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Memorial Craze: How War Memorials have been Changed by War

A Thesis by

Jillian Bass

Chapman University

Orange, CA

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in War and Society

May 2022

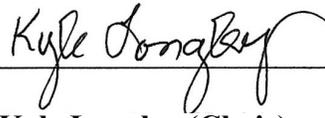
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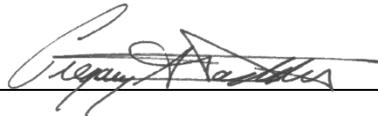
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Kyle Longley (Chair)

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Gregory Daddis

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Stephanie Takaragawa", written over a horizontal line.

Stephanie Takaragawa

November 2021

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ABSTRACT

Memorial Craze: How War Memorials have been Changed by War

by Jillian Bass

This thesis project argues that memorials constructed after 9/11 were designed specifically in a way that privileged and focused on the dead individually. By taking a look at memorials throughout American history, the study of memorialization sets up the stage for the way the lives of ordinary people have been memorialized throughout history. 9/11 is one of the most memorable days in the history of the world in the 21st century. However, the academic world has generally ignored the study of war memorials throughout American history as a subset of memorials. Chronicling memorials from the Civil War period to present day, this project intends to focus on 9/11 and the specific type of memorial preferred by the powers that came together to memorialize in the aftermath of this tragic event. This thesis outlines the shift from memorials honoring the dead as a whole towards the preference to incorporate individualistic naming of the dead within the memorials.

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Introduction

When potential shoppers enter the National September 11 Memorial Museum Store, visitors can peruse a multitude of items including T-shirts and hoodies adorned with “Never Forget,” “Love is Stronger Than Hate,” or the NYPD shield. Other items include commemorative coins, bracelets, and magnets. The museum’s website notes the exclusivity of the products offered to the National 9/11 Memorial and Museum, a site “only possible through [our] support.”¹

What are the processes through which one of the nation's biggest tragedies become commercialized with t-shirts and bracelets? Soon after, the memory of a terrorist attack is used to sell a t-shirt or a trinket as a form of remembering a visit to the sacred site. How have our processes of memorialization in the United States shifted so dramatically so that an event such as 9/11 becomes the subject of the tourist trade as a site of collective memory. Given that so much memorabilia is emblazoned with — “Never Forget” — it seems impossible anyone ever will.

These souvenirs, whether it is a snow globe, article of clothing, or small refrigerator magnet, constitute, according to Michael Hogan, one of the many “indicator[s] of the elaborate consumer networks of mass-produced goods that exist in American culture around events of national trauma.”² Even before construction of the National 9/11 Memorial and the Freedom Tower, Ground Zero became popular for patriotic tourism. Not surprisingly the city’s financial district transformed into a place of mourning but also a site of consumerism for those choosing to capitalize on the hallowed grounds in lower Manhattan. Prior to the museum being built, numerous vendors and stores in New York City began selling unofficial 9/11 merchandise such

¹ The Official Website for the 9/11 Memorial Museum Store, accessed Aug 7, 2020.

² Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground City* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 1.

as coffee mugs and Teddy bears, some starting only a few weeks after the attacks. The sales ensure the rise of the question of whether or not this response to trauma alters our ideas on war, myth, and memory relating to 9/11.

As a part of cultural history, the historical study of memory has roots with ancient philosophers. Over time, historians have wrestled with distinguishing between history and memory and their intersection. Different opinions arose including those of philosopher Michel Foucault who argued: “historical memories are constantly refashioned to suit present purposes.” There are two categories: socially acquired and collective.³ This paper is intended to demonstrate how memorialization in the United States has shifted to suit present purposes of democratization and the memorialization of individuals over event and why that shift may have occurred. What is at stake when we change our major cultural forms of the production of memory?

In the case of 9/11, the assault on the United States arguably required the creation of specific types of memories to inform memorialization. None of the memorials evolved out of government efforts, but rather private efforts. In the case of the various design competitions, the private organizations have a distinct set of goals in constructing the nation’s post-9/11 collective memory. I argue that this representation is not associated with the cause of death, but instead advocates wanted sites of reflection that concentrated on the lives and the communities affected by the attacks.

This ensured a number of memorials dealing with unusual causes of death, like terrorism, having individual names within certain communities serve as the primary focal point of the memorialization process. While these memorials rarely form the individual memories of that day, those in charge of commissioning memorials craft a certain framework for structuring

³ Michael J. Hogan, “Hiroshima in History and Memory: An Introduction,” *Hiroshima in History and Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4.

the larger collective memory of that day. Yet attempting to recapture individual memories creates a tension with building a collective memory. What happens if people differ on the collective memory of an event, especially a traumatic one like a terrorist attack? Alternative memories or counter memories often threaten collective memory, but, as Hogan argues they become “embedded in the social fabric, they become idealized memories and their ability to survive . . . depends on the power of the group that holds them.”⁴ Memorials focusing on the individual names of the lost surely add to the collective memory as it is more difficult to contest them in historical interpretations of past events. This is not always true when historical events like Wounded Knee and the Tulsa Race Massacre have been historically inaccurate due to the lack of information readily available. Interpretations of these events have changed over time as more and more evidence is presented that suggests there were more victims than originally thought come to light. Regardless, there can be less disputing the names of individuals who died, or the communities affected.

In this realm, historian Pierre Nora argues that history seems “an intellectual and secular production” exposing our past history to carefully examine it as more objective while memory “installs remembrance with the sacred” because memory oftentimes appears more subjective.⁵ This tension of history and memory most certainly seeped into the memorialization of war prior to 9/11. The Enola Gay controversy and the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial in Washington, D.C. sparked rancorous debate over how best to balance patriotic memory with objective history. The struggle to create something as complex as a public memorial in the hopes that it satisfies as many people as possible affects many involved in the memorial process. In the wake of 9/11, various memorials appeared, both at the behest of the government and the communities affected.

⁴ Michael J. Hogan, “Hiroshima in History and Memory: An Introduction,” 4.

⁵ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memorie,” *Representations*, no. 26 (1989), 8-9.

This thesis examines the tensions between history and memory and asks why organizers constructed 9/11 memorials to privilege the dead as individuals rather than focusing on the event. By evaluating the designs that focused on the victims who died in the attacks, it argues that artists, individuals, and community leaders placed them at the center of their memorialization process because of the deep-seated fears of forgetting the names of those who died in such a horrific attack. I argue that we compare this to other war memorials because this constitutes a war in public history – a war on terror.

9/11 being a war on terror does not make it any different than the other wars that the United States found themselves becoming a participant in, whether it be against themselves, against a whole country, a regime, or a group of countries fighting for what they believe is the proper way of life. The deaths of all individuals affected by war should be equally celebrated and memorialized as they all should have the honor of being remembered and mourned by their loved ones. While in many cases for 9/11, many had little to no remains to bury, the principle of their memory still deserves to be honored, as any other victim of war would be.

Chapter 1: Memorialization in History

When sons or daughters die in battle, parents are confronted with the choice of what they will do to honor the courage and sacrifice of that son or daughter. Following the death of our son, Victor David Westphall, on May 22, 1968, in Vietnam, we decided to build an enduring symbol of the tragedy and futility of war.⁶ - Dr. Victor Westphall

Following the unfortunate passing of their son, U.S Marine Corps First Lieutenant Victor David Westphall III, his family created a Vietnam memorial in Angel Fire, New Mexico. It memorialized the seventeen men who lost their lives besides their son in a battle near Con Thien, South Vietnam in May 1968. Following their son's death, the family sold their house and moved away because the mother "said she couldn't live in the area anymore," as reported by one of the family's sons.⁷ While the project was originally the mother's idea, Westphall's father, Victor "Doc" Westphall, a contractor, spent a majority of his days following his son's death "working on the project and trying to raise money."⁸ After moving into a mobile home in northern New Mexico, he "dug the foundations for the chapel, hired an architect [Ted C. Luna] and a construction company and supervised the work" all primarily funded by the Westphall family.⁹ Although he hired an architect, the elder Westphall performed a lot of the laborious work since building a memorial to a war many opposed was not popular during this time.

On the third anniversary of their son's death in 1971, even when the war remained unpopular and soldiers continued dying, the family formally dedicated the memorial and opened it to the public as a place to remember and meditate about the losses. On opening day, John Kerry, the national coordinator for Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), was the

⁶ Dr. Victor Westphall, "Memorial History," Official Website for the Angel Fire Vietnam Veterans Memorial, accessed Feb 1, 2021.

⁷ Michael E. Ruane, "One of the First Vietnam Memorials was born of a Father's Grief and Obsession," *The Washington Post*, Sept 25, 2017.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

keynote speaker and acknowledged that “there’s no memorial that would mean as much to the men in Vietnam as the one here on this hill.”¹⁰ Others acknowledged it as the “first major memorial created to honor the veterans of the Vietnam War and inspired the establishment of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial which was completed over ten years later, in 1982.”¹¹ Historians like Patrick Hagopian argue that people like the Westphall’s, who experienced the pain of a death in the case of a catastrophe, try to “mitigate the blank awfulness of loss by making sure that, at least, the dead are not forgotten,” which is something that is seen in the loss from wars all the way up to 9/11.¹²

The Doc and the David Westphall Veterans Foundation (DWVF) struggled to find funding one decade after its dedication and the memorial soon found itself funded and under ownership of the Disabled American Veterans.¹³ Two years after Doc’s death in 2003, the memorial became the Vietnam Veterans Memorial State Park of New Mexico. It soon transferred from the Department of State Parks to Veterans Services for the sole purpose of having the memorial under an agency that served veterans.¹⁴ The Westphall Memorial remains a place in 2021 where people can honor the dead 24 hours a day for any and all visitors.¹⁵

As in the case of the Westphall Memorial, any study of collective memory and memorialization seeks to explain how societies and individuals commemorate past events, especially traumatic ones like war and death. This thesis looks at the creation of 9/11 memorials and queries why recent ones concentrate on the individuals rather than general memorials for a

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ “Memorial History,” Official Website for the Angel Fire Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

¹² Patrick Hagopian, *The Vietnam War in American Memory: Veterans, Memorials, and the Politics of Healing*, (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 4.

¹³ Website for the Vietnam Veteran’s Memorial at Angel Fire, accessed June 20, 2021, <https://www.vietnamveteransmemorial.org/about-the-memorial/memorial-history/>.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

specific moment in time. The importance of naming the individuals rather than the act of terrorism itself may come from Americans not wanting to focus “directly [on] the cause of death.”¹⁶ And conversely, the memorial ignores the perpetrators of these horrific events and specific causes of death. People increasingly want to mourn and remember their loved ones, typically as positively as possible. Historian Harriet Senie argues these memorials hold a sort of national identity for Americans, but that they “conflat[e] the concept of a public memorial with that of a private cemetery.”¹⁷

There has been an evolution of memorials in the United States over its history with the more recent phenomenon of the commemoration of the individual dead helping define America’s history. But much of our collective memorialization processes began well before 1865, especially nationally, typically honored high-ranking officers or military institutions, particularly in the American Revolution and beyond. Historian Kristin Haas acknowledges that “American memorializers remembered wars as triumphs of state or divine power, without paying particular attention to ordinary soldiers.”¹⁸ These included many statues and other memorials to leaders such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and other war and political heroes.

To understand memorialization in American history, one starts from the birth of the republic, as well as traditions assimilated from Great Britain, especially in the post-revolutionary era. As a society, memorialization has evolved from acknowledging people only with military honors or politicians to highlighting the sacrifices of ordinary civilians. Starting at the beginning of the American Republic and moving forward allows for the study of the role of memorialization, one needs to start in the nineteenth century before the Civil War to understand

¹⁶ Harriet F Senie, *Memorials to Shattered Myths: Vietnam to 9/11*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 4.

¹⁷ Harriet F Senie, *Memorials to Shattered Myths: Vietnam to 9/11*, 5.

¹⁸ Kristin A. Haas, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 35.

the evolution from the worship of war heroes and early political leaders. Historian John Bodnar suggests that “beginning in the late 1820s a rise in regional and class divisions led to sharp exchanges in commemorative activities and to something of a decline in the focus on patriotism and national unity.”¹⁹

With the Civil War, some changes occurred including the drafting of an army and civilians fighting against fellow civilians in the largest clash in U.S. history. However, it was middle and lower-class citizens fighting the actual battles that increasingly received memorialization while the upper class merely celebrated and commemorated the leaders like in earlier conflicts. Classes remember differently wars like the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, both World Wars, and the Vietnam War based on the extent of their involvement with the wars.

While the working-class were the majority of participants in this war due in part to the system of volunteering as well as the draft in the Civil War, many wealthy men escaped the draft by buying substitutes or other forms of avoidance. This ensured during days of celebration and different people being remembered in various ways, largely in many ways created by class position. While the wealthy used the Fourth of July to “express civil loyalty to the nation-state”, during the 1830s and 1840s, many of the working-class celebrations involved them “pursu[ing] leisure-time activities,” according to Bodnar.²⁰

The Civil War helped change some of the methods of memorialization. Ordinary people often fought battles during the Civil War with both men and women alike faced “dramatic episodes of tragedy and sacrifice” with each battle.²¹ As with any traumatic event, people remember it differently based on their proximity, physically and metaphorically. Bodnar argues

¹⁹ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 21.

²⁰ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, 27.

²¹ *Ibid.*

that the “people who experience the war instituted a broad range of commemorative activities that viewed the wartime experience of ordinary people — the soldiers and those that grieved for them and supported them — in terms of a ‘cult of sacrifice.’”²² He adds that the sacrifice unfolded in two different ways: the “grief and sorrow people felt over the loss of friends and ancestors” and as “an act of loyalty or a contribution to the salvation of the nation itself.”²³ These ordinary people, best described by Bodnar as “the rest of the society that participates in public commemoration” often used commemoration to “redefine [the] symbol [of the nation]” instead of celebrating the nation itself.²⁴

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, changes occurred. Historian Michael Kammen states that the memorialization shifted from “great men” to a “preferred emphasis on ‘ordinary’ men and women (meaning persons whose names are not household words) who provide symbolic representation of a just cause or a courageous effort.”²⁵ One such monument representing the democratization process is the Battle Monument at West Point, erected in 1897. It is “distinctly commemorative of the officers, noncommissioned officers and privates of the regular army of the United States killed, or who died of wounds received in action, during the War of the Rebellion.”²⁶ This monument honored not only regular soldiers but also everyday citizens who fought. During a time with only a small professional military operating, this memorial highlighted ordinary civilians. Honoring those who fought in these wars, these normal people, became extremely important and often reversed the trend toward honoring those with

²² Ibid, 28.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid, 16.

²⁵ Michael Kammen, “Democratizing American Commemorative Monuments,” *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, 77, no. 2 (Spring 2001).

²⁶ Charles W. Larned, *History of the Battle Monument at West Point* (West Point: West Point), 1898, 73.

high-level positions within the military or high-ranking political figures to ordinary people was something that had not been considered a priority.

In contrast, in the Civil War, “the disposition of the [Civil War] dead made an accurate accounting of the fallen impossible. Due to the diseases that wreaked havoc alongside the “men thrown by the hundreds into burial trenches” and “soldiers stripped of every identifying object before being abandoned on the field” it can be said that “hundreds of thousands of men perished without names, with their identifier being ‘Unknown’.”²⁷

However, starting in the mid-nineteenth century, David Simpson argued that “the need to commemorate the deaths of ordinary people began to be felt” in the United States.²⁸ In particular, historian Drew Faust believes the Civil War changed memorialization in the United States with a “system of national cemeteries” and the government “involve[d] itself with honoring the military dead.”²⁹ Previously a mass grave labeled with ‘unknown soldiers’ transformed into the government officially acknowledging the individuals in a capacity beyond a mass grave. The Civil War marks the first war in which “the bodies of the dead soldiers were buried individually.”³⁰ The Civil War and focus on cemeteries became more prominent in the late 19th Century as people increasingly considered the individual loss. As Faust correctly puts it, “to this twenty-first-century American, this seems unimaginable.”³¹ The United States now puts money into finding and identifying the individuals as the “obligation of the state to account for and return—either dead or alive—every soldier in its service is unquestioned.”³² Since American

²⁷ Drew Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2009) Apple Books, 121.

²⁸ David Simpson, *9/11: The Culture of Commemoration* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), 24.

²⁹ Drew Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, 122.

³⁰ Kristin A. Haas, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, 37.

³¹ Drew Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, 121.

³² *Ibid.*

wars relied primarily on mass civilian armies instead of professional armed forces, a question began being asked: “in which the obligation of the citizen to the nation was expressed as a willingness to risk life itself.”³³

After the Civil War, the burial process of soldiers also changed significantly, a process accelerated by World War I. By 1918, as “those brought up in British and American towns and villages know all too well, the scope of the commemoration of the military dead had extended to all ranks and all were named,” argues Simpson.³⁴ He notes “grieving over and laying to rest the bodies of the dead, summarizing and remembering their lives in obituaries and epitaphs, and erecting monuments and buildings that memorialize or mark the sites of tragic events have all been part of the rituals of ongoing life, but not always in the same way or to the same ends.”³⁵

A good representation of the change of the memorialization process revolved around the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Located in Arlington Cemetery, this monument, inaugurated after World War I in 1921, memorializes the unidentified remains of U.S. servicemen. Nonetheless, historian G. Kurt Piehler argues that the Tomb of the Unknown “did not satisfy the need felt for comprehensive recognition of the nation’s servicemen.”³⁶ However, the Tomb of the Unknown changed the national memorialization process, something later accelerated by the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial. Instead of putting the focus on the cemetery at Arlington, with all the graves for the military dead, monuments started focusing on honoring the war dead individually, at the site, not the cemetery.

Within the United States during the 19th and 20th centuries, these rituals took on a distinctly martial flair and accelerated as America became a global power. National memorials

³³ Ibid, 122.

³⁴ David Simpson, *9/11: The Culture of Commemoration*, 24.

³⁵ Ibid, 1.

³⁶ G. Kurt Piehler, *Remember War the American Way* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

focused on political and military leaders who guided the nation through war or highlighted soldiers who sacrificed their lives to ensure battlefield victories. Several historians, including Zachary Beckstead, describe war memorials as serving “as the vital social link between past, present, and future,” and appears through artistic and institutional lenses and that “the lessons of war (whether glory or lament) are available to the public.”³⁷ The heightened desire for war memorials in the 20th century reflect a move toward global power as many Americans started dying in overseas conflicts.

People often scrutinize the designs of war memorials to imagine a different design or imagery, but according to historian Ken Inglis, artists should avoid being constrained by future observers and their interpretations “may be engaged in forgetting and inventing as well as remembering.”³⁸ Historian Chris Hedges argues even the people reporting on trauma “struggle with how malleable and inaccurate memory can be” and that when witnessing war “even moments after a killing or an atrocity, often cannot remember what took place in front of them [and] struggle to connect disparate images.”³⁹ If a trained reporter has difficulties sorting out what happened, it highlights challenges in how average citizens manage their memories of events. However, the general public will form a collective memory of an event over days, months, and years aided by remembrance events and the construction of memorials.

The construction of memorials ensured the need to organize and maintain them. In the history of U.S. national memorials, two major groups manage and preserve them evolved. The U.S. National Park Service (NPS) has the responsibility of “preserv[ing], protect[ing], and

³⁷ Zachary Beckstead et al., “Collective Remembering through the Materiality and Organization of War Memorials,” *Journal of Material Culture* 16, no. 2 (May 24, 2011): 196.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁹ Chris Hedges, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*, (Cambridge, Ma: Public Affairs, 2002), Apple Books, 50.

shar[ing] [the] nation’s special places and stories including war memorials across the country.”⁴⁰ They oversee many of the national memorials across the United States that celebrate victories in war on American soil.

Besides the NPS, the American Battle Monuments Commission focuses on “designing, constructing, operating, and maintaining permanent American military burial groups in foreign countries, and controlling the design and construction on foreign soil of U.S. military memorials, monuments, and markers by other U.S. citizens and organizations.”⁴¹ Along with the NPS, these organizations have played a major role in national monuments switching from political figures to war memorials that exalt the individual as well as define how the memorial represents the American experience. A major one remains the democratization of American honors and sacrifice.

Many national monuments feature important figures from our past, primarily men including George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, William Penn, and Abraham Lincoln. Kammen argues that these historical figures have “receiv[ed] enduring tributes for being exceptional — literally as well as figuratively, head and shoulders above the average person.”⁴² While the monuments lack individual democratic roots, Kammen emphasizes individuals “do celebrate the vision, leadership, and civic convictions of extraordinary individuals.”⁴³ For many, these aforementioned figures represent American ideals of the democratic vision but so do the common people who made the ultimate sacrifice.

During various wars and their aftermath, questions of memorialization often arise. Is there just one way to memorialize and why do it and what are its goals? Regarding the latter, a

⁴⁰ “What We Do”, The Official Website for the National Park Service, accessed Aug 20, 2020.

⁴¹ “About Us,” The Official Website for the American Battle Monuments Commission, accessed Aug 21, 2020.

⁴² Michael Kammen, “Democratizing American Commemorative Monuments.”

⁴³ Ibid.

major concern remains a fear of forgetting the past whether it be by the government or by the population which propels memorialization forward. Beckstead and his colleagues argue societies remember negative and positive events within a collective memory outside of people's individual memories and within cultural objects often associated with memorials.⁴⁴

However, an important question arises. How have historians evaluated war memorials in the past? Inglis argues that war memorials are "among the most visible objects in the urban and rural landscapes of many countries: a characteristically modern addition to the world's stock of monuments."⁴⁵ To Inglis, the unveiling of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial piqued scholarly interest in and beyond the United States.⁴⁶ This memorial became the first war memorial "in the capital and the nation that claims to include the names of all the U.S dead." Those that followed after the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, such as the Korean War Veterans Memorial and the World War I and World War II memorials, never attempted the individualistic naming process.

Comparatively, the National World War I and World War II memorials feature entities that focus on the war efforts of the soldiers and their path taken and honor the deceased as a whole rather than separately. *A Soldier's Journey*, located in Pershing Park, Washington, D.C., is the National World War I memorial. Although construction on the fully built sculpture is underway, a canvas depicting the design is currently on display: Thirty-eight figures "portray the experience of one American soldier. Starting from the left, the soldier takes leave from his wife and daughter, charges into combat, sees men around him killed, wounded and gassed, and

⁴⁴ Zachary Beckstead et al., "Collective Remembering through the Materiality and Organization of War Memorials," 196.

⁴⁵ Ken Inglis, "War Memorials: Ten Questions for Historians", *Guerres Mondiales Et Conflits Contemporains*, no. 167 (1992), 5.

⁴⁶ Ken Inglis, "War Memorials: Ten Questions for Historians", 6-7.

recovers from the shock to come home to his family.”⁴⁷ Keeping with a similar theme, *Service, Sacrifice, Unity and Victory*, the National World War II Memorial is made up of fifty-six pillars, one each for the forty-eight states of 1945, the District of Columbia, as well as the territories of Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the U.S. Virgin Islands split between two arches representing the Atlantic and Pacific theaters. In addition to the names, the Freedom Wall includes 4,048 gold stars, with each star representing one hundred Americans who died in the war. While both memorials include an acknowledgment of the dead, neither made a point of highlighting the deceased individually.

The Vietnam Veteran’s Memorial (VVM) likely changed the pattern to concentrating on the dead at the national level, although many county courthouses across the country honor the dead of the Civil War, WWI, and WWII, and other conflicts. When opened, the VVM celebrated not the war but instead mourned those lost, like the Westphall Memorial. The VVM set the standard for many memorials after 1975. Although on national land, according to Inglis it was the “state merely consenting for it to be put on public ground.”⁴⁸ The memorial was a “divided and defeated democracy installed in the national capital” Inglis notes because it was a “stark, self-effacing monument bearing no inscription, no symbol, nothing but the names of the 60,000 dead, in chronological order and no statement except that this man and this man and this man died on this and this and this date.”⁴⁹

The men and women who formed the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund (VVMF) in 1979 knew that they “wanted a monument that listed all the names of those killed, missing in

⁴⁷ “World War I Memorial: A Soldier’s Journey”, The Official Website for the National Park Service, accessed July 8, 2021.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 20.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 19.

action, or still held as prisoners of war in Vietnam.”⁵⁰ Jan Scruggs, referred to as “the brainchild of the most recognizable Vietnam memorial” by historian Kyle Longley, advocated for a memorial with all the names of the fallen.⁵¹ Scruggs found this absolutely prudent because he recalled that “no one remembers their names.”⁵².

Ultimately, Scruggs and the VVMF envisioned a veterans’ memorial over a war memorial. In doing so, it helped “ensure a memory that emphasized the contributions of the soldiers rather than the federal government.”⁵³ The VVMF only issued a few rules in the memorial design competition, including it should “(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.”⁵⁴

A college student, Maya Lin, won the competition. Her winning design fulfilled all of the above as she consciously decided “not to study the history of the war, or to enmesh herself in the controversies surrounding it.”⁵⁵ The memorial wall has the names of the dead “not alphabetically but rather in the order in which they died” so that “soldiers who died together are listed together on the wall.”⁵⁶ Lin designed it this way so that on “every line on every panel stories of particular times and places are inscribed with names.”⁵⁷

Despite this winning design, Lin faced vocal criticisms. A few civilians and veterans bashed the design and Lin herself. Before construction even began, veteran Tom Carhart called it

⁵⁰ Kristen A. Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, 10-11.

⁵¹ Kyle Longley, *Grunts: The American Combat Soldier in Vietnam* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), 186.

⁵² Jan Scruggs and Joel Swerdlow, *To Heal a Nation: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 7

⁵³ Kristen A. Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, 11.

⁵⁴ Lydia Fish, *The Last Firebase: A Guide to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (Shippensburg, Penn.: White Mane Publishing, 1987), 3.

⁵⁵ Kristen A. Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, 14.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

“a black gash of shame and sorrow.”⁵⁸ Angered because the committee rejected his design, he argued that those on the committee, including war veteran Scruggs, knew nothing about the war in Vietnam and therefore deserved no role in the choice. Others supported Carhart, especially the conservative press, while the mainstream media generally offered support for the design.⁵⁹ It forced a compromise with Carhart’s sculpture “The Three Soldiers” added in front of the main memorial.

Over time, people passed judgment. Inglis argues that it became “the subject of a passionate national debate whose outcome added a dimension of meaning not present in (and one view not compatible with) the original.”⁶⁰ Hedges feels that this cemented its importance. The veterans “who survived and insisted we not forget” funded it, not the government.⁶¹ The ultimate evaluation of the memorial ultimately came from the veterans. After the official unveiling, Longley notes, the “overall response of the Vietnam veterans proved extremely positive.”⁶²

Despite many attempts by critics to devalue the design of the memorial after its dedication, the generally positive reviews coupled with President Ronald Reagan’s administration throwing support behind the VVFM during two commemoration events led to many accepting the memorial with its intended purpose of being a space for healing. Reagan believed he achieved the process of ‘healing’ he previously referenced at the unveiling of the memorial in 1984, so much so that near the end of his administration he “returned to the memorial and said that [it] was now complete.”⁶³

⁵⁸ Tom Carhart, “Insulting Vietnam Vets,” *The New York Times*, October 24, 1981

⁵⁹ Kristen A. Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, 16.

⁶⁰ Ken Inglis, “War Memorials: Ten Questions for Historians,” 19.

⁶¹ Chris Hedges, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*, 50.

⁶² Kyle Longley, *Grunts: The American Combat Soldier in Vietnam*, 188.

⁶³ Patrick Hagopian, *The Vietnam War in American Memory: Veterans, Memorials, and the Politics of Healing*, 166.

Those who tried to add additional meaning to a memorial occurred beyond the VVM. As oftentimes, memorials revolve around acts of violence, like war or terrorism, but rarely “refer directly to the cause of death.”⁶⁴ Instead, in the modern era, they often symbolize the number of deaths and sometimes include an education center or museum containing personal items of the victims, “along with all the objects left at the site or sent in the mail by visitors and sympathizers, including many hats and T-shirts.”⁶⁵ This practice has been closely associated with the VVM.

The argument about memorials having a national identity arose once again with the many memorials erected in honor of the victims of 9/11, the next major traumatic event in the United States. The suddenness and devastation of the attacks on 9/11 generally insured people saw it as an attack on the whole country. People started debating how to react. One conservative organization documented “American universities did not respond to the September attacks with the proper degree of ‘anger, patriotism, and support of military intervention.’”⁶⁶ And they were not alone in this thought. On the other hand, many of the scholars quoted in the document viewed the United States as being solely responsible for the attacks on the nation. Many blamed U.S. actions including complicity in, whether it be military intervention in previous wars or alliances with other governments including Saudi Arabia and Israel.

However, why do certain individuals argue their viewpoints more, especially as the country processed the horrific attacks on U.S. soil? Historian Erika Doss notes debates over the selection, style, location, and meaning of memorials revealed “deep cultural anxieties about who and what should be remembered in American history, and on what terms.”⁶⁷ When an artist starts

⁶⁴ Harriet F. Senie, *Memorials to Shattered Myths*, 4.

⁶⁵ David Simpson, *9/11: The Culture of Commemoration*, 81.

⁶⁶ Chris Hedges, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*, Apple Books, 46.

⁶⁷ Erika Doss, "Remembering 9/11: Memorials and Cultural Memory." *OAH Magazine of History* 25, no. 3 (2011), 27.

creating a piece of art, such as a memorial, they consider thought, message, and meaning for the design, placement, and overall general feel. After 9/11, artists often underscored the theme of “never forget,” a phrase often associated with 9/11.

So, the questions arise about who became heroes on September 11, 2001, and whether and why they deserve subsequent memorials in the United States. Lives changed forever when they boarded the planes or headed to work in New York City and Washington D.C. With the democratization of memorials changing from well-known figures to everyday citizens, a change occurred in the symbolic representation of a courageous effort. Were these people actual heroes in the moments leading up to the attacks, or were they just in the wrong place on the wrong day? This seems to be an important question.

The memorials created in memory of those lost in 9/11, once commissioned and erected, became part of the global War on Terror. They stand as a stark reminder of what happened that day and the lives of innocent people lost. With the continued process of physically memorializing the names in the designs of memorials, it is continuously hammered home that people who visit these memorials should think of the people lost, and not the people who caused the destruction to our country.

As with the VVM, it was crucial that the names of those lost on 9/11 received focus on a bigger scale for any type of national memorial. The memorials chosen for examination are in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. where people died on September 11. New York City had the biggest populations affected by the attacks due to the sheer size of their targets and the number of deaths while Pennsylvania was the final resting place of the hijacked planes. Finally, Washington, D.C., the national capital, unfortunately, was another target of that day. The memorials chosen in these three locations specifically focus on the designs, which emphasized

the names of the individual victims. And they represent the notion of the different aspects of individualism within a war monument.

Chapter 2: Memorialization in New York and New Jersey

8: 45 am. 9:03 am. 9:59 am. 10:28 am.

One of New York City's biggest tourist draws in the early twenty-first century was its beautiful urban skyline. The financial district was a special landmark, having the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center shining for those wishing ultimately to succeed on Wall Street. The architect, Minoru Yamasaki, emphasized the "World Trade Center is a living symbol of man's dedication to world peace . . . a representation of man's belief in humanity, his need for individual dignity, his beliefs in the cooperation of men, and through cooperation, his ability to find greatness."⁶⁸

However, others viewed the Twin Towers differently. Urban architectural historian Lewis Mumford characterized them "as an example of the purposeless gigantism and technological exhibitionism that are now eviscerating the living tissue of every great city."⁶⁹ Regardless, at the turn of the century, some foreigners targeted them for destruction. U.S. Senator Bob Graham concluded that 9/11 was the "culmination of a long trail of American intelligence failures both at home and abroad — an almost bewildering array of mistakes, missteps, and missed opportunities caused by warring governmental cultures, bureaucratic incompetence, and neglect, lack of imagination, and perhaps the most tragic of all, a failure of leadership at the highest levels of government."⁷⁰ The 1993 World Trade Center bombing that occurred eight years prior indicated foreigners saw it as a viable target, although most forgot

⁶⁸ Minoru Yamasaki, at the opening ceremony for the Twin Towers in 1973. "World Trade Center - Exhibitions," Official Website of the New York State Museum, accessed Aug 22, 2020.

⁶⁹ Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine: The Pentagon of Power* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 340-341.

⁷⁰ Bob Graham. *Intelligence Matters: the CIA, the FBI, Saudi Arabia, and the Failure of America's War on Terror* (New York: Random House, 2004), xii.

about it due to the sheer number of lost victims on 9/11. So when the towers crumbled, Americans watched in horror.

Thus, September 11, 2001, is a date that most people born before 1990 have deeply ingrained in their memory. They remember exactly where they were and with whom news broke of two planes crashing into the World Trade Center. Most recall a panicked nation not understanding the attacks.

And they remember the large scale of deaths not known on American soil since Pearl Harbor which played a big role in memorials' history. Historian Emily Rosenberg notes that “unlike the ‘sacred ground’ holding most other war monuments, the harbor was a place of actual burial, and it developed visibility as one of the most important symbolic locations in American culture.”⁷¹ Almost 1200 crewmen were aboard the ship and “the bodies of 1,102 of these service men were never recovered and remain entombed in the ship.”⁷² Similarly, the majority of the hundreds of people in the towers and on the planes never had their remains recovered when the buildings collapsed.

In the days after September 11, 2001, discussions began almost immediately about how to memorialize the victims. Makeshift memorials popped up all around the city, in some instances only hours after the attacks. The space where the two towers once stood received the moniker of “Ground Zero” and constituted its own type of memorial for years afterward for those visiting the site of the tragedy. It became something of holy ground where people mourned and paid their respects.

⁷¹ Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 71.

⁷² Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American History*, 72.

Before the idea of an official memorial crystallized, people focused on the attack victims in unofficial memorials throughout the country. For example, a major source of memory of those lost unfolded in the obituaries. Normally, average newspapers have obituaries in a specifically marked section. In bigger cities with major newspapers, obituaries typically focus on the more influential people.⁷³ Obituaries often focus on the life of the deceased as a way for the reader to learn about this person before their death. This was a conventional form of memorialization seen in daily newspapers.

But, 9/11 was different. In the weeks after the attack on the World Trade Center, Simpson says that the *New York Times* “printed fifteen or so brief remembrances a day of some of the almost three thousand people who died in the towers, airplanes, and during the rescue efforts.”⁷⁴ Simpson discusses how prominent people like the “leaders of corporations, entertainers, politicians, and other more or less public figures whose place in the world would have ordinarily assure[d] them a place on the standard obituary page continued to appear,” but additional pages were “for the ordinary people, the firefighters, window washers, janitors, and waiters whose lives and deaths would normally have gone unrecorded by the most widely circulated newspaper in the United States.”⁷⁵

As a result of such obituaries and other memorials, people questioned whether those that died were heroes? Or were they just ordinary people deserving memorialization due to the nature of their death? Rosenberg argues that The *USS Arizona Memorial* at Pearl Harbor has “become a national declaration that [World War I] had a noble purpose and that the dead did not die in vain.”⁷⁶ The ordinary service men who perished suddenly became heroes within their death.

⁷³ Bill McDonald, “Talk to the Newsroom: Obituaries Editor Bill McDonald.” *New York Times*, Sept 25, 2006.

⁷⁴ David Simpson, *9/11*, 21.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American History*, 74.

Instead of focusing on the cause of their death, the memorial Rosenberg argues “counteracted unsettling memories [of the war] by advancing representative images of individuals who became heroic through their innocence and sacrifice.”⁷⁷ This idea of the ordinary hero established precedents for civilians killed in such a manner. The continued reference to ordinary heroes at the *USS Arizona* “sought to assure the view of the willingness of their sacrifice and emphasized the theme of national unity that had been so visible in wartime culture.”⁷⁸ National unity during periods of time like after the Pearl Harbor bombing and in the immediate aftermath of the attacks was extremely important and played a crucial part in the memorialization process.

In the days and weeks after, the discussion began on how to memorialize what happened. The debates over the official memorial created the biggest question, some wondering if any memorial should exist for people at the wrong place and time on the wrong day or were these people unknowing heroes (or at least characterized as such). The memorial ultimately created differed from any other war memorial or battle monument as Rosenberg believes that one of their functions “is to serve the psychological and cultural needs of postwar situations.”⁷⁹ Questions like who should be included as well as how and where became the most pressing questions.

Two months after the attacks, Governor George Pataki and then New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani formed the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) in November 2001. The purpose was to “oversee transportation and other infrastructure improvements, the construction, and development of the areas affected by the terrorist attacks, and the attraction and

⁷⁷ Ibid, 74-75

⁷⁸ Ibid, 75.

⁷⁹ Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American History*, 73.

retention of business throughout that area.”⁸⁰ Their motto ‘Remember, Rebuild, Renew,’ often seen as an extension of the other, became the sole purpose of the LMDC.

The process evolved over time. A year after its founding, the Families Advisory Council of the LMDC, made up of “families of the victims, local residents and businesspeople, and other groups affected by the attacks,” formed a committee of “Advisory Council members and handpicked professionals and experts in public art to formulate a Memorial Mission Statement” which served as the directive for the memorialization process.⁸¹ The Memorial Mission Statement later read:

Remember and honor the thousands of innocent men, women, and children murder by terrorists in the horrific attacks of February 26, 1993 and September 11, 2001. Respect this place made sacred through tragic loss. Recognize the endurance of those who survived, the courage of those who risked their lives to save others, and the compassion of all who supported us in our darkest hours. May the lives remembered, the deed recognized, and the spirit reawakened be eternal beacons, which reaffirm respect for life, strengthen our resolve to preserve freedom, and inspire an end to hatred, ignorance and intolerance.⁸²

Both committees focused on ensuring equal representation for all groups of victims with no hierarchies of groups of victims, such as first responders versus office members.

After establishing what was necessary, they now moved forward to their next step. With the committees polishing off the Memorial Mission Statement, the LMDC started planning an

⁸⁰ Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, 2001.

⁸¹ James Young, *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 35.

⁸² Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, “World Trade Center Site Memorial Competition Guidelines,” 2003, 18.

international design competition for the official national 9/11 Memorial. Anita Contini, the Vice President and Director for the Memorial, Cultural, and Civic Programs at the LMDC, started gathering people for the competition jury. Contini faced challenges during the selection process of ensuring a jury “both representative enough and respected enough in their professional worlds to bring an unimpeachable authority to whatever design they would finally choose.”⁸³

When creating the final jury, the LMDC wanted to have a diverse team of thirteen people. On April 10, 2003, the LMDC announced the jury members made up of “design architects and artists (Enrique Norten, Michael Van Valkenburgh, Maya Lin, and Martin Puryear), professionals in the arts community (Public Art Fund president Susan Freedman, art consultant Nancy Rosen and Harlem Studio Museum director Lowery Stokes Sims), academic and cultural historians (Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian and [James Young], political liaisons (Deputy Mayor Patricia Harris and former Deputy Governor Michael McKeon), a family member (Paula Grant Berry), and a local resident and business community leader (Julie Menin).⁸⁴ In addition Giuliani and Pataki, joined with David Rockefeller, were appointed to serve as honorary members.

With the selections done, the question of the significance of these specific people arose. What was so special about these people? The design architects and artists gave the committee the expertise on how memorials originated from the design process to its physical construction. Art professionals provided art criticism, as the memorial soon faced plenty of criticism just for its place in the public world. Academic and cultural historians ensured historical input about the size of the tragedy leading to the creation of the memorial and put it into perspective on the U.S.

⁸³ James Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 37.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 37-38.

historical timeline. Lastly, having political liaisons, a victim's family member, and a local resident gave the committee a real connection to those who witnessed 9/11.

Roughly a year and a half after the attacks, as the United States fought a “global war on terror,” the LMDC announced an international memorial design competition on April 28, 2003. Ultimately, the sixteen-member board established a few rules for all potential designers of the proposed memorial. All projects submitted had to include the victims of all of the attacks on 9/11 in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania, as well as the victims from the 1993 World Trade Center truck bombing that killed six. In addition to honoring those victims, it required a space to house the unidentified remains “of those who died, a space for contemplation, and an acknowledgment of those who aided in the rescue, recovery, and healing.”⁸⁵ This acknowledged the unfortunate issue of terrorist attacks that often destroyed everything, making the separation of the remains impossible. In the case of 9/11, according to David Simpson, many “human relics, even the tiniest fragments of human bodies, were painstakingly excavated from the enormous piles of rubble, carefully documents, and put through DNA testing in hopes of being able to send something, however small, to the families of the dead for conventional burial.”⁸⁶

After outlining the basic concepts, the committee opened the competition to everyone over the age of eighteen to register and design a memorial for the competition by the initial registration date of May 29, 2003. With 5,201 entries received by the second registration date in June 2003, it seemed very difficult to decide what was most appropriate and what would accomplish their goals.

⁸⁵ David Simpson, *9/11*, 75.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 28.

However, there were precedents as it was not the first memorial associated with terrorism in the United States as several sprang up in response to violent acts preceding 2001. These included events like the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City on April 15, 1995, by domestic terrorists. The horrific act caused designers to focus on the victims rather than the violence. Built in the years following the Oklahoma City bombing, it rarely “refer(s) directly to the cause of death.”⁸⁷ Instead, it includes a symbolic cemetery defined by 168 chairs, one for each person who died. Located at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, President Bill Clinton dedicated it “five years to the day after the bomb that took 168 lives.”⁸⁸ Additionally, the “footprint of the Murrah building is preserved, covered with grass,” along with the museum on-site that contains preserved personal items associated with the items “along with all the objects left at the site.”⁸⁹

The Oklahoma City site highlighted a common response to death at memorials, especially after it became more prominent after the unveiling of the Vietnam Memorial in 1982. As with cemeteries, people often leave behind tokens like flowers, flags from their countries, or other mementos. In the case of the Vietnam Memorial, people left behind dog tags, letters, cans of beer, and even teddy bears. It became a way to connect and personalize the etched names on the wall and even led to the creation of a new museum that highlights the memories left behind as the National Park Service began collecting and storing them.

There were other precedents in the New York area that set the stage for the official memorial at Ground Zero. There are beautiful memorials around the New York City area, often dwarfed by the sheer size of the national memorial. For example, nestled on Staten Island,

⁸⁷ Harriet F. Senie, *Memorials to Shattered Myths*, 4.

⁸⁸ David Simpson, *9/11*, 81.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Japanese artist Masayuki Sono's *Postcards* honors the 274 Staten Island residents killed on 9/11 and in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Designed to resemble postcards, two fiberglass structures point towards Ground Zero with 274 9x11 granite plaques with the name, birthday, place of work at the time on 9/11 along with their profiles in silhouettes. The design brilliance allows mourners to stand between the walls with everything pointed toward Ground Zero, allowing a connection with those lost. Like Michael Arad and Peter Walker's design ultimately selected for the national memorial, Sono's design won a competition. After many family members of those who worked in the twin towers witnessed the collapse, scholar Jeffrey Ochsner noted that "Borough President James Molinaro vowed that there would be a memorial at this site."⁹⁰ By December 2002, an announcement of competition appeared as well as an advisory committee to ensure completion.

Since Sono lived near the World Trade Center on 9/11 and "had visited there frequently for both work meetings and private life, had personal friends working there," he says that "in a way [he] also went through the loss similar to the victims' families as a community member."⁹¹ During the design process, Sono looked at the many postcards laying around his apartment and realized that while "some are used for sending notes to friends and family, he play[ed] with these as a designed, using one or more postcards as material for small hand-made concept models . . . the postcards themselves could be more than just model-making material."⁹² Thus, he recognized the idea of postcards being a method of communication between loved ones so in his final design "he positioned the pair of 'postcards' to create an empty space between, the center of which

⁹⁰ Jeffrey Ochsner, "A Space of Absence: The Staten Island September 11 Memorial," *Column 5*, 24 (2012), 38.

⁹¹ Interview with Masayuki Sono, July 6, 2020.

⁹² Jeffrey Ochsner, "A Space of Absence: The Staten Island September 11 Memorial," 38.

directly aligns with the missing twin towers.”⁹³ He wanted to avoid more static past memorials and to inject the energy of life into it to make it more dynamic and uplifting.

After designing his memorial with the two “postcards” framing the empty space of the absent towers, he recognized it was eerily similar to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial in Japan, which he saw frequently while obtaining his Master’s in Architecture at Kobe University. It resides on the site of the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall next to the former large business district primarily used for arts and educational exhibitions.⁹⁴ After the atomic bomb demolished the city, very few structures remained, including the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall, which became known as the A-Bomb Dome. According to historian Yuski Utaka, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial is the only structure that was left “standing near the hypocenter of the first atomic bomb which exploded on 6 August 1945, which, according to the memorial’s website, remains in the condition right after the explosion” and “symbolizes the tremendous destructive power, which humankind can invent on one hand; on the other hand, it also reminds us of the hope for world permanent peace.”⁹⁵ The remaining structure, while still standing, also symbolizes the absence of everything else destroyed by the bomb. Sono’s memorial parallels it in a way that while no structure of the towers remained, the structure of his memorial, the direction, and design of the memorial towards the former space of the towers creates a feeling of absence of the two buildings.

There were other influential pieces that shaped Sono’s perspective. He also felt that the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in DC which “[he] always admired may also ha[d] an influence in

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Yuski Utaka, “The Hiroshima ‘Peace Memorial’: Transforming legacy, memories and landscapes,” *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing With “Difficult Heritage”*, ed. William Logan and Keir Reeves, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 36.

⁹⁵ “Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)”.

that [he] intended to find a method to portray victims using more than just texts, to go one step further” - which led to the creation of the silhouetted profiles.⁹⁶

Dedicated on September 11, 2004, *Postcards* was the first official memorial created following the attacks. In memorializing the dead since he felt connected to the attacks and acknowledged that “it was natural to design the memorial without much additional research.”⁹⁷ Nonetheless, he reached out to the families and consulted after completing initial drafts to ascertain their satisfaction with the silhouettes. Just as later with *Reflecting Absence*, Sono randomized the order of the placement of names and profiles via a computer program as he felt that “this lack of order creates a clear sense of equivalence — in death we are all equal.” He argued that organizing their names by alphabet or date of birth ensured “their individuality would be devalued — they would just be points in an abstract system of letters or numbers.”⁹⁸ Unlike Arad and Walker later, Sono believed that “separating individuals into different groups by employer or separating out the uniformed responders from those who were employed by companies in the twin towers would make it hard to see everyone as equivalent and to feel the loss as shared by all Staten Islanders.”⁹⁹

Despite not being one of the most well-known memorials dedicated to the victims of 9/11, visitors found themselves drawn into the space between the postcards. The random placement of the profiles ensures individual experiences, yet Jeffrey Ochsner, an architect and historian who interviewed Sono, acknowledges that they all can be “experienced as a group without any intervening distinctions” ensuring that the memorial “thus supports both individual

⁹⁶ Interview with Masayuki Sono.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Jeffrey Ochsner, “A Space of Absence: The Staten Island September 11 Memorial,” 41.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

mourning and the mourning of the Staten Island community as a whole.”¹⁰⁰ Since more than 250 commuters who rode the ferry on 9/11 to the city never returned home, it was important to honor all.

Absence is a familiar theme with 9/11 memorials, but especially *Postcards* because if anyone visits when crowds are sparse, a feeling envelops the viewer of the people in the silhouettes almost being there as people look across the water towards the empty space where the towers once rose. It is almost as if the dead remain alive, if only for a fleeting moment. It has been said that a type of space that draws that type of response can be referred to as a “space of absence” according to cultural historian Richard Etlin. He defines this term as a “void whose overwhelming message in the absence of a dead person, no longer with us in life, and yet somehow present with the aura of the monument.”¹⁰¹

When asked about memorializing people in times of war, Sono argued for being as personal as possible in representation. He believed that “it will allow viewers to go beyond abstract images as a mass and be able to relate to them in various levels.”¹⁰² The memorial clearly accomplished the goal as he induced viewers to project their memories and imaginations onto them. Likely, had the memorial only acknowledged the event and number of victims, he feels criticisms would have arisen from the families and the community. Finally, he wanted a memorial to help the families have a place to honor their lost loved ones.

Another memorial stands out when considering the official design and the focus on the naming victims in the New York City area. The Pier A Park Memorial, in Hoboken, New Jersey, is fifty-seven glass panels with the names and birth years of the victims representing the fifty-

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Richard Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Legacy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 172.

¹⁰² Interview with Masayuki Sono.

seven victims from there. Interestingly, this memorial exists within another one, a living one, the Grove of Remembrance, of more than fifty planted ginkgo trees in honor of the New Jersey residents who died in the attacks.

The original winner of the design contest, Jeanne Gang, initially wanted a memorial that incorporated glass panels in a circular design on an island looking directly towards Ground Zero. This island would connect to the pier with a bridge filled with the memories of survivors of 9/11 inscribed in their own handwriting. Problems resulted after they ordered glass panels, but the funding for the memorial was not enough to cover the installment, prompting a search for new ideas.

Although he never entered the design contest for the memorial, Demetri Sarantis stepped forward to ensure its completion. In 2010, Hoboken hired an engineering firm to design the memorial that largely replicated the original design and involved removing major parts of the park's landscape. Meantime, several concerned citizens stepped forward to create a design that best captured the heart of the victims. Led by Sarantis, the group sought to incorporate the memorial into the park, instead of damaging it, especially the existing living memorial of Ginkgo trees planted in 2002.

The final design of the glass panels eventually had the name and birth years of all Hoboken residents killed on 9/11 etched on the edge. Sarantis wanted a minimalistic design not detracting from the park. His team sought input from victims' families, believing the birth years personalized memorial.¹⁰³ Sarantis also thought most memorials never incorporated the birth year, making the design relatively unique.¹⁰⁴ The steel design of the two semicircles represented the twin towers and their raised design eased the process for mourners to leave mementos and

¹⁰³ Phone Interview with Demetri Sarantis, July 1, 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

flowers. Entering the park, people see the illuminated glass panels with a backdrop of yellow jessamine flowers that bloom beautifully in the spring, representing life.

When asked about memorialization of those, like in cases of 9/11 victims, Sarantis explained that he thought that memorials constitute the first knee-jerk reaction to many, but that perhaps better ways exist to remember people. When looking for inspiration for the design, Sarantis avoided the original design and looked at Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial for inspiration on a minimalist and simple design. As an architect, Sarantis wanted to avoid damaging the fabric of the environment around the memorial. He believed an overpopulation of memorials made each less meaningful, and therefore diluted image of the remembered.¹⁰⁵ He remains extremely grateful that he created something beautiful for Hoboken in loving memory of those lost.

In the midst of all of these other memorials being designed and installed, the LMDC still sought the design for the official memorial. Despite having many early qualms about having a memorial dedicated to 9/11, Mayor Bloomberg established the 9/11 Memorial Foundation with his own funds. Bloomberg, despite liking one master plan for the rebuilding of the World Trade Center, promised not to interfere in the selection process. It was important because committee members wanted "the freedom to choose none of the submissions was crucial to [their] process" because it "would ensure that [their] final selection would be chosen for reasons of its merit, which [they] could justify and stand by — and not chosen as a result of [their] own fear of failing to find anything at all."¹⁰⁶ If after reviewing all submissions and they found none appropriate to bear the weight of the tragedy, that was okay. This related to wanting to make the best possible decision which many of the victims' families appreciated with many thanking Berry as they

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ James Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 41-42.

“represent[ed] all of their other families’ and their needs to the rest of the jurors.”¹⁰⁷ With a victim’s family member on the jury, the LMDC hoped that would hopefully guarantee an appropriate design would get chosen.

Prior to viewing designs, the jury held three forums where they listened to people speak as the “jurors’ job was only to listen to and be informed by the losses their families had suffered.”¹⁰⁸ In July 2003, jury members received the printed transcripts of all three public forums, in addition to a binder that contained the 1,200 comments that the public. As the jury started going through these forum transcripts and comments, a few problems became transparent. One of the most difficult and contentious related to first responders and how to remember them without creating a hierarchy of victims.

Perspectives Outreach Campaign also received memorial input via the LMDC. It sought to reach 6,500 family members and elected officials with the following questions: “(1) Are there things you feel are important for the jury to consider as they evaluate memorial design submissions? (2) Many years from now, what do you want the memorial to mean to future generations?”¹⁰⁹ From just these two questions, the jury received over 1,000 responses, many ranging from just a few sentences to multiple pages. From August 4 through August 18, 2003 the jury members viewed approximately six hundred submissions per day. Divided into three groups, “each [was] asked to evaluate one hundred of the three hundred boards on display in a ‘close-up review’ and then to do a ‘walk-by review’ of the other two hundred, which would be ‘close-up review’ by the two other groups of jurors.”¹¹⁰ By doing this type of rotation, this allowed all the jurors to examine every submission.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 42.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 45.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 46.

It was a time consuming and tedious process. By the Thursday of the first week of memorial review design boards, many of the jury members only saw the visions of the bad ones. But at that point, the jurors figured out what elements of the memorials stuck out to them in a good and bad way. Memorials that held elements of figures, flags, hearts, apples, blood, airplanes, and phoenixes were a no, while those with reflecting pools, lights, trees, and earth forms received a stamp of approval.

The voting process for the juror's was quite clear. After all had the opportunity to do a close-review of each submission, each juror voted yes, maybe or no with the ability to give a passion vote five times a week. Any memorial submission with a yes would automatically move forward, but if at the end of the day "[the jury] ended up with more than 60, the total number of yes votes would be tabulated, with only the top 50 advancing."¹¹¹

By the end of the second week, 500 submissions remained making it clear to the jury that they needed another way to lower the number of submissions to pick a winner. With this information, Young "proposed a set of seven organizing thematic and formal categories, asking whether it would be possible to name the 'best' in each category as a way to thin the list still further."¹¹² Within the 250 final submissions, all fit categories that Young suggested reflected a thematic variety including: Orchards, Forests, and Gardens; Lights Rods, Light Columns, Field of Lights; Reflecting Pools, Flooded Areas, Water; Monoliths, Sculpture, Symbolic Towers; Mounds of Earth, Earthworks, Waving Topographies; Off-site Designs, Walking Tours, Tops of Buildings, Harbor; and Rotundas, Canopies, Buildings¹¹³

¹¹¹ Ibid, 49.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

With these in mind, the jury “organized a spontaneous seminar on the varieties of designs within their categories.”¹¹⁴ After months of consideration, by mid-October 2003, they selected eight finalists.

On November 19, 2003, the jury announced the finalists, determining to have heard “all interested parties’ and constituencies’ opinions and views”.¹¹⁵ During the selection process, the jury of thirteen interviewed the teams of all eight finalists and the panel assuring the public that the jury members took “time to form [their] opinions and establishe[d] perspective in order not to rush judgment.”¹¹⁶ In addition, to show appreciation for all of the submissions, the LMDC agreed to exhibit all 5,201 submissions from sixty-three countries, also issuing a certificate of appreciation for all of the teams who submitted a design. Receiving submissions from sixty-three countries, made it “the largest of its kind and most inclusive in its democratic outreach.”¹¹⁷

With such a great deal of work and laborious efforts to keep the public informed, the memorial itself became a process, an effort to resolve all that can never be reconciled. The strength and pain of the public conversations at this memorial energized and animated this process, helping to keep the memory alive. To stop or to grow weary of the process of memorialization would have constituted a move toward forgetting those who lost their lives.

After the announcement, thousands of people visited the final eight design boards and models, many families of the victims and also architecture and art critics. This made the selection process of the final memorial design more difficult due to the public’s strong reaction to the final eight designs. This competition was the largest in the history of memorial design and the designs “provoked words such as ‘generic’ and impersonal’ and worst of all, ‘like an airport

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ James Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 52.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

design.”¹¹⁸ Scholar Max Page wrote that the focus of the competition was on “recognizing the individuals who perished, and not about how future Americans would understand 9/11 and might move forward” therefore leading the jury to choose “eight beautiful designs for a cemetery, but no designs for a living memorial to 9/11.”¹¹⁹ He felt that the obsession with building “memorials to remember individuals who lost their lives in disasters steered [people] far away from an older way of thinking about memorials, one that looked more toward a common future than to individual loss.”¹²⁰

Despite garnering generally positive reactions from the visiting public, many people including members of the press and critics felt underwhelmed by the mock-ups of the final eight designs. Many remarked that none of the designs seemed to represent the magnitude or significance of the event. Many argued the final designs lacked more material of the fallen buildings, with many observers “want[ing] it to be something else — to tell the story of the events of 9/11, to show more of the twisted girders and burned out fire trucks, to generate some or other notion of ‘authenticity.’”¹²¹

Observers, however, could not ignore that two of the key elements in all of the final eight designs were light and water. *Garden of Lights*, designed by Pierre David, Sean Corriel, and Jessica Kmetovic, featured “natural light com[ing] through holes in the ceiling of underground chambers to create 2,982 individual beams of light shining on 2,982 altars.” Toshio Sasaki’s *Inversion of Light* “include[d] a space on the northern footprint containing a representation of the floor plan of the towers, lit from underneath” while “a pool covers the southern footprint, with

¹¹⁸ Max Page, “Rethink the Type of Memorial We Want,” *Gotham Gazette*, Nov 24, 2003.

¹¹⁹ Joshua Brustein, “The Eight 9/11 Memorial Designs,” *Gotham Gazette*.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ David Simpson, *9/11: The Culture of Commemoration*, 79.

light shining from below the water.”¹²² BBC Art and Architecture’s *Passages of Light* imagined the sun “light[ing] a sunken area, through a glass canopy that covers a large part of the memorial site,” while “beams of light also extend upwards from the floor of [that] area, creating the effect of a ‘cloud’ of light.”¹²³

Water was the biggest element in most designs. *Votives in Suspension*, designed by Norman Lee and Michael Lewis, intended to “create a room on each of the footprints, dimly lit by hanging candles, one for each of the victims” and “suspended over shallow pools at different heights indicating the relative ages of the victims.”¹²⁴ Joseph Karadin and Hsin-Yi Wu’s *Suspending Memory* focused on filling the site with a large pool while “the two footprints of the towers act as islands within the pool, connected by a stone and glass bridge” and that on the islands “there are lighted glass columns, one for each victim.”¹²⁵ Bradley Campbell and Matthias Neumann’s *Lower Waters* included having “sheets of water fall from a pool on top of a granite building on the northern footprint” while “an open plaza on the southern footprint has a wall listing the names of the victims, trees, benches and the facade of a 9/11 memorial.”¹²⁶ Finally, the 7th design, *Dual Memory* by Brian Stawn and Karla Sierralta featured “falling water down sheets of glass on which there are portraits of the victims in a semi-enclosed area on the northern footprint” with the top of the roof having “2,982 spots of light, one for each victim” in addition to “ninety-two sugar maple trees planted in a lowered plaza on the southern footprint represent[ing] each of the countries that lost a citizen on 9/11.”¹²⁷

¹²² Joshua Brustein, “The Eight 9/11 Memorial Designs”.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

In 2003, nine months after the design competition began, Michael Arad and Peter Walker presented their final design of *Reflecting Absence*. Featuring “twin waterfall pools surrounded by bronze parapets that list the names of the victims,” the focal point being two pools that “sit in the footprints of the former North and South Towers.”¹²⁸ According to the official memorial website, the names of the victims appeared on the pools based on their location during the attacks according to “the North Pool parapets include the names of those who were killed at the North Tower, on hijacked Flight 11, and in the 1993 bombing; the South Pool parapets include the names of first responders as well as victims who died at the South Tower, on hijacked Flight 175, at the Pentagon, on hijacked Flight 77, and on hijacked Flight 93.”¹²⁹ An algorithm arranged the names that created relationships based on the time of the attacks, company, or organization affiliations. Opened ten years to the date of the attacks, the memorial remains one of the country’s most visited memorials.

The memorial also functions as an educational space. In other cases, memorials have “adjacent education centers and museums [that] focus prominently on the victims in the context of reinterpretation (Vietnam) or survival, courage, and recovery (Oklahoma City).”¹³⁰ The accompanying museum remains the country’s primary one for examining the events of September 11, 2001, and “documenting its impacts, and exploring the continued significance of the 9/11 attacks.”¹³¹ They placed it on the former space of the original World Trade Center complex, a very important aspect of the museum. Those involved in the commemoration efforts wanted all archeological remnants saved and incorporated into the memorial efforts. This included, although not limited to, the Survivor’s Stairs and the Survivor Tree, with the former

¹²⁸ “About the Memorial,” Official Website for the 9/11 Memorial and Museum, accessed Aug 22, 2020.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Harriet F. Senie, *Memorials to Shattered Myths*, 5.

¹³¹ “About the Museum”, Official Website for the 9/11 Memorial and Museum.

“provid[ing] an unobstructed exit for people fleeing the site,” on 9/11.¹³² The museum has many exhibits, some rotating, that house “more than 10,000 artifacts, 23,000 photographs, 1,900 oral histories, and 500 hours of film and video.”¹³³ Designers included the attached museum and always was a place where people could learn about the events and learn about accounts of people outside the spotlight.

The interior of the memorial, designed by Steven M. Davis, talked about how in the design process, he and his team “had been guided by the principles of memory, authenticity, scale, and emotion.”¹³⁴ With the museum being underground, the team struggled on how to incorporate certain aspects of the archeological remnants of the fallen towers, however, it was important that they remained as if the building remained there. A major agenda revolved around creating a story for people who, in a hundred years, when no one who witnessed 9/11 was alive understood the meaning of the thousands of artifacts, photographs, and oral histories would have to tell itself because the story of 9/11 did not end that day.

Between the announcement of the final eight designs, and meetings in December 2003 and January 2004, the LMDC jury members requested three teams to report back with changes and elaborations of the memorial designs: *Garden of Lights*; *Passages of Lights: The Memorial of Cloud*; and *Reflecting Absence*. The public liked *Gardens of Light* and *Passages of Light*, but these appraisals revolved around the models presented publicly in November 2003 which did not reflect requests for changes.

The back and forth had ramifications. Without the knowledge of just how fluid the final eight submissions were, some of the public “began to call for an overthrowing of the competition

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Associated Press, “National September 11 Memorial Museum Opens,” *Fox NY*, May 21, 2014.

¹³⁴ David W. Dunlap, “In 9/11 Museum to Open Next Spring, Vastness and Serenity, and Awe and Grief,” *The New York Times*, Jun 28, 2013.

and a new start.”¹³⁵ *New York Times* architecture critic Michael Kimmelman suggested that the openness of the competition constituted a major flaw. He wrote that “democratic competitions are only as good as the people who choose to take part in them. But good art, like science, is not democratic. An open competition can produce a Maya Lin Vietnam memorial once in a generation, maybe, but mostly it results in the generic monuments that are now the universal standard.”¹³⁶

Jury member James Young originally questioned whether a competition opened only to fifty of the best artists, designers, and architects over a process that was an open, democratic, and blind competition would produce a better memorial. He asked an important question of what was more important, “a great piece of art for our times, a new ornament for the city of New York, or a process in which everyone could participate to find a memorial for these specific events.”¹³⁷ After meeting with the final three teams in early December, the jury gave themselves one week to pick their winner, ignoring the critics and their calls for starting over.

On January 14, 2004, the jury announced the winner of the competition. It surprised even the winners, Arad and Walker, who had no idea that the jury would pick their design. Afterward, Walker revealed that as a landscape architect, he joined the team that advanced to the semi-finals. At that point, the final direction remained in flux, except for the voids. Before winning, they had little contact with victims’ families, but that changed quite a lot as they met with the families to better understand what representations the families wanted.

Ultimately, the final design took shape. The water voids were the most stunning aspect of the memorial design. Despite being in one of New York's busiest districts, a sense of calm

¹³⁵ James Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 55.

¹³⁶ Michael Kimmelman, “Ground Zero’s Only Hope: Elitism,” *The New York Times*, Dec 7, 2003.

¹³⁷ James Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 56-7.

surrounds those entering the memorial. Inside, the thunderous waterfall drowns out the city noise and creates a sense of peace and quiet as people walk around. But, once you leave the memorial, the sounds of the city race back. This was intentional as Walker wanted a marked difference between the city and the memorial.

What set *Reflecting Absence* apart from the other two designs is that Maya Lin personally argued in her reflection that “the power of [the towers’] footprints is the memorial” because “all that is left of those towering structures is a simple absence — and water flowing down into the footprints. [One] would be drawn to these voids — and to the scale of which again harkens back to the towers themselves.”¹³⁸

When asked how people should be memorialized during war, Walker characterized memorials as a matter of mood. Instead, he thought of it as architecture, not necessarily a memorial.¹³⁹ The name in itself *Reflecting Absence* suggests concentrating on the losses. Walker and Arad borrowed from the VVMF standards and avoided political statements within the memorial. Mayor Bloomberg supported the idea and wanted a memorial as well as a public space and park. He believed their team captured that duality. Despite critics saying that they had too much space to build the memorial, the pair found a suitable design.

Arad and Walker’s finished memorial was no stranger to criticism. Kimmelman said at the time of construction that “the place doesn’t feel like New York” and instead “feels like a swatch of the National Mall plunked in downtown Manhattan: formal, gigantic, impersonal, flat, built to awe, something for tourists.”¹⁴⁰ Afterward, it followed the pattern of many memorials and ultimately became a bit of a tourist trap. This is an unfortunate occurrence with memorials as

¹³⁸ Ibid, 64.

¹³⁹ Phone Interview with Peter Walker, July 2, 2020.

¹⁴⁰ Michael Kimmelman, “Finding Space for the Living at a Memorial,” *The New York Times*, May 28, 2014.

the *USS Arizona* Memorial “slowly became a tourist attraction, and the number of people visiting the memorial by tour or naval boats increased steadily” so much so that within a decade of its opening, “the memorial was hosting thousands of visitors a year, despite hours of waiting in long, outdoor lines.”¹⁴¹

The construction of the memorial started off with some unexpected changes. With the rebuilding of World Trade Center One, formally the Freedom Tower, designed by Daniel Libeskind, Arad and Walker encountered “the hard bedrock of fiscal and structural boundaries of reconstruction at Ground Zero.”¹⁴² In June 2006, the mayor and governor’s office accepted the revised plan for WTC One and *Reflecting Absence*, which retained the relevant aboveground elements of the memorial, while removing some of the underground galleries from the original design. Together the design teams behind the memorial and accompanying museum alongside WTC One viewed their projects “as part of a larger matrix of memory and commerce, life and loss.”¹⁴³ In this vein, collective remembrance of the 9/11 attacks and casualties continues to remain in flux as memory passes from generation to generation.

While a mall existed nearby the World Trade Center, no one imagined the current Westfield Mall residing there. After opening its doors in August 2016, it endured significant criticism including those of David Dunlap who stated that “there is little to suggest that Westfield World Trade Center occupies consecrated ground.”¹⁴⁴ Many wanted the mall placed anywhere else as many “avoided going anywhere near the site of the Twin Towers, now the 9/11 Memorial, ever since the attacks,” because they “wish[ed] [they] could forget the shocking

¹⁴¹ Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American History*, 73.

¹⁴² James Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 69.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 71.

¹⁴⁴ David W. Dunlap, “A Shopping Mall at Ground Zero, Uninformed by Its Sacred Land,” *The New York Times*, Sept 5, 2016.

sights, sounds and terrible smell that darkened the city, even far uptown, for weeks afterward.”¹⁴⁵ It has the transportation center to replace the one destroyed by the attacks, but many view the mall as a commercialized blight on the memory of 9/11, with people making money off the tragedy. For some who have profited off the suffering with sales of memorabilia, it became easier to understand why some people accepted its construction.

Beyond those criticizing the memorial’s design and layout, some challenged constructing a memorial. Many felt that Ground Zero alone was a memorial where people could visit and remember the tragedy. Scholar Max Page felt that “everything about the rebuilding of Ground Zero, and the memorial in particular, [was] rushed,” and was not the only one who felt this.¹⁴⁶ He wondered if “a human disaster of such great proportions shouldn’t ripple far beyond the four acres allotted in Ground Zero.”¹⁴⁷

Page was not alone in his criticisms, as many started coming from family members of victims. One widow, Charles Wolf, voiced that “a lot of people who lost family members on 9/11 [would] have a hard time looking at the memorial plans.”¹⁴⁸ With the World Trade Center’s location in the middle of the financial district and blocks away from Wall Street, this likely prevented it from ever escaping the politicization that arose after the attacks. However, in trying to escape the politicization, many of the families of the victims and New Yorkers believed the announcement of the contest was too early to consider building an official memory. He fought to “be part of the process the LMDC has established” because he thought he would be “better off if [he was] part of it than if [he] just let what happens happen around [him].”¹⁴⁹ Eventually Wolf

¹⁴⁵ Caitlin Kelly, “Westfield World Trade Center Opens to Mixed Reactions,” *Forbes*, Aug 25, 2016.

¹⁴⁶ Max Page, “Rethink the Type of Memorial We Want.”

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Charles G. Wolf, “Let the Memorial Jury Do Its Work,” *Gotham Gazette*, Nov 24, 2003.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

concluded that while the public should have an input on memorializing loved ones, he realized that the jury selected by the LMDC represented New York because he believed that “when the memorial is finished, most people will come around and like it.”¹⁵⁰

Dedicated and opened on the tenth anniversary of the attacks, the families of the victims and the public generally warmly received it. Martin Filler, *New York Review of Books*’ architecture critic called the memorial “the most powerful example of commemorative design since Maya Lin’s Vietnam War Memorial...a sobering, disturbing, heartbreaking, and overwhelming masterpiece.”¹⁵¹ As Arad and Walker intended, once one enters the memorial, the soft roar of the waterfalls drowns out most of the surrounding city noises, silencing everyone’s voices except those close by and allowing the viewer to reflect on the sheer enormity of the memorial and the historical event.

Placing the main memorials in context is important. What connects *Postcards* and the Pier A Park Memorial is that they are community-driven memorials not receiving the attention of *Reflecting Absence*. And why is that? Location? Obscureness of the two? Or the fact that *Reflecting Absence* lists the names of all of the victims from 9/11, rather than a specific community. What ties all three of these memorials together was the urgency by all communities to memorialize the victims. Was it to have a place to mourn? Or was it pushed by the idea that no one should ever forget September 11, 2001? The fear of forgetting often makes people think that memorialization needs to happen immediately, as in the hours after, instead of allowing people to process events and then make a decision on what needs to be done afterward. In the case of these memorials, the process began quickly and finished relatively quickly, even before the United States exited Afghanistan or Iraq, the major battle grounds of the Global War on Terror unlike

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Martin Filler, “At the Edge of the Abyss,” *The New York Review of Books*, Sep 21, 2011.

the Vietnam Memorial or many others. The question of rushing to memorialize will be an important question to consider in the future.

With the construction of the national memorial and its surrounding smaller memorials peppered around New York, and the input and thought from the designers and the communities of the location of these memorials highlights that even visiting these memorials has an impact that continues to marvel people. The raw emotions created when visiting has been described as something rarely experienced, which suggests that the memorials achieved their goal of making people remember. The sense of community at the smaller memorials makes up for the fact that while they might not be as big or as known as the national memorial, they are still equally important in the remembrance of what happened that day, and the impact all of the victims had on their surrounding communities. The debates over memory will continue and new memorials may arise, but the major tasks have been accomplished with the national memorial that will likely remain the focus in the future.

Chapter 3: Memorialization in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and D.C.

“Let’s roll!” - Todd Beamer’s last words on United Airlines Flight 93 heard by aviation phone operator Lisa Jefferson.

At 10:03 am, United Airlines Flight 93 crashed into a field in Stonycreek Township, Somerset County. It was one of four planes hijacked by four al-Qaeda terrorists on 9/11. Forty-six minutes after departing from Newark International Airport, the four terrorists commandeered the plane and informed the rest of the flight that they now controlled the plane. Faced with this new reality, all forty passengers and crew members performed heroic actions before their untimely death.¹⁵²

Since the plane never reached its final destination, one can only speculate the terrorists’ intended target. However, some believe that the White House and the Capitol were on a shortlist of targets for Flight 93. Between the time of the first phone calls to their loved ones at 9:28 am and the time of the crash at 10:03 am, the passengers and crew members joined together to attempt to regain control of the plane from the hijackers.

After the crash, local communities started creating memorials of their own. This is not a new practice, especially with such unexpected tragedies. Memorials like the Garden of Reflection 9-11 Memorial in Newton, Pennsylvania, often overlooked because they are not as organized as other memorials, quickly arose. What originally started out as a memorial to honor the seventeen local victims of Bucks County, PA, quickly became Pennsylvania’s official 9/11 memorial. Etched into glass panels, in-ground lights illuminated the names of those lost as they spiral up to a beautiful fountain. Architect Liuba Lashchyk designed the memorial with the theme “After Darkness . . . Light” in mind as she intended people to experience the journey that

¹⁵² “Flight 93 National Memorial — Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs), National Park Service, *nps.gov*, May 2013.

led from “sorrowful reminders of tragedy and grief towards luminous symbols of Hope, Peace, and Celebration of Life.”¹⁵³ This memorial, unfortunately, has less recognition because it depends on community donations to their “Remembrance Fund” endowment to help preserve the memorial for generations to visit and experience it. Unfortunately, the national memorial for Flight 93 soon dwarfed it.

The national memorial to the flight went into effect just over a year after 9/11. In 2002, the Flight 93 National Memorial Act became public law. It authorized “a national memorial to commemorate the passengers, and crew of Flight 93 who, on September 11, 2001, courageously gave their lives thereby thwarting a planned attack on [the] Nation’s Capital, and for other purposes.”¹⁵⁴ It sought:

To establish a national memorial to honor the passengers and crew of United Airlines Flight 93 of September 11, 2001. To establish the Flight 93 Advisory Commission to assist with consideration and formulation of plans for a permanent memorial to the passengers and crew of Flight 93, including its nature, design, and construction. To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to coordinate and facilitate the activities of the Flight 93 Advisory Commission, provide technical and financial assistance to the Flight 93 Task Force, and to administer a Flight 93 memorial.¹⁵⁵

Together, the Flight 93 National Memorial Project Partners, made up of an Advisory Commission, Task Force, National Park Service, and families of the deceased, announced a two-stage design competition for the permanent memorial. Open to professional designers and the general public, a nine-member jury of design professionals, family members, and partners selected the finalists for the international competition while a second jury reviewed and submitted their design recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior and Congress by 2005.

¹⁵³ Home, Garden of Reflection, 2021

¹⁵⁴ *Flight 93 National Memorial Act, U.S. Code 431* (2002).

¹⁵⁵ *Flight 93 National Memorial Act, U.S. Code 431, § 2.*

Heinz Endowments and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation donated \$500,000 each as funding for the memorial.

By January 2005, over one thousand entries had been submitted. Unlike the competition in New York, there was little guidance for designs. The NPS made their best attempt to avoid political rhetoric in the mission statement and wanted a site where visitors can “reflect on the power of the individuals who choose to make a difference.”¹⁵⁶ Many entries looked to the VVM by employing reflective surfaces and the listing of names as a “wall or plaque with a list of names who died [there]” was one of the most requested aspects that surveyors answered to the question of “What would you like visitors to see, do, encounter, or experience?”¹⁵⁷ But some observers pointed out that judges should “recognize virtue and heroism and point out the good guys.”¹⁵⁸

By July 1, 2005, the Knight Foundation revealed publicly the final five designs. After visiting the crash site, the jurors reported leaving with a profound impact on their evaluation of the submitted designs. With symbols like airplanes, flags, and eagles in being the predominant theme in many submissions, the jurors looked to more simplistic themes. While the themes for the final five were all different, they all incorporated the memorial with the land of the crash site. Helene Fried, a competition advisor, called all finalists and informed them of their selection.

Once settled upon, the design finalists received information on their selection from Helene Fried, a competition advisor. It was a diverse group of entries. Ken Lum’s *(F)Light* featured a “partially enclosed, horizontal landscape element that trace[d] the plane’s path from

¹⁵⁶ Flight 93 Memorial Task Force and Advisory Commission, “Flight 93 Memorial Mission Statement,” NPS, July 2004, www.nps.gov.

¹⁵⁷ Flight 93 National Memorial, “Summary of Public Comments, Task Force and Family Workshops as of Dec 31, 2003; Mission Statement Public Comments, 2004.

¹⁵⁸ Clinton W. Taylor, “Monumental Failure,” *American Spectator Online*, Jan 4, 2006, <https://spectator.org>.

Newark, N.J., to Somerset County, gently rising to its literal and metaphorical turning point before descending to a memorial courtyard that point[ed] to the sacred ground,” with ‘moments of significance’ during the flight [to] be etched into its ‘luminous roofscape.’”¹⁵⁹

Others relied on natural surroundings to create a focus. Frederick “Fritz” Steiner alongside E. Lynn Miller and Karen Lewis submitted their *Memory Trail* design which showed red maple trees “weaving around a bowl planted with 3,021 white oaks” that represented the victims of all four attacks.¹⁶⁰ His brother pushed Steiner to enter the competition, an FBI agent who interviewed the families of Flight 93 victims.

In another case, the designers chose to enclose the site. Leor and Gilat Lovinger’s *Disturbed Harmony* featured a ‘Bravery Wall’ that was five feet wide and would have extended 2.5 miles through the site, “fluctuating in height as its purpose change[d].”¹⁶¹ Beginning first as a guide to the site, it would then morph into a “memorial wall and a timeline of events along the way.”¹⁶²

Another focused on nature and its tie to the surrounding including Laurel McSherry and Terry Surjan’s *Fields, Forests, Fences* that treated the entire area as one that evolved over time as the foliage would grow over time. “The ridge and bowl become meadows” and the “sacred ground [would be] fenced, allowing access only to family members, and planted with a grove of birch trees within and beyond its limits — the sacred ground as sacred grove.”¹⁶³

In the final submission, and ultimate winner, reflected the strong influence of the VVA and trend toward honoring individuals. Located at the exact location of the crash in Stonycreek

¹⁵⁹ Patricia Lowry, “Analysis: Five Finalists’ Memorials Try To Capture Impact of Flight 93,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Feb 4, 2005, www.post-gazette.com.

¹⁶⁰ Patricia Lowry, “Analysis: Five Finalists’ Memorials Try To Capture Impact of Flight 93.”

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

Township in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, the fifth design, Paul Murdoch's *Crescent of Embrace*, included a 'Wall of Names and Tower of Voices' and became the national 9/11 memorial for United Airlines Flight 93. The Wall of Names portion of the memorial is 40 eight-foot white granite panels individually engraved with one of the forty lost. The Tower of Voices has forty wind chimes representing the passengers and crew members as the tower forms a gateway to the memorial and the field.

The process of choosing the design evolved over time. Murdoch initially felt compelled to enter the Flight 93 National Memorial International Design Competition due to the "heroic action by the passengers and crew members" and wanted his design to "attempt to honor their heroic actions by using and shaping the large-scale landscape of the site for memorial expression."¹⁶⁴ He struggled with how to honor each person individually because he felt that "while we honor the collective action of all forty passengers and crew members" it was necessary to "to honor them as individuals, each with their own lives to celebrate and mourn."¹⁶⁵ Murdoch wanted the individuality of the names featured to offer any visitors a personal experience, not just an abstract one. He wanted a memorial that "tried to honor the sacrifices and generosity of those who gave their lives fighting for freedom while acknowledging the tragedy of their loss."¹⁶⁶ These people were ordinary people who became heroic in a matter of minutes.

Murdoch's focus reflected the long-standing tradition of honoring heroes dating to the Revolutionary War. One of the most popular commemoration methods of heroes has been the naming or renaming of places, streets, and businesses. Most of the streets in downtown Alexandria, Virginia are "named after revolutionary heroes" in addition to former English

¹⁶⁴ Phone Interview with Paul Murdoch, July 1, 2020.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

royalty who lived there prior.¹⁶⁷ People fixate on heroes and historian James Mayo argues that “learning about the lives of military heroes ... helps visitors have a stronger grasp of who these people were.”¹⁶⁸ While many memorials dedicated to the victims of 9/11 never went beyond the individual victims besides a few facts, people often fixate on heroes and their individual histories.

Initially, to achieve the goal of individualizing the victims, Murdoch and his team “did their own research as well as spoke to family members, the coroner, government officials, historians, community members, and the public at large,” during the design process.¹⁶⁹ He settled on sending all visitors a message of “respect and a sense of awe, of the land as a final resting place of the forty and of the extraordinary action that took place by forty citizens to thwart a terrorist attack on our nation’s capital.”¹⁷⁰ Mayo argues that “the decision about how a particular [event] will be memorialized is often an emotional decision in itself,” and Murdoch believes that concentrating on all the individuals and their actions. He tried to avoid forcing people to decide if they fought for their freedom or simply to survive by retaking control of the plane. In his mind, they were and “will always remain heroes and believe[d] that they should never be considered otherwise.”¹⁷¹

As with the other designs, Murdoch’s choices faced criticisms. A major one, Alec Rawls, a conspiracy theorist and conservative blogger, claimed the memorial and the design featured “many Islamic and terrorist memorializing elements.”¹⁷² Rawls suggested in his 300-page expose

¹⁶⁷ James Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988), 26.

¹⁶⁸ James Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 37.

¹⁶⁹ Phone Interview with Paul Murdoch.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Alec Rawls, “Crescent of Betrayal: Dishonoring the Heroes of Flight 93,” 2007, www.crescentofbetrayal.com.

that “every element of the entire crescent design turn[ed] out to be a typical mosque feature.”¹⁷³ Thomas Burnett Sr., whose son perished on Flight 93 and “served on the design jury, later said the memorial was ‘riddled with Islamic symbols’ and that his son ‘should not have his name bastardized.’”¹⁷⁴

But, Murdoch had defenders. As historian David Kieran notes, this memorial was not a mosque or a shrine dedicated to Al Qaeda, and that “Rawl’s and Burnett’s invective reflect nothing more than an offensive conflation of Islam with terrorism and the racist paranoia that are among the 9/11 attacks’ most unfortunate legacies.”¹⁷⁵ Despite receiving criticism about the lack of patriotism and the modernity of the memorial, Murdoch’s design was a top choice amongst the families of Flight 93 as a “‘lasting tribute to [their] loved ones’ heroism’ and view[ed] the memorial as a ‘healing place’ for ‘all people, regardless of race and religion.’”¹⁷⁶

At the unveiling, family members came and gathered in Washington, with the “overwhelming support from Flight 93 family members and crash site ambassadors” noting that after the reveal, “family members and others in attendance stood, clapped, and hugged.” On the tenth anniversary of the attacks, the committee dedicated Phase I portion of the memorial with Vice President Joe Biden and President Barack Obama in attendance.

On September 9, 2018, the NPS dedicated Phase II, the *Tower of Voices* alongside “the Families of Flight 93, Friends of Flight 93 National Memorial and the National Park Foundation.”¹⁷⁷ Every year since its completion, the Bells of Remembrance toll a total of forty times, once for each passenger and crew members, as part of the annual September 11

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ David Kieran, *Forever Vietnam: How Divisive War Changed American Public Memory*, (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 190).

¹⁷⁵ David Kieran, *Forever Vietnam: How Divisive War Changed American Public Memory*, 190.

¹⁷⁶ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 178.

¹⁷⁷ NPS, “September 9 Tower of Voices Dedication,” NPS, September 20018, www.nps.gov.

observance at the site. Murdoch's design fits well within the study because with the careful detail of including the forty-names engraved, the forty wind chimes, and the inclusion of a visitor's education center to retell the story of Flight 93 and history of the heroes.

The local efforts at memorializing the dead of 9/11 occurred in many areas across the country. A second memorial arose in Boston focusing on two of the four flights on 9/11 from the Boston Logan International Airport. That day, United Airlines Flight 175 and American Airlines Flight 11 departed minutes before being hijacked and crashed into the North and South Towers, at 8:45 am and 9:03 am, respectively. Before hijacked Flight 11 and Flight 175 flew into the twin towers, the crew members on both flights "made efforts to impede the hijackings and prevent crashes. On Flight 11, flight attendants Madeline Amy Sweeny and Betty Ong reported information during the hijacking to workers on the ground, including the seat numbers of the hijackers which led to their identification."¹⁷⁸ The details they provided proved crucial when officials later constructed a timeline of the attacks.

Created in the aftermath of the attacks, the Massachusetts 9/11 Fund, founded by Roderick MacLeish, a local Boston lawyer known for representing the victims of the Catholic priest sexual abuse scandal in 2002, devoted its time to "supporting families with ties to Massachusetts who lost loved ones in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001." It was not until the Massport Committee of twenty-four people connected to the airport intervened. A pilot's wife, the CEO of Massachusetts Port Authority (Massport), Thomas Kinton, fieldworkers, and the husband of a victim, constituted the group and determined that both the crews of the flights and passengers deserved recognition. Kinton said that although two makeshift memorials existed already at the airport, he and others wanted a permanent memorial because "the attacks

¹⁷⁸ Kristin Flack and James Schmidt, "Logan Airport 9/11 Memorial," Clio: Your Guide to History, Dec 5, 2019, <https://theclio.com/entry/86277>.

were a permanent part of the airport’s culture.”¹⁷⁹ MacLeish reported that the families were eternally grateful that Massport sought a permanent memorial for their loved ones at Boston Logan International Airport and that it was “especially significant to those family members whose loved ones were working for United Airlines and American Airlines and were on the flights that left Boston on September 11, 2001.”¹⁸⁰

On September 9, 2003, Massachusetts Port Authority invited the general public to submit proposals for a design concept for a 9/11 airport memorial. They wanted it to sit on two acres next to the Airport Hilton Hotel “where Massport and airline teams administered to the grief-stricken families and families to the passengers aboard American Airlines Flight #11 and United Airlines Flight #175.”¹⁸¹ With a budget of roughly \$1 million, the group opened the competition to everyone from professional artists and designers to the general public, running it for three months. “MA 9/11 Fund members, airline representatives, Massport care team members, airport tenants, City of Boston officials, and representatives from the Boston Society of Architects and the Boston Society of Landscape Architects” composed The Logan Airport 9/11 Memorial Advisory Committee.¹⁸² It soon sought submissions after multiple requests from the airport’s community.

By December 2003, the committee closed the competition. One member, David Dixon, co-chair of the committee, felt that “the experience of working with the committee, especially those touched directly by the events of 9/11, was extraordinary,” because “the process allowed

¹⁷⁹ Boston Herald, “9/11 Memorial Unveiled at Logan International Airport,” *Boston Herald*, Sept 10, 2008.

¹⁸⁰ Kristin Flack and James Schmidt, “Logan Airport 9/11 Memorial”.

¹⁸¹ Massachusetts Port Authority, “Design Proposals Sought For Airport Community 9/11 Memorial,” September 9, 2003, www.massport.com.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

[the committee] to go on a journey together that ultimately shaped [the] Memorial.”¹⁸³ The process of reviewing all the submissions ensured the committee members experienced the emotions of pain and loss.

Three years after the announcement of the memorial competition, Massport selected a winner from thirty-eight designs. Unveiled on September 13, 2006, Robert Linn and Keith Moskow’s *The Place of Remembrance* became one of Moskow’s favorite pieces of his entire career. A 20x20 foot glass chapel with two steles, glass panels, that list the names and the departure time of the passengers and flight crew on AA 11 and UA 175 stands outside the airport. One of its biggest aspects was that it initially started out as a memorial for the flight crew of both flights because the “Boston-based crews made up of a community of people who had worked there for their entire career.”¹⁸⁴

The VVM was a significant influence on the new memorial. Having visited the VVM, both Linn and Moskow took inspiration from the idea of individual names. The VVM has evoked many emotions when people run their fingers along the names, and Moskow suggests that it is one extremely powerful way to connect. When interacting with the Massport Committee and family members, they agreed that it was “important for family members to see the names of their loved ones on the memorial.”¹⁸⁵ Linn and Moskow determined early they wanted more than a plaque explaining everything. Boston Logan International’s memorial location near the highway, ensured they wanted visitors to take time looking at it.

Two years after selecting the design, the memorial was ready. At the dedication ceremony, on September 9, 2008, chairman of Massport, Dr. John Quelch, spoke about the

¹⁸³ Massachusetts Port Authority, “Massport Unveils Boston Logan Airport 9/11 Memorial Design,” September 13, 2006, www.massport.com.

¹⁸⁴ Phone Interview with Keith Moskow, June 30, 2020.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

airport's third but most impactful memorial. He addressed friends and families of victims, emphasizing those who died "never asked to make history, yet they did so in the saddest possible way."¹⁸⁶ Linn, another speaker, "saw the Airport 9/11 Memorial as an opportunity to give solace and hope to all those whose lives were forever changed on September 11."¹⁸⁷

The immediate response showed how the memorial connected people. Family and friends of the victims walked through the memorial sharing memories of their loved ones. The daughter of the pilot of American Airlines Flight 11, Caroline Ogonowski "said the memorial struck her as a place of beauty, more than grief," which is exactly what Moskow and Linn wanted.¹⁸⁸ She felt that despite it being "difficult, but it being seven years [she] think[s] [she] can look back on [9/11] and remember [her] father more with a smile and less with tears." because she thinks that the memorial "is a celebration of their lives."¹⁸⁹

A celebration of life is exactly what Moskow and Linn wanted. When visiting, one starts at a round space where the saying 'Remember this Day' appears, followed by two paths that lead to the chapel with a slight incline. When walking towards the chapel, the trees get denser and denser, burying the chapel in the foliage. Linn and Moskow wanted the two paths and the foliage to reflect the path of the two airplanes while the two steles represent the World Trade Center.¹⁹⁰ Upon entering the chapel, visitors refocus on the names and hopefully think about life. Moskow felt that after 9/11, one looks at the sky differently. Examining planes invoked a fractured sky with 9/11, and with the chapel these reflective panels make the sky appear fractured once again.

¹⁸⁶ Massport, Boston Logan International Airport 9/11 Memorial Dedication, September 9, 2008.

¹⁸⁷ Massport, "Massport Unveils Boston Logan Airport 9/11 Memorial Design," September 13, 2006.

¹⁸⁸ Boston Herald, "9/11 Memorial Unveiled at Logan International Airport."

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Phone Interview with Keith Moskow.

This aligns with Mayo's comment about how "war memorials affect people's emotions at a deep level."¹⁹¹

For them, they knew exactly what they wanted and how to put their message of a celebration of lives lost into their design. The design process focused around the time of the departure of the flights. Linn and Moskow wavered for some time on this aspect on whether to include it. The chapel's format includes the view above is over the sky and the departure times, but not the crash. They questioned whether they should have something explaining what happened but decided visitors take themselves on a journey of learning about the history. They also believed while the memorial honored those who died, "it was also built to recognize the work of all Logan Airport employees in keeping the airport and skies safe."¹⁹²

Like the other memorials, this one provoked debates among families of the victims and visitors. *Boston Globe* critic, Sebastian Smee, visited the memorial a day before its dedication. Knowing the challenge of making "something permanent and poignant in a place dedicated to people who are distracted," Smee felt that Moskow and Linn accomplished that and overcame that challenge with their design.¹⁹³ He praised the smart and sensitive design and wrote "it strikes all the right notes and will grow with the site."¹⁹⁴ Smee also noted how previous memorials typically focused on heroes and triumphs. However, he observed differences because it "does not aim to make those who experience it think one particular thought" but rather "invites them to think their own thoughts."¹⁹⁵ Smee credited Lin's VVM as the starter of "new norm in memorial

¹⁹¹ James Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, Preface.

¹⁹² Kristin Flack and James Schmidt, "Logan Airport 9/11 Memorial," *Clio: Your Guide to History*.

¹⁹³ Sebastian Smee, "Sensitive Design Captures the Eye, the Enormity," *The Boston Globe*, Sept 7, 2008.

¹⁹⁴ Sebastian Smee, "Sensitive Design Captures the Eye, the Enormity."

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

design worldwide” and suggested that it “befits a site designed for people who went through so many different experiences on that day, and in the days and months after.”¹⁹⁶

The real judges of the memorial were the victims’ families. The cousin of a flight attendant aboard Flight 11, Michelle Pare, attended an early showing to victims’ families. After walking through, she noted that it “reflected the hope that she felt in the wake of a tragedy that cruelly changed the world.”¹⁹⁷ The widow of pilot John Ogonowski, and member of the committee, Peg Ogonowski, praised the memorial because ““it’s a design for people at the airport, not just the people that died,” and that it “[would] offer people there a peace of solace.”¹⁹⁸ When viewing the memorial, Kinton felt it was “important that Logan commemorate Sept. 11, both as a part of the healing process and as a reminder for the thousands of travelers who stream through each day.”¹⁹⁹ To him, the memorial, “it brings up the memory of that day and the days afterward when an eeriness descended and [people] wondered if there’d every be planes flying again,” noting that “it all comes back when you see the names, just the enormity of what happened that day.”²⁰⁰ To him, it seemed absurd that something not be left behind for future generations to visit.

Unfortunately, not everyone agreed with Smee’s and family members’ glowing praise. Some victims’ families felt unsettled by the memorial. The daughter of a passenger on Flight 11, Carie Lemack, said avoided visiting the memorial because she chose “to remember [her] mother as she lived and not in the last place on earth she set foot before she was killed.”²⁰¹ Another, Stephanie Holland-Brodney understood the need for a memorial at Logan, but “ha[d] mixed

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Tania de Luzuriaga, “At Logan, A Quiet Space for Memory,” *The Boston Globe*, Sept 7, 2008.

¹⁹⁸ Tania de Luzuriaga, “At Logan, A Quiet Space for Memory.”

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

feelings about it.”²⁰² Although understanding why some might want a memorial in order to be used as a place of solace, she stressed “being reminded about the attack is the last thing she wants before getting on a plane,” and arriving at an airport, especially given her anxiety about planes after 9/11 since “the cry of th[e] engines as the plane hit the tower” is one of the only things she remembers from that day.”²⁰³ For her, the idea of a physical and visible memorial at the airport acted only as something that triggered her anxiety instead of provoking thoughts about the attacks.

While Boston was following suit, just like New York, they were not the only ones who felt the need to memorialize the victims of 9/11. The local efforts of those in Pennsylvania and Boston were felt in other areas of the country that had been affected. The memorial at Boston Logan International Airport would soon be

Just like the other memorials popping up around the country at the places affected most by the attacks, the Pentagon followed suit. The need for commemoration was felt heavily in the community especially since how close it was to home for the rest of Washington, D.C. and the direct attack on the symbol of the U.S. military.

By 2001, for about half a century, the Pentagon had been a command center for the U.S. armed forces, a symbol of American power. Therefore, it seemed ‘natural’ for al-Qaeda to have targeted the Pentagon, along with the World Trade Center, after the failed attack years earlier. The terrorists understood the symbolism of the known selected targets for Americans, especially the Pentagon as representing American military might. It had been that way since World War II and increased in prominence during the Cold War. It became a very recognizable building, the Pentagon itself is a five-acre central plaza, “which is shaped like a pentagon and informally

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

known as ‘ground zero’.”²⁰⁴ By the end of the Korean War, the Pentagon had not only become “a tourist attraction, with people strolling its grounds and inner courtyard and gawking at its massive size,” but also had “become an unmistakable symbol of America’s growing military dominance in the world, a development that was celebrated by many and feared by many more,” according to Alex Wta.²⁰⁵

The U.S. military presence in the Middle East had provoked people like Osama bin Laden and its openness to the public, at least the less secure areas, made it a target for many groups, but especially al Qaeda in 2001. With all of this being known at the time of the planning of the attacks, it makes sense that since this building housed the headquarters for the U.S. military, that the terrorists shortlisted it as a priority target for any type of attack, as it had been in the Cold War.

Thus, American Airlines Flight 77 took off from Dulles International Airport in Virginia at 8:20 am, about twenty minutes before the first hijacked flight crashed into the North Tower. Despite having knowledge of the attacks on the North and South Towers, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) lacked information about the whereabouts of the hijacked Flight 77. As a result, no one knew its direct target until it was too late. On board, flight attendant Renee May, “used her cell phone to call her mother ask[ing] her mother to tell American Airlines that the flight had been hijacked.”²⁰⁶ This was followed a few minutes later by passenger Barbara Olson calling her husband “to tell him that the plane had been hijacked and that all the people aboard had been herded to the back of the plane.”²⁰⁷ At 9:37 am, Flight 77 crashed into the west wall of

²⁰⁴ Alex Wta, “The Pentagon — Symbol of U.S. Military,” World Travel Attractions, Nov 25, 2010.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Patricia Bauer, “American Airlines Flight 77,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 4, 2020.

²⁰⁷ Patricia Bauer, “American Airlines Flight 77.”

the Pentagon, killing seven people in the Pentagon immediately, as well as all sixty-four people on board.

After crashing into the Pentagon, the destruction was immediate and apparent. Although there were interior and exterior walls within the building, the speed at which the plane crashed into the building left more damage than anyone expected. The thirty-yard wide and ten-yard-deep hole “punctured the three outer rings of the building,” resulting in a fire that raged for 36 hours” leaving 189 people dead in total.²⁰⁸ Alfred Goldberg and others stated that although the building was “never designed to offer the protection of a bunker, the building’s steel-reinforced concrete and brick construction protected most employees” from fires and explosions and saved their lives.²⁰⁹

As people evacuated the Pentagon after the collapse of part of the building, fires raged that were visible to the naked eye in Washington, D.C. With the rumors of another inbound flight to an unknown possible target in the area, mass hysteria spread through the community. While many hunkered down to wait for another attack, FBI agent Chris Combs “received communication that the hijacked aircraft had crashed into Camp David, the presidential compound in Maryland — learning only later that it had crashed in rural Pennsylvania.”²¹⁰

After the initial shock of the attack on the Pentagon, the government quickly commissioned multiple memorials, including the official Pentagon Memorial for the building as well as a memorial honoring the Pentagon victims at the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) in Washington, D.C. Chosen specifically for its focus on the individual names of a group of victims, the latter emphasizes the celebration of life of the DIA employees. This smaller

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Alfred Goldberg et al., *Pentagon 9/11*, Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2007, 20.

²¹⁰ Alfred Goldberg et al., *Pentagon 9/11*, 83.

memorial, composed of eight stainless steel frames encapsulating glass, symbolizes an unfurled American flag blowing in the wind. Seven of the frames rotate 360°, representing the life of one of the seven individuals who died, while the eighth frame is stationary and displays the following excerpt from an essay titled “In Troubled Times” by James Henry Leigh Hunt:

“Whenever evil befalls us, we ought to ask ourselves, after the first suffering, how can we turn it into good. So shall we take occasion, from one bitter root, to raise perhaps many flowers.”

A polished piece of limestone, taken from the Pentagon debris, lies below mounted at the base of the structure with the names of the seven DIA victims, who were all at the Pentagon at the time of the attack, inscribed alongside the memorial's name “United in Memory - Committed to Freedom.”

Dedicated on September 11, 2009, Jacob Robison led the design of the memorial. Because it was a government-commissioned memorial, Robison had less leeway regarding the design compared to others. For Robison, he wanted to correctly represent the DIA community and its values. He researched the vision and mission of the DIA, which stated that the “men and women [of the DIA] are committed to serving our country and its citizens,” while also “dedicated to defending [the] nation and providing its leaders with information that ensures our security.”²¹¹

The people overseeing the design limited its approach. They opposed anything avant-garde, so he relied on a flag because it was “an appropriate subject to play off of.”²¹² It has long been a symbol in the United States, oftentimes marking the unity and resolve of the country. But Robison wanted something that stood out as visually interesting, meaningful, and memorable. He

²¹¹ Phone Interview with Jacob Robison, June 30, 2020.

²¹² Ibid.

settled on the glass material which he felt “reinforced ideas of change and reflection.”²¹³

Interestingly, the dichroic glass used, while seeming like natural glass, was a material developed by NASA originally intended for aviation which has a variety of color and opacity when looked at different angles and time of day. While not at the Pentagon, people see it across the Potomac River. The significance of this memorial, the individuality of recognizing all the DIA victims, was key in continuing with the theme of celebration of life that these memorials and their designs hoped to convey.

With makeshift memorials popping up almost instantly near the Pentagon, people began early on thinking about a more permanent memorial there. However, the reconstruction of the damaged wall and building made it difficult to plan a memorial simultaneously. But Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld wanted something up and running as soon as possible. Tasked with both, he ultimately handed off the task of the memorial to the Army Corps of Engineers.

The process began with a family steering committee created in November 2001, with membership Benjamin Forgey notes “evenly split between relatives of military and civilian victims, and the civilian representation was evenly divided into those whose relatives were in the plane and inside the Pentagon.”²¹⁴ Soon a focus developed from the family participation of studying the Oklahoma City bombing memorial. According to Forgey, the committee made two influential decisions for the memorial design early on: the location and the statement given to potential designers entering the competition. Ultimately, they issued a statement of four paragraphs that ended with the final quote from the committee stating that they “challenge[d]

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Benjamin Forgey, “The Pentagon Memorial Story,” *Landscape Architecture* 99 no. 1, 2009, 82.

[them] to create a memorial that translates this terrible tragedy into a place of solace, peace, and healing.”²¹⁵

The process went forward quickly. Less than a year after the attacks, the committee announced a competition in June 2002, the first one among the national memorials. The two-stage international competition was open to all with a deadline on the first anniversary of the attacks. By the end of September, the committee had received 1,126 entries from around the world. Then, the jury worked quickly to judge them. The eleven members consisted of “six preeminent in various design fields, one member of the families of the victims, and four members that have had continuing and long-standing relationships with the Department of Defense and/or Federal Agencies.”²¹⁶ By October 2002, six finalists had been chosen, with all of them “shar[ing] a tone of restraint and undemonstrative intensity,” as one of the unspoken rules of the competition was to not directly reference the event that caused the memorial.²¹⁷

Funding for the memorial began in July 2003, with the Volunteer Campaign Management Office for the Pentagon Memorial Fundraiser attempting to “collect \$1 million in donations from Pentagon employees.”²¹⁸ The three-week campaign, which consisted of volunteers “pass[ing] out flyers, put[ting] up posters, and sen[ding] out mass email messages,” ended short of their goal, but those in charge remained optimistic.²¹⁹ In addition to these efforts, James Laychak established The Pentagon Memorial Fund, after his younger brother perished in the attacks, to raise the remaining funds to design, build, and maintain the future Pentagon memorial. The

²¹⁵ Benjamin Forgey, “The Pentagon Memorial Story,” 83.

²¹⁶ Office of the Secretary of Defense, Notice, “Establishment of the Pentagon Memorial Design Competition Jury, 2002,” *Federal Register* 67, no. 154 (August 9, 2002): 51546, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2002-08-09/pdf/02-20125.pdf>.

²¹⁷ Benjamin Forgey, “The Pentagon Memorial Story,” 84.

²¹⁸ Taryn Ballard, “Fundraising Drive for Pentagon Sept. 11 Memorial Comes up Short,” *Government Executive*, Aug 11, 2003, <https://www.govexec.com/federal-news/2003/08/fundraising-drive-for-pentagon-sept-11-memorial-comes-up-short/14750/>.

²¹⁹ Taryn Ballard, “Fundraising Drive for Pentagon Sept. 11 Memorial Comes Up Short.”

campaign, started in 2004, “signed on corporate sponsors including the Anheuser-Busch Foundation, Accenture LTD., AT&T, and Oshkosh Truck Corp.,” in addition to D.C.-based American Forests, a conservation organization that “promotes tree planting and forest preservation.”²²⁰ Over four and a half years, Laychak spearheaded the fundraising efforts and ended up raising over \$25 million.

Dedicated on the seventh anniversary of the attacks, Julie Beckman and Keith Kaseman’s design stood out due to its beautiful concept. Having experienced 9/11 while living in New York City, this architectural couple wanted to cope. After initially focusing their energy on their jobs, the announcement of the Pentagon Memorial Design Contest gave them “a personal creative outlet to express what they would do if they could create a memorial that underscored the events of the brutal day but to do it in the most comforting way possible.”²²¹

The couple worked hard to conceptualize the memorial. They gained inspiration for their design by studying all 184 stories of the victims. After doing so, they created a memorial that featured “a glowing light pool and bench-like marker inscribed with the victim’s name — for each victim, arranged in the order of their ages and along the flight path American Airlines Flight 77 took into the building” with the “units for the 59 victims aboard the hijacked plane will face one way” while the units for “the 125 victims inside the Pentagon will face the opposite direction.”²²²

²²⁰ Erin Killian, “Forestry Group Donates \$250,000 to Pentagon Memorial,” *Washington Business Journal*, Sept 7, 2007, <https://www.bizjournals.com/washington/stories/2007/09/03/daily33.html>.

²²¹ Elyse Glickman, “An Inspired Architects’ 9/11 Pentagon Memorial Design is Reflective in Many Ways,” *Iconic Life*, Sept 11, 2019, <https://iconiclife.com/two-architects-9-11-memorial-design-honoring-those-we-lost-at-the-pentagon/>.

²²² Phil Hirschhorn, “Design for Pentagon Memorial Chosen,” *CNN*, Mar 2, 2003, <http://www.cnn.com/2003/US/03/02/pentagon.memorial/>.

On the day of its dedication, President George W. Bush attended a ceremony “with dignitaries and family members of those killed in the attack.”²²³ Speaking at the ceremony, Bush said that while “a memorial can never replace what those of you mourning a loved one have lost, [he] pray[s] that [they] will find some sort of comfort amid the peace of these grounds . . . knowing that [the] nation will always grieve with you.”²²⁴

One of the biggest differences between the Pentagon’s memorial and others was the lack of criticism, although many families of the victims expressed dismay that none of the finalist’ designs “made reference to the attack on the World Trade Center or to the hijacked jet that crashed in Shanksville, PA.”²²⁵ That particular caveat had been requested as family members of “some victims of the Pentagon attack had expressed a specific desire that the memorial honor only the Pentagon victims.”²²⁶

Despite much criticism, many of the victims voiced their appreciation for the memorial. When visiting it, Thomas Heidenberg, widow of Michelle Heidenberg, a flight attendant on Flight 77, remarked that since “they were the first to die in this so-called war on terror . . . why shouldn’t we not just remember the day, but remember their sacrifice, remember their lives.”²²⁷ His son, Tom, noted that Beckman and Kaseman’s memorial “started with an artist’s rendition [of what happened] but now is a reality and a fitting tribute to those who died.”²²⁸ Wendy Ploger, who lost her father and stepmother on Flight 77, felt that “the benches add special meaning to the memorial,” because “it tells the story of what happened, which is sort of what helps me to

²²³ Mike Mount, “Pentagon 9/11 Memorial Honors Victims in Symbols,” *Concrete*, *CNN*, Sept 11, 2008.

²²⁴ Mike Mount, “Pentagon 9/11 Memorial Honors Victims in Symbols.”

²²⁵ Edward Wyatt, “Threats and Responses: The Memorial; Six Finalists Are Selected for Design at Pentagon,” *The New York Times*, Oct 4, 2002.

²²⁶ Edward Wyatt, “Threats and Responses: The Memorial; Six Finalists Are Selected for Design at Pentagon.”

²²⁷ Mike Mount, “Pentagon 9/11 Memorial Honors Victims in Symbols, *Concrete*.”

²²⁸ *Ibid*.

heal.”²²⁹ Such visitors believed that Beckman and Kasemen's vision and structures encompassed the story of Flight 77 and the story of those lost in the Pentagon.

Looking at these memorials all together, what ties them all together is the fact that they all focus on the people and the individuals affected and their communities. Two memorials arose from local affected communities, *Crescent of Embrace* and *The Place of Remembrance*, but they quickly became recognized as official memorials by many. While *The Place of Remembrance* and “United in Memory - Committed to Freedom” do not receive the attention that the National Flight 93 and National Pentagon Memorial, they are still important in the discussion of 9/11 commemoration due to the efforts of those who worked diligently to get these memorials constructed. These memorials differ when compared to those discussed previously in that people with a sense of urgency so people would not forget those who perished unexpectedly. They wanted a way to remember and celebrate their lives instead of solely focusing on how and why they died.

These four memorials drew together the affected communities. They rallied together for fundraising, designing, and creating commemoration sites memorializing their loved ones. The families of victims, local community members, and lower-level government figures ensured input that makes these memorials more personable to anyone who visits. Instead of a generic memorial dedicated to the event, all four of these memorials guarantee that you feel the raw emotions of the loss that families and friends experienced on that fateful day.

²²⁹ Larry Shaughnessy, “Nearly Pentagon Memorial Tells Story of 9/11,” *CNN*, May 24, 2008.

In terms of history, what will the 9/11 memorials mean to people in the next few decades? Will the numerous memorials that have been built in the memory of the thousands who lost their lives be remembered any differently than those memorialized by other war memorials? Is it okay to memorialize these people as proxy warriors in the fight against terrorism since they were ordinary people unfortunately in the wrong place at the wrong time on September 11, 2001? Only one group of passengers and flight crew fought back against the terrorists as no public knowledge exists on the flights that crashed into the two towers or the Pentagon. The exception to the ordinary people would be the servicemen that passed away at the Pentagon, the firefighters, the policemen, and others who died saving people in the towers.

Will 9/11 be looked at the same in 2051 as right now? Or will there be a movement denouncing the U.S. imperialist actions leading up to 9/11 to downplay the severity of it? Questions like these have arisen about any major historical event in the history of the United States including the Civil War, the world wars, and Vietnam. In each case, but especially the Vietnam War and 9/11 criticisms have developed highlighting different events or persons of honor that evolve over time.

Over the past few years, there has been quite a discussion surrounding memorials and monuments and their message, especially concerning statues and monuments that honor Confederate leaders including Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis. He was a former U.S. Senator for Mississippi, Secretary of War, and the President of the Confederate States of America (CSA), and hero to many southerners. At the University of Austin at Texas in 1919, leaders commissioned a statue depicting Davis. Erected in 1933, the statue resided on the prominent UT Austin's South Mall where other notable figures in the history of Texas and the American South resided. This was all done "during a period of resurgent white Southern nostalgia for the social

order of the old South embodied by the Confederacy.”²³⁰ In addition to Davis, many notable Confederate figures have statues both on the campus at UT Austin as well as other colleges and universities across the country as they were built during a time where these figures were revered by the communities that sponsored them.

But recently, a controversy arose surrounding the statue as people highlighted Davis’ pro-slavery and later pro-segregation positions. African Americans and other minorities began noting his reactionary positions and protesting it. Students and faculty increasingly organized to remove the oppressive symbol of the Confederacy at a time of rising awareness regarding statues, the names of military bases, and buildings on state campuses throughout the south.

In addition to the controversy about the man himself, the university has faced numerous other racial controversies during the university’s annual Round-Up festivities in 1990, an event formally known as the homecoming celebrations, but presently designated as one of the university’s biggest Greek Life social weekends. Over the course of twenty-five years afterward, the statue has been defaced and vandalized multiple times during protests. This happened so frequently that in August 2015, the university organized a task force on the monument. After significant deliberations, the task force voted for the removal of the statue and two years later, in 2017, placed it inside the university’s museum at the Briscoe Center for American History. In addition to the removal of Jefferson, three statues depicting other Confederate men, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, and John Reagan were removed from campus due to the part in American history not aligning with the university values.²³¹

²³⁰ “Task Force on Historical Representation of Statuary at UT Austin,” University of Texas Austin, accessed Feb 25, 2021.

²³¹ Matthew Watkins, “UT-Austin removes Confederate Statues in the Middle of the Night,” *The Texas Tribute*, Aug 20, 2017.

The removal of the statue from campus and move to the museum served a better purpose as a learning tool, rather than a racist symbol for many African Americans and other minorities. The curated space allowed for an educational process that better contextualized Davis as opposed to a statue simply on campus. Unfortunately, other schools and cities took longer to address such issues which only occurred in the last couple of years when the Black Lives Matter social movement gained more traction. The movement along with the UT episode supports Mayo's assertion, "while war memorials themselves may be preserved, the society around them changes and so does history."²³² As this example demonstrates, the meaning and intent of Davis' statue changed over time as people rejected the Lost Cause mythology, a process led by people who most symbolized white supremacy. But, it is not alone in the evolution and memorials become contested battlegrounds.

In the history of memorials, people look for patterns such as the meaning and intent of the architects and designers that may not always correspond to how ordinary observers view them. This allows for meanings to change over time. Over the last forty years, the process of naming individuals became preferable for memorials because it allows those visiting to connect on a more personal level. Based on the communities where 9/11 memorials arose, the people involved in the memorial process, from the designers to families of those lost, made a statement about the centrality of remembering individuals.

After 9/11, groups created many memorials, and while many of the contests required naming all victims, highlighting the desire for recognizing individuality. These memorials will reflect a specific time and place for the United States, remaining so because as Mayo notes "the

²³² James Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 8.

historical interpretations [of these memorials] may remain the same but be enriched with new knowledge, and symbolic meaning in memorials is then enhanced.”²³³

War memorials and their place in history continually evolve. From military heroes to ordinary people, the need for commemoration remains. Mayo said that “the brutal fact that friends and neighbors . . . suffered, and were killed brings forth genuine feelings of remorse and the need to remember them.”²³⁴ One pattern emerging beyond the VVM and 9/11 memorials was that “the highest social purpose of commemoration is humanitarianism.”²³⁵ Many monuments make a plea for peace, and a few memorials go even further because the event that caused the creation of the memorial “demands concern for humanitarianism.”²³⁶ With monuments like the VVM and the various 9/11 memorials, humanitarianism becomes important because it pushes society to remember that they should never forget these moments in history, nor should they allow repetition. The rejection of violence, and the conscious decision on the designers' parts to erase the perpetrators' place in the events surrounding these types of memorials and the notion of looking at them as a commemorative place allows people to mourn, reminisce, and learn. Many of the memorials have a place where they can identify the victims, oftentimes having a form of an education center where they can learn about the events and how the memorial came to exist.

In the larger scheme of war and society, society continues debating these memorials decades today and starts once they become public. Over time, the intent from the artist becomes replaced by public opinions, often both positive and negative. People will have a collective memory of a specific event and debates will arise in the history books and in public forums. The same happens with war memorials as multiple messages remain unavoidable because of different

²³³ Ibid, 9.

²³⁴ James Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 11.

²³⁵ Ibid, 8.

²³⁶ Ibid.

views of history. As Bodnar argues, “public memory is produced from a political discussion that involves not so much economic or moral problems, but rather fundamental issues about the entire existence of a society: its organization, structure of power, and the very meaning of its past and present.”²³⁷ Each memorial site has its own collective memory, and while there is one primary accepted collective memory of the events leading to 9/11 and 9/11 itself, the main goal of these memorials ultimately became that no one would forget those lost.

I have argued throughout this work that the question of why organizers constructed 9/11 memorials to privilege the dead is answered by artists, individuals, and community leaders purposefully placing these people at the center of their memorialization process in order to combat the deep-seated fear of forgetting their names. By evaluating specific memorial designs in locations important to the tragedy of that day, in New York, Pennsylvania, Boston, and Washington D.C., I demonstrated that these memorials triggered an explosion within the community on prioritizing memorials that focused on the deceased rather than the event itself.

In New York, the memorialization process started immediately in the aftermath of the attacks at Ground Zero and around the city itself. The resulting national memorial that now stands in the place of ground zero was the result of the exhausting efforts of community and national leaders who knew everyone needed to be remembered. The community-funded memorials that were dedicated in both New York and Pennsylvania prove the lengths that people were willing to go to in order to make sure that these people were not forgotten in the long list of names of those lost.

In Boston, community efforts led to the airport memorials that are now seen by all when they go to Boston Logan National Airport, reminding all that there were various communities

²³⁷ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, 14.

affected by the tragedy. The memorials dedicated in Washington, D.C., both at the Pentagon and the DIA, community-driven and funded, are a testament to those who experienced the events first-hand and felt emboldened to make sure the names would never be forgotten in history.

This thesis challenged the conventional ideas about the relationship of memorialization and history by looking at and unfolding previous war memorials. In doing so, this thesis looks at why the memorialization process has evolved from the glorification of leaders like presidents and top military figures, and conflicts themselves, to the humanitarian concerns and the focus on the individualistic naming of those lost in times of war. It revises the ways in which memorialization as a process has been theorized by previous scholars, who looked and studied the way memorialization processes worked in the past, and who the memorials were actually for. As a society, we have moved away from the veneration of political leaders who acted merely as figureheads for armies and are now focusing on the root of the memorialization process itself, the people whose lives were lost.

While the memorialization process has evolved throughout history, this period of individuality within memorials is only the beginning. Many of the memorials, being community-funded, always look for support, whether it be through donations or through any type of purchase at any affiliated store at any of their corresponding education centers or museums. One of the biggest mottos emblazoned on merchandise sold at these various places is “never forget” and hopefully, we never will.

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