

## **ALL MONUMENTS MUST FALL: A SYLLABUS**

*version 2.0 compiled in July of 2020*

*online version available at: [www.AllMonumentsMustFall.com/](http://www.AllMonumentsMustFall.com/)*

*“A world divided into compartments, a motionless, Manicheistic world, a world of statues: the statue of the general who carried out the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge; a world which is sure of itself, which crushes with its stones the backs flayed by whips: this is the colonial world.” -Franz Fanon, Concerning Violence*

*“On the other side of the bitter struggles against domination and for the liberation of the imagination, there opens up a multiply dispersed zone in which we are gripped by vertigo. But this is not the vertigo preceding apocalypse and Babel's fall. It is the shiver of a beginning, confronted with extreme possibility.” -Édouard Glissant, Poetics of Relation*

*“Treason en masse, tumult, gathering together, the mutual collaboration required to confront the prison authorities and the police...How else were they to express the longing to be free? How else were they to make plain their refusal to be governed?” -Saidiya Hartman, The Anarchy of Colored Girls Assembled in a Riotous Manner*

After the Charlottesville Unite the Right fascist rally in 2017 at the statue of Robert E. Lee led to the murder of Heather Heyer, a wave of statue removals followed. This group came together on social media to assemble a crowd-sourced syllabus called “All Monuments Must Fall.”

The “fall” in the title was inspired by South Africa’s Fall-ism movement that had begun with the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes and gone on to challenge a rise in student tuition as #FeesMustFall and then created a movement against white supremacy, patriarchy and homophobia. The Situationist provocation of our 2017 title hoped to see such a movement emerge in other settler colonies and the metropolises that created them.

In 2020, following the police murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, and the vigilante killing of Ahmaud Arbery, such a movement was ignited. One of its principal gestures has been the widespread targeting and removal of racist and colonial statues. Unlike in 2017, these participatory and popular actions have pushed past monuments that might be considered offensive even by mainstream white opinion to tackle Columbus, Washington, Jefferson and the very foundations of settler colonialism.

At the same time, activist and educational institutions of all kinds are looking to transform their practices this fall by engaging directly with the questions of how to remove racist memorials and build anti-racist, decolonial, anti-antiblackness, anti-patriarchal, anti-transphobic learning. As the terms indicate, we are perhaps still in a moment of refusal, even as there is a growing sense that abolition will require comprehensive and ground-up transformation.

This second iteration of “All Monuments Must Fall” adds materials that describe, enumerate and analyze the 2020 Black-led uprisings in relation to monuments and memorials. It is a transitional tool to help learn how to reconfigure and recalibrate collective relations to the past and how to imagine different futures that are not predicated by the plantation.

The materials are gathered by topic and there are far more than any one class could use or read. The idea is to give readers, teachers and learners of all kinds a shortcut to what’s available. At that point, it’s up to them what happens next.

We look forward to a review of this period entitled “All the Monuments Have Fallen.”

[ *Additional materials can be submitted at  
[www.allmonumentsmustfall.com/submit/](http://www.allmonumentsmustfall.com/submit/)* ]

## THE SYLLABUS

### 1. 2020 U.S. Statue Actions and Removals (organized by state)

Statues removed survey

<https://hyperallergic.com/569756/confederate-monuments-removed/>

Indian reporting on US protests

<https://indianexpress.com/article/world/mahatma-gandhi-statue-washington-vandalised-george-floyd-protests-6442206/>

Sutter statue removed Sacramento CA

<https://www.abc10.com/article/news/local/sacramento/statue-john-sutter-sacramento-removed/103-26b4a8b9-40e5-41f1-9b6b-56890ea8b5f2>

Columbus removed Sacramento CA

<https://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2020/06/16/christopher-columbus-statue-to-be-removed-from-capitol-rotunda-in-sacramento/>

CA: Junipero Serra Statue Down

<https://laist.com/latest/post/20200620/junipero-sera-protests-native-indigenous-olvera-street-losangeles>

San Francisco and Columbus

<https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/How-Berkeley-became-the-first-city-to-ditch-12265035.php>

Juneteenth in San Francisco

<https://www.nbcbayarea.com/news/local/san-francisco/demonstrators-topple-statues-in-san-franciscos-golden-gate-park/2312839/>

<https://www.mercurynews.com/2020/06/20/junipero-serra-statue-toppled-at-golden-gate-park/>

Statue removal and Decolonizing the Asian Art Museum SF

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/15/arts/design/avery-brundage-bust-asian-art-museum.html>

Hartford CT Columbus down

<https://www.courant.com/breaking-news/hc-news-columbus-statue-removed-20200629-o2cp7v2rpnhxdm6gstvaomirgm-story.html>

Waterbury CT Columbus down

<https://www.kron4.com/news/christopher-columbus-statue-vandalized-beheaded-on-4th-of-july/>

Delaware: Whipping post removed

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/delaware-city-removes-whipping-post-once-used-punish-black-people-n1232715>

DC statues fall Juneteenth

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/20/protesters-statue-washington-dc-ambert-pike-juneteenth-us>

<https://www.wusa9.com/mobile/video/news/local/protests/confederate-statue-dc-torn-down-burned-juneteenth-protesters/65-de2b4e74-763e-4aab-818c-13d6a78cbf8d>

Emancipation Memorial Debate in DC

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/27/us/politics/lincoln-slave-statue-emancipation.html>

Stone Mountain, GA

<https://theguardiansofdemocracy.com/hundreds-of-heavily-armed-black-panthers-march-to-confederate-monument-frequented-by-kkk/>

Stone Mountain GA Controversy

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-race-usa-stone-mountain-idUSKBN2441C7>

Miami FL Columbus painted

<https://hyperallergic.com/570629/columbus-statue-mussolini-bodyguard/>

Boston MA Columbus beheaded

<https://www.wbur.org/news/2020/06/10/police-north-end-columbus-statue-beheaded>

Boston MA debate over Lincoln statue

<https://www.wbur.org/news/2020/06/13/boston-lincoln-statue-remove>

Baltimore MD: Columbus in the harbor

<https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-columbus-statue-20200705-xc4bhthfhjaflifz72org2lrhy-story.html>

Native activists down MN Columbus

<https://hyperallergic.com/570626/native-american-activists-topple-columbus-statue-in-minnesota/>

Columbus removed, St Louis MO

[https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/columbus-statue-taken-down-in-tower-grove-park-in-st-louis/article\\_94764b8c-8b49-536e-bc45-fb7d856b7ce9.html](https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/columbus-statue-taken-down-in-tower-grove-park-in-st-louis/article_94764b8c-8b49-536e-bc45-fb7d856b7ce9.html)

Raleigh NC Juneteenth

<https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/article243661027.html>

Confederate statue relocated NC

<https://salisburypost.com/2020/06/22/udc-signs-agreement-from-city-to-relocate-fame-confederate-statue/>

Pitt County NC statue removal

[https://www.reflector.com/news/confederate-soldier-removed-from-courthouse-following-complications/article\\_c9f52352-c293-5245-9fa4-91763e5ec898.html](https://www.reflector.com/news/confederate-soldier-removed-from-courthouse-following-complications/article_c9f52352-c293-5245-9fa4-91763e5ec898.html)

Graham NC statue removal debate

<https://www.thetimesnews.com/news/20200621/tensions-high-around-graham-monument-manager-recommends-relocation>

NC Monument Law

<https://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/article243689642.html>

On the artist/activist shot in Albuquerque NM

<https://momus.ca/this-valley-is-filling-with-the-blood-of-ghosts-on-the-work-of-scott-daniel-williams/>

After protests planned, Santa Fe NM commits to remove racist monuments

<https://www.sfreporter.com/news/2020/06/18/a-long-time-coming/>

Epstein statue put up Albuquerque NM

<https://www.newsweek.com/jeffrey-epstein-statue-erected-albuquerque-city-hall-art-collective-1514891>

Buffalo, NY. McKinley statue attacked

[https://buffalonews.com/news/vandals-again-deface-buffalos-mckinley-monument/article\\_dcf9524-bed9-11ea-820a-9b76fc4d3b40.html](https://buffalonews.com/news/vandals-again-deface-buffalos-mckinley-monument/article_dcf9524-bed9-11ea-820a-9b76fc4d3b40.html)

Roosevelt Statue removed NYC

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/21/arts/design/roosevelt-statue-to-be-removed-from-museum-of-natural-history.html>

Roosevelt Statue debate in NYC

<https://hyperallergic.com/517774/how-do-we-address-a-statue-of-president-roosevelt-that-affirms-racist-hierarchies/>

Jefferson statue down in Portland OR

<https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2020/06/protesters-take-down-thomas-jefferson-statue-in-front-of-portlands-jefferson-high-school.html>

Pioneer statues removed OR

<https://www.registerguard.com/opinion/20200705/guest-view-history-reckoning-as-future-building>

Oñate statue down

[http://www.riograndesun.com/news/county-takes-down-o-ate-monument/article\\_2530ed9c-af2f-11ea-b2e9-4f1a4633c37b.html](http://www.riograndesun.com/news/county-takes-down-o-ate-monument/article_2530ed9c-af2f-11ea-b2e9-4f1a4633c37b.html)

Shooting at statue protest, Albuquerque NM

<https://www.abqjournal.com/1466626/one-man-shot-during-protest-in-old-town-albuquerque.html>

Diego de Vargas statue removed NM

<https://www.kob.com/albuquerque-news/diego-de-vargas-statue-removed-from-cathedral-park/5763778/>

Columbus Down in Columbus OH

<https://www.10tv.com/article/news/local/columbus-state-to-remove-statue-of-christopher-columbus-is-city-hall-next/530-df585ad3-c1d4-40af-8b23-1e65d63d1834>

Columbus Boxed up Philadelphia

<https://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/crews-covering-south-phila-columbus-statue-after-days-of-protest/2435249/>

Denton TX Confederate statue removed

<https://www.dallasobserver.com/news/denton-confederate-monument-11918312>

Columbus in the Lake, Richmond VA

<https://www.nbc12.com/2020/06/09/christopher-columbus-statue-torn-down-thrown-lake-by-protesters/>

Confederate statues Richmond VA

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/23/style/statue-richmond-lee.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article>

Judge blocks Lee removal, Richmond VA

<https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/09/politics/judge-blocks-removal-robert-e-lee-statue-richmond/index.html>

Stonewall Jackson removed, Richmond VA

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/02/us/stonewall-jackson-statue-richmond.html>

Hans Christian Heg statue removed, Madison WI

<https://www.channel3000.com/protesters-explain-why-they-tore-down-statues-at-state-capitol/>

## **1a. Location and databases of monuments**

Kevin M. Levin 'Recent Confederate monument removals'

<http://cwmemory.com/recent-confederate-monument-removals/>

Wikipedia list of monuments removed during George Floyd protests

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_monuments\\_and\\_memorials\\_removed\\_during\\_the\\_George\\_Floyd\\_protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monuments_and_memorials_removed_during_the_George_Floyd_protests)

Map of Columbus Monuments in US

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CBTaGLkDQ9j/>

List of Black persons killed by police in the US

<https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2020/know-their-names/index.html>

Data analysis of Confederate Monuments

<https://hyperallergic.com/572825/1712-confederate-monuments-remain-standing-in-united-states/>

Survey 6.13.20

[https://www.vice.com/en\\_us/article/pkygy7/people-are-tearing-down-racist-statues-worldwide-because-governments-wont](https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/pkygy7/people-are-tearing-down-racist-statues-worldwide-because-governments-wont)

NY Times survey 6.24.20

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/24/us/confederate-statues-photos.html>

Photo survey 7.2.20

<https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2020/07/photos-statues-removed-george-floyd-protests-began/613774/>

Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy,"

<https://www.splcenter.org/data-projects/whose-heritage>

Database of North Carolina Confederate Memorials: <http://ncmonuments.ncdcr.gov/>

Historical Marker Database Civil War Monuments:

<https://www.hmdb.org/results.asp?FilterTown=&FilterCounty=&FilterState=NY&FilterCountry=&CategoryID=15>

Animated map of all Confederate monuments over time: <http://slate.me/2fJT2AH>

## 2. 2020 Global Statue Actions and Removals

Musée quai Branly, Paris, repatriation action

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/protesters-try-to-seize-african-artwork-from-paris-museum/2020/06/12/5ca50de2-acd9-11ea-a43b-be9f6494a87d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/protesters-try-to-seize-african-artwork-from-paris-museum/2020/06/12/5ca50de2-acd9-11ea-a43b-be9f6494a87d_story.html)

Belgium: Leopold II statues removed

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/belgium-takes-down-statue-king-expresses-regret-for-colonial-violence>

Aotearoa New Zealand Maori Protest Colonial Statue

<https://www.telesurenglish.net/news/New-Zealand-Racist-Statue-Removed-Amid-Maori-Protests-20200612-0006.html>

Ukraine Statue Hacked

<https://www.them.us/story/lgbtq-group-flies-rainbow-flag-over-ukraines-statue-of-liberty>

UK

Banksy on Colston

<https://www.art-critique.com/en/2020/06/banksy-on-what-to-do-with-edward-colston-statue/>

<https://www.cnn.com/style/article/banksy-edward-colston-statue-intl-hnk/index.html>

Historian against taking them down

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/pulling-down-statues-wont-solve-racism-says-historian-of-slavery-professor-n2mpsw985>

Put them in museums (paywall)

<https://www.ft.com/content/1117dfb6-8e51-46ec-a74b-59973a96a85a>

Colston statue and Decolonize

<https://hyperallergic.com/570444/toppled-statue-in-bristol-limited-understanding-of-decolonizing/>

Colston statue and White People

<https://unherd.com/2020/06/bristols-woke-hypocrisy/>

Report from India on UK

<https://scroll.in/latest/964152/george-floyd-death-british-pm-says-anti-racism-protests-in-uk-have-been-subverted-by-thuggery>

Colston statue, Bristol

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/11/i-shared-my-home-with-edward-colston-for-more-than-20-years-good-riddance>

Daily Mail (right-wing tabloid) reviews statue movement

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8401857/Racists-heroes-Black-Lives-Matter-want-topple-statues-famous-Britons-slavery-links.html>

Black British historian David Olusoga on Colston:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jun/08/edward-colston-statue-history-slave-trader-bristol-protest>

Statue of Robert Milligan, slave trader, removed

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-52977088> UK Govt. against statue removal

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jun/13/removal-of-controversial-statues-winston-churchill-protest>

Cecil J. Rhodes statue: protest

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/09/protesters-rally-in-oxford-for-removal-of-cecil-rhodes-statue>

Cecil Rhodes statue, Oxford, falls

<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jun/17/end-of-the-rhodes-cecil-oxford-college-ditches-controversial-statue>

Rhodes Statue only part of decolonizing

<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jun/18/campaign-doesnt-end-with-rhodes-statue-says-oxford-group>

Black British artist Eddie Chambers on UK statue removal

<https://progressive.org/dispatches/statues-statues-they-all-fall-down-chambers-200612/>

### 3. Curricula and Monuments

Schmahmann, B. (2019). Public Art and/as Curricula: Seeking a New Role for Monuments Associated with Oppression. In Parker G. (Author) & Jansen J. (Ed.), *Decolonisation in Universities: The politics of knowledge* (pp. 182-201). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Christiat, Warren, and Jack Christian. "THE MONUMENTS MUST GO: Reflecting on Opportunities for Campus Conversations." *South: A Scholarly Journal* 50, no. 1 (2017): 47-56

Nelson, Louis P. "Object Lesson: Monuments and Memory in Charlottesville." *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 25, no. 2 (2018): 17-35.

Zainab Bahrani. "Destruction and Preservation as Aspects of Just War." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 14, no. 1 (2017): 107-19.

UK Memorials

Celeste-Marie Bernier et al (eds), *Inside the Invisible: Memorialising Slavery and Freedom in the Life and Works of Lubaina Himid* Liverpool University Press 2019

UK memorials as archaeology

<https://medium.com/@clareceb30/statues-arent-our-history-they-re-our-archaeology-e3f12996092a>

US Memorials

<https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/kehinde-wileys-anti-confederate-memorial>

Latin America Memorials

<https://esferapublica.org/nfblog/jinetes-encapuchadxs/>

Judith Baca: 'Whose Monument Where? Public Art in a Many-Cultured Society'

<https://www.csus.edu/indiv/o/obriene/art7/readings/judybaca.htm>

Europe Memorials

<https://barnard.edu/news/break-down-i-am-queen-mary-barnard>

Cynthia J. Becker (2019): Confederate Soldiers, Voodoo Queens, and Black Indians: Monuments and Counter-Monuments in New Orleans, de arte

<https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/09/us/confederate-statues-removed-george-floyd-trnd/index.html>

A Confederate Museum?

<https://thehardtimes.net/opinion/we-should-move-the-confederate-statues-into-a-museum-and-then-burn-that-museum-to-the-ground/>

Santa Fe Native People Challenge Colonialist Reenactment

<https://hyperallergic.com/405342/a-santa-fe-community-battles-to-end-a-colonialist-reenactment/>

Removing statues is a first step

<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/2020/07/toppling-statues-is-first-step-toward-ending-confederate-myths/>

## 4. Monumental Theory

### I. 2020 Essays and Debates

Boston Arts and Cultural Workers in Demand of Racial Equity and Social Transformation

<https://www.bostonartsforblacklives.com>



Removal Makes History

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/06/19/destroying-confederate-monuments-isnt-erasing-history-its-learning-it/>

Society of Architectural Historians Call for Statue Removal

<https://www.sah.org/about-sah/news/sah-news/news-detail/2020/06/19/sah-statement-on-the-removal-of-monuments-to-the-confederacy-from-public-spaces>

Sarah Bond on race, anatomy and sculpture

<https://hyperallergic.com/491821/the-lasting-influence-of-the-waxen-venus-on-studies-of-anatomy/>

Scott Kurashige, American Studies Association President, Statement on BLM

<https://theasa.net/about/news-events/announcements/asa-presidents-statement-black-lives-matter-rebellion-2020>

“My Body is a Confederate Monument” Caroline Randall Williams

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/opinion/confederate-monuments-racism.html>

Frederick Douglass on the Emancipation Monument (1876)

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/what-frederick-douglass-had-say-about-monuments-180975225/>

Greg Sholette, “Reimagining Monuments”

<https://hyperallergic.com/408996/remagining-monuments-to-make-them-resonate-locally-and-personally/>

For a Confederate Statue Graveyard

<https://theconversation.com/a-confederate-statue-graveyard-could-help-bury-the-old-south-118034>

Courtney Baker “The Loud Silence of Monuments”

<http://www.dilettantearmy.com/articles/the-loud-silence-of-monuments>

What to do with Confederate Statues

<https://theconversation.com/what-to-do-with-confederate-statues-81736>

Twisted Sifter, Utah Monument Altered

<https://twistedrifter.com/2020/06/red-paint-completely-changed-this-serve-and-protect-sculpture-during-the-protests/>

Interview with Erin L. Thompson on taking down statues

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/11/style/confederate-statue-columbus-analysis.html>

Nicholas Mirzoeff ‘All The Monuments Must Fall’

<http://www.nicholasmirzoeff.com/bio/once-more-the-monuments-must-fall/>

Confederate Statues as real estate incentive

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/its-not-just-the-monuments/612940/>

Simone Browne: “How Surveillance Has Always Reinforced Racism”

<https://www.wired.com/story/how-surveillance-reinforced-racism/amp>

David Graeber ‘A Cop is a Bureaucrat with a Gun’

<https://www.patreon.com/posts/policeman-is-gun-38438201>

NPR podcast with Prof. Manisha Sinha on statue removal

<https://www.npr.org/2020/06/23/881992636/should-statues-of-historic-figures-with-complicated-pasts-be-taken-down>

## II. Key Texts

Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Whose culture is it, anyway?" in *Cosmopolitanism* Madeline H. Caviness (2003), "Iconoclasm and Iconophobia: Four Historical Case Studies," *Diogenes* 50(3): 99–114

Hugh Gusterson (2017), "Reconsidering How We Honor Those Lost to War," <https://www.sapiens.org/column/conflicted/war-memorials/>

Huysen, Andreas. "Monument and memory in a postmodern age." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 6.2 (1993): 249.

Jessica Namakkal, "Renaming as Decolonization"

<https://www.counterpunch.org/2015/06/26/re-naming-as-decolonization/>

WJT Mitchell "What Do Monuments Want?" and Michael Taussig "Monuments Must Do Better" from "Monuments, Monumentality, Monumentalization" at DIA <https://youtu.be/caGhHQT9WYY>

Adrian Parr, "Deleuze and Memorial Culture" (2008)

John Peffer "Censorship and Iconoclasm: Unsettling Monuments" *RES* 48 (2005): 45-60.

Francoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument. (Monument and Historic Monuments; The Concept of the Historic Monuments as Such.)*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001

Kristin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space* (1988)

Andrew Culp, "A Radical Cartography: Spatializing Power,"

<https://anarchistwithoutcontent.wordpress.com/2017/08/19/a-radical-cartography-spatializing-power/>

Bhakti Shringarpure, "Swarm, Demolish, Destroy: Rage Against the Monuments from Mali to Martinique, *The Funambulist* 11 (2017)

Javier Arbona, "Forget Me Not" on police memorials (2015), *The New Inquiry* <https://thenewinquiry.com/forget-me-not/>

Simon Sheikh, "Planes of immanence, or The form of ideas: Notes on the (anti-)Monuments of Thomas Hirschhorn," *Afterall* vol. 9 (2004)

Michael Taussig, *Defacement* (Stanford, 1999)

Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*. London: Reaktion books, 1998.

Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, *Monuments and memory, made and unmade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

### III. Monuments and Nationalism

Deborah Bright, "Victory Gardens: The Public Landscape of Postwar America." *Multiple Views: Logan Grant Essays on Photography, 1983-89*, Daniel P. Younger, ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991, 329-361.

<http://www.deborahbright.net/publications>

Micki McElya, *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016)

### IV. Background

Sanford Levinson, *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies* (Duke UP, 1998)

Kenneth Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue* (Penn State University Press, 1992)

Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (Psychology Press, 1999)

Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016)

## 5. Confederate Monuments

### I. 2017: Monuments Fall

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