

**(RE)INTERPRETING THE CONFEDERACY:  
INTERPRETIVE OPTIONS FOR PRESERVATION**

Katherine Redwood Taylor-Hasty

Katherine Redwood Taylor-Hasty  
Advisor: Andrew Dolkart  
Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation – Columbia University in the City of New York

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## Abstract/Introduction

Since 2016 the United States has been embroiled in a debate about what types of monuments should be displayed on our publicly accessible land. As of now, the debate has involved monuments to Confederate soldiers and generals, former presidents, scientists, explorers and other historic figures whose actions are now considered to be out of step with current social norms. While the public debate has, so far, mostly focused on the existence of publicly owned and displayed monuments, many privately owned monuments that are publicly accessible have also become enmeshed in the fight to remove Confederate symbols from public view. Several of these privately owned but publicly accessible monuments have been moved or removed by their owners, many of whom are private institutions. While various private institutions have decided to remove their Confederate monuments relatively quickly in reaction to the public outcry against them, the decision of what should happen to the monuments next appears to be much more complicated and slow. Some institutions have chosen to remove their monuments, but others have chosen to keep their monuments, either in their original locations or in new locations on their properties, and some have chosen to attempt to interpret their Confederate monuments.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate how preservationists can assist private institutions in the curation and reinterpretation of their Confederate monuments, once the decision to remove them has been made. This work is grounded in the analysis of the changing interpretation and significance of monuments to difficult histories, as is evidenced by the experiences of South Africa, Estonia and Hungary. It then takes a more focused view of the American Confederate monument dilemma. The scope of this exploration will be limited to expounding upon the preservation and interpretive options available to private institutions, once they have decided to remove or move their Confederate monuments. While recognizing the controversial nature of this subject, this is an objective and analytical study of preservation.

# Chapter 1: Literature Review and Context

## Literature Review

### A CHANGE IN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MONUMENTS

The manner in which monuments have been understood and viewed has changed greatly over time, and has been dependent on their location. Generally, the Western European discourse has held that the purpose of monuments in society is to serve as holders of collective memory and empathy. However, since the late twentieth century, and the rise of Modernism and Postmodernism, there have been two major competing definitions and understandings of the purpose of monuments. The first, older definition was described in the nineteenth century by John Ruskin, who explained the purpose of monuments as an example - a reminder that we must learn from the past in order to achieve a better future.<sup>1</sup> These early definitions have persisted through to the twenty-first century. Alois Riegl, writing in 1903, established a taxonomy of monuments, using the same lens of understanding and working under the assumption that monuments are representatives and reminders of history.<sup>2</sup> More recently, authors and academics such as Kirk Savage, in *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves* (1997), and Kelly McMichael, in *Sacred Memories* (2009), have also understood monuments in this way.<sup>3</sup>

The second way of understanding the purpose of monuments holds that conventional monuments (statues, mosaics, paintings, windows, etc) have little or no purpose in the modern, post-historical world. One proponent of this way of thinking, Mario Carpo, suggests that

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<sup>1</sup> Mario Carpo. "The Postmodern Cult of Monuments." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation History Theory & Criticism* 4, no. 2 (2007): 50-60.

<sup>2</sup> Alois Riegl. "Moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen und seine Entstehung," (Wien: K. K. Zentral-Kommission für Kunst- und Historische Denkmale : Braumüller, 1903). Translation first published as Alois Riegl, 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin,' trans. Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, in *Oppositions*, n. 25 (Fall 1982), 21-51.

<sup>3</sup> Kirk Savage. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2007). Kelly McMichael, *Sacred Memories: The Civil War Monument Movement in Texas.* (Denton: Texas State Historical Association, 2009).

monuments can no longer inform the future because our postmodern understanding of history no longer provides a single, linear history for us to follow. There are too many histories, therefore, collective history no longer serves as a unifier.<sup>4</sup> Sert, Leger and Giedion similarly suggest that monuments have been “devalued” and that they have “become empty shells that in no way represent the spirit or the collective feeling of modern times.”<sup>5</sup> These authors go on to assert that monuments are only possible when the society has a unified consciousness and culture.<sup>6</sup> Carpo, Sert, Leger and Giedion all agree that monuments have declined in value because collective history, consciousness and culture have declined.

Just as the literature and ideas surrounding the use and purpose of monuments has changed, so has the understanding of what constitutes a monument. Traditional monuments are being replaced by memorialization through media. The current literature on monuments suggests that people include not only statues, obelisks, plaques, gravestones, and facility names in the definition of a monument, but also films, voice recordings, digital reconstructions and other forms of digital media. Marita Sturken studied how different forms of media have been used for commemorating victims of national crises by documenting how their memories were disseminated throughout American culture.<sup>7</sup> Michele Gauler, in “*Digital Remains*,” makes the assumption that it will become easier in the future for people to digitally access monuments through photographs, models and 3-D printouts, than to visit them in person.<sup>8</sup> This opinion is also echoed by Eric Krangel.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Carpo, “The Postmodern Cult of Monuments,” 50-60.

<sup>5</sup> Sigfried Giedion, J. L. Sert, F. Leger. “Nine Points on Monumentality,” *Architecture You and Me*, ed. Sigfried Giedion (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1958), 48–51.

<sup>6</sup> Giedion, Sert, Leger, “Nine Points on Monumentality,” 48-51.

<sup>7</sup> Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories the Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Michele Gauler, “Digital Remains.” Michele Gauler, 2017. Accessed December 15 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Eric Krangel. “Gravestones can become living records video and audio tell a life’s story.” *Chicago Tribune*, January 7, 2007.

The current literature, best expressed recently by Carpo and historically by Lewis Mumford, also suggests that there has been a change in expectations of what a monument would memorialize. Prior to the mid twentieth century, monuments were expected to be built to honor heroes and important events. The horrors of World War Two, the Holocaust and other genocides in the twentieth century, led to the normalization of the building of monuments to victims, rather than to heroes.<sup>10</sup> James Young (*Texture of Memory*, 2000) and Marita Sturken (*Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*, 2009) both comment on this change of focus in the memorials created for the Holocaust and the Vietnam War respectively. We see further examples of this in various Holocaust Memorials, monuments to victims of apartheid, apartheid museums and Boer War memorials in South Africa, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC, and the museums and memorials to the victims of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombings. These tragic, difficult histories have often been memorialized, not by honoring the people who stopped or attempted to alleviate the horrors, but by honoring the victims.<sup>11</sup> For example, the 9/11 Memorial and Museum honoring the victims who perished in the terrorist attack, or the memorials to the victims of school shootings such as Columbine or Sandy Hook.

The commemoration of the Civil War in the United States has been the result of multiple memorialization practices, and resulted in the development of new tactics. The literature produced around the memorialization of the Civil War has included several works that explain how the commemorative practices, particularly the monuments, used by both sides of the war, have been used to shape race relations within the United States. David Blight explains this argument in *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (2001). The lack of memorials and monuments to the African American soldiers, continuing to foster an

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<sup>10</sup> Carpo, "The Postmodern Cult of Monuments," 50-60; Lewis Mumford, "The Death of the Monument," in *The Culture of Cities*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938), 438.

<sup>11</sup> Kirk Savage, *History, Memory, and Monuments: An Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration*, (Organization of American Historians and the National Park Service, 2006).



environment of racial inequality, and, as will be discussed later in this thesis advancing white supremacist and Confederate causes, have all contributed to the state of race relations in the United States.<sup>12</sup> Others, such as Savage, Mitch Kachun, and Paul Shackel, have also explored the connection between war memorials and race relations.<sup>13</sup>

Preservation has also been involved in the memorialization and building of monuments to difficult histories. One good example of this is the *Enola Gay* exhibit at the Smithsonian. Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, in *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (1998), explained how the controversy unfolded. The Enola Gay was the aircraft used to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and has since become a symbol for the Allies ultimate victory in World War II, and what some would say was the evil and unforgivable act that led to the end of the war. The exhibition of the aircraft became an example of how historians and preservationists, in attempting to give a factual and evidence-based interpretation of a controversial artifact, ran afoul of powerful “memory constituencies” such as many U.S. veterans groups.<sup>14</sup>

The argument for preservationists’ role in preserving difficult histories continues by examining the experiences of three nations: (1) post apartheid South Africa, because there are relevant parallels to be drawn between apartheid era and Confederate memorials; (2) The former Soviet province of Estonia, because the ethnic divisions exposed and worsened by the ‘War on Monuments’ (2004-2007) echo some of the racial issues faced in the United States; and (3) the former Soviet satellite state of Hungary, in order to look into what led to the creation

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<sup>12</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001); Kirk Savage, *History, Memory, and Monuments: An Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration*, (Organization of American Historians and the National Park Service, 2006), accessed April 30, 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Kirk Savage, *History, Memory, and Monuments*.

<sup>14</sup> Tom Engelhardt and Edward Tabor Linenthal, *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Holt, 2006).

of Memento Park, where many of Hungary's Communist period monuments have been gathered and displayed.

## International Case Studies

### *SOUTH AFRICA*

After the fall of its apartheid-supporting government in 1991, South Africa had to decide the future of its apartheid-era monuments.<sup>15</sup> The new government wanted to promote reconciliation and create a more equitable heritage landscape. Facing protests and the vandalization of many of the apartheid-era monuments, the government had five examples that it could follow: (1) a Hungarian example, moving all of the Soviet monuments into a theme park for people to visit; (2) a German example, letting the population destroy the Berlin Wall and then keeping the pieces as souvenirs; (3) a French example, placing the surviving monuments to the monarchy in a cultural and historical museum after the French Revolution; (4) a Romanian example, gathering all the Soviet monuments together and shooting them; and (5) an American model, privatizing the monuments and turning them into tourist attractions, such as with Stone Mountain, Georgia. The South African government chose to combine some aspects of the French and Hungarian solutions, while also creating its own solution.<sup>16</sup>

South Africa's model for addressing its contentious monuments was framed around the notion of redress.<sup>17</sup> The South African government, led by the African National Congress (ANC) party, renamed public spaces (cities, streets, buildings, parks, etc.) that had been named after

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<sup>15</sup> Carolyn E. Holmes, "Analysis: Should Confederate Monuments Come Down? Here's what South Africa Did After Apartheid." *The Washington Post*. August 29, 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Daniel Herwitz, "Monument, Ruin, and Redress in South African Heritage," in *Heritage, Culture, and Politics in the Postcolony* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> Mcebisi Ndletyana, and Denver A. Webb. 2016. "Social Divisions Carved in Stone or Cenotaphs to a New Identity? Policy for Memorials, Monuments and Statues in a Democratic South Africa." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23 (2): 97–110.

apartheid heroes.<sup>18</sup> For example, Johannesburg International Airport had been named for Jan Smuts, a hero of the Boer War and a former prime minister of South Africa. The name was changed to the O.R. Tambo airport in 1994, after Oliver Reginald Tambo, leader of the ANC in exile. Tambo died in 1993 and is seen by his supporters as a national father-figure, close in stature to Nelson Mandela.<sup>19</sup> The government created legacy projects that, for example, provided for the burial of people who were deemed to have 'died for the struggle' or were 'victims of past conflict.' The monuments that survived the first years of the new, post-apartheid regime, were evaluated and assessed "to ensure that they fostered reconstruction and reconciliation." The South African government created new monuments, honoring the revolutionaries, freedom and the new national spirit of reconciliation, and placed them where they could be in direct dialogue with the apartheid and Afrikaans monuments that remained. For example, the Voortrekker Monument, dedicated to the Afrikaners who migrated inland to escape British colonial rule in the nineteenth century, is located just outside of Pretoria. It stands near Freedom Park, which is "dedicated to South Africans of all backgrounds killed in wars, as well as in the liberation struggle against apartheid." Supposedly, the government chose not to destroy all of the Afrikaner memorials and monuments in order to have them serve as reminders of apartheid for posterity.<sup>20</sup>

The reviews on the action taken by the South African government in dealing with their apartheid era monuments has been mixed. For example, Jeffrey Brown's PBS NewsHour series, "Culture at Risk," conducted an episode on monuments in South Africa. Through the use of interviews with students, politicians and advocates, he suggested that many South Africans seem to be pleased with the changes that have been made so far, but that the change is coming too slowly. This displeasure and impatience with the pace of change and the process of

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<sup>18</sup> Jeffrey Brown, dir. 2017. "Culture at Risk / South Africa grapples with contentious reminders of apartheid." Broadcast. *PBS Newshour*. PBS.

<sup>19</sup> David Beresford, "A City, by Any Other Name," *The Guardian*, October 10, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> Jeffrey Brown, "Culture at Risk."

healing is part of what has spurred on “Rhodes Must Fall,” a movement started by students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 2015 to have the statue of Cecil Rhodes, who gave the land that the university is built upon, removed and for the curriculum and faculty to become less Eurocentric. The statue and the larger plinth were removed in April 2015 following a vote by the university senate. The lower plinth (of two) was left in place and “spontaneously reclaimed” by students, as they continued to put graffiti on it and to use it as a gathering place.<sup>21</sup> The statue was placed in storage where it will remain until a decision is made as to its new permanent home. As of July 2016 the university had received three offers from organizations, including one Texas based foundation, which wanted to purchase the statue. UCT also received offers from various museums, the Rhodes Memorial, and other groups.<sup>22</sup> The “Rhodes Must Fall” movement was picked up and continued by students at Oxford University in England as they tried to have their Rhodes statue removed, but ultimately failed after a vote for the statue to remain in January 2016.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast, Daniel Horwitz, in “Monument, Ruin and Redress in South African Heritage” (2011), suggested that there were too many narratives, and that there needed to be a single national narrative for South Africa’s apartheid past.<sup>24</sup> Meebisis Ndletyana and Denver Webb (2017) also claimed that South Africa’s model had not been successful. The critical reflection and national discussion around the apartheid monuments and their replacements, had not

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<sup>21</sup> Jenna Etheridge. “Permanent Removal of UCT Rhodes Statue Gets Green Light.” *News24*, October 31, 2016; Eve Fairbanks, “Why South African Students Have Turned on Their Parents’ Generation,” *The Guardian*, (November 18, 2015).

<sup>22</sup> Staff Writer. “This is What’s in Store for the Rhodes Statue at UCT.” *BusinessTech*. July 7, 2016.

<sup>23</sup> Jeffrey Brown, “Culture at Risk.”; Don Boroughs, “Why South African Students Say The Statue Of Rhodes Must Fall,” *NPR*, March 28, 2015; Amit Chaudhuri, “The Real Meaning of Rhodes Must Fall,” *The Guardian*, March 16, 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Daniel Herwitz. 2015. “Heritage and Legacy in the South African State and University,” In *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructure*, edited by D. R. Peterson, K. Gavua, and C. Rassool, (New York: Cambridge University Press), 37-49.

occurred. The actions (removals, replacements, building of new monuments) has, so far, mostly been done by government bodies.<sup>25</sup>

The literature out of South Africa seems to suggest that there needs to be more direct community involvement, and for people to be given more time to heal despite their impatience for change, for this redress model to be successful.

## *ESTONIA*

Over the course of the Second World War, Estonia was occupied by both Germany and Russia. Prior to World War Two, Estonia had enjoyed twenty-two years of self-government after gaining independence from Russia in 1918. In September 1939, based on a non-aggression agreement between Germany and Russia that also divided Eastern Europe between the two nations, Russia forced the Estonian government to allow it to build military bases and station Russian soldiers in the country. By 1941 Estonia had been annexed into Russia, just before Germany declared war on Russia. The Germans took control of Estonia from 1941 to September 1944, then the Russians triumphantly re-entered Tallinn after the Allies defeated the Germans in the region. This time, the Russian rule in Estonia lasted until 1991. During the nearly fifty years of occupation the Estonians maintained a desire for freedom and independence. Estonians used the time during the 1980s when the USSR was introducing more liberal policies to begin an independence movement. When a reactionary coup in Moscow against Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union, offered a chance for independence, the Estonians introduced a resolution for immediate independence which was accepted by the Estonian elected parliament. Within two weeks forty nations had acknowledged Estonian independence, and, within a month, the new nation became a member of the United Nations.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Mcebisi Ndletyana and Denver A. Webb. "Social Divisions Carved in Stone or Cenotaphs to a New Identity?" 97–110.

<sup>26</sup> Kyllike Sillaste. "Conquest and Survival: An Outline of Estonian History." *World Affairs* 157, no. 3 (1995).

The long occupation of Estonia by the Russians led to the settlement of many Russians in Estonia, many of whom chose to remain when Russia withdrew its troops from Estonia in 1994. The Estonian government and people had to decide what to do with their Soviet era monuments. The Estonian government chose to remove all of the Soviet monuments that were to individuals, such as Lenin. Some were destroyed, others put in storage or placed in museums. They chose to keep the monuments to soldiers. Years later there were changes in the way that people perceived those monuments that remained, which led to calls for their removals.<sup>27</sup>

The Estonian government attempted to change the narrative around at least one Soviet era monument. The Bronze Soldier was erected in 1947 by the Soviets, and was an important Soviet-era monument. This bronze statue of a soldier was used during the Soviet occupation as a place of commemoration and celebration by the Russians. They would celebrate their 'liberation' of Estonia from the Nazis in the square in front of the statue. When the last of the Soviet soldiers had left Estonia there were plans to redesign the entire memorial. There was a design competition for a new memorial in 1995, and preliminary plans were created that suggested a seven-meter steel cross should be added to the memorial site, symbolizing Christian values to counterbalance the Soviet values symbolized by the Bronze Soldier. These plans never came to fruition and the government slowly modified the area around the monument by removing much of the Soviet symbolism. They removed the hollow for the eternal flame, planted new trees which closed the square, replaced paths that led directly to the monument with diagonal paths in order to reduce the physical centrality of the monument within the square, and changed the commemorative text on the statue ("Eternal glory for the heroes who have fallen for the liberation and sovereignty of our country" was replaced with "For the fallen in the Second World War").

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<sup>27</sup> Karsten Bruggemann, and Andres Kasekamp. "The Politics of History and the "War of Monuments" in Estonia." *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 3 (June 30, 2008): 425-48.

In May 2005, anger over the removal of the Lihula monument, which will be discussed later in this section, combined with unrest tied to the emerging societal and global trends of globalism and multiculturalism to create a widespread desire from Estonians for the monument to be removed. With much of the symbolism of the monument removed, the government believed that it was open for removal and reinterpretation, but found that they may have overlooked the needs and desires of the minority ethnic Russian community.<sup>28</sup>

The Bronze Soldier was removed in April 2007. The removal, which occurred before the government had decided what to do with the statue, sparked large protests by ethnic Russians, who, by 2007 represented a quarter of Estonia's population. Approximately 1000 demonstrators, who wanted the statue to remain, gathered around the statue the night before the removal. Reports of vandalism and looting caused the police guarding the statue to use tear gas and water cannons on a group that reportedly attempted to cross the cordon line. By the morning of April 27, 2007, the morning of the statue's removal, forty people had been injured, one person was dead, and at least 300 people had been arrested.<sup>29</sup> The protest showed that the Estonian government's attempts to change the narrative of the statue may not have worked on the ethnic Russians, but that ethnic Estonians, who mostly did not take part in the protests, seemed to support the removal.

After much deliberation, it was decided that the statue would be moved to Tallinn Military Cemetery, a cemetery that welcomed both ethnic Estonians and Russians. The government had the soldiers buried underneath the square exhumed and tested for DNA. The results of the testing led to the remains of twelve soldiers being repatriated to Russia and Ukraine (three sets of those remains were able to be delivered directly to their next-of-kin in Russia), and eight other soldiers being reburied in Tallinn Military Cemetery, near the new location of the statue.

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<sup>28</sup> Martin Ehala. "The Bronze Soldier: Identity, Threat, and Maintenance in Estonia." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 40, no. 1 (2009): 139-58.

<sup>29</sup> "Europe | Estonia removes Soviet memorial." *BBC News*. BBC. (April 27 2007).

Literature suggests that moving the Bronze Soldier to the military cemetery was has been successful. Both ethnic Russians and Estonians seem to think that the military cemetery is an appropriate home for the statue, and that it has been treated with respect by the government.

The literature regarding the success of the Estonian government's policies around their Soviet monuments suggests that the Estonian government was most effective in handling the communities affected by the remaining Soviet monuments when it took the time to reinterpret the monument.<sup>30</sup> The problems that arose when they did not take the time to do this are illustrated by the story of the Lihula monument. The Lihula monument was financed by Estonian war veterans who fought for the Nazis defending Estonia against the Soviet Union. Under the USSR regime these soldiers went unrecognized so when Estonia gained its independence the soldiers formed the Association of Freedom Fighters (AFF) and began to gather funds for a monument. In 2002 the AFF erected their first monument in Parnu but it was removed by the authorities before it was unveiled. The members AFF decided to try again in Lihula, where they had the support of the local municipal council chairman, Tiit Madisson. The monument was unveiled on August 20, 2004. It consisted of a bas relief of an Estonian soldier in a German uniform with a submachine gun and text reading, "To the Estonian men who fought against Bolshevism in 1940-1945 and for the restoration of Estonian independence." One week prior, Prime Minister Juhan Parts had said that he supported and honored the veterans who fought against Russia but saw the monument as "a provocation" at odds with the "real history." International news was not kind to the monument. The BBC report's headline was "Estonia Unveils Nazi War Monument," and two Russian television channels reported on "the revival of fascism in Estonia."<sup>31</sup> The monument was removed on September 2, 2004, by the order of Prime Minister Parts.<sup>32</sup> The workers removing the monument were protected by forty-four

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<sup>30</sup> Ehala, "The Bronze Soldier," 139-58.

<sup>31</sup> Bruggemann and Kasekamp, "The Politics of History and the "War of Monuments" in Estonia," 425-48.

<sup>32</sup> Bruggemann and Kasekamp, "The Politics of History and the "War of Monuments" in Estonia," 425-48; Government Communication Office, *Republic of Estonia Government*, September 2, 2004.



policemen, armed with tear gas and batons, from locals who were armed with stones. Estonians were shocked by their government's willingness to use violence against its own people. By the day after the monument was removed, several Soviet era monuments had been desecrated with red paint.<sup>33</sup>

Martin Ehala, in "The Bronze Soldier: Identity Threat and Maintenance in Estonia," wrote that the Estonian government was able to slowly strip the Bronze Soldier of most of its meaning. These changes made it easier to reinterpret the monument as a grave marker in its new location in the military cemetery. However, for the ethnic Russians living in Estonia, these changes seemed to have little effect on the meaning of the statue.<sup>34</sup> Bruggemann and Kaskamp echo Ehala's sentiment, in their explanation of how the government failed to come to an agreement at the roundtable meetings with the protestors and veterans who tried to protect the Lihula monument. The Estonian government showed a lack of understanding of what their people wanted when they incorrectly assumed that the war generations would not pass on their beliefs to the next generation, leading to the issues with the monuments fading as the war generations passed away.<sup>35</sup>

Another similar view offered in the literature was that, despite the ethnically polarizing effect that the removal of the Bronze Soldier and the ensuing riots and protests had in the immediate aftermath of April 2007, the protests and the government's violent reactions to them shocked the Estonians to the core. According to David J. Smith, this shock later motivated people to enter into a meaningful public debate over how to resolve the ethnic tension and to promote further "multicultural integration."<sup>36</sup> This view was echoed by Ehala. He suggested that the acknowledgement and preservation of the differences between the ethnic groups, within the

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<sup>33</sup> Matthias Kolb. "Looking for the Truth Behind Lihula." *The Baltic Times*, (April 27, 2005).

<sup>34</sup> Ehala, "The Bronze Soldier," 139-58.

<sup>35</sup> Bruggemann and Kasekamp, "The Politics of History and the "War of Monuments" in Estonia," 425-48.

<sup>36</sup> David J. Smith. "'Wow from Stones': Commemoration, Identity Politics And Estonia's 'War Of Monuments'." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 39, no. 4 (2008): 419-30.

context of the groups as part of the larger identity of being Estonian, would help to strengthen the integration of the two groups.<sup>37</sup> This would then, hopefully, lead to less contention around the remaining Soviet monuments.

## *HUNGARY*

Like Estonia, Hungary was occupied by the Soviet Union after World War Two. Hungary gained independence in 1989 through a peaceful revolution, and in April 1990 the country had its first free elections. With the fall of the old system, questions were immediately raised as to what should be done with the monuments left behind by the Soviets. It was decided that all of the monuments and memorials in Budapest that represented and memorialized the old regime should be in one place. A park a few miles outside of Budapest, in the suburbs of the city, was chosen as the setting of this ‘sculpture park’. The park was designed by the architect, Akos Eleod, and given the title “One Sentence about Tyranny.” The director of the park claimed that the park and the statues were not meant to judge or mock the Soviet regime, but to remind Hungarians of the forty years of occupation. As Akos Rethly put it, the site of the park/museum had a dual purpose, “to call forth the atmosphere of dictatorship and to simultaneously provide the opportunity for this to be processed and critically analyzed.”<sup>38</sup> Memento Park was meant to be a cross between a sculpture garden and an educational museum, with exhibits and explanations describing what people were looking at.<sup>39</sup>

According to Sara Jones, people are allowed to play in the park. There is no sense of the park as a place of quiet reflection on the Soviet dictatorship or the democratic system that followed it. Instead the visitors are almost encouraged to mock the monuments and the

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<sup>37</sup> Ehala, “The Bronze Soldier,” 139-58.

<sup>38</sup> Sara Jones, “Designed by Architect Ákos Eleöd under the title “One Sentence about Tyranny,” the site has the double task “to call forth the atmosphere of dictatorship and to simultaneously provide the opportunity for this to be processed and critically analyzed,” in *Encounters with Popular Pasts*, ed. Mike Robinson and Helaine Silverman, (Springer International Publishing, 2015).

<sup>39</sup> Marianne Simon, “Memento Park, Budapest.” *Культура/Culture* 4 no. 6 (2014), 75–86.

authoritarian regime that made them by their ability to “touch mimic, sit, or lie on the monuments.” Simultaneously, the visitor guide reminds readers about the realities of state socialism and totalitarian government, giving a more serious take on the park. Jones highlights the idea that, by allowing the slight mockery of the monuments by visitors to the park, the government is reminding people that the authoritarian socialist regime fell, and proving the victory and legitimization of the democratic system. This view is reflected in the visitor guide’s description of the park as “a historical era theme park where everyone will be able to learn about the history of the era represented.” If the park did turn into more of a place to mock socialism, than a place to learn about socialism and Hungary’s history with the socialist USSR regime, this would again suggest that the park failed in educating and encouraging people to seriously “process and critically analyze” the dictatorship.

Beverly James points out that the statues were left without any textual narratives, beyond the engravings or other text that was originally part of the monuments. This allowed visitors to freely interpret the monuments however they wished.<sup>40</sup> Eleod, the designer and architect of the park had wanted to emphasize the advantages of democracy by showing that democracy was the only political system under which people are allowed to think freely about a dictatorship, by not prompting visitors to think a certain way through textual narratives. This could offer an opportunity for the monuments to encourage multiple (re)appropriations by multiple groups that choose to remember the USSR regime.<sup>41</sup> In this way, the park has postmodern leanings, in that the monuments form a “polysemic montage” that could provide material for multiple different narratives.<sup>42</sup>

As of 2015, the Hungarian government is no longer as supportive of this open approach to remembering the socialist state. In terms of funding, the government has thrown its weight

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<sup>40</sup> Beverly A. *Imagining Postcommunism: Visual Narratives of Hungary’s 1956 Revolution*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

<sup>41</sup> Sara Jones, “Designed by Architect Ákos Eleöd.”

<sup>42</sup> Beverly A. “*Imagining Postcommunism*.”

behind monuments with more obvious political leanings, such as the House of Terror in Budapest. The House of Terror has narratives for the display that construct an image of Hungarians as victims and heroic resisters of a foreign ideology which in turn reflects the ideology of the anti-communist ruling party, Fidesz, that calls socialists “not fully Hungarian” and “national traitors who had allied themselves with an ‘eastern ideology.’”<sup>43</sup>

While Memento Park had some success as a tourist destination, with people enjoying the novelty of having all of the monuments to a single era in one place, the literature suggests that the Park fell through on its actual purpose as a place of memory and education.<sup>44</sup> Mariann Simon wrote that, in its attempt to be both a neutral statue park and a museum, the park falls short on both and has become neither. Simon and Jones claim that it has instead become a monument to the peaceful change of power that occurred when the Soviets left, and to the victory of democracy over socialism.<sup>45</sup>

## APPLICABLE TAKEAWAYS

There are four key preservation lessons learned from these three examples that may be applicable to the American dilemma: (1) the importance of community involvement; (2) consideration of subgroup needs; (3) recognition of multiple narratives, but not too many; and (4) a deliberate planning for reinterpretation over time.

The examples of South Africa and Estonia show us the importance of community involvement in any preservation enterprise. Without community involvement there is a risk that the interpretation of the monument will not accurately reflect the history and values of the community. This could potentially rob the community of any positive impact resulting from the reinterpretation, such as healing, and the recognition and acceptance of their stories.

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<sup>43</sup> Sara Jones, “Designed by Architect Ákos Eleöd.”

<sup>44</sup> “Communist Statues at Memento Park in Budapest,” *Changes in Longitude* RSS. (October 22 2015).

<sup>45</sup> Marianne Simon, “Memento Park, Budapest,” 75–86.; Sara Jones, “Designed by Architect Ákos Eleöd.”

While community involvement is crucial, it is also important for the preservation actions taken to reflect the values and needs of both majority and minority groups, as we have seen with Estonia and Hungary.

Communities gain cohesion through collective understanding of a shared history. With the rise of pluralism, rather than focus on a single narrative we have attempted to portray multiple narratives. The telling of multiple narratives allows us to gain a more complete and accurate understanding of an event. However, having too many different narratives told can also lead to more confusion, and less cohesion, making it more difficult to achieve collective understanding. The examples of South Africa and Hungary showed us that the representation of different narratives, while possibly providing a deeper and more realistic understanding of an event, can lead to a splintering of the community animus.

As we have seen with the example of Estonia's attempts to reinterpret the Bronze Soldier, the reinterpretation of monuments needs to be executed deliberately and over time. This gives the interpreters the chance to slowly change the monument, allowing for a gradual desensitization of the community from the old interpretation of the monument, and leaves them more open to the reinterpretation. The changes made to the Bronze Soldier monument were not enough to stop the ethnic Russians in Estonia from protesting the removal of the monument. However, the tactic of slowly changing the monument could work in other circumstances if done over a longer period of time.

From these examples, preservationists can also take away three possible options that may be appropriate for use in America: (1) the creation of new monuments placed in dialogue with the old, such as in South Africa; (2) the creation of a monument park, such as in Hungary; and (3) the relocation of the monuments to cemeteries, such as in Estonia.

While the cases and solutions that were just described were carried out by governments and were national in their scope, the solutions could be used by private institutions on a smaller scale. American private institutions, and the preservationists advising them, can draw from the

lessons learned by South Africa, Estonia and Hungary and apply them to their Confederate monuments. They do not have to replicate what others have done; they can adapt the solutions to the needs of each monument, allowing each institution and community to make decisions about their own monuments based on their own histories and interpretations.

## Background on Confederate Monuments

### *THE CIVIL WAR, THE LOST CAUSE, RECONSTRUCTION AND CIVIL RIGHTS*

In the winter of 1860-1861, shortly after the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, six southern states voted to secede from the Union: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana. By the end of the spring of 1861 they had been joined by five other states: Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee.<sup>46</sup> The states proclaimed that they were looking out for their best interests. Chief among those interests was the continuation of the institution of slavery. The secession, whether it was prompted by slavery or states' rights, started a war that would cost the nation four years of horror and the deaths of over 600,000 men.<sup>47</sup>

Once the war was over, the South defeated, and slavery officially illegal across the United States, the era of Reconstruction began. As their towns and cities recovered, southerners attempted to justify their actions. The Lost Cause myth was born out of southerners desperation to explain the war.<sup>48</sup> The myth argued that the Confederate cause was a heroic struggle for the southern way of life, or states' rights, and not about slavery. The myth was

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<sup>46</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Secession." Encyclopaedia Britannica.

<sup>47</sup> James M. McPherson, *This Mighty Scourge: Perspectives on the Civil War*, (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>48</sup> Kelly McMichael, *Sacred Memories: The Civil War Monument Movement in Texas*, (Denton: Texas State Historical Association, 2009).

quickly incorporated into the collective memories of the South.<sup>49</sup> Today many Americans still believe the Lost Cause myth. According to a Pew Research Center survey, as of 2011, 48% of Americans believe that the Civil War was fought over states' rights, as opposed to 38% attributing it to slavery.<sup>50</sup> This belief has only helped to widen the ideological divide between those who believe that Confederate monuments represent the heroic history of the South, and those who believe that they represent oppression and white supremacy.

The majority of monuments erected during Reconstruction, immediately after the Civil War ended, were placed in cemeteries as memorials to soldiers by their grieving families and by women's groups who were attempting to preserve memories of the war. The most successful of these women's groups were the Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs), which began to form in 1865. The groups were usually led by a war widow or a woman who had led a women's soldiers' aid society during the war, and were often made up of the leader's friends and relatives. These local organizations were usually unaffiliated with each other beyond their shared name and goal of honoring the Confederate dead. The exception to this rule was the Confederated Southern Memorial Association (CSMA), which was founded in 1900 and acted as an association of multiple LMAs. The CSMA was created to pool the political power of many different LMAs, and "to commemorate the work already done and to insure its continuance." The LMAs erected most of the monuments, while the CSMA protected the local groups politically. The LMAs contributed monuments that focused primarily on sacrifice. Their monuments were expressions of grief from the survivors of the war, and they rarely expressed political messages.<sup>51</sup> For example, the Confederate Monument in Cynthiana, Kentucky, was erected in

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<sup>49</sup> Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913*, (Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, USA, 1988).

<sup>50</sup> "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy." *Southern Poverty Law Center*. April 21, 2016.

<sup>51</sup> J Michael Martinez and Robert M. Harris, "Graves, Worms, and Epitaphs: Confederate Monuments in the Southern Landscape," in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, comp. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000).

1869 by the Cynthiana Ladies' Memorial Association, in Battle Grove Cemetery. The memorial is made up of a white marble obelisk surrounded by the graves of forty-seven Confederate soldiers.<sup>52</sup> The LMA in Atlanta, Georgia, beyond ensuring a large plot of land for the burial of Confederate dead in Oakland Cemetery, also sponsored the creation of a marble statue of the "Lion of the Confederacy" in 1864, to be placed in the cemetery.<sup>53</sup> There were some instances later in the history of the LMAs, when they took part in erecting more political monuments. For example, the Confederate Memorial Monument, erected on the Alabama state house grounds and dedicated in December 1898. The LMA of Alabama contributed \$10,000 of the almost \$42,000 total cost (not adjusted for inflation).<sup>54</sup>

In contrast, most of the monuments that are being discussed in the current monument debate were built after 1890.<sup>55</sup> In the late 1890s and early years of the 1900s, Confederate veterans and their spouses were dying at a rapid rate which led to the decline in influence of the LMAs and CSMA. Into the breach of monument construction came younger and more political successor groups such as the United Sons of Confederate Veterans (USCV) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). Unlike members of the previous generations who had fought in the Civil War the younger generations were more interested in public celebration of the Confederacy. As the UDC and USCV gained in influence and prominence, the number of new monuments inside cemeteries declined as they had been the purview of older groups like the LMAs. Increasingly more Confederate monuments began to be erected in public spaces - town squares, on city corners and in front of major public buildings across the South. The UDC was so successful at monument building that almost all Confederate monuments that were erected

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<sup>52</sup> Joseph E. Brent, "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Submission: Civil War Monuments in Kentucky, 1865-1935." January 8, 1997.

<sup>53</sup> "The Lion of the Atlanta," *Gravelly Speaking*, (January 21, 2012).

<sup>54</sup> Cameron Freeman Napier, "Ladies Memorial Association," *Encyclopedia of Alabama*, (May 4, 2009).

<sup>55</sup> Dell Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values in the Wake of Charlottesville," *Society of Architectural Historians Blog*, (September 13, 2017).



in the twentieth-century are attributed to this umbrella organization.<sup>56</sup> They funded obelisks, plaques, buildings, statues, and parks honoring Confederate idols and common soldiers. As evidenced by the monuments themselves, these monuments were statements that the Confederacy, and the white supremacy it supported, had not truly been defeated.<sup>57</sup>

After 1912, the monument movement began to wane as veterans and descendent groups began to turn their attention to other types of commemoration. Individual states began to designate important Civil War sites with historical markers. These state-sponsored markers tended to be more informative than symbolic, with information about the relevant events and activities. As unambiguous, non-symbolic tellers of history, these markers are generally seen to be less controversial than the Confederate monuments installed by the Confederate groups because their meaning is seen as less open to interpretation and they are not perceived as political in nature.<sup>58</sup>

As was just discussed, the Reconstruction Era hosted the first major spike in Confederate monument construction. The twentieth century would see two more major spikes. The first occurred during the first two decades of the twentieth century, when the UDC and other Confederate descendant groups dominated monument building. These monuments accompanied the spread of segregation and Jim Crow laws across the country. The majority of Confederate monuments seen today were built during this spike. Examples of monuments built during this period include a Confederate Monument in Bradenton, Florida in 1924; and the Confederate Monument to Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston and Stonewall Jackson in Paris, Texas in 1903.

The second spike occurred during the Civil Rights movement. More than forty-five monuments were dedicated or rededicated between 1954, the year of the Supreme Court's

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<sup>56</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs."

<sup>57</sup> Modupe Labode, "Reconsideration of Memorials and Monuments." *History News*, (2016).

<sup>58</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs."

landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision which outlawed “separate but equal” schools, and 1968, the year Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. Examples include the Jefferson Davis (President of the Confederate States) statue in Confederate Park in Memphis, erected in 1964; the Texas Memorial in Pea Ridge, Arkansas and the Confederate War Memorial in Prescott, Arkansas, both dedicated in 1964; the Confederate Monument in Lovington, Virginia, erected in 1965; the Confederate Park Monument in Crestview, Florida, put up in 1958; and the bas-relief on Stone Mountain, Georgia, which was started in 1964 and completed in 1972. While there were many monuments erected or rededicated during the Civil Rights era, according to the research done by the Southern Poverty Law Center, most of the Confederate monuments created during that time were through the naming of schools, municipal buildings and parks after the Confederacy or Confederate Generals. For example, at least fifteen schools and one fire station in Virginia alone were named after Confederate figures between 1954 and 1968. This was also an era that resulted in an increase in the flying of the Confederate battle flag in public and private spaces. The battle flag was seen at the locations of monuments, at courthouses, and in front of people’s homes. This spike has also been mostly attributed to the actions of the UDC and other descendent groups, who gained support from white Americans who hated and feared the increasing power of the African American Civil Rights movements.<sup>59</sup>

The monuments built during these twentieth century spikes were different from those built immediately after the Civil War. These monuments were meant to glorify and publicly celebrate the Confederacy, but for many they came to represent the continued oppression of African Americans under White Americans. They did this through the timing of their construction during the Jim Crow and Civil Rights eras, along with the increase in lynching and other forms of violence against people of color. The monuments were also seen as representatives of oppression because they portrayed people who had fought for the continuation of slavery up on

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<sup>59</sup> "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Center*.

pedestals and celebrated as heroes. The imagery served as a reminder that, despite the fact that slavery was over, black people still lived under the control of white Americans.

The monuments represented the Lost Cause myth, by portraying the southerners who fought in the war (and, by association, all those who currently fight for the preservation of these monuments) as the “preservers of the ‘Anglo Saxon civilization of the South,’” as is inscribed on one contentious monument in Charlotte, NC.<sup>60</sup> This monument, which is a block of granite carved to resemble a gate and engraved with two Confederate flags, was unveiled in June 1929 on the final day of a four-day, city-wide celebration of the “valor of the Confederate Soldier” at the 39th reunion of the United Confederate Veterans. The celebrations included a parade of Confederate soldiers.<sup>61</sup> The Lost Cause myth is also represented through the creation of imagery and statuary showing the white southerner on a pedestal, and in a position of power. Thus, for many on both sides of the current monuments debate, the defense or destruction of the Confederate monuments is synonymous with the defense or destruction of white ethnic heritage and white dominance and power.<sup>62</sup>

### *THE MONUMENTS*

In order to more easily discuss the monuments involved in this debate, we need to understand the different types of monuments. J. Michael Martinez and Robert M. Harris, in their chapter “Graves, Worms, and Epitaphs” in the book, “Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South,” divided monuments into three broad categories based on their use.

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<sup>60</sup> Karen L. Cox, "Analysis. “The Whole Point of Confederate Monuments is to Celebrate White Supremacy,” *The Washington Post*, (August 16, 2017).

<sup>61</sup> Jonathan Mcfadden and Langston Taylor. "Charlotte’s Confederate Monument Stirred Passions, Then and Now," *Charlotte Observer*, (July 17, 2015).

<sup>62</sup> Dell Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values in the Wake of Charlottesville,” *Society of Architectural Historians Blog*, (September 13, 2017).

Type 1. Historical Markers. These are generally non-symbolic and are most often seen on or near the location of important historical events such as battlefields. Type 1 monuments are seen as part of the cultural landscape. Many of the markers installed after 1912 by state and local governments were type 1 monuments.<sup>63</sup> These markers tend to be factual and objective rather than political if they are erected and written by a state government or historical society such as the North Carolina Division of Archives and History or the Alabama Historical Association. However, those erected by descendant groups like the Tennessee Association of Sons of Confederate Soldiers, tend to have more political and ideological leanings, while still giving factual information.<sup>64</sup>

Type 2. Symbolic Structures in Cemeteries and Other Burial Grounds. These monuments can take the form of statues, headstones, or even obelisks; and tend to be considered as part of the cultural landscape. Most of the monuments produced by the LMAs immediately after the war were type 2 monuments.<sup>65</sup> Examples of these monuments include the Confederate Monument at Crab Orchard in Lincoln County, Kentucky, an obelisk encircled by twenty-one reinterred soldiers erected in 1872, and the Confederate Monument in Georgetown, Kentucky, an obelisk surrounded by eighteen Confederate soldiers' graves erected in 1888.<sup>66</sup>

Type 3. Symbolic Structures Outside of Cemeteries. These monuments can take many different forms, including statues, obelisks, windows, or plaques. They tend to be placed in public spaces such as in a public square or on a statehouse lawn, and can be either part of the official/governmental or cultural landscape. The majority of these monuments were funded and erected by the UDC, and the majority of those that are currently being debated, are type 3 monuments, including the Lee-Jackson Memorial Bay, dedicated in 1953 at the Washington

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<sup>63</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs."

<sup>64</sup> "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Center*.

<sup>65</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs."

<sup>66</sup> Joseph E. Brent. "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Submission: Civil War Monuments in Kentucky, 1865-1935." *National Park Service*, (January 8, 1997).

National Cathedral, the four statues of Confederate generals that were removed from the University of Texas, Austin campus, and the Confederate Memorial Fountain, erected in 1916, that was removed from a park in Helena, Montana. Type 3 monuments are distinct from and more controversial than type 2 monuments because of their context in public space, which removes them from the context of mourning that protects the type 2 monuments in cemeteries.<sup>67</sup> According to *Confederate Monuments of Georgia*, by Isabell Smith Buzzet, the state of Georgia has 144 Confederate monuments that were erected by an LMA or the UDC. According to Buzzet, eighty-seven of those 144 - or sixty percent - are type 3 monuments. Georgia is considered to be a fairly typical southern state, and so H. Martinez and R. Harris have suggested that approximately sixty percent of other southern states' Confederate monuments are also type 3 monuments.<sup>68</sup>

Soon after the tragic killing of nine African American men and women in the Mother Emmanuel Church in Charleston South Carolina on June 17, 2015, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) began to catalogue and map Confederate symbols in public spaces, including monuments, Confederate flags, holidays, school names, and the names of public works such as counties, bridges, military bases, and highways. The SPLC published its findings in April 2016. The current total count on its list is 1,503, but the total is unconfirmed. Of those, there are 629 monuments in the eleven states that seceded from the Union, with 300 of those located in Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina. There are 109 public schools, eight counties and cities, and ten US military bases named for Confederate icons. There are also nine official holidays related to the confederacy in six states, and six southern states are public supporters of flying the confederate flag.<sup>69</sup> Much of the controversy has focused on the monuments, especially

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<sup>67</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs;" Christopher Carbone, "Which Confederate Statues Were Removed? A Running List," *Fox News*, (March 11, 2018).

<sup>68</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs"

<sup>69</sup> "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Center*.

statues, such as the bronze statue of Robert E. Lee that was removed from Dallas, Texas' Robert E. Lee Park on September 14, 2017.<sup>70</sup> Additionally, on September 22, 2017, the City of Dallas Park and Recreation board voted unanimously to temporarily rename Lee Park, Oak Lawn Park until a permanent name has been agreed on.<sup>71</sup> Multiple public schools across the country have also been renamed, including three schools in the Petersburg, Virginia, school district, and a primary school in Mississippi which was named for Jefferson Davis and will now be named for Barack Obama.<sup>72</sup>

It is more difficult to estimate the number of privately owned monuments. The privately owned monuments that are publicly accessible, such as those on university and church/cathedral properties, are easier to locate in available listings. Since the events in Charleston and Charlottesville multiple groups have created running lists of Confederate monuments on university campuses, both public and private. According to these inconclusive lists, there are approximately forty-two confederate monuments on university/college campuses, and my research to date has identified at least fifteen churches with a Confederate monument either on their grounds or in their building fabric, not including headstones or other markers in a churchyard cemetery.<sup>73</sup>

Most of the monuments that are currently being debated portrayed either common soldiers or Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Jefferson Davis, other Confederate leaders, and generals in the Confederacy. The monuments in question portrayed their subjects as heroes fighting for the defense of their families, homelands, and freedom.<sup>74</sup> For example the

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<sup>70</sup> Christopher Carbone. "Which Confederate Statues Were Removed? A Running List." *Fox News*, (March 11, 2018).

<sup>71</sup> "Lee Park Renamed, Task Force Recommends Same for Streets," *NBC 5 Dallas-Fort Worth*, (September 23, 2017).

<sup>72</sup> "Petersburg School Board Votes to Rename 3 Confederate-named Schools," *WTVR*, (February 08, 2018); Chris Riotta, "School Named after Confederate Leader Will Be Renamed for Barack Obama," *Newsweek*, (October 18, 2017).

<sup>73</sup> "We're Tracking Confederate Monuments, Tell Us What's on Your Campus." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, (August 22, 2017).

<sup>74</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs."

Confederate monument (1903) in front of the state capitol building in Austin, Texas features four bronze figures meant to represent the Confederate artillery, cavalry, navy and infantry, with a statue of Jefferson Davis in bronze towering over the four figures. The inscription reads: "Died for states rights guaranteed under the constitution. The people of the South, animated by the spirit of 1776, to preserve their rights, withdrew from the federal compact in 1861. The North resorted to coercion, The South, against overwhelming numbers and resources, fought until exhausted..." The obelisk of Hood's Texas Brigade Monument (1910), also in Austin Texas, has an inscription dedicating the monument to "our comrades who died to preserve and perpetuate the principles upon which the American Union was formed."<sup>75</sup> There is no mention of slavery in the attending inscriptions. Instead they focus on the notion of states' rights and freedom from the tyranny of the northern states. In this way they embodied the idea of the Lost Cause.

The majority of the monuments being debated are public, type 3 monuments. These monuments are easily accessible and in prestigious locations that many feel gives undeserved and inappropriate honor to the subjects. As will be discussed in the next section, the public monuments were placed deliberately to encourage public celebration of the Confederacy. While the subjects of the Confederate monuments cause discomfort for many people, their location, along with the subject-matter, is part of the reason for the calls for their removal.<sup>76</sup>

### *THE UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY*

As was mentioned previously, the majority of the monuments built in the twentieth century, and are currently being debated, were erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The inaugural meeting of the UDC was held in September 1894, and the organization continues today. Caroline Merriwether Goodlett and Anna Davenport Raines

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<sup>75</sup> Kelsey Jukam, John Savage, and Alisa Semiens, "The Hidden Confederate History of the Texas Capitol," *The Texas Observer*, (February 15, 2015).

<sup>76</sup> "Why the Fuss over Confederate Statues?" *BBC News*, (August 17, 2017).

founded the organization with the help of a member of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV). Contrary to the practices of groups like the LMAs, membership in the UDC was open only to the descendants of Confederate veterans who had honorably served.

The erection of Confederate monuments on the local and national scale was the UDC's primary mission. The UDC's goals and purposes were laid out in its constitution as "social, literary, historical, benevolent and honorable in every degree, without political signification." The three main purposes of the UDC were laid out in Article II of its constitution as, (1) to unite all Southern women; (2) to make ties of friendship among the female descendants of Civil War veterans and encourage southern values; and (3) to teach southerners and their descendants the correct history of the war and ensure that they respect and honor that history.<sup>77</sup> As the third purpose suggests, education was an important aspect of the UDC's goals, and monument erection was a part of achieving this. They saw that monuments were a better way to quickly and easily communicate their beliefs to the public than the written word.

The UDC chapters built the majority of their monuments on public land, such as the Confederate Monument in Salem, Virginia, at the Old Roanoke County Courthouse. They also built several monuments on private land. In both cases, individual chapters of the UDC would approach the local governments or institutional leaders for permission to build a monument on the property.<sup>78</sup> In the case of the Washington National Cathedral, the Lee-Jackson Memorial Bay and stained-glass windows were created through a large donation made by the UDC and an unnamed northern man.<sup>79</sup> The Kirby-Smith memorial at Sewanee University was also paid for by the UDC. The UDC chapters generally raised funds themselves through donations and

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<sup>77</sup> "History of the UDC," United Daughters of the Confederacy, accessed March 11, 2018, <https://www.hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.

<sup>78</sup> "History of the UDC," United Daughters of the Confederacy, accessed March 11, 2018, <https://www.hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.

<sup>79</sup> "Interview with anonymous source." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018.



fundraising events. Sometimes the fundraising has taken many years, such as with the Kirby-Smith memorial, which took twenty years.<sup>80</sup>

H.E. Gully gathered information on the number of monuments built by the LMAs and the UDC in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina between 1865 and 1980. According to his data, between 1865 and 1894, prior the UDC's formation, sixty-four monuments were erected in the five-state region. Between 1895 and 1980, when the UDC was active, 288 monuments were erected in the region. Not all of the 288 monuments built between 1895 and 1980 would have been attributed to the UDC, but, with the LMAs having lost their influence by the early twentieth century, the majority of the 288 most likely were built by the UDC.

Beyond monument building, the UDC was successful in promoting the Southern and Confederate causes. They sponsored the writing of Southern history books and textbooks. Some chapters successfully lobbied local school boards to replace textbooks that spoke of the Confederacy in a negative light. Several chapters established awards for veterans and started scholarships for the descendants of Confederate veterans. Members of the UDC also took up a societal role by hosting teas, dinners and balls. The Daughters expanded their view of 'the home' to include their communities even as they claimed to retain their traditional roles as wives and mothers in the home.

The UDC was significantly more successful than many of the other Confederate groups that were erecting monuments. Its success can mostly be attributed to its organization and its focus. By 1912, the UDC had eight hundred chapters, and forty-five thousand members.<sup>81</sup> While the individual chapters could, and often did, work independently of each other; there were also semiannual and annual meetings at the state and national levels.<sup>82</sup> The UDC focused its

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<sup>80</sup> "Interview with anonymous source." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018.

<sup>81</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs."

<sup>82</sup> "History of the UDC," United Daughters of the Confederacy, accessed March 11, 2018, <https://www.hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.

political and financial capital in a few, closely related areas: the telling of the 'true' history of the South, the erection and maintenance of Confederate monuments, the sponsorship of Memorial Day celebrations, and the maintenance of Confederate artifacts in museums and relic rooms. The few, clear and related objectives of the UDC ensured that the organization did not dilute its resources with other activities.<sup>83</sup> With a clarity of vision and streamlined organization, the UDC was able to effectively lobby for the resources and support that it needed to turn it into the powerful organization that it remains today.

### *CONFEDERATE MONUMENT SYMBOLISM*

In *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, Robert Bevan argues that, in conquest, "if hearts and minds cannot be won they must be broken; defeat must be a state of being not solely a military outcome."<sup>84</sup> By allowing the defeated southerners to not only build type 2 memorials to their lost soldiers, but also type 3 monuments to their Confederate heroes, the North allowed the defeat to become solely a military conquest. The North forced the South to relinquish its slaves, but allowed the creation and spread of the Lost Cause myth and belief that the South had not truly been defeated, as shown through these type 3 monuments. In many ways the Confederate monuments, and the current debate over their existence, stand as symbols for the fact that though the North won the physical war, the ideological war is still ongoing.

In contrast to the stated objectives of the UDC, today many interpret the Confederate monuments built during the twentieth century, as physical, visual reminders of the persistence of Confederate, white supremacist ideology and culture. However, these monuments were not only meant as oppressive signals to people of color, they also acted as symbols meant to foster cohesion and solidarity for the culture that created them. They served as reminders of the past,

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<sup>83</sup> Martinez and Harris, "Graves, Worms and Epitaphs."

<sup>84</sup> Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 125.

and proof that others still believed in the Confederate ideology. The Confederate descendants groups used the monuments they erected as advertisements, encouraging fellow believers to join the cause.<sup>85</sup> Confederacy supporting white southerners also created a culture, particularly around the Lost Cause myth, that was represented by the Confederate monuments. They ascribed meanings to the monuments that have carried forward into the present day.

## History of the Fight Against Confederate Monuments

Activists have been fighting to have Confederate monuments removed almost since they began to be erected. The funders and supporters of these monuments fought a battle against a population that was mostly indifferent or hostile towards the Confederate monuments. In 1895 opposition from the Fusionist (Republican and Populist) controlled North Carolina legislature slowed the construction of the Confederate monument that now stands in front of the state capitol. One legislator proposed burying all of the confederate monuments in a giant pit.<sup>86</sup>

During the Civil Rights era, African Americans were divided on whether groups like the NAACP should be fighting for the removal of Confederate monuments and symbols when there are other, more important issues facing the black community. Some African Americans, like Dr. William Gibson, former CEO of the NAACP, wanted to “forever fight any remnants of the Confederacy which exist and are displayed as a matter of public policy.” Others, such as Walter E. Williams, an economist and syndicated columnist, and Brian Wilson, former vice-president of the NAACP, considered Confederate monuments and symbolism in the public realm a secondary issue and a distraction from the real problems for African Americans.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Reiko Hillyer, “Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South,” *The Public Historian*, 33(4), 35-62.

<sup>86</sup> Dell Upton. “Confederate Monuments and Civic Values in the Wake of Charlottesville.”

<sup>87</sup> J. Michael Martinez, “Traditionalist Perspectives on Confederate Symbols,” in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, ed. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su (2000).

The years after the successes of the Civil Rights era were particularly rife with Confederate monument controversies. Some of the most well-publicized of the controversies involved Forrest Park in Memphis, Tennessee, named in honor of Nathan Bedford Forrest, a brutal and ruthless Confederate lieutenant general, cavalryman, and the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan; and the proposal for a Union monument in Bentonville, North Carolina.<sup>88</sup>

Forrest Park, beyond being named for Nathan Bedford Forrest, also contains a statue of Forrest. The park is adjacent to the University of Tennessee Medical School in midtown Memphis. In 1988, when the city started an “Adopt a Park” program to encourage citizens to help clean up the city parks, the UT Medical School adopted Forrest Park. The university added better lighting, a new fitness trail, and expanded the jurisdiction of the university security services into the park. In April 1988, UT administrators announced that they would host the ceremonies honoring outgoing university president, Edward Boling, in the refurbished park. The Memphis chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) protested the use of the park by the state school because of the Forrest statue, and James Hunt, university chancellor, cancelled the ceremony. The university’s response to the protests was seen as capitulation by some southern heritage preservation organizations. One commentator for the *Confederate Veteran* wrote that “If for political purposes any special interest group is allowed to set itself up as the final authority on public opinion concerning Southern history... if it can dictate to our public universities while censoring and rewriting history, then the cause is indeed one that is lost.”<sup>89</sup>

The Union monument proposed in Bentonville, North Carolina, also became a controversy. Bentonville was the site of the final major battle of the Civil War. In 1995 Bentonville was listed as a Class A Battlefield by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission and

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<sup>88</sup> Martinez and Harris, “Graves, Worms and Epitaphs”; Paul Lagasse and Columbia University, “Forrest, Nathan Bedford,” *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 7th ed. (Columbia University Press, 2017).

<sup>89</sup> Martinez and Harris, “Graves, Worms and Epitaphs”

plans were made to place a Union monument on the battlefield. Less than twenty percent of the battlefield had been preserved so the commissioners requested leadership from federal preservation authorities. The North Carolina Historical Commission was given the decision over whether to preserve the site and erect a Union monument. Supporters of the monument began to collect funds for the monument, but the Goldsboro, North Carolina, chapter of the USCV learned of the plan and began “a vigorous letter-writing and lobbying campaign.” The result of the USCV’s campaign was that the North Carolina Historical Commission voted down erecting the Union monument, six to five. An article in *Confederate Veteran* commended the members of the North Carolina USCV for “preventing a memorial to Sherman and his band of Pyromaniacs.”<sup>90</sup>

The fight for the removal of Confederate monuments has often taken place in the courtroom. The 1996 ruling on the case of *Coleman v. Miller* was one case in a long line of precedents that held that the judiciary branch was not the appropriate forum for resolving the issues caused by Confederate symbols. The ruling held that the issue should be resolved by the legislative branch. This so called ‘Political Question Doctrine’ has not deterred parties from trying to force the removal of monuments through the court system, or from questioning the constitutionality of the monuments.<sup>91</sup>

The most commonly used arguments for the removal of the monuments have used the First, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Amendments.<sup>92</sup> The First Amendment secures the right of free speech to all American citizens. Plaintiffs have argued that the existence of Confederate monuments and symbols “chill” their desire to exercise their freedom of speech, and therefore,

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<sup>90</sup> Martinez and Harris, “Graves, Worms and Epitaphs”

<sup>91</sup> J. Michael Martinez, “Confederate Symbols, the Courts, and the Political Question Doctrine,” in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, comp. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000).

<sup>92</sup> Discussion for Constitutional Amendments is cited from J. Michael Martinez, “Confederate Symbols, the Courts, and the Political Question Doctrine,” in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, comp. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000).

decrease the likelihood of minority participation in the political system. Another argument that has been used holds that Confederate monuments violate the First Amendment rights of minorities because they force them to be “couriers of an ideological message to which they object.” The monuments of a community portray the values of the community. Therefore, it could be assumed that all the members of a community agree with the values conveyed by Confederate monuments if there is one in the community. Arguments that rely on the First Amendment are difficult to win because they could be argued from both sides. Hate speech, as long as it is not proven to be connected to violence, is protected, as is the freedom of speech that is “chilled” by that same hate speech attributed to the Confederate monuments. As a result, courts have tended to allow Confederate symbols and monuments to remain as long as other views and symbols are given equal airing in the “marketplace of ideas,” which does not address the cultural and political issues that the monuments cause. Moreover, courts have not recognized emotional or social discomfort as sufficient reason for a First Amendment case because the government does not force people to look at Confederate symbols or monuments.

The Thirteenth Amendment made slavery illegal in the United States and, according to the courts, gave Congress the power to eliminate the business and emblems of slavery. However, in order for the emblems of slavery, which could include Confederate monuments and symbols, to become illegal Congress would have to pass legislation making it so, which they have not done. This fact makes the Thirteenth Amendment inappropriate for use in arguments for the removal of Confederate monuments. This inappropriateness was established in the judgement for *N.A.A.C.P v Hunt* which stated that “Standing alone, the Thirteenth Amendment does not forbid the badges and incidents of slavery;” Congress would have to pass legislation banning them.

The Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment is considered a promising option, as long as the plaintiff can prove that racial discrimination was a primary motivating factor for the erection of the monument. However, it is very difficult to prove the motivation

behind an action or a law, and many courts have chosen not to second-guess the motivations of the legislature. It is also difficult to prove that the monuments themselves are the cause of discrimination; that people would not discriminate as much if the monuments were not there. To circumvent the demonstration of proof some lawyers have tried to use the precedence set by *Brown v Board of Education* which holds that “feelings of inferiority” can constitute harm. However, there was a clear causal nexus between the law in question and the establishment of inferior schools for children of color. There is no proof of a causal nexus between Confederate symbols and discrimination.

The Due Process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment has been used in a very novel fashion. Some black plaintiffs have argued that the public display of Confederate symbols makes them less likely to interact with and have relationships with Caucasians. Courts have been reluctant to rule that Confederate symbols directly cause harm to relationships among or between two groups. ‘Freedom of association’ has been held to refer to intimate relationships between individuals, not intergroup relationships. Plaintiffs have also had trouble arguing with the Due Process clause because it is difficult to prove that their relationships with Caucasians have been directly impacted by the existence of Confederate symbols.<sup>93</sup>

One of the more recent instances of the court battles around Confederate monuments has involved the statue of Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville, Virginia. A commission was established by the city council of Charlottesville in May 2016 to make recommendations regarding the future of the city’s Confederate monuments. They produced a report later that year suggesting the relocation or transformation with accurate historical facts of the Lee statue. The transformation with accurate contextualization was actually supported by some defenders of the monuments, such as Friends of C’Ville Monuments, but instead of proceeding with the bipartisan, compromise option, the City Council voted to have the statue removed in February

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<sup>93</sup> Martinez. “Confederate Symbols, the Courts, and the Political Question Doctrine.”

2017. In response, defenders of the monuments sued the city in March 2017, claiming that the city did not have the authority to remove the monument according to the laws of Virginia. With the court case still ongoing, the monument has remained in place, but changes have been made to and around the monument. In June 2017 the City Council renamed Lee Park, Emancipation Park, much to the disgust of white supremacy groups.<sup>94</sup> On August 11-12, 2017, hundreds of white supremacists descended on Charlottesville for the 'Unite the Right Rally.' The rally was purported to primarily be about defending the Lee statue from being removed but it also served as an attempt to unify the alt-right, fascists, and white nationalist groups in the United States. Hundreds of counter-protestors also came to Charlottesville to protest against white supremacy. The rally resulted in a violent clash between the different protest groups, the death of Heather Heyer after one protestor drove his car into a crowd of anti-protesters, and of two Virginia State Troopers who were killed in a helicopter crash while en route to assist the police in securing the safety of the city.<sup>95</sup>

Following the tragic events at the rally, the City Council voted on August 21, 2017 to cover the Lee and nearby Stonewall Jackson statues with tarps to symbolize its mourning for Heather Heyer and the two dead state troopers. The City Council supposedly intended that the tarps would remain in place until the statues were removed. On February 27, 2018, a Charlottesville Circuit Court judge ordered the tarps removed within fifteen days.<sup>96</sup> On February 28, 2018, the tarps were removed. The February 27 ruling is only temporary, with further rulings on the statues, including a decision on their removal, are expected to be made by the end of 2018.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Jacey Fortin, "The Statue at the Center of Charlottesville's Storm," *The New York Times*, (August 13, 2017).

<sup>95</sup> "Charlottesville: One Killed in Violence Over US Far-Right Rally," *BBC News*, (August 13, 2017).

<sup>96</sup> John Early, "Update: Judge Calls for Tarps Over Charlottesville Statues to be Removed," *Home - NBC29 WVIR Charlottesville, VA News, Sports and Weather*, (February 27, 2018).

<sup>97</sup> Amy Held, "Shrouds Pulled from Charlottesville Confederate Statues, Following Ruling," *NPR*, (February 28, 2018).



## Current Situation

The monuments debate has spurred the removal of at least forty-five Confederate monuments so far. Multiple monuments, such as the four Confederate statues in Baltimore and the four Confederate statues in New Orleans, were removed under the cover of darkness to undisclosed locations.<sup>98</sup> These late night and early morning removals are interesting in that they convey the local governments' fears of violence. The worry over protests, and whether they will turn violent is unsurprising after the events in Charlottesville Virginia. Other monuments have been slated for removal, but the owners have not yet decided what will happen to the monument next, such as the General Lee plaque at Christ Church in Alexandria Virginia.<sup>99</sup> The removals of other monuments have been delayed or stopped by the laws of some states that forbid the removal or alteration of any public monument without special permission. The impact of these laws will be discussed later in this section.<sup>100</sup>

The types of monuments that have become involved in this debate have been diverse; with cases from the expected plaques, statues, and fountains, to the numerous buildings, schools, and streets that will possibly be renamed. The existence and location of any monument in the public realm that reflects the Confederacy is being called into question. As has previously been stated, the majority of the monuments in question are type 3. The type 2 monuments erected immediately after the Civil War and placed in cemeteries, have been absent from the debate. This is likely because these monuments are personal expressions of grief and loss, rather than espousing a political ideology.

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<sup>98</sup> Fenit Nirappil, "Baltimore Hauls Away Four Confederate Monuments after Overnight Removal," *The Washington Post*, (August 16, 2017); Tegan Wendland, "With Lee Statue's Removal, Another Battle Of New Orleans Comes To A Close," *NPR*, (May 20, 2017).

<sup>99</sup> Lori Aratani, "Historic Alexandria Church Decides to Remove Plaques Honoring Washington, Lee," *The Washington Post*, (October 28, 2017).

<sup>100</sup> Kaeli Subberwal, "Several States Have Erected Laws to Protect Confederate Monuments," *The Huffington Post*, (August 18, 2017).

The current debate is not a new one. The debate over the existence of Confederate monuments has been ongoing on a local level for many years. The debate is only new to the national conversation. One could argue that this particular episode of the Confederate monument debate started with the Charleston shooting in 2015. When photos of the shooter, Dylann Roof, showing him posing with the Confederate battle flag, were circulated, it sparked an outcry that ultimately resulted in the removal of the Confederate battle flag from many statehouse grounds, including the South Carolina statehouse. Following this victory, activists set their sights on Confederate monuments.<sup>101</sup>

The monuments debate increased in intensity after the tragic events in Charlottesville, Virginia.<sup>102</sup> The professed reasoning for the removals, as shown by the press releases following the more contentious decisions, has been that the removals ensure safety and better reflect the current values of the communities.<sup>103</sup>

Other institutions have discussed the fate of their monuments and have chosen not to remove them. The Virginia Military Institute, Clemson University and Texas A&M University (College Station), are a few educational institutions that have chosen to retain their monuments.<sup>104</sup> At the Virginia Military Institute the professed reasoning for the decision was that the statues were part of the history of the school and that the school “endorses continuing to acknowledge all those who are part of the history of the institute...We choose not to honor their weaknesses, but to recognize their strengths.” Some administrators at VMI have recommended

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<sup>101</sup> Katie Rogers, "Charleston Shooting Reignites Debate About Confederate Flag," *The New York Times*, (June 19, 2015).

<sup>102</sup> Jess Bidgood, Matthew Bloch, Morigan Mccarthy, Liam Stack and Wilson Andrews, "Confederate Monuments Are Coming Down Across the United States. Here's a List." *The New York Times*, (August 16, 2017).

<sup>103</sup> Vincent Price, "Duke Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Chapel Entrance," *Duke Today*, (August 19, 2017).

<sup>104</sup> "We're Tracking Confederate Monuments. Tell Us What's on Your Campus." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, (August 22, 2017).

adding a plaque honoring cadets that fought on the Union side, but they will not remove any of their monuments.<sup>105</sup>

A similar sentiment was expressed by Texas A&M University in explaining why it decided to keep its statue of Sullivan "Sul" Ross, a Confederate General, Texas governor, and president of the university. The statue portrays Ross in civilian clothing and not in his Confederate uniform. The current university president, Michael Young, claimed that the statue was meant to honor Ross as the president of the university, and an important figure in Texas A&M's history, not as a Confederate general.<sup>106</sup>

Clemson University started a task force in 2015 to make recommendations for changes to its policies and monuments to reflect its history, especially its history regarding race issues. The task force recommended not changing the name of Tillman Hall, named after U.S. Senator Benjamin Tillman, a founding trustee of the university and a vehement racist. The Clemson Board of Trustees approved the recommendations in February 2016, not even entertaining the idea of renaming the Hall, and said that they made the decision based on South Carolina's Heritage Act, which gives the authority to rename all historical buildings to the state General Assembly. The Clemson board's reasoning for its decision was contrary to the reasoning of most other institutions, in that it cited state law rather than the university's desire to keep the monument as the reason for not changing the name of the building. It is possible that the state law supports the university's desires and that the board would have decided to keep Tillman Hall's name regardless of the law's existence, but it is interesting that the board chose to cite the law in their press release.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Graham Moomaw, "VMI Leaders Say Military College Will Keep Confederate Statues," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 12, 2017, accessed December 01, 2017.

<sup>106</sup> "Texas A&M Officials Say Sul Ross Statue Will Remain," *The Eagle*, (August 22, 2017).

<sup>107</sup> Kirk Brown, Nathaniel Cary, and Nikie Mayo, "Gov. McMaster Doubts Efforts to Remove Confederate Monuments Will Spread to South Carolina," *Independent Mail*, (August 15, 2017).

A component of most removal decisions to date has been the inclusion or consideration of the feelings, needs, and desires of the involved communities. This monument removal movement has been predominantly led by grassroots organizations, through protests, sit-ins, and debates. The swell of grassroots organizing that has been produced by the debates around the fates of these monuments has reiterated and highlighted the fact that the issue of the Confederate monuments is very much local. Unlike the case of Clemson University, generally, people and institutions want to decide what happens to the monuments in their communities, not have it decided for them by the federal or state government, or by an outside advocacy group. This desire for community decision-making and the complicating and slowing down effect of state intervention, was shown in the case of the statue of the Confederate soldier in Demopolis Alabama. The statue was damaged when a car crashed into the base in July 2017. This prompted a city-wide debate, culminating in the 3-2 decision by the town/city council to remove the statue and replace it with an obelisk. The plan was for the obelisk to retain the original statue's pedestal (reading "Our Confederate Dead - Erected by the Marengo Rifles Chapter - United Daughters of the Confederacy - 1910").<sup>108</sup> However, in May 2017, the governor of Alabama had signed the "Alabama Memorial Preservation Act of 2017" which banned any alteration (renaming, physical alterations, removal, etc.) of any "monuments, memorial buildings, memorial streets, and architecturally significant buildings" on public property and older than 40 years.<sup>109</sup> This law made Demopolis' decision to remove and replace their monument illegal and has resulted in the plans to remove the monument being put on hold as the city consults with the Alabama Attorney General's office to obtain permission to remove the monument.<sup>110</sup> Alabama's law, passed in reaction to the Confederate monuments being taken

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<sup>108</sup> David Montgomery, "A Car Crash Topples a Confederate Statue and Forces a Southern Town to Confront its Past," *The Washington Post*, (July 20, 2017).

<sup>109</sup> Joe Sterling, "A New Alabama Law Makes Sure Confederate Monuments Are Here to Stay," *CNN*, (May 26, 2017).

<sup>110</sup> George McDonald, "Plan to Alter Confederate Monument on Pause in Demopolis," *Alabama News*, (June 15, 2017).

down across the country over the past two years has impacted the ability of local governments in Alabama to act on the will of the populations that they represent. Other states, including North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia also have laws that protect monuments and memorials from removal without permission from local or state governments, or from committees. In Georgia, and in other states, citizens are attempting to get the law overturned by petitions and lobbying.<sup>111</sup> Communities should be able to act in accordance with their values when making decisions regarding their monuments.

One reason why the debate over whether to remove Confederate monuments has been so contentious is that there are multiple groups involved, each with their own motives and goals. For example, there are the groups that have historically been building many of the monuments that are being disputed (such as the UDC and the USCV). There are also multiple pro- and anti-monument groups, some of which are focused on a single monument while others are involved with multiple monuments. Schools and private institutions that have monuments on their properties have also become entangled in this debate over monument removals. Various local and state governments are also heavily involved; and even the federal government, in certain cases. The multitude of motives, causes, and goals that have become enmeshed in this debate has played a large role in determining the outcome of the debate so far. The furor of the protests and debates from the many groups involved has created an echo chamber that has helped to increase the intensity of the overall debate to the point where many of the institutions that own these monuments have been forced to respond.

Another reason for the deeply contentious nature of the Confederate monument removal debate has been the fact that many of the people who are fighting for the monuments to remain feel that they are protecting their culture through the monuments. In *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, Robert Bevan states that war is about “killing cultures, identities, and

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<sup>111</sup> Kaeli Subberwal, "Several States Have Erected Laws to Protect Confederate Monuments," *The Huffington Post*, (August 18, 2017).

memories as much as it is about killing people and occupying territories.” War can kill many hundreds and thousands of people, sometimes it can even lead to the destruction of entire ethnic groups, but it can also lead to the annihilation of a culture through the ruination of the physical aspects of that culture.<sup>112</sup> With many white supremacists and defenders of Confederate monuments calling the removal of the monuments an attack on whiteness and erasure of white culture, it could be argued that the removal of Confederate monuments from public property is killing the culture, identity and memories of white southerners.<sup>113</sup> Looked at in this light, the sometimes violent protests of these supporters of Confederate monuments are a last ditch effort to save their culture. The saga that led to the shrouding of the Robert E. Lee statue in Lee Park (now Emancipation Park) in Charlottesville, Virginia, is one example of this phenomena.

The reactions to the removals have been mixed. Many people who support the removals see the act of removing the monuments from their pedestals as justice and the empty spaces as a visible reminder of how far we have come as a nation.<sup>114</sup> Some of the people who wanted the monuments to remain in their original locations see the removal of the monuments as erasure of history, others as a slippery slope leading to the removal of monuments to every, slightly contentious figure; and still others see removal as an attack on ethnic white culture.<sup>115</sup>

## The Case for Focusing on Private Monuments

The Confederate monuments debate has encompassed both public and private Confederate monuments throughout the United States. The debate so far has focused primarily

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<sup>112</sup> Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016).

<sup>113</sup> John Daniel Davidson, "Why We Should Keep the Confederate Monuments Where They Are," *The Federalist*, (August 23, 2017).

<sup>114</sup> Anna Dubenko, "Right and Left on Removal of Confederate Statues," *The New York Times*, (August 18, 2017).

<sup>115</sup> John Daniel Davidson, "Why We Should Keep The Confederate Monuments Where They Are," *The Federalist*, (August 23, 2017); Anna Dubenko, "Right and Left on Removal of Confederate Statues," *The New York Times*, (August 18, 2017).

on monuments on public land, and particularly in highly visible locations such as in front of courthouses and in city centers. Nevertheless, this research focuses exclusively on the treatment and arrangement of privately owned Confederate monuments. There are three reasons for this narrowed focus. First, the private monuments are being removed at a slower pace than the public monuments. Second, the decisions and decision-making process regarding the fate of these monuments are far less politicized than those in the public sector. Third, the issues faced by private institutions mirror those faced in the public debate.

After the “Unite the Right Rally,” monuments situated in the public domain were being removed at a faster rate than those in the private domain. Between August 12, 2017, the final day of the Unite the Right Rally, and September 1, 2017 at least twenty-seven Confederate monuments were removed. Of those twenty-seven, nine of the monuments were owned by private institutions. In the aftermath of the “Unite the Right Rally,” many state and local governments were quick to remove or begin to consider removing their Confederate monuments.<sup>116</sup> In the last four months of 2017 Confederate monuments on public land were disappearing quickly. The private institutions seemed to be moving much more slowly and deliberately. This slower pace of removal presented a better opportunity to access the decision-making involved in the monuments’ removals.

The debates around the public monuments have been highly politicized, with views on the Confederate monuments reflecting deep political divisions. While the decisions made by private institutions around the fates of their Confederate monuments are not made in a political vacuum, they are not as explicitly political as the decisions of a city council or state legislature. The political decisions are more complicated and do not lend themselves to an accessible

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<sup>116</sup> Christopher Carbone, "Which Confederate Statues Were Removed? A Running List," *Fox News*, (March 11, 2018).

analysis around the decision making process, therefore focusing on privately owned monuments seemed likely to yield a more systematic review of the decision-making process.

The current Confederate monuments debate is large, nuanced and complex. Privately owned and publicly accessible monuments are only a very small portion of the Confederate monuments throughout the country that are being debated. However, the issues faced by these private institutions can be seen as a microcosm of the issues faced on the national level. The decisions made by the private institutions, and the reactions of the institutional communities to those decisions, could be seen as a bell-weather for the reactions of citizens in cities, states, and even the nation. In this way, the private institutions could be seen as testing grounds for actions that could be taken with public monuments.

The Confederate monuments on the properties of private institutions represent a small, specific subset of monuments and institutions, but the hope is that the conclusions drawn from this research can be applied beyond private institutions with privately owned and publicly accessible monuments, to public Confederate monuments and other monuments to difficult histories.



## Chapter 2: Methodology

In order to carry out this research, I conducted a series of interviews combined with site visits to selected private institutions that have already chosen to remove their monuments. Eight interviews were conducted, either in person, by phone, or by Skype. The four case studies I have selected are Duke University (Durham, NC), Sewanee University of the South (Sewanee, TN), Washington National Cathedral (Washington, DC), and Christ Church (Alexandria, VA).

### Criteria Development and Case Study Selection

The criteria listed (Table 1) were based on a set of assumptions, including:

- the monuments could be statues, busts, plaques, obelisks, war memorials, paintings, stained-glass windows or building names;
- the monuments would not include gravestones or monuments in cemeteries;
- the monuments did not have to have been erected in a particular era;
- the monuments were privately funded;
- the monuments are publicly accessible;
- that some monuments would be affiliated with institutions that are not named after a Confederate figure.

An important criterion was that the selected case study institutions had already decided to remove their monuments. This criterion was essential for the purpose of this work whose focus was to explore possible preservation options for monuments that were already being removed. Table 1 reflects the case study selection criteria for the institutions and the monuments. A list of institutions and monuments that met all of the criteria in Table 1 was made, and the case studies were selected from that list.

Table 1: Case Study Selection Criteria

Institution	Monument
Privately Owned	Privately Owned
Publicly accessible	Publicly accessible
Private and/or public funding	Private funding
Private institution	Confederate monument
Single or multiple monuments	Dedicated to an individual or to the confederacy at large
Not an institution named after a confederate figure, not a museum	Statue, bust, plaque, obelisk, fountain, war memorial, paintings, stained-glass windows, building name (on a campus)
Already decided to remove monument	Not a gravestone
Can either have moved monument already, or not	No particular era

## Selected Case Studies

Duke University is a private educational institution in Durham, NC. Its Confederate monument, a statue of General Robert E. Lee, stood in the entrance portal of Duke Chapel where it was publicly accessible. The statue was funded by the university and the university has already removed the monument.

Sewanee University of the South is a private educational institution in Sewanee, TN. It has two Confederate monuments: a painting of Leonidas Polk and memorial to Edmund Kirby-Smith. The painting was located in Convocation Hall, and the Kirby-Smith memorial was located at the main intersection on the university campus. Both were publicly accessible, privately funded and have also already been removed.

The Washington National Cathedral is a private religious institution in Washington DC. Its Confederate monument, a set of stained-glass windows honoring Generals Lee and

Jackson, were located in the south nave aisle of the Cathedral, where they were publicly accessible. They were privately funded and have been removed.

Christ Church is a private religious institution in Alexandria, VA. Its Confederate monument, a plaque honoring General Lee, is located to the right of the altar where it is publicly accessible. The plaque was privately funded and the decision to remove it had already been made.

## Interview Characteristics and Data Collection

Eight interviews were conducted, two per case study institution. The interviewees were a mixture of institutional leaders and decision-makers, and members of the community, such as congregation members and students. Each interview lasted between fifteen and forty-five minutes and they were conducted between January 8, 2018 and February 7, 2018. These interviews were audio recorded and transcribed using the professional transcription service rev.com. All of the interviews were conducted under the protection of anonymity.

Archival research was also conducted at the Washington National Cathedral, looking at the correspondence, articles, reports and event programs related to the Lee-Jackson Bay and stained-glass windows.

## Interview Protocol Development

The protocol for these interviews appears below, and consists of ten questions which reflect the primary focus of this research. Under situation A, the monument has already been removed, and under situation B the monument is still in place but the decision to remove it has already been made.

Situation A (monument has already been removed)

1. What's the history of your monument? When did it arrive?
2. Who donated/commissioned/funded the monument?
  - a. Daughters/Sons of the confederacy
  - b. Other confederate history/cultural organization

- c. Private donor
  - d. Commissioned by institution
3. How would you personally describe the monument? Its appearance? Its purpose? Its meaning?
  4. How was the decision made as to where the monument was moved/removed to? Who made the decision?
    - a. Board/committee
    - b. President/dean
    - c. Other
  5. What became of the monument? Can you explain further the thinking behind your choices?
    - a. Museum
    - b. Destruction
    - c. Private collection
    - d. Cemetery
    - e. Removed from public access
    - f. Other
  6. What role, if any, did preservationists play in deciding the fate of the monument?
  7. What preservation options, if any, were considered? Please list all options that were considered.
  8. Have you made any decisions about the display or interpretation of the removed monument? Can you explain further the thinking behind your choices?
  9. What role, if any, did community input play in the decision of the fate of the monument after its removal?
  10. In preserving the monument, what is it about the monument that you are trying to preserve (history, physicality, memory, culture, educational value)?

Situation B (monument still in place)

1. What's the history of your monument? When did it arrive?
2. Who donated/commissioned/funded the monument?
  - a. Daughters/Sons of the confederacy
  - b. Other confederate history/cultural organization
  - c. Private donor
  - d. Commissioned by institution
3. How would you personally describe the monument? Its appearance? Its purpose? Its meaning?
4. How will the decision be made as to where the monument will be moved/removed to? Who will make the decision?
  - a. Board/committee
  - b. President/dean
  - c. Other

5. What role, if any, will preservationists play in deciding the fate of the monument?
6. What preservation options, if any, will be considered? Please list all options that have been considered.
7. Have you made any decisions about the display or interpretation of the removed monument? Can you explain further the thinking behind your choices?
8. What role, if any, will community input play in the decision of the fate of the monument after its removal?
9. In preserving the monument, what is it about the monument that you are trying to preserve (history, physicality, memory, culture, educational value)?

## Chapter 3: Institutional Case Studies

### Christ Church (Alexandria Virginia)



Figure 1

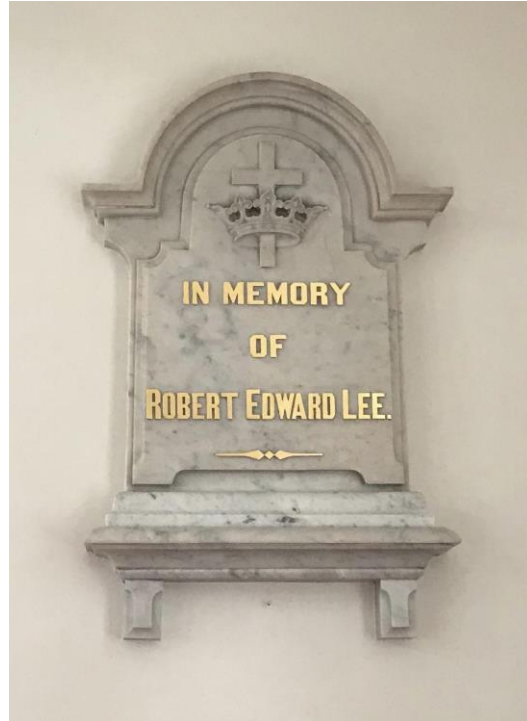


Figure 2

#### THE INSTITUTION

Christ Church is an Episcopal church located in heart of the city of Alexandria, Virginia. It is also located within the historic district of Old Town Alexandria, which attracts tourists and natives of DC, Virginia, and Maryland for food, shopping, and tours. The church building, designed by James Wren in the colonial Georgian style, was completed February 27, 1773. James Wren was also the architect for the historic Fairfax County Courthouse and for another church in Falls Church, Virginia, that was built at the same time as Christ Church.<sup>117</sup> The church first opened as Church of England, but became Episcopalian after the American Revolution, when the loss of funding from the British government led to the formation of an autonomous

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<sup>117</sup> Christ Church (Alexandria) Virginia, "Site of National Significance," accessed March 9, 2018.

section of the global Anglican Communion.<sup>118</sup> The church was placed on the National Register in 1970, separate from the historic district, and on the Virginia Landmark Register in 1973.<sup>119</sup> It is a popular tourist destination.

A local parish church but located close to Washington D.C., the congregation has members and visitors from D.C., Alexandria, and other surrounding areas, including presidents and other members of the government. Some notable visitors and congregation members have included George Washington and his family, Robert E. Lee and his family, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford, Rosa Parks, and George W Bush. Currently, the congregation has between 1800 and 2000 members, and is growing.<sup>120</sup>

The church is led by Reverend Noelle York-Simmons and a vestry made up of twelve members of the congregation.<sup>121</sup> The vestry is an elected body that acts as the legal representative of the congregation with regards to the church's corporate property. It is akin to a company's board of directors. The vestry at Christ Church, as at many Episcopal churches, is elected at the annual parish meeting, when all the members of the parish come together to discuss church issues and events. The vestry members are elected from the members of the parish. At Christ Church, four of the twelve members of the vestry are up for re-election each year, which makes their term-length three years. The vestry is led by the rector. There are also two wardens who support the rector, a treasurer and a secretary/clerk. The general duties of the vestry are "to help define and articulate the mission of the congregation; to support the church's

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<sup>118</sup> "History," Historic Christ Church," accessed January 27, 2018, <http://www.historicchristchurch.org/about-us/history/history/>.

<sup>119</sup> Christ Church (Alexandria) Virginia, "Site of National Significance," accessed March 9, 2018.

<sup>120</sup> "Christ Church History," Historic Christ Church," accessed January 10, 2018, <http://www.historicchristchurch.org/about-us/history/>.

<sup>121</sup> "Vestry," The Episcopal Church, accessed January 28, 2018, <https://www.episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/vestry>.

mission by word and deed, to select the rector, to ensure effective organization and planning, and to manage resources and finances."<sup>122</sup>

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON

During his time as President of the United States, George Washington attended multiple churches in the area surrounding Washington DC. One of the churches that he regularly attended with his family, was Christ Church. He first attended the church on July 4, 1793. The Washington family's box pew is the only box pew that has been preserved in the church; all of the others were replaced with alter-facing pews.

#### ROBERT E. LEE

General Lee grew up in the congregation of Christ Church, from the time he moved to Alexandria with his family in 1811 when he was about four years of age. He also attended the church with his own family, and was confirmed at Christ Church on July 17, 1853, along with two of his daughters. According to the church records, Lee attended the Sunday morning service at Christ Church on April 21, 1861, the day that he resigned from the United States Army. Christ Church apparently played such a large role in the life of Lee's family that, when she died in 1918, General Lee's eldest daughter, Mary Curtis Lee, left the church \$10,000 in her will.<sup>123</sup>

#### CONFEDERATE MONUMENT HISTORY

Christ Church is home to one Confederate monument, a plaque honoring General Lee. After Lee's death in 1870, the congregation and church leaders decided to honor the man from their congregation who had risen to great fame, regardless of how he had become famous. The plaque was added to the sanctuary in December 1871. The plaque, which is located to the right

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<sup>122</sup> "Vestry," Historic Christ Church: Vestry, accessed January 29, 2018, <http://www.historicchristchurch.org/about-us/vestry/>.

<sup>123</sup> "Christ Church History," Historic Christ Church, accessed January 10, 2018, <http://www.historicchristchurch.org/about-us/history/>.



of the altar, is made of white marble, and is inset into a plaster wall. The approximately 400-pound slab has raised gold lettering which reads, "IN MEMORY OF ROBERT EDWARD LEE." Above the words is carved the Christian symbol of the cross and crown, which symbolized victory over death. A matching plaque to the left of the altar was placed at the same time, and honors George Washington.<sup>124</sup>

Both Washington and Lee are honored with other historical markers around the church and church property. The box pew of the Washington family has been preserved and has a marker. A plaque memorializing Washington's funeral stands by the entry to the church. A plaque for Lee is on the communion rail, and the pew where Lee sat also has a pew marker. A display detailing the history of both men with the church stands outside the church gift shop.<sup>125</sup>

While not eligible for inclusion in this research study, the churchyard at Christ Church also contains the remains of 32 Confederate soldiers. The soldiers were disinterred from the nearby Alexandria Soldiers Cemetery and reinterred in the churchyard on December 27, 1878 in a mass grave in order to stop citizens from throwing the bodies into the Potomac River. The soldiers were prisoners of war who died in the Federal Hospitals in Alexandria. They were reburied by the "Southern Memorial Association of Alexandria Virginia." A stone slab monument was placed over the mass burial, listing the names, ages, and state of birth of each soldier buried there. The original plaque was covered by another plaque at an unknown date, which has the same inscription as the original.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one. Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

<sup>125</sup> Christ Episcopal Church. "Statement from the Rector on the Memorial Plaques." News release, October 31, 2017.

<sup>126</sup> "Tombstones," Historic Christ Church, accessed February 18, 2018, <http://www.historicchristchurch.org/about-us/history/tombstones/>.

## SYMBOLISM

The symbolism of the Lee plaque is an important aspect of the way its meaning is understood and interpreted. The plaque is in a place of honor, to the right of the altar. Christians believe that when Jesus was crucified and ascended into heaven, he was seated to the right of God. The right-hand side is the place for the second-most important figure in a room. By placing the Lee plaque to the right of the altar, he is being deified and/or portrayed as a very important figure in the church, a hero, and a leader.

The white marble and raised gold lettering that make up the physical aspects of the plaque are also symbolically important. Marble and gold are expensive, luxury materials. In monuments, we see them used in important public statues and memorials. In folklore, white marble is said to be a symbol of immortality and purity.<sup>127</sup> Gold is also seen as a symbol of purity, as well as royalty and durability; all features that the later Confederate descendants groups wanted to attribute to Robert E. Lee.<sup>128</sup>

## CONTROVERSY AND DECISION

When Reverend York-Simmons arrived at Christ Church in 2006, the parish staff gave her a book filled with tips and things to know about the area, church, and congregation. One section listed 'hot-button issues' at the church, and the plaques were included in the list.<sup>129</sup> According to one interviewee, some members of the congregation at Christ Church had quietly been considering the appropriateness of the location of the plaques for several years. The interviewee suggested that the Unite the Right Rally could be considered as just an excuse to speed a process that would have occurred eventually.

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<sup>127</sup> "Marble," New World Encyclopedia, accessed March 27, 2018, <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Marble>.

<sup>128</sup> "Gold," New World Encyclopedia, accessed March 27, 2018, <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Gold>; Dell Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values in the Wake of Charlottesville," *Society of Architectural Historians Blog*, (September 13, 2017).

<sup>129</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one. Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

The tragic events in Charlottesville occurred three days before the church vestry meeting. The vestry met on August 15, 2017 and decided that a decision had to be made on whether to move the Robert E. Lee plaque. The vestry scheduled eight 'listening sessions', where members of the congregation were invited to offer their opinions on the idea of moving the plaque. Members of the congregation also sent emails and letters to the church and to the vestry.<sup>130</sup>

On October 26, 2017, Reverend Noelle York-Simmons, announced the decision of the vestry to remove the plaques honoring General Lee and George Washington.<sup>131</sup> Both interviewees emphasized that the Washington plaque was only being removed because the plaques are considered a pair, and not to be separated.<sup>132</sup> Since the decision, the plaques have remained in place. They will not be removed until a decision has been made regarding their new home, which will most likely be within the church property.<sup>133</sup>

## Christ Church - Analysis

### STYLE OF DECISION-MAKING

Although the decision to move the plaques has been made, the decision as to where the plaques will be moved has not been made. The location of the plaques' new home will be made collectively by two committees made up of congregation members; one will decide the new location of the plaques, while the other will decide how the plaques will be moved there safely. While the final decision to move the plaques was made by the elected vestry, the majority of the members of these committees will be non-vestry members of the congregation. One interviewee

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<sup>130</sup> "Interview with anonymous source five." Telephone interview by author. January 31, 2018.

<sup>131</sup> Lori Aratani, "Historic Alexandria Church Decides to Remove Plaques Honoring Washington, Lee," *The Washington Post*, (October 28, 2017).

<sup>132</sup> "Christ Church interviews." Interviews one and five by author. January 8, 2018 and January 31, 2018.

<sup>133</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one." Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

made it clear that the safety of the plaques will be a very important factor in the decision, particularly their safety from the weather and from vandalism.<sup>134</sup>

## REASON TO PRESERVE

Two main reasons for the preservation of the Lee plaque, and its twin plaque to Washington, were highlighted in the interviews. First, members of the congregation wanted to preserve both plaques because they are part of the history of the church. Whatever the reasons for their placement, the plaques were part of the fabric of the church for many years. While moving the plaques did not seem to be problematic for a majority of the congregation, according to the interviewees, moving the plaques from church grounds was not an option that was seriously considered. They became part of the church's history, along with the history of why they were erected, and why the congregation eventually chose to remove them.<sup>135</sup>

The second reason that was given for the preservation of the plaque was the continued need to "celebrate and own the history of both flawed men who were part of the parish." As has been mentioned earlier, Robert E Lee and George Washington were both members of the Christ Church congregation. Lee grew up in Christ Church, and raised his own family there as well. George Washington brought his family to Christ Church during his time as President regularly enough to have purchased a family box pew. There are still those among the current Christ Church congregation who believe that both men should be honored by the church as men whose actions we might not have agreed with but who were part of the parish and were Christians.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> "Interview with anonymous source five." Telephone interview by author. January 31, 2018.

<sup>135</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one. Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

<sup>136</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one. Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

## INTERPRETATION

The leadership of Christ Church appears to be dedicated to interpreting both plaques in their new locations. According to the interviewees there are further plans to interpret other artifacts and areas on the church property, such as the tombstones and the mass grave of the Confederate soldiers on the churchyard.<sup>137</sup> Reverend York-Simmons has expressed some interest in creating a tour (either guided or self-guided) that explores these untold aspects of Christ Church's history.<sup>138</sup> In a statement to the press given on October 31, 2017, Reverend York-Simmons said that the church congregation is "looking forward to adding a new historical exhibit in connection with our upcoming 250th birthday, which will include Washington, Lee, and many other figures we admire."<sup>139</sup> If this occurs, there is a possibility that the exhibit created for the plaques would be included in this 'tour'.

## ROLE FOR PRESERVATION

Preservation will play a large role in the future of the plaques. Leaders at Christ Church have ensured the physical preservation of the plaques in the plans to move them to another location on the church property. Stonemasons (the same stonemasons who worked on the Washington National Cathedral after the 2011 earthquake) were consulted about whether the plaques could be safely removed, and how best to remove them without damaging them or the rest of the church fabric.

As was mentioned before, there are plans to interpret both monuments in their new location. At least one preservationist in the congregation has been consulted regarding the reinterpretation of the monuments. The interpretations will include information from the church's archives and from research done by the church historians on the history of the plaques

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<sup>137</sup> "Interview with anonymous source five." Telephone interview by author. January 31, 2018.

<sup>138</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one. Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

<sup>139</sup> Christ Episcopal Church. "Statement from the Rector on the Memorial Plaques." News release, October 31, 2017.

themselves, their place in the narrative of the history of the church, and why and how they came to be removed.<sup>140</sup>

### INSTITUTION'S INTENTIONS

According to the information gathered through the interviews and from the examination of the press releases the Christ Church leaders have published regarding the plaques, we can glean the desires and intentions of this particular institution. The leaders of the church want Christ Church to be welcoming and inclusive of all peoples. This could be hampered by the prominent position of the Robert E. Lee plaque next to the church altar.

The leadership at Christ Church wants to share and honor the history of the church. Already the church offers daily, docent-led tours, historical markers, historical artifacts, and a library which are all accessible and open to the public. Once the Lee and Washington plaques have been removed, they hope to set up a full exhibit on the history of the church, which will include the moved plaques.<sup>141</sup>

### INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGY

In order to become more welcoming and inclusive, the church leaders have decided to move the Lee and Washington plaques from their prominent locations on either side of the altar.<sup>142</sup> In the October press conference, the rector stressed that multiple historical markers to Washington and Lee will remain on the property, and that the vestry only considered the removal of the two memorial plaques. Other markers honoring the two men will remain.<sup>143</sup> The church leaders appear to be attempting to decrease the locational prominence of their references to General Lee in order to defend against the public outcry against him, while also

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<sup>140</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one. Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

<sup>141</sup> Christ Episcopal Church, "Statement from the Rector on the Memorial Plaques," News release, October 31, 2017.

<sup>142</sup> "Interview with anonymous source one. Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

<sup>143</sup> Christ Episcopal Church, "Statement from the Rector on the Memorial Plaques" News release, October 31, 2017.

sharing their history by interpreting his involvement with the church, how the plaque came to be, and how it came to be moved.

## Washington National Cathedral



Figure 3

### THE INSTITUTION

In 1791, Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant included in his plan for the capital “a great church for national purposes,” an idea supported by George Washington. Just over 100 years later, in 1893, Congress granted a charter allowing the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral Foundation of the District of Columbia to set up a cathedral and affiliated institutions of higher learning. In 1896 the first Episcopal bishop of Washington, the Right Reverend Henry Yates Satterlee chose the land on top of Mount Saint Alban, the spot with the best view over the Washington area, as the location for the new Cathedral. The foundation stone, brought over from a field near Bethlehem and set into a larger stone of American granite, was laid on September 29, 1907. The ceremony was presided over by President Theodore Roosevelt and the Bishop of London. This would be the start of a construction project that would last for eighty-three years.



The Cathedral's construction was piecemeal, as the church foundation had to continually raise money for completing it. The Bethlehem Chapel was the first part to be completed and opened for services in 1912. The Cathedral was completed in 1990, with the completion of the west towers. President George H. W. Bush attended the ceremony.

During its construction the Cathedral hosted many momentous events and was visited by numerous important figures who helped mark the various milestones in the construction process. The Cathedral was the location for the official thanksgiving service at the end of World War One in 1918 which President Woodrow Wilson attended. The dedication ceremony for the War Memorial Chapel was conducted by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Queen Elizabeth II. In 1968 Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. preached his final Sunday sermon from the famed Canterbury Pulpit. Queen Elizabeth II and President Ford attended the dedication ceremony for the completed nave and west rose window in 1976.

The Washington National Cathedral is the home of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington, as well as what Cathedral leaders claim is the "spiritual home of the nation." As such, it hosts many multi-faith services and activities, and is open to people of all faiths and belief systems. The Cathedral has hosted the National Prayer Service for five presidents, the funerals of three presidents, and the National Day of Prayer and the Remembrance Service following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack.<sup>144</sup> It is also the final resting place for notable people such as President Woodrow Wilson, Admiral George Dewey, Helen Keller, and the cathedral's own architects, Philip Frohman and Henry Vaughan.<sup>145</sup>

The Washington National Cathedral is, in many ways, the church of the nation, therefore, the decision of the diocese to remove the Lee-Jackson stained-glass windows, and

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<sup>144</sup> "Timeline," Washington National Cathedral, accessed November 27, 2017, <https://cathedral.org/history/timeline/>.

<sup>145</sup> "Washington, DC--National Cathedral," National Parks Service, accessed March 25, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/wash/dc5.htm>.

their decision about what to do with the windows next, is particularly important in the ongoing national debate around Confederate monuments.<sup>146</sup>

## CONFEDERATE MONUMENT HISTORY

Many of the windows, bays, statuary, doors, metal work, etc. in the Cathedral were donated by various individuals, families and organizations. The Lee-Jackson Memorial Bay and windows, installed in 1953 and dedicated on November 10, 1953, honor the Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. The bay, located in the south aisle of the Cathedral, was commissioned and purchased by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and a private donor, "a Yankee." The leaders of the Cathedral accepted the gift from the UDC, reportedly, because the building committee wanted to represent the full history of the United States in their building fabric.<sup>147</sup>

The windows were created by the Boston firm of Wilbur Herbert Burnham. With one set of two to each general, the windows display scenes from the generals' lives. Each window lancet portrays two episodes in its general's life, giving each general four episodes set in chronological order. Robert E. Lee's four sections show: (1) Lee during his time in the Corps of Engineers, showing men in uniform surveying; (2) Lee as Commandant of West Point, in the process of giving and receiving salutes from a group of cadets; (3) Lee and Jackson on horseback during their meeting at Chancellorsville before the flanking maneuver that resulted in a victory for the Confederate army and Jackson's death; and (4) Lee as president of Washington and Lee University, with Lee shown in academic robes with his hands held out in welcome. A mortar board sits on a table behind him, with a small inset of the facade of a building at Washington and Lee University. A second, matching inset shows a representation of

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<sup>146</sup> "Timeline," Washington National Cathedral, accessed November 27, 2017, <https://cathedral.org/history/timeline/>.

<sup>147</sup> "Interview with anonymous source seven." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018.

the Good Samaritan binding the wounds of the victim, and at the bottom are the words, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

The four sections for Jackson show: (1) Jackson's service as an artillery officer during the Mexican War, with a cannon being wheeled into place; (2) Jackson as a teacher at the Virginia Military Institute, teaching a group of students about military tactics in a classroom; (3) Jackson reading his bible, on his knees, before a battle; and (4) Jackson walking into water in his armor, with heavenly trumpets in the background and the words "So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him" set beneath.

Crossed American and Confederate flags decorate the spaces between the panels of each lancet, reminding viewers of the flags both generals fought under. The Confederate battle flag and the flag of the engineers' corps were placed in Lee's lancets; while the flag of Virginia and the flag of the artillery were placed in Jackson's lancets.<sup>148</sup>

After August 2016, in reaction to images of the perpetrator of the Charleston church shooting posing with a Confederate battle flag, the battle flag was removed from the Lee lancet and replaced with a white flag. Also, in reaction to the shooting, then-dean Gary Hall called for the windows to be removed completely and replaced by windows that "could adequately represent the history of race, slavery, and division in America" and "best represent our shared history of war and peace, racial division and reconciliation."<sup>149</sup>

## SYMBOLISM

The prominent placement of the Lee-Jackson bay and windows, along the nave of the Cathedral, adds to their symbolism. In the Catholic cathedrals of Europe on which the National

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<sup>148</sup> "Lee-Jackson Windows Ready for Dedication of Memorial Bay at November 10 Service," *Cathedral Age*, (Autumn 1953).

<sup>149</sup> "Jackson-Lee," Washington National Cathedral, accessed November 27, 2017, <https://cathedral.org/what-to-see/exterior/jackson-lee/>.

Cathedral is based, the stained-glass windows would tell bible stories, and/or stories of the lives of saints. By being honored in stained-glass along the nave, Generals Lee and Jackson are being portrayed as saints, or at least as important Christian figures. Beyond showing saints and important Christian figures, many of the stained glass windows, statuary, and needlework throughout the Washington National Cathedral also portray important figures or moments in American history deemed worthy of remembrance or praise. For example, a set of stained glass windows in a bay in the South nave portray Lewis and Clark's expedition, and the space window portrays the planets and contains a moon rock to commemorate the United States landing a man on the moon. The Lee-Jackson windows presence in the Cathedral means that at least some members of the Cathedral leadership believed that Lee and Jackson were important enough in American history to be portrayed and worthy of praise and remembrance.<sup>150</sup>

Additionally, beneath each set of windows is a large, inset plaque, with an inscription honoring each of the generals. The plaque to Jackson reads:

To the glory of the Lord of hosts whom he so zealously served and in honored memory of Thomas Jonathan Jackson Lieutenant General C.S.A. Like a stone wall in his steadfastness, swift as lightning and mighty in battle as he walked humbly before his creator whose word was his guide. This bay is erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and his admirers from south and north.

The plaque to Lee reads:

To the glory of God all-righteous and all-merciful and in undying tribute to the life and witness of Robert Edward Lee. Servant of God. Leader of men. General-in-chief of the armies of the Confederate States whose compelling sense of duty, serene faith and unfailing courtesy mark him for all ages as a Christian soldier without fear and without reproach. This memorial bay is gratefully built by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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<sup>150</sup> "Stained Glass," Washington National Cathedral, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://cathedral.org/architecture/restoration-work/stained-glass/>.

If not saints, the two generals, were being portrayed as Christian men, and Christian soldiers. Beyond acknowledging their allegiance to the Confederacy, the plaques do not discuss the war, instead focusing on the general's devotion to God and Christian values.

At least one of the stories shown in lancets for each general also focus on the generals' Christian lives. For Lee's lancets, it is the words placed at the bottom of his final panel, which implore God to let Lee die in peace. For Jackson's lancets, there are two panels that reference his religion: the third panel which shows Jackson kneeling and reading his bible before battle; and the fourth panel which shows Jackson walking into the water, with a background filled with heavenly trumpets.

The windows portray Lee and Jackson as dutiful men. They are portrayed as dutiful to God and country. Lee specifically is portrayed as being dutiful to the Confederate States of America and the state of Virginia by the flags in his lancet. This could be seen as problematic in that it symbolizes the Episcopal church's acceptance of the Confederate values for which these men fought, as well as symbolizing that a person could be considered dutiful to God and country at the same time as being dutiful to the Confederacy. The Confederates were seen by many as traitors to the United States of America, their rightful nation, and the windows were seen as honoring traitors to the nation. By portraying Lee and Jackson's loyalty to the Confederacy as dutiful and godly the windows give the message that, despite the values they fought for and loyalty to a traitorous cause, Lee and Jackson can still be considered and honored as good, dutiful Christians.

## CONTROVERSY AND DECISION

After the Charleston church shooting, the Cathedral leaders and the Cathedral Chapter conducted a two-year process of "discussions and discernment about racism, the legacy of slavery and the way forward." A committee was also formed to decide the fate of the windows. On September 6, 2017, the committee announced the decision to remove the windows. In the

press-release the public was also notified that the windows would be preserved and removed to a storage location until the next steps for the windows could be decided. The Cathedral staff and leadership also made it clear that they intended to “contextualize” the windows, just not as part of the sacred fabric of the Cathedral. The windows will likely be displayed and interpreted elsewhere on the Cathedral property.<sup>151</sup> During the time that committee and the Cathedral Chapter were making their decisions an information board was added in the Lee-Jackson Bay, to explain the history of the windows and that the Cathedral was in the process of deciding what would happen to them.

The windows were quietly removed in December 2017, without fanfare. So far, no decision has been made as to the future of the windows, or what will replace them.<sup>152</sup>

## Washington National Cathedral - Analysis

### STYLE OF DECISION-MAKING

The decision-making process around the windows has been relatively participatory. The decision to remove the windows was ultimately made by the Cathedral Chapter (which includes the Dean of the Cathedral, and the Bishop), but they received input from multiple historians, preservationists, and others. The Cathedral hosted at least two events where people could express their opinions on the windows, the Confederacy, and Confederate monuments in general. Both events had speakers: Dr. Rex Ellis (Associate Director of Curatorial Affairs at the National Museum of African American History and Culture), Dr. John Coski (Historian at the American Civil War Museum), the Reverend Dr. Kelly Brown Douglas (Canon Theologian at Washington National Cathedral), and Ray Suarez (journalist and moderator) at the talk on October 26, 2016; Jonathan Horn (author), the Reverend Dr. Kelly Brown Douglas, Dr. David

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<sup>151</sup> Washington National Cathedral Press Room, "Announcement on the Future of the Lee-Jackson Windows," news release, September 6, 2017.

<sup>152</sup> Interview with anonymous source six." Skype interview by author. February 1, 2018.

Terry (Coordinator of the Museum Studies & Historical Preservation Program and Assistant Professor at Morgan State University), and Joshua Johnson (host of 1A on WAMU and moderator) were at the event on March 29, 2017.<sup>153</sup> The wider Cathedral community was given many opportunities to express opinions on the windows, including at the hosted talks, through letter, emails and phone calls. The whole process appeared to be quite inclusive in that people were given the opportunity to inform the Cathedral leaders of their opinions. However I was unable to find out if and how the comments were acted upon.<sup>154</sup> As far as the Cathedral staff were aware, no members of the UDC attended the discussions.<sup>155</sup>

The decision about where the window will be moved to next and what will replace them is planned to also be inclusive, with the Cathedral leaders involved in the decision taking into consideration the views collected from members of the public through the hosted discussions, emails, letters and phone calls. The Cathedral Chapter, the Dean, and the Facilitatory Fine Arts Committee (FFAC) will make the decision as to where in the Cathedral the windows will go. The FFAC will discuss the issue and make a suggestion to the Dean. The Chair of the FFAC and the Dean will take the suggestion to the Cathedral Chapter for further discussion and confirmation.

Loose plans have been made for how the Cathedral leadership will decide what will replace the windows. The windows will definitely be replaced, but there are multiple options for what could replace them. Cathedral leaders have not yet decided on the subject or the theme. One popular option mentioned by one of the interviewees was to have a competition open to all artists working in stained glass.<sup>156</sup> No deadline has been set on when Cathedral leaders wants the new windows in place. For now, the space where the windows were previously displaced is boarded up tightly.

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<sup>153</sup> "Lee-Jackson Windows Task Force," Washington National Cathedral.

<sup>154</sup> "Interview with anonymous source six." Skype interview by author. February 1, 2018.

<sup>155</sup> Anonymous Source, "Lee-Jackson Windows Talks/Discussions," e-mail message to author, March 28, 2018.

<sup>156</sup> "Interview with anonymous source seven." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018.

## REASON TO PRESERVE

Dean Randy Hollerith stated that, as leader of the Cathedral, the reason he wanted to preserve the windows is because they force us to confront the stories of Lee, Jackson and the Confederacy as part of our nation's history. He said that the stories may not be appropriate for a sacred space, but that they should be told, and the windows can be used to tell those stories for future generations. The removal, preservation and interpretation of the windows is seen as an opportunity to reevaluate the windows and the men they honor. The reinterpretation of the windows is seen as a chance to not only tell the whole story, but to choose how to tell the story of how and why the leaders of the Cathedral, and the nation, decided to reevaluate Confederate monuments at this time.<sup>157</sup>

Both interviewees said that they also wanted to keep the windows at the Cathedral because they believe that the windows are part of the Cathedral's history. The Washington National Cathedral took eighty-three years to complete. In that time many individuals, families, and organizations approached them with donations of funds to purchase whole bays, windows, doors, statues, and other parts of the Cathedral. The Lee-Jackson windows were not just added to the Cathedral fabric after the fact, they were added before the nave of the Cathedral was completed in 1976. The windows are both part of the original building fabric and also, in the way that they were commissioned, representative of the building process for the Cathedral. According to one interviewee, this was one of the main reasons that the Cathedral Chapter chose not to give or sell the windows to another organization or individual. They did have offers from private collectors, private museums, and large public institutions such as the Smithsonian.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> "Interview with anonymous six." Skype interview by author. February 1, 2018.

<sup>158</sup> "Interview with anonymous source seven." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018.



All of the 215 stained-glass windows in the Cathedral are considered works of art, and were fabricated by notable stained-glass artists of the day.<sup>159</sup> Wilbur Burnham, whose studio designed and fabricated the Lee-Jackson windows, was a very well-known artist. Some of his most notable windows are in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine and Riverside Church in New York City, the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul in Washington DC, the American Church in Paris, and in the Princeton University Chapel.<sup>160</sup> One interviewee said that, by virtue of their artists and despite their subject, the Lee-Jackson windows should be viewed as works of art. Therefore, they should be preserved.<sup>161</sup>

## INTERPRETATION

According to the interviewed church leaders, there are definite plans to interpret the Lee-Jackson windows once they are returned to the Cathedral. As was previously mentioned, they are currently with a stained-glass conservator where they will be repaired and cleaned. The decision as to where they will be moved will be made after they have been returned. Both interviewees said that they will likely be displayed on the seventh floor of the Cathedral, a public secular space where exhibits have been placed on the 2011 earthquake damage and a display of the winning pieces for an unrelated stained-glass competition. According to one interviewee, the windows, wherever they are displayed will have “contextualization around them to tell what they are, why they were removed, how they fit in the bigger context, and how they fit into the larger story of the Cathedral.”<sup>162</sup> Despite how they came to be at the Cathedral, the windows are considered part of the Cathedral’s history, even above their connection to the nation’s history.

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<sup>159</sup> "Interview with anonymous source six." Skype interview by author. February 1, 2018.

<sup>160</sup> "Wilbur Herbert Burnham," AskArt, accessed April 08, 2018, [http://www.askart.com/artist\\_bio/Wilbur\\_Herbert\\_Burnham/10007759/Wilbur\\_Herbert\\_Burnham.aspxm.aspx](http://www.askart.com/artist_bio/Wilbur_Herbert_Burnham/10007759/Wilbur_Herbert_Burnham.aspxm.aspx)

<sup>161</sup> "Interview with anonymous source six." Skype interview by author. February 1, 2018.

<sup>162</sup> "Interview with anonymous source seven." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018.

The same interviewee also said that there has been discussion among the FFAC members regarding whether the Confederate battle flag removed from the Lee lancet will be restored to its original location. The interviewee seemed to believe that it is likely that the flag will be restored, allowing visitors to see the lancet as it was originally intended.<sup>163</sup>

Contextualizing text could be added to the exhibit explaining how the leaders of the Cathedral had removed the flag, but had decided to exhibit the window with the flag in place.

#### ROLE FOR PRESERVATION

Preservation and preservationists, have and will play a large role in the future of the Lee-Jackson stained-glass windows. The Cathedral leaders are currently conducting the physical preservation of the windows. The physical preservation/conservation of the stained-glass windows of the Cathedral is already a well-oiled machine. Every year at least one window is removed and sent to the conservator for cleaning and, if necessary, repairs. The Lee-Jackson windows will continue to receive regular conservation even though they have been moved.

An interpretation of the window's preservation is also very likely to occur. As has already been mentioned, the Cathedral leaders have plans to display the windows, probably on the seventh floor of the Cathedral. Some form of the interpretation, most likely an exhibit, will be employed to explain the history of the windows and their preservation.

The leaders of the Cathedral have professional preservationists on staff, including James Shepherd, some of the stonemasons, and members of the Facilitatory Fine Arts Committee. Mr Shepherd and the Facilitatory Fine Arts Committee will play a large role in planning and creating the exhibit for the windows.

Over the past year, as the Cathedral Chapter has been deciding whether or not to remove the windows, Cathedral leadership has consulted and been approached by some DC based preservation groups. According to one interviewee, the Cathedral staff consulted with the

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<sup>163</sup> "Interview with anonymous source seven." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018.

DC Historic Preservation Office on the removal of the windows. They were contacted by, and gained the support of, the non-profit DC Preservation League as well. Both groups wanted to ensure that the windows would not be destroyed and that they would be removed and stored properly.

The interviews I conducted with staff at the Washington National Cathedral showed that preservationists have played a large role in the decisions made around the windows so far. It seems that they will also have a large role in the decisions going forward.

### INSTITUTION'S INTENTIONS

Through the analysis of press statements and the interviews conducted, we can intuit the wishes and intentions of the leaders of the Washington National Cathedral. Like many institutions, the safety of the staff and visitors at the Cathedral is very important. The Cathedral also shares a larger property with three affiliated schools: the National Cathedral School, Beauvoir, and St. Albans. Any potential protests at the Cathedral could affect the schools and call into question the safety of the students.<sup>164</sup>

The Washington National Cathedral has, since its founding, always strived to be “the spiritual home of the nation” and a “house of prayer for all people.” In order to do this the Cathedral has hosted multiple multi-religious events, as well as allowing anyone, from any religion to attend and participate in services. The Cathedral leaders, while they debated the removal of the windows, decided that the windows could be seen as a “barrier” to this integrative and inclusive mission. The windows were also a barrier to the mission of being a center for work on racial justice and reconciliation.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> "Interview with anonymous source six." Skype interview by author. February 1, 2018.

<sup>165</sup> Washington National Cathedral, “Announcement on the Future of the Lee-Jackson Windows,” news release, cathedral.org, September 6, 2017.

## INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGY

In order to avoid any possible protests or violence as a result of the presence of the Lee-Jackson windows, the strategy of the Cathedral leadership was to immediately begin to address the issue. Following the murders of nine people in Charleston, the then-Dean of the Cathedral, Gary Hall, called for the removal of the windows and announced the creation of a task force to explore the appropriateness of having the windows in the Cathedral fabric. A year after the task force was formed, in 2016, Cathedral leaders decided to remove the Confederate battle flag in the windows and replace it with white glass. The task force continued to meet and debate the removal of the windows. The deliberative process was sped up after the events in Charlottesville. The overall strategy of the Cathedral leadership has been to address the windows before a problem arose.

## Sewanee University of the South



Figure 4



Figure 5

### THE INSTITUTION

Sewanee University of the South is a private liberal arts college in Sewanee, Tennessee, approximately fifty miles west of the city of Chattanooga. The school was founded in 1857 by the clergy and laymen delegates of ten dioceses of the Episcopal Church in the southern United States, on land (approximately 13,000 acres) donated by local landowners and the Sewanee Mining Company.<sup>166</sup> Included among the clergymen who founded the school were several men who would become prominent figures in the Confederacy, such as Bishop-General Leonidas Polk, Bishop James Otey, and Bishop Stephen Elliott Jr. They founded the university for the purpose of creating Christian leaders for the slave-holding South.<sup>167</sup> The cornerstone of the campus was laid on October 10, 1860, but the opening of the school was delayed due to the onset of the Civil War; the school officially opened on September 18, 1869.<sup>168</sup> Over the years

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<sup>166</sup> The University of the South "University History," The University of the South, accessed January 21, 2018. <http://www.sewanee.edu/about/university-history/>.

<sup>167</sup> "An Institution of Our Southern Land: The University's Refounding Era, 1868-1890," Omeka.Sewanee.edu.

<sup>168</sup> The University of the South "University History," The University of the South, accessed January 21, 2018. <http://www.sewanee.edu/about/university-history/>.

immediately after the school's opening multiple ex-Confederate leaders were recruited to teach at the university, including Francis Shoup, Edmund Kirby-Smith, and Robert Dabney. The first three Vice-Chancellors of the school, Charles Quintard, Josiah Gorgas, and Telfair Hodgson, were also ex-Confederates, as was the school's first chaplain, William Porcher DuBose. Sewanee also unsuccessfully attempted to recruit the ex-president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, and Generals Robert E. Lee and Joseph Johnston. The historian Samuel Williamson called the years between 1861 and 1908, the "era of Confederate general" since all of Sewanee's faculty and leaders had either been slave owners and/or had been members of the Confederate administration or army. The new goal of the university and the faculty, following the Confederacy's loss of the war, was to ensure that their students believed in and followed the traditions and values of the South.<sup>169</sup>

The university is currently owned and run by twenty-eight Episcopal dioceses, the only university in the United States to be run by the Episcopal Church. The university has played a large role in the training of future Episcopal Church leaders. Nine years after the university opened, the Episcopal Church started a formal seminary program at the university, after years of having Sewanee students read theology. The university is known for both its seminary school, and its programs in ministry, both for priests and lay-persons.<sup>170</sup>

## CONFEDERATE MONUMENT HISTORY

### **Edmund Kirby-Smith Memorial**

Edmund Kirby-Smith was a Confederate general in the Civil War. He taught mathematics and botany at Sewanee University from 1875 until his death in 1893 and was buried in the University of the South Cemetery. He was a well-loved member of the faculty during his time as a professor. His popularity was one reason why the school accepted the

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<sup>169</sup> "An Institution of Our Southern Land: The University's Refounding Era, 1868-1890," Omeka.Sewanee.edu.

<sup>170</sup> The University of the South "University History," The University of the South, accessed January 21, 2018, <http://www.sewanee.edu/about/university-history/>.

United Daughters of the Confederacy's request to erect a monument to General Kirby-Smith in the 1920s. Plans were made for a large memorial to be placed at the main intersection of the campus, at University Avenue and Texas Avenue. The intersection is currently one of the first side streets that you approach after entering the campus, and usually has significant amounts of traffic passing through. With this prominent proposed location, plans were made to have a large statue of Kirby-Smith, on a large pedestal, surrounded by Confederate battle flags, with a reflecting pool in front. However, UDC members had to raise the money themselves and could not get enough money for the large project. They had to settle for a less ostentatious memorial.<sup>171</sup>

The monument consists of a pedestal with a bas relief of Kirby-Smith in his military uniform, which may have been sculpted by one of Kirby-Smith's family members. The image is surrounded by his name and dates, and 'Kirby-Smith' is inlaid below. A plaque beneath lists his achievements but focuses on his history as a soldier/general and makes no mention of his time as a professor at Sewanee. A semi-circular stone wall with a bench stands behind the pedestal.<sup>172</sup>

The monument was dedicated in May 1940 by the Vice Chancellor of the University who claimed that the memorial was not only to Kirby-Smith, but also to the University and the people who made the institution. As one of the professors who joined the University after the Civil War, Kirby-Smith played a major role in the University's so-called 'second founding'. According to one interviewee, Kirby-Smith was the type of man the University wanted to offer as a role model for its incoming students and an example of the type of person they wanted at Sewanee at the time.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018.

<sup>172</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

<sup>173</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three. Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018

Despite its prominent location, according to the interviewees, the memorial was barely noticed or commented upon by students or faculty in the last several years. One current Sewanee student that I spoke to said:

I'm sure most people walked by it. It seemed to me almost hidden in plain sight...I had probably been at Sewanee for three years before I even noticed it. I didn't really know anything about Kirby-Smith. I didn't know who he was, I didn't know what the memorial had to do with [the school]...Not a lot of people paid attention to it, I'd say, until the Charlottesville rallies.

Sewanee students seem to have not been very engaged with the memorial, with some not even having known that the memorial was there despite driving or walking by it often. The memorial no longer played a significant role in campus life.<sup>174</sup>

### **Leonidas Polk Portrait (*Sword Over the Gown*)**

Leonidas Polk was the Bishop of the Louisiana Diocese of the Episcopal Church and a Confederate general, but he was also considered one of the founders of the University of the South. As such, a portrait of him hangs in Convocation Hall, and his likeness is portrayed in many of the stained-glass windows in the university's church.

The portrait in question, the *Sword over the Gown*, was painted by Eliphalet Andrews in 1900. It portrays Polk in his bishop's robe, with one hand on a chair that has a sword leaning against it and a Confederate uniform draped over it. The portrait was named *Sword over the Gown* in reference to Bishop Polk's answer to a question in regard to his relinquishing his position as a Bishop to become a Confederate general. He responded "No, Sir, I am buckling the sword over the gown," which is said to signify his belief that fighting in the Civil War was his civic and priestly duty.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018.

<sup>175</sup> "Introductory Hermeneutics of *Sword over the Gown*." *Sword over the Gown*, accessed January 15, 2018, [http://www.leonidaspolk.org/sword\\_over\\_the\\_gown.html](http://www.leonidaspolk.org/sword_over_the_gown.html).



The painting was commissioned by John C. Underwood, a former Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky. He commissioned Andrews to make the portraits of twenty important Confederates to be placed in a proposed Richmond Confederate Museum.<sup>176</sup> Eleven of the commissioned Confederate paintings, including the portrait of Polk, were stored in Covington, Kentucky until 1910, when they were all sold to pay off unpaid storage fees.<sup>177</sup> It is not known how Sewanee came to have the painting, but in c. 1927, the painting was moved to Sewanee's School of Theology and displayed in the school's St. Luke's Chapel, adjacent to the former home of the seminary school, until the late 1950s, when the church was renovated. When the renovations were complete the painting was moved to the basement, where it was forgotten until the 1960s, when a Sewanee professor had the painting moved into Convocation Hall. Eventually the painting was given a prime location next to the Hall's grand fireplace.

In 1998 the painting was vandalized and had to be removed for restoration. The damage was increased when the steam pipes burst in the storage area. The original painting was never restored and instead artist Connie Erickson created a reproduction which was unveiled on June 1, 2003 and placed again in Convocation Hall.<sup>178</sup>

Beyond the Kirby-Smith memorial and the Polk portrait, multiple other examples of Confederate monuments and extensive Confederate iconography still exist at Sewanee.<sup>179</sup> These include the Confederate flag in several of the stained glass windows in All Saints Chapel, the names of natural landmarks (Morgan's Steep and Armfield Bluff, named after a major slaveholding family and an operative of the slave-trade, respectively) and buildings (Gorgas

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<sup>176</sup> "United Confederate Veterans, Confederate Southern Memorial Association, and Sons of Confederate Veterans, Minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans Held in the City of Charleston S. C. on May 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th 1899", vol. 9-10 (1900).

<sup>177</sup> John E. Kleber, ed., "Underwood, John Cox," *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015).

<sup>178</sup> "Introductory Hermeneutics of Sword over the Gown," *Sword over the Gown*, accessed January 15, 2018. [http://www.leonidaspolk.org/sword\\_over\\_the\\_gown.html](http://www.leonidaspolk.org/sword_over_the_gown.html).

<sup>179</sup> "An Institution of Our Southern Land: The University's Refounding Era, 1868-1890," Omeka.Sewanee.edu.

Hall, Hodgson Hall, Quintard Hall, and Hoffman Hall) across the campus.<sup>180</sup>

## SYMBOLISM

The Kirby-Smith memorial bas relief shows Kirby-Smith in his Confederate military uniform, which shows that his military career is worth memorializing. He is shown as an older man, which suggests that he should be remembered as an older soldier, wise and knowledgeable. The inscription for the monument describes his military career, it does not even mention his time as a beloved professor at Sewanee University, which is purported to be one of the reasons why the Sewanee trustees accepted the UDC's proposal to place the memorial on their campus. The memorial seems to honor Kirby-Smith as a Confederate military hero.

The Polk painting is full of symbolism. Polk is portrayed in his bishop's robe, standing beside, but not holding, a sword. This refers to Polk's struggle to decide whether to fight in the Civil War or remain out of the war as his role as a bishop required. Polk chose both, as is suggested by his wearing the bishop's robes, but also standing beside and having his hand on the military uniform. Polk is also portrayed standing by the chair, instead of sitting on it. In standing, he has a commanding presence, possibly referring to his leadership within the church, and the leadership roles he would have in the army.

## CONTROVERSY AND DECISION

### **Kirby-Smith Memorial**

After the events at Charlottesville a descendant of General Kirby-Smith, Thomas Kirby-Smith, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of South, Dr. John M. McCardell, suggesting that it may be time to remove the monument. The Vice-Chancellor, with the support of the chair of the board and advice from the chair of the University Cemetery Committee, the director of facilities, the son of a former Vice-Chancellor, and the research associate from the

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<sup>180</sup> David Paulsen, "Sewanee Seeks Untold Story of University's Ties to Slavery, Segregation in Reconciliation Project," *Episcopal Church*, (March 6, 2018); Fleming Smith, "Future Project to Explore Sewanee's True History with Slavery," *The Sewanee Purple*, (December 12, 2016).

Working Group on Slavery, Race and Reconciliation (a multi-university project that examines universities' historic relationship with slavery), decided to comply with the descendant's wishes and remove the monument before the students returned to the campus for the start of the school year.<sup>181</sup>

The bas relief and the associated plaques with his name and accomplishments were removed from the pedestal and placed on a large stone/plaque, leaving the original pedestal and other stonework in place. This stone/plaque, was placed in the Kirby-Smith family plot in the University of the South Cemetery. The stone was not placed at the grave of the general, which is elsewhere in the plot. The student who I interviewed described the monument in its new location:

It looks about the same. The pedestal is a little smaller, a little shorter. It looks very new, it is very new, it definitely sticks out like a sore thumb in the University Cemetery. It's new, certainly, looks a bit odd relative to the old, older headstones that have been weathered and there's moss growing on them. This definitely sticks out.<sup>182</sup>

The University has not yet decided what, if anything, will replace the bas relief or the monument. Until then, the space will remain vacant. It is hoped that a decision will have been made by the time celebrations begin for the University's bicentennial this year.<sup>183</sup>

### **Polk Portrait**

In the fall of 2015, Vice-Chancellor McCardell ordered the removal of the *Sword over the Gown* portrait of Polk. The portrait was moved from its prominent location in Convocation Hall to the University Archives and Special Collections.<sup>184</sup> It was replaced by another portrait of Polk

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<sup>181</sup> The Sewanee Purple, "McCardell Announces Relocation of Kirby-Smith Sculpture and Plaques to University Cemetery," *The Sewanee Purple*, (October 20, 2017).

<sup>182</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018.

<sup>183</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

<sup>184</sup> The Sewanee Purple, "Sewanee, Polk, and the Old South," *The Sewanee Purple*, (March 22, 2016)

that he sat for, portraying him as a younger man in his clerical garb and has no reference to his time in the Confederate army.<sup>185</sup>

Currently the painting hangs on the wall in the University Archive. It has not been decided whether the painting will remain in the archives, or if it will be moved again. It will remain where it is until a decision has been made.

## Sewanee - Analysis

### STYLE OF DECISION-MAKING

Vice Chancellor McCardell made an executive, unilateral decision on the monuments. The decision to move the Kirby-Smith memorial was made after receiving the letter from Thomas Kirby-Smith. The Vice Chancellor consulted with the chair of the University Cemetery Committee and the University Historiographer on where to move the monument, but he made the final decision. There was no consultation with faculty or students. The Sewanee community was informed of the decision by email, and the bas-relief was removed with no fanfare.

The decision to move the Polk portrait involved even fewer people. The Vice Chancellor decided that he wanted the portrait moved. He consulted the head archivist, the head librarian and an art historian about moving it to the University Archives. The decision was made easier, the Vice Chancellor claimed, because the portrait was only a copy of a portrait that Polk did not sit for. The portrait was replaced immediately by another portrait of Polk in his bishop's robes which he did sit for.<sup>186</sup>

### REASON TO PRESERVE

Two reasons emerged from the interviews for why administrators at Sewanee University of the South decided to preserve the Kirby-Smith Memorial and the Polk portrait. First, and

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<sup>185</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

<sup>186</sup> Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

primarily, they (both the monuments and the men they honor) are part of Sewanee's history. Second, according to one interviewee, they were both gifts, so the school does not have the right to destroy them or give them away.<sup>187</sup>

One interviewee stated that both monuments are a part of Sewanee's history, and that he did not want to "turn his back on" that history. Sewanee's history is tied irrevocably to the Confederacy, as so many of its founders and early faculty were Confederate generals and leaders. These monuments are not only memorials to Confederate generals, they are memorials to men who played a large role in the founding and early history of the University. These men are an integral part of Sewanee' history. Therefore, the monuments are both part of the history of the school physically, as part of the campus, and representatively, as depictions of two men who were integral in the University's history. The interviewee emphasized the importance of the physical preservation of the monuments in saying that destroying or removing them from campus entirely was never an option.<sup>188</sup>

Both monuments were given to the University as gifts. According to one interviewee, the fact that the monuments were gifts could have made the administration wary of destroying or giving the monuments up in case this upset the donors and/or created legal trouble for the school. As the interviewee put it, the administration may not have felt that it was "in their jurisdiction to handle...as it was paid for by someone else."<sup>189</sup>

## INTERPRETATION

As of now, there are no concrete plans to interpret either the Kirby-Smith Memorial or the Leonidas Polk portrait. Neither has the decision on the permanent location for the portrait been made. In the case of the Kirby-Smith Memorial, the bas-relief is now on the Kirby-Smith

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<sup>187</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018

<sup>188</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

<sup>189</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018

cemetery plot in the University's private cemetery. As the plot is owned by the family, the family would have to give permission for any interpretation that accompanied the bas-relief.

The Sewanee University sesquicentennial anniversary will be this September, and both Sewanee interviewees remarked that there could be a role for both monuments in the celebration. They also said that the interpretation of the Kirby-Smith Memorial could be made through the installation of a new, forward looking sculpture in the space.<sup>190</sup>

Since 2016, after the Charleston church shooting, the Sewanee community began 'The Project on Slavery, Race and Reconciliation' in conjunction with the international 'Universities Studying Slavery' initiative. The project "aims to bring together the Sewanee community - students, staff, faculty, alumni, and area residents - to pursue a comprehensive examination and reflective consideration of our university's historic connections to the institutions of slavery and its legacies in the long century of racial injustice after the end of the Civil War." The project is ongoing and has involved historical research, working groups and discussions.<sup>191</sup> Following the removal of the Kirby-Smith memorial in August, arrangements were made to include discussions specifically on the removed memorial and Sewanee's past.<sup>192</sup> These discussions will encourage an increased understanding of the monuments, which may lead to interpretation of the monuments.

According to one interviewee, the student body seems to have some interest in seeing the Kirby-Smith Memorial interpreted. The decision to move the monument was made entirely by the administration, with no student input. While there was very little objection on campus to the removal of the monument, there was a desire for "an open dialogue about what's happening, an effort to understand the intention behind the placement, or the purpose." The

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<sup>190</sup> "Sewanee University interviews." Interviews three and eight by author. January 18, 2018 and February 7, 2018.

<sup>191</sup> The University of the South, "The Project on Slavery, Race, and Reconciliation," Sewanee Slavery Project - The University of the South.

<sup>192</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

students want the university to be open with them, and the public, about how they came to have the memorial, why it has remained for so long, and why they chose to remove it now.<sup>193</sup> With the discussions around the Kirby-Smith memorial, the Sewanee administration is beginning this process.

#### ROLE FOR PRESERVATION

Vice Chancellor McCardell, prompted by the letter from the descendent of General Kirby-Smith and with advice from the board chair, made the decision to move the bas-relief and the plaques to the Kirby-Smith family plot. He did not consult any preservation experts. Stonemasons were hired to remove the bas-relief from the pedestal and insert it into the new pedestal at the cemetery. While care was taken not to damage the bas-relief, no preservation experts were consulted at any point in the process.

The portrait, the bas-relief, and the plaques are being physically preserved. Neither is in danger of being destroyed or neglected. As has been mentioned previously, there is a desire for interpretation of the monuments by the students and some faculty, but there are currently no plans for interpretive preservation.

#### INSTITUTION'S INTENTIONS

According to the information gathered through the interviews and from the examination of articles published on the decisions in the student newspaper, *The Sewanee Purple*, we can glean the wishes and intentions of Sewanee University's leaders.

Like all educational institutions, one of the University's main goals, and duties, is the protection of all its students, faculty and staff. After the violent events that unfolded in Charlottesville in August 2017, the Vice Chancellor was understandably worried about the possibility of any violent protests occurring on his campus as a result of the presence of many Confederate monuments and extensive Confederate iconography at Sewanee. He wanted to

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<sup>193</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018.

avoid any conflict that could come from having the monuments in such prominent locations. He sought to avoid conflict with the students, faculty, staff or any outside protesters. The Vice Chancellor's goal was to make a decision before a problem started.<sup>194</sup> However, the student that I interviewed called the Vice Chancellor's decision reactive instead of proactive, referring to the fact that the Vice Chancellor, and the administration in general, appeared to wait until there was a national debate and the potential of protests on the campus, before they would consider moving or removing the monuments.<sup>195</sup> Whether the decision was reactive or proactive, with the school year starting soon after the Unite the Right Rally, a decision had to be made to protect the Sewanee community that would soon arrive on campus from any possible violence.

One interviewee called out the University for attempting to avoid, not just conflict, but also having to confront the University's "troubling history" with regards to the Confederacy. He said that the University has avoided having to take a side, or take a stand on the moral issues around their "troubling history." To illustrate this avoidance tendency, the interviewee described two incidents where the school used a lucky event to quietly remove Confederate artifacts. These incidents were referenced in a November 2005 *New York Times* articles by Alan Finder.<sup>196</sup> The first incident involved a mace was given to the University in the name of Nathan Bedford Forrest, who was a Confederate general and, later, the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Bedford Forrest had no ties to the school besides possibly having a relative who had attended. The mace was carried by the President of the Order of the Gownsmen during ceremonial events. According to interviewee, the mace broke and the Vice Chancellor decided to move the mace to the University Archives without any announcement or interpretation, not wanting to deal with the issue.<sup>197</sup> The second example involved the removal of several state

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<sup>194</sup> Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

<sup>195</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018

<sup>196</sup> Alan Finder. "In Desire to Grow, Colleges in South Battle with Roots." *New York Times*, (Nov 30, 2005).

<sup>197</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018



flags from All Saints Chapel, the main University chapel, in the mid-90s. The flags of the states of the Episcopal dioceses that own Sewanee University, all of which are southern states, hung along the aisles of the nave. Many of these flags contained Confederate symbols, such as the Confederate battle flag in the flags of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. According to the interviewee, It is rumored that the choirmaster and the organist also complained that the flags interfered with the acoustics of the building. Throughout the year, the flags were often switched out with other banners and flags, depending on the events taking place in the chapel or special occasions such as church holidays and feast days. This was an expensive process, and so the school supposedly decided to remove the flags entirely from the chapel because "the cost of the process of continuously switching the flags became impossible to justify."<sup>198</sup> According to the interviewee, there was no announcement made that the school was taking a moral stand, nor was there any interpretive actions taken for the flags. In both cases, the artifacts disappeared into the archives. According to the interviewee, the University administration would most likely prefer to never have to address Sewanee's Confederate past; preferring to have the monuments locked in the archive, or at the cemetery, with no interpretation.<sup>199</sup> If this is true, it would call into question the real intentions of the administration, and whether they will really try to include interpretations of either monument in their sesquicentennial celebrations.

#### INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGY

As was mentioned in the previous paragraphs, one interviewee called Vice Chancellor McCardell reactive instead of proactive in his decision on the monuments. He seems to believe that the University's strategy is to keep its Confederate monuments where they are, out in the open, until the removal is "offered as a possibility that they don't really have to make themselves." The descendant of Kirby-Smith wrote to the university, requesting the removal.

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<sup>198</sup> "Confederate Monuments at Sewanee University," email to Robert Beeland, March 27, 2018.

<sup>199</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018

This, as the student described it, was a lucky break and not the result of a moral debate within the University.

The avoidance of the issue of the university's ties to the Confederacy until forced or gifted an opportunity, is not only a desire but a strategy of the institution. The strategy has allowed the university to quietly remove some memorabilia such as the Bedford Forest mace, or the state flags in All Saints Chapel. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this strategy has also come at some cost for the institution. The student I interviewed noted that the size of the incoming classes to the university has slowly been decreasing over the years. The university hired several consultants to advise them on how to find a solution for their decreasing student body. Reportedly, most of the consultants advised the university to remove all the Confederate monuments, imagery and memorabilia from campus so that they could attract a more diverse group of students. The school did not remove any of the monuments at that time.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018

## Duke University

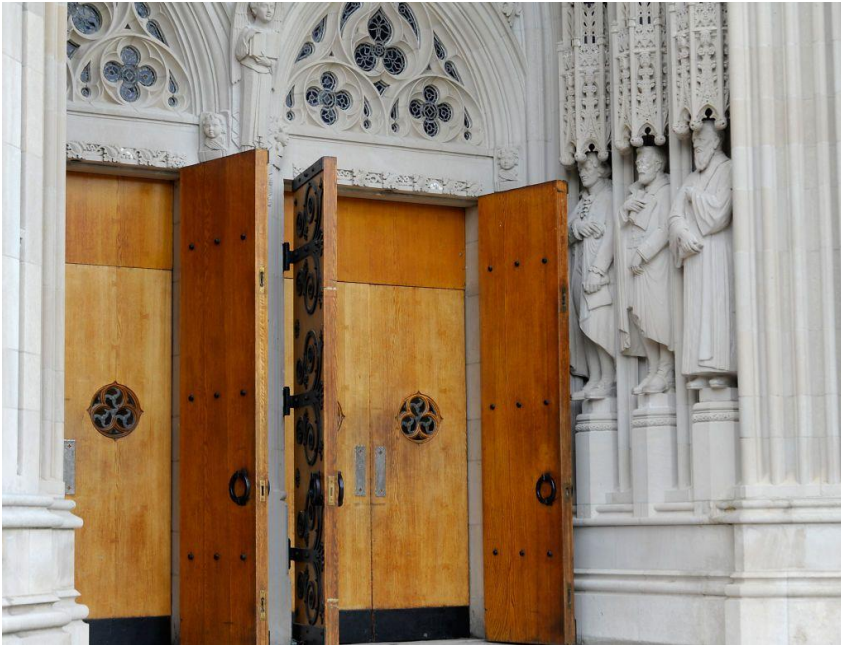


Figure 6

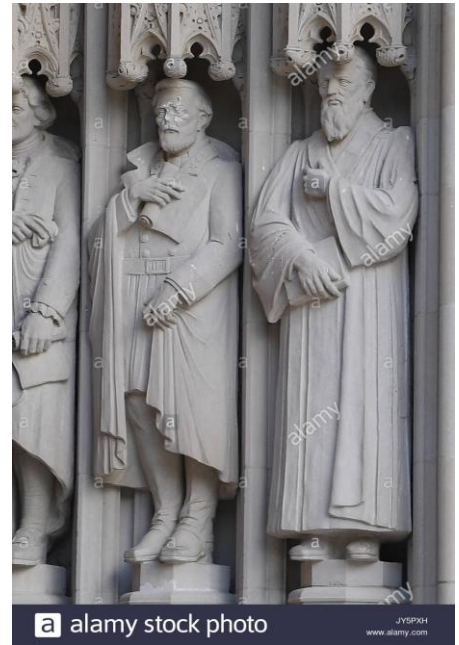


Figure 7

### THE INSTITUTION

Duke University is a private research university in Durham, North Carolina. The school that would become Duke University was founded in 1838 as a subscription school for Methodist and Quaker families in Randolph County, North Carolina. Braxton Craven, the second principal of the school, was able to recharter the school as Normal College in 1851 and gained the ability to grant degrees from the North Carolina legislature in 1853.

Craven was a licensed and later, ordained, preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he turned to the church to provide free education when the state's public-school system was slow to start. The trustees agreed to fund the education of Methodist preachers at the school as long as the church provided financial support. To finalize the deal, the school was renamed Trinity College. The ties to the Methodist church allowed Trinity College to attract students from out of state, giving the school enough funding to survive the Civil War and Reconstruction.

In 1887 John F. Crowell became Trinity College's president. He was a supporter of the German university model which held research to be more important than recitation and made significant changes to suit his vision. Major revisions were made to the curriculum, a campus research library was established, and the trustees were persuaded to move the campus to an urban environment where the school could more easily attract students, faculty and funding. Therefore, in 1892, there was a competition among many North Carolina cities to provide Trinity College with a new campus. They chose Durham, mostly because of significant donations from Washington Duke and Julian S. Carr, two powerful Methodists who had become wealthy from tobacco. Trinity College's relationship with Washington Duke was the start of a philanthropic pattern that would last for many years.

The Duke family's connection with the school ultimately led to the establishment of the \$40-million trust fund called the Duke Endowment in December 1924, by James B. Duke. Soon after the Endowment was established, \$19-million was used to rebuild the old campus around Trinity College and start the building of a new campus. Included in this new campus would be the Duke Chapel.

The President at the time, William Few, urged the trustees to rename the school, Duke University because 'Trinity College' was not unique. James Duke agreed, as long as he was assured that the naming would be seen as a memorial to his father and the Duke family.<sup>201</sup>

## CONFEDERATE MONUMENT HISTORY

Duke Chapel is on Duke University's West Campus. Construction of this centerpiece of the university began in 1930 and was completed in 1932. The chapel was included in the campus master-plan put together by the campus architect, Horace Trumbauer, but the actual design of the chapel is attributed to Julian Abele, an African American architect who worked in

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<sup>201</sup> "Duke University: A Brief Narrative History," *Duke University Libraries*, January 21, 2014.

Trumbauer's office.<sup>202</sup> Abele never saw the completed chapel because of the segregation laws that did not allow African Americans to share facilities such as schools and churches with whites.

The chapel was modeled after European cathedrals, many of which contained statues of saints in their porticos. The university, like its founder, was Methodist, a denomination that does not have saints. According to letters and memorandums written at the time of the chapel's construction, Horace Trumbauer, allowed John Donnelly, whose firm supposedly designed and constructed all "models, sculpture, and stone carving on the complete university program," to decide who should be portrayed on the portico.<sup>203</sup> Donnelly supposedly sought the advice of an unnamed Vanderbilt professor, who told him to have representations of religion on one side, and representations of the South on the opposite side. For the representations of the South, Donnelly chose (from left to right): as a statesmen of the south, Thomas Jefferson (the third President of the United States), as a soldier of the south, Robert E. Lee (general of the Confederate Army), and as a poet of the south, Sydney Lanier (a poet in the Confederate Army).<sup>204</sup> Lee, Jefferson and Lanier were described as "great men of the American South" in a 2014 Chapel brochure, however, none of the men had any connection to Duke University or Trinity College. They seem to have been chosen only as prominent southern men. Opposite them, for the representations of religion, Donnelly chose (from left to right): Girolamo Savonarola (an Italian monk and preacher), Martin Luther (started the Protestant Reformation, founder of Lutheranism), and John Wycliffe (a critic of the Roman Catholic clergy, translated the Bible into English). No evidence has shown that Donnelly received any input from Duke

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<sup>202</sup> "TNDC Episode 8: "Following the Removal of Robert E. Lee Statue, Feat: Mike Schoenfeld"," interview by TNDC, *TNDC*, (December 22, 2017); "Penn Biographies: Julian Francis Abele (1881-1950)," *University of Pennsylvania University Archives*.

<sup>203</sup> Claire Ballentine and Neelesh Moorthy, "Tracing the History of Duke Chapel's Robert E. Lee Statue," *The Chronicle*, (August 15, 2017).

<sup>204</sup> "TNDC Episode 8: "Following the Removal of Robert E. Lee Statue, Feat: Mike Schoenfeld"," interview by TNDC, *TNDC*, (December 22, 2017).

University leaders regarding the choice of the figures for the portico; he chose the figures himself.

When the figures were unveiled prior to the official opening of the chapel, the board of trustees were very displeased with the statues. Duke historians have debated whether the trustees were upset with the individuals portrayed or the quality of the portrayals, and most have agreed that it was most likely the latter. According to George C. Allen, the current chairman of the Building Committee of the Duke Endowment, and William R. Perkins, a current trustee of the Duke Endowment, the statues do not bear a strong resemblance to the men who they are meant to portray. Horace Trumbauer himself wrote that the statues were supposed to be symbolic, not specific.<sup>205</sup> The trustees were so displeased with the awkward and amateurish statues that they quickly passed a resolution claiming that the six statues were only symbolic and decorative, not actual representations of the individuals who they were supposed to portray. This resolution may have contributed to the Lee statue not having been removed in the past despite multiple attempts by students, alumni, and faculty over the course of Duke's history.

The statues are all nearly life-size, and are on pedestals that place them in an exalted position above visitors who enter the chapel. In the statue, General Lee is dressed in his United States Army uniform, with a belt buckled reading 'USA' instead of 'CSA'. It is not known why the carvers portrayed Lee in his US army uniform; whether they made a mistake or if they were making a statement. However, prior to joining the Confederacy, Lee was a decorated general of the United States army, which may be the era of Lee's life that Donnelly and the carvers were trying to memorialize.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Claire Ballentine and Neelesh Moorthy, "Tracing the History of Duke Chapel's Robert E. Lee Statue," *The Chronicle*, (August 15, 2017).

<sup>206</sup> "TNDC Episode 8: "Following the Removal of Robert E. Lee Statue, Feat: Mike Schoenfeld"," interview by TNDC, *TNDC*, (December 22, 2017).

## SYMBOLISM

As was explained earlier, Duke Chapel was designed based on the Catholic cathedrals of western Europe and, therefore, the Lee, Jefferson and Lanier statues are occupying places where, in a Catholic cathedral, statues of various saints would stand. For anyone familiar with Catholic cathedrals, the placement of the Lee statue would suggest that Lee should be revered as one would a religious saint. Lee, Jefferson and Lanier, are being portrayed as southern saints. As a saint, Lee would have to have sacrificed something for his faith, and so, this portrayal as a saint in turn suggests that Lee had sacrificed for his country, the south, and the Confederacy.

The Lee statue is life-size, but also placed so that it appears to tower above visitors to the chapel. This puts Lee in a place of power, standing far above viewers both physically and metaphorically. This is an exalted position, creating the impression that Lee should be worshiped and honored by those passing below.

In the Duke Chapel the statue of Lee is dressed in a United States army uniform. This could be seen to symbolize that the part of Lee's history worthy of memorializing is his time in the United States army, rather than his time as the leader of the Confederate army. The portrayal of Lee as a United States soldier reminds the viewer of Lee's history before becoming a Confederate general, and his time as a loyal United States soldier. This also opposes the story of the contractor building the Duke Chapel in choosing to portray Lee as a representation of a soldier of the south, as a soldier of the south would almost certainly have been shown dressed in a Confederate army uniform. He is being remembered as a great soldier and military man, not as a Confederate general. The portrayal of Lee as a United States soldier could be viewed as a method to undermine the image of Lee as a Confederate symbol and hero. This view would be similar to the way that some people view the 'Genius of Sport' statue (previously called the 'Genius of Fascism') at the Esposizione Universale Roma, the site of the cancelled 1942 Worlds' Fair in Italy. After the fall of the fascist government, Roman boxing

gloves were added to the hands of statue which had portrayed a young man giving a Roman/fascist salute in order to undermine the statue's power as a fascist symbol.<sup>207</sup>

## CONTROVERSY AND DECISION

On August 14, 2017 (two days after the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville), protesters took down the statue of a Confederate soldier in midtown Durham.<sup>208</sup> The explosion of tension so close to the opening of the school for a new year, worried Duke administrators, including the new President, Vincent Price, who had only been sworn in a month before, on July 1, 2017. President Price was worried about the safety of the Duke community, the chapel, and the statue itself. Security was increased around the campus, and around the chapel specifically.<sup>209</sup>

On August 16, the Robert E Lee statue was vandalized and defaced.<sup>210</sup> Over the course of the following two days President Price consulted with students, alumni, staff, faculty and leaders of the chapel. With unanimous support from his board of trustees, Price swiftly decided that the statue would be removed. On August 19, 2017 (only three days after being vandalized), the statue was removed and taken to a warehouse in a secure, unpublicized location. The statue is still in storage and will remain there until the University has decided the statue's next location and use.<sup>211</sup>

On September 1, 2017, President Price announced the formation of the Commission on Memory and History, comprised of Duke University leaders, student leaders, representatives of

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<sup>207</sup> Hannah Malone, "Legacies of Fascism: Architecture, Heritage and Memory in Contemporary Italy," *Modern Italy* 22, no. 04 (2017).

<sup>208</sup> CBS News, "Protesters Tear Down Confederate Statue in Durham, North Carolina," *CBS News*, (August 15, 2017).

<sup>209</sup> "TNDC Episode 8: "Following the Removal of Robert E. Lee Statue, Feat: Mike Schoenfeld"," interview by TNDC, *TNDC*, (December 22, 2017).

<sup>210</sup> Scott Neuman, "Duke University Removes Robert E. Lee Statue From Chapel Entrance," *NPR*, (August 19, 2017)

<sup>211</sup> "TNDC Episode 8: "Following the Removal of Robert E. Lee Statue, Feat: Mike Schoenfeld"," interview by TNDC, *TNDC*, (December 22, 2017).



the Durham community, and some outside advisors.<sup>212</sup> The president formed the commission to propose principles for the president and board of trustees to follow when approving a memorial or the name of a facility on campus, to provide suggestions for procedures that would apply the principles, and to recommend what should replace the Robert E. Lee statue. Interestingly, they were not charged with suggesting what should be done with the statue.<sup>213</sup> The commission presented its report to President Price on November 17, 2017.<sup>214</sup>

## Duke University Analysis

### STYLE OF DECISION-MAKING

The style of decision-making used by the leaders of Duke University with regards to the Lee statue, was unilateral in that the final decision was made by President Price. Officially Price made his decision in consultation with faculty leaders, student leaders, community leaders, and the board of trustees (who voted unanimously to support the president in removing the statue). However, according to the interviewees, the students were only informed of the decision after it had been made. The students had not yet returned to campus when the decision was made. The administration reportedly aimed to have the statue situation dealt with before students returned so that there would be less of a chance of problems on campus.<sup>215</sup>

### REASON TO PRESERVE

In his letter to the Duke Community on August 19, 2017, President Price wrote that “the statue will be preserved so that students can study Duke’s complex past and take part in a more inclusive future.” While there are no plans to interpret the statue for the public, there is an

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<sup>212</sup> "Message from President Price on Commission on Memory and History," *Duke Today*, (September 1, 2017).

<sup>213</sup> "TNDC Episode 8: "Following the Removal of Robert E. Lee Statue, Feat: Mike Schoenfeld"," interview by TNDC, *TNDC*, (December 22, 2017).

<sup>214</sup> Report, "Commission on Memory and History," *Duke University*, (November 17, 2017).

<sup>215</sup> "Interview with anonymous source four." Skype interview by author. January 19, 2018.

interest in using it as a learning tool for Duke students. Price seems to want to preserve the statue in order to start a dialogue around the Confederacy and Duke's history with slavery and racism.<sup>216</sup>

Another reason for the preservation of the Robert E. Lee statue is that it is considered part of Duke's history. Even though Robert E. Lee had no connection with Duke University, the contractor in charge of deciding which statues would go into the portico of Duke Chapel chose to place a statue of Lee there to represent a soldier of the south. The statues of Lee, Jefferson and Lanier help to tie the southern university to a history the university itself had not been a part of. It is also part of the University's history for its role in the story of the construction of Duke Chapel, and the University campus as a whole. Duke Chapel is a central part of the campus, and plays a large role in the spiritual life of the campus. Despite the lack of direct connection to the school (both historically and at present), the statue of Lee is a part of Duke's history, which is the reason that it should remain at Duke.

One of the interviewees said that there may be some artistic or aesthetic value to the statue that would warrant its preservation. It is not known exactly which stone mason carved the Lee statue, and at the time that it was carved, it was not hailed as a work of art. As was mentioned earlier, the board of trustees was upset with how unlike Lee the statue looked. However, there may be some interest in the portrayal from historians and others because of Lee having a United States army uniform and belt buckle. Regardless of the reason, the portrayal is interesting and, for some, may give a reason for its preservation.

## INTERPRETATION

Even though President Price has declared his desire for the statue to be used to start a dialogue on campus, currently there are no plans for the interpretation of the Robert E. Lee

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<sup>216</sup> Scott Neuman, "Duke University Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Chapel Entrance," *NPR*, (August 19, 2017).

statue. As was mentioned previously, the statue is now in storage, where it will remain until a new location has been found. The University Archives have been suggested as a possible new location, but no decision has been made.

There is also a lack of interest in the statue on the campus. According to the interviewees the statue was completely disconnected from the University. "It was never celebrated or used in commemoration; people didn't even leave flowers on Confederate Independence Day."<sup>217</sup> A current student who I interviewed said that, beyond the statue being mentioned on the tour of the campus, he had not even heard about the statue until it's removal. Over the years, students, alumni and faculty have made a few attempts to have the statue removed, but mostly they ignored it. Now that it has been removed, that interest does not seem to have increased.<sup>218</sup> With seemingly very little interest by students, faculty and alumni in the removed statue, it is unsurprising that there has not been a push for interpretation from the administration.

According to one of the interviewees, there is currently a project being conducted by students, under the supervision of a member of faculty, that examines the history of the statues in Duke Chapel. This project will eventually include research on the Robert E. Lee statue. This type of work seems to be exactly what President Price envisioned as a use for the statue when he announced his decision to remove it. The students are using the statues to engage with Duke's history, and hopefully, will begin a conversation about Duke's more inclusive future.

There is also interpretive work being conducted in relation to Duke's controversial history. Price announced in his letter that the Duke community would be "using the next year to explore various aspects of Duke's history and ambitions through teaching and scholarship...including an exhibition in the Library; a campus conversation about controversy

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<sup>217</sup> "Interview with anonymous source four." Skype interview by author. January 19, 2018.

<sup>218</sup> "Interview with anonymous source two." Skype interview by author. January 13, 2018.

and injustice in Duke's history; and a forum to explore academic freedom, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly in the university."<sup>219</sup> The interviewees did not mention any plans that may have been made to include the statue in the proposed exhibition in the library. While these events will not involve interpreting the statue for the public, they may involve some interpretation by the university itself. The students, alumni, faculty and staff who attend the events could interpret the statue for themselves through the dialogues produced.

Although there have been no official plans for the interpretation of the statue, one interviewee did say that the destruction of the monument is not an option, and that the statue will eventually be available to the public. According to President Price's letter, the administration does intend to have the statue return to campus once again and to possibly interpret it, but at present, there is caution about the implementation. One reason for their caution could be that they do not want to upset their supporters, donors, and alumni. The board of trustees supposedly supported the removal unanimously, but they are not the only group that the president could be worried about upsetting. Major donors and the alumni might also expect to be consulted on the issue.

Another possible source of concern may have been the lack of consultation with the students, staff and faculty. The decision to remove the statue was made by a single person, with consultation from a relatively small group of people. Now the school is engaging the community in dialogue about Duke's history and how the statue relates to the institutions complex past. We could view this internal community engagement as the start of the interpretive process since these discussions can lead to a better understanding of the history and meaning of the statue. Further understanding can lead to a more inclusive interpretation of the statue. It is possible that the administration wants to see how the Duke community reacts to the discussions before moving forward with returning the statue and interpreting it.

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<sup>219</sup> Scott Neuman, "Duke University Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Chapel Entrance." *NPR*, (August 19, 2017).

The administration has the intention to and has started the process of interpreting the Lee statue. Now preservation can help them to find ways to implement their intention.

#### ROLE FOR PRESERVATION

Preservation and preservationists have not played a role in the current and future fate of the Lee statue. The Duke University administration is physically preserving the monument as it will not be destroyed, or left to be ruined by neglect. However, according to one interviewee, the damage done to the statue when it was vandalized in August 2017 has not been repaired. The statue is in a storage facility, in the same state as it was when it was removed. There are also no plans, yet, to repair the statue. This damage could be considered as part of the history of the monument. The statue remaining in its damaged state could, therefore, stand as a reminder of the violent acts that prompted its removal. Duke leaders could also choose to repair the statue and present it on campus as a whole statue. This could be seen as erasing the statue's history as a hated object. It could also be seen as a way to show the statue in its original state.

As has already been discussed, there are no plans yet for the interpretation of the monument. As far as the interviewees know, there is a possibility that the statue could go to the university archives, but no decisions have been made.<sup>220</sup>

There is a possibility that the statue will remain in storage indefinitely, despite Price's claim in his letter that the statue would remain on the campus. With the lack of interest on campus, and an abundance of interest nationally in the full removal of Confederate monuments from public view, it may be in Duke's leaders' best interest to leave the statue in storage, or to put it in the archives where only approved scholars have access. It could be the administrations hope that everyone will forget that they ever had the statue.

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<sup>220</sup> "Interview with anonymous source four." Skype interview by author. January 19, 2018.

## INSTITUTION'S INTENTIONS

After examining the press releases put out by the Duke University administration regarding the statue and the interviews conducted, we can begin to understand the wishes and intentions of the university.

As with the many other institutions, one of the primary goals of the Duke president in deciding to remove the Lee statue was the safety of the students, faculty, staff and visitors on Duke's campus. This interest in security was shown by the increased security around the campus after protesters removed a Confederate statue in downtown Durham on August 14, 2017. Despite the increased security, the Lee statue was vandalized, prompting its removal. The vandalism had shown the president and the administration that there were people prepared to violently show their objection to the presence of the Lee statue on campus and, with the return of the students imminent, President Price made a call that he felt would protect his campus best.<sup>221</sup>

Another one of President Price's intentions, according to his letter to the Duke community, was to "express the deep and abiding values of our university." Price specifically called out Duke's commitment to justice, civil protest, authentic dialogue and empathy.<sup>222</sup> He, and the administration, wanted to ensure that no one associated the negative values associated with the Confederacy (racism, hate, violence, etc.) with Duke University.

Duke University was also interested in protecting its image. Like many private universities in the United States and around the world, Duke relies partially on its reputation and image as, among other things, an open, inclusive, and diverse educational and research institution, to attract the best students, faculty and funding. If the Duke administration was seen to be either silencing a particular view, or to be promoting a discriminatory view, the university could risk damaging its reputation.

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<sup>221</sup> "Interview with anonymous source four." Skype interview by author. January 19, 2018.

<sup>222</sup> Scott Neuman, "Duke University Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Chapel Entrance." *NPR*, (August 19, 2017).

In removing the statue, but keeping it at Duke, President Price has said that he wants to use the statue's presence to begin a dialogue on the campus about Duke's, and the nation's, complex and controversial history.<sup>223</sup> However, the statue has remained hidden away since its removal and there is no sign that the statue will be returned to the campus soon. Also, the only new location proposed for the statue so far has been the archives, where it would potentially be available to be viewed only by individual researchers. The statue would cease to be publicly accessible in the way that it has been since its installation. This potential policy seems to be at odds with what Price has declared are his intentions.

#### INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGY

The Duke University administration removed the Lee statue quickly, publicly and with great fanfare. The swift action ensured the safety of the campus. The publicity ensured that everyone knew that the administration was removing their statue, with no protests, and to show the values of the institution.

The administration has also engaged its students, faculty, and alumni in the debate. In the same letter in which Price announced the removal of the statue, he also publicized the formation of a new commission "to advise on next steps and to assist us in navigating the role of memory and history at Duke."<sup>224</sup> The commission was made up of students, faculty, alumni, staff, trustees, Durham residents, and some historians from outside the Duke and Durham community. Students, alumni, faculty, and staff were also encouraged to attend and take part in campus discussions.<sup>225</sup> Although the decision to remove the Lee statue involved only a small group of people, the university appears to be making an effort to include the community in the interpretation of the statue and its removal.

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<sup>223</sup> Scott Neuman, "Duke University Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Chapel Entrance." *NPR*, (August 19, 2017).

<sup>224</sup> Scott Neuman, "Duke University Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Chapel Entrance." *NPR*, (August 19, 2017).

<sup>225</sup> Report, "Commission on Memory and History," *Duke University*, (November 17, 2017).

Another strategy that the university has used, is one of avoidance. The professed values of the university are in conflict with the values represented by the Confederate monuments. This conflict has been allowed to persist over many decades by the statue's continued presence on the Duke campus, and by the lack of historic interpretation of the statue. Students, faculty and alumni have recognized this conflict and have attempted to urge the Duke University administrators to remove the Lee statue, or at least contextualize it. These attempts at influencing the administration failed, until there was a threat of protests following the Unite the Right Rally and the prospect of being viewed as supportive of Confederate values. A similar conflict occurred around the name of the Aycock Hall dorm building. The dormitory had been named for Charles Brantley Aycock, an avid white supremacist and former governor of North Carolina. In June 2004, following months of student protests, the Duke University President, Richard H. Broadhead, announced that the freshman dorm will now be called East Residence Hall, its original name given when Duke was still Trinity College. Part of the agreement reached between the administration and the protesters was that there will be a plaque or information board in the lobby detailing the history of the building.<sup>226</sup> Hopefully, a similar outcome will eventually come for the Lee statue.

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<sup>226</sup> Nina Friend, "Duke University Renames Aycock Hall, Triumphs Over Racist Past," *Huffington Post*, (June 19, 2014).



## Chapter 4: Case Study Conclusions

### AVOIDANCE

Until recently, all four case study institutions have avoided addressing the fact that the values espoused by the institutions are in conflict with the Confederate values represented by their monuments. This conflict has been allowed to persist for decades by the continued presence of the monuments in prominent locations. This initial inertia from the leaders of private institutions allowed the Confederate monuments to remain in situ in spite of the social and political evolution inspired by the Civil Rights era.<sup>227</sup>

The conflict has been allowed to continue by the lack of interpretation of the monuments. The literature suggests that the practice of interpreting monuments to difficult histories, using historic facts, improves the understanding and assimilation of the monuments.<sup>228</sup> Some examples of where interpretation of monuments has led to greater understanding for visitors has been at Monticello, with the addition of the Slavery at Monticello tours and app in 2015; the Alamo, with interpretations of the battlefield, church, walls, barracks and historic items; and Arlington House, where the house is kept in its pre-Civil War condition.<sup>229</sup> Consistent across the four case studies, were missed opportunities to reinterpret, which would have deepened the understanding and assimilation of the monuments. This increased understanding and assimilation, if achieved earlier, may have allowed some of the monuments to remain in situ even through the current monuments debate. However, there may be some monuments that are so egregious and insulting to the communities involved that they would have to be removed, especially if they are in prestigious locations, even if they were interpreted. For example, when

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<sup>227</sup> J. Michael Martinez, "Traditionalist Perspectives on Confederate Symbols," in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, ed. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su (2000).

<sup>228</sup> Gary Shapiro, "The Meaning of Our Confederate 'Monuments'," *The New York Times*, May 15, 2017, accessed March 5, 2018.

<sup>229</sup> "Thomas Jefferson's Monticello," Milestones in the Research and Interpretation of Slavery at Monticello, *Thomas Jefferson's Monticello*; "Buildings," *The Alamo*, March 09, 2018; "Arlington House History," *Arlington House Foundation*.

the Washington National Cathedral leaders had the Confederate battle flag removed from the Lee window of Lee-Jackson stained-glass windows and replaced it with a white flag, they provided information about the windows. Information boards with information about the ongoing discussions of removal, the replacement of the flag, and the windows history were placed at the entrance to the bay. This did not stop them from removing the windows, deciding that, even with those small changes and information displayed in the bay, the windows were still inappropriate for the sanctuary.

The conflict has persisted in spite of internal and external consultations. Community members from all four institutions have recognized the conflict in values and attempted to influence the removal of the monuments. These attempts were unsuccessful despite spanning decades as the monuments remained in situ.

This practice of an institution's espoused values remaining in conflict with the values represented by Confederate monuments is not uncommon in the United States. This practice is evident in both public and private institutions; most notably in the United States Capitol which features ten statues of Confederate generals in the National Statuary Hall, as well as state capitol buildings, and university campuses across the United States.<sup>230</sup> The existence of the values conflict is a norm.

## DECISIONS TO KEEP THE MONUMENTS

One key finding from the case study interviews, is that the institutions have decided to keep their monuments on their property. Four out of the five monuments examined in this research will likely remain on their institution's campus and are expected to be interpreted, at least in part, in the context of the institution. This is also the case with some other institutions, including the University of Texas, Austin, which moved four statues to its campus Historical

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<sup>230</sup> Elana Schor et al., "Confederate statues in U.S. Capitol likely going nowhere," *POLITICO*, (August 16, 2017).

Center, and the University of Mississippi which revised the language on the contextual plate to its statue of a Confederate soldier.<sup>231</sup> The private institutions are not moving the monuments from their campuses, nor are they donating them to private collectors or other institutions as I had initially thought possible. Instead, these institutions are choosing to keep the monuments on their properties, although, in less prominent locations.

Arguably, this could be seen as going against the wishes of both sides of the monuments debate: those who want the monuments to remain in place, and those who want them to be removed from public spaces. In deciding to keep the monuments on their campuses, these institutions will, according to their expressed plans, continue to allow the monuments to be publicly viewed, but in a more limited fashion and in less prestigious locations. As has been discussed, many people believe that the monuments should not be publicly accessible at all and should be locked away or destroyed. Presumably, they do not want to see the Confederate monuments used for educational purposes as they perceive them only as representations of a violent ideology. People on the opposite side of the debate have argued that the monuments should remain exactly as they are, and in their original locations, because the monuments represent white identity and culture, and any removals or changes would be an erasure of that history. In deciding to keep their monuments and attempt to interpret them for their communities and the public, these institutions seemed to have found a potential compromise between the two sides of the debate, pleasing neither side completely.

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<sup>231</sup> Jonah Engel Bromwich, "University of Texas at Austin Removes Confederate Statues in Overnight Operation," *The New York Times*, (August 21, 2017); John Neff, Jarod Roll, and Anne Twitty, report, University of Mississippi, (May 16, 2016); Stephanie Saul, "Ole Miss Edges Out of Its Confederate Shadow, Gingerly," *The New York Times*, (August 09, 2017).

## PRESTIGE

All four case study institutions have moved, or are planning to move, their Confederate monuments from prestigious locations on their properties. The Lee statue was removed from Duke Chapel. The Kirby-Smith Memorial was removed from the main cross-road on the Sewanee campus, and the Polk portrait was removed from Convocation Hall. The Lee plaque will be removed from its place to the left of Christ Church's altar, and the Lee-Jackson windows have been removed from their place along the nave of the Washington National Cathedral.

The issue, as explained by some of the interviewees, was that, by having a Confederate monument in such a prestigious location, visitors could assume that the institution supported and honored the values and beliefs of the subject of the monument and the Confederacy. The prestigious locations of the monuments also added to the negative symbolism of the monuments, in that their locations added importance to the subjects of the monuments, who were all Confederate generals.

Conversely, if the monument was shown in a less prestigious location, such as the seventh floor of the Cathedral, or in a university archive, visitors could be more likely to assume that the Confederate monument was just part of the institutions collection or related to its history in some way. In these less important locations, the monuments could still be viewed and interpreted, but without the added symbolism of being in a prestigious location. By moving the monument to a less prestigious location, the institution removes some of the prestige from the monument, in that the monument would no longer be in an honored location.

## MONUMENTS AS PART OF INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

According to the interviewees, these four institutions are choosing to preserve and attempting to interpret their monuments because they consider them, primarily, as part of the institution's history, not only as part of the national history. For each institution the story of how the monument came to be placed on their property and how they are now being removed, is

part of the continuum of the institution's history. The stories of the monuments' arrivals tell a story about the institutions themselves. For example, at Christ Church a group of women petitioned the vestry to have a plaque for Lee, showing the power and influence of women's church organizations; or the story of the contractor at Duke Chapel being told to decide himself who should be portrayed in the portico. The removal stories are also being considered as part of the institutional histories. In the case of Duke, there are plans to use the histories of the monument (its arrival and removal) to discuss the history of the institution as a whole. In the cases of Washington National Cathedral and Christ Church, there are plans to include the story of how the monuments were removed in the exhibits. All four institutions consider the Confederate monuments as part of American history, and their place in that history is being discussed in the events and talks that have been hosted at the institutions so far, but the primary focus is the monuments' connection to the institution and its institutional history.

#### INCREASED INCLUSION IN INTERPRETATION

The institutions that took more unilateral decisions to remove their monuments are now attempting to increase the number of people involved in the interpretive process. At Duke and Sewanee, the decisions to remove the monuments involved only a small group of people, and the final decisions were made by a single person. Now both universities are encouraging discussion about the monuments and the complex histories of the institutions through campus events. These discussions can function as a form of internal interpretation, encouraging the participants to think and talk about the issues at hand. While at Christ Church and the Washington National Cathedral, the communities were involved in the decision-making process from the start, Duke and Sewanee have started to involve their communities after the fact.

#### DIFFERENT TYPES OF INTERPRETATION

The institutions are conducting different types of interpretation for their monuments. The leaders of Christ Church and the Washington National Cathedral are planning to display the

plaque and the windows in a public place. They will have exhibitions and/or tours that will be available to the public so that the monuments can have an educational role.

The administrations at Duke and Sewanee Universities are conducting a more internal interpretation. There are currently no concrete plans to interpret the monuments for the public, but the educational institutions seem to be attempting to engage their communities in post-removal discussions about the monuments and the institutions' problematic pasts. As will be discussed in the following chapter, preservationists could assist them in planning ways to use the monuments for the education of both their students and wider communities. Possibly, these interpretations could eventually lead to a more public form of interpretation for the monuments.

#### ROLE FOR PRESERVATIONISTS

Through the case study interviews I have found that the institutions are conducting the physical preservation of their monuments themselves. The Washington National Cathedral's Lee-Jackson windows are with their stained-glass conservator; Sewanee's administration had its bas-relief of Kirby-Smith cleaned and looked over before being placed on a new pedestal, and the Polk painting has been examined by an art conservator; and leaders at Christ Church have consulted with stone masons and art historians in their efforts to have the Lee and Washington plaques removed safely and placed in a location that will not damage them. The Duke University administration made sure to remove its statue to a secure location without further damaging it but did not have the damage done by vandalism repaired. There is a chance that it will be repaired before returning to the university. All four institutions have, technically, physically preserved their monuments.

The institutions do not need assistance from preservationists in the planning of the physical care for their monuments. The role for preservationists in helping private institutions in making decisions about the fate of their monuments, seems to be in the deliberate planning of the interpretation of the monuments. The leaders of Christ Church and the Washington National

Cathedral have plans to interpret their monuments through exhibitions open to the public. The administrators at Duke and Sewanee seem to be struggling with how to help their own communities understand and assimilate their monuments. Preservationists could help these institutions to navigate, understand, and portray the different perspectives and narratives around their monuments and institutional histories. There are many different methods of interpretation. The next chapter of this thesis will describe and analyze the different methods available for these private institutions.

## Chapter 5: Preservation Options

The primary purpose of this work is to explore how preservation can support private institutions in curating and reinterpreting their Confederate monuments. The following chapter is an analysis of these options and their implications.

### Options for Monument Locations

#### OPTIONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXAMPLES

In exploring possible locations for the Confederate monuments, this research first took into account the three options learned from the international case studies: (1) creating new monuments placed in dialogue with the old; (2) creating a monument park; and (3) relocating the monuments to cemeteries. These options could potentially be utilized by private institutions in the United States.

The South African government was successfully able to place new monuments nearby to the old (also known as counter monuments), and used them to interpret the nation's surviving apartheid era monuments. One example of this would be Freedom Park, outside of Pretoria, South Africa, which could be seen as a counter monument to the Voortrekker Monument that stands nearby.<sup>232</sup> This method would allow the institutions to keep the monuments in place but still acknowledge the problematic nature of the Confederate monuments through the new monuments. An institution erecting a counter monument to its Confederate monument could be a way for an institution to show that its values have changed and that it now supports a different value system, but does not want to hide the evidence of its prior beliefs. Possible counter monuments could include monuments to Important African American figures such as Rosa Park, Martin Luther King Jr., or Malcom X.

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<sup>232</sup> Jeffrey Brown, "Culture at Risk."



Hungary's monument park outside of Budapest was not entirely successful in fostering discussion and contemplation of the old Soviet regime, but a monument park could be successful as a solution for the question of where the Confederate monuments should be moved to. The creation of monument or statue parks have been proposed for public Confederate monuments, but it would also be possible for private institutions to create their own Confederate monuments park.<sup>233</sup> Private institutions with Confederate monuments could join together to purchase a property and move all of their monuments to that location. Information about each monument could be exhibited or provided through tours, such as which institution owns the monument, when it was erected, where it was originally erected, who funded it, when and why it was removed. Alternatively, institutions that have several Confederate monuments and symbols on their properties, such as Sewanee University, could set up their own monument park. One advantage to creating a monument park is that multiple Confederate monuments would all be in one place and could be viewed and interpreted together. Another advantage is that people who are offended by them would be able to avoid seeing them by not visiting the park. One disadvantage to creating a monument park is that the park could become a destination for white supremacists, who might want to visit a place where they could see monuments honoring Confederate heroes. The park could become a shrine to the Confederate leaders and their beliefs.

The government of Estonia decided to move the Bronze Soldier statue to a military cemetery, a decision which was met mostly with approval. The example of Sewanee University has already shown that private institutions can also move their monuments to cemeteries. Private institutions could also move their Confederate monuments to military cemeteries. As has been discussed, several Confederate monuments are militaristic in their subject. For example, the Lee statue at Duke University shows Lee in a United States army uniform, and the bas-relief

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<sup>233</sup> Nick Wooten, "Park Proposed for Confederate Monuments in Caddo or DeSoto Parish," *Shreveporttimes.com*, (October 27, 2017).

of Kirby-Smith a Sewanee portrays him in his Confederate uniform. Confederate monuments with military subjects would not be out of place in a military cemetery. The possibility of moving a Confederate monument to a cemetery associated with or near to the institution will be discussed later.

Confederate monuments could also be placed in private cemeteries. As was discussed earlier, the first wave of Confederate monuments were mostly placed in cemeteries and the majority of these early monuments have remained out of the current monument removal debate. Additional Confederate monuments could potentially be added to these cemeteries where these other monuments already stand. I think that part of the reason why the monuments in the cemeteries have been ignored is that their location is less inherently political than the monuments placed in town squares or on the building fabric of a religious institution. Perhaps, if institutions move their monuments to private cemeteries, they would become less contentious. The change in location may not change the meaning of the monument, but it may change the significance of the monument.

#### ON PROPERTY LOCATIONS

There are multiple options that private institutions could consider while deciding how to change the disposition of their monuments while they remain on their property. One such option could be to change the physical location of the monument. This change could involve moving the monument to a less prominent location, to storage, to an archival center, or to a on-property museum or historic center.

One option that some institutions have chosen to utilize is to move their monuments to less prominent locations on their properties. The leaders of Washington National Cathedral, Christ Church, and Sewanee University of the South have all used, or will utilize, this option. The Washington National Cathedral may display the Lee-Jackson windows in the secular space on the seventh floor of the Cathedral, while the leaders of Christ Church are considering several

other locations on the property for the Lee and Washington plaques.<sup>234</sup> Sewanee's administration has already moved the Kirby-Smith bas relief from its prominent location at the intersection of the main road through the campus, to the less conspicuous Kirby-Smith family plot in the university's cemetery.<sup>235</sup> This option allows the institutions to show that they do not value or share values with the Confederacy, but also allows them to have the option to interpret the monuments. The monuments are still publicly accessible and can be used to educate or to initiate discussions, but no longer from locations of honor and prestige.

A similar option would be to remove a monument to a museum or historic center on the institution's property.<sup>236</sup> This option has the added benefit of allowing the monument to be viewed in a historic context. In a museum setting, educational programs could be designed around the monument, or added to existing programs. The monument could also be interpreted in great detail, with exhibitions including the monument's history, from its conception as an idea to its removal. With the monument located in a museum on the institution's property, the institution would be able to tell the stories of the monument in the context of its history. Seven out of the eight interviewees said that they consider their institution's Confederate monument(s) a part of their institution's history and would want to see the monument interpreted in this context. Another potential advantage to this option would be that, because the monument would be in a museum associated with the institution, it could allow its students, faculty, members, congregation, and employees to create the exhibitions, and to use the creation of the exhibition as a method of interpretation and an educational opportunity for the institution itself.

Many institutions, both public and private, have chosen to move their Confederate monuments to a storage facility, either as temporary or more permanent measures. The statue

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<sup>234</sup> "Interview with anonymous source seven." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018; "Interview with anonymous source one." Interview by author. January 8, 2018.

<sup>235</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

<sup>236</sup> Jonah Engel Bromwich, "University of Texas at Austin Removes Confederate Statues in Overnight Operation," *The New York Times*, (August 21, 2017).

of Robert E. Lee that stood in the portico of Duke Chapel at Duke University is currently in storage at an undisclosed location.<sup>237</sup> The four Confederate statues that were removed from New Orleans in 2017, were all placed in storage, as were the four Confederate statues removed from Baltimore.<sup>238</sup> The choice to keep the monuments in storage is a good option for these institutions to take in order to keep the monuments safe from damage while they decide the final fate of the monuments. For some institutions, this decision-making process may take many years, or they may decide that they do not want to interpret their monument and would rather keep it in storage. However, if the monuments are to be interpreted and/or used to encourage discussions on the complex histories of many of these institutions, the monuments cannot remain in storage. While storage is a good temporary measure, in order to interpret them, they must be in locations where they can be viewed.

Another option that could be used by private institutions is to move the monuments to an on-property archival facility. This is an option that many colleges and universities could utilize because many of them have their own archives. This option is similar but different from placing a monument in storage since, while in storage, a monument is completely inaccessible. When a monument is in an archive, it is at least accessible by request. The Sewanee University administration has already moved at least one Confederate monument and one Confederate artifact to its archives.<sup>239</sup> The administration at Duke University is considering moving the Lee statue into its archives.<sup>240</sup> As with the option to place the monuments in storage, placing the monuments in an institutional archive would protect the monument from damage. However,

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<sup>237</sup> Scott Neuman, "Duke University Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Chapel Entrance." *NPR*, (August 19, 2017).

<sup>238</sup> Brit McCandless Farmer, "Behind the Decision to Remove a Statue of Robert E. Lee," *CBS News*, (March 11, 2018); Merrit Kennedy, "Baltimore Took Down Confederate Monuments. Now It Has to Decide What To Do With Them," *NPR*, (August 28, 2017).

<sup>239</sup> "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018

<sup>240</sup> "Interview with anonymous source four." Skype interview by author. January 19, 2018.

having the monuments in an archive could limit the accessibility as some archives, or parts of the archives, may be inaccessible to the general public.

One important aspect of monument removals, especially when the monument is a statue, could be the removal of the monument from its pedestal. The pedestal places the figure being memorialized above the viewers, both visually and metaphorically. The removal of the monument from its pedestal symbolizes that the figure being portrayed is no longer valued as being above the viewers. However, just because the statue from the monument is removed, does not mean that the pedestal or other architectural features would be removed. In the cases of Duke and Sewanee, the pedestals of the Lee statue and the Kirby-Smith Memorial (including the wall/bench) remained in place when the statue and bas relief were removed. Only removing the statue or the image of the subject of the monument would mean that the figure is no longer above the viewers. Both institutions have discussed reusing the pedestals and adding new statues to the pedestals already in place. The problem with this would be that the pedestals of these monuments often contain the name of the person being memorialized, or mention who donated the monument, or even words praising the Confederacy. In order for the pedestals to be reused, the words would have to be removed. If the information about the subject of the monument is on a plaque that is removable, such as with the Kirby-Smith Memorial, the plaque could be removed and the pedestal could be reused. In the case of the Duke Chapel pedestal, no name was ever carved on the pedestal, so it has remained blank and reusable; and in the case of the Kirby-Smith Memorial, the associated informative plaques were moved with the bas relief. In general, if the pedestal and/or other architectural features do not contain carved information about the monument, then they could remain and be reused if the institution wishes to do so.

The institutions could also decide to leave the pedestals empty, which could be a more powerful statement of rejection than placing another statue or bas-relief on the pedestal. In the case of Sewanee's Kirby-Smith memorial, this may not be a very powerful statement since the

stone bench and the pedestal could be seen as a monument on their own. Perhaps the removal of the pedestal and the stone bench, leaving the space bare except for a plaque or information board explaining that the Kirby-Smith memorial used to stand there, could have a similar effect.

In the case of Duke University, leaving an empty space where the Lee statue used to stand could be very powerful. The void, compared to the filled spaces of the five other statues on the portico, would emphasize the fact that the Lee statue had been removed. The “Rhodes Must Fall” movement in South Africa mentioned earlier, resulted in the removal of the Rhodes statue, but the lower plinth remained in place, leaving a space which students reclaimed.<sup>241</sup>

Replacing the statues could be a good solution for the leaders of institutions who want to change the focus of discussion from Confederate monuments to honoring African Americans and the Civil Rights movement. Alternatively, allowing the spaces or pedestals where the monuments once stood empty could be a good solution for the leaders of institutions who want to focus on the rejection of the Confederacy.

#### OFF PROPERTY

There are also options that the institutions could take to maintain a connection with their monuments, even if they move the monuments from their properties. These options could include moving the monuments to cemeteries, parks, or other places associated with the institution.

The option of moving their monument to a cemetery or park associated with the institution in the same town or city is one possible off-property option that private institutions could utilize. The monument would have a physical separation from the institution, but it would still be on an associated property. Sewanee University’s administration placed the Kirby-Smith

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<sup>241</sup> Jenna Etheridge, “Permanent Removal of UCT Rhodes Statue Gets Green Light,” *News24*, (October 31, 2016).

memorial bas relief in the university's private cemetery.<sup>242</sup> This option has also been used in the public sector. A Confederate monument that was in front of a county courthouse in Tampa, Florida, was relocated to a private cemetery where the monument will not be open to the public.<sup>243</sup>

## Methods for Interpretation

In exploring possible methods for interpretation, this research took into account the four key lessons learned for preservation from the international case studies. Those lessons are, (1) the importance of community involvement; (2) that any preservation actions taken should reflect the values and needs of both majority and minority stakeholders and groups; (3) the recognition of multiple narratives, but not too many, in the interpretation; and (4) that any interpretation should be planned deliberately and over time. Each proposed method ensures the fulfillment of at least one key lesson.

In order to further explore interpretive methods, this research also examined the methods used by the 9/11 Memorial Museum in New York City. Museums, such as the Confederate Museum in Richmond, Virginia, and the Confederate Memorial Hall Museum, have handled Confederate Civil War artifacts and memorabilia, but they have been run by Confederate descendant and women's groups. They did not handle Confederate monuments, although many of the members of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, who started the Confederate Museum in Richmond, were also members of groups like the UDC which funded monuments.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> "Interview with anonymous source three." Telephone interview by author. January 18, 2018.

<sup>243</sup> Associated Press, "Confederate Monument Moved to Private Cemetery," *The Ledger*, (March 21, 2018).

<sup>244</sup> Reiko Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South," *The Public Historian* 33, no. 4 (2011).

Based on the data collected through this study's sample collection and further research, I would like to suggest the following framework for the interpretation of Confederate monuments. The framework rests on the following four pillars: (1) historical narrative; (2) social narrative; (3) epochal meaning; and (4) interactive opportunities.

First, the interpretation must include the known facts about the monument such as who it honors, who commissioned it, who crafted it, where it was originally located, its symbolism, and the method and reason for its removal, in order to create an historical narrative. Second, the interpretation should include narratives about the intentions of the monument's creators and the intended and unintended impacts of the monument on different groups, thus creating a social narrative. Third, the interpretation should convey the epochal meaning, which would include the monument's place in the history of the institution and of the nation. Finally, the interpretation should provide interactive opportunities for staff and visitors to share their personal stories. This could be done in written form, or through hosted discussions with mediators to ensure that the discussions do not become apology sessions for the monuments. The institutions could also use apps and other technology to help visitors to connect with the narratives being told and to engage more with the educational experience. One example, used by Exhibit Columbus, would involve having guests use a phone app that would allow them to create a comment or a video in reaction to the exhibit or the monument. The comment or video would be available for any other guest to see if they have the app. The institution could monitor the comments to ensure that any offensive comments or videos are deleted.<sup>245</sup> The goal of the interactive opportunities would be to give as balanced a description and narration of the monument as possible, with as many different sides of the story told as possible. This platform could also be used to discuss the social justice and civil rights issues surrounding racism in the United States, and other problems related to the Confederacy and Confederate Monuments. The discussions could help enhance

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<sup>245</sup> Richard McCoy, "Exhibit Columbus: Progressive Preservation, Good Design and the Community" (lecture, March 1, 2018).



the social narrative of the monuments. With this interpretive approach, institutions might create the opportunity to support the country's movement forward in its discussions of and actions regarding racism.

These recommended interpretive measures might be beneficial for institutions in starting to address the tensions and divisions that result from the presence of the Confederate monuments. This body of research has identified two sets of divisions. First, there is a large ideological divide between those who wish to preserve the Confederate monuments in their public and prominent locations, and those who want them to be removed or destroyed. Another divide seems to exist between potential visitors' personal views of the Confederate monuments as artifacts representative of both past and present violence, and the institutions' views on the Confederate monuments as potential educational tools.<sup>246</sup> The proposed interpretive measures may offer institutions a framework with which to design the appropriate interpretation for their monuments while subsequently starting to diminish these tensions.

One possible way to increase the potency of the interpretive measures would be to have private institutions share knowledge and work together. After 9/11, museums and interested interpretive centers created a consortium to share methods and information about interpreting the 9/11 attacks and the artifacts and ruins left behind. This consortium allowed the separate institutions to share ideas about what worked and what did not work in interpreting the horrific events and helped them to streamline their messaging about the attacks.<sup>247</sup> Creating a consortium of information sharing groups among the institutions could help them to share ideas and methods about how to care for and interpret their Confederate monuments. The consortium could even be used as a platform to host larger discussions and spread more information about the Confederate monuments. Having a consortium could also assist in the creation of a large

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<sup>246</sup> Noah Rauch, "A Balancing Act: Interpreting Tragedy at the 9/11 Memorial Museum," *Journal of Museum Education* 43, no. 1 (2018).

<sup>247</sup> Vanessa Van Orden, "Exhibiting Tragedy: Museums and the Representation of September 11," *The Journal of Museum Education* 31, no. 1 (2006).

Confederate monument park, since it would create a network for communication between the member institutions.

## THE ROLE OF DOCENTS

Docents and tour guides are meant to help educate museum visitors in how to interpret museum objects.<sup>248</sup> Noah Rauch described the docents at the 9/11 Memorial Museum as “comprised of a cohort of educational volunteers, to provide accurate, emotionally sensitive, and differentiated interpretation at certain artifacts to help offer guidance and support.”<sup>249</sup> Docents could play a key role in the future interpretation of Confederate monuments, especially if institutions choose to offer guided tours of their exhibitions. The docents could be made up of members of the local community, which would increase the community involvement in the reinterpretation of the Confederate monuments. Once specific narratives around the monument have been identified, the institutions could choose to recruit docents who can speak to those different narratives, which would help to ensure that the interpretation of the monument includes multiple narratives.

The docents’ speeches could also play an important role in the interpretations of the monuments. In cases where the docents give tours it would be important for there to be an established set of facts that the docents should include in their presentation. This should include the historical and social narrative of the monument. In cases where visitors conduct their own self-guided tours, docents could be available to answer questions and give short explanations of the monuments in conjunction with any written information on the monument provided with the exhibition.

Similar to the rules at the 9/11 Memorial Museum, docents who have personal experiences with the Confederate monument on display could be allowed to share their personal stories as oral histories along with the factual docent speeches. The docents should

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<sup>248</sup> Neill, A. C. “Museum Docents’ Understanding of Interpretation.” 2010

<sup>249</sup> Noah Rauch. “A Balancing Act.”

not be encouraged to only share their personal experiences for two main reasons: (1) memory is fallible, especially regarding highly emotional instances, and the aim of the exhibitions should be to provide facts; and (2) the docents can experience emotional fatigue from speaking about these difficult memories multiple times a day. By keeping the main focus of the docents' presentation on the baseline facts, these facts can serve as a mediator between the oral histories of the docents and other, conflicting accounts of experiences with the Confederate monuments. Elevating the baseline facts also gives the docents the choice to not share their personal story with every tour group they lead or every visitor they speak to.<sup>250</sup>

#### INTERACTIVE OPPORTUNITIES AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

There are multiple options that can be utilized by private institutions to promote and increase community engagement and to provide interactive opportunities in the interpretation of their monuments. These options include the use of research conducted by the community, hosting discussions, and providing interactive opportunities.

The research conducted by members of the institutional communities could be used in the exhibitions or as part of the presentations by the docents. For example, the information gathered by the students at Duke University who are conducting a study of the statues in Duke Chapel could be used in the interpretation of the Lee statue.<sup>251</sup> This option would allow community members to feel that they have contributed to the interpretation of their monuments and could increase the level of community attachment and ownership of the monument.

The hosting of discussions, both those with only the community and those that include invited outside speakers, can provide a forum in which those affected by the monuments can voice their opinions and feel that they have been heard. The discussions can also provide an opportunity for the institution to reflect on the monument's impact on the institutional climate. Each institution hosting a discussion that focused on the impact of its Confederate monument

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<sup>250</sup> Noah Rauch. "A Balancing Act."

<sup>251</sup> "Interview with anonymous source four." Skype interview by author. January 19, 2018.

and tied to its exhibition of the monument, could provide an interactive opportunity that allows staff and visitors to voice their opinions and share their stories.

The institutions inviting people from communities impacted by the presence of their Confederate monuments to provide oral or written histories, could be another way to provide interactive opportunities in the exhibition. These oral histories could be collected as part of the exhibition or combined to create a stand-alone exhibition, video, or recording. This method has the benefit of creating the opportunity to add to the monument narratives over time and increases the likelihood that the interpretation conveys as many views about the Confederate monuments as possible.

## Options for Replacements

Beyond the debates over the placement and interpretation of their Confederate monuments, private institutions have also had to begin to discuss what will replace the removed monuments. The institutions could choose to leave the spaces where their monuments stood empty, or they could choose to replace their monuments.

The choice to leave the place where the monument stood vacant could create another interpretive opportunity. The empty space serves as a constant reminder of what was once there, and the fact that, in removing the monuments the institutions began to disassociate themselves with Confederate values. The administrations of Duke and Sewanee Universities both removed their Confederate monuments before decisions had been made on what would replace them, leaving the spaces where the monuments once stood vacant until a decision has been made.<sup>252</sup> The space where the Washington National Cathedral's Lee-Jackson windows once sat will also remain vacant until they decide on replacement windows.<sup>253</sup> If left unoccupied

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<sup>252</sup> "Interview with anonymous source two." Skype interview by author. January 13, 2018; "Interview with anonymous source eight." Skype interview by author. February 7, 2018.

<sup>253</sup> "Interview with anonymous source six." Skype interview by author. February 1, 2018.

these free spaces could be interpreted as monuments to the former, divisive values that the institutions once held.

The choice to replace the Confederate monuments offers the opportunity for the institutions to give new meaning to the space. Through their choice of a new monument, they can represent their current values. There are multiple factors to consider for the new monuments, including the people portrayed and the choice of the artists.

Multiple public and private institutions have already suggested replacing their Confederate monuments with monuments to important figures in Civil Rights history such as Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, or the four girls who died in the Birmingham church bombing.<sup>254</sup> Other options could include celebrities and other important figures from African American history.<sup>255</sup>

Two possible options for choosing an artist and subject are to have a competition, or to choose an artist based on the needs of the institution. The institutions could hold competitions where they provide a theme or subject, or they could allow the artists to choose their theme. The competitions could be international or local, confined to one artistic medium or not, depending on the needs of the institution. One benefit of holding a competition would be that the institution could gain an understanding of the talent available in their chosen medium through viewing the work of multiple artists at once. They could see who the best artists are in any particular medium. The competition could also foster significant media attention, which could increase opportunities for funding. Two disadvantages of holding a competition would be the time it would take to set up and hold, and the potentially high costs of hosting the artists, providing prizes, and funding supplies. This option would be a sensible choice for institutions that do not know what they want the subject of their replacement monument to be. The

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<sup>254</sup> Michael Daly, "She Wants to Replace Confederate Statues with Statues of Black Heroes," *The Daily Beast*, (August 27, 2017).

<sup>255</sup> Lisa Respers France, "Missy Elliott Statue Instead of Confederate Monument?" *CNN*, (August 21, 2017).

competition would provide them with the opportunity to view multiple options and to choose the one best for them.

A potentially faster and cheaper option would be to choose an artist based on the needs of the institution. This option would be a sensible choice if the institution already knows what it wants in terms of theme, subject, style and medium. If this information is already known and the institution knows the artist that is best able to create the desired final product, and the artist is available to do the work, then it would not be necessary to have a competition.

## Implications and Specific Suggestions for Case Studies

The proposed actions of each case study institution can be analyzed based on the proposed framework and the above suggestions.

### CHRIST CHURCH

The leaders of Christ Church's proposed exhibition and interpretation of the Robert E. Lee plaque will incorporate aspects of the four pillars of the proposed framework. Church leaders have begun to compile the data for the historical and social narratives, as well as for the plaque's epochal meaning. Church leaders created interactive opportunities during the decision-making process around the removal of the monument, but it is unclear whether it will continue to provide these opportunities during the decision-making around the new location of the monument, or as part of the proposed exhibitions.<sup>256</sup>

One option for the leaders of Christ Church to provide interactive opportunities in its interpretation is that it could regularly host public discussions on race, social justice, and civil rights issues. Perhaps, one or two of the discussions could be about the monument itself, but the church leaders could create a platform to discuss the serious issues relating to racism in the United States. The church could also provide a place at the end of its tours for visitors, staff, or

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<sup>256</sup> "Christ Church interviews." Interviews one and five by author. January 8, 2018 and January 31, 2018.

congregation members to write or record their personal experiences with the monument, as a written or oral history.

#### WASHINGTON NATIONAL CATHEDRAL

The Washington National Cathedral's proposed plans for the interpretation of the Lee-Jackson windows also incorporate aspects of all four pillars of the proposed framework.

Cathedral staff have compiled the data for the historical narratives and are gathering the data for the social narratives and the epochal meaning. The Cathedral leadership also has plans to continue to provide interactive opportunities with the monuments, through ongoing public dialogues and events.<sup>257</sup>

One suggestion that could be made regarding the interpretation of the windows would be to include information on the dialogue between the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Cathedral's building committee and the unnamed northern donor regarding the design and planning of the Lee-Jackson bay. This would give visitors more insight into the process that produced the windows, and help them to understand how they came to be at the Cathedral.

#### SEWANEE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH

The administration of Sewanee University has no explicit plans for the interpretation of its Confederate monuments. It has begun to provide interactive opportunities for its community members, through hosting a few discussions on the monuments.<sup>258</sup>

One suggestion for the university would be to continue to host the discussions and to open them to the general public so that more opinions and narratives could be heard. The university could also use the discussions to gather oral and written histories needed to create the social narrative of the monument. Another suggestion would be to compile the information

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<sup>257</sup> "Washington National Cathedral interviews" Skype and telephone interviews by author. February 1, 2018 and February 2, 2018.

<sup>258</sup> "Sewanee University interviews." Interviews three and eight by author. January 18, 2018 and February 7, 2018.

needed for the historical narrative and epochal meaning, in the event that the administration decides to interpret the monuments for the school's anniversary.

#### DUKE UNIVERSITY

The administration of Duke University also has no concrete plans for the interpretation of its Confederate monument beyond the president of the university stating that he intends to return the Lee statue to the campus.<sup>259</sup>

The students conducting the research on the statues in Duke Chapel will have arranged at least part of the historical narrative, and possibly parts of the epochal meaning. The university has also hosted discussions about the monuments, and so has provided some interactive opportunities.

An important proposition for the university would be to bring the statue back to the campus and make it publicly accessible again. The statue could either be repaired or left as it was after the vandalism. Both options could add a layer to the interpretation. The repair option would allow people to see the statue in its original state, just no longer on the Duke Chapel facade; but showing the statue in its damaged state could visually remind viewers of some of the current sentiments about Confederate monuments. Monuments in other countries such as Italy have been defaced to show changes in political regimes or public sentiments. After the fall of the fascist government in Italy the Italian people and government had to decide whether to reuse, destroy, or neglect the monuments and buildings left behind by the regime. While reuse was the primary method used, changes to the buildings and monuments often involved defacement. Fasces, a Roman symbol of power appropriated by the fascists, and lictor's axes were some of the most frequently removed symbols, but the defacement of faces on sculptures and bas-reliefs were also prevalent. For example, the Arch of Victory in Genoa, which

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<sup>259</sup> "Duke University interviews." Interviews two and four by author. January 13, 2018 and January 19, 2018.



commemorates the Italian soldiers who died in World War I, has a bas-relief that portrays the Duce as a “muscular superman” fighting among the other soldiers. The Duce’s images was defaced and an inscription was added reading, “executed by the people 28 April 1945.”<sup>260</sup> Whichever option the administration chooses could include photos of the statue in the other state as part of the exhibition.

Another suggestion for the university would be to continue to host discussions on issues related to racism and race issues in the United States. These discussions would add to the social narrative and increase the interactive opportunities around the monument. The university could also find people who could record oral or written histories for the social narrative of the monument at the discussion events.

## ROLE FOR PRESERVATION

Our current monuments debate is part of a long history of push back against the Confederate monuments and the ideals and mythologies that they support. This particular iteration of the monuments debate has been contentious and divisive, almost to the point where compromise seems impossible, which leads preservationists to consider the question of where we can go from here, regarding the preservation of monuments that inspire such divisiveness.

As has been discussed, there are multiple options to be taken in choosing what to do with the Confederate monuments. While the nation is at a cross-road regarding our interpretation of the Confederate monuments, and their physical and cultural position within our society as a reflection of that interpretation, there are options that could attempt to decrease the tensions between the sides of this controversial debate, or even lead to the continuation of the healing process. Some individuals and institutions may choose to destroy their monuments,

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<sup>260</sup> Hannah Malone, "Legacies of Fascism: Architecture, Heritage and Memory in Contemporary Italy," *Modern Italy* 22, no. 04 (2017).

while others choose to preserve them, but of great importance is that the decision and interpretation reflect the values and differing narratives of the communities involved. Herein lies the great opportunity for a preservation contribution.

This research has found that the examined case study institutions are already conducting the physical preservation of their monuments. Therefore, I think that the role for preservationists in this process will be to offer assistance with the planning of the interpretive aspect of their monument's preservation. To this end I have offered a framework that could act as a guiding principle for private institutions and preservationists as they embark on the task of interpreting Confederate monuments.

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## IMAGES

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