Chapter 3

Mourning in Protest: Spontaneous Memorials and the Sacralization of Public Space

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When Malice Green, an unemployed African American former steel worker, was beaten to death by two white Detroit police officers early in November of 1992, a spontaneous memorial was created on the spot. It consisted of "written messages, flowers, candles, shells, bibles and other objects associated with veneration in African and Christian traditions."[1] The site was framed by crosses with messages addressing Green's perceived martyrdom. A mural was painted on a nearby wall some five days after his death,[2] and soon afterward a mirror was placed so that visitors could see themselves and Green at once (or as one). As the memorial became a destination for motorists as well as local residents, a space was demarcated by two orange traffic cones, providing a place to view the now sacralized site of Green's death.

When international celebrity Princess Diana was killed suddenly in a traffic accident in September 1997, the spontaneous memorial phenomenon was spectacular, generating websites, worldwide news, a televised funeral, a dedicated song, and acres of flowers. Until recently, at the Place de' l'Alma above the tunnel in Paris where the princess was killed, people continued to leave objects and messages around a replica of the torch held by the Statue of Liberty, a gift to the French people from the *International Herald Tribune* on its centenary in 1987, intended "as a symbol of French–American friendship."[3] Here the usual floral and candle tributes

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were joined by messages in French, English, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, and other languages. Barricades kept people from descending into the vehicular tunnel; here, as in Detroit, road markers delimited another contemporary pilgrimage site.

The chain-link fence that marked off the site of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, held handwritten prayers, poems, children's drawings, teddy bears, and flowers. It separated the ground of death from the land of the living, much as cemetery entrances "announce a special realm dedicated to the departed."[4] The local fire chief put rubble from the building in buckets around the site so that those who grieved could take tangible evidence—relics—of the destruction. Governor Frank Keating gave each mourner a state flag and a diary; families of the nineteen children killed in the bombing were also given statuettes of praying angels.[5] A memorial chapel was built nearby; objects were left there as well.[6] Two years later at the grass covered spot where the building once stood, mourners observed 168 seconds of silence, one for each victim. The names were then read aloud at ten-second intervals and the ground covered with flowers. The governor encouraged people to leave mementos: "That fence has become our shrine and it is fitting that on this second anniversary we adorn it with tributes and memories."[7]

When twelve students and one teacher were shot at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado on April 20, 1999 by two classmates who then took their own lives, the actual scene of death was roped off as a crime scene. Almost at once people created a "shrine the size of a football field" across the street in Robert F. Clement Park. The day after the shooting, people hung messages for the victims from paper chains between trees. Thirteen crosses were planted in the grass, one slightly larger for the teacher who had been shot. And just as headstones in country cemeteries often note the profession of the deceased, a memorial for one student centered on her car, an indicator of the defining role of cars in contemporary suburban culture.[8] The omnipresent flowers were constantly replenished.[9]

Open the newspaper any morning or catch the late-night news on television, and you are likely to find an image of another spontaneous memorial—photographs of those deceased, clusters of flowers, candles, notes and cards, an array of gifts for the dead, and, if children are being mourned, a cluster of stuffed animals. Whether commemorating a single victim of a drive-by shooting or Princess Di, the many deaths in the Oklahoma City bombing or the Columbine High School "massacre," the response is identical—a rush to mourning manifest in traditional cemetery rituals. Sacred spaces are demarcated, objects are left, and people gather to grieve.

It is hard to know when this now widespread practice began. Certainly it gained national attention with the response to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on the Mall in Washington. Even before the monument was dedicated on Memorial Day in 1982, people began leaving mementos alongside its black granite walls. A Navy officer dropped his dead brother's Purple Heart into the foundation trench even as the concrete was being poured.[10] Since then visitors have left over 30,000 objects, not including flowers and flags.

The ritual of leaving tributes occurs also at the five half-size replicas of the memorial known as the "traveling walls" that circulate around the country, functioning as its icon although they are smaller, flimsier, and never quite touch the ground.[11] The space around the memorial (and its facsimiles) is treated as sacred, dedicated to remembrances of the Vietnam War. Visitors file by in silence. In January 1991, a demonstration held against the Gulf War terminated at the D.C. monument; a Vietnam vet asked that protest banners be left outside the parameters of the memorial. All complied.

The objects left at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial[12] and at its offshoots, at spontaneous memorials and burial grounds in cemeteries, reveal an array of personal relationships with the dead as well as a variety of ethnic burial practices and civic messages. Specific objects may be relics of the dead or gifts for them; some reflect aspects of shared experience; others offer social commentary.[13] At the Vietnam Memorial these last include objects, letters, journals, photo albums, and works of art that address issues of the war as well as the participation of gays and women in the military.

Like the ground on which they rest, these ritual objects are seen as somehow sacred—as artifacts that should not be destroyed. The objects left at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial are collected regularly by National Parks Service rangers and stored in nearby Lanham, Maryland, at the Museum and Archaeological Regional Storage Facility (known by its acronym MARS). The tributes gathered at the traveling walls are stored in local historical societies. In Littleton, wilted flowers were used in compost, and fresh flowers were made into bags of potpourri for victims' families; the potpourri was intended to be sold to raise money for a permanent memorial. Other objects, including "homemade art work, handwritten poems wrapped in plastic, teddy bears, team shirts, votive candles and wind chimes," remarkably similar to those left at the Vietnam Memorial, were catalogued by volunteers organized by the Colorado Historical Society.[14] Without a community conditioned to consider its history worth preserving or a local institution to store it, most spontaneous memorials (like Malice Green's) are left to decay.

Although the bodies are buried elsewhere, almost every detail of spontaneous memorial practice revives the role cemeteries historically played in

public life. The dead were once buried in the center of town, where they served as a daily reminder of the fate awaiting us all. As J. B. Jackson observed, "Located in the center of the village, concealed by no planting, plainly visible to all, [the graveyard] was a group monument, a constant reminder to emulate the virtues of the dead and to follow the precepts of the faith."[15] This unsettling experience was briefly recalled in June 1999, when bones were discovered for the third time during the renovation of City Hall Park in New York.[16] Reconstruction proceeded slowly around the skeletons in our midst, as they were temporarily covered with green plastic sheets to "preserve the dignity of the dead" and protect the sensibilities of the living. Regardless of our religious beliefs and changing burial customs, we do not tread lightly on the remains of the dead.

Since colonial times, for health, cultural, and economic reasons, local and national burial sites have gradually moved from plots in backyards, churchyards, and town commons to cemeteries further removed from the living, as well as from the prime real estate that can be used for other purposes.[17] In the early decades of the nineteenth century, a park-like setting outside the town became the model for the modern cemetery, as exemplified most famously in the United States by Mount Auburn in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with its emphasis on the landscape, symmetrical family plots, and wide, graceful paths for easy circulation. With this cemetery New Englanders hoped, among other things, to create a cultural institution that would help instill middle-class values in a growing working-class populace that regularly visited the cemetery along with mourners to enjoy the gardens.[18]

But by the end of the nineteenth century, the cemetery was no longer a public venue. It had become a private "place where wealth and family piety could assert themselves."[19] During the twentieth century, perhaps in reaction to earlier perceived excesses of grieving, or maybe in response to the unprecedented devastation of the two world wars, burial practices changed. By mid-century, death and mourning had almost become taboo, too uncomfortable for public expression, and many cemeteries were neglected.[20] Although there are still a few examples such as Arlington National Cemetery in the United States and Pere Lachaise in Paris that are visited regularly, today it is hardly possible to imagine the cemetery as a significant cultural institution.

Mourning in a cemetery has become a private, family affair. In marked contrast, spontaneous memorials invite the participation of a community; if the number of dead is significant or the victim is famous enough, such memorials attract pilgrims from afar, as was the case with Oklahoma City and Princess Di. But the subjects of most spontaneous memorials are individuals who become known only briefly in death.

Spontaneous memorials are populist phenomena, ways for people to mark their own history. They create a public place for individuals and communities united in grief and often anger. And they create, for a while, sacred ground, ground that has been, like a battlefield, the scene of violent death.[21] Victims of sudden death and their mourners have no time to prepare, no opportunity to say goodbye. While subjects or objects of commemoration or celebration in our multicultural society are often contested, death and mourning are beyond debate. They are universally understood.

As did older cemeteries in town centers, spontaneous memorials serve communal as well as personal needs. As Janice Mann has suggested, the drive-by memorial to Malice Green provided a place for peaceful public gathering and consolation for the community.[22] This may be because spontaneous memorials are inherently also expressions of protest, calling attention to the underlying conditions that led to the random death(s) being commemorated. The memorial to Malice Green was also a protest against police brutality; the Oklahoma shrine was a wailing wall at the destruction of random terrorism; the creation of the symbolic cemetery in Colorado was accompanied by cries for gun control and the study of violence in youth culture. The astonishing outpouring for "the people's princess" was widely understood as a demonstration of the desire for a less remote, more accessible monarch. And more directly, the spot where Margaret L. Mitchell, an African American woman in Los Angeles, was killed by Hispanic police officers was surrounded by written comments about the problems of mentally ill homeless people.[23] Unlike early cemeteries constructed for the civic purpose of moderating the behavior of the working classes, spontaneous memorials are often messages to those in control from the populace they govern.

Because we don't think too much about cemeteries today, their ritual practices have slipped relatively unnoticed into our midst. But it may be precisely because cemeteries and the function they once served have receded from civic consciousness that the practice of spontaneous memorials has flourished. Grieving in public expresses the need to have private loss socially acknowledged and shared.[24] The bereaved and their community, as well as the deceased, demand recognition. Those who mourn the victims of society briefly lay claim to public space and attention.

Although, perhaps even because, public experience in our culture has been rendered private by television and the internet, many of us feel an overwhelming need to make real what is increasingly mediated—to recapture the here and now. To stand on the ground where something happened is to feel the reality of the event—to feel meaningfully linked to others and to history. This connection, through feet that stand on hallowed ground or hands that touch a sacred wall, is experienced viscerally. The Hebrew

practice of *Gal'ed*, by which a place of commemoration is marked with stones, derives from the ancient word meaning "a stone or a heap of stones that witnessed an event, [that] have been marked off and have become sacred."[25] One writer has referred to Israel as "hot rocks which have seen more holy murder, rape and plunder than any other place on earth."[26] Another, standing atop Gestapo ruins in Berlin observed, "You sense that the stones of this rubble somehow hold the moans and screams of decades ago."[27]

There is pervasive evidence that we believe the ground we walk on holds the content of its history—offers us direct access to what has occurred there. Mourners at spontaneous memorials often act as if the bodies were buried there. But not only are spontaneous memorials built on this premise. The Imperial War Museum in London is situated on the site of the former Bedlam, and so much is this a part of its institutional identity that the director defines the museum as "an unusual place in many ways—a museum devoted to modern war housed [on the grounds of] an ancient lunatic asylum . . ."[28]

The museum in Caen built after World War II is called a "memorial for peace" and features a garden built directly over the site of the headquarters of the German commander during the Nazi occupation of Normandy. The museum catalogue describes the collection of portrait busts assembled there as an "An Alterative History of the 20th Century: the Nobel Peace Prizewinners."[29] Arguably, by burying and obscuring its past the museum itself is trying to accomplish just that. On a smaller scale, when events are experienced as too painful, a place may be destroyed. The town council and local community in Stirling, Scotland, decided to tear down a school gym where sixteen children and their teacher were shot by a man who also took his own life.[30] At both the French museum and Scottish school, the decisions were based on the unstated supposition that the site itself contained the content of its past, not only when the memory was fresh, but indeed forever.

Spontaneous memorials are not, however, for eternity, although evidence suggests that they are especially vivid for those who believe in the hereafter. Many typical memorial objects are linked to the customs of Catholic Latino communities.[31] However, the practice is not restricted to any religion or ethnicity, as the memorials to Diana, Malice Green, and the victims in Oklahoma and Colorado clearly attest. Spontaneous memorials are the sign of an engaged populace responding to personal need for public mourning and civic protest. Fulfilling the functions once provided by cemeteries, such memorials seem to have appeared just when Maya Lin's design—a symbolic cemetery on the National Mall—was chosen to commemorate the war that challenged "the very mythos of America [sic], its blessed and exceptional

character"[32] with a symbolic cemetery on the Washington Mall. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial called attention to a rift in perceptions of national identity much as spontaneous memorials mark a localized rent in civic cohesion. In prompting an unprecedented and unexpected public response, both the war and its memorial generated a national upheaval of protest. And the wall, as intended, like many spontaneous memorials, has worked to heal, bringing people together in grief over the consequences of a war that had once divided them in politics.

A Difference in Kind: Spontaneous Memorials after 9/11

Sometimes a difference in degree is a difference in kind. And sometimes apparent similarities mask critical distinctions. That the greatest destruction of 9/11 hit New York at the actual center of international trade, finance, and communication, and the symbolic center of U.S. capitalism guaranteed that everything connected with it would be newsworthy and resonate around the world. Perceived at once to be an event of profound historical significance and symbolic magnitude, it was writ large in all media.

But on September 11, 2001, with U.S. airspace closed for an indefinite future, the nature of the event was barely grasped, the magnitude of public response huge, the death toll uncertain, and the missing presumed to be just that. All this, for a time, changed spontaneous memorial practice.

When people gathered initially and in the days that followed at Union Square, the closest open public space to Ground Zero, the number and identity of the casualties was unknown. This was reflected in the nature of the objects left. There were few things associated with individuals since it was not yet known who had been killed and who might still turn up alive. The only thing gone for certain were the twin towers and there were a number of anthropomorphic depictions and effigies of those, immediate icons for what was lost.[33]

Similarly, there were no gifts for specific individuals or objects of shared experience.[34] But evidence of commentary was everywhere, transforming this symbolic cemetery in-the-making into "a forum to publicize grievances and to right wrong," an echo of the role cemeteries once played in nineteenth-century United States.[35] There were personal expressions in poetry and prose written on the ground or in the huge rolls of paper provided for that purpose. American flags, which soon became ubiquitous throughout the city,[36] appeared draped in front of the statue of George

Washington and in his hand. Henry Kirke Brown's sculpture, the second equestrian monument to be cast in the United States and the city's first outdoor bronze sculpture, dedicated on July 4, 1856, functioned as the symbolic locus of the state and national power.[37] Covered with comments of love and peace, the statue conveyed a decidedly mixed message.[38]

The crowds that gathered day and night at Union Square appeared intent to create a communal space, a place providing comfort in numbers in the most uncertain and frightening of times. As one young man remarked, "You get a little hope in togetherness."[39] In a few days the nature of the gathering at Union Square changed, becoming more of a festival reminiscent of 1960s happenings.[40] Early on, the Department of Parks in consultation with the Art Commission decided to remove the graffiti from George Washington and restore Union Square to its pre-9/11 state. This process of desacralization, what Kenneth E. Foote calls the rectification of a site, implies "no lasting positive or negative meaning" will be associated with it.[41] And while there are no remaining visible signs, the transformation of Union Square in the wake of 9/11 and the weeks that followed are an indelible part of personal memory and undoubtedly will figure in subsequent written histories of the event and of the site.

By early November, when lower Manhattan was partially reopened, the main site of the spontaneous memorial shifted to St. Paul's Chapel of Trinity Episcopal parish, a block from the trade center site on Broadway. (Immediately after the 9/11 attacks and for some eight months the church became a refuge for relief workers at ground zero.[42]) When the public began congregating at the site, the church hung huge canvas drop cloths from the surrounding fence so visitors could sign their names and leave messages, creating what was called "the world's largest guest book." A year later some neighborhood residents began requesting the removal of the mounds of material that could now "be mistaken for a camp for derelicts."[43]

While Union Square and St. Paul's were the primary loci of spontaneous memorials, their widespread proliferation especially at firehouses, marked local sites of loss. For a while it seemed possible to feel that New York itself had been turned into a temporary shrine, but that experience was determined by where in the city you happened to be. There were significant shrines in Grand Central and Port Authority terminals. And just as after the sudden death of Princess Di people gathered at those sites she had frequented in life, so New York's spontaneous memorials clustered at places once inhabited by those who perished on 9/11.

Photographs are a common feature of spontaneous memorials, assuming or standing for the aura of the deceased.[44] Beyond their fragile materiality and symbolic resonance, these images conflate private and public space in a dramatic and significant way. After 9/11 photographs were taken briefly

from the intimate frame of the family album or mantle display, copied and paired with personal information on paper posters that provided the vital statistics of those initially presumed missing. The sheer magnitude and proliferation of these images affixed to neighborhood fences, storefronts, subway stations, and lampposts transformed the anonymous character of many New York public spaces. People gathered and paid attention as they rarely do in this city of millions, suddenly participants in some kind of communal wake, often silent, sometimes asking strangers, "Did you know . . . ? How is . . . ?" As the presumed missing were acknowledged dead, the photos became memorials to strangers that had already somehow become more than that.[45]

Photography after 9/11 also assumed another role, enlarging public participation, recording the actual event, details of the destruction, and aspects of the recovery. The impulse to document was immediate for many, prompted by the realization that this was a historic moment. Instead of running for cover many grabbed their cameras and rushed to rooftop vantage points. Photography provided a way to participate and perhaps also acted as a safety valve, a quasi-professional shield, a protection of sorts from the actual horror of reality.

Many of the works of these amateur photographers/historians, as well as their professional counterparts, were quickly displayed in an impromptu exhibition, "Here Is New York: A Democracy of Photographs."[46] Images were scanned, printed on archival paper, pinned to the walls and hung from strings at eye level at the 116 Prince Street Gallery in Soho. There were no frames and no names. Anyone could buy a print for $25 and many did. In the first two months more than half a million dollars in net proceeds were donated to The Children's Aid Society for its World Trade Center relief efforts.[47] The exhibition evoked the chaos of memory, the visual, sensory, emotional overload of jumbled images, fragments that even when put together couldn't quite capture the whole. Subsequently, like the AIDS quilt, a portion of the exhibition traveled in segments to the Museum of Modern Art and the International Center of Photography in New York as well as venues in Chicago, Washington, and elsewhere in the United States, and several cities in Germany, London, Paris, and Tokyo.[48] At each venue where I viewed it, public response was stilled, contemplative, and profoundly emotional.

In November 2001, the New York gallery Exit Art issued a website-based open call for personal responses to 9/11 expressed on an 8 1/2 × 11 inch piece of paper. From January 26 through March 30, 2002, over 2,500 responses were displayed on free-standing supports and in loose-leaf binders at the Soho venue.[49] "Reactions" included poetry, musical scores, texts, letters, drawings, paintings, collages, and photographs, an echo and extension

of the objects already gathered at spontaneous memorials in more public spaces.

Around the same time (January 17–February, 2002), an exclusive invitational exhibition at Max Protetch Gallery in Chelsea featured 61 submissions that reimagined the World Trade Center Towers in ways that never strayed far from the original.[50] Even though "The New World Trade Center: Design Proposals" was barely more than a rehash of the old,[51] the public came in droves (it was crowded even on weekday mornings) and stared in rapt attention at visual evocations of a world that suddenly no longer existed.

The need for temporary memorials beyond the spontaneous was clear. Early on the proposal for "Phantom Towers" featured on the cover of the *New York Times Magazine* on September 23, 2001 seemed to strike a resonant note for many.[52] Realized through the efforts of Creative Time and the Municipal Art Society, it was at first called "Towers of Light" and eventually renamed "Tribute in Light" to shift the focus away from the towers that had come to symbolize the 9/11 loss. But the beams of light that illuminated the night sky for a month in 2002, no matter what they were called, only confirmed the iconic power the towers had come to assume.

The last steel column from the rubble left at the World Trade Center site, covered with graffiti, became like the survivor tree at Oklahoma City, a relic of great symbolic value. On May 30, 2002, in a ceremony marking the official end of the recovery effort at ground zero, the 58-ton beam from the south tower was towed from the scene wrapped in black muslin and an American flag.[53] A symbolic body if there ever was one, carried out to the sound of taps played by buglers from New York's Fire and Police Departments and "America the Beautiful" played on bagpipes was now inextricably linked to national identity.

A View from the Bridge

On 9/11 and for some time thereafter much of downtown Brooklyn was covered with dust and office paper from the World Trade Center. The view of Manhattan from the Brooklyn Heights Promenade, the definitive view in so many films and photographs, now too provided a vantage point but little emotional distance from lower Manhattan. People immediately attached posters and messages to the fence at various focal points where clusters of candles were lit and relit until they gradually melted into puddles of wax. A huge, hushed crowd gathered to observe the inaugural lighting of the

Tribute in Light and again to celebrate its last night.[54] Today the only remains of the spontaneous memorial is a single framed photograph of the twin towers, hanging from the fence at the end of the Pierrepont Street entrance, marking the spot where their absence is most visible. Everything else was cleared away by Parks department employees on May 30, 2002, the day that marked the official end of the retrieval of remains from the World Trade Center site.

Coda

Although the remains of the World Trade Center were buried in effigy in the form of the last I-beam, a longing for the towers remains. It was evident in the runner-up proposal for the rebuilding of the site, THINK's emblem of open twin towers, clearly evoking the missing skyline markers. These fantastical obelisks for the future, empty of all but scale and ambition, were perfect symbols for a culture of denial.[55]

The spontaneous memorials, created out of a fleeting experience of community, focused on personal and national loss, are a thing of the past—both time and site specific. They cannot be moved, displayed, or organized.[56] The whole is indeed greater than the sum of its parts. They are a grass-roots public response to a private need, personal messages meant to be shared although not necessarily heard by the powers that be. Although stringently policed, especially in New York, the worldwide protests on February 15, 2003 against President Bush's then pending war on Iraq[57] captured something of the atmosphere of spontaneous memorials after 9/11—a merging of individuals who reflected the spectrum of the world's populations, civic engagement on an international scale prompted by a profound fear of the future, and a need to stand together. One home made sign in particular continues to resonate for me: "OUR GRIEF IS NOT A CRY FOR WAR."

Although the difference in scale of spontaneous memorials post–9/11 signaled a difference in kind, all spontaneous memorials are democracy in action and as such they suggest a range of critical questions for those commissioning and building permanent official markers for history. How can memorial designers tap into the profound personal response and civic commentary evidenced by the practice of spontaneous memorials? What kinds of content do our built memorials now impugn to the ground on which they are built? Which history are we burying or incorporating in their foundations? Can we create permanent memorials that actively engage a society so clearly in need of them?

Notes

1. See Janice Mann, " 'Malice Green Did Like Jesus': A Detroit Miracle Story," in Dawn Perlmutter and Debra Koppman, eds., *Reclaiming the Spiritual in Art: Contemporary Cross-cultural Perspectives* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999).
2. For a discussion of memorial walls see Martha Cooper and Joseph Sciorra, *R.I.P.: Memorial Wall Art* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994). Memorial walls are related to the practice of spontaneous memorials. Both are prompted by the local community and provide a focus for mourning and remembering. However, since the memorial walls are commissioned works executed by a single artist (albeit with community input), they are, by definition, more formalized. And since they require a wall surface, they cannot always mark the precise place of death.
3. See Craig R. Whitney, "Paris Adds a Garden to Diana's Thriving Memorials," *New York Times*, August 30, 1998. A particularly provocative article about the role of contemporary relics in the sanctification process is Joan Juliet Buck, "Diana's Relics." *The New Yorker*, September 22, 1997, 104–105.
4. Kenneth T. Jackson and Camilo Jose Vergara. *Silent Cities: The Evolution of the American Cemetery* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), 72.
5. Jane H. Lii, "For Families Of the Dead, A Pilgrimage To the Scene," *New York Times*, May 7, 1995, 36.
6. John Kifner, "Despite Oklahoma Charges, The Case Is Far From Closed," *New York Times*, August 13, 1995, 1, 24.
7. Sam Howe Verhovek, "A Look Back and Ahead At Oklahoma City Site," *New York Times*, April 20, 1997, 20.
8. Jackson and Vergara, *Silent Cities*, 13, observed that old grave markers in country graveyards that were often decorated with images indicating the deceased's occupation "such as axes, saws, sickles, plows, and hammers" had recently been "updated to images of vehicles or farm equipment."
9. Many articles in newspapers and magazines documented the memorial activities at Columbine High. See especially Gustav Niebuhr and Jodi Wilgoren, "From the Shock of Violent Deaths, New and More Public Rites of Mourning," *New York Times*, April 28, 1999, A24; James Brooke, "A Neighborhood Park Draws Littleton Pilgrims," *New York Times*, May 6, 1999, A26.
10. See Thomas B. Allen, *Offerings at the Wall: Artifacts from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Collection* (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, 1995), 10.
11. Various individuals and organizations circulate the half-size versions of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, including the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, which commissioned Maya Lin's sculpture. At each site there are local ceremonies; all are marked by the practice of leaving mini-shrines to individuals near their names. I discuss the practice and implications of the traveling walls in "From the Center: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial as Centripetal and Centrifugal Force" in Edward von Voolen and Gabi Dolf-Bonekamper, eds., *Denkmale und kulturelles Gedächtnis nach dem Ende der Ost-West-Konfrontation* (Berlin: Akademie der Kunste and Jovis Verlag, 2000), 251–264.

12. For a detailed analysis of the objects left at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial see Kristin Ann Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and The Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998).
13. I discuss this idea in more detail in "Objects Left, Individuals Remembered: 'Making Memory Real' at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial," in Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel, eds., *Memory and Oblivion: Acts of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art, Amsterdam 1996* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 1085–1090.
14. Photo caption, *New York Times*, May 5, 1999, A18, and James Brooke, "A Neighborhood Park Draws Littleton Pilgrims," *New York Times*, May 6, 1999, A26; James Brooke, "Teacher of Colorado Gunmen Alerted Parents," *New York Times*, May 11, 1999, A14.
15. J. B. Jackson, "The Vanishing Epitaph: From Monument to Place," *Landscape*, Winter 1967–1968, 23.
16. Dan Barry, "Ghosts from a Long-Ago Poorhouse in City Hall Park," *New York Times*, June 11, 1999, B3.
17. See Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963) for a critique of the materialistic aspects of the funeral industry.
18. Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," *American Quarterly*, v.26 (March 1974), reprinted in David E. Stannard, ed., *Death in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975).
19. Jackson, "The Vanishing Epitaph," 24.
20. For a description of this development, see Philippe Aries, "The Reversal of Death: Changes in Attitudes toward Death in Western Societies," trans. Valerie M. Stannard, in Stannard, ed., *Death in America* (Philadelphia: University of Penn Press, 1975), 134–158.
21. For a discussion of battlefields as sacred space see Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Linenthal focuses on Lexington and Concord, the Alamo, Gettysburg, Little Bighorn, and Pearl Harbor.
22. See Mann. Evidently local law enforcement agencies were concerned that the death of Malice Green might spark riots in Detroit similar to those in Los Angeles after the failure to convict the officers who had apparently beaten Rodney King.
23. See Todd S. Purdum, "A Police Shooting Death, a Study in Contrasts," *New York Times*, June 5, 1999, A9.
24. My thanks to Elke Solomon for this observation.
25. Mira Engler, "A Living Memorial: Commemorating Yitzhak Rabin at the Tel Aviv Square," *Places*, v. 2, 2 (Winter 1999) note 2, 11. My thanks to Wendy Feuer for this reference.
26. "Via Dolorosa: Walking on Sacred Soil and Doing Battle Over It," *New York Times*, April 10, 1999, B11.
27. Lesley Hazleton, "Berlin, A Fast Car, Nightmares," in Elinor Nauen, ed., *Ladies Start Your Engines* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1996), 147.
28. Alan Borg, "Introduction," *The 'New' Imperial War Museum* (London: Imperial War Museum, 1994 edition), 1.

29. Claude Quetel, *A Memorial for Peace* (Paris: Editions du Regard, 1993), 193ff. All subsequent quotes pertaining to the peace garden are taken from this source.
30. "Scots Raze School Gym Where Children Died," *New York Times*, April 11, 1996, A16.
31. Cooper and Sciorra, *Memorial Wall Art*, 10, suggest that Latino artists predominate in the practice of memorial walls and that crosses marking the spot of suddenly dead Catholics reflect the belief that those who have not received the Last Rites remain in "purgatory's purifying flames" until the soul is released to heaven through prayer.
32. Rowland A. Sherrill, "American Sacred Space and the Contest of History," in David Chidester and Edward Linenthal, eds., *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 326.
33. John Kifner and Susan Saulny, "Posting Handbills as Votive Offerings," *New York Times*, September 14, 2001, A9 describe a postcard featuring an image of the twin towers covered by a handwritten message: "They are missing. I am looking for these two great brothers of New York."
34. Gifts for the dead usually appear around major holidays and birthdays, continuing a ritual practice of life. Objects of shared experience are more general, often pertaining to sports, spirits or smokes, and sometimes more intimate activities.
35. Jackson, "The Vanishing Epitaph," 120.
36. Flying the flag seemed another spontaneous response. Images appeared in the *New York Times*, September 14, 2001, A1, A14–15, with the following captions: "Flying the Colors: Americans responded to the attacks by displaying the flag;" "A Symbol Offers Comfort On New York's Streets;" "Americans at home and overseas confronted this week's terror attacks with one simple gesture, flying the flag. The displays seem as much acts of defiance as of patriotism." Flags sold out in many stores and were difficult to obtain in some areas. Over time the flags eventually morphed into more frivolous fashion statements and patterns on sheets, among other things.
37. For a general discussion of the sculpture see Margot Gayle and Michele Cohen, *Manhattan's Outdoor Sculpture* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1988), 91–92. Its gesture derives from Michelangelo's Marcus Aurelius monument at the Capitoline Hill in Rome although the implicit comparison to a Roman emperor would have been anathema to Washington and unknown to most contemporary viewers.
38. See, for example, "Peace Signs Amid Calls to War," *New York Times*, November 20, 2001, A20.
39. Quoted in Michael Kimmelman, "Offering Beauty, and Then Proof That Life Goes On," *New York Times*, December 30, 2001, AR35.
40. See, for example, Michael Kimmelman, "In a Square, A Sense of Unity," *New York Times*, September 19, 2001, E1.
41. Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997) designates four categories for the treatment of such sites: sanctification, designation, rectification, and obliteration.

42. For a description of the early activities inside the church see David W. Dunlap, "Polished Marble and Sacramental Scuffs," *New York Times*, August 25, 2002, Sect 11, 1, 6; Daniel J. Wakin, "Chapel and Refuge Struggles to Define Role," *New York Times*, November 28, 2002, B1, 7. The church produced three videos for sale on its role in the relief process.
43. See Michael Wilson, "How to Say 'Enough' Gracefully," *New York Times*, October 11, 2002, B1.
44. See Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," in Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, Jeremy Aynsley, eds., *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), 226, for a provocative discussion of the role of photographs as relics as well as the significance of their material forms.
45. For a discussion of this transformation process see Geoffrey Batchen, "Requiem," *Afterimage*, January/February 2002, 5.
46. The exhibition was organized by Alice Rose George, Gilles Peress, Michael Shulan, and Charles Traub.
47. Handout published by the International Center of Photography in conjunction with a series of exhibitions titled "Aftermath: Photography in the Wake of September 11," np. The exhibitions were on display January 11–March 17, 2002.
48. For a review of the exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art see Sarah Boxer, "Prayerfully and Powerfully, New York City Before and After," *New York Times*, March 6, 2002, E1. For reception in Germany, see Otto Pohl, "September 11 Photo Exhibition Touches a Nerve in Berlin," *New York Times*, July 7, 2002, 8. In addition to Berlin, the exhibition was seen in Dresden, Dusseldorf, and Stuttgart. Other venues continue to be added.
49. Exit Art is directed by Papo Colo and Jeanette Ingberman who conceived of the project.
50. The exhibition was curated by Max Protetch, Aaron Betsky, the staffs of *Architectural Record* and *Architecture* magazines, and other architecture professionals.
51. For a more detailed review of the exhibition at the Max Protetch Gallery, see Harriet F. Senie, "National Icon: The Transfiguration of the World Trade Center Towers," *Sculpture*, October 2002, 81–82.
52. Initially the concept of Paul Myoda and Julian LaVerdiere, the "Towers of Light" eventually also included the work of John Bennett, Gustavo Bonevardi, Richard Nash Gould, and Paul Marantz. See "Filling the Void: A Memorial by Paul Myoda and Julian La Verdiere," *New York Times Magazine*, September 23, 2001, 80. The two artists had been working on a project about the buildings from their temporary studio on the ninety-first floor of the north tower. The eventual month-long existence of the 88-searchlight sculpture extinguished on April 15, 2002 attracted worldwide attention. Response appeared unanimously positive. See, for example, Andrew Jacobs, "In Morning Sky, Seamless Exit for Twin Beams," *New York Times*, April 15, 2002, A12, photo A1.
53. This ceremony was widely recorded on radio and television and in the press. See, for example, Charlie LeDuff, "Last Steel Column From the Ground Zero

Rubble Is Cut Down," *New York Times*, May 29, 2002, B3, photo A1; Dan Barry, "Where Twin Towers Stood, A Silent Goodbye," *New York Times*, May 31, 2002, A1, B6.

54. My thanks to Iris Klein for her observations of this site made during a seminar titled "Capturing Memory: Strategies of Contemporary Art" that I taught at the Graduate Center, CUNY during the spring 2002 semester. Even though only a single shaft was visible from Brooklyn, at first glance suggesting airport tower transmissions rather than the towers that were, its symbolic resonance was evident.
55. It remains to be seen whether the winning proposal, Daniel Libeskind's cluster of angled buildings and broadcast observation tower (intended to be the world's tallest structure), will satisfy the sense of loss so many still seem to feel for the World Trade Center towers. Preliminary critical reviews have been positive. See, for example, Paul Goldberger, "Eyes on the Prize," *The New Yorker*, March 10, 2003, 78–82; or Marvin Trachtenberg, "A New Vision for Ground Zero Beyond Mainstream Modernism," *New York Times*, February 23, 2003, AR 54. At the time of this writing it is not possible to know how much of the design will actually be built as proposed and what significant changes or modifications may be required.
56. Exhibitions such as "Missing: Streetscape of a City in Mourning" at the New York Historical Society (March 12–June 9, 2002) which contained a selection of the objects left at Union Square and other sites had none of the energy or immediacy of the spontaneous memorials. For a review, see Glenn Collins, "Vessels of a City's Grief," *New York Times*, March 9, 2002, B1. On collecting of 9/11 artifacts in general see, James B. Gardner, "Collecting a National Tragedy," *Museum News*, March/April 2002, 42–45; 66–67. At the time of the first anniversary of 9/11, New York City officials circulated plans to capture new shrines in temporary structures intended to protect them from the weather. The public failed to respond.
57. The various protest activities of February 15, 2003 were documented in numerous articles that appeared in the following two days in the *New York Times*.