIntire to the City of Charlottesville, Virginia, and to the University of Virginia" (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Application, 1997).

⁵¹ Ibid (no page numbers, background section).

⁵² Many of the statues erected were completed by the organizations mentioned. The UDC was especially prolific and would have had, and still has today, experience in organizing an event like this. Ibid.

⁵³ It should be noted that Lee was very explicit in his wishes to not be memorialized. In a letter to General Thoms Rosser on Dec. 13, 1866, he stated, "As regards the erection of such a monument as is contemplated; my conviction is, that however grateful it would be to the feelings of the South, the attempt in the present condition of the Country, would have the effect of retarding, instead of accelerating its accomplishment; & of continuing, if not adding to, the difficulties under which the Southern people labour. All I think that can now be done is to aid our noble & generous women in their efforts to protect the graves & mark the last resting places of those who have fallen, & wait for better times." An incredibly important document, Lee is explicit that he does not wish to be memorialized. He understood completely that to memorialize men like himself would not help reunite the country, but instead they would only alienate the South. Lee's recommendation is, instead, to aid the women caring for the graves of the men killed. The architects of the Lost Cause were not simply Confederate veterans. They were individuals like Paul McIntyre who wanted a history he could create that would support narratives advantageous to him, a white man. Robert E. Lee, "Letter to Gen. Thoms L. Rosser" (Letter, Lee Family Digital Archive, 1866). Ibid.

spoke and accepted the statue on behalf the city. From the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans, C.B. Linney spoke, and then a blessing concluded the program; parties followed.⁵⁴

Dedication programs such as this were not singular. They were almost always attended by clergy to bestow blessings and prayers upon the gatherings and memorials, and important political and lay figures were present. *The Daily Progress*, the local newspaper, announced the speech by Rev. Battle on the front page of the May 20th paper.⁵⁵ Family members of those being memorialized or other prominent “heroes” would often attend as well. These were large ceremonies that reinforced and articulated the ethos of the Lost Cause. A cause célèbre, the dedication ceremony indicates how important a statue such as this was for the small city community of Charlottesville in 1924.

The supposed shared memory of the community was meant to be a unifier expressed by beautifying the city with a Confederate statue. It was a ceremony sanctioned by clergy, the city, and Confederate memory. Units of veterans and Sons of Confederate Veterans from Richmond and Staunton attended the dedication ceremony.⁵⁶ The dedication of the R.E. Lee monument was a reminder, almost sixty years after the end of the defeat of the Confederacy, that history could and was remembered differently. The front page of *The Daily Progress* on May 21, the day the statue was dedicated, included a large photo of the unveiled statue with a headline that read “LEE STATUE IS UNVEILED” and “LEE IDEAL OF WHOLE LAND.”⁵⁷ There was no mention of dissent in the paper and only lauding of the celebration and “honor” for the city. This re-described memory was held in the mind of Betsy Ghodes-Baten in 1996 who prepared the

⁵⁴ Betsy Ghodes-Baten, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Robert Edward Lee Sculpture" (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Registration Application, 1996). This history was gleaned from Ghodes-Bate's report and *The Daily Progress*.

⁵⁵ *The Daily Progress*, May 20, 1924.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ *The Daily Progress*, May 21, 1924.

documents to register the statue as a national historical place when she wrote, “Charlottesville will undoubtedly keep it [the statue] there, for the monument is a unique memorial to the most eminent Confederate hero of all.⁵⁸” In fact, the memorial is not so unique; it is part of the larger work of the postbellum South, and the National Sculpture Society was commissioned to complete many of these statues. History has remembered, though, the uniqueness and importance that were instilled that day with the dedication

The statue of Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson was also representative of the many other Confederate statues erected across the country. The Charlottesville Jackson statue was originally proposed in 1897. In January of 1919, McIntyre bought the land west of the courthouse and contracted Charles Keck to construct the sculpture of Jackson.⁵⁹ The statue was dedicated on October 19, 1921, amid a parade of 5000, which included Virginia Military Institute Cadets members of Confederate veteran groups across the state, that ended at a presentation of children formed in the shape of a Confederate flag.⁶⁰ McIntyre again charged the Confederate Veterans, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and Sons of Confederate Veterans with organizing the event where university president Alderman and professor Richard H. Dabney were present.⁶¹ Jackson's great-great-granddaughter Anna Jackson Preston unveiled the statues, and the dedication ceremony with benediction and glory was followed by parties and balls. The whole city was adorned with Confederate memorabilia.⁶² *The Daily Progress* had a large photograph of the unveiled statue on its front page on October 19, 1921 with headlines including “GEN. LEE’S

⁵⁸ Betsy Ghodes-Baten, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Thomas Jonathan Jackson Statue" (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Application, 1996).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ *The Daily Progress*, October 19, 1921.

⁶¹ Ghodes-Baten, “Thomas Jonathan Jackson Statue.”

⁶² *The Daily Progress*, October 19, 1921.

COOK ATTENDING REUNION,” “MEETING PROVES GRAND CLIMAX,” and “JACKSON STATUE IS UNVEILED: A Big Day in Confederate Reunion.”⁶³ The memory of these ceremonies imbued these statues with the kind of sacredness Foote describes—they were set a part and magnificently remembered.

THE HISTORY BETWEEN COMPLETION AND CONDEMNATION: VINEGAR HILL

Like the rest of the country, especially the South, Charlottesville has its own deep history of race relations. Vinegar Hill is one such example—a twenty-acre site located in central Charlottesville next to downtown that was razed in the early 1960s. Vinegar Hill was a primarily African-American community--119 of the 136 renters on the Hill were African-American.⁶⁴ Charlottesville voted as a referendum on June 14, 1960 to raze Vinegar Hill and redevelopment the area which prime real estate.⁶⁵ There was a \$1.50 poll tax though, marginalizing the African-American community that lived there. The referendum passed narrowly. The history of Vinegar Hill is contentious and offers insight into race and minority relations in the city of Charlottesville and is an example of the city’s response to desegregation and the Civil Rights movement.

Vinegar Hill has no definitive establishment date, but stories abound of the site pre-Civil War.⁶⁶ Numerous narratives describe how the site received its name-- a story of a jug of vinegar falling off a cart to remembering a group of merchants who prospered there. No matter how Vinegar Hill received its name, it was a vibrant, thriving community throughout its history, even when students couldn’t be educated properly in segregated schools and white landowners took

⁶³ *The Daily Progress*, October 19, 1921.

⁶⁴ James Robert Saunders and Renae Nadine Shackelford, *Urban renewal and the end of black culture in Charlottesville, Virginia: An oral history of Vinegar Hill* (McFarland, 2005).

⁶⁵ Saunders and Shackelford, 2.

⁶⁶Ibid., 1.

advantage of renters.⁶⁷ Despite the disadvantages, Vinegar Hill was the center of African-American culture in Charlottesville. There were businesses, homes, churches, and social halls. In the 1950s and 1960s when the community was described as a “country-style slum” by those who wished to dismantle it, it was full of businesses and everyday living.⁶⁸ In an article in *C-Ville Weekly*, William James, who arrived at Vinegar Hill in 1963 halfway through deconstruction, described the community saying, “When I first heard there were 600 people there...I said, ‘Wait a minute, man. Why did that end so quickly?’ There had been a Vinegar Hill from the 1800s until 1958.”⁶⁹ James has written essays, novels, and scripts trying to relate the story and history of Vinegar Hill. For a community that was lived in and the center of African-American culture, there were serious questions about the and decision to raze it.

In 1954 a referendum was held in the city asking the question, “Is there the need for a Housing Authority to be activated in the city of Charlottesville.”⁷⁰ Early that year the City Council wrote a resolution discussing “unsanitary and unsafe inhabited dwelling accommodations in the city.”⁷¹ This was obviously in reference to Vinegar Hill. The vote in 1954 was 1,105 to 1,069, a less than fifty vote difference. After years of discussion, the redevelopment of Vinegar Hill referendum passed on June 14, 1960. While there were substandard living conditions and some dilapidated structures, this was not the majority of community living standards. While citizens were reimbursed according to eminent domain, the lives, community, and history were disrupted. By the time demolition finished in 1965 twenty-nine business had been disrupted and 600 individuals were forced to move, many into low-

⁶⁷ Saunders and Shackelford, 22.

⁶⁸ Saunders and Shackelford, 3.

⁶⁹ Scott Weaver, “The echo of Vinegar Hill” (*C-ville Weekly* Charlottesville, VA, Nov 27, 2007).

⁷⁰ Saunders and Shackelford, 3.

⁷¹ Saunders and Shackelford, 3.

income housing developments.⁷² The site remained undeveloped for almost ten years with seven acres still vacant in 1982.⁷³

This very short history of Vinegar Hill shows a community disrupted and removed, no longer able to support members as they had been. Vinegar Hill was not just a neighborhood or collection of houses. It was a place where people lived, worshiped, practiced business, married, and raised families.

The city of Charlottesville has an incredibly complicated racial history, and this is only one example. Vinegar Hill is evidence that there was a thriving African-American community in Charlottesville, and there was a very real desire to disrupt this community.⁷⁴ In 1951, just three years before the referendum was put to the city, the Albemarle Garden Club suggested building iron picket fences around both statues, a proposal that was turned down.⁷⁵ Both are signs of city's residents work to beautify Charlottesville.

Race relations were not dictated by the Confederate statues, but the narratives and morals supported with their construction influenced the history and values of the city. Cobb writes, "The sense of lost community among many black southerners...before and after Jim Crow merely confirmed that black southerners had managed to retain a viable culture and a sense of their own worth in a society where color barriers had confronted them at every term."⁷⁶ Cobb refers to those who lived in the South and highlights the deep cuts made against African-American community and history. Vinegar Hill is an example of this lost community. The black

⁷² Saunders and Shackelford, 3-4.

⁷³ Ibid, 5.

⁷⁴ Another such site was the Canada community south of the university Lawn. Not nearly as large as Vinegar Hill, it was also a site where African-Americans lived, worked, and prospered. Like Vinegar Hill, it was quite literally plowed over when land became of interest to white members of the university. Andrew Cedermark, "Charlottesville Archaeologists Uncover Local Black Stories" (*C-ville Weekly*, Charlottesville, Virginia, 23 February 2010).

⁷⁵ Ghodes-Baten, "Thomas Jonathan Jackson Statue.", Ghodes-Baten, "Robert Edward Lee Sculpture."

⁷⁶ Cobb, 277.

community thrived in Charlottesville even during legal segregation. Yet, there were still efforts, eighty-five years after the end of the war, to rewrite history. These efforts, though, have begun to be discussed and addressed. When they are attached so closely to identity, which the Lost Cause ensured, conflict arises. These discussions and their repercussions will be addressed in the next section.

A CALL TO REMOVE:

Confederate statues and the Lost Cause were never wholly accepted or endorsed. There have always been calls condemning their construction and place in the public landscape. In response to the creation of Monument Avenue—a boulevard in Richmond, VA honoring the Confederacy and its “heroes”—John Mitchell, Jr., the black councilman and owner of the newspaper, *The Planet*, expressed his concern with the project. He argued against Monument Avenue, specifically against any city funds being used for the project.⁷⁷ There continued to be dissent and conversations surrounding the Confederate statues in the hundred years following. In 2012, following a talk given by notable Civil War historian Edward Ayers, Krist Szakos, then vice-mayor, questioned whether the city should “talk about tearing them [Confederate statues] down or balancing them out.”⁷⁸ Szakos’s question posited a disturbing thought: does the city want in its public landscape statues that support a white supremacist supported narrative? The question sparked conversation in the city. Following the Dylan Roof—a young, white South Carolinian white supremacist attached to the Confederate flag—shooting at Emanuel African Methodist Church, there was a call to discuss Confederate memorabilia and memorials across the

⁷⁷ Wilson, “Monument Avenue, Richmond,” 104.

⁷⁸ C-VILLE Writers, “Monumental Questions: Local statues are a lesson in history and a source of controversy” (*C-Ville Weekly*, Charlottesville, Virginia, 17 June 2015). “Charlottesville city councilor Szakos questions relevance of confederate statues,” *NBC29*, 6 April 2012, Web.

country. On the online petition to remove the statue, Zyanha Bryant wrote, “I believe that we should celebrate the things that have been done in this great city to uplift and bring people together, rather than trying to divide them. It is 2016, and things have changed, people have changed, and Charlottesville has changed. It is time for this statue to go.”⁷⁹ The petition on change.org received 730 supporters, and Bryant’s words inspired a wave of reactions. Her desires were simple, bring people together, but they questioned, rightfully, deeply held beliefs and narratives that sparked outrage. In February of 2016, seniors at local private, episcopal school St. Anne’s-Bellfield petitioned city council to create better signage for Vinegar Hill.⁸⁰ The current landmark was small and hidden behind a trash can. These teenagers displayed the community commitment to confronting and recognize the past.

It was the same Spring that City Council formed the Blue Ribbon Commission and votes, law suits, and demonstrations followed. The violence that erupted in August was the ultimate culmination of years of these debates and demonstrations. The next, and final, chapter will address them

⁷⁹ Zyanha Bryant, Petition: “Change the name of Lee Park and Remove the Statue,” <https://www.change.org/p/charlottesville-city-council-change-the-name-of-lee-park-and-remove-the-statue-in-charlottesville-va>.

⁸⁰ It should be noted that St. Anne’s is primarily white. Samantha Baars, “Updated: STAB students praised for presenting to City Council,” (*C-ville Weekly*, Charlottesville, VA, 1 Feb 2016), Web.

An Explosion of Lost Cause Debates

This next chapter will demonstrate that it is the nature of the conflict over Confederate sites and memorials that motivated the actions in August in Charlottesville. There are other factors, but it will be shown that the Lost Cause narrative can and should be called motivating. The South has, since the end of the Civil War, propagated the narratives necessary to support and rationalize white supremacy. I am *not* suggesting that the protests and violence in August were exclusively over the removal of the R.E. Lee statue. It is that the R.E. Lee statue represented sacredness, identity, and history that, when questioned, exposed the deep roots of the Lost Cause and white supremacy.

Memorial's Contestation Materialized in Violence

Charlottesville is not a simple, Southern town—simple small towns are an oxymoron. The mix of rural and urban—the surrounding counties and Shenandoah valley are largely rural—and the influx of “transplants” as the city and university grew created a greater disconnect between the adopted Lost Cause and the “True” narrative. History, and the public art and spaces that defined it, was interrogated. When Kristen Szakos questioned the role and importance of Charlottesville’s Confederate statues in 2012, Steven Meeks, the Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society (ACHS) president said, “It is a part of heritage and our culture... These were given to the city for a specific purpose, and they should remain there.⁸¹” Just the discussion of taking down Confederate statues elicited intense reactions. Meeks, a controversial figure of the ACHS, represented, and still represent, commonly held beliefs about the statues.⁸² It is not

⁸¹ “Charlottesville city councilor Szakos questions relevance of confederate statues,” *NBC29*, 6 April 2012, Web.

⁸² C-VILLE Writers, “Secret History: Is the Charlottesville historical society a thing of the past” (*C-Ville Weekly*, Charlottesville, VA, 25 October 2017), Web.

hidden that the South, specifically the former states of the Confederacy, have held closely to their glorified Civil War history. South Carolina, the first state to secede, flew the Confederate flag at the state house until July 2015.⁸³ It took the Dylan Roof shooting, more extreme violence, to prompt the removal of Confederate images and history used as white supremacist symbols.

Violence does not need to be the motivating factor to examine these held histories, though, and the city of Charlottesville took measures to study and address its Confederate statues and the perpetuated narratives that supported them. After the decision to remove the R.E. Lee statue, lawsuits were filed, protests formed, and legal precedents had to be examined.⁸⁴ A Ku Klux Klan rally on July 8th met many more counter-protestors. Richard Spencer organized protests to the removal of the R.E. Lee statue on May 13th. Neither of these events led to the kinds of violence, hatred, and anger that August 11th and 12th did though. The purpose here is not to show one decisive element of the August events that led to violence—the months of preparations by counter-protestors and protestors, the events of Friday night, media attention, or so many others—but to show that the conflict over Confederate sacred sites can, and did, lead to violence.

⁸³ It should be noted that the flag only flew at the statehouse in Columbia for 54-years. The addition of the flag was an obvious response to desegregation and the Civil Rights movement. Stephanie McCrummen and Elahe Izadi, “Confederate flag comes down on South Carolina’s statehouse grounds” (*The Washington Post*, 10 July 2015), Web.

⁸⁴ Virginia statute § 15.2-1812. Memorials for war veterans dictates that local municipalities cannot remove any war memorial. It states, “*If such are erected [war memorials], it shall be unlawful for the authorities of the locality, or any other person or persons, to disturb or interfere with any monuments or memorials so erected, or to prevent its citizens from taking proper measures and exercising proper means for the protection, preservation and care of same. For purposes of this section, “disturb or interfere with” includes removal of, damaging or defacing monuments or memorials, or, in the case of the War Between the States, the placement of Union markings or monuments on previously designated Confederate memorials or the placement of Confederate markings or monuments on previously designated Union memorials.*” There are very specific laws governing Confederate statues and any memorials or monuments to a war. The City Council’s vote to remove the Lee statue violated this statute and is the subject of the court case over removal.

The identities, histories, and stories connected to Confederate monuments across the country and especially in Charlottesville are incredibly unstable. The relatively late addition of the statues of Lee and Jackson are examples of the still amorphous nature of the Lost Cause narrative in the early twentieth century. The rewritten history of the Civil War was already present, but marking the city's landscape followed just thirty years later with the razing of Vinegar Hill shows a conscious decision to create a new narrative. The torch lit-rally, protests against removal, and violent actions manifest the response to deeply held "Southern" identities and beliefs that were threatened with the removal of the Lee statue. The next section will explain how the inherent nature of the Confederate statues is indicative of the violence that occurred.

The Nature of the Conflict over Confederate Sacred Sites and August 11th & 12th

Justification and exoneration were the desires of the New South, Lost Cause architects. Karen Cox expounds upon the goal of vindication, writing, “Every monument placed in a courthouse square, every veteran or widow cared for, every history book removed from a library or school for being biased against the South, and every chapter of the Children of the Confederacy formed was done to vindicate Confederate men and women.⁸⁵” The tenets that made the South appear appealing—a genteel, courteous nurturing—were applied to this vindication, and they were successful. The vitriolic reactions to removal in Charlottesville and elsewhere are evidence. Confederate statues, memorials, and monuments were built in response to claims of southern atrocity. Their very foundation is rooted in contesting.

The Lost Cause’s influence and its methods were obviously influential, but they were built upon tenuous connections between reality and the history told. Thus, their very nature was

⁸⁵ Karen Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 158.

prone to conflict. Intellectuals and citizens questioned the South's insistence on rooting themselves in these histories. William Faulkner wrote prolifically about the South, often its tragedy or backwardness. In a 1956 issue of *Harper's Magazine*, he wrote, "That's what the white man in the South is afraid of: that the Negro, who has done so much with no chance, might do so much more with an equal one that he might take the white man's economy away from him...⁸⁶" Faulkner notes that there are Southerners who don't believe this, but there is an irrationality in the South that ties its white citizens to these fears. The Civil Rights movement that Faulkner discusses worked to dismantle legal segregation. Responses, though, were to raise Confederate flags on statehouse grounds and write pithy slogans like "heritage not hate" and "state's rights."

The Lost Cause began to dissolve, but when the images and rallying points—statues, stained glass windows, plaques, old textbooks, fraternity parties honoring Confederate history--propagate cities and towns it could not disintegrate.⁸⁷ Rewriting history, even if it is the "true" history, is still rewriting. As the glory of a Confederate South that supported racism was declared invalid, equality was reached for, and more people moved to the South, public memorials still pushed memories and stories into communities. Thompson and Tian write, "[The] messianic reconstruction of the Confederacy hinged upon a virtuous framing of the Old South as an idyllic

⁸⁶ William Faulkner, "Southern Harm," *Harper's Magazine*, June 1956.

⁸⁷ The Kappa Alpha Order, founded at Washington & Lee University at the end of the Civil War, and other fraternities recently have received resistance and backlash to annual parties called "Old South." Historically, these were formals where fraternity members don Confederate uniforms and their dates wear antebellum hoop skirts and clothing. The parties were usually held at a nearby plantation to the university. The national fraternity banned the wearing of Confederate uniforms after a 2009 event when University of Alabama members paraded past a black sorority celebrating its anniversary. Images of members in uniforms continued to be seen, though. Functions such as these, who many see as harmless as members probably do not understand the implications of their actions, serve as reinforcement for the Lost Cause endorsed white supremacy. Condoned actions, parties, such as these only give a larger platform for a white supremacist to enter mainstream America. Young women still wear antebellum clothing to the formal today. See: Blake Eben, "Confederate Flag on College Campuses: Where Race, White Supremacy, and Tradition Collide in the South" (*International Business Times*, 02 July 2015), Web., Associated Press, "'Old South' Fraternity Targeted over Confederate Event" (*Fox News*, 13 May 2009), Web., Linda Wheeler, "Southern Fraternity Banishes Confederate Uniforms" (*Washington Post* "A House Divided" blog, 23 April 2010), Web.

society devoted to a moral code of Christian honor and virtue that opposed the greed, avarice, and lowly mercantile interests attributed to Northern industrialists.⁸⁸ These ideas and propositions couldn't survive gross scrutiny and forced reality.

They cannot be looked at though, as only narratives and history to be accepted or not. When their impact on culture, community, and society are examined the pervasiveness of the Lost Cause emerges. It was not simply a narrative to be believed or not. It marked and changed how generations perceived history and the landscape. Highly volatile, it charged the memorials with an inherent inclination to conflict. For it is not the statues or even what they represent that caused mass protest; it is their multifunctional presence.

Practically, not unlike other wars—Vietnam, Iraq, World War II—the defeated have to reimagine their lives and purposes. The Lost Cause was a way for the South to justify its actions and continue to function. Instead of grappling with the troubles of the Confederacy, though, it was a way to ignore them. As time moved and the emblems and sacred sites of the Confederacy remained, the conflict they wished to memorialize imbued contestation upon the sites. The statues and memorials were not simply sites to remember and cope with loss. As Cobb says, “The architects of the New South identity had not only promised to secure economic progress without sacrificing white supremacy, but they had also made segregation and disenfranchisement a key element in their development strategy.”⁸⁹ These motivations lived in the memorials; they were part of its function and presence. Even as the legality was dismantled and encountered, without addressing the public square these contentious characteristics continue the legacy.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Craig and Tian, “Reconstructing the South.”

⁸⁹ Cobb, 213.

⁹⁰ Individuals would also, of course, play a key role in dissemination. The memorials and statues are public markers, reminders, and would-be-dividers of racism, history, and the South.

As towns, cities, and areas have begun to question and re-discover their past, Confederate monuments and memorials have continued to exist in the same space as always. As historian Kevin Levin notes about changes in commemoration and agency post-desegregation, “New monuments rose up and key public sites were renamed. Historic places such as Colonial Williamsburg began to address some of the more challenging aspects of their pasts, such as slave auctions.”⁹¹“ As localities confront their corrupt, racist, or misogynistic pasts, Confederate statues are touted as “memory.” As African-Americans built communities and participate in local government, narratives reformed, and the Lost Cause, which at its core promoted white supremacy, became a breeding ground for hate.

The statues in Charlottesville are representative of these enduring histories. The violence that occurred in August, and the vehemence with which people responded to proposed removals, demonstrate that there are deeply held beliefs and identities attached to these memorials. The memorials’ contentious nature make them prone to conflict. These statues carry a debatable history into the public sphere and attach them to “Southern Identity” and pride. When their aggrandizing presence were questioned violence ensued because identity was questioned, not only amorphous history.

⁹¹ Kevin Levin, “Not Your Grandfather’s Civil War Commemoration.”

Conclusion

In the opening address to the national United Daughters of the Confederacy meeting in 1903 the president, Mrs. James A. Rounsaville said, “Realizing that we may build monuments of marble and stone—but I charge them to prove that in the hearts of our children are tablets more lasting than brass—we would grave there that their fathers were patriots and honorable men, whose cause was a just and righteous one.”⁹² The belief system created at the end of Reconstruction and the Civil War was meant to endure. Memorials and monuments were the vehicles that supported this system that rewrote the history of the South and Confederacy. The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Children of the Confederacy, and other civic groups shaped the South’s and country’s perception of the region by glorifying the Confederacy, condoning white supremacy, and creating southern pride. The efforts of these organizations affected school systems, religion, and public landscapes.

The monuments at the center of the violence in Charlottesville were erected in the 1920s to preserve existing dynamics, including supporting white supremacy. They were part of the larger movement of those civic organizations promoting a New South and the Lost Cause. To divorce the statues from that history would be a great disservice. Charlottesville did not and does not exist in a vacuum. The shocking events of August 2017 were a reaction to proposed challenges to these deeply held beliefs. The memories of a glorious South permeated the country and the landscape. Monuments, like the one to Lee in Charlottesville, embody the history of a South that was wronged and who’s fought-for-morals were right.

Memory cannot be explained simply or universally but functions collectively. Paul Connerton theorizes:

⁹² United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the 1903 Annual Meeting*, 1903, 10.

We may say that our experiences of the past largely depend upon our knowledge of the past, and that are images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order... For images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past, I want to argue, are conveyed and sustained by (more or less) ritual performance.⁹³

The present order for Paul McIntyre and those that aided in the construction of all the monuments—Lee, Jackson, Clarke, and Lewis and Clarke--at the beginning of the 20th century was to legitimate a white and morally superior South, to support a status quo. The monuments erected, in general “great men,” signified not a past to be ashamed of but one to boast about. Lee and Jackson/Emancipation and Justice Parks, purchased to beautify the city and downtown, created an image of the South that was glorious and should be remembered and emulated. The statues were blessed and welcomed into the community. Community events happen in both parks, a signifier of the, even if passive, presence and influence of the Confederate statues. They informed and shaped how present communities and individuals understand and remember the past.

The Confederate memorials and statues that shaped the landscape have a highly contentious foundation and essence. Creating collective memories of a lost war immediately warrants conflict, and in already debatable sites, this exponentially increases the prospect of strife. Building a narrative and history of an entire social group upon the disenfranchisement of another is not stable. The Lost Cause was not a history that was ever completely accepted, and that reinforces the contested nature of these memorials. But the New South shaped southern identity in such a way that it became linked to a white supremacist supporting view of history, even if that was not the intention of each individual supporting an R.E. Lee statue.

⁹³ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press), 3-4.

The events of August 11th and 12th were not isolated. They were not caused by a rise in white supremacy fueled by the election of Donald Trump or the supposed disenfranchisement of white men. When public life is inundated with images and memorials that have not changed or been addressed since their construction to support causes that always including white supremacy, conflict will ensue. To understand, truly, why the R.E. Lee statue was the rallying point of twenty-first-century white supremacy, an understanding the Lost Cause is demanded. The cause became a rallying point for those who felt history had betrayed them, and that was the purpose of the statues. Their embodied presence was always meant to be a public response and reaction to those who said the South should be ashamed of its actions. The very essence of the space they occupy attracts those who wish to write their own history. Until that space is changed those who wish to rally around those problematic and divisive attitudes will continue to do.

In my opinion, the statues' space *must* be reimagined. This could include relocation, construction of “balancing” statues, or a new narration. It is much more complicated than simple removal. There is no easy answer or compromise that would appease the sides involved, but changing the space of memorials would be a good initiation of conversation. The community must be forced to think about and consider the grave implications of these kinds of narratives. This is not a project meant to prescribe a solution, but if the narratives that allow such hate to exist in history are not dismantled *collectively*, there will continue to be threads of dissent and support for them.

Bibliography

- Ayers, Edward L et. al. . *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Baars, Samantha. "Updated: STAB students praised for presenting to City Council." *C-ville Weekly* (Charlottesville, VA), 1 Feb 2016. Web. <http://www.c-ville.com/teens-present-petition-city-council-visible-vinegar-hill-plaque/#.WtolxtPwbak>.
- Barkan, Elazar and Karen Barkey, eds. *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion and Conflict Resolution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Black, Brian and Bryn Varley. "Contesting the Sacred: Preservation and Meaning on Richmond's Monument Avenue." *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*. Ed. Cynthia J. Mills and Pamela H. Simpson. University of Tennessee Press, 2003. pp. 234-250.
- Blue Ribbon Commission on "Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces". *Blue Ribbon Commission of "Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces" Report to City Council*. Charlottesville, Virginia. Dec 19, 2016. <http://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=49037>.
- Cash, W. J. *The Mind of the South*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941.
- Cedermark, Andrew. "Charlottesville Archaeologists Uncover Local Black Stories." *C-Ville Weekly*. Charlottesville, Virginia. 23 February 2010. Web
- Cobb, James C. *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity*. Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge U Press. 1989.
- Cooper, Christopher A. and H. Gibbs Knotts. "Rethinking the Boundaries of the South." *Southern Cultures* 16, no. 4 (2010): 72-88.

- Cox, Karen L. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. University Press of Florida, 2003.
- Cox, Karen L. *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created In American Popular Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- C-VILLE Writers. "Monumental Questions: Local statues are a lesson in history and a source of controversy." *C-Ville Weekly*. Charlottesville, Virginia. 17 June 2015. Web.
- C-VILLE Writers. "Secret History: Is the Charlottesville historical society a thing of the past." *C-Ville Weekly*. Charlottesville, VA. 25 October 2017. Web. <http://www.cville.com/albemarle-charlottesville-historical-society/#.WtU5o9Pwbak>.
- Danto, Arthur. "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial." *The Nation*. 31 August 1985.
- De Certeau, Michel. "Walking in the City." *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Randall. Press: University of California, 1984, 1988. 91-110.
- Doss, Erika, et al.. *The Emotional Life of Contemporary Public Memorials: Towards a Theory of Temporary Memorials*. Leiden University Press [Imprint], 2008.
- Doss, Erika. "Remembering 9/11: Memorials and Cultural Memory." *OAH Magazine of History* no. 3: 27. 2011.
- Doss, Erika. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. University of Chicago, 2010.
- Edwards, Kathy, and Esmé Howard. "Monument Avenue: The Architecture of Consensus in the New South, 1890-1930." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 6, 1997, pp. 92-110.
- Edwards, Kathy, et al.. *Monument Avenue: History and Architecture*. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, HABS/HAER, 1992.
- Faulkner, William. "Southern Harm." *Harper's Magazine*. June 1956.

Foote, Kenneth E. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Rev. and updated ed. University of Texas Press, 2003.

Ghodes-Baten, Besty. "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Four Monumental Figurative Outdoor Sculptures Donated by Paul Goodloe McIntire to the City of Charlottesville, Virginia, and to the University of Virginia." United States Department of the Interior National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Application, 1997, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/64500682.pdf>.

———. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Robert Edward Lee Sculpture" United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Registration Application, 1996, http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Charlottesville/104-0264_Robert_Edward_Lee_Sculpture_1997_Final_/Cities/Charlottesville/104-0251_Thomas_Jonathan_Jackson_Sculpture_1997_Final_Nomination.pdf.

———. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Thomas Jonathan Jackson Statue" United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Application, 1996, http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Charlottesville/104_0264_Robert_Edward_Lee_Sculpture_1997_Final_Nomination.pdf

Gustav Niebuhr. "More than a monument: The spiritual dimension of these hallowed walls." *New York Times*, Nov 11, 1994, 1994.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Harrop, W.M. Scott. "A Sermon in Stone." The University of Virginia Middle Eastern and South Asian Languages and Cultures Newsletter. Vol. 2, Issue 2, Spring 2012.

Hassner, Ron E. *War On Sacred Grounds*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Henderson, Tim. "Americans Are Moving South, West Again." The PEW Charitable Trust. Jan. 8, 2016. <http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2016/01/08/americans-are-moving-south-west-again>.

Lane, Belden C. "Giving voice to place: three models for understanding American sacred space." *Religion and American Culture* 11, no. 1: 53-81 (2001).

Lee, Robert E. "Letter to Gen. Thoms L. Rosser" (Letter, Lee Family Digital Archive, 1866), <https://leefamilyarchive.org/papers/letters/transcripts-UVA/v076.html>.

Levin, Kevin. "9/11 and the Inevitability of Forgetting." *thedailybeast.com*. Web. Sept. 9, 2016.

Levin, Kevin. "What Richmond Has Gotten Right about Interpreting Its Confederate History." *Smithsonian.com*. Web. May 18, 2017.

Levin, Kevin. "When It Comes to Historical Markers, Every Word Counts." *Smithsonian.com*. Web. July 6, 2017.

Matthews, Steve. "New Yorkers Flock to Booming Sun Belt as Trek South Resumes." *Bloomberg*. April 27, 2017. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-04-28/sun-and-sand-back-in-style-as-new-yorkers-flock-to-booming-south>.

McCrummen, Stephanie and Elahe Izadi. "Confederate flag comes down on South Carolina's statehouse grounds." *The Washington Post*. 10 July 2015. Web. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2015/07/10/watch-live-as-the-confederate-flag-comes-down-in-south-carolina/?utm_term=.bb8a6c1271f6.

Mills, Cynthia J and Pamela H Simpson. *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003.

Nomination.pdf.

No Author "Charlottesville city councilor Szakos questions relevance of confederate statues." *NBC29*, April 6, 2012. <http://www.nbc29.com/story/17240667/charlottesville-city-councilor-szakos-questions-relevance-of-confederate-statues>

No Author. "Teen starts petition to remove Robert E. Lee statue from Charlottesville's Lee Park." *NBC29*. 22 March 2016. <http://www.nbc29.com/story/31529778/teen-starts-petition-to-remove-robert-e-lee-statue-from-charlottesvilles-lee-park>.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire" *Representations*, (1989) 26:7-25.

Paton, Nathalie, and Julien Figeac. "Muddled Boundaries of Digital Shrines." *Popular Communication* 13, no. 4: 251-271 (2015).

Reed, John Shelton. *Minding the South*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003.

Reno, Russell R. "The public square: a continuing survey of religion, culture, and public life." *First Things* no 218 D (2011) 3-7.

Reynolds, William M. "The Southern Mist: The Shaping of American Culture and Politics." *Counterpoints* 412 (2013): 17-33.

Satpathy, Ankita, and Hannah Gavin. "Robert E. lee statue remains focal point of debate over confederate symbols." *The Cavalier Daily*, Nov 2, 2017, 2017.

<http://www.cavalierdaily.com/article/2017/11/robert-e-lee-statue-remains-focal-point-of-debate-over-confederate-symbols>.

- Saunders, James Robert, and Renae Nadine Shackelford. *Urban renewal and the end of black culture in Charlottesville, Virginia: An oral history of Vinegar Hill*. McFarland, 2005.
- Servais, Maggie. "Lawsuit challenges removal of Robert E. Lee statue". *The Cavalier Daily*, March 21, 2017, 2017. <http://www.cavalierdaily.com/article/2017/03/lawsuit-challenges-removal-of-robert-e-lee-statue>
- Sturken, Marita. *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*. Durham: Duke University, 2007.
- Sturken, Marita. "The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial." *Representations*, no. 35, 1991. Pg. 118-42.
- The Daily Progress*. October 1921, May 1924.
- Thompson, Craig and Kelly Tian. "Reconstructing the South: How Commercial Myths Compete for Identity Value through the Ideological Shaping of Popular Memories and Countermemories." *Journal of Consumer Research*. Volume 34, Issue 5, 1 February 2008. pp 595–613.
- Turner, Victor W. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Aldine Pub. Co, 1969.
- United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the 1903 Annual Meeting in Charleston, SC*. Nashville, Tenn. 1903.
- Wallace-Wells, Benjamin. "The fights over virginia's confederate monument: How the state's past spurred a racial reckoning." *The New Yorker*, Dec 4, 2017, 2017.
- Weaver, Scott. "The echo of Vinegar Hill." *C-ville* (Charlottesville, VA), Nov 27, 2007.
- Wilson, Charles Reagan. *Baptized In Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*. University of Georgia Press, 1980.

Wilson, Richard Guy. "Monument Avenue, Richmond: A Unique American Boulevard."

Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory.

Ed. Cynthia J. Mills and Pamela H. Simpson. University of Tennessee Press, 2003. Pp.

100-115.

Wrabel, Allison. "Amid statue debate, Albemarle courthouse's confederate soldier stands

in silence." *The Daily Progress*, May 22, 2017, 2017.

Yellot, Jock. "Opinion/Commentary: Saving history without demonizing others." *The*

Daily Progress, June 4, 2017, 2017.

Young, James Edward. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New

Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.