2011

The American counter-monumental tradition: renegotiating memory and the evolution of American sacred space

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THE AMERICAN COUNTER-MONUMENTAL TRADITION:
RENEGOTIATING MEMORY AND THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN SACRED
SPACE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Communication Studies

By
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B.A. University of Northern Iowa, 2005
M.A. University of Northern Iowa, 2007
December 2011

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is in many ways a collaborative work, with many of the ideas contained in it resulting from conversations with a variety of generous and intelligent people who have been willing to entertain my ideas and offer their own suggestions and insights. I am deeply indebted to so many of you who have made this project possible:

First and foremost, Dr. Andy King, whose many conversations and emails with me over the past four years have challenged me to think and see the world in new ways. I cannot thank you enough for how much you have given me over the past four years; I can only promise that I will do my best to show the same kindness and dedication to my own students.

Dr. Nathan Crick, whose office door has always been open. Our summer reading groups were what I always imagined graduate school should be—conversations amongst a community of friends working to learn together. For four years I have counted on your honest and open feedback to make me a better writer and thinker, and I deeply appreciate that you have always had time for me.

Dr. Stephanie Grey, whose critical insights have helped me think more deeply on a number of my projects. On many levels, co-authoring with you was one of the most educational experiences of my graduate school career.

Dr. Ruth Bowman, whose kindness and vision both as a teacher and graduate director deeply enriched my experience at LSU.

Dr. Michael Xenos, who in his brief time at LSU was an outstanding teacher to both graduate and undergraduate students. May your new students at the University of Wisconsin appreciate you as much as your former students miss you.

Dr. Meghan Sanders and Dr. Husain Sarkar, your generous contributions to my project are greatly appreciated.

Dr. Catherine Palczewski, who has been an extraordinary mentor, friend and co-author, even years after I left Iowa. You have not only been an integral part of my understanding of argument and counter-monuments, but more importantly an incredible example of how a scholar can make the world a better place.

To my many friends at LSU, who have entertained my incessant talk about monuments and LSU football, I cannot imagine my experience here without all of you. Mike Rold, Rya Butterfield, Joe Rhodes, Jen Erdley, Michelle Pence, Ari Gratch, Chas Womelsdorf, Benjamin Haas, Austin McDonald, Bryan Moe, Brian Leslie, Chris Gearhart and David Tarvin. I will miss you all and look forward to seeing you at many NCAs to come.

To my parents, Denny and Coral McGeough and my sister Briana McGeough, living on the other side of the country has reminded me just how much I miss and appreciate you. But no matter where I go, it never stops being nice to know I can always go home to a great family.

Finally, to my amazing wife Danielle McGeough, I could not have done this without you. From your insights on this project itself, to your help editing the project, to your remarkable ability to get me to take a break and eat ice cream with you, you make my life better in so many ways. I love you and am looking forward to our next adventures together.

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Abstract

This dissertation explores U.S. monuments as contested sites where marginalized groups who have been either omitted or villianized in the original monument at a site have sought to gain inclusion and have their narratives of the past articulated on U.S. sacred sites. My project expands on academic literature on German counter-monuments and links American counter-monuments to this field of study. Following my analysis of three German counter-monuments, this project explores three American counter-monuments: Chicago's Haymarket Square, "Liberty Place" in New Orleans, and the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington D.C., which offer examples of struggles over public memory on issues of class (Haymarket Square), race (Liberty Place), and sex (Vietnam Veterans' Memorial). I selected each site intentionally because each has been marked with an original monument, as well as served as a site where the narrative contained in that monument has been challenged by those denied representation on the sacred site. Each has been altered significantly since the creation of its original monument, and has also been the locus of vernacular performances and responses in the years since the inception of the original monuments. Accordingly, my dissertation offers a critical analysis of the aforementioned counter-monuments by exploring four central traits of counter-monuments: 1) the evolution of monumental sites, 2) presence, absence, and irony, 3) the monument's relation to sacred space, and 4) the use of the site as a forum. I argue that American counter-monuments begin with competing claims to a sacred space, the eventual creation of multiple monuments (each representing a different perspective on how the past should be remembered), and the representation of the development of the site across time. Ultimately, those in control of each site have attempted to reconcile the competing perspectives under some transcendent ideal, thus rearticulating the different perspectives not as competing, but as different perspectives pursuing

common American ideals. Both by gaining access to build a monument at U.S. sacred sites, and by having this monument marked as a perspective contributing to an American ideal, counter-monuments offer spaces at which U.S. public memory has been expanded to include previously marginalized perspectives.

Chapter 1
Uncovering the American Counter-monumental Tradition

In 1983, the local council in Hamburg, Germany, issued a call for designs for a

Monument Against Fascism. Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev–Gerz were selected to design the

Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence—and for Peace and Human Rights. The Gerzes

demanded the monument be erected on a busy street corner in the commercial district of

Harburg, a Hamburg suburb. In 1986, the monument was unveiled—a one-meter by one-meter

column of hollow aluminum, standing 12 meters high and covered in lead plates on which people

could mark (Lupu, 2003).

A temporary inscription near the base of the monument (written in German, French,

Russian, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish and English) read:

> We invite the citizens of Harburg and visitors to the town, to add their names here to
> ours. In doing so, we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names
> cover this 12-meter tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One
> day, it will have disappeared completely and the site of the Harburg Monument Against
> Fascism will be empty. In the end, it is only we ourselves who can rise up against
> injustice.

The Hamburg monument responds to Germany's struggle over how to remember the Nazi era

given the Nazi predilection for monumental architecture. Germans were conflicted because "the

didactic logic of monuments . . . recalled too closely traits they associated with fascism itself"

(Young, 1992, p. 274). The Gerzes responded with a counter-monument designed to resist its

own monumentality, a monumental performative contradiction that neither remembers nor

endures and rejects the fascism of monuments' didactic logic. Counter-monuments in general,

and the Hamburg Monument in particular, respond to Germany's "memorial conundrum" by

offering "memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premise of the monument" (Young,

2000, p. 96). Virtually all existing literature on counter-monuments describes them as

performative contradictions insofar as the monuments refuse all elements of monumentality. For their refusal to remember a single metanarrative in favor of simultaneously representing multiple voices, scholars have recognized German counter-monuments as entirely postmodern spaces of memory that one scholar argues represents "the end of the monument" (Young, 2000, p. 90).

In this dissertation, I will argue counter-monuments need not be understood as the end of the monument, but instead as spaces offering unique possibilities to democratize public memory. I seek to expand the literature on counter-monuments by illuminating a rich but previously unacknowledged American counter-monumental tradition, a tradition which I claim focuses not on rejecting monumentality itself, but on countering the arguments of particular monuments. As the Gerzes recognized, monuments are decidedly hortatory: they make particular arguments as to who deserves remembrance, celebration, mourning and emulation, as well as who counts as a member of a society.

Richard Morris (1997) notes scholars have developed an "impressive body of research that says a great deal about the work of individual memorial artists, individual icons and iconographic motifs, and shifting visual patterns across time and place, but we still understand far too little about American memorializing" (p. 28). By analyzing a set of monumental sites in which the arguments made in the original monument have been contested through a variety of strategies, this study not only expands academic literature on counter-monuments, but answers Morris's call by exploring American counter-monuments as sites where Americans historically erased or reviled because of their race, sex or class have attempted to alter how they are represented (or omitted) in public memory. Accordingly, this dissertation addresses the following questions:

1) How does marking the presence of marginalized groups on monument sites function as a rhetorical strategy? What are the limits of this dialectic on monument sites?

2) How do activists use monuments to gain or contest access to sacred sites?

3) How can counter-monuments serve to both expand and record the evolution of who is deemed worthy of remembrance on U.S. sacred sites?

4) How do marginalized groups use rituals, performances and vernacular responses at monument sites function to challenge dominant historical narratives?

The Significance of American Counter-monuments

Public memory is a powerful force in the shaping and directing of publics. As Michael Warner (2002) observes, publics are created and maintained by virtue of being addressed, having something call them into community. Public memory fulfills this requirement, calling people into community through the public and communal memory of a shared event or history. By providing a location of communal doxa, a group of people is able to function as a public through its collective memory of its past (Cox, 1987). Hannah Arendt (1948) notes that without narratives that label a peoples' "treasures" and their history, there cannot be the continuity in time that creates a public. Public memory of the history of a peoples' origins, triumphs and traumas creates and strengthens the bonds that hold a group of people together as a public. Scholars have identified and examined the deployment of the public memory, particularly of traumatic events and tribulations, as a sort of rhetorical commonplace from which to pursue normative political ends (Biesecker, 2002, Bostdorff, 2003). Bradford Vivian (2004) suggests public memory is most productively understood "on the basis of categories other than right and wrong, accurate or inaccurate" (p. 191). The central question of public memory, then, is not one of verisimilitude— *what, exactly, happened?*, but one of moral—*how ought we remember what happened, and what*

can it tell us about how we should act the future? Nowhere is this more significant than at monuments, whose epidictic spaces commemorate certain people or events and ignore others, retelling the past in service of present needs (Vidal-Naquet, 1992; Zelizer, 1998).

As expressions of public memory, monuments are rhetorically powerful. Typically, they offer enduring markers that select and display some narrative or perspective on the past as worthy of remembrance and emulation. In marking certain aspects of a culture's past as worthy of remembrance, they establish communal ideals and define communal boundaries. Traditionally, monuments consist of enduring markers that allow them to stand and present their narrative on the past for generations, thus offering a sense of timelessness to their representations of the past. Monuments "select from history those events, individuals, places, and ideas that will be sacralized by a culture or a polity. . . [and] instruct their visitors about what is to be valued in the future as well as in the past" (Blair, Jeppeson, & Pucci, 1991, p. 263). They are often, though not always, located at significant sites at which the very ground on which they stand itself lends a sense of sacredness and authority to the monument. The monument, in turn, makes a claim on that ground for the group who constructed it.

The study of American counter-monuments is significant for a number of reasons beyond contributing to the ongoing conversation of scholarship on counter-monuments. If, as Barbara Biesecker (2002) suggests, sites of collective memory such as monuments serve as a type of public civics lesson, then understanding how they change over time offers unique insights into changing conceptions of what it means to "be American."[1] Because monuments generally endure over time and provide sites for contesting public memory, they offer an important barometer of

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[1] It is worth noting that all of the counter-monumental sites I analyze are U.S. sites. I often use the phrase *American* counter-monuments; I do so because it more faithfully reflects the actual language used in debates over U.S. monuments sites. But to be clear, the claims I make about monuments and counter-monuments are based on my analyses of U.S. monument sites and U.S.

who was (and was not) deemed worthy of remembrance in the original monument, who has been added, and who remains absent. I will argue that the potential to renegotiate public memory in this way serves a valuable role in helping large democracies expand notions of citizenship in order to account for past acts of violence against those now recognized as Americans. For as Schwartz and Heinrich (2004) note, "democratic societies need to deal with the negative aspects of their past, especially when victims of earlier atrocities are still alive and still citizens" (p. 118). Just as German counter-monuments are intended to help grapple with a difficult history of Nazism, by expanding who is represented on sacred space, American counter-monuments help address instances of violence against marginalized groups by expanding the set of lives deemed worthy of mourning. By tracking the strategies marginalized groups have used to gain inclusion at a variety of monuments, I hope to contribute insight into how other such groups might also be commemorated on U.S. sacred sites.

Scholars of monuments and memorials make clear that public memorializing is not a simple process of fixing history (Hasian, 2004; Hubbard & Hasian, 1998). What is memorialized is not a given, and in the process of memorializing particular public arguments are advanced. This explains why "public memorials become sites of ideological struggle whenever they seek to shape and direct the past, present, and future in the presence of competing articulations" (Morris, 1997, p. 39). Thus, this project seeks to uncover not only who is deemed worthy of remembrance on U.S. sacred sites, but also how seemingly settled answers to that question (in the form monuments) can be countered.

Dissertation Data

The focus of my dissertation will be three American counter-monuments. Each discussed in more detail at the conclusion of this chapter, Chicago's Haymarket Square, "Liberty Place" in New Orleans, and the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington D.C. offer examples of struggles over public memory on issues of class (Haymarket Square), race (Liberty Place), and sex (Vietnam Veterans' Memorial). I selected each site intentionally because each has been marked with an original monument, as well as served as a site where the narrative contained in that monument has been challenged by those denied representation on the sacred site. Each has been altered significantly since the creation of its original monument, and has also been the locus of vernacular performances and responses in the years since the inception of the original monuments. Accordingly, my dissertation offers a critical analysis of the aforementioned counter-monuments by exploring four central traits of counter-monuments: 1) the evolution of monumental sites, 2) presence, absence, and irony, 3) the monument's relation to sacred space, and 4) the use of the site as a forum.

Evolution of Monumental Sites

Though sacred sites are typically "carefully maintained for long periods of time—decades, generations, and centuries" (Foote, 1997, p. 9), I argue the countering in American counter-monuments often involves some sort of change to the site. Each of the monuments I analyze has been altered since its original creation. However, the degree to which the changes are marked *as changes* differs in each monument. Although I argue counter-monumental sites offer unique potential for recording shifting conceptions of citizenship and changes in whose lives are deemed worthy of remembrance, these possibilities only exist insofar as visitors can see what has been added or removed from the site of a monument. Accordingly, I track the ways in

which changes and additions at counter-monumental sites are (or are not) marked as alterations to the original monument.

Presence, Absence, and Irony

In their seminal work on argumentation, Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) identify presence as a central component of argumentation. They describe presence simply as "selecting certain elements and presenting them to the audience" (p. 116). In a Burkean sense, those things which are selected are represented at the expense of those left out. However, on sacred sites holding significance to multiple groups, deciding whose perspectives get represented in monumental form is often highly contested. As monuments and memorials grant certain peoples presence on sacred sites, they make a case for who should be mourned and necessarily imply the opposite – that others need not be mourned. The monuments I analyze are *counter*-monuments in part because previous arguments regarding who was deemed worthy of representation in the original monument have been countered by those left out, those who wish to have their presence and history on the site remembered as well. These counter-monumental actions create sites in which multiple, differing perspectives on the past are simultaneously given presence on sacred sites, making it easy for visitors to gain an ironic perspective by comparing the multiple perspectives articulated on each site.

Sacred Space

Sacred sites are those places "set apart from [their] surroundings and dedicated to the memory of an event, person or group. [They] almost always involve the construction of a durable marker. . . sanctification always requires the site's ritual dedication to the memory of an event itself or to a martyr, hero, or group of victims" (Foote, 1997, p. 8). Given the power of sacred space to evoke a sense of timelessness and connection to a community's origins, such spaces are

often used to issue didactic articulations of the past. Unlike German counter-monuments, which intentionally reject the notion of sacred space, I argue that because the American counter-monumental tradition consists of countering the arguments of already existing monuments, it has a more complex relation to sacred space. Accordingly, I explore these sites as contests over access to sacred space, containing attempts to deny access to it, expand it, or suggesting alternate sacred spaces.

Use of the Site as a Forum

Sacred sites often serve as spaces to engage in memory work, perform rituals, or conduct commemoration that articulates the past in ways relevant to the present. This is particularly true on the three monuments I have chosen to analyze. As sites of contestation over who is allowed representation on sacred space, these sites frequently serve as loci for a variety of commemorative responses both to past events on the site, and to the monuments themselves. Across each of the monuments in this dissertation, I explore the rituals, performances, and vernacular responses that have occurred on the site—particularly those that seek to alter who gains representation, or renegotiate the meaning of the site or monument.

A Note on Method

I selected each of the sites examined in this dissertation because as sites of contestation between multiple groups seeking to articulate different narratives of the past, they have been at the center of prolonged arguments over American public memory. In my analysis of each site, I do my best to reflect the nuances of these arguments and to recognize the particular historical contexts from which each argument emerged. In dedicating significant attention to the circumstances (or the scene, in a Burkean sense) from which each monument emerged and evolved, I engage in an approach to rhetorical analysis that M. Elizabeth Weiser (2008) describes

as *rhetoricizing*. Fitting with the study of rhetoric as inherently situated discourse, rhetoricizing "involves practicing rhetoric by using history to do theory. That is, rhetoric is enriched when its universal theories are fully informed by the contextual conversations of their history" (p. xiii). Thus, an integral part of this project is attending to the specific histories of each site. In her work rhetoricizing the theories of Kenneth Burke, Weiser notes that the conversations and situations out of which any given "theory grows are not simply ideological or macroeconomic or biographical, they are all of these, combined as well with the contemporaneous geopolitical situation and the subsequent reactions to it that shape the final form of the theory" (p. xiii). One might substitute the word *monument* in for the word *theory*, and find the statement remains equally insightful. Accordingly, I offer detailed histories of each site in an effort to rhetoricize American counter-monuments. Also like Weiser, my study is also distinctly "Burkean." I focus on the scene from which each monument emerges, and pay particular attention to the discourses and arguments surrounding each of these sites. As in most of my writing, I draw heavily on Burke's corpus to inform my analyses. However, I also move beyond Burke and draw on a variety of rhetorical and cultural theorists in order to compliment my analysis of these sites.

Dissertation Outline

Chapter 2

Chapter two offers a brief analysis of several German counter-monuments. By examining three prominent German counter-monuments—Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev Gerz's *The Hamburg Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence—and for Peace and Human Rights,* Sol LeWitt's *Black Form—Memorial to the Missing Jews*, and Horst Hoheisel's *Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen*—this chapter explores how counter-monuments differ from traditional monuments. In so doing, it will provide an introduction to the phenomenon of counter-

monuments, as well as a counterpoint from which to distinguish my later discussion of American counter-monuments. My analysis of the three German counter-monuments offers a set of four important traits that typify counter-monuments: their rejection of sacred space, their tendency to be used as forums upon which various groups engage in rituals and performances, their marking of the passing of time on the site and their focus on presence/absence. These traits form the basis of my analysis of American counter-monuments.

Chapter 3

Chapter three provides a detailed review of the relevant literature necessary to support the arguments I make in my analysis chapters. My review of the literature focuses on each of the traits of counter-monuments uncovered in the previous chapter (sacred space, presence/absence, evolution of monumental sites, ritual/performance on sacred sites). It also further develops these categories, expanding them to better account for the unique characteristics of American counter-monuments. Drawing primarily from communication studies, but also secondary areas such as history and anthropology, chapter three develops the heuristic vocabulary necessary to provide insightful analyses of the monuments in my study. This chapter also helps to situate my dissertation within broader academic discussions of rhetoric, public memory and monumentality.

Chapter 4

In Chapter four, I analyze one of the most highly contested sites in American history. On May 4, 1886, 3000 laborers met at the Haymarket Square in Chicago, Illinois, to hear labor leaders speak, and as police advanced on the crowd, an unidentified person threw a bomb into the formation of officers. The resulting melee left eight police and countless laborers dead or injured, and led to a sham trial condemning seven prominent labor leaders to death. Wealthy business owners funded a large bronze statue of a police officer as a monument to the

"Haymarket Riot," as laborers, denied access to the site, created an alternate monument to the "Haymarket Massacre" at a competing sacred site—the graves of the labor leaders. This chapter focuses on disputes over access to sacred space as a trait of American counter-monuments. It also explores a variety of counter-monumental strategies performed by activists, strategies ranging from ritual acts of vandalism to site-connecting performances designed to contest access to the sacred space of the Haymarket Square and dictate how the history of the Haymarket is remembered.

Chapter 5

Chapter five explores the monument at "Liberty Place" in New Orleans, Louisiana. The original Liberty Place Monument commemorates fallen members of "The White League" who, on September 14, 1874, staged an armed insurrection against a biracial coalition of Republicans who had won a majority in the city and state governments. Over 8,400 armed members and supporters of the Crescent City White League attacked 500 members of the Metropolitan Police and 3,000 black members of the state militia, en route to instating an all-white state government. After suppressing African-American voting rights, The White League built the Liberty Place Monument at their original rallying site, displaying the names of the 16 White Leagues killed during the attack. The monument has been altered repeatedly as different political and racial groups gained prominence in the city of New Orleans. This chapter explores the evolution of the monument site, and how changes and additions to the site have been marked *as* changes while the monument has served as the locus for both white-supremacist and anti-racist protests and performances, and has been a central location for both the creation and desecration of multiple plaques interpreting the events of the Battle of Liberty Place.

Chapter 6

In chapter six, I analyze the most well-known and commonly-analyzed monument included in my dissertation, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Located on the Washington Mall, Maya Lin's original design consisted only of the V-shaped marble wall displaying a list the names of U.S. soldiers killed in Vietnam. Another highly contested site, it quickly became host to disputes over how the United States should memorialize wars. As such, it has accrued additional monuments by groups lobbying to have their perspectives included at the site. These additions include a sculpture portraying three male soldiers walking together, an American flag, and a bronze statue of three women aiding a soldier—the first American war memorial for women. The chapter focuses on notions of presence and the irony created by offering clearly divergent perspectives and representations of war at the same memorial site.

Chapter 7

In chapter seven, I offer a conclusion that further synthesizes the theoretical insights of my analyses. This chapter considers the similarities in each site as disputes over sacred space and gaining representation in it have led to the alteration of monument sites, their use as forums, and the creation of irony by including (and thus juxtaposing) multiple perspectives at a single site. I also use this chapter to consider attempts at reunifying each site under transcendent ideals, and rearticulating the past in ways that position the various groups that have fought over these sites, not as enemies, but as pursuing similar ideals from different perspectives. Finally, I suggest further avenues of research and additional monuments worthy of study in order to might expand the study of American counter-monuments and deepen our understanding of struggles over American public memory.

Chapter 2
The German Counter-monumental Tradition

"Away with the monuments!"

- Friedrich Nietzsche

In *The Uses and Abuses of History for Life*, Fredrich Nietzsche (2010) observes that "monumental history will never be able to have complete truth," he contends "it will always bring together things that are incompatible and generalize them into compatibility, will always weaken the differences of motive and occasion . . . [in order to create] examples for imitation (p. 15). Nietzsche's recognition of the "monumental effect," the retelling of history in a way that oversimplifies the past in the service of eliciting particular behaviors in the present, reflects the central concerns surrounding commemoration in contemporary Germany. As James Young (1993) notes, "no one takes their memorials more seriously than the Germans" (p. 18-20), yet few nations face the task of coming to terms with so traumatic a past.

Memorialization in Germany is difficult for a number of reasons— Germans face the challenge of not only memorializing the deaths of over 5 million German citizens, but also the 17 million victims of the holocaust (Niewyk & Nicosia, 2000, p.45). Germany has found particular difficulty in memorializing the 5.5 million Jews systematically exterminated by the state. Though commitments to "never forget" and to learn from the past have been commonplace throughout post-Nazi Germany, determining what sort of monuments best fit this call has proven challenging. In creating such monuments, both the artists that design them and the communities that host them face difficult questions including: How do citizens memorialize crimes in their nation's past? How should perpetrators of an atrocity mourn its victims? How can one

monumentalize absence? Further complicating the Germany's memorial decisions is the

lingering suspicion of monumental form, a distrust resulting from the Nazis' own reliance on

monuments to inspire reverence towards the Reich and advance a particular narrative of German

history.

Several prominent artists selected to build monuments throughout Germany found

traditional monuments not only ill-equipped to respond to these unique memory challenges, but

actually contrary to the lessons of the holocaust. Instead they developed a set of monuments

which are now known as *counter-monuments*. Counter-monuments respond to Germany's

"memorial conundrum" by offering "memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premise

of the monument" (Young, 2000, p. 96).[2] These counter-monuments defy traditional

expectations for monuments in a number of ways; James Young poetically describes the

Hamburg Monument Against Fascism (the example I used to open the previous chapter, and will

analyze momentarily) as being designed:

> not to console but to provoke, not to remain fixed but to change, not to be everlasting but
> to disappear, not to be ignored by its passersby but to demand interaction, not to remain
> pristine but to invite its own violation and desanctification, not to accept graciously the
> burden of memory but to throw it back it the town's feet. (Young, 2000, p.131)

Yet despite the outstanding writings of Young and others analyzing counter-monuments, the

basic characteristics that typify counter-monuments as a genre, and differentiate them from more

traditional monuments, remain somewhat unclear. This chapter reviews three prominent German

counter-monuments, conceived by three different artists and originally created in three different

German cities, in order to discover some basic categories by which counter-monuments are

distinguishable. The categories I have found in analyzing these counter-monuments are 1) their

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[2] James Young's seminal works on counter-monuments are indispensible reading in the study of
counter-monuments, and offer the conceptualization of counter-monuments to which virtually all
other scholarship on the topic responds.

focus on absence/presence, 2) their refusal to use sacred space to support a didactic retelling of the past, 3) their creation of a public forum, and 4) their marking of the passing of time on the site.[3] As the broader purpose of my dissertation is to explore American counter-monuments as a genre, I uncover these traits of counter-monuments can be analyzed in this chapter, explore them theoretically in Chapter Three, and use them as a heuristic vocabulary throughout the analysis chapters that follow.

Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz: The Hamburg Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence—and for Peace and Human Rights

The Hamburg Monument Against Fascism, which I introduced in the previous chapter, is amongst the most famous of German counter-monuments. Standing on a dirty street corner, the monument invites its own desecration. In addition to the plaque requesting interaction from passersby, the Gerzes used lengths of cable to attach a steel stylus at each corner at each corner of the monument, thus encouraging passersby to inscribe their names onto the sides of the column. The signatures were meant to represent a public commitment to fight fascism. The monument was lowered into an underground chamber about once a year, disappearing entirely in 1993 (Kimmelman, 1994, March 11). Today, only a headstone atop the submerged column remains visible. The headstone-marked absence is meant to place the burden of memory and struggle against injustice on people who remember it, rather than on the monument itself (Young, 1992).

Didacticism in the Hamburg Monument Against Fascism

Beyond declaring the inadequacy of monuments, the Hamburg Monument Against Fascism tells passersby very little about what exactly to remember or how to remember it. The

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[3] Although every one of these categories need not be present in any given counter-monument, they offer a useful set of distinctions in determining how counter-monuments function.

most explicit part of the plaque simply calls on passersby to "remain vigilant" and notes that "it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice." What constitutes the injustice passersby should remain vigilant for goes unstated. Its distinctly un-didactic character is perhaps the most central characteristic of the Monument Against Fascism. Jochen Gerz states that in designing
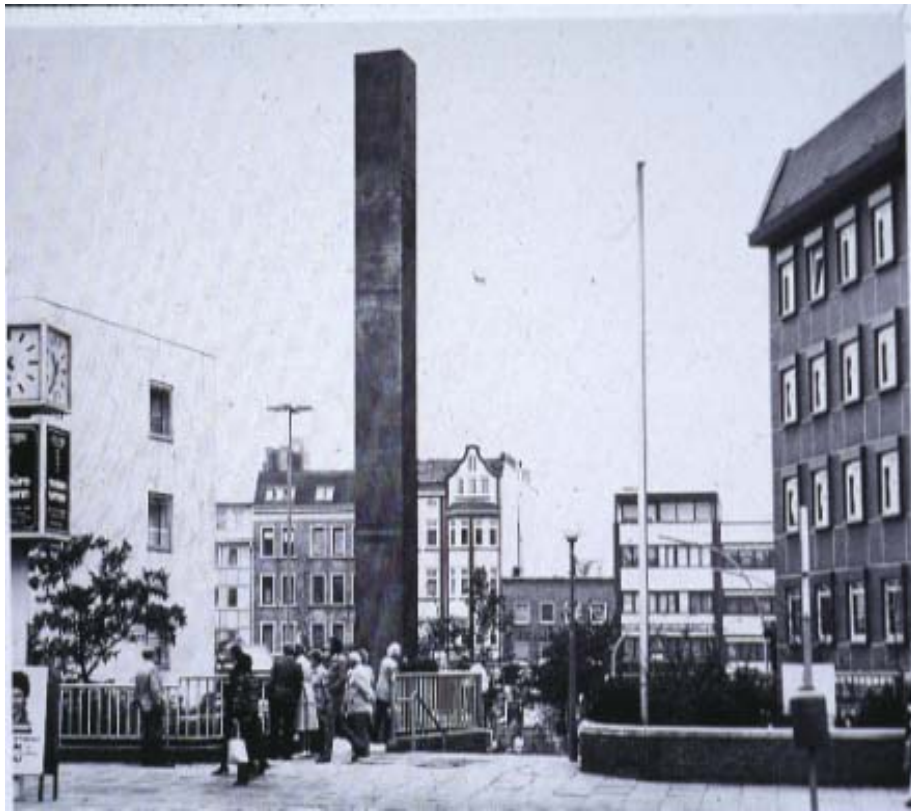
Figure 2. 1: The Hamburg Monument against Fascism. Retrieved from http://genocidestudies.wordpress.com/2008/06/21/jochen-gerz-monument-against-fascism/

the monument, "What we did not want was an enormous pedestal with something on it presuming to tell people what they ought to think" (Gintz, 1987, June/July, p.87). The monument itself offers no attempt at a characterization of the past, nor claims to recognize (and thus valorize) a particular ideal, but rather offers those who choose to interact with it the opportunity to make a public commitment. Even the burden of this commitment, the monument eschews by predicting its own disappearance and reminding visitors that only they can rise up against injustice. By turning the burden of this ill-defined commitment to vigilance back onto those passersby who chose to offer their signatures, the monument explicitly claims to avoid

didacticism, as determining how to stand against injustice (or what even constitutes injustice) is left to the individual.

The demand that Hamburg's monument be located in Harburg, at a highly-trafficked, somewhat dingy, commercial street corner, further attempts to counter the didacticism that the Gerzes found in traditional monumental form. By opting to resist the common practice of placing the monument on sacred space, on ground somehow sanctified by past events that have taken place on it—the sort of space easily found in Germany— the Gerzes also attempted to avoid lending didacticism to the Monument Against Fascism, War, and Violence by demanding the monument be built on space any which might visitors might believe imbued it with special significance. Instead, the monument was erected "atop a small plaza, projecting like a balcony above a pedestrian subway, between a commuter train station and a fish store, a Chinese restaurant and the market square, dry cleaners and a bakery" (Lupu, 2003, p. 136). This particular focus on avoiding what might be considered sacred space is generally a central component of the Gerzes' counter-monuments. James Young (1993) notes that the "most important 'space of memory' for these artists has not been the space in the ground or above it but the space between the memorial and the viewer, between the viewer and his or her own memory: the place of the memorial in the viewer's mind, heart and conscience" (p. 118-119). In this sense, the banality of the Hamburg Monument's location promotes interaction with the monument by both literally and figuratively putting it on the same level with those who encounter it during their daily routines.

Creation of a Public Forum

In creating a monument that requires public signatures in order to be complete, and invites passersby to interact with it, the Gerzes sought to create a public conversation, with the monument as a public forum. In this aspect, the Monument Against Fascism, War, and Violence was wildly successful. Hundreds of residents and tourists engraved their signatures as commitments to fight fascism, completing the monument as the plaque suggested.[4] Shortly after its dedication, however, markings on the monument began taking a variety of different forms. As orderly lists of signatures began to cover the monument, other passersby began scratching the names off of the list or scratch names atop other names. Esther Shalev-Gerz noted that after being "perceived as an almost aggressive element, the monument became a kind of public forum, as well as an outlet for anger, and it was attacked on several occasions (gunshots, fires). These after-effects then

Figure 2. 2: Markings on the Hamburg Monument Against Fascism. Retrieved from http://www.gottfried-helnwein-essays.com/Dissertation.htm

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[4] Rhetoricians have studied the rhetorical significance of signatures, arguing they can serve as commitments to enacting a cosmopolitan citizenship and a creation of publicity (Blair, 2008; Zaeske, 2002).

disappeared like all the rest" (Shalev, 1998, para 5). Soon the monument began attracting graffiti (though its soft lead exterior was designed to resist paint) including spray-painted swastikas and pro-fascist markings and graffiti (Mulholland, 2007, p. 30). In response, others spray-painted the monument with slogans such as "Nazis Rous" (meaning "Nazis out"), or began spray painting over past graffiti.

Before long, a monument designed to be an orderly list of ever vanishing signatures became both a widely used public forum and a much-maligned eyesore to residents of Harburg. Although it had garnered criticism before its dedication, most of which criticized its form and the cost of building a monument designed to disappear, public complaints quickly increased as the monument became a magnet for both a variety of political graffiti and more banal markings such as "Jurgen loves Kirsten" (Mulholland, 2007, p. 30). Even the monument itself began bearing indications of public opposition to its existence; passersby inscribed "lower me at last," attempted to pry the lead plates off of its sides, attempted to burn the monument and even shot the monument (p. 30). Proponents of the monument took these actions as signs of its success. A local newspaper responded that "The filth brings us closer to the truth than would any list of well-meaning signatures. The inscriptions, a conglomerate of approval, hatred, anger and stupidity are like a fingerprint of our city applied to the column" (Young, 2000, p. 139). Jochen Gerz himself, though admitting he was unsatisfied with seemingly apolitical scrawl that appeared on the monument opposed the city's concerns of vandalism of the monument by insisting that "a swastika is also a signature. . . Why not give that phenomenon free reign and allow the monument to document the social temperament in that way?" (as cited in Young, 2000, p. 138).

The increasingly heated debates over the monument only expanded its power as a forum-allowing for both the debates that occurred on its lead plates, as well those that surrounded its

existence and maintenance by the town. Esther Shalev-Gerz embraces the monument's role as a forum, noting that "From its status as a forging object, perceived as an almost aggressive element, the monument became a kind of public forum, as well as an outlet for anger, and it was attacked on several occasions (gunshots, fires). These after-effects then disappeared like all the rest" (Shalev-Gerz, 1998, para 5). The monument's attempt to return the burden of memory to the people around it is particularly well-served by the incessant debates that surround it. By inciting highly contested discussions over how to remember the history of Nazism and fascism, and what memorials to that history should or should not include, the Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence encouraged deliberation that continues long after the monument has vanished into the ground.

Presence/Absence at the Monument Against Fascism, War, and Violence

Given the historical context from which they emerge, it is no surprise that most German counter-monuments attempt to deal with absence in some way. However, the Monument Against Fascism, War, and Violence differs from other counter-monuments in that the monument itself becomes absent. As Young (1993) notes:

> How better to remember forever a vanished people than by the perpetually unfinished, ever-vanishing monument? As if in mocking homage to national forebears who planned the Holocauset as a self-consuming set of events—that is , intended to destroy all traces of itself, all memory of its victims—the Gerzes designed a self-consuming memorial that leaves behind only the rememberer and the memory of a memorial. (p. 31)

Any passerby who reads the plaque's invitation to sign the monument is also made aware of the monument's imminent absence. Visitors to the site can now see just a small portion of one side of the tower through a window into the monument's underground chamber. Atop the column now stands a gravestone marking the absence of the monument.

While still standing, however, the Monument Against Fascism, War, and Violence

offered a unique opportunity to inscribe the presence of rememberers on a monumental site. As

noted above, the monument provided a forum upon which the signatures, responses to signatures,

and various forms of graffiti served as markers of the presence of past visitors. Prior to its

lowering, the monument served as a sort of public archive of these visits (which seems to be part

of the Gerzes intent in inviting the community to sign their names). The presence of passersby

was a necessary component of the monument itself, as it was lowered only as it became covered

in the inscriptions of those who chose to pick up a stylus and mark upon it.

Sol LeWitt: Black Form—Memorial to the Missing Jews

Sol LeWitt, a founding father of the conceptual art movement, claims to have

intentionally avoided creating political art throughout his long and influential career. The sole

exception is a German monument entitled *Black Form—Memorial to the Missing Jews*. Black

Form, LeWitt notes, "was the only political art I ever made. . . and the only political thing about

it was the title, but I thought I owed it to the Germans—and the Jews—to make one comment"

(Lewitt and Garrels, 2000, p. 57). This comment came in the form a large cube (measuring 5.5 m

x 2m x 2m) placed in front of the majestic Munster Palace. The cube, painted a deep black, bears

no inscriptions and is flanked with a pair of plaques which say nothing about the monument

itself, but instead tell a brief history of Jewish culture in Munster.

Standing in sharp relief to Munster Palace and the university square in which it sat, Black

Form instantly became immensely unpopular with university officials. This fit LeWitt's vision

for the monument, as in his memoir, he writes:

> I wanted to make a piece that was completely different from the lacy architecture behind
> it," he says," so I made it in a sort of ungainly block. I wanted it to be hard to swallow in
> terms of form and completely antithetical to its site. Then I decided to make it even more
> antithetical by painting it black. Once that was done, I thought, well, I'll take another step

and give it a title that will make it even more unpalatable." (LeWitt and Garrels, 2000, p. 57)

In this, it seems LeWitt was incredibly successful, as the monument had barely been completed when calls for its destruction arose. Black Form became an even larger blight on the square when it became a frequent target for graffiti. The graffiti, some political and some seemingly random, stood out sharply against the Munster Palace and the recently built buildings surrounding the square. Additionally, given the central location of the square, limousine drivers repeatedly complained that the cube made it difficult to turn around after dropping off university administrators and guests.

Less than a year after its creation as part of the Skulptur Projecte 87[5] exhibition, University of Munster officials succeeded in getting Black Form destroyed. In March of 1988, despite appeals from both the curator and LeWitt himself, a jackhammer crew demolished the monument (Young, 1993, p. 18). However, as Kristallnacht commemorations were observed throughout Germany, the nearby city of Hamburg commissioned LeWitt, who agreed to re-create Black Form in a new location. The new cube, a slightly larger replica of the original, still stands where LeWitt requested it be erected—in front of the Hamburg Town Hall.

Presence/Absence in Black Form

LeWitt intends Black Form to visibly mark what he found missing when traveling through Germany. The Jewish-American artist stated that as a Jew visiting the country, he "noticed the absence [in Germany] of Jewish artists and curators, Jewish bakers and candlestick makers" (as cited in Darwent, 2007, April 14, para.8). Given his roots in geometric-minimalism,

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[5] Skulptur Projekte 87 (or the 1987 Skulptur Projekte) was the second manifestation of the Skulptur Projekte, an exhibition Munster holds every 10 years which explores art in public spaces.

LeWitt offers a representation of absence, and a public invitation to contemplate that absence, in the black cube. In photographs of the monument standing in front of either the Munster Palace or Hamburg Town Hall, the sculpture could easily be mistaken for a small rectangle edited out of the photograph

Creation of Public Sphere/Forum

Whether LeWitt anticipated that his black cube would almost immediately become a blank space for graffiti is unclear, yet the graffiti became one of the most prominent features of the monument. Given the majestic buildings around it (which, themselves, rarely became targets for graffiti), the graffiti covered cube contrasts sharply with its

Figure 2. 3: Sol LeWitt's Black Form-Dedicated to the Missing Jews. Image part of Wiki Commons. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Black_Form_White_House.jpg

surroundings. Yet the very fact that the surrounding buildings where university and city business is conducted remain free of graffiti, while the nearby monument is frequently spray-painted with political graffiti, suggests that it is understood and utilized as a forum of sorts—a canvas upon which one might make statements to the decision makers of Munster or Hamburg. Its power as a forum is only increased by the fact that these political-elites have little choice but to pass the message-covered monument on their way to the nearby buildings.

This use of Black Form as a canvas has also spawned attempts to cover over the graffiti as a political act. Art historian and independent curator Phillippe Van Cauteren formally requested LeWitt's permission to return the counter-monument to its original appearance. Van Cauteren (2003, August 14) conceptualized the repainting as a public performance in its own right, one that "might be dedicated to the failing responsibility of municipal administrators and decision takers" (para. 5). He describes the act of repainting Black Form as fulfilling his own civic duty to preserve and maintain the city's public art, rather than let it fall into neglect. Though clearly different than the Gerzes' preference for art that invites desecration and purposefully avoids enduring in its original form, Van Cauteren's efforts clearly mirror the Gerzes' call for a vigilant public who actively and participates in memory work with monuments.

Somewhat antithetical to its use as a sort of public forum upon which public messages are often written, the monument is somewhat unique in that it also seems to stifle the public square, both literally and metaphorically. As noted, Black Form was originally destroyed because of its physical incursion into public space in Munster. The monument made dropping dignitaries off in limousines difficult, a problem multiplied when multiple officials were called to the Munster Palace. After its first destruction, when the officials from City of Hamburg announced they had re-commissioned the monument, opposition quickly emerged and "the threat of its reappearance reignited debate over how to commemorate the Holocaust without seeming to violate contemporary spaces" (Young, 1993, p. 18). Despite this opposition, and repeated calls for its removal, the counter-monument still stands in Hamburg.

Horst Hoheisel: Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen

Another counter-monument sunk into the ground, Horst Hoheisel's Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen (Aschrott Fountain) monument is a replica of an older fountain that had occupied the space in Kassel, Germany upon which the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen now sits. The original monument, built in 1908 and named after its wealthy Jewish patron Sigmund Aschrott, was a "twelve-meter-high neo-gothic pyramid fountain, surround by a reflecting pool in the main town square, in front of city Hall" (Young, 1993, p. 43). Given as a gift to the city, the Aschrott-Brunnen was dubbed the "Jewish fountain" or "Jew's fountain" as Nazis rose to power, and on the April 9, 1939 holiday of Reichskriegertag (Reich Fighters Day), local Nazis destroyed the fountain in the middle of the night. (Lupu, 2003, p. 148). In the following days, local laborers carted off the remains of the fountain, leaving only the sandstone basin that contained the reflecting pool in which the fountain once sat. In 1943, the city transformed the basin into a small garden, filling it with soil and flowers; locals referred to the filled-in basin as "Aschrott's Grave" (p. 148).

By the time the Association for the Preservation of Historical Monuments in Kassel issued its 1984 call for designs to restore the original Aschrott-Brunnen in a way that recognized the monument's original donors (and particularly Sigmund Aschrott), local knowledge of the fountain's history had faded significantly. Hoheisel complained that by "that point in time, almost no one in the town remembered the actual history of the ruined fountain. The common assumption was that it had been destroyed by Allied bombing during World War II" (Hoheisel, 2011, para. 2). Hoheisel thus set out to offer a monument that would prompt local knowledge of the now absent fountain along with the absent Jewish population of Kassel (3000 Kassel Jews

were shipped by train to Riga, where all were killed). Yet he also believed it important that the monument not simply attempt to replace the absent fountain, but rather mark its absence.

To meet these goals, Hoheisel designed an exact replica of the fountain, and proposed that it be sunken upside-down into the ground in the center of the remnants of the basin. In explaining the monument, Hoheisel states:

> I have designed the new fountain as a mirror image of the old one, sunk beneath the old place in order to rescue the history of this place as a wound and as an open question, to penetrate the consciousness of the Kassel citizens so that such things never happen again. That's why I rebuilt the fountain sculpture as a hollow concrete form after the old plans and for a few weeks displayed it as a resurrected shape at City Hall Square before sinking it, mirror-like, 12 meters deep into the ground water.
> The pyramid will be turned into a funnel into whose darkness water runs down. From the 'architektonischen Spielerei." As City Hall architect Karl Roth called his fountain, a hole emerges which deep down in the water creates an image reflecting back the entire shape of the fountain. (as cited in Young, 2000, p. 98-99)

Although public controversy over how to memorialize the holocaust caused all proposals to be rejected in 1984, by December 1986 Hoheisel was commissioned to build the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen.

Presence-Absence in the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen

The central component of the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen is the replica of the original Aschrott-Brunnen. The absence of the original is memorialized by the absence of the replica fountain. Though Hoheisel originally designed the monument to allow for the reflection coming off of the underground water to make a reflection of the fountain visible to those

standing atop the buried fountain, the cavern turned out to be too dark. Visitors can both see and

Figure 2. 4: Horst Hoheisel's Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen. Image part of wiki commons. Retrieved from http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aschrottbrunnen.

hear the water running through the channels surrounding the fountain, inviting passersby to

inquire into the monument. Hoheisel finds that "People who don't know the story keep on asking

what that strange noise is" (Hoheisel, 2011, para. 4). Visitors can hear the water run down into

the depths of the fountain, but the beautiful replica fountain remains completely invisible,

taunting visitors with its absence.

By creating a physical absence, Manfred Schenkenburger of Documenta 8, states that the

counter-monument "firmly depicts what went before and is now irretrievably lost" (as cited in

Lupu, 2002, p. 152). [6] Yet the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen is designed to mark an absence

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[6] Documenta 8 was a massive art exhibition held in Kassel, Germany, in June of 1987. Every five years, a Documenta exhibition is held in Germany, and Documenta 8 overlapped with, and thus included, the creation of the Negative Form Aschrott Brunnen counter-monument. Documenta 8 focused on the role of art in political awareness and action (Brenson, 1987, Jun. 15).

more profound than that of the fountain itself. In denying visitors to the site the opportunity to see the fountain, Hoheisel hopes to spur them to think about the other absences throughout Germany. By denying them one contribution made to Kassel by a Jewish citizen, he challenges Germans to confront the absence of the robust Jewish culture vanquished by their parents and grandparents.

Time in the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen

The dialectic of presence and absence is also apparent in how the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen marks time and change at the site. Aside from the invisible fountain, the monument is marked by a bronze tablet explaining to visitors the changes that the site has undergone. Near the tablet is a plaque that traces the timeline of the site including the creation of the Aschrott-Brunnen in 1908, its destruction in 1939, the planting of flowers in the basin in 1943, and the erection of the Negative From counter-monument in 1987. Accompanying images depict the original fountain, a pile of its ruins, and an image of the site today.

Hoheisel is often asked when the site will be ready to change again, when the fountain can be exhumed and mounted upright. He responds that not enough time has passed, that a "few more generations have to pass," and as long as a Neo Nazi movement persists, the site is not ready for another change (Hoheisel, p. 3). This same resistance to using the site to mark progress underlies Hoheisel's original design for the monument. In response to calls to simply reconstruct the fountain on its original site, or to recreate it using preserved fragments from the original fountain, Hoheisel resisted due to fear that this would simply be a sign to visitors that the damage done in the past had been repaired. He also worried that for many citizens of Kassel, the changes on the site (as well as who was responsible for those changes) would be forgotten entirely. He refused to use the debris from the original fountain, for as Young notes, even using the fragments

from the fountain "was a decorative lie, suggesting itself as the remnant of a destruction no one

know much about. Its pure reconstruction would have been no less offensive: not only would

self-congratulatory overtones of Wiedergutmachung betray an irreparable violence, but the artist

feared that a reconstructed fountain would only encourage the public to forget what had

happened to the original" (Young, 2000, p. 98). Instead, the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen

invites visitors to inquire into the source of the water running under the city square, and shows

the various transformations the site has undergone over the past one hundred years.

Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen as Public Forum

Central to Hoheisel's vision for the Negative Form fountain is the work and interaction it

requires from passersby. Even finding the monument takes some work, as simply walking by,

passersby may hear the sound of running water, but not until they explore the area does the

presence of the inverted fountain become apparent. Though many citizen groups wanted the

monument to be in a more isolated park (a common theme, as city officials and citizens often

request that Holocaust memorials be placed in parks to encourage quiet introspection), Hoheisel

erected the fountain in the same space its predecessor had stood, the public square outside of

Kassel's city hall (Lupu, 2002, p. 151). The Ascrhott-Brunnen's presence becomes clear either

through looking/listening at the grates surrounding the outer edge of the fountain, reading the

nearby plaques explaining the history of the site, or interacting with someone else at the site who

is aware of the underground fountain.

Such interactions are central to the monument. Because the fountain is submerged

underground, the monument not only requires exploration and interaction, but provides an open

space atop the fountain for this to occur. "The sunken fountain is not the memorial at all,"

Hoheisel says. "It is only history turned into a pedestal, an invitation to passersby who stand

upon it to search for the memorial in their own heads. For only there is the memorial to be found" (as cited in Young, 2000, p. 100). Thus the Aschrott-Brunnen not only attempts to avoid a didactic retelling of the past, but provides the public space upon which public memory-work might be done.

However, in offering this pedestal as a public forum, Hoheisel also created a space in which the very sentiments which led to the Aschrott-Brunnen's destruction might be articulated. Neo-Nazi groups have repeatedly used the site to stage public protests and demonstrations. Standing atop the foundation stones from the original Aschrott-Brunnen (which Hoheisel placed around the perimeter of the submerged fountain), Neo-Nazi groups have sought to reclaim the destruction of their predecessors. Yet even this use of the site as a public forum fits Hoheisel's vision for the counter-monument, which he hoped "would become a negative center of gravity around which all memory—wanted and unwanted—would now congeal" (Young, 2000, p. 102). Predictably, even small Neo-Nazi demonstrations at the site have spawned sizable counter-demonstrations. In this, the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen fulfills the ideal of the German counter-monument—to return the burden of memorializing back to citizens, and require them to do the memory work necessary to formulate a response to others at the site.

Conclusion

German counter-monuments respond to Germany's struggles over how to memorialize the nation's traumatic past. They developed a set of monuments characterized by four traits: 1) their focus on absence/presence, 2) their refusal to use sacred space to support a didactic retelling of the past, 3) their creation of a public forum, and 4) their marking of the passing of time on the site. In addressing the tremendous self-inflicted destruction within their own culture, and coming to terms with the systematic removal and extermination of their sizable Jewish population, these

counter-monuments focus on absence. A disappearing column, a black cube, and a copy of a once present fountain—now inverted and sunk out of view—these monuments manufacture absence where the monument itself (Hamburg) or one just like it (Aschrott-Brunnen) were once present.

Designers of these German counter-monuments sought to avoid the Nazi's tendency of using sacred sites to build monuments providing didactic narratives of the past. As such, the designers attempted to build monuments that avoided didacticism, and often demanded they be built on banal sites. However, these designers feared that traditional monuments do more than demagogically direct memory; they also invite forgetfulness. Insofar as a monument remembers an event, people are free to forget it. Should people need their memories refreshed, they need only refer to the monument. Young (1992) argues "conventional memorials seal memory off from awareness altogether" (p. 272); their prominence and didacticism inhibit memory work. As such, German counter-monuments also demand audience participation. Whether through engaging in the memory work necessary to choose what to write on the lead plates of the Hamburg Monument Against Fascism, exploring the site of the Negative From Aschrott-Brunnen to uncover the source of the audible sound of running water, or simply struggling to turn one's car around because the Black From cube encroaches on the turnaround area of the Munster Palace, German counter-monuments demand interaction. This interaction has cemented the role of these sites as forums, spaces where Germans and Jews, passersby and activists, have engaged in discussions and demonstrations over the past.

German counter-monuments also display unusual attention to the passing of time on the monument sites themselves. The Hamburg Monument Against Fascism notified passersby of its own impending sinking, and now a headstone atop the submerged monument reminds visitors of

the history of the monument itself. The plaques surrounding the Negative Form Aschrott-Brunnen depict its predecessor, the original fountain, and tell the story of the original Aschrott-Brunnen's creation and destruction. The submerged fountain thus presents a sort of negative image of the site, this time with the beautiful fountain recalling the history of the site and the forever destroyed original.

In the following chapter, I explore the four traits of German counter-monuments discovered in this chapter, and further develop them to aid in my analysis of American counter-monuments. By reviewing relevant literature on these traits, chapter three develops a heuristic vocabulary allowing me to uncover how American counter-monuments function. I use this vocabulary to guide my analysis throughout the remaining chapters, exploring the ways in which American counter-monuments operate both similarly and differently from their German counterparts.

Chapter 3
The Traits of American Counter-monuments

"To possess the past is to possess the people."

-Dilip Gaonkar

In the previous chapter, I identified four categories that make German counter-monuments distinct. These categories are 1) their focus on presence/absence, 2) their creation of a public forum, 3) their refusal to use sacred space to support a didactic retelling of the past, and 4) their marking of the passing of time on the site. This chapter explores each of these themes in theoretical detail, developing a heuristic vocabulary that will inform my analysis in subsequent chapters. The categories I discovered in analyzing the German counter-monuments also provide insightful tools to explore their American counterparts. Although I develop the categories (such as moving from a more simplistic focus on presence to a more complex recognition of the irony created by giving multiple groups presence on a site), they remain generally similar to what makes German counter-monuments unique, but as I demonstrate, the categories function differently in American counter-monuments.

This difference emerges because American counter-monuments are the result of marginalized groups responding to *already existing* monuments. Where German counter-monuments are initially designed to counter their own monumentality, American counter-monuments attempt to counter the arguments already carved into an existing monument. They serve as isolatable instances of memory struggles between particular groups and over particular spaces of significance to both groups. After noting that "to possess the past is to possess the people," Dilip Gaonkar (1988) remarks that in gaining control of which narratives of the past a

community remembers, one also gains the ability to "authoritatively recognize the meaning of the present and the possibilities of the future. Thus, history as a systematic understanding of the past unavoidably becomes a site of ideological struggle to understand the past and to direct the future" (as cited in Morris, 1997, p. 39). Such contests offer unique possibilities for studying rhetoric and public memory, and this chapter lays out the theoretical vocabulary that guides my analyses in the following chapters.

From Absence to Presence

As I noted in the previous chapter, German counter-monuments often attempt to memorialize absence. In responding to a somewhat successful attempt at the erasure of Jews and Jewish culture from Germany, German counter-monuments face the challenge of attempting to counter absence and erasure on a scale never before seen in human history. American counter-monuments also mark attempts to counter absence, but not the absence of one culture exterminated by the other, but rather of one group of people whose presence on sacred sites has been erased in the monuments and memorials accompanying those sites. Herein lies one of the crucial distinctions between the rhetorical situations to which German and American counter-monuments respond: the victims of violence and erasure in America's past (and its monuments) are still living citizens and cultures. Where German counter-monuments serve as attempts to memorialize a once significant cultural force throughout Germany which attempted to systematically extinguish, American counter-monuments attempt to counter erasures based on class, sex or race—while members of these groups continue to fight discrimination based on these categorizations.

Central to my analysis of American counter-monuments is a focus on how groups absent in the initial narrative of a monument have sought to have their presence at these sites officially

recognized in the memorials that accompany each site. Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) identify presence as a central component of argumentation. They describe presence simply as "selecting certain elements and presenting them to the audience" (p. 116). In a Burkean sense, those things which are selected get represented at the expense of those left out. However, on sacred sites holding significance to multiple groups, deciding whose perspectives get represented in monumental form is often highly contested. As monuments and memorials grant certain peoples presence on sacred sites, they make a case for who should be mourned and necessarily imply the opposite – that others need not be mourned. The monuments I analyze are *counter*-monuments in part because previous arguments regarding who was deemed worthy of representation in the original monument have been countered by those left out, those who wish to have their presence and history on the site remembered as well.

Presumably, recognizing that numerous and diverse people and perspectives have been present, lain claim, or even died in a particular space is obvious. Yet giving these groups presence in memorial form has proven far more difficult. This is, as I will argue in the chapters that follow, a result of those people who fight for control of U.S. sacred sites maintaining (often implicitly) the belief that presence, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca describe it, is a finite resource. Conceived as a zero-sum contest of sorts, any granting/recognition of the presence of others is accordingly understood as diminishing the presence of members of one's own group.

This same basic assumption also underlies some public memory scholarship. For example, Peter Karsten's (1978) analysis of the relative presence of Washington and Lincoln in American public memory suggests that Lincoln's increased centrality in American public memory is best understood in relation to Washington's reduced centrality, as each served as a symbol for statism and anti-statism respectively. To this argument, Barry Schwartz (2000)

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responds that "Karsten underestimates Washington's symbolic role, which. . . remained a salient aspect of American political tradition both during and after the Progressive Era" (p. 296). In other words, Lincoln's increased presence in American commemoration need not imply a diminished presence for Washington. In response to Karsten's argument, Blair et al. (2010) suggest that assuming remembrance of one perspective entails forgetting of the other offers a "dialectical assumption [which] offers little interpretive power and probably should be replaced by a more nuanced and evidence-grounded position that takes account of the status of particular memory articulations in relation to others, in particular contexts. . ." (p. 20). Although their call to jettison an over-simplistic dialectic is likely conducive to more insightful scholarship on public memory, keeping this dialectic in mind is valuable to the extent that many activists in disputes over U.S. sacred sites seem to generally treat it as true.

This also highlights two related meanings to the term *presence*. Although no one would deny that members of marginalized groups were physically *present* at significant moments on the sites I analyze (e.g. no one suggests laborers were not present at the Haymarket Square when police opened fire), struggles emerge over who deserves *presence* (as Perelman and Olberchts-Tyteca conceptualize it) in memorial form at these sites. To activists attempting to counter existing American monuments, their past presence on these sites has been erased by the original monument, and attempts to counter this erasure by adding another perspective thus serve to secure their presence on these sites. To activists opposed to altering the original monuments, these counter-monuments grant marginalized groups presence only at the expense of those previously memorialized.

Irony

Irony, as Kenneth Burke (1969) describes it, is the dialectic of "perspective by perspectives" (p. 512) created when one sees multiple perspectives simultaneously and uses them to correct one other.[7] This integration of multiple perspectives offers insight into how American counter-monuments function—more than simply offering different groups presence on memorial sites, these monuments are unique precisely because different perspectives on the past are juxtaposed. Burke notes that irony "arises when one tries, by the interaction of terms upon one another, to produce a *development* which uses all the terms" (p. 512). Here American counter-monuments share a similarity with their German counterparts in their mutual demand that visitors must work to make sense of the past.

As will be apparent throughout my analyses, the idea of *producing* a *development* that utilizes the terms from multiple perspectives is central to understanding both how American counter-monuments function, and the struggles over their creation. By creating an ironic juxtaposition of multiple perspectives, these counter-monuments ask visitors to recognize multiple, often conflicting histories. Distinctly different from more traditional monumental forms, American counter-monuments attempt to create an ironic perspective that exposes the "necessarily unfinished processual, contradictory nature of historical affairs" (Eagleton, 1986, p. 162). The irony in American counter-monuments marks them as different from more traditional monuments precisely because traditional monuments (including the original monuments at each

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[7] Along with metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche, irony constitutes one of Kenneth Burke's four master tropes. Burke (1969) explains each trope in explicitly visual metaphors: metaphor creates perspective by allowing the opportunity of "seeing something *in terms of* something else" (p. 503); metonymy is the reduction of the incorporeal to "the realm of the corporeal, visible, tangible" (p. 506); and synecdoche is the representation of "part for the whole, whole for the part, container for the contained, sign for the thing signified" (p. 507).

of the sites I analyze) tend to present one narrative of the past, from the perspective of one person or group of people who the monument enshrines as worthy of remembrance. Traditional monuments are, in this sense, relativistic. As Burke (1969) notes, this relativism is created "by the fragmentation of either drama or dialectic. That is, if you isolate any one agent in drama, or any one advocate in a dialogue, and see the whole in terms of his position alone, you have the purely relativistic. And in relativism there is no irony" (p. 512). The counter-monuments I analyze attempt to create irony through denying any one perspective a monopoly on how narratives of the past get represented on these sacred sites.

This is not to suggest that monuments or counter-monuments are inherently experienced one way or another. The knowledge, desires and communal identifications visitors bring with them to these sites influences how they (or any other text) is read an experienced (Olson & Olson, 2004). Texts in general, and ironic texts in particular, are polyvalent because audience members will always "disagree about the valuation of . . . denotations to such a degree that they produce notably different interpretations" (Condit, 1989, p. 106). Yet Condit also suggests that individuals are not simply free to create any meaning they wish, and that the authors of a given text retain the ability to make some interpretations more likely than others. In the case of American counter-monuments, this suggests that although the ironic juxtaposition of perspectives may not lead visitors to consistently synthesize the competing perspectives on the past into a predictable metanarrative, but that it is difficult to visit one of these sites and not use the perspectives to correct one another in some way. Still, irony requires an audience, as *producing* a development implies a necessarily active role for visitors to the site. Visitors to any of the sites in this study may use the competing perspectives to correct one another—thus creating an ironic perspective, or they may only engage one perspective and deem the others

incorrect or insignificant. To compel them to do otherwise, or to dictate the attitudes visitors bring with them to a site, is beyond the power of any monument. However, by offering multiple perspectives on the past, the counter-monuments I analyze encourage irony in a way that traditional monuments do not. Given that each of the American counter-monuments in this project began with only one perspective represented, any integration of an alternative perspective facilitates visitors developing an ironic understanding of the past.

Through this use of multiple perspectives, irony positions its viewer in a world in which "none of the participating 'sub-perspectives' can be treated as either precisely right or precisely wrong. They are all voices, or personalities, or positions, integrally affecting one another" (Burke, 1952, p. 512). The recognition that no one perspective is entirely right or wrong makes irony the optimal mode for challenging the representations of history presented in the original monuments on the sites I analyze. Irony is at once ecumenical and critical, its "guns point in every direction" (Enright, 1986, p. 110), and it reveals every perspective to be, at best, inherently incomplete. This ever-present corrective edge makes irony unique as a trope, in that regardless of the ideology or purpose behind its deployment, it exposes the necessary limitations of every perspective.

By exposing the inherently limited and incomplete nature of any perspective, irony offers a powerful tool for criticizing dominant cultural narratives (Terrill, 2003). Yet irony's potential for undermining dominant narratives does not come without risk. In encouraging an ironic perspective in viewers, a text also risks fostering cynicism and withdrawal from political engagement (Kundera, 1986). Giambattista Vico (1948), whose discussion of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony provided inspiration to Burke's famous four master tropes essay, understood each as corresponding with a stage in the rise and decline of societies. The

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development of irony as a dominant mode of thought in a given society suggests that society is in decline, that faith in that nation's origins and purpose have begun to fade. Drawing heavily on Vico, Hayden White (1973) elaborates on this position:

> Irony presupposes the occupation of a 'realistic' perspective on realty, from which a nonfigurative representation of the world of experience might be provided. Irony thus represents a state of consciousness in which the problematical nature of language itself has become recognized. . . It is therefore 'dialectic' as Kenneth Burke has noted, though not so much in its apprehension of the process of the world as in its apprehension of the capacity of language to obscure more than it clarifies in any act of verbal figuration. In irony, figurative language folds back upon itself and brings in its own potentialities for distorting perception under question. (p. 37-38)

As it relates to this project, the danger Vico and White suggest is that in creating irony by adding multiple monuments to a site, and thus suggesting that the original monument was inadequate, one necessarily suggests that the additional monument is also inadequate, and potentially that *all* monuments are inadequate. This danger will become clear throughout my analyses of American counter-monuments, as the addition of alternate perspectives to these sites has both led to calls for the addition of even more monuments, as well as attempts at using the site to articulate transcendent ideals that encompass all of the different sub-perspectives articulated by the various monuments at each site.

Comic Frame

The ironic understanding that any given perspective must be at least somewhat flawed also encourages people to view the world through what Kenneth Burke (1937) labels a "comic frame" (p. 51). Burke describes literary frames as orientations providing "the mental equipment (meanings, attitudes, character) by which one handles the significant factors of his time" (p. 42) Understanding the world through a comic frame involves recognition of ignorance and mistakes as a ubiquitous part of the human condition. Burke claims a comic worldview offers the perspective most likely to induce humane enlightenment:

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> The progress of humane enlightenment can go no further than in picturing people not as
> vicious, but as mistaken. When you add that people are necessarily mistaken, that all people
> are exposed to situations in which they must act as fools, that every insight contains its own
> special kind of blindness, you complete the comic circle, returning again to the lesson of
> humility that underlies great tragedy. (p. 51-52)

Thus, the comic frame presents a way of understanding and responding to differing perspectives on
the world. Viewing the world in this way encourages dialogue and mutual correction; as irony
positions multiple incongruous perspectives next to each other to show the inherent contradictions
and absurdities, it fosters a new perspective—a comic worldview which encourages people to
recognize that their own perspective might prove incomplete when compared to a differing
perspective.

Because a comic understanding of the world encourages individuals to recognize that
their own perspective is likely incorrect or incomplete, irony breeds humility. Thus, "true irony,
humble irony, is based upon a sense of fundamental kinship with the enemy, as one needs him, is
indebted to him, is not merely outside him as an observer but contains him within, being
consubstantial with him" (Burke, 1952, p. 514). Creating (or rejecting) this sense of a
fundamental kinship recurs throughout some of the American counter-monuments I analyze,
because the different marginalized groups given presence at American counter-monument sites
are now clearly American citizens. The ironic juxtaposition of different perspectives makes clear
that any one group's way of describing the past is inadequate, and the counter-monuments that
result attempt to develop more well-rounded "vocabularies" through which to make sense of the
past (Rorty, 1989, p. 73).

<u>Counter-monuments as Public Forums</u>

Monuments operate as what Marita Sturken (1997) labels "technologies of memory" (p.
9). Technologies of memory, according to Sturken, are "not vessels of memory in which memory

passively resides so much as objects through which memories are shared, produced, and given

meaning . . . they embody and generate memory and are thus implicated in the power dynamics

of memory" (p. 9-10). Sturken (2007) argues that objects encourage specific ways of

remembering, record certain narratives and ignore others, and call for particular responses to the

past.[8] What is memorialized is not a given, and in the process of memorializing particular public

arguments are advanced. This explains why Morris (1997) describes public memorials as "sites

of ideological struggle whenever they seek to shape and direct the past, present, and future in the

presence of competing articulations" (p. 39). Struggles over what narratives of the past are

presented at memorial sites often lead to the sites themselves serving as public forums.[9]

Throughout my analysis of American counter-monuments, I pay close attention to how various

groups make use of the sites in arguing for changing/maintaining them. As a category of

analysis, this is necessarily broader than looking for irony or appeals to the sacredness of the

space. My interest here is less in developing an analytical category, as it is in understanding how

monumental sites operate as forums for the articulation of differing perspectives on the past and

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[8] One such object Sturken analyzes is the teddy bear. She points to the over 60,000 teddy bears
sent to New York City after the September 11, 2001 attacks, and still distributed as
commemorative artifacts at sites such as the Oklahoma City federal building. She claims that
such objects, in addition to encouraging consumption as a response to traumatic events in the
past, also encourage a narrative of the attacks in which Americans were entirely innocent. She
asks what the bear is "understood to offer when one gives it to someone who is traumatized or
grieving? It embodies the recognition of pain and it offers, above all, the promise of empathy,
companionship, and comfort. . . the teddy bear doesn't promise to make things better; it promises
to make us feel better about the way things are" (Sturken, 2007, p. 7). Throughout her book,
Tourists of History, she persuasively argues that even seemingly mundane objects encourage
specific ways of remembering, and suggest that memory of the past is widely shared.
[9] I resist the temptation to discuss these monuments in the language of "public spheres," despite
the centrality of this category in academic debates over rhetoric and democracy. Jurgen
Habermas (1962) claims the ideal role of the public sphere is to allow citizens to deliberate over
matters of common concern, and for this debate to serve as a check on the power of the state.
Accordingly, the public sphere is not a space or set of spaces, but rather a set of social conditions
allowing for critical publicity. My focus, on the other hand, is on monumental spaces.

how it ought to be remembered. At each site I analyze, members of different groups have sought

to use the site as a forum to expand upon the original monument by building alternate

monuments, altering the original, offering corrective plaques, giving speeches, staging

performances, etc. The various strategies I analyze all use the original monument and site as a

forum to counter what activists perceive as a threat of public forgetting, and to capitalize on

monuments power as pedagogical sites. By tracking the strategies marginalized groups have used

to gain inclusion at a variety of monuments, I hope to contribute insight into how other such

groups might also be commemorated on U.S. sacred sites.

Countering Forgetting

Although struggles over public memory are nothing new (Bodnar, 1992; Linenthal &

Engelhardt, 1996; Savage, 2009; Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009), attempts to expand monumental

sites to include diverse perspectives are a relatively recent development in the American

memorial landscape. Because advocates for altering monument sites consistently appeal to what

groups are absent in the original monuments, they often recast the presence-absence dialectic as

a remembering-forgetting dialectic. Public memory scholars including Pierre Nora (1989) often

conceptualize remembering and forgetting as a dialectical pair in operation at sites of memory. It

is worth nothing that this understanding of monumental function is almost the complete inverse

of how the creators of German counter-monuments understand monuments to function. Rather

than the German view—insofar as a monument remembers, people are free to forget—the view

surrounding debates over U.S. sacred sites has been, essentially, that whatever the monument

does not explicitly remember, it encourages visitors to forget. Accordingly, marginalized groups

whose histories have not been recorded at particular monument sites have used these sites to both

address contemporary issues facing their communities, as well as to argue for being remembered in monumental form.

As noted, this understanding of memory and forgetting is nothing new. Andreas Huyssen (2003) summarizes this perspective nicely in saying:

> Freud already taught us that memory and forgetting are indissolubly linked to each other, that memory is another form of forgetting, and forgetting a form of hidden remembering, repression, and forgetting in individuals is writ large in contemporary consumer societies as a public phenomenon of unprecedented proportions. (p. 17)

Yet in feuds over public memory, activists tend to conceptualize forgetting as an active and intentional process. For example, Native Americans have attempted to counter intentional forgetting in the Fetterman Battlefield Monument, which marks the site where a detachment of approximately 80 U.S. soldiers were killed in battle with Sioux and Cheyenne warriors in 1866. The monument contains a plaque recording how many soldiers, officers and civilians died, and concludes "There were no survivors." Native American activists lobbied for a plaque to be added to the site which notes that "it obviously refers only to U.S. military casualties since approximately 1,500 Sioux and Cheyenne did in fact survive." I argue that although activists often claim to be resisting *forgetting* at memory sites (by attempting to include that which is not explicitly represented in the original monument), their broader concern seems to be with *erasure*—the conscious omission of particular perspectives and events at monumental sites.

The idea of forgetting has come under fire elsewhere in public memory scholarship. Blair, Dickenson and Ott (2010) argue the dialectic of remembering and forgetting "has been employed as a stand-in or simplistic restatement of the problem of representation in public memory studies . . . failure to represent a particular content publicly is not a necessary, or even provisional, sign of forgetting" (p. 18). Thus they claim that "to suggest otherwise is to assume that all memory contents are represented publicly, and/or what is articulated publicly is an

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exhaustive map of memory contents. Either of those assumptions is theoretically indefensible and counterfactual in practice" (p. 18). However, their restatement of this dilemma seems itself to be somewhat simplistic. Obviously communities can maintain memory outside of what is recorded in monuments, or the very concept of the counter-monuments I discuss, places where the narrative or omissions of an original monument are challenged, would be impossible. Groups marginalized or villanized in the original monuments I analyze clearly have not forgotten narratives of the past that conflict, sometimes radically, with those on monuments or memorials. The danger, then, is not that the sites demonstrate knowledge that was forgotten, but rather that, as powerful pedagogical sites, these monumental spaces are actively encouraging the forgetting of particular knowledges by perpetuating some histories and failing to pass on others. Attempts to counter a monument are not attempts to demonstrate that any particular narrative or people has not been forgotten, but rather efforts to ensure that it not be forgotten by future visitors to the site who might rely on the monument to educate them about the past. The stakes, then, are not in the past (or even the present) as Blair et al. seem to suggest. If this were true, then the remembering-forgetting dialectic would be much less useful as a heuristic tool than it is—but the stakes are in the future, as contemporary concerns animate how groups want pedagogical sites to represent/remember the past to future generations.

Monuments as Pedagogical Sites

One significant reason monumental sites are often highly contested is their unique power as pedagogical sites. Monuments, particularly those created on historic sites, lend a particular sense of authority to the narrative of past events they present (Blair, Dickenson and Ott, 2010; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Sturken, 2007). This results, in part, from the journey or pilgrimage visitors make to visit the sites (a theme I explore in more depth in the next section).

This sense of making a pilgrimage to these sites enhances the pedagogical power of monuments in offering:

> a projected or desired departure from the ordinary, in a set of expectations that one will encounter rare or unique relics, learn about highly significant events or people, and/or be moved in particular ways by the experience of the place. . . . The visit to the memory place is consummatory; it is the action invited by the 'mere' existence of the memory place. (Blair, Dickenson & Ott, 2010, p. 26)

Activists in each of the sites I analyze clearly realize that the monuments they struggle for are important precisely because having their presence memorialized and their narratives told at these sites marks their histories as worthy of remembrance and records them on spaces that visitors come to in order to learn about the past.

Much of the importance of these sites comes from the fact that, regardless of how they are retold, actions of historic significance occurred on the ground the monuments are built upon. Such sites are of particular importance in the United States, as U.S. culture suffers from a nearly ubiquitous sense of inauthenticity (Sturken, 2007). Such feelings of inauthenticity are pervasive in urban areas in particular, where historic sites (or at least sites with some sort of history) are routinely renovated, demolished, and surrounded by new buildings which leave no trace of the structures they replaced. In other words, not only has nothing of historical or communal significance happened at a newly built Wal-Mart, but its construction may have required the demolition of a local grocery, and replaced it with a store that looks eerily similar to every other Wal-Mart on the planet. This sense of urban areas being filled with generic and ahistorical spaces creates a sense of inauthenticity which produces an unattainable desire for the direct experience of events (Dickinson, 1997).

Historic sites provide this sense of a direct experience of events and authenticity to visitors. At historic sites, visitors claim to "feel that they were experiencing a moment from the

past almost as it had originally been experienced" (Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998, p. 106). This makes historic sites, and their accompanying monuments, particularly powerful in shaping which understandings of the past are adopted by a public who believes the sites offer a sort of window into the past.

Empirical research suggests that in struggling over these sites and the monuments that frame them, activists have chosen wisely. After interviewing nearly 1,500 Americans, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen (1998) found that visitors to memorial sites believed them to be more reliable than other accounts of history including eye-witness accounts, history books, newspaper articles, etc. They note, "Americans put more trust in history museums and historic sites than in any other sources for exploring the past" (p. 105). This suggests that in gaining access to monument sites, and having their presence recorded there, members of marginalized groups gain the opportunity to articulate versions of the past that visitors then find more true or accurate than if they had been presented elsewhere. Undoubtedly, part of the importance people place on the information they gain on these sites results from their status as authentic "sacred" sites.

Sacred Space

Sacred spaces are sites marked as worthy of preservation (often because of past events on the space), and at which the timeless histories and ideals of a culture are made available to visitors. Sacred sites are often "set apart from [their] surroundings and dedicated to the memory of an event, person or group" (Foote, 1997, p. 8). Such sites "almost always involve the construction of a durable marker. . . sanctification always requires the site's ritual dedication to the memory of an event itself or to a martyr, hero, or group of victims" (p. 8). Arguments advanced on sacred space take on a sense of irrefutability and permanence. Unlike German

counter-monuments, which intentionally reject the notion of sacred space, I argue that because the American counter-monumental tradition consists of countering the arguments of already existing monuments, it has a more complex relation to sacred space. Accordingly, I seek to track how each counter-monument responds to sacred space, whether by rejecting it, attempting to expand it, or suggesting alternate sacred spaces.

The power of such spaces for creating public memory is significant. In Francis Yates (1966) hugely influential work on memory, she recognizes that memory and space have always been integrally related. She claims that classical and renaissance scholars recognized that space organizes and maintains memory, and used these insights to build mnemonic devices. Foote (1997) notes that sacred sites "frequently attract continued ritual commemoration, such as annual memorial services or pilgrimage" (p. 9). The active role these scholars ascribe to space is revealing. They, like many scholars of public memory, assume that sacred spaces seemingly demand some type of response. The counter-monuments I study seemingly bolster this perspective. When marginalized groups have been denied access to these spaces, rather than simply creating a different space, they find ways to mark their perspectives and contest who gains access to these sacred spaces.

Dean MacCannell (1999) offers an insightful model of how a site becomes sacred, a process which he calls "sight sacralization" (p. 43). MacCannell claims sacralization occurs through a five stage progression. The first stage of sight sacralization, what MacCannell calls *naming* "takes place when the sight is marked off from similar objects as worthy of preservation" (p. 44). The second stage is the "*framing and elevation*" phase in which an object (which can be the place itself) is given a boundary and put on display or made open for visitation (p. 44). The third phase is *enshrinement*, in which "the framing material that is used has itself entered the first

stage of sacralization" (p. 45). Thus a church or temple containing a particularly sacred relic might itself be considered sacred, even if the relic were removed. The fourth stage of sight sacralization is "*mechanical reproduction* of the sacred object: the creation of prints, photographs, models or effigies of the object which are themselves valued or displayed" (p. 45). The fifth and final stage is *social reproduction*, which occurs when locations, groups or cities begin naming themselves after sacred objects or spaces.

Because of the prominence of the terms *space* and *place* in public memory literature, I feel compelled to offer a brief defense of my use of the phrase *sacred space*. "Space and place sometimes are used as approximately equivalent terms. However, they are used more often to emphasize a difference in how physical situatedness is experienced. In such usages, a place that is bordered, specified, and locatable by being named is seen as different from open, undifferentiated space (Blair, Dickenson and Ott, 2010, p. 23). Thus, place implies a border that must be crossed. I use the term *sacred space* to refer to these sites in part because the counter-monuments I analyze, though they are on very particular, specific and locatable sites, are often not bordered in the same way as many monuments. On my first visits to two of the monuments in this study, I was nearly next to the monuments before I realized I had found them. Part of what makes these monuments unique (both from traditional monuments and from German counter-monuments) is that although they mark the sites of significant historical events, their placement on urban grounds that have developed around them makes the borders of the sites ill-defined. As Tuan (1977) notes that the very ideas of:

> "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place. (p. 6)

I selected the counter-monuments in this study precisely because of their lack of stability—their ill-defined borders, the constant changes in what markers frame the site, and conflicts over who and what ought be remembered on the sites troubles the notion of differentiated place.

Still, even without clearly defined borders or narratives, the sacred sites in this study differ from the space surrounding them. Although the narratives evoked at each site have been challenged and changed over time, the sites still have narratives that draw on past losses of life to sanctify the memorial spaces. Mircea Eliade (1957) distinguishes between the sacred and profane spaces by recognizing sacred space as a timeless and unified space. Sacred space can be recognized in contrast to the chaos and fragmentation of profane space (such as the business district in Hamburg where the Gerzes demanded their monument be placed). Eliade (1957) notes that sacred spaces offer a sense of unity and connection with origins. In such spaces, the narrative of a community or people can come into focus. However, the counter-monuments I analyze are sites that multiple groups consider sacred, and thus spaces where the narratives of disparate peoples come into focus. Unlike German counter-monuments rejection of sacred space, I argue that American counter-monuments embrace sacred space. However, multiple groups compete for access to representation on this sacred space, and each attempts to frame the space with a particular perspective on the past. This illuminates one source of conflict at these sites— the ironic juxtaposition of different perspectives undoubtedly functions differently on sacred spaces. It is one thing to have one's opinion corrected by recognizing a different point of view. It is quite another to have one's communal narrative disrupted on a site where one's predecessors died. Herein lies the challenge of integrating multiple perspectives on sacred space—those narratives offered on monuments are expected to be timelessly true.

Didacticism and Stabilizing Memory

As the creators of German counter-monuments recognize, the arguments advanced in a monument built on a sacred space receive a special credibility, as though the monument's placement and permanence allow it to express a transcendent Truth. Their insistence upon erecting their counter-monuments on decidedly un-sacred spaces, as I have noted, develops out of their opposition to create didactic monuments. Rational or not, visitors are more likely to look for eternal Truths from a monument built atop sacred ground than they are one constructed next to a Starbucks. David W. Blight (2002) notes that memory is "often treated as a sacred site of potentially absolute meanings and stories, possessed as the heritage or identity of a community" (p.2). This is important because when sites mark changes as changes, it makes clear that the identity and boundaries of a community have shifted.

Steve Johnston (2001) argues that sacred space runs counter to the plurality and contestation that should be at the heart of democratic societies because it honors "the eternal and unchanging, symbolic of truth and fidelity, eliciting reverence and awe, demanding deference and devotion, committed to unity and consensus" (para. 6). The sacred spaces in this study are unique because of their blatant lack of consensus. As disparate groups struggle to gain control of these sites and the monuments that frame them, they are also attempting to dictate who's perspectives of the past get articulated on sacred ground.

Given these disputes over these sacred spaces, the erection of the original monument can be understood as an attempt to stabilize memory, to issue an enduring and authoritative narrative of the history of a particular space, and explain what that history means. In the face of multiple articulations of the past, a monument literally carves some aspects of the past into stone and leaves others out. Blair, et al. (2010) claim that those statements or arguments "that are uttered,

those things that are actually made . . . come to be seen as important, correct, normal and so forth. That renders their far more numerous unmaterialized counterparts as perhaps not so important, correct, or normal" (p. 4). Given the power of sacred space to amplify the power and longevity of these particular narratives, it becomes clear why sacred spaces become sites of contestation. In the chapters that follow, I explore how those made absent in U.S. memorial sites have employed multiple strategies to counter these monuments' attempts to calcify memory.

Time/Change Marked as Change

Though sacred sites are typically preserved for long periods of time, I argue the *countering* in American counter-monuments involves some sort of change to the site. Each of the monuments I analyze has been altered since its original creation. However, the degree to which the changes are marked *as changes* differs in each monument. Although I argue counter-monumental sites offer unique potential for recording shifting conceptions of citizenship and changes in whose lives are deemed worthy of remembrance, these possibilities only exist insofar as visitors can see what has been added or removed from the site of a monument. Accordingly, I explore multiple conceptions of time, the struggles that publics face in understanding themselves across time, and how shifts in monuments provide a barometer to temporal changes in who is deemed worthy of remembrance. I argue that to understand how American counter-monuments function, it is important to track the ways in which changes and additions at counter-monumental sites are (or are not) marked as alterations to the original monument.

Linear, Cyclical and Epideictic Time

As modes of production change, individual's conceptions of time follow. Burke (1984) recognized the tendency to see the patterns of one's own work and modes of production as the patterns governing the world as a whole; he labeled this tendency occupational psychosis.

Accordingly, urban and industrial time moves in a linear trajectory. Since the advent of the assembly line, Americans have understood time as linear, moving like an arrow—inexorably and irreversibly in a line from past to future (Lake, 1991). In Western culture, this path is generally celebrated as progress. However, this understanding of time also carries with it restrictions on the role of memory. As Robert Cox (1987, May) notes, understanding time as linear is the basis of the modern tendency to disregard the past in favor of rational deliberation in the present.

A cyclical understanding of time, predominant in agrarian societies, still operates in Native American and other cultures less enmeshed in capitalistic modes of production on a daily basis (Palczewski, 2005). This temporal mode can also occur in monuments and memory places in which past, present and future are collapsed into what Campbell and Jamieson (1957) label as "*illud tempus*, time outside of time" (p. 27). In this space, the modernist tendency to deny memory, or the postmodern tendency to view the world as of a series of perpetual presents, are both rendered absurd. Marcea Eliade (1957) notes:

> by its very nature sacred time is reversible in the sense that , properly speaking, it is a primordial mythical time made present. Every religious festival, any liturgical time, represents the reactualization of a sacred event that took place in a mythical past, 'in the beginning. . . . Hence sacred time is indefinitely recoverable, indefinitely repeatable. . . it always remains equal to itself, it neither changes nor is exhausted. (p. 68-69)

By bringing the past into the present, monuments on sacred spaces create a sense of illud tempus, the collapsing of past, present and future into a mythical, sacred time.

This is in part because monuments are often inherently epideictic spaces. They bring both the past and the future into the present. Gerard Hauser (1999) claims "the immediacy of empirical experience lacks distance to reflect on a model beyond the community's habitual and customary political relations. Reflective distance aids creation of an image on which society may model its present practices of citizenship and its future aspirations. The epideictic genre, which

included the funeral encomium, provided a rhetorical space for public reflections of this sort" (p. 16-17). This also suggests the importance of monuments as sites of ideological struggle—controlling the narrative carved into a monument not only entails making a claim about the origins of a culture, but also its future, and, as such, how people ought to act in the present.

The Public's Understanding of Itself

In *The Public and its Problems*, John Dewey (1927) laments that the size and complexity of modern society is such that "the public cannot for any length of time identify and hold onto itself" (p. 111). Dewey's recognition of the need for a public to be able to identify and hold itself in time is significant. As Cox (1987, May) notes, "the rhetorical practices that sustain a public place themselves upon the images we have of ourselves in time. And herein lies the problem: We seem to be evolving a culture in which time is discontinuous," he claims "our experience of time is 'postmodern'; we experience time as fragmented into 'a series of perpetual presents'" (p. 4). Without an understanding of itself it time, a public loses the common history that binds it as a public. This common history also provides the interpretive ground upon which public deliberation and public commitments (such as Gerzes' call for vigilance) are based.

Both modern and postmodern tendencies in contemporary memory work trouble the possibility of our collective memories of the past serving to inform our actions in the present. Modernist tendencies seek an erasure of past memory, asking that public recollection of the past diminish in favor of a highly rationalized discourse of public deliberation (Cox, 1987). Simultaneously, conditions of postmodernity place us in a series of perpetual presents, a condition which by many "has been defined as a condition of antimemory, a reworking and refolding of events in an endless cycle that produces no memory and no history" (Sturken, 1997, p. 145). Scholarship on monuments (and particularly counter-monuments) has also taken a

postmodern turn (Blair et al.,1991, Johnston, 2001; Lupu, 2003; Young, 1993; Young, 2000). Analyzing monuments and counter-monuments as postmodern memory spaces containing multiple conflicting perspectives has allowed rhetorical critics unique insights into how public memory functions. Yet, as Kenneth Burke (1937) notes "every insight contains its own special sort of blindness" (p. 41). By discussing monuments as postmodern, critics have overlooked that the various competing perspectives present on some memorial sites were not always present, and that understanding how those perspectives came to be added illuminates cultural shifts in who is allowed access to monument sites. I suggest that breaking from the tendency to view counter-monuments as postmodern, and instead looking at them as countering the arguments of existing monuments, allows for an understanding of the unique epidictic possibilities of counter-monumental spaces. In so doing, I show counter-monuments not just as spaces where many perspectives are simultaneously present, but as evolving spaces especially powerful in anchoring a public in time by highlighting who was mourned or celebrated when the monument was created and who has been added to the site over time.

Expanding Communal Boundaries

Jan Assmann (1995) notes that public memory "comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose cultivation serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (p. 132). He states that "upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity" (p. 132). Monuments are amongst the most easily identifiable material supports for public memory—each of the counter-monument sites I analyze became a site of contestation because members of a marginalized group felt their memory of the past was not represented in the monument framing the site. In disputes over how the past should be remembered, these

original monuments demonstrate attempts at drawing a sort of boundary, and selecting some people and histories as worthy of enduring remembrance.

Despite attempts to fix memory with the original monument, the monumental spaces in this study have become fluid and evolving public spaces as, across time, controversies develop over who is made present, and absent, in the space. By incorporating previously absent groups' presence into existing memorial sites, and creating an ironic juxtaposition of perspectives, American counter-monuments balance "the tension between a need to preserve the nucleus of a culture—its temporal identity [with] the need to break with reified interpretations of the past" (Cox, 1987, p. 4). When monuments and memorials enshrine certain peoples' presence on sacred sites, they make an argument for who should be mourned and necessarily imply the opposite– that others need not be mourned. Making such arguments on sacred space is not without consequence, for as David Jacobson (2002) states: "monuments arrange 'place,' locating and orienting peoples spatially and temporally, and are critical in binding and mediating the body politic. . . they determine who 'belongs' to the nation and on what terms" (p. 128). Determining who belongs to the body politic, who counts as *us*, is of central importance to how people are treated in the present.

Richard Rorty (1989) notes that humans understand morals as functions of group membership, and use this membership as a measure of the human-ness of others. Unfortunately, he claims people find it much easier to be cruel to those who are not included in this "we." Thus, in order to reduce human cruelty—and being cruel, Rorty suggests, is "the worst thing a person can do"—cultures need to increase the scope of who they consider part of their "we." Robert Asen (2002) suggests that those physically absent the public sphere may be represented visually or linguistically (in potentially dangerous ways) in what Asen labels "the imagining of others"

(p. 347). He claims imagining others is a collective and constitutive process that helps form the social world. In the absence of voices from marginalized groups, those groups are often represented in ways that further inhibit their ability to gain access to the public sphere. Yet monumental sites offer the possibility for marginalized groups to affect how they are publicly represented, an important part of gaining broader acceptance (DeChaine, 2009). Counter-monuments thus offer previously marginalized or villanized groups the opportunity to directly affect representations of their past, as well as articulate their identities as Americans.

Shifting conceptions of who deserves commemoration in American monuments address Rorty's desire to expand the American "we," and allow insight into Judith Butler's (2004) question: "Who counts as human? Whose lives count as lives? . . . What *makes for a grievable life*?" (p. 20). For example, Butler notes:

> There are no obituaries for the war casualties that the United States inflicts, and there cannot be. If there were to be an obituary, there would have had to have been a life, a life worth noting, a life worth valuing and preserving, a life that qualifies for recognition. (p. 34)

"What *makes for a grievable life*?" is not a question that applies only to the past. By exploring contemporary controversies over memorialization in the United States, the following chapters trace out the contours of how the rhetoric of monuments, as well as attempts to counter them, expands the set of lives deemed grievable and marked for remembrance on American sacred space.

<u>Conclusion</u>

Following my analysis of German counter-monuments in chapter two, this chapter explored the traits of counter-monuments that will inform my analysis of American counter-monuments. Developing on the traits of German counter-monuments, the basic traits of American counter-monuments might be described as: 1) their creation of irony by giving

multiple perspectives presence at each site, 2) their creation of a public forum, 3) their acceptance of sacred space, and ensuing disputes over who ought to have access to it, and 4) their marking of the passing of time on the site—marking the changes to the monument *as* changes. After exploring each of these traits and developing a heuristic vocabulary to guide my analysis of American counter-monuments, the following three chapters each provide an analysis of one such site. As noted, each chapter focuses primarily on exploring one of the traits at each site. Chapter four explores the Haymarket Square in Chicago, Illinois, where laborers, anarchists, police and city officials have battled over sacred space for over a century.

Chapter 4
The Haymarket Riot/Massacre/Tragedy

As the city of Chicago prepared to host the 1996 Democratic National Convention, artist/activist Kehben Grifter noticed city laborers replacing the sidewalk across from the Haymarket Square. Recognizing the fading local knowledge of the conflict between Chicago Police and labor activists that culminated at the Haymarket 110 years before, Grifter hand carved a mosaic to the labor leaders known as the Haymarket martyrs. She brought the mosaic to the still wet cement and began installing it into the sidewalk. When stopped by city workers, Grifter proceeded to note the names of several members of the city bureaucracy (some real, some fictional) and claimed to be authorized to install the mosaic by the City of Chicago. Apologetically, the workers took the mosaic from her and insisted upon installing it themselves. The mosaic stayed in place, honoring the fallen labor leaders until the Chicago Tribune (at one time the most powerful anti-labor newspaper in the world) ran a local-interest story on the mosaic. The story brought the mosaic to the attention to city officials who, after what one imagines resulted in a number of confused internal phone calls and emails, ordered the mosaic removed.

Stories like the Grifter's have become almost banal at the Haymarket Square. Grifter's story provides what Kenneth Burke (1969) calls a representative anecdote; it offers in microcosm the essence of the site's history—activists and the City of Chicago in symbolic contestation over what representations of the past are allowed at the sacred space of the Haymarket Square. As will soon be clear, the fact that Grifter's story is so absurd as to be almost humorous fits well with the history of the Haymarket. Laborers, anarchists, activists and police officers have converged on the square in moments of strife and solidarity for over 100 years. The deaths that occurred at and

around the square just before the turn of the twentieth century turned the square into highly

contested sacred space. This chapter analyzes the memorials at and around the Haymarket

Square as examples of American counter-monuments. As with all of the counter-monuments I

analyze, the original monument offered a very partial and partisan narrative of the events on the

square, and labor activists have created a variety of monuments and performances near the site in

attempts to counter the original monument. In this chapter, I pay particular attention to how

sacred space functions in American counter-monuments. Unlike German counter-monuments

that reject the notion of sacred space, the Haymarket monuments (despite being in a busy

commercial area) embrace the notion of sacred space. However, as will be clear throughout my

analysis, the questions of which sites are considered sacred and who gets access to sacred space

have been highly, even violently, contested.

Violence at the Haymarket

On May 1, 1886, over 80,000 Chicago strikers paraded through the city, demanding an

eight hour work day. Tensions throughout the city were high, and two days later police were

called to break up skirmishes between striking laborers and scab laborers at the McCormick

Harvester Works. They succeeded. Police opened fire on the strikers, killing at least four and

injuring several others. Responses from the multiple, often conflicting labor organizations in the

city were varied but swift. Some called for another protest march. Labor leader August Spies

printed a circular in English and German calling "Workingmen, to Arms!!!" (Lens, 1986, p. 14).

Though generally unarmed, 3000 laborers converged on the Haymarket Square on May 4th to

hear Albert Parsons, Spies, and other labor leaders speak in response to the murder of their

brethren. Parsons attended the event with his wife Lucy Parsons, who would later become a

major figure in organized labor, and their two young children, leaving shortly after delivering his

speech. Chicago Mayor Carter Harrison Jr. also attended the event, left at roughly the same time, and on his way out advised the police that the meeting seemed orderly and peaceful.

While Parsons, his family, and Lizzie Holmes (owner of the press Spies used to print his circular) sat in a nearby pub, 180 police officers advanced on the thinning crowd at the Haymarket Square. What happened next remains highly contested history. Eyewitness accounts, such as that of anarchist George Brown (1912, November), suggest that upon police Captain John Bonfield's command that the crowd disperse, the police immediately opened fire on the crowd. Most claim that a bomb was thrown into the formation of officers, whether by unionists, anarchists, an agent provocateur, or possibly another police officer has been the subject of debate for over 100 years.[10] Regardless, police opened fire, leaving the square strewn with fallen or fleeing laborers. Eight police officers were killed; the number of labor casualties is difficult to estimate, as the circumstances made seeking medical attention itself dangerous.

In response to the violence at Haymarket, Chicago newspapers, spearheaded by the *Chicago Tribune*, called for the arrest of the labor organizers and anarchist leaders associated with the Haymarket Rally. August Spies and six others were found and arrested; Albert Parsons turned himself in six weeks later. The eight were charged with conspiracy to kill patrolman Mathias J. Degan, the officer directly killed by the bomb. The *Chicago Tribune* and other newspapers across the nation stirred the hysteria about Unionism and called for the death of the anarchist leaders (Lens, 1986, p. 12). Rather than being randomly chosen, jury members were chosen by a special bailiff, and quickly found all eight men guilty. Seven were to be executed by hanging, and Oscar Neebe was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Three of the men were later

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[10] A number of works discuss the events leading up to the massacre, though the two most thorough accounts are Paul Avrich (1986) *The Haymarket Tragedy*, and James Green (2006), *Death in the Haymarket*.

pardoned, but by then Louis Lingg had already taken his own life by detonating a dynamite cap in his mouth. It was also too late for Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and toymaker George Engel, whose bodies already hung from the Chicago gallows.

The significance to the global labor movement the Haymarket Massacre quickly became apparent. The May-Day holiday, which began in Paris the year after the executions in Illinois, is in part based on preserving the memory of those killed in at the McCormick Harvester works, in the ensuing shooting at the Haymarket, and in the trials that followed. As Philip Foner (1986) notes, "everyone associated with the resolution passed by the Paris Congress knew of the May 1st demonstrations and strikes for the eight-hour day in 1886 in the United States ... and the events associated with the Haymarket tragedy" (p. 42). In the creation of the May-Day holiday in Paris, fallen American laborers gain official remembrance in Europe years before the local government of Chicago recognized the unjust killings at the Haymarket.

The Police Monument and the Haymarket Riot

Shortly after the executions, the *Chicago Tribune* began urging the public to donate money to build a monument to the police who had lost their lives in what the paper called the Haymarket Riot. After ten months of constant campaigning, the Tribune had raised $150 for the monument's construction. Eventually, the Union League Club (an organization of large business owners) contributed $10,000 to fund the selected project—a bronze statue of a police officer with his arm held out and up, as if ordering someone to halt (Adelman, 1986).

Figure 4. 1 The Police Monument. Photo by Ryan McGeough

Even before the first monument was built at the Haymarket, the political and economic elite of Chicago restricted access to the sacred space of the square across ethnic boundaries. The design of the statue itself became contentious amongst the members of the Union League Club, as sculptor John Gelert chose as his inspiration a Chicago police officer named Thomas F. Birmingham. Birmingham was of Irish descent, and the committee was concerned that the statue looked too Irish (Adelman, 1986).[11] Though Gelert refused to alter his sculpture to display the protestant, Anglo-Saxon model they hoped for, he did use several other models because Birmingham was "often drunk and unable to pose" (p. 167). Ultimately the Union League Club funded the creation of the Police Monument, and on Memorial Day, 1889, the statue was dedicated upon being unveiled by the 17 year-old son of deceased Chicago Police officer Mathias J. Degan.

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[11] It is worth noting that at this time, the sizable majority of Irish-Americans were working-class and relatively recent immigrants to the United States. Many U.S. citizens of English descent maintained that Irish immigrants were of a different race.

Building an Alternative Sacred Space:
The Martyrs Monument and the Haymarket Massacre

Outraged by the monument erected at the Haymarket Square, anarchists wanted to create a monument to those who had died from police gunfire in what they called the "Haymarket Massacre," as well as the Haymarket martyrs murdered by the state in a sham trial. Mayor Crieger denied their request to create another monument at the square. Instead, anarchists built The Haymarket Monument at Waldheim Cemetery, also known as the Martyrs Monument. The creation of the monument was funded by the Pioneer Aid and Support Association, a group established by Lucy Parsons to provide assistance to the widows and children of the Haymarket martyrs. Placed ten miles from Haymarket Square at the gravesite of Parsons, Spies and the other Haymarket martyrs, the monument occupies an alternative sacred space and depicts the female figure of Justice placing a laurel wreath on the head of a fallen worker. The memorial and its ceremonial dedication offer a counter to the Police Monument by representing the laborers who were denied presence on the actual site of the Haymarket massacre. Emma Goldman (2008) claimed it "served as an embodiment of the ideals for which the men had died, a visible symbol of their works and their deeds (p. 223). As a counter-monument, the Martyrs

Figure 4. 2 The Haymarket Monument at Waldheim Cemetery. Image in Wiki Commons. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Haymarket_Martyr%27s_Memorial.jpg

Monument differs significantly from its German counterparts, as rather than rejecting sacred

space, it embraces it. However, the monument offers a different perspective on *which space*

should be considered sacred. The Martyrs Monument offers an alternative both to the Police

Monument's selection of what space should be considered sacred, as well as what narrative

should frame it.

Although laborers first sought to erect their memorial at the Haymarket Square, once the

city denied their request, their selection of the Waldheim Cemetery to create an alternative

sacred space proved an effective one. In many ways, the Martyrs Monument actually better

adheres to the generic expectations of sacred space than does the Police Monument in the

Haymarket Square. Kenneth Foote (2003) offers an explanation of sacred sites that warrants
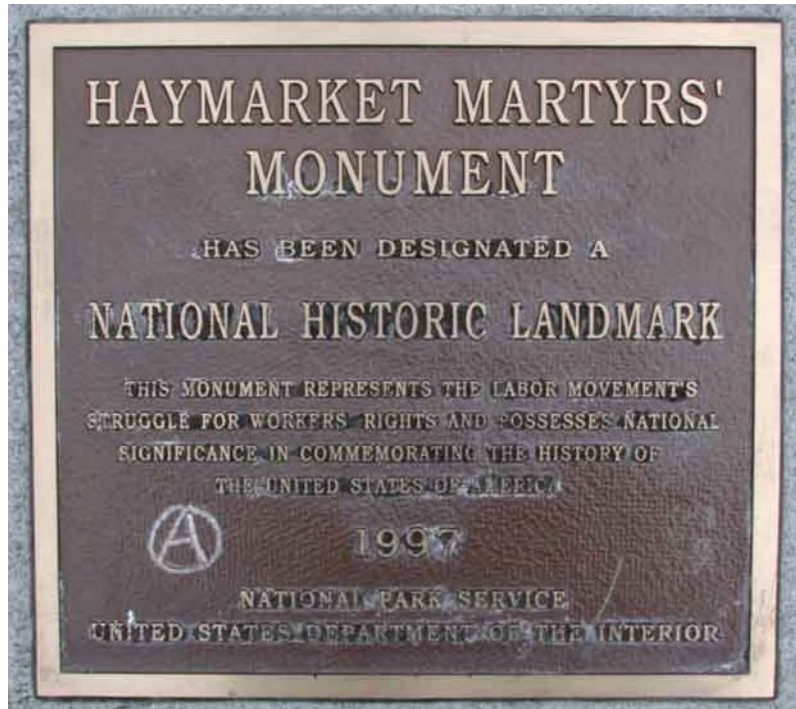
quoting at length:

> all are interpreted in the same fashion, in words that capture the essence of the sacrifice
> and explain why the event is worthy of remembrance. Sanctified places can often be
> recognized by their distinctive appearance in the landscape. First, they are often clearly
> bounded from the surrounding environment and marked with great specificity as to what
> happened where. Second, sanctified sites are usually carefully maintained for long
> periods of time—decades, generations, and centuries. Third, sanctification typically
> involves a change in ownership, often a transfer from private to public stewardship.
> Fourth, sanctified sites frequently attract continued ritual commemoration, such as annual
> memorial services or pilgrimage. Fifth, sanctified sites often attract additional and
> sometimes even unrelated monuments and memorials through a process of accretion.
> That is, once sanctified, these sites seem to act as foci for other commemorative efforts.
> (p. 9)

The Martyrs Monument fits this description closely. Its location in the Waldheim Cemetery is

well set away from the everyday spaces that surround the Haymarket Square. It remains well-

maintained after 125 years (the Police Monument, as I will discuss shortly, has proven a bit more

difficult to carefully maintain).[12] The site is now protected by the state as a historic landmark,

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[12] In recognition of the 125th anniversary of the Haymarket Massacre, labor activists have recently created a fund to continue the maintenance of the monument.

and maintained by the Illinois Labor History Society. Its location outside of the city requires a

pilgrimage unlike the site of the Haymarket—a pilgrimage laborers and labor activists have made every May Day since tens of thousands attended the Haymarket martyrs' burial in the largest funeral in Chicago history. The site now contains other memorials as labor activists such as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Emma Goldman, Big Bill Haywood, Joe Hill and Lucy Parsons have either been buried

Figure 4. 3 The Martyrs Monument Plaque. Image in Wiki Commons. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Riot_Monument.JPGhttp://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Riot_Monument.JPG

at the site or had their ashes scattered over it (Loewen, 1999, p. 140). Clearly not a rejection of

sacred space, anarchists and laborers attempted to counter the Police Monument by creating an

alternative sacred space at which to honor their dead.

By marking the gravesite of the Haymarket martyrs as a sacred space, the Martyrs

Monument links the Haymarket Square with an alternate memorial reconstituting the laborers as

victims rather than the police officers. In this counter narrative, the set of grievable lives is

expanded to include laborers and labor activists. By labeling the events of the Haymarket as the

"Haymarket Massacre" (rather than the "Haymarket Riot"—as it was labeled on the Police

Monument), the Martyrs Monument also counters the Police Monument's argument about the

nature of the event. By renaming the scene a massacre, the Martyr's Monument reveals labor

activists countering the City of Chicago's attempt to characterize the events at the Haymarket as

a riot (a scene in which police may have been justified in using their weapons). The monument

also displays the year, 1887, that the Haymarket martyrs were executed, as well as August Spies

last words written across its pedestal: "The day will come when our silence will be more

powerful than the voices you are throttling today."

Ritual Destruction of the Police Monument

The countering of the Police Monument went significantly further than the anarchists'

creation of an alternative sacred space. After creating this alternate space upon which laborers

were granted presence, efforts to counter the Police Monument turned to contesting access to the

sacred space of the Haymarket itself. Although the Police Monument enjoyed a prominent

position on the sacred space created by the massacre, over the following century other activists

further countered the monument by damaging and defiling it. From 1889 to 1900, laborers

regularly vandalized the Police Monument, until the City of Chicago decided to move the statue

to a safer location in nearby Union Park (Loewen, 1999). The location was not safe enough. On

May 4, 1927, exactly 41 years to the day after the Haymarket Massacre, a streetcar driver only

identified in official records as "O'Neil" took aim at the Police Monument, hopped the tracks,

and crashed his streetcar into the plinth upon which the statue stood. The large bronze officer

toppled to the ground, and when his non-bronze brethren arrived on the scene to arrest O'Neil,

his only statement was that he "was sick and tired of seeing that cop with his arm raised"

(Adelman, 1986, p.168).

After O'Neil's assault on the monument, the city temporarily moved the Police

Monument again. However, throughout the 1950s, Chicago Police argued for its return to the

Haymarket Square, noting that, in its absence, no monument marked where their brethren died. In a move funded by the Haymarket Buisnessmen's Association, in 1958 the city (re)placed the Police Monument near its original site, allowing it to again frame the square. In response to Mayer Richard J. Daley's "shoot to kill" order (issued during the Chicago riots after Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination), vandals smeared black paint on the Police Monument on May 4, 1968 (Loewen, 1999).

The Weathermen

Well-known socialists Jack London and Upton Sinclair were among a small group of leftists who founded the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1905, a group that became the League for Industrial Democracy 15 years later. The group maintained a substantial presence on college campuses, with its Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) arm extending its presence onto college campuses across the Eastern and Midwestern United States (Johnpoll & Yerburgh, 1980). In 1960, SLID attempted to broaden its appeal by changing its name to *Students for a Democratic Society* (SDS). The group rapidly expanded, embodying a broad coalition of diverse interests in the New Left. Fighting for issues such as economic justice, opposing nuclear war, and furthering civil rights gave the group broad appeal, but also created internal strife. Though the group was generally able to sustain itself throughout the rest of the year, its national conventions brought together the bodies of black panthers, white laborers, and radical college students that found it difficult to articulate a common agenda, and who often sought to mark one another as failing to live up to the ideologies of the SDS political manifesto, the Port Huron Statement (Sale, 1973). In spring of 1969, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, a wing of the SDS containing notable member William Ayers (who would later "pal-around" with

Barack Obama), separated from the SDS to form the Weathermen, who would later change their name to the Weather Underground.

The Police monument was again used as a public forum for expressing disdain for the state on October 6, 1969, when members of the Weathermen strapped dynamite to the legs of the Police Monument and blew it to pieces, leaving the legless body on the John F. Kennedy expressway (Lampert, 2007). Given the continued significance of Haymarket to laborers, the repeated destruction of the Police Monument demonstrated continued resistance to allowing the bronze officer to frame space sacralized by the blood of labor protestors. Given the importance of the site to Chicago Police, Mayor Daley promised to replace the Police Monument.[13] Sculptor Mario Spampinato was commissioned to restore the monument. Eighty-four years to the day after the Haymarket Massacre, the City of Chicago rededicated the statue on May 4, 1970. The rededication of the monument drew little attention outside of Chicago, because as the ceremony was occurring, National Guardsmen opened fire on protestors at Kent State University.

Marita Sturken (2007) notes that a "site of sacred ground is charged with meaning. It implies not daily life but worship, contemplation, and a suspension of ordinary activities. In a sacred space, all activities have meaning, all are transformed into rituals" (p. 200). Recognizing the ritual component of vandalizing/destroying the Police Monument is easy, in part because they consistently reenact the past in various ways, and both activists defiling the monument and the city recreating it select holidays and anniversary's for their actions. Enmeshed in a contest over sacred space, both sides attempted to use time to legitimate their claims to the space. By ritually defiling or dedicating the monument on significant dates (the anniversary of the

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[13] Daley, a significant figure in the Democratic Party, was only months removed from another protest in Chicago that would lead to eight individuals standing trial for challenging state control and capitalism in Chicago.

massacre, or Memorial Day, when those officers killed in the riot were mourned), each side drew on the past to contest the other's claim to the space.

Just three months after the rededication of the Police Monument, and on the one year anniversary of the statue's initial bombing, the newly renamed Weather Underground again strapped dynamite to the statue and lit the fuse. Again, the bronze officer was blown legless into the expressway. Again, Mario Spampinato was called upon to restore the monument to its former condition (Adelman, 1986). The task was impossible. Though the Police Monument was repaired using the same material, a statue that once drove O'Neil to risk his life and presumably find a new line of work, was now transformed. The Weathermen's ritual had transformed the monument into the almost humorous site of a battle of wills between a group of young people with dynamite and the highest elected official in the city. In contrast, the Waldheim monument remained a sacred and pristine counterpoint to the constant carnival surrounding the Police Monument.

Unwilling to lose the battle of wills, Mayor Daley publically considered having several copies of the statue cast in fiberglass, so that as soon as one was destroyed it could be immediately replaced with an identical copy. This potential response recalls Dean MacCannell's (1999) third and fourth stages of sight sacralization: *enshrinement*, in which the objects that frame the site themselves become sacred, and *mechanical reproduction*, in which images, models or other reproductions of the object are displayed or valued. The idea that these fiberglass copies could not just mimic the Police Monument, but themselves stand as the monument suggests a combination of these two stages. Despite the desecration of the Police Monument, Daley apparently believed the site, and the plinth upon which the original Police Monument had

stood, to be sacred enough to imbue even fiberglass copies of the police statue with sufficient sacredness to replace the original.

Daley ultimately decided to respond with the full power of the state: an around-the-clock guard of officers made of flesh was ordered to protect the officer made of bronze. When local newspapers learned of the 24-hour guard, they turned on Daley, chastising him for spending $67,440 a year on guarding a statue. He responded by having the statue moved to Central Police Headquarters, a suggestion that had been made to him earlier by the Illinois Labor History Society. The statue stayed there for four years before being moved to the inside of the new Police Academy. The City of Chicago rededicated The Police Monument in 2007 and placed in a fenced-in area just outside police headquarters on Michigan Avenue—where it was vandalized within two weeks.

Beyond being oddly humorous, the destruction of the Police monument is theoretically significant because it altered the dialectic tension between the two sacred sites created from the Haymarket massacre. While the Martyrs Monument continued to provide a somber representation of those who lost their lives in the massacre, the Police Monument became less about the Haymarket incident and more about the ongoing struggle between the mayor and the Weathermen, or at least became a symbolically significant site upon which to resist state power. For 70 years, the Police and Martyrs monuments each offered competing narratives, remembering opposing sacrifices and lives lost. Upon Daley's removal of the Police monument, the substitution became more one-sided—the Haymarket square itself was no longer framed by the bronze statue and its narrative of the Haymarket Riot. However, the Waldheim memorial still offered its account and labor activists worked to strengthen the link between the two sites in order to counter both the narrative offered by the Police Monument, as well as the collective

forgetting that set in over the century following the Haymarket Massacre. The space was sacred because of the loss of protestors' lives; thus, the monument to state power was the original desecration of the site. These battles, these counters, are not arguments over whether or not the space is sacred, but over who gets to occupy the sacred space.

Performances at the Haymarket

In the absence of the Police Monument's watchful eye, performances of resistance at Haymarket Square turned to further defiling the empty cement plinth upon which it had stood. The structure was further damaged and covered in graffiti, serving as a nearly blank canvas upon which messages could be written. It remained the place to which most actions in the Haymarket Square responded until it was removed by the City of Chicago just before the 1996 Democratic National Convention. Even in its absence, the plinth marked the square, leaving behind an 18-foot circle where it used to stand. However, the space which was believed to be sacred enough to imbue significance and meaning into a small army of fiberglass clones of the original Police Monument changed when the Plinth was removed. The plinth marked the Haymarket Square as the site of the Police Monument, and its absence transformed it into a space that welcomed perspectives not simply reacting to the bronze statue of Birmingham.

The 18 foot marked absence provided an excellent space to do so. A number of performers have utilized the space to engage in public performance and advocacy. In 2002, Chicago artist Michael Piazza became concerned that the history of the space was fading. In an interview with art historian Nicholas Lampert (2006), Piazza stated his fear that "there was a division between a small group of people in town who knew what it represented, who had this local knowledge and memory, while there was a whole other group who just thought it was an empty pedestal" (n.p.). Piazza called for local artists to perform and educate about the history of

the Haymarket. After his call for an "8-Hour Action Series" of performances about the square's past, the City of Chicago paved over the marked absence of the plinth, leaving "no physical evidence of where the Police Monument once stood" (Lampert, 2007, p.7). Piazza's thus called local artists and performers to use the power of sacred space as a pedagogical tool to counter the literal forgetting of the past.

Local artists were undeterred by the repaving of the square, and a series of eight-hour installations have been performed on the site. The first, created by Javier Lara, consisted of an eight-hour sewing bee, bringing attention to women and children whose labor is still exploited. The *Hay! Market Research Group* focused on the pedagogical power of the site and set up a booth at the former site of the Police Monument with a billboard asking: "What happened here in 1886?" and "Guilt by Association: Who Died for Your Eight-Hour Workday?" Clearly the battle both Piazza and the *Hay!Market Research Group* fought had little to do with countering the Police Monument's claim to the space, but rather with ensuring that, in the absence of any monument at all, the narrative of the Haymarket Massacre still framed the space. The ultimate goal of this memory work was that "history become moral," that the past inform the present, and that in the absence of objects (memorials) to frame the space, that performance allowed the sacred space to speak to contemporary labor concerns (Kaplan, 1994, p. 17). The group invited passersby to fill out surveys testing their knowledge of the Haymarket as well as contemporary labor issues, and provided with information about the Haymarket martyrs and the Martyrs Monument.

Even in the absence of the Birmingham's bronze body, the space seems to carry a memory and set of codes that refuse to forget the Police Monument. Larry Bogad's installation entitled *The Police Statue Returns* demonstrated the strange nostalgia for the absent statue.

Bogad created a large puppet of the Police Monument, physically recreating the statue's presence in the space. A parodic recreation of the bronze statue, Bogad paraded his puppet through downtown Chicago, the Daley center, and finally to Randolph Street at the entrance to the Haymarket Square. However, unlike traditional forms of parody which function by re-appropriating a *well-known* image/object/form for a different purpose, Bogad's Police Statue Returns puppet served as part of the *8-Hour Action Series* in an attempt to counter forgetting of the history at the Haymarket. His linking of several sites relevant to labor issues and the Haymarket itself is a recurrent theme in performances at the Haymarket, which I return to momentarily.

Ironically, Bogad restored the Police Monument's presence at the Haymarket Square. However, his large, comic representation of the Police Monument clearly marked the statue as unworthy of the reverence and deference typically paid to the monuments located at sacred sites. Bogad did not attempt to counter the sacredness of the Haymarket site (which served as the end-point of Bogad's several hour pilgrimage through Chicago), but his performance countered the enshrinement of the Police Monument. This time the statue was no longer an oppressive metaphysical force, but a perspective to be parodied—simply one perspective in a complex ironic network of performances in the history of the Haymarket.

A number of bicycle rides linking sites have become commonplace at the Haymarket. One of the more intrusive form in local artist and teacher Sarah Kanuse's performance *UnStorming Sheridan*. Kanuse (2008) notes that her ride "can be thought of as a drawing, with my tires creating an imagined line between Haymarket and phenomena that seem temporally and geographically remote from it (p. 77). The site of her eventual destination, Fort Sheridan, was donated to the state by the Commercial Club of Chicago. These wealthy business owners

donated the land on the condition that a military base be placed there to enable the military to break strikes in Chicago. Kanuse not only rode between the sites, but also mounting radio broadcast equipment on her bicycle. When cars passed close enough, her equipment overpowered the local Clear Channel radio stations with a looping broadcast of the communist/anarchist anthem *The Internationale*.

Bicycle rides have since become some of the more common and popular performances in the 8-hour Action Series. Most of these rides link sites relevant to the Haymarket as part of a bike ride from the Haymarket Square to Waldheim Cemetery. Repeated several times since 2002, the ride connects the two sites, ensuring that in the absence of the police monument, the Martyrs Monument frames the Haymarket Square. Linking the Waldheim memorial to the Haymarket square allows the memorial to didactically counter collective amnesia of the history of the site, and ensures that riders know the site was also sanctified by the blood of laborers. Organizers of different rides have selected various paths from the square to the cemetery, each passing by particular locations relevant to labor struggles in Chicago history, and further expanding the set of lives deemed worthy of remembrance.

Transcendence and the Mary Brogger Haymarket Memorial

In 2004, the City of Chicago also attempted to counter forgetting of the past by creating a new monument to be placed at the Haymarket. This time, however, the struggles between laborers and police seemed distant enough that the parties might work together to determine an appropriate memorial. The Chicago CFL produced a program for the event which highlights the ecumenical nature of the process, noting that CFL President Dennis Gannon, Fraternal Order of Police President Mark Donahue, Chicago Labor for Peace, Prosperity and Justice Director Elena Marcheschi and William Adelman from the Illinois Labor History Society "all served on the

Public Art Committee Advisory Panel along with representatives from numerous Chicago civic departments, institutions and community organizations" (*Haymarket memorial dedication ceremony*, n.d., p. 2). After a long deliberation that included labor leaders, historians, police and representatives, (though anarchists were not invited to participate in the planning), the diverse committee selected a design for a monument to be placed at the Haymarket square.

A monument created by then Chicago-based sculptor Mary Brogger was dedicated on the site. Labeled *The Haymarket Memorial*, it abstractly depicts a group of people holding up and standing on a wagon, along plaques containing the following history of the history of the site:

> On the evening of May 4th, 1886, a tragedy of international significance unfolded on this site in Chicago's Haymarket produce district. An outdoor meeting had been hastily organized by anarchist activists to protest the violent death of workers during a labor lockout the precious day in another area of the city. Spectators gathered in the street as speakers addressed political, social, and labor issues from atop a wagon that stood at the location of this monument. When approximately 175 policemen approached with an order to disperse the meeting, a dynamite bomb was thrown into their ranks. The identity and affiliation of the person who threw the bomb have never been determined by this anonymous act had many victims. From the blast and panic that followed, seven policemen and at least four civilian bystanders lost their lives, but victims of the incident were not limited to those who died as a direct result of the bombing. In the aftermath, the people who organized and spoke at the meeting and others who held unpopular political viewpoints were arrested and unfairly tried, even though none could be tied to the bombing itself. Meeting organizers George Engel and Aldolph Fischer, along with speakers August Spies and Albert Parsons were put to death by hanging. Activist Louis Lingg died violently in jail prior to his scheduled execution. Meeting speaker Samuel Fielden, and activists Oscar Neebe and Michael Schwab were sentenced to prison, but later pardoned in 1893 by Illinois Governor John Peter Altgeld, citing the injustices of their trial.

This history of the site offers the first time laborers have gained any degree of presence on the site in monumental form. That said, although the narrative on these plaques includes some of history laborers, anarchists and activists have sought to articulate on the site, it omits other aspects of the narrative of the Haymarket Massacre. The statement above statement that "from the blast and panic that followed, seven policemen and at least four civilian bystanders lost their

lives" clearly neglects to mention that the civilian deaths resulted from the police opening fire on unarmed members of the crowd. This omission is unsurprising, given the monument and its inscription required approval from police, and attempted to include and reconcile different perspectives on the event.

Yet even a monument designed to be widely inclusive offers the opportunity for laborers to attempt to reject the Police Monument's narrative of the Haymarket Riot. The Chicago chapter of the CFL distributed a program designed to inform citizens of Chicago about the dedication of the new Haymarket

Figure 4. 4 The Haymarket Memorial. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

Memorial. The program, distributed in the days leading up to the dedication, as well as at the dedication itself, begins with a picture of the Martyrs Monument, and contains a narrative about the massacre at the site, countering the amnesia about police violence in the monument's plaques (*Haymarket memorial dedication ceremony*, n.d.).

This program, along with the performances at the site also resists the temptation to widely abstract the events at the Haymarket to such transcendent ideals as freedom of speech. Brogger's statue attempts to retell the story of the Haymarket in the language of transcendence. This attempt is most visible in the plaque placed alongside the aforementioned plaques containing the history of the site. This last plaque reads:
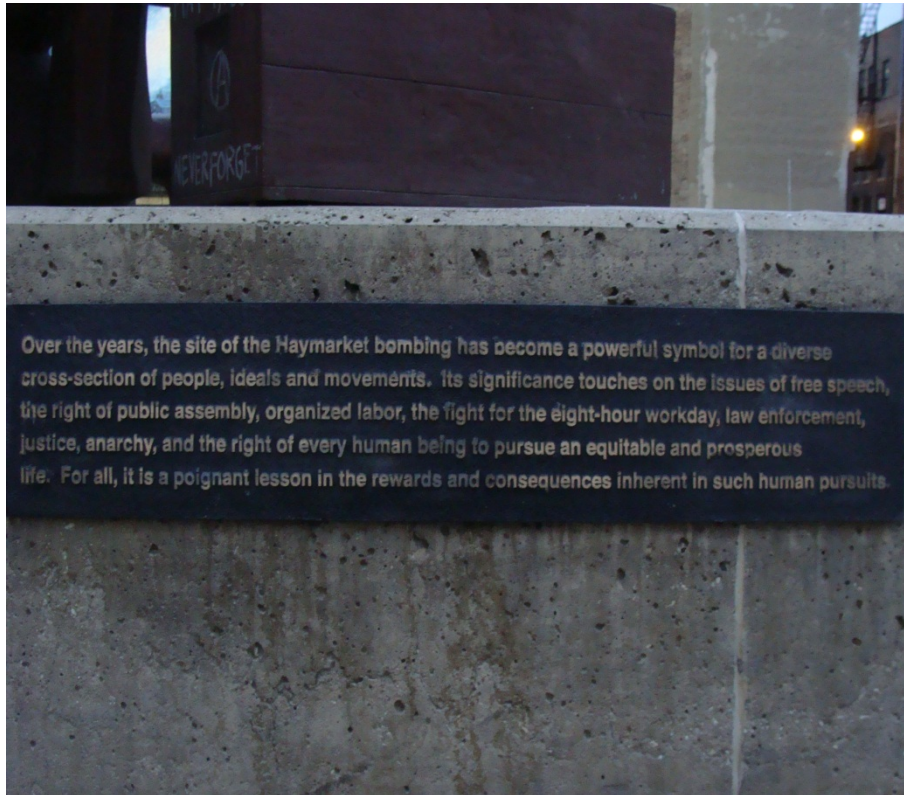
Over the years, the site of the Haymarket bombing has become a powerful symbol for a diverse cross-section of people, ideals and movements. Its significance touches on the issues of free speech, the right of public assembly, organized labor, the fight for the eight-hour workday, law enforcement, justice, anarchy, and the right of every human being to pursue an equitable and prosperous life. For all, it is a poignant lesson in the rewards and consequences inherent in such human pursuits.

Figure 4. 5: Transcendent Plaque at The Haymarket Memorial. Photo by Ryan McGeough

Brogger suggests that the ambiguity of the memorial is intentional, noting that it would not be "useful" to depict violence, going so far as to state that the "violence didn't seem important," because the events at the Haymarket consisted of "much bigger ideas than one particular incident. I didn't want to make the imagery conclusive. I want to suggest the complexity of truth, but also people's responsibility for their actions and for the effect of their actions" (as cited in Kinser, 2005, n.p.).

Brogger's focus on a collection of abstract ideals is commonplace at American counter-monuments. Each of the sites I analyze contains a similar attempt to reconcile the various perspectives at the site, a theme which I analyze in depth in chapter six. Nathan Mason, an official at the Cultural Affairs department who directed the project of bringing together representatives of the different parties in order to select the monument, believes it demonstrates the future of memorialization at contested sites. He states that Brogger statue demonstrates "a new way to do monuments at historic sites . . . you make them open rather than pressing a precise meaning on people or directing them toward a specific feeling or reaction" (as cited in Kinser, 2005, September 15, n.p.). His statement echoes the Gerzes reluctance to engage in didacticism, but the process he endorses represents a massive shift by allowing broader access to the sacred site of the Haymarket. Instead of the City of Chicago denying laborers access to the Haymarket, the Brogger statue represents the City's attempt to allow multiple groups access to the site and influence in creating a monument designed to remember members of both sides who died in the Haymarket Tragedy.

Conclusion

The Haymarket Square, the site of one of the most influential moments in labor history, has also served as one of the longest struggles over a site in U.S. history. Although the laborers and anarchists who were denied access to the site itself soon created an alternate sacred site, the battle over the Haymarket continued. While the Martyrs Monument at the Waldheim Cemetery served as a pristine site for remembering the laborers and labor leaders who died in the Haymarket Massacre, the Police Monument endured repeated vandalism and destruction. From toppling it with a street car to bombing it into the expressway, labor activists have repeatedly countered the Police Monument's ability to frame the sacred space of the Haymarket with its

narrative of the Haymarket Riot. Performed on the sacred space of the site, even actions such as the bombing of the statue by the Weathermen and its continued repair and rededication by the City of Chicago became rituals replaying the tensions and divisions that led to bloodshed on the site in 1886.

The site also demonstrates a difference between American counter-monuments and their German counterparts, counter-monuments that attempt to deny or avoid sacred space. In contrast, American counter-monuments embrace the idea of sacred space, but contest access to it. This tendency to contest access to the sacred space of the Haymarket also appears throughout the performances at the site over the past 15 years. Even in the absence of the Police Monument, activists attempted to ensure that the Martyrs Monument framed the site by staging performances that linked the Haymarket with the Waldheim Cemetery. From bicycle rides connecting the Martyrs Monument to the Police Monument-less square, to booths informing passersby of "Who died" on the site, labor activists have worked to ensure the presence of the Haymarket martyrs continues to frame the square.

Both laborers and the police now have presence on the site in the form of Brogger's Haymarket Memorial and its somewhat ambiguous narrative of the "Haymarket Tragedy." The monument expands access to the site by representing the history of the site in ways that reflect both laborer and police narratives of the event (though without some of the details that made the original conflict so significant to both sides), and rearticulating the conflicts over the site as part of the history of transcendent ideals such as "freedom of speech" and "justice." I explore the idea of marking the history of, and changes to, monument sites in greater depth in the next chapter. Chapter five explores the Liberty Place Monument, a monument celebrating the forced removal of African-Americans from elected office. I analyze attempts to counter the monument, and

explore how marking the changes at counter-monument sites creates alternate conceptions of time at these sacred sites. Although the City of New Orleans denied African-Americans presence (at least in monumental form) at the site form for nearly 100 years, the various rallies held at Liberty Place demonstrate the power of American counter-monuments as forums for the articulation of diverse perspectives.

Chapter 5
The Battle(s) of Liberty Place

On September 4, 1874, a group of wealthy white Democrats known as the White League staged an armed insurrection overthrowing a Republican coalition of white and African-American representatives. For 135 years, the gathering site for the Battle of Liberty Place (as the victorious Democrats soon labeled it) has contained one of the most controversial monuments in the United States. The monument, a large obelisk containing the names of members of the White League, has served as a rallying point for lynchings, been a gathering point for Civil Rights protests, and been the target of a variety of attempts to counter its racist text. This chapter traces the history of the Liberty Place Monument and attempts to counter it. The chapter also explores what these attempts can tell scholars of public memory about how marking the changes to a monument *as* changes made to the original monument alters the conception of time in the narratives carved into that monument. At Liberty Place, a monument intended to forever memorialize lives lost in restoring white rule has become a forum for the articulation of diverse perspectives.

The First Battle of Liberty Place

In 1873, Republican leaders in Louisiana proposed a program called the "Unification Movement," which would evenly divide various state and local offices between black and white representatives. Although Republicans never actually initiated the movement, the threat of the program galvanized wealthy whites and former Confederate veterans, who already believed (despite having little evidence) that white Republicans had used black voters to commit voting fraud in the 1872 elections. Wealthy white Democrats looking to regain control of the state found an easy cause to rally poorer white citizens after the U.S. Supreme Court issued a ruling on April

14, 1874 upholding the constitutionality of federal troops enforcing a variety of post-Civil War laws (Hogue, 2006, p. 123). The ruling proved significant, and valuable to wealthy whites hoping to build opposition against Republicans, because it immediately endangered white control of blue collar industries such as meat-packing.[14] As such, it offered a tangible example to support Democrats' claims that Reconstruction threatened the livelihoods of poor Southern whites.

In response to the proposed Unification Movement, the partisan (and white supremacist) newspaper the *Alexandria Caucasian* issued a call to arms stating,

> there will be no security, no peace, and no prosperity for Louisiana until the government of the state is restored to the hands of the honest, intelligent, and tax-paying masses; until the superiority of the Caucasian over the African in all affairs pertaining to government, is acknowledged and established. (as cited in Hogue, 2006, p. 125)

Their call was heeded throughout Louisiana, particularly by wealthier whites and Confederate veterans. By August, 14,000 Louisianians had joined paramilitary militias known as White Leagues. Commanded primarily by former Confederate officers, White Leagues differed from groups such as the Ku Klux Klan in that their members proudly displayed the affiliation, with most groups performing military drills during the day in towns throughout Louisiana. The most powerful of these groups, the Crescent City White League, consisted largely of the wealthy elite of New Orleans.

The Crescent City White League adopted an official platform in 1874 which contained the following statement:

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[14] The ruling upheld a 1869 Republican bill which restricted all butchering and meat packing to an area to a state-chartered plant downriver from the New Orleans water supply (Hogue, 2006, p. 123). Designed to attract New Orleans business from Texas cattle ranchers, the bill effectively closed several smaller butcher shops, broke white control of the meat packing industry in southern Louisiana, and centralized the industry in a plant that hired African American employees. These combined factors made it an effective example for Democrats to use in rallying the support of poor whites already struggling to adjust to the uncertain economic climate of the post-civil war South.

Having solely in view the maintenance of our hereditary civilization and Christianity menaced by a stupid Africanization, we appeal to the men of our race . . . in an effort to re-establish a white man's government in the city and the State. . . to which we are entitled by superior responsibility superior numbers, and superior intelligence. (Powell, 1990, Spring, p. 41)

In order to establish this white government, the league planned to overthrow the Republican government on the eve of the 1874 elections, and dictate the outcome of the elections themselves. However, on September 8 and 13, the Metropolitan Police captured caches of weapons the White League planned to use in their November insurrection, prompting White League, under commander Major General Frederick N. Ogden to stage the attack on September 14.[15] The September 13 *Daily Picayune* contained a call signed by 54 prominent citizens of New Orleans imploring readers to join White Leaguers on Canal Street to "DECLARE THAT YOU ARE, OF RIGHT OUT TO BE AND MEAN TO BE FREE" (as cited in Gill, 1997, p. 10, *emphasis in original*).

At 11:00 A.M., members of the White League and supporters gathered on Canal Street at the statue of Henry Clay. D.B. Penn, the defeated Democratic candidate for Lt. Governor in the 1872 elections declared himself acting governor and issued a statement demanding the resignation of Republican officials. Attorney R.H. Marr stood on the stairs of the Clay monument, an area that would be used as a public forum for the following century, and echoed Penn's call, finally imploring the crowd of 2,000 to return to their homes, and return, armed, at

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[15] Ogden's military and social credentials, being a well-decorated Confederate officer and great-grandson of George Washington's during the Revolutionary war, made him an obvious choice as commander of the Crescent City White League. Although some Democratic political leaders had preferred to stage the coup near the elections, Ogden and several influential Democrats realized that without access to the weapons cache seized by the Metropolitan Police, the White League lacked sufficient firepower to defeat the Metropolitan Police, let alone the federal troops temporarily stationed in Holly Springs, Mississippi (who were expected to return to New Orleans prior to the election), in a battle that both sides expected. Thus, they organized the insurrection for September 14, 1874 (Hogue, 2006, p. 131-133).

2:00 P.M. to overthrow the state government (Hogue, 2006, p. 133-135). The crowd did return, and at 2:00, the Battle of Liberty Place began.

The bulk of the battle lasted only about 15 minutes, pitting roughly 8,400 White Leaguers and their supporters against approximately 3,000 black members of the state militia, 500 members of the mostly white Metropolitan Police force, all under the command of General James Longstreet. The Metropolitan Police bore the brunt of the White League's first attack, which proved significant because upon seeing the Metropolitans fleeing, the state militiamen retreated as well, leaving only token resistance throughout the city. As a result, the Battle of Liberty Place claimed few lives, leaving 11 Metropolitans dead and 60 wounded, along with 21 dead White Leaguers and 19 wounded (Loewen, 1999, p. 198). The White League's instatement of new state officials lasted hardly longer than the battle itself. President Ulysses S. Grant refused to recognize the new government, and federal troops reinstated the Republican Governor William Kellogg within days.

The Battle of Liberty Place made clear that the multiracial Republican coalition could only retain office with the support of federal troops. This became significant after the contested presidential elections of 1876, in which Republic Rutherford B. Hayes won the presidency amidst bitterly contested election results and accusations of voter intimidation of black and republican voters. In order to gain the support of Southern senators, Hayes agreed to remove the federal troops propping up Republican governments in Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana. This effectively ended Reconstruction in 1877, quickly destroyed the political power of Louisiana republicans, and marked the beginning of Democrats systematically removing African-American voting rights in Louisiana (Benedict, 1980).

The battle also quickly assumed symbolic significance as a sort of rallying cry for the White League, whose many Confederate veterans happily claimed even a short-lived victory. Historian Lawrence Powell (1990, Spring) notes that from "1877 until 1882, the anniversary day was marked by a solemn pilgrimage to the gravesites of the White League dead. Units of the state militia retraced the route of the soldiers of '74 and ended up near the river for a 21-gun salute" (p. 41). In November 1882, the City of New Orleans officially renamed the area "Liberty Place," and authorized the creation of a monument "in defense of those who fell in defense of liberty and home rule in that heroic struggle of the 14th of September, 1874" (as cited in: Levinson, 1998, p. 47). The site quickly became the gathering point for virtually all attempts to overturn the remnants of Reconstruction, and remained an important forum throughout a variety of racial conflicts in New Orleans for over a century.

<u>Lynching at Liberty Place</u>

As time passed, both the size of the ceremonies held at the site, and the amount of donations to support building a Liberty Place monument diminished. However, on March 1891, a New Orleans jury acquitted nine Italian immigrants accused of mafia connections and assassinating New Orleans Police Chief David C. Hennessy on October 15, 1890.[16] Many veterans of the original Liberty Place battle called for another mass meeting at the Henry Clay statue. A massive crowd gathered there on March 14, and one White League descendent issued a challenge: "Not since the 14th day of September 1874 have we seen such a determined looking set of men assembled around this statue. Then you assembled to assert your manhood. I want to know whether or not you will assert your manhood on the 14th day of March" (Loewen, 1999, p. 199). The crowd responded to the challenge by travelling to the city jail where they shot the nine

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[16] The jury found six of the accused not guilty of murdering Hennessey, and three others were acquitted because of a mistrial (Officer down memorial page, n.d.).

accused, and dragged two other incarcerated Italian immigrants into the street and hanged them in public view.

Although the lynching brought about an international outcry against the United States, who eventually agreed to pay Italy a nearly $25,000 indemnity, it did wonders for the fundraising prowess of the White League and the September Fourteenth Monument Association. Having struggled for 15 years in their efforts to build a monument to the original White Leaguers killed at Liberty Place, the attack brought renewed support for the cause allowed supporters to ceremonially lay the foundation for the monument on September 14, 1891. At the

Figure 5. 1 The Liberty Place Monument. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

ceremony for the anniversary of the battle and dedication of the memorial, veterans of the battle of Liberty Place marched down Canal Street displaying weapons taken from the Metropolitan Police, along with a United States flag captured in the battle (Gill, 1997, p. 155). Former U.S.

Figure 5. 2 Inscription of fallen members of the White League. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

Senator B.F. Jonas delivered a speech extolling the virtues of White Leaguers and described them has having acted bravely and selflessly in an effort to *avoid* violence.[17] Louisiana judge Robert Marr presided over the dedication of the monument, a 20-foot cement obelisk supported by four pillars, placed at the original 1874 gathering place. It featured limited text, including the date, September 14, 1874, and the names of 16 members of the White League who died in that day's battle. Predictably, none of the names of the other dead, black or white, were included on the monument.

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[17] The recounting of the situation in 1874 that Jonas provided included statements so absurd that they might have been considered humorous if they had not been made in such earnest. Yet Jonas offered a relatively common retelling of the past—one in which the White League acted to protect all white people and prevent violence:

> The white people of the state, thus stripped of every means of defense, were threatened, moreover, by a formidable oath-bound league of blacks, which, under the command of the cunning and unscrupulous negro, might at any moment plunge them into what they were anxious to avoid—a war of races. The incessant demand for offices from the city, state and federal government, for which they were utterly unfit and for which they proffered no other title than that of color; the development in their conventions of a spirit of proscription against white radicals, and even against honorable Republicans who had fought for their liberation, their increasing arrogance which knew no bounds, their increasing dishonesty, which they had regarded as a statesmanlike virtue, their contemptuous scorn of all rights of the white man. All these signs as set forth in the platform of the Crescent City White League, warned us that the calamity which we had long apprehended was imminent, and that we must either prepare for it or perish under it. (Gill, 1997, p. 156)

The lack of a more explicit text on the monument offers insight into how monuments

offer barometers of the relative power and influence of different social groups at different times.

When White Leaguers first erected the Liberty Place obelisk, many African-American voters

retained voting rights in Louisiana. White Democrats also feared further galvanizing Northern

Republicans, who, in 1891, had nearly passed a strong voting rights bill into law (Loewen, 1999,

p. 199). Although white Democrats wielded enough political power to build the monument and

mark only their dead as worthy of remembrance, they avoided enshrining an overtly racist

narrative at the site, likely in an effort to avoid retaliation. As the history of the monument over

the next century revealed, when the relative political power of different groups changed, so did

the narrative of 1874 carved into the Liberty Place Monument.

Altering the Monument: The 1932 Inscription

This political imbalance increased significantly in 1898, following a Louisiana

constitutional convention called with the express purpose of further marginalizing African-

American and poor white voters. Forgoing subtlety, the convention president and former White

Leaguer E.B. Kruttschnitt stated:

> We know that this convention has been called together by the people of the State to
> eliminate from the electorate the mass of corrupt and illiterate voters who have during the
> last quarter of a century degraded our politics. . . . My fellow delegates, let us not be
> misunderstood! Let us say to the large class of the people of Louisiana who will be
> disfranchised under any of the proposed limitations of the suffrage, that what we seek to
> do is undertaken in a spirit, not of hostility to any particular men or set of men, but in the
> belief that the State should see to the protection of the weaker classes. . . that they not be
> allowed to harm themselves. We owe it to the ignorant, we owe it to the weak, to protect
> them just as we would protect a little child and prevent it from injuring itself with sharp-
> edged tools placed in its hands. (Louisiana Constitutional Convention, 1898, February 8,
> p. 9-10)

Without a referendum, the convention ratified a Louisiana constitution that radically reduced

voting rights. As James Gill (1997) notes, on "January 1, 1887, Louisiana had 130,344 black

voters and 164,088 white. Three years later, 5,320 blacks were registered and 125, 437 white" (p.

161). Most African-Americans and many poor whites were disenfranchised, a shift that would

soon manifest itself in the narrative on the Liberty Place Monument.

The monument stood unaltered until 1932, when the white supremacist interests that had

created it again came under threat. Louisiana Governor and then U.S. Senator Huey Long rapidly

ascended to national office by forging a coalition of white laborers and those African-Americans

who could vote, and advocating that more government benefits be distributed to these citizens.

Long's populist policy initiatives focused on more evenly distributing wealth, and thus directly

addressed class divisions (though African-Americans were largely in poorer economic classes).

To garner opposition to Long, wealthy Louisianans attempted to recast the debate in racial terms.

Lawrence Powell (1990, Spring) notes that as Long's plans to redistribute wealth amongst the

people of Louisiana began to gain momentum, and wealthy whites in New Orleans recognized

the inevitability of a "showdown with the Kingfish, they almost instinctively rallied around the

Liberty Place Monument" (p. 42). That year, the City Council of New Orleans approved the

addition of two large plaques on the base of the Liberty Place Monument.[18] On one side of the

plinth, a newly added plaque read "McEnery and Penn, having been elected governor and

lieutenant governor by the white people, were duly installed by the overthrow of the carpetbag

government, ousting the usurpers Gov. Kellogg (white) and Lt. Gov. Antoine (colored)"

(Levinson, 1998, p. 48). The plaque on the other side stated "United States troops took over the

state government and reinstated the usurpers but the national election in November 1876

recognized white supremacy and gave us our state" (p. 48).

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[18] Some histories of the site claim the City of New Orleans added the plaques in 1934, though
most date the alterations to 1932.

Both plaques mark the monument as the site of a racial battle over control of the government. Meanwhile, another contest over the government began in New Orleans; in the September 1934 elections Senator Long funded several candidates to oppose his enemies throughout the state. His followers in the state government declared partial martial law in New Orleans, and sent state guardsmen to control the voter registration office. In response New Orleans Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley deputized and highly armed 400 special police officers. The impending conflict coordinated with the 60th anniversary of the battle at Liberty Place. The keynote address at the anniversary claimed that the fallen heroes of the Battle of Liberty Place were watching "to find out if their sacrifice has not been made in vain, if we love liberty as dearly as they did" and if "we finally forever re-established white supremacy in the Southern states" (as cited in: Powell, 1990, Spring, p. 40). Much like the additions to the monument itself, the anniversary ceremony also attempted to recast opposing Long as a part of the white supremacist tradition of New Orleans.

The election proceeded with minimal violence, and calls to further the tradition of Liberty Place by resisting Huey Long went unanswered (Long's candidates won easily). Yet white supremacist advocates continued to use the monument as a forum from which to rally opposition against any perceived threats to the traditional hierarchy of the city. Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond held rallies for his 1948 presidential campaign at the monument en route to winning the state's 10 electoral votes. In 1954, after the U.S. Supreme Court issued its decision in *Brown v. Board* that school segregation was unconstitutional, opponents of racially integrated schools rallied at the Liberty Place Monument (Loewen, 1999, p. 200). Again using the site to rearticulate the past in order to call for political action, opponents of integration stood at the monument and gave speeches about history of Liberty Place in resisting attempts of the federal government to

overrule Louisiana laws, and of the White League's role in forcibly re-segregating racially integrated New Orleans schools in 1875 (Harlan, 1952).

This articulation of Liberty Place as the site where citizens of New Orleans defeated federal attempts at reconstruction, and ultimately as the site of the battle that ended the Reconstruction era once and for all, served as a powerful source of identity to wealthy whites in the city. This narrative of the site proved particularly powerful in New Orleans, as the city never had an especially proud Confederate tradition to give it identity or justify institutional racism. New Orleans fell to the Union after only 15 months of membership in the Confederacy, and commercial ties to other ports on the Mississippi River maintained the city's relationships with cities in the Union. In the absence of a strong Confederate history, the city's wealthy elite turned to Liberty Place to reify the City's white supremacist history (Powell, 1990, Spring, p. 40). As discussed in the previous chapters, monuments are particularly powerful in their ability to articulate group identity and communal boundaries. At Liberty Place, wealthy whites sought to resist social change by articulating communal origins of white supremacy.

Liberty Place as a Forum Against Racism

As disputes over racial issues such as desegregating schools and voting rights engulfed New Orleans throughout the 1960s, something unusual happened at the Liberty Place Monument: the monument site that for years had served as the rallying point for lynch-mobs and the overthrow of a multiracial government also became a rallying point for the Civil Rights movement. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began this radical shift, by moving its picketing efforts from Canal Street department stores to the Liberty Place Monument. Given its overtly racist inscriptions, the monument provided not only a gathering site for African-American activists, but an explicit articulation of the city's racism—a

monumental endorsement of white supremacy that picketers attempted to counter by staging

protests in clear view of the most travelled thoroughfare in the city. Beyond being a point to

which civil rights protestors could offer a counter point, the site was, in a sense, sacred to

African-Americans. Liberty Place not only marked the space where African-Americans' were

forcibly removed from elected offices they would not again gain access to for nearly a century,

but the blood of African-Americans sanctified the space as well. Soon several other black

organizations joined in the demonstrations at Liberty Place, and soon the site became the rallying

point for most Civil Rights demonstrations in the city.

Unsurprisingly, the monument's newfound role as a forum for the articulation of African-

American interests made it the inevitable site of conflict as the centennial of the Battle of Liberty

Place approached. Further heightening racial tensions throughout the city, and particularly at the

Liberty Place Monument, the NAACP chose to hold the 65th NAACP National Convention at the

Rivergate convention center, just down the road on Canal Street (Powell, 1990, Spring, p. 43). At

the convention, the NAACP passed a resolution supporting the efforts of local African-American

politicians to remove the monument. Convention attendees staged protests which began with

rallies at the Liberty Place Monument and moved to various locations in the area.

Marking Change As Change at Liberty Place

In response to pressure from the NAACP and local African-American activists groups,

New Orleans mayor Moon Landrieu offered an attempt to counter the argument carved into the

Liberty Place Monument. Landrieu ordered that blank marble slabs be placed over the racist

1932 inscriptions. Additionally, he issued an order to have a new plaque placed alongside the

memorial in an attempt to counter the white supremacist argument inscribed on the monument

for the previous 42 years. The bronze plaque described the 1874 battle as an insurrection, and

made clear of the 1932 inscription "that the controversial language had not in fact been a part of the original 1891 monument (Levinson, 1997, p. 48). In direct refutation of the racist inscription, the bronze plaque read: "Although the 'Battle of Liberty Place' and this monument are important parts of New Orleans history, the sentiments in favor of white supremacy expressed theron are contrary to the philosophy and beliefs of present-day New Orleans."

Of course, the inscription's distinction between the racist 1932 inscription and the original monument obscures the inherent racism in the original: a monument to the overthrow of a multiracial government, containing only the names of fallen White Leaguers. Nevertheless, the bronze plaque offered a valuable attempt to counter the Liberty Place Monument, an effort that had hitherto relied on the rallies and protests at the site. After the inclusion of the plaque, even passersby who encountered the monument on days without protests had access to an alternative history of the site. The plaque also offered suggested the passage of time on the space, by marking previous changes to the site (such as the 1932 inscription) *as changes*.

In marking these changes as changes, the plaque presented the evolution of the narrative presented by the monument, and thus introduced at alternate conception of time on the Liberty Place monument. Campbell and Jamieson's (1990) notion of *illud tempus*, the time outside of time that characterizes the epideictic genre, offers an understanding of time as *collapsed*. This sacred time is the time of most monuments. In rhetorics that create this collapsed experience of time, the past is brought into the present, not in a purely causal and linear relationship, but in the sense of the past being an intractably present part of the current moment. Nowhere is this abstract conception of time more apparent than in monuments. At monuments, particularly those located at sacred sites, the past is not simply retold, but just as present as the current moment. Blair, et al. (2009) argue that "by bringing the visitor into contact with a significant past, the

visitor may be led to understand the present as part of an enduring, stable tradition" (p. 27). It is precisely this enduring stability that the bronze plaque destroyed. By exposing the artifice of the site, the fact that the narrative represented on it had changed repeatedly, and that the past inscription no longer fit with the contemporary beliefs of the city, the plaque shifts the mode of time explicated on the monument from illud tempus to a linear conception of time. In this linear and secular time, the inscriptions on the memorial become simply the expressions of the mood in the city at a given time, not the expression of sacred and absolute meanings.

Rhetoric is an essentially temporal art. As Michael Leff (1986) notes, a text "stretches beyond its own margins to influence the appearance of the world in which it is made. The timing in the discourse mediates our perception of time in the public world" (p. 385). This observation is particularly relevant in understanding the rhetorical character of monuments, which instruct visitors not only on what to remember, but *how* to remember it. In the case of the Liberty Place Monument, the bronze plaque positions its readers at the site of an "insurrection," notes how the City of New Orleans repeatedly altered the narrative enshrined on the monument, and suggests that the white supremacist sentiments expressed in 1932 reflect a worldview different from the city's current understanding of race.[19]

Such an articulation of the past substantially alters the narrative presented on the Liberty Place Monument. Prior to the addition of the plaque, most viewers of the monument likely took in its constituent elements (the obelisk, list of names, and 1932 inscription) synchronically. That is, few passersby likely knew the history of the monument well enough to know that the white supremacist inscription was not an original part of the monument. This points to a problem I

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[19] Clearly, the assumption that a city can have a worldview at all is likely flawed, though I will leave that question for others to debate. Regardless, in telling the story of the monument, it will soon become clear that whether or not a city can hold a monolithic anti-racist worldview, New Orleans certainly did not.

raised in chapter three—one hinted at by John Dewey (1927) and further explored by Robert Cox (1987, May)—that publics increasingly struggle to understand themselves in time. As Cox elegantly puts it, "we seem to be evolving a culture in which time is discontinuous. . . our experience of time is 'postmodern'; we experience time as fragmented into 'a series of perpetual presents'" (p. 4). The marking of changes to the monument demonstrates changes to how New Orleans has remembered the past in different times. Without the plaque, many visitors to the monument likely believed both the monument and inscription to be a reflection of how the city government chose to memorialize the past nearly a century before.

The bronze plaque allowed visitors to understand the evolution of the monument diachronically, making clear that in 1932, the City of New Orleans ordered the racist inscription be added to the site. The accompanying plaque further suggested that viewers should understand the white-supremacist narrative of the inscription as "contrary to the philosophy of and beliefs of present-day New Orleans." The decisions to add the inscription and the plaque suggest an evolution not just of the Liberty Place Monument, but also of the City of New Orleans as a public. This explicit marking of the evolution of the monument is powerful for its recognition that the monument served as a forum for the dominant perspectives on race in the New Orleans government. But more importantly, it served to open up official memory, to suggest that other perspectives on the past should be expressed both through protest at the site and through official additions to the monument site.

The Battle to (Re)move the Monument

Although Mayor Landrieu offered the bronze plaque to counter the racist narrative in the 1932 inscription, the plaque's suggestion that a belief white supremacy did not reflect the "beliefs of present-day New Orleans" quickly proved inaccurate. As the centennial of the battle

approached, the Ku Klux Klan began staging rallies at the monument as well, often leading to demonstrations and counter demonstrations at the site. Every September on the anniversary of the Battle of Liberty Place, white supremacists gathered at the site to hear speeches from various prominent white supremacists. David Duke, a former member of both the Louisiana and U.S. House of Representatives, and Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, organized rallies at the site, leading participants in chants such as "'white power' and 'all the way with the KKK'" (Powell, Lawrence, 1990, Spring, p. 40). Shortly after the addition of the plaque, and in time for the centennial the city installed a blank marble slab over the 1932 inscription. Like the Police Statue at Haymarket, the Liberty Place Monument became the target of multiple acts of vandalism, a forum for activists on both sides. Someone (presumably white supremacists) promptly removed both the marble slab and dug out the mortar holding it in place, rendering the inscription visible again. In response, someone else (presumably African-American) spray painted phrases such as "Fuck you white people" and "Black Power" (Loewen, 1997, p. 200).

In 1981, Dutch Morial, the first African-American mayor of New Orleans, attempted to remove the monument. Because of Morial's credentials as a leader in the Civil Rights movement, both his attempt to remove the monument, and attempts to stop him took on added symbolic significance. Morial was "the first black graduate of the Louisiana state University law school, the first black assistant United States attorney in Louisiana, the first black state legislator since Reconstruction and the first black appeals court judge in New Orleans" (Gill, 1997, p. 265). In response to an outcry by proponents of the Liberty Place Monument, the New Orleans city council (which included only two African-American representatives) passed an ordinance prohibiting the removal of any monument without permission of the council. When Morial attempted to get this permission, the council denied it. Morial relented in his efforts to have the

monument removed, instead he initiated one of the more creative and humorous counter-monumental actions at the site. Although he lacked the authority to remove monuments from the city, the mayor retained command of the parks commission, which he promptly ordered to plant large ligustrum bushes all around the monument. The bushes (which grow quickly and produce large quantities of pollen) greatly obstructed the view of the monument and made it much more difficult to stand on the base of the monument and address a crowd.

The monument stood, surrounded by Morial's bushes, until 1989 when the city temporarily removed it in order to conduct significant road construction on Canal Street. Because the monument relied on federal funding for its upkeep and temporary removal, and given its status as a historic landmark, the City of New Orleans required both state and national approval to place the monument in storage. In order to gain this approval, city officials had to agree to return the monument to either its original or a nearby location (Reed, 1993, June). The city council, now comprised of a majority of African-American representatives, included with its request to move the statue another request—to permanently remove the 1932 inscription. Their argument consisted of an entirely scientistic justification, failing to mention the racist and offensive nature of the inscription, and instead arguing that because the inscription was not a part of the original monument, it was "nonhistorical" (para. 6).[20]

Kenneth Burke (1966) contrasts the scientistic use of language with its dramatistic use. He notes that "the 'scientistic' approach builds the edifice of language with primary stress upon a proposition such as 'it is, or it is not.' The 'dramatistic' approach puts the primary stress upon

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[20] This scientistic approach to countering a monument is not unique to Liberty Place. When Native Americans petitioned to have the Custer Battlefield Memorial renamed in a way that reflected that Native Americans had fought and died on the site as well, the National Park Service agreed to rename it the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Memorial, under the auspices that battlefields are traditionally named for local geographies.

such hortatory expressions as 'thou shalt, or thou shalt not'" (p. 44). The same act may be

characterized in either scientist or dramatistic language, and each draws attention away from

the other. Just as marking the changes to a monument site serves as a sort of barometer of who

was deemed worthy of remembrance at any given time and who later gained inclusion at the site,

how monuments are countered also points to power dynamics of memory. In contrast to an

example in the next chapter, in which H. Ross Perot opposed the Vietnam Veterans Memorial

through a public relations campaign and seeking support from U.S. Senators, members of

marginalized groups tend to counter monuments in ways that conceal either their identities or

motivations. After years of occasional vandalism, the white supremacist inscription was finally

removed once African-American representatives held a majority of the City Council. Yet even

then, their order to remove it focused not on its overtly racist text, but rather on a scientistic

explanation that drew attention away from any political or social motivations to remove the racist
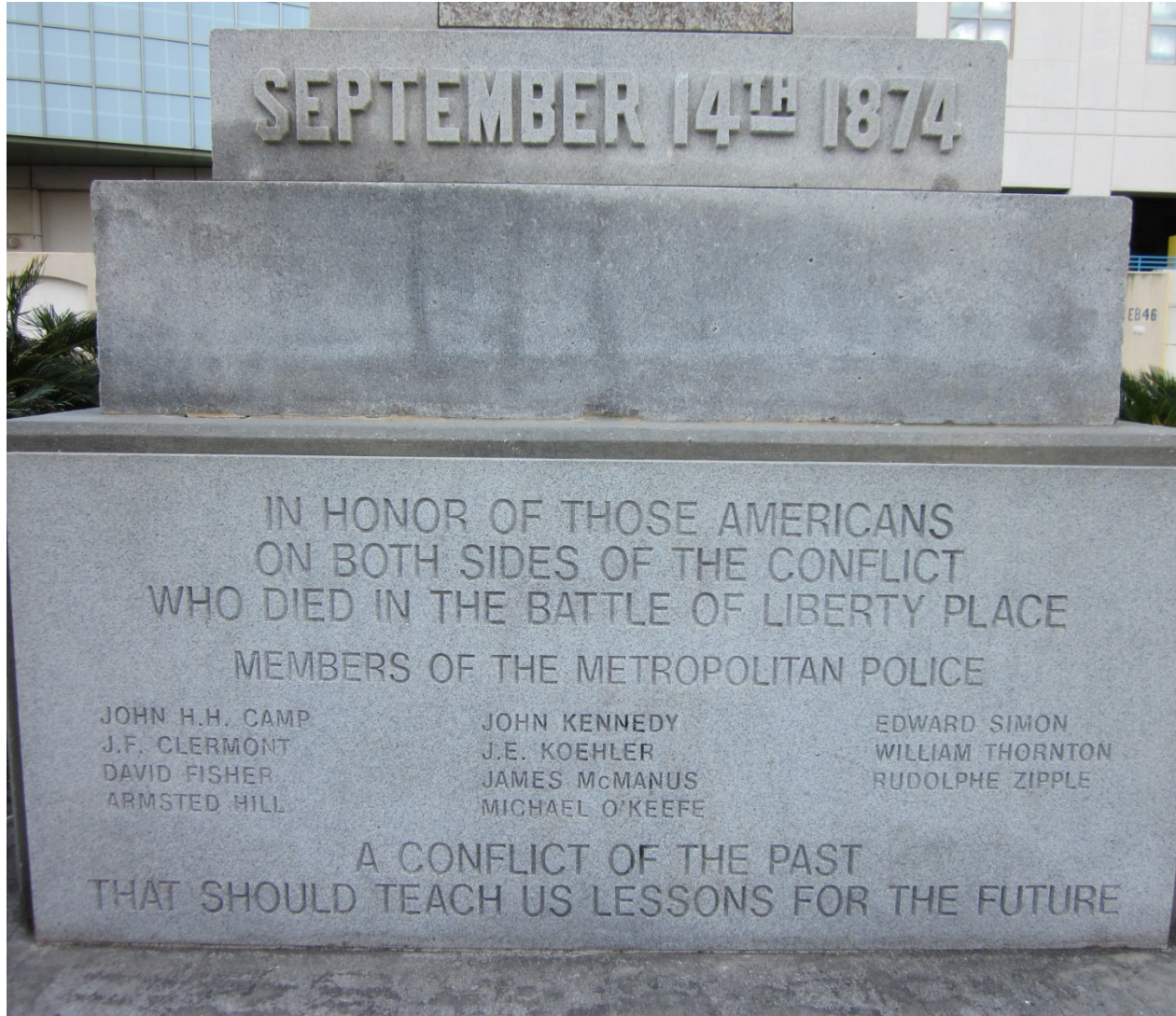
1932 inscription.

Though not stating the real reason for removing the 1932 inscription, the City Council

granted the Mayor permission to remove it. First, however, the city placed it in a warehouse in

November 1989 to allow the planned construction and expansion of Canal Street to proceed.

After two years, the city had completed the street construction, yet the monument remained in

storage. The Mayor of New Orleans at that time, Sidney Barthelemy, had signed an agreement

with federal preservation officials to place the Liberty Place Monument at or near its original site

by May 1, 1991, but refused to re-place the monument. He then ignored a September 1 deadline,

before finally attempting to have the monument permanently moved to a local museum. When

his plan met opposition from the state historical preservation officials, Barthelemy simply let the

monument languish in storage, denying it the opportunity to frame Liberty Place as it had for over a century.

In December 1991, New Orleans pharmacist Francis Shubert sued the city and sought to have the monument put back at its original site. Shubert's suit contained the interesting claim that until the Liberty Place Monument was returned to its original site, he would "continue to suffer extreme hardship and irreparable injury in that he has ancestors who were involved in the Battle of Liberty Place" (as cited in: Gill, 1997, p. 261). Under pressure from both the pending lawsuit and federal officials with whom he had broken his agreement to return the monument, Barthelemy agreed to put the monument back at the site by January 20, 1993. Again missing the deadline, Barthelemy eventually issued an order for the city to place the monument one block from its original site. However, the site he selected garnered significantly less traffic than the monument had enjoyed for the previous 120 years. Located behind a parking garage and the Aquarium of the Americas, the monument stands at a site almost entirely obscured from Canal Street. Even to visitors looking for it, the monument is difficult to see until one is nearly next to it.

While in storage, city workers had destroyed the 1932 inscription entirely, and placed an engraved marble slab over the base of the monument. The plaque displayed the names of 11 members of the Metropolitan Police killed in the Battle of Liberty Place, along with the following inscription: "In honor of those Americans on both sides of the conflict who died in the Battle of Liberty Place. . . A conflict of the past that should teach us lessons for the future."

Precisely what lessons might be learned from this conflict goes unsaid, but again it demonstrates

Figure 5. 3 Transcendent inscription on the Liberty Place Monument. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

an effort to find an (in this case incredibly) ambiguous transcendent ideal that might unify and

reconcile the conflicting perspectives that had battled on the site for years. It immediately

became clear that supporters of the monument read this act as an attempt at countering the

monument, as Francis Shubert again sued (this time unsuccessfully) to have the new text

removed from the monument.

Just how thoroughly the new statement opposed the original monument became clear as the public dispute over the monument grew. Not only did the new statement grant the Metropolitan Police presence at Liberty Place, but three of the 11 names belonged to Irish immigrants. Although the White League explicitly responded to the threat of "Africanization," it bears noting that, as I suggested in the previous chapter, in 1874, Irish immigrants' social and racial status more closely resembled African-Americans than whites. Thus even their inclusion on the same monument would have greatly offended members of the White League, and served as a rejection of their belief in white supremacy. The monument to White Leaguers, who battled police and overthrew their government in order to ensure white supremacy in the Louisiana government, now marked the lives of both the police and immigrants as worthy of grief and remembrance.

Conclusion

The Battle of Liberty Place offered wealthy whites in New Orleans, a city that was captured after only 15 months in the Confederacy, an opportunity to identify their city as the site of the battle that ended Reconstruction. Members of the White League staged an armed insurrection overthrowing a majority-elected multiracial state government, and built a large and prominently displayed monument to remember those who died in the coup. Wealthy Democrats drew on this narrative of New Orleans to rally opposition to Huey Long's attempts at expanding social programs to better provide for African-Americans and poor whites in Louisiana. As Long rose to power, the City Council added a plaque to the monument reminding viewers of the city's origins of white supremacy. Unsurprisingly, the Liberty Place monument, a site linking New Orleans to its history of institutional racism and violence, regularly served as a rallying point for other white supremacist groups.

The monument's history as a gathering point for white supremacist violence also led to its use as a forum for addressing issues of race in New Orleans. In the 1960s the monument served as a rallying point for civil rights protests—a use of the monument in direct opposition to the inscriptions on the monument itself. Cox (1987) notes that as "a dialectic of repetition and disavowal, argument becomes a critical appropriation of the past. As we appropriate the past, we 'take over' and 'make our own' its unfilled possibilities" (p. 11). At Liberty Place, the process of appropriating and disavowing the past began with civil rights protests and continued with the addition of the bronze plaque in 1974. By marking the 1932 inscription as an addition to the monument, and noting that "the sentiments in favor of white supremacy expressed theron are contrary to the philosophy and beliefs of present-day New Orleans," the plaque alters how visitors experience time at the site. Unlike traditional monuments, objects that articulate past, present and future together in an epideictic time outside of time, the bronze plaque notes the linear development of the site of the Liberty Place Monument. Rather than marking some timeless origin of the site or city, it marks how the narrative carved into the monument has been changed across time.

After several battles to remove the monument, the addition of the inscription mourning the fallen Metropolitan Police expands access to the sacred space of Liberty Place. It also suggests, as does the Haymarket Memorial, that we may learn transcendent lessons from the various conflicts over Liberty Place. These themes are explored in depth in the following chapter, an analysis of the final counter-monument in this project, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. My analysis of the memorial explores the inclusion of diverse perspectives at the site, and the irony created by giving presence to multiple groups and juxtaposing their various perspectives. As with the Haymarket and Liberty Place, I analyze the struggles of several groups

attempting to gain presence at this sacred space, as well as recent attempts to reconcile these

diverse perspectives.

Chapter 6
The Vietnam Veterans' Memorial(s)

Returned Vietnam veteran Jan Scruggs went to the movie theater to view the graphic war

film *The Deer Hunter*, suffered flashbacks throughout the night, and awoke in the morning

inspired to create a war memorial. Scruggs woke with one central idea for the memorial: "The

names," he wrote, "No one remembers their names" (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 7). This

simple concern launched the founding of one of the most contested sacred sites in the United

States—the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. In this chapter, I trace the controversy surrounding the

memorial from disputes over access to the sacred space of the Washington Mall, to the creation

of multiple counter-monuments representing various perspectives on how to remember the

Vietnam War, [21] and finally contemporary attempts to reconcile and unify the divergent

perspectives that have seemingly clashed with one another at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial for

nearly 30 years.

This chapter focuses in particular on the role of irony in American counter-monuments.

As such, I trace out the conflicts and public arguments advanced on behalf of each attempt to

counter one of the monuments on the site. I explore how the various monuments erected on the

site can only be experienced in their relation to one another, and as such, as competing

perspectives on the Vietnam War. I argue that because of the layout of the memorials, the

Vietnam Veterans Memorial site encourages visitors to consider all of the sub-perspectives, and

thus fosters an ironic viewpoint in which each perspective informs the others. However, this site

evidences what I see as a broader trend across American counter-monuments, in which sites

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[21] Technically, the Tonkin Gulf resolution was not an actual declaration of war. This technicality, used by politicians in the early years of the war, does not change the fact that over one million people died on the Vietnam peninsula as a result of the "conflict," nor that it was quickly recognized and labeled a war in U.S. vernacular. Thus, I use the phrase *Vietnam War*.

cannot sustain the articulation of multiple viewpoints for long, and as such, current developments

at the site seek to rearticulate the different perspectives at the site by reconciling them as

conflicting efforts and a similar, transcendent goal.

Scruggs believed a memorial would provide a space for the public recognition of what his

generation had sacrificed in the jungles and on the hills of Vietnam. More importantly, he hoped

it would also open up public dialogue, and the potential of public healing, for a nation deeply

divided over the war and for veterans who felt either mistreated or ignored upon their return to

the United States. His ambition to create a monument that could help accomplish these goals

suggests that Scruggs recognized some of the unique challenges facing a Vietnam monument. As

Marita Sturken (1997) notes that, in the case of the Vietnam War, public commemoration of the

war is inextricably bound "to the question of how war is brought to closure in American society.

How does a society commemorate a war whose central narrative is one of division and dissent, a

war whose history is still formative and highly contested?" (p. 44). Scruggs quickly found the

division and dissent surrounding the Vietnam War also defined the creation of its memorial.

Scruggs attended a meeting of Vietnam veterans and announced his idea for a memorial

with the names of all fallen Vietnam veterans. He proposed that the project should receive no

governmental funding beyond the donation of land, with donations for the public as a way to

symbolize that regardless of how they felt about the war, they still wished to recognize those

who served in it. To Scruggs' surprise, only one other attendee, a former Air Force officer named

Robert Doubek, believed the idea was realistic enough to warrant pursuing. Soon after, John P.

"Jack" Wheeler III, a well-connected Washington attorney and former veteran, contacted

Scruggs to join Scruggs' recently incorporated *Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund* (Gough, 2008,

p. 7). [22] These three men formed the core of the Memorial Fund throughout its struggle to get the memorial built. However, as the project developed, it eventually garnered the support of a variety of significant political figures including "then-first land Rosalynn Carter, former President Gerald Ford, Bob Hope, future first lady Nancy Reagan, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, future senator James Webb, and Adm. James J. Stockdale, USN" and others including H. Ross Perot and George McGovern" (Gough, 2008, p. 15). Although Scruggs generally remained the figurehead for the Fund, he consistently invoked the diverse political stances of the Fund's supporters as evidence that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was intended to represent people with differing perspective on the Vietnam War, by "honor[ing] the warrior and not the war" (p. 8).

The Fight for Space

The sheer audacity of their vision is a recurring theme of Scruggs' memoir, *To Heal a Nation* (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985). The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund began with a handful of veterans, only one of whom had any past experience lobbying for the creation of a memorial. [23] As they began the daunting process of initiating a major war memorial for a recent conflict that had created massive conflicts within the United States, they chose to focus on securing the ideal site for such a monument. Scruggs recalls that when the project started, "site location was *the* issue, more important even than the design" (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 31, emphasis in original). This was for both symbolic and practical reasons. The veterans felt that

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[22] It is unlikely the memorial, at least in its current form, would have been built without Wheeler's political connections. The graduate of West Point, Yale Law School and Harvard Business School offered political clout to the project that prior to Wheeler joining, had raised $144.50 (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 9). His ability to access Washington's political elite proved invaluable throughout the building of the memorial.

[23] Jack Wheeler worked as part of an effort to get the Southeast Asia Memorial built at a much more supportive location—the West Point Military Academy (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 10).

after being ignored by the government upon their return from Vietnam, to be relegated to land outside of Washington D.C. would add further insult to injury. They argued that, to veterans who felt marginalized by the government and ostracized by the public, a monument honoring them on a national sacred site would help the veterans again feel like a part of the nation. Additionally, as securing the land was the first task the Fund set out to accomplish, they knew that obtaining a central location would greatly enhance their fundraising potential. By contrast, a space veterans found insulting or inadequate would not only decrease donations, but also potentially lead to a controversy within the growing ranks who supported a memorial for the Vietnam conflict. Initially (and mistakenly) expecting that the fiercest opposition to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial would come from those who had opposed the war, they believed they could ill-afford any division in their own ranks.

Sanctification via Location

Shortly after the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund was created, Charles Mathias Jr., a Republican senator from Maryland, became one of the Fund's earliest (and most important) supporters. His connections in Washington D.C. proved essential in getting Scruggs and other members of the Fund an audience with senior officials in the Park Service. In this meeting, Mathais selected a spot on the map that members of the fund, who until then had battled simply to erect the memorial within city limits, had not considered as a serious possibility. He suggested the memorial be placed in the Constitutional Gardens portion of the Washington Mall—at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial. Scruggs recalls that after:

> the possibility of this site entered the vets' consciousness, it seemed overwhelmingly logical. Right at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial—what a spot! No one could ignore it. Members of Congress would see it every morning as they drove to work. Presidents would see it whenever they ventured forth from the White House. Everyone in America, especially Vietnam vets themselves, would know that a special honor had been granted. The symbolism was perfect. If the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was to help bind the

nation's—and their generation's—wounds, what better place than in the shadow of Abraham Lincoln. (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 16)

As in all of the counter-monuments I analyze, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial's positioning on sacred ground serves as an integral component of the monument.[24] Like the German counter-monuments, the initiators of Vietnam Veterans Memorial wanted the memorial located not in an isolated park, but in a space both central and unavoidable. Unlike German counter-monuments, the disputes that would surround the Vietnam Veterans Memorial never focused on rejecting or desacralizing the sacred space of the Mall. Instead, as my analysis will make clear, the disputes focused on how to appropriately represent the war on this sacred space—and thus on who controlled the narrative being carved into monumental form. As I will make clear later in this chapter, politically powerful opponents of the memorial contested access to the memorial site as leverage to ensure the inclusion of their own counter-monument at site.

Design Competition: The Wall

Members of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund knew that their access to the site would never be truly secure until the monument was completely built. Even after securing the land through a Congressional vote, any action could be vetoed by a number of Washington bureaucracies including the Department of the Interior, the Fine Arts Commission, and the National Capital Planning Commission. In order to secure the greatest possible credibility for their design competition, the VVMF created a large and internationally respected judging panel. They also received a surprisingly large number of submissions—1,421—making it the largest

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[24] Of all the counter-monuments I analyze, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial most offers a sacred *place* rather than a sacred *space*. This is somewhat ironic, as it is also the only one of the American counter-monuments not located at a site sanctified by blood. The memorial is much more set in a distinct and separate sacred place than the Haymarket or Liberty Place monuments. It does, however, constantly interact with its surroundings as from most vantage points either the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial reflect off the wall's polished black granite.

such contest in U.S. history (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 58). The fund's requirements for

submissions were fairly simple, requiring a design that would: "(1) be reflective and

contemplative in character; (2) harmonize with its surroundings; (3) contain the names of those

who had died in the conflict or who were still missing; and (4) make no political statement about

the war" (Fish, 1987, p. 3). The VVMF also issued the following poetic statement about the

purpose of the memorial:

> While debate and demonstrations raged at home, these servicemen and women underwent challenges equal to or greater than those faced in earlier wars. They experienced confusion, horror, bitterness, boredom, fear, exhaustion, and death.
> In facing these ordeals, they showed the same courage, sacrifice, and devotion to duty for which Americans traditionally have honored the nation's war veterans in the past.
> The unique nature of the war—with no definite fronts, with vague objectives, with unclear distinctions between ally and enemy, and with strict rules of engagement—subjected the Vietnam soldier to unimaginable pressures.
> Because of inequities in the draft system, the brunt of dangerous service fell upon the young, often the socially and economically disadvantaged.
> While debate and demonstrations raged at home, these servicemen and women underwent challenges equal to or greater than those faced in earlier wars. They experienced confusion, horror, bitterness, boredom, fear, exhaustion, and death.
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> The unique nature of the war—with no definite fronts, with vague objectives, with unclear distinctions between ally and enemy, and with strict rules of engagement—subjected the Vietnam soldier to unimaginable pressures.
> Because of inequities in the draft system, the brunt of dangerous service fell upon the young, often the socially and economically disadvantaged.
> While experiences in combat areas were brutal enough in themselves, their adverse effects were multiplied by the maltreatment received by veterans upon their return home. . .
> The purpose of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is to recognize and honor those who served and died. It will provide a symbol of acknowledgement of the courage, sacrifice, and devotion to duty of those who were among the nation's finest youth.
> The memorial will make no political statement regarding the war or its conduct. It will transcend those issues. The hope is that the creation of the Memorial will begin a healing process. (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 53)

Although they provided relatively few specific requirements for how designers should meet this purpose, their requirements that the monument be apolitical and list names of each fallen veteran be included in some way at the site significantly influenced submissions.

When the jury completed their voting, members of the VVMF visited the Air Force hangar that housed all 1,421 submissions. At the time, they did not know that both the third place entry, a sculpture of three young soldiers by local sculpture Frederick Hart, and its creator, would play significant roles in the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The winner, submission number 1026, was the now iconic black granite wall. Set into the earth, the polished black granite extends nearly 500 feet and contains the names of 58,272 men and women who died in the conflict. The walls seem to rise

Figure 6. 1 The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall. Photo by Ryan McGeough

from the earth, meeting at an apex roughly ten feet high. Beginning at right side of the apex, the wall lists the names chronologically, by date of death, moving across the right wall and beginning again at the bottom of the left wall. Thus the first (killed in 1959) and last (killed in 1975) names appear next to each other, giving the linear historical account a sense of circularity

and closure. Before each name appears a diamond; the names of Missing-In-Action soldiers are marked with a small cross, which is altered into a diamond if the soldier is found dead. If the MIA soldier were to return, the cross would be carved into a circle; no such engraving has yet been necessary (Sturken, 1997, p. 46).

The wall itself promotes a sort of irony, a perspective created by attempting to grant 58,272 individuals some degree of presence on the site. The extent to which a list of names truly represents the individuals therein is debatable, as Judith Butler (1988) asks, "Do these names really signify for us the fullness of the lives that were lost, or are they so many tokens of what we cannot know, enigmas, inscrutable and silent?" (p. 69). Her question is unanswerable, except to say that calling the names silent ignores how visitors to the site seem to experience the memorial. Her critique, not uncommon amongst the volumes of academic criticism of the site, fails to engage with the arguments surrounding its creation or the continued commitment of volunteers and visitors to honor the names on the wall. Volunteers stand at the wall every day, as they have for nearly 30 years, and amongst their most common tasks is helping visitors locate specific names at the wall. Large directories posted near the wall contain each name, along with the date of death and location on the wall. Although the name of a stranger may never represent the fullness of a lost life, as millions of visitors have sought out particular names, and viewed nearby names to see what fellow soldiers might have died with a friend or loved one, the names clearly speak to visitors.

That the names contain a deep significance to visitors is apparent based on the variety of individual instances of memory work consistently performed at the site. After finding specific names of fallen soldiers, visitors to the memorial frequently touch the names on the wall. Shortly after the dedication of the memorial, visitors began putting sheets of paper over names and

Figure 6. 2: Personalized items at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

"rubbing" over them with pencils or crayons, thus reproducing the name on the sheet of paper.

Visitors performed this action so many times that the memorial institutionalized it—volunteers

now provide paper and writing utensils so that anyone who wishes to copy a name on the wall is

able to do so. Visitors also commonly leave personalized items and letters to fallen veterans at

the base of the memorial under the panel containing that veteran's name. Each night volunteers

collect the items and move them to a large warehouse containing over 100,000 tokens left at the

wall.

This clustering of names, and the type of memory work it promotes, is why designer

Maya Lin fought to preserve the chronological listing of names. Lin (2000) suggests her attempt

at using names to grant individuals presence in claiming the "use of names was a way to bring

back everything someone could remember about a person" (p. 4:10). When the VVMF wanted

the names to be listed alphabetically, Lin argued that a chronological listing would better tell the story of each name on the wall. Panels of the wall would thus place the names of soldiers alongside the names of those killed in the same battles. Lin wanted the memorial to read as a sort of epic poem, as walking from panel to panel offered a narrative representation of the deaths of Vietnam Veterans. The VVMF agreed, upon realizing that the last name *Smith* would appear 600 times on the wall. A friend, family member, or even a stranger could learn little far less about any individual from this alphabetical ordering than from seeing the names of other veterans who served and died at the same time. Soldiers who returned could simply go to the part of the wall representing when they served and see who had, and had not, fallen in battle. Thus the monument attempts to (as much as is possible) represent 58,272 individuals at the site, while leaving political judgments to the visitors—who cannot read names on the polished granite without seeing themselves reflected in its surface.

Maya Yang Lin

Although the VVMF veterans were originally pleased that a Chinese-American female had won the contest, believing it would show how impartial and open their design contest had been, it soon complicated the battle to get the Vietnam Veterans Memorial built (Sturken, 1997, p. 54). Once the design became public, those who thought it insulted Vietnam Veterans began opposing it in a variety of ways. Opponents of the design predictably highlighted Lin's "otherness" from Americans and particularly from the veterans themselves. Despite being born in a small town in Ohio, they suggested that an Ivy-league educated, Asian-American woman with no combat experience was not only a poor choice to design the memorial, but also had more in common with the Vietcong than with the fallen American soldiers. Lin summarized these objections in noting "I think it is, for some, very difficult for them. I mean they sort of lump us

all together, for one thing. There is a term used . . . it's called a gook" (as cited in Sturken, 1997, p. 55). Supporters of her design also noted her otherness, suggesting that her status as a member of several marginalized groups allowed her the insight and ironic perspective to create a memorial appropriate for veterans who had been ignored upon their return from the war (Sorkin, 1983, May).

Opponents who opposed Lin on the grounds that she had no combat experience found further reason for objection in the fact that she purposefully avoided learning about the history of the Vietnam War or the veterans who fought in it. Lin (2000) characterized her intentional efforts to avoid this information as part of an artistic process that allowed her to protect an impartial and apolitical design. She notes in her memoir :

> I made a conscious decision not to do any specific research on the Vietnam War and the political turmoil surrounding it. I felt that the politics had eclipsed the veterans, their service and their lives. I wanted to create a monument that everyone would be able to respond to, regardless of whether one thought our country should or should not have participated in the war . . . This apolitical approach became the essential aim of my design; I did not want to civilize war by glorifying it or by forgetting the sacrifices involved. The price of human life in war should always be clearly remembered. (p. 4:09)

Even the veterans on the Memorial Fund believed this created a divide between the VVMF and Lin. In his own memoir of the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Scruggs notes that Lin "never asked, 'What is combat like?' or 'Who were your friends whose names we're putting on the wall?' And the vets, in turn, never once explained to her what words like 'courage,' 'sacrifice,' and 'devotion to duty' really meant" (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 79). Yet the disagreement between the VVMF and Lin over the design proved minor in comparison to the opposition the wall faced elsewhere.

Countering the Wall: The Three Fightingmen

Precisely because Lin designed the memorial to avoid making an explicit statement about the war itself, the wall was easily interpreted in a variety of ways by both supporters and critics. To supporters, including the VVMF itself, this openness itself was the beauty of the design. As James Kirkpatrick wrote, "each of us may remember what he wishes to remember—the cause, the heroism, the blunders, or the waste" (as cited in Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 25). Yet this openness, and explicit avoidance of any clear statement about the war, also made the memorial subject to criticism from opponents. Its dark walls and low profile made it distinct from the other monuments at the Washington Mall. In an early analysis of the wall, Sonya Foss (1986) states: "that this memorial is a far cry from the customary warrior's monument is immediately evident . . . We have, then, in the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, violation of the conventional form of war memorials" (p. 332). This violation of traditional monumental form became a point of division between the VVMF and some of its most powerful supporters.

A small, influential group of conservative activists initiated the first attempt to counter the Vietnam Veterans Memorial for just this reason. Two of its most influential leaders, billionaire H. Ross Perot and Senator James Webb, had been major supporters of the memorial.[25] Their opposition to Lin's design led to them becoming ardently opposed to its construction. Tom Carhart, a decorated Vietnam Veteran and VVMF volunteer who had submitted his own design into the competition, gave a widely reprinted statement to the Fine Arts Commission in October of 1980, in which he described the memorial as a "black gash of shame" (*as cited in*: Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 81-82).[26] In contrast to most war memorials, Lin's wall is undeniably

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[25] Perot had even donated $160,000 to help initiate the design competition.
[26] Carhart's design depicted an officer standing in a large purple heart, and holding up the body of a dead G.I. "up to heaven as though in sacrifice" (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 80).

different. It is "unobtrusive, invisible in fact from the north, for it is built into a rise in the earth. .

. . Unlike many statuary monuments, it is not raise on a base, forcing visitors to gaze always

upward. Neither its height nor an official rule prohibits physical contact with the wall. It is,

unlike many other monuments, accessible to touch" (Blair et al., 1991, p. 274). Despite being

widely supported by veterans organizations including the American Legion and Veterans of

Foreign Wars (VFW), opponents of the wall consistently labeled it as disrespectful to veterans

because it defied the generic expectations of the white, phallic war memorial.[27]

In November of 1980, Ronald Reagan won the presidential election, and soon after

appointed James Watt as Secretary of the Interior. Any construction permits for the Washington

Mall required the signature of Watt, a strong ally of Perot. This change in oversight forced a

compromise over the wall, as opponents now had the ability to deny the VVMF access to build

on the site. In administrative hearings over the dispute, the consistent objection to the wall being

black was refuted by General George Price. Price, one of the highest ranking African-American

officers stated "Black is not a color of shame, I am tired of hearing it called such by you. Color

meant nothing on the battlefields of Korea and Vietnam. WE are all equal in combat. Color

should mean nothing now" (as cited in Gough, 2008, p. 39). His speech proved significant, in

that it marked an end to Perot and Webb's opposition to the Wall for stylistic reasons. After this,

Perot and Webb demanded that, if the Wall was to stay, a more heroic and representational

monument be placed alongside it. Fearing the project would lose momentum entirely if they

denied the request, and knowing that (at best) the ensuing delay would cause them to miss their

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[27] Marita Sturken (1997) offers an excellent analysis of traditional war memorials. Sturken notes:
The traditional Western monument glorifies not only its subject, but the history of classical
architecture as well. The obelisk of the Washington Monument, which was erected between 1848
and 1885, has its roots in Roman architecture; long before Napoleon pilfered them from Egypt to
take to Paris, obelisks carried connotations of the imperial trophy (p. 48).

target completion date of Veterans Day 1982), the VVMF conceded. Frederic Hart, the sculptor

who had finished third in the original design competition, offered his design for inclusion.

Hart's statue offers a strikingly different representation of the Vietnam War than Lin's

Wall. The eight foot bronze sculpture depicts three soldiers-one Hispanic, one white, and one

African-American—standing together, weapons in hand or over their shoulders. The white

soldier holds his arm out in a gesture that seems to be warning his companions of danger.

Supporters of Hart's statue wanted the highly masculine and heroic sculpture, entitled The Three

Fightingmen, placed near the apex of the Wall along with an American flag.[28] Compromises with the Commission of Fine Arts and the VVMF led to the sculpture and flagpole being placed in a nearby patch of trees,

Figure 6. 3 The Three Fightingmen Statue. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

seemingly depicting the men to be emerging from the woods and coming upon the wall.

[28] The addition of Hart's statue to the site already containing Lin's wall, along with the very public nature of the contest over the site, led scholars to produce a large number of analyses of the site (Carlson & Hocking, 1988; Ehrenhaus, 1988; Griswold, 1986; Haines, 1986; Wagner-Pacific & Schwartz, 1991).

Although proponents of adding Hart's statue to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial suggested it would add another perspective to the memorial site, they made clear that only one memorial style was appropriate—a masculine style.[29] Frederick Hart justified The Three Fightingmen by noting that he had researched the Vietnam War extensively, and recalling, "I became close friends with many vets, drank with them in bars. Lin's piece is a serene exercise in contemporary art done in a vacuum with no knowledge of its subject. It's nihilistic—that's its appeal (Williams, 1987, p. 274). Hart consistently positions his traditional, realist and masculine monument as being a result of a traditionally masculine relationship—drinking at the bar with veterans. Hart also apprenticed under Felix de Weldon, who had created the Marine Corps War Memorial depicting marines raising the flag at Iwo Jima, one of the most traditionally masculine U.S. war memorials (Scruggs and Swerdlow, 1985, p. 49).

In contrast, Hart defined Lin's wall as serene and feminine, both attributes that rendered her monument inappropriate for memorializing the war. He also portrayed her work as being informed by elitist artistic trends, in contrast to his own work which he described a result of his unique bond with veterans of the conflict. According to Hart (1983, November), modern art, such as Lin's wall,

> failed in its utopianist dream of creating a new and universal language. . . The figure is a
> necessary element if public art is in any sense to be truly public. The simple fact is that
> the philosophical arrogance rooted in the concept of 'Art for Art's sake' has led to
> continuously diminishing levels of substance and meaning in art. (p. 5)

This same sentiment was echoed in Thomas Carhart's (1981, October 21) continued public opposition to the wall, as he wrote in *The New York Times* that the Wall "is defended on artistic

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[29] Although masculine realist war monuments have always been the norm in U.S. war memorializing, defying this aesthetic may have been particularly troubling to opponents of Lin's Wall because the Vietnam War was widely seen as emasculating to the United States. For interesting analyses of this, see Susan Jeffords (1989) *The Remasculinization of America*, and Sturken, Marita (1997) *Tangled Memories*.

grounds, but the issue is not one of art: If Americans allow that black trench to be dug, future generations will understand clearly what America thought of its Vietnam veterans" (p. 23). Thus proponents of the statue attempted to juxtapose art, serenity and femininity against first-hand knowledge of combat and masculine war-memorial aesthetics.

Any challenge to the masculine style was portrayed as a feminine and elitist disrespect of the men who fought the war. Richard Morris (1997) states, "to render a negative evaluation of a sacred symbol. . . is to commit an offense and to reveal, more often than not, that one is not a member of the culture for whom that symbol is sacred" (p. 31). In the case of Lin's Wall, opponents suggested that it violated the sacred tradition of honoring veterans in a masculine realist style. Marita Sturken (1997) observes that Hart "ultimately defines realism as not only a male privilege but also an aesthetic necessity in remembering war" (p. 57). Although the VVMF believed the wall was apolitical, opponents (and even many supporters and critics) believed its list of names constituted a list of the costs of war, but without any representation of the purpose for which the individuals on the wall had died.

The push for a realist counter to the wall not only led to the approval and dedication of Hart's The Three Fightingmen statue in 1984, but also sowed the seeds of further attempts at countering monuments at the site. Burke (1968) suggests that in art "a certain theme of itself calls up a counter-theme; a certain significant moment must be prepared for. The artist will add some new detail of execution because other details of his mechanism have created the need for it" (p. 54). The addition of Hart's statue—understood by both sides as an attempt at countering Lin's wall—when considered from a different angle, also serves to complete it. It expands the discursive space, depicting a moment of masculine comradery alongside a list of the costs of war.

The Vietnam Women's Memorial

Amongst the 58, 196 names on the wall appear the names of eight women, all nurses killed in Vietnam. Over 11,500 female nurses served in Vietnam, and unlike previous U.S. wars, the majority of them were exposed to enemy fire. Just as the opponents of the wall felt its feminine architecture left their perspective on the war absent, The Three Fightingmen's realist representation left women veterans believing their perspectives were absent at the site. Diane Carlson Evans, founder of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, claims that "the wall in itself was enough, but when they added the men, it became necessary to add women to complete the memorial" (as quoted in: Forgery, 1991, September 20, p. 18).

Figure 6. 4 Vietnam Women's Memorial. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

Unveiled in 1993, the Vietnam Women's Memorial depicts four figures in a realist style similar to Hart's statue. Sculpted by Glenna Goodacre, the Women's Memorial consists of a blindfolded and injured male soldier being tended to by a white female nurse, an African-American female nurse staring into the sky, and a third woman kneeling over medical supplies.

Figure 6. 5: Alternate Perspective of the Vietnam Womens' Memorial. Photo by Ryan McGeough.

In its realist representation of a possible war scene, the memorial is stylistically akin to The Three Fightingmen, although it demands more interaction from viewers in that no one vantage point allows viewers to see all the women's faces. Much like the site itself, Goodacre's statue requires viewers to move from perspective to perspective in order to get a sense of the whole. The memorial's stylistic parallel to Hart's statue, along with statements such as Evans noting that it was needed to *complete* the memorial after men were granted figural presence at the site makes clear that the Women's Memorial offers not just another memorial to the site. It is, rather, an answer to Hart's statue. It counters The Three Fightingmen's representation of masculine heroism by offering an alternate perspective on the war—a perspective depicting suffering, confusion, and the constant contact with death that often typified women's experiences in the Vietnam War.

Unlike male soldiers, who experienced the trauma of war alongside moments of victory and presumably the sorts of companionship depicted in Hart's statue, female nurses were

(whenever possible) kept behind U.S. lines during live battles, returning to tend to the wounded after the battle ceased. As such, their time in the field immersed them in pain and death, trying either to prevent it or ease it. General Colin Powell suggested this alternate perspective of the war at the Vietnam Women's Memorial groundbreaking, at which he stated, "I realized for the first time that for male soldiers, the war came in intermittent flashes of terror, occasional death, moments of pain; but for the women who helped before the battle and for the nurses in particular, the terror, the death and the pain were unrelenting, a constant terrible weight that had to be stoically carried" (as cited in: Palmer, 1993, November 7, p. 38). Although members of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project found the list of names on Lin's wall to be inclusive of their experience, they found Hart's statue presented a perspective markedly different from their own experience of the war. The Vietnam Women's Memorial offers this alternative perspective to the site.

Although Lin and members of the VVMF claimed to want to avoid making any sort of political commentary on the Vietnam War itself, most analyses of the wall (whether by columnists, politicians or academics) view it as offering a statement on the cost of war. It was precisely this understanding of the memorial that led opponents of Lin's wall, such as James Webb and Ross Perot, to demand the inclusion of a masculine and heroic representation in the form of Hart's statue. This representation, in turn, led to the creation by the VWMF of the Women's Memorial. Historically, each monument can be understood as an attempt to counter the monument that preceded it. Blair et al. (1991) offer an exceptionally elegant analysis that nicely encapsulates how the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site is read by most critics:

> Ironically, the compromise that added the flag and Hart statue intensified the wall's already political character. Represented in the Memorial are two radically different historical accounts of the Vietnam War itself. The wall inscribes names in the order of death, providing a sequential account of U.S. involvement in the war. The temporal

sequence is registered and divided by years and by each loss of life. The historical narrative is a chronicle of death. The statue of the three soldiers symbolizes a hypothetical inflection point in time, capturing a 'close-up' image of what one scene in Vietnam might have looked like. Rather than representing history as a sequence, the statue encapsulates it synecdochially in its representation of all Vietnam veterans by three particular soldiers. This moment of life contrasts sharply with the wall's narrative of death. The structures taken together inscribe a history, forming a space of cooperative conflict and commenting on each other's statement about the war. Their presence together on the memorial site, in fact, serves as a historical marker for both the contestation of an appropriate commemorative rhetoric for Vietnam veterans (itself a political dispute), and for the historical domestic conflict over the war and its conduct. (Blair et al., 1991, p. 276)

Written prior to the addition of the Vietnam Women's Memorial, their analysis could easily be supplemented by adding that the Women's Memorial contrasts sharply with Hart's statue, countering both the heroic narrative, and the omission of realist representations of women at the site. Yet the more significant insight in the preceding passage is the recognition that the monuments on the site are indeed "taken together" and constantly commenting on one another.

Although each monument may have been added in response to its predecessor, visitors to the site may or may not know the history of the conflict. Regardless, they experience the monuments simultaneously. A visitor is unlikely to view just The Three Fightingmen. The Wall may be the center of the VVM space, but it is difficult to see the wall and not also the Women's memorial. The three monuments are experienced together, and in tension with one another. Their ever-ongoing commentary on one another creates the ironic perspective that makes the Vietnam Veterans Memorial such a unique and arresting space. As Kenneth Burke (1969) notes, juxtaposing multiple perspectives manufactures an ironic perspective which "arises when one tries, by the interaction of terms upon one another, to produce a development which uses all the terms. . . . none of the participating 'sub-perspectives can be treated as either precisely right or precisely wrong" (p. 512). Visitors see the vision of heroism, the moments of pain and confusion, and the incredible cost of war juxtaposed against one another, thus creating an ironic

perspective by perspectives revealing that no one memorial perspective can adequately represent the war. Although a visitor may bring particular perspective to the memorial, or may be more sympathetic to the narrative offered in any one of the monuments at the site, she cannot experience one of the monuments without interacting with the others at the site.

Co-founder of the VVMF Robert Doubek now grants "[w]ith 20/20 hindsight, [Hart's] statue now seems like a good addition to the site. . . . A lot of people seem to really find it to be an affirmation, the literal depiction of their youth and courage" (as cited in Gough, 2007, p. 54). Even Lin, who initially hired a law firm to oppose the addition of Hart's statue, now admits that the battle and eventual inclusion of the statue probably make the site better reflect the passion and conflicts of the Vietnam era better than any single memorial could. In addition to offering differing sub-perspectives on war, they also reflect the diversity of perspectives that divided the United States throughout the Vietnam War. Also represented are perspectives on how individuals should remember at the wall itself. In addition to the monuments at the VVM site, the Wall's black reflective surface mirrors whatever activities are occurring nearby. As Blair et al. (1991) note, the Wall also "'quotes' whomever and whatever is within its reflective range. Mirrored consistently in the wall's surface are the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. But the visitors and activities in which they engage (mourning, reuniting, comforting) are also cited in the reflective surface…" (p. 273). Reflected in the wall, as a result, are a multitude of appropriate ways of remembering the war.

Expanding Access via the In Memory Plaque and The Virtual Wall

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund is currently funding two related acts of remembrance at the site: the Virtual Wall and The Educational Center at the Wall. The Virtual Wall offers a comprehensive and searchable database of names on the wall. Similar efforts at

archiving the names on the Wall online preceded this project (including a massive Vietnam archive created by Texas Tech University), but the Virtual Wall offers a searchable database allowing fallen veterans to be searched by not just names, but by hometown, county, date of birth, date of death, casualty province, branch of service and rank. Whatever information a searcher has can be used to narrow results and make it easier to locate a veteran on the Virtual Wall.

A significant difference from its black granite counterpart, the Virtual Wall has a specific mission—to put a face to each name on the wall. Recall Judith Butler's (1988) question of if a name could ever truly represent the unique life lost in the war. The Virtual Wall attempts to more powerfully counter forgetting, and ensure that each name is accompanied by a photograph and any biographical information friends or family care to provide. In so doing, it attempts to give a more detailed memorial than would be possible on the physical wall. Just as visitors leave various tokens of their remembrance at the physical wall, the Virtual Wall allows searchers to leave any veteran on the wall an online note that remains visible when anyone else views that veteran's name on the Virtual Wall. The VVMF issued the following call: "Behind every name, a story. Our goal is to collect photos for all 58,272 veterans on The Wall. It was thousands of individuals who helped build the Memorial; now we are calling on you once again" (*The call for photos*, n.d.).

Along with the *In Memory Plaque*, The Virtual Wall also expands the set of lives deemed worthy of grieving and remembering. Added to the site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on November 10, 2004, the 24" by 36" In Memory Plaque reads "In memory of the men and women who served in the Vietnam War and later died as a result of their service. We honor and remember their sacrifice." This group of veterans, whose deaths often came as a result of

exposure to Agent Orange or committing suicide as a result of experiencing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, had been denied presence on the Wall itself. Their names, however, appear on the Virtual Wall, along with the same photographs and biographical information available for soldiers who fell in combat. By combining the In Memory Plaque with a space on the Virtual Wall, the VVMF attempts to give this set of Veterans—perhaps the group who most needed help upon returning from Vietnam—a somewhat greater presence on sacred space.

Transcendence at the Education Center

All of the photographs from the Virtual Wall are also incorporated in the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund's vision for their other current project, the Education Center at the Wall. Also carved into a hill, the Education Center will be located behind Lin's Wall. The VVMF states the Education Center's purpose as providing "interactive exhibits and primary source materials to help visitors better understand the profound impact of the Vietnam War on service members' families, their communities and hometowns and the nation" (Miles, 2010, September 27). On each veteran's birthday, the Educational Center will display his or her photograph on the screens that line the inside of the proposed center. The Center will also house the over 100,000 items left at the Wall since its dedication, allowing visitors to view a portion of the various individual acts of memory work done at the wall.

However, the Education Center's most theoretically interesting feature will stand prominently inside its entrance: a timeline of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site itself. As at Liberty Place, the marking of the timeline offers a sense of the linear evolution of the site itself. In so doing, it shows visitors that the various perspectives given presence on the site were not all part of the original site, thus making clear that women had to fight for over ten years to gain presence at the memorial. The timeline also illuminates a component of American counter-

monuments that I have noted at each of the sites: the seeming inability of those who control the sites to allow multiple, conflicting perspectives to compete on American sacred spaces without trying to reconcile them. Although members of the VVMF and Maya Lin eventually acknowledged that including multiple and divergent perspectives on the Vietnam War enriched the memorial site, the Education Center begins with a timeline that attempts to recast the parties as at odds with one another, but in pursuit of the same transcendent goal of honoring service and sacrifice.

This attempt at reconfiguring the different perspectives manifest in the various monuments at the site recalls the second of the twin meanings of didactic in American counter-monuments. The first, more general understanding of didacticism (the attempt to tell visitors to a monument what to think about a given issue), can be easily identified in most of the American counter-monuments in this study. The second understanding of didacticism (as a poetic category) appears after multiple perspectives have been juxtaposed into a single sacred space. Kenneth Burke (1941) notes that, as a poetic category, didacticism is typically reserved for adopting an active role in moments of conflict or transition. When some sort of social changes render an orientation (a way of viewing the world) unable to explain the transition, didacticism offers a method of synthesizing various orientations and producing a new orientation.

Throughout much of his work, Burke (1966) makes clear that humans are "rotten with perfection," that they attempt to build worldviews allowing for absolute certainty (p. 20). He understands the desire for certainty as integral to both social and individual psychology, claiming:

> When a superstructure of certainties begins to topple, individual minds are correspondingly affected, since the mind is a social product, and our very concepts of character depend upon the verbalizations of our group. . . . Our chapter on perspective by incongruity should serve to indicate how radical the impairment of the communicative

and the mental could become if the cooperative process were frustrated for long. . . At such a time, people naturally begin to look for some immovable 'rock' upon which a new structure of certainties can be erected. (Burke, 1984, p. 173)

Didacticism allows for the creation of this new structure of certainty. It does so by transcending both the original orientation, and whatever events or alternative orientations challenged the original, and offering a new perspective that accounts for both.[30]

This process of didactic transcendence is easily recognizable at American counter-monuments. As the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site accumulated multiple monuments, each offering a different perspective on the war, the VVMF maintained an explicit commitment that no one perspective would be displayed more prominently than the others. Thus, the site encouraged visitors to adopt an ironic and comic understanding of the different perspectives, in which each informed the others. Yet rather than leave this to visitors themselves, those who control the sites (whether the VVMF at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial or the cities of Chicago or New Orleans) have—relatively recently—attempted to offer new monuments that again reframe the sites in specific ways. The Education Center demonstrates didactic transcendence, as its display of the timeline of the site depicts the various competing perspectives as all attempts to honor service and sacrifice.

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[30] Burke (1941) also makes clear that people are willing to sacrifice their ideals in pursuit of an orientation that allows them certainty. He snidely remarks that:

> the truncated nature of a frame lacking its culmination in an absolute may explain the disturbing willingness on the part of so many people 'trained' in democracy, to entertain favorable thoughts of some eventual apocalyptic man on horseback who will come to make 'tyranny' and 'good tyranny' synonymous. Nothing less than the most mature and comprehensive of critical frames would seem capable of competing against this tendency. (p. 102)

Attempts at transcendence in each of these counter-monument sites indicates that even the comic frame, which Burke (1937) describes as the most complete of poetic frames and the one created by the ironic juxtaposition of perspectives, apparently cannot compete with this tendency.

Didacticism "tends to 'transcend' [an] earlier position, to 'reconcile opposites' by a concept of 'higher synthesis'" (Burke, 1941, p. 104). Put another way, it offers a "principle of transcendence, an Upward Way that, when reversed, interprets all incidental things in terms of the over-all fulfillment" (Burke, 1970, p. 303). The same pattern has occurred at the Haymarket Square, at which, after multiple perspectives gained presence on the site, the City of Chicago attempted to reframe the site through didactic transcendence. The Brogger statue, with its abstract depiction of individuals holding up a wagon, its recognition that both police and laborers died at the site, and its references to ideals such as "freedom of speech," and "justice" attempts a similar didacticism. Instead of depicting laborers and police in conflict with one another, the Brogger statue reframes the history of the site as part of a greater narrative of the pursuit of widely held American ideals.

It is worth noting that the Education Center's timeline offers a pair of specific (if somewhat open-ended) transcendent ideals in "Service and Sacrifice." In contrast, Brogger's Haymarket Memorial offers a litany of transcendent ideals and the Liberty Place inscription suggests transcendent "lessons from the past," but offers no attempt to articulate them. This is likely because the original monument at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was intended by both Lin and the VVMF to avoid making any sort of political statement or remembering any one fallen soldier more than any other. Both the Police Monument and the Liberty Place Monument clearly mark some lives and sacrifices as more worthy of remembrance. Thus, it is much easier for the VVMF to rearticulate the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as a site created and altered in order to recognize a common ideal than it would be for the City of New Orleans to proclaim that the creation and subsequent changes to the Liberty Place Monument were competing expressions of the same ideal.

Of course, the actual conflicts on these sites focused on a variety of issues beyond service and sacrifice or freedom of speech. However, transcendence is always also "a kind of *emptying*, it is *a via negativa*" (Burke, 1970, p. 25). To some extent, all memorializing necessarily leaves out some particulars. Even the realist representation of three soldiers standing together in Hart's statue, likely a common scene throughout the Vietnam War, had no specific referent and was designed to represent a spirit of heroism rather than any particular moment of it. Of course, any monument represents only a selection of the past as worthy of remembrance, but attempts at transcendence at these American counter-monuments are attempts at emptying what makes these sites unique. What gets emptied in Brogger Statue, the new inscription on the Liberty Place monument and the Education Center timeline are the particular conflicts that led to attempts to counter the original monument.

Such attempts serve both a conservative and progressive function. By combining all of the perspectives under a transcendent American ideal, this transcendence obscures the fact that many of the specific concerns that initiated the conflict remain ongoing in other aspects of society. In this sense, the transcendence undercuts the potentially revolutionary aspect of counter-monuments, where previously marginalized perspectives are not only granted monumental representations and juxtaposed with dominant perspectives, but also granted presence on U.S. sacred sites. However, this also implies the progressive function of this transcendence. By granting a marginalized perspective presence on a sacred site, and then recognizing them as part of a transcendent ideal or narrative (e.g. progress, freedom, service), the marginalized perspective becomes an integral part of not only the history of the site, but is recognized as contributing to the development of American ideals.

Conclusion

From its origin as the goal of a handful of Vietnam veterans, to its current status as one of the most visited monument sites in the United States, the memorial intended to begin the healing of post-Vietnam America has also been the site of years of dispute over how the United States should memorialize war. The VVMF envisioned an apolitical memorial including the names of every veteran who died in the war. After securing access to the sacred space adjacent to the Lincoln Memorial, they selected Maya Lin's black granite wall. Immediately, Lin's unorthodox monument drew opposition from a small but powerful group of former supporters of the project who believed it insulted Vietnam veterans.

After an intense and highly public dispute, the VVMF agreed to include a more traditional monument on the site. This monument, Hart's statue of three soldiers, offered a masculine realist interpretation of war. Critics and visitors to the site often read the two monuments as offering competing perspectives on the war: Lin's wall of names listed the costs of war, while Hart's soldiers portrayed a moment of brotherhood amongst soldiers. Yet this explicit memorializing of men in battle called forth another perspective. Soon the VWMF began lobbying for presence at the site, and, in 1983, Glenna Goodacre's women's statue added yet another perspective to the site. The three women surrounding a wounded soldier suggested the amount of pain and death nurses experienced in Vietnam. The compromise allowing Hart's statue dictated that neither monument would be clearly secondary to the other. The erection of Goodacre's statue allowed three distinct perspectives presence at the site, thus leaving visitors to create an ironic perspective by engaging with and incorporating all three of the sub-perspectives framing at the site.

The site has continued to attract additions, including the "In Memory" plaque which expanded access to the sacred site to those veterans who lost their lives from illnesses or trauma experienced during the war. Burke (1968) notes, "the artist's means are always tending to become ends in themselves" (p. 55). This has seemingly become the case at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, where the novel act of incorporating additional perspectives has led to the continued expansions of presence at the site. The Education Center at the Wall offers an attempt to transcend these different perspectives, and rearticulate history of the site from struggles over competing conceptions of how the Vietnam War should be remembered, into a set of different strategies for memorialize service and sacrifice. The following chapter considers these trends and offers a conclusion to my analysis of American counter-monuments.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

In the widely retold story of Simonides of Ceos, the Greek poet Simonides performed an ode to a victorious boxer. Following his performance, a messenger notified him that two young men, later suggested to be the gods Castor and Pollux, wished to meet him outside of the banquet hall. Simonides left the hall, but was unable to find the two young men. While he searched for them, the roof of the banquet hall collapsed, crushing the other guests so severely that their family members were unable to identify their bodies. However, by imagining where each guest had been seated when he performed, Simonides was able to identify all of the bodies of the dead. From this experience, Simonides discovered,

> it is chiefly order that gives distinctiveness to memory; and that by those, therefore, who would improve this part of the understanding, certain places must be fixed upon, and that of the things which they desire to keep in memory, symbols must be conceived in the mind, and ranged, as it were, in those places; thus the order of places would preserve the order of things. (Cicero, 1970, p. 186)

This story has proven tremendously influential for both the study of memory and the study of rhetoric. It is from this story Simonides supposedly invented mnemonotechnics, and thus the rhetorical art of memory first became one of Cicero's five canons of rhetoric. Yates (1966) opens her seminal study of memory with this story, as do Blair et al. (2009) in their collection on rhetoric and memory. The story's significance lies in its placing rhetoric, memory and place into conversation with one another. All three, as should have been clear throughout my analyses, are integrally related at the sites of monuments and memorials.

Nowhere are the intersections of rhetoric, memory and place more apparent than at American counter-monuments. The counter-monumental sites explored in this project involve partisan arguments over how the past should be remembered, and who gets access to the sacred

spaces on which these monuments stand. The stakes of these contests are high, precisely because monuments and sacred spaces are particularly powerful in anchoring a community's image and understanding of itself.

Yet images of who counts as Americans, who warrants remembrance, whose lives warrant grieving on sacred sites, and who might be understood as "us" are always subject to contestation. Even at monument sites, sacred spaces where particular narratives of the past are carved into stone, these narratives remain contested. This study demonstrates that rather than offering access to an unchanging and timeless origin of one's communal narrative, monuments can also serve as valuable forums where narratives of the past have been challenged by marginalized groups seeking to gain inclusion into these narratives. Although each of the analysis chapters in this project focuses primarily on one particular trait of American counter-monuments, these traits appear at each site, and thus characterize American counter-monuments.

The Evolution of Counter-Monument Sites

At each of the sites in this study, embracing/contesting sacred space, granting presence to multiple perspectives on the past (thus promoting an ironic perspective for visitors to the site), and marking changes to the site as changes—not only occur, but occur in the order listed.[31] My point here is not to create rigid deductive criterion to determine whether or not a site is a counter-monument. I do not want to suggest that for a monument to be a counter-monument that it must necessarily have all of these traits, nor that the traits must appear in a particular order. Still, I find it worth noting that at each site, the traits seemingly emerged in this same order (though they certainly overlapped one another). After attempts to counter the original monument, within the

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[31] The use of the monument as a forum, as I noted in chapter three, is a less distinct analytic category than the other traits of American counter-monuments, though I attempt to closely track how each site was used as a forum across my analyses. I return to that trait later in this chapter.

past 20 years, the groups in control of each of the sites have attempted to unify the different perspectives under a transcendent ideal. The progression seems to move as follows:

Sacred Space

Unlike German counter-monuments, whose designers sought to reject sacred space and the didacticism they believed accompanied its creation/use, American counter-monuments embrace notions of sacred space. Instead of placing the monuments on dingy street corners purely to confront passersby, American counter-monuments occupy spaces sanctified either by death (as at the Haymarket Square and Liberty Place) or through their proximity to sites already central in American commemoration (as at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial). This is because each of the sites I analyze began with a single, more traditional monument. What makes them counter-monumental sites is that the original monument at each has been the source of sustained controversy over how it ought remember the past. Thus each monument (and the attempts to counter it) recognizes the sacredness of its site, yet at each site, activists have sought to contest access to sacred spaces.

At the Haymarket Square, Laborers and Anarchists initially sought access to the site where their brethren were killed, but upon being denied access, they created an alternate sacred site at the gravesite of their fallen leaders. They marked the site with its own counter-monument memorializing all of the laborers killed in the Haymarket Massacre. Laborers and activists then contested police access to site of the square itself by repeatedly engaging in the ritual destruction of the Police Monument to the Haymarket Riot. After years of denying African-Americans access (in memorial form) to Liberty Place, the first black mayor of New Orleans obscured the Liberty Place Monument with large bushes so white supremacist activists could no longer use it as a platform from which to speak at the site. His successor moved the monument from the site,

denying the monument (regardless of its new inscription) the opportunity to frame the site. At the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, after the memorial fund secured access to land alongside the Lincoln Memorial, they encountered powerful political opposition to allowing Lin's wall to be built on the Washington Mall. A two-year legal battle culminated in a compromise that allowed construction to continue as long as a heroic representation of war was also included on the sacred site.

Presence/Irony

Central to the disputes over sacred space at each American counter-monument is a battle over who is granted presence at these sites. Presence implies more than simply recognizing that members of a given group were *present* at a site in the past—although that is a part of the disputes. As an argumentative term, presence implies selecting certain things to present to an audience. In the case of American counter-monuments, these twin notions of presence occur together. When marginalized groups fight for presence on U.S. sacred sites, they argue both for the recognition that members of their group were physically present at the site (which often goes unmentioned in the original monument), as well as for their perspective of the past to be presented on a monument at the site.

At each of the American counter-monuments in this study, multiple groups have worked to gain presence at the sites. The articulation of multiple perspectives of the past at each site allows for the creation of an ironic perspective-by-perspectives. At the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, visitors do not see just Lin's wall or Hart's statue, but rather all of the monuments and their respective representations of the war. Responding to the realist and heroic representation of men in Hart's statue, female veterans lobbied for presence at the site, and secured the creation of Goodarcre's Vietnam Women's Memorial. Visitors to the site, of course, may read the various

monuments in different ways, but in making sense of the site, they necessarily interact with the various representations of war provided by the different monuments at the site.

A similar ironic tension existed at the Haymarket, as different monuments offered different narratives of the past. Activists destroying the Police Monument attempted to lessen its ability to frame the site, and thus reduce the number of perspectives at the space, but for a century either the monument or its plinth and inscription recalling the Haymarket Riot offered a different perspective of the past. The 1976 plaque added to the Liberty Place Monument offered an alternative perspective to the site, clearly juxtaposed against the monument's racist inscription. Although it notes that the monument recognizes an important moment in New Orleans history, it also (at least implicitly) suggested an alternative perspective in claiming that the overtly white supremacist narrative inscribed on the monument was "contrary to the philosophy and beliefs of present-day New Orleans." At each site, the addition of monuments presented visitors with different, competing sub-perspectives. Explicit in the compromises at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was the idea that no one sub-perspective could be marked as clearly superior to the others. This mirrors Kenneth Burke's (1952) notion of a comic understanding of the world, in which the irony of multiple juxtaposed perspectives made clear that "none of the participating 'sub-perspectives' can be treated as either precisely right or precisely wrong. They are all voices, or personalities, or positions, integrally affecting one another" (p. 512).

Change Marked as Change

Following the additions of alternative perspectives to each site, the changes to the site have eventually been marked as changes. Acknowledging changes or additions to monumental spaces, particularly after the erection of a monument, is unusual. This is because monuments generally project time differently than other spaces. Monumental time is *illud tempus*, time

outside of time—the sort of epideictic sense of time in which past, present, and future are brought together on the space of the monument (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990). At monuments, visitors can gain some sense of communal origins and the timeless ideals that link a culture together.

To mark changes, additions or removals from the site is to expose the constructed nature of the site and its articulation of the past. At the Liberty Place Monument, a site that had once served as a rallying point for rich whites, and remained (at least for some) a badge of Southern pride for resisting Reconstruction, activists succeeded in having a plaque added that recorded the evolution of the monument. By stating that the most explicitly racist part of the monument was an addition made 40 years later, activists marked the inscription's white supremacist statements as an addition by politicians in the 1930s, not as part of the "original" history of the site. Marking the changes to the site as changes thus served as a justification for another change-- the inclusion of a plaque declaring that the inscription no longer reflected the beliefs of New Orleans.

At the Haymarket Square, activists such as the Hay!Market Research group have repeatedly set up booths with signs asking passersby, "What happened here in 1886?" and, "Guilt by Association: Who Died for Your Eight-Hour Workday?" These activists then educate passersby about the history of the site, including the addition and removal of the Police Monument and the addition of the Brogger wagon statue. In the designs for the Education Center at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the first display visitors will see upon entry will be a timeline of the memorial site itself, marking the various additions to the site, and making clear that the collection of monuments at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial have been added across time as various groups sought to have their perspectives included.

Transcendence

Consistent throughout my analyses of American counter-monuments has been a focus on these sites as developing out of the countering of the arguments and representations of already existing monuments. Although they need not emerge in a particular order (and seem to consistently overlap one another), the essential traits of American counter-monuments emerge as follows: a dispute emerges over who can have access to a sacred site, alternate perspectives on the past gain presence at the site. These pedagogically significant spaces are framed by a variety of competing sub-perspectives on the past, until eventually the changes to the site are marked in some way as changes. Yet the process of countering a monument does not end here. At each of the counter-monuments I analyze in this project, those in control of the site have (quite recently) attempted to offer some sort of transcendent ideal to unify the competing sub-perspectives.

As Kenneth Burke (1937) succinctly states, "when approached from a certain point of view, A and B are 'opposites.' We mean by 'transcendence' the adoption of another point of view from which they cease to be opposites" (p. 336). Each of the American counter-monuments in this study now features some attempt at this sort of transcendence, each in the name of an ideal. The Education Center at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial offers in its timeline repeated references to the ideals of service and sacrifice. By marking each addition to the site as a different group's perspective on service and sacrifice, the timeline turns the often bitter struggle over the Vietnam Veterans Memorial from a political struggle over how to represent war (and particularly the highly divisive Vietnam War) into a disagreement over how to best represent mutually held ideals of service and sacrifice. Under this transcendent ideal, even the fight over the monument itself becomes an act of service and sacrifice, as all parties did both in order to do their best to honor the service and sacrifice of Vietnam veterans. Even some measure

of monumental time is restored by such transcendence—although the linear history of the site is revealed, every addition to the site is simply seen as another representation of the ideals for which the monument was created.

Attempts at transcendence at the other counter-monumental sites do not seem to fit as well. The Liberty Place Monument suggests a transcendent ideal in its newest inscription labeling the Battle of Liberty Place as "a conflict of the past that should teach us lessons for the future." What these lessons are, what transcendent ideal might unify the dead White Leaguers with the dead members of the Metropolitan Police remains unarticulated. Similar attempts at the Haymarket Square, in the form of the Brogger wagon sculpture at least attempt to offer an explicit ideal "people's responsibility for their actions" (as cited in: Kinser, 2005, September 15). The Brogger statue avoids the narratives of the "Haymarket Massacre" or the "Haymarket Riot" that have dominated the site for a century, instead offering intentionally abstract figures and labeling the space as the site of the "Haymarket Tragedy." Clearly, the conflicts at both of these sites have proven more difficult to unify under a single transcendent ideal, though the recent additions at each indicate an effort to reconcile the different perspectives at each site.

Counter-Monuments as Forums

As I have mentioned throughout my analyses, each of the American counter-monumental sites in this project has been used by a variety of activists for the articulation of a variety of concerns. Contemporary activists at the Haymarket Square use the space to address contemporary labor concerns just as the Weather Underground responded to various actions the City of Chicago by repeatedly destroying the Police Monument. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial has served as the gathering point for multiple veterans rallies and speeches advocating improved government benefits for disabled veterans. Once a rallying point for the violent

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overthrow of a mixed-race government, the Liberty Place Monument became the rallying point for NAACP and civil rights protests.

The use of monuments as forums certainly extends beyond counter-monuments. Yet as forums for countering the arguments of the original monuments at each site, American counter-monuments demonstrate a number of strategies for offering counter-narratives. Victoria Gallagher and Margret LaWare (2009) briefly touch on the subject of counter-monuments, noting, "countermemorials may serve at least three functions: as a corrective, as a supplement, and/or as a contradiction" (p. 105). Despite offering possible functions of counter-monuments, they do not suggest the strategies by which monuments might act upon one another. In my analyses of counter-monuments, I uncovered a variety of strategies through which the countering of monuments occurs. These include the erection of alternate monuments at the site, the creation of alternate sacred spaces, the destruction of original monument, the addition of explanatory plaques, the removal of the original monument, the relocation of the original monument, and a variety of performances at the sites. Future studies of counter-monuments should explore each of these strategies in relation to one another, in order to determine if particular strategies are more effective in completing the different functions Gallagher and LeWare propose.

Can We Keep Countering?

The addition of counter-monuments to existing monumental sites opens new possibilities for challenging dominant narratives, and opening public memory to include the perspectives of marginalized groups. Yet this strategy has drawbacks as well. Particularly when the counter-monuments are themselves enduring markers (rather than more ephemeral performances or rituals such as those at the Haymarket Square), monument sites likely have limits on how many new monuments might be erected on any given space. Whether because of bureaucratic

restrictions that might limit access to the site, or spatial restrictions (in that there is only so much room to put additions), it is unlikely that every group that wants representation at a given site will be able to get it. Yet, as the history of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial makes clear, groups who believe their perspective on the past has been erased at a given site will continue to fight for presence (in monumental form) at these sites. Once an additional perspective is added to a monument site, spaces such as the Haymarket Square and Vietnam Veterans Memorial offer evidence that other requests are likely to follow.

Yet in places such as Washington D.C., hundreds of small monuments stand in remembrance of obsolete causes and relatively unknown military officers or elected officials from past centuries (Savage, 2009). In such cities, awash with monuments, it is easy to recognize how including too many monuments might create a sort of cacophony of voices in which visitors cannot tell which monuments offer counter-perspectives to which other monuments, as well as how this surfeit of monuments might encourage visitors to simply ignore monuments entirely. Given the value of counter-monuments in allowing marginalized groups representation and inclusion at U.S. sacred sites, determining where to draw this line is difficult. Performances, rituals and other ephemeral counters to existing monuments offer one solution, as they might be repeated or adapted without requiring an the building of a permanent monument. New media technologies offer another possible solution, as websites such as the Virtual Wall allow the addition of significant amounts of detail beyond the name of a fallen veteran, again without requiring additions to the memorial site itself. New cell phone applications use Global Positioning System (GPS) technology to allow users to see past images of their current location and access information about the history of that space. Activists might easily use these technologies to create virtual tours of a given space or event, along with alternative narratives

that might counter the narratives inscribed on a monument built at that site, thus allowing interested visitors to a site to access different perspectives on the past. Of course, all of these solutions are qualitatively different than the creation of a new monument to stand at a site and offer a different perspective on the past. Nevertheless, they still offer valuable ways by which marginalized groups might tell their narratives of the past on U.S. sacred sites.

Future Research

I intended this project to expand upon the German conception of counter monuments and recognize American attempts at countering specific monuments. In so doing, I explored three sites and four central traits of counter-monuments. As I noted at the beginning of this study, my list of traits is likely far from exhaustive. Given the lack of scholarship, and particularly rhetorical scholarship, exploring how the arguments carved into particular monuments might be countered, this list of traits may well need additions and refining. Obviously, my selection of sites was limited as well. A more developed study of counter-monuments, which I plan to evolve this project into, would be well-served to explore other counter-monumental sites. Other American counter-monumental sites include the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Memorial and the Fetterman Battlefield Memorial, sites where Native Americans have gained presence on U.S. memorial sites, as well as the Alamo, where Mexican-Americans have fought for presence at the site and attempted to counter their erasure and villianization in the original monuments built at the site.

Additionally, my analyses focus almost entirely on *how* American counter monuments work, and offer very little in exploring *why* they are appearing now. Although the idea of destroying an opposing state/culture's monument is nothing new, the phenomenon of having multiple and conflicting perspectives allowed presence at the same monumental site is relatively

a relatively recent development. Why this has begun happening at a variety of American monumental sites falls beyond the scope of this project, although future studies on monuments and memorials should explore this development and explore what circumstance lead to the inclusion of diverse perspectives on common memorial sites.

To students of rhetoric, these sites should provide not only objects of study, but also a measure of hope. As I have noted throughout this project, monuments offer a sort of barometer of who holds enough political power to gain access to sacred sites and how access to these sites has expanded over time, as well as what lives were deemed worth remembering and grieving in the original monument and which have been added. My analysis of American counter-monumental sites reveals that the rhetorical strategies marginalized groups have used to gain access to these sites have served to successfully expand who gets remembered at these sacred sites. This is of particular importance given that the groups originally denied representation on these sites (African-Americans, women, and working-class immigrants) constitute a significant portion of the U.S. population, yet still face discrimination based on these same categories. Yet at sites where these groups were once denied presence, the countering of monuments reveals public shifts in who is considered worthy of remembrance, who counts as human, and what makes for a grievable life.

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Vita

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